Axel Stähler

The Destruction of Jerusalem in Nineteenth-Century German Culture

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Abbreviations

ADB	*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Commission bei der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 56 vols (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875–1912).
DLL	*Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon: Biographisch-bibliographisches Handbuch*, founded by Wilhelm Kosch, 3rd, completely rev. edn, 38 vols (1927–30; Berlin: De Gruyter/Saur, 1968–2018).
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography*, founded by Leslie Stephen, 63 vols (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1885–1900).
LCI	*Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, eds Engelbert Kirschbaum and Wolfgang Braunfels, 8 vols, rprt (1968–76; Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1994).
MGG	*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. Ludwig Fischer, 2nd rev. edn, 29 vols (1949–86; Kassel: Bärenreiter/Metzler, 1994–2008).
NDB	*Neue Deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 28 vols (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1953–2024).
StBR	*German Reichstag Session Reports / Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstags*, www.reichstagsprotokolle.de/index.html.

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Introduction: Representations of the Destruction of Jerusalem in Nineteenth-Century German Music, Art, and Literature

Two sisters died by their own hands in a suburb of Kassel in Germany in August 1885. The former lady's maids lived modestly and apparently had saved a pretty penny. There was no obvious reason for the gruesome deed that left both women drenched in blood in their locked bed-chamber. What could have motivated the gory deed? The papers were ready with an answer: "For some time, traces of mental derangement, a kind of insane religious enthusiasm, caused by too much reading of the Bible had been observed in both ladies";[1] more specifically, "the elder sister, after listening to a sermon about the destruction of Jerusalem, was convinced that she herself was personally involved in it."[2] Though vague as to the nature of the poor woman's imaginary involvement in the destruction of Jerusalem, the paper seems to suggest that this marked the culmination of her religious insanity and tipped her over the edge, taking her younger sibling with her into the abyss of self-inflicted death. A few years later, in 1889, another German paper described a construction site in the city of Hagen. A bridge was being dismantled to be replaced with a new structure. The note stated laconically: "As with the destruction of Jerusalem, nor beam nor stone remained one upon the other."[3]

Both of these examples, two of many, suggest the ubiquity of an imaginary of the destruction of Jerusalem in nineteenth-century Germany in very different social contexts. The portrayal of the perceived chaos at the construction site indicates that by then the imaginary of the historical occurrence had been diminished to the description of quotidian phenomena, that it had been disengaged from its religious context and had, in fact, been stripped down to a metaphorical essence; the historical occurrence of the destruction of Jerusalem as prophesied by Jesus—"they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another"[4]—had turned proverbial. The earlier note is particularly intriguing because it more or less at the same

1 Anonymous, [Untitled Note], *Sächsischer Landes-Anzeiger* (August 22, 1885): 2: "Seit einiger Zeit bemerkte man an den beiden [. . .] Spuren geistiger Gestörtheit, eine Art religiöser wahnsinniger Schwärmerei, hervorgerufen durch allzu vieles Bibellesen."

2 Ibid.: "So bildete sich die ältere Schwester, nachdem sie am Sonntag eine Predigt über die Zerstörung Jerusalems gehört, ein, sie sei persönlich dabei betheiligt gewesen."

3 Anonymous, [Untitled Note], *Hagener Zeitung* (June 13, 1889): 2: "Wie bei der Zerstörung Jerusalems ist kein Balken beim andern und kein Stein auf dem andern geblieben."

4 Luke 19:44; see also Matthew 24:2.

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time established the religious context of the historical event as a potentially destructive and lethal force that played, and preyed, on the imagination.

The date is important in this context. The syndicated note about the double suicide appeared in the press on August 22 and it stated that the ghastly deed was prompted by a sermon that was shortly before attended by at least the elder of the two sisters, though it is more likely that the women went to church together almost two weeks earlier, on August 9, 1885. The date is significant because it confirms that the sermon preached on this tenth Sunday after Trinity was indeed about the destruction of Jerusalem. In the Protestant liturgical year, the tenth Sunday after Trinity used to be called *Judensonntag* (Jews' Sunday), a designation which has more recently been amended to *Israelsonntag* (Israel Sunday).[5] It is in close temporal proximity to the actual date of the destruction of the Second Temple on August 30 as well as *Tisha b'Av*, the ninth of the month of *Av* in the Jewish calendar, on which the destructions of the First Temple in 586/587 BCE and that of the Second Temple more than 600 years later are lamented in Judaism.

The significance of this tenth Sunday after Trinity lay in its commemoration of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple as an exhortatory example of the punishment the Lord would visit upon those who denied him. Sermons on this day would emphatically impress on congregants their sinfulness and invoke the destruction of Jerusalem as a type of the Last Judgment. One wonders if the pastor in Kassel restrained his homiletic fervor in subsequent years in response to the double suicide. The pericope scheduled for the *Judensonntag*, the passage from Scripture to be read and expounded in the sermon, was Luke 19:41–48, the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem by Jesus. Narratives of the destruction of Jerusalem were, moreover, also included in many hymnals and were read aloud in churches in additional afternoon meetings of the congregation on the Jews' Sunday. The *Judensonntag* was called thus not only because it emphasized the alleged obstinacy of the Jews in rejecting salvation and the ensuing cataclysmic divine punishment that supposedly signified their rejection by the Lord; but also because offertories on this particular day in the liturgical cycle were since 1853 designated for the Christian mission to the Jews.[6]

The conversion of the Jews to Christianity was an important concern in particular to Protestantism, ever since Martin Luther had envisaged—and then discarded—the notion of returning the Jews to the fold of the Lord. The idea was revived in the late seventeenth century with the rise of Pietism. In the early nine-

5 See Irene Mildenberger, *Der Israelsonntag—Gedenktag der Zerstörung Jerusalems: Untersuchungen zu seiner homiletischen und liturgischen Gestaltung in der evangelischen Tradition* (Berlin: Institut Kirche und Judentum, 2004), p. 5.

6 See ibid., p. 70.

teenth century, several societies for the promotion of Christianity among the Jews were established in the German-speaking lands in emulation of similar efforts in Britain. In a religious sense, conversion envisaged the reconciliation with the Chosen People that was recognized to have been the first witness of divine revelation but then forfeited its chosen status by rejecting the new covenant and supposedly enacting deicide; in a social sense, it signified the assimilation into Christian majority culture of a minority that was otherwise historically perceived as alien and withdrawn. Yet with the rise of biological antisemitism such notions were increasingly challenged. Jewishness, if it was biologically defined, and the oriental otherness it supposedly entailed, could not be effaced with a sprinkle of water, and be it the water of the baptismal font.

The historical occurrence remembered on the *Judensonntag* as an exhortation to the faithful—with at least in this one case fatal consequences—was the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple in the year 70 CE by the Romans under Titus as it was recorded by the Jewish historian Yosef ben Matityahu, better known by his Romanized name Flavius Josephus. The Jewish War, initiated by the Jewish revolt against Roman rule, was one of the most violent and vicious armed conflicts in history. It lasted from 66–73 CE, when it was eventually concluded with the Roman conquest of the Jewish mountain stronghold of Masada.

Jerusalem, in which Jews from the whole province and beyond were trapped after having gathered for the Passover celebrations at the Temple, was besieged by the Romans for five months.[7] It was defended by inimical factions of Jews who simultaneously fought among themselves until the Zealots emerged as the dominant power in the city. According to Josephus, Jerusalem was devastated from within by murder, famine, and cannibalism during the siege. From the outside, its formidable defences were eventually breached in slow succession. Finally, the Temple went up in flames; the last remnant of the defenders surrendered about a month later. Once again according to Josephus, more than a million Jews were killed during the siege and fall of Jerusalem.[8] The city was razed, with the exception of three of its towers, which were left as monuments to the Roman effort of breaching such imposing defences. Most of the surviving Jews were enslaved, many of them were killed in the arena, and some were paraded at the triumphal procession of Titus in Rome in 71

7 See Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, transl. G. A. Williamson (1959; London: Penguin, 1981), books 5–7 for the Jewish historian's contemporary, and controversial, account of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple.

8 See ibid., p. 371 (6.9.3). For ease of reference, book, chapter, and section indicators following the translation of the works of Josephus by William Whiston of 1737 are subsequently added throughout in parenthesis, see *The Works of Josephus*, transl. William Whiston (1737; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1987).

CE. The occasion was commemorated after the early death of the imperator by his brother Domitian with the still extant Arch of Titus, one of whose decorative relief panels includes the visual representation of the spoils taken from the Temple.

The ubiquity of the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem in public discourse in nineteenth-century Germany as well as in the country's cultural production made the historical occurrence a significant, yet as such so far largely ignored, factor in negotiations of German and Jewish identities. It was taken up by writers, artists, and composers of both German and Jewish heritage. The process was complicated through its shifting historical contexts throughout the nineteenth century. The Wars of Liberation during the Napoleonic era, the rise of German nationalism, the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, and eventually the foundation of the German Empire; the *Kulturkampf*, involving Protestantism and Catholicism as well as the secular state; Jewish emancipation, the creation of a Jewish public sphere and secular literature, the emergence of the Jewish Reform movement and the concomitant creation of Jewish neo-Orthodoxy, the initiation of a secular Jewish historiography; the renewed wide-spread interest in the antisemitic legend of the Wandering Jew, the advance of biological antisemitism, and anxieties about the alleged "Jewification" of German culture; as well as theological, musical, and literary debates all contributed to shaping the cultural engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem in nineteenth-century Germany, of which the negotiation of Jewish and German identities was an important factor.

A particularly potent artistic manifestation of the subject which proved to be highly productive in the further cultural engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem was a monumental painting by Wilhelm von Kaulbach which I discuss in chapter I of this book. With the artist's cartoon of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (*The Destruction of Jerusalem*) exhibited since 1838, the painting—eventually completed in 1846 and given a central position since 1853 in the Neue Pinakothek in Munich—was widely acclaimed both in Germany and abroad (see Figure 1). A fresco version of the composition was carried out by the painter and his workshop in the context of a monumental representation of the universal history of civilization in the stairwell of the Neues Museum in Berlin from 1847–51. Prints of Kaulbach's painting by various artists were published throughout the remainder of the century and beyond. In a large format and costly, they made fashionable gifts for special occasions.[9] Details from the painting were similarly reproduced

9 See, e.g., *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. Morgen-Ausgabe* (February 19, 1879): 6; *Central-Volksblatt für den Regierungsbezirk Arnsberg* (September 14, 1889): 2; *Rhein- und Ruhrzeitung* (August 29, 1882): 2; *Westfälische Zeitung* (October 29, 1888): 2.



Figure 1: Wilhelm von Kaulbach, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1846); oil on canvas; 585 cm × 705 cm; Neue Pinakothek, Munich. (Public domain.)

in prints, photographs, and collotypes as well as other media.[10] Rather popular in a devotional context was the group of the withdrawing Christians. The motif was designated *The Flight from Jerusalem* and was offered as a cheap lithograph;[11] the same group was produced by the *Königliche Porzellan-Manufaktur* (Royal Porcelain Factory) in Berlin as a lithophane and was variously painted by Carl Meinelt on porcelain plaques which were also manufactured by the *Königliche Porzellan-Manufaktur*.[12] The group was abstracted, and adapted, for instance also for Lucas

10 See, e.g., Anonymous, "Foreign Notes and News," *The British Journal of Photography* 22.792 (July 9, 1875): 332–3, 333.

11 See, e.g., an advertisement in the *New Weekly Catholic Magazine* 1.1 (November 14, 1846): 12, as well as in subsequent issues.

12 Lithophanes are thin plaques of moulded and painted porcelain behind which a light source would be positioned; a steel print of the design for Meinelt's porcelain paintings was marketed since 1867.

Caspar Businger's popular Catholic ecclesiastical history *Christus in seiner Kirche* (1880; Christ in His Church) in the anonymous illustration "Auszug des Christenthums aus Jerusalem" (Exodus of Christianity from Jerusalem; see Figure 2),[13] its adaptation offering a useful indicator of its cultural productivity and assimilability.



Figure 2: Anonymous, "Auszug des Christenthums aus Jerusalem," in Lucas Caspar Businger, *Christus in seiner Kirche: Eine Kirchengeschichte für Schule und Haus* (Einsiedeln: Benziger, 1880), p. 217. (Public domain.)

Itself informed by the conversation with earlier representations of the destruction of Jerusalem in different media and from various cultural contexts, notably from Britain, Kaulbach's spectacular painting was, more importantly, an inspiration also to artists who worked in other areas of cultural production in Germany—in music, art, and literature. In its particular rendering of the narrative of the destruction of Jerusalem, it introduced, reconfigured, and transformed stereotypes of Jewishness, in particular of the Beautiful Jewess and the Wandering Jew; though secularized, it

13 See Lucas Caspar Businger, *Christus in seiner Kirche: Eine Kirchengeschichte für Schule und Haus* (Einsiedeln: Benziger, 1880), p. 217.

articulated the doctrine of supersession, which was to inform the large majority of Christian engagements with the subject. Kaulbach's conception of history was influenced by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's teleological understanding of universal history, which he combined with the specifically Catholic approach of Joseph Görres. On this historical-philosophical agenda the artist imposed through formal analogies the iconographic framework of representations of the Last Judgment. As such, his painting, which includes no battle scenes, offered a fundamentally new perspective on the historical occurrence which sought to encompass its historical essence as a turning point in universal history rather than the specific moment in time.

Executed in a neo-baroque style, Kaulbach's painting includes figures of religious significance—prophets and angels—which tie the historical occurrence to the progress of history as salvation history. Titus is in this manner confirmed as the instrument of the Lord's wrath. The High Priest, though represented as a noble figure, signifies superseded Judaism as he kills himself. The Zealots are reduced to grim desperation. The gruesome figure of Mary of Bethezuba, who devoured her own new-born, is shown in contemplation of her unnatural deed. Ahasuerus flees the scene in terror pursued by three demons. In a published explanation of his painting, Kaulbach identified this figure as representative of modern Jewry and of all those who were cast out into the outer darkness for their never repented guilt. This intrinsically antisemitic conception of Ahasuerus and the Jews was controversially explored in subsequent engagements with the subject. Finally, as an articulation of the doctrine of supersession, the Christians are shown in the painting in association with symbols of martyrdom and redemption as they withdraw unharmed from the stricken city. The artist's constellation of figures, abstracted mainly from Josephus and the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius, functioned as a blueprint for numerous subsequent representations, though it also provoked some significant reinterpretations.

My own interest in the painting and the pervasiveness of its subject in nineteenth-century Germany was piqued more than a decade ago by Oskar Panizza's description of Itzig Faitel Stern in his grotesque "Der operierte Jud'" (1893; "The Operated Jew"). The satirical text uses the intermedial reference to Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* to create the image of its Jewish protagonist in the reader's mind: "Itzig's nose assumed a form which was similar to that of the high priest who was the most prominent and striking figure of Kaulbach's painting 'The Destruction of Jerusalem'."[14] Much could be said about this, and about the fre-

14 Oskar Panizza, "The Operated Jew," in Jack Zipes, *The Operated Jew: Two Tales of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 47–74, p. 48; see also Oskar Panizza, "Der operierte Jud'," in *Vi-*

quently alleged articulation of antisemitism in the story. In the present context, however, it is sufficient to note the writer's apparent confidence in the universal resonance of his reference. The ubiquity of Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* in its different medial manifestations and across different social strata was certainly assured in Germany throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, toward the end of the century emerged a certain fatigue in relation to the grand gestures and poses of the style of which Kaulbach's monumental history painting was such a prominent example:

> In history painting, it [i.e., the pose] has plied its dreadful trade on a large scale and therefore today a strong whiff of enmity against it wafts through the younger generation of the artistic world. And it is good if for once they enjoy a lasting peace and unpaintedness, those Lucretias and Cleopatras, those destructions of Jerusalem and Carthage, those rose-wreathed Neros and unfortunate Konradins and those never-ending Ludwigs, Heinrichs, and Karls of the Middle Ages with their deeds and fates.[15]

While there were indeed no visual representations of the destruction of Jerusalem in Germany whose impact on public discourse was in any way comparable to Kaulbach's painting, there was nevertheless no "lasting peace" to be enjoyed by the subject.

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In this book, initiated by my reading of Panizza's grotesque, I explore the surprising profusion of cultural engagements with the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem in nineteenth-century Germany. I argue that representations of the historical occurrence, like the monumental painting by Kaulbach, constitute a significant but so far largely neglected arena for the negotiation of shifting Jewish imaginaries in which both German and Jewish creative minds engaged. I moreover contend that Kaulbach's painting had an enormous impact on the further development of Jewish imaginaries through its extraordinary cultural productivity. It influenced librettists and composers as well as poets and writers whose works related to it in different

sionen der Dämmerung (1893; Munich: Müller, 1914), pp. 213–42, p. 215: "Itzigs Nase hatte jene hohepriesterliche Form, wie sie Kaulbach in seiner 'Zerstörung Jerusalems' der vordersten und markantesten Figur seines Bildes verliehen hat."

15 Anonymous, "Posen," *Kölner Nachrichten* (December 5, 1889): 2–3, 3: "In großem Maßstab hat sie [i.e., the pose] in der Historienmalerei ihr Unwesen getrieben und so geht heute ein starker Zug von Feindschaft gegen sie durch die jüngere Generation der Kunstwelt. Und es ist gut, wenn sie sich einmal einer dauernden Ruhe und Ungemaltheit erfreuen, diese Lukretien und Kleopatren, diese Zerstörungen von Jerusalem und Karthago, diese rosenbekränzten Neros und unglückseligen Konradins und diese unabsehbare Ludwige, Heinriche und Karle des Mittelalters mit ihren Thaten und Schicksalen."

ways, either adopting its suggestions or critically confronting them. Arguably, a succession of dramatic poems and plays in which the figure of Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew, was given prominence derived from an engagement with the monumental painting. Beyond Kaulbach, the destruction of Jerusalem was given frequent literary articulation in particular in the context of the *Kulturkampf*. The critical examination of these texts contributes also to a better understanding of the parameters of this conflict and the scope of its enactment. The largely intermedial and comparative approach of my book serves to emphasize the striking medial and generic diversity of engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem which indicates the pervasive presence of the subject in public discourse in nineteenth-century Germany and hence also its significance for the negotiation of both Jewish and German identities.

Kaulbach himself initiated two libretti for oratorios that were based on his painting. As I discuss in chapter I, he appears to have envisaged a kind of *Gesamtkunstwerk* in which his painting would interact with the verbal and musical components of an oratorio. The artist's efforts and the resulting intermedial works may have indirectly inspired the surprising profusion of further oratorical engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem. After an early manifestation in Carl Loewe's *Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem* (The Destruction of Jerusalem) of 1829, the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem proliferated as one of the more prominent thematic preoccupations of nineteenth-century German oratorios that was unique in the European context. Whether Kaulbach was familiar with Loewe's oratorio must remain conjectural. Conversely, however, it seems that there can be little doubt that the remaining five oratorios in some way or other relate to the artist's monumental painting.

The musical genre of the oratorio became very popular in early nineteenth-century Germany. In relation to the destruction of Jerusalem, it promoted the active performative engagement of the singers' collective with the subject as well as the partisan enjoyment of the performances by mostly bourgeois audiences. While there does not seem to be an obvious historical pattern to the musical adaptations of, and responses to, Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, their proliferation nevertheless indicates the cultural significance and productivity of the monumental painting which offered a distinctly idealist interpretation of history that went far beyond the scope of previous and subsequent pictorial representations of the subject. The impact of Kaulbach's painting may also be inferred from the efforts of Jewish artists and composers, such as Eduard Bendemann and Ferdinand Hiller, to reclaim Jewish history in opposition to it. With the dissemination of printed libretti, the oratorio participated moreover in a wider literary discourse on the destruction of Jerusalem that permeated nineteenth-century German society on different levels of class, education, age, and gender and that, if to some extent circumscribed by genre conventions and authoritarian structures (such as censorship), provided a platform also for

the intervention in topical issues among which the negotiation of German and Jewish identities and their interaction with one another were prominent.

At the same time, the oratorio and pictorial representations were not, of course, the only forms of cultural production to arise from, and to impact on, discourse on the Jews in Germany. A profusion of dramatic texts, historical fiction, and epics which similarly engaged with the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem originated in the long nineteenth century. The different media and the variety of genres corresponded to a diversity of approaches, though in some instances references to Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* indicate the painting's cultural impact and productivity far beyond the musical and artistic spheres. Perhaps unexpectedly, the religious dimension and the potential for social interpellation of the subject emerge even more prominently from some of these literary engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem than from the oratorial or pictorial traditions.

It may safely be assumed that the large majority of contemporary writers, artists, and composers must in some way have been familiar with, or at least cognizant of, Kaulbach's monumental secularized Hegelian interpretation of the destruction of Jerusalem as a turning point in universal history after the first exhibition of his cartoon in 1838 and the publication of a plethora of newspaper notices and advertisements that appeared subsequently in the press as well as in more specialized periodicals. Naturally, not every writer, artist, and composer elected to engage directly with the painting; some chose to ignore it altogether. In fact, though presumably stimulated by the impact of Kaulbach's widely known pictorial-philosophical conception, the engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem took on a dynamic of its own in the course of the nineteenth century.

In terms of genre choices, which I examine in chapter II, this was significantly influenced by the perceived decline of epic poetry as well as the rise of both the dramatic poem and the novel, and more specifically the historical novel. This paradigm change was initiated in Britain, where important source texts for the subsequent German engagement with the subject originated. Samuel Taylor Coleridge's abortive plan of writing an epic about the destruction of Jerusalem is indicative in this context, as are contemporary reviews of epic and dramatic poems by Charles Peers (1823) and Henry Hart Milman (1820), respectively, which favored the more dialogic approach of the latter. Shortly afterward, George Croly adopted in his anonymously published *Salathiel* (1828) the form of the novel. A lengthy fictional narrative, which conjoins the historical destruction of Jerusalem with the legend of the Wandering Jew, this text responded and contributed to the increasing prominence of the Ahasuerus figure in contemporary literature. A decade later, the writer Karl Gutzkow initiated in Germany an acerbic debate about the figure of Ahasuerus as an ambiguous symbol of Jewish particularity or universality. Both Croly and the debate instigated by Gutzkow may well have inspired Kaulbach to include the figure of the Wandering

Jew in his painting. The artist's visual representation, in turn, influenced against this background a series of dramatic poems and plays. In chapter III, I explore the strikingly different directions in which the figure of Ahasuerus is developed in these in the widest sense dramatic works.

The negotiation of the categories of particularism and universalism had a significant impact also on efforts of Jewish self-definition in the first half of the nineteenth century. In the wake of the *Haskalah*, the Jewish enlightenment, and adopting the modern historical-critical method of textual criticism, the *Wissenschaft des Judenthums* arose from it. This scholarly enquiry into Jewishness and Judaism most importantly developed the focus on a secular Jewish historiography which wrote the Jews back into history and challenged preconceived constructions of Jewishness. The Jewish Reform movement sought to redefine Judaism in conversation with conceptions of modernity and enlightenment values, while neo-Orthodoxy emerged as a counter-movement that aimed to re-establish traditional Judaism within the parameters of the enlightenment and emancipation. These efforts, and in particular the engagement with contemporary research into the historical Jesus and his Jewishness, informed to differing degrees the relatively small number of Jewish engagements with the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem in Germany which mostly sought to promote a conciliatory stance between Judaism and Christianity and which I investigate in chapter V.

Altogether much more prolific was the Protestant and Catholic appropriation of the subject in the context of the *Kulturkampf*, which I explore in chapter IV. This had a pervasive influence on denominational literary production in Germany. In fact, the denominational divide prompted the perhaps most productive engagement in German literature with the destruction of Jerusalem because the historical occurrence was turned effectively into a battlefield in the *Kulturkampf* which had a significant impact on the political, social, and cultural fabric of Germany in the wake of the revolutions of 1848. These texts were predominantly understood to be *Tendenzliteratur*, literature with a political or ideological objective, a genre frequently considered inferior in contemporary discourse. Though both might have been thought to be tendentious, there was nevertheless a marked qualitative difference between the Catholic and the Protestant traditions of writing which had an influence also on the respective representations of the destruction of Jerusalem.

Catholic literature programmatically sought to illustrate and reinforce the certainties and doctrines of the Catholic faith. It frequently took inspiration from saints' legends and was altogether considered to be lagging behind the aesthetic achievements of contemporary literature. This sparked in the early years of the twentieth century the so-called inferiority debate in which some Catholic writers advocated—against the forceful resistance of others—the alignment of their writ-

ing with the aesthetic criteria of mainstream literature. In the context of the destruction of Jerusalem, Catholic literary production focused frequently on the early church, its rituals, and the symbolism of material objects as well as, eventually, the triumphant martyrdom of the protagonist. The conversion of Jewish characters, typically of the Beautiful Jewess, is another frequently employed trope, though Catholic writers primarily focused on the conversion of Romans to Christianity. In either case, in Catholic literature conversion often converged with a fervent martyrdom as the ultimate and triumphant affirmation of (the) faith.

Within the political context of the *Kulturkampf*, Catholic literature about the destruction of Jerusalem, encompassing novels as well as simple plays for Catholic workers' clubs and calendar stories,[16] frequently served the apologetic objective of refuting allegations of dual loyalties and that the Catholic Church effectively constituted a subversive state within the state. Another important aim was to articulate through allusions to, and covert analogies with, contemporary society a veiled criticism of nationalist endeavors and irreligious modern tendencies as well as the alleged victimization of Catholics in the German Empire. Conversely, these texts sought to instil in their readers the fortitude in the face of adversity that characterized the early Christian martyrs they portrayed. Finally, they celebrated the greater glory of God and of the Catholic Church whose ultimate triumph in the future they envisaged.

Protestant writing had a much stronger psychological focus which favored the individual. In this it emulated, and coincided with, trends of contemporary literature. It moreover frequently articulated a national pathos, which reflects the dominant socio-political role of Protestantism, initially in the northern states of Germany and subsequently in the German Empire as opposed to the predominantly Catholic Austro-Hungarian Empire. The perception and representation of Jewish characters in literary texts about the destruction of Jerusalem of Protestant provenance frequently differs from those in Catholic texts. Particularly novels emerging from a Pietist background or from the Protestant Awakening Movement focus on the conversion paradigm and the continued soteriological significance of the Jews. At the same time, the early Christian community is typically associated in these texts with simple, socially determined rituals and an unmediated relationship between the individual and the divinity as well as unadorned congregational spaces, while the potential symbolic value of material objects is largely disregarded. The difference between the dichotomous denominational approaches in narrative fic-

16 See, e.g., Philipp Laicus, "Die Zerstörung Jerusalems," in *Leo-Kalender für das katholische Volk 1881* (Würzburg: Woerl, 1881), pp. 6–30.

tion about the historical occurrence is most obvious in the respective treatment of the Eucharist, or the Last Supper.

In Jewish engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem, which I explore in chapter V, conversion is unsurprisingly not a prominent topic. These texts instead tend to marvel at the survival of the Jews and Judaism after the historical cataclysm. The majority more specifically engages with the historical figure of Jesus. They emphasize his Jewishness and situate his teachings within Judaism. Early Christian sects, such as the Ebionites, as well as the figure of Hillel the Elder and his tolerant school gain particular significance in this context. In this respect, most of the texts of Jewish provenance, which participated in an extended conversation with contemporary theological approaches, were apologetic and against the background of mounting antisemitism sought to promote a reconciliation with Christianity which was based on the Jewishness of Jesus and of his precepts. These values are represented by Jewish characters who resist conversion and the notion of the divinity of Jesus but adopt Christian ideas and in this way embody a model of reconciliation.

Very different, almost aggressive, was the earlier attempt to recover the "Jewish spirit" and rewrite the history of the Jewish War by revaluating the leaders of the Jewish insurgents and by challenging the authority of Josephus's historical narrative. Of particular relevance in this context are a historical-dramatic poem by Julius Kossarski and a revisionist historiographical text by Heinrich Graetz. These efforts were closely connected to the *Institut zur Förderung der israelitischen Literatur* (Institute for the Promotion of Israelite Literature) established by Ludwig Philippson in 1855, which published both texts. The moderately Reform-oriented rabbi had already contributed significantly to the creation of a Jewish public sphere in Germany with his earlier foundation of the over time enormously influential *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* in 1837. A prolific writer, Philippson published in the third volume of this paper a novella of his own which represents the earliest engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem in German-language narrative fiction I was able to identify.

Altogether, my book is based on the observation that in nineteenth-century Germany a clear awareness of, and an engagement with, representations of the destruction of Jerusalem was in evidence in different media and genres and across their respective boundaries. This coincided with the attempt to harness literary, artistic, and musical expression to the wider debate on Jewish emancipation and, indeed, perceptions of Jewishness and anxieties about the Jewish contribution to what was perceived as German culture; it also is an indicator of the impact of a historical event of perceived pivotal significance on the ways in which the presence and the position of Jews were configured in the context of nineteenth-century Germany. I argue that due to the popular impact of both the oratorio and (some of) the

paintings discussed, as well as dramatic poems, epics, and historical fiction, these diverse cultural engagements with the subject must be considered a formative, if nowadays largely neglected force emerging from and shaping discourse on the Jews in Germany during the nineteenth century.

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Samuel Taylor and Heinrich von Kleist despaired about writing about what they both thought to be one of the most poignant subjects for literary representation. Friedrich von Uechtritz, inspired by Kleist's interest in the destruction of Jerusalem, also faltered initially, insisting that the subject was "completely unwieldy and inhibiting, even contrary."[17] Uechtritz eventually wrote a novel about the destruction of Jerusalem, which I discuss in chapter IV of this book, but his—as well as Coleridge's and Kleist's—hesitation is indicative of the forbidding scope of the subject. Their issues, if in slightly different form, were also mine. Musical, artistic, and literary engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem, as discussed in this introduction, simply proliferated in nineteenth-century Germany.

Originally, I aimed to explore in my book the representation of the destruction of Jerusalem in the nineteenth century in a European context. I, too, soon despaired. The material was much too rich for such a project, even though none of the other European national literatures of this period produced a proliferation of cultural engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem similar in scope to that in Germany. Hence my reluctant decision to focus exclusively on this country, though I could not resist to include a glance on the vagaries of the subject in British literature which, as mentioned before, had a profound impact on subsequent German variations on the theme. Yet the problem persisted. In the German cultural context alone, the extant material would easily fill several volumes. I decided to restrict myself to one, yet the material gathered for this one—albeit hefty—volume has also proven to be "unwieldy and inhibiting," and perhaps even a little "contrary"; given the proliferation of literary engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem, I had to make some difficult choices of inclusion and exclusion.[18]

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17 Friedrich von Uechtritz, *Eleazar: Eine Erzählung aus der Zeit des großen jüdischen Krieges im ersten Jahrhunderte nach Christo*, 3 vols (Jena: Costenoble, 1867), pp. x–xi: "völlig unhandlich und spröde, ja selbst widrig."

18 Among these works are, for instance, Adolf Jauß, *Juda: Erzählung aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems durch Titus* (Stuttgart: Steinkopf, 1870); J. Paulus, *Maria: Eine Erzählung aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (Stuttgart: Steinkopf, 1889); Anton Ohorn, *Der Tempelhauptmann: Historische Erzählung aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (Leipzig: Bredt, 1899); and Charles Henry Rohe, *Thamar oder die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (Columbus, OH: Lutherische Verlagshandlung, 1888). The latter is interesting because it was published in German by a Lutheran publishing house in America for a German-speaking Protestant readership, which was situated outside

The abundance of material from different media and genres has resulted in rather long chapters. Each of these chapters is nevertheless followed by a digression; these are in some instances contrapuntal to the main body of the preceding chapter and at other times provide additional relevant information or elaborate interconnections between chapters. With this, I may have shifted the experience of the unwieldy and contrary to the reader of my book. I nevertheless think that this is the best way to tell its narrative.

With the objective of appreciating the idiosyncratic character, stylistic peculiarity, and integrity of each of the many texts I discuss, I include what some readers may perhaps think an unreasonable amount of quotations. These are integral to my efforts of creating an associative understanding of the historical presence of these texts. Translations are mine, if not otherwise indicated, since of most of the texts with which I worked no translations into English are available. In accordance with my desire to maintain the integrity of these texts, I sought to re-create their character in the original language as closely as possible without losing any subtleties of meaning and yet to provide texts which reflect the style and tone of their time and are still readable. The original text is either added in square brackets within the quotation or in footnotes. I retain throughout the original spelling of German-language texts, once again with the objective of maintaining their integrity.

My decision to reproduce some of the visual representations discussed in my book not from the original but from contemporary prints is motivated by a similar objective. In the nineteenth century, most encounters with these works would have been mediated through various reproductions rather than the confrontation with the much less easily accessible originals. They would have been perceived and would have achieved their potential of cultural productivity through the filter of a remediation which in many cases cannot be traced in detail but which would have constituted the first level of this very cultural productivity.

For better readability, I harmonized the names of the historical *dramatis personae* of the destruction of Jerusalem which recur frequently in different manifestations. I chose to use the prevalent English version throughout, yet indicate at the first mention of the particular character in a particular text in parentheses the particular form their name takes in each respective instance.

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the immediate ramifications of the *Kulturkampf*; the text was translated into English in 1919. It is moreover interesting to note in this context that an epic poem about the destruction of Jerusalem attributed to the fictitious third-century Jewish writer Ben Asaph was published in America already in 1857, see Anselm Korlstoff, *The Moriad; Or, End of the Jewish State* (Nashville, TN: Stitt, 1857).

Titles of primary texts—oratorios, paintings, and literature—I generally reference in my own text in their original languages (with the exceptions of classical texts, to which I refer by their established English titles, and of Hebrew titles, which are transliterated). The publication, release, or completion date and a translation of the title follow in parentheses. If a text has been translated into English, this is indicated with the translated title either being printed in italics or set in quotation marks; the translated titles of texts which were not published in translation are printed in roman.

Finally, regarding terminology, I follow recent usage of spelling antisemitism without hyphen and capitalization in order to discourage misleading essentialist associations. With regard to historical manifestations of antisemitism, subtle shifts occurred as to the exact nature of this racist phenomenon across the nineteenth century; these are generally not elaborated in this book, with the exception of the rise of biological antisemitism since the final decades of the century. I also do not use hyphens when referring to German Jewish or British Jewish identities. In this way, the phenomenon is implicitly generalized, so as to emphasize the significance of the Jewish element in otherwise frequently hyphenated and therefore partially elided identities. I am aware of the recent practice of referring to Jews as Jewish identifying. I nevertheless chose to retain the older usage of "Jews," and sometimes even "the Jews," because this reflects historical practice contemporary to the texts I discuss. The more recent terminology moreover tends to gloss over shifts of perception and responses to "residual" Jewishness, as for instance in the cases of assimilation, acculturation, and conversion. I am also aware, and so should be the reader, that the reference to identities and identifications is always problematic inasmuch as they are determined by voluntary and involuntary ascriptions and attributions from both the inside and the outside. Identities are, moreover, dynamic and processual. This should also be remembered when reading the five chapters of my book, which do not follow a chronological trajectory but elaborate in an overarching and interweaving approach genre-focused and thematic as well as contextual, or situational, convergences.

Chapter I
The Jews and the Destruction of Jerusalem in German Art and Oratorios of the Nineteenth Century

"The destruction of Jerusalem is a turning point in universal history of more than common historical character," the artist Wilhelm von Kaulbach maintained in a printed explication of the cartoon for his painting *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1846; *The Destruction of Jerusalem*; Figure 1).[1] He explained that not only had the destruction of Jerusalem been foretold in an "extraordinary manner," but that "it also anticipates the ultimate fate of the world and of humanity, while as a contemporary occurrence it clearly has the stamp of a judgement willed by the Lord and executed to his command."[2] And so he poses the rhetorical question: "Which occurrence could therefore be better suited for artistic representation?"[3]

Widely publicized in the media long before its completion in the wake of various exhibitions of his cartoon since 1838, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* gave lavish expression to Kaulbach's Hegelian historical world view. More specifically, his painting and its various manifestations, including authorized reproductions and a prominently placed fresco version in the Neues Museum in Berlin,[4] constituted a forceful intervention in contemporary debates on Christian supersession and the emancipation of the Jews. While the sense of an ending and, conversely, of a beginning associated by the artist with the historical moment is not unconventional in itself, his symbolically elaborate focus on this particular "turning point" distinguishes his from other visual renderings of the subject—those that came before and those that followed it.

1 [Wilhelm Kaulbach], *Erläuterungen zu dem Bilde: Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem von Wilhelm Kaulbach* (Munich: Hübschmann, 1840), p. 3: "Im Wendepunkt der Weltgeschichte steht die Zerstörung Jerusalems als ein Ereigniß von mehr als gewöhnlich historischem Charakter." If not otherwise indicated, all translations from the German are my own. The painting, oil on canvas, 585 cm × 705 cm, is held by the Neue Pinakothek, Munich.

2 Ibid.: "sie ist nicht nur auf außerordentliche Weise voraus verkündigt worden, sie deutet auch hinaus auf die letzten Schicksale der Welt und Menschheit, während sie als unmittelbares Ereignis so bestimmt das Gepräge eines von Gott gewollten und unter seiner Leitung vollzogenen Gerichtes trägt."

3 Ibid.: "Welches Ereigniß könnte also mehr für die künstlerische Darstellung geeignet seyn?"

4 This was, in fact, a water-glass, or stereochrome, painting but is usually referred to as a fresco. Hermann Mayer attributed the invention of water-glass painting to Kaulbach, see *Das Wasserglas: Seine Eigenschaften, Fabrikation und Verwendung* (Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1925), p. 3.

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Enthusiastically promoting Kaulbach's cartoon of the painting, the art historian Rudolf Marggraff, then at the beginning of his illustrious career, maintained that the thematic choices of the artist were generally very propitious. With reference to the *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, he noted that the subject had been rather neglected before it was approached by Kaulbach.[5] In an artistic context, it was indeed to remain a marginal subject. In this sense, Kaulbach's flair for thematic choices might be said to have deserted him. Yet the artist's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* nevertheless became culturally surprisingly productive. As a matter of fact, curiously, though not entirely arbitrarily, the large-scale painting appears to have resonated not so much with other pictorial interpretations of the subject but rather with a number of musical engagements. Not least, perhaps, because it was soon out of date, the historical interpretation becoming obsolete, as did the Hegelian approach *vis-à-vis* an increasingly positivistically oriented historicism over the course of the nineteenth century.[6]

The painting's affinity in particular with a series of oratorios is striking. Not only may the celebrated historical painting and its no longer extant fresco version have been influenced by Carl Loewe's eponymous oratorio of 1829, but Kaulbach's artistic representation clearly provided a controversial stimulus to a succession of nineteenth-century German oratorios and libretti. At least one libretto (by Guido Görres, 1847; later partially set to music by Emil Bohn) and one cantata (by Eduard Schüller and Emil Naumann, 1856) were in fact produced in response to the artist's direct intervention, which originated in his interest in exploring the synesthetic potential of art, literature, and music. Yet others, too, were influenced by Kaulbach's interpretation of the historical occurrence—either negatively, by repudiating it (such as Ferdinand Hiller, 1840, and Martin Blumner, 1875), or positively, by taking inspiration from the artist's composition and transposing it into another medium (August Klughardt, 1899).

In this chapter, I explore these cases of intermedial cross-pollination against the socio-cultural background of their changing production contexts, focusing in particular on the prominently displayed figures of the Wandering Jew and the Beautiful Jewess which emerge as highly charged signifiers.[7] In particular, their divergent conversion potential as tropes of Jewish irredeemability and redeemability,

5 See R[udolf] M[arggraff], "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem von Wilhelm Kaulbach," *Münchner Jahrbücher für bildende Kunst* 1 (1838): 186–91, 187.

6 For a broad overview, see, e.g., Frederick C. Beiser, *The German Historicist Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

7 For "the prevalence of the father-daughter pair" in representations of the Jewish other, see, e.g., Efraim Sicher, *The Jew's Daughter: A Cultural History of a Conversion Narrative* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2017), pp. 10–13.

respectively, is indicative of attempts to utilize artistic and musical expression within the wider debate in Germany on Christian supersession, Jewish emancipation, and perceptions of Jewishness more generally. Owing to the wide-ranging appeal of the oratorio and the prominence of Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, these various cultural engagements with the subject appear to have been a formative, if nowadays mostly unheeded, force simultaneously emerging from and shaping discourse on the Jews in Germany during the nineteenth century.

Historical Model and Historical Context

Clearly aligned with the at the time prevalent Hegelian understanding of universal history as a rational and teleological process,[8] the pivotal nature attributed by the artist to the historical destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem in the year 70 CE imposes a number of retrospective symbolical readings on the event which are primarily indicative of the concerns and preoccupations of the painting's own cultural production context. Not quite congruent with Hegel's philosophy of history and subjected to an eschatological reading influenced by Catholic doctrine, another important inspiration to Kaulbach's conception was the conception of history of Joseph Görres.[9] Kaulbach attended the philosopher's lectures on universal history in Munich and became a close friend of Görres's son Guido who, like his father, was an active supporter of political Catholicism.

Kaulbach's insistence on the eminent suitability of the historical occurrence for artistic representation partakes of a pervasive contemporary historicist attitude which, while its parameters were to change, remained predominant throughout the nineteenth century and had a profound impact on cultural production across Europe. More specifically, the ubiquitous preoccupation with history was closely connected to the various competing European projects of nation-building and the formation of national identities which at the same time also determined a selective focus on history as it was made subservient to different national endeavors.

8 See Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History: Introduction, Reason in History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 28. For Kaulbach's conception of history, see Karl Möseneder, "'Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht': Über Wilhelm von Kaulbachs 'Die Zerstörung Jerusalems'," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 47 (1996): 103–46, 135–7.

9 See Annemarie Menke-Schwinghammer, *Weltgeschichte als "Nationalepos": Wilhelm von Kaulbachs kulturhistorischer Zyklus im Treppenhaus des Neuen Museums in Berlin* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1994), pp. 42–3.

Kaulbach's question, therefore, was one loaded with contemporary significance. It not only suggests that history was to be considered the prime subject of the artist but that the specific historical occurrence represented in his painting was afforded universal import which it derived beyond its factual aftereffects from its central position in a larger interpretive, essentially religious or even ideological framework, constituting a pervasive philosophical system of understanding the world. The later inclusion of the pre-existing composition among the frescoes designed by Kaulbach for the Neues Museum (1842–65) serves to emphasize the point. Beginning with *Der Thurmbau zu Babel* (The Erection of the Tower of Babel) and concluding with *Das Zeitalter der Reformation* (The Age of the Reformation), the cycle of altogether six monumental murals and a number of smaller frescoes as well as friezes and ornaments, all of which were destroyed in the Second World War, represented not so much the history of the world but world history as a process, articulated in nodal focus points from an exclusively Eurocentric perspective.[10]

Kaulbach has been attributed with asserting: "It is history we must paint. History is the religion of our age; only history is in keeping with the times."[11] The artist's remark, as Werner Busch observes, is profoundly ambivalent in that it not only confirms the nineteenth century's high regard for history but at the very least implicitly also suggests that contemporary art may have been perceived as having no adequate subjects of its own and as having to rely on a mere surrogate in the guise of history.[12] His *Zerstörung Jerusalems* may have been an attempt of the *peintre philosophe* to address this issue.[13] Indeed, art historians of his day—among them Marggraff—discerned in the painter's work the synthesis of idealism and realism.[14] While focusing on the specific historical episode, its impact on the present is implicit in the composition; and in this context, the artist's choice of topic is intriguing.

10 For modern accounts of the cycle, see ibid. and Monika Wagner, *Allegorie und Geschichte: Ausstattungsprogramme öffentlicher Gebäude des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland von der Cornelius-Schule zur Malerei der Wilhelminischen Ära* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1989).

11 "Geschichte müssen wir malen, Geschichte ist die Religion unserer Zeit, Geschichte allein ist zeitgemäß." Attributed to the painter by Anton Teichlein, "Zur Charakteristik Wilhelm von Kaulbach's," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 11 (1876): 257–65, 264; the English translation quoted from Barbara Eichner, *History in Mighty Sounds: Musical Constructions of German National Identity, 1848–1914* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012), p. 18.

12 Werner Busch, "Wilhelm von Kaulbach—Peintre Philosophe und Modern Painter," in *Welt und Wirkung von Hegels Ästhetik*, eds Annemarie Gethmann-Siefert and Otto Pöggeler (Bonn: Bouvier, 1986), pp. 117–38, p. 118.

13 For the application of this epithet to Kaulbach, see Busch, "Wilhelm von Kaulbach."

14 See ibid., p. 125.

The contribution of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* to the national agenda is opaque, though nevertheless pervasive on two levels. In his lectures on universal history, Joseph Görres had read the destruction of Jerusalem as the divine punishment of the Jews for which the Romans were the instrument; yet he emphasized that Rome, too, was poised to fall and argued that in this case the divine instrument for its destruction were to be the Germanic tribes.[15] Though this is not made explicit in the painting, the epigraph of Luke 21:24 in the spandrel of the original frame suggested the validity of this reading and its exaltation of the Germanic tribes as future Christians in a *translatio imperii* also for the painting. On a more general level, the painting construes a Christian commonality to which it opposes the Jewish particular. As such, it is akin to a foundation myth of triumphant Christian, i.e., European, civilization with divine sanction which at the same time consigns its other, the Jews, to the certainty of historical victimhood and, considering their enduring presence, of continuous divine punishment or retribution.

Historical painting, held to be the supreme secular pictorial genre since the rise of academic art,[16] was ubiquitous in the nineteenth century and highly visible in both the public and private spheres—in the older collections and in newly established museums, which in turn were frequently also dedicated to national representation and ambition, as well as in private residences;[17] it was, moreover, widely disseminated in reproductions across class boundaries. Historical fiction, often accompanied by illustrations, was similarly popular and likewise transcended class boundaries. Both contributed crucially to negotiations of nationhood and national identity, making the choice of historical subjects a matter of cultural and political, and potentially also of social, impact. In fact, the pervasive historicist approach engaged all of the arts, including also music, as Barbara Eichner has recently observed in her study on musical constructions of German national identity from the mid-nineteenth century to the beginning of the First World War. Eichner asserts that in the wake of the ultimately failed revolutions of 1848–49 "innumerable compositions were inspired by and based on events and heroes from a past constructed as national" and that, together, "they form a musical branch of nineteenth-century historicism" in Germany.[18]

15 See Menke-Schwinghammer, *Weltgeschichte als "Nationalepos,"* p. 42.

16 See Norbert Schneider, *Historienmalerei: Vom Spätmittelalter bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Cologne and Weimar: Böhlau, 2010), pp. 9–70.

17 For museums and conceptions of history in nineteenth-century Germany, see James J. Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World: From the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), esp. chapter 3.

18 Eichner, *History in Mighty Sounds*, p. 5.

Oratorios, text-based yet non-theatrical musical compositions for orchestra, choir, and soloists, were an important factor in shaping national consciousness. Widely considered the highest synthesis of "individual and collective *Bildung*" with "ideal and popular art," they offered extensive active participation to amateur singers, if recruited mostly from the educated middle class[19]—and, in contrast to the proliferating *Männerchöre* (male choirs), extending also across the gender divide.[20] As a communal form of musical production which celebrated collectivity, frequently in a spirit of social reform and as an instrument of national revival, the genre consequently achieved wide-ranging popularity in a period affected by industrialization and the effects of modernity, the interdenominational strife of the *Kulturkampf*, and seething with national aspirations.[21] Adapting almost exclusively pre-existing narratives from Scripture, epics or legends, the oratorio emerged as a conduit for "presenting great events and heroes of the past in music for the concert hall" and offered the potential of "negotiating the national and religious identities, especially with regard to the confessional divide."[22] Prior to the foundation of the Empire in 1871—during the period of the political and social upheaval of the Napoleonic Wars, the *Vormärz* (pre-March), and the revolutions of 1848–49—such nationalist sentiments were frequently of an oppositional character and advocated religious reform as co-requisite to social and political renewal.[23]

As the most popular historical subject of oratorios in nineteenth-century Germany emerged the legend of St Boniface, one of the central figures of the Anglo-Saxon mission among the Germanic tribes in the eighth century. A total of fifteen compositions is recorded,[24] followed in number by an emphatic interest in Martin Luther and, by extrapolation, the Reformation that inspired nine oratorios before

19 See James Garratt, *Music, Culture and Social Reform in the Age of Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 87.

20 For the choral movement and the conceptual differences between mixed and male choirs, see Eichner, *History in Mighty Sounds*, chapter 4.

21 See Garratt, *Music, Culture and Social Reform*, p. 10. For the role, more specifically, of the proliferating music festivals in this context, which had a strong impact also on the development of the oratorio, see Eva Verena Schmid, *Oratorium und Musikfest: Zur Geschichte des Oratoriums in Deutschland* (Göttingen: Hainholz, 2012).

22 Eichner, *History in Mighty Sounds*, p. 164.

23 See Garratt, *Music, Culture and Social Reform*, p. 101.

24 Linda Maria Koldau observes that these oratorios were frequently performed in nineteenth-century Germany, "Apostel der Deutschen: Bonfatius-Oratorien als Spiegel einer patriotischen Bonifatius-Verehrung im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Patriotische Heilige: Beiträge zur Konstruktion religiöser und politischer Identitäten in der Vormoderne*, eds Dieter R. Bauer, Klaus Herbers, and Gabriela Signori (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007), pp. 337–95, p. 339.

the end of the First World War.[25] Both subjects epitomize and negotiate in different ways the tensions between competing constructions of national identity and denominational identifications, as discussed in detail by Eichner.[26] By comparison, the six oratorios focusing on the destruction of Jerusalem indicate that this subject too achieved considerable popularity over the course of the century.

And yet, the destruction of Jerusalem relates neither to German nationalism nor to the "confessional divide" in any tangible sense. It retains a pre-confessional and pre-national dimension which is clearly articulated in Kaulbach's claim as to its universal significance. As such, his pictorial composition could prominently be displayed in the capitals of the respective paragons of Catholicism and of Protestantism in the pre-imperial German lands (excluding Austria):[27] as a canvas of monumental dimensions in the Neue Pinakothek in Munich, and as a similarly imposing fresco in the Neues Museum in Berlin. Equally valid in both settings and in relation to religion as well as to nation-building, the painting provides reassurance as to the common Christian roots of European civilization and reverberates with associations of Empire arising from the notion of supersession.

This point emerged even more clearly in the Berlin cycle of frescoes, where the first of the six monumental paintings showed the Tower of Babel and the confusion of the nations, which in Kaulbach's conception, once again influenced by Görres's conception of history,[28] is represented by the Semites, Hamites, and Japhetites (see Figure 3). As explained in a sumptuous publication of engravings documenting the whole cycle, the Japhetites represent the articulation of human will under divine guidance, the Hamites human aberration under divine sanction, and the Semites human devotion to divine grace.[29]

The direction of the trajectory of each group in the pictorial composition is relevant. The middle group of the Hamites, characterized by "[d]ull, feebleminded stolidity, wild cruelty and guile, frenzy and bestiality, animalistic lust, witches

25 See Eichner, *History in Mighty Sounds*, pp. 169–70.

26 See ibid., pp. 166–72.

27 See, e.g., ibid., p. 17. Kaulbach was very much aware of the denominational dichotomy and in a letter to Freiherr von Bergh, dated November 29, 1858, acknowledged in relation to the choice of his subject for the final painting, *Das Zeitalter der Reformation*, its suitability for a "state like Prussia which is at the forefront of Protestantism in Europe [Staat, wie Preußen, der in Europa an der Spitze des Protestantismus steht]," Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Kaulbach-Archiv VI,6a. For the controversy about the subject for the final painting in the cycle, see Menke-Schwinghammer, *Weltgeschichte als "Nationalepos,"* pp. 63–72.

28 See ibid., pp. 28–9.

29 See *Wilhelm von Kaulbach's Wandgemälde im Treppenhause des Neuen Museum zu Berlin: In Kupfer gestochen von G. Eilers, H. Merz, J. L. Raab, A. Schultheiss*. Mit erläuterndem Text herausgegeben unter den Auspicien des Meisters, ed. Alexander Duncker (Berlin: Duncker, 1872), fol. 3v.



Figure 3: Heinrich Merz, after Wilhelm von Kaulbach, *Der Babelthurm* (1869); engraving, in *Wilhelm von Kaulbach's Wandgemälde im Treppenhause des Neuen Museum zu Berlin: In Kupfer gestochen von G. Eilers, H. Merz, J. L. Raab, A. Schultheiss*. Mit erläuterndem Text herausgegeben unter den Auspicien des Meisters, ed. Alexander Duncker (Berlin: Duncker, 1872), fol. 1; original destroyed in the Second World War. (Public domain.)

and gipsy antics, grotesque idolatry," represents stagnation.[30] The Semites, "[t]he Lord's chosen people, the pastoral tribe, already in possession of an extensive culture as well as rich goods of life and comfortably enjoying them,"[31] are nevertheless consigned to oblivion as they appear to leave the frame of the picture to the left. It is the Japhetites, straining to break out of the composition on the right and thus in the direction of the successive stages of world history represented in the

30 See ibid.: "Dumpfer, blöder Stumpfsinn, wilde Grausamkeit und Tücke, Raserei und Bestialität, thierische Wollust, Hexen und Zigeunerwesen, fratzenhafter Götzendienst."
31 See ibid.: "Das auserwählte Volk Gottes, das Hirtenvolk, schon im Besitz einer ausgiebigen Cultur und reicher Güter des Lebens und behaglich sich derselben freuend."

cycle, who are celebrated not only as the rightful rulers of the world but as the forebears of the Germanic tribes. Their lengthy description indicates the context within which the nodal point of the destruction of Jerusalem needs to be understood:

> [I]n each single figure inheres fiery vigour, energetic aspiration; flowering, swelling youth. They go forth as the conquerors of the world; they still need to create a culture for themselves, they still have to win their future; but we are made to feel from the urgent vigour that so vitally speaks from these magnificent figures that it will be a comprehensive, world-dominating culture they are going to create, that it must be a magnificent future they will conquer for themselves. Those are the forebears of the Parsees with their beautiful, refined culture; of the cheerful Greeks, who have marked out for us the measure of the beautiful and wise for all time; of the world-conquering Romans; and, finally, of the Germanic tribes to whom accrued the task to revitalise the faltering life of the nations through new earth-shaking thoughts and to fight at the forefront of any intellectual struggle.[32]

In relation to the destruction of Jerusalem, the suggestion is then that as Christianity emerged from Judaism on its triumphal trajectory into the present and the imagined future, so the Roman Empire was conquered by the Germanic tribes, was Christianized, and eventually gave way to the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation until its dissolution in 1806 during the Napoleonic Wars—and Germany was poised, with the Frankfurt Parliament of 1848, for imperial unification under Prussian hegemony which eventually, however, only succeeded in 1871. This trajectory was articulated within the program of the Berlin frescoes not only by Kaulbach's *Thurmbau zu Babel* but also by his *Zeitalter der Reformation*, which concluded the cycle; it was implicit also in his *Zerstörung Jerusalems*.

