

CRITICAL STUDIES
IN THE HEBREW BIBLE 16

BOSCHWITZ
ON
WELLHAUSEN

*The Life, Work, and Letters
of a Jewish Scholar
in Nazi Germany*

PAUL MICHAEL KURTZ

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CRITICAL STUDIES IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

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Boschwitz on Wellhausen

*The Life, Work, and Letters of a Jewish Scholar
in Nazi Germany*

PAUL MICHAEL KURTZ

*With a translation of Friedemann Boschwitz's
dissertation by Armin Siedlecki*

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PREFACE

This undertaking began in the early, overambitious stages of doctoral work, stayed with me through a protracted postdoctoral life, and ended at the start of a new professorial position. It thus went with me to many places over the years—Göttingen, Mainz, Erfurt, Cambridge, Brussels, Ghent, and Groningen—and all the writing holidays in between: from Chicago to London to Athens and especially to Skye.

The project started as a translation of Boschwitz's thesis on Wellhausen, as I myself was writing a thesis on Wellhausen. Serious interpreters, I quickly observed, had often referred to the work yet regretted its limited uptake. Trying to gain traction on the elusive figure of Boschwitz, I stumbled upon a few unpublished letters—like his to Rudolf Bultmann—and hoped to include them in that translation: to show the man behind the work, much like he himself had done with Wellhausen. Innumerable, and often inefficient, searches led me to scattered bits of information that often proved difficult to assemble and assess.

Having found the address of one Margalit Boschwitz living near Tel Aviv, I sent a letter into the unknown. Not long after, I received a response from her sister, Chava Manor, who lived not far from my own sister in St. Louis, which gave us occasion to meet, in 2014. Chava and Margalit have been a joy to work with as they shared their family archive of material and of memory. The exchange was all the more enriching as I found some information on Boschwitz related to his time in Germany but almost nothing about the period after his emigration. His daughters, by contrast, knew a lot about his life in Israel yet little about his early life. I was still too late, however. Their mother, Gerda, Boschwitz's wife, had recently died, and, as always, with that loss of life came a lost connection to the past as well.

The more time passed, the more sources became available. The more I searched, the more I found. Ultimately, my attempt to gather each and every

source, even scrap of information, morphed into a need to curate: to prioritize and exclude. Yet little by little, my interest in Boschwitz the man, in his life and experience as a Jewish German in the twentieth century, grew to match—perhaps even surpass—that in Boschwitz the author, the historian of Protestant German historiography of the nineteenth century. This book, with its translation and documentation, seeks to bring the two together: not only the person and the work but also his life across Germany and Israel.

In conclusion, the conclusion—or rather lack thereof—merits some remarks. Boschwitz wrote none of his own, something he as author and Bultmann as assessor both acknowledged. As another echo of its source material (a former dissertator on Wellhausen now working on an earlier dissertator on Wellhausen), this book has neither synthesis nor synopsis at the end. The series editors and the reviewer alike rightly recognized the value of some final evaluation, be it of Boschwitz's own analysis, Wellhausen's legacy in scholarship and antisemitism, or the validity of source criticism in contemporary biblical studies. While casting no doubt on the profit of such reflections, I have refrained from providing them myself, given time pressures and other priorities, having written much on Wellhausen already, and in deference to normative internal debates among practitioners. Nonetheless, I hope this volume—as an English translation of Boschwitz's work and in a series that targets a readership with similar interests and questions as Boschwitz's on Wellhausen—will stand on its own, prompting further inquiry for others.

PK

Groningen, December 2023

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In the making for a decade, this project has received fathomless support, moral and material, professional and financial. It would be remiss of me not to thank—however fleetingly or insufficiently—those with whom I labored on the volume and without whom it would have never reached completion.

First and foremost, I am grateful to the editors of *Critical Studies in the Hebrew Bible* and to Jim Eisenbraun for recognizing the history of biblical scholarship as integral to the discipline. Like many in classics, anthropology, or philosophy, they have appreciated serious, sustained engagement with the past of biblical studies not as a form of nostalgia or narcissism but as a vital means of critical understanding and rigorous reflexivity. From the beginning, Hermann Spieckermann (Göttingen), Reinhard Kratz (Göttingen), and Nathan MacDonald (Cambridge) all lent support to this research, while Anselm Hagedorn (Osnabrück) took particular interest and gave the requisite prodding over the years. Harald Samuel (Oxford) has spent an inordinate amount of time since the very start of this project helping to locate any and all information on the elusive figure of Boschwitz, often while acting as my host back in our Göttingen days. Samuel is one of the finest readers of texts, and he offered his own insights, finds, and corrections on nearly every part of the work. Rebecca Van Hove (Groningen), as usual, let the enthusiasm and encouragement pour forth for this project, while gently pressing me to prioritize and bring it to completion.

When it looked like the project might never come to fruition, Armin Siedlecki (Atlanta) kindly stepped in to render the book by Boschwitz into English (part 2). I am most grateful to him for his excellent work and the pleasant collaboration. Transcriptions and translations in the introduction and documentation (parts 1 and 3), however, come from my own hand, unless indicated otherwise. In the process of completing this work, I accrued many other debts. When my own paleographic, linguistic, and/or interpretative

skills inevitably reached their limit, I was fortunate to have others' to draw upon. Magnanimous, meticulous assistance on things German kindly came from Thomas Vogtherr (Osnabrück), professor of historical, auxiliary, and archival sciences; Peter Porzig (Göttingen), coeditor of Julius Wellhausen's correspondence; Andreas Lohr-Jasperneite together with Dirk Rodewald (Berlin), editors of and experts on Ernst Meister; and Laura Loporcaro (Ghent), a specialist in Latin language and literature. Rotem Avneri Meir (Helsinki)—an ancient historian with interests in the German Jewry of Mandatory Palestine—likewise helped with several of the Hebrew documents. Rudolf Smend (Göttingen) at the start as well as Marc Brettler (Durham), Lukas Bormann (Marburg), Thomas Hansen (Wellesley), Carolin Kosuch (Göttingen), and Rolf Schönberger (Regensburg) at the end all kindly supplied material as well as substantive information. A fantastic anonymous reviewer offered encouraging enthusiasm, substantive suggestions, and scrupulous corrections, for which I am most grateful. In the final stages at Eisenbrauns, Maria Metzler and Alex Ramos showed great care and empathy as they guided the work through the publication process, while Stephanie Scott worked wonders on the manuscript itself. I would also like to thank Donna Jarjour for her careful composition of the index.

Archivists and librarians often labor away in darkness, but they shine much light in the process. I received alacritous assistance from, and thus remain indebted to, (alphabetical by city): Catherine Dixon of St. John's College in Annapolis; Maggie Grossman, Christine Colburn, and Gayle McKeen at the Special Collections Research Center of the University of Chicago; Chaim Green at the Central Archive of Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Meirav Reuveny of the Leo Baeck Institute in Jerusalem; Baruch Yonin at the Schocken Institute for Jewish Research in Jerusalem; Zmira Reuveni at the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem; Janet Dilger, Cornelia Hamke, and Jens Tremmel at the Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach; Carsten Lind at the Archive of the University of Marburg; Reinhard Neebe at the Digitales Archiv Marburg; Jutta Nunes Matias at the Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe in Münster; Tal Nadan at the New York Public Library; Amy Bentley of the Valley Stream Historical Society in New York; Tim Noakes and Mattie Taormina at the Special Collections of Stanford University; Hila Tzur of the Gnazim Archive of Hebrew Writers in Tel Aviv; Anna-Elisabeth Bruckhaus and Nicole Domka at the University Library in Tübingen; and Stefan Dell'Olive of the Central Library of Zurich.

My gratitude extends to past editors of documents related to Boschwitz, who encouraged me early on to translate and reproduce the material. Specific permissions appear throughout the notes, but they include, especially, Ute Heil (Vienna), Anne Nagel (Giessen), and Ulrich Sieg (Marburg). Further

access to unpublished documents was granted courtesy of Reinhard Meister as well as Bernhard Albers of Rimbaud Verlag in Aachen.

Quick, kind assistance in response to various leads came from Brigitte Jacobs van Renswou of the Zentralarchiv für deutsche und internationale Kunstmarktforschung in Cologne; Franziska Remeika of Metzler in Heidelberg; and Elizabeth Wener of Mohr Siebeck in Tübingen. Some of these trails ran cold, others proved rewarding, but all of these persons happily and generously joined me on the hunt. A small army of anonymous library workers at Ghent University and the University of Notre Dame also went to great lengths to procure obscure sources for me.

Financial support for this project—once it moved from side to center—flowed primarily from a Marie Skłodowska-Curie fellowship I held at the University of Cambridge (as part of the European Union’s research program Horizon 2020) and from a postdoctoral fellowship awarded by the Flemish Research Council. The latter financed the translation by Siedlecki. A grant from the Ghent University Special Research Fund provided resources for open-access publication. I gladly and gratefully recognize these funding schemes and institutions for their support.

Last but far from least, I am deeply indebted to Chava Manor (St. Louis) and Margalit Boschwitz (Tel Aviv), the daughters of Friedemann Boschwitz, who answered a cold call from a perfect stranger with tremendous warmth. Both of them displayed considerable kindness, delivered endless encouragement, and demonstrated no little patience each and every year. It is thanks to them, more than anyone else, that this book came to be. When a draft of this introduction was finally complete, in autumn 2022, I gave a public talk on the life of Boschwitz at the University College London Institute of Jewish Studies at the kind invitation of Mark Geller. Through that event, I made contact with Boschwitz’s extended family—stretching from California to New York to Israel—and fond, warm memories of him poured in. Though not published here, those memories show a different, more positive side of his life after Nazi Germany.

PART 1

Introduction

Paul Michael Kurtz

The Life and Work of Friedemann Uri Boschwitz

The reviews are in—and long have been. “Excellent.” “Superb.” “Outstanding.” “Brilliant.” “Shining.” Neither less impressive nor important than the praise is the list of praisers themselves: philosopher Leo Strauss, theologian Rudolf Bultmann, philosopher Gershom Scholem, literary theorist Daniel Weidner, historian of scholarship Rudolf Smend.¹ And all that for a doctoral dissertation submitted in 1934 on the great nineteenth-century orientalist Julius Wellhausen (published in revised form four years later). The rest of us should be so lucky. In breadth and depth of appreciation, time’s test may well be stood.

Yet being notable has only a casual relationship with being known. Not infrequently, their correlation is of the inverse kind. That dissertation as well as its author have fallen into near oblivion. This book provides a critical edition, translation, and commentary for that much praised yet much forgotten work: one of the last doctoral theses by a Jew in the Nazi period, completed at the University of Marburg. The thesis, long hindered and delayed, was the first to take a transdisciplinary approach to Wellhausen’s contributions to the fields of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam from the perspective of comparative religions and cultural history. It also analyzed scholar and scholarship together, drawing on the personal correspondence of Wellhausen to understand his work. This book, similarly, pays attention to the life of its subject: it thus offers a critical edition of, translation of, and commentary on documents related to the often-tragic twists and turns in the life of that dissertator.

1. Leo Strauss to Jacob Klein, 7 May 1934, in Leo Strauss, *Hobbes’ politische Wissenschaft und zugehörige Schriften–Briefe*, ed. Heinrich Meier and Wiebke Meier, Leo Strauss Gesammelte Schriften 3, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2008), no. 29, pp. 503–4; Rudolf Bultmann, reader report [1934], in the documentation infra; Gershom Scholem to Max Kreutzberger, 4 March 1960, in Scholem, *Briefe*, vol. 2, 1948–1970, ed. Thomas Sparr (Berlin: Munich, 1995), no. 34, pp. 53–54; Daniel Weidner, “Urtext und Erfahrung. Textmodelle in der Bibelkritik,” in *Ästhetische Erfahrung und Edition*, ed. Rainer Falk and Gert Mattenklott, Beihefte zu editio 27 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2007), 17–46, at 31n19; Rudolf Smend, “Vorwort,” in Julius Wellhausen, *Briefe*, ed. Rudolf Smend, Peter Porzig, and Reinhard Müller (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), v–x, at v.

First, on the man himself, the ancient historian Arnaldo Momigliano confessed, in 1982, to knowing next to nothing about him.² If anyone could piece together a fuller picture, it would have been this great puzzler of past and present. A decade later, Friedemann Boschwitz, the writer of that thesis, did not make the literal B-list of an otherwise thorough inventory of German Jewish historians who emigrated from Germany to Palestine between 1933 and 1945.³ Even basic facts remain unknown. As late as 2006, none less than Smend himself, an otherwise reliable source in things biographical, reported Boschwitz's year of death as 1967, not 1974.⁴ The next year, 2007, saw another edition of the memoir by Boschwitz's mentor Karl Löwith, yet the information on Boschwitz therein, in the register of names, proved to be amiss.⁵ The state of knowledge has not changed much since, besides us knowing more about how little we know.

Boschwitz—as a person, not a penman—tends to appear but in refraction, and only as of late. He attracted recent interest in a biography of Bultmann, an account of Wilhelm Mommsen's politics (both his doctoral advisers), and a few institutional histories on the University of Marburg during the Third Reich. Otherwise, his name—and mostly that alone—remains buried deep in footnotes, merely to explain the references made to him by contacts and confreres in editions of their work.⁶ However, during the last decade, with the

2. Arnaldo Momigliano, "IV: Religious History Without Frontiers: J. Wellhausen, U. Wilamowitz, and E. Schwartz," *History and Theory* 21, no. 4 (1982): 49–64, at 52, since republished in his *Studies on Modern Scholarship*, ed. G. W. Bowersock and T. J. Cornell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 266–85.

3. Cf. "B1-Liste: Nicht-hauptamtliche Forscher auf dem Gebiet der jüdischen Geschichte (vor 1915 geboren)," in Robert Jütte, *Die Emigration der deutschsprachigen "Wissenschaft des Judentums." Die Auswanderung jüdischer Historiker nach Palästina, 1933–1945* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1991), 207–9.

4. Rudolf Smend, *Julius Wellhausen. Ein Bahnbrecher in drei Disziplinen*, Carl Friedrich von Siemens Stiftung: Themen 84 (Munich: Siemens Foundation, [2006]), 11. Compare the public records, which list the date of death for בּוֹשְׁוִיץ אורי פרידמן as 29 August 1974 (in רשומות 2083 ילקוט הפרסומים [16 January 1975]: 915) as well as the burial notice for "Dr. Uri Friedeman Boschwitz" [sic] (in *Israel Nachrichten* / ישראל חדשות [1 September 1974]). In an early conversation with me, Smend once mentioned that Isaac Leo Seligmann was supposed to introduce him to Boschwitz in Israel in the early 1960s, but those plans never materialized.

5. Karl Löwith, *Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach 1933. Ein Bericht*, new ed., with a foreword by Reinhart Koselleck and afterword by Ada Löwith, ed. Frank-Rutger Hausmann (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2007), 203: "historian from Marburg, from 1935 in New York, later in Amsterdam," which turns temporary stays into permanent residences, likely based on the return address of letters. The book, in its 1986 edition, was translated into English by Elizabeth King as *My Life in Germany Before and After 1933: A Report* (London: Athlone Press, 1994). The name Boschwitz does not appear in Enrico Donaggio, *Karl Löwith. Eine philosophische Biographie*, trans. Antonio Staude, with assistance from Mike Rottmann (Berlin: Metzler, 2021).

6. Konrad Hammann, *Rudolf Bultmann. Eine Biographie*, 3rd ed. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 285–86, 331; Anne Christine Nagel, "Der Prototyp der Leute, die man entfernen soll, ist Mommsen.' Entnazifizierung in der Provinz oder die Ambiguität moralischer Gewißheit," *Jahrbuch*

global growth in digitizing, indexing, and archiving, indispensable—yet often invisible—labor has granted new access to new material (as well as more loose threads to pull and more rabbit holes to follow).

As this curated volume hopes to show, Friedemann Boschwitz (the subject of the documentation) bound many worlds together as a go-between: the German and the Jewish, theology and history, academia and the arts, philosophies modern and medieval, and left-wing politics and Zionist nationalism, not to mention a network of émigrés and exiles across Europe and Israel, East Asia and North America. While his school days saw him befriend the eventual philosopher Heinz Dekuczynski, later known as Henry Deku, his university years witnessed a short-lived friendship with the would-be writer, and brief brown-shirt, Ernst Meister. As an undergraduate, he contacted the critic and theorist Siegfried Kracauer to express political disappointment with the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (fig. 1), and as doctorand, he wrote Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche in an attempt to trace her brother's influences. Most notably, perhaps, Boschwitz featured as a frequent author, addressee, and topic in letters exchanged among a constellation of Jewish philosophers initially centered around Marburg in the 1920s and 1930s: especially Karl Löwith, Jacob Klein, and Leo Strauss. After leaving Germany, Boschwitz found a place—precarious, peripheral, and passing—among formative figures at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, including Julius Yitzhak Guttman and Fritz Yitzhak Baer (a relation of his). In one instance, as a conveyor of objects, of written work, he connected Strauss to Scholem, David Zvi Baneth, and Ernst Akiva Simon.⁷ He later collaborated with the composer Yehoshua Lakner and the playwright Yehoshua Bar-Yosef.

Though in the end eclipsed by bigger stars that shone from greater heights and ultimately pressed to circulate in a new professional orbit—in a secondary school, where he shone nonetheless—Boschwitz filled spaces across an exciting, if exhausting, cultural and intellectual galaxy. He, like many others, functioned as glue for many of the relationships between the leading luminaries of his age: spreading letters, bringing updates, distributing manuscripts. Furthermore, the preserved correspondence related to Boschwitz opens a line

zur *Liberalismus-Forschung* 10 (1998): 55–91, at 76–77, cf. 84; Nagel and Ulrich Sieg, *Die Philipps-Universität Marburg im Nationalsozialismus. Dokumente zu ihrer Geschichte*, Pallas Athene 1, Academia Marburgensis 7 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000), 174–76; Margret Lemberg, “... eines deutschen akademischen Grades unwürdig.” *Die Entziehung des Dokortitels an der Philipps-Universität Marburg, 1933–1945*, Schriften der Universitätsbibliothek Marburg 113 (Marburg: Marburg University Library, 2002), 56–60, 74, 76–77.

7. The National Library of Israel catalogs five pictures of Gershom Scholem in Frankfurt in 1966, two of which reportedly capture Boschwitz (ARC 4* 1599 10 10 101), but Boschwitz it is not. The name on the back of the photographs may well not read Boschwitz, and according to his daughters, he did not travel to Germany in 1966 and in fact refused to return under any circumstances (personal communication, 22 October 2015).

Berlin, am 22. IV. 1931.

Sehr geehrter Herr Krakauer,

Im Ffth. Jhr. gibt seit Jahr u. Tag ein Brillblatt heraus: Für die Frau.
Dieser Titel ist eine sehr günstige. Er ist vielmehr bestimmt:
Für die Dame, u. zwar für die mondäne Dame, deren Glanz und
der Lenz ist. „Blätter für Hoch u. Gesellschaft“ –
gibt es ein Wochenblatt, das nicht mehr alt dieses sein will,
wollen wir für nicht sagen, aber die „Gesellschaft“, auf die
dieses Blätter ruhen, ist mehr als fragwürdig. Selbst die
„Frankfurter“ eine sehr zum Publikum macht, bedient
einzigständig an einem Geist, den sie in ihrem übrigen
Aussehen zeigen. Das jüngste und beste darin,
dass man versteht den rein mondänen Charakter der Blätter
für die Frau zu verstehen, indem angesehene Literaten
u. Wissenschaftler Abfälle ihrer Produktion (wenn man
zu ihrem Gunsten an, dass diese ihren Unangenehmkeiten
nicht eignet für die Frau verpackt sind!) schreiben, damit
ihre Klänge voller Dame dieser Hochzeiten zu einem geistvollen
u. geistig-politisch anerkennenden Gesicht wechseln. Einige mehr
oder weniger geschmackvolle Photographien in Linien, ein
kleines, mehr oder weniger geschicktes, Gegländes aber ein geistiges
Kapital aber über die ganze Welt sollen garantieren, dass
wir uns in geistlicher „Gesellschaft“ befinden.
Die Frau von heute hat ja bekanntlich keinen anderen Sorgen
u. Interessen!
Es wäre kein Wort über dies Brillblatt zu verlieren
– das Wissen der, eleganten Welt“ sagt uns nicht auch –
wenn es nicht die Frankfurter Zeitung wäre,

FIGURE 1. Letter from Boschwitz to Krakauer, 1931. Image courtesy of the Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach, Germany (Siegfried Krakauer Papers).

of sight on women often at the margins of this world, in curating and conserving, in proofreading and publishing: like Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche in the Weimar archive of her brother, Irmgard Foerg in the library of the Leo Baeck Institute, and Boschwitz's wife, Gerda, who sought to print his work after his death. In like manner, the greetings he sent to others shed light on other such relations, among families and friends, across generations, between interlocutors and institutions. The good wishes he dispatched to Gertrude Weil and Ida Levisohn, for instance, offer only a hint at the social networks—deep and durable—that could stretch beyond national borders, professional status, and international disaster.

Precisely as a marginal figure, then, his life illuminates the world and fates of those otherwise overshadowed: the vast majority of us mere mortals. Fragmented as its sources may be, the story of Boschwitz shows a less rarefied, more normal life: one filled with thwarted ambitions, recalibrated careers, and frustrations with the self as well as smaller pleasures, curiosities, relationships. More broadly, this foray into his life places another Boschwitz on the map.⁸ Friedemann now stands alongside his sister Dvora Boschwitz, a professor of zoology at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and his cousin Ulrich Alexander Boschwitz, a novelist whose semiautobiographical *Der Reisende*, under the pen name John Grane, was translated into many languages and into English as *The Man Who Took Trains*, *The Fugitive*, and, very recently, *The Passenger*.⁹ Others well-known from the family include Ely (or Eli) Boschwitz, a brother of Isaac who worked as a stockbroker in Berlin before fleeing Nazi Germany and ending up in New Rochelle, New York, as well as Rudy Boschwitz, a son of Ely best known for his role as a conservative US senator from Minnesota.¹⁰ This account of Friedemann Boschwitz, then, is part of a much larger story, not

8. The Boschwitz family appears in a detailed—and digitized—genealogy compiled by Hermann da Fonesca-Wollheim of Tervuren, Belgium, and both conserved and cataloged in the archives of the Leo Baeck Institute in New York (AR 11384): see *Wollheims in and from the Posen Province* (s.l.: s.n., 2002), esp. 12. While this source covers the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, another one—also in the Leo Baeck Institute in New York and now in digital form—traces back to the eighteenth: see Bleichröder Family Tree Collection (AR 6410), box 1, folder 1: “Boschwitz and Pagel, 1907”; box 1, folder 6: “Extended Family Tree: Bleichröder, Hamburger & Liepmann Families, Their Ancestors and Descendants, As Well As Related Branches—Part 2, 1994,” esp. “Descendants of Leiser Boschwitz” in the file “Salomon–SAL,” compiled by Adelaide Flatau née Hamburger.

9. Letters and photographs of Dvora Boschwitz (דבורה בושוביץ) are registered in the National Library of Israel: see the Heinz Steinitz Archive (ARC 4* 1626 02 95) and the Asher Benari, Kibbutz Hazorea Collection (Bitmuna 104). The Ulrich Boschwitz Collection—donated by Thomas Hansen after receiving the materials from Ulrich's sister Clarissa—is held by the Leo Baeck Institute in New York (AR 25553).

10. “An Obituary for Ely” was published in the *New York Times* on 14 March 1974. The papers of Rudy Boschwitz are held by the Minnesota Historical Society.

merely of German Jews or émigré academics but also of families stretched and strained as they fled from Europe and built new lives across the globe.

Second, on the work itself (the object of this translation), a common complaint amid the commendation has registered regret at the limited reach and blunted impact of the book by Boschwitz. As laid down by the title itself and laid out by the overview of contents at the beginning, his inquiry addressed the standards and the themes of Wellhausen's historiography, which covered ancient Judaism, early Christianity, and formative Islam. While Yaacov Shavit and Mordechai Eran hail it "the first methodological analysis of Wellhausen's view and his method," they rightly ascribe its restricted uptake to "the date of its publication."¹¹ A Jewish author, later exile, could hardly expect the widest or warmest of receptions in Nazi Germany, all the more when his examination tested the epistemological foundations of certain historical research. In this case, the first also numbers among the best. But being the earliest or best does not always, everywhere, translate into being the most known.

Even after the war, the medievalist Hans Liebeschütz noted how few were familiar with Boschwitz's study. As late as 1964, the University Library in Göttingen had no copy in its holdings, and the all-too-little literature that did treat the treatise reflected less on its arguments than referred to its source material, namely, unpublished letters by Wellhausen.¹² True, by 1974 the tome featured among essential literature on Wellhausen and "historical research on the Pentateuch" in Jacques Waardenburg's *Classical Approaches to the Study of Religion*, while a 1985 bibliographic essay by R. E. Clements singled out the work as well.¹³ However, it has still not, evidently, made other reading lists—even for those engaged in the theories and methods of Wellhausen. Boschwitz's *Julius*

11. Yaacov Shavit and Mordechai Eran, *The Hebrew Bible Reborn: From Holy Scripture to the Book of Books, A History of Biblical Culture and the Battles over the Bible in Modern Judaism*, trans. Chaya Naor, *Studia Judaica: Forschungen zur Wissenschaft des Judentums* 38 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 370.

12. Hans Liebeschütz, *Das Judentum im deutschen Geschichtsbild von Hegel bis Max Weber*, *Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts* 17 (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1967), 263n42. In 1966—heralding the Göttingen cult of Wellhausen to come—Rudolf Smend (then of Münster) enthusiastically reviewed the revised doctoral dissertation of Lothar Peritt (then of Mainz), wherein he too observed the rarity of the Boschwitz book and expressed his hope for a new printing soon, which came to pass two years later: Smend, review of *Vatke und Wellhausen. Geschichtsphilosophische und historiographische Motive für die Darstellung der Religion und Geschichte Israels durch Wilhelm Vatke und Julius Wellhausen*, by Lothar Peritt, *Vetus Testamentum* 16, no. 1 (1966): 130–34, at 131; cf. also Smend, "Nachruf auf Lothar Peritt (2. Mai 1930–25. Oktober 2012)," in *Jahrbuch der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 2013 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 189–96, at 190. I suspect, but have not confirmed, that Smend had a hand in the reprint.

13. Jacques Waardenburg, *Classical Approaches to the Study of Religion: Aims, Methods and Theories of Research*, vol. 2, *Bibliography* (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), subsequently reprinted—with a second edition of the first volume coming through de Gruyter in 2017; R. E. Clements, "The Study of the Old Testament," in *Nineteenth Century Religious Thought in the West*, vol. 3, ed. Ninian Smart,

Wellhausen did not appear among the works cited in recent volumes deeply interested in the hypotheses and historiographies of this nineteenth-century orientalist: such as two American monographs, from 2009 and 2014, preoccupied with Wellhausen's ideas on the history of biblical literature; a British book of 1998 whose subtitle ran *The Legacy of Julius Wellhausen*; or even a trilingual edition, translation, and commentary—published in Germany in 2022—for his 1870 licentiate dissertation.¹⁴ Likewise, the metahistorical or metacritical reflections of Boschwitz have barely found a place—mentioned en passant or not at all—in histories of German Jewish engagement with biblical criticism in general and Wellhausen in particular.¹⁵ As recently as 2021, Guy Stroumsa's *The Idea of Semitic Monotheism* took a page from Boschwitz's book in assessing the historical writings of Wellhausen as a whole—his work on Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—but did not enter that book itself in its bibliography.¹⁶

Fortunately, Boschwitz now enjoys an ever-expanding awareness of his work, albeit mostly in the field of Hebrew Bible. As Smend observed in 2006, “It is a remarkable and moving fact that the latest quests for Wellhausen's mental character (*geistige Gestalt*) have taken their point of departure from the Marburg dissertation—accepted still in the Third Reich, hardly more than eighty pages, astonishingly mature—of a highly talented Jew.”¹⁷ Many of those quests have launched from a single city, where a kind of cult of Wellhausen has formed: one that uses Boschwitz as a guide into his spirit. None have done more to promote Boschwitz than a series of Göttingen professors.¹⁸ To take

John Clayton, Patrick Sherry, and Steven T. Katz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 109–41, at 140.

14. Ernest Nicholson, *The Pentateuch in the Twentieth Century: The Legacy of Julius Wellhausen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Joel S. Baden, *J, E, and the Redaction of the Pentateuch*, *Forschungen zum Alten Testament* 68 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009); Jeffrey Stackert, *A Prophet Like Moses: Prophecy, Law, and Israelite Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Thomas Kaebel, *Julius Wellhausens Göttinger Licentiaten-Promotion von 1870*, *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 544 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2022).

15. Christian Wiese, *Challenging Colonial Discourse: Jewish Studies and Protestant Theology in Wilhelmine Germany*, trans. Barbara Harshav and Christian Wiese, *Studies in European Judaism* 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Ran HaCohen, *Reclaiming the Hebrew Bible: German-Jewish Reception of Biblical Criticism*, trans. Michelle Engel, *Studia Judaica: Forschungen zur Wissenschaft des Judentums* 56 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010).

16. Guy G. Stroumsa, *The Idea of Semitic Monotheism: The Rise and Fall of a Scholarly Myth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021).

17. Smend, *Julius Wellhausen. Ein Bahnbrecher in drei Disziplinen*, 11.

18. In addition to Smend and Perlitt (cf. n. 12 above), who both boosted Boschwitz's book, their own successors—Reinhard Kratz and, to a lesser extent, Hermann Spieckermann—not only advanced the study of Wellhausen but also adduced Boschwitz in the process. One of those successors' successors, Reinhard Müller, even assisted Smend with the edition of Wellhausen's letters. (So too do Kratz and Smend head the Julius-Wellhausen-Vorlesung, sponsored by the Academy of Science and Humanities at Göttingen, hosted by the university's faculty of theology, and published by de Gruyter, the inheritor of Wellhausen's own main publisher, Georg Reimer.) Disclaimer:

a cue from Émile Durkheim, that society may be venerating itself, in that this group of German Protestant Old Testament scholars in Göttingen has cultivated an abiding interest in Wellhausen, the German Protestant Old Testament scholar formerly of Göttingen. Yet others have also toured Wellhausen's way in the world with the help of this "highly talented Jew." Such journeys have considered his views on Assyriology, his relationship to Yehezkel Kaufmann, his contribution to cultural history in Islamic studies, his understanding of nature vis-à-vis religion, and his place amid changes in oriental studies.¹⁹ Boschwitz's treatise has attracted attention in some histories of biblical scholarship as well.²⁰

Unfortunately, the problem diagnosed by Liebeschütz has less vanished than varied. Instead of merely citing the letters printed by Boschwitz as before, most commentators now tend only to recite his details on Wellhausen's biography or his verdict on the latter's debt to the philosopher G. W. F. Hegel. Even those in other fields frequently fail to fully engage with the author's approach, arguments, and outcomes. In this way, the book by Boschwitz features as perhaps a required reference—but not a careful read—for anyone writing on Wellhausen.

However, the results of his research extend in their significance beyond one single scholar and his work in Hebrew Bible. Daniel Weidner represents the most serious, most sustained reader of Boschwitz: not only drawing on

it was also in Göttingen that I completed my own doctoral work partly on Wellhausen—and began this book on Boschwitz (cf. n. 25 below).

19. Peter Machinist, "The Road Not Taken: Wellhausen and Assyriology," in *Homeland and Exile: Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustenay Oded*, ed. Gershon Galil, Mark Geller, and Alan Millard, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 130 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 469–531; Aly Elrefa'ei, *Wellhausen and Kaufmann: Ancient Israel and Its Religious History in the Works of Julius Wellhausen and Yehezkel Kaufmann*, with a preface by Reinhard G. Kratz, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 490 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016); Josef van Ess, "From Wellhausen to Becker: The Emergence of *Kulturgeschichte* in Islamic Studies," repr. in van Ess, *Kleine Schriften*, ed. Hinrich Biesterfeldt, 3 vols., Islamic History and Civilization 137 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 5–32; Moshe Weinfeld, *The Place of the Law in the Religion of Ancient Israel*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 100 (Leiden: Brill, 2004) as well as Hans-Günther Waubke, *Die Phariseer in der protestantischen Bibelwissenschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 107 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998); and Ludmila Hanisch, *Die Nachfolger der Exegeten. Deutschsprachige Erforschung des Vorderen Orients in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003) as well as Sabine Mangold, *Eine "weltbürgerliche Wissenschaft"—Die deutsche Orientalistik im 19. Jahrhundert*, Pallas Athene 11 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004).

20. Magne Sæbo, ed., *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, vol. 3.1, *The Nineteenth Century—A Century of Modernism and Historicism* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013); Ronald E. Clements, *A Century of Old Testament Study* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1976); R. J. Thompson, *Moses and the Law in a Century of Criticism since Graf*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 19 (Leiden: Brill, 1970); Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, 2nd ed. (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1969).

his insights but even drawing him into discussion on questions of counter-history.²¹ Furthermore, the doctoral thesis has prompted inquiries into Nietzsche's dependence on Old and New Testament scholarship and activated investigations into the relationship between Abraham Geiger's Talmudic criticism and biblical criticism of the so-called Tübingen School.²² Deeming the work still worth a read today, Heinrich Meier, the philosopher, director, and editor of Strauss, has highlighted the "historically astounding things" contained therein.²³

Crucially, Boschwitz's book did, indeed, show the value of correspondence for understanding the life and work of Wellhausen. Printing excerpts and promoting their publication, he paved the way for future work: methodologically and materially.²⁴ Beyond this innovative use of letters to gain analytical purchase on the orientalist behind the oeuvre, his examination made an essential move largely unfollowed since, what Liebeschütz called treating Wellhausen's

21. See Daniel Weidner, "'Geschichte gegen den Strich bürsten.' Julius Wellhausen und die jüdische 'Gegengeschichte,'" *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 54, no. 1 (2002): 32–61; cf. also Weidner, "The Political Theology of Ethical Monotheism," in *Judaism, Liberalism, and Political Theology*, ed. Randi Rashkover and Martin Kavka (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014), 178–96; Weidner, *Gershom Scholem. Politisches, esoterisches und historiographisches Schreiben* (Munich: Fink, 2003), 306–8.

22. On Nietzsche, cf. Ernst Benz, *Nietzsches Ideen zur Geschichte des Christentums und der Kirche*, Beihefte der Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1956), 60–61; Andreas Urs Sommer, *Friedrich Nietzsches "Der Antichrist." Ein philosophisch-historischer Kommentar*, Beiträge zu Friedrich Nietzsche 2 (Basel: Schwabe, 2000). On Geiger, see Liebeschütz, *Das Judentum im deutschen Geschichtsbild*, 123n28; Susannah Heschel, *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus*, Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 269–70n50.

23. Heinrich Meier, "Vorwort des Herausgebers," in Strauss, *Hobbes' politische Wissenschaft und zugehörige Schriften—Briefe*, vii–xxxviii, at xxxvin65.

24. Twenty years later, some of Wellhausen's letters (to August Dillmann and from faculty files at the University of Greifswald) were published with explicit reference to Boschwitz's work: cf. Alfred Jepsen, "Wellhausen in Greifswald. Ein Beitrag zur Biographie Julius Wellhausens," in *Festschrift zur 500-Jahrfeier der Universität Greifswald, 17.10.1956*, vol. 2 (Greifswald: Verlag der Volksstimme, 1956), 47–57, at 48n11 [repr. in Jepsen, *Der Herr ist Gott. Aufsätze zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1978), 254–70]; Ernst Barnikol, "Wellhausens Briefe aus seiner Greifswalder Zeit (1872–1879) an den anderen Heinrich Ewald-Schüler Dillmann. Ein Beitrag zum Wellhausen-Problem," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg, Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe* 6, no. 5 (1957): 701–13 [repr. in *Gottes ist der Orient. Festschrift für Prof. D. Dr. Otto Eißfeldt DD, zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 1. September 1957* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1959), 28–39, at 37]. Additional ones emerged a decade later, in Ernst Bammel, "Judentum, Christentum und Heidentum: Julius Wellhausens Briefe an Theodor Mommsen, 1881–1902," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 80 (1969): 221–54, while Walter Zimmerli published extracts in his review of *Geschichte Israels*, by Martin Noth, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 207 (1953), 1–13. However, the complete correspondence of Wellhausen has now been published—also invoking Boschwitz—in a masterful edition: Julius Wellhausen, *Briefe*, ed. Rudolf Smend, Peter Porzig, and Reinhard Müller (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), v–vi.

work “in the broad expanse of its themes, as a unity.” Boschwitz gained a bird’s-eye view on the three broad fields his subject cultivated—the texts and histories of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—to spot his tools, track his furrows, gauge his yields, and weigh his produce alongside one another. Soaring above the particular, he discerned the general: what was not of the material but of the man and what was not of the man but of his age. The historian thus rose above the usual siloed perspective, that of practitioners narrowly focused on the fruits of Wellhausen in their individual domains and on which of them remain still good and palatable. Critically, then, not only did Boschwitz’s holistic analysis hold scholar and scholarship together, but it also grasped the commonalities and consistencies as well as subtle differences and divergence across the Wellhausen corpus. His assessment caught sight of the questions and concerns, the affects and techniques that occupied, even possessed, the nineteenth-century orientalist.²⁵

This volume, with its translation and documentation, therefore aims to make the notable more known: both the author and the authored. On the one hand, it seeks to expand the potential readership by rendering into English Boschwitz’s *Julius Wellhausen. Motive und Maßstäbe seiner Geschichtsschreibung*, thereby joining the German reprint of 1968 and Hebrew translation of 1982.²⁶ The editorial corrections and commentary illuminate numerous references and update the bibliography for an anglophone audience. On the other hand, the material assembled here—above all, letters by and about Boschwitz as well as the reader reports for his dissertation—elucidates his own life and work. They bear witness to the development and difficulties of his doctoral thesis, obstacles he encountered as a Jew in Nazi Germany, interactions with friends and mentors, other intellectual and artistic projects, troubles with transitioning out of academia, and so much more. These sources, however fragmentary, supply essential matter to piece together Boschwitz as a mind and as a man. Such material provides the substance for the brief introduction that follows and focuses on his thesis and his time in Germany.

25. In this way, his work offered much inspiration for the most thorough account of Wellhausen’s life and work to date: Paul Michael Kurtz, *Kaiser, Christ, and Canaan: The Religion of Israel in Protestant Germany, 1871–1918*, *Forschungen zum Alten Testament* 1.122 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018); cf. also Kurtz, “Response to Adam Sutcliffe: Jewish Antiquity and Modern Germany,” *History of European Ideas* 48, no. 2: Forum “New Scholarship on Religion in Nineteenth-Century German and British Culture” (2022): 176–79.

26. The German was reprinted with a change ever so slight in its subtitle’s orthography, as *Motive und Maß-Stäbe seiner Geschichtsschreibung*, Libelli 238 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968); it was translated into Hebrew by Theodor Hatalgui as יסודות ולהאוזן: שלו יוליוס ולהאוזן: יסודות וקניימיה בהיסטוריוגרפיה (Yulyus Velha’uzen: Yesodot u-kene midah ba-historyografyah shel) (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1982).

Boyhood in Berlin

The title of a memoir by the esteemed historian and German Jewish exile Fritz Stern reads *Five Germanys I Have Known*.²⁷ Boschwitz, another student of history and Jewish German émigré, knew three of them personally—born to Imperial Germany, educated in the Weimar Republic, and driven from the Third Reich—to which he added Mandatory Palestine, whither he emigrated, as well as the State of Israel, where he ultimately died.

Friedemann enter the world on 18 June 1909 and the home of Isaac Boschwitz and Clara née Horovitz (or Haurwitz): a family secure in wealth, conservative in custom, left-wing in politics, and Zionist in cause.²⁸ Isaac/k busied himself as a businessman as well as “one of the oldest German Zionists,” even winning Arthur Ruppin to the cause.²⁹ C/Klara engaged herself at the *Jüdisches Volksheim* (Jewish People’s House or, with less edge, Jewish Community Center), a social and political initiative that drew on Jewish ethics and the settlement movement to unite a bourgeois German Jewry with the proletariat of Jews from Eastern Europe.³⁰ Both actively involved as members, donors, and leaders of Jewish organizations in Berlin, they showed special commitment to the *Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland* (Zionist Federation of Germany). Its organ, the *Jüdische Rundschau* (Jewish Review), printed articles they authored and reported actions they undertook.³¹ While Isaac served on the Zionist Federation’s Palestine committee, Clara was the only woman in panel discussions on the topic, right alongside men with PhDs.³²

27. Fritz Stern, *Five Germanys I Have Known* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2006).

28. Cf. Joseph Walk, *Kurzbiographien zur Geschichte der Juden, 1918–1945*, ed. Leo Baeck Institute, Jerusalem (Munich: Saur, 1988), 43.

29. Jehuda Reinharz, *Dokumente zur Geschichte des deutschen Zionismus, 1882–1933*, Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo-Baeck-Instituts 37 (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1981), 284n2.

30. When, in his letter dated 1 May 1934, Friedemann Boschwitz sent greetings via Leo Strauss to Gertrude Weil née Welkanow—who had also ended up in England—his contact to Weil likely traced back to her own work at the Jüdisches Volkheim. Later still, in 1966, Friedemann, in conjunction with the Leo Baeck Institute, conducted research on Gustav Landauer, who had given a lecture at its opening in 1916. See the respective sources in the documentation.

31. See, e.g., Clara Boschwitz, “Palästinafragen. Zur Nationalisierung des Bodens in Palästina,” *Jüdische Rundschau* 24, no. 22 (25 March 1919): 164; Clara Boschwitz, “Die Diskussion zur Frage des sozialen Aufbaus,” *Jüdische Rundschau* 24, no. 40 (6 June 1919): 320–21; Isaac Boschwitz, “Zu den Palästinafragen,” *Jüdische Rundschau* 24, no. 36 (20 May 1919): 277–78. Tempting as it may be, given my rather debilitating penchant for scrupulous documentation, I refrain from reproducing references by the dozen and merely note, instead, the material accessible through Compact Memory, part of the Judaica digital collections at the University of Frankfurt, which includes the *Jüdische Rundschau* complete with an excellent search function.

32. Cf., inter alia, “Mitteilungen des Palästina-Amtes der Zionistischen Vereinigung für Deutschland,” *Jüdische Rundschau* 24, no. 47 (11 July 1919): 379; and see, e.g., “Vermischtes,” *Jüdische*

Between 1927 and 1932, Clara Boschwitz took much initiative in her local chapter of the *Jüdisch-nationale Frauenvereinigung* (Jewish National Women's Association). Active in the extreme, she supported an aid program for Jewish children, taught children in kindergarten, spearheaded debates on education and Jewish feasts, and led regular series for Bible study. Yet her greatest engagement came on the issue of Palestine, where activities included discussion groups on history, talks on topics like "The Woman in Agricultural Work in Palestine," and a study circle involving "exercises of the seminar from various areas of Jewish culture, with stronger emphasis on Jewish political problems, especially those of the Palestinian present." Her work extended from social and political engagement to cultural as well. A playwright, she dramatized the biblical story of Jephthah's daughter—appropriately titled *Jiphtachs Tochter*—whose fifth act was published in 1928 in the *Jüdische Rundschau*, as perhaps expected.³³ The play was later translated into Hebrew and staged at the Habima Theater in 1943.³⁴

Like his parents, Friedemann also appeared in the pages of the *Jüdische Rundschau*: not only as the subject of a birth announcement, like his siblings, but also, later, as the reviewer of a musical performance.³⁵ He was the middle of five children, although the oldest had died in infancy. His parents' household not only hosted Zionist circles but also lovers of Hebrew.³⁶ In fact, a major plank of the Zionist federation, and the women's working group, included dedication to Hebrew. Friedemann himself spoke Ivrit from the age of seven.

Rundschau 32, no. 26 (1 April 1927): 193; "Berliner Kalender, jüd. Frauenarbeitsgemeinschaft Lichterfelde-Dahlem," *Jüdische Rundschau* 32, no. 31/32 (22 April 1927): 233.

33. Clara Boschwitz, "Jiphtachs Tochter. Bühnenspiel in 5 Akten," in Unterhaltungs-Beilage 21, *Jüdische Rundschau* 33, no. 44 (5 June 1928): 317; cf. the correction in "Berichtigung," *Jüdische Rundschau* 33, no. 46 (12 June 1928): 336, which, however, mistakes the issue number.

34. On the performance in Palestine, see Jan Kühne, *Die zionistische Komödie im Drama Sammy Gronemanns. Über Ursprünge und Eigenarten einer latenten Gattung*, *Conditio Judaica: Studien und Quellen zur deutsch-jüdischen Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte* 94 (Berlin: de Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020), 323; Sebastian Schirrmeister, *Begegnung auf fremder Erde. Verschränkungen deutsch-hebräischsprachiger Literatur in Palästina/Israel nach 1933, Exil-Kulturen 1* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2019), 85. A poster from the premiere, on 15 July 1943, is held by the Central Zionist Archives (KRU 1694, KRU 1695), now digitized and freely available online. The newspaper *Haaretz* published multiple advertisements for the play in 1943. Copies of the paper in these early years have been archived, digitized, and made both freely and digitally available through the National Library of Israel.

35. Cf. Boschwitz birth announcement, *Jüdische Rundschau* 14, no. 26 (25 June 1909): 303; Friedemann Boschwitz, "Musikleben. Ben Uris Chor auf der Channukahfeier der orthodoxen Jugendverbände," *Jüdische Rundschau* 37, no. 102 (23 December 1932): 502.

36. Some supplemental information comes from a small publication by the school where Boschwitz worked, which produced a tribute to him in memoriam, including a short biography and reprint of a couple articles he wrote for the Hebrew newspaper *Haaretz*: N. N., אהלון בטאון, אהלון (Ohelon: Bita'on Talmidei Ohel Shem) (Ramat-Gan, 1974), 24–30.

Having received a traditional Jewish education as well as a secular education, Boschwitz thrived at his prestigious Berlin school, the Friedrichs-Werdersche Gymnasium. Already in these early years, he was cultivating his dual interest in letters as well as the arts: not only in language and history but also in painting and music. As director and actor alike, he involved himself with dramatic works, some of them in Hebrew. These two sides, the academic and artistic, he would nurture over the decades, between institutions, and even across continents.

University Years

Advancing to oral examination for his doctorate, in May 1934, Boschwitz submitted a curriculum vitae to the Philipps University of Marburg.³⁷ True to the genre, this nice and tidy presentation of his course through life did not, and could not, represent just how twisted and obstructed that pathway had become—and would yet continue to be. The document recorded his personal data (parents, place and date of birth, and status as Jew and German citizen) alongside his *almae matres* and his teachers at each. With the revised version, printed in his corrected thesis four years later, he added further details on his studies and reported a major change: his move to Jerusalem. But what went unstated in the space between those lines, in its complexity, enormity, and difficulty, is matched only by the gaps in our knowledge of so much from this period.

As was, and is, typical in Germany, Boschwitz attended more than one university. His studies commenced just after his completion of secondary school in Easter 1928: in Freiburg im Breisgau (summer semester 1928), Marburg (winter semester 1928/29 to winter semester 1930/31), Berlin (summer semester 1931 to winter semester 1932/33), and then Marburg again for completion of his doctorate. His résumé, in both versions, only mentioned enrollment at the university in Berlin (then the Friedrich Wilhelm, not yet the Humboldt).³⁸ However, a letter he sent to the rector at Marburg on 19 January 1934—for

37. As indicated in the documentation, most of the records related to Boschwitz at the University of Marburg are held in one file of the rector (UniA MR 305a Nr 64) and two files of the philosophy faculty (UniA MR 307d Nr 1221 and UniA MR 307d Nr 2552—the latter being empty since 1946, when its contents were transferred into the former). These documents now are held by the Archive of the Philipps University of Marburg, itself part of the Hessen City Archive of Marburg, Germany.

38. Peter Nolte compiled a list of Jewish students enrolled in Berlin between 1933 and 1938—more than twenty-three hundred in number—which appears on the webpage of Humboldt University (Über die Universität > Geschichte > Jüdische Studierende > Namenliste), still active as of 7 May 2022. Not only Friedemann but also his sister Mirjam Boschwitz appear on that list.

examination authorization, as a Jewish doctorand—reported an official leave from the Berlin university for the winter semester of 1932/33: just before his return to the Lahn for a doctorate in Marburg. Although question marks now surround this leave of absence, it raised questions even then. Leo Strauss had asked Karl Löwith, in November 1932, whether he had any news on “the fate of [Boschwitz’s] dissertation.”³⁹ Whatever the proximate cause or concern, the writing was soon on the wall in Berlin for his future there—and perhaps anywhere. In April 1933, aggressive antisemitic policies took effect for Jewish staff and students at universities. Most Jewish students had their university careers ended in 1934, and the following year, they were forbidden from sitting state exams. Boschwitz left Berlin, but the problems followed him.

He found good friends in philosophy at the Philippina, the university in Marburg: from ambitious students to precarious academics, many of them Jewish. Apart from his own epistles to them, the Strauss–Klein–Löwith correspondence, exchanged during the 1930s and 1940s, shows constant, common concern for, fondness of, and updates on Boschwitz: he was a notable part of their social circle.⁴⁰ Consider Löwith to Strauss in June 1933: “Nota bene: Boschwitz is here, and I really like him, now as ever.” Or Klein to Strauss in April 1934: “Maybe tell him that I am thinking about him with the greatest sympathy and that I hope we won’t lose sight of each other.” He also figured in Löwith’s recollection of his last lecture in Germany, given in 1934. Discussing the figure of Nietzsche—considered a touchstone for the German present—the lecturer raised “the racial question,” after which two students approached him. As the memoirist recalled, “After the lecture the SS student von K. took his leave of me, and Boschwitz presented me with a beautiful Van Gogh drawing. It gave me a sense of satisfaction that this Jewish and that German student had found each other, even at a personal level, by their joint attendance at my two-hours-long lecture, and had harmoniously exchanged their views in the corridor during the half-time break. In looks they made an old couple: Boschwitz with yellowish skin, dark eyes, and black hair; von K., rosy, light-eyed, and blond.”⁴¹ In fact, the typescript of Löwith’s recollections, held at the Deutsches Literaturarchiv (German Literature Archive) in Marbach, contains

39. Strauss to Löwith, 15 November 1932; see appendix 2, “Mentions of Boschwitz in the Strauss–Klein–Löwith Letters,” *infra*, with publication information. Cf. also Boschwitz to the Rector of Marburg University, 19 January 1934, in the documentation.

40. Cf. appendix 2, “Mentions of Boschwitz in the Strauss–Klein–Löwith Letters,” *infra*.

41. Löwith, *My Life in Germany*, 83–84. Both the 1986 German edition and its English translation spell out Boschwitz’s name in this passage. As Koselleck indicates in his foreword—printed in both the 1986 and 2007 editions—common practice at the time was to refer to an individual by their surname’s first initial, and the published text preserves this custom. However, the 2007 edition prints only “B.” for the passage in question, although the index does link it specifically with Boschwitz.



FIGURE 2. Photograph of Boschwitz, ca. 1930, originally inserted into the typescript of his memoir. Image courtesy of the Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach, Germany (Karl Löwith Papers).

a set of photographs later added, including one of Boschwitz from this period (fig. 2).⁴² Alongside his sits another: that of Ernst Meister.

In Marburg, Boschwitz befriended the aspirant (and eventual master) Meister: poet, dramatist, and laureate of the Büchner Prize. He offered feedback on the Meister works. They included the unpublished poems “Die Gedanken” (The thoughts) and “Das Leben des Sterns” (The life of the star), an unfinished novel, and an incomplete play, all preserved in the writer’s bequest, also at the German Literature Archive in Marbach. While Boschwitz’s communication with Löwith, Strauss, and Klein traced intellectual interests, the exchange with Meister tracked his more creative ones. A set of dispatches between these two students from September 1933 to December 1934—first presented and partially published here (from the Boschwitz side)—reveals his early attraction not only to letters but also to the arts.⁴³ Their relationship blossoming, the duo discussed records from the French singer Lucienne Boyer, spoke of walks in Lahntal, talked about German, French, and British films, and conversed on

42. The latest German edition of Löwith’s memoir adds an inventory of all images included (cf. Hausmann, “Editorische Bemerkungen,” in Löwith, *Mein Leben in Deutschland*, 197–99).

43. Cf. appendix 1, “Inventory of the Boschwitz–Meister Correspondence,” *infra*. The letters by Boschwitz are part of the Ernst Meister Papers at the Literary Commission for Westphalia—of the Regional Association of Westphalia-Lippe—in Münster, Germany (currently being processed and thus without signature): two are published in the documentation. The dispatches from Meister remain in the private holdings of the Dr. Bernhard Albers & Dr. Reinhard Kiefer Stiftung in Aachen, Germany.

current events like the ban on Jewish actress Elisabeth Bergner, to say nothing of their chats about theater, opera, and fiction. The students also swapped views on their teachers: trading information and advice on how to deal with mentors, Löwith most of all.

Yet a gap suddenly opened between the two when Meister entered the *Sturmabteilung*, or brownshirts. “For my part, I cannot mollify the feeling that you have slipped a small step further from me through your new kit,” Boschwitz confessed in April 1934. With much apology for having failed to explain the decision earlier, which had clearly jeopardized their friendship, the June reply from Meister described his membership in the *Sturmabteilung* as “a necessary evil”—one he, as a good young “Aryan” student, simply must accept. He added in the margin, “I am, after all, an SA [*Sturmabteilung*] man with an incomparably lesser awareness than that [with which] you observe your Jewish ritual.” The last letter of this extant exchange, from Meister in December, cast Boschwitz as questioning the fate of their friendship. Meister again expressed regret for the distance between them and for his own silence, alluding once more to his poor mental state of late and announcing his withdrawal from the *Sturmabteilung* on medical grounds. (He applied for withdrawal in autumn 1934, with certificate of release in December 1935.⁴⁴) The record leaves uncertain whether their relationship ever recovered.

Before the apparent fallout, however, Meister had accompanied Boschwitz through a difficult period in PhD proceedings: and yet not his last. As Meister penned on 12 July 1934, the day after Boschwitz’s oral examination, “I am happy to be able to consider myself your companion in [it]. . . . For the time being, my tears are only for you, mostly the tears of a friend for [your] having passed.” Despite his own designs on a doctorate—on the metaphor of the ship and flood in Nietzsche (first in Marburg with Löwith; then after his adviser’s exile, in Frankfurt; and finally with Hans-Georg Gadamer and the returned Löwith, in Heidelberg)—Meister did not receive the degree.⁴⁵ But even for Boschwitz, it was a close-run thing.

Doctoral Daze

Working on his doctorate, Boschwitz was beset by the usual dissertation difficulties: choosing a topic, securing sources, seeking an angle, escaping

44. Cf. Karin Herrmann, Stephanie Jordans, and Dominik Loogen, eds., *Ernst Meister. Eine Chronik, Aus dem Nachlaß erarbeitet* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2011), 28–30.

45. Stephanie Jordans, *Die “Wahrheit der Bilder.” Zeit, Raum und Metapher bei Ernst Meister* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2009), 25–26.

antecedents, convening a committee, completing the writing, and persuading a publisher. His choice of adviser seemed ill-advised: he had selected the modern historian Wilhelm Mommsen of Marburg (grandson of Theodor, the ancient one of Berlin). As the student wrote to Strauss in May 1934, "his sympathy for the topic is nonetheless minimal," and to Meister that next month, "Mommsen has declared himself incompetent almost openly." The professor himself admitted, in his thesis report, to being more a stranger than at home in the field of Boschwitz's work. In a later letter to the dean, Mommsen went so far as to assert, "I can barely give a judgment on the thing in terms of content." Hence, he sought to enlist a biblicist. When Emil Balla, a professor of the Old Testament, turned down the request to serve as second reader—also citing insufficient expertise—the one to step up was Rudolf Bultmann, professor of the New.⁴⁶ Boschwitz praised Bultmann fully and frequently, telling Meister in a letter from 3 June that he would be the real assessor of the work. In fact, he would do more than merely assess: the theologian ultimately assisted the historian at a number of critical junctures.

If Mommsen advised on the thesis, the shadow adviser was Strauss, albeit from afar. Like the Nazi legislation against "overcrowding" in German educational institutions, from April 1933, which disenfranchised Jewish students, the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service (*Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums*), also from April 1933, excluded persons "non-Aryan" and "politically undesirable" from public employment, which covered university positions as well. This act, and those that followed, had a tremendous impact on Jews in German academia, including those close to Boschwitz. At this time, Strauss was avoiding Germany, living in England (after a stay in France) on a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, before emigrating to the United States in 1937. So too Klein, a fellow Jewish philosopher formerly of Marburg, still resided in Berlin, but he remained blocked from habilitation, soon to become an itinerant lecturer—until his emigration to America in 1938, thanks to the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars.

Boschwitz considered Strauss essential for his work. In May 1934, the latter reported to Klein, "I find the work excellent, considering it is a dissertation. How much came from you I don't know. He only wrote me that you have helped him a lot." Klein clarified in response, however, "My aid was more of a 'moral' nature, apart from certain 'technical' pointers. Boschwitz always emphasizes that he owes *you* all insights." The student said as much to Strauss

46. On the demurral by Balla, cf. Nagel, "Der Prototyp der Leute, die man entfernen soll, ist Mommsen," 77n77; Lemberg, "... eines deutschen akademischen Grades unwürdig," 57; Hammann, *Rudolf Bultmann*, 285—although the precise sources for this episode remain unclear, without mention in the Boschwitz doctoral dossier.

that week: “[M]ost of whatever may be good in the work comes from you.” Even the topic had. True, a note from Adolf Jülicher, historian of early Christianity, to Eduard Schwartz, expert in classics and patristics, had reckoned Mommsen to be the one who had set the subject: namely, Wellhausen as a writer of history.⁴⁷ But the missive by Boschwitz indicated otherwise. Not only did the sender state “I am grateful to you for setting me on this man [viz., Wellhausen],” but he also retraced the road map Strauss had sketched: from reading the young Hegel, Herder, and (Theodor) Mommsen to talking with the orientalist Hans Heinrich Schaeder. He sent a copy of his thesis to Strauss, too—along with a request for further feedback.

Despite providing initial help, however, Schaeder turned into a hindrance. As described in the two letters from Boschwitz to Strauss, around 1932 the Berlin professor was both keen and kind. He even offered to help publish the thesis in a journal. Two years onward, Boschwitz still saw distance between him and the Nazi regime, calling Schaeder one of the good guys based on his support for Eugen Mittwoch, a Jewish colleague purged by Nazi legislation in 1933 (shortly reinstated yet finally dismissed in 1935, after which he went to England in 1939). In fact, Boschwitz had plans to publish a separate piece as part of a commemorative volume for Mittwoch, although it did not come to fruition.⁴⁸ (Opportunism outweighed alacrity in Schaeder, though, who proved amenable to Nazi policies and gladly took over Mittwoch’s position as head of the Department of Oriental Languages.) Boschwitz and Schaeder spoke for hours, including about the new, so-called Third Reich. Yet the orientalist rendered a devastating judgment on the historian’s work in the end—in form and content alike—and even threatened to thwart it. Later reflecting on the encounter, in 1936, Boschwitz saw the intellectual odds. Schaeder had disliked an approach he dismissed as “psychoanalytical” and an analysis he considered insufficiently appreciative of Wellhausen’s “scientific contribution.” In this way, Boschwitz faced a divide frequent for treatments of past scholarship—structural, historiographical, conceptual, emotional—between historians of science and scientists themselves. As he came to realize, “Schaeder is suspicious of consideration of ‘motives and measures’ as a disparaging reduction to subjective dabbling or antipathy. In a completely naive way, he is a mere historian, whereby he thinks himself seriously and objectively masterful.” Not for the last

47. Cf. Jülicher to Schwartz, 3 March 1934, in the documentation.

48. Boschwitz’s father, Isaac, was a first cousin to Mittwoch. While Isaac was the son of Phillip Boschwitz and Bertha (Blümchen) née Weyl, also spelled Weil, Bertha’s sister—Caroline—married Louis Mittwoch and mothered Eugen. For this genealogical information, I am grateful to John Leubsdorf (New Brunswick), himself the son of another Bertha Boschwitz, a first cousin of Friedemann.

time, an internal practitioner and external prober had talked past each other as they talked about Julius Wellhausen.

As those with advanced degrees may expect, Boschwitz also encountered obstacles when assembling his sources. After inquiring with the Nietzsche Archive in Weimar in 1933 in order to trace the history of ideas on biblical Judaism, he learned the philologist-cum-philosopher had loaned nothing by Wellhausen from the library in Basel but had owned some of his books, which he had marked while reading.⁴⁹ Boschwitz was in search of Wellhausen's correspondence, too. When he could locate little qua letters in the *Nachlass*, or literary estate, the dissertator turned to Bultmann in the hope of obtaining material from Adolf Jülicher and Eduard Schwartz—both of them friends and correspondents of Wellhausen.⁵⁰ (This was not the last intervention by Bultmann, whom Boschwitz described to Meister as “gracious” and “very human.”) Though Boschwitz did not secure documents from either in the end, he did acquire letters from Wellhausen to another friend of his: Ferdinand Justi, via the latter's son Carl. He then used this small collection of correspondence to gain leverage on the larger concerns, convictions, and commitments of his subject Wellhausen. By widening his source base, he could take his analysis to new heights.

While searching for his sources, he also had to find his voice. The writer long remained unsure of his originality and consistency: not only in highlighting his own contribution but also in underlining coherent themes. In December 1933, Klein had relayed to Strauss, from the house of Hans-Georg Gadamer, that Boschwitz was “wrestling” with his conclusion—and “very clumsy ‘technically.’”⁵¹ Several months later, the struggle ongoing, all that grappling led to fatigue. As Boschwitz penned to Strauss on 1 May 1934, “I have not actually found the common denominator of his [sc. Wellhausen's] efforts, which at the beginning I so grandly promise to find. [...] It is no coincidence that the whole thing lacks a conclusion, because I lack an idea that ties everything together.” The inconclusive conclusion drew critique in the reader reports as well, which were written shortly thereafter by Mommsen and Bultmann. Whatever the formal deficiencies of a final summary, and no matter the student's insecurities, Boschwitz did discover his own way into the material. As lauded by Liebeschütz, “It is the great merit of the study that W[ellhausen]'s work is treated, in the broad expanse of its themes, as a unity.”⁵² A great many admire Wellhausen for his “total view” of ancient Israel, his ability to draw analytical parts into

49. Cf. Boschwitz to Förster-Nietzsche, 3 July 1933, in the documentation.

50. Cf. Jülicher to Schwartz, 3 March 1934, in the documentation.

51. Jacob Klein to Leo Strauss, 28 December 1933; cf. appendix 1, “Inventory of the Boschwitz–Meister Correspondence,” *infra*.

52. Liebeschütz, *Das Judentum im deutschen Geschichtsbild*, 263–64n42.

a synthetic whole.⁵³ Scarcely any adopt a comprehensive view of Wellhausen's work, rendering a holistic account of his historical writing across the periods, peoples, and places he treated. Boschwitz led, but few have followed.

The doctorand, while wrestling with his thesis, was delighted to have Dr. Klein around, whom he considered the "midwife" of his work. At this point, Klein, blocked from habilitation in Berlin under Nazi legislation, was continuing to teach in various universities, cities, and countries as an itinerant lecturer. In the throes of his dissertation, Boschwitz felt lost and isolated, without anyone to talk to. But conversation was not always concurrence. In a message to Strauss on 10 May, Klein commented, "Boschwitz's work seems to me to have an essential deficiency in that he doesn't consider at all the theological questions in a narrow sense. In the eyes of the professors, also Bultmann's, however, this is *no* deficiency."⁵⁴ (Liebeschütz later hinted in the same direction: "But in denying a theological motive at the root of W's interpretation, Boschwitz probably emphasizes too one-sidedly the scientific interest in straightforward, assessable conditions."⁵⁵)

Klein was correct on both counts. On the one hand, this outside Jewish philosopher perceived religious commitments and concerns—particularistic ones to wit—that were active yet unseen or underappreciated by Christian historians, including a (liberal) Protestant theologian. Bultmann's assessment suggested the need to qualify—more than quarry—the kind of confession at work in the work of Wellhausen: "a particular type of Protestantism developed in the 19th century" and "a starkly secularized Protestantism of the 19th century."⁵⁶ On the other, Boschwitz came to see the same. He confessed to Strauss that month, "The important section 12 dies on the vine, for the conflict between the 'historian' and the philosophical and theological 'dogmatist' would really only become important if it were transformed into an inner-philosophical or inner-theological one."⁵⁷ Conversation, or contention, with Klein also extended from the historical past to the hypothetical present. Recalling their discussions in a later letter to Strauss from 1936, he remembered a difference of opinion as to whether Wellhausen would have been a "German

53. Cf., e.g., Rudolf Smend, "Julius Wellhausen and His *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*," in *Julius Wellhausen and His Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, ed. Douglas A. Knight, Semeia 25 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 1–20, at 13–16; John Barton, "Wellhausen's *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*: Influences and Effects" (1995), repr. in Barton, *The Old Testament: Canon, Literature and Theology, Collected Essays of John Barton*, Society for Old Testament Study Monographs (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

54. Cf. appendix 1, "Inventory of the Boschwitz–Meister Correspondence," *infra*.

55. Liebeschütz, *Das Judentum im deutschen Geschichtsbild*, 263–64n42.

56. Bultmann, second reader report, in the documentation.

57. Boschwitz to Strauss, 1 May 1934, in the documentation. This section seems to correspond to pp. 48–50 in the German original, or pp. 98–101 in this English translation.

Christian” had he been alive, that is, part of the nationalistic, antisemitic movement to align Protestant church policy with the Nazi party: a suggestion Klein submitted but Boschwitz first rejected, though he came to reconsider.

Apart from research-related hurdles, he continually encountered administrative ones as well. Much of the drama in Boschwitz’s story turns on a distinctive feature of the German academic system: where a doctoral thesis need not only be written and assessed but also approved in its final form and published. These protracted problems—one right after, and at times alongside, the other—outlasted his time in Germany and even the Nazi regime. As if the stress of writing a dissertation were not enough, Boschwitz disclosed to Strauss in 1934, “For an embarrassingly long time, it was an open question as to whether I would be allowed to pursue a doctorate.”⁵⁸ Little did he know, such questions would go unanswered for a long time to come. His doctoral dossier at Marburg—a number of its documents edited and translated here in the documentation—shines light on those ever-darkening days (fig. 3). Their number and their content, their correspondents and their pathways, all illuminate the near misses during his degree proceedings and, in hindsight, the close call of a Jewish German who escaped the Third Reich just in time. Such texture reveals the intricacies and uncertainties faced by Jews just trying to carry on.

Although he initiated work on a dissertation with Mommsen in early 1932 while still in Berlin, Boschwitz officially unenrolled as a student on 13 May 1933 to become a doctoral candidate in Marburg. Yet things were quickly becoming—and would only grow more—complicated as the severity of discriminatory laws began to match their speed. On 25 April 1933, the notorious Law Against the Overcrowding of German Schools and Institutions of Higher Education (*Gesetz gegen die Überfüllung der Deutschen Schulen und Hochschulen*) went into effect—alongside an execution order (*Durchführungsverordnung*)—and capped the number of “non-Aryan” students who could be enrolled. With another decree in June came another reduction in that number. Further regulations that month and in August then aimed to exclude students based on political affiliation and activity. A directive in December placed even more restrictions on the academic examination of “non-Aryan” students. Having studied the Torah as a child and then history as a student, he now had to pore over a Nazi legal apparatus.

When, on 19 January 1934, Boschwitz sought permission to embark on examination proceedings for his doctorate from the dean of the philosophy faculty at Marburg (Dietrich Mahnke), administrators needed to determine an ever-changing eligibility. Mommsen had to attest that Boschwitz did not involve himself in any now-suspect politics, especially as a communist.

58. See Boschwitz to Strauss, 1 May 1934, in the documentation.

Betr.: Promotionsgesuch des cand.

Herrmann Boschwitz

Nr. 103

V.

1. Die Papiere sind in Ordnung.

2. Mit der Arbeit zunächst dem Referenten,

Herrn Kollegen *Mounier*

mit der Bitte um Abgabe eines Urteils,

*dann Herrn Koll. Beldmann
mit der Bitte um ein Korrektur.*

3. Gesuch nebst Anlagen in Umlauf

a) bei den Herren Kollegen *v. Preussheim*

Stengel, Fraas

*Entsprechend dem über einstimmenden
Urteil des Prüfungsausschusses
mit dem Prädikat „gut“
angegenommen.*

b) in der philolog.-histor. Abteilung
~~mathem.-naturw.~~

Marburg, 30. Juni 1934.

*Mahnke,
Hg. Dekan.*

4. Wiedervorlage bei Eingang.

Marburg, den 25. Mai 1934

Der Dekan der Philosophischen Fakultät.

Mahnke

Stellungnahme umstehend.

FIGURE 3. Cover page, doctoral assessment file, 1934. Archive of the University of Marburg, Boschwitz Dossier, UniA MR 307d Nr 1221. Image courtesy of the Hessen State Archive, Marburg, Germany.

The dean, reporting to the rector (Max Baur), found no violation of recent ministerial orders on quotas for “non-Aryan” students. Yet resistance came from the student body, with an opinion advising against approval submitted to the admissions committee: “The topic Boschwitz has chosen for himself shows that he is a total Jew, and the German student body resists having Jews in its society.”⁵⁹ This student opposition notwithstanding, Boschwitz gained the endorsement of the committee (Joachim Kieckebusch, presiding judge of the regional court and member of the university board; Mahnke, dean of the philosophy faculty; Felix Genzmer, dean of the law faculty; and Hans von Soden, dean of the theology faculty). The rectorate forwarded both the dean’s January judgment and the committee’s February conclusion to the “curator,” or the supervisory officer who served as the connecting link between government and university, sometimes called a plenipotentiary (Ernst von Hülsen). At the end of March, the curatorium noted approval from the Ministry of Culture, which the decanate passed on to Boschwitz. His relief was palpable. He announced to Meister a couple weeks later in his April letter, “What the main thing is: I received approval for doctoral studies! Now I am no further ahead than any ‘Aryan’ student has been *eo ipso*, but all the same, that was not at all certain for me.”

But procuring admission permission was only one obstruction. He had still to make corrections to his thesis, obtain approval for those revisions, publish the work itself, and solicit his degree—hurdles that would extend beyond the decade and beyond the borders of Germany, after his emigration to Palestine in 1935. These travails extraordinaire followed the more ordinary birth pains of a doctorate. His doctoral dossier records submission of the thesis on 25 May 1934, with Mommsen’s expert opinion dated to 31 May and Bultmann’s to 10 June. As Boschwitz imparted to Meister, Bultmann did determine the grade. While Mommsen followed his lead in marking it as “good,” the other examiners followed suit—Anton von Premerstein, Erich Frank, and Edmund Stengel—fixed on 30 June by the dean (Walther Mitzka replacing Mahnke in this period). Signatures by additional members of the faculty, including Erich Jaensch, Karl Helm, Erich Auerbach, Harry Maync, Max Deutschbein, Paul Jacobsthal, and Friedrich Wachtsmuth, confirmed the outcome over the next couple weeks. (Dismissed at Marburg that next year because of their own Jewishness, Auerbach headed to Istanbul and Jacobsthal to Oxford in 1936, whereas in 1939, after brief internment in a concentration camp and travel to The Netherlands, Frank—the successor to Martin Heidegger and predecessor

59. See Opinion from the Leader of the Marburg Student Body, [15–17 February 1934], in the documentation.

to Gadamer—landed in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, thanks also to the Rockefeller Foundation.)

The viva came on 11 July. This oral defense, a *Rigorousum*, centered not on the written work but on several different topics, each with its own examiner: the major field medieval and modern history with Mommsen; the minor ones ancient history with von Premerstein and philosophy with Frank. Here, too, the final mark was “good.” The defender did best in philosophy, where the exam covered Plato, Nietzsche, and Hegel, among others, ultimately scoring a “very good.”⁶⁰ (Frank further backed him with a short response to Mommsen’s critique on the subject of Wellhausen vis-à-vis Nietzsche and stated, more broadly, “This contribution to the historiography of the 19th century brings also for the philosopher and the history of philosophy interesting and important results.”⁶¹) And Meister saw that this was good. The day after the viva, he applauded Boschwitz in his post, writing, “My sincere congratulations to you after the farce you almost enjoyed. You are now a certified doctor of a horizonless future. I am sure that I exaggerate.”⁶² For some time, that exaggeration may not have seemed far off.

Having received the evaluations, Boschwitz then had to make revisions, an ordeal that ran from 1934 to 1937. If issuing a diploma demanded publishing the work, that publication presupposed permission by the faculty, which required approval of the final text. As for issues of substance, Bultmann, otherwise known as a harsh critic, only suggested a summative section at the end. Mommsen wanted major changes, though: not only polishing style but also expanding the introduction and tightening the conclusion. All that took time, however, and Boschwitz was dealing with major changes of his own in a new life abroad. The deadline quickly approaching—one year after the oral—he applied for an extension on 28 June 1935, citing the time required for further research and his transition in Jerusalem. Dean Mitzka waived the fee for his late request and gave him until the next July. On 7 August 1936, however, Boschwitz asked for another extension, overdue again on the work but now from Prague. He referred, once more, to “the fundamental changes” in his life circumstances owing to immigration. But he also adverted to limited funds and trouble finding a publisher. The dean (now Wachsmuth) prolonged the date anew, until 11 July 1937, and waived the late fee, with a reminder of

60. Erich Frank, *Rigorousum Report*, Subject: Philosophy, 11 July 1934 (recto), in the Doctoral Dossier of Friedemann Boschwitz, UniA MR 307d Nr 1221, Archive of the Philipps University of Marburg in the Hessen State Archive, Marburg, Germany.

61. Erich Frank, Statement in the Doctoral Assessment File, 30 June 1934 (unnumbered, pp. 2–3).

62. Meister to Boschwitz, 12 July 1934; cf. n. 43 above.

ministerial provisions for printing the dissertation “in the territory of the German Reich.” This date, too, he missed.

Publication caused further complication, plaguing him until 1938. Just after his second extension, in September 1936, Boschwitz wrote to Bultmann from Prague. Despite the student’s intent to publish with Salman Schocken, who had agreed to print the work, the professor had given “warning against a Jewish publishing house.”⁶³ (No extant records at Schocken confirm this agreement.) The reviser thus apprised him of his plan to entrust a friend from Berlin to see to such arrangements. That same month, however, from the Czech spa town of Mariánské Lázně, or Marienbad, Boschwitz contacted the printer Robert Noske to produce the work and submit the copies by the deadline. That next spring, in April 1937, he sent the same request, this time from Jerusalem. The target date moving closer, Noske wrote the Marburg faculty first to confirm the deadline and, in May, to complain about Boschwitz having neither paid his bill nor paid attention to his notices. Fearing the author may have gone with another printer, he urged the faculty to withhold publication approval until the matter was clarified. Between talk in 1936 and action in 1938, Boschwitz did, in fact, change printers: from Noske in Borna, near Leipzig, to Linke in Berlin.

Meanwhile, Mommsen rejected his revisions. Or, more generously, he asked for another extension. A week after the Noske appeal, the adviser made his case in a letter destined for the dean, opening with an affirmation of Boschwitz’s compliance with ministerial decrees on “non-Aryans.” Yet he declined to sign the revisions form for several reasons. Boschwitz had neither contacted him about the final version nor incorporated corrections from the reader report, and he submitted a curriculum vitae potentially noncompliant in its format. Moreover, Mommsen wanted him to see to the printing himself. Given the length of time required for correspondence between Germany and Palestine, Boschwitz had tasked someone else with it: Heinz Dekuczynski, a Berliner born the same year, a friend from his Gymnasium (secondary school), a fellow doctorand in philosophy, and also a correspondent with Löwith. This arrangement with Dekuczynski, and his plans with the printer, would come back to haunt him.

At this time, messages were circulating across the university bureaucracy as well, not only on the state of the dissertation but also on that of the dissertator. Mommsen may have affirmed Boschwitz’s compliance with recent regulations, but the question of eligibility still occupied administrators, be it out of caution, to avoid falling afoul of the law, or simply out of spite for a Jew still in the academic system. A couple weeks after Mommsen’s May missive, in mid-June 1937, the dean (Wachsmuth) sent the Boschwitz file to Kieckebusch—who sat on

63. See Boschwitz to Bultmann, 2 September 1936, in the documentation.

the university council and in the regional court—for guidance as to whether the faculty could issue him a diploma. In his expert opinion, dispatched at month's end, Kieckebusch found everything in order but, given the “peculiarity of the case,” recommended a query with the ministry, via the curator and rector, as to “whether the doctoral title can be awarded to the Jew now living in Palestine.”⁶⁴ Dean Wachtsmuth did so a few days later. His letter solicited further guidance from the ministry on conferral to “the Jew Friedmann Boschwitz,” enumerating all possible objections: the various directives between 1934 and July 1937, the preparation of a text without contact with the supervisor, the issues Mommsen noted, and the concerns raised by Noske. When the ministry registered no concerns, in August, the dean instructed Mommsen to oversee the final steps. He took immediate action, confirming his contact with Boschwitz. Finally, on 1 February 1938—long after the first deadline of 11 July 1935—Mommsen presented the approved text to the dean (by this point Fritz Taeger), requesting not only permission to print but also expedited dispatch to the publisher (Linke now, no longer Noske), who had already been waiting a year.

A handwritten note on Mommsen's letter indicates Dean Taeger gave his approval on 8 February. But he had his hand in further delays. When Noske addressed the faculty in May 1937, he did more than query deadlines and criticize the silence of his client. In fact, he suggested a crime. According to his letter, Boschwitz had asked for an estimate of costs but in the form of an invoice—and did so twice, from Jerusalem and Marienbad. At this time, the Nazi regime had expanded its Foreign Exchange Office (*Devisenstelle*) for the strict regulation of assets removed from Germany: a powerful tool to expropriate assets from Jews emigrated or emigrating. With two bills in hand, Boschwitz could justify the need for financial exchanges. Noske thus suspected him of using another printer and simply abusing his invoices as a means to transfer additional currency. He likely feared the office as well, hence his inclination to contact its divisions in both places. Despite confirmation from Kieckebusch, notwithstanding ministerial assent, no matter Mommsen's endorsement, and regardless of printing permission by his predecessor, Taeger broached the Boschwitz case again. On 28 March 1938, the new dean sent a new message to the ministry. While acknowledging the dissertation's approval back in July 1937, he repeated the Noske allegation from May 1937 and invited an investigation into a potential currency offense. The dean also declared he would suspend issuing the diploma until the matter was settled. In May 1938, the ministry confirmed an open inquiry.

Boschwitz was shut out of these proceedings, however. Having matriculated, passed, and corrected and printed his text—none of these tasks an easy

64. Kieckebusch to Dean of the Marburg Philosophy Faculty, 28 June 1937; cf. n. 37 above.

one—he had reason to think himself in the clear. Although Linke mailed the requisite copies to the faculty in May, by August Boschwitz still remained sans parchment. He thus followed up with Mommsen, asking him to intervene and specifying the destination of his diploma as his residence in Jerusalem, not Dekuczynski's in Berlin. The *Doktorvater* quickly passed the inquiry on to the dean. At the same time, Boschwitz's father, Isaac, also wrote to the printer from Jerusalem in August, which prompted Linke to contact the faculty for both confirmation of delivery and information on the degree. Absent any answer by October 1938, and continuously contacted by Isaac in the meanwhile, Linke tried again. Now, the dean's office replied with a document for Isaac—recording receipt of the copies—and a dismissal of the printer's concern, declaring the diploma none of the publisher's business and the decision in the air indefinitely.

The case was closed in April 1939—and with it, another one as well. A claim had been filed against Dekuczynski, who fared worse than his friend.⁶⁵ If, like Boschwitz, Dekuczynski had to navigate the tempest of Nazi educational administration, unlike that historian, this philosopher did not reach his destination. A gifted student whom Boschwitz remembered as at the top of his class in school, Dekuczynski completed his thesis with honors at Berlin in spring 1933 and passed his oral exam in that of 1934. Lacking funds to print, he twice received an extension, but the faculty of philosophy rejected his request for a third, submitted in December 1935. When Dekuczynski launched an appeal to the ministry, it contacted the faculty, but the dean then doubled down. A fiery National Socialist once described as “a kind of grand inquisitor of the university,” Ludwig Bieberbach raised suspicions about his finances, declared “the Jewish applicant” onerous on the faculty, considered his topic of ideological concern, and alluded to the status of his supervisor, Max Dessoir: emeritus and “non-Aryan” alike.⁶⁶ No doctoral diploma would be awarded to Dekuczynski. Matters only worsened with his habilitation. In October 1936, the authorities intercepted a letter of his, destined for Prague and discussing

65. On Dekuczynski—known since exile as Henry Deku—see Sabine Deku-Schönburg, “Biographische Skizze,” in Henry Deku, *Wirklichkeit des Geistes. Kritische Reflexionen*, ed. Werner Beierwaltes and Rolf Schönberger, Henry Deku Gesammelte Schriften 2 (Regensburg: Pustet, 2011), 625–45. Letters from Deku to Löwith appear in Stephan Grotz, ed., *Überleben in der Tradition. Henry Deku schreibt an Karl Löwith* (Ottensheim: Thanhäuser, 2000); otherwise, they are preserved in the Karl Löwith Papers at the Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach. In a sentence absent from the 1986 version of his memoir—and thus its English translation—but present in the 2007 edition, Löwith referred to Dekuczynski by name, just after providing an update on Boschwitz, in the section titled “Jewish and Aryan Fates at Marburg University.”

66. Sven Kinas, “Massenentlassungen und Emigration,” in *Geschichte der Universität Unter den Linden*, vol. 2, *Die Berliner Universität zwischen den Weltkriegen, 1918–1945*, ed. Michael Grüttner et al. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012), 325–403, at 382.

politics, and found him guilty of violating the *Heimtückegesetz*, or Teachery Act of 1934. Although an order of general amnesty relieved him of the five-month prison sentence, he retained a criminal record. Between his thwarted doctorate and previous conviction, Dekuczynski could not officially apply for his habilitation, despite the prize conferred on the work by the Austrian Academy of the Sciences in December 1937. Nor could he sit the state exam in mathematics as intended.