32 See ibid.: "[I]n jeder einzelnen Gestalt ist feurige Kraft, energisches Streben, blühende, schwellende Jugend. Sie ziehen hinaus als die Eroberer der Welt; sie werden sich eine Cultur erst schaffen, sie müssen sich ihre Zukunft erst erkämpfen, aber wir fühlen aus der drängenden Thatkraft, die aus diesen herrlichen Gestalten so lebendig spricht, heraus, dass es eine umfassende, weltbeherrschende Cultur sein wird, die sie schaffen, dass es eine glänzende Zukunft sein muss, die sie sich erobern werden. Das sind die Urahnen der Parsen mit ihrer schönen, vornehmen Cultur, der lebensfreudigen Griechen, die das Mass des Schönen und des Weisen uns für alle Zeiten vorgezeichnet haben, der weltbezwingenden Römer und der Germanen endlich, denen die Aufgabe ward, durch neue weltbewegende Gedanken das stockende Völkerleben wieder in frischen Fluss zu bringen und in allem was geistiges Ringen heisst an der Spitze der Kämpfenden zu stehen."

Sonic Integration and the Hebraic Taste in Art

The very fact of the painting's "parenthetical," though not initially deliberate, distribution to and official display at the far ends of what was to become the German Empire, bridging North and South as well as Protestant and Catholic, imbues Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* and its cultural and political impact with a unifying impulse in extrapolation of the criteria of inclusion and exclusion inscribed into it.[33]

The arena provided by the oratorio for negotiations of national identity was arguably more ambivalent. Describing the oratorio in her study on *The Music Libel against the Jews* (2011) as "the genre par excellence for featuring inclusive and exclusive gestures, through a contemporary dialogue with a biblical story along an intricate temporal dynamics,"[34] Ruth HaCohen remains mindful that oratorios play "dialectic games" and that they may easily "transform into nationalist, or even racist configurations, performing mythological unities."[35] In the context of this chapter, the notion of such dialectic dynamics is particularly productive because the oratorios discussed here are without exception situated at the very fault-line of these contradictions. They all engage with the historical destruction of Jerusalem and thus, as acknowledged by Kaulbach, with the pivotal historical moment of bifurcation that determined the long and fraught history between Christians and Jews. Gaining new prominence in the wake of the emancipation debate of the late eighteenth century and with widening Jewish social and cultural participation as well as the gradual emergence of the racially informed antisemitic paradigm, the question of the nature of the Christian-Jewish, and later more specifically also the German-Jewish, relationship entered a new and in-

33 For the efforts of Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia (Protestant) and Ludwig I of Bavaria (Catholic) to instil historical awareness in their subjects and to incite religious renewal, see Eichner, *History in Mighty Sounds*, p. 17. The contemporary debate on the subject of the sixth fresco in Kaulbach's cycle for the Neues Museum indicates some of the sensibilities involved; the artist's thematic choice of the Reformation for the concluding fresco was fiercely attacked from a Catholic perspective but was nevertheless confirmed in 1860 with the observation that Kaulbach's conception avoided anything that might be considered offensive; see the correspondence of Heinrich Abeken and Eduard Schüller with Freiherr von Bergh of February 28 and March 7, 1859 and of March 15, 1859, respectively, as well as the letter of April 5, 1860 from the Prussian minister for education, Moritz August von Bethmann-Hollweg, to Kaulbach in which were enclosed a *pro memoria* and two expert evaluations, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Kaulbach-Archiv VI,6a.

34 Ruth HaCohen, *The Music Libel against the Jews* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 10.

35 Ibid., p. 15.

creasingly troubled phase in the nineteenth century and accordingly gained renewed topicality.

As Eichner explains, "the rise of ethnic definition of German national identity is frequently measured against the attitude towards German citizens of Jewish descent, since they were most readily conceptualized as ethnically different." It is nevertheless important to remember with Eichner that "[u]ntil the final decades of the nineteenth century, [. . .] the ethnic argument was eclipsed by cultural and historical modes of thinking about the nation."[36] In fact, HaCohen claims that since the end of the eighteenth century vocal art, "[a]uguring a new culture of religious tolerance and social inclusion," appeared "to provide new frames of reference for Jews seeking 'sonic' integration."[37] Music was central to this end because of its "semantic freedom." As HaCohen suggests: "By destabilizing notions of subjectivity and objectivity, cause and effect, meaning and use, form and content, such ideas and practices shook essentialist conceptions of art and encouraged dynamic modes of creativity and perception."[38] Jews—as composers, performers, and consumers—were accordingly attracted to "aesthetic forms that allow for multivocality and multitemporality" which, as HaCohen observes, prominently included the oratorio and "related genres."[39]

An epochal event in this process of negotiating responses to Jewishness was, according to HaCohen, the revival of J. S. Bach's *Matthäuspassion* (1727; 1743–46; BWV244; *St Matthew Passion*) at the hands of the Jewish-born composer Felix Mendelssohn at the Berlin *Singakademie* in 1829.[40] Indeed, she understands this musical enterprise as a manifestation of the "rise of sympathy as a new, emancipatory belief"[41] projected onto the performance and production of oratorios and culminating in the figure of Jesus as it emerges from Bach's long-neglected masterwork:

> The embodiment of Jesus as both martyr and savior, object and subject of compassion, engenders the Jew as a complex aesthetic category: ur-insider as well as radical outsider, a center of attraction, a self-staging agency whose martyrological destiny renders an ever-growing number of suffering compassionate believers into a congregation constantly redeemed through an emotional participation enacted both individually and communally.[42]

36 Eichner, *History in Mighty Sounds*, p. 14.

37 HaCohen, *Music Libel*, p. 80.

38 Ibid., pp. 185–6.

39 Ibid., p. 15.

40 See ibid., p. 96. For a detailed discussion of Mendelssohn's endeavor, see Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the "St. Matthew Passion"* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014).

41 HaCohen, *Music Libel*, p. 96.

42 Ibid., p. 98.

What the confrontation with the Passion might mean to the Jewish listener in this particular case is implicitly blocked out by HaCohen. In a letter to Ferdinand Hiller, the German Jewish writer Berthold Auerbach offered a thoughtful reflection on the unease the religious dimension of Bach's passion music engendered in him and how this impacted on his aesthetic appreciation. Hiller—likewise of Jewish descent, though long since converted, and composer of an oratorio on the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem discussed in more detail below—was at the time musical director at the Gürzenich in Cologne and annually produced a performance of the *Matthäuspassion*. "We shall come to the Easter concert," Auerbach confirmed to his friend, but nevertheless felt obliged to give expression to his discomfort:

> You will not call it pedantry, but not being a Christian, I always have a feeling of alienation, as if I did not belong there, however positive Christian art may be. I mean, it is not legitimate to listen to it in a merely aesthetic sense.—But I shall rise above this and get to know solely the beauty of the given manner of sensation. I might plead that many Christians by birth have the same attitude to this matter, indeed, I find that most people perceive any object of art no more than entirely superficially and do not experience any stimulation. That, however, does not absolve [us] and cannot become our norm. I believe that we have to learn to listen to passion music like to a tragedy of Sophocles, whose mythological background is alien to us as well and that elevates us, and that we can make our own, only through the rhythm of sensation.[43]

Auerbach's deliberations are intriguing not only because he distinguishes between superficial artistic enjoyment and true emotional stimulation but further discriminates between the religious and the aesthetic experience which to him, as a Jew, appear to be irreconcilable. His alienation is reinforced through an "emotional participation enacted both individually and communally" and thus in fact inverts the integrative experience imagined by HaCohen.

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43 Berthold Auerbach to Ferdinand Hiller on April 12, 1867, in *Beiträge zu einer Biographie Ferdinand Hillers: Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel (1862–1869),* ed. Reinhold Sietz (Köln: Arno, 1961), II, 94–5: "Wir wollen zum Osterconzert kommen. Du wirst es nicht Pedanterie nennen, aber ich habe als Nichtchrist stets ein Gefühl der Verfremdung, als ob ich nicht dahin gehöre, bei aller positiv christlichen Kunst. Ich meine, man hat nicht das Recht, sie bloß künstlerisch aufzunehmen.—Aber ich will mich darüber hinaus schwingen und die Schönheit in der gegebenen Empfindungsweise allein kennen lernen. Ich könnte mich darauf berufen, daß auch viele Christgeborene zu der Sache nicht anders stehen, ja ich finde, daß die Meisten alle Kunstgebilde nur ganz oberflächlich nehmen und ohne Erregung bleiben. Das aber dispensirt nicht und kann uns nicht Norm sein. Ich glaube, daß wir eine Passionsmusik so zu hören verstehen müssen, wie eine Sophokleische Tragödie, deren mythologischer Hintergrund uns ja auch fremd ist und uns nur durch die Rhythmik der Empfindung zu eigen wird und erhebt."

In fact, none of the oratorios discussed here subscribe to the inclusive representation delineated by HaCohen. Instead, following the model visually elaborated by Kaulbach, other tropes of Jewishness come to the fore which effectively split asunder the dichotomous characteristics supposedly embodied in the Jew Jesus and rather attribute them to stereotypical representations that proliferated in the literature of the time: the figures of the Wandering Jew, also known as Ahasuerus, and of the Beautiful Jewess, frequently appearing as a pair of father and daughter.[44]

Yet while Kaulbach includes both types, his figural composition is in fact more complex. The central group of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* presents the Beautiful Jewess as the daughter of the High Priest posed to kill himself (and mirrored also in her mother exposing her breast for his dagger to strike her).[45] The artist moreover adds to the polar opposites of Ahasuerus and Beautiful Jewess a third entity in the shape of the Jewish orphans. The children occupy an interesting middle ground in the gender dichotomy. In contrast also to the commanding figure of the doomed High Priest in the painting, the orphan boy seems to be the only male Jew in this configuration that allows for conversion and consequently redemption. Yet ultimately the Jewish orphans, neither yet irreclaimable male Jew nor pliable Beautiful Jewess, are consigned to obliteration in the sequence of oratorial adaptations of the painting, and this particular avenue of inclusion—disturbing as it was at any rate from a Jewish perspective—was barred.

Kaulbach's painting poses conversion, or else destruction and persecution, as alternative manifestations of the Jewish fate projected from the historical moment into the future. It accordingly allows for inclusion in either case only after the annihilation of the Jewish particular. In his infamous essay on "Das Judenthum in der Musik" ("Judaism in Music"), first published in 1850 under the pseudonym K. Freigedank (associating "free thought") in Robert Schumann's influential *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Richard Wagner had similarly envisaged the

44 This configuration is influentially prefigured with Shakespeare's Shylock and Jessica and recurs with similar impact in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1820) with Isaac of York and Rebecca. For a comprehensive study of the figural constellation of the Jew and his daughter, see Sicher, *Jew's Daughter*.

45 It should be noted that there is some ambiguity to the figure I understand to be the High Priest's daughter. In *Wilhelm von Kaulbach's Wandgemälde* (ed. Duncker), for instance, it is described as a young boy, see fol. 7v. Referring to the artist's sketch, which he saw in 1838, the art historian Rudolf Marggraff similarly mentions three sons of the High Priest, but no daughter, see "Zerstörung von Jerusalem von Wilhelm Kaulbach," 189. However, the painter's close friend Guido Görres identifies the figure in his libretto unequivocally as the High Priest's daughter, see "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Tragisches Singspiel in drei Abtheilungen," *Deutsches Hausbuch* 2 (1847): 51–60, 51.

obliteration of Judaism—and of the Jews. Intriguingly, the controversial composer once again cited the figure of Ahasuerus as an exemplar of the Jewish dilemma. It is only through the redemption of the Wandering Jew, he maintains, that the Jew may also be redeemed. Yet that redemption is, in Wagner's tirade, tantamount to destruction: "But, remember that there is only one real form of deliverance from the curse which besets you—that of Ahasuerus—the 'Untergang'!"[46] Wagner does not allude to Kaulbach's painting in his essay, but its theme of destruction and the curse of Ahasuerus would in all likelihood have struck a chord with him.

While perhaps not immediately relevant to the further discussion of the permutations of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, Wagner's antisemitic diatribe is nevertheless significant because it shifted the parameters for the proliferating debate on things Jewish in German music,[47] even though a direct influence may not be obvious in each of the oratorios discussed here. In particular, Wagner further disseminated the notion of the racial otherness of the Jew and gave vent to his frustration at seeing the supposed triumph of the allegedly devious alien element in German music:[48]

> Though in himself incapable, alike by exterior appearance, by speech and especially by song, of making any artistic experience, the Jew has nevertheless attained in Music, the most widely promulgated of modern arts, to the position of governing the public taste.[49]

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46 Richard Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, transl. Edwin Evans (London: Reeves, 1910), pp. 49–50; this translation is based on the second edition of the text, which was published under his own name by Wagner in 1869, see Richard Wagner, *Das Judenthum in der Musik* (Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1869). The translator adds a note on the untranslated final word: "This term, employed in the original, has not been translated as it will serve the English reader for an euphemistic indication of what is probably intended, viz. consignment to the inferno." For the original publication of the German text, see K. Freigedank [i.e., Richard Wagner], "Das Judenthum in der Musik," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 33.19 (September 3, 1850): 101–7 and 33.20 (September 6, 1850): 109–12, 112 (32): "Aber bedenkt, daß nur Eines Eure Erlösung von dem auf Euch lastenden Fluche sein kann, *die Erlösung Ahasver's:* | *Der Untergang!*" Subsequently, references to the 1869 edition are added in brackets following on the pagination of the original publication. In the first printing of the text, the final two words are typographically emphasized by being locked and centered in a line of their own.

47 For a detailed survey and analysis of antisemitism in German writing about music, see Annkatrin Dahm, *Der Topos der Juden: Studien zur Geschichte des Antisemitismus im deutschsprachigen Musikschrifttum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007).

48 For a useful short discussion of the contemporary debate to which Wagner contributed and of the responses his intervention elicited, see James Loeffler, "Richard Wagner's 'Jewish Music': Antisemitism and Aesthetics in Modern Jewish Culture," *Jewish Social Studies* 15.2 (2009): 2–36.

49 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, pp. 17–18; K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 104 (17): "Der Jude, der an sich unfähig ist, weder durch seine äußere Erscheinung, noch durch seine Sprache, am allerwenigsten aber durch seinen Gesang sich uns künstlerisch mitzutheilen,

Reissued under his own name by the composer in 1869 in slightly revised form and significantly expanded to include a supplement in which he reviews his own position in German music, the essay acquired a distinctly paranoid quality as it elaborated Wagner's apprehensions of a Jewish conspiracy against him in particular and against German art more generally. Yet his was a prominent and insistent voice; and it remains important in retrospective because it set and reinforced the context—in what has in fact been called the "Age of Wagner"[50]—not only for the contribution of Jewish composers to cultural production in Germany but also for engagements with Jewishness in musical compositions.

Appearing at the very cusp of the post-revolutionary period of nationalist aspirations identified by Eichner, Wagner's essay was initially conceived as an intervention in a wider debate on the "Hebraic Taste in Art."[51] In Wagner's vehemently expressed opinion, the whole debate was misleading in that its actual roots were to be found not so much in individual works or in the work of individual composers but in "the latent feeling which people in general evince towards the Jewish character, and which amounts to an inward dislike,"[52] which he proceeded to explain with what he perceived to be the insidiously destructive effect of the perverted Jewish idiom on cultural production.

Acknowledging that "[in the field] of religion, indeed, the Jews have long ceased to be regarded as deserving of any hatred,"[53] the composer developed the rationale for his attack in relation to what he perceived as the "'Jewification' of modern Art,"[54] which he saw manifest in what he alleged to be the distorting imitation of two thousand years of cultural achievement and its perversion into "a mere article of exchange."[55] This, he claimed, made imperative the emancipation

hat nichts desto weniger vermocht, in der verbreitetsten der modernen Kunstarten, *der Musik*, zur Beherrschung des öffentlichen Geschmacks zu gelangen."

50 See, e.g., the subtitle of Garratt, *Music, Culture and Social Reform*.

51 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 1; K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 101 (9): "ein 'hebräischer Kunstgeschmack'."

52 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 2; K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 101 (9): "die unbewußte Empfindung, die sich im Volke als innerlichste Abneigung gegen jüdisches Wesen kundgiebt."

53 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 2; K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 101 (10): "In der Religion sind uns die Juden längst keine hassenswürdigen Feinde mehr."

54 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 7; K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 102 (12): "die Erscheinung der Verjüdung der modernen Kunst."

55 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 6; K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 102 (12): "Kunstwaarenwechsel."

of the non-Jews "from the oppressions of Judaism" and not vice versa.[56] Implicit in Wagner's allegation is the look back, over two millennia, once again to that pivotal moment which established the Jewish diaspora, even though the conclusions he draws from the historical perspective challenge more conventional perceptions of the resulting power asymmetry.

More specifically, Wagner attacks Felix Mendelssohn and Giacomo Meyerbeer (born Jakob Liebmann Meyer Beer). If in distinctly different ways, both had become very influential in relation to public engagement with music and forms of musical articulation which affected also the development of the oratorio.[57] Wagner's repeated onslaught on the two Jewish-born composers thus establishes another, if perhaps tentative, link between his antisemitic effusions and the trajectory of oratorial adaptations of Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*.

Mendelssohn not only revived Bach's *Matthäuspassion*, but composed with his *Paulus* (1836; op. 36; *St Paul*) and *Elias* (1846; op. 70; *Elijah*) oratorios of his own which are considered to be among the most accomplished and significant of the period and which also intervene in the contemporary debate on Jewishness. The former explicitly reiterates the prophecy from Acts 6:14 that "Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy these holy places [i.e., the Temple and Jerusalem], and change all the customs which Moses deliver'd us,"[58] and in effect forecloses the sympathetic interpretation attributed by HaCohen to the reception of the *Matthäuspassion*, substituting for it the conversion paradigm embodied in the apostle Paul.[59] However, this development was to some extent countermanded by the composer's sensitive treatment of the prophet Elijah in his final completed oratorio and, more specifically, by Obadiah's call to universal repentance.[60] Alongside the trajectory of his last fragmentary oratorio, posthumously entitled *Christus* (first per-

56 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 7; Wagner, *Judenthum in der Musik*, p. 12: "von dem Drucke des Judenthumes." In the earlier version, Wagner talks less stridently of the "emancipation from the spirit of Jewishness [die Emancipation von dem Geiste des Judenthumes]," K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 102.

57 Mendelssohn has been described as having become "in effect the president of German musical culture in the last dozen years of his life," Richard Taruskin, "Introduction [Nationalism in Music]," *Repercussions* 5.1–2 (1996): 5–20, 15; Meyerbeer was, during his lifetime, "one of the leading composers of Europe," Robert Ignatius Letellier, *The Operas of Giacomo Meyerbeer* (Madison and Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2006), p. 18.

58 Felix Mendelssohn, *Paulus* [piano reduction], op. 36, ed. August Horn (Leipzig: Peters, [1890]), no. 5: "Jesus von Nazareth wird diese Stätte zerstören und ändern die Sitten, die uns Mose gegeben hat."

59 The anti-Jewish potential of Mendelssohn's oratorio, taking into account also the genesis of the score, has been discussed in detail in a debate in *The Musical Quarterly* 82 (1998) and 83 (1999).

60 See Jeffrey S. Sposato, *The Price of Assimilation: Felix Mendelssohn and the Nineteenth-Century Anti-Semitic Tradition* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 174.

formed in 1852; op. 97; *Christ*), Mendelssohn has therefore been taken to promote instead of the prevalent anti-Judaic notion of the Jewish deicide "the Lutheran tradition of universal blame for sin"[61] and to embrace a "strategy of dual perspective" that distanced the composer from antisemitic sentiments while still permitting his audience to retain their prejudices.[62]

Meyerbeer, in turn, had introduced the grandiose, sensational, and spectacular to the musical language of opera which not only finds a pictorial equivalent in Kaulbach's painting but which clearly had its impact also on some of the oratorios discussed below. His opera *Le Prophète* (*The Prophet*), set in the religious wars of the sixteenth century, premiered in Paris in spring 1849. It was seen there by Wagner, who at the time was in exile for his revolutionary activities. By the following year, when Wagner published his essay, Meyerbeer's opera was performed with enormous success all across Germany. *Le Prophète* not only epitomized everything that was diametrically opposed to the conception of Wagner's own operatic aspirations;[63] its very success and its alleged "Jewishness" had, moreover, provoked the contempt of Theodor Uhlig, a friend of the exiled composer with whom he engaged in prolific correspondence. In fact, the critic's scathing disparagement of *Le Prophète* in a series of articles in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* had instigated Wagner's own intervention in the same journal.

Uhlig, not content with denouncing Meyerbeer, had extended his criticism to what he called the "Jewish school," and whose "Hebraic taste in art" he censured:

> In the music of many Jewish composers are passages recognised by almost all non-Jewish musicians in common life and with reference to the well-known Jewish way of speaking as Jew-music, as yiddling or something akin to it. According to the either noble or common character predominating in this music, these passages, whose peculiarity originates partly in their metric configuration, partly in the individual odd melodic qualities of musical phrasing, are more or less conspicuous; thus, for example, in Mendelssohn they appear only mildly, but in Meyerbeer, by comparison, with the highest intensity. [. . .] Just as little as its analogous way of speaking, this musical style may not be thought to be beautiful or even only bearable where, as in Meyerbeer, it immediately brings to mind what I do not know to call by any other name but the "Jewish School."[64]

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid., p. 210. The cuts made by Mendelssohn in his performance of Bach's *Matthäuspassion* have also been read as focusing on the notion of community and "the presentation of a collectivity," see Michael P. Steinberg, *Listening to Reason: Culture, Subjectivity, and Nineteenth-Century Music* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 104.

63 On first seeing Meyerbeer's opera, Wagner was initially "tempted to change the whole direction of his own endeavours," Letellier, *Operas of Giacomo Meyerbeer*, p. 197.

64 T[heodor] U[hlig], "Zeitgemäße Betrachtungen, VI. Außerordentliches," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 33.7 (July 23, 1850): 29–33, 30: "In der Musik vieler jüdischen Componisten giebt es Stellen,

The "semantic freedom" of music cited by HaCohen in support of her argument was effectively disallowed in this process of racialization which severely contested the "'sonic' integration" of the Jews.[65]

Yet this exclusivist campaign did not remain unchallenged. Even before Wagner's pseudonymous intervention, Uhlig's harangues had provoked the critical response of Ludwig Bischoff in *Rheinische Musik-Zeitung* in August 1850.[66] The critic suggested that closer scrutiny would certainly reveal "the whole doctrine of the so-called Jewish school" as a prejudiced "phantasy."[67] Asserting his own non-Jewishness, Bischoff[68] categorically rejected the notion of racially informed music and insisted on the appreciation of the art produced by "German men of the Jewish faith" according to its aesthetic value alone.[69]

The Destruction of Jerusalem and Jewish Composers in Germany

In the Jewish calendar, the ninth of the month of *Av (Tisha b'Av)* is accorded special significance as the day which commemorates the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. The subject nevertheless seemed to hold little appeal to German composers "of the Jewish faith," in contrast to the interest it elicited from their Christian colleagues. Of the altogether six oratorios based on the destruction of the Temple, one of which is strictly speaking a cantata, only one was the work of

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die fast alle nicht-jüdischen Musiker im gewöhnlichen Leben und mit Bezugnahme auf die allbekannte gemeine jüdische Sprechweise als Judenmusik, als ein Gemauschele oder als ein Dergl. [eichen] bezeichnen. Je nachdem in dieser Musik hier der Charakter des Edlen, dort der des Gemeinen überwiegt, treten diese Stellen, deren Eigenthümlichkeit theils in der metrischen Gestaltung, theils in einzelnen melodischen Tonfällen der musikalischen Phrase liegt, hier nur wenig, dort ganz auffallend hervor, so z.B. bei Mendelssohn sehr gelind, bei Meyerbeer dagegen in höchster Schärfe [. . .]. Eben so wenig wie die ihnen analogen Sprechweisen hat man diese Tonweisen schön oder nur erträglich da finden können, wo sie wie bei Meyerbeer ganz unmittelbar an das erinnern, was ich nicht anders, denn als 'Judenschule' zu bezeichnen weiß."

65 See HaCohen, *Music Libel*, pp. 80, 185–6.

66 See Anselm Gerhard, "Richard Wagner und die Erfindung des 'Jüdischen' in der Musik," in *Jüdische Musik?: Fremdbilder, Eigenbilder*, eds Eckhard John and Heidy Zimmermann (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004), pp. 33–51, p. 44.

67 Ludwig Bischoff, "TU—hoc intrivisti: tibi omne est exedendum," *Rheinische Musik-Zeitung für Kunstfreunde und Künstler* 1 (August 10, 1850): 43–7, 45: "die ganze Lehre von der sogenannten Judenmusik [ist] eine Phantasie." Bischoff was a friend and associate of Hiller who contributed frequently to his journals.

68 For Bischoff's biography, see MGG (1999), II, 1682–85.

69 Bischoff, "TU—hoc intrivisti," 45: "deutsche Männer jüdischer Confession."

a Jewish-born composer, the aforementioned Ferdinand Hiller (1811–85).[70] Moreover, Hiller chose to focus in his *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1840; op. 24; *The Destruction of Jerusalem*) not on the devastation of the Second Temple represented in Kaulbach's painting, but on that of the First Temple half a millennium before, which is in fact also remembered on *Tisha b'Av*, the two cataclysmic events being conflated for the purpose of their commemoration.[71]

Hiller's thematic choice appears to have preceded the public excitement generated by Kaulbach's project. The composer began to work on his oratorio in the summer of 1837. That does not, however, mean that he would not have engaged with the artist's work once news of its progress permeated public discourse. To the contrary, as discussed in more detail below, his oratorio rather appears to have been a deliberate act of resistance—if initially not directly to Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, then certainly to what it stood for. Hiller's oratorio in effect attempts to reinforce what HaCohen has described as the "rise of sympathy as a new, emancipatory belief" against the connotations evoked by the painting.[72] A similar strategy was employed three decades later also by Eduard Bendemann in what is perhaps the most significant artistic response to Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*. The Jewish-born, yet converted, painter's monumental *Die Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft* (1865–72; The Jews Led Away into the Babylonian Exile; Figure 4) clearly confronts the earlier painting with a plea for empathy, as explored more fully below.[73]

Kaulbach's less than sympathetic representation of the Jews unsurprisingly attracted no positive engagement of Jewish composers with his painting. At the same time, considering its far-reaching implications, it is hardly a coincidence that the in-

70 For Hillers's biography, see MGG (2004), VII, 1581–87.

71 See, e.g., *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, eds Isidore Singer et al. (New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls, 1901), I, s. v. "Ab, Ninth Day of"; the entry by Max Landsberg and Kaufmann Kohler is interesting in particular because it emphasizes Reform scepticism toward the commemorative fast day because it potentially diminishes the significance of the mission of Israel.

72 HaCohen, *Music Libel*, p. 96.

73 Since the composer's time in Dresden (1843–47), Hiller and Bendemann were good friends; they met in the same city already in June 1838, see Saskia Steil, "Eduard Julius Friedrich Bendemann: Biographie," in *Vor den Gemälden: Eduard Bendemann zeichnet. Bestandskatalog der Zeichnungen und Skizzenbücher eines Hauptvertreters der Düsseldorfer Malerschule in der Göttinger Universitätskunstsammlung*, eds Christian Scholl and Anne-Katrin Sors (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2012), pp. 9–16, p. 12, and may have met again in the late 1830s in Rome, see Christine Ihl, "Der Nachlaß Ferdinand Hillers in der Frankfurter Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek," unpubl. MA thesis (Frankfurt a. M.: Goethe-Universität, 2000), p. 8. It is also not unlikely that Hiller, visiting Mendelssohn in Düsseldorf in May 1834, may have met Bendemann on this occasion; the artist was based there and had in the previous year worked with Mendelssohn at the Lower Rhenish Music Festival.



Figure 4: Anonymous, after Eduard Bendemann, *Die Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft*, in *Meisterwerke der Holzschneidekunst aus dem Gebiete der Architektur, Sculptur und Malerei* (Leipzig: Weber, 1882), IV, pl. LXXI; woodcut; original (1872), oil on canvas, 416 cm × 510 cm, held by Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin. (Public domain.)

terpretive model promoted by the painter's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* was resisted by a composer and a painter of Jewish descent, even though both were assimilated and the latter had embraced Christianity—as Hiller was to do shortly after the performance of his oratorio as well.[74] Nor does it appear to be a coincidence that both Hiller and Bendemann chose to counter Kaulbach by substituting the destruction of the First Temple for that of the Second. After all, the Babylonian Exile was only temporary and the Temple was eventually rebuilt. The historical continuity of Judaism

74 Hiller converted prior to his marriage to the Polish singer Antolka Hogé early in 1841, see Reinhold Sietz, *Beiträge zu einer Biographie Ferdinand Hillers: Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel (1826–1861)* (Köln: Arno, 1958), I, 47. See also Jacob Toury, *Soziale und politische Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland, 1847–1871* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1977), p. 183.

and of the Jewish people in the Promised Land was thus ensured and even projected into the future with notions of the Jewish mission among the nations.

"The mission concept," as Michael A. Meyer explains, "was in essence a radical reinterpretation of the chosen people idea and a direct rejection of the Christian claim to supersession."[75] The concept was elaborated in 1845, in close temporal proximity to the creation of Hiller's oratorio, by the Frankfurt conference of Reform rabbis. It offered not only the return of Israel into the continuum of history but also contributed to the negotiation of Jewish identities in the diaspora. As Meyer outlines:

> In substituting the mission of Israel for the messianic return, the Frankfurt rabbis thus not only universalized messianism and made more room for the human role in historical progress; they also asserted that the special vocation of Judaism—to be a priest among the nations—could be set aside neither by the daughter faith nor by the national culture with which they themselves identified.[76]

While the concept of a Jewish mission was fully developed only in relation to the dispersion after the destruction of the Second Temple, the apparent reluctance of Jewish composers (and painters) to engage with its annihilation may in turn perhaps be explained with the impossibility of ignoring the concomitant rise of Christianity and what appeared to be the enduring reality of supersession. Another reason may be the traumatic nature and finality of the event which, after all, as Kaulbach had also insisted, was pivotal in Jewish history as a cataclysmic conflagration which resulted not only in the loss of the religious center of Judaism but also of the Promised Land and which effectively spelled an end to the political agency of the Jews as a nation.

Notions of the return to the Land of Israel which developed among the henceforth diasporic Jewish people, while prominently inscribed into the liturgy of the synagogue as well as domestic ritual, in particular the *seder* ceremony, were increasingly relegated to an imaginary sphere, as epitomized by Heinrich Heine's well-known phrase of the "portable fatherland," carried with them by the Jews in the guise of the Torah since the destruction of the Temple.[77] Ultimately, the messianic return was even subject to attempts of elision. The assimilatory impetus of the Reform movement since the early decades of the nineteenth century in particular led in some instances to the removal of any references to the return to the Promised

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75 Michael A. Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism*, rev. rprt (1988; Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1995), p. 138.

76 Ibid.

77 Heinrich Heine, "Confessions," in *Prose Miscellanies*, transl. S. L. Fleishman (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1876), pp. 245–98, p. 276 and "Geständnisse," in *Vermischte Schriften* (Hamburg: Hoffmann and Campe, 1854), I, 1–122, 85: "die Juden, die [. . .] es [i.e., the holy book] im Exile gleichsam wie ein portatives Vaterland mit sich herumschleppten."

Land.[78] A pragmatic objective of restitution was only rekindled with the emergence of the Zionist project toward the end of the century.

There is, therefore, with the potential exception of Hiller's, no suggestion of the "Hebraic taste in art" in any of the nineteenth-century German oratorios on the destruction of Jerusalem discussed in this part. Hiller had unexpectedly been "exonerated" by Uhlig who considered his opera *Konradin* (1847) "infinitely better [. . .] than all the concoctions of our musical-dramatic humdrum practitioners."[79] This may be the more surprising as the opera's subject was taken from German medieval history and therefore situated within the parameters of national affirmation described by Eichner, though Anselm Gerhard speculates that it was precisely the fact that Hiller had made use of a libretto by the "national" poet Robert Reinick that eclipsed his Jewishness and made him tolerable in Uhlig's eyes.[80] Thus, while the debate about the place of Jewish composers in German music may have been only marginally relevant to the context within which the destruction of Jerusalem became a subject for artistic engagement across the boundaries of different media, the pervasive presence of notions of nationhood and religion certainly impacted on the representation of Jewishness in oratorios on the subject and to some extent also on the various forms of musical articulation and genres adopted.

Mendelssohn's evocative use of the chorale in his *Paulus*, for instance, with which he emulated Bach's practice, suggested a semantic dimension which to some contemporaries would have been irreconcilable with his Jewish heritage.[81] Thus,

78 The Reform movement in Hamburg was the first to effect these controversial changes as early as 1819, see, e.g., Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, pp. 56, 59–61; they were later also adopted by the American Reform movement, see p. 254, and were articulated in the influential Pittsburgh Platform of 1885, see Michael L. Satlow, *Creating Judaism: History, Tradition, Practice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), p. 35.

79 U[hlig], "Zeitgemäße Betrachtungen," 31: "unendlich besser [. . .] als alle die Fabrikate unserer musikalisch-dramatischen Routiniers."

80 See Gerhard, "Richard Wagner und die Erfindung des 'Jüdischen'," p. 44. Wagner, in turn, expressed himself predictably less generously about Hiller's opera in a letter to Uhlig. See *Richard Wagner's Letters to His Dresden Friends*, transl. J. S. Shedlock (London: Grevel, 1890), Wagner to Uhlig on October 22, 1850, pp. 75–83, p. 77. In the second part of his autobiography, Wagner also mentioned Hiller's *Konradin* and maintained that Reinick too was anything but happy with the composer's music to his libretto, see Richard Wagner, *My Life*, ed. Mary Whittall, transl. Andrew Gray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 355; see also Richard Wagner, *Mein Leben* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1911), I, 422. The four volumes of *Mein Leben* were first printed privately between 1870–80; the Bruckmann edition is the first public edition.

81 Mendelssohn was well aware of this and discussed the matter with friends. To Julius Schubring, for instance, he wrote on September 6, 1833: "Mir ist von Mehreren sehr entschieden abgeredet worden, und doch kann ich mich nicht entschließen, ihn [i.e., the chorale] ganz aufzugeben, denn ich denke in jedem Oratorium aus dem Neuen Testamente müsse er von Natur sein." *Briefe*

four years after the success of the Jewish composer's first oratorio which premiered at the Lower Rhenish Music Festival in Düsseldorf in May 1836, Richard Wagner's essay "On German Music," published first in French as "De la musique allemande" (1840), celebrates the chorale as "an exclusively German possession" whose "noble dignity and unembellished purity can only have sprung from simple and sincerely pious hearts."[82] It is, in this early essay, not yet the composer's objective to distinguish German from Jewish. Rather, he seeks to define what is specifically German in music against the Italian and French traditions and against Catholic embellishment. The implications are nevertheless striking also in relation to what may then be seen as the arrogation of the oratorio by Jewish composers, such as, most prominently, Mendelssohn.[83] For the chorale emerges not only as a specifically Protestant form of communal and congregational musical engagement, but is "magnified and widened in the great Passions and Oratorios" in which, according to Wagner, "is embodied the whole essence, the whole spirit of the German nation."[84]

Hiller, without doubt well aware of the implications, made no use of chorales in his *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, as Mendelssohn too avoided doing in his similarly Old Testament-based *Elias*. Instead, the composer resorted to musical exoticism.[85] Like Mendelssohn's a few years later, his oratorio celebrates the reaffirmation of Jewish monotheism against oriental idol worship. In his composition, Hiller there-

aus den Jahren 1833 bis 1847 von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, eds Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy, 3rd edn (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1864), p. 6. Mendelssohn's father Abraham suggested to Felix in a letter of March 10, 1835: "Ueberhaupt ist mit dem Choral nicht zu spaßen." Ibid., p. 84. See also Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 3: *August 1832 bis Juli 1834*, ed. Ute Wald (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2010), p. 263.

82 Richard Wagner, "On German Music," in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, vol. 7: *In Paris and Dresden*, transl. William Ashton Ellis (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1898), pp. 84–101, p. 93; see also Richard Wagner, "De la musique allemande," *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris* 7.44 (July 12, 1840): 375–8 and 7.46 (July 26, 1840): 395–8, 396: "un fruit naturel du genie allemand [. . .]. Ces chants, dont l'imposante dignité et la pureté naïve s'alliaient si bien avec des cœurs droit et simples."

83 For Mendelssohn's use of the chorale and his performance of Bach's *Matthäuspassion*, see Steinberg, *Listening to Reason*, pp. 102–4.

84 Wagner, "On German Music," pp. 93–4; see also Wagner, "Musique allemande," 396: "Les mêmes qualités se retrouvent au même degré, sur une echelle plus vaste, dans les grands oratorios et dans les *passions*, [. . .] en eux sont concentrés toute l'inspiration et la genie allemands." For the contemporary discussion of Mendelssohn's use of chorales in *Paulus* in relation to the denominational divide, see Schmid, *Oratorium und Musikfest*, pp. 377, pp. 381–3.

85 For an extensive musicological analysis of Hiller's oratorio, which does not, however, consider its exoticism, see Rainer Heyink, "'Es neigt sich mehr nach der Zukunft hin'—Das Oratorienschaffen von Ferdinand Hiller," in *Ferdinand Hiller: Komponist, Interpret, Musikvermittler*, eds Peter Ackermann et al. (Kassel: Merseburger, 2014), pp. 237–62, pp. 248–59.

fore employs exoticism as a marker for the otherness of the apostates (see below, Music Examples 1 and 2) while the musical idiom ascribed to the God-fearing Israelites associates them with that of the "civilized" nations of Europe (see below, Music Example 3). As a result, there emerges a spectrum of otherness, including also the fierce Assyrians (see their portrayal through crude homorhythms and trite parallel thirds in Music Example 4),[86] along which identities are negotiated by means of a corresponding spectrum of rhythmic and harmonic variance from, or affinity with, European values which, in turn, determines disavowal or sympathy. This is different from the alleged Hebraic taste in art in that the exotic is not an idiosyncratic (intrinsically Jewish) mode of musical articulation but is imbued with semantic significance by the Jewish composer.

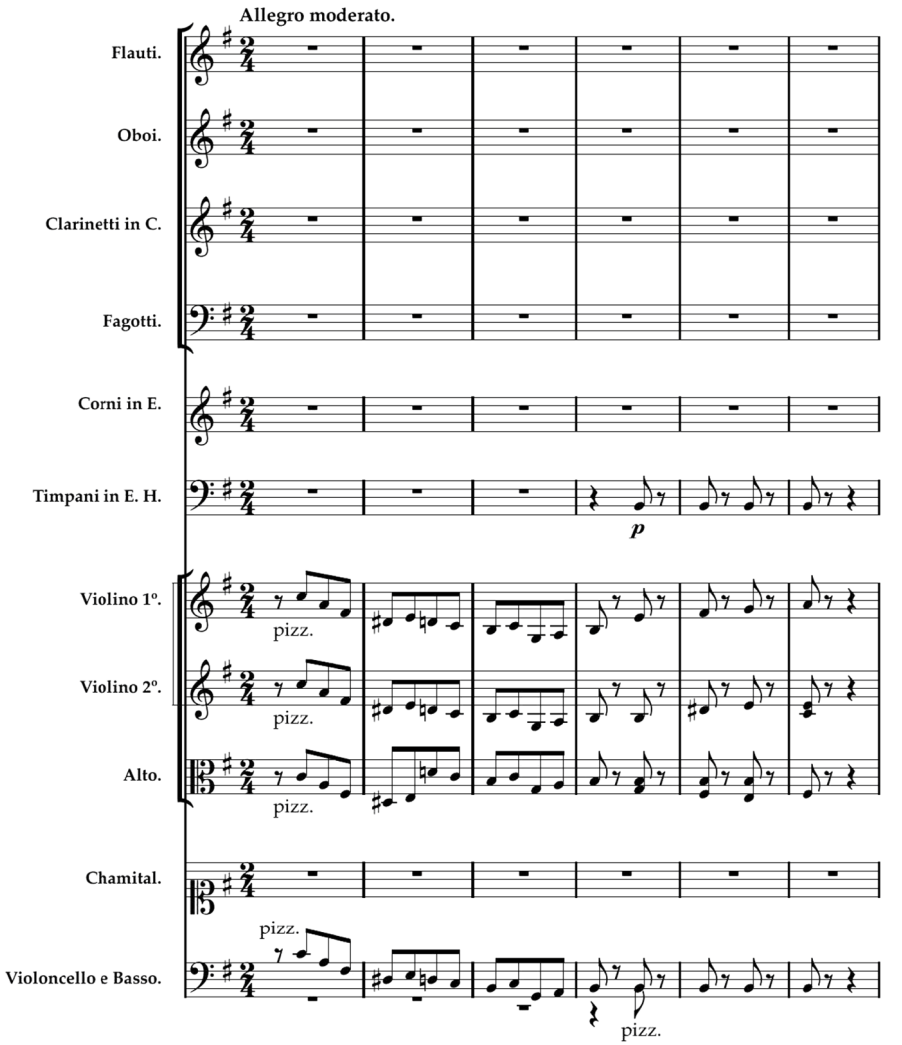
Yet the perceived lack of a specifically Jewish musical idiom was potentially also problematic. Thus, the implicitly assimilatory impulse of Hiller's composition practice was criticized about two decades later, on occasion of a performance of his *Zerstörung Jerusalems* in 1862. While appreciating the aesthetic appeal of the musical rendering of the prophecies of Jeremiah, the anonymous reviewer for the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*—presumably its editor, Ludwig Philippson—insisted that to hear the biblical text in recitativo style, as in any opera, seemed incongruous to him.[87] Indeed, he emphasized: "it is peculiar that, while the opera melodies of Meyerbeer often enough are reminiscent of the old melodies of the synagogue, in the oratorio in particular, where this would be much more apt, anything characteristic is lacking."[88]

If Theodor Storm's emotional response to Hiller's music is anything to go by, this incongruity was certainly not perceived by the German writer who conducted a *Singverein* (choral association) in Heiligenstadt and, following a performance of the oratorio in close temporal proximity to the one reviewed in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, wrote to his father on March 10, 1864:

86 See Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium nach der heiligen Schrift* [piano reduction], 2nd edn (1842; Leipzig: Kistner, [1874]), no. 42; this edition includes an English translation of the text.

87 Philippson relinquished his rabbinic position in Magdeburg in 1862 and in the same year moved to Bonn. The performance referred to is probably that in Bonn on December 11, 1862, directed by Caspar Joseph Brambach, a former student of Hiller's, who attended the concert in person, see Anonymous, "Tages- und Unterhaltungs-Blatt," *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung* 10.51 (December 20, 1862): 406.

88 Anonymous, [Untitled], *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 27.2 (January 6, 1863): 19: "Es ist daher eigenthümlich, daß während die Opernmelodien von Meyerbeer oft genug an die alten Synagogenmelodien erinnern, gerade im Oratorium, wo es viel mehr am Platze wäre, alles Charakteristische fehlt."



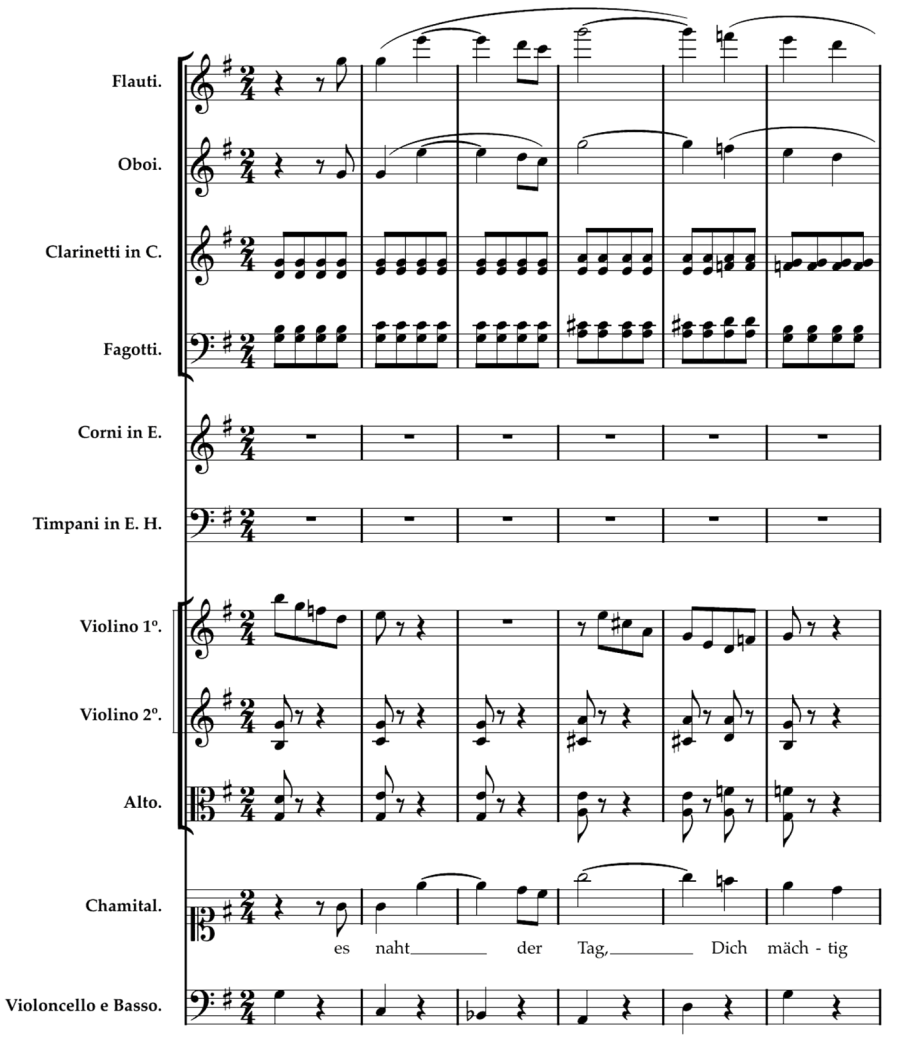
Music Example 1: Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium nach der heiligen Schrift* [orchestra score], op. 24 (Leipzig: Kistner, 1842), no. 30, pp. 177–82, p. 177, bb. 1–18: Aria of Chamital.



Music Example 1 (continued)



Music Example 1 (continued)



Music Example 2: Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium nach der heiligen Schrift* [orchestra score], op. 24 (Leipzig: Kistner, 1842), no. 30, pp. 177–82, p. 180, bb. 65–76: Aria of Chamital.



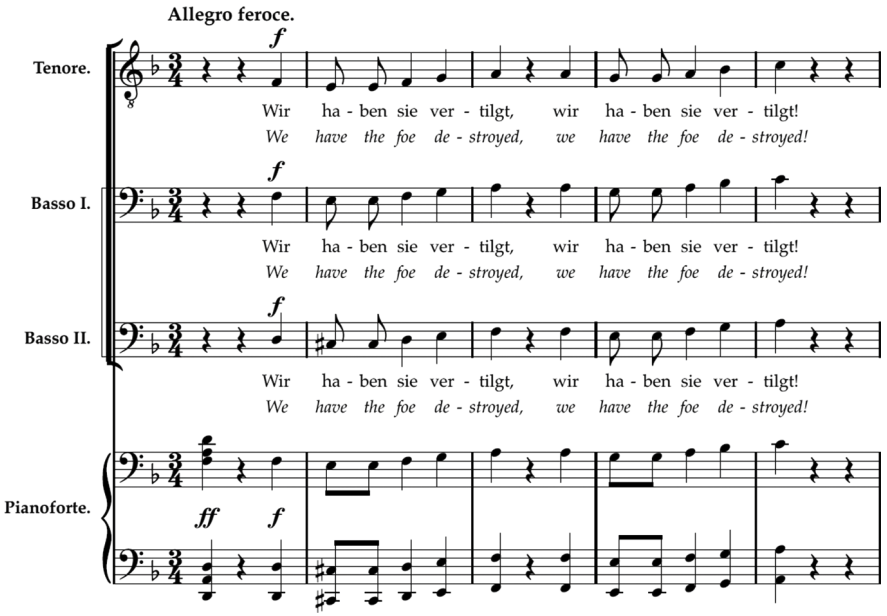
Music Example 2 (continued)



Music Example 3: Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium nach der heiligen Schrift* [piano reduction], op. 24, 2nd edn (1842; Leipzig: Kistner, [1874]), no. 47, pp. 234–48, pp. 238–40, bb. 41–73: Final Chorus.



Music Example 3 (continued)



Music Example 4: Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium nach der heiligen Schrift* [piano reduction], op. 24, 2nd edn (1842; Leipzig: Kistner, [1874]), no. 42, pp. 218–23, p. 218, bb. 1–5: Chorus of Babylonish Warriors.

> Last night we gave the concert "The Destruction of Jerusalem" for which we practised for a year and a quarter, and when I conducted the splendid choir of more than fifty singers, which I had endowed, when the gaze of everyone followed my baton and the waves of sound emanated now for the very last time from the enthralled bosoms, then I had to hold on to my heart with both hands so as not to burst into tears. I too was to sing, and sang from the fullness of my heart and with a mighty voice the beautiful aria: "Yes, Thou wilt yet remember, e'en thus my soul doth answer me." There was complete silence. After the full chorus's thunder had died away, to sing and to be heard in this way is one of the most blissful moments in man's life.—[89]

89 Theodor Storm, *Briefe*, ed. Peter Goldammer, 2 vols (Berlin and Weimar: Aufbau, 1972), I, 453: "Gestern abend hielten wir noch das Konzert 'Die Zerstörung Jerusalems,' worauf wir fünf viertel Jahr geübt haben, und als ich zuletzt den vollen prächtigen Chor von über fünfzig Sängern, den ich gestiftet, dirigierte, als so aller Blicke an meinem Stäbchen hingen und die Tonwellen nun zum letzten Mal aus begeisterter Menschenbrust hervorströmten, da mußte ich mein Herz in beide Hände fassen, um nicht in Tränen auszubrechen. Auch ich sang noch und sang aus meinem bewegten Herzen und mit mächtiger Stimme die schöne Arie: 'Du wirst ja dran gedenken, denn meine Seele sagt es mir.' Es war eine lautlose Stille. So, nachdem der volle Chor ausgebraust, zu singen und gehört zu werden ist eins der glückseligsten Momente des Menschenlebens.—" Achicam's recitative and aria (no. 28; see Music Example 5) follows the Chorus of the

Storm's enthusiastic absorption in the oratorio, which he considered "a very important work,"[90] and his resonant identification with the "pious Israelite"[91] Achicam whose aria he singles out (see Music Example 5) and who, in the oratorio, is a follower of Jeremiah's, compellingly demonstrates the potential of Hiller's composition to induce sympathy. At the same time, it confirms Philippson's apprehensions, whose criticism in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* was situated within the wider context of Jewish artistic engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem. The critic reprimands those Jewish artists who adopted this "formidable subject of the great national event" for their lack of enthusiasm in giving expression to the national character and its peculiar centrality in life as a fact. As discussed in more detail in chapter V, in 1855 Philippson had avidly commended Julius Kossarski's dramatic poem *Titus oder die Zerstörung Jerusalem's* (Titus; Or, The Destruction of Jerusalem), not so much for its literary quality than for its profound articulation of the "Jewish spirit." That he makes no mention of this text may indicate that by 1862 he may have changed his opinion. Intriguingly, however, Philippson links in this instance Hiller and Bendemann by asserting:

Israelites anticipating the thundering horsemen of Nebuchadnezzar's advancing army (no. 27), see Hiller, *Zerstörung Jerusalems* [piano reduction]. For Storm's performance of Hiller's oratorio, see also Hans Sievers, "Zur Geschichte von Theodor Storms 'Singverein'," *Schriften der Theodor-Storm-Gesellschaft* 18 (1969): 89–105, 91. Storm was an enthusiast who had founded a *Singverein* already in his native Husum in 1843. Having been banned from practising as a lawyer by the Danish authorities for his anti-Danish activities, Storm moved to Potsdam and then to Heiligenstadt in Thuringia where, in 1859, he once again founded a *Singverein*. Formed along democratic lines, Storm's choral society soon grew to a size that allowed the performance of complex works, such as Hiller's oratorio and, in March 1862, Mendelssohn's *Paulus*. See Robert Wendt, *Die Musik in Theodor Storms Leben* (Greifswald: Abel, 1914), pp. 41–6, 82–3. For the writer's engagement with music see also Hiroyuki Tanaka, "Theodor Storm und die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Theodor Storm und das 19. Jahrhundert: Vorträge und Berichte des Internationalen Storm-Symposions aus Anlaß des 100. Todestages Theodor Storms*, eds Brian Coghlan and Karl Ernst Lange (Berlin: Schmidt, 1989), pp. 145–50. Incidentally, to thank Storm for his efforts, he was presented by the members of his Heiligenstadt choral society already in April 1863 with Heinrich Merz's engraving of Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*; see Gertrud Storm, *Theodor Storm: Ein Bild seines Lebens* (Berlin: Curtius, 1913), II, 94–5. Hiller's oratorio with its concluding prophecy of return and triumph may have been of special resonance to Storm who already knew that three days after its performance, having been elected district magistrate (*Landvogt*), he would return to Husum. During the still ongoing Second Schleswig War (1864) the city had been conquered by the Prussian-Austrian coalition and in 1867 was incorporated into Prussia.

90 Theodor Storm quoted in ibid., II, 94: "ein sehr bedeutendes Werk."

91 Hiller, *Zerstörung Jerusalems* [piano reduction], p. I: "ein frommer Israelit."

> If it has been emphasized in regard to Bendemann's *Captive Jews in Exile* and his *Jeremiah on the Ruins of Jerusalem*, despite all the appreciation afforded to these masterworks, that the female figures appearing in these paintings were gardener girls from Düsseldorf, so that the national colour had not been used at all; this may similarly be applied to Hiller's composition, and he succeed in giving his music such an original form that it might not agree with the destruction of Memphis or of Zaragoza just as well.[92]

The comparison of Hiller and Bendemann is perceptive (for the two paintings mentioned in the review, see Figures 5 and 6). Composer and artist, as has been suggested above, indeed employed similar strategies of inviting mainstream identification with their (positive) Jewish figures. As Hiller created familiarity with the prophet and his followers by musical means, so Bendemann, within the purview of pictorial representation, resorted to familiar modes of early Renaissance paintings that had been adapted also by the contemporary Nazarene movement in Germany.[93] It was only much later, after more than three decades, that the artist made subtle use of exoticizing formulae in his Jewish paintings and explored the ambivalence and shifting semantic potential of orientalist representations. Kaulbach, in turn, had largely neglected the semantic potential of orientalization in his *Zerstörung Jerusalems*. In what otherwise is a painting highly charged with symbolism, the oriental aspect appears to be mostly decorative, providing the historic setting for his pictorial narrative which draws its symbolic significance rather from that attributed to the historical moment.

Bendemann was also mentioned much later, in 1881, in a similar context by Franz Liszt alongside Mendelssohn and the French Jewish composer Fromental Halévy. Liszt challenged in his *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* (1859;

92 Anonymous, [Untitled], *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 27.2 (January 6, 1863): 19: "Wenn man von Bendemann's 'Trauernden Juden in Babel' und seinem 'Jeremias auf den Trümmern von Jerusalem' bei aller Anerkennung dieser Meisterwerke doch hervorgehoben hat, daß die in diesen Gemälden erscheinenden weiblichen Personen Gärtnermädchen von Düsseldorf wären, sodaß das nationale Kolorit gar nicht verwendet worden, so kann man dies auch auf Hiller's Composition anwenden, und es ist ihm gelungen, seine Musik so originell zu gestalten, daß sie nicht ebenso gut auf den Fall von Memphis oder Saragossa passen könnte." For the issue of the visual representation of Jewish figures, see also Kathrin Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz: Eine deutsche jüdische Literaturgeschichte (1750–1850)* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), pp. 417–23.

93 See, e.g., Mitchell Benjamin Franck, *German Romantic Painting Redefined: Nazarene Tradition and the Narratives of Romanticism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2001), p. 100.



Music Example 5: Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium nach der heiligen Schrift* [piano reduction], op. 24, 2nd edn (1842; Leipzig: Kistner, [1874]), no. 28, pp. 148–51, pp. 149–51, bb. 19–56: Recitative and Aria of Achicam.



Figure 5: Anonymous, after Eduard Bendemann, *Gefangene Juden im Exil*, frontispiece to Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, *Gesänge aus der Verbannung, welche sang Obadiah ben Amos, im Lande Ham*, 2nd edn (1829; Frankfurt a. M.: Schmerber, 1837); lithograph; original (1832), oil on canvas, 183 cm × 280 cm, held by Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, Cologne. (Public domain.)

1881; *The Gipsy in Music*)[94] the controversial notion of a specifically Jewish idiom in any artistic endeavor and maintained that Jewish artists in fact appropriated the Christian idiom precisely in order to hide their innermost sentiments from prying eyes or ears.[95] Liszt's claim that an oratorio by Mendelssohn or an opera

94 Franz Liszt, *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* (Paris: Librairie Nouvelle, 1859). The study was published in an abbreviated translation into German by Peter Cornelius as *Die Zigeuner und ihre Musik in Ungarn* (Pesth: Heckenast, 1861); many of the more obviously antisemitic passages were excised from this translation, see, e.g., Serge Gut, *Franz Liszt* (Paris: Éditions de Fallois, 1989), pp. 205–12. The second, much expanded edition was published as *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1881) and was translated into German by Lina Ramann as volume 6 of Liszt's *Gesammelte Werke* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1883). The English translation by Edwin Evans, *The Gipsy in Music* (London: Reeves, 1926), is based on the second edition; because this translation is abbreviated and not always reliable, I provide my own translations.

95 Liszt, *Bohémiens* (ed. 1881), p. 60: "Might one say that Mendelssohn composed the oratorio *Elias*, that Halévy put the *Jewess* on stage, that Bendemann painted the *Weeping Jews at the Banks of the Euphrates*, that a fourth represented *Salomo* in all his glory in the theatre? One will always need to ask oneself: what is it that is of essentially Israelite nature? Neither the sentiment,



Figure 6: Bartholomäus Ignaz Weiss, after Eduard Bendemann, *Jeremiah on the Ruins of Jerusalem* (n. d.); lithograph, 32.1 cm × 59.2 cm; Wellcome Collection, London; original (1834–35), oil on canvas, 224 cm × 414 cm, formerly held by Leineschloß, Hannover; destroyed in the Second World War. (Public domain.)

nor the form! This oratorio, this opera, this painting, this play; might they not just as well have been felt and thought by Christians? Yet who would want to deny that the Israelites possess a sentiment that is essentially their own, that this sentiment in no other form might be incarnated than theirs and exclusively theirs? Thus, if they nevertheless do not give to the world of art anything of their self, then this is because they do not want to, because they cannot! When they produced art, the Jews did not want to sing about their own self, nor did they want to sing to themselves; they wanted to become proficient in the way of the Christians. That is to say, they wanted to surpass them in those arts which suited their moral, intellectual, and material capabilities, because they were wary of cultivating them indiscriminately. [Dira-t-on que Mendelssohn a composé l'oratorio d'*Elie*, que Halévy a mis en scène la *Juive*, que Bendemann a peint *les Juifs pleurant sur les bords de l'Euphrate*, qu'un quatrième a représenté sur le théâtre *Salomon* dans sa gloire? On pourra tojours se demander: Qu'y a-t-il là d'essentiellement Israélite? Ni le sentiment, ni la forme! Cet oratorio, cet opera, cette peinture, cette pièce, n'auraient-ils pas été ainsi sentis et pensés par des chrétiens? Pourtant, qui voudra nier que les Israélites aient un sentiement essentiellement leur, qui ne peut s'incarner que dans une forme à lui, seulement à lui? Si donc ils ne se donnent pas eux-mêmes dans le monde de l'art, c'est qu'ils ne le veulent pas; c'est qu'ils ne le peuvent pas! / En faisant de l'art, les Juifs ne voulurent pas se chanter eux-mêmes, ni se chanter à eux-mêmes; ils voulurent devenir habiles à la façon des chrétiens. C'est-à-dire, plus habiles qu'eux, dans les arts qui convenaient à leurs capacités morales, intellectuelles, matérielles, car ils se gardérent bien de les cultiver tous indistinctement.]"

by Halévy therefore may just as well have been invented and emotionally shaped by a Christian in turn provoked Ferdinand Hiller's censure.[96]

Late in his life, long after he had converted to Protestantism, and by then an eminent figure in German cultural life, Hiller gave vent to his exasperation with the racialized approach to musical expression in a letter to the editor of the *Hamburger Nachrichten* (1882). The composer deplored the constant coercive imposition of national affiliation no less than the perpetual comparison of the past with the present.[97] Moreover, deeply vexed by the inconsistency of the proponents of the racial approach, he caustically noted that where Wagner "senses the Semite" in each single bar in particular of Mendelssohn's music,[98] Liszt suggested, as we have seen, the fundamental interchangeability of Jewish and non-Jewish composers, though he denied genuine creativity to the former.[99]

While it is moot to speculate on this point, it is clear that as with other forms of discrimination, the white elephant of Jewishness—both as (allegedly) a congenital representational mode and as represented—was not to be ignored. Indeed, it had an impact on the oratorios discussed in this chapter not only in terms of their production but also of their reception. Music was no less a part of the discourse on Jewishness than paintings, such as Kaulbach's and Bendemann's. And when Hiller refers to his "innocent art,"[100] it becomes clear very soon that all such innocence, if ever it existed, had been lost. The composer's letter accordingly turns surreptitiously into an irritable response in particular to the new edition of Liszt's *Des Bohémiens* that had been published in the previous year 1881.

Much of the blatantly antisemitic content of this text, still amplified in the second edition, has been attributed to the Princess Carolyne zu Sayn-Wittgenstein with whom Liszt lived at the time and who was strongly influenced by Catholic anti-Judaism.[101] Indeed, it was suspected already by Hiller, that the

96 Liszt, *Bohémiens* (ed. 1881), p. 60.

97 Ferdinand Hiller, *Erinnerungsblätter* (Cologne: DuMont-Schauberg, 1884), p. 53: "Immer wieder die Octroyirung einer Nationalität und die Verquickung der Vergangenheit mit der Gegenwart."

98 Ibid.: "den Semiten herausfühlt."

99 Ibid., pp. 53–4: "Könnten etwa ein Oratorium von Mendelssohn, eine Oper von Halévy nicht eben so gut von Christen gefühlt und erdacht sein?" See Liszt, *Des Bohémiens* (ed. 1881), p. 60.

100 Hiller, *Erinnerungsblätter*, p. 48: "meiner unschuldigen Kunst."

101 See Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Final Years, 1861–1886* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), p. 406 and Dolores Pesce, *Liszt's Final Decade* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), pp. 154–5. For a discussion of Liszt's antisemitism, see, e.g., Rainer Riehn, "Wider die Verunglimpfung des Andenkens Verstorbener. Liszt soll Antisemit gewesen sein . . .," *Musik-Konzepte: Franz Liszt* 12 (1980): 100–14 and Gut, *Franz Liszt*, chapter 15: "Liszt était-il antisémite?"

antisemitic excesses of *Des Bohémiens* should not be attributed to Liszt himself.[102] Nevertheless, that he imprudently lent his name to the racist effusions of Sayn-Wittgenstein severely damaged Liszt's reputation and the aged composer felt obliged to minimize their severity and to express his regret for his "pretended hostility to the Israelites" in a letter to the editor of the *Gazette de Hongrie* (1883).[103]

In an attempt to explain the peculiar character of the Romani, the celebrated piano virtuoso and composer had construed the Jews as their negative opposite already in the first edition of his study of 1859.[104] Conceding to the Jews a catalytic function in the development of European music that significantly determined the flowering of "our art,"[105] he nevertheless reiterated that, while they might well be able to learn and to practice art, they were much less apt to create art. Liszt adduces this to the supposedly devious and occlusive nature of the Jews acquired in the diaspora that prevented them from fully revealing themselves.[106] What he describes as the main motivation of Jewish musical production is in effect a disposition for mimicry: "They wanted to become adept and dexterous like the Christians, and they succeeded splendidly."[107] Yet once again, in terms much later applied by Homi Bhabha to the interaction between colonizer and colonized, the Jews are hampered by the irksome *almost, but not quite*.[108] "Artistic creation and

102 See Hiller, *Erinnerungsblätter*, pp. 51–3.

103 See Liszt's letter of February 6, 1883 to Amadé Saissy, the editor of the *Gazette de Hongrie*, in *Letters of Franz Liszt*, coll. and ed. La Mara, transl. Constance Bache, vol. II: *From Rome to the End* (London: Grevel, 1894), pp. 427–8: "If, by some mutilated quotations from my book on the *Gipsies* in Hungary, it has been sought to pick a quarrel with me, and to make what is called in French *une querelle d'Allemand*, I can in all good conscience affirm that I feel myself to be guiltless of any other misdeed than that of having feebly reproduced the argument of the kingdom of Jerusalem, set forth by Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield), George Eliot (Mrs. Lewes), and Crémieux, three Israelites of high degree." In his cover letter, Liszt referred to his "*pretended* animadversion against the Israelites" and asked Saissy whether he thought it opportune to publish the letter which, otherwise, he would leave unprinted, see p. 427. In the event, Liszt published his letter also in the influential *Allgemeine Deutsche Musikzeitung* 10 (1883): 64 and it was also reprinted in *Der Israelit* 23.14 (February 15, 1883): 223, the central organ of Orthodox Judaism in Germany. The composer's erroneous assumption that George Eliot was Jewish was shared by a number of contemporaries, owing in particular to her proto-Zionist novel *Daniel Deronda* (1876).

104 For a detailed discussion of Liszt's text in relation to its antisemitic bias, see Dahm, *Topos der Juden*, chapter 3.4.

105 Liszt, *Bohémiens* (ed. 1859), p. 38: "notre art."

106 For the notion of the unknowability of the Jews, as described by Sigmund Freud, see Sander L. Gilman, *Freud, Race, and Gender* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 36–8.

107 Liszt, *Bohémiens* (ed. 1859), p. 40: "Ils voulurent devenir habiles à la façon des chrétiens, et ils réussirent avec éclat."

108 See Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," in *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 85–92, p. 86.

even successful creation is not at all the same as the supreme gift of artistic creativity," Liszt claims: "the difference between the two is that between talent and genius."[109]

In the much expanded second edition of *Des Bohémiens*, Liszt illustrated this claim with names, juxtaposing as examples of genius and talent, respectively, Bach with Mendelssohn and Beethoven with Meyerbeer.[110] Further cementing the alterity of the Jews, he maintained—in a passage also quoted by Hiller[111]—that Jewish composers did not even try *not* to appropriate "our" methods and imitate "our" masters or to express any other sentiments and strike any chords other than "ours."[112] The Jews, he reiterated, were adept at combining the elements created by "us," yet lacked any true inspiration of their own.[113]

At the same time, the composer elaborated also the perception of a threat to the majority culture that had remained implicit in the earlier version of the text, in analogy to Bhabha's observations on mimicry.[114] He attributes to the Jews an "irreconcilable enmity towards the worshippers of the Crucified" and denounces them as "hidden, wily, versatile, subtle, and skilful enemies of society, whose vices they stimulate and whose entrails they corrode."[115] In fact, he—or Carolyne zu Sayn-Wittgenstein—alleges that the Jews "are at the bottom of all moral epidemics" and likens them to "microbial parasites."[116] Ultimately, Liszt insists on the fundamental inassimilability of the Jews and maintains that they will always remain Jews and retain their true character as oriental aliens: "sombre, hostile, and attractive, like the dull and lethal gaze of the fabled serpent."[117]

The potentially dangerous fascination inspired by the Jews is implicitly suggested by Liszt to have informed their representation by non-Jews, a practice un-

109 Liszt, *Bohémiens* (ed. 1859), p. 40: "Faire de l'art, et même en bien faire, n'est cependant pas encore posséder le don suprême de créer; c'est la différance du talent au genie."

110 See Liszt, *Bohémiens* (ed. 1881), p. 57.

111 See Hiller, *Erinnerungsblätter*, p. 53.

112 Liszt, *Bohémiens* (ed. 1881), p. 67: "Ils n'essaient seulement pas de s'affranchir de nos methods; ils ne tentent même pas de ne point copier nos maîtres, de faire parler d'autres sentimens, de faire vibrer d'autres cordes que les nôtres."

113 See ibid., p. 68.

114 See Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," p. 87.

115 Liszt, *Bohémiens* (ed. 1881), pp. 49–50: "irréconciliable inimitié contre les adorateurs du Crucifié! [. . .] les Juifs sont [. . .] ennemies dissimulées, astucieux, souples, fins et adroits de la societé, dont ils stimulant les vices et décomposent les entrailles."

116 Ibid., pp. 89–90: "ils sont au fond the toutes les épidémies morales. [. . .] comme un animalcule parasite."

117 Ibid., p. 52: "sombre, hostile et attractif, comme le regard terne et exitial du fabuleux serpent"; see also p. 87.

derstood by the composer to some extent as the inversion of the Jewish contribution to mainstream cultural production: "The art of the Christians has now and then hazarded a corresponding, if not similar, endeavour."[118] In the second edition, Liszt once again explains further:

> Shakespeare created Shylock, Walter Scott created Abraham, others have devised yet others. Rembrandt painted the Rabbi of Amsterdam. The European poet, novelist, and painter were struck by the magnificence of these types, by the Semitic character of their physiognomies, the Oriental turn of their costumes.[119]

And he adds as already, with minor differences, in the first edition: "They were seduced by the sight of the women of this race, so beautiful, so intelligent, and so devoted."[120] This is once more the articulation of the fascination with the Beautiful Jewess which, if much more subtly, resembles the notion of colonial desire defined by Robert J. C. Young as the "covert but insistent obsession with transgressive, inter-racial sex, hybridity and miscegenation."[121] While attributed with (involuntary) seductive powers and therefore suggesting diffuse dangers of transgression, the characteristics ascribed by Liszt to the Beautiful Jewess are indeed indicative of an emerging trope that was to inform also the series of oratorios on the destruction of Jerusalem.[122] As Florian Krobb observes, the trope of the Beautiful Jewess eventually made detailed descriptions of the figure redundant. A short reference or the mere mention of (some of) her attributes would suffice to evoke the stereotype with all its connotations.[123] The specific shape taken by the Beautiful Jewess nevertheless articulated, as Krobb argues, the author's respec-

118 Ibid., p. 71: "L'art des chrétiens s'est parfois hasardé à une tâche analogue, si non semblable."

119 Ibid.: "Shakespeare a créé Shylock, Walter Scott a créé Abraham, d'autres en ont encore dessiné d'autres. Rembrandt a peint le Rabbin d'Amsterdam. Le poète, le romancier, le peintre européen, ont été frappes par la grandeur de ces types, par le caractère sémitique de ces physiognomies, le tour oriental de ces costumes."

120 Ibid.: "Ils ont été séduit par la vue des femmes de cette race, si belles, si intelligentes et si dévouées"; see Liszt, *Bohémiens* (ed. 1859), p. 45.

121 Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. xii. Intriguingly, the German translation of 1861 does not include the section on the non-Jewish artistic response to Jewishness inspired by perceptions of the other, including the Beautiful Jewess, from which this passage is taken. For the frequently eroticized representation of the Beautiful Jewess, see, e.g., Florian Krobb, *Die schöne Jüdin: Jüdische Frauengestalten in der deutschsprachigen Erzählliteratur vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993), pp. 2–5, 93–4.

122 For the emergence and proliferation of this trope in German literature, see ibid.

123 See ibid., p. 11.

tive political and ideological stance *vis-à-vis* Jewish assimilation and emancipation.[124]

The writers mentioned by Liszt were instrumental to the creation and dissemination of this trope. Shakespeare created not only Shylock but also the Jew's daughter Jessica, who is implicitly evoked by Liszt. The composer's reference to Walter Scott's Abraham is presumably erroneous, as the only figure in any of the writer's works with this name is a minor character in his tragedy *Auchindrane* (1830), who is not explicitly identified as, nor meant to be, Jewish. Liszt probably had in mind Isaac of York in Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1820). Significantly, here too the old Jew is accompanied by his young daughter, Rebecca; a figure that became hugely influential as the widely disseminated romanticized archetype of the Beautiful Jewess who, in fact, embodies all the characteristics mentioned by Liszt.[125]

However, the composer's objective is not so much to create a sympathetic response, as might be suggested by the acknowledgment of the attractiveness of the Jews—who are, after all, likened to the lethal basilisk. To him the alien figure of the Beautiful Jewess, while engendering a potentially illicit desire, is only another particular that separates the Jews—"imperishable exiles," "sons of the South," "daughters of the Levant"—from "us": "sons of the recent past," "children of the North."[126] Liszt accordingly makes himself an advocate of the restoration of the Promised Land to the Jews, or rather of the Jews to the Promised Land, and argues that this should be facilitated by the European nations in their own urgent interest, adding as an afterthought that such an endeavor would also be just toward the Jews.[127] Consequently, he effectively envisages the exclusion and even the expulsion of the Jews from Europe.

Liszt's proposition clearly echoes the controversial observations of Heinrich von Treitschke which triggered the so-called Berlin antisemitism dispute (*Berliner Antisemitismusstreit*) of 1879–81 of which the editor of the *Preußische Jahrbücher* and the liberal historian Theodor Mommsen were the main protagonists.[128] Treitschke's irritable response to the eleventh volume of the monumental *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (1853–75; *History of*

124 See ibid., p. 9.

125 For the impact of Scott's characterization of the Beautiful Jewess on German literature and the proliferation of the trope, see ibid., pp. 105–6.

126 Liszt, *Bohémiens* (ed. 1881), p. 72: "inexterminables exilés," "fils du Midi," "filles du Levant," "nous," "fils de la veille," "enfants du Nord."

127 See ibid., p. 93.

128 For a comprehensive documentation, see Karsten Krieger (ed.), *Der Berliner Antisemitismusstreit 1879–1881: Eine Kontroverse um die Zugehörigkeit der deutschen Juden zur Nation*. Kommentierte Quellenedition, im Auftrag des Zentrums für Antisemitismusforschung, 2 vols (Munich: Saur, 2003).

the Jews) by the German Jewish historian Heinrich Graetz was instrumental in setting the stage for a wide-spread articulation of antisemitism in bourgeois and intellectual circles in Germany. Treitschke asserted that there was a pervasive sense in German society of the Jews being "our misfortune" and that "there will always be Jews who are nothing but German-speaking Orientals."[129] Moreover, denouncing Jewish self-assertion within the young German nation, the influential historian demanded either complete assimilation[130] or, alternatively: "Emigration, foundation of a Jewish state somewhere in foreign parts."[131]

The convergence of antisemitic and (proto-)Zionist objectives as it emerges here explains the resistance of many assimilated Jews to the impositions conveyed by both ideological frameworks. In fact, Hiller's response to Liszt's unexpected attack must also be understood within this context. And when Hiller emphasized the historical resilience of the Jews and insisted on their fundamental equality in both negative and positive terms, this was obviously an attempt to validate and to normalize the Jewish presence in western societies:

> So there is after all a religion, a people, a race, whatever one may call it, which has suffered in the most unspeakable way through persecution engendered by the most abhorrent and ridiculous prejudices and which not only has not been destroyed but always rises once again to significant achievements. A race to which Moses belonged, whose character was assumed by the Saviour when he walked the earth, which produced a Spinoza [. . .], such a race cannot be subdued with uncouth persecution, it cannot be removed by absurd projects—one should confront it with strictness, like any other, where it errs, where it transgresses; and one should appreciate it, where it labours, creates, and acts in concert with the various peoples among whom it has been dispersed by its fate.[132]

129 Heinrich von Treitschke, "Unsere Aussichten," *Preußische Jahrbücher* 44 (1879): 559–76, 575: "die Juden sind unser Unglück!" and 576: "es wird immer Juden geben, die nichts sind als Deutsch redende Orientalen"; for a discussion, see, e.g., Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), p. 214.

130 See Treitschke, "Unsere Aussichten," 573.

131 Heinrich von Treitschke, "Herr Graetz und sein Judenthum," *Preußische Jahrbücher* 44 (1879): 660–70, 669: "Auswanderung, Begründung eines jüdischen Staates irgendwo im Ausland."

132 Hiller, *Erinnerungsblätter*, p. 55: "Da ist nun einmal eine Religion, ein Volk, eine Race, wie man es bezeichnen mag, die durch die greulichsten, den albernsten Vorurtheilen entsprungenen Verfolgungen das Unsäglichste erduldet hat und nicht allein nicht untergegangen ist, sondern sich stets wieder erhebt zu bedeutenden Leistungen. Ein Geschlecht, dem Moses angehörte, dessen Züge der Heiland annahm, als er auf Erden wandelte, das einen Spinoza hervorbrachte [. . .], ein solches Geschlecht ist nicht mit pöbelhaften Verfolgungen klein zu kriegen, nicht durch unsinnige Projecte zu entfernen—man trete ihm wie Anderen streng entgegen, wo es fehlt, wo es sündigt, und erkenne es an, wo es arbeitet, schafft und wirkt gemeinschaftlich mit den verschiedenen Völkern, unter die sein Geschick es vertheilt hat."

Thus underlining the decisive impact of the Jews on western civilization, Hiller argues in favor of the cultural productivity of hybridity while at the same time insisting on the precedence of cultural over racial identities:

> What is that to mean, that it is demanded from talented people to put themselves in conditions and to adopt precepts that have always remained alien to them, to renounce those with which they have been raised,—to reproach them with making use of the wealth of a culture which they are able to increase and which those in possession of it truly have produced not only from their own self-importance.[133]

More than four decades earlier, the same concerns appear to have informed his oratorio. The composer's choice to represent the destruction of the First Temple gave him the opportunity to challenge monolithic notions of Jewishness as they were articulated in Kaulbach's painting. There are, accordingly, in Hiller's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, "good" Jews and "bad" Jews. In the artist's representation, in contrast, situated at the moment of bifurcation between Jews and Christians, the latter are "good" and the former are "bad"; even the central group around the High Priest, though imbued with some heroism (see also Figure 7), is ultimately connoted negatively for the error of their ways. It is, as we will see, only the daughter of the High Priest—once again the Beautiful Jewess—who, depending on the realization of her conversion potential,[134] offers a possible exception to this dichotomy; and this is of course predicated on the renunciation of her Jewishness, as it was claimed also by Wagner. The same dichotomy is perpetuated across the series of subsequent oratorios and libretti based on, or engaging with, Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*.

133 Ibid.: "Was soll das heißen, von begabten Menschen zu verlangen, sich in Zustände, in Anschauungen zu versetzen, die ihnen stets fremd geblieben, denjenigen zu entsagen, in welchen sie auferzogen,—ihnen einen Vorwurf daraus zu machen, daß sie den Reichthum einer Cultur benutzen, den sie zu vermehren im Stande sind, und den diejenigen, welche ihn besitzen, wahrlich auch nicht nur aus eigener Selbstherrlichkeit hervorgebracht."

134 As Florian Krobb demonstrates, in contrast to male Jews, the Beautiful Jewess was frequently represented in literature as responsive to conversion efforts and as such could be turned into an "argument" against her former religious community, see *Schöne Jüdin*, pp. 53–4.



Figure 7: Anonymous, after Wilhelm von Kaulbach, vignette showing the detail of The High Priest from *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1846), in Guido Görres, "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Tragisches Singspiel in drei Abtheilungen," *Deutsches Hausbuch* 2 (1847): 51–60, 57; woodcut. (Public domain.)

The Iconography of Divine Punishment, Supersession, and the Jews

In his neo-baroque historical painting of the destruction of Jerusalem, Kaulbach explored the symbolic dimension he perceived the historical event to have on a monumental scale. As is evidenced by the artist's dense explication of his composition, he derived his interpretation mainly from biblical sources and from the history of *The Jewish War* by Flavius Josephus (c. 75 CE) as well as—albeit not acknowledged—from

the *Ecclesiastical History* by Eusebius of the beginning of the fourth century.[135] Intriguingly, and perhaps unexpectedly, Kaulbach created by visual means and in productive conversation with the iconographic tradition precisely one of those moments described by Ruth HaCohen as "oratorial." In a musical sense, such moments reveal according to the musicologist the potential of the oratorio to

> show forth a vocalized alchemy in which a voice (or voices) from a certain time, context, and configuration pierce through series of pasts, presents, or futures—or a mixture thereof, carrying embedded existential layers, and project them onto an ever-renewed present tense.[136]

The Joycean suggestion of an epiphany is deliberately invoked by HaCohen in relation to the "oratorial moment" with her choice of words ("show forth").[137] The time-embracing, and simultaneously time-transcending, disposition of the oratorio which creates those moments of epiphany is manifest also in Kaulbach's monumental painting. The past event is aligned with the present through the perpetual momentum attributed to the lateral figures of the Wandering Jew and the withdrawing Christians, showing forth in another epiphany its continuously renewing significance to the observer. The anticipation of the Last Judgment suggested by the artist in his *Erläuterungen*, but also visually imparted through the monumental painting's composition and iconography, further projects the oratorial moment into the future and to the end of times.[138]

The very fact that Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* impacted in various ways on oratorios in nineteenth-century Germany, in itself a process of ever-renewing the present tense through the musical medium, supports the notion that the painting creates its own "oratorial moment." The imminence of this moment may, in turn, explain the easy intermedial transposition undergone by the visual representation. Indeed, I am not aware of any other painting of the period to have inspired as many oratorial engagements. And while the musical adaptations of the artist's painting have been eclipsed by the much more famous programmatic rendering of his *Hunnenschlacht* (1837; *The Battle of the Huns*) by Franz Liszt (1857; S.105), the intermedial proliferation nevertheless appears to be another confirmation of Kaulbach's reasoning that his chosen subject was indeed perfectly suited for artistic representation.

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135 From the latter, Kaulbach abstracted the flight of the Christians from Jerusalem, see *Erläuterungen*, pp. 7–8 and Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus*, transl. C. F. Crusé (New York: Mason and Lane, 1839), pp. 85–7.

136 HaCohen, *Music Libel*, p. 90.

137 See ibid., p. 417n60.

138 For Kaulbach's use of the iconography of the Last Judgment, see Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 119–20.

The pictorial composition of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* accommodates five groups of figures in a central vertical axis of descending hierarchy, flanked on each side by another three. The highest level is occupied by the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, all of whom prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem. Below them are represented the seven angels of Revelation who mete out God's punishment. The central group shows the altar of the Temple as it is desecrated by the conquering Romans. In front of this, the High Priest prepares to stab himself in the circle of his family. The foreground, finally, shows cowering Jews hiding their faces in despair and with them, facing the viewer, an old Levite with a sword limply in his hand staring forlornly at the ground next to urns spilling their riches: gold and jewels.

To the left of this central axis are represented the Jews: the burning Temple and its vanquished Zealot defenders; below them Mary of Bethezuba, the daughter of Eleazar, who according to Josephus devoured her new-born during the Roman siege of Jerusalem, insane with hunger; and the Wandering Jew pursued by three demons as he is fleeing the destruction with horror in his eyes on a trajectory that will take him out of the frame. This is mirrored on the right hand by the Roman general Titus Vespasianus and a group of lictors below whom three angels hoist the luminescent cup of the last supper over the heads of the Christians as they leave the stricken city.

Kaulbach's canvas on the monumental scale of almost six by more than seven metres forcefully impresses on the beholder the alleged guilt and obstinacy of the Jews and construes the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple as their befitting divine punishment. Indeed, the composition is reminiscent of the iconography of the Last Judgment,[139] in accordance with the artist's notion of rendering it as a divinely ordained judgment and turning point in universal history. The painting's original frame, destroyed in the Second World War, moreover included two biblical inscriptions from the Vulgate which suggested a distinct interpretive framework to the visual representation.[140] The inscription in the left spandrel from the book of Daniel read: "the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined," while the text on the right from the gospel of Luke presaged: "And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all

139 See ibid. The location of the painting in the Neue Pinakothek additionally underlined the iconographic congruence with the Last Judgment inasmuch as it was given a position similar to that of Rubens' *The Great Last Judgment* (c. 1617) in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, see Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World*, p. 97.

140 Kaulbach's use of the Latin text has been taken to suggest Catholic affinities, see Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 131.

nations: and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled."[141] The two passages clearly envisage the cataclysmic destruction of Jerusalem and articulate the notion of supersession.

Yet the painting endorses not only a secularized supersessionism but abounds, beyond its religiously informed anti-Judaism, with antisemitic stereotypes.[142] The story of Mary's teknophagy is a case in point. The central group in the left middleground of the painting depicts the unfortunate woman in contemplation of the infant she has killed.[143] The painter's choice to represent the unnatural mother and her dead child in the form of an anti-pietà next to an iron cauldron and surrounded by sinister hooded figures in the shadows clearly evokes notions of ritual murder (see also Figure 8). This is alluded to also in the negative characterization of the Zealots who, as cited by Kaulbach in his *Erläuterungen* from Josephus, "drank the blood of the populace to one another, and divided the dead bodies of the poor creatures between them."[144] In a symmetrical juxtaposition, the cauldron and Mary's teknophagy moreover indicate the perversion of the Eucharist signified by the luminescent chalice and the Host in the gloriole above it.

Supported by the rich allegorical potential of the painting, in particular its representation of perverted acts, such as Mary's feast on her new-born, the composition not only associates these iniquities with the deicide to explain the historical destruction of Jerusalem but, with the figure of the Wandering Jew, extrapolates the continuing impact of the divine judgment. The very figure of the Wandering Jew becomes, for Kaulbach, another reminder of the Last Judgment and of the Jews' eternal perdition. At the same time, he embodies a historical continuum in that the artist understands him to be representative of contemporary Jewry.[145]

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141 See ibid., 106. Möseneder, however, mistakenly reverses sides in his discussion; see also Menke-Schwinghammer, *Weltgeschichte als "Nationalepos,"* p. 178n146. Luke 21:24: "ET CADENT IN ORE GLADII, ET CAPTIVI DUCENTUR IN OMNES GENTES, ET JERUSALEM CALCABITUR A GENTIBUS, DONEC IMPLEANTUR TEMPORA NATIONUM, LUC. XXI. XXIV." Daniel 9:26: "ET CIVITATEM ET SANCTUARIUM DISSIPABIT POPULUS DUM DUCE VENTURO, ET FINIS EIUS VASTITAS, ET POST FINEM BELLI STATUTA DESOLATIO, DAN. IX. XXVI."

142 For a detailed analysis of anti-Jewish and antisemitic elements in Kaulbach's painting, see, e.g., Avraham Ronen, "Kaulbach's Wandering Jew: An Anti-Jewish Allegory and Two Jewish Responses," *Assaph* 3 (1998): 243–62.

143 [Kaulbach], *Erläuterungen*, p. 5: "Gefoltert von Hunger, welcher das Haupt mit Wahnsinn, mit Wuth das Herz entflammt, ermordet sie die Frucht ihres Leibes, um sie zu essen"; see Josephus, *Jewish War*, pp. 353–4 (6.3.4).

144 [Kaulbach], *Erläuterungen*, p. 6: "Sie tranken einander das Blut der Bürger zu, und theilten unter sich die Leichen"; see Josephus, *Jewish War*, p. 325 (5.10.4). See further Jeremiah 19:7–9 and [Kaulbach], *Erläuterungen*, p. 4.

145 See ibid., p. 8.



Figure 8: Anonymous, after Wilhelm von Kaulbach, vignette showing the detail of Mary of Bethezuba from *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1846), in Guido Görres, "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Tragisches Singspiel in drei Abtheilungen," *Deutsches Hausbuch* 2 (1847): 51–60, 56; woodcut. (Public domain.)

Given the painting's strong antisemitic bias, it may not come as a surprise that George Eliot noted tersely in her diary that she was "[u]nable to admire" Kaulbach's work when she encountered it during a visit to the Neue Pinakothek in 1858.[146] Yet general opinion was very different indeed. The painting was widely—and internationally—acclaimed, and not only in artists' circles or specialist publications. Hans Christian Andersen, for instance, recorded in his diary on November 27, 1840 that he visited Kaulbach's studio and enthusiastically described the impact the cartoon for *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* had on him. The Danish writer not only compared the sensation the composition produced in him with that of reading the *Divine Comedy* or *Faust* after some paltry lyrical poetry or novella. He moreover averred its inspira-

146 See the entry of May 20, 1858, *The Journals of George Eliot*, eds Margaret Harris and Judith Johnston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 317; in "Recollections of Berlin 1854–1855," Eliot had already commented on Kaulbach's frescoes in the Neues Museum: "They are the result of much thought and talent, but they leave one entirely cold as all elaborate allegorical compositions must do," p. 252.

tional potential and insisted that the representation of the Wandering Jew, the shoemaker of Jerusalem, encouraged him to revisit this motif in his own work.[147] Yet more importantly, Kaulbach's artistic representation of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* acted as a significant, if controversial, stimulus on a succession of nineteenth-century German oratorios with particular focus on negotiations of Jewishness.

Early Inspiration and Early Response: Loewe and Hiller

One of the earliest musical engagements in Germany with the historical destruction of Jerusalem and of the Second Temple in the year 70 CE appears to have been a *Kunstlied* by Carl Loewe (1796–1869).[148] Based on Franz Theremin's translation of Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* (1815) of 1820,[149] Loewe's "Jerusalem's Zerstörung durch Titus" (1827; op. 14, no. 5; The Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus) conveys a wistful, romantically tinged, image of the burning Temple and the destruction of Zion as remembered by a Jewish captive witnessing the conflagration from one of the surrounding mountains.[150] David Roberts's painting *The Destruction of Jerusalem* (1849; see Figure 11), discussed in more detail below, captures a similar mood and may indeed have been inspired by the painter's reading of Byron. In the poem, the historical context is not elaborated, nor are any theological claims made: the catastrophe is not suggested to be a divine punishment of the Jews. Indeed, as the poem ends with the captive's acquiescence in God's will, the faithfulness of the chosen people even in adversity is emphasized and at least implicitly a future perspective is introduced which is not entirely bereft of hope.[151] In Loewe's music, this is real-

147 Hans Christian Andersen, *"Ja, ich bin ein seltsames Wesen . . .": Tagebücher 1825–1875*, ed. and transl. Gisela Perlet (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2013), pp. 147–8. Andersen's dramatic poem *Ahasverus* was published in 1847, but he had engaged with the legend already in his literary debut, the travelogue *Fodreise* (1829; *A Journey on Foot from Holmen's Canal to the East Point of Amager*).

148 For Loewe's biography, see MGG (2004), XI, 388–98.

149 Byron's "On the Day of the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus" appeared in his *Hebrew Melodies* (1815) and was followed by a rendering of Psalm 130, about the Babylonian Exile, and a poem on "The Destruction of Sanncherib," based on 2 Chronicles 32:1–23, which celebrates the failed earlier attempt of the Assyrian king to conquer Judah. Theremin's translation was published in 1820, see Lord Byron, *Hebräische Gesänge*, transl. Franz Theremin (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1820), and for the sequence of poems, pp. 74–85.

150 See Carl Loewe, "Jerusalem's Zerstörung durch Titus" [1827], op. 14, no. 5, in *Gesamtausgabe der Balladen, Legenden, Lieder und Gesänge*, ed. Max Runze, vol. 15: *Lyrische Fantasien, Allegorien, Hymnen und Gesänge, Hebräische Gesänge* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902), pp. 150–3.

151 For the parallel texts in English and German of Lord Byron's "On the Day of the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus," see *Hebräische Gesänge*, pp. 74–7, pp. 76/77: "And scattered and scorned

ized by the dramatic excitement of the left-hand tremolo with which the composer renders the destruction (see Music Example 6) and by the reflective lyricism of the captive's memories in the B section, introducing a brief key change to the parallel major, before reverting to the minor mode (see Music Example 7). The altered A section with which the song ends, sees the music modulate to the relative major (G major) in b. 46, which consequently relegates E minor to being the irregular resolution of a deceptive cadence in b. 48; simultaneously, the voice switches to a more intimate, less dramatically insistent "sotto voce" (see Music Example 8). The frustration of complete harmonic and melodic closure in E minor is continued by its displacement through major mode resolutions which make explicit the hope implied in the text: b. 50 sees a further deceptive cadence (this time in E minor, thus resolving onto C major), and b. 52, finally, offers a perfect authentic cadence which, while in E, features a raised third (*tierce de Picardie*) (see Music Example 8).

The lofty subject obviously had caught hold of Loewe's imagination; he kept working on it and transposed it into the monumental form of the oratorio.[152] Yet in *Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem* (1829; op. 30; The Destruction of Jerusalem) the composer's representation of the Jews was to change dramatically in accordance with his libretto. This had been produced by the writer and composer Gustav Nicolai, a friend of Loewe's, and it appeared variously in print since 1830.[153] Divided into two

as thy people may be, / Our worship, o Father! is only for thee." / "So zerstreut und verachtet dein Volk auch mag seyn, / Anbetung, o Vater, sey dir nur allein!"

152 The truly monumental, even 'monstrous,' scope of Loewe's *Zerstörung von Jerusalem* in terms of performers, range, difficulty, and ideas was linked by Reinhold Dusella with the composer's ambition of finding a better position, see *Die Oratorien Carl Loewes* (Bonn: Schröder, 1991), p. 67.

153 Gustav Nicolai, *Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Großes Oratorium in zwei Abtheilungen* (Berlin: Krause, 1832). Reinhold Dusella suggests that Loewe may have been interested in the topic from early youth and assumes that he received the libretto from Nicolai before 1826. He also notes that Nicolai was disgruntled about the collaboration because he felt that too little attention was given to the poet. See "Loewes erfolgreichste Oper? Das Oratorium *Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem*," in *Carl Loewe (1796–1869): Beiträge zu Leben, Werk und Wirkung*, eds Ekkehard Ochs and Lutz Winkler (Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1998), pp. 391–6, p. 391 and, in more detail, Dusella, *Oratorien Carl Loewes*, pp. 53–5. See also Carl Loewe, *Selbstbiographie* (Berlin: Müller, 1870), p. 114. The libretto was probably published as a textbook for the performance in Berlin; further textbooks were published as follows: *Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Großes Oratorium in zwei Abtheilungen von Gustav Nicolai, componirt von C. Löwe* ([Stettin]: Hessenland, 1830); *Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Großes Oratorium in zwei Abtheilungen von Gustav Nicolai, componirt von C. Löwe.* Zum erstenmal in der Domkirche aufgeführt von J. F. H. Kiel, Königl. Musik-Direktor (Königsberg: Degen, 1835). For Loewe's score, see *Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Großes Oratorium in 2 Abheilungen*, op. 30 (Leipzig: Hofmeister, [1833]).



Music Example 6: Carl Loewe, "Jerusalem's Zerstörung durch Titus" [1827], op. 14, no. 5, in *Gesamtausgabe der Balladen, Legenden, Lieder und Gesänge*, ed. Max Runze, vol. 15: *Lyrische Fantasien, Allegorien, Hymnen und Gesänge, Hebräische Gesänge* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902), pp. 150–3, p. 150, bb. 1–8: The beginning of the agitated A section.



Music Example 7: Carl Loewe, "Jerusalem's Zerstörung durch Titus" [1827], op. 14, no. 5, in *Gesamtausgabe der Balladen, Legenden, Lieder und Gesänge*, ed. Max Runze, vol. 15: *Lyrische Fantasien, Allegorien, Hymnen und Gesänge, Hebräische Gesänge* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902), pp. 150–3, pp. 151–2, bb. 25–28: The beginning of the lyrical B section.



Music Example 8: Carl Loewe, "Jerusalem's Zerstörung durch Titus" [1827], op. 14, no. 5, in *Gesamtausgabe der Balladen, Legenden, Lieder und Gesänge*, ed. Max Runze, vol. 15: *Lyrische Fantasien, Allegorien, Hymnen und Gesänge, Hebräische Gesänge* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902), pp. 150–3, p. 153, bb. 43–52: The altered A section.

parts, "The Prophecy" and "The Fulfilment,"[154] the libretto portrays the Jews as internally divided, seditious, and consumed with their thirst for revenge. Yet the stiff-necked Jews themselves, as yet unawares, are to become the object of divine retribution of which the advancing Roman legions are but an instrument. The libretto perpetuates notions of both the Jewish deicide and a punitive supersessionism.[155] In particular, it introduces a group of early Christians who escape to Golgatha where they remain unmolested by the conquerors and whose meekness is directly contrasted to the Jews' blasphemy.[156] Nicolai's text diverges from his source, the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius, according to which the Christians left the city for Pella a year prior to its destruction. Yet Golgatha, the place of the fulfilment of Christ's Passion, is a symbolically charged vantage point.[157] Through their continued presence there, the Christians act as focalizers who serve the composer—who considered himself a "tone preacher"[158]—to interpret the events in the light of the Passion.

Adding a distinctly dramatic and romantic dimension, which corresponded to the innovative operatic style of Loewe's oratorio,[159] the text moreover incorporates the doomed love of the Jewish princess Berenice (i.e., Berenice of Cilicia)

154 See Nicolai, *Zerstörung*, pp. 5, 20: "Die Verkündigung" and "Die Erfüllung."

155 See R. Kendall Soulen, *The God of Israel and Christian Theology* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1996), p. 30.

156 Nicolai, *Zerstörung*, p. 16: "Juda fluchet; stimmet denn ihr Christen / Fromm ein Lied von heil'ger Liebe an."

157 See Johannes Behr, "Loewe, Carl. 'Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem'," in *Oratorienführer*, eds Silke Leopold and Ullrich Scheideler (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000), pp. 427–8, p. 428.

158 See Peter Tenhaef, "Loewe, Carl," MGG (2004), XI, 388–98, 397: "Tonprediger."

159 For a detailed musicological analysis of the oratorio and a discussion of its reception, see Dusella, *Oratorien Carl Loewes*, pp. 53–72. See also Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, vol. 4: *The Oratorio in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), pp. 69, 118; for contemporary criticism of Loewe's innovations, see p. 68. Gustav Nauenburg, for instance, wrote in the influential *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*: "The *dramatised* oratorio which Loewe cultivates frequently appears, without mimic art and props, only as half a work of half the power; as soon as the characters are presented in situations which the performing concert singer cannot represent through muscial art in its totality, they transcend the borders of concert singing and are *not permissible* in the oratorio. [Das *dramatisirte* Oratorium, welches Löwe cultivirt, erscheint oft ohne mimische Kunst und Skeuopoie nur als ein halbes Werk von halber Kraft; sobald die Charaktere in Situationen vorgeführt werden, welche der ausführende Concertsänger nicht durch musikalische Kunst in ihrer Totalität wiederzugeben vermag, überschreiten sie die Grenzen des Concertgesanges, und sind im Oratorium *unzuläßig*.]" Nauenburg, who sang the parts of Gessius Florus and Josephus at the premiere of the oratorio in Stettin (present-day Szczecin in Poland) and again at the Berlin performance of 1832, refers to the dying scene of Berenice as an example of this practice, Gustav Nauenburg, "Lebende Bilder: J. C. G. Löwe," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 3.25 (September 25, 1835): 98–100, 99–100.

and the commander of the Roman attackers, Titus, as well as voices of spirits which answer the High Priest's uncomprehending plea, citing the passage from Matthew's gospel that gave rise to the notion of the Jewish blood curse: "His blood be on us, / And on our children!"[160] The High Priest's question—"Why, o Lord, hast thou forsaken thy people?"[161]—is similarly answered by the spirit voices with the last words of Jesus by which it is echoed and which are turned here into both an accusation and a punishment: "My God, my God, / Why hast thou forsaken me?"[162] The final chorus of the prophets and the Christians reaffirms that the oratorio is not only about the destruction of Jerusalem, nor even of Judaism, but of the Jews: "Those are the days of revenge / So that what was foretold would be fulfilled!"[163] There is, in Loewe's oratorio, no "rise of sympathy as a new, emancipatory belief,"[164] and it may, as such, well be considered to provide a counterpoint to Mendelssohn's conciliatory interpretation of the *Matthäuspassion* in the same year 1829.

Loewe's *Zerstörung von Jerusalem* was first performed in Stettin (present-day Szczecin) in 1830 but, due to its monumental conception, put an immense strain on the resources available to the composer. Two years later it was produced by Gaspare Spontini at the opera house in Berlin in a spectacular performance which was attended by the Prussian court. Loewe won the appreciation of Friedrich Wilhelm III and, for the dedication of the oratorio to the king in 1834, was awarded a golden snuff box, but not the position he may have hoped to secure for himself.[165] In fact, only six performances of *Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem* are recorded before 1840[166] and, because of its length and scope, including ten solo parts, the composer initially found it difficult to publish his music at all.[167]

160 Nicolai, *Zerstörung*, p. 30: "Sein Blut komme über uns / Und unsre Kinder!" See Matthew 27:25. See also Jeremy Cohen, *Christ Killers: The Jews and the Passion from the Bible to the Big Screen* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 31–2.

161 Nicolai, *Zerstörung*, p. 31: "Warum, o Herr, hast Du Dein Volk verlassen?"

162 Ibid.: "Mein Gott, mein Gott! / Warum hast du mich verlassen?" See Matthew 27:46.

163 Nicolai, *Zerstörung*, p. 32: "Denn das sind der Rache Tage, / Dass erfüllt sei, was verheissen!" See Luke 21:22.

164 HaCohen, *Music Libel*, p. 96.

165 See Anonymous, "Mancherley," *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 36.10 (March 5, 1834): 162.

166 Martin Geck notes six performances before 1840: Stettin (1830), Leipzig (1830), Berlin (1832), Königsberg (1836; present-day Kaliningrad in the Russian Federation), Lübeck (1837), and Breslau (1838; present-day Wrocław in Poland), see *Deutsche Oratorien 1800 bis 1840* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1971), pp. 20–1.

167 See Dusella, *Oratorien Carl Loewes*, p. 69.

It has been observed that throughout the nineteenth century most Old Testament libretti were not compiled from the Bible but newly written.[168] One reason for this was that "[r]ather than functioning as a vehicle for congregational worship, as the New Testament oratorio often did, the Old Testament oratorio usually served as a concert work, religious but not devotional, on a significant personage or event in the history of the Jewish people."[169] Nicolai's libretto belongs to neither category. It focuses on a historical event that is recorded neither in the Old nor in the New Testament but that is relevant in relation to both due to its pivotal position between them and that, according to the synoptic gospels, was prophesied by Jesus.[170] Obviously aware of the implications, the author emphasized in a prefatory note that direct quotations from Scripture—only amounting to a minuscule portion of the text and usually associated with the Christians or the retributive prophecy—were printed in Roman type as opposed to the *Fraktur* in which the remainder of the text was set. Their relative textual autonomy allowed Nicolai and Loewe not only to enhance the operatic character of the oratorio, by virtue of which it may be considered the latter's most influential contribution to the genre.[171] It moreover offered poet and composer some interpretive latitude of which the libretto's manifest antisemitism is arguably also a product.

Loewe's negative representation of the Jews was nevertheless not an isolated occurrence. It was echoed, for instance, in Louis Spohr's *Des Heilands letzte Stunden* (1835; WoO 62; *Calvary*) which was another of the proliferating oratorios of the period based on biblical sources which proved to be influential to the further development of the tradition. Mendelssohn, whose *Paulus* and *Elias*, as has been mentioned, are considered prominent examples of the genre, was not only on friendly terms with both composers but uncharacteristically also owned scores of their oratorios.[172] Indeed their hostile treatment of the Jews has been seen as an influence on the Jewish-born yet baptized composer who, as the grandson of Moses Mendelssohn, was rather conflicted about his heritage.[173] It has even been suggested that "contemporary anti-Semitic standards" had been defined for Mendelssohn by Loewe and Spohr and that he may have feared that a more affirmative portrayal of the Jews may have had an adverse effect on his acceptance in German society.[174] Other Jewish-born composers, such as Adolph Bernhard Marx and Ferdinand

168 See Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, IV, 99.
169 Ibid.
170 See Matthew 24:1–28; Mark 13:1–23; and Luke 21:5–24.
171 Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, IV, 122.
172 See Sposato, *Price of Assimilation*, p. 90.
173 Ibid., pp. 74, 89.
174 Ibid., p. 77.

Hiller, were less susceptible to such anxieties and, as Jeffrey S. Sposato maintains, "successfully managed to portray the Jews favourably without reprisal."[175]

In fact, the next German composer to tackle the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem was Hiller. He was at the time a close friend of Mendelssohn's, to whom he dedicated *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (The Destruction of Jerusalem) and who arranged the oratorio's first performance at the Leipzig Gewandhaus in April 1840.[176] Although eponymous with Loewe's earlier effort, the subject of Hiller's oratorio, as we have seen, is not the same historical episode but the destruction of the First Temple in 586/587 BCE at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar and the Assyrians.[177] In fact, the composition was initially entitled "Der Prophet Jeremias" (The Prophet Jeremiah) but Hiller renamed it shortly before its premiere.[178] The composer's choices of his topic and final title are telling and arguably articulate a critical response to the adverse portrayal of the Jews in, and the supersessionist certainty of, the earlier oratorio.

175 Ibid.

176 Hiller became Mendelssohn's successor as director of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra and it has been suggested that this circumstance may have been the reason for their falling out in 1843, see Clive Brown, *A Portrait of Mendelssohn* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 185, though this view has been challenged more recently by Beverly Jerold, "A Vindication of Ferdinand Hiller," *Journal of Musicological Research* 37.2 (2018): 141–65, 144.

177 Both historical events were the subjects of a number of European oratorios or related musical genres in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries in addition to those discussed in this book, which without exception were produced in Germany. The following engage with the destruction of the First Temple: Giovanni Paolo Colonna, *La caduta di Gerusalemme* (1688; oratorio); Johann Michael Demmler, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1783; oratorio, score lost); Giuseppe Giordani, *La distruzione di Gerusalemme* (1787; azione sacra); Pietro C. Guglielmi, *La distruzione di Gerusalemme* (1803?; ed. 1815; dramma sacro); Ambrogio Minoja and Carlo Soliva, *La distruzione di Gerusalemme* (1820; oratorio); Jean-Georges Kastner, "Le dernier roi de Juda" (1844; oratorio; unpublished). The destruction of the Second Temple is addressed in the following: Luca Antonio Predieri, *La caduta di Gerusalemme* (1727; oratorio, score lost); Niccolò A. Zingarelli, *Gerusalemme distrutta* (1794; oratorio); George Frederick Perry, *The Fall of Jerusalem* (1824; oratorio); Teodulo Mabellini, *L'ultimo giorno di Gerusalemme* (1848; dramma liturgico); Giovanni Pacini, *La distruzione di Gerusalemme* (1858; oratorio). To the following I had no access: Pasquale Anfossi, *Jerusalem eversa* (1774; oratorio); František Benedikt Dussek, *Gerusalemme distrutta* (1812; oratorio).

178 As late as January 4, 1840, Mendelssohn still referred to Hiller's composition in a letter to his sister Fanny as "his oratorio of 'Jeremiah'," *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy from 1833 to 1847*, transl. Lady Wallace, eds Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy (London: Longman, Roberts and Green, 1867), p. 193; see also *Briefe aus den Jahren 1833 bis 1847 von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, eds Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy, 3rd edn (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1864), pp. 215–16: "sein Oratorium Jeremias." See also Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 7: *Oktober 1838 bis Februar 1841*, eds Ingrid Jach and Lucian Schiwietz (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2013), p. 192.

In Hiller's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, as in the biblical narrative on which it is based, the transgression punished by divine intervention is not external to the Israelites—as is the accusation of the deicide—but internal. As Jeremiah warns in the oratorio: "Thus saith the Lord: If ye will not now obey me and ye refuse to keep my commandments, this city I will make to be a curse in the sight of the heathen."[179] The libretto's author was Salomon Ludwig Steinheim (1789–1866), a physician, philosopher, theologian, and veritable polymath of an older generation who was also of Jewish descent. Though the author later was to distance himself from the final version of the libretto, his idiosyncratic deliberations on the nature of Judaism clearly influenced the text which is predicated on the ultimate endurance of the Israelites and envisages their rebirth and that of the covenant. Addressing all the nations, his Jeremiah prophesies:

> Fulfilled is the word of the Living One, Judah's proud kingdom is destroyed, but yet Jehovah's people shall not be lost. Give ear, O people! Ye princes understand! The future I foretell. As seed long buried to new life springeth, so will the Lord raise His chosen. Erring and misguided Israel shall rise to power and freshened life again.[180]

The text accordingly ends on a hopeful note, with Jeremiah paraphrasing Isaiah's prophecy of Zion's future ascendancy, and with the praise of the Lord in the final chorus.[181] In this it is similar to Byron's concluding lines, but here it turns from the internal—as in Byron and the early Loewe song—to the external and embraces in an implicit acknowledgment of the Jewish mission among the nations the universal worship of the Jewish God:

> Forever enthroned reigns the Holy One of Israel, God the only true God Jehovah. The heavens shall shadow forth his power and righteousness and all the nations His great glory. O ye righteous, praise ye the Lord, give thanks to Him and magnify His Holy Name. Amen—Amen.[182]

179 Hiller, *Zerstörung Jerusalems* [piano reduction], no. 14. See also Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium nach der heiligen Schrift* (Berlin: s. n., 1844), p. 6: "So spricht der Herr: werdet Ihr mir nicht gehorchen, dass Ihr in meinem Gesetze wandelt, so will ich diese Stadt machen zum Fluch allen Heiden auf Erden." See Jeremiah 26:4, 7.

180 Hiller, *Zerstörung Jerusalems* [piano reduction], no. 45. See also Steinheim, *Zerstörung*, p. 15: "Erfüllet ist das Wort des Lebendigen, dahin ist Judas stolzes Reich; doch unverloren bleibet Jehova's Volk. Vernehmt es, Völker! Und Fürsten, horchet auf! Die Zukunft verkünd' ich.—Wie nach dem Sterben ein neues Leben, also erwecket Jehova das irre, verstossene Volk und es entsteht ein neues Bundesvolk."