Dekuczynski's fate turned from precarious to perilous when he ended up in Buchenwald. In June 1938, with the annexation of Austria, an order of protective custody sent him to the concentration camp, where he survived labor, injury, and surgery. Released in August, he emigrated to England in October. Notably, Boschwitz had a hand in his release. Writing Löwith from London in November, Dekuczynski briefed him on his stint "in the nastiest concentration camp of Germany (not owing to the court but because it had tremendously angered the SS that my so-cal[led] trial from the year 1936 had gone so well for me)."⁶⁷ He made his way out "only on the basis of a certificate for Palestine that Boschwitz procured." However, Dekuczynski had since given up that visa to take hold of a two-year study permit in Oxford, funded by a cousin who had also invited him to Denver, Colorado. As announced to Löwith in a January letter, his American kin had obtained a visa for him, thanks to their contacts in Washington—even if he did "dislike all the U.S.A." But Boschwitz was persistently pulling him eastward: "he urgently invited me to Jerusalem and entices me with Athens."⁶⁸ Going east or west, each made it out of Nazi Germany, both with the prospect of Palestine.

Much had therefore happened by April 1939, when the German ministry returned to the Marburg faculty on its inquiry launched back in May 1938. Few details appeared in its communication. The ministerial message—its subject "the dissertation Friedmann [*sic*] Boschwitz"—registered an exchange between the Finance Exchange Office in Berlin and the Ministry of Economy and reported the arrangement among Boschwitz, Dekuczynski, and Linke. It also cited "the proceedings against Dr. Deduczinski [*sic*]."⁶⁹ The minister for the economy agreed to drop the case, however. The grounds were two-fold: a small sum at stake and an accused person, now emigrated after his internment. To this the Ministry of Education added, "As a result, I consider the dissertation affair of Boschwitz also settled." Not everyone thought the matter resolved, however. On 2 June 1942, handwritten on the ministry's

67. Henry Deku to Karl Löwith, 1 November 1938, in Grotz, *Überleben in der Tradition*, no. 2, pp. 36–37.

68. Deku to Löwith, 11 January 1939, in Grotz, *Überleben in der Tradition*, no. 3, pp. 39–43.

69. Ministry of Culture to the Rector and Curator of the University of Marburg, 14 April 1939; cf. n. 37 above.

announcement, a directive by the dean (now Julius Ebbinghaus), which destined the document for the file called “Not Consummated Doctorates,” posed a simple question: “Does B. thus have a right to the diploma?” Two days later, Ebbinghaus contacted the university library. The copies of Boschwitz’s dissertation, one hundred eighty in number, had arrived at the faculty in 1938, he wrote, and the diploma would have been dispatched had the author “not placed himself under suspicion of punishable conduct.” Claiming no space for storage, Ebbinghaus sent the copies to the library and left their fate to the director’s discretion. In her study of dispossessed doctorates at Marburg in this period, Margret Lemberg notes the “1942” stamped on the title page of the copy in its holdings, which suggests immediate entry into the acquisition inventory.

But despite Boschwitz’s “outstanding” dissertation, his degree was still outstanding. It remained so until the Third Reich fell. After the war, in fall 1945, the American military government set Ebbinghaus as rector of the university and Friedrich Heiler as dean of the philosophy faculty.⁷⁰ On 9 July 1946, Boschwitz approached the dean by post: “I turn to you with the request to issue me my *doctoral diploma*, to which I acquired the rightful claim 8 years ago but which was not granted at that time.” Recapping the chronology of his ordeal and recalling the dead silence with which his repeated requests were met, he alluded to the change in times, hinting, “The grounds for this omission, I am convinced, have since become invalid.” Not until September did he receive a reply, with his provisional diploma. At last, in January 1947 the final degree was dispatched to Jerusalem, albeit creased instead of rolled. As Lemberg observes, however, neither did the letter sent therewith contain a greeting or apology, nor did the dean appear as signator, but rather his secretary—the situation handled “in a purely businesslike manner.”⁷¹ Based on comparable cases, she sees a potential miscalculation by Boschwitz in addressing Marburg directly, as opposed to Edward Yarnell Hartshorne Jr., the official responsible for denazifying and reopening universities in the American-occupied zone of Germany. In other instances, more oversight meant quicker action. Yet in the end, Ebbinghaus and Heiler did sign his diploma, officially dated 6 September 1946—a dozen years after his dissertation and defense.

70. On Ebbinghaus and Heiler both during and after the Third Reich, along with other institutional changes, see Andreas Lippmann, *Marburger Theologie im Nationalsozialismus*, Academia Marburgensis 9 (Munich: Saur, 2003); Kai Köhler, Burghard Dedner, and Waltraud Strickhausen, eds., *Germanistik und Kunstwissenschaften im “Dritten Reich.” Marburger Entwicklungen, 1920–1950*, Academia Marburgensis 10 (Munich: Saur, 2005).

71. Lemberg, “... eines deutschen akademischen Grades unwürdig,” 76. On the impact of National Socialism on the German university and the role of antisemitic legislation in transforming the academy, see Bernard M. Levinson and Robert P. Ericksen, eds., *The Betrayal of the Humanities: The University during the Third Reich* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2022).

Palestine: Prospects and Predicaments

Amid all these trials, he made Aliyah. A postcard sent to Klein in spring 1935 traced the stages of his journey: a “beautiful trip” through Italy, Greece, and Cyprus (fig. 4). In doing so, he joined family in Palestine. While his mother and father had moved the previous year—after an earlier visit, already before the First World War—both his brother, Jochanan, and sister Dvora had emigrated the year even before that, working on *kibbutzim*. Although his younger sister, Mirjam, remained in Berlin with her husband at first, they, too, moved to Palestine in 1937. After his immigration, Friedemann continued to travel, something he enjoyed in times before. Not only did he return to the Continent, with the sender addresses on his letters listing Prague in the mid-1930s and Amsterdam in the mid-1960s, but passenger lists also record a couple flights to New York in the early 1950s. Yet Boschwitz never returned to the land of his youth. His daughters remember him refusing ever to step foot in Germany again.

The record of his life after Germany is longer, wider, yet thinner. The scope of content broadens, the inventory of addressees expands, and the geography extends, as does the chronological horizon, but written sources become all the more fragmented, the fragments even more fragmentary. Some traces do remain. The émigré’s early impressions of Palestine, for instance, found expression in the same dispatch to Klein: “Jerusalem lies on rocks; you have to feel it with every step. Almost next to every house—among the ones many very beautiful—boulders and heaps of stones. I haven’t seen the old city center yet. What I’ve seen seems to me like a big village, with inlaid shopping streets, appended villa districts, and immense car traffic. Above it a dazzling white light, which makes me, like many others, need protective glasses. Beyond things aesthetic you won’t be able to expect any judgments from me, appropriately, before 10 weeks.”⁷² The judgment that came has not survived, if it came at all. But a year later, Boschwitz was still struck by certain contrasts between the old cities of Europe and the ancient land of Israel. Writing to Bultmann, he emphasized an atmosphere, an environment, unlike any other: “Prague has many beautiful things; the greatest impression on me, however, is made by the big city as such, which offers the medieval and the very modern alongside one another, the river, the castle and the trees, for all this is not to be found in Palestine, not even from a distance; instead, an air and a light, next to which everything here seems dim to me.”⁷³ This appreciation for nature, for the outdoors, had also featured in his exchange with Meister, as they talked of

72. See Boschwitz to Klein, [23 April 1935], in the documentation.

73. Boschwitz to Bultmann, 2 September 1936, in the documentation.

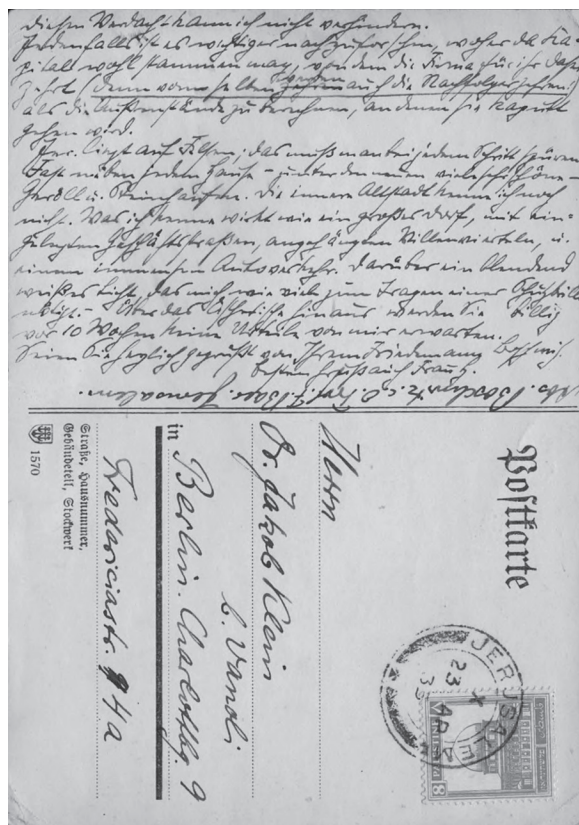


FIGURE 4. Postcard from Boschwitz to Klein, [1935]. Jacob Klein Papers, Archives and Special Collections, St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland, United States. Image courtesy of St. John's College.

walks in the countryside during their student days. However, Boschwitz's letter to Bultmann showed traces of anxiety as well, of certain danger behind and uncertain hazards ahead, in Jerusalem itself: "There the world does not seem friendly, either, but is its own world—despite all the bad and worst deficiencies—and one is not merely an object of legislation but can put something of his own in the balance, although the decisive powers are truly other than the Jews." It was there in a Jerusalem new to Boschwitz that he built a new life for himself, between decisive powers great and small.

If Hebrew University of Jerusalem officially opened its doors in 1925, ten years later that institution acted as a natural doorway for this new academic émigré. The first year of his arrival, Boschwitz undertook further studies. Such continuing education justified, in part, his original request for an extension for his dissertation revisions from the Marburg dean. The sender's address of that appeal—and of a postcard to Jacob Klein that year—was the home of Yitzhak Fritz Baer: medieval historian, university professor, and Boschwitz's

own uncle (the husband of Clara's younger sister, Rosette Haurwitz/Horowitz). As reported in his letter to Strauss from late 1936, he also planned to research, under Baer, the political ideas of Abravanel. With not only Baer but also Strauss himself publishing on the medieval rabbi, scholar, philosopher, and statesman at this time, the recent arrival found himself at the very center of a "rediscovery of Abravanel's political thought" in the early years of the Nazi regime.⁷⁴

As Boschwitz overcame the troublesome revision of his thesis on modern German historiography, he also undertook research for an essay on medieval Sephardic philosophy, specifically the messianic age according to Maimonides. For this work, too, he was optimally placed. Boschwitz wrote, read, and wrangled over Jewish history and philosophy at the nexus of the one-time Berlin trio of Baer, Strauss, and Guttmann. As Cedric Cohen Skalli has unraveled, Baer's work on Abravanel engaged Strauss's on Maimonides. The latter had produced a 1935 German book and 1936 French article on the rabbi Moses ben Maimon, whom he would only continue to study in the course of his career.⁷⁵ By casting light on political dimensions, the book threw shade especially on the 1933 *Philosophie des Judentums* (*Philosophy of Judaism*)—printed with a likeness of Maimonides—by Guttmann, his former boss in Berlin, who in 1934 had moved from the Academy for the Science of Judaism

74. See Cedric Cohen Skalli, "Between Yitzhak Baer and Leo Strauss: The Rediscovery of Isaac Abravanel's Political Thought in the Late 1930s," in "Wissenschaft des Judentums: Judaism and the Science of Judaism, 200 Years of Academic Thought on Religion," ed. George Y. Kohler, Andreas Brämer, and Thomas Meyer, special issue, *Daat: A Journal of Jewish Philosophy and Kabbalah* 88 (2019): 161–89. For work by Baer, see Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, part 1, *Urkunden und Regesten*, vol. 1, *Aragonien und Navarra*, Veröffentlichungen der Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Historische Sektion 4 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1929), vol. 2, *Kastilien/Inquisitionsakten* (Berlin: Schocken, 1936), since reprinted in German and rendered into English, Hebrew, and Spanish; idem, "דון יצחק אברבנאל ויחסו אל בעיות ההיסטוריה והמדינה" (Don Isaac Abravanel and His Attitude Towards the Problems of History and State), *Tarbiz* 8 (1937): 241–59. On Strauss's writings, see Strauss, "On Abravanel's Philosophical Tendency and Political Teaching," in *Isaac Abravanel: Six Lectures*, ed. J. B. Trend and H. Loewe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), 95–129, reprinted in the second volume of the works collected by Meier and Meier as well as in *Leo Strauss on Maimonides: The Complete Writings*, ed. Kenneth Hart Green (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); cf. also his thoughts from 1937, posthumously published as "Zu Abravanel's Kritik des Königtums," likewise in the second volume of the Meier and Meier edition.

75. Leo Strauss, *Philosophie und Gesetz. Beiträge zum Verständnis Maimunis und seiner Vorläufer* (Berlin: Schocken, 1935); Strauss, "Quelques remarques sur la science politique de Maïmonide et de Fârâbi," *Revue des études juives* 100bis, no. 199–200 (1936): 1–37. Both appear in his collected works: Strauss, *Philosophie und Gesetz—Frühe Schriften*, ed. Heinrich Meier and Wiebke Meier, *Leo Strauss Gesammelte Schriften* 2, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2013). Their English translations come, most recently, in Strauss, *Philosophy and Law: Contributions to the Understanding of Maimonides and His Predecessors*, trans. Eve Adler, SUNY Series in the Jewish Writings of Strauss (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995) and—with further information on the history of those translations—Green, *Leo Strauss on Maimonides*.

in the gray city to occupy the chair of philosophy in the holy one.⁷⁶ At Scholem's suggestion, Strauss had developed the monograph, from previous work, to increase his chances for a position in Jerusalem, which he targeted as a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation was ending.⁷⁷ In fact, during these early years of his transition—until quitting in 1940—Boschwitz reported working with Guttman, although no university records seem to confirm this arrangement.

The letter from Boschwitz to Strauss of 1936 gives only a glimpse into their Maimonidean dialogue. Trading insights and interpretations on the Rambam—most of all his meditations on things messianic and postulations on things providential—this extant exchange shows Boschwitz digesting Strauss's work and Strauss discussing Boschwitz's, especially related to *The Guide for the Perplexed*.⁷⁸ Specialists of Strauss and masters of Maimonides will have a sharper line of sight into the lines between. At any rate, the new Jerusalemite intimated his plans for publication of the essay in a then-forthcoming Festschrift for Mittwoch, which appeared as the first issue of 1937 for *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (*Monthly for the History and Science of Judaism*).⁷⁹ So much had he written, though, that the editor expected him to cut his treatment of miracles and find it another home. Even the rest of his inquiry did not find a home in the Festschrift, however. Strauss, by contrast,

76. Julius Guttman, *Die Philosophie des Judentums, Mit einem Bildnis des Maimonides, Geschichte der Philosophie in Einzeldarstellungen*, sec. 1, *Das Welt der Primitiven und die Philosophie des Morgenlandes*, bk. 3 (Munich: Reinhardt, 1933); cf. also Guttman, "Religion und Wissenschaft im mittelalterlichen und im modernen Denken," in *Festschrift zum 50-jährigen Bestehen der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin* (Berlin: Philo Verlag, 1922), 147–216. Guttman's response to Strauss, written between 1940 and 1945, was posthumously procured by Scholem via Guttman's wife, edited by Shlomo Pines, and published as "Philosophie der Religion oder Philosophie des Gesetzes?" in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 5, no. 6 (1974): 146–73. Later, after his *Die Philosophie des Judentums*, Guttman produced a commentary on Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed*, translated by Chaim Rabin (London: East and West Library, 1952), since reprinted many times. His father, the rabbi Jacob or Jakob, had written a 1916 monograph on Abravanel titled *Die religionsphilosophischen Lehren des Isaak Abravanel*, Schriften herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums (Breslau: Marcus, 1916).

77. On Strauss's strategy, see Heinrich Meier, "How Strauss Became Strauss," in *Reorientation: Leo Strauss in the 1930s*, ed. Martin D. Yaffe and Richard S. Ruderman, *Recovering Political Philosophy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 13–32.

78. For Leo Strauss on Maimonides (including Strauss on Guttman on Maimonides), see Green, *Leo Strauss on Maimonides*—alongside Boschwitz's extant comments published in his letters to Strauss *infra*.

79. Closely tied to the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau, the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, which ran from 1851 to 1939, became a premier journal of the learned Jewish world and, true to its title, a central organ for scholars associated with *Wissenschaft des Judentums*.

did publish in its pages—and on Maimonides to wit: a German article titled “The Place of the Doctrine of Providence in the Opinion of Maimon.”⁸⁰

A few years later, in 1940, Boschwitz sent his treatise to Salo Baron in New York, angling for the journal *Jewish Social Studies* and naming Strauss as a reference (fig. 5).⁸¹ The idea arose from Baer, who himself had written Baron before Boschwitz to let him know the manuscript was coming. Baer aimed to avoid any appearance of pressure for acceptance, yet he noted nonetheless that “all those who know him would like him to find a possibility to develop his talents as a historian and philosopher.”⁸² Despite these two attempts, and likely others unrecorded, the exposition was not published in his lifetime, or since. After Friedemann died, in 1974, his wife, Gerda Boschwitz née Loebel, contacted Hans Liebeschütz in Liverpool as a first port of call—hoping to find a place for the article to land—and he directed her to Hermann Greive in Cologne and the publisher Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft in Darmstadt, which had reprinted Friedemann’s thesis in 1968. With recommendations from each, she then approached Ernst Simon in Jerusalem to pick a pathway forward for his examination of messianism in Maimonides, titled, in English, “Moses Ben Maimon’s Teaching on the Messianic Age.” Such suggestions notwithstanding, this essay never reached the public, its whereabouts still unknown.

In these early years of Aliyah, Boschwitz lectured as well as read and wrote—and even taught on his research. He did so through the Volkshochschule. This initiative, a center of adult education in Jerusalem, was sponsored by the local branch of the Hitachduth Olej Germania (later expanded as we Olej Austria), or Association of Immigrants from Germany (and from Austria), abbreviated HOG(OA).⁸³ Around 1941, as a complement to the “Hebrew Seminar” run by the chapter in Tel Aviv, the programming extended beyond more general courses for integration and orientation and language classes for Hebrew, Arabic, and English to include series on a range of topics in history, culture, and politics. In doing so, the Jerusalem branch found common

80. Leo Strauss, “Der Ort der Vorsehungslehre nach der Ansicht Maimunis,” *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, “Mittwoch-Festschrift,” 81, n.s. 45, no. 1 (1937): 93–105.

81. See Boschwitz to Baron, 7 January 1940, in the documentation.

82. Baer to Baron, 2 January 1940, in Eleazar Gutwirth, “Mourning, Melancholy and Hexis: Towards a Context for Fritz Yshaq Baer,” *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 9 (2015): 210–53, no. 10, p. 249.

83. For more on the organization and education, see Christian Kraft, *Aschkenas in Jerusalem. Die religiösen Institutionen der Einwanderer aus Deutschland im Jerusalemer Stadtviertel Rechavia (1933–2004)—Transfer und Transformation*, Jüdische Religion, Geschichte und Kultur 22 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014); Michael Volkmann, *Neuorientierung in Palästina. Erwachsenenbildung deutschsprachiger jüdischer Einwanderer 1933 bis 1948*, Studien zur internationalen Erwachsenenbildung: Beihefte zum Internationalen Jahrbuch der Erwachsenenbildung 9 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994).

F. Boschwitz
41 Ramban Road
Jerusalem

ירושלם
ב' טבת ת"ש
7/7/1940

אבנן הפרופסור הכבוד מרצה

זימנים האלה אלה אכסנו חזור למגרת על
מרת הרמזים על ימות המלח. שקלתי היא
לואל-נה לעיין אם הוא ראוי להדפס ברגמנו
Social Studies לוחצים. לה צריך לה
לעלות או את עמדת-הדוקטור על על יאראווען
ואנן תקרב לבחירת הציצה לידיו.
אחרת צי יאאו שטראוס, לבוא עם בן מניר
את מאמרי על הרמזים, בוגאי יבית מוכן
להחליט אתה אכסנו.

הרין אסיר מנהל אמרי.

בט הכבוד

צ' פ. זולניץ

רח' רמון 41

ירושלם

FIGURE 5. Letter from Boschwitz to Baron, 1940. Image courtesy of the Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, California, United States (Salo Baron Papers).

cause with the Association of Immigrants from Czechoslovakia (Hitachduth Olej Czechoslovakia, or HOCz) and, to a lesser extent, the synagogue Emet Ve'Emunah (Truth and Faith), a congregation of mostly Germanophone Jews. The constellation in Jerusalem included such figures as Martin Buber, Harry Torczyner (Naphtali Tur-Sinai), Julius Guttmann, Gershom Scholem, Ernst Simon, and Kurt Wilhelm, all of whom taught courses at the Volkshochschule. Moreover, announcements in the *Mitteilungsblatt*—the bilingual weekly bulletin of the HOG(OA)—between 1940 and 1943 registered Boschwitz teaching two of his own: the first on “Messianic Thought in Jewish Religious Philosophy” (“Der Messiasgedanke in der jüdischen Religionsphilosophie”), the second on Tolstoy’s *War and Peace*.⁸⁴ Though occupied by all this history, philosophy, and literature, Boschwitz also busied himself with art. In these years, he studied painting with the master Jakob Steinhardt, who had opened a studio in Jerusalem.⁸⁵

But Boschwitz struggled not only to bring his old life in Germany to a close but also to create an opening for a new one in Palestine. As Löwith relayed laconically in his memoirs from the period, in an inventory of Jews from Marburg, including Strauss and Klein, “The student Boschwitz just managed to obtain his doctorate in 1933 [*sic*], then moved to Palestine with his family. However, he has not been able to settle down there, and is now endeavoring to go to America.”⁸⁶ In a dispatch from 1940, published here in the documentation, that former student briefed the onetime lecturer Löwith on his failed attempt to emigrate stateside as well as his failing health. But these were the least of his worries: “My joblessness is a real disease.” Having laid down his work for Guttmann, he had difficulty taking up anything new. Neither a search for teaching positions nor a stint sitting in on classes in a school created new pathways for him, as his potential offerings for the subjects of history and philosophy did not meet local demands and desires. The workless émigré even thought about enlisting in the army’s labor service but feared he had no technical skills. Strauss also sought to offer succor. A few months earlier, he had informed Klein of an invitation to head the philosophy section of the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*. Whether called upon by Klein or of his own accord, the newcomer to the New School of New York submitted, “If I do it, I could,

84. “Aus der Arbeit der HOGOA. Jerusalem: Volkshochschule,” *Mitteilungsblatt der Hitachduth Olej Germania We Olej Austria* / 6 אוסטריה ועולי גרמניה, no. 23 (5 June 1942): 7; “Aus unserer Arbeit. Jerusalem: Volkshochschule Jerusalem,” *Mitteilungsblatt der Hitachduth Olej Germania We Olej Austria* / 7 אוסטריה ועולי גרמניה, no. 24 (11 June 1943): 7. Course listings for its branches reliably appeared on p. 7 in its weekly issues.

85. On the Steinhardt studio, cf. n. 36 above.

86. Löwith, *My Life in Germany*, 104.

e.g., help Boschwitz a bit.”⁸⁷ But it, too, did not come to pass. Unlike Strauss’s, his name did not appear in the credits of that reference work.⁸⁸

At this time, Boschwitz suffered socially as well. In the same letter to Löwith, he complained of cut connections to Europe and asked for Dekuczynski’s address, blaming himself for the broken contact. In fact, Dekuczynski wrote to Löwith that next month, in August 1940. Presenting an outside perspective on an internal world, the school friend pressed the university teacher to reach out to the disconsolate expatriate: “I don’t know whether you know or whether I’m authorized to tell you, but the misfortune with Boschwitz is that he has felt *really* unhappy at the house of his parents already for some time. Even long before the war, I was probably the only one he corresponded with, and now there aren’t even post connections across the Mediterranean anymore. Perhaps he was conscripted? Could you not send him one way or another a friendly note—while completely omitting yours truly—so to speak out of philanthropy, which in ancient Greece was a *divine* and *kingly* virtue!?”⁸⁹ These two letters to Löwith—the shards of a shattered lens onto personal experience, an interior existence—offer only a hint of the struggles and uncertainties entailed in making a new life in a new land, even with old networks, old credentials: misfortune even in the fortune of escaping the Third Reich.

Boschwitz was in a bind: moral and vocational, communal and financial. Some in his circle lent a hand to free him, or at least give him some room to breathe. It was 1940 when he wrote Baron about his essay on Maimonides. In that same message, he nudged the Columbia professor on his Wellhausen treatise, too, which the struggling author had sent about a year before. The article may not have appeared in Baron’s journal, but the monograph secured a place in a bibliography he published in the organ later that year.⁹⁰ Not long after, Löwith also cited the study in the first edition of his *Von Hegel zu Nietzsche* (*From Hegel to Nietzsche*), written from exile in Japan.⁹¹ Boschwitz’s book

87. Strauss to Klein, 7 August 1939; cf. appendix 2, “Mentions of Boschwitz in the Strauss–Klein–Löwith Letters,” *infra*.

88. Affiliated with the “University in Exile” and its subsequent designation the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science (at the New School for Social Research), Strauss featured on the board of editors for the work, which was published in New York between 1939 and 1943: credited as such in all ten volumes.

89. Dekuczynski to Löwith, 4 August 1940, in Grotz, *Überleben in der Tradition*, no. 5, pp. 50–53, with emphasis original, “across the Mediterranean” in English, and “philanthropy” in Greek script.

90. Salo W. Baron, “Jewish Social Studies, 1938–39, A Selected Bibliography (*concluded*),” *Jewish Social Studies* 2, no. 4 (1940): 481–605, at 555, in the section “AA. History, Jewish, I. General,” no. 2578.

91. Karl Löwith, *Von Hegel zu Nietzsche. Der revolutionäre Bruch im Denken des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Zurich: Europa Verlag, 1941), 229n126 for Wellhausen vis-à-vis Nietzsche—preserved in the 2nd ed., with the expanded subtitle *Marx und Kierkegaard* (Zurich: Europa Verlag, 1950): a work reprinted and translated many times.

found further, if fleeting, traction in the wake of the war. On the one hand, academic journals had to play catch-up on volumes published before, during, and after the conflict. In 1948, the *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* (now translated as *Journal of Religious and Cultural Studies*) recorded the Marburg thesis alongside a number of dissertations.⁹² On the other hand, his former professor helped promote his work. The following year, Bultmann urged an author for the *Theologische Rundschau* (*Theological Review*) to integrate the treatise into an addendum for a bibliography of Scandinavian literature published between 1939 and 1948: to elaborate the question of Wellhausen's debt to Herder and Hegel.⁹³

His first years Palestine therefore marked a great transition, quite apart from the more obvious—and more vital—one in region and regime: out of tertiary education, into art and literature, to teaching from research, and on to local circles and societies. It also included his name. In 1945, exactly a decade after arrival, Friedemann Boschwitz changed his legal name to add the Hebrew Uri or Ouri.⁹⁴ Yet one still greater change took place in this period: in family affairs. A few years later, in Tel Aviv, he wed Gerda Loeb, a native of Pforzheim born in 1921 and an emigrant to Palestine as of 1934, one about whose life little documentation remains. Gerda, self-educated and a polyglot, would later serve as assistant to a legal adviser for the State of Israel as well as to Gershom Schocken (son of Salman), the publisher and editor of the daily newspaper *Haaretz*. Together, the couple had two daughters: Chava in 1949 and Margalit in 1954. In the children's recollection, only Yekkes—German Jews—called their father Friedemann. He was Uri to everyone else. (Both names appear on now digitized passenger lists for flights to the United States.)

In 1948, the year he married Gerda, Boschwitz began work at a public, secular school called Ohel Shem (Tent of Shem) in Ramat-Gan, outside of Tel Aviv. There, he taught not only history and philosophy but also literature, art, and drama.⁹⁵ He continued to balance study and studio, academy and atelier. Adumbrated by the thespian pleasures of his school days, theatrical interests of his university years, and dramatic success of his mother on the national bema, Boschwitz showed special devotion to the theater. He sponsored such

92. "Bibliographie der Dissertationen," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 1, no. 1 (1948): 95–96, at 95.

93. Aage Bentzen, "Skandinavische Literatur zum Alten Testament, 1939–1948," *Theologische Rundschau* n.s. 17, no. 4 (1948/49): 273–328, at 327–28, with reference back to 278n1.

94. See the public notice of name changes in the bilingual *The Palestine Gazette: Published by Authority* / פלשתינה של ממשלת הרשמי, no. 1437 (6 September 1945): 1023 (English), 808 (Hebrew). Friedemann and Gerda usually transcribed their surname as בושויץ; others do so as בושביץ or בושביץ.

95. The following year, his class at the school printed their condolences on the death of his mother in *Haaretz*, no. 31 (28 February 1949): 4.

plays as Molière's French *The Bourgeois Gentleman* and *The Imaginary Invalid*, Carlo Goldoni's Italian *The Servant of Two Masters*, Sholom Aleichem's Yiddish *The Treasure*, and Bertolt Brecht's German *Señora Carrar's Rifles*—not to mention his shows both puppet and shadow—for which he frequently acted as director, painter, set designer, tailor, makeup artist, adapter, and even translator.⁹⁶ Small wonder more than one student remembered him as a polymath.

His dramatic work even broke through the walls of his local theater, as documented by two dispatches to key figures in the world of stage and song. In 1946, before moving to Ohel Shem, he collaborated with the composer Yehoshua Lakner on a Hebrew play about Solomon and Asmodeus, ostensibly based on the Talmudic story of Gittin 68a–b. The exchange—of which only one letter survives, by Boschwitz—shows careful comments on the score, which Lakner evidently composed for the text, after an initial test run. Twelve years onward, Boschwitz made contact about another play. But this time, the message was less to improve than inform, even encourage. In a joint production between Ohel Shem and Beit Zvi (a youth center and culture house in Ramat-Gan, now a school of performing arts), he and his students staged a performance of the comedy *Samina and the Cow* by Yehoshua Bar-Yosef in Hebrew. At the suggestion of Moshe Zeiri in the culture department of Tel Aviv—another notable figure—Boschwitz reported to Bar-Yosef on their rendition, its reception, and his own sense of the work, expressing an appreciation for the playwright, whom he considered otherwise underappreciated.

Be it drama, painting, or music, Boschwitz thus continued to cultivate his creative fields of interest no matter where he went, be it Berlin or Jerusalem, whether Marburg or Tel Aviv. That appreciation for art and learning, so near and dear to Boschwitz, extended beyond the classroom. Announcements in *Haaretz* from the 1950s and 1960s offer a hint at the range of such activity, organized through associations based in Ramat-Gan. While this doctor in history led a circle for art history, the art aficionado offered opening remarks at an exhibition on oils and watercolors by the painter Leo Cohen at Beit Zvi. With a traditional Jewish education and doctoral thesis on biblical scholarship, he also participated in the local chapter for the Society for the Study of the Bible, also at Beit Zvi.⁹⁷ Yet Boschwitz had his voice heard in national conversations through articles in *Haaretz*.⁹⁸ He spoke kind words on the dollmaker Edith Samuel, appreciative of and sensitive to her puppets and her puppetry.

96. Cf. n. 36 above. The source also mentions Shaw's *Jonah the Prophet*, perhaps a misremembering of Shaw's 1923 *Joan of Arc*.

97. See *Haaretz* 33, no. 9,541 (3 January 1951): 2; *Haaretz* 43, no. 12,610 (20 January 1961): 4; *Haaretz* 40, no. 11,742 (16 March 1958): 3.

98. The first appeared on 7 August 1964 under the title "The Puppetry of Edith Samuel" (בובותיה של אדית סמואל ז"ל); the second came on 11 September 1957 as "In Favor of Censorship"

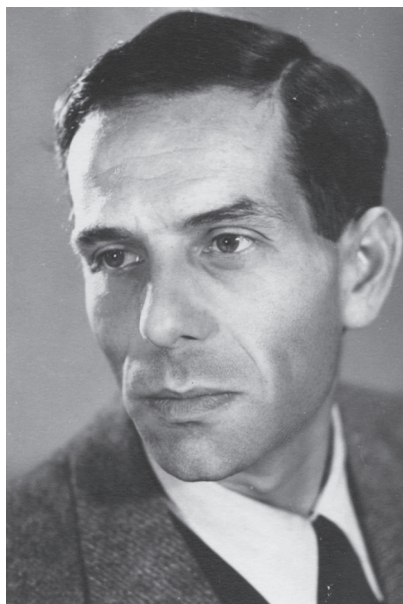


FIGURE 6. Photograph of Boschwitz, ca. 1950. Image courtesy of the Boschwitz family.

Critical ones—careful, concerned, considerate—he penned in response to arguments by Michael Almaz, the director, broadcaster, playwright, and critic. Writing in support of censorship, especially as concerns unfiltered depictions of murder, rape, torture, madness, and the like and precisely as part of a free and democratic state, Boschwitz insisted, “The entertainment of the circus is the enemy of real art, not the prosaic nature of daily life.” Here, Boschwitz reflected further, for his own day, on that entanglement of the moral, the political, the aesthetic, and the creative that he had analyzed for a former one, through his investigation into Herder, Wellhausen, and Nietzsche.

Boschwitz kept two flames of passion burning until his dying day, one for fine art and another for academe (fig. 6). He continued to serve Clio. In 1966, during the final decade of his life, Boschwitz was studying Gustav Landauer, the theorist, critic, and activist assassinated during the German Revolution of 1918–19. On the advice of Robert Weltsch, a family friend and foremost figure, he sent a letter to Irmgard Foerg at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York. Unable to track down letters, diaries, and other such documents from Landauer’s early years, Boschwitz requested her help to make local contact stateside with the keepers of that bequest. An archivist, editor, and assistant,

(ליכותה של הצנזורה). While both were reprinted in the tribute by Ohel Shem (cf. n. 36 above), the National Library of Israel now offers digital access to them.

Foerg performed much hidden labor below deck of the institute, operating the quiet machinery of collection, organization, and correspondence that kept things running. This Leo Baeck Institute was only one of three involved. If the one in London prompted his research, the one in Jerusalem supported his request. As Salomon Adler-Ruder, director of the latter, penned in a message to Foerg, "I believe the project merits all support. Would you please therefore be so kind and see to it how much you can help in this matter." If the extant correspondence tracks Boschwitz's course from German historiography through Jewish philosophy to revolutionary politics, that path trails off here. Where, when, and how his project ended remains unknown.

The year Boschwitz died, Ohel Shem published a tribute to him in its organ, *Ohelon*, which included recollections by the school community past and present. "May his memory remain forever among the thousands of his pupils," wrote Yosef Ahimeir. Three decades later, that memory remained strong. In 2006, Mordechai Bar-On, the late historian, politician, and education officer, dedicated his book on Israel's relationship with Great Britain after the Mandate period to "Dr. Uri Boschwitz, from whom I learned the love of history."⁹⁹ May this translation and documentation together revive the memory of Boschwitz and both show and spread his love of history.

99. Mordechai Bar-On (מרדכי בר-און), *מכל ממלכות הגויים: יחסי ישראל ובריטניה הגדולה בעשור הראשון לאחר תום תקופת המנדט 1948–1959* (*Of All the Kingdoms: Israel's Relations with the United Kingdom During the First Decade After the End of the British Mandate in Palestine, 1948–1959*) (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2006), 4.

PART 2

Translation

Julius Wellhausen: Motives and Measures of His Historiography

Friedemann Boschwitz

Translated by Armin Siedlecki

Edited by Paul Michael Kurtz

Editorial Note on the Translation

Most readers need not heed these finer points. But for those interested in details and disclaimers, a few remarks are in order.

On Rendering

As explained in the acknowledgments, Armin Siedlecki produced the fine translation—both accurate and elegant—of the book by Friedemann Boschwitz. I revised that translation, furnished the editorial commentary, and supplemented Boschwitz's bibliography with further annotations.

This translation renders the text as printed by Boschwitz, from his own analysis to his cited sources. It thereby overcomes two obstacles, besides the usual challenges of converting (mostly) German into English. First, some of Boschwitz's sources, from Benedetto Croce to Friedrich Nietzsche, have come into English, yet identifying correspondent passages in published translations can prove not only arduous (and even arbitrary, in selecting one among others where multiple exist) but also awkward if a fixed rendering in English must be spliced with the syntax of a different context. Second, Boschwitz examines work by Julius Wellhausen in English—most notably the article "Israel" from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*—which itself traces back to German, but sometimes Boschwitz reproduces the English and other times he translates it (back) into German. By rendering his text as printed, this edition strives for stylistic continuity as well as adjacency to his German.

As for phraseology, the volume keeps foreign words to a minimum. At some points, for clarity, the German has been preserved with its gloss in brackets. In most cases, the Latin stays—though translated, too, in brackets—to signal in the English a non-German base. Concerning titles of works, their names appear with bracketed renderings in English, whereby titles now well-known have been maintained even if not preferred, like Nietzsche's *The Gay Science* or Jacob Burckhardt's *Reflections on (World) History*. In terms of more specific

terminology, a few might merit mention. This translation keeps “Old Testament” rather than substitute it for the ostensibly more neutral “Hebrew Bible”: especially apt, perhaps, as Boschwitz tracks in Wellhausen a modern Christian reading of ancient Jewish writings. To retain semantic nuance and remind of a different conceptual context, the translation also preserves such Germanic, and outdated English, compound adjectives like religio-political (not “religious and political”) and poetic-philosophical (not “poetic and philosophical”). Whereas the English here translates *Wissenschaft* as “science,” to underscore a different set of associations in knowledge production, it renders *Gemeinwesen*—both community and polity—as “commonwealth,” to maintain a connection to community elsewhere (*Gemeinde* and *Gemeinschaft*).

On Formatting

Boschwitz exegetes the exegete. To support this analytical strategy, he reproduces passages, “letting Wellhausen speak for himself.” Several changes have been made to update the layout.

First, in line with earlier typography, emphasis in Boschwitz’s typescript is conveyed through spacing (e.g., *example*), which this translation reproduces through italics (e.g., *example*). Exceptionally, some writers’ names—when first cited as major figures, referenced in the bibliography, or introduced in passages focused on them—are stressed here not by italics (*Rousseau*) but by small caps (ROUSSEAU). As Boschwitz himself states in the first note of chapter 1, all emphasis comes from him unless indicated otherwise.

Second, the original publication often integrates lengthy quotations into the discussion or strings snippets from across several pages or even from multiple sources into a single sentence. Here, overlong extracts have been converted into block quotations, while citation chains from multiple passages have been broken down with parenthetical citations to coordinate individual references, with brackets indicating such editorial modification.

Third, whereas parentheses in this volume correspond to the German original—often supplying references, glosses, and emphasis on Wellhausen’s writings—brackets indicate an editorial intervention, be it for further information, citational emendation, or additional translation.

Fourth, reflecting some typographic traditions, Boschwitz prints his digression on the state and use of Wellhausen’s letters in smaller type but within the main paragraphs on the page, reproduced here in block. Though likewise printed in smaller type, the two longer excurses appended to the volume (what Boschwitz calls “notes”) conform in this translation to the standard print size of the volume.

Fifth, as a reading guide for those who want to compare the German and English, the original pagination has been provided in double brackets [[N]], whose placement indicates the top of the given page. The internal cross-references, in parentheses, furnish the original page numbers by Boschwitz as well as the numeration of this edition in angle brackets <N>.

Sixth, the publisher kindly agreed to a double apparatus, despite the complexity involved, to distinguish between authorial and editorial comments. For references in the translation, footnotes by Boschwitz himself are reproduced with standard numeration, e.g., 1. Comments by the editor appear in the lower apparatus, indicated by numbers in parentheses, e.g., (1).

On Citing

This translation remains true to the sources cited by Boschwitz and thus retains references to the specific editions he used, as indicated in his bibliography (not necessarily the most recent in his day or, obviously, ours). Perhaps most important to mention here at the outset include the following: unless noted otherwise, Boschwitz utilized the fourth edition of *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (1901); the fifth of *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (1899); the privately printed manuscript *Geschichte Israels* (1880) (not to be confused with the first edition of *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, which came in 1878 and under the title *Geschichte Israels*, vol. 1); the second of *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer* (1924) (though spelled *Sadduzäer*); and the second of *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (1911). I have tried to verify all page numbers supplied—of these and other works—and to supplement those missing, with corrections bracketed where needed.

The decision to preserve his usage of primary sources rather than revise with newer German editions has two grounds. As a point of principle, Boschwitz articulated his own commitment to analyzing the earlier iterations of a work, a methodology he explains in chapter 1. As a point of practicality, procuring later German printings and pinpointing the pages of particular passages would prove not only laborious but also dubious in terms of returns: it would assume later German printings had not undergone change and would often require a choice among rival editorial projects, be it synchronically or diachronically. However, editorial annotations in the bibliography supply information on English translations of German works when possible, to facilitate further consultation of Boschwitz's sources.

Boschwitz also furnished two kinds of references: apparatal and text-internal. As a finding aid for those wishing to juxtapose the original and the translation, I have preserved this double citation style even if it might seem

disruptive or redundant. However, I have moved parenthetical references as well as footnotes to the end of their respective sentences whenever possible: i.e., where only one appears or where the subject does not change within a sentence. In the footnotes, moreover, I have updated the references to conform to contemporary standards, giving full bibliographic information at first mention and abbreviations thereafter. On a couple of occasions, the author used the same footnote more than once, adjusted here as *bis* (example¹, example^{1bis}). By contrast, Boschwitz's approach frequently refers back to phrases or statements previously quoted without repeating the reference. Where those allusions seem unclear or overly distant from their original placement, editorial notes repeat the bibliographic citation.

As for signifieds and signifiers, this edition gives titles in full. On the one hand, Boschwitz frequently referred to collected works then current and familiar. This edition, in contrast, provides the titles of the discrete writings printed therein and discussed herein. It thus gives the title of a certain treatise instead of simply citing a series or volume, specifying for instance "Muhammads Gemeindeordnung von Medina" by Wellhausen rather than refer only to *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, volume 4. On the other hand, Boschwitz often offered abbreviations. Such titular truncation might prove unclear or unfamiliar to the likely readers of this edition, especially when unaccompanied by a translation. The association of *Historik* with (Gustav) Droysen or *Jugendschriften* with (G. W. F.) Hegel may not go without saying as much as they once did, so names are indicated here in full. In like manner, the perhaps pedantic production of the full title *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* each time it finds mention has a rhyme and reason to it. Not only does repetition of the German title avoid confusion with its manifestation in English—and with it the pages cited—but the complete name also underlines a methodological commitment made by Boschwitz himself: to read and analyze the work of Wellhausen holistically. By avoiding mere mention of "the" *Prolegomena*, the full reference offers a reminder that there was not one *prolegomena* by Wellhausen but two: one on ancient Israel and another on formative Islam. This full listing hence eschews partitioning and privileging one sphere of Wellhausen's work.

Concerning correspondence, this translation supplies not only the original references to the then-unpublished letters of Wellhausen (by date and addressee) but also their corresponding numeration and pagination in the edition by Rudolf Smend, Peter Porzig, and Reinhard Müller.

The bibliography likewise corresponds to that of Boschwitz. A few small changes deserve mention: it adds in brackets the sources cited in his text yet not his list of references; it transposes entries at times for more consistent alphabetization; and it separates and enumerates individual writings otherwise cited only as part of collected works (like those of Hegel or Johann

Gottfried Herder). Furthermore, as a resource for future research, editorial annotations beneath the entries, in smaller type, furnish further information on the original publication and—only indicatively—subsequent (German) reprintings of those sources as well as English translations where applicable. Aspirationally, to widen the scope of inquiry, to show the extent of engagement, and to expand the pool of participants, I have also added renderings into other (especially “non-European”) languages: an attempt certainly not exhaustive but hopefully semi-effective.

On Annotating

Temptation notwithstanding, I have tried to keep this edition focused on Boschwitz’s own work—and thus not to slip into discursive annotations on Wellhausen’s life and work or into intramural commentary on debates thereof. Secondary literature supplied in the editorial notes thus provides further background on the figures, factors, and phenomena discussed—and likely little known to the expected readers of this volume—or elaboration on points pointed to by Boschwitz (with or without explicit reference to him). Given the nature of this volume as a translation, anglophone sources have been preferred.

Content Overview

Introduction	[Biography and Methodology] ⁽¹⁾ Biographical information—Wellhausen as historiographer— The topic of investigation—Evidence for a consistent motive in Wellhausen’s historiography—Its most evident indica- tions—Proclivity for early history and its significance for Wellhausen’s contribution to Old Testament scholarship— The idea of originality as connecting thread—On method
Chapter 1	[Originality and History] The idea of <i>originality</i> in the evaluation of early history in Wellhausen and Herder—Aesthetic sense and historical understanding—“Original” history in contrast to “sacred” history—The discovery of Hebrew antiquity through back- translation of sacred history into the profane—Wellhausen and Nietzsche—Religion as “patriotism” and religious individualism
Chapter 2	[The Religious and the Secular] The sense of the <i>profane</i> , explained through the sense of <i>cri- tique of sacredness</i> —Contempt for the utopian—The idea of politico-religious history—Wellhausen and the young Hegel—The realistic political condition for the potential of sacredness explains its non-originality—The “realistic- political” ethos motive in the critique of sacredness
Chapter 3	[Law, State, Church] <i>The religious motive for the critique of sacredness</i> —The antipa- thy of religious individualism towards institutions and the

(1) As the original table of contents did not feature chapter titles proper but instead a descrip-
tive overview, including major themes emphasized by italics (preserved here), the bracketed head-
ings here are secondary, to aid readers.

	law—The concept of revelation—The state as more original than the church emerges as the ideal of religion—Wellhausen as historian of primordial history
Chapter 4	[Politics and Culture] <i>Religious individualism and cultural indifference</i> —The political ineptitude of Jews and Arabs—The anticultural yet political element in their history—National not universal history—Wellhausen's interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis as a myth of decadence—The "culturelessness" of Arabic history—The exemplary significance of the Kharijites as an anticulture opposition party against church and state as such—Politics and utopianism among the Kharijites and the prophets—among the Pharisees and Sadducees—Virtues of fanaticism—Cultural history and the "invisible state"
Excursus I	On Wellhausen's Gospel Criticism
Excursus II	Wellhausen and Nietzsche

[Biography and Methodology]

Indeed, it is essential that a character expresses itself fully, so that it is not a Rankean description that is given like a natural modification, but rather an ethical evaluation. All truly living, and not only lifelike, history is critique.

—Yor[c]k von Wartenburg to Wilhelm Dilthey, 9 May 1881⁽²⁾

The artist selects his material: that is his way to praise.

—Friedrich Nietzsche, *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft* [*The Gay Science*]⁽³⁾

[[5]] Julius Wellhausen was born the son of the Protestant pastor of Hamelin in 1844.^{1 (4)} He himself admits he owes “very much, perhaps the best” to the

1. All this is based on Eduard Schwartz, *Rede auf Wellhausen. Gehalten in der öffentlichen Sitzung der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen am 11.5.1918* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1919). See especially the Latin curriculum vitae published there, composed in 1868 by Wellhausen himself and included in an application for a position as lecturer. Schwartz provides important information from Wellhausen’s autobiographical notes. His speech, which is admirable and a most appropriate representation of the simple grandness of its subject matter, is the only existing biographical attempt to honor Wellhausen comprehensively, including his life and his work. Virtually all facts that have been published about Wellhausen’s life and person are based on this speech.

(2) *Briefwechsel zwischen Wilhelm Dilthey und dem Grafen Paul Yorck v. Wartenburg, 1877–1897*, ed. Sigrid von der Schulenburg, *Philosophie und Geisteswissenschaften* 1 (Halle: Niemeyer, 1923), no. 15, pp. 19–20.

(3) Friedrich Nietzsche, *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft*, repr. in *Nietzsches Werke, Taschen-Ausgabe*, vol. 6, ed. Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1921), p. 226, Aphorism 245.

(4) Moved forward for clarity, this footnote comes, in the German original, at the end of the second paragraph. The fullest treatment of Wellhausen so far comes in Paul Michael Kurtz, *Kaiser, Christ, and Canaan: The Religion of Israel in Protestant Germany, 1871–1918*, *Forschungen zum Alten Testament* 1.122 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018); cf. also Paul Michael Kurtz, “Response to Adam Sutcliffe: Jewish Antiquity and Modern Germany,” in “Forum: New Scholarship on Religion in

circumstance of his growing up in the country and in immediate contact with the people. In 1862, he began to study theology in Göttingen, simply following the example of his father. His special sympathy belonged at that time to the old church hymns, then to the medieval preaching friars Bertold of Regensburg and David of Augsburg, but there was no possibility of combining theology and German studies. He soon thought seriously about abandoning the study of theology. A friend who had just come from Tübingen and sought to share with him his enthusiasm for Ferdinand Christian BAUR kept him from doing so.⁽⁵⁾ Yet even a long, intensive preoccupation with the history of the apostolic era was not able to satisfy him. Nevertheless, the significance of this early acquaintance with Baur's method of *Tendenzkritik* [tendency criticism] for the kind later practiced by Wellhausen would be hard to overestimate.⁽⁶⁾ Yet "the speculative manner of the Tübingen school disgusted him."⁽⁷⁾ As much as Albrecht RITSCHL, who taught in Göttingen at that time, was more appealing to him personally, he "left no lasting impression; I did not understand his dogmatics."⁽⁸⁾ Easter of 1863, H[einrich] EWALD's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* [History of the People of Israel] fell into his hands by chance.⁽⁹⁾ This decided his fate. He launched himself into Hebrew. Then, he studied the other Semitic languages with Ewald. Just before the outbreak of the war with France, in 1870, he graduated with a

Nineteenth-Century German and British Culture," ed. Zachary Purvis, special issue, *History of European Ideas* 48, no. 2 (2022): 176–79.

(5) Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860), Protestant theologian best known as a founder of the (new) Tübingen School, radical historian of New Testament literature, and Hegelian interpreter of early Christian religion.

(6) Associated with the (new) Tübingen School especially, *Tendenzkritik* constituted a reading technique in historical research that sought to identify "tendencies" within a written work—i.e., its particular biases or stances on certain issues—to determine its individuality; to establish how it may have shaped, bent, or distorted the record; and thereby to evaluate its contents and its value vis-à-vis other witnesses.

(7) The Tübingen School (also called the Tübingen Historical School or Critical School), a network of avant-garde scholars centered around F. C. Baur at the University of Tübingen—dominant between 1830 and 1860—who studied formative Christianity with a focus on textual history and a fondness for idealist philosophy. See further Johannes Zachhuber, *Theology as Science in Nineteenth-Century Germany: From F. C. Baur to Ernst Troeltsch*, Changing Paradigms in Historical and Systematic Theology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

(8) Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889), architect of liberal and "mediation" theology, dropout of the Tübingen School, and namesake of the Ritschlians, known chiefly for his work on ethics and dogmatics in relation to Christian scripture.

(9) Heinrich Ewald (1803–1875), Protestant theologian, linguist both comparative and historical, and biblical exegete, renowned for his work in "Oriental studies" generally and Arabic and Hebrew particularly. For an overview of Ewald's history and its role as a substratum for that of Wellhausen, see Jean Louis Ska, "The 'History of Israel': Its Emergence as an Independent Discipline," in *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, vol. 3.1, *The Nineteenth Century: A Century of Modernism and Historicism*, ed. Magne Sæbø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 307–45; at 329–37; John Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany* ([Philadelphia]: Fortress Press, 1984), 91–103.

licentiate. For two more years, he remained in Göttingen as a *Privatdozent*.⁽¹⁰⁾ His epoch-making work—the *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* [*Prolegomena to the History of Israel*—was produced in Greifswald, where the twenty-eight-year-old [[6]] was called to be full professor. “Not since Strauß’s *Das Leben Jesu* [*Life of Jesus*] had a book on a theological subject caused such a sensation.”⁽¹¹⁾ Therefore, as the prospect of being called to a more distinguished university must have seemed closed off to him—or alternatively, as an academic educator, he would have had either to conceal his own convictions or teach what his students were not supposed to learn—he resigned from his professorship in theology in 1882. After a three-year position as associate lecturer for Semitic languages at the faculty of philosophy in Halle and a six-year position as full professor in Marburg, where he was prohibited by the government from lecturing on the Old Testament, he was called to Göttingen in 1892 as successor to Paul de Lagarde for Ewald’s chair.⁽¹²⁾ Here, he added to his field of research, besides Israelite-Jewish history and Arabic history, also the Gospels.

Wellhausen died at the start of 1918. Thus, the length of his academic activity corresponds precisely to the duration of the German Empire.

Without the bibliography compiled by Alfred Rahlfs for the *Festschrift* dedicated to Wellhausen, it would hardly have been possible to gain a comprehensive view of Wellhausen’s scattered literature, specifically the exceedingly numerous and often quite important reviews.⁽¹³⁾ I found the very important first draft of a *Geschichte Israels* [*History of Israel*] from 1880, which has been preserved in only a few exemplars: in Göttingen’s University Library.⁽¹⁴⁾ The aforementioned bibliography

(10) A key feature in the German academic system, the private docent was (is) an unsalaried lecturer.

(11) *Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet*, 2 vols. (Tübingen: Osiander, 1835), 2nd ed. (Tübingen: Osiander, 1837), 3rd ed. “with consideration of the rebuttals” (Tübingen: Osiander, 1838), 4th ed. (Tübingen: Osiander, 1840) [English translation, from the 4th ed., by George Eliot as *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined* (London: Chapman, 1846)]; cp. *Das Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk bearbeitet* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1864). David Friedrich Strauss (1808–1874), Protestant theologian connected to the Tübingen School, (in)famous for his radically historicizing reading and mythological interpretation of New Testament literature. For more on Strauss and his work, see Erik Linstrum, “Strauss’s *Life of Jesus*: Publication and the Politics of the German Public Sphere,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 71, no. 4 (2010): 593–616; Frederick Beiser, *David Friedrich Strauß, Father of Unbelief: An Intellectual Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

(12) Paul Anton de Lagarde né Bötticher (1827–1891), prodigy of Oriental studies—from manuscripts to linguistics—promoter of Germanophilia, and purveyor of antisemitism. For more on his deeply problematic legacy, see Ulrich Sieg, *Germany’s Prophet: Paul de Lagarde and the Origins of Modern Antisemitism*, trans. Linda Marianiello, Tauber Institute Series for the Study of European Jewry, Sarnat Library (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2013).

(13) Alfred Rahlfs (1865–1835), critic and editor best known for his work on the ancient Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible.

spans from 1870 to 1914, from the dissertation and licentiate theses to a critical analysis of Acts. I have not been able to determine whether Wellhausen published anything else in the war years. I am indebted to Dr. Hugo Falkenheim⁽¹⁵⁾ in Munich for, among other things, the notice that Wellhausen worked on a study of the apostle Paul in the final years of his life.

I owe a special gratitude to Prof. Dr. Carl Justi⁽¹⁶⁾ in Marburg for his willingness to make available the letters from Wellhausen in his possession. They consist of the correspondence—from one side—with the Marburg comparative linguist FERDINAND JUSTI, which lasted from 1892 until 1907, from Wellhausen's move from Marburg to Göttingen until the death of his friend.⁽¹⁷⁾ It contains 44 letters and 26 postcards. The few published here for the first time will perhaps provide an impression of the vitality and abundance of splendid qualities that these very simple letters contain.⁽¹⁸⁾

They are worthy of publication.⁽¹⁹⁾

(14) The same title notwithstanding, this work should not be confused with the 1878 *Geschichte Israels*, vol. 1.

(15) Hugo Falkenheim (1866–1935), philosopher and literary scholar—born Jewish and baptized Protestant, independently wealthy at first but later employed at the University Library in Munich (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität)—who served as a major node in academic and artistic circles and edited the works of Kuno Fischer and Friedrich Theodor Vischer. An appreciation of the already forgotten Falkenheim appeared in Hermann Glockner, “Zur Vorgeschichte meiner Hegel-Monographie, 2. Hugo Falkenheim,” in Glockner, *Beiträge zum Verständnis und zur Kritik Hegels sowie zur Umgestaltung seiner Geisteswelt*, Hegel-Studien 2 (Bonn: Bouvier & Co., 1965), 477–509. An apparent admirer of Wellhausen (and Carl Justi), Falkenheim had Glockner read *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* to compare his style to that of Mommsen and Ranke. Reminiscing, Glockner declared, “Although I was almost indifferent to the subject matter, the form enraptured me to such a degree that ever since I have considered Wellhausen's work among the great literary feats of German historiography and have now, of course, considered also the outstanding researcher, i.e. the author of the *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*” (507).

(16) Carl Justi (1873–1949), medical doctor, colonial physician, professor of pathology and anatomy, and son of Ferdinand Justi—not to be confused with another Carl Justi (1832–1912), the philosopher and art historian known for his biographical approach, and brother of Ferdinand.

(17) Ferdinand Justi (1837–1907), orientalist specialized in Indo-European studies, comparative linguist, and folklorist of his Hessen homeland.

(18) See the introduction to the life and work of Boschwitz, above. Cf. also the letter from Adolf Jülicher to Eduard Schwartz, 3 March 1934, as well as the reader report by Rudolf Bultmann in the documentation *infra*.

(19) Cf. introduction <p. 11 n. 24>. In the interest of completeness, two communications by Wellhausen not included in his published correspondence follow here.

The first is a postcard received and published by Bernhard Stade—from May 1882—related to an exchange that followed Wellhausen's review of his own history of Israel and Stade's request for him to explain the question of intellectual dependency: “H.H.C. Ich bitte Sie Ihrerseits alle Schritte zu tun, die Ihnen recht scheinen; denn ich tue nichts. Sogar vor einer Replik meinerseits sind Sie sicher. Hochachtungsvoll W.” [Esteemed Colleague, Please take any steps you deem necessary on your end, for I will not do anything. You are certainly safe from even a riposte from me.

[[7]] Wellhausen is a writer of history. Among his numerous writings, however, there are only two positive historical accounts: *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* [*Israelite and Jewish History*] and *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz* [*The Arab Empire and Its Fall*].⁽²⁰⁾ Yet not only did the latter history of the Umayyad Caliphate “become a kind of Bible for the historian of early Islam”² ⁽²¹⁾ and the former Israelite-Jewish history—a small book of rare beauty, concision, and rich content all at once—win the position of a classic, which none other can claim since Wellhausen. But even more, Wellhausen essentially wrote nothing that did not aim at an overview and illustration of a greater historical whole or was not preceded by a guiding understanding of an historical totality. The distinctive nature of the material of the historical subjects he covered implied that his research included textual and source criticism. Thus, the impression could arise “that he was not in the strict sense as much an historian as a philologist.”³ ⁽²²⁾ Nothing could be further from the truth. To be sure, Wellhausen was a great philologist. At the same time, and above all, he was fully an historian: based on his intention as well as his contribution.

2. Carl Heinrich BECKER, “Julius Wellhausen,” *Der Islam* 9 (1918): 95–99, at 96.

3. Hermann COHEN, “Julius Wellhausen. Ein Abschiedsgruß,” in *Hermann Cohens Jüdische Schriften*, vol. 2, *Zur jüdischen Zeitgeschichte*, ed. Bruno Strauß with an introduction by Franz Rosenzweig, Veröffentlichungen der Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums (Berlin: Schwetschke & Sohn, 1924), 463–68, at 463.

Respectfully yours, W.] The communication was printed in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 3, no. 22 (1882): 813–14.

Two excerpts from the second, dated 26 November 1902, were printed by T. Witton Davies in a volume celebrating Wellhausen’s teacher: “Ewald ist niemals längere [*sic!*] Zeit in Bonn und am wenigstens Famulus von Freytag gewesen; der Canon Liddon phantasirt oder verwechselt Bonn und Berlin. In Berlin ist Ewald A.D. 1826 gewesen, um bei Bopp Sanscrit zu treiben”; “Ich glaube nicht und habe niemals gehört und gefunden dass Schultens oder Eichhorn vor Ewald dessen Lehre über die semitischen Tempora vorgetragen hätten.” [Ewald was never for a long time at Bonn, and least of all was he Freytag’s *famulus*; Canon Liddon draws upon his fancy, or he confounds Bonn and Berlin. Ewald was in Berlin in A.D. 1826, for the purpose of studying Sanscrit [*sic!*] under Bopp; I do not believe, and I have never heard or found, that before Ewald’s time Schultens or Eichhorn put forward his doctrine of the Semitic tenses] (Davies, *Heinrich Ewald, Orientalist and Theologian, 1803–1903: A Centenary Appreciation* [London: Unwin, 1903], 8, 82, translation by the author accompanying the German).

(20) Julius Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 1st ed. (Berlin: Reimer, 1894), 4th ed. (Berlin: Reimer, 1901). Unless otherwise noted, Boschwitz cites from the fourth edition.

(21) Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933), orientalist expert in Islamic studies and major policy-maker in cultural and educational affairs. For more on this impact of Wellhausen’s Bible, see Josef van Ess, “From Wellhausen to Becker: The Emergence of *Kulturgeschichte* in Islamic Studies,” in *Islamic Studies: A Tradition and Its Problems*, ed. Malcom H. Kerr (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1980), 27–51, repr. in van Ess, *Kleine Schriften*, 3 vols., Islamic History and Civilization 137 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 5–32.

(22) Hermann Cohen (1842–1918), neo-Kantian philosopher, ethicist, religious theorist, political thinker, and renowned German Jewish intellectual. For more, see Frederick C. Beiser, *Hermann Cohen: An Intellectual Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

For the philologist, when compared in this way with the historian, the text is the end-all and be-all. Determining what the text wants to convey and the explanation of its meaning is the content and boundary of philological work. By contrast, for the historian as such, the text is ultimately only a “source,” only a document, i.e., a directive for an event that stood behind it and must first be deduced. It is only a *fragment* of a whole, a whole that must first be reconstructed, a whole that also extends far beyond the totality of individuality of the respective author or literary work. To probe it is the task of the so-called literary historian. Philology starts from the text and returns to the text. Historiography, however, [[8]] presses far beyond the “text,” beyond what it wishes to convey—indeed contrary to it. Historiography seeks a new, distinct whole, one in which the “sources” disappear. Everything Wellhausen wanted and did is of this kind, be it the Old Testament, Flavius Josephus, the Gospels, or the old Arab historians, which he pulled into the realm of his research.

The historian has a fundamental tendency to diminish the speaking witnesses of the past to mere material, by treating them as fragments of a whole that he must first outline. This tendency is felt most vividly wherever the witnesses already claim to be history and to be complete in themselves—incomparably so where such a claim has been the norm for more than one and a half millennia. Such is the case with the primary “sources” of a great portion of the history described by Wellhausen, in the Bible of Jewish and Christian portions. It was accepted as revelation, i.e., the guarantee of unmediated witnesses to an event. To strive further for an all-encompassing whole would be pointless; much more, the witnesses claim to bear testimony in a sense that is unsurpassable. Thus, the “sources” for the investigations of Wellhausen are suitable to make his historiographical intentions and deeds recognizable as such.

Wellhausen produced all of his works in history, commentary, textual criticism, and source criticism as well as many of his masterly translations (the Latter Prophets; the songs of the Hudhaylites; the Correspondence of Muhammed; but not the first three Gospels) under the title *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* [*Sketches and Preliminary Studies*], which eventually appeared in six volumes. In doing so, he clearly indicated his real goal was a synthetic historical account, i.e., a colorful visualization of great, coherent historical segments.⁽²³⁾ On the other hand, in all these preliminary studies, precisely as preliminary studies to history, a total view of the connections and developments of entire

(23) As for *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, an inventory of its contents follows: vol. 1, “Abriss der Geschichte Israels und Juda’s,” “Lieder der Hudhailiten, arabisch und deutsch” (Berlin: Reimer, 1884); vol. 2, “Die Composition des Hexateuchs” (Berlin: Reimer, 1885); vol. 3, “Reste arabischen Heidentumes” (Berlin: Reimer, 1887); vol. 4, “Medina vor dem Islam,” “Muhammads Gemeindeordnung von Medina,” “Seine Schreiben, und die Gesandtschaften an ihn” (Berlin: Reimer, 1889); vol. 5, “Die kleinen Propheten übersetzt, mit Noten” (Berlin: Reimer, 1892); vol. 6, “Prolegomena

national histories—namely, of the Arabs and the Jews—is always already decisively at work. Even his first book, an investigation dealing only with *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* [*The Text of the Books of Samuel*] (1871), “grew out of the context [[9]] of *historical* investigations,” as he himself explained in the announcement: “*Historical interest* was the subjective point of departure.”⁴

What is the essential, uniform theme of Wellhausen’s historiography? For we begin with this thesis: that all Wellhausen’s works are motivated by a constant, consistent interest—however diverse they may appear.

Even the unusually *personal* character of all his literary expressions points in this direction. Rarely is history written *cum ira et studio* [*with such anger and partiality*] to this extent, not political history in the narrow sense of the word, not at all touching on contemporary history and free of every journalistic inclination. It is a rare kind of unreservedness with which Wellhausen expresses his own personal pleasure and displeasure in historical figures, institutions, and reports. And striking is the idiosyncrasy with which he chooses his material and poses and limits his questions. His New Testament studies, for example, have been deemed “all around very skeletal.”⁵ In fact, even the notes to his translations of the first three Gospels are as highly characteristic of his terse personal opinions as of his frequent refusal to give an opinion. Moreover, it is constantly noted, sometimes with resentment, that he took little notice of developments in the study of the ancient Near East in regard to Israelite history, which brought to light an unprecedented amount of new material at the turn of the century, and that he did not consider it necessary to correct himself.⁶ Thus, he did not keep up “with the heights of research,” and this with

4. Julius Wellhausen, “Der Text der Bücher Samuelis untersucht,” *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 134, no. 2 (1872), 69–76, at 69. The emphasis in quotations is mine, unless noted otherwise.

5. Albert SCHWEITZER, *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung*, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1913), 600n2. On Wellhausen’s position on the Gospels, see excursus 1 *infra*.

6. Walter BAUMGARTNER, “Wellhausen und der heutige Stand der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft,” *Theologische Rundschau* n.s. 2, no. 5 (1930): 287–307, at 292–93.

zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams,” “Verschiedenes” (the latter comprising “Bemerkungen zu den Psalmen,” “Des Menschen Sohn,” “Zur apokalyptischen Literatur,” “Über einige Arten schwacher Verba im Hebräischen”) (Berlin: Reimer, 1899). Many of these disquisitions were reprinted, revised, and/or rendered into various languages.

(24) Shortly after the first edition was published, in September 1928, Wilamowitz’s second edition appeared, followed by an English translation by G. C. Richards published as *My Recollections, 1848–1914* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1930). For a reassessment of Wellhausen’s stance vis-à-vis burgeoning work on ancient Mesopotamia, see Peter Machinist, “The Road Not Taken: Wellhausen and Assyriology,” in *Homeland and Exile: Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in*

knowledge and intent. He did not work his way into Assyrian and Babylonian studies, “as he certainly should have done.”⁷ (24)

He dedicated his life’s work, in historiography, exclusively to the history of two peoples—the Israelites and Arabs—and the religions that developed in their midst: [[10]] Judaism, early Christianity, and Islam. The Jewish religion can, of course, be considered the antecedent to the Christian one. “The Gospel is based on Judaism; the latter, in turn, on the more ancient Hebraism” (“Die israelitisch-jüdische Religion,” 1). This connection alone could explain the interest of the historian who began in theology. However, before Wellhausen devoted himself to the New Testament in his final years, he turned from the Old Testament to the pagan Arabs. Some also thought they could accuse him of improperly allowing the nexus of universal history to fade into the background of his Israelite-Jewish history.⁸ At any rate, it must be granted that he did not set about his Arab history from the perspective of universal history. Rather, it is the template of an isolating national history, although the Arab empire in the period described was a world-conquering empire. Wellhausen concludes with the fall of Umayyad rule not merely because it presents an objectively incisive fissure in the history of Islam but primarily because, for certain reasons, it is here that his personal sympathy waned.⁹ (25) The final chapter of the Israelite-Jewish history, on “The Gospel,” leads into a confession of faith in God, freedom, and immortality.⁽²⁶⁾

This incomparably personal manner of the researcher and the writer provides the justification to support the following account, on occasion, also with such statements from Wellhausen’s letters, whose highly subjective and pointed imprint could raise doubts about their ability to serve as evidence. As a matter of fact, the distinction in Wellhausen between what was written and what was printed is insubstantial for the resoluteness of affect and assessment, for coarseness and aphoristic character. Both need interpretation. Wellhausen’s frankness in admitting his sympathies and antipathies in

7. Ulrich von WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, *Erinnerungen, 1848–1914* (Leipzig: Koehler, 1928), 188.

8. Eduard MEYER, *Julius Wellhausen und meine Schrift. Die Entstehung des Judenthums—Eine Erwiderung* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1897), 25–26.

9. “. . . until the Arabs are clubbed to death by the heretical cudgels of Abu Muslim, the Iranians fanatical for Islam and the house of the Prophet. Here my interest stops. The Abbasids can go to the devil, although he probably already has them” (Wellhausen to Ferdinand Justi, 26 March 1901).

Honour of Bustanay Oded, ed. Gershon Galil, Mark Geller, and Alan Millard, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 130 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 469–531.

(25) Wellhausen, *Briefe*, no. 585, pp. 394–95.

(26) Originally, in the first edition of *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (1894), this chapter entitled “The Gospel” preceded that on “The Downfall of the Jewish Community.” In the third (1897), without any indication in a preface or the like, he reversed them: meaning his story of

no way guarantees their unambiguousness. Much in his writings is not only so personal but also so aphoristic as only statements in [[11]] correspondence could ever be. Over time, the way he expressed his fundamental thoughts even became more and more condensed and curt.¹⁰ One could say that everything essential appears on the last two pages of the Israelite-Jewish history, but in such an abrupt and clipped form that a more detailed interpretation is indispensable.

It was Wellhausen's own decision and preference to choose specifically the Israelites, the Arabs, and the Gospels as the subject of his research.¹¹ The history of Islam captivated him only "insofar as it coincides with the history of the Arab tribes" ("Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams," in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 6, p. 3) and the Israelite-Jewish history only up to the demise of the political commonwealth. Within these boundaries, his most primary and most primordial sympathies belong to the *early days* of both nations. He reached back to "the pagan, unadulterated Arabness of the pre-Islamic period" and made the transition from the Old Testament to the Arabs in order to gain an understanding of "the *original* features with which the Hebrews entered into history" through comparison with Arab antiquity (*Muhammed in Medina*, 5). It is this antiquity that concerned him for a specific reason: among the "ancient" Arabs and the "ancient" Israelites he searched for a youth of nationhood, which he found nowhere else.

As for his *critical* achievement—the division and foundational arrangement of primary sources and layers of traditions in the Old Testament—it is

10. Compare the final passages of Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 4th ed. (Berlin: Reimer, 1901) [1st ed. (Berlin: Reimer, 1894)] with the earlier articulation of the corresponding ideas in "Abriss der Geschichte Israels und Juda's," in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Reimer, 1884). In the later editions of the *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* as well, references to the origin of citations—namely, of the mottos—are missing. Likewise lacking in later editions of *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* are the references to Thomas Carlyle, Jean de La Bruyère, Arthur Schopenhauer, and Emil [du B]ois-Reymond. Cf. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 1st ed., 312, 320, 321.

11. The fact that this is hardly self-evident is demonstrated by, for instance, a comparison with Wellhausen's contemporary and fellow researcher, the orientalist Theodor Nöldeke. See his declaration in the selected correspondence conveyed by C. H. Becker: "By Allah it was not by my own choice that I became involved in theological and in general religious literature . . . in any case, I have by far more interest in true Hellenism than in the entire Near East" (Becker, "Kleine Mitteilungen und Anzeigen. Theodor Nöldeke," *Der Islam* 20, no. 1 [1932]: 43–48, at 45 [citing a letter by Nöldeke from 5 August 1913]).

Israelite and Jewish history ended with the Christian religion—like that of his teacher Ewald, whose own book, true to its title, ran *The History of the People Israel up to Christ*. In the seventh (1914), Wellhausen continued to preserve the chapter and its position, but he added a footnote to qualify only partial agreement with it. Note: Kurtz, *Kaiser, Christ, and Canaan*, 108n176 mistakenly attributed this addition to a different edition: the sixth, of 1907.

undeniable that Wellhausen's predecessors, above all [W. M. L.] de Wette, [Édouard] Reuss, [Leopold] George, [Wilhelm] Vatke, [Karl Heinrich] Graf, and [Abraham] Kuenen, had already established the fundamentals.¹² (27) [[12]] Wellhausen fulfilled "what the time was ripe for"¹³ by applying the results of the century's work in literary criticism also to the complete historical consideration of Israel's past, in effect realizing the historiographical consequences.⁽²⁸⁾ Yet his positive *construction* of history rested, for its part, on the *separation* of layers in law and tradition in the Bible. Precisely through his radical execution of this separation, namely, making obvious the incompatibility of pre-exilic and post-exilic components (he polarized the problems of literary criticism into this central opposition), he brought the development of his science to maturity. Is the law—i.e., the written, fixed, and mostly ritual Law of Moses—the starting point for the history of ancient Israel or for that

12. Wellhausen discusses his predecessors in the introduction to his *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* and in Friedrich Bleek, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 5th ed., ed. Julius Wellhausen (Berlin: Reimer, 1886), preface and appendix.

13. Schwartz, *Rede auf Wellhausen*, 16. There is complete agreement on this ideal: cf. Hugo Greßmann, "Julius Wellhausen," *Protestantenblatt* 51, no. 7 (1918): 75–78, at 77; Otto Eissfeldt, "Julius Wellhausen," *Internationale Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik* 14, no. 3–4 (1920): 193–208, 325–38, at 207–8; Johannes Meinhold, *Wellhausen*, Hefte zur "Christlichen Welt" 27 (Leipzig: Mohr [Siebeck], 1897), 9; Becker, "Julius Wellhausen," 95; Rudolf Finsler, *Darstellung und Kritik der Ansicht Wellhausens von Geschichte und Religion des Alten Testaments* (Zurich: Schulthess, 1887), 4.

(27) Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780–1849), Protestant theologian, philosopher, and biblical critic, noted especially for his historicizing criticism of both Testaments and his edition of writings by Martin Luther. Eduard Wilhelm Eugen / Édouard Guillaume Eugène Reuss (1804–1891), scholar of the Testaments Old and New and founder of the Strasbourg School, famed for his criticism of the Gospels and the Pentateuch. Johann Friedrich Leopold George (1811–1873), idealist philosopher, psychologist, and biblical critic, notable for his work on the history of literature and thereby religion of ancient Israel. Wilhelm Vatke (1806–1882), Protestant theologian, religious philosopher, and Hegelian thinker, best known for rewriting the history of Israelite religion in his study of biblical literature. Karl Heinrich Graf (1815–1869), Protestant theologian, orientalist, and both student and friend of Reuß, famous for the "Grafian Hypothesis" on the composition history of Pentateuchal sources—which probably traced back to his teacher. Abraham Kuenen (1828–1891), Protestant theologian, orientalist, and biblical scholar, celebrated for his critical analysis of literature in the Hebrew Bible. For an overview of these developments, see Thomas Römer, "'Higher Criticism': The Historical and Literary-Critical Approach—With Special Reference to the Pentateuch," in *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, vol. 3.1, *The Nineteenth Century: A Century of Modernism and Historicism*, ed. Magne Sæbø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 393–423.

(28) As opposed to its contemporary connotations in English, literary criticism (*Literarkritik*) in this period referred primarily to the study of sources, especially in biblical texts.

(29) The selfsame question featured already in his 1878 *Geschichte Israels*, vol. 1: not only in the opening paragraph of the introduction but even in the work's table of contents, as the content overview of the introduction. This state of affairs continued in the book's second edition—as the *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*—along with its translation into English.

of post-exilic Judaism?⁽²⁹⁾ This is the question on which he focused the literary and historical problems of biblical history. He answered it in the negative, by drawing the sharpest of distinctions between the politically independent *people* of Israel, who knew no written law, and the post-exilic *community* or “church” of the Jews, whose hierocratic constitution, the so-called second theocracy, an “unpolitical, artificial product,” required foreign rule as a necessary supplement (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 428). Already his teacher H[einrich] Ewald had distinguished between the three epochs of the Hebrews, Israelites, and Jews,^{14 (30)} to which he assigned three corresponding types of rule: divine rule, divine and royal rule, and sacred rule. However, Wellhausen was the first to include in the title this distinction of “Israelite and Jewish history,” which has since been largely retained. “As soon as we step outside the Pentateuch (or rather Hexateuch, since the book of Joshua belongs, in its content, with the five books of Moses), we enter with the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings into a completely different sphere. Instead of church history, it is world history that suddenly commences. Holiness ends, and nature begins. It is a gap between two different worlds” (“Die israelitisch-jüdische Religion,” [4] and *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 18). The starting point for his research is the vibrant feeling for [[13]] the worldwide difference between the “holiness” of the law and the “nature” of the historical and prophetic books of the Old Testament. He read the latter at the beginning of his studies, “drawn by the stories of Saul and David, about Elijah and Ahab, and awestruck by the speeches of Amos and Isaiah” (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 3). From here came the desire to grasp the kings and prophets as natural and ethically/religiously autonomous individuals, who could not possibly have been preceded by the positive Mosaic law, as the tradition claims. For this reason, he was already won over to Graf’s hypothesis of *lex post prophetas* [law after prophets] “almost without even knowing its reasoning” (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 4).

“One does not show imitative historical understanding . . . by the many things he arranges (or tolerates) alongside each another as possible, but by

14. Cf. “. . . the so-called Old Testament . . . in scholarship one would, of course, not speak of the Old Testament but of the Hebrew, Israelite, Jewish religion” (Paul de Lagarde, “Ueber die gegenwärtige Lage des deutschen Reichs, ein Bericht [1875],” repr. in idem, *Deutsche Schriften. Gesamtausgabe letzter Hand*, 5th ed. [Göttingen: Dieterich, 1920], 106–82, at 166).

(30) Already in the first edition of his own history of Israel, Ewald had correlated these three terms to three distinguishable epochs yet claimed the people had transformed into a different one with each period: see Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis Christus*, vol. 1, 1st ed. (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1843), 14; cf. Ewald, *The History of Israel to the Death of Moses*, trans. Russell Martineau, 1st ed. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1867), 10.

what he recognizes as impossible.”¹⁵ In the *demonstration of incompatibility* between the law and Hebrew antiquity, Wellhausen was the first to make apparent the consequences of the results from research in literary criticism that already before him had rather thrived. Of course, the first six books of the Old Testament canon by no means stand vis-à-vis the rest in such clear otherness as Wellhausen represents above in a deliberately abbreviated and generalizing way. A mixing of the “two worlds” exists everywhere. The critical separation of law and historico-prophetic books therefore parallels the separations *within* the same books and within the law. In this manner, Wellhausen wields the method of so-called tendency criticism, in which the study of Baur, its greatest master, would have schooled him.¹⁶ (31) This method seeks, specifically, the original form of the text and, more generally, the original content of reports and literary units as well as the reason for the alteration of the original. The alteration, in turn, can only be understood on the basis of a notion of the whole underlying assumptions and dominant ideas at the time of origin. G[ustav] Droysen, who used Baur’s work in the field [[14]] of apostolic and church history as a model—i.e., criticism of the earlier and the later in extant material as a whole—elaborates: “the outcome of this procedure is usually the identification of a so-called ‘development’ of the original forms of the current formation, in which the dismantled components mutually explicate and verify one another” (*Grundriss der Historik*, §31).⁽³²⁾

Wellhausen was able to construct a development of Israelite-Jewish history because he extrapolated the first and original formations of the tradition based on a conception of Israelite antiquity that was both positive and typical of him. His special relationship to this early period is the final reason facilitating his construction of history. And this relationship is based on specific evaluations

15. Schweitzer, *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung*, 9.

16. No less: Abraham GEIGER, whose magnum opus is discussed by Wellhausen in his early books on the studies in the books of Samuel and on the Pharisees and Sadducees: Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der innern Entwicklung des Judenthums* (Breslau: Hainauer, 1857).

(31) See further Susannah Heschel, *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus*, Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), who also notes connections by Boschwitz and Hans Liebeschütz on Geiger, Tübingen, and *Tendenzkritik*.

(32) Johann Gustav Droysen, *Grundriß der Historik* (Leipzig: Veit & Co., 1868); an English translation appeared, thanks to E. Benjamin Andrews, as *Outline of the Principles of History* (*Grundriss der Historik*), *With a Biographical Sketch of the Author* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1897). Droysen (1808–1884), historian, politician, and leader of the Prussian School of History, recognized in particular for his histories of Alexander the Great, Hellenism, and Prussia. For a detailed treatment of Droysen’s historicism, see Frederick C. Beiser, *The German Historicist Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

and a disposition whose particularity the following investigation will make clear.

Originality: this is the concept of truth, historically understood. Wellhausen says early on of the *philological* undertaking to establish the original text, “conjecture, however, does not seek to arrive at any intermediate stage in the development (which has led from the archetype to the recensions lying before us) but at the beginning itself, for only the truth bears witness to itself” (*Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*, 7).¹⁷ Certainly, the same applies to the *historical* undertaking of his life’s work as a whole and in its essence. It is aimed at the truth, which bears witness to itself, of the “originality” and authenticity of universal humanity precisely of the times and peoples he chose as his subjects. Our question of the fundamental assumptions in Wellhausen’s historiography is therefore a question of the ultimate truths—self-referential and self-supporting—in his historical understanding and thus in his critical argumentation. What does he consider evident?

To elucidate his idea of originality, we begin with a juxtaposition of Wellhausen and HERDER.⁽³³⁾ In doing so, it is not possible to do full justice to Herder or [[15]] the others ([Friedrich] Nietzsche, [G. W. F.] Hegel, [Leopold] Ranke, [Theodor] Mommsen) with whom we compare Wellhausen in certain isolated, though by no means inconsequential, ways. This method of comparison should serve to capture the distinctive aspects of the motives and measures of Wellhausen’s historiography through filtration, as it were: through singling out the basic elements of his view that remain despite all characteristic commonalities.