181 See Isaiah 2:3.

182 Hiller, *Zerstörung Jerusalems* [piano reduction], no. 47. See also Steinheim, *Zerstörung*, p. 16: "Und ewig thronen wird der Heilige Israels, Gott, der Einig Eine, Jehova! / Die Himmel verkündigen seine Gerechtigkeit und alle Völker seine Ehre. Ihr Gerechten, preiset den Herrn und danket ihm und preiset seine Heiligkeit! Amen!—" See Psalm 97:6, 12.

This theological claim, abstracted from Psalm 97 and affirming monotheism, corresponds to Steinheim's conception of the Jews as being in sole possession of true revelation and as a "*missionary institute*" that he outlined already in the first volume of his *Die Offenbarung nach dem Lehrbegriffe der Synagoge* (1835; The Revelation According to the Doctrine of the Synagogue).[183] Jeremiah's prophecies thus initiate a Jewish mission that gains its full momentum only with the destruction of the Second Temple. Steinheim maintains that the Jewish people, and Judaism,

> only commenced to flower with all its might with the demise of the nation; *the people was resurrected in spirit as its body was claimed by death*. With the end of the first exile and with the subjugation under the rule of the Romans developed within it the world-overpowering force of the revelation into a peculiar, in its way unprecedented, vitality. Thus, within it, *destruction* was turned into *construction*, *dispersion* into a *binding agent*, *annihilation* into *life*.[184]

In the second volume of his book on revelation, published more than two decades after the first, in 1856, Steinheim was more concise and to the point:

> This, then, is the vocation of Judaism [. . .], *that it serve the Lord, while serving humanity so that it achieve the highest level of development on earth, in order to establish the spiritual state, the kingdom of God in this world*.[185]

The oratorio thus intervenes in a highly charged discussion within the wider debate on the emancipation of the Jews in Germany. It insists on the continued ethical significance of Jewish monotheism as it had also been elaborated in the context of the *Haskalah*, the Jewish Enlightenment, and of the Reform movement.[186]

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183 Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, *Die Offenbarung nach dem Lehrbegriffe der Synagoge, ein Schiboleth* (Frankfurt a. M.: Schmerber, 1835), I, 59: "*Missionsanstalt*." For Steinheim's conception of a Jewish mission, see also Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, pp. 399–402.

184 Steinheim, *Offenbarung*, I, 54–5: "das Judenthum [. . .] hub erst mit dem Aufhören der Nation an, in voller Kräftigkeit aufzublühn; *das Volk erstand im Geiste, wie es dem Leibe nach dem Tode verfiel*. Mit dem Ende des ersten Exils und mit der Unterjochung unter die Römergewalt entwickelte sich in ihm die weltbezwingende Macht der Offenbarung zu eigenthümlicher, in ihrer Art beispielloser, Lebendigkeit. Also ward in ihm die *Zerstörung* der *Aufbau*, die *Zerstreuung* das *Bindemittel*, die *Vernichtung* das *Leben*."

185 Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, *Die Offenbarung nach dem Lehrbegriffe der Synagoge* (Leipzig: Schnauss, 1856), II, 357: "Das also ist der Beruf des Judenthums [. . .], *dass es Gott diene, indem es der Menschheit dient, zur höchsten Entwickelungsstufe auf Erden zu gelangen, den geistigen Staat, das Gottesreich hienieden zu gründen*."

186 See Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, p. 201: "Reformers were confident that a modernized Judaism could play a significant role in the messianic progress. Indeed, it was the mission of Israel, as they conceived it, to provide the example of pure monotheism and lofty moral idealism which would lend energy and direction to the forward course." Meyer suggests that Steinheim consid-

Yet simultaneously it acknowledges the dangers of the seductive force of assimilation, when Hannah laments the apostasy of those foregoing the faith of their forefathers. While based on the biblical precedent, this was of course very much an issue that had become virulent with emancipation and the opportunities of social advancement offered by assimilation.[187] By reasserting and, in effect, validating the unceasing substance and consequence of Judaism, the oratorio thus clearly also takes a stance in relation to internal negotiations of Jewishness and to proliferating anxieties of attrition.

The first instalment of his manuscript was sent by Steinheim to Hiller on August 7, 1837 in the hope that it might reach the composer on *Tisha b'Av*, the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple, which in that year happened to be on the 10th of the month. In his accompanying letter, Steinheim moreover suggested to Hiller that he read his book on revelation. Steinheim seems to have had misgivings about the sincerity of the much younger man's Jewish faith ("Überzeugung") and felt that he needed to protect him "from the dialectic arts of the religion of love, as it enticingly called itself"—from Christianity.[188] Perhaps the philosopher and theologian feared for Hiller because the composer had just conducted Mendelssohn's *Paulus* with the *Cäcilienverein* in Frankfurt.[189] It is tempting to think that it may have been precisely the engagement with, and the discussions about, this oratorio that prompted Steinheim's collaboration with the composer. After all, the conversion narrative is articulated rather forcefully in *Paulus*, as is its anti-Jewish bias.

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ered "to propagate the pure revelation" as the mission of Judaism, p. 69. The Reform movement and the notion of the mission of Israel are discussed in more detail in chapter V.

187 See Todd Endelman, *Leaving the Jewish Fold: Conversion and Radical Assimilation in Modern Jewish History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), chapter 2.

188 Letter of Salomon Ludwig Steinheim to Ferdinand Hiller of August 7, 1837, in *Salomon Ludwig Steinheim zum Gedenken: Ein Sammelband*, ed. Hans-Joachim Schoeps (Hildesheim: Olms, 1987), p. 289: "Sie vor den dialektischen Künsten der Religion der Liebe, wie sie sich einschmeichelnd genannt hat, zu schützen."

189 *Paulus* had been commissioned by the *Cäcilienverein* but eventually premiered at the *Niederrheinisches Musikfest* (Lower Rhenish Music Festival) in Düsseldorf on May 22, 1836 conducted by Mendelssohn himself. For the circumstances surrounding the composition and first performance of *Paulus*, see Sposato, *Price of Assimilation*, p. 87. When Johann Nepomuk Schelble invited Hiller to stand in for him, he envisaged that he might give *Paulus* as his debut, see his letters to Mendelssohn and Hiller, respectively; see Ralf-Olivier Schwarz, "Ferdinand Hiller und Frankfurt," in Ackermann et al. (eds), *Ferdinand Hiller*, pp. 39–54, pp. 52–3 and Sietz, *Beiträge zu einer Biographie Ferdinand Hillers*, I, 25–6: Schelble to Hiller on July 28, 1837. Hiller took up the interim position in August 1836, but it was not before April 24, 1837 that he conducted the first complete performance of the rearranged *Paulus*, see ibid., I, 187n51.

In a postscript to his letter, Steinheim admonished Hiller, who was about to set off for Italy,[190] "to forget for a while anything worldly and occidental so as to turn with ancient Maccabean enthusiasm to our sacred great topic: with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might, as it is said."[191] The older man thus not only invoked the *Shema*, the Jewish prayer of the declaration of faith, which reiterates the Mosaic formula;[192] his reference to the Maccabees moreover associates Jewish resistance to external oppression. In addition, he insinuated to his younger friend that he commit to a vaguely conceived oriental Jewish essence. Clearly, Steinheim had great expectations of the composer and of their "sacred" collaborative work. Yet these, it would seem, were disappointed.

Initially, Steinheim, then based in far-away Altona near Hamburg, congratulated Hiller in another letter, of April 6, 1840, on the successful first performance of his oratorio (on April 2) and asked the composer for a copy of the score so that he might perform their "collaborative work" in his private circle: "You will appreciate that I am very keen to hear the music."[193] More important is what he has to say about the significance of the oratorio in the Jewish context:

> It is a twofold pleasure to me that on the soil of old—and genuine—Jewish culture finally a more serious work has come about. It is our task to justify ourselves with splendour towards the world that has treated us so inimically. This in particular was what I envisaged when I went about to write this oratorio for you. How great is my pleasure about your success.[194]

190 Hiller took the plans for his oratorio along to Italy. Encouraged by Gioacchino Rossini to work on an opera, Hiller's "favourite work" apparently was his oratorio, much of which he sketched at Bellagio on Lake Como; see a letter of the celebrated tenor Adolphe Nourrit to Ferdinand Hiller of July 6, 1838, in Anonymous, "Briefe von Adolphe Nourrit an Ferdinand Hiller. II," *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung* 8.38 (1860): 297–300, 299: "Lieblings-Arbeit." Yet in August 1839, the composer had to return to Frankfurt because of the ill health of his mother, who died in the following month. In November, Hiller was invited by Mendelssohn to Leipzig where he completed his oratorio; see the biographic sketch in Ihl, "Nachlaß Ferdinand Hillers," p. 7.

191 Steinheim to Hiller on August 7, 1837, in Schoeps (ed.), *Salomon Ludwig Steinheim zum Gedenken*, pp. 289–90: "[V]ergessen Sie alles Weltliche, Abendländische auf eine Zeitlang, um sich mit alter makkabäischer Begeisterung unserem heiligen großen Thema zuzuwenden: von ganzem Herzen, ganzer Seele und allem Vermögen, wie es heißt."

192 See Deuteronomy 6:5 and the *Shema*, the Jewish prayer of the declaration of faith.

193 Steinheim to Hiller on April 6, 1840, in Schoeps (ed.), *Salomon Ludwig Steinheim zum Gedenken*, p. 291: "beiderseitiges Werk"; "Sie können denken, wie ich gespannt bin, die Musik zu hören."

194 Ibid.: "Es macht mir zwiefach Freude, daß auf dem Boden alt—auch echt—jüdischer Kultur endlich einmal ein ernsteres Werk zustandegekommen ist. Wir haben die Aufgabe, uns vor der Welt, die uns so feindlich behandelt hat, mit Glanz zu rechtfertigen. Dies besonders schwebte mir, als ich daran ging, jenes Oratorium für Sie zu verfassen, vor der Seele. Wie groß ist meine Freude über Ihren Erfolg."

In an undated letter,[195] Steinheim later gave thanks to Hiller for having sent to him three copies of the printed libretto—not, apparently, the requested score—of "your" oratorio, of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*. Steinheim's choice of the possessive pronoun already betrays his irritation. Indeed, from what follows, it is clear that Steinheim now sought to distance himself from the venture and, more specifically, the published libretto. This, he felt, had been changed by Hiller beyond recognition. Steinheim therefore asked the composer to arrange for a disclaimer to be published in *Didaskalia*. The journal had printed an enthusiastic review of the performance of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* in Frankfurt on June 1, 1840 and emphatically praised its libretto.[196]

Early in July, the relevant passages were moreover reprinted in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* with a note in which it was emphasized that the exceptional circumstance of an oratorio written by a Jew and composed by a Jew and about a fateful episode in the history of the Jews that besides was artistically accomplished fully warranted the paper's attention.[197] Hiller seems not to have acted on Steinheim's request, or if he did, Johannes Ludwig Heller, the editor of *Didaskalia*, did not oblige. In 1842—perhaps prompted by the publication of the full score which, once again, featured his name next to Hiller's—Steinheim therefore took it upon himself to have disclaimers published in various journals.[198]

The manuscript of the original "Jeremias" (Jeremiah) seems to be lost. It must therefore remain conjectural whether the author simply did not wish to adorn himself with borrowed plumes, as he frostily maintained in his letter to Hiller, or whether he had more specific objections to interpretive changes resulting from Hiller's revisions and, if so, what precisely these might have been.

An indication of the composer's grievances may in turn be deduced from a letter to Mendelssohn in which he responds to his friend's critical remarks, not least, it appears, about the libretto.[199] Hiller briefly mentions that initially it was a slim volume of poems by Steinheim that recommended the author to him. This

195 Schoeps prints this undated letter before that of April 6, 1840, which is misleading as the review in *Didaskalia* of June 9 indicates a date *post quem*, see Schoeps (ed.), *Salomon Ludwig Steinheim zum Gedenken*, pp. 290–1 and W., "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem," *Didaskalia* 18.161 (June 9, 1840): n. p.

196 See ibid.: n. p.

197 See Anonymous, "Literarische Nachrichten," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 4.27 (July 4, 1840): 390.

198 See Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, "Erklärung," *Telegraph für Deutschland* 9.29 (1842): 116 and, specifically targeting a specialist readership, in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 16.21 (March 11, 1842): 84.

199 See Hiller to Mendelssohn on August 16, 1839, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 36 (X, 19–20). Mendelssohn's letter to which this is the response appears to be lost, see Helmut Loos, "Mendelssohn und Hiller im Spiegel ihres Briefwechsels," in Ackermann et al.

presumably was Steinheim's *Gesänge aus der Verbannung, welche sang Obadiah ben Amos, im Lande Ham* (1829; Songs from Exile, Sung by Obadiah ben Amos, in the Land of Ham). The cycle's second edition, including as frontispiece a lithograph of Bendemann's *Gefangene Juden im Exil* (1832; Captive Jews in Exile; see Figure 5), appeared in 1837 shortly after Passover.[200] It was prepared by the author for publication while visiting Gabriel Riesser (1806–63) in Bockenheim, near Frankfurt, to whom it is dedicated in gratitude for his hospitality.[201]

Steinheim's contact with Hiller was presumably established through Riesser.[202] The Jewish politician and lawyer, later a member of the Frankfurt Parliament, was an indefatigable campaigner for Jewish emancipation. It was a pursuit he shared with Steinheim. Riesser met Hiller when the composer returned from an extended sojourn in Paris to his native Frankfurt where, in the season of 1836/37, he stood in for the seriously ill conductor of the acclaimed *Cäcilienverein*. Both, Hiller and Riesser, were members of the masonic lodge *Zur aufgehenden Morgenröthe* (The Rising Rosy Dawn) in Frankfurt that at the time was a rendezvous for enlightened German Jews and counted among its members also Ludwig Börne and Berthold Auerbach.[203]

The initial plans for Steinheim and Hiller's collaboration may also have been conceived at this time. The three men may have met when Steinheim visited Riesser in the spring and early summer of 1837.[204] Given the political preoccupations of

(eds), *Ferdinand Hiller*, pp. 483–500, p. 495; for the correspondence between Hiller and Mendelssohn about the former's oratorio, see pp. 490–500.

200 The date is suggested by Steinheim's preface to the second edition, see Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, *Gesänge aus der Verbannung, welche sang Obadiah ben Amos, im Lande Ham*, 2nd edn (1829; Frankfurt a. M.: Schmerber, 1837), p. xiv; in 1837, Passover fell in the week from April 20 to 27. For a detailed appreciation of Steinheim's *Gesänge aus der Verbannung*, see Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, pp. 396–405; for the use of Bendemann's *Gefangene Juden im Exil* as the second edition's frontispiece, see p. 425.

201 See the preface to the second edition, Steinheim, *Gesänge aus der Verbannung* (ed. 1837), p. xiv.

202 See Arno Herzig, *Gabriel Riesser* (Hamburg: Ellert & Richter, 2008), pp. 71–2.

203 See ibid., p. 71. Hiller contributed three songs to the commemorative publication for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the lodge in 1833, see *Festgaben dargebracht von den Brüdern der Loge zur aufgehenden Morgenröthe im Orient zu Frankfurt a. M. zur Feier ihres 25jährigen Jubiläums* ([Frankfurt a. M.: Andreä,] 1833), pp. 135–47. Riesser's contribution was published separately because it was not sufficiently masonic, see ibid., p. III. Hiller's friendship with Riesser appears to have ended abruptly when the latter dragged the composer into a confrontation with Heinrich Heine, see Herzig, *Riesser*, pp. 89–94.

204 Riesser, himself not particularly drawn to music, records a visit to the Heidelberg music festival, see Gabriel Riesser, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. M. Isler (Frankfurt a. M. and Leipzig: Verlag der Riesser-Stiftung, 1867), I, 189. He attended a performance of Joseph Haydn's *Die Jahreszeiten* (1801; *The Seasons*); this may have been another occasion on which the oratorio enthusiast Steinheim and the composer Hiller, both friends of Riesser, may have met.

Riesser and Steinheim, it seems reasonable to assume that they hoped to find a kindred spirit in the young composer, who would articulate emancipationist or at the very least affirmative views in his oratorio.[205] Steinheim's letter hints as much. It was probably not in this regard that the philosopher and theologian was disappointed with *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*. As argued above, the oratorio is clearly affirmative, though possibly to a lesser degree than Steinheim's lost "Jeremias" may have suggested; nor was Hiller unaffected by the political upheavals of his time.[206]

Hiller may therefore in fact have followed the poet's labors much more closely than the brief mention in his letter to Mendelssohn would suggest. At any rate, the composer not only considered the slim volume sufficient evidence of the author's talent to produce a libretto but he presumably also appreciated its subject and may very well have sought to situate his oratorio within its wider "ideological" context.

Most significantly, the cycle of poems gives clear articulation to Steinheim's notion of a Jewish mission. As noted by Hans-Otto Horch, the *Gesänge* are in con-

205 See also Ullrich Scheideler, "Hiller, Ferdinand. Die Zerstörung Jerusalems," in *Oratorienführer*, eds Silke Leopold and Ullrich Scheideler (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000), pp. 340–2 who suggests that the oratorio may indicate the shift from the resigned attitude of the restauration period to the sense of a new era of the *Vormärz* (pre-March), p. 341.

206 During his sojourn in Paris, Hiller developed a short-lived interest for Saint-Simonianism, see Ralph P. Locke, "Hiller and the Saint-Simonians," in Ackermann et al. (eds), *Ferdinand Hiller*, pp. 55–71. In 1848, the composer wrote to the painter and poet Robert Reinick: "Everything feels 'weary, stale, and unprofitable' to me—God help it! I am certainly no cry-baby, my opinions essentially remain the same—but even though I am far from wishing to use poetry or music to manufacture cartridges, the time seems near to me, in which hardly anything may be left to a man (if he is a German) than either to emigrate or to arm himself with a musket. [Es kommt mir alles 'ekel, schal und unersprießlich' vor—Gott besser's! Ich bin nichts weniger als ein Heuler, meine Anschauungen bleiben auch im wesentlichen dieselben—aber wenn ich auch weit entfernt bin, Poesie oder Musik zur Patronenfabrikation benutzen zu wollen, so scheint mir die Zeit nahe, wo einem Mann kaum mehr etwas anderes zu thun übrig bleiben wird (wenn er ein Deutscher ist), als entweder auszuwandern oder die Muskete in die Hand zu nehmen.]" And: "Politically, of course, our opinions gradually diverge—because the majority approve of reaction in the interest of order, and I detest it, I do not even wish to say in the interest of freedom, but with a feeling of national honour destroyed or about to be destroyed!—[Politisch gehen freilich unsere Ansichten jetzt nach und nach auseinander—denn die meistigen billigen die Reaktion im Interesse der Ordnung, und ich verabscheue sie, ich will nicht einmal sagen im Interesse der Freiheit, aber im Gefühl der vernichteten oder zu vernichtenden Nationalehre!—]" Sietz, *Beiträge zu einer Biographie Ferdinand Hillers*, I, 75.

versation with Byron's *Hebrew Melodies*.[207] Earlier, I suggested that neither Byron's poem on the destruction of Jerusalem nor Loewe's song are entirely without articulation of hope. Yet to Steinheim, as argued by Horch, the romantic poet's empathy lacked full recognition of the consolation afforded by the certainty of the Jewish mission.[208] In "Der Klaggesang des Fremdlings" (The Lamentation of the Stranger), he has the fictional poet Obadiah ben Amos acknowledge that the stranger (Byron) sang about Jewish yearning, humiliation, wrath, and hope. And yet, he insists, both at the beginning and the end of the poem: "My misery thou knewest, Stranger; / My consolation remained hidden to thee!"[209]

In the preface to the first edition of *Gesänge*, Steinheim identified as the consolation of his people "the sense of a noble destiny that day by day approaches more closely its fulfilment, no matter how far the distance that remains to the goal."[210] The frame narrative of the altogether thirty-one poems—divided in five daily portions which reflect a progression from yearning and trust to vexation, to confidence, and, finally, to consolation and faith—is set in Alexandria in the time of the translation of the Hebrew scriptures known as the Septuagint in the third century BCE. As Kathrin Wittler suggests, Steinheim mirrors the situation of the Jews in contemporary Germany with those of Hellenistic Alexandria.[211]

Though wary of the distortions that would result from the translation of the Bible,[212] Obadiah celebrates the venture as a vehicle for the global dissemination of the revelation of Jewish monotheism and the promise of redemption to all nations.[213] Hence, even though freedom be granted to the Jews, Obadiah refuses to return to the Land of Israel because he considers the day of complete freedom

207 See Hans-Otto Horch, "Die Sendung des Doktor Gad. Salomon Ludwig Steinheims Beitrag zur jüdischen Belletristik," in *"Philo des 19. Jahrhunderts": Studien zu Salomon Ludwig Steinheim*, eds Julius H. Schoeps et al. (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993), pp. 159–76, pp. 163; see also Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, pp. 402–4 and Steinheim's explanatory note in *Gesänge aus der Verbannung* (ed. 1837), pp. 90–1.

208 See Horch, "Sendung des Doktor Gad," p. 163.

209 Steinheim, *Gesänge aus der Verbannung* (ed. 1837), pp. 42–3: "Meinen Jammer kanntest du, Fremdling; / Mein Trost blieb dir verborgen!"

210 Ibid., p. vii: "ein Bewußtsein des Trostes im Gefühle einer hehren Bestimmung, die tagtäglich der Vollendung mehr entgegenrückt, so weit auch und so unabsehlich die Strecke sein mag, die bis zum Ziele noch übrig ist."

211 See Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, p. 398.

212 See Steinheim, *Gesänge aus der Verbannung* (ed. 1837), p. 30.

213 See ibid., p. 2: "Thus by and by a light will rise upon the whole inhabited world whose splendour and glory by far surpasses all the wisdom of their philosophers and all the depth of their mysteries. [So wird über die ganze bewohnte Erde nach und nach ein Licht aufgehen, das alle Weisheit ihrer Philosophen, und alle Tiefe ihrer Mysterien weit übertrifft an Glanz und Herrlichkeit.]"

and redemption not yet come, the mission not yet accomplished: "For the Lord should begin, and not fulfil?—"[214]

The processual and teleological nature of the mission suggested here is articulated also by Obadiah in the frame narrative with the metaphor of a river: "The river that has its source [in the Land of the Forefathers] flows westward, increasing, fed by new sources and tributaries. Our people will wander in servant's guise, will scatter and be a pilgrim here below, once to become a citizen there."[215] The image is particularly intriguing because it admits only one direction, away from the Land of the Forefathers. Its perpetual westward course indicates in a political sense ultimately the New World as its telos. The duality between origin and telos in Obadiah's metaphor infuses also the *Gesänge* as a whole, most obviously perhaps, and clearly programmatic, in "Die Doppelquelle" (The Double Spring), the first poem of the First Day, in which the singer sheds tears,

> When in the East the light appears,
> From the Land of the Forefathers;
>
> And when it descends in the West
> Towards the Land of Freedom.[216]

Yet while the former tears are "mild [lind]," the product of wistful remembrances rather than indelible agony, the latter are "painful [schmerzlich]," expression of a fierce and as yet unfulfilled yearning.[217] As Horch observes, Steinheim's objective is not the return to the Land of the Forefathers but the creation of a new bourgeois identity that at the same time allows the conservation of the spiritual substance of Judaism.[218]

That Steinheim identified the beginnings of the Jewish mission already in the time immediately following the return from the Babylonian Exile is significant in relation to the thematic choice of the destruction of the First Temple for Hiller's

214 See ibid., p. 3: "Until the office of priesthood is not fulfilled and the word of life has been proclaimed to all the nations of the earth, in short, until the promised day has not yet dawned the priest cannot be relieved of his office. For the Lord should begin, and not fulfil?—[Bevor das Amt der Priesterschaft nicht erfüllt, und das Wort des Lebens allen Völkern der Erde verkündet worden, kurz, bevor der verheißene Tag nicht angebrochen ist, kann der Priester auch nicht seines Amtes enthoben werden. Denn Gott begänne und vollendete nicht?—]"

215 Ibid., p. 2: "Der Strom, der dort [im Lande der Väter] seine Quelle hat, ziehet westwärts, wachsend, von neuen Quellen und Bächen genährt. Unser Volk wird wandern in Knechtesgestalt, sich zerstreuen, und ein Pilgrim sein hienieden, um dort einst Bürger zu werden."

216 Ibid., p. 8: "Erscheint im Osten das Licht, / Von dem Lande der Väter; // Und wenn's gen Westen sich neigt / Nach dem Lande der Freiheit."

217 Ibid.

218 See Horch, "Sendung des Doktor Gad," pp. 164–5.

oratorio.[219] Without explicitly referring to Christianity, which nevertheless is clearly meant, Obadiah envisages that during the progress of the Jewish mission revelation, safely contained in its pure form only in Judaism, will become adulterated with pagan elements. Yet this will be only a transitory phenomenon that will facilitate the transition from polytheism to monotheism and will be superseded by the eventual fulfilment of the Jewish mission.[220] A similar suggestion of the intermediate nature of Christianity was offered ten years later by Ludwig Philippson in his lectures on the "religious idea," discussed in more detail in chapter V in relation to another engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem by the German Jewish poet Julius Kossarski.

Though Steinheim's *Gesänge* may have appealed to Hiller, his expectations of the author's proficiency as a librettist were nevertheless disappointed. To Hiller, Steinheim seemed completely oblivious to the musical requirements of a libretto. In his letter to Mendelssohn the composer complained that in the author's first draft, the speeches of Jeremiah covered several pages while the text included hardly any choral passages. Acting quickly, in order to avoid that their collaboration should stall, Hiller sketched out "almost the whole oratorio number by number" to Steinheim.[221] Toward Mendelssohn, he acknowledged the librettist's tractability, yet emphasized his continuing failure to produce a usable text. In the end, the composer—traveling in Italy and tired of the delay of written communication—took matters in his own hands. Having completed his revisions, he sent the finished product to Steinheim whom he moreover asked for some additional

219 See Steinheim, *Gesänge aus der Verbannung* (ed. 1837), p. 45: "In these days its proper vocation commences, to be a teacher to the nations and to carry the doctrine of the free spirit across the inhabited world by its living example and to establish it all around. [Mit diesen Tagen hebt sein eigentlicher Beruf an, ein Lehrer der Völker zu seyn und die Lehre des freien Geistes rund um die bewohnte Erde durch sein lebendiges Beispiel zu tragen und sie ringsum zu begründen.]" For a discussion of Steinheim's notion of a Jewish mission in the context of his *Gesänge aus der Verbannung*, see Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, p. 399.

220 Steinheim, *Gesänge aus der Verbannung* (ed. 1837), p. 46: "Initially, in this fusion may originate a doctrine which shall serve and extend for some time as a transition from polytheism to the adoration of the One [God] who has chosen us for His own, until our mission shall be fulfilled. [Es mag fürs erste aus dieser Vermischung eine Lehre entstehen, die als Uebergang aus der Vielgötterei zur Verehrung des Einigen einige Zeit dienen und bestehen soll. Wir indessen lehren laut und zeugen für Den, der uns zu seinem Eigenthume ersehen hat, bis unsere Sendung vollbracht ist.]"

221 "[Ich skizzierte] beinahe das ganze Oratorium Nummer für Nummer," Hiller to Mendelssohn on August 16, 1839, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 36 (X, 19–20); see Loos, "Mendelssohn und Hiller," p. 496.

passages. To this, whether the author was annoyed or indignant, as Hiller speculated, he received no answer prior to the letters mentioned above.[222]

More specifically, Hiller's letter to Mendelssohn indicates that the composer wrestled in particular with the characterization of Jeremiah. Though not immediately linked to his criticism of Steinheim, Hiller's problem nevertheless seems to originate in the textual conception of the prophet. He writes:

> With regard to the first appearance of Jeremiah, this is something about which one should consult a decent theologian. It seems to me that Jer[emiah] as a calm High Priest is completely out of character. The people had reverted entirely to idolatry—he preached, shouted, wept, and prophesied the fall of the city *to which* he is *called* already in the first *chapter*. I believe that the prophecy has to come at the very beginning—in how far the expression of his despair should be separated from this and added later I would find it very difficult to decide at this very moment.[223]

The notion of consulting a theologian, albeit testament to Hiller's creditable tenacity and seriousness, is puzzling. After all, Steinheim, though not ordained, had distinguished himself with the treatise on revelation he recommended to Hiller's attention. Whether the composer actually took the trouble to read Steinheim's *Die Offenbarung nach dem Lehrbegriffe der Synagoge* is not known, in any case he seems not to have been satisfied with the other's approach to his Jeremiah and to have favored a more dramatic conception of the prophet.

Another example of Hiller's intervention in the text is the concluding chorus of the oratorio's first part. To Mendelssohn he emphasized:

> With regard to the final chorus of the 1st part I so much share your feeling that *I* inserted the words of the fugue "for Thou art the strength of the righteous" etc so as to give in this way to the prayer for the proph[et] a more general religious character.[224]

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222 See Hiller to Mendelssohn on August 16, 1839, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 36 (X, 19–20); see Loos, "Mendelssohn und Hiller," p. 496.

223 "Was nun das erste Auftreten des Jeremiah betrifft, so ist das eine Sache worüber man beinahe einen wackern Theologen befragen sollte. Mir scheint Jer. als ruhiger Hohepriester fällt ganz aus seinem Charakter. Das Volk war gänzlich dem Götzendienst anheim gefallen—er predigte, schrie, weinte und prophezeite den Untergang der Stadt *wozu* er schon im ersten *Kapitel berufen* wird. Ich glaube die Prophezeiung muß gleich Anfangs kommen—inwiefern der Ausdruck seiner Verzweiflung von dieser zu trennen und später anzubringen ist, würde mir schwer fallen in diesem Augenblicke zu entscheiden." Hiller to Mendelssohn on August 16, 1839, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 36 (X, 19–20); see Loos, "Mendelssohn und Hiller," p. 497.

224 "In Beziehung auf den Schlußchor des 1n Theils theile ich so sehr Dein Gefühl daß *ich* die Worte der Fuge "denn Du bist der Gerechten Stärke" etc eingeschaltet habe um so dem Gebet für den Proph. einen mehr allgemein religiösen Charakter zu geben." Hiller to Mendelssohn

Hiller's words did not make it into the final version. Their replacement further shifts the perspective. Not the Lord is apostrophized any longer, but the emphasis is on the personal bond between the individual and the divinity. And yet, by individualizing, it nevertheless compellingly conveys the more "general religious character" the composer sought to impart: "The Lord shall be thy strength and shield, the Highest thy refuge."[225]

Of course, Hiller's letter documents an intermediary stage in the composition of the oratorio. Not much later, he was to leave Italy because of the quickly deteriorating health of his mother, who died in September 1839. Hiller then followed Mendelssohn's invitation to Leipzig and there, in constant conversation with his friend, concluded the work on his oratorio in the spring of the following year.

Hiller emphasizes that Mendelssohn demonstrated during this creative period "the warmest interest" in the oratorio and took a hand also at revising the libretto even further:

> In the putting together of the words there was a great deal with which we were neither of us satisfied. One day he took the *libretto* home with him, and surprised me in the kindest way on Christmas Eve with a fresh and complete copy of it. I need not explain how useful his severe critical remarks were to my composition.[226]

From an artistic perspective, the alterations in all likelihood were conducive and offered to the composer everything he needed "to paint with tones," as the reviewer for *Didaskalia* enthused.[227] To Steinheim they were clearly inacceptable and, referring to the author's disclaimer, another critic censured the finalized libretto as incoherent and condemned it as "a weak concoction."[228]

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on August 16, 1839, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 36 (X, 19–20); see Loos, "Mendelssohn und Hiller," p. 498.

225 Hiller, *Zerstörung Jerusalems* [piano reduction], no. 26. See also Steinheim, *Zerstörung*, p. 9: "Der Herr ist Deine Zuversicht, der Höchste Deine Zuflucht."

226 Ferdinand Hiller, *Mendelssohn: Letters and Recollections*, transl. M. E. von Glehn, 2nd edn (London: Macmillan, 1874), pp. 166–7; see also Ferdinand Hiller, *Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy: Briefe und Erinnerungen* (Cologne: DuMont-Schauberg, 1874), p. 147: "er nahm den wärmsten Antheil daran [. . .]. Auch in der Zusammensetzung des Textes war sowohl ihm als auch mir selbst Vieles noch nicht recht. Er nahm das Buch mit nach Hause und überraschte mich aufs freundlichste am Weihnachtsabend mit einer sehr saubern vollständigen Reinschrift desselben. Von welchem Nutzen mir seine strengen kritischen Bemerkungen für meine Composition waren, brauche ich nicht auseinander zu setzen."

227 See W., "Zerstörung von Jerusalem," n. p.: "um mit Tönen zu malen."

228 B., "Hiller's Oratorium: Zerstörung Jerusalems," *Bohemia* 15.37 (March 26, 1842): n. p.: "ein schwaches Machwerk."

The collaboration of composer and philosopher may not have been as productive as either may have hoped, yet Steinheim was not only an original thinker and champion of Jewish emancipation but an oratorio enthusiast who loved in particular the works of Händel, who tried his hand at composing, and who hosted a *salon* and musical *soirées* in his house in Altona in which he participated actively alongside amateur and professional musicians.[229] Clearly, for a while at least, the two men enjoyed a good understanding. They may in fact have met in Heidelberg on the very day before Steinheim sent the first instalment of his libretto from there to the composer on August 7: On occasion of the author's birthday, Hiller set to music one of the additional poems in Steinheim's *Gesänge*, "Der letzte Exulant vom Geschlechte Jedithuns" (The Last Exile of the Line of Jedithun); the autograph is dated in Heidelberg on August 6, 1837.[230]

Music was considered by Steinheim the highest of all art forms, which may explain his eagerness to collaborate on the oratorio venture. In an unpublished essay on "Kunst im Dienste der Religion" (1849; Art in the Service of Religion), he described sculpture as the lowest, most sensual art form, which he associated with the tactile sense and with paganism. Painting, allied to the visual sense, Steinheim deemed an intermediate art form, not yet fully free of the material world, and assigned it to (Catholic) Christianity. The arts appealing to the acoustic sense, music and rhetoric, were acclaimed by the philosopher as the least sensual:

> [We recognize] as the third and spiritually highest level, with the for our earthly condition irremissible minimal share of sensual presence, *musical art and rhetoric*, that elevate the human mind as closely as possible to that spiritual realm to whose citizenship we are most solemnly called through our share in the divine power of free will and poetic creative power and to which we are invited by the supreme authority, by the Lord Himself.[231]

229 See Peter Gradenwitz, "Steinheim als musischer Gesellschafter," in Schoeps et al. (eds),"*Philo des 19. Jahrhunderts*," pp. 209–15, pp. 212–13.

230 For the autograph score of Hiller's composition, dated August 6, 1837 in Heidelberg, see Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. autogr. Hiller, F. 5 N (3). See also Steinheim, *Gesänge aus der Verbannung* (ed. 1837), pp. 82–3.

231 Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, "Die Kunst im Dienste der Religion," Jewish National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, ARC. Ms. Var. 399 03 52. See also Horch, "Sendung des Doktor Gad," pp. 167–8 and, for the quotation, p. 168: "[Wir erkennen] als dritte und geistig höchste Stufe, mit dem für unsern irdischen Zustand unerläßlichen geringsten Antheil sinnlichen Auftretens, die *Ton- und Redekunst*, die den menschlichen Geist in die nächste Nähe jenes Geisterreiches emporhebt, zu dessen Bürgerschaft wir durch den Antheil an göttlicher Kraft der Willensfreiheit und dichterischen Schöpfungsvermögens feierlichst berufen und von der höchsten Instanz, von Gott selber, eingeladen sind." See also Aharon Shear-Yashuv, "Steinheims Beziehung zur jüdischen Tradition," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 41.1 (1994): 1–14, 13.

Chronologically closer to his collaboration with Hiller, Steinheim had repudiated Ludwig Wihl's disparagement of the "all-too-great fondness" of music of the age with an essay on "Vom Werthe der Musik" (1839; About the Value of Music).[232] He extolled music as the "truly creative art" because it was not mimetic.[233] On the basis of Neo-Pythagorean ideas and in the romantic tradition, he considered music an expression of religious feeling that—as *musica sacra*—was in fact close to theology.[234] In this essay, Steinheim already laid the foundations of the hierarchy of the arts he was to elaborate in his unpublished article: he emphatically rejected Wihl's claim that music was literally thoughtless and therefore the most material of the arts. As in his later essay, he associated sculpture, painting, and music with the respective media through which they find articulation, and with the senses through which they are perceived; their interrelation he illustrated with the help of geometrical analogies: cube (sculpture), square (painting), and line (music).[235]

Hiller, it seems, was a little more down-to-earth. His interest certainly was in the subject but also in the drama it promised to his oratorio. Prior to a performance of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* at the Gürzenich in Cologne in 1850 where Hiller had been appointed musical director earlier in the same year, Ludwig Bischoff published an appreciation of the oratorio in the *Kölnische Zeitung* that was republished in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*. Bischoff emphasized that, in contrast to the tradition established in the wake of Händel's *Samson* (1741/1743; HWV57), in Hiller's oratorio it was not the reflexive-theological element that came to the fore but the historical-tragical element.[236] By alternating analytical with descriptive passages, Bischoff re-created the oratorio's dramatic and implicitly scenic dimensions.[237] In fact, the only criticism Bischoff offered of Hiller's

232 See Ludwig Wihl, "Über die allzugroße Vorliebe unserer Zeit für die Musik," *Telegraph für Deutschland* 5.120 (1839): 953–6 and Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, "Vom Werthe der Musik," *Telegraph für Deutschland* 5.151 (1839): 1205–8; 5.152 (1839): 1215–16; 5.153 (1839): 1220–4; 5.154 (1839): 1229–31.

233 Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, "Vom Werthe der Musik," *Telegraph für Deutschland* 5.152 (1839): 1215–16, 1216: "Musik ist die wahrhaft schaffende Kunst!" See also Horch, "Sendung des Doktor Gad," p. 168.

234 See ibid.

235 See Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, "Vom Werthe der Musik," *Telegraph für Deutschland* 5.153 (1839): 1220–4, 1222–3.

236 See Ludwig Bischoff, "Die Zerstörung Jerusalems, Oratorium, verfaßt von Steinheim, komponirt von Hiller," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 14.17 (April 22, 1850): 234–6, 234.

237 See, e.g., ibid., 234–6. Ullrich Scheideler similarly notes that it is the function of the choruses in Hiller's oratorio to substitute for the stage and scenery and, occasionally, to narrate and comment on the plot, see "Hiller, Ferdinand," p. 341.

composition relates to the numbers 16 to 19 because he felt that they impeded the development of the plot whose "rapid progress otherwise is precisely one of the virtues of this oratorio."[238]

Hiller's change of title, indignantly noted by Steinheim in spring 1840,[239] is intriguing in this context. In effect, it entails a contextual reconfiguration of the whole of the completed, or almost completed, oratorio as well as a shift in its potential of signification. Why Hiller chose to alter the title is not known. While there may have been perfectly innocuous reasons for him to do so, some conjectures may nevertheless be allowed.

Most importantly, I would like to return to Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, which I suggest to have influenced the composer's decision. It is inconceivable that the artistically minded Hiller should not have been aware of the celebrated painter's project, at the very latest after his return from Italy in the autumn of 1839, if not before. It is then not entirely unlikely that his choice may reflect a deliberate decision to capitalize on the painting's increasing visibility in public discourse. Such a cynical explanation aside, I would moreover argue that with the new ambiguous title, which may refer to both, or either, of the destructions of Jerusalem, the composer sought to offer his oratorio with its previously elaborated affirmative objective as a corrective to the artist's antisemitic conception. The painting's Ahasuerus, condemned to eternal punishment and despair and explicitly conceived as paradigmatic of the Jews even into the future, is confronted with Jeremiah's vision of triumphant resurgence in the face of destruction and with the promise of the Jewish mission. The oratorio's new title, precisely because it associated both destructions of Jerusalem, was also more likely to encompass the future trajectory of this mission as it had been elaborated by Steinheim in his *Offenbarung*.

Whether the "Maccabean enthusiasm" initially invoked by Steinheim, and of which Hiller's change of title arguably is also a product, bore fruit is doubtful. While it has recently been argued that Hiller's oratorio, in particular the composer's emphasis on choral passages and the hope for the future it articulates, influenced Giuseppe Verdi's politically charged and thematically related opera *Nabucco* (1842),[240] none of the numerous reviews of performances of Hiller's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* for the next three decades I was able to consult specifically emphasizes its Jewish context beyond its provenance in the Old Testament or sug-

238 Bischoff, "Zerstörung Jerusalems, Oratorium," 235: "[S]o unterbrechen sie doch die Handlung zu lange, deren rascher Fortschritt sonst gerade einen Vorzug dieses Oratoriums bildet."

239 See Steinheim, "Erklärung," 116.

240 See Klaus Ley, *Latentes Agitieren: "Nabucco," 1816–1842: Zu Giuseppe Verdis früher Erfolgsoper, ihren Prätexten, ihrem Modellcharakter* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2010), pp. 90–2, 97.

gests that its emancipatory potential had indeed been recognized. With its instant leap into the mainstream, any such reading of the oratorio seems to have been eclipsed. The only exception appears to have been Philippson's review of the oratorio's performance in Bonn in 1862 in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* in which the critic acknowledged its affirmative intervention in the emancipation debate. However, by that time the composer too had been baptized and Philippson at the same time sombrely insinuates a sense of betrayal and guilt by reiterating the very words sung by Hannah in the first part of the oratorio:

> When Hiller composed this oratorio, he was a Jew. What must have been the emotions with which he now listened to the words of the first recitativo of "Hannah": "how many are fallen backward from the ways of the Fathers!"[241]

Singing Back in the German Idiom

The popularity of the genre of the oratorio, which was widely adopted by the proliferating amateur choral societies of the nineteenth century,[242] as well as its prominent textual component and its participation in a discourse of cultural nationalism[243] made it a potentially auspicious arena for the productive engagement with issues of contemporary social and cultural significance. The acceptability of Jewish subject matter, if of pre-Christian provenance, made it more specifically also a medium through which the emancipation question might be addressed.[244] The inherently historical perspective and the "widespread attraction to exotic subjects"[245] in the oratorio even beyond the turn of the century moreover encouraged constructions of the Jewish other which potentially had a significant bearing also on the perception, and the representation, of Jews in contemporary Germany.

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241 Anonymous, [Untitled], *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 27.2 (January 6, 1863): 19: "Als Hiller dieses Oratorium componirte war er Jude. Mit welchem Gefühle muß er aber jetzt die Worte in den [*sic*] ersten Recitativ der 'Hanna' anhören: 'Wie viele sind abgefallen von der Lehre der Väter!'"

242 See Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, IV, 85.

243 See ibid., IV, 10 and, for the wider context of socio-political meanings and functions of music in nineteenth-century Germany, Garratt, *Music, Culture and Social Reform*.

244 Although, as observed by Eichner, Arnold Schering suggested in his *Geschichte des Oratoriums* (1911; *History of the Oratorio*) that "this was caused by weariness of the biblical topics (hinting at an anti-Jewish prejudice against the Old Testament), by the exuberant spirit of the young German Empire and by the general historicist tendencies of the age," Eichner, *History in Mighty Sounds*, p. 165.

245 Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, IV, 199.

Hiller's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* premiered with a good measure of success in Leipzig and continued to be performed in Germany and abroad.[246] Robert Schumann, for instance, praised in his review of the first performance its strong tone color, the seriousness and firmness of its style as well as its delightful, picturesque, and fantastic character.[247] He also specifically asserted the undiminished German vigor of the composer after his recent sojourn in Italy,[248] which had resulted in the staging of his Italianate opera *La Romilda* (1839) at the Scala in Milan.[249] Hiller's favorable representation of the Jews and his implicit interven-

246 Martin Blumner mentions four performances at the Berlin *Sing-Akademie* in 1844, 1846, 1848–49, and 1866, see *Geschichte der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin: Eine Festgabe zur Säkularfeier am 24. Mai 1891* (Berlin: Horn and Raasch, 1891), pp. 125–6. Other performances occurred, e.g., in Amsterdam (1840), Frankfurt (1840), Leipzig (1840), Prague (1842), Leipzig (1844), Altona (1845), Braunschweig (1845), Florence (1845; in Italian), Kassel (1845), Riga (1845), Hamburg (1846), Riga (1846), Danzig (present-day Gdansk in Poland; 1847), Dresden (1847; excerpts in August; full work in November), s'Gravenhage (1847; second part), Cologne (1850), Barmen (1853), Amsterdam (1855), Düsseldorf (1855; excerpts), Bremen (1856; repeated), Krefeld (1856; full work and excerpts for *Stiftungs-Fest*), Cologne (1857; excerpts), Rotterdam (1857), Osnabrück (1860; excerpts), Amsterdam (1861), Bielefeld (1861), Laybach (present-day Ljubljana in Slovenia; 1861; repeated), Middelburg (1861; music festival), Ratisbon (1861), Stettin (present-day Szczecin in Poland; 1861; excerpts), Bonn (1862), Munich (1862), Breslau (1863), Düsseldorf (1863; excerpts), Aachen (1864), Breslau (1864), Cologne (1864), Heiligenstadt (1864), Bielefeld (1865), Frankfurt (1866), Lübeck (1866), Utrecht (1866), Arnhem (1867; excerpts), Berlin (1867; excerpts), and Hamburg (1868).

247 See Robert Schumann, "'Die Zerstörung Jerusalems.' Oratorium von Ferdinand Hiller. 1ste Aufführung in Leipzig" [1840], in *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker* (Leipzig: Wigand, 1854), III, 214–15: "Am meisten erfreut uns daran das kräftige Colorit, der Ernst und die Festigkeit des Styls, im einzelnen das Reizvolle, Malerische und Phantastische."

248 Adolphe Nourrit challenged in an exchange of letters with Hiller the German preponderance in the composer's oratorio, see Nourrit to Hiller on July 6, 1838, in "Briefe von Adolphe Nourrit an Ferdinand Hiller. II," 299: "Just continue to work briskly on your oratorio, which may benefit from being written in Italy; how beautiful shall a serious German thought look in a seductive Italian guise! [Arbeiten Sie denn nur rüstig an Ihrem Oratorium fort, das dadurch gewinnen kann, dass es in Italien geschrieben wird; wie schön wird ein ernster deutscher Gedanke in verführerischer italiänischer Form sich ausnehmen!]" Yet see also a later letter of Nourrit to Hiller of January 24, 1839, in which the tenor stylizes Germany as both their Promised Land, in "Briefe von Adolphe Nourrit an Ferdinand Hiller. III," *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung* 8.39 (1860): 305–8, 307: "Neither you, nor I, can ever be completely happy in this land [i.e., Italy], feel entirely welcome; we, both of us, shall see the Promised Land [i.e., Germany] again and the question can only be for how long we shall endure the exile in order to turn our present discomfort into an advantage for our future. [Weder Sie noch ich können jemals in diesem Lande vollkommen glücklich sein, uns vollkommen wohl fühlen; wir werden beide das gelobte Land wiedersehen, und es kann für uns nur davon die Rede sein, wie lange wir noch die Verbannung ertragen, um aus unserer gegenwärtigen Unbehaglichkeit Vortheil für unsere Zukunft zu ziehen.]"

249 Schumann, "'Die Zerstörung Jerusalems'," p. 214. See also Robert Schumann, "Neue Oratorien. Ferdinand Hiller, die Zerstörung Jerusalems. Oratorium nach der heiligen Schrift von Dr.

tion in the emancipation debate certainly seem not to have been detrimental to the esteem enjoyed by the composer in Germany.[250]

In context with Loewe's earlier oratorio, the collaboration between Hiller and Steinheim may nevertheless be considered—in the parlance of postcolonial theory—a form of writing and, indeed, of singing back. Making use of a genre which was deemed to be specifically German,[251] poet and composer reclaim Jewish history and reinsert the Jewish particular into universal history of which it had been written out subsequent to its Christian appropriation. Hiller's oratorio, as Schumann perceptively observes, accordingly does not include any chorales; these are, after all, a specifically Christian form—and, as Wagner insisted, even specifically German.[252] At the same time, as emphasized in its title and acknowledged by Schumann,[253] the libretto attributed to Steinheim was based on the Bible and thus reasserted scriptural authority over the textual liberties taken by Nicolai and others. In his review of the published music, Schumann moreover once again emphasized that *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* was a thoroughly German work.[254] This attempt to align the composer with the models of the German tradition is a useful reminder that Hiller's oratorio does not set Jewish against German but took issue with Christian hegemony. Indeed, while not too much should be made of Hiller's assimilated Jewishness, it nevertheless would seem that his oratorio is a direct repudiation also of the theological import of Kaulbach's visual rendering of the destruction of Jerusalem. After all, in its own way, the painting too was an intervention in the emancipation debate, if a much more conservative one, as has been suggested by Karl Möseneder.[255] It promoted precisely the assimilative dissolution of Judaism into Christianity challenged by Hiller and Steinheim as well as Riesser.

Schumann's endorsement of Hiller's oratorio and his insistence on the German nature of his work must have been galling to Richard Wagner. In fact, he accused the late composer in the 1869 supplement to his essay on "Judenthum in der Musik" of having succumbed to the pernicious Jewish yoke and decried his

Steinheim" [1841], in *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker* (Leipzig: Wigand, 1854), III, 3–10, 7. Hiller's *La Romilda* was a failure in Milan, even though it was endorsed by Rossini.

250 See, e.g., the entry by Rudolf Bockholdt on Hiller in NDB (1972), IX, 152–3.

251 See Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, IV, 10.

252 See Schumann, "Neue Oratorien," p. 7: "Der *Choral*, als eine Idee des Christenthums ist mit Recht nicht angewandt."

253 See ibid.

254 See ibid.

255 Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 130–1.

alleged appropriation by the Jewish conspiracy that he suspected to have spread its tendrils across German culture:

> So he [i.e., Schumann] was unconsciously bereft of his noble freedom, and his old friends—disowned by him at last—are also now called upon to suffer seeing him carried off in triumph by the music-Jews as one of their own![256]

Hiller was also mentioned in passing by Wagner with implicit disdain in the same essay.[257] In his autobiography, after gloating over the failure of the Jewish composer's opera during his sojourn in Italy, Wagner was more forthcoming. While initially observing that Hiller "behaved in a particularly charming and agreeable manner during those days in Dresden,"[258] he asserts little later that he soon recognized the composer's "innate worthlessness."[259]

More specifically, Wagner subtly insinuates that, by allegedly adopting a Mendelssohnian style, Hiller's foray into the genre of the oratorio may have been a more or less successful ploy to establish himself as a German composer:

> On German soil he had tried the Mendelssohnian style and had actually brought into the world an oratorio called *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, which had the advantage of being ignored by the fickle public, thereby bringing its creator an indestructible reputation as a genuinely German composer.[260]

The suggestion is at the same time that the Jewish composer Mendelssohn had become synonymous with the oratorio, to Wagner's mind a specifically German genre, as we know from his earlier essay. His accusation of Hiller's appropriation of the oratorio in the style of his Jewish colleague thus situates both squarely

256 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 85; see Wagner, *Judenthum in der Musik*, p. 52: "So verlor er unbewußt seine edle Freiheit, und nun erleben es seine alten, von ihm endlich gar verleugneten Freunde, daß er als einer der ihrigen von den Musikjuden uns im Triumphe dahergeführt wird!"

257 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 56; see also Wagner, *Judenthum in der Musik*, p. 36.

258 Wagner, *My Life*, p. 294; see also Wagner, *Mein Leben*, I, 350: "Sehr hübsch und zutraulich nahm sich dagegen, namentlich um jene Zeit, in Dresden *Ferdinand Hiller* aus."

259 Wagner, *My Life*, p. 326; see also Wagner, *Mein Leben*, I, 388: "des von mir bald als durchaus nichtig erkannten *Hiller*'s." For Wagner's further attacks on the composer, especially in his review of Hiller's *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit* (1871), see Giselher Schubert, "Wagners Hiller-Polemik," in Ackermann et al. (eds), *Ferdinand Hiller*, pp. 501–11 and Jerold, "Vindication of Ferdinand Hiller."

260 Wagner, *My Life*, pp. 294–5; see also Wagner, *Mein Leben*, I, 351: "Auf deutschem Boden hatte er es nun auf '*Mendelssohn*isch' versucht, und wirklich ein Oratorium, 'die Zerstörung Jerusalems,' zu Stande gebracht, welches sich des Vortheils, von dem launenhaften Theaterpublikum nicht beachtet zu werden, erfreuen, und seinem Schöpfer den unverwüstlichen Ruf eines gediegenen deutschen Componisten eintragen durfte."

among those Jewish composers who allegedly pervert the German musical idiom and turn their uninspired larceny into illicit gain.

Hiller, as we have already seen, was to remain the only German Jewish composer to engage with Kaulbach's painting in an oratorio. The potentially subversive nature of his and Steinheim's response is therefore particularly intriguing, not least when seen in relation to the paradigm shift toward the stigmatization of supposedly racially "Jewish" derivative and imitative art initiated by Wagner. Paradoxically, it confirms the latter's anxieties, if in a very different sense, in that it reasserts the Jewish particular but deftly employs a range of mainstream musical idioms. A similarly subversive artistic response to Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* was produced some decades later by Bendemann, whose earlier experiences included the design of *tableaux vivants* for oratorios and, of course, his celebrated 'Jewish' paintings: *Gefangene Juden im Exil* (1832; Captive Jews in Exile; Figure 5) and *Jeremias auf den Trümmern Jerusalems* (1834–35; Jeremiah on the Ruins of Jerusalem; Figure 6),[261] the latter of which has been said to have given Kaulbach the inspiration for the cowering Jews in the center foreground of his *Zerstörung Jerusalems*.[262]

Both paintings originate in the artist's period in Düsseldorf, where he was a member of the Academy of the Arts. The circle of artists, musicians, and poets attracted by the Academy's director, Wilhelm von Schadow, included since 1829 also Friedrich von Uechtritz.[263] The erudite young magistrate's assistant and writer was well acquainted with Schadow from his time in Berlin and, in Düsseldorf, was invited to introduce the artistic community, with which he engaged critically, to literature and history.[264]

261 The original was lost in the Second World War, see Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 114. Perhaps the best-known of Bendemann's earlier 'Jewish' paintings was *Gefangene Juden im Exil* (1832; Captive Jews in Exile; also known as *Trauernde Juden im Exil*; figure 5). For the contemporary reception history of Bendemann's early 'Jewish' paintings, see Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, pp. 407–32, 440–51.

262 See Wolfgang Becker, "Jüdisches in der Bildkunst des 19. Jahrhunderts. Variationen zu Kaulbach's 'Zerstörung Jerusalems'," in *Judenhass—Schuld der Christen?! Versuch eines Gesprächs*, eds Willehad Paul Eckert and Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich (Essen: Driewer, 1964), pp. 257–78, p. 261; see also Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 114. At the same time, Bendemann's painting was one of several of the artist which were also considered by his contemporaries to be interventions in the emancipation debate, see 130. Kaulbach's reference to Bendemann's *Jeremias* may then also be seen as a re-interpretation of the figure.

263 See Peter Betthausen, *Künstlergemeinschaften der Romantik* (Berlin: Lukas, 2016), p. 86.

264 See Friedrich von Uechtritz, *Blicke in das Düsseldorfer Kunst- und Künstlerleben*, 2 vols (Düsseldorf: Schreiner, 1839), I, 66–7.

A moderately successful dramatist, Uechtritz worked during his early years in Düsseldorf on a dramatic poem about the destruction of the First Temple in Jerusalem. "It is a strange work to which I currently apply my quill," he wrote to his parents and siblings in December 1831; one, whose subject he considered to be "dramatically splendid," but which he assumed would remain barred from the stage, "because it touches the most profound mysteries of religion."[265] Uechtritz paradoxically described it as both "dogmatic" and yet "satisfying to all religious parties," as "mystical" but not "playful."[266] The writer explained:

> The Jewish and the Christian Messiah are the ideas of the piece which are wrestling with one another, engaging in the final struggle and yet simultaneously celebrating their reconciliation at the end of the piece, in the prophet Jeremiah who sits lamenting on the ruins of the Temple.[267]

While Uechtritz's interest in the subject appears to have preceded Bendemann's,[268] both were closely enough acquainted to suggest not only that they were aware of each other's efforts, but that they worked in conversation with one another.

Though it was not published before 1836 with the title *Die Babylonier in Jerusalem* (The Babylonians in Jerusalem),[269] Uechtritz had sent his dramatic poem already in autumn 1835 to Ludwig Tieck and the older writer's daughter Dorothea who informed her friend of her father's appreciation of the play. Yet she noted that he felt that he would need to re-read and carefully consider such a profound and original work before commenting on it.[270] While the older Tieck's letter

265 Friedrich von Uechtritz to his parents and siblings on December 8, 1831, in *Erinnerungen an Friedrich von Uechtritz und seine Zeit in Briefen von ihm und an ihn*, ed. Maria von Uechtritz (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1884), pp. 131–2: "Es ist ein wunderliches Werk, das ich unter der Feder habe. Ein dramatisch glänzender Stoff, der aber, weil er die tiefsten Geheimnisse der Religion berührt, vielleicht von der Bühne ausgeschlossen bleiben dürfte."

266 Ibid., p. 131: "strenggläubig und doch alle Religionspartheien (wovon ich schon Proben habe) so wie den Denker befriedigend, mystisch ohne spielend zu werden."

267 Ibid., pp. 131–2: "Der jüdische und der christliche Messias sind die mit einander ringenden Ideen des Stücks, den letzten Kampf kämpfen und zugleich ihre Versöhnung feiern sie am Schlusse des Stücks, in dem Propheten Jeremia, der klagend auf den Trümmern des Tempels sitzt."

268 Uechtritz noted that he was introduced to the subject already during his time in Berlin (1821–28) and that, by the time he approached it in his dramatic poem, he had thought about it for several years; see Uechtritz, *Eleazar*, pp. ix–xi.

269 Friedrich von Uechtritz, *Die Babylonier in Jerusalem: Dramatisches Gedicht* (Düsseldorf: Schreiner, 1836).

270 See Dorothea Tieck to Uechtritz on October 7, 1835, in Maria von Uechtritz (ed.), *Erinnerungen an Friedrich von Uechtritz*, pp. 196–8, pp. 196–7.

seems to have been lost or, given the hesitation expressed by his daughter, may in fact never have been written, Dorothea herself was not stinting in her praise of *Die Babylonier in Jerusalem*: "You have very well adopted the tone of the prophets," she enthused; "the ending really conveys the same impression as the lamentations of Jeremiah, which I have always loved so much; and yet again, the whole of your [dramatic poem], presents itself as so peculiar and has such a grand poetic power and beauty."[271]

It may have been the conciliatory trajectory of the dramatic poem emphasized by Uechtritz in the letter to his parents, of whose success he claimed to have received already some proof,[272] which may have been doubtful to Tieck. Bendemann, however, who had converted to Protestantism in 1832, may have felt reassured by the inclusive vision of Uechtritz's Jeremiah. Was his approval the "proof" the poet maintained to have obtained? Bendemann's hugely successful early painting *Gefangene Juden im Exil*, for instance, completed in the year of his conversion and at a time when the conception of Uechtritz's dramatic poem was already well defined, has been interpreted both as an intervention in the emancipation debate in favor of the "unhappy people"[273] and, more recently, as incorporating Christian symbolism: the vine winding around the willow tree sheltering the exiled Jews has been seen as a symbol of the Eucharist and the painting has even been read as a plea for conversion.[274]

Bendemann's Jeremiah, too, articulated, at least to Dorothea Tieck, a similar, but more painful ambivalence, which is clearly reminiscent of Uechtritz's conception. Yet, strangely, when she wrote effusively to the poet about the sublime effect that Bendemann's painting of the prophet had on her, in 1836, Dorothea did not at all mention her friend's dramatic poem on the same subject:

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271 See ibid., p. 197: "Sie haben sich recht in den Ton der Propheten hineingelesen, der Schluß macht wirklich ganz den Eindruck wie die Klagelieder Jeremiä, die ich immer so sehr geliebt habe, und doch steht das Ganze wieder so eigenthümlich da und hat für sich eine so große poetische Kraft und Schönheit."

272 See Uechtritz to his parents and siblings on December 8, 1831, in Maria von Uechtritz (ed.), *Erinnerungen an Friedrich von Uechtritz*, p. 131.

273 Hermann Püttmann, *Die Düsseldorfer Malerschule und ihre Leistungen seit der Errichtung des Kunstvereins im Jahre 1829: Ein Beitrag zur modernen Kunstgeschichte* (Leipzig: Wigand, 1839), p. 44: "des unglücklichen Volkes."

274 See Cordula Grewe, "Christliche Allegorie und jüdische Identität in Eduard Bendemanns 'Gefangene Juden in Babylon'," in *"An den Wassern Babylons saßen wir." Figurationen der Sehnsucht in der Malerei der Romantik: Ferdinand Olivier und Eduard Bendemann*, exhibition catalogue, Lübeck 2009, eds Alexander Bastek and Michael Thimann (Petersberg: Imhof, 2009), pp. 41–56, pp. 48–55 and Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, pp. 410–12.

> And yet,—what will you say when I must confess to you that, according to my sensibilities, the Jeremiah infinitely surpasses [the other paintings of the Düsseldorf School with which it was exhibited], and that I cannot comprehend how this painting has not yet been talked about much more. Here, one completely forgets to reflect on how it has been painted, to admire the details. Its presence is like a mighty revelation. One imagines to see the whole history of the world in it, all the greatness that was and that perished, all the suffering that moves the soul, and yet, this feeling is so comforting, soothing, elevating. In the face of the prophet, we read the sorrow about the Chosen People that did not recognise its salvation and became a victim of its own blindness; indeed, the hope of the coming Saviour, whom this people failed to recognise, bringing ruin upon itself, and led Him from the gates of the rebuilt city to His death. Yet why do I try to describe to you my emotions, my admiration, all the feelings which I had in front of this painting and which I hardly am able to explain to myself.[275]

Intriguingly, even as she notes the "comforting, soothing, and elevating" effect of the representation and its revelatory quality, Dorothea Tieck recognizes in Bendemann's unassuming painting precisely the world historical significance that Kaulbach forcefully sought to inscribe into his monumental conception of the destruction of the Second Temple, which he first conceptualized in the very same year, 1836.

The Synesthetic Potential of the Oratorio

By 1840, when Hiller's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* premiered in Leipzig, Kaulbach's eponymous painting had already received much public attention.[276] Indeed the ambitious composition, purchased for the enormous sum of 35,000 gulden by

275 Dorothea Tieck to Uechtritz on December 27, 1836, in Maria von Uechtritz (ed.), *Erinnerungen an Friedrich von Uechtritz*, pp. 203–6, pp. 204–5: "Und doch,—was werden Sie sagen, wenn ich Ihnen gestehen muß, daß mir für mein Gefühl der Jeremias noch unendlich viel höher steht, und daß ich nicht begreifen kann, wie man nicht von diesem Bilde schon viel mehr hat sprechen hören. Hier vergißt man ganz darüber nachzudenken, wie es gemalt ist, die Einzelnheiten zu bewundern. Wie eine mächtige Offenbarung steht es da. Man glaubt die ganze Weltgeschichte zu erblicken, alles Große, was war und untergegangen ist, alle Schmerzen, die die Seele bewegen, und doch ist dies Gefühl so wohlthuend, beruhigend, erhebend. In dem Angesicht des Propheten lesen wir die Trauer über das erwählte Volk, das sein Heil nicht erkannte, und ein Opfer der eignen Verblendung fiel; ja, die Hoffnung auf den kommenden Erlöser, den dies Volk zu seinem eignen Verderben nicht erkennt und aus den Thoren der wieder erbauten Stadt zum Tode führt. Doch warum versuche ich, Ihnen meine Rührung, meine Bewundrung, alle die Empfindungen zu schildern, die ich vor diesem Bilde hatte, und die ich mir selbst kaum klar zu machen weiß." The 'lesser' paintings explicitly referenced by Tieck are *Die Hussitenpredigt* (1836; The Hussite Sermon) by Carl Friedrich Lessing (1808–80); oil on canvas; 223 cm × 293 cm; Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin and *Heinrich IV. in Canossa* (1836) by Carl Joseph Begas (1794–1854); formerly Burg Rheineck; lost.

276 For an excellent overview, see Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 103–46.

King Ludwig I of Bavaria,[277] had been popularized long before it was completed in 1846 and finally exhibited as the center piece of the Neue Pinakothek in Munich when this was opened in 1853. The artist—since 1837 the court painter of Ludwig I—had exhibited the initial cartoon for his monumental painting first in 1838 at his studio in Munich. A detailed description and appreciation was published in April of the same year in the *Außerordentliche Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* and was closely followed by similar reports in various other publications, among them Marggraff's, as well as advertisements for visits to the artist's studio.[278]

Based on his earlier explanations to Angelina von Radziwill, who originally commissioned the painting in 1836 before reneging on the understanding with the painter,[279] Kaulbach himself, as mentioned before, published a short explicatory pamphlet in 1840.[280] A copy of the cartoon was, moreover, publicly exhibited in the same year at the *Kunstverein* in Berlin.[281] Carl Waagen, the Prussian king's agent in artistic matters, commissioned the Swiss engraver Heinrich Merz to execute a large-scale etching of the Munich cartoon, authorized by the artist, and finally issued to subscribers in 1852;[282] two engravings, based on the Berlin cartoon, were made by Gustav Eilers and Friedrich Eduard Eichens in 1869 and 1870, respectively.[283] Continuing to polarize the critics well beyond Kaulbach's death in 1874, the composition had furthermore prompted an extended and controversial

277 See ibid., 103.

278 Another detailed description which clearly conveys the painter's intention was published in the same year in *Kunst-Blatt* 63 (August 7, 1838): 249–50. For an advertisement to visit the artist's studio, see, e.g., *Fränkischer Merkur* 99 (April 9, 1838): 812: "At Tattenbachstraße by the Löckel the sketch to a magnificent painting, the Destruction of Jerusalem by Herr Kaulbach, is now on view; the painting is 20 feet long and 18 feet wide and is being created at the supreme command of His Majesty the King. [In der Tattenbachstraße am Löckel, ist jetzt die Skizze zu einem großartigen Gemälde, die Zerstörung von Jerusalem von Herrn Kaulbach, welches 20 Schuh lang und 18 Schuh breit ist, und aus allerhöchstem Auftrag Seiner Majestät des Königs gefertigt wird, ausgestellt.]" In 1838 Rudolf Marggraff published in *Münchner Jahrbücher für bildende Kunst* an essay on Kaulbach's painting which included also a lithograph of the central group of the High Priest.

279 For a detailed account, see Hans Müller, *Wilhelm Kaulbach* 2 vols (Berlin: Fontane, 1893), I, 384–90.

280 Hans Christian Andersen noted in his diary that he was presented by the painter with the pamphlet when he visited his studio in November 1840, see *Tagebücher 1825–1875*, pp. 147–8.

281 See Menke-Schwinghammer, *Weltgeschichte als "Nationalepos,"* p. 40.

282 See Hyacinth Holland, "Merz, Heinrich," in ADB (1885), XXI, 482–3.

283 Eichens' engraving is included in the final instalment (1871) of *Wilhelm von Kaulbach's Wandgemælde im Treppenhause des Neuen Museums zu Berlin.* Mit Genehmigung der General-Direction der Kœniglichen Museen, ed. Alexander Duncker (Berlin: Duncker, 1853–71); Eiler's in *Wilhelm von Kaulbach's Wandgemälde im Treppenhause des Neuen Museum zu Berlin: In Kupfer gestochen von G. Eilers, H. Merz, J. L. Raab, A. Schultheiss.* Mit erläuterndem Text herausgegeben unter den Auspicien des Meisters, ed. Alexander Duncker (Berlin: Duncker, 1872), fol. 3. For the

debate in art historical and aesthetic-philosophical circles, ever since details of its conception had first emerged.[284]

The wide-spread interest in Kaulbach's painting which had two kings vie for its acquisition—Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia eventually had to settle for a fresco version of the composition (1851) as part of the history cycle he commissioned for the stairwell of the Neues Museum in Berlin[285]—would suggest that Hiller and Steinheim must have been well aware of it. The Christian symbolism of the painting was certainly widely disseminated. The anonymous contributor to the *Außerordentliche Beilage*, for instance, explained: "for with the fall of the capital of the Jews was dissolved historically and for all the world to see the covenant, the covenant of Abraham, just as the new covenant had previously already commenced spiritually with the grace of salvation."[286] Even if not necessarily familiar with the visual aspect of the composition, it is more than likely that Hiller and Steinheim would at least have encountered this or similar descriptions of the painting. If so, the renewed supersessionist "provocation," no less than the earlier claims already made by Loewe's oratorio, may have prompted and informed their musical dissent.

At the same time, Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* may itself have been inspired to some extent by Loewe and Nicolai's earlier collaboration.[287] The withdrawing Christians, for instance, appear to be derived from the oratorio. They are mentioned by Eusebius, but Kaulbach neglects to acknowledge the ancient ecclesiastical historian as a source. More importantly, the earlier work anticipates not only the theological trajectory of his painting, secularized as it was; but the artist was, moreover, also interested in the synesthetic potential of the oratorio as a

different prints as reproductions of the Munich and Berlin cartoons, respectively, see Menke-Schwinghammer, *Weltgeschichte als "Nationalepos,"* p. 41.

284 See Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 133–9.

285 For a detailed discussion, see Menke-Schwinghammer, *Weltgeschichte als "Nationalepos."* Kaulbach's frescoes were destroyed during the Second World War.

286 Anonymous, "Kunstnachrichten," *Außerordentliche Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* 183/184 (April 6, 1838): 732–3, 732: "[D]enn mit dem Untergange der Hauptstadt der Juden zerriß historisch und für die äußere Welt der Bund, der Bund Abrahams, wie vordem geistig schon in der Gnade der Erlösung der neue eingetreten war."

287 According to Hans Müller, the subject was suggested to Kaulbach by Princess Angelina von Radziwill. The painting was in fact originally commissioned by her and it was only when she impatiently canceled the agreement that King Ludwig I stepped in, see Müller, *Kaulbach*, I, 386–91. Loewe was acquainted with the Radziwill family. His oratorio may have been known to the Princess but may nevertheless have influenced Kaulbach's conception also directly; the haunting spirit voices, for instance, may have informed his idea of the demons pursuing Ahasuerus, although they are of course also reminiscent of the Erinyes.

genre. Indeed, as his biographer Hans Müller reports, Kaulbach was not entirely satisfied with his effort and suggested that it should be accompanied by music so as to complete it and invest its figures with life.[288] With the biblical inscriptions in the frame and the visual representation of sensory effects—such as the blaring trombones and the singing Christians—the artist had already begun to explore "virtually" the synesthetic experience of combining all the "sister arts"[289] so highly valued by the nineteenth century.[290] The contemporary performance practice of the oratorio which, if rarely, might include transparencies of existing paintings or costumed *tableaux vivants*[291] would indeed have been able to offer more fully the synesthetic immersion that was apparently envisaged by Kaulbach.

An illuminating account of the use of *tableaux vivants* in the 1833 performance in Düsseldorf of Händel's *Israel in Egypt* (1739; HWV54) was given by Mendelssohn.[292] The initial *tableau vivant* of "Die Kinder Israels in der Knechtschaft" (The Children of Israel in Bondage) had been designed and arranged by Bendemann.[293] In a letter to his sister Rebecca, Mendelssohn, who conducted the performance from the piano, enthusiastically described the artist's *tableau vivant*:

> In the foreground was Moses, gazing dreamily into the distance in sorrowful apathy; beside him an old man sinking to the ground under the weight of a beam, while his son makes an effort to relieve him from it; in the background some beautiful figures with uplifted arms, a few weeping children in the fore ground—the whole scene closely crowded together like a

288 Ibid., I, 405: "He [i.e., Kaulbach] said quite openly that the image did not satisfy him, that it did not exhaust the subject, and finally declared—which is very charateristic of program painting—that music must be written in addition to it to complete the whole and to breathe life into the figures. [Er sprach es offen aus, daß ihm das Bild nicht genüge, daß es den Gegenstand nicht erschöpfe, und meinte schließlich—was sehr bezeichnend für die Programmmalerei ist—es müsse noch Musik hinzugeschrieben werden, um das Ganze zu vervollständigen, um den Gestalten Leben einzuhauchen.]" Müller's aside about "Programmmalerei" indicates the similarities between program music and its visual equivalent.

289 Ibid.: "um den gewaltigen Gegenstand durch die zusammenwirkende Kraft aller drei Schwesterkünste vollauf verständlich zu machen."

290 Franz Liszt composed his symphonic poem *Hunnenschlacht* (*Battle of the Huns*; S.105) in 1857 after Kaulbach's eponymous painting (1837) that was part of the cycle devised for the staircase of the Neues Museum in Berlin and included also *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*.

291 For the use of *tableaux vivants* and other visual effects in the staging of oratorios, see Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, IV, 56–61.

292 Kaulbach had close connections to Düsseldorf where he studied at the academy until, in 1826, he was called by its former director, Peter Cornelius, to Munich, see Müller, *Kaulbach*, I, 108.

293 Bendemann designed also another of the *tableaux vivants*, called "Israels Auszug aus Ägypten" (Israel's Exodus from Egypt), see Steil, "Eduard Julius Friedrich Bendemann," p. 11. See also Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, p. 428.

> mass of fugitives. This remained visible till the close of the first chorus; and when it ended in C minor, the curtain at the same moment dropped over the bright picture. A finer effect I scarcely ever saw.[294]

For one of the following *tableaux vivants*, designed not by Bendemann but by his brother-in-law Julius Hübner, Mendelssohn described the arrangement of the soprano being installed behind the scenes so that it seemed as if the solo was "proceeding from the picture."[295] The interpenetration of the arts on this occasion seems indeed to have produced the desired inspiring synesthetic experience which enhanced the appreciation of all the arts involved.

The Wandering Jew, the Beautiful Jewess, and the Jewish Orphans: Görres, Bohn, and Naumann

Kaulbach must have had something similar in mind for his own painting and a libretto was indeed written by his close friend Guido Görres (1805–52).[296] According to Müller, it was to be set to music by the well-known composer Franz Lachner whose oratorio *Moses* had premiered in 1834.[297] Görres's libretto survives as a sepa-

294 Mendelssohn to Rebecca Dirichlet on October 26, 1833, in Paul and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy (eds), *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, p. 12; see also Paul and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy (eds), *Briefe aus den Jahren 1833 bis 1847 von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, pp. 13–14: "voran Moses, ganz versunken und apatysch vor sich hin sehend, neben ihm ein Alter, der unter der Last seines Balkens eben zusammensinkt, während sein Sohn sich bemüht ihn ihm abzunehmen; einige schöne aufgehobene Arme im Hintergrunde, voran noch ein paar weinende Kinder, das Ganze recht zusammengedrängt wie ein Haufen Flüchtlinge;—das blieb nun stehen bis zum Schluß des ersten Chors, wo dann im selben Moment der Chor in *C moll* endigte, und der Vorhang vor dem hellen Bilde sich schloß. Einen schönern Effect, als den, habe ich selten gesehen." See also Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 3: *August 1832 bis Juli 1834*, ed. Ute Wald (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2010), p. 293.

295 Mendelssohn to Rebecca Dirichlet on October 26, 1833, in Paul and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy (eds), *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, p. 13. See also Paul and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy (eds), *Briefe aus den Jahren 1833 bis 1847 von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, p. 14: "als ginge es vom Bilde aus." See also Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 3: *August 1832 bis Juli 1834*, ed. Ute Wald (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2010), p. 294.

296 Möseneder emphasizes that the painting itself incorporates elements of the *tableau vivant*, see "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 133.

297 See Geck, *Deutsche Oratorien*, p. 20; the first performance in Vienna was followed by performances in Mannheim and Munich (1836). In a contemporary report, the oratorio is praised as an ingenuous work, though the reviewer considers it as occasionally too warmly colored and too dramatic, qualities he ascribes to the demands of the libretto: "das wahrhaft geniale Werk [. . .], wenn auch hie und da nach der Vorschrift des Dichters etwas zu warm kolorirt und zu drama-

rate print in *Deutsches Hausbuch* (1847; German Housebook), a short-lived periodical edited by its author.[298] Intriguingly, the text was accompanied by six vignettes based on figural groups in the original painting, which was clearly a further attempt at creating a synesthetic experience. Yet Görres's literary effort, as suggested already by Müller, was unwieldy and ultimately unsuitable for a libretto[299]—which may explain why nothing further seems to have come of this project.

Görres's libretto was in fact set to music, if at a much later date and only partially, by the eminent musicologist Emil Bohn (1839–1909), who taught at the University of Breslau (present-day Wrocław); but his composition, surviving in an undated autograph at the University Library of Wrocław,[300] remains fragmentary and was never published.[301] The thematic choice may have been suggested to the composer by performances of Hiller's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* in Breslau in November 1863, and again in June 1864, at the *Sing-Akademie*, both conducted by Julius Schäffer. A lengthy appreciation of the oratorio and its performance was published by Expedit Baumgart in the *Schlesische Zeitung*.[302] Bohn had studied music with both Baumgart and Schäffer until 1862. It is more than likely that he would have been involved in both performances or at the very least would have taken a keen interest.

His own effort possibly dates to the composer's time as organist at the Kreuzkirche in Breslau, a position he held since 1868.[303] I could not, however, find any

tisch gehalten," Anonymous, "Musikalischer Jahresbericht aus München," *Europa: Chronik der gebildeten Welt* 1 (1837): 602–12, 607.

298 Guido Görres, "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Tragisches Singspiel in drei Abtheilungen," *Deutsches Hausbuch* 2 (1847): 51–60.

299 Müller, *Kaulbach*, I, 405: "Die eigenartige Dichtung schildert in Chören und Einzelgesängen die verschiedenen Gruppen des Kaulbachschen Werkes, sehr genau auf des Künstlers Intentionen eingehend, aber doch viel zu breit und ausführlich für ein musikalisches Werk, ganz abgesehen davon, daß viel zu viel Personen redend oder singend eingeführt werden."

300 For the autograph, which comprises pp. 86 and a handwritten copy of Görres's complete text, see Emil Bohn, "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem," Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, callmark: 60943 Muz.

301 For Bohn's biography, see MGG (2000), III, 255–6.

302 For a reprint, see Expedit Baumgart, "Aus Breslau," *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung* 11.47 (November 21, 1863): 373–5. For a report on the repeat performance in 1864, see "Aus Breslau," *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung* 12.27 (July 2, 1864): 215–16.

303 See Fritz Feldmann, "Bohn, Emil," in NDB (1955), II, 420. The composer may also have intended the oratorio for the *Bohn'sche Gesangverein* which he established in 1882, though the main objective of the *a capella* choir was to perform historical concerts. For a documentation of its performances, see Emil Bohn, *Fünfzig historische Concerte in Breslau, 1881–1892: nebst einer bibliographischen Beigabe: Bibliothek des gedruckten mehrstimmigen weltlichen deutschen Liedes vom Anfange des 16. Jahrhunderts bis ca. 1640* (Breslau: Hainauer, 1893); Emil Bohn, *Bohn'scher Gesangverein: hundert historische Concerte in Breslau 1881–1905* (Breslau: Hainauer, 1905); and

evidence that Bohn's "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem" was ever produced. It consequently had no further impact on subsequent engagements with the subject or its dissemination, but is nevertheless relevant in the present context inasmuch as it not only indicates a continued interest in Görres's libretto and, at least indirectly, in Kaulbach's celebrated painting but moreover offers another oratorial interpretation of the destruction of Jerusalem.

Bohn's score is based exclusively on the first part of Görres's libretto and appears to be complete as intended by the composer; it clearly is not a draft version and includes no revisions. The minor textual changes Bohn made are presumably intended to heighten the dramatic tension.[304] More significantly, Bohn eliminated the orphans' choruses at the end of the first part and everything that relates to them. In his version, the first "act" of the oratorio, as he calls it,[305] is therefore concluded by the withdrawing Christians and their wistful lament rather than the orphans' praise of the eternal glory of the Lord.[306]

It was not long after the publication of Görres's libretto, before Kaulbach's painting—or rather its fresco version in Berlin, completed in 1851—did become the inspiration for another musical piece. In 1856 Emil Naumann (1827–88), a good acquaintance of Hiller's,[307] composed "an oratorio in the form of a cantata"[308] on *Jerusalems Zerstörung durch Titus* (The Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus) to words by Eduard Schüller (1794–1869) "after Kaulbach's fresco."[309] The libretto appears,

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Karl Bruchmann, *Sechzehn historische Konzerte in Breslau: ein Nachtrag zu: Emil Bohn, Hundert historische Concerte in Breslau* (Breslau: Hainauer, 1910).

304 Bohn deleted the repetition of the chorus of the Daughters of Sion inserted by Görres after the confrontation of Simon and John (Johannes) with the Prophet of the Jews; the Roman Tribune's admonition to the Jews to cease their raving follows now immediately on their violent altercation with the prophet, see Bohn, "Zerstörung Jerusalems," p. [60] and Görres, "Zerstörung Jerusalems," 53; the composer sought to enhance the dramatic quality of the passage by using a wide range of musical devices, such as tremolo, pizzicato, and staccato.

305 See Bohn, "Zerstörung Jerusalems," p. [1].

306 See ibid., p. [86] and Görres, "Zerstörung Jerusalems," 54–5.

307 See Sietz, *Beiträge zu einer Biographie Ferdinand Hillers*, II, 31.

308 Arnold Schering, *Geschichte des Oratoriums* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), p. 459: "ein oratorisches Stück in Kantatenform."

309 See "Jerusalems Zerstörung durch Titus: Cantate nach dem gleichnamigen Bilde von Kaulbach, gedichtet von Eduard Schüller, in Musik gesetzt von Emil Naumann," in *Textbuch zu Jerusalems Zerstörung durch Titus von Emil Naumann und zur Missa pro defunctis von Cherubini* (Berlin: Lange, [1856]), pp. 1–6. The textbook suggests a double bill together with Luigi Cherubini's requiem in C minor (1816). A second performance—billed with Nils Gade's *Comala* (1846; op. 12) and Robert Schumann's "Des Sängers Fluch" (1852; op. 139; "The Singer's Curse")—was conducted by Franz Liszt at the Stadthaussaal in Weimar in April 1859; a separate textbook was produced for this occasion, see Eduard Schüller, *Textbuch zu Jerusalems Zerstörung durch Titus: Kantate*

once again, to have been suggested by the artist whose confidant in Berlin the privy post councillor and poet was.[310] Like Görres's earlier attempt at condensing the complex composition of Kaulbach's painting into a libretto, Schüller's effort, which is of little intrinsic value, is of interest mainly for its verbal rendering of its visual source and the interpretive choices it offers. Compared with Görres's libretto, the text is much compressed and its individual components are weighted to different effect.

Schüller clearly took some care to give voice to each significant group or individual only once and nevertheless to structure his necessarily much abbreviated sequential reading of the painting in accordance with its coherent narrative. Like Görres and the "official" description in Kaulbach's *Erläuterungen*, he begins in descending hierarchical progression with the prophets, followed by the angels, and then the Jews. But where Görres splits the narrative into a variety of individual voices which are interspersed with choral passages, Schüller and Naumann employ choruses in each instance up to the central confrontation of Titus and the High Priest, whose solos suggest a dialogue culminating in the latter's defiant suicide.[311] This is followed by another set of choruses, of the fleeing Christians and their guardian angels, which form a stark contrast to the solitary figure of the Wandering Jew into whose solo is inserted a trio of the pursuing demons. The text is then brought to a conclusion with a chorus from above high and with a final chorus confirming through repetition the last line of the heavenly voices:

> With reconciliation the Heavens resonate,
> The debris is steaming and its embers are dying.
> Hear the voices of the Last Judgement;
> One day all will find their Father again.[312]

Where Hiller and Steinheim envisaged the epiphany of Jewish monotheism as a result of the Jewish mission among the nations, Schüller and Naumann, like Loewe and Nicolai before them, usurped the divine power to superseding Christianity.

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nach Kaulbachs Wandgemälde (Weimar: Hof-Buchdruckerei, [1859]); all quotations from this edition. For Naumann's biography, see MGG (2004), XII, 934.

310 See Blumner, *Geschichte der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin*, p. 151. For Kaulbach and Schüller's friendship, see Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 121 and Müller, *Kaulbach*, I, 29, 290.

311 The extensive use of choruses was also a practical consideration inasmuch as most oratorios were performed by amateur choral societies, see Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, IV, 87.

312 Schüller, *Textbuch*, p. 8: "Versöhnung klingt's vom Himmel nieder, / Die Trümmer dampfen und verglimmen. / Vernehmt des Weltgerichtes Stimmen; / Einst finden Alle ihren Vater wieder."

While Schüller chose to focus on representative elements of Kaulbach's composition and in the process omitted reference for instance to the Jewish insurgents and to Mary's teknophagy, Görres not only scrupulously (and perhaps somewhat pedantically) gave voice to each group represented in the painting, but in fact added significantly to its narrative—perhaps, since he was a close friend of the artist, even with some authority. In his libretto, the daughter of the High Priest recounts to her dismissive father a prophetic dream of the impending conflagration only to be silenced by him and coaxed into reiterating her faith in the Lord who delivered Israel in the past. Yet immediately following on this, the author introduces the figure of the Prophet of the Jews, presumably inspired by that of Jesus ben Ananias in Josephus's account,[313] who has no equivalent at all in the painting and who shatters the false sense of security arising from the promises of the past through his vision of the immediate future in response to the iniquities of the present. In altogether fifty-three lines, the prophet invokes Zion's "Blutschuld," its blood guilt, asserts that vengeance is knocking at the gate, and announces God's judgment.[314]

The prophet is also at the center of Bohn's composition. His aria (no. 7), Allegro moderato, which follows immediately on his curse of Zion for its blood guilt (no. 6), spans 179 bars. Both numbers are closely connected to one another. The descending arpeggiation of the tonic (D major) in second inversion—due to the tonal relationship of the two quavers of the anacrusis (F-sharp and D) to the first note of the phrase (A)—is comprised of the transposed intervallic retrogrades of the ascending major sixth (G to E) and perfect fourth (G to C), which are prominent in the curse (see Music Examples 9 and 10). The composer selectively punctuates the melodic line pursued concurrently by the first violins and thus offers a compressed restatement of the opening of no. 6 (see Music Example 11).[315]

As an aside, it is interesting to note that in Görres's libretto emerges a clear gender division, replicated by Bohn, in that the male prophet validates in thunderous words and in a public setting the daughter's more indistinct anxieties told to her father during the sacrifice in the Temple and dismissed by the High Priest as deceitful dreams. Only through the conduit of the male prophet has the prophecy

313 See Josephus, *Jewish War*, pp. 361–2 (6.5.3).

314 Görres, "Zerstörung Jerusalems," 53; the prophet accuses the Jews of deicide: "His guilty conscience, inheritors to his guilt / You transform into wrath Jehovah's favour, / It is you on whom the Lamb's blood rests. [Sein bös Gewissen, Erben seiner Schuld / Verwandelt ihr in Zorn Jehovas Huld, / Ihr seid's, worauf das Blut des Lammes ruht.]"

315 See Bohn, "Zerstörung Jerusalems," no. 7, aria, bb. 13–15: "Hear from my mouth [Vernimm aus meinem Munde]," bb. 54–6: "A red star [Ein roth Gestirn]," bb. 87–9: "the horse's mane [des Rosses Mähne]"; no. 6, duetto, bb. 56–9: "O curse O curse o curse [O Fluch O Fluch o Fluch]."



Music Example 9: Emil Bohn, "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem," Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Wrocław; callmark: 60943 Muz.; no. 6, pp. [29–34], pp. [33–4], bb. 55–8: Duetto of the High Priest and the Prophet. (With kind permission.)



Music Example 10: Emil Bohn, "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem," Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Wrocław; callmark: 60943 Muz.; no. 7, pp. [34–45], p. [35], bb. 13–17: Aria of the Prophet. (With kind permission.)



Music Example 11: Emil Bohn, "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem," Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Wrocław; callmark: 60943 Muz.; no. 6, pp. [29–34], p. [29], bb. 1–4: Duetto of the High Priest and the Prophet. (With kind permission.)

achieved the status of "Gottes Wort," the word of God, and the prophet accordingly suffers his martyrdom at the hands of the Zealots.[316] The function of the daughter is a different one. She is not so much seer, or prophetess, but sentimental exemplar of the conversion route.

Indeed, the conversion narrative—so important to Schüller and Naumann as well as to Loewe and Nicolai—is at the center also of Görres's libretto. With the *Deutsches Hausbuch* Görres sought to revive an imaginary ideal of popular piety in order to advance Catholic faith and cultural production in conjunction with a romantic conception of idealized German national virtues: "in the service of God and everything that is good and to the honour of the fatherland."[317] The significance of such an enterprise in the context of contemporary denominational strife will emerge in more detail in chapter IV. For now, it is sufficient to understand

316 Görres, "Zerstörung Jerusalems," 53.

317 See Guido Görres, "Eingang," *Deutsches Hausbuch* 1 (1847): V–VIII, VIII: "im Dienste Gottes und alles Guten und zur Ehre des Vaterlandes."

his libretto with this missionary zeal in mind as an affirmation of the Catholic denomination and as answering in particular to the programmatic category of "awakening and deterring."[318] More specifically, Görres's reading of Kaulbach's painting elaborates two instances of conversion which, both highly symbolic in themselves, relate to contemporary tropes of the representation of the Jews. One is the further development of the figure of the High Priest's daughter; the other is the interpretation of the group of Jewish children kneeling next to the Christian family as they leave the burning city.[319]

At the very end of the first part of his libretto, entitled "The Prophets,"[320] Görres introduces the chorus of the orphans. The Jewish children—seen kneeling and with arms raised beseechingly in the painting—plead with the Christians as they leave the scene of divine retribution to rescue them from the destruction.[321] The chorus of the Christians answers, implicitly putting a price on their compassion, that the orphans are to accept the grace of God and to attain the martyrs' crown.[322] The children's response shows them converted, prepared to pay the price, praising Christ and acknowledging his universal glory.[323] They do so partially in liturgical Latin—invoking "*gratia*" and exalting "*in aeternum* / *gloria!*"—which may be intended as a reminder that the worldly empire of Rome, triumphant over the Jews, was later in turn to be superseded by its Christian successor as indicated by the appropriation of

318 See ibid., VII: "Erweckendes und Abschreckendes."

319 The figural group of the withdrawing Christians gained much popularity divorced from its context. Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia was so much taken with this detail of the fresco he had commissioned that he had a vase decorated with it; other reproductions of this particular group in sweetly color prints proliferated and were widely disseminated in Germany, see Margret Dorothea Minkels, *Die Stifter des Neuen Museums: Friedrich Wilhelm IV. von Preussen und Elisabeth von Baiern* (Norderstedt: BoD, 2011), p. 280 and the examples mentioned in the introduction to this book.

320 Görres, "Zerstörung Jerusalems," 51: "Die Propheten."

321 See ibid., 54: "No father and no mother, / Frozen with cold and weak with hunger, / Pale with sorrows, we plead, we weep, / We, the little ones, do not let us, you Christians, / Do not let us die in perdition! / Take us, you Christians, take us with you! [Ohne Vater, ohne Mutter, / Starr vor Kälte, schwach vor Hunger, / Blaß vor Kummer flehen, weinen / Wir, die Kleinen, laßt, ihr Christen / Uns nicht sterben im Verderben! / Nehmt, ihr Christen, nehmt uns mit!]"

322 See ibid., 55: "Be ye welcome to us, you little ones! / No longer shall you weep, / O follow on our path! / O follow His grace! / Win the reward of the martyr's crown / And rule on his Heavenly Throne! [Willkommen uns, ihr Kleinen! / Ihr sollt nicht länger weinen, / O folget unsrem Pfade! / O folget seiner Gnade! / Gewinnt der Marterkrone Lohn / Und herrscht auf seinem Himmelsthron!]"

323 See ibid.: "Praised be'st Thou by the globe's orb / Praised by the children's mouth, / O Jesus! Thee / We praise with / Hosanna loud / And *gratia* / And *in aeternum* / *gloria!* [Dich preiset das Erdenrund, / Dich preiset der Kinder Mund, / O Jesu! Dir / Lobsingen wir, / Hosanna laut / Und *gratia* / Und *in aeternum* / *gloria!*]"

its language and as anticipated with the passage from the gospel of Luke displayed in the painting's original frame.

Clearly, the orphaned Jewish children are an easy target for conversion, and maybe also an obvious one.[324] The constellation, perhaps unintentionally, reverberates with historical grievances. Since the medieval period, instances of Jewish children having been seized and forced to convert had been known.[325] Only two years after the first performance of Naumann's cantata the abduction at the hands of officers of the Papal States of six-year-old Edgardo Levi Mortara from his family home in Bologna to be raised in the Vatican as a Catholic was the cause of an international controversy and contributed significantly to the establishment of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* in 1860. It is unlikely that Görres's libretto was meant to draw attention to these unsavory practices. In its context, the orphans probably rather need to be understood symbolically: orphaned by the exhausted and superseded religion of their fathers, they find good foster care at the bosom of their new, all-loving family of the Christian faith.

Intriguingly, such a reading of Kaulbach's painting, according to which the Christians welcome the Jewish orphans, was contrary to the expectations of most contemporaries. Indeed, the group was simply ignored by early commentators; nor was it mentioned in Kaulbach's *Erläuterungen*. Görres appears to have been the first to take note of its implications, deciding the open question posed by the painting in favor of the children. Yet when some years later, in response to the fresco version of the composition, the art historian Friedrich Eggers mentioned the Jewish orphans, it was with some indignation at the arrogance with which he perceived the Christians in the painting to disregard the pleading children.[326] The highly influential art critic and philosopher Max Schasler argued in turn that the early Church, intent on its own survival, was not in a position to extend its compassion to the Jews and similarly assumed that the children's pleas would remain unanswered, effectively condemning them to annihilation.[327]

The ambivalence which appears to inhere in the orphan group was in this way almost by default decided against their acceptance and "survival." The rejec-

324 For conversion practices, see, e.g., Deborah Sadie Hertz, *How Jews Became Germans: The History of Conversion and Assimilation in Berlin* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007) and Endelman, *Leaving the Jewish Fold*, who describes as "[t]he most coercive measures employed by the Polish Church [. . .] the kidnapping of Jewish children. Forcibly seized and then detained in a Catholic institution, the children were subject to both the carrot and the stick, including flogging and starvation. Once their children submitted to baptism, parents were powerless to obtain their return," p. 45.

325 See ibid., p. 373.

326 See Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 129.

327 See ibid., 130.

tion seems to be indicative of a pervasive attitude toward Judaism which denies its *raison d'être* after the rise of Christianity. Judaism was moreover frequently considered to compromise the homogenizing objectives of the modern nation state. Conservative circles in particular challenged a comprehensive emancipation and rather promoted the complete dissolution of Jewish religious and cultural identities as the aim of assimilation.[328] It is then probably no coincidence that, following Görres's initial attempt to redeem the orphans, none of the later oratorios based on Kaulbach's painting includes any reference to them. The notoriety of the Mortara case conceivably would have added some unease about the ambivalence of the orphans which may have contributed to their elimination from the narrative.

In contrast, Görres's further elaboration of the High Priest's daughter corresponded to the increasingly popular type of what has been called the Beautiful Jewess.[329] In the painting she is still a child or adolescent. Yet she closely resembles her mother who, on the other side of her father, offers her bare breast to his steel. The painting therefore gives an indication of the exotic beauty she is to grow into, while in the libretto the suggestion is of an already fully formed young woman.[330] Though not explicit, the painting also subtly indicates the conversion potential of the young girl. As she supports her dying brother, victim to their father's blade,[331] in a half embrace, her wrist is gripped forcefully by the High Priest, firmly binding her to this pivotal group of the composition. Yet the color of her cloak is almost the same hue of green as that of the Christian woman, being led with her babes in her arms on the back of the ass from the scene of the massacre.[332] The girl is in this way clearly associated with the Christians. Green, a color which otherwise occurs in the painting only in the palm fronds carried by the Christians, is moreover in liturgical use symbolic of growth and, in Christian art, of the breaking of shackles, freedom from bondage and, more specifically, bounty, hope, and the victory of life over death.[333] As such it clearly indicates the new life of the convert which is, how-

328 See ibid.

329 See Krobb, *Schöne Jüdin*, pp. 1–13.

330 Its exotic and erotic appeal is a crucial element of the figure, see ibid., pp. 2–5.

331 The constellation implicitly alludes to the *akedah*, the so-called Binding of Isaac (Genesis 22), which is essential to the understanding of the covenant and which, in contrast to Kaulbach's representation, is a sacrifice that has been prevented by divine intervention. The suggestion is that with the High Priest killing his son in the very same place where the ram was substituted for Isaac, divine intervention is now withheld and the covenant rendered obsolete.

332 Iconographically, this is an allusion to the Massacre of the Innocents and the Flight to Egypt.

333 See J. C. Cooper, *An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), s. v. "Colours."

ever, connoted also with martyrdom—another new life—through the green palm fronds.[334]

In the libretto, the conversion narrative is more explicit. Here, the young woman realizes that, as the prophets long have lamented and as Christ has forewarned, "the city fulfils its cursèd destiny."[335] Hence, her decision: "To the cross I turn my anxious gaze, / To the cross, poor soul, I flee."[336] With the proselytizing spirit of the new convert she later exhorts her father who is in turn a representation of his people and its religion:

> Before sword and flame thou never quake,
> Yet the manacles of blindness break!
> And gaze upon the Lamb of God,
> On Christ upon the Holy Rood,
> Refuge, my father! take in Him![337]

Eventually she invokes the Heavenly Jerusalem as a sanctuary and, in effect, as a substitute for the earthly one about to be destroyed: "In Him, in Zion's heavenly halls: / Refuge, my father! take in Him."[338] The High Priest's response reaffirms the spiritual blindness ascribed to him by his daughter: "my eye darkens."[339] It moreover articulates his stubborn defiance and rejection of Christ: "The Heavens collapse, Hell laughs, / [. . .] / O fall, ye hallowed halls! / The Temple shall my tombstone be!"[340] The hallowed halls of the Temple are doomed, but the High Priest will still neither recognize nor accept the everlasting life promised in the heavenly halls of the New Jerusalem. The ruins of the Temple will mark his death, corporeally and spiritually, as well as his blind renunciation of redemption.

The cross, invoked by the High Priest's daughter as her refuge and redemption in the second part of the oratorio, turns into an accusation for Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew, in the third.[341] Death and oblivion, which are the High Priest's portion, elude him and he is condemned to eternal flight, driven by his indelible guilt. No

334 See ibid., s. v. "Palm."

335 Görres, "Zerstörung Jerusalems," 56: "Wie die Propheten früh geklagt, / Wie Christus warnend vorgesagt, / Die Stadt erfüllt ihr Fluchgeschick."

336 Ibid.: "Zum Kreuze kehr ich bang den Blick, / Zum Kreuze flieh' ich Arme hin."

337 Ibid., 57: "Erzittre nicht vor Schwert und Flamme, / Der Blindheit Fessel aber brich! / Und blick hinan zum Opferlamme, / Zu Christus an dem Kreuzesstamme, / Zu ihm, mein Vater! rette dich!"

338 Ibid.: "Zu ihm in Sions Himmelshallen: / Zu ihm, mein Vater! rette dich."

339 Ibid.: "mein Aug verdunkelt sich."

340 Ibid., 57–8: "Der Himmel bricht, die Hölle lacht, / [. . .] / O brecht ihr heil'gen Hallen ein! / Der Tempel sei mein Leichenstein!"

341 Ibid., 58.

redemption is offered to Ahasuerus: "To Hell, accursèd man!"[342] the chorus of the demons cries, reiterating hoary antisemitic stereotypes: "No iniquity could deter you, / No remorse could awaken you, / Proud and stubborn, / Lured by lucre!"[343]

The libretto thus, over the course of its three parts, presents varying stages, and ages, of redeemability of the Jews in correspondence with a reading of Kaulbach's painting from right to left. Their orientation in the painting, which is also a gendered pattern, indicates their proximity and increasing distance from their redemption: On the right the innocent, effectively genderless orphans face in the direction in which the Christians leave the scene of devastation; in the center of the painting, the High Priest's adolescent daughter, her body leaning far to the left in support of her dying brother and immobilized by her father's strong grip, nevertheless conveys a sense of affinity with the Christians. Ahasuerus, finally, on the left, is not only facing away in this direction, but it is also the trajectory of his body as it lunges, pursued by the demons and mutilated by his own hands, to flee the conflagration.

Ahasuerus is, in the painting, moreover the only figure to look straight at the beholder, conveying something of the horror he experiences but also pleading with the onlooker. The corresponding vignette inserted between the relevant text columns of Görres's libretto—a woodcut copy of Kaulbach's Ahasuerus and the demons (see Figure 9)—attempts to communicate this sense of horror and of abhorrence also to the reader, offering itself the synesthetic interaction of image and text which the artist was hoping to achieve on a much grander scale. Intriguingly, the vignette also includes the addition of a cross gouged into the chest of Ahasuerus, presumably in alignment with the Catholic orientation of *Deutsches Hausbuch*.

The *Erläuterungen* suggest yet another dimension to the direct visual contact with Ahasuerus. The description indicates that the Wandering Jew embodies a historical continuum in that the artist understands him to be representative also of contemporary Jewry:

> The eternal Jew is chased by three demons from the city, nevermore to rest. He is representative of contemporary Jewry which offers the odd phenomenon of how a people, scattered to the four winds, without a firm constitution, nevertheless stubbornly perpetuates itself in that it is bound to customs which, after the fullness of time, shall no longer have any validity. Yet he also is personified restlessness as such, which arises wherever some horrendous guilt without remorse and penitence awakens the furies of revenge; and one may well be reminded through him of the destruction of Jerusalem being not only a historical fact but at

342 Ibid., 59: "Zur Hölle Verfluchter!"

343 Ibid.: "Kein Frevel erschreckte, / Nicht Reue erweckte / Dich stolzen, verstockten, / Vom Golde verlockten!"



Figure 9: Anonymous, after Wilhelm von Kaulbach, vignette showing the detail of The Wandering Jew and the Demons in Pursuit from *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1846), in Guido Görres, "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Tragisches Singspiel in drei Abtheilungen," *Deutsches Hausbuch* 2 (1847): 51–60, 58; woodcut. (Public domain.)

> the same time a symbol of the *Last Judgement*. As he is cast out into the vastness, nevermore to rest, so one day, according to the gospel, shall all those be cast out into the outermost darkness who, like the Jews, have denied Christ and betrayed him.[344]

344 [Kaulbach], *Erläuterungen*, p. 8: "[D]er ewige Jude [wird] von drei Dämonen aus der Stadt gejagt, um nie mehr zu ruhen noch zu rasten. Er ist Repräsentant des jetzigen Judenthums, welches das seltsame Phänomen darbietet, wie ein Volk, in alle Winde zerstreut, ohne feste Verfassung, doch sich hartnäckig fortsetzt, indem es an Gebräuche gebannt ist, die, nach erfüllten Zeiten, keine Bewährung mehr haben. Er ist aber auch die personificirte Unruhe überhaupt, die überall ihr Unwesen treibt, wo eine ungeheure Schuld ohne Reue und Buße die Rachegeister weckt; und man darf sich durch ihn daran erinnern lassen, daß die Zerstörung Jerusalems nicht blos ein historisches Factum, sondern zugleich Symbol des *jüngsten Gerichts* ist. Wie er hinausgestossen wird in die Weite, um nimmer Ruhe zu finden, so wird einst, laut des Evangeliums, ein jeder, der, gleich den Juden, Christum verleugnet und verrathen hat, hinausgeworfen in die äußerste Finsternis."

Ahasuerus is projected as the exemplar of irredeemability,[345] his driven existence an everlasting warning to those who reject and betray Christ. Like the orphaned children and the Beautiful Jewess, while specifically Jewish, he emerges nevertheless as a potentially universally valid type whose exhortatory value and (lacking) conversion potential is transmitted across the millennia to the present. Yet the innocence of the orphaned children and the virtuous Beautiful Jewess demonstrates the redeemability not of the Jews, such as Ahasuerus, but of those who renounce their Jewishness, of those who—in the days before the rise of biological antisemitism—break the genealogy of deadly sin evoked in Matthew, of those who convert to Christianity; and these are gendered in the painting as not male.

In this context it is then also highly symbolic that it is the daughter of the High Priest, himself the very embodiment of superseded Judaism, whose conversion sets the example. Berenice in Loewe's oratorio is another incarnation of the Beautiful Jewess. But she, while in love with the pagan destroyer of Jerusalem, ultimately remains attached to Zion and her people. It is her fate (in stark contrast to Josephus's narrative) to die, pining away in compassion as she witnesses the conflagration—a symbol, if ever there was one, of the dead end, literally, of even an enlightened Judaism. Her love of the pagan conqueror as an embodiment of the worldly kingdom is similarly misdirected because it prevents her from gaining the heavenly kingdom of Christian provenance.

A very different version of the Beautiful Jewess was presented in Hiller's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*. Commensurate with the different objectives of this oratorio and its pre-Christian setting, Chamital, the mother of King Zedekiah, is not characterized in terms of her conversion potential but as a *femme fatale* figure—or in a coinage of Zadoc Khan, as a *juive fatale*[346]—who, like the more famous Salome, seeks to destroy

345 Friedrich Helbig attributed the notion of the irredeemability of the Wandering Jew to Germanic ideas permeating the legend, see *Die Sage vom "Ewigen Juden"* (Berlin: Lüderitz'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1876), pp. 53–4. It is predicated on the continued rejection of redemption by Ahasuerus himself. For notions of the redeemability of the Wandering Jew, see George K. Anderson, *The Legend of the Wandering Jew* (1965; Hanover, NH: Brown University Press, 1991), pp. 348–54. This is also reflected in Guido Görres, "Der ewige Jude," in *Gedichte* (Munich: Literarisch-artistische Anstalt, 1844), pp. 120–7. In this poem, which does not refer to the destruction of Jerusalem but which arguably is inspired by Kaulbach's interest in the figure of Ahasuerus, the "eternal Jew" returns to Golgatha. When Christ speaks to him, he repents and sets out to wander again, yet not in hate and despair but in atonement. He finds rest at wayside crosses and preaches penance. For recent studies on the figure of Ahasuerus, see Frank Halbach, *Ahasvers Erlösung: Der Mythos vom Ewigen Juden im Opernlibretto des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Utz, 2009) and Gunnar Och, *Ahasver, der Ewige Jude: Geschichte eines Mythos* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2023).

346 Zadoc Khan, introduction to "Le Juif au Théâtre," *Revue des Études Juives* 12.1 (1886): IL–LXXI, LIV.

her godly adversary, the prophet Jeremiah, and who, even more importantly, seduces the Israelites into transgressing against Jewish observance in order to practise Baal worship. Her recitative and aria (nos 29 and 30), calling to Baal, are characterized by insinuations of a guileful orientalism: the cloak-and-dagger pizzicato of the strings, the seductive sway of the rhythm achieved by stress on beat 2^2 (e.g., bb. 14–16; see Music Example 1), and the doubling of Chamital by the respectively nasal, mesmerizing, and sultry timbres of oboe and bassoon, flute, and cello (e.g., bb. 65–77; see Music Example 2). Furthermore, the melodic contour of Chamital's basic idea (bb. 9–10) and its sequential repetition (bb. 11–12), connotes the double harmonic scale (Arabic scale), due to the emphasis on scale degrees 6 and 7 of E harmonic minor (C, the highest note of the initial statement, and D-sharp, the lowest note of the repetition) (see Music Example 1). This suggests the characteristic augmented second interval between scale degrees 2 and 3 of the double harmonic scale starting on B, the note foregrounded via threefold repetition during the basic idea. Chamital's recitative and aria are moreover characterized by martial rhythms in the timpani which are extended to the following Chorus of the Servants of Zedekiah. This associates her and the other idolaters with the approaching Assyrian riders (no. 27) to whom are designated equally bellicose rhythms, such as those shared in bb. 13–17 between the timpani, choir, and woodwind (see Music Example 12). By contrast, neither Jeremiah nor his followers are ever identified with a characteristic rhythmic foreground, and thus circumvent identification with the primitive, which the nineteenth century generally ascribed to music with a rhythmic predominance. Chamital, thus associated with the primitive, is exoticized not so much as a Jewess but as an apostate whose reversion to oriental idolatry violates the very laws the oratorio extols as the basis of the enduring ethical significance of monotheistic Judaism.

A "broader view of musical exoticism" that extends beyond style as the defining criterion has recently been argued for by Ralph P. Locke.[347] His point is that, even where "pitches, rhythms, and instrumental colors of the score alone"[348] do not necessarily indicate exoticism, the context—such as "the frame of plot and sung words"[349]—will facilitate this identification for the audience, even to the extent that music that is only "*compatible with*"[350] the suggestion of exoticism will take on an exotic character. While Hiller clearly employs exotic musical codes amplified by their context in order to identify the oriental otherness of the apos-

347 Ralph P. Locke, "A Broader View of Musical Exoticism," *Journal of Musicology* 24.4 (2007): 477–521.
348 Ibid., 520.
349 Ibid., 487.
350 Ibid., 492.



Music Example 12: Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium nach der heiligen Schrift* [orchestra score], op. 24 (Leipzig: Kistner, 1842), no. 27, pp. 155–73, p. 156, bb. 13–17: Chorus of Israelites.

tates and in particular of his seductress, his musical characterization of the prophet Jeremiah and his followers eschews any exotic idiom, as does the final chorus which, alternating repeatedly between homophony and imitative counterpoint, suggests the harmonious plurality of all the heavens and of all the nations praising the One God (see Music Example 3).

Hiller in this way appears to anticipate a deliberate counterpoint to the "Full-Context Paradigm" described by Locke.[351] While acknowledging the alterity of all the Israelites through the context, he nevertheless clearly distinguishes by musical means between the transgressing and the faithful Jews and emphasizes the latter's affinity with the idiom of European civilization—as witnessed by Theodor Storm's wholehearted identification with the "pious Israelite" Achicam (see Music Example 5). None of the other oratorios on the destruction of Jerusalem follow quite the same path, because none of them seek to valorize the Jews from within a Jewish perspective, as Hiller does. Rather, they project Christianity and conversion as the trajectory of redemption, reconfiguring and reinterpreting in the process the semantic units employed by Kaulbach.