The primary method of our study can only consist of letting Wellhausen speak for himself. We seek the general—the common driving force—in the judgments of even highly individual historical phenomena. Therefore, we must listen to the evaluative tone behind them. We will cite Wellhausen and frequently take issue with the pathos that, beyond matters of fact, sounds within them. Most often, the polemic sense of certain formulations—be it aggressive or defensive—reveals the general thought towards which the individual, historical judgment is oriented. Most insightful are the frequent expressions

17. Cf. also the critique by Julius Wellhausen: “The author seems to view source criticism as a scholarly game without practical application, not as a prerequisite to a history of the tradition and as a means to arrive at its original form. However, *the tradition can only be evaluated from the perspective of its original form*” (Wellhausen, review of *Geschichte des Volks Israel*, part 1, by Ludwig Christian Seinecke, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 2, no. 5 [3 March 1877]: 97–99, at 99).

(33) Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), versatile philosopher, literary theorist, poet, Protestant theologian, and biblical critic—ineestimably influential in cultural, intellectual, and political history since the Enlightenment and Romanticism in Europe. For an introduction to Herder’s thought, see Michael N. Forster, *Herder’s Philosophy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

that reject—unnecessarily, it seems—other possible views, which Wellhausen adds to his account of a specific situation. The *negative* attributes say the most, and the most important. Therefore, we first consider his work on Israelite and Jewish history. We do so because the consistent contrast to “sacred” history—conducted with confidence and with all desired clarity—exposes the scale of the standard of “profane” history more sharply, not because Wellhausen’s contribution to this field was objectively more significant or even more important to him than those in the field of Arab history.¹⁸

Wellhausen took up the history of Israel five times anew: (1) in the *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, which was presented in its first edition, of 1878, as volume one of a *Geschichte Israels* [*History of Israel*]; [2] then in the first purely descriptive version of 1880, which appeared the next year in English in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* as the article “Israel”; (3) in “Abriss der [[16]] Geschichte Israels und Juda’s” [“Outline of the History of Israel and Judah”] of 1881; (4) in *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* in 1894; (5) in a separate account of “Die Israelitisch-jüdische Religion” [“Israelite-Jewish Religion”] of 1905.⁽³⁴⁾ The main work, the Israelite-Jewish history, underwent seven editions in Wellhausen’s lifetime, the last in 1914. In some places, it saw not-insignificant changes, not least the chapter on the Gospel, which, starting with the sixth edition, added this qualifying remark at the beginning: “I have kept this chapter, even though I now only partially agree with it” (cf. Schwartz, *Rede auf Wellhausen*, 24ff.). In the following study, we will disregard the finer differences and variations, which the fundamental views of Wellhausen may have also experienced by the same historical circumstances from 1878 onward. However, it is precisely the important summarizing judgments that Wellhausen never ceased to tweak, whereby they became more and more succinct and restrained. We even deliberately prefer the earlier formulations, which are more radical and one-sided. They have the rightful bias of immediacy.^{19 (35)}

18. “In the Old Testament he had predecessors, the questions were already defined, the problem was in the air, even if it was his appearance that got the ball running. . . . The genius of his individual contribution was . . . probably greater in field of Arabic Studies . . .” (Becker, “Julius Wellhausen,” 95).

19. He wrote in a letter to Justi on 1 June 1895: “I am plodding along with the second edition of the Jewish history. It will be decidedly worse than the first. I can only make very few material changes; the fairly comprehensive stylistic changes are concessions to other tastes and contradict my own. In the end, we write according to the wishes of other people, even though I am increasingly motivated *mihi cantare et Musis* [to sing for myself and the Muses]. The second chapter is the most affected; it will be completely restructured and thereby loses its descriptive character in favor of a critical, dry explanatory one, which does not match at all the style of the work as a whole.”

(34) For the history and interrelations of these writings, see Kurtz, *Kaiser, Christ, and Canaan*, 77–85.

(35) Wellhausen, *Briefe*, no. 469, pp. 330–31.

Being more immediate, they manifest the particular interests of the historian in his subject. They evince what, to the historian, seems really to change history and thus be principally worthy of historical consideration. These judgments are more immediate than the later, more nuanced and more cautious ones. The latter prove more historically correct, as in more balanced and more insightful, but they conceal the core of the historical problems that concern the researcher, even though—as answers to the historian’s old questions, formulated in a very specific way—they rest no less upon the same original presuppositions. These general presuppositions of Wellhausen’s historiography shall themselves be made the subject of investigation here, as we intend to gain an understanding of the inner coherence of their motives and measures. Such an investigation into the motives and [[17]] measures of an historiographer counters the preconceived notion that it replaces, unjustifiably, the concrete historical interest in the truth of what happened with a psychological interest in the researcher’s “merely subjective” impetus. If only the specific scientific contribution could, in fact, consist precisely of the historical recognition and appreciation that is uncovered *in spite of* merely subjective preferences and aversions! Does such an approach to the topic not already contain the aspiration—together with the critical assessment of the historian’s motives for or against the results of his historical efforts—to prompt a precedent?

Yet if the inseparable connection between the motives *and* the measures can be demonstrated, if the temporally *earliest* impulses—biographically or in the history of the problem—also prove to be logically primary, as persistent leading ideas of historical construction, then the suspicion of an inappropriate reduction of historical problems to a mere psychological consideration must be deemed unjustified. To be sure, the findings of, for instance, Old Testament source criticism do not simply stand or fall with the assertion or execution of a general position from which the entire work of separation and criticism is undertaken. However, everything that goes beyond the *negative* contribution of the analysis, beyond the exposition of inconsistencies, contradictions, and fissures in the biblical tradition, requires a compass or measure that regards the entirety of human life. This includes the progression from immanent textual and literary criticism to the endeavor of determining biases in the layers of tradition, singled out by hypothesis, to the positive, comprehensive *construction* of the history of the tradition as a reflection of the history of the people: the exact step Wellhausen accomplishes in an epoch-making manner. The history of the people as a reflection of their history of its tradition is based on the *construction of the “original form”* of the tradition,²⁰ based on a specific idea concerning the original form of a [[18]] people’s life in general. It goes

20. See n. 17 above.

without saying that these *presuppositions* of the historiographer that we are looking for, the fundamental view that serves as his measure, does not have to *precede* his engagement with the historical material chronologically. Rather, it originates in the intensive, indivisible interaction of the researcher with the documents of a past life. Yet it transcends the scope of mere source criticism. It contains more than what the sources themselves provide. It alone was to lead beyond the sources to a new historical image of biblical history.

The following investigation is limited to tracking down these general presuppositions for Wellhausen's historiography in his historiography itself and to uncovering the basic inner cohesiveness of these presuppositions. It does not offer a critique of these principles. Nor is its intention one of actual intellectual history. It aims to recognize what must necessarily precede both approaches—critical evaluation and research into the historical origins of ideas—and what first can give meaning and foundation. In other words, it aims to establish what Wellhausen really intended: *that* he intended something in particular and the nature of this particular something.

[Originality and History]

Herder had paved the way for the modern *historical* way of looking at the biblical world. His finely tuned ear for the voices of peoples also made him sensitive to the “spirit of Hebrew poetry,” such that he has gained the same fame as ingenious initiator as [Johann Joachim] Winckelmann enjoys for the interpretation of the spirit and history of classical art. Already, and especially for Herder, a longing for an *original*, unbroken, sentient humanity is the persistent motif in most of his historical efforts.⁽³⁶⁾ That he conveyed the idea of historical individuality like none [[19]] before him and that his importance for the development of historical understanding in general can therefore hardly be exaggerated is virtually a commonplace in history.²¹ One only has to remember that his specific, historical view of the intrinsic value of all periods, of the intrinsic completeness and intrinsic happiness of different nations in each of their individual “ages,” goes hand in hand with a particular fondness for “nations in the childhood state of the world,” in other words, for one very specific stage in their life.²² In expressed contrast to the pride in civilization of his own cosmopolitan age—when “every classical aesthete who considers the policing of our century

21. Cf. Julius KAERST, “Studien zur Entwicklung und Bedeutung der universalgeschichtlichen Anschauung (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Geschichte des Altertums,” repr. in idem, *Universalgeschichte. Abhandlungen*, ed. Joseph Vogt (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1930), 135ff.; Wilhelm DILTHEY, “Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert und die geschichtliche Welt [1901],” repr. in idem, *Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Geistes*, ed. Paul Ritter, *Gesammelte Schriften* 3 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1927), 209–68, at 267–68.

22. Johann Gottfried Herder, “Vom Geist der ebräischen Poesie (1782–83),” repr. in *Herders Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Bernhard Suphan, vol. 11 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1879), 213–466, vol. 12 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1880), 1–302, at vol. 12, p. 9.

(36) Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768), archaeologist, aesthete, and both critic and historian of art, especially distinguished by his work on Greek and Roman antiquity and his public impact on philhellenism. For a recent reassessment of him and his legacy, see Katherine Harloe, *Winckelmann and the Invention of Antiquity: History and Aesthetics in the Age of Altertumswissenschaft* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

as the ultimate human achievement"²³ feels superior to the dark, barbarian pasts—he defended with passion the intrinsic value of those *wild* “ages and peoples, when everything was so narrowly national. For every formation [*Bildung*] rose from, and returned back, to the most particular individual needs—pure experience, action, application of life in its most particular sphere.”²⁴ Tracing all of the oldest mythological documents and national songs from the early periods of cultural formation [*Bildungszeiten*] of different peoples back to a “naked human soul in need” in a grand overview of the earth and history for illumination of its spirit—as Montesquieu did for the spirit of law—was one of his many blueprints for the history of the human soul, from which his grand work of universal history later emerged.²⁵ Montesquieu’s work may be “of course a thousand times more useful for civil society,” but in the oldest documents and national songs “there are everywhere at least features that speak to the image of the human heart and spirit, as cannot be found in our own educated and artificial age. *The true* [[20]] *form of sensory humanity*, the entire Gymnasium of *imaginative power* and *poetry* . . . , the plain driving force of *passions* and national predispositions, everything we find of the person in our own refined age only in weak, obscure features, lives in the documents of that eon. Our century is too refined, too political and philosophical. . . .”²⁶

All of Herder’s investigations into the origins of poetries and religions are, at the same time, investigations into humanity in its originality, into the true form of sensory humanity. For him, this form is the poet and every people in that youthful state of sensory immediacy and experientiality, as it is, collectively, also a poet. For this reason, Ossian, Shakespeare and Homer, the Edda, the Bible, and every possible oral and artistic poetry stood on the same level for him.²⁷ (37) It was his ingenious sense for the poetic that sharpened and

23. Johann Gottfried Herder, “Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit. Beytrag zu vielen Beyträgen des Jahrhunderts (1774),” repr. in *Herders Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Bernhard Suphan, vol. 5 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1891), 475–595, at 524.

24. *Ibid.*, 544.

25. Johann Gottfried Herder, “Aus Herder’s Frühzeit, no. 12. (Von den ältesten Nationalgesängen),” repr. in *Herders Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Bernhard Suphan, vol. 32 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), 148–52, at 152; cf. Rudolf Haym, *Herder nach seinem Leben und seinen Werken*, vol. 1, part 1 (Berlin: Gaertner, 1877), 288.

26. Herder, “Aus Herder’s Frühzeit, no. 12,” 152.

27. Cf. Rudolf Haym, *Herder nach seinem Leben und seinen Werken*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Gaertner, 1885), 175. He even experimented with rewriting the patriarchal sagas in the popular form of rhyming English ballads. In his travel journal we come across the expression “Adel, Größe und Unbewußtheit der Größe, wie *Ossian* und *Moses*” (“nobility, greatness, and unawareness like *Ossian* or

(37) For more on placing the Bible among others, see Ofri Ilany, *In Search of the Hebrew People: Bible and Nation in the German Enlightenment*, trans. Ishai Mishory, German Jewish Cultures (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018)

directed his sense of history. He was willing and able to view all poetry not as finished form but as performance and expression and therefore as *emerging* and conditional, as “national poetry”: i.e., as a unique and autonomous product of an individual national spirit.²⁸ Therefore, he was the first neither to accept the Old Testament only in a devout, traditional way nor to perform criticism of it in a moralizing or an enlightened, rationalist manner but rather to *enjoy* it as a sublime expression of an ancient people, one that simply and enthusiastically felt, acted, and expressed itself. A[ibert] Schweitzer characterized his corresponding attitude toward the New Testament as “a reaction of art against theology. . . . The gospels should be read not with erudition but with *taste*.”²⁹ Wellhausen himself, a staunch supporter of the so-called Marcan hypothesis in the problems of gospel criticism, noted that Herder was the first to recognize in the gospel of Mark “the oldest deposit of the Christian community’s legend. He assumes (and Wellhausen readily adopts this argument [[21]] as his own) that no other gospel has so few literary elements yet so vibrant a narratorial voice as this one. How this clairvoyant anticipated so much of science! His comparative characterization of the first three gospels is superb.”³⁰

Yet Herder not only had to overcome the theological prejudice of the supernaturalists, on the one hand, and the rationalist prejudice of the Enlightenment, on the other. But he also had to overcome their moral prejudice to secure validity for an historical understanding of the Bible.³¹ Here, the aesthetic judgment clearly attests to his power to prepare for an historical understanding: a time that gave rise to a song like that of the judge Deborah could not have been so terribly dull!

A time of civic and political order, peaceful security, and moral custom is, admittedly, the more fortuitous for a people, but perhaps not for an active, vivid poetry, for songs that love audacious events, passions, adventure, and freedom. “At that time, there was no king in Israel, and everyone did what was right in their own eyes”—that is, very often the crudest, cruelest injustice, as we can see in many features of this history. *They acted, however, with fiery, unfettered inclinations.* In all the smaller deeds of heroes, it says, “[T]he spirit of the Lord, i.e., the spirit of the

Moses”): Herder, “Journal meiner Reise im Jahr 1769,” repr. in *Herders Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Bernhard Suphan, vol. 4 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1878), 343–461, at 442–43.

28. Cf. Haym, *Herder nach seinem Leben und seinen Werken*, vol. 1, part 1, 236–37: Herder against Winckelmann and Lessing.

29. Schweitzer, *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung*, 36.

30. Julius Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 1st ed. (Berlin: Reimer, 1905), 93.

31. On VOLTAIRE’s typical view of the Old Testament, see Hanna Oppenheimer Emmrich, *Das Judentum bei Voltaire*, Sprache und Kultur der germanischen und romanischen Völker, Series C. Romanische Reihe 5 (Breslau: Priebatsch, 1930).

Israelite nation, came upon him. The god of the country stirred and readied him. The spirit of Yahweh began to drive him here and there”—even if he was anything but a good, moral man. It is miserable to read what is said against this book (of Judges) and its adventures without any consideration of the times of that period. (“Vom Geist der ebräischen Poesie” [“On the Spirit of Hebrew Poetry”], in *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 12, p. 168)

For Wellhausen,

what emerges from the history of ancient Israel is nothing more than the profound freshness and naturalness of its impulses. The characters who act—he goes on to laud—appear throughout with such a compulsion of their nature, the men of God no less than the murders and adulterers. They are figures who exist only in the open air. . . . They not only *spoke* like the prophets, but they *acted*, too, like judges and kings, from their own free initiative, not according to external norms yet [[22]] nevertheless and for that very reason in the spirit of Yahweh. (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 417)

It seems the cause for admiration and appreciation was the same for Herder and Wellhausen. The “fiery, unfettered inclinations” that let Herder accept the “crudest, cruelest injustice” are the same as “the compulsion of their natures” and the “profound freshness and naturalness of its impulses” that allow Wellhausen, on occasion, to name men of God, murderers, and adulterers in the same breath. Herder, too, had a “sense for the energy of evil,” which he had probably developed from Shakespeare and which Wellhausen ascribes to the biblical narrator of the stories about Abimelech and Jehu (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 47)—and which he himself possessed, as his portrayals of, for instance, King Herod and the Umayyad governors in Iraq sufficiently attest.

The new, specifically historical understanding established for good by Herder,^{32 (38)} albeit not by him alone, is based on a new appreciation—revolt-

32. On this subject, see the recent profound and sublime study by Friedrich MEINECKE, *Die Entstehung des Historismus*, 2 vols. (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1936), vol. 2, ch. 9. Meinecke especially acknowledges the close connection between the predisposition for the original childhood states of the peoples and the emerging sense for the historical in general and for the developing individualism and identifies English pre-Romanticism as an important precursor to the pan-European movement (vol. 1, ch. 6), the most significant product of which is, aside from [Thomas] Blackwell's and [Robert] Wood's books on Homer, precisely that work that constitutes the true

(38) On the foundations laid by Lowth and Herder, see Michael C. Legaspi, *The Death of Scripture and the Rise of Biblical Studies*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

ing against the rationalism of the Enlightenment—of *sentiment*, *passion*, and *imagination* as the individual and therefore truly lively and life-giving powers of humanity. The high appreciation of these powers and their creations is what the interest in the poetic has in common with the interest in the historical: through it, the former stimulates the latter. It is in this sense that Wellhausen employs the concept of the poetic. Indeed, it frequently takes over part of the probative value for history.

In terms of methodology and the history of scholarship, the historical criticism of the Bible in the nineteenth century proceeds from a critical juxtaposition of the books of Chronicles and those of Kings, as the most comprehensive and most significant parallel reports in the canon of the Old Testament.^{33 (39)} These two [[23]] outermost ends of the canonical history document most clearly “the gap between two different worlds,” whose contrast Wellhausen so incisively perceived. Also biographically, his research in biblical criticism started from this perception. Now, Wellhausen reckons Chronicles, in relation to the old book of Kings, “a true travesty of history. The religious, moralizing bias destroys the *aesthetic sense of truth*. It does not represent things as they are but uses them only as examples for a few tenuous ideas” (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 200). He formulates the same idea about the same subject in a parallel passage of the *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* with a small yet characteristic variation:

The Jews of the restoration—as it is called here—condemned the entire earlier development (their old history) and accepted only the Mosaic period along with its Davidic reflection, that is, not the history but the idea. Since the exile, the theocratic idea [has] stood in the center of all thought and action. It destroyed the *objective sense of truth*, the respect for and the interest in the facts transmitted. (ibid., 158–59)

The objective sense of truth is the aesthetic one!

precursor to Herder's discourses on Hebrew poetry: Robert LOWTH, *De sacra poesi Hebræorum* (Oxford: Carendon, 1753).

33. This is already seen in W. M. L. DE WETTE, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, vol. 1, *Kritischer Versuch über die Glaubwürdigkeit der Bücher der Chronik mit Hinsicht auf die Geschichte der Mosaïschen Bücher und Gesetzgebung. Ein Nachtrag zu den Vaterschen Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch* (Halle: Schimmelpfennig, 1806).

(39) On de Wette's pioneering criticism, see Thomas Albert Howard, *Religion and the Rise of Historicism: W. M. L. de Wette, Jacob Burckhardt, and the Theological Origins of Nineteenth-Century Historical Consciousness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); John W. Rogerson, *W. M. L. de Wette, Founder of Modern Biblical Criticism: An Intellectual Biography*, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 126 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992).

Just how serious, just how little Wellhausen means this as “merely aesthetic” becomes evident in a decisive passage that deals with what, undoubtedly, is for him the greatest historical problem: namely, Jesus and his historical impact. It addresses the possibility of abstracting—in view of his *religious* significance—from his *historical* impact, that is, from Christianity and the Christian church: “there is certainly ample reason to distinguish his intention from his impact” (*Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 1st ed., 115). Is it possible to raise the historical Jesus to a religious principle and pit him against Christianity? Wellhausen responds, “By making the historical Jesus into a religious dogma, one is ultimately forced, like the old rationalists, to strip him of ‘historical contingency.’ *This then puts an end to the poetic luster.* The rational—which can be understood in very different ways—essentially takes the place of the historical.” Here, the same juxtapositions are lined up as with Herder. The truth of the historical and poetic designates the living, personal, and individual and thus [[24]] the truth of concrete reality in the historical—albeit always “conditioned”—person, above all ideas and abstractions.

“Our century,” laments Herder, “is too delicate, too *political* and philosophical” so as not to stunt the true form of the sentient human being in its existence.³⁴ A politically primitive state is, accordingly, the real condition for true “poetic” originality. Wellhausen has described this context with regard to the Arab Bedouins, convinced he could capture from them an idea of the original nature of the ancient Israelites prior to the law—also in contrast to his own time. His formulation also illustrates the sense of the poetic discussed here. Since the people of the desert “did not have institutions independent of individuals, which seemed to function by themselves, since mutual relationships, rights, and obligations were neither regulated nor protected by any kind of power by authorities, they were not so indifferent and self-acting as with us, but rather *passionate and personal and therefore poetic.*”³⁵

Yet Herder and Wellhausen are separated by the nineteenth century.³⁶ Despite the commonalities suggested here, the chasm separating the

34. See his critique of the state (“that machine”), especially large states (“these artificial institutions of society”): Johann Gottfried Herder, “Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit (Parts 1 & 2: 1784, 1785),” repr. in *Herders Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Bernhard Suphan, vol. 13 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1887), 3–441, at 340; cf. Haym, *Herder nach seinem Leben und seinen Werken*, vol. 2, [252]. See also his unique enmity towards Rome and its “demonic history”: Johann Gottfried Herder, “Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit (Parts 3 & 4: 1787, 1791),” repr. in *Herders Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Bernhard Suphan, vol. 4 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1909), 3–495, at [1]72. On his incongruity towards state and war, see MEINECKE, *Die Entstehung des Historismus*, [vol. 2, *Die deutsche Bewegung*, ch. 9, “Herder,”] 454ff., 471–72.

35. Julius Wellhausen, “Die alte arabische Poesie,” *Cosmopolis: Revue Internationale* 1, no. 2 (1896): 592–604, at 603–4.

36. Born in 1844, Wellhausen was exactly one hundred years younger than Herder.

two—and the uniqueness of Wellhausen's attitude towards the “nations in the childhood state of the world”—is both immediately and forcefully noticeable. What attracted Herder, and what he therefore wanted to bring respect to, was primarily the “idyllic stories” (“Vom Geist der ebräischen Poesie,” in *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 11, p. 415) about the patriarchs, the “bliss of a rural simplicity” (in *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 12, p. 108), the “heart of the great and true nature poets,” which “was always gentle and good” (in *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 11, pp. 294–95). He was governed by an explicitly peaceable and optimistic piety. The divergence between Herder and Wellhausen goes on display in their reading of the theophany of the despairing prophet Elijah (1 Kgs. 19:8–13). It proves especially noteworthy [[25]] because Wellhausen, from childhood onward, relished the quintessence of the Old Testament spirit in the legends about these prophets. The twenty-four-year-old Wellhausen wrote in his vita, “Since my early childhood I most enjoyed what the scripture narrates about the prophet Elijah (1 Kgs. 17), which I read over and over again, and there was nothing that compared to that story” (Schwartz, *Rede auf Wellhausen*, 32).⁽⁴⁰⁾ Herder believes “the vision was intended to show God's soft path to the ardent prophet, who was bent on improving the world by storm and to preach his long-suffering, gentle nature” (in *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 12, p. 38). Wellhausen, however, scolds (without naming Herder) this “*sentimental* reading of the theophany . . . , a hideous misunderstanding. . . . Yahweh's gentle rustle could not possibly be held up as an admonitory example to his (the prophet's) own stormy nature.”³⁷

For Wellhausen, ancient Israel is essentially “the autonomous, political, and militant people” (“Die israelitisch-jüdische Religion,” 7), the “militant confederation” (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 26). For Herder, it is the peaceful people of farmers and herders. Herder emphasizes the piece of evidence “that Moses felt the harshness of the tragic, common law of war in those times, just as we do” (in *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 12, p. 128). He calls the war of extermination at the conquest of the promised land a “tragic necessity”—precisely what the biblical expression of the war of Yahweh wants to convey (*ibid*). By contrast, for the same occasion Wellhausen stresses, “War has always been the main arena of Yahweh's activity, so long as Israel existed as a people” (“Die israelitisch-jüdische Religion,” 10). “War was the noblest expression of the nation's existence, at that time and for centuries after. War is what makes

37. “Elijah is in despair because his work has been in vain, and he is comforted by Yahweh with the promise that not only the priests of Baal, but all servants of Baal in Israel—hundreds of thousands—shall be exterminated” (Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 77n1).

(40) From his curriculum vitae, the statement was written by Wellhausen—and reproduced by Boschwitz—in Latin.

peoples" (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 26). To Wellhausen, "that the self-awareness of the national barely finds expression in the personal character of the patriarchs" demands an answer. He finds it "remarkable . . . that the heroes of the Israelite legends exhibit such little militarism. In this respect, they do not seem to correspond precisely to the historical nature of the Israelite people."³⁸ Herder knows of a [[26]] "primordial time when milk and honey flowed also in the moral realm" (in *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 11, p. 363). "Even the severe and so categorical laws of Moses" in Deuteronomy prompt him to make the reassuring remark: "If one would collect all the statements about the relationships of children to their parents and about domestic and familial happiness in the Proverbs, Psalms and Prophets, they will find a paragon of the *earliest, sweetest morals*" (in *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 12, pp. 107–8). Wellhausen, on the other hand, feels compelled to make an explicit qualification when characterizing the spirit of Deuteronomic legislation: it is "*only* a juridical principle, *nothing further*, that the son does not have to atone for the father."³⁹ What prompts Wellhausen to this marked protest? What "further" or undesired could this statement express? Corresponding formulations of the same idea on other various occasions betray what he has in mind here and what potential interpretation he wishes to avoid. It is as if the idea of historical joint liability should be remonstrated. Such an objection would strike at the heart of Wellhausen's historical ethos. It would "deny the most certain of all historical experiences,

38. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 324–25. Pointing to the ideal foil of a rough and most unfriendly national present, Wellhausen sees primarily the motif that the legends attributed to the patriarchs with these characteristics.

MAX WEBER has pointed to the pacifist morality of the patriarchs in particular and the "plebeian" ethic of Judaism in general as an expressed topic of research: see his *Das antike Judentum*, repr. in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, vol. 3 (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1921), 58ff. Here, too, Wellhausen had prepared the way for him in significant ways in the question of a specifically utopian ethic of the prophets (see his remarks about the "sublime work by Wellhausen," 2–3n1): not only with individual positive examples yielded by his research but also with his fundamental view of the subject. For these determine what is worthy of inquiry and therefore in need of an explanation. The differentiation of ancient Israel and post-exilic Judaism, which Wellhausen applied with unprecedented severity, between the politically autonomous people and the nonpolitical community, for which foreign rule was the condition of its existence and the unique nature of its religion, is the fundamental *religio-sociological differentiation* on which Weber bases his work.

To be sure, Herder was well aware of the atypically heroic character of the patriarchs. However, he wants to see it as typical in contrast to the usual militant and political heroic ideal: "A hero in faith, i.e., with simple greatness of the soul—that was Abraham! That was what his people should be and a hero of this kind is on a higher plane of the human spirit than a hero with fist or spear or *political cunning and scheming*" (Herder, "Vom Geist der ebräischen Poesie (1782–83)," in *Herders Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Suphan, vol. 1[1], p. 413).

39. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 136[n1]. Incidentally, this distinction was already pointed out by Wilhelm Vatke, *Die biblische Theologie wissenschaftlich dargestellt*, vol. 1.1, *Die Religion des Alten Testaments nach den kanonischen Büchern entwickelt* (Berlin: Bethge, 1835), 517n4.

namely, that the sons must atone for the sins of their fathers" (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 312), "that the present suffers under the guilt of the past and the individual under the guilt [[27]] of the community" (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 154). "History does not reckon with good intentions, not at all with persons, but with deeds. It does not restrict the consequences of a deed to the doer. It punishes follies and weakness more severely than sin. It makes no action undone and makes no allowances for a change of heart. In short, history, in its effect on the individual, is a tragedy, and tragedy has no satisfying ending" (ibid., 116). Wellhausen's favorite prophet is Amos, and he "is unique in looking doom straight in the eye. . . . He considers the fate of the entire people and in the process distinguishes between just and unjust as little as *history itself does*" ["Die kleinen Propheten übersetzt, mit Noten," in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 5, p. 93]. Precisely because the closing verses to the book of this prophet attach conciliatory promises to the foregoing grim prophecies of doom, Wellhausen declares them inauthentic and apocryphal. They promise "roses and lavender instead of blood and iron"! After the prophet has "just before far outdone all his earlier threats, he cannot all of a sudden break off the sting. He cannot, in the end, let milk and honey⁴⁰ flow from the cup of Yahweh's wrath. . . . Should the illusion triumph over its destroyer, the god of wishes over the god of historical necessity?" (ibid., 94). Herder had no conception of this. Rather, he believed to find in the "earliest" morals also the "sweetest."

What first appeared only to be an aesthetic delight in things original—on which Herder and Wellhausen agree and which lets them both admire and affirm in ancient Israel an unbroken, passionate, and enthusiastic human world—lies only at the beginning of their intentions, which pursue different trends. The kind of originality Wellhausen seeks appears with unparalleled clarity in his first work to deal with Old Testament history in its entirety: his most youthful and temperamental book—besides his investigation into the Pharisees and Sadducees—the *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*. Being kept *polemical* throughout [[28]], it is thus particularly clear. Today, this polemical quality is seen as a weakness, conditioned only by the state of Old Testament science at the time.⁴¹ This is wrong. The openly hostile stance serves to define the standpoint plainly. In the case of the Bible, to declare the polemic superfluous would mean not only considering one's opponent definitively defeated and one's own position evident and incontestable but also eschewing a knowledge of the presuppositions for this position and therefore that position itself.

40. This is undoubtedly an intentional barb aimed at Herder, who was unbearably generous in his use of these products of the promised land.

41. "It is not difficult to see that the way he framed the question and his view in general were oriented towards polemic" (BAUMGARTNER, "Wellhausen und der heutige Stand der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft," 304).

At bottom, the aggressive and—in service of this offense—often sarcastic character of Wellhausen’s argumentation is provoked less by the state of science in his time than by the object itself: the Old Testament. Opponents to Wellhausen’s polemic are less this or that contemporary than a certain spirit in the documents themselves. A history that interprets its subject matter by and large in strict contradiction to how the tradition wishes to be interpreted—which, for its part, already represents history, i.e., interpreted events—(and modern biblical science does this quite generally), such a history finds its appropriate and honest expression in a polemical presentation. If, however, it perceives the polemic to be objectionable, perhaps because it is supposedly detrimental to scientific austerity and objectivity, then it does nothing but obscure how much it really stands at loggerheads with the material it is given.

In the *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, Wellhausen implements, in the grandest style, the procedure of tendency criticism, “the criticism of the earlier and the later.” Yet with him, this procedure gains its élan through the driving agenda: to expose with the earlier and more original of textual history at once the more splendid and more genuine of humanity, to secure it in its historicity, and to purify it from elements added later and from concealment and falsification. Wellhausen placed a motto from Hesiod before the second part of the work, “History of the Tradition”: *pléon hémisy pantós*.⁽⁴¹⁾ The half is worth more than the whole; or, to render the laconic spirit of the Greek: [[29]] less would be more! It means there are shells that must be recognized as such and removed in order to enjoy the kernel. “What appears to common conception as the specific character of the Israelite history and therefore chiefly bears the name *sacred history*⁴² mostly rests upon subsequent layers painted over the original picture” (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 297). First with post-exilic Judaism is the charge for this overpainting, namely, the religious schematization of the Israelite past, to be levelled: “in which the epigones could not otherwise recognize their ideals. The law and the hierocracy—and the *deus ex machina* as sole effective factor of the sacred history—were not located in the tradition. Rather, they were missing from it and therefore added” (ibid., 224). The “pedantic supernaturalism, the *sacred history*^{42bis} according to the recipe,” which institutes with monotone pragmatism a constant causality between the people’s misfortune and their sins, “is not to be found in the original narratives” (ibid., 236). True, “an esteem of the tradition is expressed in its modernization. But in the process, it is most arbitrarily reinterpreted, distorted, and interspersed with

42. Emphasis by Wellhausen.

(41) Wellhausen himself reproduced the phrase in Greek script (πλέον ἡμῖν παντός) and with attribution only to the author, Hesiod. The reference comes from Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 40.

foreign ingredients" (ibid., 228). This distortion is the grievous work of the later scribes' conception of history.⁽⁴²⁾ Their portrayal of the time of the Judges and Kings "becomes, as it were, a grand confession of sins by the exiled nation with regard to its past" (ibid., 281). Wellhausen does not doubt that the "natural" versions of these stories are the primary ones and the "religious" the secondary. For him, "in general, the closer the historiography is to its origin, the more profane it is" (ibid., 245–47). He wants to help this original, profane historiography to obtain its rights. While, of course, he must first set it apart, he pursues it by sketching a portrait of Hebrew antiquity and its worldly religion, which must be called his own, idiosyncratic creation. At that time, the so-called theocracy is "nothing more than what used to be named particularism. Sacred affairs are national affairs" ("Die israelitisch-jüdische Religion," 9). God is the helper; war is the main arena of his activity. He is "splendidly realistic" precisely because his action [[30]] was "elevated, by an underlying plan of salvation, above all speculations, above all limitations of calculable salvation purposes" (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 108). "Religion did not involve humans in the life of the deity but the reverse: the deity in the life of humans. Thus, in reality it did not stifle life but unshackled it" (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 1st ed., 18). "In Hebrew antiquity, *divine service was nature*. It was the blossoming of life, and its meaning was to glorify the heights and depths of life. . . . Sacrifice to Yahweh was a meal for humans, characterized by *the lack of opposition between spiritual solemnity and worldly joyfulness*. . . . *Earthly relationships* are thereby sanctified; corresponding to them are *natural occasions* of celebration, as offered by life with all its colors." "Therefore, the festivals . . . are based in agriculture, the basis of life as well as that of religion. The land, the fertile land, *replaces heaven and hell alike*" (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 76, 77, 90, cf. 429).

To measure the extreme sense of the view expressed here, one should observe how far it could be taken over by NIETZSCHE to support him in his battle position—as "antichrist(ian)"—for the "transvaluation of all values":^{43 (43)}

Originally, above all in the time of the monarchy, Israel stood in the correct,⁴⁴ that is, the natural, relationship to all things. Its Yahweh was

43. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Der Antichrist*, repr. in *Nietzsches Werke, Taschen-Ausgabe*, vol. 10, ed. Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1921), 386ff.

44. Emphasis by Nietzsche.

(42) On Protestant representations of Jewish conceptions of history more broadly, see Paul Michael Kurtz, "Is Kant among the Prophets? Hebrew Prophecy and German Historical Thought, 1880–1920," *Central European History* 54 (2021): 34–60.

(43) Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), classicist, philosopher, and critic, inestimably important in the history of modern psychology and philosophy, religion and society, culture and the arts, as well as mustaches. The "transvaluation of (all) values" cropped up on multiple occasions

the expression of the consciousness of its power, of joy in itself, of hope for itself. In him they looked for victory and salvation. With him they trusted nature, that it provides whatever the people need, above all, rain. . . . In the festival cultus, both sides of this self-approval by a people are revealed. It is grateful for the great destinies by which it came out on top. It is grateful in relation to the yearly cycle of seasons and to all good fortune in husbandry and agriculture. (It was first) the priests who brought about that miracle of falsification—now documented before us in large portions of the Bible. With a contempt unparalleled, against all tradition, *against all historical reality*, they *translated* the past of their own people *into religious terms*. That is to say, they turned it into an idiotic mechanism: of sin before Yahweh and punishment, of piety before Yahweh and reward. At the hands [[31]] of the Jewish priests, the *great*^{44bis} age in the history of Israel became an age of decay. The exile, the long period of misfortune, was transformed into a perpetual *punishment*^{44bis} for that great age. . . . Out of the powerful, wholly free figures from the history of Israel they fashioned—depending on the need—either miserable yes-men and grumps or infidels. (*Der Antichrist*, Aphorisms 25, 26)

And Wellhausen: “What has Chronicles done to David! The founder of the kingdom has become the founder of the temple and of religious service. The king and hero at the helm of his comrades in arms has become a cantor and liturgist for a swarm of priests and Levites. His figure, so sharply drawn, has become a dull picture of a saint, shrouded by a cloud of incense” (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 181). Wellhausen’s anger and zeal against the biblical “translations into religious terms” and his pathos for the back-translation into the profane only become understandable if for him, as for Nietzsche, the “natural” relationship is considered not merely the correct one—as historical and chronologically earlier—but also more generally, as somehow the “correct relationship to all things.”⁽⁴⁴⁾ In his affect, Wellhausen is in harmony with Nietzsche beyond matters of historical fact. This affect shows that the attack on the religious pragmatics of the Old Testament originates in the longing to liberate a suspected and desired original from disfigurement. In essence, it is

in Nietzsche’s writings: not only associated with *Der Antichrist* and its complicated composition history but also used by his sororal editor as a subtitle for the work translated as *The Will to Power* (cf. n. (85) below). In the first and only sentence in Aphorism 25 before the passage reproduced here, he opened with the following statement: “The history of Israel is inestimable as a typical history of all denaturalization of natural values: I will outline five facts thereof.”

(44) For more on Nietzsche and Wellhausen, cf. the overlooked essay by Daniel Weidner, “Geschichte gegen den Strich bürsten”: Julius Wellhausen und die jüdische ‘Gegengeschichte,’” *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 54, no. 1 (2002): 32–61.

a defense, not primarily a negative criticism of something untenable from the standpoint of historical criticism but a defense of a historical reality, viewed from its positivity.⁴⁵

Here, we leave aside the role of deliberate falsifier in which Nietzsche—consistent with an old prejudice of the Enlightenment—cast the priests as authors of the Sacred History and falsifiers of “historical reality.” We note only the following: the passages cited above appear in a writing whose title ran *Der Antichrist*, and this furious description of post-exilic Judaism was supposed to characterize the soil from which Christianity grew and flourished. In addition, we note that Wellhausen closes his Israelite-Jewish history with a chapter on “The Gospel” because he sees its content realized in Jesus, i.e., preserved and overcome.⁴⁶ We thus come face-to-face with both extremes, juxtaposed, [[32]] of his evaluation of history: the evangelical “*religious individualism*,” on the one hand, and the enthusiastic appraisal of ages when religion was “patriotism,” on the other (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 55).⁴⁶ The development from the latter to the former is now the content of Israelite-Jewish history. Unlike Nietzsche, Wellhausen is far from condemning this development absolutely, as “a typical history of all de-naturalization of natural values,” from fixing the religion of Hebrew antiquity as the only valuable one and pitting it against all other stages of the religion. Instead, the main plot in his Israelite-Jewish history is a gradual de-ethnicizing and ethicizing of the relationship between God and the human—as the moral difference unfolds from an original, natural congruence between the people and God: Yahweh “only a god under conditions,”⁴⁷ “when the god of the people became the god of law and justice, the highest and, ultimately, the only power in heaven and on earth” (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 1st ed., 18). As he writes, Wellhausen follows that plot with the inner sympathy not of the doctor but of the heir. However, the course of this history is, first and foremost, anything but a “single-track, straight-line, ascending development.”⁴⁸ Wellhausen rather

45. On Wellhausen’s influence on Nietzsche, see excursus II *infra*.

46. “[A] patriotism capable of extraordinary efforts and which has had no parallel in the West, either in ancient or in modern times”: Wellhausen, “Moab,” *Encyclopædica Britannica*, 9th ed., vol. 16, *Mena–Mosul* (Edinburgh: Black, 1883), 533–36, at 535.

47. Nietzsche, *Der Antichrist*, in *Werke*, vol. 10, p. 387, Aphorism 25; following Wellhausen, “Abriss der Geschichte Israels und Juda’s,” in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 1, p. 51–52; also *idem*, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 114–15.

48. Wilhelm Lütgert, *Die Religion des deutschen Idealismus und ihr Ende*, part 4, *Das Ende des Idealismus im Zeitalter Bismarcks*, Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, 2nd Series: Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Monographien 21 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1930), 374.

(45) Here, Boschwitz wrote, “in Jesus aufgehoben, d.i. aufbewahrt und überwunden.” Nigh impossible to translate effectively in English, the German *aufheben* means to keep/preserve as well as to remove/overcome: as glossed by Boschwitz himself, in this case both meanings apply.

thought, “[I]t is not progress but nonetheless a fact that the kings were followed by the high priests and the prophets by the rabbis” (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 413). Wellhausen then avowed, on the direction his research had taken, “I have made the transition from the Old Testament to the Arabs with the aim of coming to know the wildling onto which the scion of Yahweh’s Torah was grafted by priests and prophets. For I have no doubt that a conception of those *original* features with which the Hebrews entered history will most likely be won through comparison with Arab antiquity” (*Muhammed in Medina*, 5).⁽⁴⁶⁾

Hebrew antiquity is therefore important to him not only as the starting point for a development interesting in its consummate form but also for its own sake. As a preliminary conclusion, then, a broad and striking correspondence between Wellhausen and the Wellhausen of Nietzsche seems to stand in contradiction to itself.

(46) On the wildling metaphor, from its source basis in the New Testament to its reception in Johann Wolfgang Goethe to its appropriation by Wellhausen in his infatuation with pre-literary Arabic religion, see Bernard M. Levinson, “The Impact of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe’s Discovery of the ‘Original’ Version of the Ten Commandments upon Biblical Scholarship: The Myth of Jewish Particularism and German Universalism,” in *An End to Antisemitism!*, vol. 2, *Confronting Antisemitism from the Perspectives of Christianity, Islam, and Judaism*, ed. Armin Lange, Kerstin Mayrhofer, Dina Porat, and Lawrence H. Schiffman (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020), 123–40.

[The Religious and the Secular]

[[33]] The meaning of the term “profane” is to be understood from the antonym “sacred,” which it negates. What kind of sanctity is invoked to reproach the Sacred History?

It is, above all, the *politico-utopian*.

To grasp Wellhausen’s idiosyncratic political view of the Sacred History, it is expedient to consider anew his relationship to Herder. At the same time, the difference between the two—which above appeared to be a general one between an optimistic and a pessimistic disposition towards history—will also be more closely defined.

As previously mentioned, the nineteenth century lay between Herder and Wellhausen. In terms of German historiography, this entails the great transformation of political consciousness from cosmopolitanism to the nation-state, which, in turn, means a sharpened knowledge of the “real conditions” of national existence in general. Knowing those conditions gave rise to the real, realistic pathos of the political historian and his irritation with idealism in the sense of a pious illusionism.

What Herder knew to bring forward to assess the law—i.e., the political elements of biblical history—shows him here to be entirely in the hold of utopian ideas of the eighteenth century. “The law shall reign, not any lawgiver; a free nation shall freely accept and willingly follow it; an invisible, rational, benevolent power shall guide us, not chains and bonds—that was the idea of Moses” (“Vom Geist der ebräischen Poesie,” in *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 12, p. 117). In his effort to justify the Mosaic legislation as most noble and enlightened,⁴⁹ he inevitably maintains such an ahistorical, abstract idea of the “law of a divine government, the most gentle bond that can knot together rational, free beings” (*ibid.*, 115), that he ultimately finds himself doomed to make a resigned declaration. Moses may have been three, four, maybe even six millennia too early

49. Cf. also Johann Gottfried Herder, “Briefe, das Studium der Theologie betreffend (No. 4),” in *Herders Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Bernhard Suphan, vol. 10 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1879), 41.

with this idea and with all institutions founded upon it (*ibid.*, 117). Herder takes no exception to situating a utopianism of such proportions at the very beginning of a people's history. Even [[34]] more, he does not perceive the utopianism of such an idea to be an argument against its historicity or, assuming this is the case, in need of an explanation. These positions indicate the distance between Herder, who has otherwise made such a tremendous contribution to the formation of historical understanding, and historians of the nineteenth century who are, in the broadest sense, political.

German historiography has been fed by two main sources. The first is the classical, humanistic, and poetic-philosophical movement at the end of the eighteenth century, whose philosophy of history finds representation precisely in Herder. The other—whose area of origin the names [Justus] Möser and [Barthold Georg] Niebuhr suggest—is the immediate political experience.^{50 (47)} Alongside the French Revolution, its main contents include

50. Even for Möser and Niebuhr, however, an ideal early history is an important element of their historiography, and this early history is a motif for their view of the past as a foil for their own time. On Niebuhr, see Benedetto CROCE, *Theorie und Geschichte der Historiographie und Betrachtungen zur Philosophie der Politik*, Gesammelte philosophische Schriften in deutscher Übertragung 1.4 (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1930), [221]ff. The significance of the early Carolingian time with regard to the free peasantry among the ancient Saxons as the “golden age” and the norm for Möser's view of the history of Osnabrück is pointed out by Kurt BREYSIG, *Vom Sein und Erkennen geschichtlicher Dinge*, vol. 2, *Die Meister der entwickelnden Geschichtsforschung* (Breslau: Marcus, 1936), 172ff., and discussed in detail by MEINECKE, *Die Entstehung des Historismus*, vol. 2, ch. 8, p. 359ff. To be sure, true historiography can occur only where the historical world is *not* split “into sides of heaven and hell,” where later development is depicted in simple darkness in contrast to a golden age, but rather where it is appreciated as a dialectical development that always contains both progress and decline and where the present is affirmed, be it with resignation or with a will to change. However, one should also not underestimate the impact of an awareness of decadence and a longing for reform and a restoration of a natural, unspoiled original state on the development of a specifically modern historical interest. In other words, the modern concept of history as a development has emerged from the idea of progress as well as the idea of decline. Meinecke does not deny this condition, but his formulation is problematic as he lines up facts rather than recognize causal relationships when he writes very cautiously, “Perhaps it is in the nature of modern historicism that its origin is connected to an unease, a critique of one's own time and its dominant spirit in contrast to an ideal of a better humanity and political life. ROUSSEAU had initiated the cultural critique of one's own time, but he was not able to draw out an ideal from history. . . . Möser and Herder drew it out of the past” (*ibid.*, 373). This did not prevent them from receiving the strongest influences from Rousseau's cultural criticism. They were able to do so precisely because this critique of contemporary civilization constituted the core of the ideal of humanity in its natural state and

(47) Justus Möser (1720–1794), essayist and publicist, statesman and historian, variously hailed as the patriarch of Osnabrück, the father of German folklore and of German conservatism, and the Edmund Burke of Germany, known especially for his work on developments of the local and particular. Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776–1831), diplomat, banker, and historian eminent for his work on ancient Rome, his method of source criticism, and thereby his contribution to a new historiography. On Möser and Niebuhr within a larger historiographical galaxy, see Donald R. Kelley, *Fortunes of History: Historical Inquiry from Herder to Huizinga* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

the great positive experience of the Wars of Liberation,⁵¹ the great negative experience of 1848,⁵² and the *Realpolitik* of [Otto von] Bismarck.⁵³ (48) Wellhausen's *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* appeared in 1883, exactly one century after Herder's book *Vom Geist der ebräischen Poesie*. As much as the knowledge and experience of political realities have progressed in these hundred years—which, of course, cannot be taken arithmetically—Wellhausen's conception of biblical history in general and the so-called Mosaic constitution in particular is more historical, i.e., more realistic, than that of Herder. Wellhausen cannot concede “that a constitution in antiquity could have thus arisen, apart from any relation to a people's own internal life” (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 417).

It is the problem of theocracy that lies at the heart of the matter here: the problem of a direct entanglement of religious and worldly rule in its historical possibility, reality, and desirability.

On the way from Herder to Wellhausen, a philosopher likewise considered the problem of state and religion [[35]] among the peoples of antiquity from a perspective that strangely unites the view of Herder and Wellhausen—a philosopher who rendered the greatest contribution to the politicization of historical research. There is a startling similarity between the image of Israelite antiquity drawn by Wellhausen and the ideal drafted by the young HEGEL of the ancient national religions [*Volksreligionen*] of the republican

because the idea of an essentially good humanity conceives of decline only as historical decline, whereas the golden primeval age of paradise—according to the medieval understanding—lies beyond all history, its loss is the fault of humanity as humanity, and it can only be restored through a supra-historical redemption. “Again and again, the idea of a golden age in the early stages of historicism was both an impulse and a restraint to a purely historical thinking” (ibid.).

51. Cf. Heinrich von Sybel, “Ueber den Stand der [neuern deutschen] Geschichtschreibung,” repr. in idem, *Kleine historische Schriften*, vol. 1 (Munich: Cotta, 1863), 344–59, at the beginning; Kaerst, “Studien zur Entwicklung und Bedeutung der universalgeschichtlichen Anschauung,” in idem, *Universalgeschichte*, 137.

52. Cf., e.g., Dilthey on Mommsen's Roman history, in his essay on Schlosser: “Friedrich Christoph Schlosser,” *Preußische Jahrbücher* 9, no. 4 (1862): 373–433, at 429.

53. In 1866, as the parties formed in Hanover, Wellhausen decidedly took the Prussian-German side. “He immediately recognized the greatness of Bismarck and continued to adhere to it” (Schwartz, *Rede auf Wellhausen*, 12). “One eventually in the *Prolegomena* . . . and in the tracts on the Pharisees and Sadducees (both appeared in the 1870s) senses the atmosphere of the *Kulturkampf* in the way the opposition to the cult and the priests and the parties within the community are assessed” (Lütgert, *Die Religion des deutschen Idealismus und ihr Ende*, part 4, [374]).

(48) Observers have since traced this admiration of Bismarck across Wellhausen's writings on Israel, Judaism, and Islam: cf. Hermann Spieckermann, “Exegetischer Individualismus: Julius Wellhausen, 1844–1918,” in *Profil des neuzeitlichen Protestantismus*, vol. 2.2, *Kaiserreich*, ed. Friedrich Wilhelm Graf (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1993), 231–50, at 240; A. D. Momigliano, “Religious History Without Frontiers: J. Wellhausen, U. Wilamowitz, and E. Schwartz,” *History & Theory* 21, no. 4, Beiheft 21: *New Paths of Classicism in the Nineteenth Century* (1982): 49–62, repr. in Momigliano, *Studies on Modern Scholarship*, ed. G. W. Bowersock and T. J. Cornell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 266–85, at 51–52 in the original; Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in*

Greeks and Romans.^{54 (49)} Both are used as foils, whose radiant colors make the imperfection of certain other ages shine in dim light. Wellhausen compares and contrasts Israelite antiquity and its “national religion” (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 184) to later Judaism and its religion of the law. Hegel turns the “Greek religion of imagination” into the measure for his critique of [[36]] the “positivity” of the Christian religion.⁽⁵⁰⁾ *Imagination* as the unique creative power of humanity—Herder’s central theme, even in places where he does not apply it systematically—becomes an explicit category in Hegel’s *Jugendschriften*: “Here we walk with Hegel in Herder’s footsteps wherever he goes” (Dilthey, “Die Jugendgeschichte Hegels,” in *Gesammelte Schriften* 4, p. 29). For Hegel, too, the place of “positive” Christianity was later⁵⁵ taken over by “positive” Judaism as the antipode of his ideal.^{56 (51)} Thus, one side of the contrasting pair—that of the statutorily rigid positive religion—is the same for Hegel as for Wellhausen. The other, the ideal that sets the standard (which Hegel spots in the ancient polis), Wellhausen places within the Old Testament itself: in Israelite antiquity. Its beauty, its unbroken unity of the people’s life and religion, is the measure for the “dismal austerity” of the later Judaism of the law, which became “positive.”⁵⁷ There, the cult

54. See G. W. F. Hegel, “Die Positivität der christlichen Religion,” in *Hegels theologische Jugendschriften, nach den Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek in Berlin*, ed. Herman Nohl (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1907), 137–240, esp. the section “Unterschied zwischen griechischer Phantasie- und christlicher positiver Religion,” 219–30. These drafts by the young Hegel only became known in 1906 through Wilhelm Dilthey’s “Die Jugendgeschichte Hegels,” repr. in idem, *Die Jugendgeschichte Hegels und andere Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des deutschen Idealismus*, *Gesammelte Schriften* 4 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1921). Wellhausen could therefore not have known about these writings at the time he wrote his books on Israelite history.

55. G. W. F. Hegel, “Der Geist des Christentums und sein Schicksal,” in *Hegels theologische Jugendschriften*, 241–342. The essay is introduced with an outline of the spirit of Judaism.

56. “However, his religious history of Judaism in particular becomes truly comprehensible only if it is held up against his ideal conception of Greekness” (Dilthey, “Die Jugendgeschichte Hegels,” in *Gesammelte Schriften* 4, p. 64).

57. Cf. “Mosaic religion [is a] religion of despair and for despair—not for happiness, which desires cheerful play; *God [is] too severe*” (Hegel, “Entwürfe zum Geist des Judentums,” in *Hegels theologische Jugendschriften*, ed. Nohl, appendix A, nr. 7, pp. 368–74, at 373).

the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship, Publications of the German Historical Institute in Washington, DC (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 188.

(49) Not published by the author in his lifetime but rather edited by Herman Nohl, *Hegels theologische Jugendschriften* [*Theological Writings from Hegel’s Youth*] comprises texts and fragments written during Hegel’s time as a student and tutor between 1790 and 1800—Nohl being a student of Dilthey and an editor of his teacher’s work as well.

(50) Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), philosopher determinative for post-Kantian idealism, whose conceptual structures defined much historical thought and writing during and since his life.

(51) The idea of “positive” religion (centered on historical founders, revealed tenets, and maintained authority) contrasts that of “natural” religion (centered on human reason, experience, and inference). Further to Dilthey’s observation of Hegel juxtaposing Judaism and Christianity

has become a thing unto itself, inside a hermetic sphere. A separation of nature and divine service, of the worldly and the spiritual, emerged, unknown in antiquity, where the cult rather blossomed out of life and covered it with gold. . . . Such a mixture of divine service and life, of sacred and profane, such a cheerful and uninhibited inclusion of the deity into all things human . . .

is far from the later period of cultic centralization and the written law, i.e., the law that became positive (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 186–87). Using almost the same words, Dilthey outlines Hegel's ideal of a people's religion:

The inwardness of religious life should not manifest itself in an abstract antithesis to the customs, festivals, or political life of a nation. The antithesis should [[37]] not pass through the life of the people: the antithesis between a cheerfulness in its expressions in worldly life and a sacrality separated from life, one that inhibits free enjoyment of its self-confident strength. Always lying before Hegel was the living connection of religious inwardness with all expressions of national life, with the orderings of the state itself as it existed in Greece. ("Die Jugendgeschichte Hegels," in *Gesammelte Schriften* 4, p. 35)

Besides the Herderian appreciation of the "beautiful," undivided, and uninterrupted life of the people, the common ground in which Hegel and Wellhausen are rooted for their views on the "imaginative" people's religion in the Graeco-Roman and the Israelite contexts is the intent to grasp religiosity as a supplement to the human, political condition of the nation in question (*ibid.*, 66ff.).⁽⁵²⁾ In Hegel's words, "The spirit of the people, history, religion, and the extent of their political freedom cannot be considered by their influence on one another nor by their properties separately. They are intertwined together into a band" ("Volksreligion und Christentum," in *Hegels theologische Jugendschriften*, ed. Nohl, 27). According to him, an active life in their own free republic did not allow a longing for individual immortality to arise in the citizens of antiquity, who lived only in the whole and for the whole (*ibid.*, 222). Analogously, Wellhausen states on the Yahweh religion of ancient Israel: its exclusive

in these writings, see Miriam Leonard, *Socrates and the Jews: Hellenism and Hebraism from Moses Mendelsohn to Sigmund Freud* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

(52) The baseline discussion for Wellhausen and Hegel is Lothar Perlitt, *Vatke und Wellhausen. Geschichtsphilosophische Voraussetzungen und historiographische Motive für die Darstellung der Religion und Geschichte Israels durch Wilhelm Vatke und Julius Wellhausen*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 94 (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1965)—a treatment Momigliano once rightly called useful but perhaps not quite sound. See Momigliano, "Religious History Without Frontiers," 52.

relationship to the nation is tied to “the indifference—so characteristic of the Old Testament—towards religious psychology and the question of life after death. It sufficed that the people lived forever, while the wheel of time passed over the individual” (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 107–108).

The persistent adherence to the complementary relationship of religion and political freedom is the nerve center of Wellhausen’s historical criticism and reconstruction in the realm of “*politico-religious history*”: what the Israelite-Jewish history constituted for him (*ibid.*, 26). From here, the concept of holiness is decomposed in its dignity as the real, political “assumption of its possibility” is exhibited and repeatedly imprinted (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 147–48). [[38]] The call for a special holiness, the demarcation against the profane, is conditioned by the factual separation of the people from the political reality, namely, the lack of national autonomy. It is therefore post-exilic in origin! The “material substrate” on which the theocracy, which developed into a specific sacred “institution,” “actually rested” was foreign rule (*ibid.*, 258).

Wellhausen’s theory on the composition of the Hexateuch and on Israelite-Jewish history in general has as its backbone the claim of the posteriority of the law, i.e., the post-exilic emergence of the so-called Priestly Codex.⁽⁵³⁾ A particular—and indeed, the largest—part of the first four books of Moses is understood beneath this title, namely, their legal sections. “The entire *Prolegomena* is directed at providing only the one proof: that the Priestly Codex is post-exilic” (Greßmann, “Julius Wellhausen,” 76). This proof finds its innermost pillar of support in the conviction that the ideal of holiness was not original. Only “through the destruction of political existence . . . did the people become ‘a kingdom of priests and a holy people’ (Exod. 19:6; Isa. 61:6)” (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 427). Since “the foreign rules at the time had relieved the Jews of concern for worldly affairs, they were able to and had to devote themselves purely to sacred ones” (*ibid.*, 148). Only out of ignorance in the “real conditions” of the life of the people and kingdom could they develop those unhistorical conceptions of holiness and sacred history, which misunderstood and falsified their own early history. On this basis—as Wellhausen grimly observes—the author of the “religious” version of the Samuel-Saul story “levels the charge of heathenism against the ancient Israelites for concerning themselves with their own external viability, for being a people in the fullest sense of the word, and for seeking to maintain themselves as such with the means necessary for the *common reality*” (*ibid.*, 258). The book of

(53) This translation renders the *Priesterkodex* as denominated by Boschwitz, which aligns, conceptually, more with a Codex Hammurabi than a Source (*Quelle*) or Document (*Urkunde*).

Samuel has been called the biblical *Politeia*.^{58 (54)} And “the historical interest” cited by Wellhausen as the subjective point of departure for his first publication—the investigation into only the text of the books of Samuel—is directed at their fundamental, political significance. Source criticism provides the tools to [[39]] distinguish the two versions on the emergence of the Israelite monarchy. According to the “religious” version, earthly rule was demanded and pushed through in insubordination to heavenly rule, whose advocate was the prophet Samuel. According to the original, “profane” version, the establishment of an ordered commonwealth fit to defend itself precisely through the installation of a human ruler is considered to be an achievement and gift of God, a salvation from anarchy (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 255ff.), while the credit to Samuel, the “patriotic prophet in particular,” stems from his discovery of the right man at the right time (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 55; *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 273).

Wellhausen articulates a principle for the philological work of comparing variants: “One must have a preconception of the truth in order to find it” (*Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*, 7). That principle applies, of course, all the more to comparing and separating versions of entire accounts in the tradition. His realistic preconception of the truth—i.e., the historical reality in the emergence of the Israelite state—requires the position that “the ancient Israelites did not build a church at the outset but first a house to live in, and they were overjoyed when they had it happily roofed over” (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 257; cf. *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 21–22). Through drastic emphasis on the latter circumstance, the criticism that the biblical tradition itself exerts on the emergence of human, state governance is to be rejected and itself criticized. It is denied not only historiographical veracity but also, and precisely, *moral* justification. To have illusions about the political conditions and demands of the “common reality” is immoral. This cast of minds, and its trenchant asserting, characterizes the modern, “realpolitikal” historian.⁵⁹

58. Cf. Martin Buber, *Königtum Gottes* (Berlin: Schocken, 1932), 4[4].

59. The identity of moral motives across de Lagarde, Nietzsche, Mommsen, and Wellhausen in the critique of post-exilic, Jewish theocracy—possible only because of “the always ready pagan supplement” (Lagarde)—was pointed out by Leo STRAUSS, “Paul de Lagarde,” *Der Jude* 8,

(54) A transliteration from ancient Greek, the word *politeia* refers to a constitution or form of government as well as citizenship, in relation to the social and political order of a state. Bound up with political theory, it constitutes the title of Plato’s dialogue rendered as *Republic* and features in that of Aristotle’s translated as *Constitution of the Athenians*. For the designation of the book of Samuel as “the biblical *Politeia*,” Buber cited—rather unhelpfully—only “Robert Arnold Fritzsche in a letter to Franz Rosenzweig” (n. 47 to p. 44, which appears on p. 196 in the endnotes), before adding, “The book of Judges belongs in it.” Elsewhere in the same work, in a discussion of Judges, he invoked the title of Wellhausen’s *Ein Gemeinwesen ohne Obrigkeit* (ibid., n. 33 to p. 30, on p. 194 in the endnotes).

Like Hegel, Wellhausen rejects the empty desire of the “lazy hope of a Messiah” (*Hegels theologische Jugendschriften*, ed. Nohl, 225). The [[40]] famous peace-promising vision of the future by Isaiah is tellingly qualified. “The opposite of the ideal (Isa. 11:1–9) is *internal* lawlessness and anarchy, not external war. The hope is not directed at international peace” (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 422). “With him, the Messiah does *not* seem *utopian* but solves tasks that had to be solved and could be solved in little Judah[”] (“Die israelitisch-jüdische Religion,” 24; cf. *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 120–30). “In ancient times, so long as Israel was still a people and a kingdom, hope had not yet become detached from the given foundations of reality and the present. It did not hover in the sky above the ground but set goals to be realized through history.” Only when the nation was axed from history by the exile did the religious community that remained now expect a sudden intervention by God, “whereby he was supposed . . . to interrupt world history. There was no bridge to lead from the reality to the ideal. It was supposed to be placed into the world suddenly by a *deus ex machina*. . . . Hope became eschatology, dogmatic and *utopian*” (*Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 87; cf. also “Abriss der Geschichte Israels und Juda’s,” 95; *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 209; “Die israelitisch-jüdische Religion,” 32; *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 424ff.). The messianic *deus ex machina* is the despised “God of wishes,” who is in battle with the dreadful “God of historical necessity.” Wellhausen loves the prophet Amos—as the most uncompromising and most powerful advocate of the latter—who “is unique in looking calamity straight in the eye” (“Die kleinen Propheten übersetzt, mit Noten,” in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 5, p. 94). This unconditional, merciless “realism” is merely the other side of an ethic strictly oriented towards praxis. The utopian, eschatological hope, born in the exile, “does not perceive in advance what is already understood to be in the process of becoming. It sets no goals for action that have or should have validity already in the present” (“Die israelitisch-jüdische Religion,” 32). However, that a picture of the near future “was a certain opinion and demand on what to do or to allow in the present”—i.e., that the unmediated effect of a willful resolution constituted the “first criterion for an authentic prophet”⁶⁰—was already taught by Wellhausen’s master H[einrich] Ewald, whom the apprentice credited as being a “kindred” spirit to the prophets he

no. 1 (1924): 8–15, at 12. In his investigations into the *Theologico-Political Treatise*, Strauss showed [Baruch] SPINOZA to be the first classical theorist to reject utopianism on moral grounds: Leo STRAUSS, *Die Religionskritik Spinozas als Grundlage seiner Bibelwissenschaft. Untersuchungen zu Spinozas Theologisch-politischem Traktat*, Veröffentlichungen der Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Philosophische Sektion 2 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1930), 217ff.

60. Georg Heinrich August Ewald, *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Krabbe, 1840), 26–27.

interpreted.⁶¹ “The proper view,” writes Ewald, “contains within it the seed of active intervention in the needs of the present [[41]] for the prophet, in whose spirit that view ignites, as well as for the audience who receives it. As such, it is infinitely higher than mere teaching.”⁶²

The supernaturalism of the Sacred History—as a wondrous past event or a coming, eschatological event—is discarded for the sake of a corresponding ethical position. Keeping one’s own reality “unblemished” and “holy” need not apply to anything, insofar as it is merely the expression of an uncourageous passivity, of mere empty wishing, of a renunciation of independence.⁶³ To political dependence corresponds moral and religious bondage.

61. Julius Wellhausen, “Heinrich Ewald,” in *Festschrift zur Feier des hundertfünfzigjährigen Bestehens der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Beiträge zur Gelehrtenge-schichte Göttingens* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1901), 61–88, at 73; cf. idem, review of *De Profeten en de Profetie onder Israël*, by Abraham Kuenen, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 1, no. 8 (15 April 1876): 203–208, at final paragraph.

62. Ewald, *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes*, vol. 1, p. 25.

63. Cf. the young Hegel’s contempt and scorn for the passivity of the Israelites in the event of their liberation during the exodus from Egypt: “The Jews were victorious, but they did not fight. . . . Their reality remains immaculate” (*Hegels theologische Jugendschriften*, 249).

[Law, State, Church]

However, “holiness” is reproached not only for being utopian, its blindness to fundamental political realities, but also for being *artificial*:

Whereas previously (i.e., in ancient Israel) the reign of God was a belief in which the *natural orders* of human society had their grounding, now (after the exile) it was visibly depicted as a state of God in [[42]] an *artificial* sphere of its own, one that transcended the ordinary life of the people. The idea that had earlier permeated the *natural* body is now—in order to be properly realized—supposed to have its own *holy* body. *A material, external dichotomy between holy and profane developed. . . .* Holiness—the dominant ideal in Ezekiel, Lev. 17–26, and the Priestly Codex—is a rather empty, primarily antithetical concept in itself. Originally synonymous with divine, it is now mostly applied in the sense of spiritual and priestly, as if the divine were antithetical to the worldly, the natural, through external characteristics. (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 4[27–]28)

The concept of naturalness, from which Wellhausen applies his critique of holiness, thus has not only a profane/realpolitical and moral dimension but also, and most deeply, an immediate religious significance. Wellhausen reproached the post-exilic Jewish “church” for, in the transmission of its past, “ignoring the *material* substratum on which it was actually based, namely foreign rule,” and blaming “instead the ancient Israelites of paganism” when they give due credit to the “common reality” (ibid., 258; see above [p. 38 <p. 89>]). At the same time, he accuses them of ossification, externalization, and *materialization*. The last motive of rejecting “holiness” is the specifically Protestant religious individualism that Wellhausen professes to be the true content of the Gospels: “religious individualism”—the self-selected title of his Christianity—“the true salt of the earth . . . for all eternity” (“Abriss der Geschichte Israels

und Juda's," final page). This individualism is opposed to all things institutional and statutory in the realm of religion:

Judaism, which realized and systematically continued to develop the Mosaic constitution, allowed no leeway for individuality. In ancient Israel, *the divine law* rested *not with institutions* but with the creator spiritus, with individuals. They not only *spoke* like prophets, but they *acted*, too, like judges and kings, from their own free initiative, not according to external norms yet nevertheless and for that very reason in the spirit of Yahweh. (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 417)

The statute of all statutes is the written, revealed law. The written, revealed law distinguishes Judaism from ancient Israel and [[43]] distinguishes the epigones from the originals (*ibid.*, 416). Although the religion of the second theocracy is also individualistic—and in this respect prepares the way for Christianity—this individualism is “homogenized” by the law (“Abriss der Geschichte Israels und Juda's,” 88; *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 186).

Wellhausen claims to have shown that ancient Israel knew nothing of revelation as the proclamation of some fixed law. “The greatest marvel of history was the revelation of Yahweh through his messengers, be they men of action or men of word. . . . It was through humans that he spoke to humans. That is precisely the concept of revelation: the mysterious relationship between the deity and the human being—which is charged and discharged in chosen individuals” (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 1st ed., 69; cf. also “Die israelitisch-jüdische Religion,” 15). “It is part of the concept of *the prophetic, of the true revelation* that Yahweh—beyond all orderly mediation—communicates himself to the *individual*.⁶⁴ . . . Apart from prophets, *in abstracto* there is no revelation. . . . A synthesis of apparent contradictions emerges through the subjective in the highest sense, elevated above all rules, being truly the objective, the divine” (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 406).⁶⁵ “It not through the letter but through the spirit that he reveals himself, according to the needs and occasions of history. He had not yet made his testament. He lived, and his word was alive” (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 4th ed., 108; “Die israelitisch-jüdische Religion,” 5). Wellhausen assumes the same defensive position when trying to define the nature of the young theocratic state created by Muhammad:

64. Emphasis by Wellhausen.

65. Cf. Wellhausen on Jesus, his prophetic office, and his impact: “He is the greatest example of the generative power of the soul. Prescribing, admonishing, scolding is not done in this domain. Living by example is the thing. What *the law* does *not* achieve is achieved by *the individual character*. God’s nature cannot be grasped conceptually, men of God are his revelation, by their sayings and actions, by how they enjoy and suffer” (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 390).

"Righteousness outweighed holiness in the idea of God. His rule was the rule of law; theocracy, in this respect, was dicaearchy. *However, one should not think, in the process, of rule by an impersonal law.* There was no law yet. Islam existed already before the Qur'an" (*Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 6).

[[44]] Islam before the Qur'an, Israel before the written Torah: these were times when only the personal mattered and operated—the early periods of those national religions to which Wellhausen devoted his greatest attention.

For the prophets of ancient Israel, "the written law did *not yet exist*." For Jesus, however, it existed *no more*, insofar as he "faced [it] completely impartially and freely, without rebelling against it" [*Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 103].⁽⁵⁵⁾ "He applied a superordinate measure to the law and judged it according to its inner worth, namely, whether it benefited or inhibited human life" (*ibid.*, 102). From his analysis of the Synoptics, a main conclusion for Wellhausen is that Jesus himself did not directly create anything that would have some kind of character of an impersonal institution. The Gospel is not itself a message brought by Jesus but the message of his community: of the suffering, death, and resurrection of the crucified Christ. The sending of the apostles, with the goal of organizing the kingdom of God, is likewise a retrojection of later actualities onto the life of Jesus. "In fact, Jesus did not arrange any study trips with his seminar" (*Das Evangelium Marci*, 46). "Although his effect was the church, *he did not create institutions and establishments*" (*Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 141). "His ideal was also the community . . . , but it was a community of spirits in the divine mindset. *Jesus did not organize*" (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 388). Insofar as it represents the institution of an "exemplary prayer," even the Our Father did not stem from Jesus. As a "formulaic" communal prayer, it first appertained to the disciples (*Das Evangelium Lucae*, 55; *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 77).

In what follows, it will be shown how this individualistic evaluation of things statutory determines and dominates Wellhausen's entire relationship to history. However, first it is necessary to expound the positive presuppositions of his negating manner toward "institutions." Only then can we grasp the radicalism and the extreme reach of this negation.

Wellhausen exposes the religious background to his taking the side of "*Realpolitik*"—for the "profane" state and against the biases of "sacred" history—and with it the purely polemical determination of his concept of profaneness. He does so occasionally—in passing as it were—and most abruptly in places where he considers a notion at odds with himself, [[45]] one with the predicate "profane" in the most reproachful sense of the word. In Mark 12:17, Jesus informs the Pharisees, who had tempted him with the question

(55) Boschwitz altered the sentence ever so slightly in reproducing the quotation.

of tribute money, "Render to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's." In his explanatory note, Wellhausen closes with the disjointed remark, "Ranke thinks, somewhat profanely and quite erroneously, that Mark 12:17 was Jesus' most important and consequential word" (*Das Evangelium Marci*, 101). Regarding the possible impact on world history, Ranke suggests that the religious pretensions of the Roman state as well as the religious pretensions of the Jewish religion both had to be eradicated for Christianity to achieve its universal bearing and not wither away in the "accidental" and "provincial form" of its mother religion (Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, Teil [3.1], *Das altrömische Kaiserthum. Mit kritischen Erörterungen zur alten Geschichte* [World History, part 3.1, *The Ancient Roman Empire, with Critical Considerations on Ancient History*], ch. 5, "On the Origins of Christianity," [160–61]). Wellhausen, on the other hand, stressed the assessment that here Jesus intended nothing more than to remove himself from the dilemma into which his opponents wanted to draw him. "True, the rejection of theocracy can be found as a consequence to his response. *But he does not establish any principle according to which the domain of God and the domain of the emperor could be neatly separated*" [*Das Evangelium Marci*, 101]. This is the sentence that precedes his attack on Ranke, for Ranke's interpretation and evaluation of the information on Jesus sanctions the separation of holy and profane and, in this way, desecrates and profanes the natural and original human community within the state. Yet "the difference between spiritual and worldly is fluid": this is where Wellhausen's conviction goes, "The tasks of the two competing organizations (church and state) are not entirely different in kind" ("Abriss der Geschichte Israels und Juda's," 101). Both are forms of organizing human community. Wellhausen says of Jesus that his ideal was also the community "as it is always and everywhere the human ideal" (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 388). The Christian church, however, is only an artificial work of necessity and substitution: "The point of the church at the beginning was therefore lost, since it no longer confronted a pagan world empire, since it was possible also for Christians to have a *natural* fatherland in the nation" ("Abriss der Geschichte Israels und Juda's," 101).

The struggle against "church" and "law," against spiritual institutions and statutes, is, in itself, anything but a disposition distinctive of Wellhausen. It is, instead, the [[46]] classic hostile position of liberalism. Unique to Wellhausen is only the position that serves as his premise for a negation of things statutory. His criticism of the "church," of "theocracy as institution," is oriented on "theocracy as idea," on that historical condition of community formation, since "theocracy" was not yet an independent, "visibly depicted" institution, but merely an animating notion for the natural orderings of human society (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, ch. 11). This was the case with the pre-exilic prophets as well as with Muhammad. "Theocracy, as the prophets envision

it, is not different in kind from the political commonwealth, like some kind of spiritual dimension over against a worldly one. Rather, it is based on the same foundation and is simply the same idea," i.e., the ideal vision of the state "as it should be" (ibid., 420). Its main content is the "*iustitia civilis*" [civil justice].⁶⁶ It is the kind of "theocracy" one can say "formed as the supplement to anarchy," not in opposition to the existing, natural commonwealth (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 1st ed., 16). The emergence of the state, the triumph of civil justice and order as an achievement of religion: this is the process, above all, that Wellhausen followed among the Israelites and among the Arabs. It was out of the religious feeling of community that the state arose among them, "and indeed not a particularly holy state, but the state in the ordinary sense. The state itself was holy because it *formed as an ideal of religion*, which it forced through in the battle against lethargy and selfishness (ibid., 17; later modified, in the 4th ed., 30; cf. *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, beginning; *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 419).

Muhammad was a prophet and as prophet founder of the state. "The Koran is Mohammed's weakest performance. The weight of his historical importance lies in his work of Medina. . . . The founding of the state upon the feeling of fellowship generated by religion was without question the prophet['s] greatest achievement" ("Mohammedanism. Part 1, Mohammed and The First Four Caliphs," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 561, 554).

Decisive for Wellhausen's judgment of Jesus' ethic is that the latter in no way found himself in opposition to the state as civil order. Evidently, it is [Leo] TOLSTOY's anarchistic interpretation of the Gospel, which rejects the *iustitia civilis*,⁽⁵⁶⁾ [[47]] that Wellhausen wants to avert when he notes Jesus "does not prohibit the oath required in court but the constant voluntary swearing so common among the Orientals, namely, the promissory. This is clear to anyone who possesses some knowledge of the circumstances and takes it with a grain of salt" (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 1st ed., 310 n. [1]). "He is far from feeble philanthropy toward criminals. He assumes civic justice and fully recognizes human order and authority in their domain" (ibid., 310). Indeed, "had the Christian religion not found an existing civic order, had it—like

66. The fourth thesis addressed by Wellhausen in the defense of his licentiate: *Iustitia quae Deo attribuitur in Vetere Testamento virtus est forensis* [The justice attributed to God in the Old Testament is a public virtue]: see Alfred Rahlfs, "Verzeichnis der Schriften Julius Wellhausens," in *Studien zur semitischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte. Julius Wellhausen, zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag am 17. Mai 1914*, ed. Karl Marti, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 27 (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1914), 353–68, at 353.

(56) Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910), Russian writer and at one time a frequent nominee for two separate Nobel Prizes, best known as one of the greatest novelists ever. He often is considered a cornerstone, or touchstone, of Christian anarchism, especially with his interpretation of the gospels.

Islam—encountered Arab anarchy instead of the Roman empire, it would have had to establish not the church but the state” (“Abriss der Geschichte Israels und Juda’s,” 101; cf. also *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 5).

The premise for this view of a common root and common determination to the state and the church is a religiosity purely disposed to ethics, which is removed from any possible sacramental significance of the church.⁶⁷

“*The state is always the prerequisite of the church*” (“Abriss der Geschichte Israels und Juda’s,” 101; cf. *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 418). Not only does this principle of Wellhausen describe, on the one hand, the real lack of independence and artificiality, the moral passivity and lack of freedom, in churchly existence and convey, on the other, that “righteousness before God (the righteousness of the Sermon on the Mount) can only have its turn once the *iustitia civilis* is established.” (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 394; *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 421). Rather, this conviction also prompts the historian Wellhausen to look for religio-moral energies in those places in history where they are working precisely to create a state. They stiffen into “theology” in the artificial domain of the “church,” which is either estranged from natural, political, and national life or simply opposed to it “antithetically.” Yet “religion and theology, we all know, are not identical. *Religious conviction has a more original expression in politics and law than in dogmatics.*”⁶⁸

[[48]] The philosopher Hermann Cohen writes of Wellhausen, “He was not a philosopher, not even a proper historian, and therefore also no philosopher of history, but in terms of worldview quite simply a religious moralist” (“Julius Wellhausen,” 465). The “improper” historian Wellhausen, interpreting himself, preemptively, as it were, gave an opinion on this posthumous, surprisingly *ad hominem* judgment. On 19 July 1906, he wrote to Justi, “My disposition is different from Cohen’s. I couldn’t care less about humanist philosophy, which usually only reflects on what others have already thought intuitively or what entire peoples and communities have experienced.”⁽⁵⁷⁾ *An affirmation*

67. What Jesus teaches is “only a moral metaphysic . . . filled with sober simplicity” (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 386). “The weightiest parts of the law for him are the *common morality*, judgment, faithfulness, and mercy (Matt. 23:23). Precisely this *natural morality* he calls a commandment of God” (*ibid.*, 383).

68. “He incorrectly attempts to classify it as a purely political party and to repress the religious element. Religion and theology, we all know, are not identical. Religious conviction has a more original expression in politics and law than in dogma. One could say that for other parties in early Islam, the religious element was the flagship, but for the Kharijites it was bloody serious” (Wellhausen, review of *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden*, by Rudolf Ernst Brünnow, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 5, no. 23 [7 June 1884]: 838–39).

(57) Wellhausen, *Briefe*, no. 765, p. 487.

through negation characteristic of Wellhausen, this statement illuminates in an incomparably stark manner the front that dominates the entire combat area of his historical investigations. With it, the historian juxtaposes himself in principle and substance with the philosopher and “dogmatist”—and thus also the theologian. For Wellhausen is not, and does not want to be, a theologian in the same sense he is not, and does not want to be, a philosopher. “His incongruity” with all philosophical and theological dogmatism (Cohen, “Julius Wellhausen,” 464, 466) is only the negative side of his most positive relationship to history. Furthermore, in his manner towards history he jousts with the “dogmatist.” In this polemic against Cohen, which makes known his own convictions, he articulates that the subject of his historical research—the experiences of entire peoples and communities as well as the intuitions of prophets in connection with those experiences—is identical to the subject of “humanist philosophy,” i.e., the idealist *moral* philosophy of the neo-Kantian Cohen. By distinguishing himself in this way from him, he does not separate the domains of the historian and the “dogmatist.” Instead, he asserts his prerogative, or the inherent right of his “disposition,” in the same field that the humanist philosopher cultivates. Yet he believes to capture at the source what the other only *re-thinks* in derived concepts and dogmas. [[49]] Even *his* true subject is the human, the universally human: i.e., the moral. But more specifically, it is the moral in its originality, at the origin of the communal order, “in politics and law,” in its first shaking eruptions: where it is grasped and preached by individual “men of God according to the needs and occasions of history” and “experienced by entire peoples and communities” (see p. 43 <p. 94> *supra*).

In a critical review of a work on the “theology” of the prophets, Wellhausen once provided information on the difference between the dogmatic and historical conceptions of the same moral truth—a difference that defined his own position. He

would have wished that the author, . . . in examining the internal reasons that made possible the prophecy of the eighth century, had not completely overlooked *the external cause, which alone explains the possibility becoming a reality at that particular time*. This internal possibility may contribute the most to explaining the phenomenon, but comprehending it is a different matter if the phenomenon is a spiritual one like this. *Historical knowledge [Das historische Erkennen] must be directed primarily at the inductive occasions of spiritual phenomena*. In any case, they should not be passed over when they impose themselves as in this case. I do not consider it a minor point to demonstrate that the impending collision of

Israel with the Assyrian world empire had produced the spark of prophecy in the eighth century BCE.⁶⁹ (58)

The phenomenon to be comprehended here is Israelite prophecy, which in this context means the very sudden assertion of universality for a moral idea. [[50]] Wellhausen claims to have really comprehended this spiritual phenomenon only when recognizing the prevailing historical “inductive occasions.” “Without the Assyrians and their successors in world dominion, the ‘people of God’ would not have been shattered, and without the shattering of the people of God, ‘the theology of the prophets’ would not have been born” (review of Bernhard Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten*, 154). These

introduced a new factor into the history of the nations: that of the world empire or, more generally, that of the world. On the other hand, they lost their spiritual center of gravity. The harsh facts, which confronted them unexpectedly, annihilated their illusions. They threw their gods into the junk room. . . . However, the Israelite prophets did not allow themselves to be surprised by the events. . . . They solved in advance the terrible problem posed by history. They incorporated the concept of the world, which destroyed the religions of the peoples, into Yahweh’s nature before he had fully entered the profane consciousness. Where the others spotted a collapse of the most holy, they saw the triumph of Yahweh over semblance and delusion. (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 122)

The moment of *universality in the idea* of God, or of the good, is brought to the fore by the overwhelmingly concrete “harsh facts” of a destructive *universal*

69. Julius Wellhausen, review of *Die Theologie der Propheten als Grundlage für die innere Entwicklungsgeschichte der israelitischen Religion*, by Bernhard DUHM, *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie* 21 (1876): 152–58, at 153. His critiques of Duhm’s most significant work are all the more remarkable since his views largely overlap with those of Wellhausen. The work, published only 3 years before the *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, is almost a confirmation of the persistent and accurate claim that Wellhausen’s research on the Old Testament only helped to bring major existing tendencies and opinions to full fruition (see p. 8 <p. 59> above). Duhm, who stands firmly on the foundation of [Karl Heinrich] Graf’s theory, offers the same, albeit less pointed, assessment of “holiness.” On its “materialization” in the second theocracy, see Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten als Grundlage für die innere Entwicklungsgeschichte der israelitischen Religion* (Bonn: Marcus, 1875), §§33–34, pp. 259–75. On the “patriotism” of the Israelite religion—the people as “subject of the religion”—see *ibid.*, 95ff.