Transformations and Eliminations: Blumner and Klughardt

The type of the Beautiful Jewess converting to Christianity made another appearance in *Der Fall Jerusalems* (op. 30; The Fall of Jerusalem) by Martin Blumner (1827–1901), which premiered in Berlin in 1875.[352] Although it also participates in the conversion discourse, Blumner's oratorio is much more sympathetic toward the Jews than any of the preceding engagements with the destruction of the Second Temple. The composer's focus is more generally on the human aspect rather than the historical significance of the event. It is, in fact, an original work that is not based on Kaulbach's painting; possibly because it eschews the historical-philosophical claim made by the artist's composition and elaborated in the *Erläuterungen*, in which was emphasized the transcendent import of the historical

351 Ibid., 483.

352 See Martin Blumner, *Der Fall Jerusalems: Oratorium in zwei Theilen* [piano reduction] (Berlin and Posen: Bote and Bock, [1875]). Blumner published also a text book, see Martin Blumner, *Der Fall Jerusalems: Oratorium in zwei Theilen* (Berlin: Bote and Bock, [1874]). For an appreciation of the oratorio, see Adam Adrio, "Blumner, Martin Traugott Wilhelm," in NDB (1955), II, 336–7: "Among his oratorios, *The Fall of Jerusalem* belongs to the few valuable works of this genre in the Mendelssohn succession of the second half of the nineteenth century. [Unter seinen Oratorien gehört 'Der Fall Jerusalems' zu den wenigen wertvollen Werken dieser Gattung innerhalb der Mendelssohn-Nachfolge der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts.]" For Blumner's biography, see MGG (2000), III, 137–8.

event in terms which evoke the end of days.[353] *Der Fall Jerusalems* may nevertheless be negatively indebted to the painting in that Blumner's choices to some extent appear to be critical responses to the framing of Kaulbach's visual narrative.[354] In this context, it may also be significant that the oratorio was composed and performed in the year after Kaulbach's death in 1874, which had stimulated a renewed interest in the artist's works.

It appears that the composer was also responsible for his libretto,[355] from which he elided Ahasuerus and the demons in an attempt, it would seem, to redirect its symbolic potential. He moreover at the same time eliminated the painting's antisemitic bias which both Görres and Schüller had incorporated into their libretti without hesitation. Blumner also seems to have been skeptical of the idealist dimension of Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*. As Müller suggests, it was not the artist's purpose merely to present a battle scene, as was common practice in historical painting, but to represent the Jewish War purely symbolically as pivotal between the most important phases of historical evolution.[356] Indeed the biographer and critic maintains that all of Kaulbach's historical paintings are "pieces of painted Hegelian philosophy":[357]

> The purely historical ground has been left. Rather than the historical occurrence, the result of a catastrophe is interpreted symbolically and the past, the present, and the future are productively interrelated.[358]

Yet Annemarie Menke-Schwinghammer notes that Kaulbach's work on the six frescoes in the Neues Museum, which he completed only in 1865, reflects a shift from purely idealistic representations toward a more realistic approach. She suggests that Kaulbach responded over the course of almost two decades of engagement with the frescoes to changes not only in historiography and the philosophy of history but also in historical painting which had occurred in Germany since the mid-1840s.[359]

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353 [Kaulbach], *Erläuterungen*, p. 3.

354 Blumner's choice of title may have been an attempt to distance himself from Kaulbach's painting, though it may also have been inspired by Henry Hart Milman's dramatic poem *The Fall of Jerusalem* (1820), which is discussed in chapter II.

355 No author other than Blumner is identified in the published score or the textbook.

356 See Müller, *Kaulbach*, I, 394.

357 Ibid., I, 404: "ein Stück gemalter Hegelscher Philosophie."

358 Ibid.: "Der rein historische Boden ist verlassen. Statt des geschichtlichen Vorgangs wird symbolisch das Ergebnis einer Katastrophe gezogen und Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft wirksam zusammengebracht."

359 Menke-Schwinghammer, *Weltgeschichte als "Nationalepos,"* p. 160.

Blumner's approach similarly reintroduces historicity in that he quite clearly specifies date and place of action of his oratorio, Jerusalem in the years 66–70 CE, and in that he sympathetically elaborates the cruel oppression of the Jews at the hands of the Roman procurator of Judaea, Gessius Florus. However, within that specific setting the composer chose to focus not only on the known major historical figures but on more marginal, partly invented characters. His *dramatis personae* does not include the High Priest but the commander of the Temple guard, Eleazar, and his two daughters.[360] With the latter, Blumner splits the figure of the Beautiful Jewess into two. In contrast to the earlier oratorios, the composer in this instance also chose to give names to both sisters, another indication of his interest in their personal fate. At the same time his choice of names, Mary (Maria) and Deborah, adds a further dimension.

Mary, Eleazar's daughter, is conflated with the tragic figure mentioned by Josephus who supposedly devoured her infant son, an act of perversion depicted with some sensationalism in Kaulbach's painting. Blumner, while carefully building up the character through references to her story as known from the historian of the *Jewish War*, nevertheless makes no explicit mention of her teknophagy. Mary is obviously the older sister who married out of Jerusalem but who, having lost her home and husband in the devastation of the ongoing war, returns with her child to her father and unmarried younger sister Deborah for the peace that Jerusalem offers in a time of turmoil.[361] In what is, against the historical source, a bitterly ironic remark, Mary imagines her son to grow up to avenge her slain husband.[362]

Deborah's response introduces for the first time and without warning the Christian perspective. She reinterprets the city's name, "Peace has Come," invoked by her desperate sister, in relation to Christian soteriology:

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360 Eleazar, son of the High Priest Ananias and commander of the Temple guard, is mentioned by Josephus as having incited the wrath of the Romans and treacherously having massacred the Roman garrison of Herod's Palace under Metilius after its surrender, see Josephus, *Jewish War*, pp. 164, 167–8 (2.17.2; 2.17.10). Josephus does not mention any daughters of Eleazar.

361 See Blumner, *Fall Jerusalems* [piano reduction], no. 4: "O sister! Cruel is the Lord's punishment. / He has visited His wrath upon me. / You see us orphaned here and with no home, / Me and the boy, left to me by the Lord. [O Schwester! Grausam züchtiget der Herr. / Er hat mich heimgesucht in seinem Zorne. / Du siehst verwaist uns hier und ohne Heimath, / Mich und den Knaben, den mir Gott gelassen.]"

362 See ibid.: "Slain was my husband, / As he wrestled for Your Might, Jehovah! / His avenger will you awaken in his son! / Me, the Lord hath delivered from distress. / Now I look for peace in Jerusalem, that is called: / 'Peace has Come.' [Erschlagen ward mein Gatte, / Da er stritt um deine Macht, Jehova! / Du wirst ihm erwecken einen Rächer in dem Sohn! / Mich hat der Herr errettet aus der Noth. / Nun such' ich Frieden in Jerusalem, die da genannt: / 'Erschienen ist der Friede.']"

Yes, peace has come!
The Lord's Anointed gave it to us.
You will find Him, as I found Him.
In His name: peace be, peace, with you![363]

Mary is offered solace and the peace she craves by her sister through conversion. Deborah introduces her to the Christians who welcome her. Yet like the High Priest's daughter in Görres's libretto, Mary invokes the past and her observance of the Mosaic laws as a guarantee of the present and rejects the new covenant.

In fact, in striking contrast to the eponymous historical figure with whom she is otherwise associated and who transgressed against the most fundamental laws of humanity, Mary insists in an exhortatory mode reminiscent of the prophets on observance of the commandments of which the reward is freedom as in the deliverance from Israel's bondage in Egypt.[364] She implicitly even gives voice to the promise of the Jewish mission evoked by Hiller and Steinheim's Jeremiah: "From Zion will come the lovely light of the Lord, / Our Lord will come and will not be silent."[365] However, when the military collapse is inevitable and Eleazar himself has been slain, she misguidedly offers her own life in sacrificial suicide.[366] Mary fails to see that the sacrifice has already been made by Jesus and that redemption is offered exclusively to those who follow him, as does her sister Deborah. Indeed, this earlier sacrifice implicates Jerusalem and the Jews who exacted it, as Deborah insists:

363 Ibid.: "Ja, erschienen ist der Friede! / Ihn hat des Herrn Gesalbter uns gebracht. / Du wirst ihn finden, wie ich ihn gefunden. / In seinem Namen: Friede, Friede sei mit dir!"

364 See ibid., no. 27: "Walk in the Law of the Lord, / Observe His commandments. / For He alone is the Lord and God, / Whose hand led you from Egypt, / Whose might broke your yoke, / So you would be servants no more. [Wandelt in des Herrn Gesetze, / Haltet, was er euch geboten. / Denn er allein ist Herr und Gott, / Dess Hand geführet euch aus Egypten, / Dess Macht gebrochen euer Joch, / Auf dass ihr nicht mehr Knechte wäret.]"

365 Ibid., no. 18: "Aus Zion bricht an der schöne Glanz Gottes, / Unser Gott kommt, und schweiget nicht."

366 See ibid., no. 36: "The unheard-of burden of sins, / It cries out for an unheard-of sacrifice. / Receive as a sacrifice, Jehovah, myself! / So that once again shall shine around Zion, o Lord, / The diamond shield of your grace, / I give my blood, with pure hands / For Israel I shed it. [Die unerhörte Last der Sünden, / Sie schreit nach unerhörtem Opfer. / Als Opfer nimm, Jehova, mich! / Dass wieder blitze rings um Zion, Herr, / Deiner Gnade Demantschild, / Geb' ich mein Blut, mit reinen Händen / Vergiess' ich es für Israel.]"

> Now it has come to pass according to thy sin,
> And the iniquity of thy priests,
> The blood of the Lamb that thou hast shed,
> Hath come upon thee terribly.[367]

Deborah's name, like Mary's, carries relevant connotations. It alludes to Judges 4 and 5 in which is recounted the story of Deborah, prophetess and (the only female) judge in Israel. Deborah led the successful campaign against Sisera to end the oppression of Israel at the hands of the Canaanites and the Israelites were blessed after her victory with peace for forty years. In Blumner's text the biblical Deborah's exploits are countered with the image of a new Deborah who is a spiritual leader, not a political or martial one. Once again, the Chosen People has transgressed, it is oppressed and engages in a military campaign. But the new Deborah would lead her people to Christianity and to a different, ever-lasting peace:

> Yet the Lord wills that all nations of the earth
> Shall be helped by the Son of Man.
> He calls Israel, too, He calls
> Israel, too, to His grace.[368]

This is of course the reiteration of the familiar supersessionist claim, but it explicitly includes Israel among those who may be redeemed. Perhaps this is the reason why Blumner did not resort to the figure of Ahasuerus who is entirely bereft of hope.

The final chorus, as did Görres,[369] evokes a vision of the New Heavenly Jerusalem that is to supersede the earthly one:

> The Lord, when He returns,
> Shall show us Jerusalem, the holy,
> Descending from the Heavens from the Lord.
> And there will be no Temple in it,
> For the Lord, the omnipotent, will be its Temple.[370]

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367 Ibid., no. 38: "Nun ist gescheh'n nach deiner Sünde, / nach deiner Priester Missethat / Des Lammes Blut, das du vergossen, / Ist schrecklich kommen über dich."

368 Ibid.: "Gott aber will, dass allem Volk auf Erden / Geholfen werde durch des Menschen Sohn. / Er ruft auch Israel, er ruft / Auch Israel zu seiner Gnade."

369 Görres, "Zerstörung Jerusalems," 60.

370 Blumner, *Fall Jerusalems* [piano reduction], no. 39: "Der Herr, wenn er wiederkommt, / Wird zeigen uns die heilige Jerusalem / Herniederfahren aus dem Himmel von Gott. / Und es wird kein Tempel darinnen sein, / Denn der Herr, der allmächtige Gott ist ihr Tempel."

The destruction of the Temple is in this way theologically necessary in that it appears as the material manifestation of a revelation that has now been superseded and elevated to another, spiritual realm.[371]

Blumner's representation of the two sisters—perhaps in emulation of Henry Hart Milman's dramatic poem *The Fall of Jerusalem* (1820), discussed in chapter II—construes both of them as Beautiful Jewesses who are, however, representatives of two very different articulations of the type.[372] Mary remains the unassimilable and exoticized Jewish other who, though commanding compassion and pity, nevertheless is doomed together with the historical Jerusalem, while Deborah is another domesticated incarnation of the exemplar of the conversion route. She is invested with the spiritual beauty of the Jewess who sees the light and who prepares to gain the New Jerusalem that is forfeited by her sister. Both women are reminiscent of traditional representations of the defeated Synagoga and triumphant Ecclesia, respectively, which, as Richard Cohen argues, are also evoked in Kaulbach's painting.[373]

The subject was finally once again taken up toward the end of the century by August Klughardt (1847–1902) in his oratorio *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1899; op. 75; *The Destruction of Jerusalem*).[374] The libretto, written by Leopold Gerlach (1834–1917), if not based in detail on Kaulbach's painting, certainly makes use of some of its elements and finds inspiration in it. In fact, Gerlach, who became Klughardt's biographer after the composer's unexpected early death in 1902, notes that his friend (and son-in-law) had frequently seen the original painting in Munich and that he displayed an engraving of it in his home. Gerlach moreover maintains that Klughardt had variously intimated his intention of composing an oratorio that was to treat the topic in a manner "analogous" to Kaulbach's creation.[375]

This analogy was noticed also by the critic Adolph Brandt in his musical guide to the oratorio in the Schmitt series of *Der Musikführer* (c. 1900; The Music Guide) in apparent contradistinction to earlier engagements with the subject by

371 As such it had occurred already in Mendelssohn's influential *Paulus* (1836), see Mendelssohn, *Paulus* [piano reduction], no. 35.

372 This dichotomy occurs also in other engagements with the historical subject, such as Charles Peers' epic *The Siege of Jerusalem* (1823) and Friedrich von Uechtritz's novel *Eleazar* (1867), discussed in chapters II and IV, respectively.

373 Richard I. Cohen, "The 'Wandering Jew' from Medieval Legend to Modern Metaphor," in *The Art of Being Jewish in Modern Times*, eds Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett and Jonathan Karp (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 147–75, p. 163.

374 See August Klughardt, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium in zwei Abtheilungen* [piano reduction] (1899; Bayreuth: Giessel, 1903). For Klughardt's biography, see MGG (2003), X, 317–18.

375 Leopold Gerlach, *August Klughardt, sein Leben und seine Werke* (Leipzig: Hug, 1902), p. 122.

Hiller and Blumner.[376] The very fact that Klughardt's oratorio was included after three performances in April and May 1899 in the series of musical guides indicates its perceived prominence and relevance. Brandt's assessment is correspondingly enthusiastic. He claims that with *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* Klughardt all at once entered the ranks of the most significant composers of oratorios. He situates the composer within the sphere of the New German school, whose influence he traces in the oratorio's dramatic quality, programmatic density, and effective orchestration.[377] To the oratorio's easily intelligible tonal articulation, to its persuasive truth and intensity, he credits the enthralling effect of Klughardt's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*.[378] Brandt, an important figure in the musical life of Magdeburg, was in fact familiar with the oratorio not only as a critic. He had also organized its second performance in April 1899 under the composer with the *Brandtsche Gesangverein* founded by him in Magdeburg in 1872.

If perhaps somewhat overly enthusiastic, the musicologist Hugo Riemann saw Klughardt, whom he considered to have mastered both the old and the modern styles of composition, in a line with Händel and Mendelssohn. Based on his appreciation of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, he expected Klughardt to become "the re-creator of the highest and most solemn art form, the re-creator of the German sacred oratorio!"[379] More recent musicological appraisals similarly emphasize Klughardt's successful blending of established techniques of composition, such as the Wagnerian *leitmotif*, counterpoint, and dramatic arrangements, in order to create a psychologically detailed, illustrative, and propelling interpretive role for the orchestra.[380]

Gerlach's libretto may be based on the visual source of Kaulbach's famous painting, yet it nevertheless offers an idiosyncratic reading of the historical episode which distinguishes it also from all of the other oratorios discussed so far. Most intriguingly, though opening with the Archangels' prophecy of doom, the first part of the oratorio ends on a hopeful, if ominous, note. There is no mention

376 Adolph Brandt, *August Klughardt, Die Zerstörung Jerusalems. Oratorium. Der Musikführer* No. 155 (Stuttgart: Schmitt, n. d.), p. 5. The guide is not dated but was obviously published prior to the composer's death in 1902 and following the first performances of the oratorio in 1899.

377 Ibid., p. 4.

378 Ibid.

379 Quoted in Gerlach, *Klughardt*, p. 136: "der Neuschöpfer der höchsten und weihevollsten Kunstgattung, der Neuschöpfer des deutschen geistlichen Oratoriums!"

380 See Günther Eisenhardt and Marco Zabel, "August Klughardt: Förderer und Bewahrer bewährter Traditionen," in *Musikstadt Dessau*, ed. Günther Eisenhardt (Altenburg: Kamprad, 2006), pp. 133–57, pp. 149–51.

of internal Jewish discord and, following the resistance to the idolatry imposed on the Jews by the Romans, the High Priest vows adherence to the covenant with Jehovah, a vow that is repeated by the people in unison. Yet, though the threat of conquest is averted with the death of the emperor (Nero) and the successful revolt against the Roman legions, the Archangels reiterate their dire prophecy. The High Priest and people rejoice in what Brandt describes as a tonal fabric of elementary force only to launch a passionate imagined visualization of the concluding Siciliano which has no equivalent in Kaulbach's painting but serves to emphasize the programmatic and highly visual quality attributed by the critic to the composer's music:

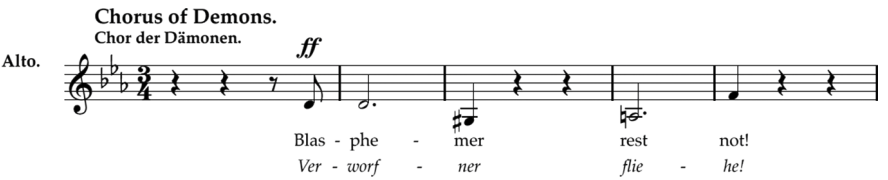
> We see now in our mind the daughters of Israel dance a dainty roundel, enter together with the people into the Temple, see how the curtain is drawn away from the Holy of Holies, hear the solemn call of the trombone to the sacrifice and behold in the arpeggios of the harps wafting up the fumes of the thanks offering made by the High Priest with fervent prayer and supplication to the Highest (G flat major), and finally see the curtain in front of the Holy of Holies drawn close again. All distress and peril appear to be at an end, the people reconciled with its God. But suddenly, above an uncanny, muffled drum roll on the lower F sharp into which, like inexorable fate, flashes time and again the pizzicato of the double basses, there rings out the voice of the angels: "And though ye raise your hands unto Me, pleading, yet will I hide My countenance from you"; like from afar once more the motif of the Romans rises menacingly up (bassoon). We feel that the punitive judgement over Israel is only postponed, and that its execution is nigh. This peculiar conclusion to the first part is of truly harrowing effect.[381]

I have quoted this at some length in order to illustrate the dramatic quality and specifically visual power the music was perceived to have; similar, perhaps, to Hiller's oratorio of half a century before. It is a characteristic ascribed by Brandt to Klughardt's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* which correlates also to its interaction with

381 Brandt, *Klughardt*, pp. 11–12: "Wir sehen nun im Geiste die Töchter Israels einen anmutigen Reigen aufführen, ziehen mit dem Volk in den Tempel ein, sehen den Vorhang vor dem Allerheiligsten hinwegziehen, hören den feierlichen Ruf der Posaune zum Opfer und erblicken in den aufsteigenden Harpeggien der Harfen den emporwallenden Rauch des Dankopfers, das der Hohepriester mit innigem Gebet und Flehen dem Höchsten darbringt (Ges-dur), und sehen endlich den Vorhang vor dem Allerheiligsten sich wieder schliessen. Alle Not und Gefahr scheint vorüber, das Volk mit seinem Gott versöhnt. Da ertönt plötzlich über einem unheimlichen, dumpfen Paukenwirbel auf dem tiefen Fis, in den wie das unerbittliche Schicksal immer wieder das Pizzicato der Bässe hineinzuckt, die Stimme der Engel: 'Und ob ihr auch eure Hände ausbreitet, verberg ich doch mein Angesicht vor euch'; wie aus der Ferne steigt noch einmal das Motiv der Römer drohend empor (Fagott). Wir ahnen, dass das Strafgericht über Israel nur verschoben, und dass seine Vollstreckung nahe ist. Dieser eigenartige Schluss des ersten Teils ist von wahrhaft erschütternder Wirkung."

Kaulbach's eponymous painting to which the second part of the oratorio relates more closely in terms of its narrative.

Most conspicuously, Klughardt and Gerlach include once again the figures of Ahasuerus and the demons, contrasted—similar to Görres's and Schüller's treatments as well as Kaulbach's painting—to the "withdrawing" Christians. As no. 11 of his fifteen pieces, Klughardt offers: "Chorus of Demons, Ahasuerus, the Christians (withdrawing)."[382] With the use of chromatics, diminished harmony and the therein immanent tritones—also known as *diabolus in musica* and associated with evil[383]—and a restless pervasive surface rhythm (see Music Examples 13–14), it contrasts in a dramatic intertwining of voices the utter despair of the Wandering Jew pursued by the demons with the deliverance of the Christians from the cataclysmic destruction of the city which is appositely rendered in the form of a chorale setting. The diminished fifth interval, already introduced at the very beginning of the oratorio (see Music Example 15), and developed as a *leitmotif* throughout, was attributed by Brandt with a pervasive symbolic meaning; indeed, he saw it as the epitome of the work as a whole: "Judged and cast aside."[384] The libretto thus not only demonstrates the undiminished popularity—or at least the relevance—of Kaulbach's painting but also the continuing validity of the antisemitic image disseminated by the painting in its various versions, although in the context of Klughardt's oratorio this becomes less straightforward.

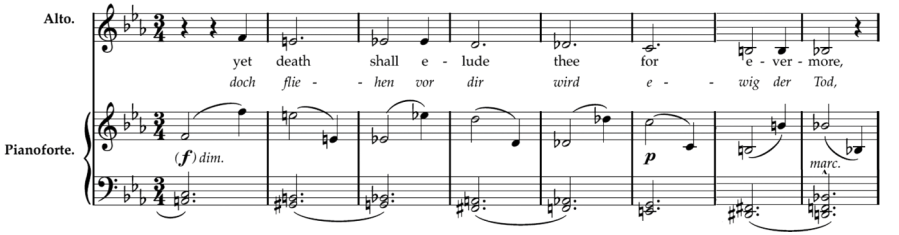


Music Example 13: August Klughardt, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium in zwei Abtheilungen* [piano reduction] (1899; Bayreuth: Giessel, 1903), no. 11, pp. 143–62, p. 144, bb. 38–42: Chorus of Demons, Ahasuerus, the Christians (withdrawing).

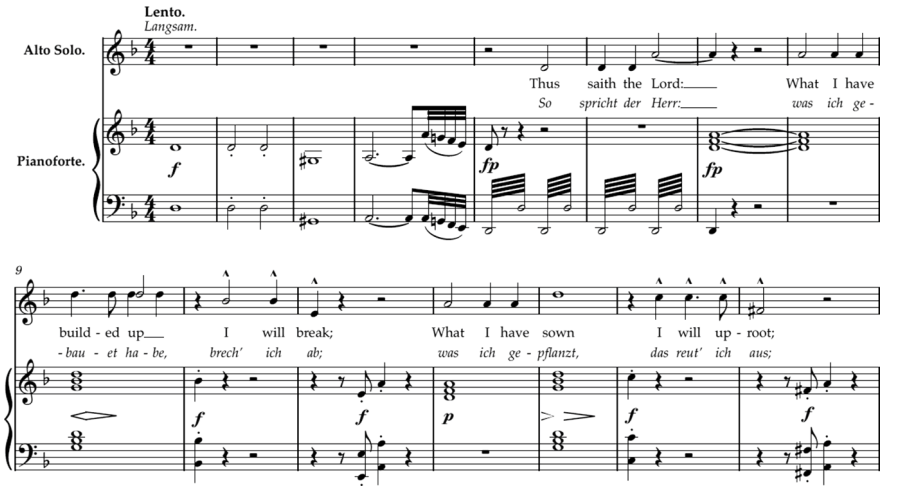
382 Klughardt, *Zerstörung Jerusalems* [piano reduction], no. 11.

383 For the medieval origins of this conception and its further transmission, see, e.g., Reinhold Hammerstein, *Diabolus in Musica: Studien zur Ikonographie der Musik im Mittelalter* (Bern: Francke, 1974) and Marcello de Angelis, *Diabolus in musica: lingua e pensiero nella musica tra sacro e profano* (Firenze: Le lettere, 2001). The tritonus is considered one of the most dissonant musical intervals.

384 Brandt, *Klughardt*, p. 5: "Gerichtet und verworfen"; see also p. 14.



Music Example 14: August Klughardt, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium in zwei Abtheilungen* [piano reduction] (1899; Bayreuth: Giessel, 1903), no. 11, pp. 143–62, p. 146, bb. 106–13: Chorus of Demons, Ahasuerus, the Christians (withdrawing).



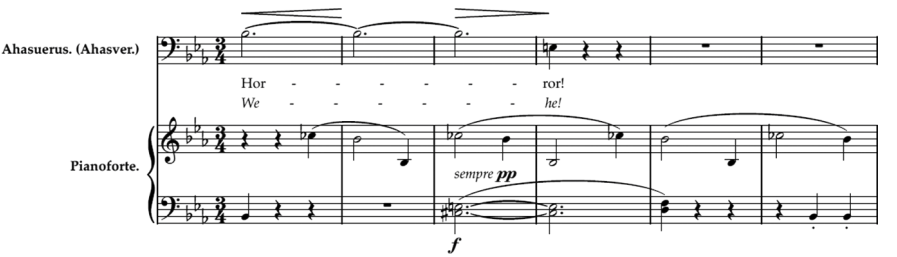
Music Example 15: August Klughardt, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium in zwei Abtheilungen* [piano reduction] (1899; Bayreuth: Giessel, 1903), no. 1, pp. 3–20, p. 3, bb. 1–15: The Archangel, Chorus of Angels and Prophets.

The final chorus (no. 15), interlaced with the alto solo of "A Voice," otherwise associated with the angels, concludes with the divine promise of restoration:

> He who hath scattered Israel can gather again together, and He will protect His people, and guide as a shepherd His sheep. I have compassion, saith the Lord, and will not chide for ever. And the Lord shall wipe away all tears and there shall be no more weeping, and He shall remove the burden of shame from His people. For the Lord hath spoken the word.[385]

385 Klughardt, *Zerstörung Jerusalems* [piano reduction], no. 15: "Der Israel zerstreut, der wird es auch sammeln wieder, und wird seines Volkes hüten gleich wie seiner Heerde ein Hirt. Ich bin

This promise is arguably also projected onto the figure of Ahasuerus. The diminished fifth with which he initially pronounces "Horror! [Wehe!]" in no. 11 (bb. 125–28; see Music Example 16) is later replaced by the 'resolved' perfect fifth to exclaim the same word (V–I in the by then established key of G-flat major) when he and the withdrawing Christians sing in parallel (see Music Example 17). This may symbolically suggest the corrective influence of the Christians on the devil's interval which is effected through conversion.



Music Example 16: August Klughardt, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium in zwei Abtheilungen* [piano reduction] (1899; Bayreuth: Giessel, 1903), no. 11, pp. 143–62, p. 147, bb. 125–30: Chorus of Demons, Ahasuerus, the Christians (withdrawing).

barmherzig spricht der Herr, und will nicht ewiglich zürnen. Und der Herr wird alle die Thränen abwischen vom Angesicht und wird in jeglichem Land aufheben die Schmach seines Volkes. Denn der Herr hat solches gesagt." Translation by Constance Bache in the original.



Music Example 17: August Klughardt, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium in zwei Abtheilungen* [piano reduction] (1899; Bayreuth: Giessel, 1903), no. 11, pp. 143–62, pp. 153–4, bb. 269–80: Chorus of Demons, Ahasuerus, the Christians (withdrawing).

The vocal score of Klughardt's oratorio (1903) includes an English translation by Constance Bache which indicates a prospective market for the composition in the Anglophone world. Yet the translation, while idiomatic, is frequently distorting. It omits, for instance, the promise to "remove the burden of shame from His people" in every nation or country, "in jeglichem Land," as Gerlach's libretto has it.[386] The emphasis on future Jewish rehabilitation in the eyes of the world is similar to Hiller and Steinheim's insistence on the rebirth of the Jews and a new covenant among the nations. And in this sense, Gerlach's libretto, even while it includes Ahasuerus and his demons, elaborates a restoration narrative which is not explicitly tied to conversion. Consequently, as I would argue, the figure of the Beautiful Jewess as the sentimental exemplar of the conversion route is absent from Klughardt's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, just as Ahasuerus had no role to play in Blumner's earlier oratorio.

The Beautiful Jewess nevertheless was a type that Klughardt too was interested in. His next and final oratorio, *Judith* (1901; op. 85), celebrated with its eponymous heroine the Beautiful Jewess. It did not, of course, do so within the context of the conversion narrative. Conceived in some ways as a complement to his earlier *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, Klughardt noted in a letter to a friend: "With Jerusalem a whole people was the hero, here there are but two main figures who, however, tower above all the others."[387] In the same missive, he announced the birth of his Beautiful Jewess and her Assyrian antagonist: "Hear and be amazed! Judith, wrapped in swaddling clothes wants to appear before you, the black, fiery Jewish girl and the even blacker and more fiery Holofernes."[388] Black and fiery establish the exotic otherness of both of the oratorio's main figures, but they are distinguished by an implicit gender difference and the use of the comparative: in the characterization of the "Judenmädchen," the Jewish girl, both terms appear to be positive while with her male antagonist they seem to suggest not only a darker complexion but blackness of heart and unrestrained passions, both staples of orientalist discourse. Yet the representation of Judith in Klughardt's oratorio—for which, once again, Gerlach had written the libretto—is interesting in the present context mainly for the criticism it provoked.

The writer reports that in some reviews of the oratorio Judith's heroic act was decried as "a treacherous murder at the hands of a perfidious woman, one of

386 Ibid.

387 Quoted from a letter to an unnamed friend in Gerlach, *Klughardt*, p. 144: "Bei Jerusalem war ein ganzes Volk der Held, hier sind es nur zwei, allerdings um Haupteslänge überragende Personen."

388 Ibid.: "Höre und staune! Judith, in Windeln gewickelt, möchte vor Dir erscheinen, das schwarze, feurige Judenmädchen und der noch schwärzere und noch feurigere Holofernes."

the most disgusting heroic exploits of Jewish history."[389] He explains that in support of this denunciation of Jewish mendacity the critics invoked both the German "Volksempfinden," the German people's innate sentiment, and modern sensibilities to which any heroism of this sort was supposedly abhorrent.[390] The writer then embarks on a lengthy apology of the Jewish conduct which in turn projects an image of superior morality, patriotism, and faithfulness. As such Gerlach's riposte is interesting as a document of the favorable perception of the Jews that informed the approach of the composer and his librettist. The Jews are celebrated not only as a nation, but as a nation which is ethically more than equal to the civilized nations of the past and, by implication, of the present.

In Klughardt's earlier oratorio it was the figure of Ahasuerus that had invited controversy. Gerlach presents in his biography of Klughardt opposing views on the Ahasuerus figure and the demons in a parallel layout which clearly demonstrates their contradictory nature.[391] Positive responses emphasized the characteristic use of the scene's *leitmotif* as well as the quality of the composer's realistic tone painting and its absorbing effect; the chorus of demons was considered the climactic moment of the oratorio. Others found the Ahasuerus scene to be incongruent with the rest of the oratorio and even superfluous, suggesting that it be omitted from future performances.

Klughardt's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* was nevertheless a notable success. Within three years, if Gerlach is to be believed, the oratorio was performed more than eighty times in Germany as well as in Switzerland and the Netherlands, Latvia, and the United States.[392] In this respect it may well have been the most successful of the musical adaptations of Kaulbach's monumental painting. Bohn's composition based on Görres's libretto was never published and appears to be fragmentary. Schüller's text, apparently encouraged by Kaulbach himself, may have been conceived as an improvement of the too complex earlier effort, yet Naumann's cantata appears to have been a failure.[393]

The poet and critic Ludwig Rellstab, for instance, censured in particular the composer's alleged straining after effect. More specifically, anticipating the criticism eli-

389 Ibid., p. 147: "Ein von einem hinterlistigen Weibe vollbrachter Meuchelmord, eine der widerwärtigsten Grossthaten der jüdischen Geschichte."

390 Ibid.

391 Ibid., pp. 126–7.

392 Ibid., p. 123.

393 Naumann's musical arrangement appears to remain unpublished; I was not able to locate either a printed version or an autograph. The extant textbooks were presumably produced for the audience of performances in Berlin and Weimar, see above in this chapter, note 309.

cited by Klughardt's Ahasuerus, he took issue with the figure of the Wandering Jew whom he would have preferred to have been completely excised from the poem:

> The composer could hardly sketch him [i.e., Ahasuerus] any differently than he has done; these jagged rhythms, these sharp modulations offer many effective moments, although in its entirety the piece is more painful than touching in an artistically soothing way. This unnerving effect is even exacerbated with the demons' chorus with its shrill instrumentation. Yet are we supposed to feel with sacred works as with the diabolical or demoniacal scenes of our new operas? We reiterate once more: what is it that we take from the whole piece? Certainly not the convulsions of the emotions, the edification or sanctification to which art of this kind is supposed to elevate us![394]

The figure of the Wandering Jew is thus not rejected because of its antisemitic provenance and hyperbole but because of its supposedly too dramatic rendering which, to Rellstab, is not sufficiently conducive to the edification and the hallowed sentiment the critic expects sacred music to create. The firm positioning of the subject within a religious framework is noteworthy inasmuch as it runs counter to Kaulbach's universalist historical trajectory as well as the cantata's performance settings in concert halls. Rellstab's assumptions about the topic clearly relegate it to the realm of spiritual edification and completely divorce it from the amalgamation of realism and idealism attempted by Kaulbach with his pursuit of a vividly expressive idiom.

It is certainly no coincidence that Kaulbach too had been accused of indulging in excessive effects. Intriguingly, in 1843 Sulpiz Boisserée compared in his diary the striking visual contrasts between the High Priest, Ahasuerus, and the withdrawing Christians with the musical pyrotechnics of Giacomo Meyerbeer whose work set the standard for the *grand opera* of the nineteenth century.[395] Similarly, when Rellstab referred to the "diabolical" and "demoniacal" scenes of the new opera, he almost certainly would have had in his mind Meyerbeer's seminal *Robert le diable* (1831;

394 Ludwig Rellstab, quoted from the *Vossische Zeitung* in *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung* 4 (April 26, 1856): 136: "Die Gestalt des ewigen Juden hätten wir am liebsten ganz aus dem Gedichte hinweggewünscht. Der Musiker konnte sie kaum anders zeichnen, als er gethan; diese zerrissenen Rhythmen, diese scharfen Modulationen enthalten manchen wirkungsvollen Moment, obwohl das Ganze uns mehr peinigt als in irgend einer künstlerisch wohlthuenden Weise berührt. Noch gesteigert wird diese unbehagliche Wirkung in dem Dämonen-Chor mit einer betäubenden, schrillenden Instrumentation. Soll uns aber jemals bei kirchlichen Werken zu Muthe werden, wie in den diabolischen oder dämonischen Scenen unserer neueren Opern? Nochmals kommen wir darauf zurück: Was nehmen wir aus dem Ganzen der Arbeit mit? Doch gewiss nicht die Rührung oder Erschütterung, die Erbauung oder Heiligung, zu der die Kunst auf diesem Gebiete uns emportragen soll!"

395 See Sulpiz Boisserée, *Tagebücher*, vol. III: *1835–1843*, ed. Hans-Joachim Weitz (Darmstadt: Roether, 1983), pp. 437–9.

Robert the Devil) which, with its spectacular orchestration and scenography, had propelled the German Jewish composer to the peak of European opera.[396]

In a similar vein and accusing Meyerbeer in his infamous essay of devious deception, Wagner alleged that the composer was "bent upon utilising the effect of catastrophes and involved emotional situations," so as to achieve artistic fame without substance.[397] More specifically, he accused Meyerbeer of self-deception, of trying to cover up his inadequacy against his better knowledge, and mocked his work as paradigmatic of the nature of Jewish artistic production, which he denounced as un-inspiring and ridiculous.[398]

Emil Naumann, the unhappy composer of the failed cantata who had been accused of a similar sensationalism, was in fact to become more influential as a historian of music. Though not Jewish himself, Naumann extolled in his monumental *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte* (1885; [Illustrated] *History of Music*) the contribution of the Israelites to the universal development of music. Contrary to Wagner, he attributes to the Jews an "aptitude" for music "to which the most ancient records bear witness" and which, he claims, "has been maintained to the present day."[399] Naumann identifies the root of this aptitude in the development of monotheism and the Mosaic prohibition of images:[400]

> If the belief in Jehovah forbade the introduction of images into their service, so also did music stand aloof from all emblematic representation, since it is the only art whose models are not sought for in the phenomena of physical nature.[401]

396 See, e.g., Robert Ignatius Letellier, *Meyerbeer's* Robert le Diable*: The Premier Opéra Romantique* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2014), p. 114.

397 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 42; see also K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 110 (29): "dieser Componist [war] auch auf Erschütterung und Vorführung von Gefühlskatastrophen bedacht."

398 See Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 42; see also K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 110 (29).

399 Emil Naumann, *The History of Music*, ed. F. A. Gore Ouseley, transl. F. Praeger (London: Cassell, 1888), p. 59; see also Emil Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte: Die Entwicklung der Tonkunst aus frühesten Anfängen bis auf die Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Spemann, 1885), p. 55: "[D]ie musikalische Begabung, von der uns die ältesten Urkunden bereits berichten, [hat] sich noch bis auf unsere Tage nicht verleugnet."

400 See Naumann, *History of Music*, pp. 58–9; see also Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, pp. 54–5.

401 Naumann, *History of Music*, p. 59; see also Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, p. 55: "Schloß der Jehovaglaube schon an und für sich jeden Bilderdienst aus, so steht auch die Musik allem Bildlichen und Anschaulichen fern, denn sie ist die einzige Kunst, die des Naturvorbildes nicht bedarf."

Music thus emerges as a non-mimetic art form that with the Israelites, in Naumann's words, "for the first time became the connecting link between man and his Maker."[402] The musicologist moreover emphasizes the unique socio-political function assumed by music in the context of prophecy in addition to its extensive liturgical use.[403]

At the same time, the religious significance of music as it pervaded all aspects of existence among the Israelites turned it also into a medium of transgression. Referring to the use of secular music at the royal court, Naumann observes that the "subsequent artistic and moral degeneracy" of these court musicians "drew upon them the righteous anger of the prophet Isaiah."[404] We may feel reminded, here, of Chamital in Hiller's oratorio and of the rhythmic and tonal characterization of her exotic figure offered by the composer in harmony with Steinheim's libretto, which contrasts Zedekiah's sorrowful desperation[405] with his mother's sensual and seductive abandonment:

> Up, man thyself! forget thy sorrow; give
> Thyself up to mirth—
> [. . .]
> While loud resounds the joyous song,
> And loud the revelry, and long,
> That fills the festive place.[406]

Naumann had imposed a (neo-)Hegelian teleology on the universal development of music (in relation to the other arts) already in his extensive *Die Tonkunst in der Culturgeschichte* (1869; *Music in Cultural History*). In the *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte* this conception is even more pervasive and it is perhaps only to be expected that Naumann made explicit reference to the destruction of Jerusalem in

402 Naumann, *History of Music*, p. 60; see also Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, p. 56: "Die Musik ward daher bei den Israeliten zum erstenmal die Vermittlerin eines *persönlichen* Verhältnisses des Menschen zu Gott."

403 See Naumann, *History of Music*, p. 67; see also Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, pp. 60–2.

404 Naumann, *History of Music*, p. 66; see also Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, p. 61: "Daß dieselben in späterer Zeit einer vielfachen künstlerischen und sittlichen Entartung verfielen." Naumann's original reference to Isaiah does not mention the prophet's "righteous anger"; more graphic is a later passage which, in turn, is omitted from Praeger's translation. Here, Naumann mentions that Sirach denounced "the *sensuous* power issuing particularly temptingly from their [i.e., the female singers'] mouths [die in ihrem Munde (i.e., the female singers') besonders lockend hervortretende *sinnliche* Macht des Tones]," p. 62.

405 See Hiller, *Zerstörung Jerusalems* [piano reduction], no. 11.

406 Ibid., no. 12. See also Steinheim, *Zerstörung*, p. 6: "Ermanne Dich, vergiss der Sorgen! gieb / Dich der Freude hin. / [. . .] / Und laut erschalle der Gesang / Und laut erfülle Jubelklang / Den festlich hellen Saal."

his exploration of Jewish music. Although he attributes to the "wonderful people" of the Jews that "from the earliest times of human history to the present, [they] have remained unchanged in their national integrity,"[407] he nevertheless acknowledges the disruptive impact and, once again, like Kaulbach, the pivotal significance of the historical occurrence:

> The destruction of the Second Temple by Titus, and the dispersion of the people of Israel throughout the whole world, whilst it robbed them of their kingdom, almost wholly obliterated all trace of nationality in their music. The influence of foreign civilisation on a people so widely scattered as the Hebrews could not fail, notwithstanding their exclusiveness, to leave its impress on them and on their tonal art.[408]

Thus, although Naumann insists on the continued Jewish aptitude for music, he nevertheless elaborates the notion of what in effect amounts to a musical supersession arising from the hybridization of Jewish "tonal art" and its unceasing cultural productivity. Throughout his *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, he links Christian music to that of the Israelites as a logical continuation and further development. In this context, Naumann specifically emphasizes, once again contrary to Wagner, the originality and the influence of synagogal music. In support of his argument, the composer maintains that an authentic Hebraic melody, "which bears the unmistakable stamp of its Oriental nationality, so plaintive, and, in a musical sense, so important," which he endeavored to harmonize, "is very suggestive of certain passages in Sebastian Bach's Passion and sacred music."[409] Similarly, he identified the influence of ancient Hebraic melodies in Mendelssohn's *Elias* and, in a secular

407 Naumann, *History of Music*, p. 58; see also Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, pp. 54–5: "dieses wunderbare Volk [. . .] ist das einzige, das sich aus ältesten Menschheitstagen, aus der Urzeit der Geschichte unseres Geschlechtes bis auf die Gegenwart in seiner nationalen Integrität unverändert erhalten hat."

408 Naumann, *History of Music*, pp. 80–1; see also Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, pp. 75–6: "Die Zerstörung des zweiten Tempels durch Titus und die Zerstreuung des Volkes Israel über den ganzen Erdboden vernichtete, mit dem Bestehen eines israelitischen Staates, die nationale und selbstständige hebräische Musik. Denn die Einflüsse fremder Cultur, welchen sich die, in die verschiedensten Länder und Klimate verschlagenen Volksgenossen, trotz ihrer Abgeschlossenheit nur bis zu einem gewissen Punkte entziehen konnten, ließen selbstverständlich auch ihre *Tonkunst* nicht unberührt."

409 Naumann, *The History of Music*, p. 78; see also Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, p. 73: "eine so wunderbar fremdartige und zugleich musikalisch so bedeutende und von Schmerz erfüllte Melodie [. . .], deren ganzer Fortgang lebhaft an gewisse verwandte melodische Wendungen der Solostimmen in den Passionen und Kirchencantaten Sebastian Bach's erinnert."

context, observed "some themes" of Meyerbeer to "possess certain Jewish peculiarities,"[410] as noted already by Philippson.

Another fifteen years or so after the re-publication of Wagner's essay and following almost immediately on the German translation of Liszt's expanded edition of *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie*, Naumann's deliberations are thus in effect a reaffirmation of the "Hebraic taste in art," but with a positive turn. The composer and music historian, himself in younger years a pupil of Mendelssohn and a friend of Hiller, concluded his chapter on Israelite music with the assertion that "[if] Christian music has intensified the tonal art, and made it the language of heart and soul, it should never be forgotten that to the Hebrews we are indebted for the prolific soil on which it fructified."[411]

The question of Jewishness, of its nature and of its influence in terms of modes of expression and content or subject matter, thus continued to haunt musical production in Germany on different levels. The subject of the destruction of Jerusalem opened an arena for the negotiation of this question in intermedial variety and Kaulbach's celebrated painting, arguably inspired by an oratorio and subsequently in turn inspiring the composition of a number of oratorial works, was at the center of this conversation. Within the iconographic tradition, the artist's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* curiously never attained the same significance. A brief glance at other pictorial engagements with the subject nevertheless suggests that, as a representation of Jewishness, it was more eloquent than others and once again, as with Hiller's oratorio, provoked a defiant "Jewish" reaction—by the painter Eduard Bendemann.

Kaulbach and the Artists: Bendemann and Others

In art historical terms, the dramatic quality of Kaulbach's painting—equivalent perhaps to Loewe's operatic conception of the oratorio and Naumann's cantata—has been understood to be a response to Eduard Bendemann's moderate and restrained aestheticism and, more specifically, to his sentimental and empathetic representations of the Jews in his early and highly successful paintings, such as *Gefangene Juden im Exil* (1832; Figure 5) and *Jeremias auf den Trümmern Jerusa-*

410 Naumann, *History of Music*, p. 82; see also Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, p. 77: "Dieselbe mahnt an gewisse, einen nationalen Typus tragende Themen von *Meyerbeer*."

411 Naumann, *History of Music*, p. 85; see also Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, p. 80: "Sollte daher die *christliche* Musik, welche die Tonkunst in Wahrheit erst verinnerlichte und zu einer Sprache des Herzens und Gemüthes umschuf, irgendwo anknüpfen, so konnte dies nur auf dem Boden geschehen, welchen die Hebräer bereits tieferem musikalischen Ausdrucke erschlossen hatten."

lems (1834–35; Figure 6).[412] Yet the not entirely amicable conversation between both painters did not rest there.[413] Bendemann worked between 1865 and 1872 on a monumental painting, *Die Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft* (1872; The Jews Led Away into the Babylonian Exile; Figure 4), which in turn has been taken to be a corrective revision of Kaulbach's *Zerstörung* in which the polarized divergence of the Christians and the Wandering Jew has been given one specific direction—the Jews' enforced exile.[414]

The assimilated and converted Bendemann's attitude toward Judaism and Jewishness may have been ambivalent. Yet the critic and art historian Friedrich Pecht surmised in 1881 that the "power of the blood" was strong in the Jewish-born artist and emphasized that although Bendemann was decidedly Christian, he chose his subjects exclusively from the Old Testament and not the New.[415] This is true also of *Die Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft*. Thematically consistent with *Gefangene Juden im Exil* as well as with *Jeremias auf den Trümmern Jerusalems*, the monumental painting may be meant as a reassertion of the Jewish particular, not unlike Hiller and Steinheim's oratorio on the same subject of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar.

In the final version of *Die Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft*, such an affirmative reading may be suggested with the positioning of Jeremiah's head in the center of the composition and with his gaze directly meeting that of the beholder while his left hand covers his mouth. The latter is an echo of

412 See, e.g., Christian Scholl, "Später Orientalismus: Eduard Bendemanns Gemälde *Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft*," in Scholl and Sors (eds), *Vor den Gemälden*, pp. 57–65, p. 61. For the success of Bendemann's early 'Jewish' paintings, see Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, pp. 407–9; for a contextualization and discussion of the contemporary debate, see pp. 416–25, and for the cultural influence of the paintings, see pp. 425–51.

413 For the controversy between Kaulbach and Bendemann, see Scholl, "Später Orientalismus," pp. 60–1.

414 See ibid., p. 61.

415 Friedrich Pecht, "Eduard Bendemann," in *Deutsche Künstler des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts: Studien und Erinnerungen*, third series (Nördlingen: Beck, 1881), pp. 261–93, p. 284: "Characteristic of the power of the blood in the artist is that he returned to this subject after forty years and that, anyhow, although he takes a decidedly Christian position in matters of religion, he never chose his subjects from the New Testament but always from the Old. Here, too [i.e., in *The Jews Led Away*], the lamenting Jeremiah once again forms the center of the whole composition so rich in figures. [Bezeichnend für die Macht des Blutes in dem Künstler ist, daß er nach vierzig Jahren wieder auf dieses Thema zurückkam, überhaupt, obschon er entschieden auf christlich religiösem Standpunkte steht, seine Stoffe nie dem neuen, sondern immer nur dem alten Testatmente entnahm. Auch hier (i.e., in *Wegführung der Juden*) bildet der klagende Jeremias wiederum den Mittelpunkt der ganzen figurenreichen Composition.]" For the perception of Bendemann as a Jewish artist, see Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, p. 410.

Michelangelo's representation of the prophet in the Sistine Chapel, yet the challenge of the prophet's gaze is an innovation, also in comparison with Bendemann's own earlier work. Its effect, like that of the wild eyes of Kaulbach's Wandering Jew, is to draw the beholder in; but where the former evokes a melancholy empathy, the latter creates horror and abhorrence.

Bendemann's *Die Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft* was produced for the stairwell of the new National Gallery in Berlin (today's Old National Gallery) opened in 1876. As such, it was given a prominent setting similar to that of Kaulbach's fresco which in fact was literally situated next door.[416] The obvious competition with Kaulbach's composition was even more evident in Bendemann's surviving oil sketch of 1865 in which he had inserted a tympanon in which God, surrounded by angels, imperiously shows the Jews on their way.[417] The figural group, reminiscent of the prophets and angels in Kaulbach's painting, was eliminated from the final version, arguably in response to the contemporary historicizing trend in historical painting which rejected allegorical components and the idealistic "Hegelian" approach still pursued by Kaulbach a quarter of a century before.[418]

Yet Bendemann resorted in *Die Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft* not only to a more historicist approach but at the same time engaged in the orientalization of the Jews.[419] As Christian Scholl has suggested, Bendemann visited Paris with the express purpose of studying for his project Near Eastern antiquities as well as representations and living models of "oriental" physiognomies.[420] The ensuing orientalist construction of the Jews and Assyrians reflected not only current trends in historical painting but was deliberately employed by the artist to achieve naturalistic plausibility and to enhance the suggestive potential of his representation.[421]

With his orientalizing conception of the Jews Bendemann invested them with an otherness which they lacked in his earlier paintings in which he had followed

416 The painting, oil on canvas, measures 416 cm × 510 cm, Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin; it was believed to have been destroyed during the Second World War but was rediscovered in 2007, see Benjamin Sander, Tobias Helms, and Maurice Hollmann, "*Die Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft* (1865–72)," in Scholl and Sors (eds), *Vor den Gemälden*, pp. 151–5, p. 152.

417 See ibid., p. 154. The oil sketch measures 119 cm × 135.5 cm, Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf.

418 See ibid.

419 For Bendemann's rejection of obvious orientalist elements in his earlier paintings, see Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, pp. 412–25.

420 See Scholl, "Später Orientalismus," pp. 63–4.

421 See ibid., p. 64.

mainly classicist principles and Renaissance models.[422] In addition to the external reasons proposed by Scholl for this shift, the artist may also have revised his perception of Jewishness which in *Die Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft* appears to be predicated on the notion of a persistent inassimilability.[423] Indeed, the monumental painting is not so much an amalgamation of *Gefangene Juden im Exil* and *Jeremias auf den Trümmern Jerusalems* than rather the representation of an in-between, transitional state that appears to indicate the dynamic and processual nature of Jewish exile. As such the painting offers an interpretation of continued Jewish existence in exile which may be reminiscent of Kaulbach's conception but which eliminates in contrast to the earlier representation of the Wandering Jew and the Christians any connotations of accusation, condemnation, and supersession. Instead, Bendemann's secularized painting makes a plea for empathy, which paradoxically is only strengthened through the construction of a noble and unhappy orientalized otherness. In this sense it is very different from Hiller and Steinheim's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* which insists on the persistence and continued ethical significance of the Jewish particular and in which exotic features were employed not to characterize the Jews in general but only those Jews who reverted from monotheism to oriental idol worship.

It will be easier to appreciate Bendemann's strategy of directing the beholder's empathy, or even sympathy, when comparing it to an entirely different conception of the destruction of Jerusalem and the First Temple that was realized by Johann Georg Trautmann (1713–69) in the mid-eighteenth century. Trautmann's rather smaller *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (c. 1750), which significantly does not include the prophet Jeremiah, shows the Jews being led away from the burning city in the background (see Figure 10).[424] Their long winding train, framed by stock representations of trees on the right and Assyrian soldiers guarding the captives on the left, includes camels burdened with loot and, underneath the burning gate in the background, the spoils taken away from the Temple. With the exception of the camels and the colorful costumes of the Jews nothing in the picture suggests its oriental location nor the realism of a recent siege and battle. The cen-

422 See ibid., p. 58.

423 Christian Scholl suggests instead that Bendemann was intent to demonstrate that there was a way from Judaism to Christianity, "Christliche Kunst," in Scholl and Sors (eds), *Vor den Gemälden*, pp. 73–80, p. 75.

424 Oil on copper sheet, 32.5 cm × 42.5 cm, Tarnowskie Góry Museum. See Zofia Krzykowska, *Malarstwo zachodnioeuropejskie w Muzeum w Tarnowskich Górach* (Tarnowskie Góry: Muzeum w Tarnowskich Górach, 2018), pp. 42–3. The painting was purchased by the museum in 1966; previously it appears to have been in private possession and, presumably, not widely accessible. It is not, for instance, listed by Rudolf Bangel, *Johann Georg Trautmann und seine Zeitgenossen, nebst einer Geschichte der Frankfurter Malerzunft im Achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Strassburg: Heitz, 1914).

tral group of the Jews around the High Priest leading the exodus toward the beholder are executed in theatrical poses of lament and despair. The blazing fire engulfing the buildings in the background provides the backdrop to the rather static scene in the foreground.



Figure 10: Johann Georg Trautmann, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (c. 1750); oil on copper sheet; 32.5 cm × 42.5 cm; Tarnowskie Góry Museum, Tarnowskie Góry. (With kind permission.)

Trautmann, a mediocre artist at best, was nevertheless known for his exceptional representations of devastating fires.[425] The artist apparently had an eerie fascination with the destructive element and his choice of subject in relation to the destruction of Jerusalem may be indebted to this attraction. Trautmann painted various night scenes of burning buildings and villages. Among his most distinguished works are moreover two versions of Troy in flames and the biblical subject of Lot fleeing with his daughters from the burning Sodom.[426] To Trautmann, whose oth-

425 See ibid., pp. 150–61.

426 For the Troy paintings, see ibid., pp. 151–3; also not listed by Bangel is Trautmann's *Lot flieht mit seinen Töchtern aus dem brennenden Sodom* (no date); oil on canvas, 65 cm × 68 cm, from the collections of the Grand Dukes of Baden, Karlsruhe.

erwise anaemic and scenery-like rendering of the subject was highly stylized, the destruction of Jerusalem seemed to have offered hardly more than an excuse for yet another representation of a blazing conflagration.

And yet, like Bendemann more than a century later, his painting stimulates, if in a rather staged manner, the beholder's empathy with the venerable figures of the Jews. However, in Bendemann's *Die Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft* the direction of the enforced march of the captives into exile significantly is reversed. Rather than from the background to the foreground, its trajectory is in a diagonal line from the foreground of the painting toward its background. The beholder's empathy is thus engaged even more intensely with the vanquished Jews inasmuch as the line of sight suggests the beholder's identification with the captives and even their imaginary inclusion in the long train of exiles.

Significantly, like Kaulbach's, Bendemann's painting makes a pronouncement on a historical process, if in a very different manner and with different objectives. The innovative potential of both paintings may more readily be appreciated when compared to another, much earlier rendering by Nicolas Poussin who appears to have been one of the first artists to address the subject on a large scale. His *La destruction du temple de Jérusalem* (1637; The Destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem)[427] is a historical painting which does not admit into its visual semantics any of the obvious supernatural elements favored by Kaulbach in his idealist rendering, nor does it focus on the Jewish particular in the way Bendemann does. Its most prominent feature is the awestruck pose of Titus, mounted on a rearing white charger, amidst the confusion of the battle in which the menorah is carried away in the left margin of the composition. An earlier version of the painting (1625–26) was lost for more than 300 years until it was rediscovered at an auction at Sotheby's in 1995.[428] In this version the menorah is given more prominence in the center of the painting as it is removed, while more emphasis is attached at the same time to the staying hand of Titus whose futile effort to save the Temple, as reported by Josephus, has given rise to the notion that the destruction was indeed God's judgment of which the Romans were but an instrument.

Poussin's historical paintings were followed, in the nineteenth century, by another large-scale painting that was exhibited in Paris at the Salon of 1824. Yet while showing some formal similarities with Poussin's versions of the subject, the focus of François-Joseph Heim's (1787–1865) *Destruction de Jérusalem par les Romains* (The Destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans)[429] is not on the historical

427 Oil on canvas, 147 cm × 198.5 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
428 Oil on canvas, 145.8 cm × 194 cm, Israel Museum, Jerusalem.
429 Oil on canvas, 405.5 cm × 478 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

drama of the destruction of the Temple. Rather, it privileges the central group of a Roman soldier mounted high on a rearing charger trampling the prostrate figures of a woman and her little child together with the futile effort of her husband to seize the bridle and unseat the axe-wielding attacker. Heim in this way, to some extent similar to Blumner half a century later, directs attention to the human face of the catastrophe whose larger historical context is indicated only sketchily. Indeed, there is hardly any clear visual identification of the Jewish context at all.

In contrast, eschewing the focus on human detail, Poussin's historical approach was taken to extremes less than three decades later by David Roberts (1796–1864) in his *The Destruction of Jerusalem* of 1850. Now lost, the Scottish artist's large-scale composition survives in a colored lithograph by Louis Haghe (see Figure 11).[430] Initially a scene painter, Roberts, like so many of his contemporaries, was interested in the pictorial representation of catastrophe. His fantasy of the *Destruction of a City* (1832)[431] is an earlier, as yet small-scale, example in which the artist already attempts the depiction of a desperate heroic struggle within the invented setting of a magnificent yet doomed city. Roberts's *Destruction of Jerusalem* is clearly beholden to the earlier effort as well as the panoramic spread of an operatic backdrop. And yet it is no less influenced by the artist's engagement with the ruins of antiquity in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Emerging as a prominent orientalist, Roberts had extensively traveled the Middle East in 1838–40. His various sketches of Jerusalem manifestly informed his representation of the historical conflagration.[432] His *Destruction of Jerusalem* moreover suggests a mood similar to that evoked in "On the Day of the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus" from Byron's *Hebrew Melodies*. The painting, like the earlier *Kunstlied* by Carl Loewe, may indeed have been inspired by the poem. Reminiscent of the wistful look back of the captive in Byron's poem, it shows the city in a sweeping vista from the Mount of Olives as it is besieged by the Romans and parts are already ablaze. In the right foreground, on a plateau jutting out from the mountain, Roman archers launch an attack across the Kidron valley; next to them cower (mostly female) captives and a slave drops loot from the city.

430 The original oil painting is said to have measured 213.4 cm × 365.8 cm. Haghe's lithograph was published as *The Siege and Destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans under the Command of Titus, A.D. 70* (London: Hering & Remington, 1851), 68 cm × 105.4 cm. For the history of Roberts's painting, see Joseph S. Peeples, *The Destruction of Jerusalem* (North Richland Hills, TX: D. & F. Scott, 1998).

431 Pencil and watercolor heightened with gouache and gum arabic on paper, 20.3 cm × 31.1 cm; private collection.

432 See David Roberts, *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt, and Nubia: After Lithographs by Louis Haghe from Drawings Made on the Spot*, ed. George Croly, 6 vols (London: Moon, 1842–49).



Figure 11: Louis Haghe, after David Roberts, *The Siege and Destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans under the Command of Titus, A.D. 70* (1851); colored lithograph; 68 cm × 105.4 cm; the original is lost. (Public domain.)

Once again zooming in, as it were, though not as much as Heim, Francesco Hayez's *La distruzione del Tempio di Gerusalemme* (1867; The Destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem)[433] is an orientalist fantasy of the Temple that is dominated by the vaguely Assyrian architecture of the central building on whose roof the battle still rages and against whose light-colored stone ashlars the menorah is clearly visible as it is carried away. Like Kaulbach, Hayez included some angelic figures, but in his painting they occupy a marginal position and are not presented as avengers. Presumably, they represent the withdrawal of the divine spirit from the doomed building.[434] The whole painting, completed two decades after Kaulbach's, otherwise rather seeks to eschew any symbolism and instead to convey a sense of historicist realism. In this it is similar to Bendemann's effort which, however, does not attempt the realistic representation of a battle but presents a carefully composed assembly of figures in order to tell a much more complex narrative than Hayez in his painting.

433 Oil on canvas, 183 cm × 252 cm, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice.

434 See Josephus, *Jewish War*, p. 361 (6.5.3): "Let us go hence."

In 1875 appeared a print of Carl von Häberlin's original drawing of the *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems durch die Römer unter Titus* (The Destruction of Jerusalem through the Romans under Titus) in *Das Buch für Alle* (see Figure 12).[435] The popular magazine with the subtitle *Illustrirte Blätter zur Unterhaltung und Belehrung. Für die Familie und Jedermann* (Illustrated Sheets for Entertainment and Instruction. For the Family and Everyman) was published since 1866 in Stuttgart and made Häberlin's rendering of the subject widely accessible. The wood engraving (executed by M. Michael) is of interest mainly because, in the year after Kaulbach's death, it may once again have been a kind of homage to, or at least an acknowledgment of, the painter and his famous historical painting. Häberlin studied in the early 1860s with Karl Theodor von Piloty in Munich and in all probability would have been familiar with Kaulbach's monumental canvas at the Neue Pinakothek. His pictorial composition demonstrates how the Ahasuerus figure and the withdrawing Christians were transmitted as established elements within the iconography of the subject even as the parameters of historical representation had shifted.



Figure 12: M. Michael, after Carl Häberlin, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems durch die Römer unter Titus*, in *Das Buch für Alle* 10.1 (1875): 4–5; wood engraving; edges slightly cropped, framed copy. (Public domain.)

435 M. Michael, after Carl Häberlin, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems durch die Römer unter Titus*, *Das Buch für Alle* 10.1 (1875): 4–5.

In Häberlin's print no indication remains of divine intervention—even less than in Hayez's painting in which the Elohim are shown to withdraw from the Temple. The symbolic potential of the subject has also been largely reduced to a large-scale figural representation, consistent with the contemporary approach to historical painting which favored realism and the easy readability of the pictorial composition. The supersessionist context, however, has been retained by the artist. In emulation of Kaulbach, Häberlin articulates this with the figures of Ahasuerus, inserted into the left foreground, and of the withdrawing Christians, represented in the far right corner of the foreground.

However, Kaulbach's multiple attributes connoting martyrdom have been reduced to the symbol of the small wooden crosses borne by the Christians which, moreover, mainly serve identificatory purposes. The references to the Flight to Egypt and to the guiding angels with the Eucharist have been completely eliminated. Instead the boy at the front of the group carries a pointed shield in crusader fashion that is clearly anachronistic in the ancient setting. Its (presumably) red cross may symbolize the victory over death as in the cross banner of the risen Christ, though the intention may also have been to invoke the image of a militant and triumphant church.

As a substitute for Kaulbach's juxtaposition of the Eucharist with Mary's teknophagy, Häberlin placed next to the group of withdrawing Christians a woman gnawing on a bone not unlike a human femur, to which is contrasted the Christian mother's protective gesture of sheltering her child under her cloak. While indicating the moral superiority of the Christian figures, the reference to the sacrament of the transubstantiation as the central redemptive mystery of their faith has been omitted, presumably in deference to Häberlin's Protestant sensibilities.[436]

The symbolic potential of Häberlin's Ahasuerus figure has also been much reduced in comparison to Kaulbach's. What little symbolic significance Ahasuerus has in his design is achieved mainly through another anachronistic inconsistency. As an indication of his eternal restless wanderings, he is dressed atypically for the historical period in a manner that might even associate sartorial conventions contemporary with the creation of the pictorial composition. Under his cloak, he wears long trousers and a garment with long sleeves. Where Kaulbach's Ahasuerus exposed his guilt by ripping the tunic off his chest and exhibiting the marks he gouged into his flesh, which in the woodcut vignette in Görres's libretto were given the shape of the cross, Häberlin's hides by fully covering himself. Making as if to walk, he nevertheless leans his head on his staff. His face, slightly turned

436 See *Lebensbilder aus Baden-Württemberg*, ed. Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005), XXI, 271.

away from the observer, is completely concealed behind his right arm, his cloak, and a rag wound around his head in orientalizing fashion. The figure conveys not so much a sense of horror, as did Kaulbach's Ahasuerus, but of despair coupled with shame.

None of the other figures in Häberlin's teeming composition associates similar symbolic potential. It is certainly no coincidence that it is precisely the two types of figures adapted from Kaulbach's neo-baroque conception of the pictorial representation of the destruction of Jerusalem which in Häberlin's otherwise realistic effort retain a symbolic dimension even though this has shifted and the implications are to some extent different from those of the earlier painting. Here too, as in compositional detail, Häberlin's conception is a product of the modernization of Kaulbach's.

Digression I
Straddling Cultures: Pierson

In England, a largely conservative approach to music manifested itself in the predominance, in the first half of the nineteenth century, of oratorios in the tradition of Georg Friedrich Händel and, more recently, of Felix Mendelssohn. The former moved permanently to London in 1712, where his operas and, somewhat later, his oratorios achieved unprecedented popularity; the latter traveled altogether ten times to Britain where he was acclaimed as both a pianist and composer. Mendelssohn conducted his *Paulus* at the Birmingham Triennial Music Festival in 1837, and his *Elias* was performed for the first time under his direction at the same festival in 1846.

There was nevertheless a sense in Britain that "we *export* as well as *import* men of genius."[1] The remark was made with reference to Henry Hugh Pierson, an English composer who—an "export" from Britain—had resided in Germany since 1839, where he enjoyed a successful career. In 1852—as an extremely controversial (re-)"import"—Pierson's innovative sacred oratorio *Jerusalem*, the first of whose three parts encompassed the sack of the city by Titus, was first publicly performed at the Norwich Festival.

Yet although the oratorio was apparently composed in the latter years of the 1840s mostly in Germany, its place is not with those previously discussed: neither is its textual basis—completely taken from the Bible by William Sancroft Holmes—similar to that of the other oratorios produced in this country, nor does it appear to have originated in conversation with Kaulbach's painting, though it is more than likely that the composer, well-connected among artistic circles in Germany, was aware of it.

Pierson's *Jerusalem* is nevertheless significant to this discussion because it straddles the English and German traditions. Whereas its music has been described as following the recent model of progressive German music, its libretto was firmly anchored in the English tradition of engaging with the destruction of Jerusalem. In this tradition the historical occurrence was re-configured—much more strictly than in Germany—as an eschatological event. It was, moreover, typically contextualized with the notion of the succession of empires and their transition from secular to sacred as well as the apocalyptic vision of the New Jerusalem and the Last Judgment. These were conceived as further manifestations of the same eschatological trajectory.

1 Anonymous, "The Tenth Music Festival," *The Norfolk News* 404 (September 25, 1852): 2–3, 3.

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The Perils of German Progressive Music: Pierson's *Jerusalem* in Norwich

Known in Germany as Henry Hugo Pierson (1815–73), or otherwise by his pseudonym Edgar Mansfeldt,[2] the composer—styled by Nicholas Temperley "one of the most original English composers of any period"[3]—was apparently disgruntled with the lack of recognition musical practitioners were given in England at the time. In Germany, in contrast, he experienced an uncommon degree of appreciation. The composer himself claimed that his "works and reputation [were] being well and honourably known all over Germany, the very land of music."[4] Even so, Pierson appears to have had some influential supporters also in his native England, and his oratorio *Jerusalem* was commissioned for the Norwich Festival of 1852. The Festival had been postponed from the previous year because of the Great Exhibition of 1851 and Pierson's *Jerusalem* was performed in private in Norwich already in April 1852.[5] Described by Temperley as a "heroic effort to overcome English prejudices,"[6] the oratorio nevertheless appears to have failed in this regard.

While *Jerusalem* gained the acclaim of the Festival audience and most of the local press, prevalent critical opinion appears to have been strongly biased against the composer and his work. As Robin H. Legge and W. E. Hansell noted in their annals of the Norwich Festival: "Probably no work by an English composer ever called forth so much condemnatory language from the critics."[7] Indeed, the critic for the *Norwich Mercury* maintained that "the very mention" of Pierson's *Jerusalem* suggested "the notion of a dreadful nightmare" and alleged that recollection of the four-and-a-half-hour performance produced "instinctive horror" in the musicians involved in it.[8]

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2 Pierson borrowed the pseudonym of Edgar Mansfeldt (also Mansfeld) from his German wife's relations, in response to the wish of his father—at the time a high-placed cleric in the Anglican Church—that he should adopt another name if ever he were to compose operatic music, see Robin H. Legge and W. E. Hansell, *Annals of the Norfolk and Norwich Triennial Music Festivals. MDCCCXXIV: MDCCCXCII* (London: Jarrold, 1896), p. 135.

3 Nicholas Temperley, "Henry Hugo Pierson, 1815–73. 1," *The Musical Times* 114.1570 (December 1973): 1217–20, 1219.

4 Legge and Hansell, *Annals*, p. 142.

5 See ibid., p. 136.

6 Temperley, "Henry Hugo Pierson, 1815–73. 1," 1219.

7 Legge and Hansell, *Annals*, p. 138.

8 Anonymous, "Norwich Musical Festival," *Supplement to the Norwich Mercury* (September 25, 1852): 5–6, 6.

The leading conservative critic James William Davison, scenting favoritism, suggested that the oratorio had been accepted by the Festival committee only in deference to "a very influential patron."[9] Henry Fothergill Chorley, a critic of similar authority, alleged moreover that

> more than ordinary pains have been taken to excite interest and bespeak favour in behalf of the work and of its author. Every machine by which it is thought possible to make a reputation has been put in motion.[10]

Chorely noted derisively that, as one of those "machines,"

> a pamphlet was circulated of analysis and preparation, intended by many high assumptions, conveyed in graceful and transcendental phrases, to give the cue to sympathy, and to prepare the world for the appearance of a new and poetical genius.[11]

The critic presumably refers to the pseudonymously published *A Descriptive Analysis of "Jerusalem"* (1852),[12] whose author—presenting himself as "Amicus Patriæ"—seeks to justify the innovative approach of the composer. The pamphlet, in which Pierson in all likelihood had a hand, is in effect a lengthy application to his oratorio of the sentiment quoted in its epigraph from the Reverend Frederick W. Robertson's *Two Lectures on the Influence of Poetry on the Working Classes* (1852):

> Let old forms and time-honoured words perish with due honor [*sic*], and give us fresh symbols and new forms of speech to express not what our fathers felt, but what *we* feel.[13]

The insistence on finding forms of artistic expression in keeping with the times signifies a clear rejection of the traditional oratorio which is motivated with the notion of progress, but which also recognizes the need for adequate self-expression as essential to humanity.

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9 [James William Davison], "The Norwich Musical Festival," *The Musical World* 30.40 (October 2, 1852): 626–32, 632.

10 [Henry Fothergill Chorley], "The Norwich Festival," *Athenæum* 297.1300 (September 25, 1852): 1038–39, 1039.

11 Ibid.

12 Amicus Patriæ, *A Descriptive Analysis of "Jerusalem," A Sacred Oratorio* (Norwich: Bacon and Kinnebrook, [1852]).

13 Ibid., p. [3]; see also Frederick W. Robertson, *Two Lectures on the Influence of Poetry on the Working Classes* (Brighton: King, 1852), p. 59; emphasis added by Amicus Patriæ. The epigraph suggests that in a musical sense the "fathers," presumably Händel and Mendelssohn, should also be overcome.

Despite all these efforts, Chorley judged that Pierson, "[h]owever ambitious he may write, [. . .] must be content to be little heard and less admired."[14] The conservative critic described Pierson's music as "crude, puerile and uncouth," though he conceded that "the general sound is sometimes vigorous and brilliant."[15] Chorley nevertheless insisted that he was "fatigued by pretensions" and "balked by flagrant and needless eccentricities."[16] Less venomously phrased but just as damaging was Davison's observation in the *Times*, and reiterated in the *Musical World*, that

> *Jerusalem* is the work of a musician who thinks for himself, and does not borrow from or imitate others, and whose strivings after originality, if not resulting in success, the cause must be attributed to imperfect scholarship and a mistaken view of the true und unchangeable principles of art.[17]

Pierson's independence of thought, apparently an abomination to Davison, was described by the pseudonymous critic Vernon in the *Musical World* instead as "the characteristic generally of greatness."[18] And yet, further elaborating the image of Pierson as wayward and dangerously iconoclastic, Davison noted in the same journal with some disdain that the composer

> belongs to the "word-painting" school, or the "aesthetic," as the admirers of Richard Wagner, Robert Schumann, &c. have dubbed it. We much regret, however, to find a man who evidently thinks seriously and writes con amore giving himself to a false idol, which, if worshipped universally, music would soon cease to be an art.[19]

The association of Pierson with progressive German music was clearly intended to taint him and his work and ultimately to cast both as foreign. The critic for the London *Morning Post* accordingly advised Pierson "to avoid as pestilential the sophistical theories of the modern German and French visionaries."[20]

In his largely positive review, once again in *The Musical Times*, George Alexander Macfarren, too, acknowledged that Pierson's oratorio "is not without example in some works of German authors unknown in this country."[21] Yet Macfarren

14 [Chorley], "Norwich Festival," 1039.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 [James William Davison], "The Norwich Music Festival," *The Times* 21230 (September 25, 1852): 8; see also [Davison], "Norwich Musical Festival," 630.

18 Vernon, "The Norwich Festival," *The Musical Times* 5.101 (October 1, 1852): 75–6, 75.

19 [Davison], "Norwich Musical Festival," 628.

20 Anonymous, "Norwich Musical Festival," *The Morning Post* 24575 (September 25, 1852): 5.

21 G[eorge] A[lexander] Macfarren, "Jerusalem, An Oratorio by Henry Hugh Pierson," *The Musical Times* 5.100 (September 1, 1852): 51–54 and 59, 52.

in the same review also challenged "the supposed necessity to imitate Handel in Oratorio-writing"[22] which ultimately prompted Davison's and Chorley's categorical rejection of the composer. The latter, for instance, censured Pierson's perceived audacity by emphasizing that *Jerusalem* includes "a 'Hallelujah' in which Dr. Pierson has not shrunk from direct competition with Handel."[23] Yet the Norwich audience of *Jerusalem* rising to the "joyous strain" of Pierson's "Hallelujah,"[24] a practice otherwise reserved for Händel's eponymous work, suggests that the modern composer at least did not fail the "direct competition" in the appreciation of the lay public.[25] Macfarren, too, insisted that Pierson "is entitled to the support of his countrymen, who can only be honoured in his success."[26]

Implicitly explaining his choice of pseudonym, the author of *A Descriptive Analysis of "Jerusalem"* went even further and hailed in Pierson "a light which promises the dawn of a new day for English music."[27] The "friend of the fatherland" castigates English complacency and prejudices in musical matters even as he asserts the composer's English origins and submits his oratorio to public approval:

> His [i.e., Pierson's] elementary instruction was obtained from good English masters, his subsequent career has been one of individual study and observation, and now having grasped all the varied resources that the present state of his art places at his command, he comes before his countrymen from a distant land (where his power is already acknowledged) earnestly and fearlessly obeying the promptings of his own spirit, quietly defying the prejudice which, it must be confessed, has long reigned against the English in musical matters, and ready to trust to the fair dealing and sound judgment which, in spite of such prejudice, rarely fails eventually to bestow, through public applause, the just award.[28]

The composer's trajectory suggested here by the author confidently follows the narrative pattern of the quest and the hero's triumphant return. Yet this was not to be.

22 Ibid., 51.

23 [Chorley], "Norwich Festival," 1039.

24 Anonymous, "Norfolk & Norwich Musical Festival. Mr Pierson's 'Jerusalem'," *The Musical Times* 5.101 (October 1, 1852): 76–8, 77.

25 The encore of the Hallelujah was apparently ordered by the Lord Bishop of Norwich, see Lowell Mason, *Musical Letters from Abroad: Including Detailed Accounts of the Birmingham, Norwich, and Dusseldorf Musical Festivals of 1852* (New York: Mason Brothers, 1854), p. 275; the author denied it any merit.

26 Macfarren, "Jerusalem," 59.

27 Amicus Patriæ, *Descriptive Analysis*, p. 29.

28 Ibid., p. 12.

The issue was confounded by the circumstance that in 1852, unusually, the Festival committee had in fact accepted two oratorios for the occasion,[29] the other being William Richard Bexfield's *Israel Restored* (1851).[30] Largely composed in accordance with the tradition of Händel and the more recent example of Mendelssohn, and thus eschewing the innovative principle invoked by Amicus Patriæ, Bexfield's oratorio had first been performed less than a year before by the Norwich Choral Society to restrained critical acclaim.[31] A native of Norwich, while Pierson was stigmatized as a "stranger,"[32] the young autodidact (1824–53) was now set up as a rival of the composer from 'abroad.'

As Pippa Drummond observes, the increasing intensity of this rivalry was "fuelled by advance notices and analyses in the national press."[33] The whipped-up rivalry between both composers was in fact a competition between traditional and progressive which extended far beyond the acerbic debate in professional journals, which has been described by Howard E. Smither as "a fascinating case study of English conservative criticism."[34] In one of his contributions to the debate, Davison noted that a "multiplicity of unpleasant occurrences [sprang] out of the jealousy that existed between the friends and adherents of the rival composers" which he likened to a "war" in the streets of Norwich.[35]

Though initially variously performed in Norwich and London, Pierson's oratorio nevertheless died a slow death in England. When, shortly after the composer's own passing, excerpts from *Jerusalem* were revived at the Norwich Festival of 1875, critical views about the oratorio collated in the *Musical Standard* confirmed not only the ambivalence with which this work was still perceived but demonstrated also the regard extended to Pierson in Germany. The music critic of the *Telegraph* was quoted saying that "'Jerusalem' is practically numbered among extinct things and therefore to arm with sword and spear and gird viciously at it would be equivalent to the profitless labour of whipping a dead

29 See [James William Davison], "The Norwich Musical Festival," *The Musical World* 30.39 (September 25, 1852): 609–13, 609.

30 For the piano reduction, see William Richard Bexfield, *Israel Restored: An Oratorio* [piano reduction] (London: The Composer, 1852); the librettist is not known, the text may have been written by Bexfield himself.

31 Anonymous, "Dr. Bexfield's Oratorio—'Israel Restored'," *The Musical World* 26.43 (October 25, 1851): 684–5.

32 [Davison], "Norwich Music Festival," 7.

33 Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784–1914* (2011; London and New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 96.

34 Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, IV, 291.

35 [Davison], "Norwich Music Festival," 7.

horse"; he concluded: "Thus passed 'Jerusalem' from the living and active world of music."[36]

This obituary was countered three weeks later with a passage extracted from the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. I quote this here at length because it is indicative of the different reception of Pierson's work in Germany:

> Pierson holds a very peculiar position in his native land, which offers considerable resemblance to that which Wagner a few years ago held in Germany. Whilst a small band of enthusiastic followers hold and declare Pierson to be a tone-poet of the first rank, the great number of the critics of this composer are absolutely hostile towards him; they allow that Pierson was a man of unusual talent, but he had not the slightest respect for established form; he was led astray in Germany; he is a musician of the future; and this, according to English notions, is to pass sentence of death upon him. In our opinion Pierson's "Jerusalem" is a creation of the highest significance, which however will not receive its deserts in this country, until the old ban shall have been broken, and the superstition that Church music died out with Mendelssohn shall be thoroughly exploded.[37]

Pierson and the Sacred Oratorio

No full score of *Jerusalem* appears to have survived, but an undated piano reduction was published by Novello in London, presumably in 1852.[38] In his preface, Pierson acknowledges that his work on the oratorio was hastened by the ill health of his friend William Sancroft Holmes (1815–49) who had arranged the text selection from the Bible and who died in autumn 1849 in Bern in Switzerland.[39] The composer emphasizes that his was a "sacred" oratorio, its words "derived entirely from Scripture." He not only claims that Holmes's selection "is one of extraordinary beauty and unusual scope" but insists "that in this compilation a more regular dramatic action will be found than in any other of the strictly-sacred Oratorios extant,—this being effected by the interesting collocation of the different pas-

36 Anonymous, "Norwich Music Festival," *The Musical Standard* 9ns.582 (September 25, 1875): 207–8, 208. A similar observation had already been made by Lowell Mason who alleged, in the context of his discussion of Pierson's *Jerusalem*, about many English oratorios that "[t]hey are born, speak once or twice perhaps, then die, are buried, and soon forgotten," *Musical Letters from Abroad*, p. 276.

37 Anonymous, "Foreign Musical Intelligence," *The Musical Standard* 9ns.585 (October 16, 1875): 262–3, 263; for the German original, see Anonymous, "Norwich," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 71.41 (October 8, 1875): 402.

38 See Henry Hugh Pierson, *Jerusalem: A Sacred Oratorio* [piano reduction], the words selected from the Holy Scriptures by the late W. Sancroft Holmes (London: Novello, [1852]); the composer's preface is dated September, 1852.

39 Ibid., preface.

sages, without the aid of *dramatis personæ*."[40] Pierson furthermore asserts that he considered

> all attempts to construct an Oratorio upon the basis of a modern poem as more or less futile, and, moreover, as an approximation to the secular character of the Opera, from which the Oratorio should be separated by a broad line of demarcation.[41]

Pierson's objective appears to have been to enrich the scriptural text with dramatic character while nevertheless eschewing any textual interventions beyond the rearrangement of his biblical sources and thus to retain their "sacred" dimension in contradistinction to more operatic productions. As such, Pierson's *Jerusalem* is very different from the other oratorios on the subject produced in Germany over the course of the nineteenth century. As noted previously, their libretti had been precisely such "modern" poems as disparaged by Pierson. They were based predominantly on historical sources and, as suggested above, on the pervasive influence of Wilhelm von Kaulbach's artistic engagement with the historical episode in his monumental painting of the destruction of Jerusalem. The only exception to this practice was Ferdinand Hiller's oratorio on the destruction of the First Temple whose text had similarly been based on the Bible by Salomon Ludwig Steinheim and whose engagement with Kaulbach, as I argue above, I suspect to have been critical and antagonistic.

On Pierson's oratorio, Kaulbach's painting appears to have had no impact. If he was familiar with the artist's work which, given its prominence, is not unlikely, it nevertheless did not influence in any perceptible way his own rendering of the subject. In this context, it is crucial to remember that Holmes—of the Suffolk landed gentry—had his antecedents, like Pierson, in England. This emerges also from his text selection which reflects the English preoccupation with the comprehensive eschatological trajectory from the fall of Jerusalem to the restoration of the Jews and, ultimately, the establishment of the New Jerusalem.

Indeed, the scriptural passages assembled by Holmes to form the libretto for Pierson's *Jerusalem* encompass the destruction of Jerusalem foretold by Moses and by Jesus and "depicted" in chapter I; the destruction lamented, and restoration promised, in chapter II; and, finally, in chapter III, the Battle of Armageddon, the New Jerusalem, the Last Judgment and the salvation of the righteous, concluding with the universal praise of the Lord. They range from Deuteronomy to the Psalms to the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, and Zecha-

40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.

riah; to the gospel of Luke; to the Pauline epistles to the Romans and to Timothy; and, finally, to Revelation.

As might be expected from its eschatological trajectory, following on the introduction with passages from Luke and Deuteronomy, the first part of the oratorio is mostly made up of the prophets, mainly Isaiah and Jeremiah; the second part is assembled predominantly from Jeremiah and Lamentations; and the majority of the third part collates passages from Revelation. As observed also by the composer in his preface, Holmes's reliance on rearranged but otherwise intact Scripture for the textual basis of Pierson's *Jerusalem* largely precludes the addition of *dramatis personæ*, such as the figures of the Beautiful Jewess and the Wandering Jew which, following Kaulbach's monumental painting, were either incorporated in or, as argued in the previous part, strategically elided from the German oratorios on the subject. Nor is there any reference to Mary of Bethezuba's teknophagy which is otherwise quite prominent in the English tradition of engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem.

Holmes achieved a large degree of narrative cohesion and consistency with his collation of scriptural passages. However, the result of his intervention is also a re-configuration which, while in spirit it may articulate the eschatological trajectory inscribed into the Christian canon of biblical books, nevertheless represents a process of exegesis which compromises the integrity of its individual textual components. The destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, a post-biblical historical event, is re-contextualized through the conflation with originally disparate passages, which frequently refer to the destruction of the First Temple. This, no less than the lack of a historicizing identification of place and time, as for instance in Blumner, emphasizes the symbolic and universally applicable dimension of Pierson and Holmes's effort.

Pierson nevertheless expanded the semantic range of his libretto by musical means beyond the purely religious basis of the scriptural text. For instance, the composer inserted, as an extratextual element, a symphony with the aim of "*Representing the March of the Roman Army against Jerusalem.*"[42] With the full score lost, no exact assessment of the orchestration can be made. Even so, typical enough of the conventions, the symphony is suffused with a strong military flavor which is evoked by musical patterns evidently derived from the original inclusion of timpani and brass. The ascending chromatics, in the meantime, suggest increasing proximity, urgency, and menace.

The Roman March is particularly interesting in this context, because the responses it elicited indicate the nature of the debate which arose around the inno-

42 Ibid., n. p.; see also pp. 41–3.

vative composer and his work. The American music director Lowell Mason, traveling in Europe in 1852 in order to attend various music festivals, described the Roman March curtly as "feeble and ineffective."[43] Mason similarly disparaged the oratorio's introduction, and some of his points may perhaps also apply to his perception of the Roman March: "The drums and trumpets may tell of the exposure and danger of the favoured city, or of coming war, but beyond this we could not interpret."[44] Mason clearly felt at a loss.

The critic for the local *Norfolk News*, in turn, waxed almost lyrical in his appreciation of the march. His comments are quoted at length here because they illustrate very well the conflict between traditionalists and progressives which was played out with regard to Pierson's oratorio:

> A mere musician, composing a march descriptive of the approach of an invading army, would first reflect that he must have a decided melody in common time, proper for a regimental band. Of course it must have drums and trumpets; but, as he is writing an oratorio, he gives divisions to the violins, which a regimental band could not execute, and he divests his music of common-place vulgarity. He now rises with his subject, and bethinks him of beginning *pianissimo*, that the march may first be heard at a distance (like marches behind the scenes in a theatre,) introducing instruments and crescendos, till he has brought the whole orchestra to a fortissimo, where the climax ends with a flourish of drums and trumpets. What more could an audience expect? Nothing. They are satisfied. Satisfied? Say rather, delighted; and were it not an oratorio, they would give vent to their feelings in a storm of applause.[45]

Yet according to the critic, the audience of such music does not realize what it is missing:

> Now let us imagine how a musician, who is also (what every musician ought to be) a poet, would set himself about the same task. What is passing through his mind whilst he is preparing to write? At first he hears no march, but a faint stream of sound, which might be mistaken for the murmur of the distant ocean. As it comes nearer, it makes itself no further intelligible than by exciting a vague and mysterious feeling of alarm. At length he becomes sensible of the enemy's approach; he hears the tramp of men, the clashing of arms, the prancing of horses; in the midst of all this he detects fragmentary snatches of military music. He endeavours to express what he has mentally heard by musical notation. When he has done so, he appeals to an audience who may, or may not, understand him. He says he has written a march, but he has really painted the approach of an invading host. Now the imaginary case we have last put, describes what we conceive to have been done by Mr. Pierson.[46]

43 Mason, *Musical Letters from Abroad*, p. 272.
44 Ibid.
45 Anonymous, "The Tenth Music Festival," 3.
46 Ibid.

Pierson, apparently not a "mere musician" but also a poet, is extolled by the critic for his imaginative approach which articulates the historical situation and the anxieties it evokes with much more authenticity and immediacy than the traditional approach. Intriguingly, the critic resorts to a pictorial metaphor when he insists that the composer has, in fact, delivered a painting of the invading host; this is effectively the endorsement of modern program music against traditional abstract music. As such the critic cuts to the heart of the debate in England about Pierson's music and, while giving descriptions of both approaches, not only emphatically takes sides but seeks to offer a convincing rationale intelligible to all.

While Pierson's composition may have been indebted to the progressive German school of music, the text of his libretto was 'archetypally' English in its trajectory toward the New Jerusalem.[47] References to the New Jerusalem were also included in the German oratorios discussed in the previous chapter, but the significance afforded to the idea in Holmes's libretto is unprecedented in the German context. Yet it aligns fully with earlier English approaches to the destruction of Jerusalem. For this reason, and because the English tradition—if mostly in other media and genres—produced engagements with the subject which became productive as models also in the German context, I will explore in the following chapter representations of the destruction of Jerusalem in English literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

47 It should be noted that the German response to Pierson's *Jerusalem* was also not exclusively positive. The oratorio was not frequently performed; it moreover also garnered some negative criticism. Carl Kipke, for instance, in *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, was no less scathing than his English colleagues, but for the exact opposite reason: "There is everything as it is prescribed by the 'academy'; nothing is to be found which dad or granddad would not have done in the same way,—in short—the 'cliché' rules from beginning to end [Da ist Alles, wie es die 'Schule' vorschreibt; Nichts findet man, was nicht schon Papa oder Grosspapa auch so gemacht haben würden,—kurz—die 'Schablone' herrscht von Anfang bis zu Ende]." With respect to the libretto Kipke opined: "The time of *such* libretti is gone; we demand also from a poetic text meant for musical composition a firmer, more ingenious texture and are no longer content with a succession of mere quotations from the Bible [Die Zeit *solcher* Libretti ist vorüber; wir verlangen auch von einer zur musikalischen Composition bestimmten Dichtung ein festeres, sinnvolleres Gefüge und begnügen uns nicht mehr mit einer Reihe von blossen Bibelcitaten]." C[arl] K[ipke], "Kritischer Anhang," *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 8.14 (March 30, 1877): 208.

Chapter II
Inspiration from Abroad: The Destruction of Jerusalem and the English Precedent

After its previous proliferation in the medieval and early modern periods, in England, the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem experienced a resurgence in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Prior to the Reformation, the destruction of Jerusalem was read predominantly as a narrative of the divine retribution suffered by the Jews for the crucifixion of Jesus; at the same time, it confirmed the supersession and glory of triumphant Rome.[1] Yet in early modern Britain, as Beatrice Groves notes, a subtle but significant shift occurred in the focus of the story. As the result of a new Protestant identification with post-biblical Jews and of the vision of a New Jerusalem to be built—in William Blake's well-known phrase—in England's green and pleasant land, "triumphalism" was replaced with an "uneasy empathy."[2]

The unease of this identification originated in its ambivalence. As in Germany, the fall of Jerusalem was considered exhortatory, but the internal strife preceding it was recognized more specifically as an epitome of the plurality of dissent in seventeenth-century England—variously seen as conducive or as disruptive—and was thought to pertain to the building of the New Jerusalem of which the conflagration was the prerequisite and the promise. Most importantly, the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple challenged the significance of a specific sacred space, which, with Catholic supersession, had been transferred to Rome; it envisaged instead the New Jerusalem as a universal spiritual space of which the individual could become a part.[3]

In early modern Britain, as Groves has shown, the Protestant re-interpretation of the fall of Jerusalem found expression across cultural production, in sermons and pamphlets, plays and puppet shows, travel writing and literature. Yet its arguably most influential, if indirect, articulation occurred in John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667). As Groves suggests, in the religious epic poem, "the destruction of Eden—the apparent victory of the satanic forces—is not the end but the

1 See Beatrice Groves, *The Destruction of Jerusalem in Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 3.

2 Ibid., pp. 5–6; see also p. 9.

3 See ibid., p. 215.

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beginning as it frees man from his idolatrous attachment to place and enables his pilgrimage to the true city, the New Jerusalem."[4]

This new way of thinking about the destruction of Jerusalem brought with it—through the identification of Protestantism with Israel—not only a change in the attitude toward contemporary Jews;[5] it moreover initiated the identification of London with the New Jerusalem and supported the notion of a sacred *translatio imperii* which culminated in Britain.[6]

In the eighteenth century, while not fully relinquishing the religious dimension, the romantic imagination took possession of the subject and developed it in predominantly two directions: as a manifestation of what Curtis Dahl has called the "School of Catastrophe," which expressed the fascination with cataclysmic events;[7] and toward the visionary creation of the New Jerusalem, which, in effect, is a variation on the early modern perspective described by Groves. Both appear to be very different in nature from the subsequent German engagement with the subject, and yet, the English tradition produced at least two works which must be considered distinct influences on the engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem in Germany. Henry Hart Milman's *The Fall of Jerusalem* (1820) and George Croly's *Salathiel* (1828) appeared within a decade of one another and both were translated into German almost immediately after their original publication.

The English Precedent

Beginning in the late eighteenth century, the romantic interest in the destruction of Jerusalem in England quite abruptly appears to have come to an end with a cluster of epic poems in the early 1820s. In Germany, as we have seen, and in all likelihood instigated to some extent by the English interest in the subject, it achieved prominence only in the following decades.[8] Moreover, where in Germany the creative impetus manifested itself pervasively in oratorios, strongly influenced—as I have argued in the previous part—by Kaulbach's monumental painting and its Hegelian historical and philosophical foundation, in England the

4 Ibid., p. 206.

5 See ibid., pp. 151, 222.

6 See ibid., pp. 174, 218.

7 Curtis Dahl, "Bulwer-Lytton and the School of Catastrophe," *Philological Quarterly* 32.4 (1953): 428–42.

8 In Britain, too, emerged a proliferation of narrative fiction about the destruction of Jerusalem, such as G. A. Henty's *For the Temple* (1888), Frank Cowper's *The Forgotten Door* (1900), and H. Rider Haggard's *Pearl-Maiden* (1901), which are, however, outside the scope of my book.

prevalent genres of engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem were the epic, and later the dramatic, poem as well as, eventually, narrative fiction.

Only one oratorio emerged from the earlier British engagement with the subject; and it did so effectively as part of the mentioned cluster. Apparently published and first performed in 1824, George Frederick Perry's *The Fall of Jerusalem*[9]—with a libretto by Edward Taylor—was based on what may have been one of the most successful and influential of contemporary adaptations of the historical episode in England, Henry Hart Milman's eponymous "dramatic poem" of 1820. Milman's *The Fall of Jerusalem* was of epic conception, though it appeared in the guise of a drama, which the author insisted "was neither written with a view to public representation, nor can [it] be adapted to it without being entirely remodelled and rewritten."[10]

Already in 1781, "Jerusalem Destroyed" was set as the subject for the prestigious Seatonian Prize for sacred poetry at the University of Cambridge. The winning entry by William Gibson was published eponymously in the same year.[11] It was followed, almost two decades later, by Robert Southey's lyric poem "The Destruction of Jerusalem" (1798). Yet this poem engages with the destruction of the First Temple by Nebuchadnezzar. After the publication of Milman's *The Fall of Jerusalem*, the year 1823, finally, saw the publication of two further epic poems on the subject. Charles Peers' *The Siege of Jerusalem* and John Church the Younger's *The Fall of Jerusalem*.[12] While neither of the latter poems is of significant poetic merit, both are interesting as re-workings of the historical narrative and because of the idiosyncratic elements added to it by their authors.

9 Dates associated with the production and first performance of this oratorio vary. A brief review in *The Harmonicon* claims that the oratorio was first performed on January 20, 1832 under the direction of the composer at the Hanover Square Rooms, see Anonymous, "Mr. Perry's New Oratorio," *The Harmonicon* 10 (1832): 57. However, the title page of the British Library's copy of the published score, conjecturally dated 1824, includes reference to a projected performance in the same year: "Will be performed at the Albion Concert-Rooms, Moorfields, on Monday evening, June 7, 1824," see George Frederick Perry, *The Fall of Jerusalem; a New Oratorio* ([London]: Z. W. Vincent, [1824]).

10 H[enry] H[art] Milman, *The Fall of Jerusalem: A Dramatic Poem*, new edn (1820; London: Murray, 1820), p. v.

11 The prize was won by William Gibson whose entry was first published as *Jerusalem Destroyed* (Cambridge: J. & J. Merrill, 1781). See A. D. Harvey, "Elinor Shaffer and the Genesis of Coleridge's Non-Existent *The Fall of Jerusalem*," *Notes and Queries* 56.3 (2009): 367–70, 369.

12 Charles Peers, *The Siege of Jerusalem* (London: Murray, 1823) and John Church, *The Fall of Jerusalem; a Poem in Three Parts* (London: Printed for the Author by R. O. Weston, 1823).

Coinciding with the precarious existence of the English epic in the romantic period,[13] the formation of this cluster of engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem, concentrated within a few years, is intriguing. In fact, the cluster—though largely unrelated—extended beyond national borders and there clearly was a contemporary awareness of its international dimension also in England. Referring to Milman's poem, the *London Magazine* (1820) added in a note:

> An Italian author, Cesare Arici, of Brescia, has recently published a poem on the same subject—the *Gerusalemme distrutta*; and they have printed at Venice two Cantos of an inedited poem by the Count Florio, entitled *Tito, ossia Gerusalemme distrutta*, to convict the former of plagiary. The subject of the destruction of Jerusalem had also been treated by a Neapolitan author, G. B. Lalli, under the title of *Gerusalemme desolata*.[14]

In fact, both Arici's and Florio's epic poems, the latter having been published posthumously, were unfinished and remained fragments.[15] Giovanni Battista Lalli's epic was first printed already in 1629 and participates in a mostly religious discourse very different from either of the later renderings of the subject. These relatively well-known Italian publications, which were at least partially an influence also on the English engagement with the subject, were augmented in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries with a number of lesser known musical arrangements. However, it is highly unlikely that the majority of these oratorios and *drammi sacri* would have been perceived beyond their immediate Italian or even regional contexts.[16]

There is also no indication that Milman was familiar with either of the contemporary poems before his own effort was published. They had been printed, after all, only in the year before. Three years later, however, Charles Peers acknowledged that he knew of Arici's and Florio's work but that he had been able to procure a copy only of the latter.

Paradoxically, perhaps even more important to the cluster than these individual contributions was another epic poem that was in fact never written. Indeed, although no further epic engagements with their main focus on the destruction of Jerusalem appear to have emerged in England, the subject's unique appeal was variously emphasised by Samuel Taylor Coleridge whose fascination with the his-

13 See, e.g., A. D. Harvey, "The English Epic in the Romantic Period," *Philological Quarterly* 55.2 (1976): 241–59.

14 Anonymous, "Gleanings from Foreign Journals," *The London Magazine* 2 (August 1820): 209–12, 210.

15 Arici's poem was first published posthumously as volume six of his works, *Poesie e prose*, 6 vols (Brescia: Bettoni, 1818–19); Florio's text appeared, also posthumously, as *Tito, ossia Gerusalemme distrutta* (Venice: Alvisopoli, 1819). See Harvey, "Elinor Shaffer," 369.

16 See above, chapter I, note 177.

torical episode and its poetic potential dates at least to the early 1790s. In 1820, the year of the publication of Milman's epic, the poet and critic noted with regret in a letter to Thomas Allsop:

> Alas! for the proud times when I planned, when I had present to my mind the materials as well as the Scheme of [. . .] the Epic Poem on what still appears to me the only one fit subject remaining for an Epic Poem, Jerusalem besieged & destroyed by Titus.[17]

In 1832 Coleridge is said to have reiterated his estimation of the singularity and significance of the destruction of Jerusalem,[18] and even though the poet's plans never came to fruition,[19] his engagement with the subject is nevertheless of crucial importance. Not least, because it spans almost the whole temporal range of the thematic cluster, beginning with Coleridge's first interest in the early 1790s and extending beyond its final manifestations into the 1830s—literally, a lifetime of enthralment. But also because it reflects on theological as well as aesthetic and poetic issues rife in the liminal period between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries which may, at least partially, also account for the emergence of the thematic cluster focused on the destruction of Jerusalem in England. Moreover, though Coleridge never composed his own epic on the subject, it has nevertheless been suggested by Elinor S. Shaffer that his lyrical ballad "Kubla Khan" (1797; 1816) is, in effect, another rendering of the narrative of the fall of Jerusalem.[20]

Antecedents and the Beginnings of the Thematic Cluster in England: The Seatonian Prize

Since 1750 the Faculty of Divinity at the University of Cambridge has been awarding a prize endowed by the Reverend Thomas Seaton for the best sacred poem on a given subject. Topics predictably originate in a theological framework. But while wide-ranging, there nevertheless emerged temporally succinct patterns of clusters that were linked thematically. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth

17 Samuel Taylor Coleridge to Thomas Allsop on March 20, 1820, in *The Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. E. L. Griggs, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956–71), V, 28.

18 See *Samuel Taylor Coleridge: Table Talk*, ed. Carl Woodring, 2 vols (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), I, 289 (April 24, 1832); see also I, 441 (September 2, 1833).

19 See Elinor S. Shaffer, *"Kubla Khan" and The Fall of Jerusalem: The Mythological School of Biblical Criticism and Secular Literature 1770–1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975) and Harvey, "Elinor Shaffer," 369.

20 See Shaffer, *"Kubla Khan" and The Fall of Jerusalem*, p. 95.

centuries, reflecting contemporary hopes and anxieties, such a cluster was focused on the history of the Israelites, Christian and Jewish relations, and the end of times. The destruction of Jerusalem, itself the topic for the year 1781, was a subject relevant to a number of other themes and accordingly variously resurfaced.

William Gibson (1745–1821) invokes in his "Jerusalem Destroyed" (1781) the Spirit of Song as it manifested itself in the prophetic voice of Isaiah. He identifies as the subject of his epic poem "Heav'n's just wrath, and sinning Salem's woes" and, eventually, "Sion's last sack, and Israel's final fate."[21] In the context of the articulation of divine wrath in the historical event, the finality of the concluding phrase suggests Israel's irredeemable destruction. Giving much prominence to the teknophagy of Miriam (Mary of Bethezuba), the poet outlines in his first canto the alleged iniquities of the Jews and details the efforts of Titus to negotiate a peaceful solution to the conflict through Josephus. The imperator suggests to the Jewish historian that, were the previous offences of the Jews forgiven, "for ever may their nation last."[22] Yet their obstinacy toward Titus, as toward the deity, signifies the very opposite. The conciliatory initiative fails and the canto ends with the beginning of the Roman onslaught on the city. The second canto describes the heroic fight of two equal foes but insists, once again emphasizing the divine decree, that "heaven's due vengeance sunk the scale of fate."[23] The third and final canto commences with Titus's intention to spare the Temple, which is thwarted by divine intervention which, in paraphrase of Matthew 23:37, is explained with the city's recurrent defiant obstinacy toward God's will:

> Jerusalem! alas! alas! of old
> Deaf to whate'er prophetic seers foretold,
> Assailing all whom heav'n in mercy sent,
> And murdering those that warn'd thee to repent![24]

The destruction of Jerusalem therefore supplies "a dread moral to mankind,"[25] which was a mainstay of Christian homiletic discourse. The epic poem concludes with a powerful inversion of the trope of the captive Israelites looking back to the destroyed city as it was employed some three decades later by Byron, but also by other writers, such as Arthur William Trollope and Charles Peers. In Gibson's text, it is Titus who halts his horse; he "lingering looks behind" and, surveying the

21 William Gibson, "Jerusalem Destroyed" [1781], in *Cambridge Prize Poems* (Cambridge: Deighton and Sons, 1817), II, 67–105, 68.
22 Ibid., 73.
23 Ibid., 84.
24 Ibid., 103; see also Matthew 23:37 and Luke 13:34.
25 Ibid., 104.

desolation, produces "generous tears"[26] which the poet praises above any heroic exploits:

> More than the wreath, which binds the conqueror's brow,
> More true renown those trickling tears bestow;
> Not all the atchievements [*sic*] of heroic rage,
> Like those bright drops, adorn the historic page![27]

In this fashion, Gibson reiterates the trope of Titus's mercy and extols it as a manifestation of his humanity. At the same time, the human mercy of the imperator is implicitly contrasted to the mercy of God, which has finally been exhausted. The poet thus emphasizes the full weight of the divine judgment that befell Jerusalem but also the correlating scope of its sins, as outlined in the first canto.

In a final change of perspective, the epic poem sees the narrative voice, and with it the reader, remain in the space where Titus shed his tears as the Romans continue their march "t'wards Tyber's shore; / Now lessen to the sight, and now are seen no more."[28] The gradual disappearance of the Roman army toward an imaginary vanishing point with which the epic poem concludes may be meant as an allusion to the *translatio imperii* and foreshadow the fall of pagan Rome. More specifically, it leaves the reader alone to confront the desolation on their own and contemplate it as a moral lesson.

The prize-winning poem on the subject of "The Restoration of the Jews" of 1794 included—following upon one another—sections on the destructions of the First and Second Temples.[29] It was composed by Francis Wrangham (1769–1842), at the time a close acquaintance of Coleridge's.[30] Wrangham's brief reflection on the destruction of the Second Temple concentrates mainly on the "unnatural" transgressions against divine and human laws which provoked God's wrath, including once again a veiled reference to Mary's teknophagy.[31]

The destruction narrative, as a narrative of degeneration and depravity, is embedded in the restoration narrative within a soteriological framework that envisages with the redemption of the Jews also that of all other nations. The destruc-

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid., 104–5.

28 Ibid., 105.

29 Francis Wrangham, "The Restoration of the Jews" [1794], in *Musae Seatonianae: A Complete Collection of the Cambridge Prize Poems, from the First Institution of the Premium by the Reverend Thomas Seaton, in 1750, to the Year 1806*, ed. Isaac Reed, 2 vols (Cambridge: Hodson, 1808), II, 235–50, 239–42.

30 See Harvey, "Elinor Shaffer," 369.

31 See Wrangham, "Restoration of the Jews," 240–1.

tion of Jerusalem becomes, in Wrangham's poem, a metonymy for the cycle of conflagrations visited upon the presumptuous earthly powers and their succession. Writing in 1794, at the beginning of the wars with revolutionary, and later imperial, France (1793–1815) and in all likelihood exposed to, if not influenced by, millennial beliefs, Wrangham extends his exhortation also to the British Empire:

> And thou bethink thee, Albion, 'ere too late,
> Queen of the isles and mart of distant worlds,
> That thou like Tyre may'st feel some future day
> Heaven's red right hand, and pay with blood the price
> Of Afric's life-blood drain'd.[32]

The explicit reference to Tyre, and not Jerusalem, indicates as its wider context the notion of the succession of empires which, in the poet's present, includes also Britain. Intriguingly, extending also the discourse on transgression, Wrangham introduces an abolitionist bias to his poem by identifying Britain's complicity in the slave trade as the Empire's fateful iniquity to rouse God's ire. This critical trajectory was later followed also by Agnes Bulmer and, if less explicitly, by William Lisle Bowles.

But the climax of the poem is the resuscitation of the Jewish people in contrast to the ephemeral arrogation of power of the conquerors of mankind, who, "Like woe-denouncing comets, blazed awile [*sic*] / In evanescent glory."[33] Compared to, but not alike to, the briefly triumphant hordes of historical conquests, Wrangham's vision of the rehabilitated Jews sees them converging from the far corners of the earth:

> And see! They come! Survey yon sweeping band,
> Countless as Persian bowmen, who beset
> Freedom exulting on her Attic rock;
> When Asia roused her millions to the war,
> And sunk in all her pomp before the foe
> Her vengeance fondly doom'd. With ranks as full,
> But with more prosperous fates and purer joys
> Than swell the warrior's breast, their destined march
> The Hebrews bend, from where Hydaspes rolls
> His storied tide; or cleave with holy prow
> Th' Atlantic main, whose conscious surge reveres
> It's buoyant load. No Spaniard plunderers they.
> By gold allured to traverse new-found realms,
> And plunge the wondering savage in the mine,
> Where (guiltless then) the unsunn'd mischief slept;

32 Ibid., 244.
33 Ibid.

> No mad crusaders, by the Roman priest
> Baptized Invincible, with impious zeal
> To combat Hali's turban'd race, and wade
> A second time to Palestine through blood.[34]

The "sweeping band" of Jews is righteous, the internal strife of the Second Temple period a thing of the past, as is the Jewish faith. The purpose of these Jews, and their legitimation, is from God; theirs is a pure incentive, directed by the divinity, which—by inverting all the negative stimuli of earthly conquest: the Persians in Greece, the Spanish in Latin America, and the crusaders in Palestine—is characterized as pious, non-materialistic, and non-violent:

> But call'd by God, or from the western stream
> Of Plata, or where Ganges pours his urn,
> In love-knit league they throng. To Salem's groves
> Messiah, erst their nation's deadliest hate,
> Guides the returning host; and high in air
> Floats their bright flag, the once-opprobrious Cross.[35]

In accordance with Christian soteriology, it is the Jews' conversion, their acceptance of the Christian Messiah, and their fealty to the Christian symbol of the cross which allows their restoration to Jerusalem. Intriguingly, this Jerusalem is not identified in deference to Revelation as the New Jerusalem, but it is a return to the old city and its groves—an implicit acknowledgment of its erstwhile destruction but not an explicit reference to its rebuilding, possibly because Wrangham, too, may have envisaged the New Jerusalem in Britain after the rejection of its former iniquities.