(58) Further to Boschwitz’s note on Duhm, his 1875 book compelled Wellhausen to publish some critical investigations on the composition history of the Hexateuch earlier than intended—for fear of being beaten to the punch. The findings appeared as a set of articles in *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie* between 1876 and 1877.

empire that presses onward. A certain human idea of God is, in its origin, the solution to a terrible problem “posed by history.” This “historical knowledge” is, for Wellhausen, real comprehension: not so much of this historical fact but of the timeless fact that becomes manifest in this historical crisis.

The expression cited above, from his critique of a work by [Bernhard] Duhm, is already the most general articulation Wellhausen ever made on the fundamental orientation of his desire for historical knowledge. His “disposition” was directed so much at the concrete, the descriptive, that a general truth came up for discussion with him when considering a particular historical phenomenon.

When, in 1900, he was prevailed upon, with no little effort, to give a speech for the emperor’s birthday, he depicted *Ein Gemeinwesen ohne Obrigkeit* [A Commonwealth Without Authority]: the commonwealth of the Bedouin before Islam. Without executive power, [[51]] without any institution whatsoever, it left everything to the personal initiative of its members—held together solely by reverence, by the feeling of a blood community, or rather always on the brink of shifting into anarchy.⁷⁰ “Among the Arabs (i.e., in this period), the political is moral, for morality is limited to the tribe” (*Ein Gemeinwesen ohne Obrigkeit*, 5). In the same year the German Civil Code took effect, Wellhausen thought it “good to remember *quantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem* [what a pain it was to found the Roman race]” (ibid., [15–16]).⁷¹ (59)

The historical moment of transition “from the possibility to a reality” is the moment of origin. So too, on the edge of the transition from anarchy to order

70. See the end of the passage cited in the following note [n. 71].

71. In a letter to Justi from 27 February 1900, he wrote: “I do not deserve your gratitude. I have done no research for the lecture, but it is the result of years of reading. Some things which I have boldly put out due to the brevity demanded by the lecture should be qualified.” As for “Mommsen’s Questions,” he wrote in an earlier letter dated 23 December 1899: “Mommsen not only dies himself in the sluices, but he also causes lazier horses to come to his aid. He has hardly completed his fat book of 1100 pages about Roman criminal law—being over 82 years old—and he goes on to start a discussion with several people about the criminal law of the Greeks, Indians, and other savages (*anderem wilden Strafrecht*). He got to me as well, and I needed the past few weeks to organize to some extent my confused knowledge about the Arabic and Jewish circumstances so that the presentation could be somewhat intelligible to a trained jurist. At the same time, I was roped into doing a speech for the king’s birthday and labor on that, as I have no topic or too many—which amounts to the same thing.” The answers to Mommsen’s questions about comparative law were published after his death, in 1905: Theodor Mommsen, ed., *Zum ältesten Strafrecht der Kulturvölker. Fragen zur Rechtsvergleichung* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1905).

(59) The Latin citation refers to Vergil’s *Aeneid*, 1.33, which generally reads *tantae* instead of *quantae*. The letters quoted by Boschwitz appear in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, no. 562, p. 380, and no. 557, p. 376. Further to n. 71, Wellhausen’s contribution featured beneath the title “Arabisch-israelitisch” in the work *Zum ältesten Strafrecht der Kulturvölker. Fragen zur Rechtsvergleichung*, edited by Mommsen.

and community, the moral is the “most original.” Here is the moral “idea not of the philosophical, but of the enthusing kind” (“Muhammads Gemeindeordnung von Medina” [Muhammad’s Constitution of Medina], in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 4, p. 51).

[Politics and Culture]

While the Europeans have a great number of relations and are a conglomerate of the same, in Mohammedanism the individual is just *that*, in fact in the superlative: cruel, cunning, courageous, and generous to the highest degree.

Therefore, where a soul fixes itself in the perpetual turmoil of this world, like a wave in the rippling of the sea, there it emerges in a freedom that could not be more noble, generous, courageous, resigned.

—G. W. F. Hegel, [*Vorlesungen über die*] *Philosophie der Weltgeschichte* [*Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*]⁽⁶⁰⁾

[[52]] Among the great German historians of the nineteenth century, Wellhausen is closest to Theodor Mommsen, whom he valued above all, even much more than Ranke.⁷² (61) He is comparable to him in concentrating his historical work on “a single domain defined by a specific nationality.”⁷³

72. In a letter to Justi from 21 March 1900, he wrote, “. . . Mommsen as a scholar is himself worth more than all the historians and philologists of Berlin combined, even counting those who are dead; I value him incomparably more than Leopold Ranke.”

73. Cf. Julius Kaerst, “Theodor Mommsen,” repr. in idem, *Universalgeschichte*, 94.

(60) While Boschwitz provided only author and title—not the specific edition used—this statement comes in part 4, “Die germanische Welt” [“The Germanic World”], sec. 1, “Die Elemente der christlich germanischen Welt” [“The Elements of the Christo-Germanic World”], ch. 2, “Der Muhamedanismus” [“Islam”], in the opening paragraph.

(61) Wellhausen, *Briefe*, no. 564, p. 380. As noted in the edition, this letter was, in fact, addressed to Helene Justi née Schepp, the wife of Ferdinand. Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903), classicist and jurist, editor and organizer, politician and historian, recognized with a Nobel Prize in Literature for his immortalized history of Rome. Leopold Ranke (1795–1886), pioneering historian glorified for his analysis of documents, research into archives, and institution of training. For an introduction to their place in European historical writing, see Kelley, *Fortunes of History*.

The contemporaneous *political* drives for Mommsen's Roman history are evident, saturated as it is with the pathos of *Realpolitik*.⁷⁴ In a very characteristic way, the same critique befalls post-exilic Jewish theocracy from his evaluative judgment as from Wellhausen's. Its idiosyncrasy, which "acquiesces to foreign rule and renounces state formation," is emphasized with reproach (Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, Bd. 5, *Die Provinzen von Caesar bis Diocletian* [*Roman History*, vol. 5, *The Provinces from Caesar to Diocletian*], p. 487). "No free draft of air for development of the state blows through this clerical restoration. None of the difficult, serious commitments of an autonomous commonwealth hindered the priests of Jerusalem from creating the kingdom of Yahweh on earth" (*ibid.*, 488).⁽⁶²⁾

The pathos of the "common reality," of the political fact, could not resound any more loudly. Its ethical ground could not manifest itself any more clearly. Where Mommsen [[53]] introduces Carthage into Roman history, he acknowledges, in general characterization, the political facilities of the Aramaic peoples and determines their "own most distinctive nature" to be a "deficiency in a sense of the state"—notwithstanding all tenacity and peculiarity of national sentiment" (*Römische Geschichte*, vol. 1, *Bis zur Schlacht von Pydna* [*Roman History*, vol. 1, *To the Battle of Pydna*], p. 488). Elsewhere, he says of Jews in particular that they, "unlike Westerners, have not received the Pandora's gift of political organization and essentially behave with indifference towards the state" (*Römische Geschichte*, vol. 3, *Von Sullas Tod bis zur Schlacht von Thapsus* [*Roman History*, vol. 3, *From the Death of Sulla to the Battle of Thapsus*], p. 550).⁽⁶³⁾ Meanwhile, Rome, for him, is "for all times the prototype of national development," i.e., of state development as nationally determined (*Römische Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 176). His most personal, distinctive, and intense relation to this national history is based precisely here, where he finds the typical battleground—"for all times"—of his political ideals and of political forces in general.

74. Cf. Dilthey, "Friedrich Christoph Schloßer."

(62) As documented in the published correspondence of Wellhausen to Mommsen, the semitist read the classicist's galley proofs for the second half of vol. 5 in *Römische Geschichte*.

(63) Wellhausen reproduced this passage at length—with much approbation—in his article "Israel": from its original publication in *Encyclopædia Britannica* (430n1) to its reprint as an appendix for the English translation *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (543n1) to its third printing as a separate booklet entitled *Sketch of the History of Israel and Judah* (193n1). On Jews and Judaism in the historiography of Mommsen, see the classic treatments of Hans Liebeschütz, *Das Judentum im deutschen Geschichtsbild von Hegel bis Max Weber*, Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts 17 (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1967); Christhard Hoffmann, *Juden und Judentum im Werk deutscher Althistoriker des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, Studies in Judaism in Modern Times 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1988); and now, more broadly, also Paul Michael Kurtz, "How Nineteenth-Century German Classicists Wrote the Jews out of Ancient History," *History & Theory* 58, no. 2 (2019): 210–32.

Wellhausen's judgment on the idiosyncratic deficiency in political creativity among the Israelites as among the Arabs is no different from Mommsen's. He knows "the Israelites, famously, have not achieved a well-structured, vigorously formed commonwealth" (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 1st ed., 17). Likewise, politics may be "a sacred matter for all Muslims, in which they participate with body and soul" but "without an understanding of the nature and limits of a human commonwealth" (*Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 46). Clearly, Wellhausen's exclusive, very personal relation to Israelites and Arabs—analogue to Mommsen's relation to the Romans—must be based on his regard for these people, in their fates, as prototypes of a specific as well as political, original, and human achievement or at least attitude. Although the "patriotism" of the Israelites and Jews may be unique, just like a distinctive, passionate thirst for political action among the Arabs in the first century of Islam, the masterpiece of the state was never accomplished among them. This historical situation stands before Wellhausen when at one point he tries to explain the reason for his relation to the "ancient Jews," which oscillates between affection and aversion: he is "interested, for all intents and purposes, not in art but only in human society."⁷⁵ (64) Human society [[54]] here means the moral-political, the "invisible construction of the system of relationships between human beings" ("Reste arabischen Heidentumes," in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 3, p. 181). It does not, however, signify constitutions and institutions that have developed an independent form or a life of their own. The history of the Arab empire that Wellhausen wrote is, in large part, the history of efforts by the Umayyads to transform their subjects "from Bedouins into reasonable citizens" (*Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 83), the history of the struggle "of the government that represents Arab rule with the resisting forces" (ibid., 47). Specifically, the first of the Umayyads, Caliph Mu'awiya, and the two great "viceroys" of this dynasty in Iraq enjoy the sympathy of their historiographer. They are the representatives of state order or reason of state.

75. He wrote Justi on 2 June 1894, after the latter announced the imminent publication of his book on Iranian names: "... I am also publishing again: a Jewish history. I just cannot get away from the ancient Jews. They repulse me and attract me over and over again because my basic interest is not in art but only in human society and its amusing outgrowths, provided they are not only velleities."

Wilamowitz reports he was "entirely impervious" to graphic art (*Erinnerungen 1848–1914*, 188). Whatever the particular idea of his correspondent, Justi, to which Wellhausen refers here (perhaps he is trying to say: hence my strange interest *not in the Greeks* but in the Jews hostile to "art"; perhaps he is simply alluding to his friend's artistic talent and interest), what matters is the fundamental significance that Wellhausen attributes even to his lack of interest in graphic art.

(64) Wellhausen, *Briefe*, no. 445, p. 315.

Nevertheless, his innermost interest lies with the fanatical opposition of these regents, the party of the Kharijites, who were not capable of acknowledging “that history possesses a legitimizing force, that the state follows its own reason: the goal of maintaining and expanding its power” (ibid., 39.) Already his first portrayal (in English) of the history of Muhammad and the first Umayyads turned into a characterization of this strange sect: “The Kharijites are the most interesting feature of the then-phase of Islam.”⁷⁶ They protested against the dynastic principle, against the “bad Catholicity” of official Islam, which did not separate true and bad Muslims (*Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 40). “They tightened the theocratic principle in such a way, and framed it so much as a matter of faith and conscience, that they practically [[55]] reduced it to absurdity, as it proved—without any alloying—to be useless and only destructive for forming a community. They set all their force towards an unattainable goal. Religion led them to, admittedly, a highly active and yet entirely unpolitical, desperate politics. . . . They fought most sincerely and decidedly for the kingdom of God and also most cruelly, of course, for an inhuman utopia” (ibid., 41). “They are . . . proper nonconformists and separatists, *individualists* of a very heightened, if also very particular, kind. . . . They were sincere and convinced people . . . and therefore no worse than Christian heretics and saints, as they were men of action who found martyrdom not on the scaffold but on the battlefield. *Anyone who judges them from the secular standpoint of culture does them no justice*” (*Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* [*The Religio-Political Factions in Early Islam*], 16–17, 24).

The standpoint of secularism for Wellhausen is the standpoint of culture.

Identifying the secular measure with that of “culture” sheds new—and only now truly illuminating—light on a matter of principle underlying Wellhausen’s aversion to Ranke, whom he occasionally rebukes for a view that is “quite erroneous” *because* “somewhat secular” (see p. 45 <p. 96> supra). Ranke, too, depicted the history of the Arab empire, in the context of his *World History*. For him, it is essentially about the duel between caliph and emperor: between an “Islam that has become one-sided,” which “renounced . . . all elements of the *culture* of earlier centuries,” and the Byzantine empire, the representative of Christian-classical principles, the upholder of “world-historical interests,”

76. Julius Wellhausen, “Mohammedanism. Part 1, Mohammed and The First Four Caliphs,” in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., vol. 16, *Men–Mosul* (Edinburgh: Black, 1883), 545–65, at 565—written in 1883 and thus twenty years before *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*. On the Kharijites, see pp. 40ff. in the latter book. The most extensive treatment appears in his *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse n.s.* 5/2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1901). Moreover, a short discussion on their first representatives is found in Wellhausen, “Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams,” in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 6 (Berlin: Reimer, 1899), 621ff. All in all, there are no less than four mentions.

whose defeat would mean “a dissolution of the historical foundations of culture” (Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, Teil 5.1, *Die arabische Weltherrschaft und das Reich Karls des Großen* [World History, part 5.1, *Arab World Dominion and the Empire of Charles the Great*], 132).⁷⁷ Although Wellhausen had also undertaken research into the conflicts of the East Romans with the Arabs at the time of the Umayyads, he did so only with an essentially chronological aim, to harmonize the statements of Byzantine and Arab sources. He does not want to enter “into an exhaustive political (i.e., of international and global politics) and military appraisal of these wars” because—aside from the inadequate state of the tradition—his “aptitude” to [[56]] do so would be insufficient (“Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romäern in der Zeit der Umayyiden” [“The Wars of the Arabs with the Byzantines in the Age of the Umayyads”], 416)! Like the Israelite-Jewish history, the Arab one interested him primarily and almost exclusively only insofar as it “hangs between poles in the interplay of internal forces” (*Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer* [The Pharisees and Sadducees], 100).

Just how fundamentally he was inclined to see the essence of the state in terms of internal politics—as the civic order wrested away from “lethargy” and “selfishness” (see p. 46 <p. 97> supra)—becomes manifest also in the approval, only slightly exaggerated, with which he recites a statement by the caliph Omar. “The saying with which Omar began his reign will never grow antiquated: ‘By God, he that is weakest among you shall be in my sight the strongest, until I have vindicated for him his rights; but him that is strongest will I treat as the weakest, until he complies with the laws.’ It would be impossible to give a better general definition of the function of the state” (“Mohammedanism. Part 1, Mohammed and The First Four Caliphs,” in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 563).⁽⁶⁵⁾ Here, Wellhausen declares unsurpassable the definition of the state as guarantor of the primitive *iustitia civilis*, of the internal, equitable court.

Even Wellhausen cannot help but acknowledge—at least in two short sentences—the achievement that the Byzantine emperors in the East and the Franks under Charles Martell in the West had won for the Christian West by damming the Muslim deluge across the world. However, through a joke borrowed from [Edward] Gibbon, Wellhausen more closes off than opens up secular perspectives; reference to the Battle of Tours and Poitiers usually provokes the historian to start off such a perspective (“what would have happened

77. On the importance of the idea of cultural continuity for Ranke, see Gerhard MASUR, *Ranke's Begriff der Weltgeschichte*, Historische Zeitschrift Beihefte 6 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1926), 71–72.

(65) Here, Boschwitz cited the original English passage, reproduced here based on his citation.

if the Arabs had prevailed . . .).^{78 (66)} For him, unlike for Ranke, the continuity of culture is a very serious matter.

What also distinguishes him from Ranke as political historian and even from Mommsen is his indifference to culture. At the beginning of his French history, in emphatic statements Ranke celebrates Julius Caesar as bearer of the highest glory possible since he accomplished unparalleled achievements with his conquests and at the same time for the “proliferation and fortification of the [[57]] general *culture* of the world.”⁽⁶⁷⁾ So too Mommsen admires first and foremost “the powerful appearance of Rome . . . , which followed in the footsteps of Alexander in subduing and *civilizing* the world” (Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, vol. 5, p. 5).

Yet Wellhausen was keen to do justice to the Kharijites as well, who pursued “in reality an entirely unpolitical politics” that was “completely anti-culture” and utopian (*Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, 16). He accompanies the history of the Arabs up to the fall of the Umayyads, as his sympathy peters out once that turning point in their national destiny is reached. Aristocratic Arabism, “ousted from its exclusive position, originally based on laws of war,” must withdraw “into a peaceful and civil territory” and becomes “an *international culture*” in which all Muslims participate (*Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 347–48). He finds it “regrettable that Mu’awiya did not limit himself to Syria and found a national empire there, which would have been more solid than *nationless universal rule* in the East, where the Arabs foundered” (ibid., 85). With the demise of the Jewish state, he marveled at the unparalleled harshness of the collision between “*national individuality and cosmopolitan world empire*”—the singular, tenacious resilience it displayed, despite its deficient military discipline and political culture!^{79 (68)} Taking

78. “Gibbon imagines what would have happened if the Arabs had prevailed. In that case, the Qur’an would now perhaps be interpreted in Oxford, and the holiness and truth of Muhammad’s religion would be preached from pulpits before a circumcised people. The achievement of the Franks for Christian Europe was great. Yet the Byzantines in the East have worked harder than they” (Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 213–14); cf. Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. John Bagnell Bury, vol. 6 (London: Methuen, 1902), 15.

79. “The ancient Jews may not be charming, but they are nonetheless respectable. In the fight against the Romans they go down differently from the Athenians and Spartans, even though they know nothing about military matters and have no discipline. In a way, they did not go down at all, but triumphed over the Romans in spite of everything. It may be lamentable, but it is remarkable. National individuality and cosmopolitical world empire have never clashed more sharply” (Wellhausen to Justi, 5 March 1[8]93).

(66) Edward Gibbon (1737–1794), historian and politician who secured a place in the pantheon of historiography with his work on the history of the Roman empire.

(67) Leopold Ranke, *Französische Geschichte, vornehmlich im sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert*, vol. 1, 1st ed. (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1852), beginning of bk. 1, ch. 1, p. 3.

(68) Wellhausen, *Briefe*, no. 425, pp. 301–302.

sides in the same spirit, around the turn of the century he gives his brightly blazing sympathy to the Boers who were defending their national existence: "As terrible as their (sc. the English) artillery may be, this small band of heroes with the righteous desire for vengeance will hopefully still walk away with victory over this 'culture.'"⁸⁰ (69) The Boers and the English, the Jews and [[58]] the Romans, the Arabs and international Islam: it is always the opposition of "national individuality" against the universal rule of civilization.

Let us now turn our attention to the tension-filled connection of anti-cultural elements with the political element in Wellhausen's conception of history. We will introduce this exposition with a short account of his interpretation of the first three chapters in Genesis. Here, for once, the subject matter allows his conception of "culture" to come up for direct discussion. Indirectly, this interpretation is the most elaborate piece—relatively speaking—of Wellhausen's "theology" and philosophy of history. But we will look at only a few instances. It is difficult to determine the border line where only the historian speaks and no longer, without limitation, also the confessor.

Within the *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (ch. 8, section 1), Wellhausen furnishes criticism on both versions of the biblical creation story—long distinguished by research in the separation of sources. The question is which of the two should be considered the original: Genesis 1, the story of the actual creation of the world, the work of six days, or Genesis 2–3, the narrative of paradise. The criteria to guide this criticism are far less of the literary-critical and philological kind and, much more, drawn from the total view of the content. For that very reason, they are sufficiently revealing.

Wellhausen wants to demonstrate that the paradise legend was the more original, more ancient version. While it is, accordingly, the product of naive, mythical imagination, the much-admired first chapter is the product of sagacious reflection, one that construes. The latter "undoubtedly" aims to "depict,

80. A postcard from 23 November 1899, which contains only a brief philological question, closes with the words: "The question demands only a small incidental answer; it should only be a sign of life, since what we scholars call life is only a digging in dust. If only I were a Boer!" This sigh must have found an approving yet pessimistic echo in the correspondent, for Wellhausen's next postcard from 27 February 1900 closes encouragingly: "... [T]he closing prayer of the farmers speaks to my soul. 'Little spark, still alive' as they say here, but it is not very likely that the English extinguish it. No matter how terrible their artillery. ..." Of course, the mood expressed here was common throughout Germany. However, considering the correspondence spans half a lifetime (1892–1907), this sole reference to a contemporary political event by the historian Wellhausen gains considerable significance.

(69) Wellhausen, *Briefe*, no. 553, p. 374, and no. 562, p. 380. Though not available to Boschwitz, other parts of Wellhausen's correspondence—especially with William Robertson Smith, Michael Jan de Goeje, and Abraham Kuenen—overflowed with comments on and references to contemporaneous events, as documented now by the full edition of his letters.

true to nature, the actual course of events in the formation of the world . . . to provide a cosmogonic theory" (ibid., 302): like the "attempts by Thales and his followers, [[59]] . . . remarkable as the beginnings of theory and of an objective interest in things of the outer world—yet not apt to stir enthusiasm" (ibid., 303). By contrast, the story of paradise and the fall "shines . . . through the absence of any ambition for rational explanation and through contempt for any cosmological speculation" (ibid., 308). [He writes,]

The most woeful *view of life as it is in the present* underlies this narrative. Humanity's days are vanity, hardship, and toil—a sorage: a hopeless sorage, for the wage is that they return to the earth from which they have been taken. . . . This contemporary, bleak lot upon the earth is the real problem of the narrative: perceived to be a yawning antithesis to our true destiny. It is not, cannot be, the original state of affairs but rather an inversion of that original—the punishment for a most ancient debt weighing on us all. [ibid., 305]

The forbidden pursuit of recognizing good and evil is the cause of earthly misery. By explaining what is intended here, Wellhausen wants to correct a modernizing "misunderstanding of the philosophers and theologians" and restore to glory "the ancient, popular" explanation. Instead of a moral ability to differentiate, he argues that the recognition of good and evil means the knowledge of what is helpful and harmful to humanity: "knowledge in the ancient world is also always ability, not mere metaphysics" [ibid., 306]. Furthermore, ["]this insight is not to be understood individually but historically; *it refers to what we commonly call culture*. As humankind progresses in culture, it regresses in the fear of God. The first stage of civilization is clothing, and here is the next result of the fall" [ibid., 307]. Subsequent to the individual inventions,

the story of the city and tower of Babel continues in the same direction, where the foundation of the great world empires (!) and world cities is displayed. . . . In all this, the emancipation of humanity further unfolds: with the increase in emancipation comes an increase in the distance from the highest good. . . . It is the wistful song that resonates through *all peoples*. Having attained historical culture, they feel the value of the goods that they sacrificed for it. (ibid.)

This story tries to give reasons for the "tragedy" of civilization (ibid., 304). The fundamental view of [[60]] Gen. 1 is, by contrast, optimistic. Humans are created in the image of God and destined to rule over the entire earth: "ruling and knowing mean the same thing: they mean civilization" (ibid., 312).

To Wellhausen's ears, the repeated declaration of humanity's creation in the image of God within the same source—to which Gen. 1 also belongs—sounds “downright like a protest against the fundamental view of Gen. 2–3, a protest connected partially to the more developed religious and moral education yet also partially to the desperate effort of later Judaism *to deny the most certain of all historical experiences, namely, that the sons must suffer for the sins of their fathers*” (ibid.). In this way, Wellhausen therefore makes the teaching of original sin his own: as an expression of acknowledgment, with no illusions, of the most general historical reality—the “bondage of human nature,” the historicity of human existence as a whole (ibid., 320). It means an acknowledgement that the fate of the present is always and everywhere entangled in, and thus to be held liable for, the sins of the past—and the same holds true for the fate of the individual *vis-à-vis* the guilt of the whole. The narrative of paradise and the fall of the first human beings gives reasons for this entanglement historically, as an inversion—passed down through the species—of the original condition. However, it does not aim to give an account in the manner of genuine myth, as it was in the past, but seeks to explain life “as it is in the present” [ibid., 305]. Wellhausen holds onto it as a myth of “the most certain of all historical experiences,” which the optimism of those proud of culture—considering themselves free and “emancipated,” knowing and ruling “like God”—simply does not dare look in the face [ibid., 305, 312].

It is, again, the antagonism between the “God of historical necessity” and the “God of wishes” and illusions that Wellhausen finds dominant here and that, in the main, guides his overt partisanship in this distinguishing characterization of both versions (see p. 22 <p. 74> supra). On the other hand, the original is not only the earlier but also the grander and truer. The pessimistic reflection on civilization is his own.

[[61]] Now in general terms, the lack of “culture” is the signature condition of the Arabs in the time and space Wellhausen considered their activities. It is precisely there and for this reason that he considers them. The natural basis of this primitivity is *the desert*:

The desert cannot be cultivated. It holds its inhabitants down on a very simple stage of life. It only lets men rise who . . . cannot be killed through tribulation and deprivation of any kind, who fend for themselves in every situation. Life there is not a pleasant habit taken for granted but an ongoing struggle. And yet even in the desert, a moral and spiritual culture grows out of the system of relations between human beings: indeed, precisely because the ground is so bare, so negative, the invisible superstructure created by humans through their society becomes decidedly top-heavy. Since there are no institutions detached from individuals

that seem to function on their own, since the mutual relations, rights, and obligations are not regulated and protected by any governing power whatsoever, they are not of such an indifferent and automatic kind as among us (where the state seems to work like a machine, for which we only have to control the furnace⁸¹), but passionate and personal. . . . Nothing is based on coercion, on solidified establishments; everything is based on piety and corporate spirit. . . . Perhaps this is the only appeal of this literature, that we see in it *a developed spiritual life raising itself above the nothingness, without the foundation of a political and technical culture. . . .*⁸²

Regarding this “invisible structure of relations between human beings” that raises itself about the nothingness, Wellhausen finds “[i]nterest in the Arabs is captivated by this moral world in a remarkably exclusive way” (“Reste arabischen Heidentumes,” in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 3, p. 181). In doing so, he designates the motive of his own historical interest in the ancient Arabs. He calls the same motive by name when, in his lacking understanding of the graphic arts, in his exclusive interest “only in human [[62]] society,” he suspects the real reason for his sympathy—which occasionally appears strange even to him—for the history of the “ancient Jews.”⁽⁷⁰⁾

The primitiveness and culturelessness targeted here is therefore to be understood as institutionlessness. Technical *as well as political* institutions are thought to be absent here. When Wellhausen insists, “The development of a high spiritual culture above nothingness, without all material culture as a foundation, is for me one the most attractive phenomena of world history,” this form of expression suggests a conception that distinguishes, in the usual sense, between culture and civilization, namely, between civilized behavior and mere technology (*ibid.*, 194n1). It is not contradictory that Wellhausen himself employs both terms in a haphazard, interchangeable manner and does not distinguish them in general. Granting the basic justification of this interpretation for the contrast in question, it all comes down to how broad the scope of “technology” is conceived of here—insofar as all “institutions

81. Julius Wellhausen, *Ein Gemeinwesen ohne Obrigkeit. Rede zur Feier des Geburtstages Seiner Majestät des Kaisers und Königs am 27. Januar 1900 im Namen der Georg-Augusts-Universität* (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1900), 15.

82. Julius Wellhausen, “Die alte arabische Poesie,” conclusion [pp. 602, 604]. Here, Wellhausen restates only more elaborately what he had already articulated in “Reste arabischen Heidentumes,” in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Reimer, 1887), 180–81.

(70) Here, Boschwitz evokes the letter to Justi, 2 June 1894, cited on p. 54 n. 4 <p. 105 n. 75> .

detached from individuals” and also from the life of the state are included in culture, in the sense of civilization. This also corresponds quite rightly, then, to the actual, original—namely, political—meaning of the term civilization, which designates being made into *cives* [citizens]. In like manner, Herder’s ironic way of speaking about the “politicization”—of which “our century” boasts as its culture—clearly preserves the connection between the acquisition of “politeness” and the becoming of *polites* [citizens].

The characterization of the primitive Arab world, already mentioned, refers to the pre-Islamic Arabs. Yet the element of primitivity remains constitutive also for the following century, for the history of the Arab *empire*. Muhammad created the state of Medina; organizing further from this nucleus, he and his successors created the national Arab empire. “The concept of authority, entirely foreign to the Arabs up to that point, was introduced through Allah” (*Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 5).

In his historical work, Wellhausen portrays, above all, the fight of authority, namely, the caliphate and its organs, against the obstinate intractability of their subjects. He portrays how “the anarchy of the desert,” the tribal antagonisms, persisted unvanquished and how [[63]] “the individual feuds, under the influence of religious tendencies and political aspirations, ultimately polarized”⁸³ into a great antagonism between the ruling land of Syria, the seat of government—which under [“]the influence of Greek-Aramaic culture, the Christian church, and the Byzantine empire[”] had already acquired “an ordered system of state as well as military and political discipline”—and Iraq, the headquarters of the opposition. At this time, “the real history of Islam” played out in Iraq, and its capitals Kufa and Basra “had no other traditions than the desert and Islam. Arab armies . . . were thrown there by the war and settled as military colonies. They suddenly found themselves transported from primitive conditions into culture and into the center of a great empire. No wonder they did not immediately transform from Bedouins into reasonable citizens” (*Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 83, 141). Now, the crucial point is that Wellhausen sees nature and religion—that is, the desert and Islam—working in the same direction: namely, working towards an uncompromising activism and towards an antagonistic opposition to culture and state. It was already true of the “natural,” pagan Bedouin: “[T]he Arab, as meant to be, is never neutral. He helps, or he harms. He loves, or he hates. For his own, that is not only wife and child but also for the tribe, he is prepared for any sacrifice” (“Die alte

83. Julius Wellhausen, review of *The Nakā'id of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq*, ed. Anthony Ashley Bevan, vol. 1, part 1, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 168, no. 7 (1906): 574–79, at 576. Cf. also Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 43–47, 131, 163.

arabische Poesie," [602]). Thus, religion—Islam—does nothing other than intensify this nature of the Arab into the moral:

A Muslim is obligated to invite what is good and prohibit what is damnable with mouth and hand. He must not only do the will of Allah by himself but also help establish it in the community. Quietism is not an option, as religion pushes the individual to intervene in public life by making him responsible on his own part for the whole. Its sphere of activity is politics. That is exactly the concept of theocracy. Now, in and of itself religion was able also to help support the existing order of things and impress that one has to obey the authorities and should not rupture the community. In reality, however, it lent its strength primarily to the opposition. The idea of theocracy stood critically against the realized form of community. It stood [[64]] in the way of acknowledging that history possesses a legitimizing strength, that the state follows its own reason—the purpose of maintaining and expanding its power—and that the existent government is difficult to distinguish from it. (*Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 38–39)

Wellhausen's history of the Arab empire depicts no development of any kind but only a tension. The back-and-forth—up to its rupture, namely up to the "fall" of Arab rule—constitutes the only consistent principle in the maelstrom of these wild civil wars. It is "the tension between religion and state, between the theocracy posited by the former and the power politics generated out of necessity by the latter" (Schwartz, *Rede auf Wellhausen*, 22). That political strength of the Muslim religion took its purest, and most terrible, effect among the Kharijites, the only opposition party of the young Islam, whose religious principle was, unreservedly, "bloody serious" (see p. [47–]48 n. 5 <p. 98 n. 68> supra). Paradoxically, its emergence teaches a lesson: the same religio-moral energy that founds the state inhibits its fortification and stabilization—indeed, proves able, through the most radical supporters, to destroy it.

The same tension essentially constitutes the driving force of the "politico-religious history" of the Israelites and Jews. Wellhausen articulated this most clearly in his first history of Israel:

Religion was the seed from which the state shot up: no holy state but *the* state. Even afterwards, the former consciously remained the latter's root. *Religion held onto the state's primitive foundation* and kept watch so as not to lose direct contact with it. It had no appreciation for the intermediate and higher levels of political organization, for the construction of

the upper floors. They diverged too far from the basis. It was indifferent to the derivative, to what did not bear its right to exist directly in itself. (*Geschichte Israels*, 188[0], 11)

Here, too, Wellhausen describes objectively, as historical fact, what constitutes subjectively the exact content and scope of his historical interest: he had no appreciation for the intermediate and higher levels of political organization, for the construction of the upper floors. He was indifferent to the derivative, to what did not bear its right to exist directly in itself.

[[65]] This indifference of his to a more developed state, to political culture, coincides in its motive with his religio-individualistic, Protestant rejection of the church as an “artificial construct,” as “institution” and “establishment” (*Abriss der Geschichte Israels und Juda’s*, 102). Since he sees state and church as growing from the same religio-moral root, he also follows the process of state formation only up to the stage of acquiring institutional independence. The ideal is a state that has not yet become fixed and tangible in institutions—the *invisible state*—analogous to the Protestant idea of an invisible church. Almost more important and more interesting to him than state and religion is the passion in individuals, religiously motivated, that creates the state. The Kharijites are an almost fantastic limiting case of this impassioned energy. As such, more than anything else, it is suitable for determining the center of gravity for Wellhausen’s basic ideas.

The identity of “church” and of developed state according to his view—namely, as products, hived off and ossified, of an originally identical force—is comprehended best in Wellhausen’s first depiction of the Kharijites. There, the object of their attack is described as follows:

In the name of religion, they raised their objection against the whole great, spiritual movement being allowed to taper into a worldly and political result. . . . In those days, Islam was at the point of making peace with the world. . . . Life was no longer controlled by religion but likened itself to it. . . . This development was encouraged by the government, which required peace most of all. An orthodoxy emerged, and through it religion was domesticated and stripped of every dangerous element. More precisely, it became a compromise according to which the letter of the law was correctly observed so that one could then obey their own inclinations in every other respect. The conditions by which one might assure themselves of heaven were twofold: on the one hand, the performance of “good works,” i.e., such *opera operanda* [work to be done] to which particular ecclesiastical merit is awarded; on the other hand, the belief in the absolute rule of God, especially over human will. God has

little interest in things moral—the usual position of orthodox hypocrisy. . . . The Kharijites [[66]] *protested not only against the dynastic principle and Umayyad rule but also against orthodoxy*. They contested the teaching of predestination and the assumption that a great sinner could still be a good Muslim, because they did not understand how religion is to be separated from practice. (“Mohammedanism. Part 1, Mohammed and The First Four Caliphs,” in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 564)⁽⁷¹⁾

The Protestant measure of this characterization is unmistakable. The Kharijites, who “with extreme recklessness against themselves and others” wanted nothing but “to save their soul,” are religious “individualists, of a very heightened, if also very particular, kind” (*Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, 16). Yet they protested against church (orthodoxy) and state alike. This, of course, has its particular historical basis precisely in there being no separation between state and church in Islam. In consequence, the concept of religious community was there “far more political than that of (Christian) catholicity, and a principled protest against secularization in the realm of Islam was even more impossible than in the realm of the (Christian) church” (“Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams,” in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 6, 122n4). For Wellhausen, it is exactly this unseparatedness that is the condition for the originality of the religious and political. It is a consequence of the two not yet having diverged all too far from their common basis.

The entire antinomy of the religio-political idea is embodied and compressed in the Kharijites. That idea, on the one hand, originally initiates the full engagement of the person and their responsibility to create a just community and, on the other hand, inhibits its furtherance, the “construction of the upper floors.” As already stated, in the same antinomy Wellhausen saw the law of movement and tension also for Israelite-Jewish history. Here, the advocates and trustees of religion—which “one can . . . reproach, with some justification, of having hampered the political invigoration of the Israelite people”—are the *prophets* (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 1st ed., 66).

The position of the Kharijites within Islam corresponds to that of the prophets within Yahwism. Likewise, what is said with respect to the former applies to the latter: “The idea of theocracy stood critically against the realized form of community” (*Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 39). Everything that coalesces among the Kharijites—the willingly destructive attack on the current, natural, “realized form of community,” out of religio-“patriotic” [[67]] motives, and the religious individualism at its highest intensification—are also

(71) As Boschwitz rendered the English text into German, this passage constitutes a translation of that rendering (not a reproduction of the original).

the characteristics of Israelite prophetism when viewed in its entirety and with respect to its great, historical effect. Here again, Wellhausen's earliest formulation is the sharpest:

The spiritual destroyers of the old Israel were the prophets. While formerly the nation had been the realized ideal, they set the ideal against the nation. The discrepancy was supposed to be rebalanced through the ideal, now detached, turning into the law and the people becoming conformed to it. The endeavor had very important consequences, as Yahweh, having gone from the people, lived on as law—although this did not correspond to the intention of the prophets. What they strove towards, without knowing it, was *the religious individualism that had its historical source in the dissolution of the nation.* . . . With men like Amos and Hosea, the moral personality grounded in inner conviction broke through the barriers of nationhood. It was a mistake for them to think they could make their disposition into the basis of nationhood. Jeremiah realized the mistake, and the true Israel itself shriveled away into it. (*Geschichte Israels* [1880], 76; cf. *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 146ff.; “Abriss der Geschichte Israels und Juda’s,” 77)

Already Isaiah had reached the point of putting the “remnant,” as the true Israel, in place of the natural nation as a whole.

Furthermore, like the actions of the Kharijites the speeches of the prophets are *political and utopian* in one!

The religion of the Kharijites is political, indeed. It has as its purpose the commonwealth desired by God. Yet their politics is not aimed at attainable goals and entirely anti-culture: *fiat iustitia, pereat mundus* [*let justice be done, though the world perish*]. . . .⁸⁴ With deployment of the highest bellicose energy, then, they practice an in fact entirely unpolitical politics. . . . They want to save their soul by (fighting against the godless, official community of the faithful) with extreme recklessness against themselves and others. (*Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, 16)

Though distant from the practice of this desperate radicalism, in principle the stance of the Israelite prophets is the same. In evaluating the utopian character of their stance, Wellhausen fluctuates in a significant manner. Just where he describes the originative and at the same time jealous [[68]] relationship of

84. Cf. Wellhausen on the prophet Elijah, see p. 25 <p. 76> supra.

Israelite religion *vis-à-vis* the state (see p. 64 <p. 114–15> supra), he continues: the religion

let go of what had arisen as soon as it could stand on its own. For this reason, it also preferred to turn to the future, *not in a utopian but in a thoroughly practical manner*. It was only one step ahead of the present. It prepared what was arising, which does not derive from existing establishments but surfaces just now out of the depth where human society has its mysterious roots. (*Geschichte Israels* [1880], 11–12)⁸⁵

Yet another time, he says of the prophets, “They knew only ideal powers, justice and injustice, truth and lie. *They were indifferent to instrumental causes; they were not practitioners in politics*. However, they followed the run of events attentively and with passionate interest. The present they experienced became for them the mythos of a divine drama, which they watched with an understanding that was anticipatorily sentient” (ibid., 53; cf. *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 112). After the return from Babylonian exile, the restoration of the Jewish commonwealth (which was not, of course, an autonomous, “true state” any longer) posed a challenge: “What should we hold onto? Where do we obtain the material for a provisional construction?” Wellhausen has to answer: “The prophetic ideas were not sufficient as building stones. *They lacked the practical applicability*. What became apparent was the importance of the institutions, of the traditional forms, to preserve also the spiritual content of religion” (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 189).

Previously, we foregrounded Wellhausen’s constant effort to emphasize the non-utopian, practical, political, and historical sense of the prophetic challenges and promises. Now, we see this effort was continually challenged by its opposite, even in Wellhausen’s own judgment. Indeed, if his arbitration concerning *these* feuding forces would decide unambiguously and unrelentingly in favor of one of the two sides, his historiography would lack that which makes it what it is: exactly the writing of Israelite-Jewish and Arab “politico-religious [[69]] history,” or the history of the tension between religious individualism and religious “patriotism,” between religio-moral absoluteness and *Realpolitik*.

Altogether, this tension is the real theme already in the first historical work by Wellhausen, on the Pharisees and the Sadducees, an “investigation into internal Jewish history.”⁽⁷²⁾ Not least this fact warrants the procedure we have

85. Note, however, the stronger emphasis on the inhibiting effect of religion on the state in the repetition of and slight variation on this idea in Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 1st ed., 17.

applied: treating Wellhausen's historiographical oeuvre—without a sharp distinction between earlier and later works—as a coherent mass that rises from a common foundation. The publication on the Pharisees and Sadducees demonstrates how early the principles of *Israelite and Jewish History* were set for him (cf. Schwartz, *Rede auf Wellhausen*, 14) and how much his life's work, with regard to normative views, brings cognizance of only the maturing and unfolding of an original disposition determined from the start.⁸⁶ Wellhausen's gaze always returned to invariable historical configurations and problems. Wellhausen explains the difference between the Sadducees and the Pharisees as the “contrast between a primarily political and a primarily religious party in a commonwealth more spiritual than worldly” (*Die Phariseer und die Sadducäer*, 56). Within Jewish, i.e., post-exilic, history, the problematic of Israelite-Jewish history as a whole repeats itself—a problematic that consisted in the transition from the politically independent kingdom to the politically dependent community and in the corresponding transformations of religious challenges and hopes. The spiritual constitution of the second theocracy shows its innermost irreconcilability with the state of the Hasmoneans, which reestablished and consolidated itself after the Maccabean wars of independence. “A great Jewish kingdom had formed, with independent princes at the top, which had a voice in the council of nations, administered its affairs independently, formed alliances, kept soldiers, and—perhaps the [[70]] most tangible difference to previously (!)⁽⁷³⁾—conducted wars: in short, which had fully configured itself on the base of other worldly kingdoms” (ibid., 93). The contradictory nature of this political formation manifested itself in the person of the ruler of this new kingdom, who was high priest and secular-martial king alike. “Foreign rule itself, under which the earlier conditions had developed, was not some hindrance to the theocratic life on the basis of the Torah but rather a necessary precondition for it. . . . The reaction of the Pharisees to Hasmonean rule had been born out of this contradictory situation, *and if it were not attested, one would have to invent it*” (ibid.). Such expressions, which sound almost

86. This corresponds to the calm and self-confident disposition that characterized Wellhausen. He remarks, “I left orthodoxy behind without many struggles. I only felt sorry for my mother,” and “. . . I always had simple goals and expected to find the solution to life's problems not in contemplation, but in life itself. Therefore, I despised theological and philosophical speculations in my early years. Anything forced was abhorrent to me. I could wait. My motto from an early age was Mk. 4:26ff. There, the field is not the world, but time” (Schwartz, *Rede auf Wellhausen*, 8).

(72) The reference pertains to the subtitle of Wellhausen's volume: *Eine Untersuchung zur inneren jüdischen Geschichte*.

(73) Exclamation by Boschwitz.

boisterous, give vent to the historian's sense of evidentness, who enjoys the conviction he gained for himself: to have constructed facts that are more than merely historical, namely, to have seen a necessary opposition light up in the vitality of empirical history. "It is a matter of principle here!" (ibid., 92). "The Sadducees are the representatives of the new *state*; the Pharisees, those of the *community* that had the Torah as its foundation and purpose" (ibid., 94–95). They are the "spiritual theoreticians" (ibid., 93). By contrast, the Sadducees, the ruling class, are

the only politicians . . . among a religious majority. . . . In this respect, the Sadducees occupied the same position *vis-à-vis* the Pharisees as the kings and rulers of Judah and Ephraim once did *vis-à-vis* the *prophets*. The old regents of Samaria and Jerusalem used practical means in the practical affairs with which they dealt. They were skilled in the art of diplomacy and formed alliances. . . . To the prophets, this seemed like a futile rivalry with divine providence. . . . One should see to removing sin and let God manage everything else. The Sadducees are a copy of their predecessors precisely in relation to their orientation in life. They did not concern themselves solely with their personal sanctification but intervened practically in the course of the world. They did not believe it was God who relieves them of administrating the state internally and representing it externally, collects taxes, administers justice, or equips and leads armies, that He regulates relations to the Romans, resolves misunderstandings, and arbitrates complaints. At least, they did not want to put it to the [[71]] test but rather went to work themselves, preferring to bring themselves to use the means that were available to them in order to achieve their goal. To the Pharisees . . . it seemed as if they wanted to meddle in the affairs of the true king of the theocracy with the art of statecraft and governance. From the same mentality flowed the Sadducees' denial of the resurrection. This is no coincidence but necessary from their general worldview. For the resurrection is only a fragment of the totality of messianic hope, which forms the background for the aspiration of the people and of the Pharisees, whereas the Sadducees lived not in the future world but in this world and acted not in heaven but on earth. (ibid., 5[2]–55)

When the Hasmoneans . . . attempted to form a nation from the Palestinian community, *they acted* contrary to the "*idea*" of Judaism. For this idea was not the earthly fatherland but God and the law. It was for this that the Pharisees fought, and since they had the consequence of the second theocracy on their side, in the end they became the champions

of the entire people. . . . *The Pharisees have the credit of having destroyed the state of the Hasmoneans and having saved Judaism.* (ibid., 95)

It is, indeed, in the same sense that the prophets “were the spiritual destroyers of the old Israel” [*Geschichte Israels* (1880), 76]. “The prophets are to be given credit for having recognized the independence (of religious custom and truth) and for having saved Israel by not implicating Yahweh in the fall of the people. They saved the faith by destroying the illusion” (ibid., 54).⁽⁷⁴⁾ The illusion, however, consisted of faith in the congruence of national hopes and needs with divine demands: in the “patriotism” of religion!

Wellhausen is not prepared to value the “credit” for immortalizing Pharisaic Judaism—“uniformed” in religious law and “armored” in statuary—as high as the credit for having saved the prophetic God (cf. *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 431). Nor is he inclined to pay the same respect to the Pharisees—who “solely concerned themselves with their personal sanctification” [*Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer*, 53]—as to the Kharijites, these individualists of the highest degree who want nothing but “to save their soul” [*Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, 16]. [[72]] The difference between the “utopianism” of the Kharijites and that of the Pharisees is that the former may have conducted “an in fact entirely unpolitical politics” yet did so “with deployment of the highest bellicose energy . . . and were therefore no worse than Christian heretics and saints, as they were men of action who found martyrdom not on the scaffold but on the battlefield” [ibid., 16, 24]. Yet the Pharisees faced the Zealots just “like the Christians, with whom they fully shared their political or—more properly—unpolitical standpoint” (*Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer*, 111).

It is not the lack of consideration of political realities but the political passiveness that tips the balance for Wellhausen’s pejorative judgement. The politics of the Kharijites were, in effect, utopian “because they did not understand how religion is to be separated from practice.”⁽⁷⁵⁾ The messianic piety of the Pharisees (and of the first Christians) completely refrained from political practice and decision.

In the Kharijites, Wellhausen glorifies the same passion and bravery that, under different historical circumstances, had the power to bring about community. They were *de facto* nihilistic fanatics. However, to venerate the passion for realizing what is right even in a fanaticism destructive in its effect—and to acknowledge and accept the true strength therein for

(74) Though not present in Boschwitz’s text, the parentheses here indicate his slight adaptation—for clarity’s sake—of the Wellhausen quotation.

(75) Cf. <p. 116> above.

state-building—corresponds to the reverence, a reverence indifferent to “culture,” for the originality and boldness of the individual who is completely on their own and subject only to their own conscience.

It is worth noting that such a *positive assessment of fanaticism* appears—probably for the first time—in the first great critic of modern culture and admirer of an original humanity: in [Jean-Jacques] ROUSSEAU.⁽⁷⁶⁾ He defends religious fanaticism against the indolence of atheism and of the rationalist philosophy of his time:

Bayle has proved very well that fanaticism is more pernicious than atheism, and that is indisputable. But what he does not bother to say—and what is no less true—is that fanaticism, though bloodthirsty and cruel, is still a grand and powerful passion: which stirs the human heart, which makes him despise death, which gives him enormous energy, and which need only be better directed to yield virtues most sublime. This is in contrast to irreligion—and the spirit of reason and philosophy in general—which causes an attachment to life, feminizes and degrades the soul, [[73]] concentrates all the passions in the baseness of private self-interest, in the abjectness of the human ego, and thus quietly traps the true foundations of all society, for what private interests have in common is so little that it will never outweigh what sets them in opposition.

If atheism does not lead to bloodshed, it is less from love of peace than from indifference to the good. . . .^{87 (77)}

To be sure, Wellhausen himself was not so much a fanatic as a great historian, dedicated to understanding highly individual phenomena that were “more or less to be grasped” “not systematically but only historically” (*Israelitische und*

87. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *La “profession de foi du vicaire savoyard,”* ed. Pierre-Maurice Masson, *Collectanea Friburgensia* 25, n.s. 16 (Fribourg: University Library; Paris: Hachette, 1914), 453ff.

It is precisely this heroic Mohammedan fanaticism that R[ousseau] has in mind when he defends true fanaticism elsewhere (*L'Essai sur l'origine des langues* [*Essay on the Origin of Languages*): someone who belittles the Qur'an today might have been the most self-sacrificing soldier under the direct influence of the prophet and his enthusiastic speech! “Fanaticism always seems ridiculous to us because it has no voice among us to make itself heard. Our own fanatics are not true fanatics: they are merely rascals or madmen” (cf. Rousseau, *La “profession de foi du vicaire savoyard,”* ed. Masson, 455–56n10).

(76) Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), philosopher, author, and political theorist, inter alia, whose writings inspired revolutionary and romantic actions, emotions, and notions. A classic three-volume biography flowed from the pen of Maurice Cranston, partially entitled *The Early Life and Work, The Noble Savage, and The Solitary Self* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982, 1991, 1997).

(77) As indicated by the reference, Boschwitz quoted the French (translated here by Kurtz).

jüdische Geschichte, 303–4, 224). This presupposes a mindset as different from any fanaticism as can be. Moreover, he was neither so “political” nor so “unpolitical” as the prophets or Kharijites. Although he was a scholar who avoided all political life (cf. Schwartz, *Rede auf Wellhausen*, 7), we have also come to see *one* of the fundamental premises of his historical judgment in the political realism that takes pride in acknowledging that the state has to follow its own reason and that the embodiment of the political “idea” in the “institutions” of the community order, in essence, can be nothing but a compromise and can never satisfy any prophetic demands.

One can call his relationship to the early periods of the Israelites and Arabs “sentimental.” But his opinion was not an unhistorically sentimental transfiguration of humanity’s past youth. While mired in a reworking of his book *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, he writes to Justi (16 May 1896): “The work is pretty boring for me, as interest in these old gods and goddesses, specter and superstition, and whatever else one calls religion has pretty much disappeared. But I consider it real luck that we [[74]] are no longer pagans. In this regard, I am not romantic. . . .”⁽⁷⁸⁾ Wellhausen closes his affectionate description of the Arab commonwealth before Islam—which went without any state institutions and left everything to personal courage, self-sacrifice, and helpfulness—with a critical realization. Not only “can an advancing culture not develop in this way,” which is already very complicated by the weak foundation of the desert. But further still,

the absence of state compulsion does not even prove advantageous for individual freedom as we understand it. While the sense of kinship is too weak to restrain the bad people and hold the listless to the services incumbent on them, it is still strong enough not to allow *spiritual freedom* to spring up within the circle of those who possess and exercise it. Spiritual freedom *thrives only in the state*, which, like Noah’s ark, shelters all types of creatures and lets them do as they see fit: not in a cousinage, which entrances its members internally, if it cannot coerce them also externally. (*Ein Gemeinwesen ohne Obrigkeit*, 15)

Wellhausen confessed to having read *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen* [*Reflections on World History*] by [Jacob] BURCKHARDT no fewer than five times.^{88 (79)} Undogmatic yet still considering the whole, the reflection on

88. Carl Neumann, *Jacob Burckhardt* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1927), 231.

(78) Wellhausen, *Briefe*, no. 483, pp. 338–39.

(79) Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1897), historian of art and culture, famous for his approach to cultural history and his work on the Greek and Renaissance worlds. For more, see Lionel

history—above all “in its effect on the individual” (see p. 27 <p. 78> supra) or, as Burckhardt says, its “great responses in spirit and disposition”⁽⁸⁰⁾—is the connecting point of these two minds highly different in nature. However, as Wellhausen’s noticeable interest shows, the difference between the historian of Jews and Arabs—averse to “art” and “culture”—and the historian of art and culture Burckhardt is no hostile opposition. Wellhausen’s concept of culture is total, corresponding to the classic concept of culture, namely, that of the classic *critique* of culture by Rousseau (which is also Herder’s). Burckhardt’s is much more nuanced and differentiated. While at one point he takes it also in the comprehensive sense of civilization—as, at times, in his treatment of fortune and misfortune in world history—he, like Wellhausen, sides with the “so-called raw” periods. After all, he was the one who uncovered behind the self-confidence of modern civilization, in its need for “security” in life—whose possession became just as taken for granted as it was indispensable [[75]]—the secret and the strongest driving force of its arrogance. “But a simple, strong existence—with the full physical nobility of the race still and under constant, common defense against enemies and oppressors—is also a culture and possibly linked to a high, inner education of the heart. *The spirit was complete already early on*” (*Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen*, 256). “For this reason, our assumption that we live in an age of ethical progress is most ridiculous compared to ages of risk” [*ibid.*, 65–66]. With the “restraint of the individual, brought about by the diversity and fullness of culture and *by the enormously heightened power of the state*, which can thrive as far as its formal abdication . . . , came just as much *loss of initiative* and strength for offense and defense” (*ibid.*, 66). This is spoken entirely in favor of Wellhausen’s early ages! However, Burckhardt is primarily defending here the violent Middle Ages against the prejudice of those contemporaries “who consider the policing of our century as the ultimate human achievement,” as Herder mockingly wrote (see p. 1[9] <71> supra).

As opposed to the “stable” powers—state and religion—Burckhardt conceptualizes culture in the special meaning of the term, as “the total sum of those developments of the spirit . . . that occur *spontaneously* and do not claim universal or coerced validity” (*ibid.*, 57). Thus, insofar as the gaze of Burckhardt, as observer of *cultural* history, is focused on one particular area of social life—definable against those two “stable arrangements of life”—it is for him precisely this area, culture, that is the domain of a particular *freedom* of the individual, their “initiative” and “spontaneity,” *within* the [[76]] entirety of life

Gossman, *Basel in the Age of Burckhardt: A Study in Unseasonable Ideas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

arrangements.⁸⁹ (81) This corresponds to Wellhausen, for whom the entire life of the two “primitive” peoples in their early periods—before the “stabil”-ization and institutionalization in culture of the “heightened power of the state” or of the organized church—is the particular historical place of unfolding for personal initiative and freedom. {Therefore if one, like Wellhausen, holds onto the concept of culture in its original, simple, and total sense, then it designates precisely the entirety of all transpersonal powers and “impersonal” forms in which a human society may develop organs of its communal life. Understood in this way, however, all historiography can be nothing other than historiography of culture. Religious enthusiasm, which in the form of pure interiority could never be the subject of a national history, may be able to claim and captivate the interest of the historian precisely in its relationship to culture, in its partly creative and partly destructive relationship to political culture (“civilization”) in particular. As a man of historical science, Wellhausen understands himself as a historian of culture. He explicitly establishes and concedes this—in the concluding reflection in the chapter on “The Gospel,” which at the same time constitutes the conclusion to the Israelite-Jewish history and flows into a confession of faith in God and in the freedom of the soul—in order to attach his crucial limitation to it. That limitation leaves culture—precisely insofar as it is a subject of historical science—only a very restricted value and thus implicitly relativizes the value of historical science itself to a corresponding degree, as only culture can ever be its subject.}(82) Wellhausen formulates the

89. This “insofar” is, of course, not much more than a methodologically useful abstraction, intended to present Wellhausen’s comprehensive understanding of culture in perspective. Burckhardt’s approach to cultural history is not fundamentally restricted to a specific aspect of historical life but rather embodied by a single, central aspect of history as a whole. One could characterize in broad strokes what Burckhardt practices under the name of cultural history in contrast to its opposite: the history of events and actions. See further Karl LÖWITH, *Jacob Burckhardt. Der Mensch inmitten der Geschichte* (Lucerne: Vita Nova Verlag, 1936), 179ff. Wellhausen marveled at Burckhardt’s approach to world history—which distanced itself from outside events—as an apparently almost superhuman objectivity: “He flies so high and distant above everything, almost like our good Lord himself” (Neumann, *Jacob Burckhardt*, 239).

(80) Jacob Burckhardt to Friedrich von Preen, 5 March 1871, in *Jacob Burckhardts Briefe an seinen Freund Friedrich von Preen, 1864–1893* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1922), no. 13, pp. 32–34. The letter was in the wake of the Franco-Prussian war and in relation to “the spirit and disposition of both peoples,” meaning the Germans and the French. Cited without attribution in Boschwitz’s book, the quotation may have been brokered by its reproduction in Karl Löwith’s 1936 *Jacob Burckhardt*.

(81) The number of this footnote was misprinted as 1, not 18. On Wellhausen steering a historiography between those of Mommsen and Burckhardt, see Baruch Halpern, *The First Historians: The Hebrew Bible and History* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988).

(82) Printed at the end of the chapter (pp. 77–78 in the German original), this insertion has been transposed into the main text, following the notational marks by Boschwitz.

bottom line of his engagement with the history of the Jews and the Arabs as follows:

Yahweh and Islam teach us what an enormous influence religion can exert on culture. The Catholic Church of the Middle Ages, which transferred the remains from the inheritance of antiquity onto the Germanic peoples, teaches us the same thing. At present, one is inclined to judge religion based on this influence, whether it be salutary or harmful. The gaze is only directed at the species and at the efficacy of impersonal epidemic powers. History is the history of the state and of the society, of the constitution and of justice, of the economy, of the dominant ideas, of morality, of art and science. This is completely understandable: for only this field is subject to development, only there can progress and a certain regularity be recognized, only there can one calculate and even apply statistics. It is, indeed, also unmistakable that the individual thrives only in the soil of culture. Buried in dirt, adversity, and barbarism, humans cannot think about their soul, and before one can turn to righteousness in the sight of God, the *iustitia civilis* must stand firm. That which is higher becomes stone if it is offered instead of bread. But humans do not live on bread alone; the means are not the end. All culture is unbearable if it does not recognize the individual and its mystery. Beyond a certain point, the progress of the species is no progress of the individual, thankfully not. I am not only a part of a mass, a product of my time and my environment, as science proclaims in unison, as if this were a reason to celebrate. Within my core I connect with eternity. Of course, I have to earn this core myself. . . . (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 393–94)

The history of both peoples exhibits the moral root of political culture in singular one-sidedness and strength. Among them, the primal forces [[77]] remained alert and alive enough to turn, in dialectical counterstrikes, against the entities that grew out of them but grew away from them with increased development. Wellhausen turned to this history because the struggle against the merely “historical” is itself the most characteristic, the most essential element of it. In the anti-“historical” (anti-cultural) he saw the principle of tension for its own drama. This more-than-historical element active in history is the “invisible state.” The invisible state is truly alive only and exclusively in individuals, yet not in institutions, although it willed and originated them in the end. Since it is nothing completely transcendent—but the truly immanent driving force and goal of all historical life—it can be viewed in empirical history. Yet it is most vivid where it unfolds “over the void”—i.e., where naked

existence labored to realize it with minimal resources—where individuals thrived and determined the fate of the nation: individuals who, even at the price of annihilating culture, namely, the fatherland, their own visible state, preserved themselves by remaining true to the ideal of the invisible state.

On Wellhausen's Gospel Criticism

[[79]] Like Eduard Schwartz, U[rich] v[on] WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORFF gives an account as colleague and friend and based on his own collaboration with Wellhausen (*Erinnerungen, 1848–1914*, 187–89). However, as close as he was to him, one might venture to assert that Wilamowitz completely misunderstood the consistent—and therefore the true—tenor of Wellhausen's scientific work. How else could he have written that Wellhausen always “remained a theologian” while in the field of Arab history, “here he was also a historian”! How else could he have perceived Wellhausen's Gospel criticism to be an aberration and suspected it of being tarnished by the affliction of his old age (Wellhausen increasingly lost his hearing)! Apparently, here he “ultimately fell into a destructive criticism, which had to affect even his view of Jesus.” Yet Wellhausen only applied the same criticism he had used for the Old Testament, now expanding it also to the New, and Wilamowitz had himself once readily accepted it: see the enthusiastic dedication of his *Homerische Untersuchungen* [*Homeric Investigations*], of 1884, to Wellhausen (cf. also [Wilhelm] Lütgert's same objection in *Die Religion des deutschen Idealismus und ihr Ende* [*The Religion of German Idealism and Its End*], [part 4,] 374, 478n19).⁽⁸³⁾ An orthodox critic shows a fundamentally better instinct for the consistent assumptions in all investigations by Wellhausen. In a critique of one of Wellhausen's final works (*Das Evangelium Johannis*, of 1908)—which, indeed, goes furthest in the literary-critical dissection of the text—the author claims that when the *Prolegomena* [*zur Geschichte Israels*] appeared, in 1878, he and others with him “immediately had the impression: we are not dealing with Moses here as much as Christ” ([Hugo Johannes] BESTMANN, “Julius Wellhausen,” *Der alte Glaube* 13 [1911/12], p. 245). In fact, it is characteristic of Wellhausen's construction of the Israelite history that in it the figure of Moses fades into intangibility

(83) For more on Wellhausen and classical scholarship, see Momigliano, “Religious History Without Frontiers.” For Wellhausen and orientalist scholarship, see Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire*, esp. 178–86.

and nothing remains of his giving of the law (cf., inter alia, [Rudolf] Finsler, *Darstellung und Kritik der Ansicht Wellhausens von Geschichte und Religion des Alten Testaments* [Presentation and Critique of Wellhausen's View on the History and Religion of the Old Testament], 61–62; [Franz] Pfeiffer, *Voraussetzungen der Wellhausenschen Theorie* [Presuppositions of the Wellhausian Theory], 13[ff.]). On his impact—which, in any case, could not have resulted from the actions of organizing and instituting a constitution—Wellhausen applies the same image that characterizes Jesus, who did *not* institute the church: the image of the sower, “as if it were not also something to scatter a seed in the field of time, which the resulting interplay of effects and counter-effects brings to maturity in an eternity” (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 417).

True, Wellhausen's analytic work on the Synoptics prompted him to revise his view, previously cherished and articulated in the concluding chapter of the Israelite-Jewish history: that the figure of the historical Jesus is reconstructable (cf. Schwartz, *Rede auf Wellhausen*, 25). However, he never revised the essentials in his views of Jesus, that he was “the first link in a new chain of minds . . . within a community of minds in the divine mentality” (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 388). Admittedly, he did consider it definitively proven by David Fr[iedrich] Strauß that “we do not have the material for a historical life of Jesus”⁹⁰ and that “Die Geschichte von Christus” (“The History of Christ”)—as Ewald had titled the corresponding volume of his history of the people of Israel—“was a better title than the ‘Life of Jesus,’ about which hardly anything can be said.”⁹¹ Yet in spite of his expressed resignation [[80]] that it is hardly possible to separate the historical person Jesus from the Christ image of the early Christian community, he always held on to an extremely specific, positive image of him. He still honored in the parable of the sower (Mk. 4:3–9) “the most direct, most genuine, and most important testimony” for the awareness Jesus had of himself (*Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 1st ed., 94):

It is a monologue. . . . In it, he does not disclose to his disciples the mystery of the sacred planting of God's kingdom on earth, but he presents himself to the entire people simply as a *teacher* who scatters his seed at random without knowing on which soil it will fall. He reflects on the uncertain success of his words, directed very generally, in a way that another teacher could also do. It follows that he considers teaching, about the way of God of course, as his true vocation.

90. Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 154; idem, “Strauß' Leben Jesu,” *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* (Munich) 45 (24 March 1908): 353–54].

91. Wellhausen, “Heinrich Ewald,” [74].

However, in the second edition of *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 84, he omitted from this passage the confident phrase: “the most direct, most genuine and most important testimony.” This is characteristic of Wellhausen’s growing reluctance in this area, but it does not change the fact that his overall conception remained the same. In the interpreted parable in question, the two main points of Wellhausen’s conception are already settled: (1) the rejection of an eschatological reading and (2) the rejection of a reading that Jesus was more than a preacher of repentance, teacher, helper, doctor, living role model, and the freest human being, namely, that he was the organizer of the church and the founder of any institution. These two instances are only ostensibly negative, as they enable Wellhausen to hold on to Jesus as a positive “religious ideal” (ibid., 104). A consistent eschatological reading would suggest that Jesus’ ethic had the meaning of an “interim ethic”—a conception that irritated Wellhausen: “Jesus’ way of life was not governed so eschatologically as that of his disciples. . . . Undoubtedly, morality for him was not—as ignoramuses have had the audacity to assert—a provisional demand valid only until the imminent end of the world” (*Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 1st ed., 107). The harsh dig at the ignoramuses, which betrays in its severity that it was used to defend an innermost conviction, was left out of the second edition (*Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 2nd ed., 97). In the meantime, in 1906, Albert Schweitzer’s history of research on the life of Jesus appeared, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* (*From Reimarus to Wrede*). It represents the radical, eschatological conception with a seriousness that must have impressed Wellhausen and made it impossible for him to speak of audacious simpletons. (For Schweitzer on Wellhausen, see *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, primarily pp. 252ff. For Wellhausen on Schweitzer, see *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 2nd ed., 151.) Whoever considers Wellhausen’s sarcasm in the rejection of his opponents and gauges his distance from Schweitzer—who, in contrast to Strauß, was “not repelled . . . but attracted by the reverie[”] of Jesus’ eschatology—will sense the extraordinary respect for his opponent expressed by these few critical lines. However, he did not think his own opinion adequately described in the book, as Schweitzer understood “better how to admire or disparage than to arbitrate” [*ad loc*]. This is also probably why—because Schweitzer’s assessment did not satisfy him—he, for his part, added the portrait of his predecessors, the three originators of the Marcan Hypothesis: [Karl] Lachmann, [Christian Gottlob] Wilke, and [Christian Hermann] Weisse (ibid., 2nd ed., 33ff.). In the second edition of his work, in 1913, Schweitzer further confirmed his theory of Jesus’ interim ethic, probably in defense against Wellhausen, although he does not name him (594–95).

Therefore, Wellhausen did not “destroy” the essentials of his original conception of Jesus. Furthermore, how strange that the philologist Wilamowitz

accuses critical analysis as such of a tendency that “*had to*” lead to destructive results, namely, [[81]] “ultimately *had to* . . . affect” Wellhausen’s conception of Jesus! In any case, Wellhausen’s piety and Christianness were not, fundamentally, of a nature that the results of historical criticism even *could* affect them. Evidence for this comes in the following description of Paul de Lagarde, which Wellhausen laid out in a commemorative address—with respect but with the fullest inward aversion:

Lagarde had been an apologist in his youth, and science was supposed to retrieve for him what he desired. Later he cultivated the greatest impartiality and austerity . . . yet he still was not taught to be a scholar but to find and to show the way to piety. He considered philological and historical science to be the guide to religion. He thought the Gospel was revealed through religious ingenuity but could also be discovered through science. When asked by an American, he characterized his theological standpoint as such that he accepted everything that was proven and nothing that was not proven. This was not only his scientific but also his religious confession. (“Gedächtnisrede auf Paul de Lagarde,” 55–56)

Yet Wellhausen adds what he knew about himself and considered natural:

Nevertheless, he lived according to a firm, practical conviction and not according to demonstration, according to which one cannot live at all.⁹² (84) In later years, he very much distanced himself from the naivete that science could determine the words of Jesus and the institutions of the apostles and that religion then simply had to accept the results.

This “naivete,” however, is the presupposition or rather the consequence of the charge leveled by Wilamowitz against Wellhausen’s “destructive” criticism.

92. Here, Wellhausen is thinking of a statement by Carlyle, which he also used in the conclusion to *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*: “Man does not live by demonstration, but by faith”; cf. also Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Marci*, 1st ed. (Berlin: Reimer, 1903), 29–30.

(84) The citation appeared in English—without attribution and, from the third edition, without quotation marks—within the chapter of *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* titled “Das Evangelium” (“The Gospel”): once transposed from penultimate to final chapter, also in the third edition, it then featured in the conclusion, as the next-to-last paragraph of the book (cf. p. 11 n. 10 < p. n. 10 > supra). Carlyle may have advanced the basic claim in his 1828 essay “Life and Writings of Werner” (republished many times), yet this precise formulation came in a letter to him, as a reader explained what he had learned from Carlyle: see James Anthony Froude, *Thomas Carlyle: A History of His Life in London, 1834–1881*, vol. 1 (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1884), 179; cf. Froude, *Thomas Carlyle: A History of the First Forty Years of His Life, 1795–1835*, vol. 1 (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1882), 373.

Wellhausen and Nietzsche

[[82]] The *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* appeared in 1878. Ten years later, *Der Antichrist* [*The Antichrist(ian)*] emerged.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Nietzsche's views on ancient Israel and on the emergence of the "sacred history" are directly influenced by Wellhausen. This was already noted by W. Lütgert (*Die Religion des deutschen Idealismus und Ihr Ende*, [part 4,] 476n72). Lütgert assumes, probably correctly, a mediation through Franz Overbeck (*ibid.*, 341).⁽⁸⁶⁾ Thanks to information kindly provided by the Nietzsche Archive in Weimar, it can be established that not only did Nietzsche own and eagerly study the *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* in its second edition of 1883—as demonstrated by numerous marks and marginalia—but that the same goes for the first and third volumes of the *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* of 1884 and 1887.⁽⁸⁷⁾ The first contains "Die Geschichte Israels und Juda's im Umriß," Wellhausen's first positive account, in German, of the subject and, in addition, the translation of the "Songs of the Hudhaylites."⁹³ ⁽⁸⁸⁾ Nietzsche undoubtedly had these in mind

93. The "Abriß" [or "Umriß"] corresponds to the article "Israel" that appeared in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* of 1881. A *Geschichte Israels* [*History of Israel*] had already been printed as a manuscript in 1880 but not made public. The *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* is mostly in the form of

(85) Apparently completed in 1888, the work only appeared later, in 1894. On the complex history of this work, especially the role of Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche in its genesis, see Carol Diethe, *Nietzsche's Sister and the Will to Power: A Biography of Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche*, International Nietzsche Studies (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

(86) Franz Overbeck (1837–1905), Protestant theologian-turned-atheist, scholar of the New Testament and early Christianity, colleague of Burckhardt and Nietzsche, and noted friend of the latter. Overbeck is often overshadowed or eclipsed by others in Basel—Nietzsche most notably. For a fuller recent reckoning, see Gary Shapiro, *Nietzsche's Earth: Great Events, Great Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016). Lütgert (1867–1938), Protestant theologian specialized in New Testament studies and systematic theology. Further to Lütgert, Nietzsche, and Wellhausen, see Boschwitz's letter to Leo Strauss, 1 May 1934, in the documentation *infra*.

(87) Cf. Boschwitz to Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche, 3 July 1933, in the documentation *infra*.

(88) While the title page reads "Abriß der Geschichte Israels und Juda's," the half-title offers "Geschichte Israels und Juda's im Umriß."

when he says of the songs of the pagan Arabs that they could have been composed by the Corsicans. Underlying them are the same “severe hardness, danger, and unpredictability that come with a life of manly virtues” (*Der Wille zur Macht*, in *Werke*, vol. 9, p. 158, Aphorism 204). Wellhausen’s disquisitions on “Reste arabischen Heidentums” [“Vestiges of Arab Paganism”] fill the third volume of the *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, first published in 1887 (1888 being the last year Nietzsche was still master of his mental faculties). Alongside philological and antiquarian investigations, this volume contains extraordinary, fully original chapters on the “nature of the gods,” “substance and goals of life,” and “general character of Arab paganism.”⁽⁸⁹⁾ Nietzsche thus adopted his [Wellhausen’s] notions of the pagan Bedouins’ hardness and aristocratic heroism of existence as well as their relatedness to and comparability with the Israelites. Witness Nietzsche: “Always included in the concept of power—be it of a god or of a human—is the ability to benefit and the ability to harm. As among the Arabs, so among the Hebrew. So among all races grown strong” (*Der Wille zur Macht*, in *Werke*, vol. 9, p. 265, Aphorism 352). Compare here Wellhausen: “The authenticity of experience does not shy away from contradictions. Yahweh had unpredictable moods. He let his countenance shine and hid it. No one knew why he created good and created evil, punished sin and enticed to sin. At that time, the satan had not yet relieved him of any part of his being” (“Abriss der Geschichte Israels und Juda’s,” 46; also *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 108). Congruent with the conception of the ancient Israelites as a bellicose national community that affirmed itself in its religion, on the one hand, and with the rejection of the sacred history as a distortion of the originally true “historical reality,” as causation between guilt and misfortune, on the other, Nietzsche had made his own those views of Wellhausen that followed from them: namely, that of the fundamental consubstantiality of the Christian *church* and the Jewish second theocracy, the post-exilic community; and that of the precondition for both of them, the absence of “natural conditions,” [[83]] i.e., political autonomy in particular (see Nietzsche,

investigations into literary history; however, the general lines of a positive historical account can be seen well enough behind it.

(89) Although chapters remain unnumbered in the volume, the last main heading reads “Allgemeiner Charakter des arabischen Heidentums” [“General Character of Arab Paganism”] (pp. 171–212), with subheadings including “Die Natur der Götter” [“The Nature of the Gods”] (171–80); “Fortentwicklung der Religion” [“Further Development of Religion”] (180–84); “Alläh und die Götzen. Auflösung des polytheistischen Kultus” [“Allah and the Idols. Dissolving of the Polytheistic Cultus”] (184–192); “Gehalt und Ziele des Lebens” [“Substance and Goals of Life”] (192–97); “Juden und Christen in Arabien” [“Jews and Christians in Arabia”] (197–203); and “Der Islam” [“Islam”] (204–12).

Der Wille zur Macht, in *Werke*, vol. 9, p. 142, Aphorism 181; p. 157, Aphorism 204; p. 161, Aphorism 207; p. 164, Aphorism 211). Further, consider his statement: “The Jews are the most remarkable people of world history. . . . They set themselves *over against* all conditions under which a people, up to then, was able to live, *was allowed* to live. . . . Compared to ‘the people of holy ones,’ the Christian church lacks any claim to originality” (*Der Antichrist*, in *Werke*, vol. 10, p. 385, Aphorism 24).⁽⁹⁰⁾ Liken to Wellhausen’s claim, for instance, “The Mosaic *community* is the mother of the Christian *church*. The Jews are the ones who have created this concept” (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 81, 428).

Wellhausen, who was born in the same year as Nietzsche and survived him by a generation (if one may consider 1888 the year of Nietzsche’s “death”), of course knew Nietzsche’s writings.⁽⁹¹⁾ In a letter to Justi on 30 March 1900, he wrote (cf. also Wellhausen, “Reste arabischen Heidentumes,” in *Skizzen und Arbeiten*, vol. 3, p. 193):

I have looked around a bit in Snorre Sturleson⁽⁹²⁾ and the sagas and am surprised by the many analogies that the *Normans* offer for the ancient Arabs. By the way, they are the textbook example—namely, in Nietzsche—of “the blond beasts of the aristocracy.” Naturally, the turbulent foreground stands out disproportionately, as always in the tradition. There will also have been a background of perennial conditions and peaceful customs, as, indeed, the grey goose also shows.⁽⁹³⁾

Wellhausen’s discovery of the analogies between the world of the sagas and Nietzsche’s ideal of a “noble gentlemanly morality” was also noted by Nietzsche himself: “The Icelandic saga is almost its most important record!” (*Der Fall Wagner*, “Epilogue,” in *Werke*, vol. 11, p. 223). N[ietzsche] emphasizes this fact in his polemic against [Richard] Wagner: who made use of the material from the Icelandic sagas in the *Ring of the Nibelungen* and—as Nietzsche accuses him of doing—altered it with Christian elements, based

(90) Dan. 7:27 refers to “the people of the holy ones of the Most High” (in Aramaic).

(91) Boschwitz dated the death of Nietzsche to 1888 because of his mental breakdown in January 1889, over a decade before he physically expired, in 1900.

(92) Sic. Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241), Icelandic historian, poet, and statesman, called the Herodotus of the North (or of Northern History or of Iceland).

(93) Wellhausen, *Briefe*, no. 566, pp. 382–83. The phrase from Nietzsche stems from his *Zur Genealogie der Moral. Eine Streitschrift* (Leipzig: Naumann, 1887), translated many times in English along the lines of *On the Genealogy of Morals/alinity*.

on a “falsehood” and “instinctive duplicity that does not *want* to perceive the contradictions as contradictions.” Therefore, it may be worth mentioning here that Wellhausen harbored an intense dislike of Wagner (written correspondence with Dr. [Hugo] Falkenheim, Munich).⁽⁹⁴⁾

(94) Richard Wagner (1813–1883), composer, conductor, dramatist, writer, and antisemite, whose theories and whose works significantly impacted not only music and theater but also literature and philosophy. On the distaste relayed by Falkenheim and registered by Boschwitz, see Wellhausen’s letters, in *Briefe*, to August Müller, 13 February 1891 (no. 371, pp. 265–66), to Adolf Harnack, [3/4] June 1900 (no. 573, p. 387), and to Ella Limpricht, 28 December 1915 (no. 640, p. 640).

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[As indicated in the editorial note on the translation (“On Citing”), pp. 49–51 above, this bibliography reproduces the one compiled by Boschwitz, including the particular versions or editions of works he used. However, I, as editor, have at times supplemented those entries with fuller information, earlier publications, later reprintings, and/or English translations. I have also included renderings in other languages as a resource for wider, deeper study.]

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Boschwitz cited no specific edition. The lectures were first published posthumously by Eduard Gans in Hegel's *Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe* 9 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1837), with more recent critical editions of the material issued by Karl Heinz Ilting,

Karl Brehmer, and Hoo Nam Seelmann in the Hegel series *Vorlesungen*, *Ausgewählte Nachschriften und Manuskripte* 12 (Hamburg: Meiner, 1996) and by Walter Jaeschke, *Vorlesungsmanuskripte* 2 (1816–1831), *Gesammelte Werke* 18 (Hamburg: Meiner, 1995). Major English translations of *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History* came—though only partially complete—through Hugh Barr Nisbet, *Cambridge Studies in the History and Theory of Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975) and Robert F. Brown, Peter C. Hodgson, and William G. Geuss (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2011). As with Nietzsche, entire works have been devoted to tracking the publication and reception of Hegel's work: for other, sometimes very early, editions and translations of these lectures—in Italian, Danish, Swedish, English, Japanese, Polish, French, Spanish, Hungarian, Serbo-Croatian, Chinese, Czech, Slovenian, Romanian, Greek, Finnish, Arabic, Korean—see, e.g., Kurt Steinhauer, ed., *Hegel Bibliography/Bibliographie*, 2 parts in 3 vols. (Munich: Saur, 1990, 1998).

Herder, Johann Gottfried. "Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit. Beytrag zu vielen Beyträgen des Jahrhunderts (1774)." Reprinted in *Herders Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 5, 475–595. Edited by Bernhard Suphan. Berlin: Weidmann, 1891.

The first edition appeared anonymously in 1774 [Riga: Hartnoch], with many subsequent reprintings. Eva Herzfeld published a translation as "Johann Gottfried von Herder's 'Yet Another Philosophy of History for the Education of Humanity': A Translation with a Critical Introduction and Notes" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1968). Ioannis D. Evrigenis and Daniel Pellerin did the same, as *Another Philosophy of History and Selected Political Writings* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2004). Its rendering in French came thanks to Max Rouché, as *La philosophie de l'histoire de Herder*, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg 93 (Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1940). For an extensive bibliography of Herder, including translations, see Gottfried Günther, Albina A. Volgina, and Siegfried Seifert, eds., *Herder-Bibliographie* (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1978); Doris Kuhles, *Herder-Bibliographie*, 1977–1992, *Personalbibliographien zur neueren deutschen Literatur* 1 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1994).

———. "Aus Herder's Frühzeit, no. 12. (Von den ältesten Nationalgesängen)." Reprinted in *Herders Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 32, 148–52. Edited by Bernhard Suphan. Berlin: Weidmann, 1899.

This fragment was published posthumously, first under the title "Von Entstehung und Fortpflanzung der ersten Religionsbegriffe" in Johann Georg Müller, ed., *Johann Gottfried von Herder's sämmtliche Werke*, part 1, *Zur Religion und Theologie*, vol. 6 (Tübingen: Cotta, 1806), 75–81, and in *Johann Gottfried von Herder's Lebensbild. Sein chronologisch-geordneter Briefwechsel, verbunden mit den hierhergehörigen Mittheilungen aus seinem ungedruckten Nachlasse, und mit den nöthigen Belegen aus seinen und seiner Zeitgenossen Schriften*, ed. Emil Gottfried von Herder, 3 vols. in 6 parts (Erlangen: Blasing, 1846). Suphan argued for the title change in his own edition.

———. "Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit (Parts 1 & 2: 1784, 1785)." Reprinted in *Herders Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 13, 3–441. Edited by Bernhard Suphan. Berlin: Weidmann, 1887. "Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit (Parts 3 & 4: 1787, 1791)." Reprinted in *Herders Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 4, 3–495. Edited by Bernhard Suphan. Berlin: Weidmann, 1909.

The work appeared originally in four parts between 1784 and 1791, with Hartnoch in Riga. Translations appeared in French as *Idées sur la philosophie de l'histoire de*

- l'humanité* (by Edgar Quinet in 2 vols., Paris: Levrault, 1827–28) and *Philosophie de l'histoire de l'humanité* (by Emile Tandel in 3 vols., Paris: Didot Bros., 1861–62), English as *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man* (by T. Churchill, London: Johnson, 1800), and Italian as *Idee per la filosofia della storia dell'umanità*, *Filosofi moderni* 15 (by Valerio Verra, Bologna: Zanichelli, 1971), with various other printings and editions.
- . “Journal meiner Reise im Jahr 1769.” Reprinted in *Herders Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 4, 343–461. Edited by Bernhard Suphan. Berlin: Weidmann, 1878.
The writing first appeared posthumously in *Johann Gottfried von Herder's Lebensbild. Sein chronologisch-geordneter Briefwechsel, verbunden mit den hierhergehörigen Mittheilungen aus seinem ungedruckten Nachlasse, und mit den nöthigen Belegen aus seinen und seiner Zeitgenossen Schriften*, ed. Emil Gottfried von Herder, 3 vols. in 6 parts (Erlangen: Bläsing, 1846), vol. 2. Max Rouché offered a French translation of this work, too, as *Journal de mon voyage l'an 1769* (Paris: Aubier, 1942). A Dutch rendering came through Aart J. Leemhuis as *Journal van mijn Reis in het jaar 1769* (Kampen: Klement, 2010).
- . “Vom Geist der ebräischen Poesie (1782–83).” Reprinted in *Herders Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 11, 213–466; vol. 12, 1–302. Edited by Bernhard Suphan. Berlin: Weidmann, 1879, 1880.
The work originally appeared as *Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie. Eine Anleitung für die Liebhaber derselben, und der ältesten Geschichte des menschlichen Geistes*, 2 parts (Dessau: Buchhandlung der Gelehrten, 1782–83), with reprints even apart from those in collected works. It also came into Dutch by Cornelius van Engelen as *Saamenspraak over de hebreewsche poëzy / De geest der hebreewsche poëzy* (4 vols., Leiden: Tiffelen and Onnekink, 1784–87), French as *Histoire de la poésie des Hébreux* (by Aloïse Christine de Carlowitz, Paris: Didier, 1844), and English as *The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry* (by James Marsh in 2 vols., Burlington: Smith, 1883), subsequently reprinted.
- Kaerst, Julius. “Studien zur Entwicklung und Bedeutung der universalgeschichtlichen Anschauung (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Geschichte des Altertums).” Reprinted in *Universalgeschichte. Abhandlungen*, 99–219. Edited by Joseph Vogt. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1930.
This essay first appeared in *Historische Zeitschrift* 106, no. 3 (1911): 473–534; 111, no. 1 (1913): 253–320.
- [———. “Theodor Mommsen.” Reprinted in *Universalgeschichte. Abhandlungen*, 65–97. Edited by Joseph Vogt. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1930.]
The obituary featured originally in *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 15, n.s. 7 (1904): 313–42.
- [Löwith, Karl. *Jacob Burckhardt. Der Mensch inmitten der Geschichte*. Lucerne: Vita Nova Verlag, 1936.]
This work has been reprinted a few times in German (including in collected works by Metzler in Stuttgart) and translated into Chinese (by Chu Ren in 2013), Italian (Laura Bazzicalupo, 1991, since reprinted), and Japanese (Nishio Kanji and Takiuchi Makio, 1977).
- [Lowth, Robert. *De sacra poesi Hebræorum, prælectiones academicæ Oxonii habitæ*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1753.]
The Lowth Latin lectures were edited in Germany by Johann David Michaelis, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Pockwitz and Barmeier, 1758–61) and entered English by George Gregory as *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, 2 vols. (London, 1787). The reprints have been plentiful.
- Masur, Gerhard. *Rankes Begriff der Weltgeschichte*. *Historische Zeitschrift Beihefte* 6. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1926.

Meinecke, Friedrich. *Die Entstehung des Historismus*. 2 vols. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1936.

The second edition of Meinecke appeared in 1946, later reprinted as vol. 3 in his collected works, edited by Carl Hinrichs on behalf of the Friedrich Meinecke Institute at the Free University of Berlin (1959), itself with subsequent printings. That second edition served as the basis for its English translation by J. E. Anderson and H. D. Schmidt as *Historicism: The Rise of a New Historical Outlook* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972). Further translations have come in Italian (by M. Biscione, C. Gundolf, and G. Zamboni, beginning in 1954), Japanese (Hideo Kikumori and Ken Aso, 1968), Russian (V. A. Brun-Chechovoj, 2004), and Spanish (J. Mingarro y San Martín and T. M. Molina, 1943), several of them with their own reprints.

Mommsen, Theodor. *Römische Geschichte*. Vol. 1, *Bis zur Schlacht von Pydna*.

[11th ed.] Berlin: Weidmann, 1912. Vol. 3, *Von Sullas Tod bis zur Schlacht von Thapsus*. [6th ed.] Berlin: Weidmann, 1875. Vol. 5, *Die Provinzen von Caesar bis Diocletian*. [1st ed.] Berlin: Weidmann, 1885.

The work has been translated into English (by W. P. Dickson, starting in 1864). Its various volumes have appeared in, inter alia, Bulgarian (by Boris Minkov and Vanja Peneva, beginning in 1999), Chinese (Li Jianian, 1994), Dutch (John Kooy, 1959), French (C. A. Alexandre, 1863), Italian (Giuseppe Sandrini, 1857), Japanese (Yoshiro Sugiyama, 2012), Korean (Jinsik Gim, Donghun Gim, Jungmo Seong, 2013), Portuguese (Antonio Olinto, 1962), Russian (Sebastjana and Paulja Chenzelej, 1882), Spanish (A. García Moreno, 1876), and Swedish (Karl Otto Zamore, 1985).

[———, ed. *Zum ältesten Strafrecht der Kulturvölker. Fragen zur Rechtsvergleichung*. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1905.]

Neumann, Carl. *Jacob Burckhardt*. Munich: Bruckmann, 1927.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. *Der Antichrist*. Reprinted in *Nietzsches Werke, Taschen-Ausgabe*, vol. 10, *Der Wille zur Macht (Fortsetzung) (1884–88)*, *Götzen-Dämmerung (1888)*, *Der Antichrist (1888)*, *Dionysos-Dithyramben (1888)*. Edited by Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche. Stuttgart: Kröner, 1921.

A full table of contents for this edition (vols. 1–11) appears at the end of *Nietzsches Werke, Taschen-Ausgabe*, vol. 11, *Aus dem Nachlaß, 1883/88. Der Fall Wagner, Nietzsche contra Wagner, Ecce homo* (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1921).

Entire works have been dedicated to indexing the publication, transmission, and reception of Nietzsche's writings. For further information, see, e.g., Susanna Jung et al., eds., *Weimarer Nietzsche-Bibliographie*, vol. 1, *Primärliteratur, 1867–1998*, *Personalbibliographien zur neueren deutschen Literatur* 4 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000); cf. Richard Frank Krummel and Evelyn S. Krummel, eds., *Nietzsche und der deutsche Geist. Ausbreitung und Wirkung des Nietzscheschen Werkes im deutschen Sprachraum . . .*, 4 vols., *Monographien und Texte zur Nietzsche-Forschung* 3, 9, 40, 51 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974–2006).

———. *Der Fall Wagner*. Reprinted in *Nietzsches Werke, Taschen-Ausgabe*, vol. 11, *Aus dem Nachlaß, 1883–88, Der Fall Wagner, Nietzsche contra Wagner, Ecce Homo*. Edited by Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche. Stuttgart: Kröner, 1921.

This writing first appeared with the subtitle *Ein Musikanten-Problem* [A Musician's Problem].

[———. *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft*. Reprinted in *Nietzsches Werke, Taschen-Ausgabe*, vol. 6, *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft. Aus dem Nachlaß, 1871–1888*. Stuttgart: Kröner, 1921.]

Major translations in English include *The Gay Science: With a Prelude in Rhymes and an Appendix of Songs*, ed. and trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage Books,

- 1974.) and *The Gay Science: With a Prelude in German Rhymes and an Appendix of Songs*, ed. Bernhard Williams, trans. Josefine Nauckhoff and Adrian del Caro, Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- . *Der Wille zur Macht. Versuch einer Umwerthung aller Werthe*. Reprinted in *Nietzsches Werke, Taschen-Ausgabe*, vol. 9, *Der Wille zur Macht. Versuch einer Umwerthung aller Werthe. Aus dem Nachlaß, 1884–88*, and vol. 10, *Der Wille zur Macht (Fortsetzung) (1884–88), Götzen-Dämmerung (1888), Der Antichrist (1888), Dionysos-Dithyramben (1888)*. Edited by Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche. Stuttgart: Kröner, 1921.
- English translations include *The Will to Power: An Attempted Transvaluation of All Values*, trans. Anthony M. Ludovici, in *The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche*, ed. Oscar Levy, vols. 14 and 15 (Edinburgh: Foulis, 1909, 1910); *The Will to Power*, trans. Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale, ed. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage, 1967); *The Will to Power: Selections from the Notebooks of the 1880s*, trans. R. Kevin Hill and Michael A. Scarpitti, ed. R. Kevin Hill (London: Penguin Classics, 2017).
- [Ranke, Leopold. *Französische Geschichte, vornehmlich im sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert*, vol. 1. 1st ed. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1852.]
- Translated into English as *Civil Wars and Monarchy in France, in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A History of France Principally During That Period* (by M. A. Garvey, 1853).
- . *Weltgeschichte*. Part 5, *Die arabische Weltherrschaft und das Reich Karls der Großen*. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1884.
- [Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. “Essai sur l’origine des langues, Où il est parlé de la mélodie et de l’imitation musicale. In *Projet concernant de nouveaux signes pour la musique*.”]
- While Boschwitz only mentions it by name, the work first appeared in *Traité sur la musique. Projet concernant de nouveaux signes pour la musique, Lu par l’Auteur à l’Académie des Sciences le 20 Aout 1742*, 187–291 (Geneva: s.n., 1781) and in *Œuvres posthumes de Jean-Jacques Rousseau, ou Recueil de pièces manuscrites, pour servir de supplément aux Editions publiées pendant sa Vie*, vol. 2 (Geneva: s.n., 1781), 211–327. The essay underwent many reprints, and the version Boschwitz himself used almost certainly featured in one of these collected editions. An English translation appeared in Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Johann Gottfried Herder, *On the Origin of Language; Two Essays*, trans. John H. Moran and Alexander Gode (New York: Ungar, 1966), since reprinted by University of Chicago Press in 1986. The essay entered Italian via Antonia Verri in *Origine della Lingua e Civiltà in Rousseau* (Ravenna: Longo, 1970).
- . *La “profession de foi du vicaire savoyard”*. Edited by Pierre-Maurice Masson. *Collectanea Friburgensia* 25, n.s. 16. Fribourg: University Library; Paris: Hachette, 1914.
- This piece forms the middle third of the fourth book in Rousseau’s *Emile, ou de l’éducation*, 1st ed. (Haye: Néaulme, 1762), a work widely reprinted and translated.
- Schweitzer, Albert. *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung*. 2nd ed. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1913.
- The first edition was first published as *Von Reimarus zu Wrede. Eine Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1906). Brought into English as *The Quest for the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of Its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede*, it was translated by W. Montgomery with a preface by F. C. Burkitt (London: Black, 1910). The much expanded second edition came into English nearly a century later

- through John Bowden, with the subtitle *The First Complete Edition* (London: SCM Press, 2000).
- [Strauss, Leo. "Paul de Lagarde." *Der Jude. Eine Monatsschrift* 8, no. 1 (January 1924): 8–15.]
- The essay featured in the journal's series "Das Judentum im deutschen Denken" [Judaism in German thought]. It was reprinted in Strauss's collected writings, *Philosophie und Gesetz—Frühe Schriften*, Gesammelte Schriften 2, ed. Heinrich Meier and Wiebke Meier (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1997), 323–31. It has since been translated in *Leo Strauss: The Early Writings, 1921–32*, ed. and trans. Michael Zank, SUNY Series in the Jewish Writings of Leo Strauss (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 90–101.
- [———. *Die Religionskritik Spinozas als Grundlage seiner Bibelwissenschaft. Untersuchungen zu Spinozas Theologisch-politischem Traktat*. Veröffentlichungen der Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Philosophische Sektion 2. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1930.]
- A reprint of the German came in 1981 through the Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft in Darmstadt. English translation came through E. M. Sinclair as *Spinoza's Critique of Religion* (New York: Schocken, 1965), reprinted by University of Chicago Press in 1997.
- Sybel, Heinrich. "Ueber den Stand der neueren deutschen Geschichtschreibung (Marburg 1856)." In *Kleine historische Schriften*, vol. 1, 344–59. Munich: Literarisch-Artistische Anstalt of Cotta, 1863.
- This piece first appeared as a separate booklet with the subtitle *Rede, gehalten zur akademischen Feier des Geburtstags Seiner Königlichen Hoheit des Kurfürsten, am 20. August 1856* (Marburg: Elwert, 1856). The collected writings of Sybel underwent multiple reprintings.
- Vatke, Wilhelm. *Die biblische Theologie wissenschaftlich dargestellt*. Vol. 1.1, *Die Religion des Alten Testaments nach den kanonischen Büchern entwickelt*. Berlin: Bethge, 1835.
- Only this volume appeared in the larger work planned by Vatke.
- [von der Schulenburg, Sigrid, ed. *Briefwechsel zwischen Wilhelm Dilthey und dem Grafen Paul Yorck v. Wartenburg, 1877–1897*, Philosophie und Geisteswissenschaften 1. Halle: Niemeyer, 1923.]
- The work has been reprinted thrice: 1974, 1995, 2011.
- Weber, Max. *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*. Vol. 3, *Das antike Judentum*. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1921.
- First published as "Die Wirtschaftsethik der Weltreligionen. Das antike Judentum" in *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* between 1917 and 1919 (vol. 44, pp. 52–138, 349–443, 601–626; vol. 46, pp. 40–113, 311–66, 541–604), the work has been reprinted many times—most recently in vol. 1/21.1 of the Max Weber-Gesamtausgabe by Eckart Otto and Julia Offermann. It came into English as *Ancient Judaism* through Hans H. Gerth and Don Martindale (Glencoe: Free Press, 1952), also since reprinted.

Works by Wellhausen

- Bleek, Friedrich. *Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift*. Vol. 1, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. 5th ed. Edited by Julius Wellhausen. Berlin: Reimer, 1886.
- Wellhausen took over as editor for the 4th (1878), 5th (1886), and 6th (1893) editions of Bleek's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, following Adolf Kamphausen's 3rd (1870). His

- own material on the historical books, i.e., Judges–Kings, first added to the 4th edition (§§81–134), he removed for the 5th and 6th, reinstating the original passages instead. That material of his he later reissued, with additions, alongside yet another reprint of earlier studies—themselves first published in 1876 and 1877 and then reprinted in 1885, as vol. 2 of *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*—as *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Reimer, 1889), with a 3rd edition coming ten years later, followed by subsequent reprinting as well. The English translation of Bleek’s textbook was based on the 2nd edition, of 1865, not Wellhausen’s work: Bleek, *An Introduction to the Old Testament*, 2 vols., trans. G. H. Venables, ed. Edmund Venables (London: Bell and Daldy, 1869), with a reprint in 1882.
- Wellhausen, Julius. “Abriss der Geschichte Israels und Juda’s.” In *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 1, 4–102. Berlin: Reimer, 1884.
- The bastard title read “Die Geschichte Israels und Juda’s im Umriß.” This work represented a new version of Wellhausen’s 1880 *Geschichte Israels*.
- . “Die alte arabische Poesie.” *Cosmopolis: Revue Internationale* 1, no. 2 (1896): 592–604.
- . *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*. Berlin: Reimer, 1902.
- An initial reprint came through de Gruyter, with a preface by Richard Hartmann, in 1960. The book was rendered into English by Margaret Graham Weir as *The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1927), with subsequent reprints. Further translations came in Arabic (by Muhammad Abd al-Hadi Abu Rida in Cairo, 1958, by Yusuf al-Ushsh in Damascus, 1956), Turkish (Fikret İşıltan in Ankara, 1963), and Russian (T. M. Shulikovo in Moscow, 2017).
- . *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 1st ed. Berlin: Reimer, 1905. 2nd ed. Berlin: Reimer, 1911.
- . *Das Evangelium Johannis*. Berlin: Reimer, 1908.
- This work was reprinted through de Gruyter in 1987—together with *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 2nd ed. (1911), *Das Evangelium Matthaei übersetzt und erklärt*, 2nd ed. (1914), *Das Evangelium Marci*, 2nd ed. (1909), and *Das Evangelium Lucae übersetzt und erklärt* (1904) and a preface by Martin Hengel—as *Evangelienkommentare*.
- [———. *Das Evangelium Lucae übersetzt und erklärt*. Berlin: Reimer, 1904.]
- On reprinting, see the entry preceding.
- . *Das Evangelium Marci übersetzt und erklärt*. Berlin: Reimer, 1903.
- While a second edition came in 1909, the work underwent another iteration as part of a compilation (see the previous two entries).
- . *Das Evangelium Matthaei übersetzt und erklärt*. Berlin: Reimer, 1904.
- A second edition appeared in 1914. On subsequent reprinting, see the previous entries.
- . “Gedächtnisrede auf Paul de Lagarde.” In *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Geschäftliche Mittheilungen aus dem Jahr 1894*, 49–57. Göttingen: Dieterich, 1895.
- . *Ein Gemeinwesen ohne Obrigkeit. Rede zur Feier des Geburtstages Seiner Majestät des Kaisers und Königs am 27. Januar 1900 im Namen der Georg-Augusts-Universität*. Göttingen: Dieterich, 1900.
- . *Geschichte Israels*. Greifswald, 1880.
- Privately printed and circulated, this work is not to be confused with *Geschichte Israels*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Reimer, 1878), the second edition being *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (see below). It has been reprinted in Julius Wellhausen, *Grundrisse zum Alten*

- Testament*, ed. Rudolf Smend, Theologische Bücherei: Neudrucke und Berichte aus dem 20. Jahrhundert 27, Altes Testament (Munich: Kaiser, 1965), 13–64.
- . “Heinrich Ewald.” In *Festschrift zur Feier des hundertfünfzigjährigen Bestehens der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Beiträge zur Gelehrten-geschichte Göttingens*, 61–88. Berlin: Weidmann, 1901.
- A new(er) printing of this tribute appears in Wellhausen, *Grundrisse zum Alten Testament*, ed. Smend, 120–138.
- No translation into English has transpired, notwithstanding laments thereof. A French rendering of chapter 6 from the second edition came through H. Jaques—the author given as Jules Wellhausen—as “Vie domestique, politique et religieuse du vieil Israël,” *Revue de théologie et de philosophie et compte rendu des principales publications scientifiques* 37 (1904): 233–64.
- [———. “Israel.” In *Encyclopædia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature*. 9th ed. Vol. 13, Infant–Kant, 396–432. Edinburgh: Black, 1881.]
- Cf. the entries for “Abriss der Geschichte Israels und Juda’s,” *Geschichte Israels*, and *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*. A third English edition, slightly expanded, came as *Sketch of the History of Israel and Judah* (Edinburgh: Black, 1891).
- . *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*. 1st ed. Berlin: Reimer, 1894. 4th ed., Berlin: Reimer, 1901.
- . “Die Israelitisch-jüdische Religion.” In *Die christliche Religion, mit Einschluß der israelitisch-jüdischen Religion*, 1–40. Edited by Paul Hinneberg. Die Kultur der Gegenwart: ihre Entwicklung und ihre Ziele 1.4. Leipzig: Teubner, 1906.
- A second edition came three years later, in 1909. The essay has been republished in Wellhausen, *Grundrisse zum Alten Testament*, ed. Smend, 65–109.
- . “Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romäern in der Zeit der Umayyiden.” In *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Philologisch-historische Klasse aus dem Jahre 1901 (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1902), 414–47.
- An English translation appeared beneath the title “Arab Wars with the Byzantines in the Umayyad Period,” in *Arab-Byzantine Relations in Early Islamic Times*, ed. Michael Bonner, The Formation of the Classical Islamic World 8 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 31–64, since reprinted.
- . “Die kleinen Propheten übersetzt, mit Noten.” In *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 5. Berlin: Reimer, 1892.
- The second edition came in 1893; the third, in 1898—with subsequent reprintings.
- . “Medina vor dem Islam.” In *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 4. Berlin: Reimer, 1899.
- . “Moab.” In *Encyclopædia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature*. 9th ed. Vol. 16, Mena–Mosul, 533–36. Edinburgh: Black, 1883.
- A reworked version appeared as sections 10–13 of the article “Moab” in *Encyclopædia Biblica: A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political, and Religious History, the Archaeology, Geography, and Natural History of the Bible*, vol. 3, L to P, ed. T. K. Cheyne and J. Sutherland Black (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), 3175–78.
- . “Mohammedanism. Part 1, Mohammed and The First Four Caliphs.” In *Encyclopædia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature*. 9th ed. Vol. 16, Men–Mosul, 545–65. Edinburgh: Black, 1883.
- . “Muhammads Gemeindeordnung von Medina.” In *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 4. Berlin: Reimer, 1899.
- A Dutch translation appended Arent Jan Wensick’s *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina* (Leiden: Brill, 1908), reprinted in 1928. With the English translation of Wensick’s work

- came one of Wellhausen's as well: "Muhammad's Constitution of Medina," in *Muhammad and the Jews of Medina*, ed. Wolfgang Behn, Islamkundliche Materialien 3 (Freiburg: Schwarz, 1975), itself later reprinted.
- . *Muhammed in Medina. Das ist Vakidi's Kitab alMaghazi, in verkürzter deutscher Wiedergabe herausgegeben*. Berlin: Reimer, 1882.
- . *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer. Eine Untersuchung zur inneren jüdischen Geschichte*. 2nd ed. Hanover: Heinz Lafaire, 1924.
- The work was first published in 1874 Bamberg in Greifswald. (Note: Boschwitz printed *Die Sadducäer*.) It underwent English translation by Mark E. Biddle as *The Pharisees and the Sadducees: An Examination of Internal Jewish History*, Mercer Library of Biblical Studies (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2001). A Hungarian translation also appeared (by Csaba Szabó in Budapest, 2001).
- . "Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams." In *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 6. Berlin: Reimer, 1899.
- As with many other works (and of his especially), this study was reprinted by de Gruyter photomechanically, in 1985—not to mention reissued electronically since.
- . *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*. 5th ed. Berlin: Reimer, 1899.
- First published in 1878 as *Geschichte Israels*, vol. 1, the book appeared for its second edition as *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (1883). In English, it was published as *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, with a reprint of the article "Israel" from *Encyclopædia Britannica*, trans. J. Sutherland Black and Allan Menzies, with a preface by William Robertson Smith (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1885). It saw additional translations in Russian (by Nikolay Mikhailovich Nikolsky in Moscow, 1907, with reprints) and Hebrew (by Israel Yevarekhayhu in Tel Aviv, 1937/38, with reprints).
- . *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*. Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse n.s. 5/2. Berlin: Weidmann, 1901.
- The disquisition was translated into English by R. C. Ostle and S. M. Walzer as *The Religio-Political Factions in Early Islam*, North-Holland Medieval Translations 3 (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1975). It also appeared in Arabic (by Abd al-Rahman Badawi in Cairo, 1958) and Turkish (Fikret Işiltan in Ankara, 1989).
- . "Reste arabischen Heidentumes." In *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 3. Berlin: Reimer, 1887.
- The second edition came a decade later, with a slightly altered title, including in orthography: *Reste arabischen Heidentums gesammelt und erläutert* (Berlin: Reimer, 1897). The work underwent Arabic translation (by Muhammad Abd al-Hadi Abu Rida and Husain Munis in Cairo, 1958, since reprinted).
- [———. Review of *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden*, by Rudolf Ernst Brünnow. *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 5, no. 23 (7 June 1884): 838–39.]
- [———. Review of *Die Theologie der Propheten als Grundlage für die innere Entwicklungsgeschichte der israelitischen Religion dargestellt*, by Bernhard Duhm. *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie* 21 (1876): 152–58.]
- [———. Review of *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, part 1, by Ludwig Christian Seinecke. *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 2, no. 5 (3 March 1877): 97–99.]
- [———. Review of *The Nakāid of Jarir and al Farazdaq*, vol. 1, part 1, edited by Anthony Ashley Bevan. *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 168, no. 7 (1906): 574–79.]

- [———. “Strauß’ *Leben Jesu*.” *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* (Munich) 45 (24 March 1908): 353–54.]
- [———. “Der Text der Bücher Samuelis.” *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 134, no. 2 (1872, no. 1): 69–76.]
- . *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis untersucht*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1871.

Literature on Wellhausen

- Baumgartner, Walter. “Wellhausen und der heutige Stand der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft.” *Theologische Rundschau* 2, no. 5 (1930): 287–307.
- Becker, Carl Heinrich. “Julius Wellhausen.” *Der Islam* 9 (1918): 95–99.
His eulogy of Wellhausen was reprinted in Becker’s *Islamstudien. Vom Werden und Wesen der islamischen Welt*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1932), 474–80.
- [———. “Kleine Mitteilungen und Anzeigen. Theodor Nöldeke,” *Der Islam* 20, no. 1 (1932): 43–48.]
Letters by Nöldeke were published in Bernhard Maier, *Gründerzeit der Orientalistik. Theodor Nöldekes Leben und Werk im Spiegel seiner Briefe*, Arbeitsmaterialien zum Orient 29 (Würzburg: Ergon, 2013).
- [Bestmann, Hugo Johannes. “Julius Wellhausen.” *Der alte Glaube. Evangelisch-Lutherisches Gemeindeblatt* 13 (1911/12): 244–49.]
- Cohen, Hermann. “Julius Wellhausen. Ein Abschiedsgruß.” Reprinted in *Hermann Cohens Jüdische Schriften*. Vol. 2, *Zur jüdischen Zeitgeschichte*, 463–68, cf. 483. Edited by Bruno Strauß with an introduction by Franz Rosenzweig. Veröffentlichungen der Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums. Berlin: Schwetschke & Sohn, 1924.
Cohen’s obituary first appeared in *Neue Jüdische Monatshefte. Zeitschrift für Politik, Wirtschaft und Literatur in Ost und West* 2, no. 8 (25 January 1918): 178–81. It was rendered into French by Jean-Marc Tétaz as “Un mot d’adieu” in *Études théologiques et religieuses* 92, no. 3, Dossier “Le protestantisme libéral allemande. Un antijudaïsme théologique?” (2017): 653–60.
- Eißfeldt, Otto. “Julius Wellhausen.” *Internationale Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik* 14, no. 3–4 (1920): 193–208, 325–38.
The eulogy was reprinted in Eißfeldt’s *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 1, ed. Rudolf Sellheim and Fritz Maass (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1962), 56–71.
- Finsler, Rudolf. *Darstellung und Kritik der Ansicht Wellhausens von Geschichte und Religion des Alten Testaments*. Zurich: Schulthess, 1887.
This separate printing stemmed from “Darstellung und Kritik der Wellhausen’schen Ansicht von Geschichte und Religion des Alten Testamentes,” in *Verhandlungen der Asketischen Gesellschaft des Kantons Zürich im Jahr 1886* (Zurich: Schulthess, 1886).
- Greßmann, Hugo. “Julius Wellhausen.” *Protestantenblatt. Wochenschrift für den deutschen Protestantismus* 51, no. 7 (1918): 75–78.
- Gunkel, Hermann. “Wellhausen, Julius, und Wellhausensche Schule.” In *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Handwörterbuch in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung*. Vol. 5, *Roh-Zypressen*, 1888–89. Edited by Friedrich Michael Schiele and Leopold Zscharnack. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1913. 2nd edition under the title “Wellhausen, Julius (1844–1918).” In *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*.

Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft. Vol. 5, S–Z, 1820–22. Edited by Hermann Gunkel and Leopold Zscharnack. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1931.

Though referred to, this article was not referenced in the text by Boschwitz. However, his bibliography specifies volume 19, which corresponds to neither entry.

Kegel, Martin. *Los von Wellhausen! Ein Beitrag zur Neuorientierung in der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1923.

The work was translated into English by Marian Nolloth as *Away from Wellhausen*:

A Contribution to the New Orientation in Old Testament Study (London: Murray, 1924).

Boschwitz may have consulted this work, but it went uncited in his text.

Lütgert, Wilhelm. *Geschichtlicher Sinn und Kirchlichkeit in ihrem Zusammenhang*.

Beiträge zur Förderung der christlichen Theologie 3, no. 4. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1899. [Printed in this issue, pp. 77–122, together with *Jochanan Ben Zakkai, der Zeitgenosse der Apostel*, by Adolf Schlatter].

Consulted perhaps, this writing went uncited in Boschwitz's monograph.

———. *Die Religion des deutschen Idealismus und ihr Ende*. Part 4, *Das Ende des deutschen Idealismus im Zeitalter Bismarcks*. Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, 2nd Series: Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Monographien 21. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1930.

A reprint came in 1967 through Olms of Hildesheim.

Meinhold, Johannes. *Wellhausen*. Hefte zur "Christlichen Welt" 27. Leipzig: Mohr (Siebeck), 1897.

The booklet was originally serialized in that flagship journal of liberal theology *Die Christliche Welt*.

Meyer, Eduard. *Julius Wellhausen und meine Schrift Die Entstehung des Judenthums—Eine Erwiderung*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1897.

The work was reprinted by Olms in Hildesheim in 1987. Meyer's book *Die Entstehung des Judenthums. Eine historische Untersuchung* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1896) was reviewed by Wellhausen in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 159, no. 2 (1897): 89–97—the impetus for this rejoinder.

Pedersen, Johannes. "Die Auffassung vom Alten Testament." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 8 (1931): 161–81.

This overview, if considered, was not cited in Boschwitz's disquisition.

Pfeiffer, Friedrich Wilhelm. *Voraussetzungen der Wellhausenschen Theorie*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1896.

This separate printing stemmed from the periodical *Der Beweis des Glaubens. Monatschrift zur Begründung und Vertheidigung der christlichen Wahrheit für Gebildete*.

[Rahlf, Alfred. "Verzeichnis der Schriften Julius Wellhausens." In *Studien zur semitischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte. Julius Wellhausen zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag am 17. Mai 1914, gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern*, 351–68. Edited by Karl Marti. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 27. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1914.]

This inventory served as the basis for the expanded bibliography published in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, ed. Smend, Porzig, and Müller, appendix 7.

Schwartz, Eduard. *Rede auf Wellhausen. Gehalten in der öffentlichen Sitzung der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen am 11. V. 1918*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1919.

This account was first published in *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Geschäftliche Mitteilungen aus dem Jahre 1918*. It was

later included—albeit without Wellhausen’s curriculum vitae as an appendix—in Schwartz’s collected works, *Vergangene Gegenwärtigkeiten* (Gesammelte Schriften 1), which appeared initially in 1938 and again in 1963. That curriculum vitae is now accessible as part of Wellhausen’s published correspondence: *Briefe*, ed. Smend, Porzig, and Müller, appendix I.

Sellin, Ernst. “Wellhausen, Julius.” *Deutsches Biographisches Jahrbuch*. Bridge Vol. 2, 1917–1920, 341–44. Edited by the Verband der deutschen Akademien. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1928.

Though perhaps consulted, this entry went uncited in the book by Boschwitz. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich. *Erinnerungen, 1848–1914*. Leipzig: Koehler, 1928.

A second edition came the following year, with several reprintings since. The work went quickly into English through G. C. Richards as *My Recollections, 1848–1914* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1930) as well as Italian (by Anna Pensa, 1986).

Willrich, Hugo. “Zur Erinnerung an Julius Wellhausen.” *Deutsche Rundschau* 175 (1918): 407–12.

Boschwitz may have read this work, but he did not refer to it in his text.

PART 3

Documentation

Translated and edited by Paul Michael Kurtz

Editorial Note on the Documentation

On Formatting

This edition standardizes the representation of written documents. The original pagination has been provided in double brackets [[N]], whose placement indicates the top of the given page. The lines of text in the reproduction here, then, are not *zeilentreu*, i.e., true to the line division in the original. In addition, Boschwitz frequently left large spaces on a single line and/or within a single paragraph, be it to signal a topic change, break between long sentences, or simply save paper. The formatting in this volume retains those paragraph divisions as well as internal separations, although at times those divisions prove to be ambiguous. As for orthography, the edited text reproduces the original—including its punctuation and uncapitalized nouns—with the exception of overlines in German (when only one of a doubled consonant appears with a line over it). With respect to emphasis, this edition makes no distinction between *emphasis* and emphasis in the original (mostly reproducing the former as the latter); both usually appear as *italics* in the translation. In like manner, quotation marks appear not in the „German“ but the “English” form.

On Rendering

The documentation stems from a slew of archives across the United States, Europe, and Israel as well as private holdings, all credited ad loc. When previously published, the material appears here only in English; when not, the original language accompanies the translation. In the interest of readability and comprehensibility, the English takes certain liberties to smooth out abbreviations and iron out any errors rather than reproduce them. Though some inconsistencies remain, the intention sought to bring both tone and register across in the translation.

Concerning editorial commentary, I have rendered it in English. For consistency, however, critical annotation on German documents—when published here for the first time—appears in that same language. The Hebrew letters, being much tidier, rarely require such remarks.

As elaborated in the acknowledgments, I accrued many debts in the translation, transliteration, and annotation, supported by the tremendous generosity of colleagues and friends.

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Letters by Boschwitz

1a. Boschwitz to Siegfried Kracauer¹

Berlin, am 22. IX. 1931.

Sehr geehrter Herr Kracauer,²

Die Erkf. Ztg. gibt seit Jahr u. Tag ein Beiblatt heraus: Für die Frau. Dieser Titel ist eine arge Heuchelei. Es ist vielmehr bestimmt: Für die Dame, u. zwar für die mondäne Dame, deren Element der Luxus ist. „Blätter für Mode u. Gesellschaft“—gegen ein Modenblatt, das nichts mehr als dieses sein will, wollen wir hier nichts sagen; aber die „Gesellschaft“, auf die diese Blätter rechnen, ist mehr als fragwürdig. Daß sich die „Frankfurter“ eine solche zum Publikum macht, bedeutet ein Zugeständnis an einen Geist, den sie in ihren übrigen Äußerungen verpönt.

Das Empörende besteht darin, daß man versucht[,] den rein mondänen Charakter der Blätter „für die Frau“ zu verschleiern, indem angesehene Literaten u. Wissenschaftler Abfälle ihrer Produktion (nehmen wir zu ihren Gunsten an, daß diese seichten Belanglosigkeiten nicht eigens für die „Frau“ verfaßt sind!) hergeben, damit ihr klangvoller Name dieser Modepuppe zu einem geistvollen u. geistig-solid ausschauenden Gesicht ver helfe. Einige mehr oder weniger geschmackvolle Photographien in Tiefdruck, ein kurzes, mehr od. weniger gescheites, Geplauder über ein gotisches Kapitell oder über Ricarda Huch sollen garantieren, daß wir uns in gebildeter „Gesellschaft“ befinden. Die „Frau“ von heute hat ja bekanntlich keine anderen Sorgen u. Interessen!

Es wäre kein Wort über dies Beiblatt zu verlieren—das Niveau der „Eleganten Welt“ regt uns nicht auf—, wenn es nicht die Frankfurter Zeitung wäre,

1. Friedemann Boschwitz an Siegfried Kracauer, 22 September 1931, A:Kracauer, Siegfried, 72.2086, Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach, Deutschland. Das Dokument ist in Kurrentschrift geschrieben.

2. Am “k” zu “c” korrigiert, verwischt.

[[2]] die hier verantwortlich zeichnet; die Frkf. Zeitung, die sich sonst auf ihren Demokratismus u. ihre bürgerliche Kultur etwas zu gute hält.

Sie werden fragen, warum ich mich ausgerechnet an Sie wende, obwohl ich doch weiß, daß „Für die Frau“ wohl nicht im Bereich Ihrer Kompetenz liegt. Die Gesinnung[,] die Sie in Ihren Aufsätzen, solange ich sie kenne, zur Schau tragen, hat mich dazu ermutigt. Es gibt genug radikaler gesinnte Blätter u. Zeitschriften, die sich ein Vergnügen daraus machen würden, der „Frankfurter“ etwas am Zeuge zu flicken. Es wäre ein leichtes, sie zu bewegen, einer Erklärung Raum zu geben, welche die Konzessionen der Frkf. Ztg. an den Geldbeutel der Konfektion u. an den Geschmack des Kurfürstendamms brandmarkte.

Ich wende mich an Sie, an den Redakteur der Frf. Ztg. selbst, u. bitte Sie, dies als einen Akt der Loyalität aufzufassen.

Ich bitte Sie sehr um eine Erwiderung. Es handelt sich für uns um den Kredit einer der letzten für charaktvoll geltenden bürgerlichen demokratischen Tageszeitungen.

Der grob „kapitalistische“ Hintergrund der Ideologie der in Frage stehenden „Mode und Gesellschaft“ ist zu frech und aufdringlich; er provoziert die hämische Kritik aller Gegner jener Lebenshaltung, die ihre Bürgerlichkeit noch mit leidlich gutem Gewissen zur Schau trägt.

Mit Hochachtung

F. Boschwitz stud. phil.

Berlin N.W. 87. Cuxhafener Str. 11.

1b. Boschwitz to Siegfried Kracauer

Berlin, 22 September 1931

Dear Mr. Kracauer,³

The *Frankfurter Zeitung*⁴ has, for ages, published a supplement called “For the Woman.” This title is a severe hypocrisy. Much more precise: “For the Lady,” and in particular for the highly fashionable lady whose element is

3. Siegfried Kracauer (1889–1960), a German Jewish sociologist, cultural critic, and early film theorist—often seen as adjacent to the Frankfurt School—who started as a journalist for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in 1924 and then became head of its feuilleton in Berlin from 1930 to 1933. A scan of this letter features as fig. 1 supra.

4. *Frankfurter Zeitung* (1856–1943), a leading daily paper with broad coverage—democratic and liberal yet independent of any one party.

luxury. “Pages for Fashion and Society”⁵—as opposed to a mere fashion paper that aspires to nothing further: here I should say no more. But the “Society” it reckons with is more than questionable. The *Frankfurter* turning such a thing into an audience means conceding to a spirit that, based on statements otherwise, it utterly scorns. The outrageous part is that it seeks to veil the purely fashion-oriented nature of the paper “For the Lady,” with respected writers and academics handing over scraps of their work (for their sake, we assume these shallow trifles are not written especially for the “Woman”!) so that its illustrious name helps this clotheshorse achieve an ostensibly spirited and intellectually solid appearance. Some more or less tasteful photographs in gravure, a short, more or less sensible chat about a Gothic capital or Ricarda Huch is supposed to guarantee that we find ourselves in an educated “society.”⁶ The “woman” of today, as is well known, has no other concerns or interests!

There would be no reason to waste a word on this supplement—the level of the *Elegant World*⁷ causes no trouble—were it not the *Frankfurter Zeitung* that is responsible: the *Frankfurter Zeitung* which is otherwise very proud of its democratism and its civic culture.

You will ask why I address you of all people, although I know that “For the Woman” surely lies outside your domain. I was encouraged by the convictions you air in your essays, so far as I know them. There are enough papers and journals of radical orientation, which would take great pleasure in finding fault with the *Frankfurter*. It would be easy enough to move you to give space for an explanation that denounces the concessions of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* to the purse of the clothing industry and to the taste of the Kurfürstendamm.⁸ I turn to you, to the editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* himself, and ask you to consider this an act of loyalty.

I ask sincerely for a reply. It is a matter of reputation for one of the last civic, democratic daily newspapers considered to be of strong character. The coarse “capitalist” ideological background behind “Fashion and Society” is too

5. The subtitle of the supplement was “Für die Frau. Blätter der Frankfurter Zeitung für Mode und Gesellschaft” (For the Woman: Pages of the Frankfurter Newspaper for Fashion and Society).

6. Ricarda Huch (1864–1947), pioneering intellectual and major cultural figure—a historian, novelist, poet, and playwright who was not only among the first women to receive a PhD in Central Europe (Zurich) but also the first inducted into the Prussian Academy of the Arts—nominated several times for the Nobel Prize and hailed by Thomas Mann as the First Lady of Germany and probably even of Europe. Marianne Weber née Schnitger, the wife of Max, later published a piece in the supplement, on 8 July 1934, in honor of Huch’s seventieth birthday.

7. *Elegante Welt*, fashion magazine with dazzling illustrations and targeting affluent readers, published from 1919 to 1943; not to be confused with *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* (*Newspaper for the Elegant World*; 1801–59), a literary and cultural paper printed several times each week, first published in Leipzig.

8. The premier shopping boulevard in Berlin.

cheeky and loud; it provokes the malicious criticism of all opponents to that lifestyle, which still in reasonably good conscience flaunt their middle-class way of life.

Respectfully,

F. Boschwitz, student in philosophy
Berlin NW 87 Cuxhafener Str. 11

2a. Boschwitz to Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche⁹

Marburg a.d. Lahn
3. Juli 1933.

An das Nietzsche-Archiv zu Weimar.¹⁰

Hochgeehrter Herr,

Erlauben Sie, daß ich mit folgender Bitte mich an das Archiv wende.

Ich bin mit einer Doktor-Dissertation beschäftigt, die den Erforscher des Alten Testaments Julius Wellhausen zum Gegenstand hat. Gewisse Gedankengänge Nietzsches über das biblische Judentum haben nun meine Aufmerksamkeit auf mögliche Zusammenhänge zwischen beiden gelenkt.

Wäre es vielleicht möglich festzustellen, ob Nietzsche Wellhausens Schriften zum Teil gekannt, vielleicht aus irgend einer Bibliothek entliehen oder ob er gar Bücher von ihm besessen habe?¹¹

Eine gütige Auskunft über diese Frage würde mich Ihnen zu außerordentlichem Dank verpflichten.

Ich bin voll Hochachtung
u. Ergebenheit

Friedemann Boschwitz cand. phil.

9. Friedemann Boschwitz an Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche, 3 Juli 1933, GSA 72/BW 624, Förster-Nietzsche / Nietzsche Archiv, Goethe- und Schiller Archiv / Klassik Stiftung, Weimar, Deutschland. Boschwitz schreibt in deutscher Kurrentschrift, die anderen Hände in dieser sowie in lateinischer Schreibschrift.

10. Darunter links schräg und unterstrichen: "Beantw".

11. Durch andere Hand—von "ob Nietzsche" bis zum "besessen habe"—unterstrichen, dazu am Rande doppelgestrichen sowie geschrieben: "bitte das Festgestellte hier notieren." Weiter unten von anderer Hand: "verte!" Von dieser anderen Hand auch der Text der Rückseite bis auf den letzten Satz.

Marburg. L.
Barfüßer Tor 7.

[[verso]] In Nietzsches Bibliothek sind vorhanden:

Wellhausen, J., Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels. Berlin 1883 Halbfranz.

Das Exemplar ist mit zahlreichen Strichen u. Anmerkungen Nietzsches versehen. Letztere sind allerdings, als er das Buch einbinden liess, zum grossen Teile dem Beschneiden zum Opfer gefallen.

Ders., Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten Heft 1 u. 3 (Enthaltend: Abriss der Geschichte Israels u. Judas—Lieder der Hudhailiten, arabisch u. deutsch—Reste arabischen Heidentums) Berlin 1884.87.

Viele Stellen sind von Nietzsche angestrichen u. unterstrichen, mehrfache Randbemerkungen.

Entliehen hat N. in Basel nichts v. Wellhausen.¹²

2b. Boschwitz to Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche

Marburg
3 July 1933

To the Nietzsche Archive of Weimar.¹³

Dear sir,

Allow me to address the archive with the following request.

I am working on a doctoral dissertation that deals with the researcher on the Old Testament Julius Wellhausen. Certain of Nietzsche's lines of thought on biblical Judaism have directed my attention to possible connections between the two.¹⁴

Might it be possible to establish *whether Nietzsche had known Wellhausen's writings in part, perhaps loaned from one library or another, or had even possessed books by him?*

I would be most gratefully indebted for any kind information on this question.

12. Von anderer Hand.

13. Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche (1846–1935), sister of philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche—who later became his guardian and the editor and executor of his literary estate (Nietzsche Archive)—as well as cofounder of an Aryan colony in Paraguay and supporter of the Nazi Party.

14. Cf. not only excursus I of Boschwitz's work *supra* but also Boschwitz to Strauss, 1 May 1934, and the reader reports of Wilhelm Mommsen and Rudolf Bultmann below.

Respectfully and sincerely yours,

Friedemann Boschwitz, candidate in philosophy¹⁵
Marburg L[ahn]
Barfüßer Tor 7

[[verso]] In *Nietzsche's library* the following are present:
Wellhausen, J., Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels. Berlin, 1883, half-leather bound.

The copy contains numerous markings and comments by Nietzsche.

The latter, however, largely fell victim to trimming when he had the book bound.

Idem, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vols. 1 and 3 (containing: "Abriss der Geschichte Israels und Judas"—"Lieder der Hudhailiten," Arabic and German—"Reste arabischen Heidenthums"). Berlin, 1884, 1887.

Many passages are marked and underlined, multiple observations in the margins.

Nietzsche *loaned nothing* by Wellhausen in Basel.

3. Boschwitz to the Rector of Marburg University¹⁶

Marburg/Lahn, 19 January 1934

Barfüsser Tor 7.¹⁷

To His Magnificence, the Rector of the Philipps University¹⁸

Your Magnificence,

15. Abbreviation for *candidatus philosophiae*, an unofficial status held by a student before university examination.

16. Publication of the German appears in Anne Christine Nagel and Ulrich Sieg, eds., *Die Philipps-Universität Marburg im Nationalsozialismus. Dokumente zu ihrer Geschichte*, Pallas Athene 1, Academia Marburgensis 7 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000), Letter 70, pp. 174–75. As indicated by Nagel and Sieg, the document constitutes a typescript with the word "Abschrift" (copy) appearing at the top. Since that publication, the original call number, StAM 305a, acc. 1975/79, Nr 64, has been changed; it is now UniA MR 305a Nr 64, Dossier Rector, Files of the Philipps University of Marburg Concerning Higher Education Reform, Archive of the Philipps University of Marburg in the Hessen City Archive, Marburg, Germany.

17. The original publication omits the sender address, present in the typescript.

18. While the published edition places the address among editorial information on the document ("An Seine Magnifizenz den Herrn Rektor der Philipps-Universität"), it omits the presumably secondary subject line "Request for Permission to Undergo *Doctoral Examination*" ("Gesuch um Zulassung zur Doktorprüfung"), both of which appear in the original before the salutation.

With respect to Nr 3 of the decree from the Prussian Ministry for Science, Art, and National Education of 15 December 1933—U I Nr 2913.1¹⁹—the undersigned requests authorization to be permitted to undergo doctoral examination in the respective Faculty.

I studied history (ancient and modern) and philosophy at the universities of Freiburg i. Br. (SS 1928), Marburg (WS 1928/29 until WS 1930/31) and Berlin (SS 1931 until WS 1932/33). In WS 1932/33 I was on leave.²⁰

On 13 May 1933 I unenrolled [as a student] to complete my dissertation in Marburg itself (on the topic: “Julius Wellhausen, Motives and Measures of His Investigations”), which was, since the beginning of 1932, in agreement with the advisor, Prof. Mommsen of Marburg.²¹ The work is now finished.

Asking for support in this request from
Your Magnificence
Faithfully yours,

sgd. Friedmann²² Boschwitz, candidate in philosophy

4a. Boschwitz to Ernst Meister²³

Marburg, am 17/IV. 1934.

Lieber Herr Meister.

19. Clarifying an earlier decree from 16 June 1933 (U I 1331), this order detailed exemptions to the exclusion of “non-Aryan” students for admission to academic examination; see further Dean of the Marburg Faculty to the Rector of the University, 26 January 1934, below.

20. SS = summer semester (April through September); WS = winter semester (October through March). The nature of this leave remains unclear, but Leo Strauss asked Karl Löwith from Paris on 15 November 1932, “Have you heard anything about Boschwitz and the fate of his dissertation?” The Strauss–Löwith correspondence is published in Leo Strauss, *Hobbes’ politische Wissenschaft und zugehörige Schriften–Briefe*, ed. Heinrich Meier and Wiebke Meier, Leo Strauss Gesammelte Schriften 3, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2008), Letter 1, pp. 607–9.

21. Wilhelm Mommsen (1892–1966), modern historian and professor first in Göttingen then Marburg, who was targeted by Nazi policies against democratic sympathies, later suspended through measures of denazification, and who ultimately conducted research for the Hessian Ministry of Culture. Here, Boschwitz lists the title as “Julius Wellhausen, Motive und Masstäbe seiner Forschungen” (*sic*), thus referring to “investigations” rather than “historiography.” The spelling errors in his name and the work’s title almost certainly were introduced during typographical copy.

22. *Sic*.

23. Friedemann Boschwitz an Ernst Meister, 17 April 1934, Bestand 1000: Ernst-Meister-Nachlass, noch ohne Signatur (in Verarbeitung), Westfälisches Literaturarchiv, Archiv des Landschaftsverbandes Westfalen-Lippe, Münster, Deutschland. Der Brief ist in deutscher Kurrentschrift verfasst.

Endlich komme ich dazu, Ihnen für Ihren guten Brief zu danken, nachdem Sie mich schon via Kraus haben mahnen lassen müssen. Bin schon über²⁴ 14 Tage wieder hier und was die Hauptsache ist—ich habe die Genehmigung zur Zulassung zur Promotion bekommen! Nun stehe ich zwar um keinen Schritt weiter als jeder “arische” Student *eo ipso* schon immer steht; aber immerhin—das war eben für mich noch garnicht sicher. Mein Chef, Mommsen, ist allerdings noch immer nicht zurück; angeblich treibt er sich auf dem Mittelmeer herum—eine sehr vernünftige²⁵ Beschäftigung gewiß! nur habe ich auf diese Weise noch immer kein Zeichen einer Reaktion auf meine abgelieferte Arbeit. Wenn alles klappt, bin ich Anfang Juni aber doch endlich endlich fertig. Die weitere Zukunft ist mit (braun angestrichenen) Brettern vernagelt. In Berlin bin ich—wie vorauszusehen war—nicht zu besonderen Unternehmungen gekommen. In Ermangelung eines Besseren bin ich am letzten freien Abend in der Oper gewesen. Lohengrin. Wenig genußreich. Die beiden ausländischen Filme, deren Ruhm in aller Munde, habe ich noch nicht erwischt. Der eine, französische, von Bénédict-Lévy²⁶: *La Maternelle*²⁷; der andere, englische, mit Laughton: Heinrich VIII., der König mit den 6 Frauen. [[2]] Die schöne Braut des Großherzogs von Sillorka heißt Weißner. Die Uraufführung der Großen Katharina soll übrigens, da in Gegenwart des englischen u. franz. Konsuls, in aller Ruhe vonstattan gegangen²⁸ u. mit großen Jubel aufgenommen worden sein; erst nach der Aufführung, draußen vor dem Kapitol, spielte die vox populi²⁹ ihre wohleinstudierte Rolle. Bei allem Respekt, [is]t dieses Unsichtbar[.] Werden der Bergner in meinen Augen kein Verlust. Auf der Leinwand hat mir das, was sie verkörperte niemals gefallen. Späte Blüte! oder besser: spätes Früchtchen!

Wunderschön war sie als Heilige Johanna u. in Shakespeares Komödien.

Von L. habe ich auch eine von jenen Karten gekriegt, in denen er sein Wohlbehagen über seinen neuen Wohnsitz ausspricht. Von gemeinsamen Bekannten habe ich kurz Sr. Hochwürden Dr. B. und Mr. Helbig (so heißt er doch?) gesprochen. Dieser immer noch der Alte sonderbare Wirrkopf. Mit Kr.'s Examen scheint es nun wirklich ernst zu werden—buchstäblich!

Um den Roman des verworfenen Franz habe ich mich einmal bemüht, natürlich ohne Erfolg. Meine Schwester besitzt ihn zwar; auf diese Weise werde ich vielleicht einmal Gelegenheit finden ihn zu lesen, aber ihr Exemplar Ihnen zu schicken darf ich nicht riskieren.³⁰

24. Über der Zeile geschrieben.

25. Dieses Wort schwer lesbar wegen der Blattfalte.

26. *Sic.*

27. Dieser Titel in lateinischer Kurrentschrift geschrieben.

28. Danach gestrichen: “sein”.

29. Diese Phrase in lateinischer Kurrentschrift geschrieben.

30. Dieses Wort unter der Zeile geschrieben.

[[3]] Zu der wichtigen Veränderung,³¹ die sich seit unserer Trennung begeben hat, habe ich Ihnen noch nicht meine Bewunderung aus-gesprochen—wie mir Kr. berichtet: Sie haben den alten Adam ausgezogen u. einen neuen Menschen angelegt! Bon. Der Anlaß ist ja wohl feierlich genug, um sich theologisch auszudrücken! Daß Ihnen die Uniformierung—die keine äußerliche bleiben kann—zum Teil sehr gut tun wird, davon werden alle Ihre Freunde—u. gewiß Sie selbst auch—überzeugt sein. Ich für meinen Teil kann das Gefühl nicht beschwichtigen, daß Sie mir durch Ihre neue Montur einen kleinen Schritt ferner gerückt sind. Um so begieriger bin ich, Sie nach dieser Wandlung einmal wiederzusehen. Warum sollte das auch³² unmöglich sein?!

Ist Ihr neuer Beruf geeignet, die Familie des Untergrundbahnschaffners noch einige Zeit vor der Katastrophe zu retten—ich meine: ist der Abschluß des Dramas dadurch gehemmt? Das wäre doch schade. Mein Mitgefühl schwankt allerdings zwischen den³³ *dramatis personis* u. dem *dramatis poetæ*,³⁴ der sich unter den neuen Umständen vielleicht seinen "Personen" weniger widmen kann als für Erfüllung ihres Schicksals besser wäre.

[[4.]] Hier sieht es beinahe so aus, als sollten wir diesmal um den Frühling betrogen werden; denn mit einem Male ist es sommerlich heiß geworden. Alle marburger Radios sprechen zu offenen Fenstern hinaus, die Bäume beginnen mit mächtiger Eilfertigkeit zu blühen und das erste Gewitter hat sich mit ausgiebigem³⁵ nachfolgenden Regenguß begeben. Und seitdem ist es schwül geblieben.

Erzählen Sie doch von Ihrem neue[n] kollektiven Leben!

Seien Sie recht freundschaftlich begrüßt von Ihrem

Friedemann Boschwitz.

[Nachtrag Links]

Kennen Sie Gedichte von Ina Seidel?

Im letzten Heft der "Literatur" ein komischer Aufsatz von G. Benn über St. George.

4b. Boschwitz to Meister

Marburg, 17/04/1934

31. Darunter gestrichen: "Begebenheit".

32. Danach gestrichen: "nicht".

33. Danach gestrichen: "Mitgliedern der besagten".

34. Die lateinischen Phrasen sind in lateinischer Schreibschrift geschrieben.

35. *Sic*.

Dear Mr. Meister,³⁶

I am finally coming around to thanking you for your nice letter, after you had to remind me via Kraus.³⁷ Am already more than 14 days here, and what is most important: I have received approval to register for the doctorate! Admittedly, I am no step further than any other Aryan student *eo ipso* has always been; but nevertheless, that was for me not at all certain.

My boss, Mommsen, is, however, still not back yet; apparently, he is roving around the Mediterranean—a very sensible activity, for sure!³⁸ Except because of this, I still have no sign of a reaction to the work I submitted. But if everything goes well, I will finally, finally be finished at the beginning of June. The longer future is nailed up with brown painted boards. In Berlin, as was to be expected, I did not get to do anything special. For lack of anything better, I went to the opera on my last free evening: *Lohengrin*.³⁹ Little enjoyable. I have not yet caught the two foreign films that everyone is talking about. The one, French, by Benoît-Lévy: *La Maternelle*; the other, English, with Laughton: *Henry VIII*, the king with 6 wives.⁴⁰ [[2]] The beautiful bride of the Grand Duke of Sillorka is called Weißner.⁴¹ By the way, the premiere of *The Rise of Catherine the Great* is said to have taken place calmly there in the presence of the English and French consuls and to have been received with great jubilation.⁴² Only after the performance, outside the capital, did the *vox populi* play

36. Ernst Meister (1911–1979), fellow Marburg student, poet, dramatist, and laureate of the Büchner Prize.

37. Likely Fritz Kraus (1903–1960), a student of Löwith, maybe mentioned by abbreviation in the latter's memoirs, and friend whom Ernst Meister reported having followed to Frankfurt in 1934; a critic, journalist, and editor of the culture and philosophy section for the *Frankfurter Zeitung*; a translator of Mahatma Gandhi, editor of Alexander von Humboldt, and—according to the German Federal Archives (Bundesarchiv)—an arranged, but not actualized, anthologizer of philosophical texts by Nicolai Hartmann, Martin Heidegger, Karl Jaspers, Max Scheler, and Ludwig Wittgenstein.

38. Wilhelm Mommsen (1892–1966).

39. Romantic opera by the famed composer, librettist, and antisemite Richard Wagner (1813–1883), first performed in 1850.

40. *La Maternelle*, a 1933 French film by Jean Benoît-Lévy (1888–1959) and Marie Epstein (1899–1995), adapted from the 1904 novel of Léon Frapié (1863–1949); *The Private Life of Henry VIII*, a 1933 British film directed by Alexander Korda (1893–1956) and starring Charles Laughton (1899–1962): in fact, the title card of the latter reads “Henry VIII had six wives. . .”

41. In an unpublished letter from 7 March 1934 (not printed here but held by the Dr. Bernhard Albers & Dr. Reinhard Kiefer Stiftung in Aachen, Germany), Boschwitz expressed his delight in having seen the 1934 German film *Die Finanzen des Großherzogs*, with director Gustaf Gründgens (1899–1963) and lead Viktor de Kowa (1904–1973)—not to be confused with the 1924 version under the same title by F. W. Murnau (1888–1931)—based on the 1915 novel by Swedish writer Frank Heller (1886–1947) and translated into English as *The Grand Duke's Finances*. In fact, Boschwitz enjoyed the film so much that he stayed seated and watched it a second time.

42. *The Rise of Catherine the Great*, a 1934 British film directed by Paul Czinner (1890–1972) and starring Elisabeth Bergner (1897–1986), his partner.

its well-rehearsed role. With all due respect, Bergner becoming invisible is no great loss in my eyes.⁴³ I never liked *what* she portrayed on the screen. Late bloom! Or better: late fruitlet!

She was wonderful as Saint Joan and in Shakespeare's comedies.⁴⁴

I also received one of those cards from Löwith, in which he expresses his well-being in his new abode. As for our common acquaintances, I briefly saw His Grace Dr. B. and Mr. Helbig (that's what he's called, no?).⁴⁵ That one is always the old special scatterbrain. It is now looking to be really serious with Kr.'s exams—literally!⁴⁶

I tried once for the novel of the discarded Franz, unsuccessfully of course.⁴⁷ My sister has it in fact; perhaps I will find the opportunity to read it this way, but I dare not risk sending her copy to you.

[[3]] To the important change that took place since our separation, I have not yet expressed my admiration to you—as Kr. reported: you have put off the old Adam and put on a new man!⁴⁸ Good. The event is, indeed, solemn enough to be expressed theologically! All your friends—and no doubt also you yourself—will be convinced that uniforming, which *cannot* remain external, will, in part, do you good. For my part, I cannot mollify the feeling that you have slipped a small step further from me through your new kit. I am all the more eager to see you once again after this transformation. And why should that be impossible?!

Is your new vocation suitable for you to save the family of the underground ticket controller from the disaster for a while yet? I mean: is the conclusion of

43. Bergner, Austrian model and actress of stage and screen especially beloved in Berlin in the 1920s, forced by the Nazi regime to flee to Vienna then London before moving to the United States and returning first to England and finally Germany. *The Rise of Catherine the Great* was banned, after apparent public protests, on the grounds that the title role was a Jew, an emigrated one to wit.

44. 1923, William Shakespeare's *Wie es euch gefällt* (*As You Like It*), by Max Reinhardt né Goldmann at the Lessing Theater, Berlin, later adapted as a British film by Czinner, also starring Bergner; 1924–25, George Bernard Shaw's *Die heilige Johanna* (*Saint Joan*), by Reinhardt at the Deutsches Theatre, Berlin; 1928–29, Shakespeare's *Was ihr wollt* (*Twelfth Night, What You Will*), by Victor Barnowsky at the Lessing Theatre; 1930, *Wie es euch gefällt*, by Barnowsky at the Theatre in the Stresemannstraße (Hebbel-Theater), Berlin.

45. The persons here alluded to are elusive.

46. Perhaps Fritz Kraus.

47. Here Boschwitz responded to a request from Meister—repeated in a letter from 12 March 1934—about procuring a work by the Jewish novelist Franz Werfel (1890–1945), likely playing on his surname and the German word *werfen/verworfen*. Already a “burned author” in May 1933, Werfel published a novel about the genocide of Armenians that same year—translated into English as *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*—which the Nazi regime banned in February 1934 under pressure from the Turkish government.

48. Meister had joined the *Sturmabteilung*, the paramilitary organization of the Nazi Party, although he resigned in autumn 1934, with confirmation of his release coming in January 1935: cf. introduction *supra*.

the drama hindered by it? That would be a real shame. My empathy wavers, however, between the *dramatis personis* and the *dramatis poetae*,⁴⁹ who, under the new circumstances, can perhaps devote himself less to his “persons” than would be better for the fulfillment of their destiny.

[[4.]] Here it looks like we will be cheated of spring this time, as it has suddenly become *summerly* warm. All the Marburg radios speak out open windows, the trees begin to bloom with mighty haste, and the first thunderstorm has come with a heavy downpour that followed. And since then it has stayed humid.

Tell me about your new collective life!

With very amicable greetings from

Friedemann Boschwitz

[Addendum, left]

Do you know the songs of Ina Seidel?⁵⁰ In the last issue of the *Literatur*, a weird article by G. Benn on St. George.⁵¹

5a. Boschwitz to Leo Strauss⁵²

Marburg, am 1. Mai 1934.

Werter Herr Dr. Straus[s].

Ich schicke Ihnen hier meine Dissertation, ihrem höchst unfertigen Zustand zum Trotz. Aber gerade, solange sie noch in diesem Zustand ist, würde mir Ihr Urteil u. Ihr Rat, um die ich Sie herzlich bitte, besonders nützlich sein können.

Ich bin heute genau ein Jahr zum zweiten Mal in Marburg. Vor über 2 Jahren habe ich diese Arbeit auf Ihre Anregung hin begonnen, und war ich auch nicht diese ganze Zeit über mit⁵³ ihr beschäftigt, so steht doch das Ergebnis

49. Boschwitz here declines the phrase *dramatis personae* (referring to the characters of the drama) according to German syntax and both invents and inflects the phrase *dramatis poetae* (referring to Meister himself).

50. Ina Seidel (1885–1974), novelist, poet, and essayist, known for her full-throated appreciation of Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and much decorated—including after the Second World War—whose most recent book of poems, *Die tröstliche Begegnung*, had appeared for a small, private print run in 1932, with expansion and publication in 1933, and new printings over the next couple years.

51. Gottfried Benn (1886–1956) published an obituary for Stefan George (1868–1933), who had recently died: *Die Literatur. Monatsschrift für Literaturfreunde* 36 (1933–34): 377–82.

52. Friedemann Boschwitz an Leo Strauss, 1 Mai 1934, Leo-Strauss-Nachlass, Kasten 1, Umschlag 3, Hanna-Holborn-Gray-Forschungszentrum für Sondersammlungen, Bibliothek der Universität Chicago, Vereinigte Staaten. Der Brief ist in Kurrentschrift verfasst, wobei die hebräischen Buchstaben in Quadratschrift geschrieben sind.

53. Vor “mit” gestrichen: “d”.

wahrhaftig nicht in einem angemessenen Verhältnis zu der daran gewendeten Zeit. Ja, wäre nicht Dr. Klein im vorigen Sommer vorübergehend u. dann im Winter für längere Zeit—gestern hat er Mbg. verlassen—hier erschienen und hätte sich nicht in unbeschreiblich großmütiger Weise meiner angenommen u. zum *μαιεύτης* der Arbeit gemacht, ich glaube, ich wäre über meiner Aufgabe versumpft. Zumal ich niemanden hatte, mit dem ich über Wellhausen hätte sprechen können. Wenigstens bilde ich mir das ein.

Ich wende mich hier an Sie, Herr Dr. Straus[s], stillschweigend das gleiche Interesse u. die gleiche Freundlichkeit bei Ihnen voraussetzend, die Sie mir vor zwei Jahren bewiesen haben, gleich als ob keine zwei Jahre dazwischen lägen. Ich wünsche von Herzen, daß sie nichts dawider haben.

Eine peinliche Zeit lang war es überhaupt in Frage gestellt, ob ich würde promovieren dürfen. Endlich habe ich vom Ministerium die Genehmigung zur Zulassung [[2]] bekommen, da⁵⁴ doch der Dr.phil. ein Etwas ist, das den Staat zu nichts verbindet. Nun steht das Mündliche für Mitte Juni bevor. Bultmann, der Korreferent für die Dissertation, hat diese bereits gelesen und, wenigstens mir gegenüber, sich befriedigt darüber ausgesprochen. Mommsen der Hauptreferent will sie nun endlich endlich in diesen Tagen lesen! So einwandfrei korrekt sich der Mann benimmt, ist doch seine Anteilnahme für die Sache minimal; u. abgesehen von meiner Angelegenheit ist er⁵⁵ schlapp; ein unerfreulicher Anblick für Menschen u. Götter.

Mit meinem Wellhausen bin ich, wie Sie sehen werden, nicht zu Rande gekommen. Den Hauptnenner seiner Bestrebungen, den zu errechnen ich am Anfang so großartig verheiße, habe ich eigentlich nicht gefunden. Ich stehe am Ende nicht viel weiter als am Anfang: ich konstatiere die „Spannung“. Der wichtige § 12 bleibt im Ansatz stecken; denn der Gegensatz des „Historikers“ zum philosophischen u. theolog. „Dogmatiker“ würde ja erst dann wirklich belangvoll werden, wenn er in einen innerphilosophischen od. -theologischen verwandelt wäre. In dieser Hinsicht bin ich hilflos geblieben. Dem Ganzen fehlt nicht zufällig vorläufig ein Schluß, denn mir fehlt die zusammenfassende Idee. Es bleibt freilich die Möglichkeit, daß die vorausgesetzte Einheit gar⁵⁶ nicht da ist!! Ihnen selbst wird nicht entgehen, daß das meiste, was an der Arbeit Gutes sein mag, auf Ihr Konto fällt. Sie haben mich auf Herder hingewiesen. Sie haben mich auf Th. Mommsen hingewiesen. Sie haben mich auf Hegels Jugendschriften hingewiesen. Das Einzige, was ich selbst entdeckt zu haben meinte, die Abhängigkeit des „Antichrist“ von Wellh., fand ich nicht nur später bei Lütgert bereits vermerkt, [[3]] sondern mußte⁵⁷ zur Kenntnis

54. Vor „da“ gestrichen: „g“.

55. Die beiden Wörter vor der Zeile nachgetragen.

56. Das Wort über der Zeile nachgetragen.

57. Danach gestrichen: „auch“.

nehmen, daß in Ihrem Lagarde-Aufsatz im „Juden“, den ich erst vor einem halben Jahr aufstöberte, auch schon Nietzsche neben Lagarde Mommsen u. Wellh. figuriert.

Ich bin unglücklich, 2½ Jahre an⁵⁸ meinem Zeug gemurkt zu haben; aber Wellhausen ist mir darüber nicht leid geworden. Daß Sie mich auf diesen Mann gestoßen haben, dafür bin ich Ihnen dankbar. Das Kapitel über Vatke ist mir aus dem Ganzen herausgebrochen; es gehört aber eigentlich hinein; ebenso einiges über W's polemische Haltung gegen die Tübinger (Baur). Ferner etwas über seinen Begriff der Entwicklung, nämlich der Israel.-jüd. Geschichte, welcher immer als zentral empfunden worden ist (Troeltsch, M. Weber). Sture Gegner beschuldigen W. bald des Darwinism., bald Hegel'scher Dialektik! (Es soll einen Aufsatz von Gladstone gegen Wellh. geben! Ich habe ihn nicht finden können, freilich auch nicht systematisch darauf⁵⁹ gefahndet.)

Wichtiger sind aber bestimmt die Dinge, die ich⁶⁰ zur Sprache gebracht habe.

Ich bin Ihnen noch den Dank schuldig dafür, daß Sie mich bei Schaefer eingeführt haben. Sch. hat sich mir fabelhaft liebenswürdig gezeigt, da er für die Sache selbst, für W., wahrhaftig enthusiastisch ist. Freilich auf mehr als auf seine rein sachliche Anteilnahme habe ich bisher keinen Anspruch erhoben! Was er vor 2 Jahren in Aussicht stellte: die Unterbringung der Dissertation in einer Zeitschrift, dürfte er heute schwerlich verwirklichen wollen. Sehr richtig haben Sie mir damals⁶¹ einen charakteristischen Zug seines Wesens bezeichnet: seine erstaunliche Fixigkeit zu begeisterter Zustimmung, auch wo die eben vorgetragene Meinung keineswegs evident ist. Im Übrigen ist Sch. einer der wenigen Anständigen: obwohl er heute oben [[4]] persona grata ist, verleugnet er doch seine alten Sympathien nicht. So hat er z.B. Prof. Eug. M. sein Amt, das ihm bereits genommen war, wieder verschafft.

Ich glaube versprechen zu können, daß⁶² mein Traktat (mit Herder zu sprechen: eine „musivische Arbeit“—denn es ist nicht mehr als ein Zitäten-Mosaik) nicht schwer zu lesen ist; die Lektüre könnten Sie also nebenher erledigen; u. es wäre schön, wenn Sie sie nicht allzu lange aufschöben. Das Exemplar können Sie behalten. Es ist das schlechteste. Diese Unhöflichkeit werden Sie gewiß zu entschuldigen bereit sein. Die anständigen Drucke mußte ich wohl od. übel den Referenten reservieren.⁶³ In⁶⁴ Ihrer Abwesenheit

58. Korrigiert aus: „über“.

59. Sic.

60. Danach gestrichen: „(wenigstens)“.

61. Die letzten beiden Wörter durch Korrekturzeichen getauscht.

62. Danach gestrichen: „sich“.

63. Nach „reservieren“ zunächst Semikolon und „obwohl wir“, beides schließlich gestrichen.

64. Davor gestrichen: „Seit“.

von Deutschland ist so unnennbar viel geschehen, daß ich nicht weiß, was ich berichten soll von dem vielen, wofür ich Ihr Interesse vermute. Ein paar Familiendaten: Meine Schwester u. mein Bruder sind im vorigen Herbst als Landarbeiter nach Palästina ausgewandert. Sie arbeiten in⁶⁵ verschiedenen קבוצות; sie sind beide einverstanden mit ihrem Leben dort. Meine jüngere Schwester hat einen Arzt geheiratet, Dr. Isac Bamberger, der seine gutgehende Praxis in Berlin N. weiterführen darf, da er⁶⁶—wie man zu sagen pflegt—sich rechtzeitig in den Weltkrieg eingemischt hat. Was mit mir wird, ist dunkel. Gegenwärtig genieße ich zum 5. Mal in meinem Leben den marburger⁶⁷ Frühling, allerdings recht einsam. In welchem Maße wir „ausgekreist“ sind, davon machen Sie sich schwerlich einen Begriff.

Sie haben inzwischen geheiratet. Auf die Gefahr hin komisch zu wirken, will ich es doch nicht unterlassen, Ihnen zu diesem Ereignis (das doch in Permanenz existiert, also dazu berechtigt) auch noch nach Jahr u. Tag מל טוב zu wünschen. Grüßen Sie Ihre Frau recht herzlich von mir, obwohl⁶⁸ von einem ihr Unbekannten. Diesen Gruß würde der meiner Schwester verdoppeln, wenn sie zur Stelle wäre; nun ist sie aber in Asien. Die Ihre, in Afrika, wird, wie ich höre, im Sommer mit Ihnen zusammentreffen; auch für sie unsere herzlichsten Grüße. Ich bin Ihr dankbarer
Friedemann Boschwitz.⁶⁹

[Nachtrag S. 2 rechts senkrecht]

Die beiliegenden Bilder sind leider wegen eines technischen Fehlers unscharf geworden. Ich schicke sie trotzdem.

[Nachtrag S. 4 links senkrecht]

Sollte Ihnen zufällig Frau Gertrude Weil aus München—ihr Mann, Dr. Ernst Weil, ist Antiquar—dort bekannt sein, so seien Sie so⁷⁰ freundlich von mir einen Gruß auszurichten; ebenso gegebenen Falls an Fr. Dr. Ida Levisohn.⁷¹

5b. Boschwitz to Leo Strauss

Marburg, 1 May 1934

65. Davor gestrichen: ein "d".

66. Unter der Zeile nachgetragen.

67. Sic.

68. Danach gestrichen: "unbekannter".

69. In lateinischer Schrift, durch zweite Hand: "[Boschwitz]".

70. Über der Zeile nachgetragen.

71. Der Namen über den Blattrand geschrieben, schwer entzifferbar.

Dear Dr. Strauss,⁷²

I am sending you herewith my dissertation, despite its most unfinished state. But precisely so long as it is in this state, your judgment and your advice—which I am kindly requesting—can be especially useful to me.

As of today, I have now been a full two years in Marburg. Over two years ago, I began this work at your suggestion, and although I have not been busy with it this entire time, the result is truly not in proportion to the time spent on it. Indeed, had Dr. Klein⁷³ not been here in passing last summer and then in winter for a longer time—yesterday he left Marburg—and had he not looked out for me in an indescribably generous manner and become the *μαieiύτης*⁷⁴ of the work, I believe I would have gotten bogged down in my task. In particular, I did not have anyone to talk about Wellhausen with. At least I imagine so.⁷⁵

72. Leo Strauss (1899–1973), political philosopher who studied in the neo-Kantian epicenter of Marburg, completed his PhD in Hamburg, researched at the Academy for the Science of Judaism in Berlin, moved to Paris in 1932–33 with a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, then in 1934—rather than return to Germany—moved to London followed by Cambridge, before emigrating to the United States in 1937. There he began at Columbia University with the help of Salo Baron, proceeded to the University in Exile (The New School), and, in 1949, continued on to the University of Chicago until retirement, when he joined his friend Jacob Klein at St. John's College, Annapolis, MD, United States. For an orientation to this period of Strauss's life, see Eugene Shepard, *Leo Strauss and the Politics of Exile: The Making of a Political Philosopher*, Tauber Institute for the Study of European Jewry Series (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2006). The Strauss papers are held at the University of Chicago.

73. Jacob "Jascha" Klein (1899–1978), philosopher and historian of mathematics, born in Liepāja (Latvia) of the Russian Empire, educated in Berlin then Marburg alongside Strauss, Karl Löwith, and Gerhard Krüger, befriended by the family of Edmund Husserl, and cultivated through further work in Marburg and at the Institute for Theoretical Physics in Berlin before having his habilitation blocked by Nazi legislation of 1933. Klein taught in Prague, Berlin, and England before emigrating to the United States in 1938—thanks to the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars—and serving as professor and then dean at St. John's College, Annapolis, where he died. More information on this overlooked figure features in N. N., "Jacob Klein at 75," *The College* 26, no. 1 (1974): 1–4, a magazine produced by St. John's College, Annapolis; and Burt Hopkins, "The Philosophical Achievement of Jacob Klein," *The New Yearbook for Phenomenology and Phenomenological Philosophy* 11 (2011): 282–96. An autobiographical discussion of Klein and Strauss on their own formation was published as "A Giving of Accounts: Jacob Klein and Leo Strauss," *The College* 22, no. 1 (1970): 1–5. Apart from his correspondence with Strauss, listed above, other letters by Klein have been edited and translated by Emmanuel Patard, "Ausgewählte Briefe von Jacob Klein an Gerhard Krüger, 1929–1933 / Selected Letters from Jacob Klein to Gerhard Krüger, 1929–1933," *The New Yearbook for Phenomenology and Phenomenological Philosophy* 6 (2006): 308–29. Klein's papers are held at St. John's College, Annapolis.

74. Greek for "midwife."

75. During said winter, on 28 December 1933, Klein had penned to Strauss from the Marburg house of Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900–2002), "Everyone sends their warm greetings. Especially Boschwitz, who is 'wrestling' with the conclusion of his doctoral work. He is very inept 'technically.' I am helping him at the moment. He is really a very nice kid." The Strauss–Klein correspondence is published in Strauss, *Hobbes' politische Wissenschaft und zugehörige Schriften—Briefe*, Letter 17, pp. 481–83.

I am turning to you, Dr. Strauss, quietly assuming the same interest and the same kindness from you that you showed to me two years ago, as though two years did not pass. I really hope that you have nothing against it.

For an embarrassingly long time, it was an open question as to whether I would be allowed to pursue a doctorate. In the end, I received permission to register from the Ministry, as the PhD is something that does not bind the state to anything. Now, the oral examination will take place in mid-June. Bultmann, the co-examiner of the dissertation, has already read it and—at least to me—expressed his satisfaction with it.⁷⁶ Mommsen, the main examiner, now wants to read it soon: finally, finally! As impeccably correct as the man behaves, his sympathy for the topic is nonetheless minimal; and apart from my own case, he is listless; a sad sight for God and man.

As you will see, I have not gotten on with my Wellhausen. I have not actually found the common denominator of his efforts, which at the beginning I so grandly promise to find. At the end, I am not much further than at the beginning: I establish “tension.” The important Section 12 dies on the vine, for the conflict between the “historian” and the philosophical and theological “dogmatist” would really only become important if it were transformed into an inner-philosophical or inner-theological one.⁷⁷ It is no coincidence that the whole thing lacks a conclusion, because I lack an idea that ties everything together. Of course, there is always the possibility that unity assumed is not there at all!!

It will not elude you that most of whatever may be good in the work comes from you.⁷⁸ You pointed me to Herder. You pointed me to Theodor Mommsen.⁷⁹ You pointed me to Hegel’s early writings.⁸⁰ The only

76. Rudolf Bultmann (1844–1976), Protestant theologian and New Testament scholar who held positions in Breslau, Gießen, and then Marburg, engaged substantively with Martin Heidegger (1889–1976), promoted an existentialist approach to “demythologizing” biblical literature, and supported the Confessing Church as a critic of Nazism.

77. This reference presumably corresponds with p. 48 <pp. 98–99> in Boschwitz’s book.

78. A week after this letter, on 7 May 1934, Klein would write Strauss from London, “In the meantime, Boschwitz sent me his dissertation. Considering it is a dissertation, I found the work outstanding. How much of it should be tacked up to you I don’t know. He only wrote that you have helped him a lot.” Three days onward, he qualified from Berlin, “Boschwitz’s work seems to me to have an essential weakness in that he does not consider at all the theological questions in the narrower sense. In the professors’ eyes, even Bultmann’s, that is *no* weakness. My help was more ‘moral’ in nature, apart from certain ‘technical’ pointers. Boschwitz always stresses that he owes all insights to *you*.” These exchanges, too, appear in Strauss, *Hobbes’ politische Wissenschaft und zugehörige Schriften—Briefe*, Letter 29, pp. 503–504, Letter 30, pp. 504–5.

79. Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903), eminent ancient historian whose multivolume *Römische Geschichte* (*History of Rome*) won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1902, almost half a century after its initial publication. While the biblicist heroized the classicist, each appreciated the other’s work. The two not only corresponded but also collaborated on the volume *Zum ältesten Strafrecht der Kulturvölker* (*On the Oldest Criminal Law of Civilized Peoples*), with Wellhausen even giving feedback as a specialist on Mommsen’s manuscripts.

80. Herman Nohl, ed., *Hegels theologische Jugendschriften, nach den Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek in Berlin* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1907), whose contents include “Folk Religion and Christianity,”

thing I think I discovered myself—the dependence of the *Antichrist* on Wellhausen—not only did I find it observed in Lütgert, but I also have to note that in your article on Lagarde in *Der Jude*, which I first stumbled over only six months ago, there, too, already Nietzsche features alongside Lagarde, Mommsen, and Wellhausen.⁸¹

I am unhappy to have been botching my stuff for two and a half years; but I haven't felt sorry for Wellhausen. I am grateful to you for setting me on this man. The chapter on Vatke⁸² fell out of the whole, but actually it belongs there: like plenty of things on Wellhausen's polemical stance over against the Tübingers (Baur).⁸³ Further, something on his concept of development, namely, of Israelite-Jewish history, which was always felt to be central (Ernst Troeltsch, Max Weber).⁸⁴ Stubborn opponents accused Wellhausen

"The Life of Jesus," "The Positivity of the Christian Religion," "The Spirit of Christianity and its Fate," and "Fragments of a System from 1800." For an English translation of most contents, see G. W. F. Hegel, *Early Theological Writings*, trans. T. M. Knox and Richard Kroner, with an introduction by Kroner (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975); see further the annotated bibliography of Boschwitz's translated work above.

81. On *The Antichrist* by philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) and on the theologian Wilhelm Lütgert (1867–1938), see excursus II in the translation supra. As for Strauss's article, it appeared as part of the column "Das Judentum im deutschen Denken" under the title "Paul de Lagarde," *Der Jude* 8, no. 1 (1924): 8–15. A translation with commentary appears in Leo Strauss, *The Early Writings* (1921–32), trans. and ed. Michael Zank, SUNY Series in the Jewish Writings of Strauss (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 90–101. In a well-known letter from 23 June 1935, Strauss would write Karl Löwith, "between my 22nd and 30th years, Nietzsche so dominated and enchanted me that I took him at his word on everything I understood from him" (Strauss, *Hobbes' politische Wissenschaft und zugehörige Schriften—Briefe*, Letter 26, pp. 648–50), following the publication of Löwith's *Nietzsches Philosophie der Ewigen Wiederkehr des Gleichen* (Berlin: Die Runde, 1935). See also Laurence Lampert, *Leo Strauss and Nietzsche* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). The Leo Strauss Center at Chicago has maintained a digital archive of audio files and transcripts of Strauss's seminars, including on Nietzsche—many freely available online. An edition of one seminar has recently appeared: Leo Strauss, *On Nietzsche's Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, ed. Richard L. Velkley (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017). To substantiate the dependence on Wellhausen, the secondary literature frequently cites the biographies by Ronald Hayman (*Nietzsche: A Critical Life* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980]) and Curt Paul Janz (*Friedrich Nietzsche*, 1st ed., 3 vols. [Munich: Hanser, 1978–79], a widely translated work)—but without basing this claim on Boschwitz.

82. Wilhelm Vatke (1806–1882), biblical scholar of Hegelian bent whose work on ancient Israel did much to inspire Wellhausen. Lothar Perlitt devoted a book to the subject, now far closer to Boschwitz's time than our own: *Vatke und Wellhausen. Geschichtsphilosophische Voraussetzungen und historiographische Motive für die Darstellung der Religion und Geschichte Israels durch Wilhelm Vatke und Julius Wellhausen*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 94 (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1965). Rudolf Smend reviewed the work (before either of them ended up in Göttingen), noting how Perlitt had drawn on Boschwitz: in *Vetus Testamentum* 16, no. 1 (1966): 130–34.

83. Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860), historian of early Christianity and founder of the (new) Tübingen School, which advocated for "tendency criticism" to understand the history of literary sources and advanced Hegelian thought structures in formulating theses, antitheses, and syntheses to narrate the history of Christianity.

84. Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923), theologian and philosopher much concerned with the problem of history, whose 1922 *Der Historismus und seine Probleme* (*Historicism and Its Problems*) argued

now of Darwinism, then of Hegelian Dialectic!⁸⁵ (There is supposed to be an article by Gladstone against Wellhausen! I have not been able to find it, let alone systematically go through it.⁸⁶)

More important, though, are certain things that I did not bring up.

I still owe you thanks for having introduced me to Schaefer.⁸⁷ Schaefer turned out to be marvellously generous, as he is filled with true enthusiasm for the subject itself, for Wellhausen. Of course, up to now I have not demanded any more than his purely professional participation! What he proposed two years ago—accommodating the dissertation in a journal—he may today hardly wish to realize. At that time, you were certainly right when describing a characteristic trait of his: an astounding speed with enthusiastic consent, even when the opinion just presented is by no means obvious. Otherwise, Schaefer is one of the few decent ones: although today he is a person most welcome in the upper echelons, he does not deny his old sympathies. So, for instance, he got Prof. Eugene M.⁸⁸ his positions back, which were already taken from him.

“development research” was epitomized by the study of religion in Wellhausen’s work: see now the critical edition by Friedrich Wilhelm Graf and Matthias Schloßberger, *Der Historismus und seine Probleme*, Ernst Troeltsch Kritische Gesamtausgabe 16 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008). In his study from 1917 to 1919, Max Weber (1864–1920) specified Wellhausen’s conception of Jewish religious history as “immanent evolutionary” and identified religious presuppositions at work: see *Ancient Judaism*, trans. and ed. Hans H. Gerth and Don Martindale (Glencoe: Free Press, 1952).

85. Such claims were a mile wide and an inch deep. In the second edition of *Geschichte Israels*, vol. 1—aka the *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*—Wellhausen added a comment on the accusation of Darwinism in particular. See further Kurtz, *Kaiser, Christ, and Canaan*, esp. 139–47.

86. William Gladstone (1809–1898), British politician and intermittent prime minister, clearly rocked by the implications of work by Wellhausen et al. First published in the monthly *Good Words*, his relevant essays were compiled as *The Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture* (London: Isbister, 1890). See David Bebbington, *The Mind of Gladstone: Religion, Homer, and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

87. Hans Heinrich Schaefer (1896–1957), orientalist and from 1931 professor of Iranology at the University of Berlin.

88. Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942), prominent Jewish orientalist and professor ordinarius at the University of Berlin who was purged from his positions in 1933 under Nazi legislation—partially yet only temporarily reinstated before being forced into early retirement—and who, as the November pogroms ensued while he was France, did not return to Germany but instead went into exile in Britain. Although Schaefer first publicly intervened for Jewish colleagues, he proved cozily accommodating of the Nazi movement—though not without opportunistic alignments recognized even by the authorities: on display in his replacing Mittwoch as head of the Institute for Semitics and Islamic Studies and director of the practically oriented Seminar for Oriental Languages. See Maja Ščrbačić, “Eugen Mittwoch gegen das Land Preußen. Die Entlassungsmaßnahmen in der Berliner Orientalistik, 1933–1938,” in *Ein Paradigma der Moderne. Jüdische Geschichte in Schlüsselbegriffen, Festschrift für Dan Diner zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Arndt Engelhardt, Lutz Fiedler, Elisabeth Gallas, Natasha Gordinsky, and Philipp Graf (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 39–55. After the war, in the 1960s, Schaefer’s widow, Grete, would become a regular correspondent with and frequent visitor, in Jerusalem, of the Austrian Jewish philosopher Martin Buber.

I believe I can promise that my tractate (to borrow from Herder: a “mosaic work”—because it is no more than a *mosaic* of citations⁸⁹) is not difficult to read; thus, you could finish the reading on the side; and it would be good if you would not put it off all too long. The copy you are welcome to keep. It is the worst one. You will surely be willing to excuse this discourtesy. I must reserve the proper prints—like it or not—for the examiners. In your absence from Germany, so many things have happened, beyond naming, that I do not know what I should report from everything I assume you are interested in. Some family updates: my sister and my brother emigrated to Palestine last autumn as farm workers.⁹⁰ They work in different קבוצות;⁹¹ both approve of their life there. My younger sister has married a physician, Dr. Isaac Bamberger,⁹² who was allowed to continue his successful practice in Berlin North since he—so to speak—intervened at the right time in the world war. What is going to happen to me is dubious. Currently I am enjoying, for the fifth time in my life, the Marburg spring, if very much alone. You can hardly image just how much we are being “separated out.” You have since married. At the risk of looking weird, I do not want to refrain from wishing you מזל טוב⁹³ with much delay (which, however, exists in permanence, thus fully justified). Give warm greetings to your wife from me, albeit from a stranger to her.⁹⁴ This greeting would be doubled from my sister if she were here, but now she is in Asia. Your sister, in Africa, will, as I have heard, meet with you this summer; our warmest greetings also to her. Yours gratefully,
Friedemann Boschwitz

[Addendum p. 2, vertical in the right margin]

Because of a technical error, the attached pictures have unfortunately gone fuzzy. But I am sending them anyway.

89. Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), celebrated theologian, philosopher, critic, and literary theorist. He referred, for instance, to the *Musivische Arbeit* of Horace (*Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität*, vol. 3 [Riga: Hartknoch, 1794], 105) and *Mosaische Arbeit* of Christian Ludwig von Hagedorn (*Ueber die neuere deutsche Litteratur, Erste Sammlung von Fragmenten. Eine Beilage zu den Briefen, die neueste Litteratur betreffend* [Riga: Hartknoch, 1767], 146) and of Milton (“Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker,” in *Von Deutscher Art und Kunst. Einige fliegende Blätter* [Hamburg: Bode, 1773], 44).

90. Jochanan Boschwitz (1906–1942); Dvora Boschwitz (1910–1978), later professor of zoology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, whose career included a sabbatical at University of California, Berkeley.

91. The Hebrew alternative “kibbutzot” for kibbutzim, or communal settlements usually agricultural in nature.

92. Mirjam/Miriam Boschwitz (1912–1982); Isa(a)c Seckel Bamberger (ca. 1899–1974).

93. The congratulatory “mazal tov,” written in Hebrew.

94. Miriam “Marie” née Bernsohn (1900–1985), betrothed to Strauss in Paris in June 1933.

[Addendum, p. 4, vertical in the left margin]

Should you happen to know Ms Gertrude Weil⁹⁵ from Munich—her husband, Dr. Ernst Weil,⁹⁶ is a seller of rare books—would you be so kind as to greet her from me; the same for Ms. Dr. Ida Levisohn.⁹⁷

6a. Boschwitz to Ernst Meister⁹⁸

[03.06.1934⁹⁹]

95. Gertrude Weil née Welkanoz (1888–1963), forgotten cofounder and later interim director of the sociopolitical initiative Jüdisches Volksheim in Berlin (see her statements in Weil, “Vom jüdischen Volksheim in Berlin,” *Jüdische Wohlfahrtspflege und Sozialpolitik. Zeitschrift der Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der deutschen Juden und der Hauptstelle für jüdische Wanderfürsorge und Arbeitsnachweise* n.s. 1 [1930]: 281–84 and, as G. W., “Aus dem jüdischen Volksheim in Berlin,” *Jerubbaal. Eine Zeitschrift der jüdischen Jugend* 1 [1918–19]: 29–31, cf. the list of associates at p. 45 for attribution) as well as a delegate to the 1918 meeting of the Zionist Federation of Germany, the XV. Delegiertentag der Zionistischen Vereinigung für Deutschland (see its organ, *Jüdische Rundschau* 23, no. 55 [17 December 1916]: 425, cf. also no. 40, p. 314). Known as Gertrude, she made quite the impression on Gershom Scholem, who found it a pity she married a decidedly non-Zionist man and never emigrated to Palestine (see Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem: Memories of My Youth*, trans. Harry Zohn [New York: Schocken, 1980], 77, originally published in German and also translated into Chinese, French, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, and Portuguese; see also Scholem, *Briefe*, vol. 3, 1971–1982, ed. Itta Shedletsky [Munich: Beck, 1999], 170, 180, cf. 399n2). Digital access to the *Jüdische Wohlfahrtspflege und Sozialpolitik* has been made publicly available by the Periodical Collection of German Judaica at the Leo Baeck Institute (B410) via archive.org and to the *Jüdische Rundschau* by the online portal Compact Memory of the Universitätsbibliothek at the Goethe Universität Frankfurt. A letter from Welkanoz seeking support for the Jüdisches Volksheim to the Danish Chief Rabbi David Simonsen (1853–1932)—along with his reply—is also digitally and publicly preserved through the David Simonsen Collections of Det Kongelige Bibliotek (Royal Danish Library) in Copenhagen. A photograph of her appears in Hartmut Binder, *Kafkas Welt. Eine Lebenschronik in Bildern* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 2008), 497.

96. Ernst Weil (1891–1965), first sent to London to learn banking before returning to Germany during the Great War and then becoming a respected historian with a Munich PhD in art history, antiquarian bookseller, and later publisher. Weil specialized in the history of early medicine and science and emigrated to London in 1933—on good terms with his Swiss partner in Munich and Nazi Party member Hans Taeuber—where he joined E. P. Goldschmidt’s firm and eventually sold books under his own name. Weil’s bibliographic catalog cards are preserved in the Houghton Library of Harvard University.

97. Ida Levisohn (1901–1979), who studied in Bonn, Cologne, and Frankfurt before moving to England in 1931–32 to work as a research assistant in Oxford, later Cambridge, and then took a position at the Bedford College for Women—where her work on botany and forestry appeared in no less a venue than *Nature*—and ultimately moved to Israel upon retirement.

98. Friedemann Boschwitz an Ernst Meister, 3 Juni 1934 (Postkarte), Bestand 1000: Ernst-Meister-Nachlass, noch ohne Signatur (in Verarbeitung), Westfälisches Literaturarchiv, Archiv des Landschaftsverbandes Westfalen-Lippe, Münster, Deutschland. Das Schreiben ist in deutscher Kurrentschrift geschrieben.

99. Die Datierung ist dem Postsiegel entnommen.

Lieber Herr¹⁰⁰ Meister.

warum schweigen Sie so gründlich? und ich würde mich doch freuen, wenigstens zu hören, daß Sie noch da sind, daß Sie sich wohl befinden. Oder trifft dieses nicht zu? u. ist dieses der Grund, daß Sie keine Neigung haben, über sich zu berichten??

Hat Sie vielleicht irgend etwas in meinem letzten Brief geärgert? Weil ich manchmal an diese Möglichkeit¹⁰¹ d[ach]te, hätte ich mich kaum entschlossen, das von Ihnen bis heute gewährte Schweigen¹⁰² zu brechen,¹⁰³ wenn nicht gestern eine im Film ("schwarzen Walfisch") gesehene Person mich gar zu lebhaft an Sie erinnert hätte. In der letzten Karte, die ich aus Rom erhielt, fragte L. nach Ihnen.

L. scheint sich dort sehr wohl zu befinden. Aber eine kleine Wendung verriet doch einen gewissen Mißmut über das Schwebende seiner Lage.

Ich hoffe noch im diesen Monat endlich mit Marburg fertig zu werden. Es war ein ziemliches Hindernisrennen. Momms. soll im nächsten Semester strafversetzt werden. Hamman, Graf Richard ohne Furcht, ist für dieses plötzlich beurlaubt worden; zwar hat er alle Ämter behalten; aber wahrscheinlich ist¹⁰⁴ doch der¹⁰⁵ Anfang vom Ende.

Ich höre natürlich nichts mehr. Klein ist fort; für mich ein großer Verlust. Schön wärs¹⁰⁶ doch gewesen, we[nn] Sie in diesem (bis jetzt recht ein sommerlichen) Sommer noch hier gewesen wären. Auch Kraus' Arbeit liegt in den letzten Zügen.

Was mit mir wird, wenn ich hier fertig sein werde—ich weiß es noch immer nicht; jeden Falles wird alles ganz anders, anders.

[[verso]] Ich sitze bei Spangenberg. Das Radio spricht u. singt englisch. Kennen Sie Platten der Chanteuse Lucienne Boyer? z.B.¹⁰⁷ Parles¹⁰⁸ moi d'amour ... auf Columbia)[.] Wenn nicht, dann machen Sie diese Bekanntschaft! Oder sind Sie nur mehr auf Marschlieder eingestellt? Hier sorgt man dafür, daß wir sie nicht aus den Ohren kommen.

Bultmann hat sich mir sehr liebenswürdig erwiesen, er wird das Prädikat der Arbeit bestimmen, Momms. hat sich fast unumwunden für inkompetent erklärt.

100. Über der Zeile ergänzt.

101. Danach gestrichen: "g".

102. Darunter geschrieben und gestrichen: "g".

103. Korrigiert aus: "zur [unlesbar]".

104. Sic.

105. Davor gestrichen: "erste".

106. Sic.

107. Eingefügt.

108. Sic.

Und wie geht es Ihrer opera? Lassen Sie sich doch einmal vernehmen[,]
Ihrem Sie herzlich grüßenden
Friedemann Boschwitz

6b. Boschwitz to Ernst Meister

[03/06/1934]

Dear Mr. Meister,

Why have you been so completely quiet? And I would be happy at least to hear that you are doing well there, that you are well. Or is this not the case? And is this the reason that you are not inclined to report on yourself??

Did something in my last letter perhaps irritate you? Because I sometimes thought about this possibility, I would hardly have decided to break the silence you have kept up to now if a person in the film (*The Black Whale*¹⁰⁹) I saw yesterday had not so vividly made me think of you. In the last card that I received from Rome, L. asked about you.¹¹⁰

L. seems to be well there. But a small change nonetheless betrays a certain sullenness about the instability of his situation.

I hope finally to finish with Marburg still this month. It was a bit of a steeplechase. Momms[en] is apparently to be transferred for disciplinary reasons next semester.¹¹¹ Hamann—Richard the Fearless¹¹²—was suddenly placed on leave for this.¹¹³ True, he maintained all his positions, but it is still probably the beginning of the end.

109. A 1934 German film by Fritz Wendhausen (1890–1962) and starring Emil Jannings (1884–1950), based on the 1931 play *Fanny* by the French writer Marcel Pagnol (1895–1974), which had also undergone cinematographic adaptation in France in 1932, under the same name as the original work.

110. Karl Löwith (1897–1973), veteran of the Great War and multiyear captive in Italy, student of Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger in Freiburg, doctor of philosophy after completing a thesis on Nietzsche in Munich, and, after a stint in Italy, habilitand with Heidegger, later lecturer in Marburg, where he befriended Leo Strauss, Gerhard Krüger, and Hans-Georg Gadamer. When pressed to emigrate in 1934, Löwith went to Italy on a Rockefeller fellowship for two years, on to Japan for a professorship until forced to leave in 1941, and finally to the United States—with support from Paul Tillich and Reinhold Niebuhr—to work at Hartford Theological Seminary followed by the New School for Social Research in New York, before returning to Germany to take up a position at Heidelberg in 1952.

111. Though not implemented in the end, the proposed transfer to a different university transpired as part of a larger movement against professors in Marburg who had liberal, democratic leanings.

112. Richard I, Duke of Normandy, or Richard the Fearless (ca. 932–996), known for greatly expanding the feudal system—and thus an apparent reference here to Richard Hamann's scientific fiefdom in Marburg.

113. Richard Hamann (1879–1961), art historian, publisher, founder of the Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, and director of the Marburg University Department of Art History as well as the Prussian Research Institute for Art History—relieved of lectures for the summer semester of 1934.

I of course hear nothing more. Klein is gone; for me a great loss.¹¹⁴ It would have been nice if you had still been here this summer (up to now a proper summer). Kraus's work is also in its final throes.¹¹⁵

What will become of me when I will be finished here I still don't know yet; in any case, everything will be very different, different.

[[verso]] I am sitting in Spangenberg.¹¹⁶ The radio speaks and sings in English. Do you know records of the chanteuse Lucienne Boyer? E.g., *Parles moi d'amour* . . . on Columbia).¹¹⁷ If not, then make this acquaintance! Or are you just into marching songs? Here one makes sure we cannot get them out of our ears.

Bultmann has shown himself to be very gracious. He will determine the grade of the work, as Mommsen has declared himself incompetent almost openly.

And how is your opera coming along? Let yourself be heard, yours with kind regards,

Friedemann Boschwitz

7a. Boschwitz to Jacob Klein¹¹⁸

[Jerusalem, 23 Ap '35]¹¹⁹

Lieber Herr Klein.

Vor einer Woche bin ich hier gelandet. Die Stationen meiner herrlichen Reise waren Meran[,], Bologna[,], Florenz (3 Tage)[,], Perugia[,], Rom (9)[,], Neapel (3), Brindisi; an den ruhmreichen griechischen Inseln vorbei, über Cypern nach Jaffa-Tel Awiw. Von da sofort nach Jerusalem u. noch am selben Abend

114. Jacob Klein: cf. Boschwitz to Leo Strauss, 1 May 1934, n. 73 above.

115. Perhaps Fritz Kraus (cf. Boschwitz to Ernst Meister, 17 April 1934, n. 37, above), although the universities of Marburg and Frankfurt have no record of his thesis in their holdings: see his materials in the Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach, Germany.

116. The Spangenberg Café, an established coffeehouse, confectionary, and bakery, at this time at Bahnhofstraße 11, Marburg.

117. Lucienne Boyer (1901–1983), French singer known especially for her song “Parlez-moi d’amour” (Tell me about love), slightly misspelled in Boschwitz’s missive. In his conciliatory reply dated 2 June 1934 (not reproduced here), Meister said he hoped to hear records by Boyer to remind him of Boschwitz’s taste and to remember him thereby, just like the film *The Black Whale* (which he had also seen) had reminded Boschwitz of him.

118. Friedemann Boschwitz an Jacob Klein, [23 April 1935], Jacob-Klein-Nachlass, Abteilung II, Kasten 2, Umschlag 8 (23 April 1935), St-Johns-College, Annapolis, VS. Es ist in deutscher Schreibrift geschrieben.

119. Das im Archivkatalog genannte Jahr 1933 ist auf den allerdings sehr undeutlichen Poststempel zurückzuführen. Aus chronologischen Gründen dürfte 1935 zu lesen sein. Die angegebene Absendersadresse war bei Prof. F[ritz] Baer in Jerusalem.

nach Kfar Iwri; d.i. ein 20 Min. Autobusfahrt von J. entferntes Bergkaff, wo mein Bruder u. seine Frau mit ihren 4 Kühen wirtschaften, noch in sehr provisorischer u. mühsamer Weise. Dort schlafe ich vorläufig. Fühlten wir uns schon in Ital. halb um den Frühling betrogen, insofern wir uns in den eisigen Kirchen u. Museen heftige Erkältungen zuzogen, so herrscht hier des Abends u. häufig am Tage ein so kalter Wind, daß er zum Erstaunen ist. Merkwürdigerweise mischen sich näm. Sonnenwärme u. Windeskälte nicht, sondern es ist warm u. kalt zu gleicher Zeit!

In Rom gab mir L. Str.'s Buch zum Lesen; ich las die glänzende Einleitung; u. richte nun an Sie die Bitte, mir diese wichtige Sache, u. obendrein Str.'s erstes Buch üb. Spinoza zu besorgen, à konto meines Vaters. Wenn Sie in der Lage sind, bitte besorgen u. schicken¹²⁰ Sie es mir doch möglichst schnell; wenn aber nicht, so lassen Sie mich es wissen. In Perugia habe ich das Haus van Marle (in dem Engl.[,] Französ.[,] Italien.[,] Deutsch durcheinander gesprochen wird) kennengelernt, in Rom Krautheimer u. Walzer flüchtig. Haus L. spreche ich heute Abd.

Ihr Optimism. (der freilich zu 70% Politik ist) hat doch bis dato leider getragen. Z.B. im Falle Lwth. Der muß nun doch nach Westen. Die Ölgötzen allein zeigen sich ein wenig hilfsbereit. Mir scheint L.'s erstaunliche Illusionslosigkeit zukunftsfähiger u. realistischer zu sein als Ihr Vertrauen in die Hohlheit unserer Firma. Denn, wenn schon, was dann? Ich sehe Sie schon lächeln, u. Sie denken gewiß: der fängt schon an, sich die zu seiner Artveränderung passende Ideologie zu zimmern! [[verso]] Diesen Verdacht kann ich nicht verhindern.

Jedenfalls ist es wichtiger nachzuforschen, woher das Kapital wohl stammen mag, von dem die Firma für ihr Dasein zehrt (denn vom selben werden¹²¹ auch die Nachfolger zehren!) als die Außenstände zu berechnen, an denen sie kaputt gehen wird.

Jer.¹²² liegt auf Felsen; das muß man bei jedem Schritt spüren. Fast neben jedem Hause—unter den neuen viele sehr schöne—Geröll u. Steinhaufen. Die innere Altstadt kenne ich noch nicht. Was ich kenne wirkt mir ein großes Dorf, mit eingelegten Geschäftsstraßen, angehängten Villenvierteln, u. einem immensen Autoverkehr. Darüber ein blendend weißes Licht, das mich wie viele zum Tragen einer Schutzbrille nötigt.—Über das Ästhetische hinaus werden Sie billig vor 10 Wochen keine Urteile von mir erwarten.

Seien Sie herzlich begrüßt von Ihrem Friedemann Boschwitz.

Besten Gruß auch Frau H.

120. Die letzten beiden Wörter unter der Zeile hinzugefügt.

121. Über einem gestrichenen "zehren" geschrieben.

122. D.i. Jerusalem.

7b. Boschwitz to Jacob Klein¹²³

[Jerusalem, 23 April 1935]

Dear Mr. Klein,

I arrived a week ago. The stages of my beautiful trip were Merano, Bologna, Florence (3 days), Perugia, Rome (9), Naples (3), Brindisi; past the celebrated Greek islands; through Cyprus on to Jaffa / Tel-Aviv. From there straight to Jerusalem and on the same evening to Kfar Ivri; i.e. a mountain hicksville 20 minutes away from Jerusalem by bus, where my brother and his wife manage 4 cows, still in a very provisional and laborious way.¹²⁴ I am sleeping there for the moment. If we felt ourselves half cheated of spring in Italy, inasmuch as we contracted serious colds in the icy churches and museums, here such a cold wind dominates at night and often during the day that it is astounding. Remarkably, the warmth of the sun and cold of the wind do not mix. Rather, it is warm and cold at the same time!

In Rome, L.¹²⁵ gave me Strauss's book to read; I read the dazzling introduction; and now direct my request to you to get this important item for me and, on top of that, Strauss's first book on Spinoza, on my father's tab.¹²⁶ If you are in the position to do so, please obtain and send it to me as fast as possible; if not, let me know. In Perugia I visited the house of van Marle (in which English, French, Italian, and German are spoken, all mixed together); in Rome, Krautheimer and Walzer fleetingly. I am visiting the house of L. this evening.

Your optimism (which is, admittedly, up to 70% politics) has unfortunately held up. For example, in the case of Löwith. He must now head to the West

123. An image of this letter appears as fig. 4 *supra*.

124. A wedding announcement for Johann (Jochanan) Boschwitz and Betty Goldmann of Kfar Ivri ("Hebrew Village"), an agricultural settlement, appeared in *Jüdische Rundschau* 39, no. 53 (3 July 1934): 13.

125. Karl Löwith: in a letter to Leo Strauss dated 15 April 1935, Löwith also reported seeing Boschwitz in Rome, as the latter was en route to Palestine; see Strauss, *Hobbes' politische Wissenschaft und zugehörige Schriften—Briefe*, Letter 25, pp. 645–48.

126. The book with the dazzling introduction is in all likelihood Leo Strauss, *Philosophie und Gesetz. Beiträge zum Verständnis Maimunis und seiner Vorläufer* (Berlin: Schocken, 1935), since reprinted in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, and translated into English by Eve Adler as *Philosophy and Law: Contributions to the Understanding of Maimonides and His Predecessors* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), with further translation into Chinese.

The "first book" refers to Leo Strauss, *Die Religionskritik Spinozas als Grundlage seiner Bibelwissenschaft. Untersuchungen zu Spinozas Theologisch-politischem Traktat*, Veröffentlichungen der Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Philosophische Sektion 2 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1930), with subsequent reprints, including in Strauss's *Gesammelte Schriften*, and since translated into English by E. M. Sinclair as *Spinoza's Critique of Religion* (New York: Schocken, 1965), also reprinted by University of Chicago Press, with further translations into French and Italian.

after all. Only the dummies show themselves ready to help a little. L.'s astounding lack of any illusion seems to me more durable and more realistic than your faith in the emptiness of our company. Even if, so what? I already see you smiling, and you're definitely thinking: there he goes, making the ideology to fit his change in species! [[verso]] I can't prevent this suspicion.

In any case, it's more important to investigate where the capital might come from, on which the company feeds for its existence (*as the successors will also feed on the same thing!*), than to calculate the outstanding debts by which it will break.

Jerusalem lies on rocks; you have to feel it with every step. Almost next to every house—among the new ones, many very beautiful—boulders and heaps of stones. I haven't seen the old city center yet. What I've seen seems to me like a big village, with inlaid shopping streets, appended villa districts, and immense car traffic. Above it a dazzling white light, which makes me, like many others, need protective glasses.

Beyond things aesthetic you won't be able to expect any judgments from me, appropriately, before 10 weeks.

With warm wishes from your Friedemann Boschwitz.

Best wishes also to Ms H.

8a. Boschwitz to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty¹²⁷

28/VI.1935

Hochgeehrter Herr Dekan.

hiermit ersuche ich, die Frist zur Drucklegung u. Ablieferung meiner Dissertation mir gütigst verlängern zu wollen.

Ich bin am 11. Juli 1934 promoviert worden. Das Thema meiner schriftlichen Arbeit lautet: "Julius Wellhausen. Motive u. Maßstäbe seiner Geschichtsschreibung."

Da der Arbeit zur Druckreife noch manches fehlt u. solcher Ergänzungen bedarf, die noch einige Studien nötig machten, ich andererseits durch meine zeitweilige Übersiedlung nach Jerusalem, wo ich zur Erweiterung meiner wissenschaftlichen Ausbildung die Universität besuche, lange Zeit sehr behindert

127. Friedemann Boschwitz an den Dekan der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Marburg, 28 Juni 1935, UniA MR 307d Nr 1221, Promotionsakten Friedemann Boschwitz aus Berlin, Akten der philosophischen Fakultät, Archiv der Philipps-Universität Marburg im Hessischen Staatsarchiv Marburg, Deutschland. (Zu beachten: Dieses Aktenstück ist umsigniert worden und deshalb nicht mehr als HStAM 307d, acc. 1960/45, Nr 676 verzeichnet.) Boschwitz schreibt hier in deutscher Kurrentschrift. Ein Institutionsstempel oben auf der ersten Seite gibt das Eingangsdatum als 5.7.1935.

war, ist es mir [[verso]] trotz meiner Bemühung nicht gelungen, zum rechten Termin fertig zu werden.

Ich bitte ferner¹²⁸ die geringe Verspätung meines Gesuches mir gütigst nachsehen zu wollen.

Ich hoffe mit Bestimmtheit, [n]och¹²⁹ im Laufe dieses Jahres meinen Pflichten bezüglich der Drucklegung nachkommen zu können.

Voll Hochachtung u. Ergebenheit

Friedemann Boschwitz / Berlin.

Jerusalem. c. O. Prof. F. Baer. King George Avenue.

8b. Boschwitz to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty

28/6/1935

Esteemed Dean,¹³⁰

I hereby request that you kindly extend for me the deadline to print and deliver my dissertation.

I was awarded a doctorate on 11 July 1934. The topic of my written work is: "Julius Wellhausen: Motives and Measures of his Historiography."

Since the work still lacks some things and needs such additions before being ready to print, which required several further studies, and, on the other hand, I was for a long time seriously hindered by my temporary move to Jerusalem, where I am attending the university to expand my scientific training, I have not managed to finish by the correct deadline, despite my best efforts.

I ask, furthermore, that you kindly overlook the slight delay in my request.

I certainly hope to be able to fulfill my duties as to the printing still in the course of this year.

Respectfully and devotedly yours,

Jerusalem, c./o. Prof. F. Baer,¹³¹ King George Avenue

128. Danach ein paar Buchstaben gestrichen: vlt. "mei".

129. Eine Lochstelle zur Einbindung in die Akte verursachte den Buchstabenverlust zum Wortbeginn.

130. For the period in question, the order of deanship is as follows for the Marburg Faculty of Philosophy: Dietrich Mahnke (1884–1939), 1932–34; Walther Mitzka (1888–1976), 1934–36; Friedrich Wachsmuth (1883–1975), 1936–38; Fritz Taeger (1894–1960), 1938–41; Julius Ebbinghaus (1885–1981), 1941–45; Friedrich Heiler (1892–1967), 1945–46; Kurt Reidemeister (1893–1971), 1946–48.

131. Fritz (Yitzhak) Baer (1888–1980), relative of Boschwitz, émigré to Palestine in 1930, noted medieval historian with expertise in the Jews of Christian Spain, and founding member of the Department of Jewish History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Cf. also Boschwitz to Leo Strauss, 19 October 1936, n. 261; Boschwitz to Salo Baron, 7 January 1940, n. 287, both below.

9a. Boschwitz to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty¹³²

Prag, am 7.VIII.1936.

An das Dekanat der philosophischen Fakultät.

Hochverehrter Herr Dekan.

Um diese Zeit läuft die mir gewährte Frist für die Drucklegung meiner Dissertation ab. (Ihr Titel lautet: "Julius Wellhausen. Motive u. Maßstäbe seiner Geschichtsschreibung"¹³³. Referenten waren die Herren Professoren Mommсен u. Bultmann. Termin der mündlichen Prüfung war der 11. Juli 1934.) Die grundlegende Veränderung meiner Lebensumstände—seit dem Frühjahr 1935 wohne ich in Jerusalem—, die Knappheit an Mitteln u. die Schwierigkeit, einen geeigneten Verleger zu finden, sind Ursache, daß meine Dissertation bis heute nicht gedruckt worden ist. Hiermit ersuche ich die Hohe Fakultät um gütige Nachsicht u. um die nochmalige Gewähr einer verlängerten Frist. Unverzüglich werde ich die Verhandlungen mit einem Verleger aufnehmen u. den Druck energisch betreiben.

Sehr dankbar wäre ich für die Zusendung der für Dissertationsdrucke geltenden Bestimmungen, sofern diese in letzter Zeit Veränderungen erfahren haben sollten. Ich bin hochachtungsvoll

Ihr sehr ergebener

Friedemann Boschwitz

cand. phil.¹³⁴z. Z.¹³⁵ Prag XII. Pod svonařkou 2318. c. O. Kellner**9b. Boschwitz to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty**

Prague, 7/8/1936

To the Dean's Office of the Philosophy Faculty:

Esteemed Dean,¹³⁶

132. Friedemann Boschwitz an den Dekan der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Marburg, 7 August 1936, UniA MR 307d Nr 1221, Promotionsakten Friedemann Boschwitz aus Berlin, Akten der philosophischen Fakultät, Archiv der Philipps-Universität Marburg im Hessischen Staatsarchiv, Marburg, Deutschland. (Ehemalige Signatur: HStAM 307d, acc. 1960/45, Nr 676.) Dieses Schreiben wird in deutscher Schreiftschrift geschrieben.

133. *Sic*.

134. Unten links von anderer Hand in roter Tinte und lateinischer Kurrentschrift: "ab 12/8.36 2 Antwortscheine benutzt (Doppelbrief)".

135. Diese letzte Zeile ist in lateinischer Kurrentschrift geschrieben.

136. Cf. Boschwitz to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty, 28 June 1935, n. 130, above.

At this time, the time granted to me to print my dissertation is running out. (Its title is: "Julius Wellhausen: Motives and Measures of his Historiography." Advisors were Professors *Mommsen* and *Bultmann*. Date of the oral exam was 11 July 1934.)

The fundamental changes in my life circumstances—since spring 1935, I have been living in Jerusalem—the shortage of means, and the difficulty of finding a suitable publisher are the reason that my dissertation has not been published up to now.

I hereby request of the High Faculty a kind forbearance and further guarantee of an extended deadline. Without delay I will commence negotiations with a publisher and vigorously push the printing ahead.

I would be very grateful for dispatch of the regulations in effect for dissertation prints, should they have undergone changes recently.

Respectfully and most sincerely yours,

Friedemann Boschwitz

cand. phil.

At present *Prague XII*. Pod zvonařkou 2318. c/o Kellner¹³⁷

10a. Boschwitz to Rudolf Bultmann¹³⁸

Prag, am 2. IX. 1936.

Hochgeehrter Herr Professor,

für Ihre freundlichen Bemühungen u. für Ihren schnellen Bescheid danke ich Ihnen herzlich. In der Tat hatte ich die Absicht, meine Arbeit dem Verlag Schocken zum Druck zu übergeben u. hatte bereits seine Zusage erhalten. Von jeder anderen Seite hätte ich die Warnung vor einem jüdischen Verlage für überängstlich gehalten; indem ich sie von Ihrer Seite übermittelt bekomme, kann ich leider nicht anders als ihr Rechnung tragen.

Ich hoffe durch einen Berliner Freund einen geeigneten Verlag zu finden u. alles vorschriftsmässig zu besorgen.

Nach vierzehn Tagen werde ich Prag verlassen u. nach Jerusalem zurückkehren. Dort sieht die Welt zwar auch nicht freundlich aus, aber es ist doch eigene Welt, allen schlimmen u. schlimmsten Mängeln zum Trotz, u. man ist nicht nur Objekt der Gesetzgebung, sondern kann etwas

137. As indicated by the carbon copy of a letter dated 12 August 1936 and preserved in the Boschwitz dossier, a positive response was sent to Prague (not included in this documentation). According to documents preserved and digitized by the National Archives in Prague as part of the Czech Holocaust Database, Artur, Charlota, and Kurt Kellner were last registered at Pod Zvonařkou 3—which cadastral maps suggest may have been the same address (i.e., 2318/3)—before their deportation and murder.

138. Friedemann Boschwitz an Rudolf Bultmann, 2 September 1936, Rudolf-Bultmann-Nachlass, Mn 2-512, Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen, Deutschland. In lateinischer Schreibrschrift geschrieben.

Eigenes in die Wagschale werfen, obwohl die entscheidenden Mächte wahrhaftig andere sind als die Juden. Prag hat viel Schönes; den grössten Eindruck macht mir aber die Grosstadt als solche, die Mittelalterliches u. allerneuestes nebeneinander bietet, der Fluss, die Burg u. die Bäume, denn alles das gibts¹³⁹ in Palästina nicht, auch von ferne nicht; dafür eine Luft u. ein Licht, neben denen mir hier alles trübe erscheint.

Ich verbleibe mit herzlichen
u. dankbaren Grüßen
Ihr sehr ergebener

F. Boschwitz

z.Z. Prag XII. Pod zvonařkou 2318
sonst *Jerusalem*. Ramban road 41

10b. Boschwitz to Rudolf Bultmann

Prague, 2/9/1936

Esteemed Professor,

I am very grateful to you for your kind efforts and for your quick reply. In fact, I did have the intention of handing over my work to the publishing house Schocken to print and had already received its acceptance.¹⁴⁰ From any other side, I would have considered the warning against a Jewish publishing house as overanxious; having it conveyed from your side, I unfortunately can do nothing other than take it into account.

I hope to find, through a friend from Berlin, a suitable publisher and to arrange everything according to regulations.¹⁴¹ In a fortnight I will leave Prague and return to Jerusalem.

There the world does not seem friendly, either, but is its own world—despite all the bad and worst deficiencies—and one is not merely an object of legislation but can put something of his own in the balance, although the decisive

139. *Sic*.

140. According to Baruch Yonin, librarian and archivist at the Schocken Institute for Jewish Research, all enterprises of Salman Schocken—in Berlin, Tel Aviv, and New York—have maintained meticulous records, yet Boschwitz's name appears in no document or letter related to publications or even works in progress or future plans (personal correspondence, 14 December 2021).

141. Cf. Boschwitz to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty, 9 July 1946, below. The printer was Franz Linke in Berlin; the friend, Heinz Dekuczynski, also of Berlin. On the problems with both arrangements, see the introduction *supra*.

powers are truly other than the Jews. Prague has many beautiful things; the greatest impression on me, however, is made by the big city as such, which offers the medieval and the very modern alongside one another, the river, the castle and the trees, for all this is not to be found in Palestine, not even from a distance; instead, an air and a light, next to which everything here seems dim to me.

I remain with heartfelt
and grateful greetings,
Yours sincerely

F. Boschwitz

curr. Prague XII. Pod zvonářkou 2318
otherwise *Jerusalem*. Ramban Road 41

11a. Boschwitz to Leo Strauss¹⁴²

Jerusalem, am 19. X.¹⁴³ 36.

Lieber Herr Dr. Strauss,

nicht noch einmal will ich es mir zuschulden kommen lassen, dass ich einen brief von Ihnen, der mir so wichtig u. so erfreulich war, wie Ihr letzter u. der— vor 2 Jahren—unbeantwortet u. unbedankt lasse. Mit diesem¹⁴⁴ ists¹⁴⁵ eine sache für sich, jener hat mich in Europa erreicht u. erst jetzt bei meiner rückkehr komme ich dazu[,] Ihren freundlichen auftrag auszuführen. Den brief hatte mir mein onkel nachgeschickt, die verteilung der broschüren ist aber auf diese weise mächtig verzögert worden. Scholem u. Baneth¹⁴⁶ habe ich jetzt ihr¹⁴⁷ exemplar überbracht, Simon¹⁴⁸ bekommen¹⁴⁹ das ihre heute u. morgen,¹⁵⁰

142. Friedemann Boschwitz an Leo Strauss, 19 October 1936, Leo-Strauss-Nachlass, Kasten 1, Umschlag 3, Hanna-Holborn-Gray-Forschungszentrum für Sondersammlungen, Bibliothek der Universität Chicago, Vereinigte Staaten. In diesem Brief werden das Deutsche in lateinischer und das Hebräische hauptsächlich in Quadratschrift geschrieben.

143. Aus "IX." korrigiert.

144. Über einem gestrichenen "jenem" geschrieben.

145. *Sic*.

146. Die letzten beiden Wörter über der Zeile nachgetragen.

147. Über dem gestrichenen Wort "sein" mit anderer Tinte geschrieben.

148. Davor gestrichen: "Baneth u."

149. *Sic*.

150. Angesichts der Streichung von Baneth, sollte die Phrase "heute u." wahrscheinlich auch gestrichen werden.

Gutm. ist noch verreist, Fritz David werde ich erst in 14 tagen zu beginn des semesters irgendwie treffen, denn er wohnt ja ausserhalb der Stadt in קרית ענבים, als leiter einer sogen. jugend-עליה. Auf einladung meiner eltern, die den sommer in Marienbad verbracht haben, war ich zusammen mit meiner schwester 2 monate in Prag, auf der rückreise in Florenz u. Venedig. In Pisa traf ich mich verabredeterweise für einen halben tag mit Löwith, der in diesen tagen bereits den indischen ozean durchquert.

Zunächst zu Ihrer kritik, für die ich Ihnen herzlich danke, u. nur bedauere, dass sie so kurz, zu kurz für mein verständnis ausgefallen ist. Bezüglich der wichtigen stelle in פרק חלק habe ich mich vergeblich bemüht zu entdecken was sie wohl meinen mögen. Ich möchte fast¹⁵¹ glauben, dass sie¹⁵² sich in der zahlenangabe geirrt haben müssen. „Pococke 160, 3-10“ spricht doch nur aus, dass die sorglosigkeit im messian. reich alles leben solid u. dauerhaft zu machen geeignet ist, langes leben der individuen¹⁵³ u. womöglich 1000 jahre während herrschaft.

Erst in diesem augenblick kommt mir in den sinn, Sie könnten meinen: bonorum consortium einige 1000 jahre dann aber vielleicht neue galut?

Das wäre ja sogar eine antwort auf die von mir S. 37 gestellte frage; die „natürlichkeit“ des messian. reiches (der יצר הרע in ihm u. trotz ihm noch mächtig) wäre principiell wenigstens vorerst¹⁵⁴ radikal genommen—aber ich kann diesen gedanken nicht ernst nehmen, [[2]] obwohl rein logisch genommen diese eventualität hier impliziert liegt, dass das ende der messian. zeit u. das ende der menschengeschichte überhaupt nicht zusammenfielen.

Dass¹⁵⁵ hiesse einen stein an einen spinnfaden hängen! Ich sehe in dieser bemerkung nur eine geste der toleranz gegenüber dem midrasch. Dieser erzählt, die menschen würden erstaunlich lange leben, das reich wird 1000 jahre (heisst das nicht so viel wie: unabsehbar lange?) währen (während man's bisher erlebt hat, wie die reiche wachsen u. wieder schwinden)—gut—sagt M., das kann auf ganz natürliche weise zugehen, denn ohne not sorge u. bosheit hält die kraft des lebens viel länger vor.

More II, 32 ist in der tat frappant. Nie im¹⁵⁶ leben wäre mir die stelle aufgefallen, Ihrem interessierten auge ist sie nicht entgangen. Und doch darf man auch hier m.m.n. nicht mehr heraus lernen wollen, als: auch im messian. reich wird es abstufungen in der profet. gabe geben, niemand wird profet ohne vorbereitung u. vollkommenheit. Dies ist ja die behauptung des kapitels.

151. Über der Zeile nachgetragen.

152. Sic.

153. Die beiden letzten Wörter über der Zeile nachgetragen.

154. Über der Zeile nachgetragen.

155. Sic.

156. Davor gestrichen: „im“.

Was Ihnen aber meiner auffassung nach¹⁵⁷ doch nicht das recht zu der formulierung gibt: *que la différence entre les savants et le vulgaire ne sera pas abolie*. Würde man diese stelle wort für wort buchstäblich nehmen, dann müsste man M. die unleidliche verdrehung einer als segen gemeinten verheissung in etwas ganz gleichgültiges zutrauen; dann könnten es etwa auch falsche träume sein u. leere fantasien, welche den jungen leuten in messian. zeit blühen werden? Vielmehr sollen eben nur die untersten stufen der profetie, die eben noch keine eigentliche profetie sind¹⁵⁸—aber doch als segen u. anfang—verheissen sein.

Den ausschlag für die interpretation muss doch immer das hauptanliegen des zusammenhangs geben¹⁵⁹ u. das ist hier: niemand, der als nichtprofet zu bett gegangen, steht als profet auf. Freilich ist zu folgern: auch im messian. reich gibt es lernen u. lehren; aber der daneben bestehende, u. gerade im ausdrücklich messianolog. zusammenhang wiederholte hinweis auf Jer. 31, 33 (Tschuwa IX, 2 u. Pocock¹⁶⁰ 160 unten) schliesst doch [[3]] ein weiterbestehen des gegensatzes „entre les savants et le vulgaire“ strictissime aus—um das geringste zu sagen. Ein echter schüler ist nicht vulgaire, u. dass er um sein nichtwissen bescheid weiss, ist¹⁶¹ doch das mindeste¹⁶² was¹⁶³ vorausgesetzt werden muss.

Da ich einmal so fix aus kaum erledigter verteidigung ins gegenteil, ins kritisieren des kritiklers verfallen bin, möchte ich noch einen einwand anschliessen, da sich dessen gegenstand auf demselben blatt Ihres aufsatzes befindet. Kann man im ernst behaupten, dass der verlust der selbständigkeit, dass die galut¹⁶⁴ dem gesetzes- u. offenbarungsgläubigen juden dem¹⁶⁵ gesetz gegenüber die platonische situation erneuert? Die nicht-praktizierbarkeit eines teils des gesetzes—das bleibt doch immer eine quantitative angelegenheit.

Gegenüber der von Ihnen geforderten unterscheidung von esoterischen u. exoterischen äusserungen¹⁶⁶ bin¹⁶⁷ ich in grosser verlegenheit, denn ich bin nicht im besitz der dazu notwendigen schlüssel. Ich habe bis jetzt keinen anlass gefunden, bei M. in dem sinne zwischen ex- u. esoter. lehren zu unterscheiden, als gäbe es eine fassade fürs volk während¹⁶⁸ die vom filosofen selbst

157. Über der Zeile hinzufügt.

158. Über der Zeile bzw. dem gestrichenen Wort „ist“ nachgetragen.

159. Über der Zeile nachgetragen.

160. Sic. Aus Pocock korrigiert.

161. Über einem gestrichenen Wort (vlt. „waren“) geschrieben.

162. Aus „zum mindest“ korrigiert.

163. Über der Zeile nachgetragen.

164. Hier ein Komma gestrichen.

165. Davor gestrichen: „von neuem“.

166. Aus einem anderen, teilweise gestrichenen Wort korrigiert.

167. Davor ein „z“ gestrichen.

168. Über der Zeile geschrieben, um ein gestrichenes „u.“ zu korrigieren.

bewohnten innenräume gänzlich anders beschaffen seien, sodass zwischen beiden ein regelrechter widerspruch bestünde. Fürs¹⁶⁹ volk ist häufig¹⁷⁰ ein Weniger aber doch nie ein Anders bestimmt. *ich kenne da überhaupt nur stellen, welche zugeständnisse an die unfähigkeit des gewönl. verstandes darstellen, die unkörperlichkeit gottes zu denken. Die wahre meinung wird aber da nie zurückgehalten!¹⁷¹ Sie werden sagen, das sei völlig ausreichend, aber wo haben Sie selbst über die entschiedene behauptung des prinzipis hinaus eine grosse materiale differenz in M's lehren aufgezeigt?

Das beispiel More II, 31, auf das Sie S. 31 hinweisen, lasse ich nicht gelten. Nichts im text deutet an, dass von den 2 begründungen des Shabbatgebotes das eine vornehmer sei, esoterisch, das andere nur exoterisch. Aber an diesem beispiel liegt inhaltlich nichts. Vorsehung—unsterblichkeit—gesetzesoffenbarung—gesetzesgeltung, dass¹⁷² wären problemkreise, innerhalb deren jene unterscheidung eine grosse relevanz entfalten könnte, [[4]] aber wo ist sie da unentbehrlich? Ich frage garnicht, um von vornherein zu bestreiten, es ist mir nur nichts bekannt (was nicht viel besagt; ich habe z.b. noch niemals den ¹⁷³מורה ganz u. gar hintereinander gelesen). Aber würden Sie z.b. meinen, dass Platons rein politisch-pädagogische begründung des glaubens an jenseits-vergeltung dem¹⁷⁴ Rambam je in den sinn kommen könnte? Die unterscheidung zwischen exoter. u. esoter. lehren kann 2 bedeutungen haben, eine mystische u. eine politische. Sie kann aus furcht von profanation eines kostbaren geheimnisses oder¹⁷⁵ als mittel in einem praktischen (ethischen) zweck praktiziert werden. Das erste motiv traue ich dem Rbm viel eher zu.

Noch kann ich nicht sehen, wo „sachlich einsichtige d.h. filosofische gründe“ für particularism. d. messias-erwartung¹⁷⁶—persönl. messias—das vollkommene i.d. vergangenheit zu suchen seien. Alle 3 dinge gründen in der auserwähltheit des jüd. volkes, seiner partikularität—ein fundamentalfactum, dessen unbegründbarkeit M. ausdrücklich feststellt. (More II, 25!) Was bleibt von der ganzen messianologie übrig, wenn die verheissung als solche entfällt?

Dieses¹⁷⁷ fundamentalfactum bestimmt selbst M's auffassung der vorsehung; denn Israel allein, unter den völkern als volk, unterliegt der vorsehung:

169. *Sic.*

170. Die zwei Buchstaben „es“ am Ende des Worts gestrichen.

171. Dieser Absatz mit Asterisk versehen und am Fuße der Seite nachgetragen.

172. *Sic.*

173. In hebräischer Kurrentschrift geschrieben.

174. Davor gestrichen: „M“.

175. Davor „also aus besorgnis als“ gestrichen.

176. Die letzten beiden Wörter über der Zeile geschrieben.

177. Davor gestrichen: „dieses—was wahrlich nicht wenig ist, dass die erlösung da im wahren wissen, u.d. erkenntnis besteht“.

לְיִשְׂרָאֵל—(sondern השגחה מזל—¹⁷⁸איך! Für die andern völker mögen sehr wohl die gestirne, d.h. die moralisch-indifferenten naturnotwendigkeiten bestimmend sein.

Das wunder—auf das vorsehungsproblem reduziert haben, bedeutet: das wunder als¹⁷⁹ ausdruck der gerechtigkeit der weltordnung, wo tun u. schicksal korrespondieren, begriffen haben. Diese gerechtigkeit legt sich aber sogleich aus nach der tora u. nach der funktion des volkes Israel für die tora—wie ist das alles nicht historisch, sondern „sachlich einsichtig“ zu begreifen? [[5]] Obwohl mir M.'s vorsehungslehre, insofern sie eine gradierte ist—(denn mehr od. weniger vorsehung nach maassgabe der vollkommenheit) immer als eines der tiefsten lehrstücke seines systems erschienen ist, ist sie leider doch so sehr verquickt mit der mythologie von שכל הפועל u. so mechanisch ausgeführt, dass wiederum nichts damit anzufangen ist.

Wie weit ein näheres verständnis der vorsehungslehre meine darstellung der messianologie hinfällig zu machen geeignet ist, kann ich vorläufig noch nicht absehen. Trotzdem will ich die arbeit jetzt so wie sie ist drucken lassen, da sich gerade eine gelegenheit bietet (festschrift der monatsschrift für Eug. Mittwoch). Sie ahnen

auch gar nicht, wie beschämend lange ich an dem aufsätzchen gemurkst habe. Länger werden darf es auch nicht. Der unverständige Heinemann wollte mir sogar zumuten, die wunderanalyse herauszunehmen u. irgendwie separat zu drucken, sic!¹⁸⁰

Ihr¹⁸¹ exemplar mögen Sie behalten u. zeigen wem Sie wollen. Es war sehr freundlich von Ihnen, dass Sie seinerzeit meinen Wellhausen Schäder zugeschickt haben; er hatte aber schon ein exemplar von mir bekommen. Als ich damals Ihren brief bekam, der mich über die maassen erfreute, stand¹⁸² ich einige wochen vor dem examen. Danach wollte ich einige zeit mir das ganze aus dem kopf schlagen. Dann kam in¹⁸³ unsere familie eine aufregung, die monatelang währte, nächste angehörige unschuldig mit dem gericht zu schaffen gab. Unsere korrespondenz wurde zeitweilig überwacht, sodass man für¹⁸⁴ lange zeit den geschmack am briefschreiben verlor. Dann kam die übersiedlung nach Palästina.

Ich nehme an, dass Sie die meisten der Sie interessierenden daten in betreff unserer familie durch Klein erfahren haben.¹⁸⁵ [[6]] Für alle fälle wiederhole

178. Davor "איך מזל" in hebräischer Kurrentschrift gestrichen.

179. Davor gestrichen: "auf die".

180. Von Boschwitz, nicht dem Herausgeber geschrieben.

181. Davor gestrichen: "Den a" (?).

182. Davor gestrichen: "war".

183. Davor völlig gestrichen: "n die [unlesbares Wort]".

184. Davor "sich" gestrichen.

185. Das Wort unter der Zeile bzw. am Ende des Blatts geschrieben.

ich sie hier, Ihr interesse voraussetzend. Meine jüngste schwester, mit einem arzt verheiratet, lebt in Tel-Awiw, hat einen 1½ jährigen jungen. Mein bruder hat auch schon eine tochter, lebt nebst frau u. schwieger-eltern in einem dorf bei Jerusalem, bewirtschaftet seinen stall mit 8 kühen unter viel mühen u. mit¹⁸⁶ wenig ertrag. Die schiessereien der letzten monate, die dauernde gefährdung u. die¹⁸⁷ wachtdienste¹⁸⁸ haben, wie überall, besonders aufreibend gewirkt. Meine ältere schwester, Dwora, die Sie kennen, ist wie mein bruder bereits 3¹⁸⁹ jahre im¹⁹⁰ lande. Sie hat viel durchgemacht an krankheiten u. persönl. erlebnissen. Sie gehört noch immer dem kibbuz an (mein vater führt seit monaten einen entschlossenen kampf, sie von dort loszumachen), der schon auf eigenem boden sitzt, Jokneam bei Mischmar Haëmek; Sie wissen, es ist der Kibbuz der ehemaligen „werkleute“, deren führer Herm. Gerson ist. Trotz mancher schwierigkeiten fühlt sie sich dort sehr wohl; es sind in der tat dort ungewöhnlich feine menschen¹⁹¹ beisammen, leider alle sehr jung.

Von mir ist schändlicherweise wenig zu melden. Ich bin wenig vorwärtsgekommen, noch immer berufslos u. unentschlossen¹⁹² תלמיד מחקר d.h. fortbildungsstudent der universität; habe eine arbeit¹⁹³ übernommen, noch nicht angefangen, bei Fritz Baer über Abravenels polit. ideen.

Als ich vor knapp 2 jahren Schaeder besuchte, zeigte er sich zwar von seinen strahlend-liebenswürdigsten seiten—4 volle stunden sprachen wir über gott u. die welt, speziell die welt des sogen. dritten reiches, der schluss war aber ein völlig vernichtendes urteil über meine arbeit, er verwarf sie als stilistisch u. sachlich unmöglich. Sollte ich sie so wie sie ist veröffentlichen, würde er gegen sie zu felde ziehen.

Das letztere¹⁹⁴ hat mich nun zwar¹⁹⁵ nicht¹⁹⁶ sehr geängstigt, aber die kritik¹⁹⁷ mich¹⁹⁸ doch gänzlich unsicher gemacht. [[7]] Allmählich ist mir freilich aufgegangen, dass es nicht so sehr die einzelnen mängel (die stilistischen zuzugeben bin ich der erste) sind als vielmehr die tendenz, die ganze „psychoanalytische“¹⁹⁹ themastellung, die ihm nicht behagte.

186. Über der Zeile nachgetragen.

187. Ergänzt.

188. Sic. „u. die wachtdienste“: unter der Zeile nachgetragen.

189. Aus einer Nummer und einem Bruch korrigiert.

190. Davor ein Wort (vlt. „dort“) gestrichen.

191. Davor „leute“ gestrichen.

192. Davor „Officiell מח תלמיד“ (in lateinischer bzw. hebräischer Kurrentschrift) gestrichen.

193. Davor gestrichen: „wissenschaftl.“.

194. Über der Zeile nachgetragen.

195. Die letzten beiden Wörter durch Korrekturzeichen getauscht.

196. Davor „als“ gestrichen.

197. Unter der Zeile nachgetragen.

198. Vor der Zeile am Rand geschrieben.

199. Die letzten beiden Wörter durch Korrekturzeichen getauscht.

Er sagte damals, als erste umfangreiche arbeit über Well. die überhaupt erschiene, wäre sie vor allem verpflichtet, die grosse positive „szientifische leistung“ Wellhausens zu würdigen. Das machte mir damals grossen eindruck, u. es ist ja auch richtig, dass mein thema nicht nur die bekanntschaft mit dem werke sondern auch eine volle vorstellung von dessen bedeutung voraussetzt. Schaeder aber ist eine betrachtung von „motiven u. maasstäben“ als herabsetzende reduktion auf subjektive liebhabereien od. antipathien verdächtig; er ist auf eine ganz naive weise nur-historiker, wobei er sich ernst-sachlich souverän fühlt.²⁰⁰

Der zweite, der mir in die quere kam, war der weltgeist persönlich, in gestalt Hitlers u. seiner stiftung. Klein, dem ich grosse partien der dissertation während ihres entstehens vorlas, äusserte damals den verdacht, Wellh. würde heute wahrscheinlich „deutscher christ“ sein. Damals wehrte ich dem energisch ab, allmählich machten mich aber gewisse ähnlichkeiten nachdenklich. Von Rousseau jedenfalls, den ich Ihrem rat zufolge studierte, führen höchst direkte linien zu Goebbels. Der nationale kultus, die öffentlichen feste, die ganze romantisierte polis werden im entwurf für Polen gläubig hingemalt u. von Goebbels u. konsorten zynisch praktiziert. „Fanatism“ als tugend gepriesen, das war in Dtschld bis zum erbrechen zu hören. Was rührte es, dass Rousseau hinzugesetzt hat: [„]Nos fanatiques mêmes ne sont pas de vrais fanatiques: ce ne sont que de fripons ou des fous.“ Und doch hat seine lehre Robespierre gezeitigt. (M.m.n. die einzige histor. figur die mit Hitler vergleichbar.)

Auch die dissertation wird demnächst mit geringfügigen änderungen u. hinzufügungen gedruckt werden. [[8]] Ich habe des öfteren über²⁰¹ Sie Ihren vetter u. Jonas ausgefragt, u. war dem²⁰² subjektiven Gefühl nach nicht so ohne²⁰³ verbindung²⁰⁴ mit Ihnen, wie es meinem schweigen nach scheinen musste. Zuletzt erzählte mir Löwith von Ihrer Amerikareise. Die werden Sie inzwischen angetreten haben. Hoffentlich hält sie²⁰⁵ Ihnen das, was immer Sie sich von ihr versprochen haben mögen! Von L. hatte ich nachricht schon aus Port Said; der abschied ist ihm schwer gefallen, aber er wechselt doch mit zuversicht²⁰⁶ nach OstAsien hinüber, hat auch die absicht, wenn irgend er dort hörer für sein lehren findet, sich dort festzumachen für immer. Sein neues Burckhardt-buch, das noch im letzten augenblick den verleger wechseln musste, weils²⁰⁷ der eigentliche mit der angst bekam, enthält wunderbare dinge

200. Danach ein unlesbares Wort gestrichen.

201. Davor „von“ gestrichen.

202. Davor gestrichen: „Ihnen“.

203. Über der Zeile nachgetragen.

204. Aus „verbindungslos“ korrigiert.

205. Davor „Sie“ gestrichen.

206. Davor gestrichen: „grosse“.

207. Sic.

u. wird Ihnen auch zeigen, so glaube ich, dass die differenz Burckt.–Wellhausen gar nicht so ertragreich ist, wie Sie annahmen. (Sein letztes wort: Epikur!) In meinem letzten berliner winterhalbjahr genoss ich noch das fragwürdige vergnügen, ein ganzes kolleg von Buber mitanzuhören (der seit jahr u. tag hier erwartet wird, nunmehr fürs kommende frühjahr in aussicht²⁰⁸ gestellt ist; aber man sieht seinem kommen mit gelassenheit entgegen). Da Sie in dem rufe stehen ein grimmiger Buberfeind zu sein, kann ich Ihnen ja gestehen, wie unausstehlich dieser mann persönlich mir ist. Er ist von einer impertinenten bescheidenheit, von einer hochmütigen schlichtheit, von einer sich selber dauernd salvierenden zudringlichkeit. Er hat die manie, jedem zweiten satz ein treuherziges einschmeichelndes „nit wahr?“ anzuhängen, was soviel heisst wie: ich bin doch gottbehüte kein sophist u. überredner, aber was ich sage ist doch evident.

Die aufgabe als dozent vom kathedr herab zu reden passt natürlich gar nicht zu²⁰⁹ jemandem, der das dialogische verhältnis für das allein echte erklärt. Er machte nun versuche [[9]] die dozenten-situation zu durchbrechen, indem er z.b. seine hörer aufforderte, ja mit fragen zu unterbrechen (nur kein octroyieren etc!), was natürlich zu reiner verlogenheit führte, insofern schon die erste ungeschickte frage ihm zu reiner verlegenheit werden²¹⁰ u. er sie abwimmeln musste.

Thema der Vorlesung—die letzten stunden wurden schon durch das redeverbot abgehackt—war der messianism. Der vortrag war schrecklich breit u. dürrig.

Trotz alledem ists²¹¹ leider so: der mann ist sehr klug, er hat den meisten bibelkritikern gegenüber recht, obwohl mit dem eigentl. zielpunkt seiner ganzen bibel-interpretation, einem religiös motivierten anarchism. nicht das geringste anzufangen ist. Sein buch „Königtum Gottes“ ist der erste bedeutende versuch anti Wellhausen (dies bewusstermaassen), leider bleibt er alle beweise schuldig, die erst der 2. band mit der erörterung der Saul-Samuel-gesch. bringen wird.

Der jüngst erschienene Schocken-almanach enthält ein paar briefe Bubers an Rosenzweig aus anlass der „bauleute“, die zum erst. mal ein bekenntnis enthalten, näml. dieses, dass offenbarung niemals gesetz ist. Dass aber offbrg. immer gesetz werde, dies „die tatsache mensch.“ was wohl so viel heissen soll wie: die notwendige u. insofern tragische verfallsgeschichte jeder offbarg.

Erlauben Sie, dass ich bei diesem anlass, obwohl der brief solch ein hässliches ragout geworden ist, einleitungslos²¹² einen einwand u. eine frage gegen Ihre letzten veröfentlichungen erhebe. Ich begreife eines nicht: in wiefern führen uns all Ihre bemühungen um die idee des gesetztes u. des gesetzgebers auch

208. Davor gestrichen „erwartun“.

209. Über der Zeile geschrieben und das gestrichene Wort „fast“ ersetzend.

210. Danach gestrichen: „musste“.

211. *Sic.*

212. Über der Zeile geschrieben.

nur einen schritt näher heran an den konkreten inhalt des jüd. gesetzes, also der tora, des talmuds, das²¹³ doch allemal, wenn auch schweigend, als eigentliche hauptperson bei den verhandlungen gegenwärtig²¹⁴ ist? Wie kann man sich dem gesetz nähern wollen, u. den glauben überspringen? Ich habe diesen nicht; aber nicht eben darum kein verhältnis zum gesetz?

[[10]] 24/XI.

Es ist mir nun durchaus klar, dass die bestreitung dieses einwandes²¹⁵ das hauptanliegen Ihres kampfes gegen die „verinnerlichungen“ des sg. literalism. ist, aber das nützt mir wenig, kann auch Ihnen nicht viel nützen, der Sie mit recht erklären, dass erst die fülle der einzelnen gebote u. vorschriften in ihrer einzelnen bestimmtheit das eigentliche gesetz sind. Eine rückeroberung des gesetzes, sofern²¹⁶ sie möglich ist, kann m.m.n. nur auf dem wege der befreundung mit dem gehalt der einzelnen gebote geschehen (auch daran glaube ich nicht), u. dafür bietet Maimunis rationalistische fundierung u. alle verwandte nichts. Scholem, in seinem derzeit laufenden kolleg „Einleitg. i. den Sohar“ bemerkte neulich, mit absicht übertreibend, die jüd. mittelalterl. Philosophie sei niemals zur führerin des lebens des volkes geworden, weil sie kein rechtes verhältnis habe finden können (im gegensatz zur kabbala) weder zum midrasch (אגדה)²¹⁷ noch zum gesetz (הלכה). Ich muss gestehen, es ist etwas einleuchtendes daran. Die lehre von den מצוות²¹⁸ im stile des RMBM ist etwas absolut nachträgliches (obwohl zum grossen teil zutreffend!)[.] Damit ist doch kein hund vom ofen zu locken! Diesen begründungen der aposteriorischen reflexion wohnt nicht die kraft inne, einen lebendigen gehorsam des gesetzes zu erzielen. Übrigens: in mancher beziehung verdienen die חכמים²¹⁹ wirklich ihren namen. Sie kennen gewiss die stelle Sanhedrin 21b? die scharfsinnig-witzige antwort auf die frage: לא נתגלו טעמי התורה? Warum nicht zugleich mit dem gesetz auch dessen begründungen mit offenbart seien? Die antwort—ein hinweis auf schlechte erfahrung. Bei 2 geboten hat es die tora getan (Deut. 17, 16.17). Dem weisesten, Salomo, sind sie zum fallstrick geworden! [[11]] Er räsonnierte über die hinfälligkeit der begründungen (Ich werde viel frauen nehmen, u. doch nicht vom wege weichen! Ich werde viel pferde halten, u. doch

213. Über der Zeile geschrieben und ein gestrichenes Wort (vlt. „als“) ersetzend.

214. Davor gestrichen: „da“.

215. Davor gestrichen: „behauptung“.

216. Davor gestrichen: „wenn“.

217. In hebräischer Kurrentschrift.

218. In hebräischer Kurrentschrift.

219. In hebräischer Kurrentschrift.

220. In hebräischer Kurrentschrift.

nicht nach Mizraim²²¹ fahren!), übertrat, u. tat beides!²²² bestätigte damit die²²³ richtigkeit²²⁴ der begründungen, u. die in-opportunität ihrer offenbarung zugleich.

Es ist vollkommen wahr: die angabe der gründe verleitet die „untertanen“ zum „räsonnieren“, macht die raison zum richter u. schliesslich zum verderber ds²²⁵ gesetzes.

Und ist es nicht so? Haben wir nicht deswegen einen grossen teil des ritualgesetzes aufgegeben, weil uns die²²⁶ maimunische begründung zu sehr eingeleuchtet hat, dass der sinn jenes gesetzes in der²²⁷ abgewöhnung des heidentums u. seines natur-kults bestand, u. da jene keine aktuellen mächte mehr sind, auch das gesetz sinnlos geworden ist? (Während die mystiker ein lebendiges neues netz von מִסְכָּה schickten, darin das uralte ritual einfingen, fest daran halten u. von ihm gehalten werden.)

Ich habe kürzlich einen prachtvollen autor kennen gelernt, der Sie persönlich angeht. Gewiss kennen Sie ihn längst. Justus Möser. Kennen Sie sein „Schreiben an den herrn vikar in Savoyen (abzugeben bei herrn Johann Jakob Rousseau.)“ eine hinreissende streitschrift im Lessingschen stil gegen die natürl. religion, die zwar sehr „gut sei, aber nicht hinlänglich“, für die positive religion, wegen ihrer staatgründenden²²⁸ u. -erhaltenden kraft. Dort findet sich nach²²⁹ erwähnung des problems der pia fraus der frappante schluss, nachdem als erwiesen gilt dass kein gesetzgeber ohne offenbarung, priester u. wunder ausgekommen ist,—dass gott noch lange so schlau wie die menschen sein dürfte „Was meinen Sie aber, wenn gott, ebensoviel einsicht als jene gesetzgeber, jene genies, jene grossen schelme, wenn Sie wollen, in die 12. menschl. natur gehabt hätte? . . . wenn er einige seiner gottheit anständige, seinem grossen endzweck zusagende maschinen erwählt hätte, um uns—glücklich zu machen?“ „So ist also die religion eine politik? . . . Ja . . . eine politik gottes in seinem reiche unter den menschen.“

Der gedanke ist in seiner ganzen platonischen ursprünglichkeit, gar nicht aus der doktrin, sondern gleichsam aus der lebhaftesten empirischen empfindung heraus bei Möser entwickelt. Er fordert konsequenterweise den ausschliesslichkeitsanspruch der religion; obwohl protestant tritt er ein für die „polit. heiligkeit des geistl. standes“ ein.²³⁰ „Gewiss, die reformation hat den kathol. fürsten wohl gedient, aber die kathol.

221. „Ägypten“ auf Hebräisch.

222. Die letzten drei Worte über der Zeile nachgetragen und das gestrichene Wort „brachte“ ersetzend.

223. Die letzten beiden Wörter durch Korrekturzeichen getauscht.

224. Davor „wahr“ gestrichen.

225. Sic.

226. Davor gestrichen: „war“.

227. Die letzten beiden Wörter über der Zeile bzw. einem gestrichenen „zur“ geschrieben.

228. Ein „s“ gestrichen im ursprünglichen „staats“.

229. Davor gestrichen: „einer“.

230. Unnötige Doppelung von „ein“ im Original.

religion dient noch immer den lutherischen untertanen.“ Die ewigkeit der höllenstrafen darf immerhin für unsicher gelten; aber die öffentliche gewissheit des gegenteils ist bedenklich! Und auch Maimuni kommt zu seinem recht: die religion muss in sinnlicher gestalt gegeben sein. „Was ist d. mensch? ein tier das an der kette seiner einbildungen liegen soll.“ Also ist die religion nur ein kappzaun für den pöbel? Antwort: „Wir sind alle pöbel . . . Für uns pöbel u. nicht für engel ist unsere relig. gemacht.“

Über Möser sehr ausführlich Meinecke in seinem neuen buch „Die²³¹ entwicklung des historismus“. Merkwürdig, wie ein so sensibler geist wie M. so unberührt von der problematik seiner zeit bleiben kann. Das Buch hat²³² alle vorzüge seiner früheren werke, ist²³³ aber veraltet u. zurückgeblieben schon im augenblick seines erscheinens. Das hat etwas erbitterndes. Es führt bis—Goethe! Der begriff des historism. ist ganz positiv gefasst, sein eigentliches ethos—neuplatonisch. Als eigentlicher, zu überwindender u. schliesslich überwundener gegner des histor. denkens gilt das naturrecht.

In der annahme, dass Sie den Möser vielleicht doch noch nicht kennen, habe ich mir das vergnügen nicht versagen wollen, ihn Ihnen vorzustellen. Daher die ausführlichkeit.

Friedemann Boschwitz

[Nachtrag rechts unten]

herr E. Simon hat sein heft noch nicht erhalten, ich bitte dafür um entschuldigung. Es soll bald geschehen.

[Nachtrag links in margine senkrecht, teils beschnitten]

25/XI. Ich schicke den brief so unvollständig wie er ist ab. Ich fürchte, Sie erhalten ihn sonst nie. Von Hans Levi hoffe ich über Sie nachricht zu erhalten.

[Rest abgeschnitten]

11b. Boschwitz to Leo Strauss

Jerusalem, 19/10/1936

Dear Dr. Strauss,

I do not want to come into debt, yet again, by leaving without answer and without thanks a letter from you that was so important and so delightful to

231. Davor “Der hist” gestrichen.

232. Davor “ist” gestrichen.

233. Über der Zeile geschrieben.

me, like your last one and the one from two years ago. While that one's a matter in itself, this one reached me in Europe, so only now upon my return am I getting around to carrying out your kind instructions. My uncle sent the letter on to me, but in this way the distribution of the pamphlets has been seriously delayed. I have now brought to Scholem and Baneth their cop[ies].²³⁴ Simon²³⁵ will get his tomorrow. Guttman has already left, and Fritz David²³⁶ I will only meet, one way or another, in two weeks, at the start of the semester, as he lives outside the city in קרית ענבים,²³⁷ as the leader of a so-called youth עליה.²³⁸ At the invitation of my parents, who spent the summer in Marienbad, I was with my sister for two months in Prague, then in Florence and Venice on the trip back. In Pisa I met with Löwith for half a day, as planned, who by now is already crossing the Indian Ocean.²³⁹

234. Gershom Scholem (1897–1982), eminent historian of Jewish mysticism and messianism, who—turning away from assimilationist culture in Berlin and towards Zionism—emigrated to Palestine in 1923, where he first worked at the National Library and then, once founded, at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

David Zvi Hartwig Baneth (1893–1973), scholar of medieval Islamic and Jewish thought, born in Prussian Krotoschin, raised in Berlin—where his father taught the Talmud at the Institute for Jewish Studies—educated in Berlin and Frankfurt, and employed, from 1920, at the Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums (Academy for the Science of Judaism) in Berlin, who emigrated to Palestine in 1924, worked at the National Library, and then lectured at the School of Oriental Studies at the Hebrew University.

235. Ernst Akiva/Akiba(h) Simon (1899–1988), raised in an assimilated Jewish milieu, studied in his hometown of Berlin as well as Frankfurt, obtained a Heidelberg PhD on Ranke and Hegel, and helped establish the Freies Jüdisches Lehrhaus (Free House of Jewish Learning) in Frankfurt before emigrating to Palestine in 1928, teaching at secondary and pedagogical schools, and finally receiving a professorship for education and philosophy at the Hebrew University.

236. Yitzhak Julius Guttman (1880–1950), philosopher and rabbi who gave lectures at the university as well as the Jewish theological seminary in Breslau, served as professor at the Berlin Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums (Higher Institute for the Science of Judaism), acted as director at the Academy for the Science of Judaism in Berlin, and, after emigrating to Palestine in 1934, became chair of Jewish philosophy at the Hebrew University. The former boss of Strauss at the Academy, Guttman was the preferred candidate for a position in medieval Jewish philosophy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, thereby winning out over Strauss. A photograph of Joseph/Josef “Fritz” David (b. 1912) at Kiryat Anavim appears in Ernst Loewy, *Jugend in Palästina. Briefe an die Eltern, 1935–1938*, ed. Brita Eckert, Bibliothek der Erinnerung 4 (Berlin: Metropol, 1997), 131, cf. 182n38.

237. Kiryat Anavim, a kibbutz west of Jerusalem, in the Judean Mountains.

238. A Youth Aliyah was an organization that rescued Jewish children from the Nazi regime, resettling them in kibbutzes and villages across Palestine.

239. Löwith's own memoirs also report a meeting with Boschwitz in Pisa: see Löwith, *My Life in Germany Before and After 1933: A Report*, trans. Elizabeth King (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 115. For Löwith's further travels, see his *Von Rom nach Sendai, Von Japan nach Amerika. Reisetagebuch 1936 und 1941*, ed. Klaus Stichweh and Ulrich von Bülow, Marbacher Bibliothek 4 (Marbach: Deutsche Schillergesellschaft, 2001).

First to your critique, for which I am very grateful and only regret that it turned out so short, too short, for my understanding.²⁴⁰ To the important passage in פרק חלק,²⁴¹ I have endeavored vainly to discover what you might mean. I almost want to think you made a mistake in the page number. “Pococke 160, 3–10”²⁴² only says that the freedom from sorrows in the messianic empire is suitable to make all life solid and enduring, long life of the individual and where possible one thousand years of enduring rule. Only in this moment, it seems to me, could you mean: *bonorum consortium* some thousand years but then perhaps another *galut*?²⁴³ That would even be an answer to my question posed on p. 37; the “naturalness” of the messianic empire (the יצר הרע still mighty in him and despite him) would in principle be taken at least for the time being as radical—but I cannot take these ideas seriously, [[2]] although—as a matter of pure logic—this eventuality is implicit that the end of the messianic age and the end of human history would *not* coincide at all.

That would mean hanging a stone from a spider’s thread! I see in this comment only a gesture of tolerance towards the Midrash. The latter explains that humans would live astonishingly long, the empire will last 1000 years (does that not mean something like: unforeseeably long?) (while one’s life up to now, as the empires grow and fade again)—good—Maimonides says, that can happen in an entirely natural way, for without need, worry, and evil, the strength of life holds up much longer.

Moreh 2:32²⁴⁴ is indeed striking. Never in my life would this passage have caught my eye, but it did not escape your own interested eyes. And

240. Strauss had intensively studied Maimonides in the 1920s and 1930s, supported by Scholem in part to angle for a position in medieval Jewish philosophy at the Hebrew University. First published in German as *Philosophie und Gesetz. Beiträge zum Verständnis Maimunis und seiner Vorläufer* (Berlin: Schocken, 1935) and translated into English by Eve Adler as *Philosophy and Law: Contributions to the Understanding of Maimonides and His Predecessors* (SUNY Series in the Jewish Writings of Leo Strauss, New York: SUNY Press, 1995), his second book, which stemmed from three different essays, countered Guttman’s epistemological interpretation with a political one. His papers preserved at the University of Chicago include work on Maimonides dating back to 1926; cf. Boschwitz to Leo Strauss, 1 May 1934, n. 72, above. See further Leo Strauss, *Leo Strauss on Maimonides: The Complete Writings*, ed. Kenneth Hart Green (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

241. Perek Helek or “Chapter on the Portion” (פרק חלק): the last chapter of tractate Sanhedrin (ch. 10), for which Maimonides composed an introduction in his commentary on the Mishnah, written in 1168.

242. Maimonides, *Porta Mosis* . . . , ed. Edward Pococke (Oxford: Hall, 1655), being annotated extracts of the Judeo-Arabic commentary on the Mishnah alongside a Latin translation.

243. Derived from Hebrew, *galut* refers to exile. יצר הרע (*yetzer hara*) refers to humanity’s evil inclination.

244. *Moreh Nevukhim*, or *Guide for the Perplexed*: completed in Judeo-Arabic in 1190 and translated into Hebrew by Samuel ibn Tibbon in 1204.

yet also here do we not, in my opinion, want to read any more as saying: as in the messianic empire there will be a hierarchy in prophetic gifts, no one will become a prophet without preparation and consummation. This is, in fact, the claim of the chapter. To my sense, though, what vitiates against your formulation is: *que la différence entre les savants et le vulgaire ne sera pas abolie*.²⁴⁵

If we were to take this passage literally word for word, then we would have to believe M[aimonides] capable of the intolerable distortion of a promise that was meant as a blessing into something completely trivial; in that case, could it also be false dreams and empty fantasies that are in store for the young in the messianic age? Rather, only the lowest levels of prophecy, which are not actually prophecy (but blessing and beginning) should be promised. Yet

the primary concern of the context must always be the decisive factor in interpretation, and here it is this: no one who goes to bed as a non-prophet gets up as a prophet.

Of course, we are then to conclude: even in the messianic empire, there is teaching and learning to be done, and even the reference to Jer 31:33 (Teshuvah 9:2 and Pococke 160 below)—which stands alongside it and is repeated precisely in the expressly messiological context—excludes, [[3]] in the strictest interpretation, a continued existence *entre les savants et le vulgaire*, to say the least. A proper student is not common, and that he knows his ignorance is indeed the least that we have to assume.

As I have so quickly descended from a barely completed defense into the opposite—into criticism of the critic—I would like to add one more objection, seeing as its subject is on the same sheet of paper as your article. Can one seriously claim that the loss of autonomy, that the *galut* renews the platonic situation of the Jew who believes in the law and revelation *vis-a-vis* the law? The impracticality of part of the law—this always remains a qualitative matter, though.

On the distinction between esoteric and exoteric statements, which you call for, I am deeply embarrassed, as I do not have the necessary key [to answer it]. Up to now, I have not had the opportunity to distinguish the sense in Maimonides between exoteric and esoteric teaching, as if there were a façade for the people, while the interiors inhabited by the philosopher himself were of a completely different nature, such that a proper contradiction would obtain between the two. Less is often prescribed for the people, but not something wholly other. *I know only of passages that present concessions to the incapacity of normal understanding, to think about the incorporeality of God. Yet the

245. The phrase, in English, reads: “that the difference between the learned and the common will not be abolished.” Here, Boschwitz quoted, with slight adaptation, from Strauss’s then newly published article “Quelques remarques sur la science politique de Maïmonide et de Fâbârî,” *Revue des études juives* 100bis, nos. 199–200 (1936): 1–37, at 29.

true opinion is never held back!²⁴⁶ You will say this is fully adequate, but where have you yourself demonstrated a great material difference in Maimonides' teaching beyond the decisive claim of the principle?

The example of *Moreh* 2:31, which you cite on p. 31, is invalid. Nothing in the text suggests that between the two reasons for the Sabbath commandment, the one is more distinguished, the esoteric, the other *merely* exoteric. But this example does not have anything in terms of content. Providence—immortality—revelation of the law—giving of the law: this would be a set of problems in which said distinction could show great relevance, [[4]] but *where* is it indispensable? I am not asking to dispute from the outset. Rather, I simply do not know (which does not say a lot; for instance, I never read the מורה²⁴⁷ completely, let alone *in succession*). But would you say, for example, that Plato's purely political/pedagogical rationale for belief in revenge in the afterlife could ever come to Rambam's²⁴⁸ mind in this sense? The distinction between exoteric and esoteric teaching can have two meanings, a mystic and a political. It can be practiced out of fear of profaning a precious secret or as means to a practical (ethical) purpose. I would rather assume that Rambam intends the former.

For now I cannot see where to find “objectively comprehensible, that is philosophical reasons” for particularism of the messianic expectation—of a personal Messiah—the totality in the past. All three things are grounded in the chosenness of the Jewish people, their particularity—a fundamental fact whose unfoundability Maimonides expressly establishes. (*Moreh* 2:25!) What remains of the entire messianology if the promise as such lapses?

This fundamental fact guides even Maimonides' conception of providence; because Israel alone, among the peoples as a people, is subject to providence: לישראל—(rather השגחה מזל!²⁴⁹ For the other peoples, the stars—i.e., the morally indifferent natural necessities—may well be determinative.

Having reduced miracles to the problem of providence means: having understood miracles as an expression of the justice of the world order, where action and fate correspond. According to the Torah, this justice immediately interprets itself: how is this all to be understood not in a historical but an “objectively comprehensible” way? [[5]] Although Maimonides' teaching on

246. This sentence was added at the bottom of the page, with an original star to mark inclusion.

247. The word designates the title of the work *Moreh Nevukhim* (מורה נבוכים), or *Guide for the Perplexed*.

248. Traditional acronym, here RaMBaM for Rabbi Moses ben Maimon, viz. Maimonides.

249. אין מזל לישראל from the Talmud: literally, “Israel has no fortune,” meaning Israel is not subject to the influence of the constellations. With the word השגחה, Boschwitz specified that Israel is subject to “divine providence,” although there may be “fortune” for the other peoples.

providence, insofar as it is a graduated one (more or less providence according to the standard of perfection), has always seemed to me to be one of the deepest lessons of his system, but it is unfortunately still so very intertwined with the mythology of שכל הפועל²⁵⁰ and so mechanically carried out that, again, nothing can be done with it.

At this point, I cannot yet foresee how far a fuller understanding of the teaching on providence is likely to render my presentation of messianology invalid.

Nevertheless, I want to publish the work as it currently stands, as an opportunity has just presented itself (a commemorative publication of the *Monatsschrift* for Eugen Mittwoch).²⁵¹ You have no idea how embarrassingly long I have been botching this little essay. It also cannot get any longer. Heinemann,²⁵² the ignorant, even wanted to demand that I withdraw the analysis on miracles and one way or another publish it separately (*sic!*).²⁵³

You can keep your copy and show it to whomever you like. It was very kind of you to have sent my Wellhausen to Schäder in those days,²⁵⁴ but he had already received a copy from me. When I received your letter at that time, which brought me exceptional joy, it was only a few weeks before the exam. Afterwards, I wanted to put the whole thing out of my head for a while. Then came a commotion in our family, which lasted for months, innocent next of kin rankled by the court. Our correspondence was temporarily surveilled, so for some time we lost the taste for writing letters. Then came the move to Palestine.

I assume that you have learned from Klein²⁵⁵ most of the information of interest to you regarding our family. [[6]] Just in case, I repeat it here, assuming you are interested. My younger sister, married to a doctor, lives in Tel-Aviv and has a one-and-one-half-year-old boy.²⁵⁶ My brother also now has a daughter, lives with his wife and in-laws in a village near Jerusalem, manages

250. Hebrew for "Active Intellect."

251. "Mittwoch-Festschrift," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 81, n.s. 45, no. 1 (1937). No article by Boschwitz appeared, although Strauss (written Strauß) did contribute one, in German, on "The Place of the Doctrine of Providence in the Opinion of Maimon" (pp. 93–105).

252. Isaak Heinemann (1876–1957), scholar of rabbinics and classics with a concentration in Hellenistic Judaism, from 1918 to 1938 docent then professor in medieval philosophy of religion and later rector at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau, from 1920 editor of the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, from 1930 to 1933 honorary professor at the University of Breslau, from 1938 professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

253. *Sic*.

254. On Hans-Heinrich Schaefer, see Boschwitz to Leo Strauss, 1 May 1934, above, and introduction *supra*.

255. On Jacob Klein, see Boschwitz to Leo Strauss, 1 May 1934, n. 73, above.

256. Mirjam/Miriam Boschwitz and Isa(a)c Seckel Bamberger. On this and further family news, cf. Boschwitz to Leo Strauss, 1 May 1934, above.

his stable of eight cows, with much effort and little return.²⁵⁷ The shootings of recent months, the ongoing threat and guard duty have, as everywhere, been especially wearing in effect. My older sister, Deborah, whom you know, has now, like my brother, been three years in the country. She has undergone a lot in terms of sickness and personal experiences. She still belongs to the kibbutz (for months my father has been waging a resolute battle to free her from it), which sits on its own soil, Yokneam near Mishmar HaEmek.²⁵⁸ As you know, it is the kibbutz of the onetime “Labor People,” whose leader is Hermann Gerson.²⁵⁹

Despite much difficulty she is very happy there. There are, in fact, uncommonly good people there together, unfortunately all very young.

Shameful to say, but there is little to announce on my end. I have made little progress, and I am still without a profession and indecisive. תלמיד מְחָקֵר,²⁶⁰ that is, a student in continuing education at the university. I have taken on—but not yet started—work on Abravenel’s political ideas with Fritz Baer.²⁶¹

When I visited Schaefer almost two years ago, he was very much on his best behavior—shining, endearing: for four full hours we talked about anything and everything, especially the world of the so-called Third Reich, but at the end came a fully devastating verdict on my work, which he rejected as stylistically and factually impossible. Were I to publish it as is, he would crusade against it.

The latter did not frighten me so much, but the critique has made me completely insecure. [[7]] Gradually it dawned on me that it was not so much the individual shortcomings (I would be the first to admit the stylistic ones) than the slant, the whole “psychoanalytical” approach to the topic that he does not like.

At that time, he said—as the first extensive work on Wellhausen ever to appear—it would, above all, have to appreciate Wellhausen’s great, positive “scientific contribution.” That made a deep impression on me then, and it is also right that my topic presupposes not a mere familiarity with the world but rather a full vision of his significance. However, Schaefer is suspicious of consideration of “motives and measures” as a disparaging reduction to subjective dabbling or antipathy. In a completely naive way, he is a mere historian,

257. Jochanan Boschwitz and Batya née Goldman (1909–1988), their first child being Michel, followed by Hassia and Hanna.

258. Yokneam, a moshava on the west side of the Jezreel Valley, established in 1935; Mishmar HaEmek, a kibbutz founded in the 1920s.

259. Hermann Menachem Gerson (1908–1989), dissertator in Berlin on the evolution of Georg Simmel’s ethical views, onetime disciple of Martin Buber, leader in the leftwing Zionist youth association People of Labor (*Werkleute*), and cofounder of the kibbutz Hazorea, in 1934.

260. The phrase *talmid mehqar* refers to a (postgraduate) research student.

261. Fritz (Yitzhak) Baer, the relation and host of Boschwitz, himself worked on medieval Abravenel, or Abrabanel; cf. Boschwitz to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty, 26 June 1935, above.

whereby he thinks himself seriously, objectively masterful. The other thing that got in my way was the *Weltgeist* itself, in the form of Hitler and what he has founded.

I read large portions of the dissertation to Klein as it was in progress, and he expressed a suspicion then that Wellhausen today would probably be a "German Christian."²⁶² At that time, I repelled it with much force, but certain similarities have made me think. In any case, the most direct of lines lead from Rousseau, whom I studied at your suggestion, to Goebbels.

The national cult, the public festivals, the whole romanticized polis are faithfully painted into the proposal for Poland and with Goebbels and his consorts cynically practiced. "Fanaticism" praised as virtue, that was heard in Germany ad nauseum. What does it matter that Rousseau adds: ["*Nous fanatiques mêmes ne sont pas de vrais fanatiques: ce ne sont que de fripons ou des fous.*"]²⁶³ And yet his teachings yielded Robespierre. (In my opinion the only historical figure comparable to Hitler.)

The dissertation will soon be printed with slight changes and additions. [[8]] I have often interrogated your cousin and Jonas²⁶⁴ about you, and in my own subjective feeling, I was not so disconnected from you as my silence must have put across. Löwith recently told me about your trip to America. In the meanwhile, you will have embarked on it. Hopefully it will fulfill any and all of your expectations! I already received news from Löwith from Port Said; leaving has been difficult for him, but he is exchanging it for confidence about East Asia, where he intends—if he somehow finds an audience for his teaching—to establish himself forever. His new book on Burckhardt,²⁶⁵ which at the last minute had to change publishers because the original one grew anxious, contains wonderful things. It will also show you, I believe, that the difference between Burckhardt and Wellhausen is not at all so productive as you assume. (His final word: Epicurus!) In my last Berlin winter, I enjoyed that dubious pleasure of hearing a whole course of lectures by Buber (who has been expected here for years, now anticipated the coming spring, but he is expected

262. German Christian: a movement that sought to align the united Protestant churches with the Nazi Party.

263. Drawn from Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Essai sur l'origine des langues* (*Essay on the Origin of Language*), the statement avers, "Our own fanatics are not true fanatics: they are merely rascals or madmen." Boschwitz cited this same phrase in his book: see p. 72 n. 16 <p. 122 n. 87> supra.

264. Perhaps Hans Jonas (1903–1993), philosopher and friend of Strauss, who at this point had left Germany and accepted a position teaching in Jerusalem, after which he would work alongside Strauss at the New School for Social Research in New York. The inventory of Jonas papers in the Philosophy Archive at the University of Konstanz records letters received from Deborah Boschwitz.

265. Karl Löwith, *Jacob Burckhardt. Der Mensch inmitten der Geschichte* (Lucerne: Vita Nova, 1936).

with composure).²⁶⁶ Since you are reputed to be a fierce adversary of Buber, I can confess to you how unbearable this man is for me personally. He is one of impertinent modesty, of haughty simplicity, and of a constant self-saving intrusiveness. He has the mania to tack an innocent, ingratiating “is it not?” on every other sentence, which basically means: I am, God forbid, no sophist or wheedler, but what I say is just obvious. The task of speaking from the lectern as lecturer is of course not suited for someone who declares the dialogic relationship to be the only true one. He only made attempts [[9]] at breaking through the situation of lecturers by demanding, for instance, that his audience even interrupt with questions (don’t impose etc.!), which naturally led to pure mendacity inasmuch as already the first awkward question led to pure embarrassment for him and he had to fob it off.

The topic of the lecture—the last hours were chopped up because of a speaking ban—was messianism. The presentation was horribly broad and meager. All this notwithstanding, it is unfortunately still the case: the man is very clever, and over against the Bible critics, he is right, although the actual goal of his entire biblical interpretation—a religiously motivated anarchism—gets us nowhere. His book *Königtum Gottes*²⁶⁷ is the first significant attempt against Wellhausen (this fully conscious), but alas he is short of any evidence, which only the second volume will supply with the discussion of the history of Saul–Samuel.

The recently published Schocken almanac contains a few letters from Buber to Rosenzweig,²⁶⁸ occasioned by the “builders,” which for the first time contain a confession, namely this: that revelation is never law. But that revelation always becomes law, this should mean something like “the fact of humankind”: the necessary and thus tragic story of the fall for every revelation.

Speaking of—although this letter has become such an awful soup—allow me, without introduction, to raise an objection and a question regarding your

266. Martin Buber (1878–1965), influential Viennese philosopher, scholar, translator, and political activist, who turned away from the assimilated milieu of his family, promoted the Zionist movement, emigrated to Palestine, and became professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, notable also for his ten-time nomination for the Nobel Prize in Literature and seven-time nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize. Buber featured on the lecture program for the Berlin Lehrhaus (House of Learning) in the winter semester lasting from November 1934 to March 1935. In January 1935, he gave a series of guest lectures on the “Problems of Biblical Messianism” at the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums (Higher Institute for the Science of Judaism).

267. Martin Buber, *Königtum Gottes* (Berlin: Schocken, 1932), the first volume of an intended yet incomplete trilogy titled *Das Kommende. Untersuchungen der Entstehungsgeschichte des messianischen Glaubens*.

268. Martin Buber, “Offenbarung und Gesetz. Aus Briefen an Franz Rosenzweig,” *Almanach des Schocken-Verlags auf das Jahr 5697* (Berlin: Schocken, 1936–37), 147–54, later published (with changes) as “Revelation and Law (Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig),” in Rosenzweig, *On Jewish Learning*, ed. Nahum N. Glatzer (New York: Schocken, 1955), 109–18, now reprinted. Collections of letters by Buber and Rosenzweig—between them and with others—have since been published and translated on numerous occasions.

last publications.²⁶⁹ There is one thing I do not understand: to what extent do all your efforts around the idea of law and lawgiver only bring us one step closer to the concrete content of Jewish law—that is, the Torah, the Talmud—which, however, is always, if silently, present as the elephant in the room? How can one want to approach to the law and skip faith? This is not my case, I do not have the latter, but for this reason also no relationship to the law?

[[10]] 24.11

It has become abundantly clear to me that the challenge to this objection is the central concern of your battle against the “internalization” of so-called literalism, but that is of little use to me, and cannot be of much use to you yourself, for which you rightly explain that the real law is first the fulfillment of individual commands and regulations in their individual certainty. A recon-

quest of the law, so far as possible, can, in my opinion, only happen on the way to a befriending of the content of individual laws (I do not believe in that). For that, Maimonides’ rationalist grounding and everything like it offers *nothing*.

In his series of lectures running at the moment, “Introduction to the Zohar,” Scholem has recently commented, with intentional exaggeration, that medieval Jewish philosophy never became the driver of the life of the people because it was never able to find a proper relationship (as opposed to the Kabbalah), neither to Midrash (אגדה) nor to Law (הלכה).²⁷⁰ I must

admit there is something revealing about it. The teaching of the ²⁷¹טעמי המצוות à la the Rambam is something absolutely post hoc (*though* for the most part correct!)[.] That is nothing to write home about!

These rationales of aposteriori reflection hold no sway to achieve the living obedience of the law.

Otherwise: in many ways the חכמים²⁷² really deserve their name. You certainly know the passage Sanhedrin 20b, no? The astute, amusing answer to the question? ²⁷³מפני מה לא נתגלו טעמי התורה? Why are its justifications not also revealed alongside the law? The answer—a reference to poor experience. The Torah did it with two commands (Deut 17:16, 17). They became a pitfall for even the wisest one, Solomon! [[11]] He ruminated on the invalidity of the reasons (I will have many women and yet not leave the path! I will keep many horses and yet not travel to Egypt!), transgressed, did both (!), and thereby confirmed the correctness of the reasons and the inappropriateness

269. For Strauss’s writings in these years, which showed particular focus on medieval philosophy, see Leo Strauss, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Heinrich Meier and Wiebke Meier, vol. 2, part 1, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2013); cf. also the editor’s foreword (by Meier).

270. Hebrew script for *Aggadah* and *Halakhah*, respectively.

271. Hebrew: “reasons for the commandments.”

272. Hebrew: “sages.”

273. Hebrew: “why were the rationales of the Torah not revealed?”

of its revelation at the same time. It is perfectly true: the very statement of those reasons entices the “subjects” to “ruminate,” turning reason into judge and ultimately into corrupter of the law. And is it not so? Have we not for this reason given up a great portion of ritual law because the Maimonidean reasoning has too clearly elucidated that the meaning of that law consisted in breaking the habits of paganism and its nature cult. And since those have no actual power anymore, has the law also become meaningless? (While the mystics sent a new living net from כְּנוּת ²⁷⁴, caught the age-old law in it, detained it, and were kept by it.)

Very recently I met a splendid author who is relevant to you personally. You have undoubtedly known him a long time: Justus Möser.²⁷⁵ Are you familiar with his “Schreiben an den Herrn Vikar in Savoyen (abzugeben bei herrn Mr Johann Jakob Rousseau),” an enrapturing polemic in Lessingian style *against* natural religion, which is admittedly “good but not sufficient” *for* positive religion because of its ability to found and maintain the state.²⁷⁶ After mentioning the problem of *pia fraus*, it has the striking conclusion, according to which it has proved that no lawgiver has managed without revelation, priests, and miracles—that God should be as smart as humans for a long time, “But what do you mean, if God had had just as much insight into human nature as those lawgivers, those geniuses, those great 12. rogues, if you will? . . . if he had chosen some machines suitable to his divinity that were congenial to his grand ultimate purpose to make us—happy?” “So is religion therefore politics? . . . Yes . . . a politics of God in his kingdom among humanity.” The thought is developed in Möser in its completely platonic originality, not at all from doctrine but as if it stemmed from the most animated empirical perception. In the name of consistency, he demands the exclusivity of religion, although, being Protestant, he stands up for the “political sanctity of the clerical [*geistlichen*] class. “Certainly, the Reformation served the Catholic rulers well, but the Catholic religion still serves the Lutheran subjects.”²⁷⁷ The eternity of hell’s punishments may be considered uncertain at any rate, but the *public*

274. Hebrew: “Intentions.”

275. Justus Möser (1720–1794), poet, jurist, and political theorist particularly interested in local social and economic history.

276. Justus Möser, “Schreiben an den Herrn Vikar in Savoyen, abzugeben bey dem Herrn Johann Jacob Rousseau,” dated 2 November 1762 (since reprinted multiply) and written in immediate response to the German translation of Rousseau’s “Profession of Faith of the Sovoyard Vicar”—which had first appeared in bk. 4, vol. 3, of his *Émile*—as *Aemil oder von der Erziehung*, trans. and ed. [Johann Joachim Schwabe] (Berlin: n.p., 1762), also in bk 4., vol. 3. Boschwitz cited the “Profession” in his published dissertation: cf. p. 72 <p. 122 n. 87> supra.

277. In the second printing by Cramer in Bremen from 1777 (now digitized), this quotation appears on p. 50.

certainty of the contrary is alarming! Even Maimuni²⁷⁸ comes into his own: religion had to be given in *sensual* form. “What is the human being? An animal that is supposed to stay on the chain of their imaginings.” Is religion, then, only a cavesson for the plebs? Answer: “We are all plebs . . . Our religion is made for us plebs and not for the angels.”

Meinecke [is] very detailed on Möser in his new book, *Die Entwicklung des Historismus*.²⁷⁹ Remarkable how such a sensible mind as Meinecke can stay so unmoved by the problem of his times.²⁸⁰ The book has all the advantages of his earlier works, but it was obsolete and backwards the second it was published. The thing has something embittering about it. It leads to—Goethe! The idea of historicism is grasped in a completely positive way; its true ethos, Neoplatonism. The true opponent of historical thinking—to be overcome and, in fact, overcome in the end—is natural law.

In the event you perhaps don’t know Möser, I did not want to deprive myself the pleasure of introducing him to you. Hence all the detail.

Friedemann Boschwitz

[Addendum, bottom right]

Mr. E. Simon has not yet received his issue. For that my apologies. It should happen soon.

[Addendum, vertical in left margin, partially trimmed off]

25.11 I am going ahead and sending the letter, incomplete as it is. I’m afraid you would never receive it otherwise. I hope to get news on you from Hans Levi.²⁸¹

12a. Boschwitz to Wilhelm Mommsen²⁸²

1. VIII.1938

Hochverehrter Herr Professor.

278. Maimonides (Latin), Moses ben Maimon (Hebrew), or Musa ibn Maymun (Arabic).

279. Friedrich Meinecke (1862–1954), leading historian, cofounder of the Free University of Berlin, and author of *Die Entstehung des Historismus*, 2 vols. (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1936), an unavoidable interpretation of (German) historical thought, widely translated.

280. Meinecke proved to be antisemitic as well as antipathetic to Nazism.

281. Yohanan “Hans” Lewy (1901–1945), classical philologist and ancient historian specialized in Jewish Hellenism, who emigrated from Berlin to Jerusalem in 1933–34, taught at the Hebrew University, and belonged to a group of intellectuals known as the Pilegesh (or Pilegesch) circle, alongside Hans Jonas, George Lichtheim, Hans Jakob Polotsky, Shmuel Sambursky, and Gershom Scholem.

282. Friedemann Boschwitz an [Wilhelm Mommsen], 1 August 1938, UniA MR 307d Nr 1221, Promotionsakten Friedemann Boschwitz aus Berlin, Akten der philosophischen Fakultät, Archiv

obwohl die Angelegenheit meiner Dissertation vor Monaten zur endgültigen Erledigung gebracht worden ist, ist doch das Doktor-Diplom noch nicht in meine Hände gelangt. Im Falle, daß es noch nicht abgesandt worden ist, wäre ich Ihnen außerordentlich verpflichtet, wenn Sie gütigst die Zuschickung an mich veranlassen würden, u. zwar direkt an mich, nicht an Dr. Dek. Berlin.

Ich verbleibe in Hochachtung
u. Dankbarkeit
F. Boschwitz
Ramban road 41, Jerusalem.

12b. Boschwitz to Wilhelm Mommsen

1/8/1938

Esteemed Professor,

Although the matter of my dissertation was brought to final completion months ago, the doctoral diploma has still not come into my hands. In the case it has not yet been sent, I would be most obliged to you if you would kindly see to it and, more precisely, directly to me, *not* to Dr. Dek[uczynski], Berlin.²⁸³

Respectfully and gratefully yours,
F. Boschwitz
Ramban Road 41, Jerusalem

13a. Boschwitz to Salo Baron²⁸⁴

F. Boschwitz
41 Rambanroad
Jerusalem

der Philipps-Universität Marburg im Hessischen Staatsarchiv, Marburg, Deutschland. (Frühere Signatur: HStAM 307d, acc. 1960/45, Nr 676.) In deutscher Kurrentschrift.

283. On the Dekuczynski debacle, see the introduction *supra*.

284. Friedmann Boschwitz to Salo Baron, Salo W. Baron Papers, Mo580, Box 12, Folder 11, Taube-Baron Collection of Jewish History and Culture, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, CA, United States. The letter is handwritten in cursive (both Latin and Hebrew characters), with the author referring to his addressee in the third person. An image of this item appears as fig. 5 *supra*.

ירושלם
כ"ו בטבת ת"ש
7/1/1940

אדוני הפרופסור הנכבד מאד

בימים האלה אשלח לכבודו חבור שחברתי על תורת הרמב"ם על ימות המשיח. בקשתי היא שיאיל-נה²⁸⁵ לעיין אם הוא ראוי להדפס ברבעונו Jewish Social Studies. זה בערך שנה ששלחתי לו את עבודת-הדוקטור שלי על פְּלֶהאָוֶן ואני תקוה שהחבורת הגיעה לידי.

אחרת דר' לֵיאוֹ שטראוס, שהוא גם כן מכיר את מאמרי על הרמב"ם, בודאי יהיה מוכן להמציא אותה לכבודו.

הרני אסיר תודה למפרע.

בכל הכבוד

דר' פ. בושוץ
רח' רמבן 41
ירושלם

13b. Boschwitz to Salo Baron

F. Boschwitz
41 Ramban Road
Jerusalem

Jerusalem
26th Tevet, [5]700
7/1/1940

Most Esteemed Professor,²⁸⁶

285. *Sic.*

286. Salo Wittmayer Baron (1895–1989), formative Austrian-born and American-naturalized scholar of Jewish history, ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Vienna (1920), with doctorates from the University of Vienna in philosophy (1917), political science (1922), and law (1932), who first began work as a lecturer at the Jewish Teachers College in Vienna (1919–26) before moving to New York to teach at the Jewish Institute of Religion (1927–1930) and then Columbia University (1930–36), where he cofounded, in 1933, the Conference on Jewish Relations, now the Conference on Jewish Social Studies.

In the coming days, I will humbly send a treatise I have put together on the teaching of Maimonides on the days of the Messiah.²⁸⁷ My request is that you please consider whether it is worthy to print in your quarterly, *Jewish Social Studies*.²⁸⁸ It has been about a year since I sent my doctoral work (dissertation) on Wellhausen, and I hope that the booklet reached you.²⁸⁹

Otherwise, Dr. Leo Strauss, who is also familiar with my article on Maimonides, would certainly be willing to furnish it for your benefit.

I am gratefully indebted in advance.

With respect,

Dr. F. Boschwitz
41 Ramban Rd.
Jerusalem

14a. Boschwitz to Karl Löwith²⁹⁰

Sichron-Jakob. 9.7.1940.

Lieber Herr Professor Löwith.

287. In a letter dated 2 January 1940, Fritz (Yitzhak) Baer wrote Baron from Jerusalem, giving advance notice that he had recommended for Boschwitz (son of his brother-in-law) to send the article on Maimonides for consideration—though not wanting to place his thumb on the scales. See the correspondence in Eleazar Gutwirth, “Mourning, Melancholy and Hexis: Towards a Context for Fritz Yshaq Baer,” *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 9 (2015): 210–53, Letter 10, p. 249.

288. The journal was first published by the Conference on Jewish Relations, with Morris R. Cohen (also founder of the organization), Salo Baron, and Hans Kohn as its editors. Boschwitz’s essay did not appear in its pages.

289. The book featured in Baron’s thorough bibliography for the journal: Salo W. Baron, “Jewish Social Studies, 1938–39, A Selected Bibliography (concluded),” *Jewish Social Studies* 2, no. 4 (1940): 481–605, at 555, in the section “AA. History, Jewish, I. General,” no. 2578. He also cited the “keen analysis” of Boschwitz’s work for his *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, *Ancient Times: To The Beginning of the Christian Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 310n19. In addition, Baron provided a copy of Boschwitz’s book to Herbert Hahn for an essay on Wellhausen, published in a *Festschrift* for Baron himself: cf. Hahn, “Wellhausen’s Interpretation of Israel’s Religious History: A Reappraisal of His Ruling Ideas,” in *Essays on Jewish Life and Thought: Presented in Honor of Salo Wittmayer Baron*, ed. Joseph L. Blau, Philip Friedman, Arthur Hertzberg, and Isaac Mendelsohn (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 299–308, at 303n10.

290. Friedemann Boschwitz an Karl Löwith, 9 Juli 1940, A:Löwith, HS.1999.0017.0021,1, Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach, Deutschland. Die Schreibschrift ist die lateinische.

Ich bin Ihnen allzulange einen Brief schuldig geblieben, u. die ungeheuerlichen Ereignisse der letzten Monate tun das ihrige, um einen alles übrige vergessen zu machen. Es ist einem zumute wie bei der Schmelze auf dem Eis, der Boden auf dem man steht bricht auseinander, und zwischen den Schollen quillt das schwarze Grundwasser nach oben.

Haben Sie Rauschnings Gespräche mit Hitler gelesen? Das ist unerlässlich. Dort erscheint H. wissender u. insofern grösser u. dämonischer als ich für möglich gehalten.

Ihren letzten Brief mit dem Hinweis auf die Subscription Ihres Buches habe ich erhalten; doch so gern ich das Buch gehabt hätte, ich hatte damals kein Geld. Inzwischen sind die Verbindungen nach Europa abgebrochen. Vielleicht haben Sie bei sich ein Exemplar für mich übrig, dann könnten Sie wohl das halbe Pfund, das ich bei Ihnen gut habe, darauf wenden u. mir das Buch schicken. Wenn das nicht möglich ist, möchte ich Sie bitten, mir meine 10s. herzuschicken. Sie sehen, ich bin nicht in U.S.A. Mein Affidavit war noch nicht fällig; inzwischen hat der Krieg alles über den Haufen geworfen.

Ich weiss nicht, habe ich Ihnen schon geschrieben, dass ich meine Arbeit für die Universität (Guttman) seit vergangenem Herbst aufgegeben habe? Seitdem versuche ich einen Lehrposten zu finden. Habe monatelang in einer Schule hospitiert. Meine Aussichten sind, abgesehen von der allgem. schlechten Lage, schlecht, weil Gesch. u. Philosophie, zu wenig für den Lehrberuf sind. Seit 7 Wochen laboriere ich an einer Gelbsucht, einer nicht weiter bösen Krankheit, die einen aber elend u. arbeitsunfähig macht. Doch bin ich nun über den Berg, verbringe diese Woche an einem schönen Orte, in einem Erholungsheim auf dem Carmel über dem Meer. Schön—weil unter Bäumen, in einem richtigen Park, einer Kostbarkeit hierzulande.

Meine Beruflosigkeit ist eine richtige Krankheit. Wenn ich nur irgendetwas Technisches könnte, ich würde [[verso]] dem Aufruf der Regierung folgend, arbeitslos wie ich bin, freiwillig mich zum Arbeitsdienst des Heeres melden.

In Tel Aviv sprach ich Schor. Er ist stets der alte: freundlich u. seiner Geschichtsmetaphysik sicher. Europas-christliche-Renaissance erwartet er vom—russischen Volk. Recht hat er freilich darin, dass Hitlers Revolution etwas Selbstmörderisches ist. Dostojewski ist aktueller denn je. Ich lerne ihn jetzt erst richtig kennen.

Vielleicht können Sie mir Heinz Dek.'s Adresse mitteilen? Durch meine Schuld ist unsere Verbindung abgerissen.

Bitte schreiben Sie auf die Briefumschläge, in welcher Sprache der Brief geschrieben, also: Written in German und bitte nicht allzu klein: die Zensur nimmt Anstoss daran u. es verzögert die Beförderung.

Was mögen Sie dort vom europäischen Kriege hören u. wie verspätet!

Seien Sie u. Ihre Frau recht herzlich gegrüsst

von Ihrem Friedemann Boschwitz

14b. Boschwitz to Karl Löwith

Zikhron Ya'akov, 9/7/1940

Dear Professor Löwith,

I have owed you a letter for far too long, and the monstrous events of the past months have done their best to make one forget everything else. It gives you the feeling of ice melting, the ground beneath you breaking apart, and the black groundwater welling up between the floes.

Did you read Rauschning's conversations with Hitler?²⁹¹ It is essential. There H. seems more knowledgeable and thus all greater and more demonic than I considered possible.

I received your last letter with the information on the subscription for your book,²⁹² but as much as I would have liked to have the book, I did not have any money at the time. Since then, the connections to Europe have been severed. Perhaps you have a copy left for me, in which case you could use the half-pound you owe me and send me the book. If that is not possible, I would like to ask you to send me my 10s. here.²⁹³ You see, I am not in the USA. My affidavit was yet due; in the meantime, the war has thrown everything into disarray.²⁹⁴ I don't know, have I already written you that I

291. Hermann Rauschning (1887–1982), conservative politician in Danzig/Gdańsk and eventual émigré to the United States, whose widely disseminated conversations with Hitler between 1932 and 1934—published in 1939 in British English, Dutch, French, and Swedish, in 1940 in American English, German, Icelandic, Norwegian, Portuguese, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish, in 1941 in Hebrew, in 1943 in Danish, in 1944 in Italian, and in 1946 in Czech—have come under intense dispute over their authenticity and reliability as sources.

292. Presumably Karl Löwith, *Von Hegel zu Nietzsche* (Zurich: Europa-Verlag, 1941), with many reprints of its second edition, from 1950, as in his *Sämtliche Schriften* (with Metzler), with a rendering into English by David E. Green as *From Hegel to Nietzsche: The Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Thought* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), itself reprinted, and with numerous other translations, including Chinese, French, Italian, Japanese, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, and Spanish.

293. In the British monetary system, with one pound equaling twenty shillings, the half-pound here thus came to ten shillings.

294. Documents related to “Boschwitz” in the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars for 1936–1938 refer not to Friedemann but his uncle Karl/Carl (MssCol 922, Series 5, Box 176, Brooke Russell Astor Reading Room for Rare Books and Manuscripts, New York Public Library, United States), according to personal communication with reference archivist Tal Nadan on 27 October 2021. Karl/Carl (1877–1937) was a finance man who emigrated to the United States in 1914 and was active advocating for war prisoners after the Great War. His papers are preserved in the Carl Boschwitz–Hermann Leubsdorf Collection (AR 7251) of the Leo Baeck Institute, now digitized and available via archive.org. His obituary appeared in *The New York Times* on 13 July 1937. Another uncle of Friedemann's, Eli/Ely (1878–1974), also emigrated with his family to New Rochelle, New York. The librarian of the Westchester Historical Society, Patrick Raferty, has provided information on members of this side of the Boschwitz family, including Ely “Rudy” Boschwitz, who was elected to the US Senate from Minnesota in 1978, reelected in 1984,

gave up my work for the university (Guttmann) last autumn?²⁹⁵ I have been trying to find a teaching position since. Audited for months in a school. Apart from the general situation being bad, my prospects are bad since history and philosophy are too few for the teaching profession. For the last 7 weeks I have been suffering from jaundice, a disease that is not too nasty but does make you miserable and unable to work. I am out of the woods, though, spending this week in a beautiful place, in a recovery center on Carmel above the sea. Beautiful—because under the trees, in a proper park, a treasure here in this country.

My joblessness is a real disease. If I could only do something technical, I would [[verso]] follow the call of the government and sign myself up, unemployed as I am, as a volunteer for the army's labor service.

In Tel Aviv I spoke with Schor.²⁹⁶ He is always the same: friendly and sure of his metaphysics of history. Europe's Christian Renaissance he expects from—the Russian people . . . He is right that Hitler's revolution is something suicidal.

Dostoyevsky²⁹⁷ is then more relevant than ever. I am only now getting to know him properly.

Perhaps you can give me Heinz Dekuczynski's address?²⁹⁸ By my own fault our contact has been broken.

Please write on the envelope the language in which the letter is written (so: Written in German) and not too small, please: the censors will take offense, a[nd] it will slow the delivery.

What you must hear over there of the European war and how delayed!
Warm greetings to you and your wife,

Friedemann Boschwitz

and defeated in 1990 and has papers at the Minnesota Historical Society (personal communication, 6 November 2014). Ely's death notice appeared in *The New York Times* on 14 March 1974.

295. Cf. Boschwitz to Leo Strauss, 19 October 1936, above.

296. J/Ives Eusebius Schor (1891–1974), philosopher, musician, translator, and critic, born in Moscow and emigrated to Palestine in late 1934 or early 1935, whose short book *Deutschland auf dem Wege nach Damaskus*—which, inter alia, detected an “antichristian nihilism” running through such Left Hegelians as D. F. Strauss, Ludwig Feuerbach, Karl Marx, Bruno Bauer, and Max Stirner and considered its legacy in the work of Friedrich Nietzsche—was banned by the Nazi regime and published in 1934 by Vita Nova of Lucerne, Switzerland.

297. Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821–1881), in whose oeuvre suicide features frequently, as in *The Devils/Demons/Possessed*, where the existentialist revolutionary Kirillov associates killing himself with ultimate freedom, even divinity, whilst invoking the French Revolution with “*Vive la république démocratique sociale et universelle ou la mort*” and “*Liberté, égalité, fraternité ou la mort*,” and in *The Adolescent / A Raw Youth / An Accidental Family*, where Kraft ends his life after losing faith in Russianness.

298. Heinz Dekuczynski: cf. Wilhelm Mommsen to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty, 27 May 1937, above, as well as the introduction *supra*.

15. Boschwitz to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty²⁹⁹

41 Ramban Road
Jerusalem, 9 July 1946

Dear Dean,³⁰⁰

I turn to you with the request to issue me my *doctoral diploma*, to which I acquired the rightful claim 8 years ago but which was not granted at that time. The following are the exceptional circumstances.

On 11 July 1934, I passed the oral examination in history and philosophy in Marburg to obtain a “Dr. Phil.”³⁰¹ The topic of my doctoral dissertation was “Julius Wellhausen—Motives and Measures of His Historiography.”³⁰² The examiner was Professor Mommsen; co-examiner Prof. D. Bultmann.

In 1935, I emigrated to Palestine, and only in 1938 was my dissertation published—with approval by the Faculty. (Book printers: Franz Linke, Berlin NW7, Marienstrasse 13.)

Although the prescribed number of copies of the dissertation were delivered to the Faculty as required, my repeated [[verso]] requests for the diploma went unanswered at the time. The grounds for this omission, I am convinced, have since become obsolete, and you will surely have no difficulty in seeing the accuracy of my statements. Therefore, I look forward, hopefully, to the fulfillment of my request and thank you in advance for your kind efforts.

With the greatest respect,

Dr. Friedemann Boschwitz
Jerusalem, 41 Ramban Road

299. The German letter is published in Margret Lemberg, “. . . eines deutschen akademischen Grades unwürdig.” *Die Entziehung des Dokortitels an der Philipps-Universität Marburg, 1933–1945*, Schriften der Universitätsbibliothek Marburg 113 (Marburg: Marburg University Library, 2002), 74, 76; translated into Czech by Jiří Pešek as “Odebírání Doktorského titulu na Filipově Univerzitě v Marburku v letech, 1933–1945,” in *Příspěvky k dějinám Univerzity Karlovy*, Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis 62, nos. 1–2 (Prague: Charles University, 2003), 123–45. Since publication, the signature for the Boschwitz dossier has changed to UniA MR 307d Nr 1221 (no longer HStAM 307d, acc. 1960/45, Nr 676), Records of the Philosophy Faculty, Archive of the Philipps University of Marburg in the Hessen City Archive, Marburg, Germany. A stamp from the Faculty records receipt on 23 August 1946 (no. 2370/46) and appears at the top of this handwritten missive, which was penned in cursive Latin script.

300. Friedrich Heiler (1892–1967), professor of comparative history of religion and philosophy of religion, who in 1934–1947 relocated from the Marburg Theology Faculty to the Greifswald Philosophy Faculty then to the Marburg Philosophy Faculty before being returned to the Marburg Faculty of Theology. Cf. 183n130 above.

301. The standard German abbreviation of the Latin *doctor philosophiae*, otherwise styled as a PhD or, in Oxford, DPhil.

302. Here, the title appears as “Julius Wellhausen. Motive und Maßstäbe seiner Geschichtsschreibung”; cf. Boschwitz to the Rector of Marburg University, 19 January 1934, n. 21, above.

[Bottom of page: typed draft of a reply, partially covering the address after his signature.]

Office of the Dean of Philosophy
of the University
Journal No. 2370/46³⁰³

Marburg, 11 September
Dr. Friedemann Boschwitz,
41 Ramban Road
Jerusalem

Dear Doctor,³⁰⁴

Enclosed we send you a provisional doctoral diploma. The printed diploma will then be sent to you as soon as it is finished.³⁰⁵

Secretary³⁰⁶ to the Dean

16a. Boschwitz to Yehoshua Lakner³⁰⁷

[[1]]

21. X. 1946

ראשון-לציון

Lieber Joschua.

1. Hier sind die gewünschten Tatsachen. Die Trompete ist B. Der Spieler beherrscht die beiden ersten Oktaven leicht. Der Pianist kann sehr gut; hat bereits Debussy gespielt. Von Klarinette will er am liebsten nichts wissen. Das Instrument geht zum (od. ist—ich weiss nicht—) hohen C. Das Akkordion hat Dur, Moll u. Septim. Der Spieler kann Bässe spielen, liest auch nicht-hebräische Bezeichnungen.

303. Most of the number was written in pen.

304. As Lemberg notes, the response included neither greeting nor apology and came not from the dean but the secretary, with the process lasting months rather than days (“... eines deutschen akademischen Grades unwürdig,” 74–77).

305. On 11 January 1947, the following dispatch was sent (also contained in the dossier of Boschwitz, published in German by Lemberg, and lacking formal conventions for correspondence): “Dear Mr. Boschwitz, I am hereby sending you your real, printed dr. diploma. As international letters may not weigh more than 20 grams, I unfortunately cannot send it to you in a cardboard roll, as usual, but must crease it. I would be grateful for a confirmation of receipt. Respectfully, BK Secretary of the Dean’s Office.”

306. The typed form is *Dekanatssekretär*, with the feminine ending added in pen.

307. Friedemann Boschwitz an Yehoshua Lakner, 21 October 1946, Yehoshua-Lakner-Nachlass, Mus NL 49: Tb45, Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Schweiz. Das Dokument ist in deutscher sowie hebräischer Schreibrift geschrieben. Die Signatur sowie die erste Zeitezahl wurden oben mit Bleistift nachgetragen.

Blockflötisten hab' ich vergessen zu fragen. Nehmen wir die gewöhnlichen Sopranflöten an.

Nunmehr der Komponist.

2. Hier der vollständige³⁰⁸ Text des Teufelchors für Aschmedai:

אין כמלכנו אשמדי
מפניו יגור כל חי.

¹ אדיר מלכנו אשמדי. שליטי עולם יתנו לו שי.

מושל בשאול, גם בשמים. ביבשת ובמים.

על הרוחות³⁰⁹ הוא מצוה. גם השמש אם יאבה.

[[2]] Ich empfehle nur mit dem ersten Vers zu rechnen. Die folgenden sind zu schlecht gebaut. Werden Dich verwirren. Sie müssen der Melodie angepasst werden; statt dass Du Dich bemühst, die Musik ihnen anzupassen. Nun

der Schlusschor, wo derselbe Chor zum Preise Salomo's gewandelt wird:

מנוצח³¹⁰ כפר אשמדי

Vielleicht lasse ich den Chor einfach

ושלמה מלכנו חי

sprechen im Takt zur Melodie.

זה המלך בשר אל

החכם בתבל.

3. Beiliegend die Noten zum שופר בחודש תקעו, obwohl ich vermute, dass die Musik viel zu jeckisch für unseren Zweck ist.

4. Um die Hirtenflöte sollst³¹¹ Du Dich nicht im besonderen plagen. Fällt Dir etwas Schönes, Einfaches ein—³¹³ אתה משוכח³¹² הרי! Wenn nicht, so nehme ich eine von den vielen Melodien, wie sie in den Flötenmelodienbüchern stehen. [[3]] Ich repetiere noch einmal alle Nummern.

Erstens, das Vorspiel mit dem einleitenden Trompeten-Königs-Motiv, dass³¹⁴ durch das ganze Stück den König Salomo, oder den Sieg seiner Sache bedeutet. (Wenn der Vorhang aufgeht, stehen zwei Leibwächter da vor dem leeren Thron³¹⁵ und langweilen sich. Die Musik darf also—wenn sie will—gleichsam abbröckeln, versickern.) Zweitens. Einleitung zum 2. Akt, der die Diener Salomos in der Wüste, bei der³¹⁶ Fahndung auf Aschmedai zeigt. Das Königs³¹⁷-motiv mit gestopfter Trompete, gleichsam von ferne. Trommel

308. Verbessert aus: "vollkommene".

309. *Sic.*

310. *Sic.*

311. Verbessert aus: "solltest".

312. *Sic.*

313. *Sic.*

314. *Sic.*

315. Die Worte "vor dem leeren Thron" sind nachträglich eingefügt.

316. Davor gestrichen: "dem".

317. Verbessert aus "Trompeten".

(od. Pauken)-Marsch-Rhythmus, der das Wandern bezeichnet. Ein paar wenige Takte lang. Darüber Echo-haft ein Ruf, für Trompete oder Klarinette.

In diesem Akt erscheint Aschmedai mit seinem Chor, angekündigt von Paukenwirbel. [[4]] Der 3. Akt zeigt Salomo in Traurigkeit. Zu Beginn kann evtl. der zweite Teil des Vorspiels, der³¹⁸ ohne Trompete, hymnische (der hoffentlich nicht ganz so streng³¹⁹ bleibt wie Du ihn zunächst gemacht hast) wiederholt werden. Sodann muss ich Dich hier um noch eine, neue, Nummer bitten: einen Tanz der Mädchen um Salomo. Flöten mit Trompeten od. Klavier. Natürlich Schreit-Rhythmus; aber stark rhythmisch³²⁰. Sehr einfach. Kurz. Vielleicht zwei Zeilen, d.h. 2 Teile.³²¹ Einen getragenen, und zur Ablösung einen bewegteren, schnelleren.³²² Dann wird Aschm. gefesselt vorgeführt. Der Schamir ausgeliefert. Erscheint der Auerhahn mit groteskem Kukuriku. (Klarinette)³²³ [[5]] Der Tempelbau wird in Angriff genommen. Chor der Mädchen:

על ראש הר המורִקָה
היכל קדש יופיע
שלום יבשר לגויים
שלום לגויים.

Das ist auch was Neues. Ich kann es nicht verheimlichen. Vielleicht kann ich Dich bestechen, indem ich andeute, dass hier Gelegenheit für einen Kanon ist. Aber bitte nicht elegisch, sondern freudig! Zum³²⁴ Schluss dieses Aktes: der Triumph Aschmedai's, der Salomo vom Thron stösst. Aschm.-Motiv ganz schnell und wild, mit Paukenwirbel.³²⁵

Der 4. Akt leitet ein mit der Hirtenflöte, und endet mit Königs-Trompetensignal – das vielleicht mit dem ganzen Vorspiel zum 1. Akt festgesetzt werden kann; weil wieder die gleiche Situation: die beiden Wächter im leeren Thronsaal. [[6]] Zum Finale die Horra zu Ehren des echten Königs:

מנוצח³²⁶ קבר אשמדי
ושלמה מלכנו חי ...

318. Über der Zeile nachgetragen.

319. Verbessert aus "ernst".

320. *Sic*.

321. Davor gestrichen: "Zeilen".

322. Es folgt ein doppelt gestrichener Absatz: "Zum Schluss dieses Aktes: der Triumph Aschmedais. Sein Motiv ganz schnell u. wild mit Paukenwirbel. Der 4. Akt leitet ein mit der [verbessert aus "dem"] Hirtenflöte und endet mit dem Trompeten-Signal."

323. Unter der Zeile ergänzt.

324. Am Zeilenanfang gestrichen: "Und z."

325. Vgl. Anm. 322 oben.

326. *Sic*.

Als Orchesterleiter hat sich einer meiner letzten Abiturienten angetragen. Er selbst spielt nur Flöte u. ein bisschen Klavier. Ist aber sehr musikalisch; hat viel Schwung und Liebe zur Sache. Ist einer der wenigen, zu denen ich Vertrauen haben darf. (Der Violinist als solcher bleibt uns trotzdem.) Der kann Dich auch aufsuchen und von Dir anleiten lassen. Was ich zuerst brauchen werde ist 1) die Horra
2) der Mädchentanz.

Ich bitte Dich, mir den Empfang dieses Briefes sogleich zu bestätigen; und verbleibe mit herzlichen Danksprüchen

Dein Friedemann Uri Boschwitz
(Chicaneur!—Schikaneder?)

16b. Boschwitz to Yehoshua Lakner

[[1]]

21/10/1946
Rishon-LeZion

Dear Yehoshua,³²⁷

1. Here is the information you wanted. The *trumpet* is B^b. The musician masters the first two octaves easily. The *pianist* is very good and has already played Debussy. He wants nothing to do with the *clarinette*. The instrument goes up to high C (or is high C, I'm not sure). The *accordion* has major, minor, and seventh keys. The musician can play bass and reads non-Hebrew notations.

I forgot to ask the recorder players. Let's assume the normal soprano recorders.

Now to the composer.

2. Here the full text of the demon chorus for Ashmedai:³²⁸

אין כמלכנו אשמדי
מפניו יגור כל חי.
אדיר מלכנו אשמדי. שליטי עולם יתנו לו שי.
מושל בשאול, גם בשמים. ביבשת ובמים.

327. Yehoshua Lakner (1924–2003, יהושע לקנר), music composer who was born in Bratislava, emigrated to Palestine in 1941, and taught at conservatories in Tel-Aviv and later Zurich. The receiver's address is in Tel-Aviv.

328. Ashmedai, or Asmodeus: prince of demons who appears in Tobith, the Talmud, and the Testament of Solomon as well as later Jewish, Christian, and Islamic tradition.

על הרוחות הוא מצוה. גם השמש אם יאבה.³²⁹

[[2]] I recommend you only take up the first verse. The rest are too poorly structured, they'll confuse you. They need to be adapted to the melody, rather than you working to adapt the music to them. Now the final chorus, where the same chorus is transformed into praise for Solomon.

מנוצח כְּבֹר אֲשֶׁמַדַּי

Perhaps I'll let the chorus simply
speak in rhythm with the melody.

ושלמה מלכנו חי

זה המלך בישר אל

הַחֶקֶם בְּתִבְלִי³³⁰

3. Attached the notes to שופר בחודש תקעו,³³¹ although I suspect this music is much too Yekkish for our purposes.

4. The shepherd's flute you don't need to worry about too much. Can you think of anything pretty and *simple*—מְשֻׁבָּח הָרִי אֶתָּה!³³² If not, I'll take something from one of the many melodies as they stand in the books of flute melodies.

[[3]] I'll repeat again all the numbers. *First, the Prelude* with the introductory king motif on the *trumpet*, which represents throughout the whole piece either King Solomon or the victory over something. (When the curtains go up, two bodyguards are standing there—bored—in front of an empty throne. If it wants, the music can then crumble away so to speak, or fade.) *Second. Introduction to Act 2*, which shows the servants of Solomon in the *desert*, searching for Ashmedai. The king motif with muted trumpet, as if it were far away. The drum (or timpani) *march* rhythm, which indicates wandering. A *few* bars long. Above it a call echoing, for trumpet or clarinet.

In this act, *Ashmedai* appears with his *chorus*, announced by the timpani roll.

[[4]] Act 3 shows Solomon in his sadness. At the beginning, the second part of the prelude—the one without the trumpet—could potentially be repeated in a hymnic way (which hopefully won't stay as severe as you made it originally).

So I also need to ask you for another *new number* here: a *dance of young girls* around Solomon. Flutes with drums or piano. A step rhythm, of course, but a strong rhythm. Short. Maybe two lines, that is, 2 parts. One solemn and for relief, a moving, faster one. Then

329. Hebrew: "There is no one like our king, Ashmedai / All beings tremble before him / Great is our king, Ashmedai, The rulers of the world will pay tribute to him / Ruler in Sheol also in Heaven, on land and in water / He commands the wind as well as the sun if he wants."

330. Hebrew: "Vanquished already is Ahmedai / And Solomon is our living king / He is the king in Israel / The wisest in all the universe." At times, Boschwitz offers a vocalization of Hebrew forms that diverges from the Tiberian standard.

331. Biblical quotation from Ps 81:4: "Blow the horn on the new month."

332. Hebrew: "Indeed, you are (to be) praised!"

Ashmedai is brought forward, chained. The shamir³³³ is handed over. The wood grouse appears with the *grotesque cock-a-doodle-do*. (Clarinet) [[5]] The building of the temple is undertaken. The *girls' choir*:

על ראש הר המורִיָה
היכל קדש יופיע
שלום יבִּשֶׁר לגוֹיִים
שלום לגוֹיִים³³⁴

This is also something new. I can't keep it a secret. Perhaps I can bribe you by suggesting here is an opportunity for a canon. But please nothing elegiac but rather joyful! At the close of this act: Ashmedai's triumph, which kicks Solomon off the throne. The Ashmedai motif very fast and wild, with timpani roll.

Act 4 is introduced with the *shepherd's flute* and ends with the sign of the king's trumpet—which can perhaps be established with the whole prologue to Act 1, because we're back to the same situation: the two guards in the empty throne room. [[6]] At the finale, the hora³³⁵ in honor of the true king:

מְנוּצָח כָּבֵר אֲשַׁמְדִי
וּשְׁלֵמָה מְלַכְנוּ חַי³³⁶...

One of my recent high school graduates offered to be director of the orchestra. He himself only plays the flute and a little piano. But he's very musical, lots of drive and love for it. He's one of the few I can trust. (The violinist stays as such nonetheless.) He can also go see you and take instructions from you. What I will need first is: 1) the hora,

2) the girls' dance

Please confirm receipt of this letter immediately. With very many thanks,
Friedemann Uri Boschwitz
(Chicaneur!³³⁷ — Schikaneder?³³⁸)

333. In Jewish tradition, a mystical thing active across several legends: from the creation of the world to engravings on priestly accoutrement by Moses to Solomon's construction of the temple. In Git. 68a–b, Solomon summons Asmodeus to find the whereabouts of the shamir.

334. Hebrew: "At the top of Mount Moriah / A holy temple is appearing / It will herald peace to the nations / Peace to the nations."

335. A Jewish folk dance.

336. Hebrew: "Vanquished already is Ashmedai / And Solomon is our living king."

337. French for "quibbler."

338. Apparent paranomasia with Emanuel Schikaneder (1751–1812), impresario and actor, dramatist and director, singer and composer, who wrote the libretto to *The Magic Flute* by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and opened the Theater an der Wien, Vienna, Austria.

17a. Boschwitz to Yehoshua Bar-Yosef³³⁹

רמת־גן
15.VIII.1958

אדון בר־יוסף ה[נכ]בד,

מר זעירי ממדור הבי[מנ]ת של מחלקת התרבות בת"א העמינדני על הדבר שודאי יענין אותך לש[מוע] שהצגתי את "סמינה והפרה" בסוף שנת הלמודים ובהצלחה גמורה[.]. בקשתי וקבלתי את הרשות מאת תל"ס. הנני מורה לספרות ואמנות בבית"ס התיכוני, "אהל-שם" ברמת־גן, וגם מדריך החוג הדרמטי המשותף לגימנסיה זו ולבית־צבי (בית תרבות לנוער ברמת־גן) שעל בימתו העלנו את הקומדיה שלך. השחקנים הם תלמידי כל כתות הגימנסיה כל' בני 14-18. הצגנו את המחזה בשלמותו בלי כל קצורים ורתקנו את קהלנו, הן בני נעורים והן מבוגרים, משך שעותיים. מתפלא אני—והרבה מן הצופים המבוגרים הביעו אותה תמיהה—על שום מה בימותינו המקצועיות העלימו עד כאן את עיניהם מיצירתך המצוינת. הרי [ז]ה [מחז]ה בנוי כהלכה, בעל דיאלוג חי ותוסס, נפשותיו הן של בשר [ודם] וענינו אקטואלי ביותר. יתכן שדוקא יוצאי טוניס אינם עשויים להפיק נחת ממנו—אני מנחש שזה מה שמנע מתל"ס להציגו—[[2]] אם כי אליבא דאמת המחבר חלק אור וצל ללא משא פנים בין ילידי הארץ לבין יוצאי המזרח. על הבימה היו אנשי טוניס ותימן אפילו חזקים יותר ומשכנעים יותר. בתור במאי—דהיינו בתור אדם שמלאכתו חייבה אותו להתעסק ולהפוך במחזה במשך חדשים—אוכל להגיד לך של שלא נלאיתי מלמצא ענין בו. הן בשיחה והן בסיטואציות צפונה דרמטיות אמיתית—נכס נדיר ביותר בספרות הדרמטית העברית החדשה.

שא נא את תודת החוג, את תודת הקהל ואת תודתי מקרב לב.

אני מצרף 6 צלומים קטנים מהצגתנו בבית־צבי.

שלום וברכה
מאת דר' אורי בושויץ

רמת־גן
רח' ידידיה 5.

339. Friedmann Boschwitz to Yehoshua Bar-Yosef (or Bar-Yossef), Yehoshua Bar-Yossef Archive, Gnazim Institute, No. 452, now accessible through the National Library of Israel. The text, written in cursive Hebrew, is penned with blue ink on lined paper, damage to which has caused several lacunae. A stamp from the Gnazim Archive, part of the Gnazim Institute, appears at the bottom, along with set of internal reference marks, in different hands.

17b. Boschwitz to Yehoshua Bar-Yosef

Ramat-Gan

15/08/1958

Most es[teem]ed Mr. Bar-Yosef,³⁴⁰

Mr. Zeiri³⁴¹ of the the[at]er section in the culture department in Tel-Aviv informed me that you would be interested to h[ear] that I put on *Samina and the Cow*³⁴² at the end of the school year with great success[.] I requested and received permission from the TLM.³⁴³ I am a teacher of literature and arts at the secondary school Ohel Shem in Ramat-Gan³⁴⁴ and also the instructor of the drama class jointly offered by this Gymnasium and Beit Zvi (youth culture center in Ramat-Gan), on whose stage we performed your comedy.³⁴⁵ The actors are students from all classes of the gymnasium, all of them 14–18 years old. We performed the play in its entirety with no abridgements and captivated our audience, both teenagers and adults, for two hours. I am surprised—and many of the older spectators expressed the same amazement—that our professional stages have so far ignored your excellent work. For [this play] is *structured* properly, with a lively and vigorous dialogue, its characters are of flesh [and blood] and its topic is extremely current. It may be that the immigrants from Tunisia would not be pleased by it—I am guessing this is what prevented the TLM from performing it—[[2]] but as a matter of fact the author shared light and shade with no bias between those born in the country and the immigrants from the East. On the stage, the people of Tunisia and Yemen were

340. Yehoshua Bar-Yosef né Zenwirth (1912–1992), editor, journalist, and columnist as well as novelist and dramatist.

341. Moshe Zeiri né Kleiner (1914–1987), comrade of the Zionist youth movement Gordonia, émigré from Galicia to Palestine in 1935, member of the kibbutz Kvutzat Shiller, Aliyah activist, soldier and cultural leader in the Solel Boneh unit of the British Army, and between 1945 and 1948 director of a children's home in Selvino, Italy—the former fascist colony Sciesopoli that became an orphanage for Jewish survivors (the Selvino children)—as well as pedagogue, arts enthusiast, and cofounder of Beit Zvi.

342. *Samina and the Cow*, a play by Bar-Yosef, whose manuscript lies among the author's papers in the National Library of Israel (now digitized and available online) and whose publication came in the 1957 issue of *Atidot* (עתידות), a monthly for youth produced by the World Zionist Organization.

343. TLM or “Theater for the Ma’abarot”—the *ma’abarot* being state camps for new immigrants and refugees established in the 1950s, often with high concentrations of Mizrahi Jews.

344. Ohel Shem (“Tent of Shem”), a public secular school founded outside Tel-Aviv where Boschwitz worked and whose internal publication printed a commemoration to him after his death.

345. Beit Zvi, a youth center and culture house founded in 1950, which in 1961 turned into a school for the performing arts.

even stronger and more convincing. As director—namely, as someone whose work forced him to deal with and think about the play for months—I can tell you that I did not tire from finding interest in it. Both in the dialogue and the situations there is real drama hidden—an extremely rare asset in the new dramatic Hebrew literature.

Please accept the wholehearted thanks from the class, the audience, and from the bottom of my heart.

I am attaching 6 small photographs from our performance at Beit Zvi.

Farewell and greetings,
Dr. Uri Boschwitz

Ramat-Gan
Yedidya St. 5

18a. Boschwitz to Karl Löwith³⁴⁶

Amsterdam 20/IX. 65

Lieber Prof. Löwith.

Ihr Brief erreichte mich in London; wo es uns in vieler Hinsicht nicht so gut erging. Wir erholen uns hier in Amstd., einer Stadt von humanen Proportionen. Auch ist das Wetter endlich schön geworden. Das Reichs-Museum liegt 10 Minuten von unserem Hotel . . . [Sic.] Am 15. X. werde ich leider nicht mehr in Europa sein, wohl aber etwa vom 4.-10. X. in der Schweiz (Tessin). Es hängt davon ab, ob wir Paris besser gewachsen sein werden als London. (Paris XVI^E,³⁴⁷ Hotel Métropole: 6, Av. Victor Hugo) Turner habe ich bewundert. Klee ist mir entgangen. Ich hoffe auch noch auf ein Wiedersehen im Tessin.
F. Boschwitz

18b. Boschwitz to Karl Löwith

Amsterdam, 20/9/1965

Dear Prof. Löwith,

346. Friedemann Boschwitz an Karl Löwith (Postkarte), 20 September 1965, A: Löwith, HS.1999.0017.0021,2, Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach, Deutschland. Dies wurde in deutscher Kurrentschrift geschrieben.

347. Diese numerische Angabe wurde unter der Zeile ergänzt.

Your letter reached me in London; where in many respects we were not doing so well. We are recovering here in Amsterdam, a city of human proportions. Also the weather has finally turned beautiful. The National Museum³⁴⁸ is 10 minutes from our hotel . . . On 15 Oct. I will unfortunately not be in Europe any longer, but from about 4–10 Oct. probably in Switzerland (Tessin³⁴⁹). It depends on whether Paris will suit me better than London. (*Paris 16th*, Hotel Métropole: 6, Av. Victor Hugo) Turner I admired. Klee escaped me.³⁵⁰ I also still hope for a reunion in Tessin. F. Boschwitz

19a. Boschwitz to Irmgard Foerg³⁵¹

Ramat Gan, den 30.VI.66

Sehr geehrte Frau Foerg,

Auf Veranlassung von Dr. Rob. Weltsch wende ich mich an Sie mit einer Bitte. Seit vielen Monaten befasse ich mich mit einer Forschung, die das Londoner Baeck Institut angeregt hat, ueber Gustav Landauer (1870–1919), den Schriftsteller und Sozialisten, der 1918/19 an der Muenchener Revolution unter Kurt Eisner beteiligt war und in ihrem Gefolge ermordet wurde. Landauers Briefe und literarischer Nachlass sind von Martin Buber in den zwanziger Jahren herausgegeben worden. Briefe und Tagebuecher und andere Dokumente aus Landauers Jugendzeit, sollten in einem Bande veroeffentlicht werden, den Landauers Schwiegersohn, Dr. Max Kronstein vorbereitete. Das ist niemals geschehen.

Ich wuerde nun sehr gerne wissen, ob diese Papiere noch existieren, in welchen Haenden und ob sie erreichbar sind?

Dr. Kronstein's Tochter Marianne lebt in New York. Ich habe vor Wochen an sie geschrieben und leider keine Antwort bekommen. Ihre Adresse ist: Mrs. Richard William Blum, 39 Montrose Road, Learsdale NY. Ferner wandte ich mich zu Anfang dieses Jahres an G. Landauers einzige

348. The Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, housed since 1885 in a building by architect Pierre Cuypers (1827–1921), who also designed Amsterdam Central Station.

349. A Swiss canton also known by its Italian name, Ticino.

350. Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775–1851), British painter and namesake of the Turner Prize; Paul Klee (1879–1940), Swiss-German artist associated with multiple movements. The Tate in London holds many works by each, although the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam does have a Klee, acquired in 1951, and did have an exhibition on English watercolors—including by Turner—in spring 1965.

351. Uri Boschwitz an Irmgard Foerg, 30 Juni 1966, LBIJER 1085, Umschlag 13, Abteilung II: Korrespondenz, 1958–69A–D, Leo-Baeck-Institut Jerusalem, Israel. Ganz oben auf diesem maschinengeschriebenen Dokument steht der Hinweis "Abschrift."

ueberlebende Tochter Mrs. Brigitte Hausberger, 1200 Spruce Str., Philadelphia 7.P. Dieser Brief kam als unbestellbar nach Monaten an mich zurueck.

Vielleicht sind Sie in der Lage den Kontakt mit Mrs. Blum fuer mich herzustellen? Nicht weniger wuerde es mich natuerlich interessieren zu erfahren, ob irgend jemand zufaellig eine Arbeit ueber G.L. in Angriff genommen hat.

Mit verbindlichstem Dank im voraus.

gez. Dr. Uri Boschwitz

19b. Boschwitz to Irmgard Foerg

Ramat Gan, 30/6/1966

Dear Ms. Foerg,³⁵²

At the suggestion of Dr. Robert Weltsch,³⁵³ I am turning to you with a request. For a number of months, I have been occupying myself with research—prompted by the London Baeck Institute—on *Gustav Landauer*

352. Irmgard Foerg (1925–2009), librarian, archivist, bibliographer, editor, and longtime assistant to the first director at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York, Max Kreutzberger (1900–1978). Having moved to Palestine in 1935, where he was involved with the Hitachduth Olej Germania (Association of Immigrants from Germany, cf. the introduction supra), Kreutzberger returned to Germany in 1948 as representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine—part of the World Zionist Organization—and met Foerg (“Irmchen”), a non-Jewish German, at the Bavarian State Library. In 1959, she moved to New York, even living with Max and his wife, Lisabet (who had emigrated the previous year), but visited Germany on several occasions in the 1960s to acquire collections. Later, from Locarno, Switzerland, where Kreutzberger also retired, she donated much material from him to the Leo Baeck Institute in New York. Foerg’s name is associated with considerable material in the institute’s collections (much of it now digitized), including photographs of her and other women at work behind the scenes. Her story is worth recovering. A couple snippets of information on her work at the Leo Baeck Institute appear in Christhard Hoffmann, ed., *Preserving the Legacy of German Jewry: A History of the Leo Baeck Institute, 1955–2005*, Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

353. Robert Weltsch (1891–1982), essayist, activist, journalist, and editor—first of the Zionist Federation’s *Jüdische Rundschau* in Berlin and then, with his emigration to Palestine, of the (from 1939) *Jüdische Welt-Rundschau*—who moved to England in 1945, where he served as a London correspondent for the daily *Haaertz*, helped found the Leo Baeck Institute, and edited its *Yearbook*, before later moving back to Israel. Weltsch had worked with Isaac Boschwitz, Friedemann’s father, on the executive committee for the Zionist Federation of Germany. An initial survey of the Robert Weltsch Collection preserved—and digitized—by the Leo Baeck Institute (New York: AR 7185 / MF 491; Jerusalem: LBIJER 865) did not reveal any extant correspondence with Boschwitz, but it did confirm Robert Weltsch to be an illuminating figure worthy of further study.

(1870–1919),³⁵⁴ the writer and socialist who participated in the Munich revolution under Kurt Eisner in 1918–19 and was murdered in the process.³⁵⁵ Landauer's letters and literary effects were edited by Martin Buber in the '20s.³⁵⁶ Letters, journals, and other documents from Landauer's early years were supposed to be published in a volume prepared by Landauer's son-in-law, Dr. Max Kronstein.³⁵⁷ This never happened.

Now I would very much like to know, do these papers still exist, who has them, and are they accessible?

Dr. Kronstein's daughter Marianne lives in New York. I wrote to her months ago but unfortunately received no reply. Her address is: Mrs. Richard William Blum, 39 Montrose Road, Learsdale, NY.³⁵⁸ In addition, at the beginning of this year I contacted G. Landauer's only surviving daughter,

354. Gustav Landauer (1870–1919), writer, critic, Shakespeare translator, political theorist, activist, and minister in the short-lived Bavarian Soviet Republic before his murder by counterrevolutionaries.

355. Kurt Eisner (1867–1919), journalist, critic, and politician who organized the Socialist Revolution in Bavaria, which overthrew the monarchy, and who established the People's State of Bavaria before his assassination.

356. Gustav Landauer, *Die Revolution*, ed. Martin Buber, 1st ed., Die Gesellschaft. Sammlung sozial-psychologischer Monographien 13 (Frankfurt: Rütten & Loening, 1907); Landauer, *Shakespeare, dargestellt in Vorträgen*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: Rütten & Loening, 1920); Landauer, *Meister Eckharts mystische Schriften*, ed. Buber, *Verschollene Meister der Literatur* 1 (Berlin: Schnabel, 1920); Landauer, *Der werdende Mensch. Aufsätze über Leben und Schrifttum*, ed. Buber (Potsdam: Kiepenheuer 1921); Landauer, *Beginnen. Aufsätze über Sozialismus*, ed. Buber (Cologne: Block, 1924); Buber and Ina Britschgi-Schimmer, eds., *Gustav Landauer. Sein Lebensgang in Briefen*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: Rütten & Loening, 1929). See now also *Gustav Landauer–Fritz Mauthner. Briefwechsel, 1890–1919*, ed. Hanna Delf and Julius H. Schoeps (Munich: Beck, 1994); Landauer, *Briefe und Tagebücher, 1884–1900*, ed. Christoph Knüppel, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2017); Landauer, *Briefe, 1899–1919*, ed. Hanna Delf von Wolzogen (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2022).

357. Max Kronstein (1895–1992), native of Basel, doctorand at Leipzig, husband of Landauer's oldest daughter, Charlotte "Lotte" (1894–1927)—who married him in 1922, died after an operation in Karlsruhe, and received a memorial address by Buber—and in 1939 immigrant to the United States with their daughter, Marianne, where he worked as a research chemist and patent-holder in New York until the month before his death and dedicated himself to aerophilately and astrophilately. According to the preface in the 1929 edition of Landauer's letters by Buber and Britschgi-Schimmer, Kronstein was supposed to publish "letters, diaries, and other documents of his [sc. Landauer's] youth." Kronstein reportedly penned the preface to a posthumous 1928 edition of Landauer's 1891 novella *Ein Knabenleben*, too. On the overshadowed role of Britschgi-Schimmer and the difficulties with Kronstein, see Wolf von Wolzogen, "Ina Britschgi-Schimmer: Co-Editor of Gustav Landauer's Letters," in *Gustav Landauer: Anarchist und Jew*, ed. Paul Mendes-Flohr and Anya Mali with Hanna Delf von Wolzogen (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), 191–204.

358. Marianne Rahel (1923–1995), daughter of Charlotte and Max Kronstein, who collected much material on her grandfather Gustav Landauer and later donated it to the Leo Baeck Institute. Similar to that of Boschwitz, the Buber biography written by Maurice Friedeman, of 1981, thanked one Marianne Blum of Scarsdale, New York, for access to materials, whereas the 1984 *LBi News*—like the 1990 *LBi Catalog of the Archival Collections*—recorded the donor of the Gustav Landauer Collection as one Mrs. Marianne B. Luetke of Peekskill, New York (no. 47, pp. 13–14). It thus seems she remarried.

Mrs. Brigitte Hausberger, 1200 Spruce Str., Philadelphia 7.P.³⁵⁹ This letter was returned to me months later as undeliverable.

Perhaps you are in the position to establish contact with Mrs. Blum for me? It would, of course, be no less interesting to me to know whether anyone has by chance set about work on G.L.

With kind thanks in advance,

sgd. Dr. Uri Boschwitz

359. Brigitte Hausberger (1906–1985), youngest daughter of Landauer, with writer Hedwig Lachmann, and hospital social worker, who married Pavel Peschkowsky (later: Paul Nichols) in 1930—with whom she had Mike Nichols, the famed director and producer—emigrated to New York in 1940, and, as a widow, married Franz Hausberger, moving to Philadelphia and assisting her second husband in his medical laboratory.

SECTION B

Letters on Boschwitz

20. Dean of the Marburg Faculty to the Rector of the University³⁶⁰

Marburg, 26 January 1934

To His Magnificence, the Rector of the Philipps University of Marburg/
Lahn³⁶¹

Concerning the request of Mr. *Boschwitz*,³⁶² I can only give an opinion in formal terms, as I do not know him personally. If the colleague Mommsen is correct in the conviction—expressed in the attached letter from 24 January 1934³⁶³—that Mr. Boschwitz has acted not at all politically and certainly not communistically, then the Ministry's decrees of 29/06/1933 (U I Nr 21890) and of 9 August 1933 (U I Nr 22525) do not come into consideration.³⁶⁴ The only

360. A publication of the German—a typescript of the letter by Boschwitz—appears in Nagel and Sieg, *Die Philipps-Universität Marburg im Nationalsozialismus*, Letter 71, p. 175. Though not reproduced in that edition, the copy includes two other pieces of information (here translated), presumably reproductions of stamps for internal registration purposes: “Philosophical Faculty of the Philipps University, Jr Nr 343/176 I” and “To the letter from 20 January 1934, Nr I R 1 Ba/40.” The class mark is UniA MR 305a Nr 64, Dossier Rector, Files of the Philipps University of Marburg Concerning Higher Education Reform, Archive of the Philipps University of Marburg in the Hessen City Archive, Marburg, Germany. (For the previous shelf mark, cf. Boschwitz to the Rector of Marburg University, 19 January 1934, above.)

361. This address appears at the bottom of the copied document.

362. Emphasis original.

363. Subsequent inquiry confirms the absence of this document in the dossier, which Nagel and Sieg first noted.

364. The Prussian Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung (Ministry for Science, Art, and Education) was comprised of eight divisions—including U1, the designation here—for Science, Universities, and Technical Universities. These two decrees, sent to all universities, compelled rectors to expel students deemed leftwing or otherwise hazardous to the nationalist movement, even enlisting help from student groups. For the ordinances themselves, see the Ministry's publication *Zentralblatt für die gesamte Unterrichts-Verwaltung in Preußen* 75 (1933) and 76 (1934), now digitized and accessible through ScriptaPaedagogica of the Bibliothek für

question is whether Mr. Boschwitz—in the case he had still been matriculated in Marburg at that time—would have been excluded from further studies on the basis of the Ministry's decree of 16 June 1933 (UI Nr 1331.1), Subsection 4.II.³⁶⁵ To my knowledge, this is not the case. In Marburg, the limit of 5% non-Aryan students was not even close to being reached in the summer semester of 1933. Thus, no non-Aryan students whatsoever had to be excluded from further study simply for the sake of this limit. And if it had been necessary, then Mr. Boschwitz would, nonetheless, certainly not have been affected according to the stated selection principles in Subsection 4.III, as he was already at work on his dissertation and as his personal and scientific eligibility to study are recognized for study by the subject representative.

In accordance with the ministerial regulations, I must therefore approve the admission of Mr. Boschwitz to undergo doctoral examination in Marburg.

sgd. Mahnke³⁶⁶
cur[rent] Dean

21. Opinion from the Leader of the Marburg Student Body³⁶⁷

[15–17 February 1934]³⁶⁸

As leader of the Marburg student body, I declare myself against the admission of the phil[osophy] stud[ent] Boschwitz for a doctorate. The topic Boschwitz

Bildungsgeschichtliche Forschung in Berlin (BBF; Research Library for the History of Education) at the Leibniz-Institut für Bildungsforschung und Bildungsinformation (DIPF; Leibniz Institute for Research and Information in Education). On their implications, cf. Nagel and Sieg, *Die Philipps-Universität Marburg im Nationalsozialismus*; Christoph Jahr, Rüdiger vom Bruch, and Rebecca Schaarschmidt, eds., *Die Berliner Universität in der NS-Zeit*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2005).

365. Giving guidance for the implementation of the law of 25 April 1933, which capped the number of “non-Aryan” students, this order specified exemptions related to permission for study and examination.

366. Cf. Boschwitz to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty, 28 June 1935, n. 130 above.

367. This short handwritten statement appeared among—and against—others by members of the matriculation committee: a typed summary by the rectorate, dated 26 February, follows on the document. A transcription of Kluge's declaration was published in Nagel and Sieg, *Die Philipps-Universität Marburg im Nationalsozialismus*, Letter 72, p. 176, as well as Lemberg, “... eines deutschen akademischen Grades unwürdig,” 57. The reference signature is now UniA MR 305a Nr 64, Dossier Rector, Files of the Philipps University of Marburg Concerning Higher Education Reform, Archive of the Philipps University of Marburg in the Hessen City Archive, Marburg, Germany. (For the earlier class mark, cf. Boschwitz to the Rector of Marburg University, 19 January 1934, above.)

368. Based on their associated dates, opinions were collected between 8 and 19 February. The one preceding Kluge's was dated 15 February; the following, 17.

has chosen for himself shows that he is a total Jew, and the German student body resists having Jews in its society.³⁶⁹

Rudolf Kluge

The leader of the Marb[urg] Student Body

22. Adolf Jülicher to Eduard Schwartz³⁷⁰

3 March 1934

Esteemed "Brother in Faith"!³⁷¹

You have already sent kind greetings several times from the Berlin meeting,³⁷² and I would have liked to answer you with a decent letter; but the day I was counting on, a day of increasing courage, did not come; I see almost nothing anymore, and dictation is becoming more and more of a strain for me.

Today, however, I have a special occasion to write you and do so most hurriedly—which should not suggest that you would be forced to make the same haste. A local philosophy student Boschwitz (a Jew unknown to me personally but praised by others) has had Mommsen set the topic of Wellhausen as historiographer for a doctoral thesis for him and has already worked his way down deep.³⁷³ He is still almost completely lacking Wellhausen's letters; he searched in vain for letters to Wellhausen in his estate, or rather almost in vain; there is little order to it. Now he has directed his hopes to you and me, among those he knows had corresponded with Wellhausen for many years. I, too, kept the letters of Wellhausen and would have still found them quickly

369. This translation reflects a new reading of the document, which contrasts that of the original publication: namely, as "... sträubt sich[,] Juden in ihrer Gemeinschaft zu haben" (as opposed to "weigert sich[,] Juden in ihre Gemeinschaft zu lassen").

370. The German text was published in Ute Heil and Annette von Stockhausen, eds., *Crux interpretum. Ein kritischer Rückblick auf das Werk von Eduard Schwartz*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 176 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), 177–78. This volume is available online through the open-access repository of the Berlin–Brandenburg Academy of Sciences. The manuscript itself is held by the Bavarian State Library of Munich, under the signature Schwartziana II A.

371. Eduard Schwartz (1858–1940), noted classical philologist, church historian, and friend of Julius Wellhausen. Adolf Jülicher (1857–1938), scholar of the New Testament and early Christianity and Wellhausen confidant. The address ("Mitbruder") may allude to their shared—and known—resistance to the convergence of the Protestant churches with the Nazi party into a unified, national German Evangelical Church—although they apparently did not explicitly align themselves with the Confessing Church (*Bekennende Kirche*).

372. Heil reckons this meeting to be one of the Kirchenväterkommission, which Schwartz joined in 1930 after the death of Adolf von Harnack.

373. On selection of the topic, cf. introduction supra.

even 1.5 years ago. But much has been misplaced since my move to a smaller apartment, and digging around would require a long time without my eyes. Any success there can only be expected after my death. The state of things will be better with you, and if you could help the young man with the temporary surrender of these treasures, it would please me, too.³⁷⁴ He had turned to my colleague Bultmann with the question of whether he would dare ask us both for Wellhausen's letters.

The former was also at our place yesterday evening; I explained to him the reason why I could not fulfill his wish. But I do not think that you would take offense at the same request; apart from Bultmann, he might only appeal to me.—In any case, it may well be that you would not want to pass on the letters, even not for a short while, and I am writing you the facts. You would spare me embarrassment by informing me, and I would then be in the position to let the doctoral student know through Bultmann that he should not even trouble you with a superfluous letter. Otherwise, I will not take any further step in this matter.

How warmly I begrudge you of the age with so much strength and joy that one must almost smile about it from retirement.

With warm greetings in old friendship,
Yours

Adolf Jülicher

23a. Robert Noske to the Marburg Faculty³⁷⁵

21.5.1937

An die Philosophische Fakultät der Universität Marburg (Lahn).

Wir erhielten von Ihnen freundlicherweise auf unsere Anfrage die Mitteilung, daß die Pflichtexemplare der Dissertation Friedmann Boschwitz, z. Zt. Jerusalem am 11.7.1937 abgeliefert werden müssen.

374. On the publication history of this correspondence, see the introduction *supra*.

375. Robert Noske an die philosophische Fakultät der Universität Marburg, 21 Mai 1937, UniA MR 307d Nr 1221, Promotionsakten Friedemann Boschwitz aus Berlin, Akten der philosophischen Fakultät, Archiv der Philipps-Universität Marburg im Hessischen Staatsarchiv, Marburg, Deutschland. (Alte Signatur: HStAM 307d, acc. 1960/45, Nr 676.) Dieses Dokument ist eine maschinengeschriebene Abschrift, wie die Notiz auf dem Dokument selbst erkennen lässt. Oben stehen auch in roter Tinte die Absenderadresse, vermutlich durch einen Stempel hinzugefügt ("Spezialbetrieb für Dissertationsdruck Verlagsanstalt Robert Noske Borna Bez. Leipzig/Postfach 3"), und in schwarzer Tinte ein internes Zeichen: "1/La."

Wir stehen bereits mit Herrn Boschwitz seit September 1936 wegen dem Druck seiner Dissertation in Unterhandlung, ohne daß wir bisher zum Ziele kommen konnten. Herr Boschwitz bat uns seinerzeit von Marienbad aus um Übersendung eines Kostenanschlages in Form einer Rechnung, da er diese der Devisenstelle einreichen müßte. Diese Bitte hat Herr Boschwitz im April 1937³⁷⁶ nochmals von Jeruslaem aus wiederholt, wobei wir bei Übersendung nach Jerusalem übersahen, daß wir eine solche Kostenrechnung bereits nach Marienbad gesandt hatten. Da Herr Boschwitz auf unsere mehrfachen Erinnerungen nichts wieder von sich hören läßt, müssen wir zu der Vermutung kommen, daß Herr Boschwitz die Form der Rechnung nur gewählt hat, um in seinem jeweiligen Aufenthaltslande Devisen-Genehmigung zu³⁷⁷ bekommen. Soweit uns bekannt ist, muß ja die Fakultät die Druckgenehmigung erteilen und wir möchten höflich darum bitten, für den Fall, daß Herr Boschwitz seine Korrektur von einer anderen Druckerei einreichen läßt, die Sache so lange zurückzustellen, bis die Devisenfrage geklärt ist. Sollte sich Herr Boschwitz einer anderen Druckerei bedienen, so besteht die Gefahr des Devisenvergehens und wir möchten keinesfalls unsere Hand hierzu bieten. Wir würden dann sowohl der Devisenstelle nach Marienbad als auch nach Jerusalem die Sachlage klarlegen, damit uns nicht selbst Schwierigkeit bereitet werden.

Für Ihre freundliche Unterstützung danken wir Ihnen verbindlichst und zeichnen mit

Heil Hitler!

gez. Robert Noske

[Unten, auf der selben Seite: Abschrift eines späteren Briefes von einem anderen Absender bzw. vom Verlag Franz Linke, der schließlich Boschwitz' Buch druckte]

Berlin, den 22. März 1938.³⁷⁸

Dekanat d. Philos. Fakultät der Philipps-Univ.

Die Dissertation *Boschwitz* ist heute in 180 Exemplaren an Sie durch 4 Postguthabepakete abgesandt worden. Herr Boschwitz bittet, ihm sein Diplom nach Jerusalem, Rambandroad 41 zu senden.

Heil Hitler!³⁷⁹

376. *Sic.*

377. Hiernach durchgestrichen: "erhalten."

378. Am Ende des Textes abgeschrieben, hier aus formellen Gründen umgestellt.

379. In roter Tinte: "Stempel Franz Linke, Buckdruckerei, Berlin NW 7, Marienstr. 13."

23b. Robert Noske to the Marburg Faculty

21/5/1937

To the Philosophy Faculty of the University of *Marburg (Lahn)*:

In reply to our inquiry, we kindly received information from you that the required copies of the dissertation by Friedemann Boschwitz, currently in Jerusalem, must be delivered by 11/7/1937.

Already since September 1936, we have been in negotiations with Mr. Boschwitz concerning the printing of his dissertation, without being able, as of yet, to reach our goal. At that time, from Marienbad,³⁸⁰ Mr. Boschwitz requested that we send an estimate of costs in *the form of an invoice*, as he would have to submit this to the Foreign Exchange Office.³⁸¹ Mr. Boschwitz repeated this request again from Jerusalem in April [1]937, although in sending [it] to Jerusalem we overlooked that we had already sent such an invoice of costs to Marienbad. As Mr. Boschwitz has never responded to our multiple reminders, we must assume that Mr. Boschwitz only chose the form of invoice to receive permission for foreign exchange in his country at that time. As far as we know, the Faculty must, indeed, grant the permission to print. We would therefore like to ask politely that, in the case Mr. Boschwitz submits his corrections through another printer, you postpone the matter so long as it takes for the question of foreign exchange to be clarified. Should Mr. Boschwitz make use of another printer, there is the risk of a foreign-exchange crime, and under no circumstances would we want to lend a hand in that. We would then explain the situation to the exchange office in Marienbad as well as in Jerusalem so that we ourselves are not drawn into difficulties.

For your kind support we thank you most sincerely and sign off with
Heil Hitler!
sgd. Robert Noske

[Bottom of the same page: copy of a later letter by a different sender: namely, the ultimate printer of Boschwitz's book, Franz Linke]

Berlin, 22 March 1938

The Dean's Office of the Philosophical Faculty of the Philipps University

380. Cf. Boschwitz to Strauss, 19 October 1936, above, when he referred to that same time in Marienbad.

381. The Foreign Exchange Office became a powerful instrument for regulating foreign exchange and foreign exports under the Nazi regime, when it operated as a piercing tool to expatriate émigré Jews; cf. the introduction *supra*.

The dissertation of *Boschwitz* was dispatched to you today via post in 180 copies in 4 postal packets. Mr. Boschwitz requests that you send him his diploma in *Jerusalem, Ramban Road 41*.

Heil Hitler!³⁸²

24a. Wilhelm Mommsen to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty³⁸³

27 Mai 1937

An den Herrn Dekan der Philosophischen Fakultät Marburg/Lahn.

Euer Spectabilität

lege ich den noch unkorrigierten Druck der Dissertation Boschwitz bei. Der Verfasser ist Nichtarier und hat seinerzeit mit Genehmigung des Herrn Ministers promoviert. Der Schriftwechsel darüber dürfte in den Fakultätsakten vorliegen. Wenn ich den neuen Erlass über die Promotion von Nichtariern richtig verstehe, so bestehen wohl keinerlei Bestimmungen, die gegen die Aushängung des Diploms an Herrn Boschwitz sprechen.

Den Revisionsschein habe ich trotzdem noch nicht ausgefüllt, weil der Druck noch nicht in Ordnung ist. Herr Boschwitz, der in Palästina ist, hat Dr. Heinz Dekuczynski mit der Besorgung des Druckes beauftragt und das damit begründet, dass schon am 11. Juli. ds.Js. der Ablieferungstermin der Pflichtexemplare wäre, und die Korrespondenz zwischen Marburg und Palästina zu lange dauern würde. Mir scheint es richtiger, diesen Ablieferungstermin für einige Zeit zu verlängern und den Verfasser selbst die Korrektur machen zu lassen, denn ich habe noch eine ganze Reihe von Druckfehlern festgestellt.

Auch sachlich ist nicht alles in Ordnung. Der Verfasser hat sich leider nicht voeher³⁸⁴ mit mir in Verbidung gesetzt, ehe er endgültig druckte; aber die in meinem Gutachten enthaltenen Änderungswünsche habe ich ihm sicher, wie stets, sofort mitgeteilt. Das Thema liegt mir sehr fern. Ich kann über das Ganze sachlich kaum urteilen. Immerhin war der Stil noch vielfach zu beanstanden³⁸⁵, was nun freilich nicht mehr zu ändern sein dürfte. Bedenken habe

382. The document here indicates a stamp from the book printer Franz Linke in Berlin.

383. Wilhelm Mommsen an den Dekan der philosophischen Fakultät, 27 Mai 1937, UniA MR 307d Nr 1221, Promotionsakten Friedemann Boschwitz aus Berlin, Akten der philosophischen Fakultät, Archiv der Philipps-Universität Marburg im Hessischen Staatsarchiv, Marburg, Deutschland. (Vorherige Signatur: HStAM 307d, acc. 1960/45, Nr 676.) Dies ist eine Abschrift auf dem Briefkopf des Historischen Seminars mit einem Fakultätseingangsstempel vom 28.8.1937.

384. *Sic*.

385. Korrigiert nachträglich aus: "beanstaden."

ich dagegen, die Schlusseiten in dieser Form zu lassen und habe schon in dem Gutachten für die Fakultät darauf hingewiesen, dass hier allgemeine Urteile gegeben würden, die nicht zur Arbeit gehörten. Ferner war der erst nachträglich³⁸⁶ gemachte allgemeine Zusatz auf Seite 35 keineswegs nötig. Ich würde vorschlagen, diese Änderungen auch jetzt noch zu verlangen. [[verso]] Allerdings hat Herr Kollege Bultmann, der für die Arbeit sachlich im wesentlichen zuständig war, seinerseits keine derartige Änderungswünsche.

Ich weiss ferner nicht, ob der Lebenslauf in dieser Form nötig³⁸⁷ und auch zweckmässig ist.³⁸⁸ Vielleicht sind Sie so freundlich, das Ganze einmal anzusehen. Ich komme im Lauf der nächsten Woche in Ihren Sprechstunden einmal vorbei, um über das Ganze zu sprechen.

Heil Hitler!

[gez.] Mommsen

24b. Wilhelm Mommsen to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty

27 May 1937

To the Dean of the Philosophy Faculty, *Marburg (Lahn)*:

For the Respected Dean,

I attach the as-yet uncorrected print of the dissertation by Boschwitz. The author is non-Aryan and was at that time granted his doctorate by permission from the minister. The correspondence in this regard must be in the files of the Faculty. If I understand correctly the new decree on doctorates by non-Aryans, then there are no regulations whatsoever that speak against issuing the diploma to Mr. Boschwitz.

386. *Sic*.

387. Hier anscheinend ein Tippfehler für das Wort "nötig".

388. In der Akte ist ein anderer maschinengeschriebener Lebenslauf vorhanden, der hier wahrscheinlich gemeint und mit dem unten gedruckten zu vergleichen ist: "Lebenslauf. Ich Friedmann [*sic!*] Philipp Boschwitz, als Sohn des Kaufmanns Isaac Boschwitz und seiner Ehefrau Clara geb. Haurwitz am 18.6.1909 in Berlin geboren, bin Jude und deutscher Reichsangehöriger. Ich besuchte seit 1919 das Friedrichs-Werdersche Gymnasium zu Berlin, das ich Ostern 1928 mit dem Zeugnis der Reife verliess; studierte Geschichte und Philosophie an den Universitäten zu Freiburg im Breisgau, Marburg an der Lahn und Berlin. Meine akademischen Lehrer waren die Herren Professoren und Dozenten: Becker, Berney, Gurlitt, Heimpel, Husserl, Kolbe, Krebs und Ritter in Freiburg; Bickermann, Brackmann, Caspar, Guardini, Hartmann, Jaeger, Kuhn, Oncken und Vierkandt in Berlin; Deckert, Frank, Haepke, Löwith, Mommsen, Otto, v. Premerstein und Spitzer in Marburg." Hier wurde aber "deutscher Reichsangehöriger" aus "preussischer Staatsangehöriger" handschriftlich korrigiert.

Nevertheless, I have not yet completed the revision certification because the printing is not yet in order. Mr. Boschwitz, who is in Palestine, has arranged for Dr. Heinz Dekuczynski to see to the printing and gave as the reason for this that the submission deadline for the required copies would be 11 July of this year and the communication between Marburg and Palestine would take too long.³⁸⁹ It seems more proper to extend this submission deadline and allow the author himself to make the corrections, as I have detected a whole host of print errors.

In terms of content, too, not everything is in order. Unfortunately, the author did not make contact with me earlier, before he ran the final printing, but I certainly, and constantly, communicated directly to him the desired changes, contained in my report. The topic is very far from me. I can barely give a judgment on the thing in terms of content. Nonetheless, the style still had much to complain about, what now, of course, may not be changed anymore. I have reservations about leaving the final pages in this form. Already in the report for the Faculty, I indicated that general judgments would be given here that did not belong to the work. Further, the general addition on page 35, only made subsequently, was by no means necessary. I would suggest demanding these changes still even now. [[verso]] However, the colleague Bultmann, who was essentially responsible for this work as regards content, had no desired changes such as these.

Furthermore, I do not know whether the curriculum vitae in this form is necessary and also appropriate. Perhaps you would be so kind as to take a look at the whole thing. Next week, I will come by during your office hours to discuss everything.

Heil Hitler!

[sgd.] Mommsen

389. Heinz Dekuczynski (1909–1993), later known as Henry Deku, school friend of Boschwitz from Berlin, doctorand in philosophy whose degree became a casualty of the Nazi regime, short-term prisoner of Buchenwald in 1938, immigrant to England then North America (including as a research fellow in New Haven, CT, United States), convert to Catholicism in 1939, returnee to Germany as part of the American military in the unit for psychological warfare, and from 1946 lecturer at the University of Munich, with stints in South Bend, IN, United States, and Salzburg, Austria. A biographical sketch by Sabine Deku-Schönburg appears in Deku's collected works: "Biographische Skizze," in *Die Wirklichkeit des Geistes. Kritische Reflexionen*, Henry Deku Gesammelte Schriften 2, ed. Werner Beierwaltes and Rolf Schönberger (Regensburg: Pustet, 2012), 625–45; cf. the entry "Henry Deku" by Schönberger on *Das Portal zur katholischen Geisteswelt: kath.info.de* (online). Letters by Deku to Löwith have been published as *Überleben in der Tradition. Henry Deku schreibt an Karl Löwith*, ed. Stephan Grotz (Ottensheim: Thanhäuser, 2020). On the publication arrangement between Boschwitz and Dekuczynski, cf. the introduction *supra*.

25a. Wilhelm Mommsen to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty³⁹⁰

24. August 1937

An den Herrn Dekan der Philosophischen Fakultät Marburg/Lahn.

Euer Spectabilität

lege ich noch wunschgemäss eine Abschrift meines Schreibens vom 27. Mai d. J. in der Angelegenheit Boschwitz bei. Ich bin mit Herrn Boschwitz im Sinne dieses Schreibens über die noch zu machenden Änderungen in Verbindung getreten.

Heil Hitler!

[gez.] Mommsen

25b. Wilhelm Mommsen to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty

24 August 1937

To the Dean of the Philosophy Faculty, *Marburg/Lahn*:

For His Respected Dean,

I attach again, as desired, a copy of my letter from 27 May this year on the matter of *Boschwitz*. I have started discussion with Mr. Boschwitz on the point of this letter concerning the changes yet to be made.

Heil Hitler!

[sgd.] Mommsen

26a. Wilhelm Mommsen to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty³⁹¹

1. Februar 1938

390. Wilhelm Mommsen an den Dekan der philosophischen Fakultät, 24 August 1937, UniA MR 307d Nr 1221, Promotionsakten Friedemann Boschwitz aus Berlin, Akten der philosophischen Fakultät, Archiv der Philipps-Universität Marburg im Hessischen Staatsarchiv Marburg, Deutschland. (Alte Signatur: HStAM 307d, acc. 1960/45, Nr 676.) Dieser maschinengeschriebene, handgezeichnete Brief ohne einen Abschriftshinweis wurde auf dem Briefkopf des Historischen Seminars geschrieben und ist mit einem Fakultätseingangsstempel vom 27 August 1937 versehen.

391. Wilhelm Mommsen an den Dekan der philosophischen Fakultät, 1 Februar 1938, UniA MR 307d Nr 1221, Promotionsakten Friedemann Boschwitz aus Berlin, Akten der philosophischen Fakultät, Archiv der Philipps-Universität Marburg im Hessischen Staatsarchiv, Marburg, Deutschland. (Ehemalige Signatur: HStAM 307d, acc. 1960/45, Nr 676.) Auf dem Briefkopf des Historischen Seminars geschrieben, ist dieses ein maschinengeschriebenes und handschriftlich gezeichnetes Schreiben ohne Eingangsstempel der Fakultät.

An Seine Spektabilität, den Herrn Dekan der Philosophischen Fakultät in Marburg.

Die beiliegende Arbeit des Herrn Boschwitz ist in Ordnung. Jch³⁹² beantrage jetzt die Druckgenehmigung und bitte die Arbeit an die Buchdruckerei Franz Linke in Berlin NW 7, Marienstr. 13, zu schicken. Die Druckerei bittet um möglichste Beschleunigung, da die Arbeit schon ein volles Jahr dort läge. Das ist richtig und beruht auf den Umständen, die auch dem Herrn Dekan bekannt sind.

Heil Hitler!

[gez.] Mommsen

[Unten, handschriftlich nachgetragen in Kurrentschrift]

Druck ist am 9.2.1938 genehmigt worden durch den Herrn Dekan Prof.

Dr. Taeger. abges., am 10.II.38. J.

26b. Wilhelm Mommsen to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty

1 February 1938

To His Respected Dean of the Philosophy Faculty in *Marburg*:

The attached work of Mr. Boschwitz is in order. I now apply for the permission to print and request that the work be sent to the book printers of Franz Linke in Berlin, NW7, Marienstr. 13.³⁹³ The printers request as much expedition as possible, as the work has apparently been sitting there for an entire year already. It is correct to do so and relates to the circumstances which of which the Dean is also familiar.

Heil Hitler!

[sgd.] Mommsen

[Underneath, penned later in cursive]

Printing was approved on 9.2.1938 by Dean Prof. Dr. Taeger.³⁹⁴

392. Sic.

393. Though uncited, presumably this kind of engagement underwrites the claim by Peter Köpf of Mommsen supporting Boschwitz in the printing of his thesis: Köpf, *Die Mommsens. Von 1848 bis Heute—die Geschichte einer Familie ist die Geschichte der Deutschen* (Hamburg: Europa, 2004), 255–56.

394. Fritz Taeger (1894–1960), ancient historian who, after various conflicts, replaced Friedrich Wachsmuth as dean and, after various conflicts of his own, was then himself replaced by Julius Ebbinghaus. On the sequence of deans, see Boschwitz to Dean of the Marburg Faculty, 28 June 1935, n. 130, above.

Sent on 10.2.38. J.³⁹⁵

27a. Fritz Taeger to the Ministry of Culture³⁹⁶

25. März 1938.

An den Herrn Reichs- und Preußischen Minister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, Berlin W8

– durch den Herrn Rektor und den Herrn Kurator der Philipps-Universität –.

Auf Grund des Bescheides vom 24. Juli 1937 W F1796 war die Philosophische Fakultät Marburg berechtigt, Friedmann Boschwitz das Doktordiplom nach Erfüllungen sämtlicher Promotionsleistungen, auszustellen. Inzwischen hat es sich herausgestellt, wie die beiliegenden Schreiben beweisen, dass er sich zunächst mit der³⁹⁷ Fa. Robert Noske in Borna und dann mit der Fa. Franz Linke, Berlin zum Druck seiner Arbeit in Verbindung gesetzt hat. Die Fa. Noske befürchtet in ihrem Schreiben vom 21.5.1937 ein Devisenvergehen. Ich bitte daher, eine Untersuchung zu veranlassen, ob das Vergehen begangen ist, und werde die³⁹⁸ Ausstellung des Diploms bis zur Klärung dieses Falles zurückstellen.

[gez.] Taeger.

27b. Fritz Taeger to the Ministry of Culture

12 March 1938

To the Imperial and Prussian Minister for Science, Education, and National Formation, *Berlin W8*

—via the Rector and the Curator of the Philipps University—

395. The name behind this initial remains unclear.

396. Fritz Taeger an den Dekan der philosophischen Fakultät, 25 März 1938, UniA MR 307d Nr 1221, Promotionsakten Friedemann Boschwitz aus Berlin, Akten der philosophischen Fakultät, Archiv der Philipps-Universität Marburg im Hessischen Staatsarchiv, Marburg, Deutschland. (Frühere Signatur: HStAM 307d, 1960/45, Nr 676.) Maschinengeschrieben und handschriftlich unterzeichnet, hat dieser Brief eine Stempelung der Fakultät und die anscheinend interne Kennnummer 34 oben links.

397. Die letzten beiden Wörter wurden handschriftlich korrigiert.

398. Davor wurde ein maschinengeschriebenes Wort handschriftlich durchgestrichen.

Based on the information from 24 July 1937,³⁹⁹ WF 1796, the Philosophy Faculty of Marburg was justified to issue Friedmann Boschwitz the doctoral diploma after fulfillment of all achievements for the doctorate. In the meantime, it has emerged, as the attached letters document, that he first made contact with the firm Robert Noske in Borna and then with the firm Franz Linke, Berlin, for the printing of his work. In its letter from 21/05/1937, the firm Noske fears there may have been a foreign-exchange crime.⁴⁰⁰ I therefore ask that you open an investigation as to whether an offense occurred and will postpone the issue of the diploma until the affair is clarified.

[sgd.] Taeger.

28a. Franz Linke to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty⁴⁰¹

Berlin, den 21. Oktober 1938

An das Dekanat der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Marburg

Auf meine nach dort gerichtete Anfrage vom 11. August d.Js. in der Angelegenheit Boschwitz habe ich bisher keine Antwort erhalten.⁴⁰² Ich erlaube mir, diese nochmals Ihnen zu unterbreiten:

Ich habe etwa Anfang Mai d.J. 180 Exemplare der von mir gedruckten Dissertation des Herrn Friedemann Boschwitz aus Berlin über "Julius Wellhausen" an das dortige Dekanat gesandt und die Bitte beigefügt, dem Besteller Boschwitz, z.Zt. Jerusalem, Rambanstr. 41, das Doktordiplom dorthin zu senden. Da B. das Diplom nicht erhalten hat, wendet der Vater⁴⁰³ fortgesetzt, so auch heute wieder, an mich. Da ich noch eine Restforderung von Boschwitz zu erhalten habe, bitte ich höflichst, mir zu bestätigen, daß ich die Pflichtexemplare dorthin gesandt habe, und weiter—wenn es angängig ist—mir vielleicht

399. A copy of this letter from 28 July 1937—typed and dated 10 August—is also present in the Boschwitz dossier but not reproduced here.

400. Cf. Robert Noske to the Marburg Faculty, 21 May 1937, above.

401. Franz Linke an das Dekanat der philosophischen Fakultät, 21 Oktober 1938, UniA MR 307d Nr 1221, Promotionsakten Friedemann Boschwitz aus Berlin, Akten der philosophischen Fakultät, Archiv der Philipps-Universität Marburg im Hessischen Staatsarchiv Marburg, Deutschland. (Vormalige Signatur: HStAM 307d, acc. 1960/45, Nr 676.) Der auf dem Briefkopf der Firma maschinengeschriebene Brief zeigt ein paar Handkorrekturen und zwei verschiedene Eingangsstempel ("22.10.1938", "24.10.1938") sowie den Abdruck eines Gummistempels der Firma und die Signatur des Verfassers.

402. Dieser erste, auf dem Briefkopf der Buchdruckerei geschriebene, von Hand korrigierte und durch einen Abdruck des Gummistempels der Firma sowie die Unterschrift des Absenders gekennzeichnete Brief ist noch vorhanden, aber wegen inhaltlicher Überschneidung hier nicht wiedergegeben.

403. Danach handschriftlich über der Zeile ergänzt mit: "sich".

mitzuteilen, wie es mit der Diploman gelegenheit ist. Ich möchte dem Herrn Boschwitz gern Bescheid geben, denn ehe⁴⁰⁴ er das Diplom nicht erhält, wird er auch meine Restsumme nicht zahlen.

Für Ihre Bemühung Ihnen im Voraus bestens dankend, zeichne
Heil Hitler!
[gez.] Linke

28b. Franz Linke to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty

21 October 1938

To the Dean's Office of the Philosophy Faculty of the University of Marburg:

In response to the inquiry of 11 August this year, I have as yet received no reply on the matter of Boschwitz.⁴⁰⁵ I am taking the liberty of presenting this to you once more.

Around the beginning of May this year, I sent 180 copies of the dissertation by Friedemann Boschwitz of Berlin on "Julius Wellhausen," which I printed, on to the respective dean's office and included a request to send the doctoral diploma to the customer Boschwitz, currently in Jerusalem, Rambanstr. 41. As Boschwitz has not received the diploma, his father has continued to turn to me, also again today. Since I have still not received a residual claim from Boschwitz, I ask most politely for you to confirm that I have sent the required copies there and furthermore, if permissible, to inform me on the affair of his diploma. I would very much like to communicate this to Boschwitz, since he will not pay the final sum before he receives the diploma.

With sincere thanks to you for your efforts in advance,
Heil Hitler!
[sgd.] Linke

29a. Marburg Faculty to Franz Linke⁴⁰⁶

24 Oktober 1938.

An die Buchdruckerei Franz Linke, Berlin NW 7, Marienstr. 13.

404. Handschriftlich geschrieben, das Wort "wenn" korrigierend.

405. Though extant in Boschwitz's doctoral dossier, the letter from 11 August 1938 is not included here on account of overlap with the present one.

406. Marburger philosophische Fakultät an Franz Linke, 24 Oktober 1938, UniA MR 307d Nr 1221, Promotionsakten Friedemann Boschwitz aus Berlin, Akten der philosophischen Fakultät, Archiv der Philipps-Universität Marburg im Hessischen Staatsarchiv, Marburg, Deutschland. (Alte Signatur: HStAM 307d, acc. 1960/45, Nr 676.) Dieser maschinenengeschriebene und

Auf Ihre Anfrage vom 21. ds. Mts. teile ich Ihnen mit, daß die Pflichtexemplare des Herrn Boschwitz hier eingegangen sind. Eine besondere Bescheinigung, die Sie Herrn Boschwitz sen. vorlegen können, füge ich bei. Da der Druckauftrag von Ihnen durchgeführt ist, haben Sie ja nichts mit der Ausfertigung des Diplom[s] zu tun. Eine Entscheidung über die Ausstellung des Diplomas ist bisher aus besonderen Gründen noch nicht getroffen worden. Wann diese zu erwarten ist, läßt sich im Augenblick nicht sagen.

Heil Hitler!

I.A. [gez. undeutlich]

29b. Marburg Faculty to Franz Linke

24 October 1938

To the printer *Franz Linke*, *Berlin NW 7*, Marienstr. 13.

In response to your inquiry from the 21st of this month, I am informing you that the required copies from Mr. Boschwitz have arrived.⁴⁰⁷ I attach a special written confirmation that you can present to Mr. Boschwitz senior. As the print order has been completed by you, you have, in fact, nothing to do with the issuing of the degree. A decision on the issuing of the diploma has not yet been made for specific reasons. It is not possible to say when this can be expected.

Heil Hitler!

per pro. [sgd. unclear]

30a. Ministry of Culture to the Rector and Curator of Marburg University⁴⁰⁸

Berlin W 8, 14. April 1939.

handschriftlich unterzeichnete Brief weist eine Stempelung der philosophischen Fakultät auf, nun mit Reichsadler und Hakenkreuz.

407. See Franz Linke to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty, 21 October 1938, as well as Robert Noske to the Marburg Faculty, 21 May 1937, both above.

408. Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung an den Rektor der Universität Marburg und den Universitätskurator, 14 April 1939, UniAM 307d Nr 1221, Promotionsakten Friedemann Boschwitz aus Berlin, Akten der philosophischen Fakultät, Archiv der Philipps-Universität Marburg im Hessischen Staatsarchiv Marburg, Deutschland. (Ehemalige Signatur: HStAM 307d, acc. 1960/45, Nr 676.) Oben auf diesem maschinengeschriebenen Dokument steht die Bezeichnungen "Abschrift", "Akten Promotionen und Habilitationen des Univ.Sekretariats", und weitere Kennzeichen, während auch unten getippte Informationen, z.B. das Eingangsdatum vom 24 April 1939 und die Einsicht durch den Kurator wiedergegeben wurden. Am Ende ist die

Zum Bericht vom 28. März 1938—IF 1/69—, betreffend die Dissertation Friedmann⁴⁰⁹ Boschwitz.

Nach einem Bericht des Oberfinanzpräsidenten in Berlin an den Herrn Reichswirtschaftsminister hatte der nach Jerusalem ausgewanderte Friedemann Boschwitz im März 1937 durch den beschuldigten Dr. Deduczinski⁴¹⁰ bei der Buchdruckerei Franz Linke in Berlin NW 7 den Druck seiner Dissertation in Auftrag gegeben und einen Teilbetrag angezahlt. Der Beschuldigte ist nach seiner Entlassung aus dem Konzentrationslager im Oktober 1938 ausgewandert. Mit Rücksicht auf die Geringfügigkeit des Gegenstandes hat sich der Herr Reichswirtschaftsminister damit einverstanden erklärt, dass das Verfahren gegen Dr. Deduczinski eingestellt wird.

Ich sehe damit auch die Dissertationsangelegenheit Boschwitz als erledigt an.

Im Auftrage
gez. Schwarz

30b. Ministry of Culture to the Rector and Curator of Marburg University

Berlin W 8, 14 April 1939

Further to the message from 28 March 1938—I F 1/69—, concerning the dissertation of Friedmann Boschwitz.⁴¹¹

folgende Notiz Jahre später in deutscher Kurrentschrift geschrieben: "Hat B. demnach Recht auf das Diplom? Z. d. A. 'Siehe vollzogene Promotionen'. 2.6.42. Ebbinghaus", wobei darunter das Wort "Dekan" durch eine zweite Hand hinzugefügt wird.

409. *Sic.*

410. *Sic.*

411. The Boschwitz dossier also includes the copy of an earlier letter to the Faculty Dean via the University Rector and Curator (dated 3 May 1938, recorded 9 May 1938) wherein Schwarz—on behalf of the Minister—confirmed the Curator's request of 31 March 1938 (not present) to open an investigation into a potential currency-exchange offense, which followed the initial petition by Dean Taeger on 25 March 1938 to the Imperial/Prussian Minister via the University Rector and Curator, above.

According to a report from the Head of the Finance Office in Berlin to the Imperial Minister of Economy, Friedemann Boschwitz, who has immigrated to Jerusalem, had commissioned the accused, Dr. Deduczinski,⁴¹² in March 1937 to print his dissertation with the printer Franz Linke in Berlin, NW 7, and paid a partial amount. Following his release from the concentration camp, the accused emigrated in October 1938. Considering the triviality of the matter, the Imperial Minister of Economy has agreed to discontinue the proceedings against Dr. Deduczinski.

I therefore consider the Boschwitz dissertation case also to be settled.

per pro.,
sgd. Schwarz

31. Dean of the Marburg Faculty to the Director of the University Library⁴¹³

4 June 1942

To the Acting Director of the Uni. Library, Dr. Grossart, Marburg:
Univ. Library

Boschwitz not consum[mated] Doct[orate]⁴¹⁴

The Faculty is sending 170⁴¹⁵ copies of the dissertation by Boschwitz on Julius Wellhausen. The copies were received by the Faculty already in the year 1938. The author is a Jew. The diploma, in harmony with the legal regulations, would have been delivered to him if he had not placed himself under suspicion of punishable conduct.

As the Faculty had no possibility of storing the work, it handed them [viz. the copies] over to the library, leaving to their discretion to do as they see fit.

[sgd.] Eb[binghaus]⁴¹⁶
Dean.

412. Misspelling of "Dekuczynski."

413. Publication of the German appears in Lemberg, "... eines deutschen akademischen Grades unwürdig," 59. The document, typed, is in the Boschwitz dossier: UniA MR 307d Nr, Records of the Philosophy Faculty, Archive of the Philipps University of Marburg in the Hessen City Archive, Marburg, Germany. (Former accession number: HStAM 307d, acc. 1960/45, Nr 676.)

414. Added by hand in blue ink, with a checkmark, next to the typed number "453."

415. The number was corrected in blue ink, the same as the subject line and the signed initial.

416. Cf. Boschwitz to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty, 28 June 1935, n. 130, above.

32a. Salomon Adler-Rudel to Irmgard Foerg⁴¹⁷

8. Juli 1966

An LBI, New York
Von LBI, Jerusalem.

Liebes Frl. Foerg,

Betr.: Gustav Landauer.

Anbei ein bei mir eingegangenes Schreiben von Dr. Uri Boschwitz vom 30.6.66.

Ich war bei der Unterredung, die Dr. Weltsch mit Dr. Boschwitz hatte, zugegen. Sowohl Dr. Weltsch als auch ich glauben, dass das Projekt jede Foerderung verdient. Sind Sie also bitte so freundlich und sehen Sie zu, wieweit Sie in dieser Sache helfen koennen.

Ihre Antwort an Dr. Boschwitz senden Sie bitte ueber uns mit Abschrift fuer Dr. Weltsch, London und fuer uns.

Besten Dank und Gruss

Ihr

S. Adler-Rudel

32b. Salomon Adler-Rudel to Irmgard Foerg

8 July 1966

To LBI, New York
From LBI, Jerusalem⁴¹⁸

Dear Ms. Foerg,⁴¹⁹

Re: *Gustav Landauer*

Attached a letter I received from Dr. Uri Boschwitz on 30/6/1966.

I was present at the discussion Dr. Weltsch had with Dr. Boschwitz. Not only Dr. Weltsch but also I believe that the project merits all support. Would you please therefore be so kind and see to it how much you can help in this matter.

417. Salomon Adler-Rudel an Irmgard Foerg, 8 Juli 1966, LBIJER 1085, Umschlag 13, Abteilung II: Korrespondenz, 1958–69A–D, Leo-Baeck-Institut Jerusalem, Israel. Dieser Brief ist ein maschinengeschriebenes Dokument. Ganz unten, links steht das getippte Zeichen "AR/Z".

418. Neither the records of the Leo Baeck Institute nor an initial search indicate personal correspondence between Boschwitz and Leo Baeck himself (personal communication with then-intern Ann Corsten, 11 November 2014).

419. Cf. Friedemann Boschwitz to Irmgard Foerg, 30 June 1966, above.

Please send your reply to Dr. Boschwitz through us with a copy for Dr. Weltsch and for us.

Many thanks and greetings,

Yours

S. Adler-Rudel⁴²⁰

33a. Gerda Boschwitz to Ernst Simon⁴²¹

רמת-גן 9.11.75

עמוס 12

פרופסור סימון הנכבד מאד,

מכתבך הטוב בימים קשים, המעיד על יחסך אל בעלי המנוח, מאפשר לי לפנות אליך בענין הבא:

אינני יודעת אם ידוע לך שאורי ז"ל כתב לפני שנים רבות, עוד בהיותו תלמיד מחקר אצל פרופ' גוטמן, עבודה על המשיחיות של הרמב"ם:

Mose ben Maimons Lehre von der messianischen Zeit

עבודה זאת מעולם לא ראתה אור, ואני מאד מעונינת לפרסם אותה. (ידוע לי שאנשי מקצוע שקראו את העבודה, מעריכים אותה מאד.)

פרופסור ליבשיץ, ליורפול, אליו פניתי בנוגע לכתב-עת מתאים לפרסום המחקר הפנה אותי (א) ל- Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt (הוצאה זאת הדפיסה מחדש לפני שנים אחדות את הדיסרטציה של בעלי על Wellhausen) (ב) אל פרופ' הרמן גרייבה ממכון בובר בקלן.

אני מצרפת בזה את התשובות שקבלתי מהנ"ל לפנייתי אליהם בנידון.

בטרם אפנה אנכי אל "אמונה", כפי שיעצה לי ההוצאה מדרמשטט, אני מרשה לעצמי לשאול אותך, אם אתה מוכן להמליץ על העבודה, שהרי בלי ספק במקרה זה הפניה תהיה הרבה יותר משכנעת ויעילה. אני, כמובן, מוכנה להעמיד לרשותך את העבודה לעיון, אם תרצה בכך.

כמו כן, רציתי לשאול אותך, אם אתה מכיר את כתבי-העת הנזכרים במכתבו של פרופ' גרייבה. איזה מהם נראה לך מתאים לפרסום מחקר מעין זה, ואם גם במקרה זה הייתה מוכן להמליץ על העבודה.

420. Salomon, or Shalom, Adler-Rudel (1894–1975), social worker, welfare advocate, émigré, and emigration coordinator, active in such organizations as the Reich Representation of German Jews, Zionist Federation of Germany, Central British Fund for German Jewry, Jewish Agency, Association of Jewish Refugees, and World Zionist Organization, as well as longtime director of the Leo Baeck Institute, Jerusalem.

421. Gerda Boschwitz (spelled בושוויץ in the catalog) to Ernst Simon, Akibah Ernst Simon Archive, ARC. 4* 1751 02 1215, Series 2: Hebrew Correspondence, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, Israel. The letter is handwritten in cursive (for both Hebrew and German) in blue ink, with a black classification stamp from the Akibah Simon Archive later added.

אני מבקשת את סליחתך על הטרחה שאני גורמת לך, אך הדבר חשוב לי, ואהיה מאד אסירת תודה לך אם תוכל לעזר לי.

בתודה מראש ובברכה
גרדה בושיץ

רח' עמוס 12, רמת-גן
אני מצרפת ציטטה מתוך מכתב של Leo Strauss המעידה על אופי העבודה.

33b. Gerda Boschwitz to Ernst Simon

Ramat-Gan, 9/11/75
12 Amos St.

Most esteemed Professor Simon,⁴²²

Your kind letter in [these] hard days, which is a testament to your attitude towards my late husband, allows me to address you on the following matter:⁴²³

I do not know whether it is known to you that Uri z"l wrote many years ago, when he was still a research student of Prof. Guttman, a work on Maimonides' messianism: Moses Ben Maimon's Teaching on the Messianic Age.⁴²⁴ This work was never published, and I would like very much to publish it. (I know that experts who read the work have great esteem for it.)

Prof. Liebeschütz, Liverpool,⁴²⁵ to whom I turned about the right journal for publishing this research, referred me:

422. Cf. Boschwitz to Leo Strauss, 19 October 1936, n. 235, above.

423. Her husband, Friedemann "Uri" Boschwitz, had died 29 August 1974. The original letter is not preserved.

424. Title written in German within this Hebrew letter. On his development of the essay, see Boschwitz to Leo Strauss, 19 October 1936, and Boschwitz to Salo Baron, 7 January 1940, above. For his work with Guttman, see Boschwitz to Karl Löwith, 9 July 1940, above.

425. The transliteration in Hebrew allows for other possibilities, but Liebeschütz remains the strongest contender given the parameters of time, place, and field. Probability thus favors Hans (1893–1978), an expert in medieval history and philosophy as well as the history of German Judaism—including in a book that cited Boschwitz (cf. introduction supra)—who attended school at the Johanneum, studied in Berlin and Heidelberg, worked in several schools, researched at the Warburg Library before it moved from Hamburg, lectured at the Higher Institute for the Science of Judaism (by then demoted, and renamed, by the Nazi regime from "Hochschule" to "School," or *Lehranstalt*), emigrated to England in 1939 following internment and release from a concentration camp, transitioned from school to university lecturer at the University of Liverpool, helped found the Leo Baeck Institute in London, and later returned to Germany to give regular guest lectures at the University of Hamburg.

A) to Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt.⁴²⁶ (This publishing house reprinted my husband's dissertation on Wellhausen several years ago[.])
 B) to Prof. Hermann Greive from the Buber Institute in Cologne.⁴²⁷

I hereby attach the answers I received from the aforementioned following my appeals to them on this matter.

Before I myself turn to *Emuna*,⁴²⁸ as the publisher from Darmstadt suggested to me, I allow myself to ask you whether you are willing to recommend the work, for there is no doubt that in that case the enquiry will be much more convincing and efficient. I, of course, am willing to make the work accessible to you to browse, if you so wish.

In addition, I wanted to ask you if you know the journals mentioned in Prof. Greive's letter. Which one do you think is more fitting for publishing such research, and whether also in that case you would be willing to recommend the work.

I ask your forgiveness for the inconvenience I am causing you, but this is important to me, and I will be grateful if you could help me.

With thanks in advance and greeting,
 Gerda Boschwitz⁴²⁹

12 Amos St., Ramat-Gan

I attach a quotation from a letter by Leo Strauss that attests to the character of the work.⁴³⁰

426. The Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft had published the 1968 reprint of Boschwitz's German book.

427. Hermann Greive (1935–1984), Catholic theologian turned historian of Judaism, who from 1966 progressed through the ranks at the Martin Buber Institute for Jewish Studies at the University of Cologne and worked with the Leo Baeck Institutes before his murder in 1984—alongside injury of two other professors—by a former student, and convert to Judaism, who apparently opposed Gentiles teaching Jewish history.

428. Most likely the journal *Emuna*, which ran under this title (1966–69, 1972–75), with a brief change to *Horizonte* (1970–71), before an eventual merger with *Israel-Forum* (1976–79), and which included various subtitles like *Blätter des Deutschen Koordinierungsrates der Gesellschaften für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit*, *Horizonte zur Diskussion über Israel und das Judentum*, and *Vereinigte Zeitschriften über Israel und Judentum*. In a second handwritten Hebrew letter—dated to 25 November 1975 and held by the National Library of Israel in the Akibah Ernst Simon Archive (ARC. 4* 1751 02 1215)—Gerda Boschwitz confirmed *Emuna* as her next port of call.

429. Gerda Boschwitz née Loeb (1921–2011), native of Pforzheim, immigrant to Palestine in 1934, wife of Friedemann, mother of Chava and Margalit.

430. This attachment is no longer attached.

SECTION C

Letters to Boschwitz

34a. Karl Löwith to Boschwitz⁴³¹

[Marburg (Lahn), 8.7.31⁴³²]

Lieber Herr Boschwitz,
vielen Dank noch für Ihren Brief mit d. Bericht über Husserl. Ich habe seinen Vortrag 1 Woche vorher in Frankfurt gehört! Eigentlich ist er rührend in seiner „Naivität“, die darin besteht dass er: verstanden sein gleichsetzt mit einverstanden sein. Dem spanischen Botschafter wird die „Epoché“ wohl ziemlich spanisch vorgekommen sein. Hat der von Ihnen erwähnte Dozent Rosenberg etwas über Marx publiziert? Egger-Lienz^s Bild kenne ich von einer Münchener Ausstell[un]g her—ich bezweifle aber doch, ob es auf die Dauer standhält—bei öfterem Besehen—wenngleich es sicher gehaltvoller ist als Hodler. Kürzlich war ich zu einem Vortrag in d. Frankfurter Kantges. wo ich die dortigen Edelmarxisten geärgert habe u. besah ausgiebig mit meiner Frau die Ausstell[un]g im Stadel – herrliche Sachen von Munch, Cézanne, van Gogh, Manet, Renoir, u. einige sehr hübsche Klees + zweifelhafte Gauguins. Es wäre schön wenn Sie im Winter doch wieder hier sein könnten.

Viele Grüsse,

Ihr K. Löwith

dafür bin ich unschuldig!

34b. Karl Löwith to Boschwitz

Marburg, 8/7/1931

431. Currently in the private possession of Chava Manor, who kindly provided a copy.

432. Unspecified by the author, the date stems from the postmark.

Dear Mr. Boschwitz, Many thanks for your letter with the report on Husserl.⁴³³ I heard his lecture one week ago in *Frankfurt*! He is actually touching with his “naïveté,” which consists of him equating: being *understood* with being in agreement. The Spanish ambassador must have thought the “epoch” rather Spanish.⁴³⁴ Has the lecturer *Rosenberg*, whom you mentioned, published anything on Marx?⁴³⁵ I know Egger-Lienz’s picture from a Munich exhibition, but I doubt it will stand up *in the long run*—after further inspection—even if it is definitely richer in substance than Hodler’s.⁴³⁶ Not long ago, I went to a presentation at the Frankfurt Kant Society,⁴³⁷ where I annoyed the local Marxist nobility and with my family had a look at the exhibit in the Städel: magnificent things from Munch, Cézanne, van Gogh, Manet, Renoir, and other very fine Klees—dubious Gauguins.⁴³⁸ It would be nice if you could be here again in winter after all. Best wishes,
K. Löwith

P.S. It is not my fault!⁴³⁹

433. Edmund Husserl (1859–1938), mathematician and famed phenomenologist whose family befriended Jacob Klein (Klein being a teacher to Husserl’s daughter Elisabeth and, later, husband to the ex-wife of Husserl’s son Gerhart), who supervised Leo Strauss, mentored Martin Heidegger, and taught Karl Löwith, Friedemann Boschwitz, and Ernst Meister, and whom the Nazi regime degraded.

434. The response proves cryptic here, owing to preservation of only one side of the conversation, but the reference may allude to the Second Spanish Republic, proclaimed in April 1931.

435. Perhaps Arthur Rosenberg (1889–1943), political theorist, representative, and Marxist historian with work on ancient as well as modern history, who, when dismissed by the Nazi regime, emigrated to Switzerland, England, and finally the United States.

436. Albin Egger-Lienz (1868–1926); Ferdinand Hodler (1853–1918).

437. Local Frankfurt branch of the Kant-Gesellschaft (Kant Society), which—as a whole—dissipated in the second half of the 1930s before its reestablishment decades later.

438. Städel, a museum in Frankfurt dedicated to European art history. The aforementioned figures include Edvard Munch (1863–1944), Paul Cézanne (1839–1906), Vincent van Gogh (1853–1890), Edouard Manet (1832–1883), Pierre-Auguste Renoir (1841–1919), Paul Klee (1879–1940), and Paul Gauguin (1848–1903).

439. The comment pertains to the print on the other side of the postcard: “The Farmer” by Vincent van Gogh along with the statement, in German, “Dieser Bauer ist das Bild des Daseins auf sonnenwarmer Scholle, ein Bild von Ewigkeitsgehalt. Seit die Erde bearbeitet wird, gibt es solche Menschen. Sie sprechen so stark und rein zu uns wie die Natur selbst” (“This farmer is the image of existence on soil warmed by the sun, an image of eternal substance. Ever since the earth has been worked, there have been people like this. They speak to us as strongly and purely as nature itself”): cf. also the introduction *supra*, where Löwith’s memoirs recount Boschwitz giving him a van Gogh print.

Dossier of Boschwitz

35a. Lebenslauf⁴⁴⁰

Geboren am 18.6.1909 in Berlin als Sohn des Kaufmanns Isaac Boschwitz, Jude und deutscher Staatsangehöriger, besuchte ich seit 1919 das Friedrichs-Werdersche Gymnasium zu Berlin, das ich Ostern 1928 mit dem Zeugnis der Reife verließ. Ich studierte Geschichte und Philosophie an den Universitäten Freiburg i. Breisgau (Sommersemester 1928), Marburg an der Lahn (Wintersemester 1928/9 bis zum Wintersemester 1930/1) und Berlin (Sommersemester 1931 bis zum Winter 1932/3), das folgende Jahr als Gasthörer der Universität wiederum in Marburg, wo ich am 11. Juli 1934 die philosophische Doktorprüfung bestand. Nach kurzem Aufenthalt in Berlin habe ich seit dem Frühjahr 1935 meinen Wohnsitz in Jerusalem/Palästina.

Meine akademischen Lehrer waren die Herren Professoren und Dozenten: Becker, Berney, Gurlitt, Heimpel, Husserl, Kolbe, Krebs und Ritter in Freiburg;

Bickermann, Brackmann, Caspar, Guardini, Hartmann, Jaeger, Kuhn, Oncken und Vierkandt in Berlin;

Bultmann, Deckert, Frank, Haepke, Löwith, Mommsen, Otto, v. Premers-
tein, Spitzer und Wiskemann in Marburg.

Friedemann Philipp Boschwitz.

440. From Friedemann Philipp Boschwitz, *Julius Wellhausen. Motive und Maßstäbe seiner Geschichtsschreibung. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Hohen Philosophischen Fakultät der Philipps-Universität zu Marburg a. d. Lahn* (Berlin: Linke, 1938), 87.

35b. Curriculum Vitae⁴⁴¹

Born son of the merchant Isaac Boschwitz on 18 June 1909, a Jew and German citizen, I attended the Frederichs-Werdersches Gymnasium in Berlin beginning in 1919, which I left at Easter 1928 with the secondary school diploma. I studied history and philosophy at the universities of Freiburg im Breisgau (summer semester 1928), Marburg an der Lahn (winter semester 1928/29 until winter semester 1930/31) and Berlin (summer semester 1931 until winter semester 1932/33), the following year again as guest auditor at the university in Marburg, where I passed the doctoral examination in philosophy on 11 July 1934. After a short stay in Berlin, I then took up residence in Jerusalem/Palestine beginning in spring 1935.

My academic teachers were the professors and lecturers:

Becker, Berney, Gurlitt, Heimpel, Husserl, Kolbe, Krebs and Richter in Freiburg;⁴⁴²

Bickermann, Brackmann, Caspar, Guardini, Hartmann, Jaeger, Kuhn, Oncken, and Vierkandt in Berlin;⁴⁴³

Bultmann, Deckert, Frank, Haepke, Löwith, Mommsen, Otto, von Premerstein, Spitzer, and Wiskemann in Marburg.⁴⁴⁴

441. This résumé appeared in the 1938 printing of Boschwitz's thesis but not the 1968 reprint. It also features as part of an online exhibition by DigAM (Digitales Archiv Marburg) on the Weimar Republic and National Socialism, in the section "Entziehung Dokortitel im NS" (Revocation of doctorates), as of July 2022 still available. Notably, the Boschwitz dossier includes an earlier version, typed with hand corrections: one submitted as part of his application for doctoral examination, dated 25 May 1934 (UniA MR 307d Nr 1221—formerly HStAM 307d, acc. 1960/45, Nr 676—Records of the Philosophy Faculty, Archive of the Philipps University of Marburg in the Hessen City Archive, Marburg, Germany). For the 1938 version reproduced here, he deleted the name of his mother, added that of Bultmann, and changed his citizenship status from "of the German Reich," which he had corrected by hand from "of the Prussian State," to "German": cf. Mommsen to the Dean of the Marburg Faculty, 27 May 1937, above, n. 388.

442. Oskar Becker (1889–1964), mathematician and philosopher; Arnold Berney (1897–1943), modern historian; Wilibald Gurlitt (1889–1963), musicologist; Hermann Heimpel (1901–1988), medieval historian; Edmund Husserl (1859–1938), philosopher; Walther Kolbe (1876–1942), ancient historian; Engelbert Krebs (1881–1950), Catholic theologian; Gerhard Richter (*sic* in text; 1888–1967), modern historian.

443. Elias Bickerman (1897–1981), ancient historian; Albert Brackmann (1871–1952), medieval historian; Erich Caspar (1879–1935), medieval historian; Romano Guardini (1885–1968), Catholic philosopher of religion; Nicolai Hartmann (1882–1950), philosopher; Werner Jaeger (1888–1961), classicist; Helmut Kuhn (1899–1991), philosopher; Hermann Oncken (1869–1945), modern historian; Alfred Vierkandt (1867–1953), sociologist.

444. Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976), biblical theologian; Hermann Deckert (1899–1955), art historian; Erich Frank (1883–1949), philosopher; Rudolf Häpke (1884–1930), medieval historian; Karl Löwith (1897–1973), philosopher; Wilhelm Mommsen (1892–1966), modern historian; Rudolf Otto (1869–1937), philosopher of religion; Anton von Premerstein (1869–1935), ancient historian; Leo Spitzer (1887–1960), Romance philologist; Erwin Wiskemann (1896–1941), political economist.

Friedemann Philipp Boschwitz

36a. Reader Report, Wilhelm Mommsen⁴⁴⁵

Die Arbeit des Herrn Friedmann⁴⁴⁶ Boschwitz

Julius Wellhausen. Motive und Masstäbe seiner Geschichtsschreibung

versucht, Wellhausens Geschichtsschreibung⁴⁴⁷ in ihrem Verhältnis und ihrem Gegensatz zu anderen Geschichtsschreibern⁴⁴⁸ des 19. Jahrhunderts herauszuarbeiten. Die Fragestellung, die der Verfasser sich selbst gewählt hat, ist fruchtbar und die Art, wie er sie durchführt, scheint mir im ganzen durchaus gelungen. Manches Urteil über die Geschichtsschreibung des 19. Jahrhunderts vermag ich allerdings nicht zu teilen. Ich bin auch skeptisch gegenüber der Behauptung, dass Nietzsche stark von Wellhausen beeinflusst sei. Ein endgültiges Urteil über die Arbeit kann ich nicht abgeben, da Wellhausens Stoffgebeit und damit auch im wesentlichen das der Arbeit von Herrn Boschwitz zugrunde liegende Material mir völlig fremd ist. Ich hatte deshalb von vornherein nach Rücksprache mit dem Herrn Dekan das Korreferat eines theologischen Kollegen erbeten, als ich dem Plan des Herrn Boschwitz vor längerer Zeit meine Zustimmung erteilte. Nach Fertigstellung der Arbeit ergibt sich, dass das Urteil des Korreferenten, herrn Bultmanns, mahsgeblicher⁴⁴⁹ sein muss als mein eigenes. Ich möchte deshab auch ein Prädikat erst vorschlagen, wenn das Gutachten des Herrn Kollegen Bultmann vorliegt und die Arbeit verabredungsgemähs⁴⁵⁰ noch einmal an mich zurückkommt. Ich darf aber schon jetzt bemerken, dass die Arbeit stilistisch noch überprüft werden muss, dass im Vorwort die Fragestellung herauszuarbeiten und dass der Schluss in dieser Form unglücklich⁴⁵¹ ist, weil er von dem eigentlichen Thema abführt.

Marburg, den 31. Mai 1934.

[gez.] Mommsen

445. Wilhelm Mommsen, Gutachten, Promotionsakte Friedemann Boschwitz, UniA Marburg MR 307d Nr 1221, Archiv der Philipps-Universität Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg, Deutschland. (Alte Signatur: HStAM 307d, acc. 1960/45, Nr 676.) Das Dokument wurde auf dem Briefbogen des Historischen Seminars mit zwei Lochstellen maschinengeschrieben.

446. Sic.

447. Korrigiert handschriftlich aus: "Geschichtsschreibung".

448. Korrigiert handschriftlich aus: "Geschichtsschreibern".

449. Sic.

450. Sic.

451. Davor durchgestrichen: "ausserordentlich".

36b. Reader Report, Wilhelm Mommsen

The work of Mr. Friedmann Boschwitz

“Julius Wellhausen: Motives and Measures of His Historiography”

seeks to work out Wellhausen’s historiography in its relationship und its differences to other historical writers of the 19th century. The problem, which the author himself chose, is fruitful, and the way he conducts it seems to me thoroughly successful on the whole. Many a judgment on the historiography of the 19th century, however, I cannot share. I am also skeptical about the claim that Nietzsche was strongly influenced by Wellhausen. As Wellhausen’s field is entirely foreign to me, and consequently also the material that underlies the work by Boschwitz, I cannot submit a conclusive judgment on the work. Following consultation with the Dean, I therefore requested at the outset the supplementary report of a colleague in theology, once I had approved the plan of Boschwitz, already some time ago. After completion of the work, it appears that the judgment of the second reader, Mr. Bultmann, must be more definitive than my own. I would thus like only to suggest a score when the report from colleague Bultmann is available and the work, as agreed, comes back to me once more. However, I can comment already now that the work must still be checked again for style, that the problem should be developed in the foreword, and that the conclusion is infelicitous because it leads away from the actual topic.

Marburg, 31 May 1934 [sgd.] Mommsen

37a. Reader Report, Rudolf Bultmann⁴⁵²

Gutachten über die Arbeit des Herrn Fr. Boschwitz

“Julius Wellhausen. Motive und Maasstäbe seiner Geschichtsschreibung”.

Der Verf. hat sich die fruchtbare und reizvolle Aufgabe gestellt, das einheitliche Motiv der Wellhausenschen Geschichtsschreibung aufzudecken;

452. Rudolf Bultmann, Gutachten, Promotionsakte Friedemann Boschwitz, UniA Marburg MR 307d Nr 1221, Archiv der Philipps-Universität Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Marburg, Deutschland. (Vorherige Signatur: HStAM 307d, acc. 1960/45, Nr 676.) Das Dokument ist auf dem Briefbogen des Historischen Seminars maschinengeschrieben mit zwei seitlichen Lochstellen und die Seitenzahl handschriftlich nachgetragen. Oben links ist der dreizeilige, teilweise abgeschnittene Stempel aufgedrückt: “Prof. D. R. Bultmann Marburg a.d. Lahn Bismarckstr. 7”.

reizvoll deshalb, weil einerseits⁴⁵³ Wellhausen, als erklärter Feind aller theologischen und philosophischen Dogmatik, sich nie systematisch über die seine geschichtlichen Arbeiten leitenden Prinzipien ausgesprochen, ja, sich selbst auch nicht Rechenschaft über sie abgelegt hat, und weil andererseits in diesen Arbeiten an Stoffwahl und zahlreichen gelegentlichen, meist polemischen Bemerkungen sichtbar wird, dass ganz ausgeprägte Grundanschauungen⁴⁵⁴ und ganz bestimmte Wertmaasstäbe sie bestimmen.

Der Verf. sucht diese Anschauungen und Wertungen ans Licht zu ziehen durch eine Untersuchung der historischen Forschungen W's, ergänzt durch Zitate aus der ihm zugänglichen Korrespondenz W's mit Ferdinand Justi. In der Verwendung des Materials verfährt der Verf. ausserordentlich treffsicher. Er hat durchaus Recht darin⁴⁵⁵, dass er nicht eine Entwicklung der Anschauungen W's zeichnet, da dessen Grundanschauungen stets die gleichen bleiben und W. nur im Laufe der Jahre zurückhaltender in seinen pointierten Aeusserungen der Sym- und Antipathie wurde und gelegentlich scharfe Formulierungen früherer Auflagen später milderte⁴⁵⁶ oder unterdrückte in dem Bemühen, seine starke Subjektivität hinter dem objektiven geschichtlichen Bilde zurücktreten zu lassen. Der Verf. hat deshalb auch darin Recht, dass er besonders die früheren Auesserungen W's betont.

Der Verf. sucht weiter dem⁴⁵⁷ Bilde der⁴⁵⁸ Wellhausenschen Geschichtschreibung deutlichere Umrisse durch den Vergleich mit verwandten oder gegensätzlichen Auffassungen zu geben, bes. durch den Vergleich mit Herder und Hegel, Ranke und Mommsen. Bes. interessant ist der Vergleich mit Nietzsche und dem leider nur in einer Anm. (S. 64,1) knapp behandelten Jak. Burckhardt. [[2]] Da diese Vergleiche⁴⁵⁹ beim Verf. wesentlich nicht der Genealogie der Forschung, sondern der⁴⁶⁰ Charakterisierung durch Analogie oder Gegenbild dienen, scheint mir die vom Herrn Referenten aufgeworfene Frage, ob der Verf. den Einfluss W's auf Nietzsche nicht überschätze, für den betr. Zusammenhang relativ gleichgültig zu sein; dass ein Einfluss W's auf Nietzsche vorliegt, dürfte der Verf. jedenfalls gezeigt haben.

Die Darstellung ist sehr klar aufgebaut und formell—von stillistischen Entgleisungen im Einzelnen abgesehen—ganz vortrefflich, sodass man die Arbeit mühelos⁴⁶¹ und mit Spannung liest. Ueber den Gang der Untersuchung

453. Maschinell sowie handschriftlich verbessert.

454. Handschriftlich korrigiert.

455. Die beiden letzten Wörter mit korrigierendem Handstrich getrennt.

456. Der letzte Buchstabe handschriftlich hinzugefügt.

457. Über der Zeile bzw. einem typographisch durchgestrichenen Wort maschinell geschrieben.

458. Die beiden letzten Wörter mit korrigierendem Handstrich getrennt.

459. Der Buchstabe "I" handschriftlich nachgetragen.

460. Über der Zeile typographisch geschrieben.

461. Davor der Buchstabe "m" handschriftlich durchgestrichen.

brauche ich nicht zu referieren, da er aus der Inhaltsübersicht ohne weiteres zu ersehen ist. Ich kann mich daher auf die Wiedergabe der Ergebnisse beschränken.

W's quellenkritische Arbeiten am Alten Testament lassen⁴⁶², wie der Verf. richtig gesehen hat, in ihrer polemischen Orientierung gegen die Tendenz, in der die alttestamentliche Ueberlieferung redigiert wurde, seine Grundauffassung vom⁴⁶³ Geschichte deutlich erkennen. Und zwar ist W's polemische Kritik an Kirche und Gesetz nicht einem liberalistischen Aufklärungsdenken entsprungen. Denn eigentliche geschichtliche Lebendigkeit sieht W. dort, wo Menschen von kraftvoller Ursprünglichkeit in der Einheit eines religiösen und politischen Wollens wirken. In der israelitisch-jüdischen Geschichte wie in der Geschichte des Islam beginnt nach W. der Verfall dort, wo diese Einheit zerbrochen⁴⁶⁴ ist, wo sich eine kirchliche Lebenssphäre der "Heiligkeit" gegenüber dem tätigen weltlichen Leben ausgrenzt, aber auch, wo sich ein rein profanes, nicht auf ursprüngliche Leidenschaft und stammhafte Verbundenheit der Individuen, sondern auf Institutionen gegründetes und der Profanität und Kultur bzw. Zivilisation verfallendes Staatsleben entwickelt.

Der Verf. zeigt mit Recht, dass dieser Auffassung ein ausgeprägtes [[3]] ethisches Urteil zu Grunde liegt. Die "Materialisierung" der Religion in Kirche und Dogma führt den Menschen in leeres phantastisches Wünschen und entfremdet ihn der zugreifenden, verantwortungsbewussten Tätigkeit. Ebenso lähmt aber auch die staatliche Sphäre der Institutionen, indem sie den Menschen zum Ideal der "Sekurität" verleitet, die Kraft zu Verantwortung und Tat. Hinter W's Wertungen steht der ethische Individualismus des Protestantismus (der Verf. sollte freilich sagen: eines bestimmten, im 19. Jahrhundert entwickelten Typus von Protestantismus), aus dem es auch verständlich ist, dass W. in Jesus wieder ursprünglich geschichtliches Leben zum Vorschein kommen sieht, das freilich durch die^{463bis}, Entwicklung zur Kirche alsbald wieder verschüttet worden sei. Der Wertmaasstab der Kritik W's ist das⁴⁶⁵ Ideal einer rein moralischen Religion und dem entsprechend seine Vorstellung vom Ideal der Einheit von Religion und Staat, die aus der gleichen religiös-moralische Wurzel erwachsen.

Der Verf. sieht nun auch die eigentümliche Aporie, in die W. durch seinen⁴⁶⁶ religiös-ethischen Individualismus hineingeführt wurde. Wenn W. einerseits

462. Über der Zeile bzw. einem typographisch durchgestrichenen Wort maschinell geschrieben.

463. *Sic.*

464. Das Präfix handschriftlich korrigiert von: "gebrochen".

465. Über der Zeile bzw. einem typograpisch durchgestrichenen Wort maschinell geschrieben.

466. Davor ein maschinell ausgestrichenes Wort.

gegen den unpolitischen und utopischen Character der kirchlichen Tendenzen polemisiert, so ist doch andererseits die politische Tätigkeit, die er gefordert meint, eine eigentümlich unpolitische Politik; denn echtes politisches Handeln soll sich nicht durch geschichtliche Errungenschaften legitimieren, d.h.⁴⁶⁷ es⁴⁶⁸ soll sich nicht zu realpolitischem Handeln verdichten, sich nicht in Institutionen niederschlagen. Es ist nur legitim im Ursprung als politische Leidenschaft; als Realpolitik höchstens soweit,⁴⁶⁹ als es zur Begründung einer bürgerlichen Ordnung eines in sich geschlossenen nationalen Staates führt. Die Frage, in welchem Moment eigentlich politisches Handeln illegitim wird, warum eigentlich das ganze Gebiet der äusseren Politik verschlossen bleiben soll,⁴⁷⁰ und jede Art von Imperialismus zu verwerfen ist,—solche Fragen schiebt⁴⁷¹ W. beiseite, indem er seine Darstellung wesentlich⁴⁷² auf die Frühzeiten der⁴⁷³ ihn beschäftigenden Völker beschränkt.

[[4]] Bis soweit ist die Darstellung des Verf. vortrefflich und von einem im Ganzen sicher richtigen Urteil geleitet. Was mir an der Arbeit zu fehlen scheint, ist dieses, dass er die Kritik an W. selbst, die von einer alle Seiten des Themas erfassenden Darstellung zu fordern wäre, nicht über die Charakterisierung der der soeben beschriebenen Aporie hinausführt. Es wäre ja zunächst schon zu fragen, ob W. nicht gelegentlich durch sein⁴⁷⁴ Maasstäbe zu einer objektiv unrichtigen Erfassung der historischen Phänomene geführt worden ist. Das dürfte z.B. für die Darstellung des Gegensatzes der Pharisäer und Sadduzäer gelten, die als solche für W. sehr charakteristisch und entsprechend⁴⁷⁵ auch vom Verf. gewürdigt ist. Es gilt jedenfalls auch für seine Auffassung der Person Jesu, und was der Verf. in dieser Richtung⁴⁷⁶ in Note I,2 andeutet, genügt nicht. Im Zusammenhang damit ist zu fragen, ob W. der Eschatologie der Propheten und Jesu gerecht wird. Eine Untersuchung dieser Frage würde zeigen, dass W.'s Auffassung von Religion durch einen stark säkularisierten Protestantismus des 19.⁴⁷⁷ Jahrhunderts bestimmt ist. So könnte die Darstellung an manchen Punkten vertieft werden. Aber man muss freilich zugeben, dass solche Analysen⁴⁷⁸ bei der Beschränkung auf W.'s Arbeiten kaum durchführbar

467. Davor der grosse Buchstabe "D" handschriftlich durchgestrichen.

468. Über der Zeile bzw. einem typographisch durchgestrichenen Wort maschinell geschrieben.

469. Das Komma handschriftlich hinzugefügt.

470. Über der Zeile maschinengeschrieben und durch Korrekturzeichen eingefügt.

471. Der Buchstabe "e" handschriftlich nachgetragen.

472. Über der Zeile maschinengeschrieben und durch Korrekturzeichen eingefügt.

473. Davor ein maschinell ausgestrichenes Wort.

474. Sic.

475. Über der Zeile bzw. einem typographisch durchgestrichenen Wort maschinell geschrieben.

476. Sic.

477. Das Zeichen "1/2" handschriftlich durchgestrichen.

478. Sic.

gewesen wären und eine⁴⁷⁹ weit ausführliches Eingehen auf die⁴⁸⁰ Geschichtsschreibung des 19. Jahrhunderts erfordert hätten, wie es⁴⁸¹ von einem⁴⁸² Anfänger nicht verlangt werden kann. In seiner Beschränkung auf W., bei der er keineswegs einer beschränkten Engheit verfällt, hat er für weitere Untersuchungen dieser Art eine vortreffliche Vorarbeit geleistet. Das Geleistete ist gut, z.T. ausgezeichnet, sodass die Arbeit m.E. durchaus das Prädikat "Gut" verdient. Es scheint mir nur als notwendig, dass der Verf. vor dem Druck einen die Ergebnisse zusammenfassenden Schluss-⁴⁸³Abschnitt hinzufügt.

[gez.] Marburg, 10 Juni 1934

Bultmann⁴⁸⁴

37b. Reader Report, Rudolf Bultmann

Reader report on the work of Mr. Fr. Boschwitz

"Julius Wellhausen: Motives and Measures of his Historiography"

The author set for himself the fruitful and exciting task of uncovering the unified motive of Wellhausian historiography; exciting, on the one hand, because Wellhausen, as enlightened foe of all theological and philosophical dogmatism, never expressed himself systematically on the guiding principles of his historical works (indeed, never himself gave any account of it) and, on the other, because in these works it becomes visible through the selection of material and numerous, occasional, mostly polemical remarks that distinct views and certain standards guided them.

The author seeks to bring light to these ideas and values through an investigation into Wellhausen's historical investigations, enhanced by citations from the correspondence of Wellhausen with Ferdinand Justi available to him.⁴⁸⁵ In the application of the material, the author proceeds with exceptional accuracy. He is entirely correct that he does not show a development in the ideas of Wellhausen, since his fundamental view remained the same and Wellhausen grew more reticent over the years in his pointed comments of sympathy

479. *Sic.*

480. Die letzten vier Wörter über der Zeile bzw. über maschinell durchgestrichenen Wörtern maschinengeschrieben.

481. Über der Zeile bzw. einem typographisch durchgestrichenen Wort maschinell geschrieben.

482. *Sic.*

483. Über der Zeile handschriftlich geschrieben.

484. Ort, Datum und Name handschriftlich geschrieben.

485. Ferdinand Justi (1837–1907), orientalist with special expertise in Iranian studies and local Hessian folklorist, who served as a professor in Marburg, where he became a good colleague and friend of Wellhausen.

and antipathy and on occasion later tempered or suppressed sharp formulations of earlier additions in the attempt to move his strong subjectivity behind the objective historical picture. The author is therefore right to place especial emphasis on the earlier comments of Wellhausen.

The author further seeks to give clearer outlines to the picture of Wellhausen historiography through comparison with related or opposing conceptions, especially through comparison with Herder and Hegel, Ranke and Mommsen. Especially interesting is the comparison with Nietzsche and—unfortunately treated only in a footnote (p. 64 n. 1)—Jacob Burckhardt. [[2]] As this comparison by the author essentially renders not the genealogy of research but characterization through analogy or contrast, it seems to me that the question raised by the adviser—whether the author does not overestimate the influence of Wellhausen on Nietzsche—does not matter for the relative connection; *that* an influence by Wellhausen on Nietzsche exists the author may have shown in any case.

The presentation is very clearly laid out and formally—disregarding stylistic derailments in particular—excellent, so one reads the work without effort and with excitement. I need not report on the course of the investigation since it is readily evident from the outline of contents. Thus, I can restrict myself to the rendering of the results.

As the author has rightly seen, Wellhausen's source-critical works on the Old Testament—in their political orientation against the tendency with which the Old Testament transmission was edited—allow his basic conceptions of history to be clearly recognized. And yet Wellhausen's polemical critique of the church and law did not spring from liberalistic, Enlightenment thought. For Wellhausen sees true historical vitality where humans work out of powerful originality in the unity of a religious and political will. In the Israelite-Jewish history as in the history of Islam, the downfall, according to Wellhausen, begins when this unity is broken, where a churchly sphere of life, of "holiness," marks itself off from the active worldly life but also where a purely profane life of the state develops that is based not on original passion and tribal bond of individuals but on institutions and is enslaved by profaneness and culture, or civilization.

The author rightly shows that this conception is based on a distinct [[3]] ethical judgment. The "materialization" of religion in church and dogma leads the human into empty fantastic wishing and alienates them from an activity of proactivity and responsibility. In the same way, however, the stately sphere of institutions, by tempting the human being into the ideal of "secularity," also paralyzes the power for responsibility and action. Behind Wellhausen's evaluations stands the ethical individualism of Protestantism (the author should, of course, say: of a particular type of Protestantism developed in the 19th

century). From here, it also becomes understandable that in Jesus Wellhausen sees original, historical life coming to light again: which yet again, however, is just as quickly buried by the development of the church. The standard of values in Wellhausen's critique is the ideal of a purely moral religion and, accordingly, his picture of the ideal unity of religion and state, which grow out of the same religio-moral root.

The author sees now also the real aporia into which Wellhausen is driven through his religio-ethical individualism. If, on the one hand, Wellhausen polemicizes against the unpolitical and utopian character of ecclesiastical biases, then the political activity he deems required, on the other, is an individual unpolitical politics. True political dealings should not justify themselves through historical achievements, that is, should not intensify into the ways of *Realpolitik*, should not find expression in institutions. It is only legitimate originally as political passion; as *Reapolitik* at most only insofar as it leads to the foundation of a citizen order of a self-contained national state. The question as to the point at which real political dealings become illegitimate, why exactly the entire realm of outer politics should remain closed, and every kind of imperialism should be rejected: such questions Wellhausen pushes aside when he essentially restricts his account to the earliest days of the peoples he studied.

[[4]] So far, the account of the author is superb, led by a judgment that is, on the whole, certainly correct. What to me seems missing from the work is this: the critique of Wellhausen himself—the demand for an account that grasps all dimensions of the topic—does not lead beyond the characterization of the aporia described above. It would, first, be necessary to ask whether Wellhausen was led, on occasion, to an objectively incorrect grasp of the historical phenomena by his standards. This may be the case, for instance, in the account of an opposition between the Pharisees and Sadducees, which as such is very characteristic for Wellhausen and, accordingly, also appreciated by the author. The same goes for his conception of the person of Jesus, and what the author intimates in this direction with Note I,2 is not enough. In this context, one should ask whether Wellhausen does justice to the eschatology of the prophets and of Jesus. An investigation into this question would show that Wellhausen's conception of religion is guided by a starkly secularized Protestantism of the 19th century. Thus, the account could be deepened at many points. Yet one must, of course admit that such analyses would have hardly been feasible within the limits of Wellhausen's works and would have required a far more thorough exploration of the historiography of the 19th century, as could not be expected of a neophyte. With his restriction to Wellhausen, which by no means lapses into a limited narrowness, he has delivered superb groundwork for further investigations of this kind. What he achieved is good, at times

outstanding, so the work definitely deserves, in my opinion, the score “*Good*.” It only seems necessary to me, in addition, that before publication the auth[or] add a concluding section that summarizes the results.

[sgd.] Marburg, 10 June 1934

Bultmann

APPENDIX 1: INVENTORY OF THE BOSCHWITZ–MEISTER CORRESPONDENCE

Exchange	Place of Dispatch	Date	Holding
Meister to Boschwitz	Bad Nassau	15 September 1933	Dr. Bernhard Albers & Dr. Reinhard Kiefer Stiftung, Aachen
Boschwitz to Meister	Bad Nassau-Lahn	[15 September 1933]	Ernst Meister Papers, Literary Commission for Westphalia (LWL), Münster
Meister to Boschwitz	Hagen	2 March 1934	Dr. Bernhard Albers & Dr. Reinhard Kiefer Stiftung, Aachen
Boschwitz to Meister	Marburg	7 March 1934	Ernst Meister Papers, Literary Commission for Westphalia (LWL), Münster
Meister to Boschwitz	Hagen	12 March 1934	Dr. Bernhard Albers & Dr. Reinhard Kiefer Stiftung, Aachen
Boschwitz to Meister	Marburg	17 April 1934	Ernst Meister Papers, Literary Commission for Westphalia (LWL), Münster
Meister to Boschwitz	Hagen-Haspe	2 June 1934	Dr. Bernhard Albers & Dr. Reinhard Kiefer Stiftung, Aachen
Boschwitz to Meister	Marburg	[3 June 1934]	Ernst Meister Papers, Literary Commission for Westphalia (LWL), Münster
Meister to Boschwitz	Hagen-Haspe	12 July 1934	Dr. Bernhard Albers & Dr. Reinhard Kiefer Stiftung, Aachen

Despite my hope to publish this exchange in full, the necessary permission for reproduction in its entirety was unfortunately not granted by the literary estate of Ernst Meister.

Exchange	Place of Dispatch	Date	Holding
Boschwitz to Meister	Marburg	19 June 1934	Ernst Meister Papers, Literary Commission for Westphalia (LWL), Münster
Meister to Boschwitz	Frankfurt	30 December 1934	Dr. Bernhard Albers & Dr. Reinhard Kiefer Stiftung, Aachen

APPENDIX 2: MENTIONS OF BOSCHWITZ IN THE STRAUSS–KLEIN–LÖWITH LETTERS

Parties	Place of Dispatch	Date	Location in Edition ¹
Strauss to Löwith	Paris	15 November 1932	Correspondence Strauss–Löwith: no. 1, pp. 607–09
Klein to Strauss	Berlin	1 December 1932	Correspondence Strauss–Klein: no. 3, pp. 456–58
Klein to Strauss	Berlin	22 March 1933	Correspondence Strauss–Klein: no. 4, pp. 458–60
Löwith to Strauss	n.p.	10 June 1933	Correspondence Strauss–Löwith: no. 13, p. 628
Klein to Strauss	Berlin	6 July 1933	Correspondence Strauss–Klein: no. 7, pp. 464–67
Klein to Strauss	Marburg	28 December 1933	Correspondence Strauss–Klein: no. 17, pp. 481–83
Klein to Strauss	Marburg	17 April 1934	Correspondence Strauss–Klein: no. 25, pp. 497–500
Strauss to Klein	London	25 April 1934	Correspondence Strauss–Klein: no. 27, pp. 501–03
Strauss to Klein	London	7 May 1934	Correspondence Strauss–Klein: no. 29, pp. 503–04
Klein to Strauss	Berlin	10 May 1934	Correspondence Strauss–Klein: no. 30, pp. 504–05
Löwith to Strauss	Rome	15 April 1935	Correspondence Strauss–Löwith: no. 25, pp. 645–48

1. Leo Strauss, *Hobbes' politische Wissenschaft und zugehörige Schriften—Briefe*, ed. Heinrich Meier and Wiebke Meier, Leo Strauss Gesammelte Schriften 3, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2008).

Parties	Place of Dispatch	Date	Location in Edition
Strauss to Klein	Wiccoppee, New York	7 August 1939	Correspondence Strauss–Klein: no. 95, pp. 575–76
Strauss to Löwith	n.p.	10 January 1946	Correspondence Strauss– Löwith: no. 32, p. 658

APPENDIX 3: OVERVIEW OF MAJOR PERSONAGES

Baer, Fritz Yitzhak (1888–1980): relative of Boschwitz, émigré to Palestine, noted medieval historian specialized in the Jews of Christian Spain, founding member of the Department of Jewish History at Hebrew University.

Baneth, David Zvi Hartwig (1893–1973): scholar of medieval Islamic and Jewish thought, academic at the Academy for the Science of Judaism in Berlin, immigrant in Palestine, where he worked at the National Library and then lectured at Hebrew University.

Bar-Yosef né Zenwirth, Yehoshua (1912–1992): editor, journalist, and columnist as well as novelist and dramatist, later winner of the Bialik Prize.

Baron, Salo Wittmayer (1895–1989): prominent Austrian-born rabbi and scholar of Jewish history, lecturer at the Jewish Teachers College in Vienna then the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York, professor of Jewish history in New York, cofounder of the Conference on Jewish Relations.

Bergner, Elisabeth (1897–1986): Austrian model and actress of stage and screen, exile by the Nazi regime, refugee in Austria, England, and the United States, eventual returnee to Germany.

Boschwitz née Loeb, Gerda (1921–2011): daughter of Fritz Efraim and Esther Ella Loeb, native of Pforzheim, student at Reuchlin-Gymnasium, self-educated polyglot, immigrant in Palestine, wife of Friedemann, assistant to a legal advisor to the State of Israel, later assistant to Gershom Scholem (publisher and editor of the newspaper *Haaretz*).

Buber, Martin (1878–1965): influential Viennese philosopher, scholar, and translator, political activist, advocate of the Zionist movement, émigré to Palestine, professor at Hebrew University, ten-time nominee for the Nobel Prize in Literature and seven-time nominee for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Bultmann, Rudolf (1884–1976): Protestant theologian and New Testament scholar, professor in Breslau, Giessen, then Marburg, interlocutor with philosopher Martin Heidegger, critic of Nazism, member of the Confessing Church.

Dekuczynski, Heinz, aka Henry Deku (1909–1993): childhood friend of Boschwitz, philosopher and classicist, laureate of the Bonitz Prize from the Austrian Academy of Sciences, doctoral casualty of the Nazi regime, short-term prisoner of Buchenwald, émigré to England and then the United States, convert to Catholicism, later lecturer in Munich.

Foerg, Irmgard (1925–2009): non-Jewish librarian and archivist first at the Bavarian State Library and later bibliographer, editor, and longtime assistant to the first director at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York.

Förster-Nietzsche, Elisabeth (1846–1935): sister and later guardian of the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, editor and executor of his literary estate (Nietzsche Archive), cofounder of the Aryan colony in Paraguay named Nueva Germania, supporter of the Nazi Party.

Gadamer, Hans-Georg (1900–2002): classical philologist and renowned philosopher and hermeneuticist, professor in Marburg, Leipzig, Frankfurt, then Heidelberg.

Guttmann, Julius Yitzhak (1880–1950): rabbi and philosopher of religion, lecturer at the University of Breslau and the Jewish Theological Seminary, in Berlin professor at the Higher Institute for the Science of Judaism and director of the Academy for the Science of Judaism, chair of Jewish philosophy at Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Huch, Ricarda (1864–1947): historian and teacher as well as novelist, poet, and playwright, one of the first women to obtain a PhD in Central Europe, first woman in the Prussian Academy of the Arts, resister of the Nazi regime, seven-time nominee for the Nobel Prize in Literature.

Husserl, Edmund (1859–1938): mathematician and famed phenomenologist who supervised Leo Strauss, mentored Martin Heidegger, and taught

Karl Löwith, Friedemann Boschwitz, and Ernst Meister, and whom the Nazi regime degraded.

Justi, Ferdinand (1837–1907): orientalist specialized in Iranian studies, Hessian folklorist, professor in Marburg, colleague and friend of Julius Wellhausen.

Klein, Jacob “Jascha” (1899–1978): Russian-born, Belgian- and German-educated philosopher and historian of mathematics, friend of the Husserls, habilitational victim of Nazi legislation, lecturer in Prague and Berlin, refugee in the United States, professor at St. John’s College, Annapolis, Maryland.

Kracauer, Siegfried (1889–1960): sociologist, cultural critic, and early film theorist (often seen as adjacent to the Frankfurt School), journalist for the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, later head of its feuilleton.

Lakner, Yehoshua (1924–2003): music composer born in Bratislava, émigré to Palestine, teacher at conservatories in Tel Aviv, later Zurich.

Landauer, Gustav (1870–1919): writer, critic, Shakespeare translator, political theorist, activist, minister in the short-lived Bavarian Soviet Republic, victim of counterrevolutionary assassination.

Levisohn, Ida (1901–1979): student in Bonn, Cologne, and Frankfurt, research assistant at Oxford then Cambridge, later teacher at the Bedford College for Women.

Liebeschütz, Hans (1893–1978): medieval historian, both teacher and scholar in Hamburg (Warburg Library), lecturer at the Higher Institute for the Science of Judaism in Berlin, prisoner in Sachsenhausen, internee on Isle of Man, émigré to England, lecturer in Liverpool, cofounder of the Leo Baeck Institute, returnee to Germany.

Löwith, Karl (1897–1973): influential philosopher with special interest in Nietzsche, lecturer in Marburg, exile in Italy then Japan, refugee in the United States (Hartford Theological Seminary, New School for Social Research in New York), later returnee to Heidelberg.

Meinecke, Friedrich (1862–1954): prominent archivist and historian best known for his work on the history of German historicism, professor in Strasbourg, Freiburg, and Berlin, editor of the journal *Historische Zeitung*, later cofounder of the Free University of Berlin.

Meister, Ernst (1911–1979): university friend of Boschwitz, dissertator on Nietzsche whose progress was thwarted by the exile of his supervisor Löwith, poet and dramatist of an abstract, existentialist bent, posthumous laureate of the Büchner Prize.

Mittwoch, Eugen (1876–1942): relative of Boschwitz, respected Jewish Semitist, early speaker of Modern Hebrew, head of the foreign ministry's intelligence unit, codirector of the Seminar for Oriental Languages dismissed by the Nazi regime, immigrant in England, member of the British intelligence service, activist in Jewish aid programs.

Mommsen, Wilhelm (1892–1966): modern historian, professor in Göttingen then Marburg, target through Nazi policies against democratic sympathies, suspendee through postwar denazification measures, scholar at the Hessian Ministry of Culture.

Schaeder, Hans Heinrich (1896–1957): prominent orientalist specialized in Iranology, professor in Breslau, Königsberg, Leipzig, Berlin, later Göttingen, opportunistic sympathizer with the Nazi regime, successor to Mittwoch's positions in Berlin.

Scholem, Gershom (1897–1982): eminent philosopher and historian specialized in Jewish mysticism and messianism, Zionist convert, immigrant to Palestine, director of the Hebraica and Judaica department at the National Library in Jerusalem, professor at Hebrew University.

Simon, Ernst Akiva (Akibah) (1899–1988): philosopher with expertise in Ranke and Hegel, cofounder of the Freies Jüdisches Lehrhaus in Frankfurt, immigrant to Palestine, teacher at secondary and pedagogical schools, later professor of education and philosophy at Hebrew University.

Strauss, Leo (1899–1973): distinguished political philosopher with historical interests spanning ancient, medieval, and modern periods, researcher at the Academy for the Science of Judaism in Berlin and then Paris, exile in London and Cambridge, and immigrant to the United States (initially New York, mostly Chicago, ultimately Annapolis).

Weil née Welkanoz, Gertrude (1888–1963): cofounder and later interim director of the sociopolitical initiative Jüdisches Volksheim, or Jewish People's House, in Berlin.

Weltsch, Robert (1891–1982): essayist, activist, journalist, and editor (of the Zionist Federation's *Jüdische Rundschau* in Berlin, *Jüdische Welt-Rundschau* in Jerusalem), émigré to Palestine then England, London correspondent for the daily *Haaretz*, one of the founders of the Leo Baeck Institute.

Zeiri né Kleiner, Moshe (1914–1987): comrade of the Zionist youth movement, émigré to Palestine, Aliyah activist, later director of the children's home in Selvino, Italy, as well as pedagogue, arts enthusiast, and cofounder of Beit Zvi.

APPENDIX 4: CHRONOLOGY OF KEY EVENTS IN BOSCHWITZ'S CAREER

18 June 1909	birth of Boschwitz
1919–28	school at the Friedrichs-Werdersche Gymnasium, Berlin
1928 (SS ¹)	university studies in Freiburg
1928/29 (WS ²)–1930/31 (WS)	studies in Marburg
1931 (SS)–1932/33 (WS)	studies in Berlin
early 1932	start of work on doctoral dissertation at Marburg
1932/33 (WS)	leave of absence from studies in Berlin
7 April 1933	Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service
25 April 1933	Law Against the Overcrowding of German Schools and Institutions of Higher Education
13 May 1933	ex-matriculation from studies in Berlin to complete doctoral thesis in Marburg
19 January 1934	request to Marburg rector for permission to undergo doctoral examination
26 January 1934	recommendation by dean and examination committee to approve examination request
24 March 1934	approval of examination request by the Ministry of Culture
25 May 1934	submission of application for doctoral examination
11 July 1934	oral defense (<i>Rigorosum</i>)
early 1935	emigration from Germany to Palestine

1. SS: summer semester (April through September).

2. WS: winter semester (October through March).

1935	studies at Hebrew University
28 June 1935	request to dean for an extension of the deadline by which to publish the revised dissertation
6 July 1935	extension (until 11 July 1936) granted by dean
7 August 1936	second request to dean for an extension of the deadline by which to publish the revised dissertation
12 August 1936	second extension (until 11 July 1937) granted by dean
September 1936	first request (from Marienbad) for publication invoice from printer Noske
March 1937	enlistment of Dekuczynski to publish revised dissertation with printer Franz Linke
April 1937	second request (from Jerusalem) for publication invoice from Noske
21 May 1937	complaint from Noske to Marburg faculty on suspected financial crime
27 May 1937	submission of (uncorrected) dissertation by Mommsen to dean for diploma
16 June 1937	inquiry by dean to university council on eligibility for doctoral title
28 June 1937	recommendation from university council for dean to seek guidance on eligibility from the ministry
2 July 1937	request by dean for guidance from ministry
28 July 1937	approval from ministry for dean to confer the doctoral degree on Boschwitz
19 August 1937	notice from dean to Mommsen to oversee the final revision of the dissertation
1 February 1938	approval by Mommsen of revision and request for dean to approve delivery of the work to Linke for publication
25 March 1938	request from dean to ministry to investigate Noske's accusation of currency fraud and notification of a standstill on issuing the diploma until clarification of the matter
3 May 1938	opening of investigation by ministry
1 August 1938	request by Boschwitz for Mommsen to look into the outstanding diploma
11 August 1938	confirmation by Linke of sent dissertation copies, request for notification of receipt, mediation of question by Boschwitz's father on the cause for delay with the diploma

21 October 1938	request by Linke for a response to unanswered inquiry given outstanding payment by Boschwitz dependent on confirmation
24 October 1938	confirmation of receipt by dean for copies of published dissertation, statement on undecided matter of the doctoral diploma
14 April 1939	closure of fraud case by ministry
1940	submission of Boschwitz article manuscript to Baron
1940–43	Boschwitz teaching at Volkshochschule
4 June 1942	transfer of published dissertation copies from decanate to university library
1945	legal name change by Boschwitz to Uri
1946	collaboration with Lakner on play
9 July 1946	request by Boschwitz (from Jerusalem) for doctoral diploma
6 September 1946	printing of doctoral diploma
11 September 1946	mailing to Jerusalem of provisional doctoral degree
7 January 1947	mailing to Jerusalem of official doctoral degree with request for confirmation receipt
1948	marriage to Gerda Loebel, start of work at the Ohel Shem school in Ramat-Gan
1949	birth of Chava Boschwitz
1954	birth of Margalit Boschwitz
1966	research on Gustav Landauer
1968	reprint of German version of the published dissertation
29 August 1974	death of Friedemann Boschwitz
1982	Hebrew translation of published dissertation
2024	English edition of published dissertation and correspondence

SUBJECT INDEX

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