In the following year, 1795, with "The Destruction of Babylon," the subject for the Seatonian Prize was once again focused on catastrophe and destruction. Babylon is of course also Jerusalem's earlier nemesis and—in a moral sense—its other: it is the epitome of oriental excess and moral depravity. Identifications of nineteenth-century London with Babel, superseding earlier identifications with the New Jerusalem, became commonplace in the English imagination in terms of "the wealth, splendour and refinement of the modern metropolis,"[36] but also as "warnings of the dangers of hubris."[37]

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34 Ibid., 249.

35 Ibid., 249–50.

36 Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-century London* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 3.

37 Ibid. See also Andrew Scheil, *Babylon under Western Eyes: A Study of Allusion and Myth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), pp. 105–9 and *Babylon or New Jerusalem?: Perceptions of*

In 1795, Wrangham once again submitted a poem, but this time the prize was awarded to Arthur William Trollope's (1768–1827) entry. It is nevertheless instructive to read both efforts next to one another. While both poems approach their subject matter very differently, their common biblical context ensures some thematic coherence. Both, for instance, make reference to the Babylonian captivity of the Jews and to Belshazzar's feast with its prophecy of doom. Both also reiterate the notion of the succession of empires which is based on the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in the second book of Daniel and which, in an eschatological sense, introduces an apocalyptic perspective with the expectation of the final and eternal kingdom established by God (see Daniel 2:31–45). The difference between both is mainly, but significantly, in emphasis.

Wrangham never elaborates on the destruction of the First Temple, to which he had given much attention in his earlier poem, but devotes a stanza to the Babylonian captivity of the Jews and their yearning for Zion. The Persian emperor Cyrus the Great, who conquered Babylon and was to set the exiles free, is extolled by him as the instrument of divine vengeance and as "th' Anointed of the Lord" (see also Isaiah 45:1).[38] The fall of Babylon is attributed by Wrangham to its moral iniquities, treason, and abandon. Yet he also specifically mentions the blasphemous use of the treasure stolen from the First Temple at Belshazzar's feast and the subsequent warning of the *Mene tekel*, the writing on the wall. Ending his account of the destruction of the city with an invocation of Fancy and her pensive sigh, his vision of "moral drops" gathering in her eye forms the transition from the imagined ruin to the fall of successive empires, addressing both Rome and London.[39]

In contrast to his earlier poem, where Wrangham admonished the British Empire for its contemporary transgressions, in his "The Destruction of Babylon," he invokes a historical perspective commencing with Roman Britain. The poet then elaborates a medievalist fancy extolling the Middle Ages as a period of vir-

the City in Literature, ed. Valeria Tinkler-Villani (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2005). Documents of this fascination and its symbolic potential were books like Robert Mudie's *Babylon the Great: A Dissection and Demonstration of Men and Things in the British Capital* (1825) and its sequel, *London and Londoners, or, A Second Judgment of "Babylon the Great"* (1829), Harry Hawthorn's *A Visit To Babylon; with Observations Moral and Political* (1829) as well as George William MacArthur Reynolds's undated *The Mysteries of London Containing Stories of Life in the Modern Babylon*; but also artistic articulations, such as the paintings of John Martin. For Martin, see Amy Elisabeth Freund, *Babylon the Great: John Martin's Ancient Cities as Views of London* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

38 Francis Wrangham, "The Destruction of Babylon" [1795], in Reed (ed.), *Musae Seatonianae*, II, 379–93, 384.

39 Ibid., 391.

tue, a "blest age,"[40] whose return in the present he expects to subdue all feuds and divisions in "our triple realm."[41] The specter of civil unrest he raises is an implicit and exhortatory reminder of the internal strife of the Jews just prior to the destruction of Jerusalem.

Trollope, employing the epic invocation of his muse, defined the emphasis of his poem very differently as focused on the mercy of God toward the repentant Jews of which the conflagration of Babylon is—in his work too—the result. Like Wrangham had embedded the destruction narrative of Jerusalem in the previous year within that of the restoration of the Jews, Trollope's is simultaneously a narrative of the destruction of the imperial oppressor and of the transgressing Jews as well as of the latter's restoration:

> JEHOVAH's mercies to His chosen seed
> Repentant, and Chaldaea's iron yoke
> From Judah loos'd; with retribution just
> And tenfold vengeance on th' oppressor's head,
> And Babylon a desolated waste;
> These are the muse's theme.[42]

While universally invoking "the muse" here, Trollope later identifies more specifically the "Spirit of Truth" as his guiding principle:

> Spirit of Truth,
> Conduct my steps, that strangers to the haunts
> Of poesy would tempt the magic soil
> Of fiction's airy realm; and while I sing
> Of deeds Almighty, let no fabled tale,
> Or vision fancy-born, intrusive mix,
> And taint the sacred current of my verse.
> Yet what can fancy, tho' on fearless wing
> She spurn earth's limits, and o'er nature's verge
> Thro' worlds unnumber'd her creative eye
> Range uncontroul'd? yet what can fancy add
> To grace His name, whose lowest wonder soars
> Beyond imagination's loftiest flight,
> Far as heaven's concave, where enthron'd He sits
> In majesty eternal, is uprais'd
> Above His footstool this terrestrial globe.[43]

40 Ibid., 392.

41 Ibid., 393.

42 Arthur William Trollope, "The Destruction of Babylon" [1795], in Reed (ed.), *Musae Seatonianae*, II, 251–61, 251.

43 Ibid., 251–2.

"Fancy," evoked by Wrangham in his own version of "The Destruction of Babylon" as a morally informed inspiration of poesy, is deprecated by Trollope as inadequate to encompassing the divine plan of redemption.

Trollope's insistence on "truth" as opposed to imaginative re-creation was extended only a few years later by Hannah Cowley in *The Siege of Acre* (1801). Cowley began her epic with an "Invocation to Truth in preference to the Muse."[44] Rejecting the imaginative dimension of the muse, she asked: "Art Thou the Muse? Ah no! all Fiction she, / Celestial TRUTH! I seize the Theme from Thee."[45] In a national epic celebrating the British defence of Acre against French troops in 1798, her insistence on "celestial truth" is significant in two ways. As A. D. Harvey suggests, Cowley's shift in emphasis responds to the unease of introducing supernatural events in relation to well-known historical events.[46] More importantly, however, it not only validates her text about a contemporary occurrence of historical significance through the poet's supposedly historicist approach but her indication of the celestial nature of this historical truth moreover situates the events at least implicitly within the wider context of the divine plan of redemption. Trollope's insistence on the guiding "Spirit of Truth" in his epic on the destruction of Babylon similarly indicates the amalgamation of the eschatological and historical narratives in which both mutually confirm one another.

The narrative of Belshazzar's feast is subsumed under the captivity narrative and that of the destruction of the First Temple, when Trollope in much abbreviated form recounts how the latter's "sacred stores / Must grace th' intemperate feast, whose riot rends / The victor's palace." The poet's focus on the eschatological teleology through which the destruction of Babylon is viewed emerges also in his account of the captive Jews being led away from Jerusalem. The description of their wistful looks back toward the conflagration anticipates the perspective assumed by Byron two decades later in his poem on the destruction of the Second Temple by Titus and rendered so evocatively in Loewe's musical setting:

> From their country torn,
> Torn from their native land, thy captive sons
> And widow'd mothers drag the galling chain
> Indignant; and, as Jordan's banks along
> The sad procession winds, their pensive bosoms
> Beat; while with oft-reverted eye tearful
> On Sion's lessening hill they gaze, or print

44 Hannah Cowley, *The Siege of Acre: A Poem* (1801; London: Wilkie and Robinson, 1810), contents page.

45 Ibid., p. 17.

46 Harvey, "English Epic," 246–7.

With agonizing lip, while yet 'tis giv'n,
A last fond kiss on their parental soil.[47]

Intriguingly, Trollope makes use also of other tropes associated with the destruction of the Second Temple rather than that of the First. The rationale for this conflation is probably to be sought in the notion of human sacrifice and Israel's straying to the idolatry of its neighbors. Yet it nevertheless appears almost as a type of Mary's teknophagy. The divine punishment to which Israel is subjected includes famine:

pale famine,
Parent of horrors, whose dread voice can still
The cries of nature in the mother's breast,
And nerve her lifted arm against her babe
Lisping for mercy.[48]

The Jews' transgressions against divine law are implicitly aligned by Trollope with original sin through his use of Miltonic echoes:

Yet not at once
Pour'd God His whole displeasure, or forgot
His covenant with righteous Abraham made:
But oft His prophets rais'd to purge the mists
Of error from His people, to renew
Their broken faith, and in their souls awake
Repentance; or with warning voice denounce
Impending judgments, and severer woes,
Judea's loss and strange captivity,
The fruit of disobedience. Blind, perverse,
Deluded Israel! whom no ills endur'd,
Or fear of ills to come, can save from ruin.[49]

The echo of the famous invocation of *Paradise Lost*—"Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit / Of that forbidden tree"[50]—situates not only Trollope's own effort within the tradition of the religious epic of which Milton's poem was considered the pinnacle. It moreover correlates the Jewish transgressions Trollope enumerates to universal sinfulness since the Fall. Jewish captivity—"the fruit of disobedience"—is implicitly compared to the loss of Eden. But at the same time, and this

47 Trollope, "Destruction of Babylon," 254.
48 Ibid., 253.
49 Ibid., 253–4.
50 John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, in *John Milton*, eds Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 355–618, p. 356 (I.1–2).

is hugely important, Trollope thus subsumes the Jews under those that may be saved. The restoration after the destruction of the First Temple, so prominently figured in his epic about the destruction of Babylon, thus effectively becomes the type of the future restoration after the destruction of the Second.

The nuances of Jewish redeemability, and irredeemability, associated in the German oratorios on the destruction of Jerusalem with different tropes of Jewishness discussed in the previous chapter are of no concern to Trollope. He may emphasize the ruin that Israel may not be saved from, yet in the Miltonic echo is hidden the assertion that redemption is the ultimate objective of God's plan. Even though it is not made explicit in Trollope's epic, the vision is of the New Jerusalem—as in *Paradise Lost*. The interplay of destruction and destruction (of Babylon and of Jerusalem), as well as its vortical and vertiginous historical dynamic, is geared toward rebuilding and redemption.

Redemption is facilitated not only through God's "mercies," emphasised by Trollope in his own invocation, but by the sincere repentance of the Jews:

> Deep repentance touch'd
> Their souls, and keen remorse; in anguish sunk,
> They mourn'd their past transgressions. By the side
> Of Babylon's proud stream they sate, and wept
> Thy fate, Jerusalem; while fond remembrance
> Dwelt on thy glories past, and happier scenes
> With present ills compar'd.[51]

It is both, this imaginary repentance and its divine acceptance, that propel the Jews on their eschatological trajectory:

> Thou saw'st, O God,
> Their tears unfeign'd; Thou saw'st their deep contrition:
> Thine ear, still open to the sinner's prayer
> Pour'd from the fulness of a wounded heart.
> Accepted their repentance.[52]

Like Wrangham, Trollope emphasizes that the destroyer of Babylon executed but God's bidding:

> Thou forgav'st their sins,
> And at Thy word the swift avenger comes,
> Whose arm shall break th' oppressor's rod, and loose

51 Trollope, "Destruction of Babylon," 255.
52 Ibid.

> The bonds of Judah, and his sons redeem'd,
> To freedom and their native land restore.[53]

Yet the poet's emphasis on divine intervention associates an uneasy foreshadowing of the destruction of the Second Temple which revokes the restoration of the Jews to their land and their freedom; and it is also, once again, an exhortation to his contemporaries.

Like Wrangham, both in the previous year and in his submission for "The Destruction of Babylon," Trollope develops from his vision of the destruction of the ancient imperial city an exhortation to Britain; and like in Wrangham's latter poem, it is predicated on the comparison of Babylon and Albion—a near anagram, which may explain the poet's use of "Albion" over and above the mythical connotations evoked by it:

> Is this the once imperial Babylon?
> This the proud mistress of the east? Become
> A nameless waste, where scarce a ruin marks
> Her ample site! Here, Albion, turn thy view;
> Thou, who, like her, lift'st the aspiring head,
> Learn wisdom from her fall: so may'st thou 'scape
> A fate like her's.[54]

In 1805, the Seatonian competition on the subject of "Christ's Lamentation over Jerusalem" (1805) was won by Charles Peers. His later epic poem on *The Siege of Jerusalem* (1823) may well have its origins in this earlier engagement with the biblical subject.[55] Much later, but arguably tying in with the cluster of engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem and in effect continuing the narrative of the destruction of Babylon as it had been conceived of by Trollope, the subject for the year 1824 was set as "The Building and Dedication of the Second Temple." The winning entry by John Overton was published two years later with the same title.

In 1817, also at Cambridge, though in a slightly different context, the Chancellor's Gold Medal was awarded to Chauncy Hare Townshend's (1798–1868) entry on the subject of "Jerusalem." Townshend's text, while poetically unremarkable, is interesting for the exclusively religious, eschatological rather than historical, trajectory it projects of Jerusalem—once again, like Pierson's oratorio—from the destruction of the First Temple to that of the Second to the building of the New Jerusalem.

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53 Ibid., 256.

54 Ibid., 259.

55 See Charles Peers, *The Siege of Jerusalem*, 2nd edn (1823; London: Murray, 1824), p. v.

In effect, were they rearranged, the various poems—like Pierson's oratorio—narrate the sequential story of the destructions and rebuildings of Jerusalem to the vision of the New Jerusalem, even though this was never explicitly set as a subject—it may have been understood to be redundant, being subsumed under the heading of the destruction of the old city.

Incontestible Evidence of the Christian Faith: Milman

While Byron's "On the Day of the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus" from his *Hebrew Melodies* (1815) was clearly an inspiration for Carl Loewe, there is no particular reason to assume that he or any of the other German composers discussed in the previous part—nor Kaulbach—would have been familiar with Perry's oratorio. The case is different with the composer's source. Milman's *The Fall of Jerusalem* was translated into German already in 1823 and it may well have been known to Nicolai and Loewe, and perhaps also to the artist.[56] Theodor Hell (pseudonym of Karl Gottlieb Theodor Winkler), writing for the Dresden *Abend-Zeitung*, claimed that the dramatic poem offered some of the best material for tragedy since Horace Walpole.[57] We may be reminded here of Coleridge's enthusiastic appreciation of the subject. Intriguingly, Milman's subtitle—*A Dramatic Poem*—was changed by the translator to: *Ein dramatisches Gemälde* (A Dramatic Painting), and one wonders if Kaulbach may have found some inspiration in the suggestion.

In its review of the German translation, the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* insisted on the unsuitability of the historical episode for a dramatic rendering:

> The subject does not seem to us particularly suited for a dramatic treatment, because what occurs—and this is predominant—cannot be made visible without injury to the senses and must mostly be narrated by persons who appear on the stage whose own actions are then impeded and whose mutual connection is hindered so that too little having the appearance of a drama will be achieved—and were it only to represent a painting.[58]

56 See Henry Hart Milman, *Der Fall von Jerusalem*, transl. A. F. Blech (Königsberg: Unzer, 1823). The dramatic poem received also scholarly attention in Germany with the publication of Carl Venatier, *Milmans Fall of Jerusalem* (Trebnitz: Maretzke and Martin, 1893).

57 Th. Hell [i.e., Karl Gottlieb Theodor Winkler], "Das Recht des dramatischen Dichters an sein Werk," *Abend-Zeitung* (Dresden) 14.125 and 126 (May 25 and 26, 1821): n. p. Hell himself had translated fragments of the dramatic poem already in the previous year: "Mirjams, der neubekehrten Christin, Gesang. Bruchst. aus d. dramat. Ged.: *Jerusalems Fall* (*The fall of Jerusalem*)," *Abend-Zeitung* 167 (July 14, 1820): n. p.

58 T. Z., "Königsberg, b. Unzer: *Der Fall von Jerusalem*, ein dramatisches Gemälde von *Milman*. Aus dem Englischen von *A. Blech*. 1823," *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* 192 (October 1823):

The translator's choice is thus presented as limiting the function and scope of what the poet had conceived of as a dramatic poem. The pictorial, it is suggested, is a reduction of the dramatic. By implication, that is, neither the pictorial nor the dramatic is considered adequate to ecompass the subject fully. Considering his attempts to secure an oratorial accompaniment to his painting, Kaulbach may have had similar doubts about his own artistic effort.

No more favorable, if for different reasons, was the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*. Its assessment is interesting in particular because it reflects on contemporary translation practice and the book market. As in England, there was an acute awareness of international publications also in Germany and the reviewer was not entirely uncritical of the efforts made to introduce to the German reader in translation any work of some note in foreign parts.[59] Certainly, he considered the effort wasted in Milman's case:

> Considering the frequently commended industry of the Germans and their zeal to appropriate to our mother tongue any work of foreign parts which has aroused any attention there, it is easily understood that occasionally works will be chosen which may, at the least, not be said to be an enrichment of our literature. This is also true of the present dramatic painting, whose subject is the destruction of Jerusalem.[60]

The critic censured the inconsistency of Milman's characters and the lack of action in the dramatic painting, a point raised also in some of the English reviews of the poem. Altogether, however, *The Fall of Jerusalem* was received with much acclaim in Britain.

The publication of Milman's dramatic poem in at least two editions in 1820 may well have suggested to Coleridge to revisit his own earlier plans. Influenced

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cols 89–91, 89: "Der Gegenstand scheint uns nicht sonderlich zu einer dramatischen Behandlung geeignet zu seyn, indem das, was geschieht—und diess ist das Überwiegende—ohne die Sinne zu verletzen, doch nicht sichtbar werden kann, und grösstentheils nur als Erzählung von Personen, die auftreten, in den Mund gelegt werden muss, welches dann wider ihre eigene Thätigkeit hemmt, und die gegenseitige Verknüpfung derselben hindert, so dass gar zu wenig zu Stande kommt, was einem Drama—soll es auch nur ein Gemälde vorstellen—ähnlich sieht."

59 For a similar criticism of literary translations, see Hermann Marggraff, "Die Entwicklung des deutschen Romans, besonders in der Gegenwart. Zweiter Artikel. Der deutsche Roman nach 1830," *Deutsche Monatsschrift für Litteratur und öffentliches Leben* 3.2 (1844): 97–116, 110.

60 Anonymous, "Königsberg, b. Unzer: *Der Fall von Jerusalem*. Ein dramatisches Gemälde von *Milman*. Aus dem Englischen von *A. F. Blech*. 1823," *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* (Halle and Leipzig) 170 (July 1824): cols 526–8, 526: "Bey der oft gerühmten Betriebsamkeit der Deutschen und ihrem Eifer, jedes Werk des Auslandes, das dort irgend Aufmerksamkeit erregt, unsrer Muttersprache anzueignen, ist es leicht erklärlich, dass die Wahl mitunter auf Werke fällt, die wenigstens keine Bereicherung unserer Literatur genannt werden können. Diess gilt auch von dem vorliegenden dramatischen Gemälde, dessen Stoff die Zerstörung Jerusalems ist."

by the German Protestant theologian Johann Gottfried Eichhorn's *Commentarius in apocalypsin Joannis* (1791; Commentary on the Apocalypse of John), the English poet conceived of the Book of Revelation as a "grand prophetic drama" which was divided into three acts.[61] The first act encompassed the fall of Jerusalem, the second the fall of Rome and the triumph of Christianity, and the third the coming of the New Jerusalem.[62] Elinor S. Shaffer extrapolates from Coleridge's notes that his projected, but never written, epic "would have employed the historical events of the fall of Jerusalem to show the recreation of the ancient religious constitution of man in the new Jerusalem" and that it was to be based on "history interpreted in a symbolic way."[63]

Kaulbach's approach, as discussed above, also incorporates a strong symbolic component, yet his secularized visual representation of the historical occurrence does not overtly suggest religious re-formation on a universal, soteriological scale, nor is this pursued in any of the oratorios discussed in the previous part. At the same time, though reminiscent of Holmes's comprehensively conceived libretto for Pierson's *Jerusalem* and derived from a German source, the order of equally weighted events outlined by Eichhorn and Coleridge reflects a trajectory that appears to be peculiar to the English context.

The eschatological synthesis of the destruction of Jerusalem, the triumph of Christianity and Israel's restoration, and, finally, the coming of the Heavenly Jerusalem, for instance, may be implicit in the trajectory of the Christians in Kaulbach's painting as they withdraw from the stricken city. Yet neither in the painting, nor in the oratorios it inspired, are any of the three stages given any narrative prominence but the first, that of the destruction of Jerusalem. In England, presumably largely because of the long-established Protestant identification with Israel, the restoration narrative and the manifestation of the New Jerusalem are much more important and the destruction of Jerusalem, as the first of the three "acts" of Revelation, frequently tends to be seen in context with, and as elucidation of, the other two.

In contrast to Pierson who emphasized that his oratorio did not include any *dramatis personae*, Milman appears to have been the first to have introduced a romantic entanglement (other than the historical relationship between Titus and Berenice), or actually two, to the literary representation of the destruction of Jerusalem. He creates in his dramatic poem two Beautiful Jewesses. His text may in this respect have been an inspiration for Martin Blumner. As in the German com-

61 Quoted from Coleridge's annotations in his copy of Eichhorn's commentary as transcribed by Shaffer, *"Kubla Khan" and The Fall of Jerusalem*, p. 17.

62 See ibid., pp. 17–18.

63 Ibid., p. 18.

poser's oratorio—whose title, *Der Fall Jerusalems* (The Fall of Jerusalem), echoes that of Milman's dramatic poem—Milman introduces two Jewish sisters who effectively exemplify Ecclesia and Synagoga. Miriam and Salone are the daughters of Simon bar Giora and their names, like those of Deborah and Mary in Blumner's oratorio, are aptronyms. Miriam associates the faith and innocence of the mother of Jesus and has converted to Christianity; Salone alludes to the young woman who danced for Herod Antipas and demanded the head of John the Baptist from him (Salome).

Salone adheres fiercely to a zealous Judaism, a characteristic reflected in her betrothal and marriage to Amariah, the fictitious son of John of Giscala, called John the Tyrant in Milman's dramatic poem. Salone's fanaticism manifests itself also in her threat to betray her sister for having intoned a Christian prayer in the Temple, a denunciation which would result in Miriam's death. In the end, she spares her sister and, after Amariah has been mortally wounded, is killed by him in recognition of their cause being lost.

Miriam has secretely been converted by her Christian lover, Javan, who has left Jerusalem and meets her at night outside the gates with food which she carries into the besieged city. She emerges as the central figure of the text in which she embodies the conversion paradigm which she asserts toward her sister but also toward the figure of the Old Man.

Though not explicitly identified as such, the Old Man in Milman's dramatic poem calls to mind the legend of the Wandering Jew as it was included by Kaulbach in his monumental painting. Yet although the Old Man is understood as paradigmatic of the Jews, as is Kaulbach's Ahasuerus, his fate appears to be tied not to the external curse cast upon Ahasuerus but rather to his own sense of guilt which is experienced by him ultimately as an internal curse. He is conceived as a bystander to Christ's passion who joined the crowd, shouting "crucify," but who now, decades later, believes. "I dare not disbelieve," he confides, "it is my curse, / My agony, that cleaves to me in death."[64] The compassionate Miriam seeks to reassure him: "Oh, not a curse, it is a gracious blessing—/ Believe, and thou shalt live!"[65] To which the Old Man responds with the affirmation of his Jewish faith: "I have lived a faithful child of Abraham, / And so will die."[66]

In striking contrast to the immortal Ahasuerus, death is the Old Man's fate. Yet as Miriam indicates, this death is everlasting and is opposed to the Christian vision of the eternal afterlife of the redeemed: "For ever!—He is gone, / Yet he

64 Milman, *Fall of Jerusalem*, p. 137.
65 Ibid.
66 Ibid., p. 138.

looks round, and shakes his hoary head / In dreadful execration 'gainst himself."[67] The image of the Old Man with his hoary head is very similar to Kaulbach's Ahasuerus (and perhaps even more to Görres's libretto version), as is the indication of a spatial vector. Yet whether the artist would have been familiar with Milman's dramatic poem must remain conjectural.

Another, though superficial, similarity is the suggestion that the destruction of Jerusalem prefigures the Last Judgment. Kaulbach promotes in his monumental painting a largely Hegelian interpretation which, as Möseneder has shown, posits the progress of universal history as a universal judgment to culminate in the Last Judgment.[68] Milman, following the English tradition, invokes the destruction of Jerusalem as a type of the apocalyptic destruction of the world at the end of days:

> Even so shall perish,
> In its own ashes, a more glorious Temple,
> Yes, God's own architecture, this vast world,
> This fated universe—the same destroyer,
> The same destruction—Earth, Earth, Earth, behold!
> And in that judgment look upon thine own![69]

Milman's *Fall of Jerusalem*, as Jan-Melissa Schramm suggests, was next to Byron's *Cain* (1821) but "the tip of an enormous iceberg, of dramatic poems, epics, and novels inspired by the revolutionary anxieties and millenarian fervour of the 1810s and early 1820s."[70] The apocalyptic dimension of his dramatic poem is indicated by Milman already in his introduction where he suggests the comparative reading of Josephus alongside "the Scriptural prediction of the 'Abomination of Desolation' [i.e., Revelation]."[71]

Ultimately, however, the terror evoked with the image of the Last Judgment is mitigated in the text with the reassuring proclamation of their redemption to the faithful:

> Even safe as we, by this still fountain's side,
> So shall the Church, thy bright and mystic Bride,
> Sit on the stormy gulf a halcyon bird of calm.
> Yes, 'mid yon angry and destroying signs,

67 Ibid.

68 See Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 119–20.

69 Milman, *Fall of Jerusalem*, pp. 158–9.

70 Jan-Melissa Schramm, *Censorship and the Representation of the Sacred in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 28.

71 Milman, *Fall of Jerusalem*, p. vii.

O'er us the rainbow of thy mercy shines,
We hail, we bless the covenant of its beam,
Almighty to avenge, Almightiest to redeem![72]

Against the backdrop of this soteriological promise, which typologically associates God's mercy after the utter destruction of the Deluge through the image of the rainbow,[73] the individual fate of the two Christian lovers emerges in Milman's dramatic poem with didactic intention as paradigmatic of the blessed fate of the faithful:

[C]hosen out,
As we two are, for solitary blessing,
While the universal curse is pour'd around us
On every head, 'twere cold and barren gratitude
To stifle in our hearts the holy gladness.[74]

The passage implicitly continues the typological allusion to the Great Flood and the survival of the animals in Noah's Ark, of the male and the female, chosen like Javan and Miriam.[75]

In his introduction, Milman explains that it was his "object to show the full completion of prophecy in this great event."[76] The Reverend's ulterior motive, however, was to exploit the instructive potential of his dramatic poem and its historical basis. He asserted that he could not imagine "that the public mind [. . .] can be directed to so striking and so incontestable an evidence of the Christian faith without advantage."[77] The poetic form and aesthetic value of his text, no less than "the interest of a dramatic fable," he considered felicitous vehicles of his didactic intentions.[78]

Milman's religious and aesthetic objectives responded to anxieties variously acknowledged in contemporary discourse. John Campbell of Carbrook, for instance, noted in his *Observations on the Antichristian Tendency of Modern Education* (1823) with some relief his reassurance that Milman's works, including *The Fall of Jerusalem*, "require no antidote and no restriction as to the period of perusal." To the contrary:

72 Ibid., pp. 160–1.
73 See Genesis 9:12–13.
74 Milman, *Fall of Jerusalem*, p. 156.
75 See Genesis 7:2–3.
76 Milman, *Fall of Jerusalem*, p. vii.
77 Ibid.
78 Ibid.

> It is a token for good, when the imagination is directed for gratification to subjects which are in accordance with Christian faith, and to such aspects of these subjects as are calculated to enkindle and fan the flame of Christian feeling.[79]

Various reviews of Milman's dramatic poem concur. The *British Review*, for instance, asserted that

> at a time in which so many efforts are made to sap the faith of the people, the Fall of Jerusalem, with its concomitant circumstances, as related by Josephus, may be advantageously adduced as a striking corroboration of the truth of the Gospel.[80]

The American *Christian Spectator* similarly acknowledged that the present time was characterized by an "inundation" with poetry of very mixed quality and covering a wide range of subjects.[81] The critic moreover felt the need to justify the poem's subtitle by explaining that "The Fall of Jerusalem is styled a dramatic poem; but it is as far removed from the regular English drama, as those most hostile to productions of this nature would desire";[82] indeed, he praises Milman for having dedicated "all the fervour of his genius, and the strength of his mind, as auxiliary to christianity [*sic*]."[83]

Whereas Milman's *The Fall of Jerusalem* was reviewed favorably by most critics, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* denounced the dramatic poem as "laboured and cumbrous."[84] Some critics intriguingly found issue in particular with the figure of Miriam. While the *Christian Spectator* described the young woman as "a tender but heroic minded maiden, who is supported amid all the dangers and horrours [*sic*] of the siege by evangelical faith,"[85] for other critics, equally motivated by their Christian faith, the character of Miriam smacks nevertheless too much of the eternal Eve. In a review of Milman's *Belshazzar* (1822), another dramatic poem published two years after the poet's earlier effort, the *British Critic* confided retrospectively that

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79 John Campbell of Carbrook, *Observations on the Antichristian Tendency of Modern Education, and on the Practicability and Means of its Improvement* (Edinburgh: Brown, 1823), p. 53n.

80 Anonymous, "Art. XVIII.—The Fall of Jerusalem. A Dramatic Poem. By the Rev. H. H. Milman," *The British Review* 15 (1820): 365–77, 376.

81 Anonymous, "The Fall of Jerusalem, a Dramatic Poem; by the Rev. H. H. Milman," *The Christian Spectator* 2.12 (December 1820): 637–47, 637.

82 Ibid., 639.

83 Ibid., 647.

84 Anonymous, "Lyndsay's Dramas of the Ancient World," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 10.49 (December 1821): 730–40, 731.

85 Anonymous, "Fall of Jerusalem," 640.

> [i]n the Fall of Jerusalem, we were never completely reconciled to the under-plot of love, in spite of the beauty of its conception. The destruction of the holy city, to produce its most striking effect, should have been allowed to stand alone in all its mighty singleness of terror.[86]

Sensing an ever so slight but nevertheless undesirable resemblance with French drama, the critic perorated:

> It is not in the school of the French stage that Mr. Milman has put on his buskins: nevertheless, it is to the French school that we should principally have looked for the introduction of Miriam. Mr. Milman, it is true, has thrown off the hoop and lappets under which she would have ambled, and the Monsieur and Madame which she would have lisped in feminine rhyme under the direction of a Parisian bard: yet we cannot but wish, however pure and graceful she has come out of his hands, that he had avoided her altogether.[87]

The *British Review* glibly observed in the same vein: "A mere amorous tale is not purified from its grosser elements by its scene being laid in the Holy Land."[88] Yet the critic has more to say about female characters, giving voice to traditional Pauline misogyny and the allegation that ideal women are not suitable for dramatic representation. Miriam, he asserts,

> is described as simple, honest, and artless; and though *we* cannot forget, what both Javan and Mr. Milman seem to do, that "the fairest creature is a fallen creature," she forms no unpleasing picture of those maidens of Palestine whom we figure to ourselves joining in the sacred dances, or chanting the praises of the Son of Jesse, or "Jesse's Lord," to the melodies of the lute and harp. She wants, however, that strength of character, that mental, or moral, or even intellectual energy, which the character of the heroine of a piece seems to require. All that is striking and picturesque in character, Mr. Milman has been obliged to bestow upon the worst part of his actors. Indeed, we have long been of the opinion, that *goodness* is a very unromantic attribute. St. Paul's description of what women ought to be is singularly unpoetical. Modesty, tenderness, sobriety, and "shame-facedness," are very bad materials for a heroine.[89]

Miriam's "half-crazy" sister Salone appears, in a dramatic sense, much more interesting to the critic; she "forms a far more striking portrait than the gentle, modest heroine of the poem."[90]

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86 Anonymous, "Art. III. Belshazzar; a Dramatic Poem. By the Rev. H. H. Milman," *The British Critic* 18 (1822): 152–60, 153.

87 Ibid., 153.

88 Anonymous, "Art. XVIII.—The Fall of Jerusalem," 366.

89 Ibid., 371.

90 Ibid., 367.

At the same time directing a gibe at Byron, the *British Review* moreover notes: "We have been more than once so deceived by pretended Hebrew melodies, which had nothing Hebrew but the name, that we were not certain that 'The Fall of Jerusalem' might not be some misnomer of the same kind."[91] The critic elaborates: "To write poetry which deserves the name of sacred, something of the spirit, as well as the language, of the ancient bards and prophets of Palestine is requisite. Here it is that certain modern writers of Hebrew melodies so egregiously fail."[92] About Milman, he concedes, however, that he cannot be accused of this fault: "His poem is really Jewish."[93] What exactly makes it so, and what this means, remains unsaid. Moreover, considering the critic's deeply antisemitic stance, it is in any case a question whether the alleged authenticity of the dramatic poem as "Jewish" is really intended to recommend it to the reader; he complains that

> almost every thing connected with the Jews is unpoetical, and our prejudices combine with classical taste to excite a feeling the very reverse of romantic, whenever we attempt to bring our fancy into contact with their peculiarities as a nation.[94]

The critic doubts for this reason (i.e., it's pervasive Jewishness) the suitability of the subject for poetic treatment, which he otherwise asserts: "It is true that abstractedly considered, no event whatever, in the whole page of history, inspired or profane, seems better adapted to become the ground-work of a dramatic, or even epic poem, than that which our author has chosen."[95]

By that time, the epic poem tentatively envisaged by the critic had, apparently, already been completed, though Charles Peers' *The Siege of Jerusalem* was not published before 1823. Another, much shorter, epic poem by John Church the Younger appeared in the same year, and the following year, 1824, saw the performance of Perry's oratorio based on Milman's dramatic text.[96] Like an afterthought to this the-

91 Ibid., 366.

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid., 367. The reviewer of the German translation of Milman's dramatic poem who did not appreciate the poet's effort nevertheless observed his predilection for hymns and noted with approval that these had at least been crafted in what he calls the oriental spirit; yet he simultaneously criticized that they were frequently cluttered with exaggerated imagery, which, according to contemporary stereotypes, was precisely one of the markers of oriental poetry, see Anonymous, "Königsberg, b. Unzer: *Der Fall von Jerusalem*," 527.

94 Anonymous, "Art. XVIII.—The Fall of Jerusalem," 367.

95 Ibid.

96 In 1824, the Welsh poet Ebenezer Thomas, better known as Eben Fardd (1802–63), won the Welshpool *eisteddfod* (competitive festival of the arts) with his *awdl* (long poem, ode) "Dinystr Jerusalem" (The Destruction of Jerusalem), which, by extension, should also be seen as a part of

matic cluster, two substantial poetic texts, a dramatic poem by William Lisle Bowles and an epic poem by Agnes Bulmer reasserted in 1832 and 1834, respectively, the eschatological trajectory by contextualizing the destruction of Jerusalem with the apocalyptic vision of the New Jerusalem. Almost midways between these poetical engagements with the subject, in 1828, appeared a novel by George Croly which, while implicitly tied to the eschatological trajectory, nevertheless developed the subject at a tangent by transposing it into narrative fiction of an adventurous bent and by focusing in particular on the Ahasuerus figure.

An Almost Irresistible Appeal to Poetical Appropriation: Peers

Less explicitly didactic than Milman and eschewing the innovative use of the dramatic poem, Charles Peers (d. 1853), the Seatonian Prize winner of 1805, published his own epic engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem in 1823. Peers claims that his *The Siege of Jerusalem* (1823) was completed before Milman's dramatic poem was published and asserts that "[t]he coincidence in the choice of a subject was entirely accidental."[97] Yet, as mentioned before, he acknowledges to have been familiar with the fragmentary publication of Daniele Florio's *Tito, ossia Gerusalemme distrutta* (1819), referring to the posthumous publication of two of the altogether five cantos at the hands of Quirico Viviani, who notes in his dedication to the poet's nephew Francesco Florio that they were composed already in 1770.[98]

Viviani's express purpose was to respond to Cesare Arici's effort published earlier in the same year 1819 and to show that the poet from Brescia was not the only Italian to have addressed the subject.[99] Viviani also announced his intention to prepare the publication of the whole of Florio's *Tito* but nothing seems to have come of this.[100] Arici's *Gerusalemme distrutta* likewise remained a fragment. Its

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the thematic cluster; for the text, see Eben Fardd, "Dinystr Jerusalem" [1824], in *Gweithiau Bardonol*, ed. Howell Roberts (Bangor: Douglas, 1873), pp. 46–59.

97 Peers, *Siege of Jerusalem*, p. vi.

98 Daniele Florio, *Tito, ossia Gerusalemme distrutta* (Venice: Alvisopoli, 1819), p. vi. Peers notes also his unsuccessful attempt to locate another relevant Italian text with the title *Giovanni di Ghiscala*, see Peers, *Siege of Jerusalem*, p. vii. He probably had in mind Alfonso Varano's tragedy *Giovanni di Giscala tiranno del tempio di Gerusalemme* (1754) which, a century later, was to inspire Giovanni Gaetano Rossi's opera *Giovanni di Giscala* (1855) composed to a libretto by Alfonso Cavagnari.

99 Florio, *Tito*, p. vi.

100 Viviani added shortly afterward the publication of another manuscript section, see Daniele Florio, *La celebrazione della Pasqua: Episodio inedito del Tito; ossia della Gerusalemme distrutta* (Udine: Mattiuzzi, 1823), yet no further contemporary publications of Florio's epic are known.

initial six cantos were published in 1819 as volume six of his *Poesie e prose*, but though the poet declared his intention of finishing his epic on the destruction of Jerusalem, his early death in 1836 prevented its completion.

Neither Florio's nor Arici's texts appear to have been translated into German. Yet they were nevertheless known also in Germany. In order to refute any claims of plagiarism, both were compared in 1820 in a supplement to *Jahrbücher der Literatur*.[101] While Florio's *Tito* seems to have elicited no further critical interest in Germany, Arici's epic was described somewhat later in the century by Julius L. Klein as one of a number of "monuments of the exhaustion of the epic genre."[102] Accordingly, neither Florio's nor Arici's epics seem to have had any significant influence on literary engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem in Germany.

In spite of the poet's acknowledgment, Peers' *The Siege of Jerusalem* also appears not to have been influenced to any significant degree by Florio's *Tito*. Asserting the general historical accuracy of his epic poem—for which he mainly consulted Josephus and Tacitus as well as Lightfoot, Prideaux, Calmet, Harmer, and the *Universal History*[103]—Peers explains his introduction of some "fictitious circumstances" with his intention of "relieving the reader's attention from the unbroken monotony of war" and of "exhibiting the customs and manners of the hostile nations."[104]

The epic poem commences with a lengthy enumeration of alleged Jewish iniquities and sins culminating in the crucifixion. They provide the justification for the retribution meted out upon the Jews by the divine Father. Evoking the apocalyptic dimension of the occurrence, the poet elaborates a comparison of the cataclysmic event with Armageddon which, in turn, it is suggested to prefigure.[105] Much space is given to the celebration of Passover (Book II), but the ritual is denounced as hypocritical. Jewish internal discord is contrasted to Roman unity under a strong leader in what may be a veiled reference to civil unrest—such as the Peterloo Massacre of 1819—during the regency period in Britain.

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101 See Anonymous, "Literarische Notizen: Italienische Literatur," *Anzeige-Blatt für Wissenschaft und Kunst* 10 (1820): 1–12, see especially 7–9.

102 Julius L. Klein, *Geschichte des Dramas* (Leipzig: Weigel, 1869), IV, 106: "Denkmale von Erschöpfung des epischen Genres."

103 The texts Peers refers to are presumably John Lightfoot, *A Commentary upon the Acts of the Apostles* (1645), which includes *A brief survey of the contemporary Story of the Jews and Romans*; Humphrey Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament Connected, in the History of the Jews and Neighbouring Nations* (1716–18); Abbé Antoine Augustin Calmet, *Great Dictionary of the Holy Bible* (1725); Thomas Harmer, *Observations on Various Passages of Scripture* (1776); and *An Universal History, from the Earliest Account of Time* (1736–50).

104 Peers, *Siege of Jerusalem*, p. vi.

105 Ibid., p. 12.

Through the invocation of Psalm 137, the destruction of the First Temple and the Babylonian Exile are implicitly alluded to, but in contrast to the first destruction, the future is negated in relation to the second. With the High Priest Matthias, Peers introduces a figure who represents Jewish insight and conscience and who warns his compatriots of the impending doom. With reference to Lamentations, Matthias talks about Jesus and Jewish guilt and calls for the Jews to see the errors of their ways:

> Mock not, if I speak
> Of one, as King rejected and disdain'd,
> Whom yet miraculous and mighty signs
> Proclaim'd a Prophet of no mortal cast.[106]

The High Priest more specifically refers to Jesus's prophecy, a topic Peers already dealt with in 1805 in his prize-winning Seatonian poem:

> Such was He, whose voice,
> Twice twenty seasons since, proclaim'd this woe,
> And worse, to come—our people led again
> (The few who 'scape) to far captivity—
> Our Temple sack'd, our bulwarks in the dust.
> That hour, perchance, is near, and this the foe
> Ordain'd for vengeance: yield, while yet ye may.[107]

To which Simon bar Giora responds with defiance, embodying the archetype of the stubborn Jew:

> Of thine ill auguries
> Let those who may, interpret; we nor heed
> Prophet nor prophecy; denied, disdain'd
> Of the whole nation, save a simple few
> Of easy faith, he fell without regard,
> And so shall end his senseless oracles.[108]

Instead, the notion of a political Messiah is proffered by John of Giscala in a demagogic harangue:

> he yet will come,
> The mighty conqueror, the lord of war,
> The great Messiah, whose resistless arms

106 Ibid., p. 54.
107 Ibid., p. 55.
108 Ibid., p. 56.

Will build anew the strength of Judah's throne,
Hurl back the ruin she has wrought, on Rome,
And gather all the nations to our sway![109]

This false hope and expectation of another Messiah is contrasted with the prospect of exile evoked by Matthias. The Jews, he warns, would "go forth to pine / In heathen realms, famish'd and shelterless!"[110] and, reminiscent of the trope employed by Trollope and Byron, "yet the tear-swoll'n eye / Would oft revert to Sion."[111]

Emphasizing the utter hopelessness of the Jews, the epoist in addition offers a comparison to Troy:

Sad was their transit o'er th' Egean wave,
Who view'd the ruin that enwrapt thy walls,
Long-leaguer'd Ilion! when the victor Greek
Fired all their city—yet not all forlorn,
Outcast, or hopeless; o'er the deep they bore
Their household deities, with high presage
Of a new empire and a nobler name.
Not so with these Sion's sad fugitives!
No angel sent, as erst, to soothe the sigh
Of the lone mother in the wilderness.[112]

In contrast to Troy, from whose destruction ensued the creation of the Roman Empire, and in contrast also to the destruction of the First Temple which was followed by the divinely sanctioned return of the Jews to Jerusalem, restoration is denied to the Jews after the destruction of the Second Temple.

It is only in the conclusion of the epic poem attributed to the "pale Genius" of the destroyed city, and following on the description of the "Moslem's shrines" which are said to "Pollute the ground by God's own footsteps press'd,"[113] that the restoration of the debased city is envisaged as it was foretold by Ezekiel and in Revelation:[114]

"[. . .] Hath God forgotten? Shall his heritage
Lie thus for ever in the spoiler's power?
The land that erst with milk and honey flow'd,
Whose stones were iron, and her mountains brass,

109 Ibid., pp. 111–12.
110 Ibid., p. 83.
111 Ibid.
112 Ibid., p. 84.
113 Ibid., p. 221.
114 A note of the author refers the reader to these two biblical books, see ibid., p. 261.

> Still groan untill'd?"—No—let the heathen mock
> Thy desolation, they, their glory shorn,
> Shall never wake again to brighter hopes,
> Of new dominion: thou, thy days fulfill'd,
> Lion of God! shalt rouse thee from thy trance.[115]

The vision of restoration is also extended to the Jewish people:

> The same [i.e., God's archangel] will lead thy wandering remnant home
> From every region of their wide exile;
> Rebuild thy throne on the everlasting rock;
> And o'er a new and nobler Temple shed
> Imperishable glory, light, and peace![116]

Against this background of utter destruction and the envisaged eventual transfiguration of Judaism, Peers, like Milman, introduces the figure of the Beautiful Jewess. Sapphira, the daughter of the repentant High Priest Matthias, who is murdered by the Zealots, is in love with Hazor, the leader of the Idumeans. They marry among the din of war and eventually he, like Amariah in Milman's dramatic poem, is slayn. Sapphira—like another Antigone—makes her way to Titus to beg him to allow her to bury Hazor and to give his permission for the Idumeans to leave.[117] The young Jewish woman then returns to the stricken city, where she fades away and dies.[118]

Like Trollope and Cowley, Peers ostentatiously rejects fiction and fancy; instead, he claims for his epic poem the spirit of the prophets inspired with divine truth, as Kaulbach did as well with the prominent inclusion of the prophets in his painting. Peers' epic account of the post-biblical historical event is thus elevated to an almost scriptural level:

> For of no fiction now is need to sing—
> Of hell-born spirits warring round the wall—
> Of magic spells—the dear idolatry
> Of nations wakening from their Gothic trance,
> When the sweet minstrel struck th' Ausonian lyre
> To hallow'd chivalry and feats of arms—
> Nor if a muse yet linger'd 'mid the bowers
> Of green Sorrento or the Tuscan vale,
> Should I invoke her aid; but rather call
> Those that in elder age, beside the marge

115 Ibid., pp. 222–3.
116 Ibid., p. 224.
117 See ibid., p. 161.
118 See ibid., p. 165.

> Of streams once vocal to prophetic bards,
> Breathed inspiration—for the city of God,
> E'en in her shame and ruin, claims the meed
> Of genuine verse; nor needs fond fancy's art
> To grace th' authentic record of her fate.[119]

The significance of Peers treating the subject of his poem not merely as history but developing its soteriological dimension was not lost on the *British Review*. "On the contrary," it emphasized,

> he treats it, as one who knows it to be a transaction of the most unequivocal importance to his faith, one of those many signs and wonders and mighty deeds, which were wrought by the hand of the Almighty Providence, and by which he is able to ascertain the impregnable safety of that religion, which is the ark of his eternal hope.[120]

The implication is that the poet's approach is anticipated to inspire a similar personal faith also in his readership, whom the critic expects to be fully knowledgeable about the historical events: "what inquiring Christian is unacquainted with the pages of Josephus, delightful as they must ever be."[121]

And yet, the historical dimension and its historiographical propagation—invoked by the critic with the notion of the pleasing perusal of *The Jewish War*—is given significance by Peers exclusively in relation to human remembrance and the continued transmission of the exhortatory value of the historical occurrence with soteriological significance:

> Such was thy fall, proud city, once a queen
> Among the nations, on thy mountain throne.
> Such was thy fall; depicted in the page
> Of faithful story, and in marble wrought;
> Which nor the havoc of barbarian hands,
> Nor more destroying time, hath yet effaced.
> Still, and scarce harm'd, amid the mouldering piles
> Of Roman greatness, shows the trophied arch
> With the sad record of thy ruin graven;
> The martial pageant, and the sacred spoils,

119 Ibid., p. 132.

120 Anonymous, "Art. VIII.—The Siege of Jerusalem: A Poem; By Charles Peers, Esq.," *The British Review* 21.42 (1824): 161–83, 181.

121 Ibid., 183. The reviewer levels scathing criticism at the English translator of Josephus: "notwithstanding the glaring injury which they have sustained from being *done into English* by William Whiston."

> Conqueror and captive, in their pride and woe.
> Such was thy fall![122]

With the historiographical narrative wrought in marble the epoist refers to the reliefs adorning the Arch of Titus. The triumphal arch was erected by the imperator's brother and successor Domitian in commemoration of his victory and of his triumph in Rome. The inner faces of the arch are decorated with two panels of reliefs which show Titus as *triumphator* (on the north inner panel) and the spoils from the fall of Jerusalem, including, most prominently, the menorah (on the south inner panel). As the poet adds in a note, the triumphal arch was still, and continues to be, extant among the ruins of Rome as "one of the most entire specimens of Roman antiquity."[123] It is thus, next to its historiographical immortalization, a material monument to the destruction of Jerusalem which endures even after the destruction of Rome itself as an eternal reminder. Implicitly, it therefore simultaneously affirms in the poem also the fall of pagan Rome.

Peers refers to the practice of artistic commemoration where it is evoked as giving expression to personal, rather than historical, horror also in his rendering of the Mary of Bethezuba episode.[124] Mary's teknophagy occurs in his epic poem, untypically, after the destruction of the Temple; perhaps as an indication that with the fanum the last vestiges of Jewish morality vanished. As the unnatural mother shows the Zealots the "mangled infant,"[125] the poet invokes the "painter's art" for the representation of the horror of this scene:

> The painter's art,
> From their entrancement, and pale ashy hue,
> Might have combined each element to form
> A group of horror.[126]

Prior to Kaulbach's rendering, the Mary of Bethezuba episode had in fact been represented only infrequently in the visual arts since the medieval period,[127] in

122 Peers, *Siege of Jerusalem*, p. 216.
123 Ibid., p. 256.
124 Ibid., p. 197.
125 Ibid., p. 199.
126 Ibid.
127 For medieval representations of Mary of Bethezuba, see, e.g., John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela* (9th century), Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Grec 923, fol. 227r. See also the *Neville Book of Hours* (c. 1325–1350), British Library, London, MS Egerton 2781, fol 190r; see Kathryn A. Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and their Books of Hours* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), pp. 131, 134, who also mentions a tradition of Byzantine and Romanesque works. See also Jacob van Maerlant's *Rijmbibel* and the appended

contrast to the similarly gruesome subject of Count Ugolino and his sons derived from Dante's *La divina comedia* which became popular in the latter half of the eighteenth century.[128] Both deal with cannibalism or, more specifically, teknophagy but the former may have been considered too ghastly according to sensibilities expressed, for instance, by the German art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann who admonished artists, particularly painters, that they should avoid such scenes and rather leave them to be portrayed by poets.[129]

In its review of *The Siege of Jerusalem*, the *Monthly Review* emphasized that the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem was "associated in our bosoms with themes of high and celestial import" and, highlighting that Peers' epic poem was the first of its kind, added that "its unfabled incidents [are] interesting [to] us not through the spell of fiction, or the illusions of fancy, but by the sacred potency of Divine truth."[130] This—as we have seen, and will see again—is a trope frequently evoked in representations of the destruction of Jerusalem. Further elaborating on the religious dimension and echoing earlier reviews of Milman's dramatic poem, the *Monthly Review* enthused:

> Considered also as a remarkable fulfilment of the prophecy of our Lord, and an example of one of the most awful vicissitudes in the annals of human affairs, what subject could have been better selected for poetic narrative than the memorable siege of Jerusalem."[131]

The *British Review* similarly expressed its wonder at the previous lack of epic engagements with the subject whose aptness it justifies with its potential of strengthening the Christian faith:

> Among the variety of important events which have occurred upon the theatre of the world, it seems remarkable that the Siege of Jerusalem should have so long remained unsung. It is a subject so grand in its character, so full of incidents deeply pathetic, so intimately con-

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Die Wrake van Jerusalem (1332), Museum Meermanno, The Hague, Westreenianum MS 10. B. 21. The full page illumination by Michiel van der Borch on fol. 152v includes a representation of Mary of Bethezuba, see, e.g., Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel, "The Jerusalem Miniatures in Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel* 10 B 21 and in the Hornby Book of Hours. Questions of Context and Meaning," *Quaerendo* 41 (2011): 139–54. For early modern responses to the Mary of Bethezuba episode, see, e.g., Vanita Neelakanta, *Retelling the Siege of Jerusalem in Early Modern England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2019), chapter 1.

128 See, e.g., Aida Audeh, "Dante's Ugolino in 18th-Century France: Reynolds, Fuseli, Flaxman and the Students of J.-L. David," in *Heroines and Heroes: Symbolism, Embodiment, Narratives and Identity*, ed. Christopher Hart (Kingswinford: Midrash, 2008), pp. 38–55, esp. pp. 43–55.

129 See ibid., p. 48.

130 Anonymous, "Art. V. The Siege of Jerusalem: a Poem. By Charles Peers, Esq.," *The Monthly Review* 105 (September 1824): 30–9, 31.

131 Ibid.

> nected with the record of revealed truth, so admirably calculated to bring shame upon the doubts of the infidel, and to build up the sincere Christian in the firm belief of his most holy faith, as apparently to make an almost irresistible appeal to poetical appropriation.[132]

The *British Critic* likewise acknowledged the universal familiarity with the destruction of Jerusalem: "Its importance on the completion of our Saviour's prophetic denunciation, and the stupendous instances of divine power and vengeance by which it was accompanied, have made it familiar to every one."[133] Yet the critic was not convinced of the commensurate poetical value of Peers' effort. He accused the poet of "want of thought" and alleged that the epic poem's "tediousness will prevent it from obtaining many readers";[134] indeed, he foresees that, though it may be "possessed of some merit," *The Siege of Jerusalem* and similar works, will "soon be borne down by their own weight into the waters of oblivion."[135]

Intriguingly, the same critic affirms the "superiority" of Milman's poem, "in which the tediousness of continued narrative is avoided by the reciprocation of dialogue, and the introduction of choral odes."[136] In this sense, the review appears to reflect on the contemporary dynamic shift in reading practice and reader expectations which increasingly prioritised dialogic representations, in dramatic poems no less than embedded in narrative fiction.

Once again, the frequently reiterated observation that contemporary poetry was proliferating with the work of "myriad of poetasters,"[137] the *New Monthly Magazine* lamented correspondingly that "[t]he bulk of the reading public are satisfied with the *floating* literature of the day," but noted appreciatively that within this "definition an Epic poem in nine books cannot, we fear, be comprised."[138] The *Monthly Review* asserted more boldly that Peers' epic poem was of "unequivocal and real merit,"[139] while the *British Review* was more careful to elaborate the moral dimension of the epic poem and insisted that "a sentence of comparative worthlessness" should be pronounced "upon every attempt to advance the boundaries of literary gratification, except under the presiding and controlling influ-

132 Anonymous, "Art. VIII.—The Siege of Jerusalem," 165.
133 Anonymous, "Art. III. The Siege of Jerusalem. By Charles Peers, Esq.," *The British Critic* 20 (December 1823): 592–6, 593.
134 Ibid., 596.
135 Ibid.
136 Ibid., 594.
137 Anonymous, "Art. V. The Siege of Jerusalem," 30.
138 Anonymous, "The Siege of Jerusalem. A Poem. By Charles Peers, Esq.," *The New Monthly Magazine* 9 (1823): 318.
139 Anonymous, "Art. V. The Siege of Jerusalem," 31.

ence of morality and religion."[140] Indeed, the critic contended that the "unexampled number of both writers and readers" required caution and vigilance. He explained that to exercise

> this constant vigilance is especially necessary in regard to poetical composition, which may influence the principles through the powerful medium of the imagination, and from which so much advantage or injury must necessarily arise.[141]

The critic deduced from this also the moral responsibility of his profession and maintained that reviewers "should aim, not merely to develop the literary excellencies or defects of a poem, but to exhibit its moral beauty and deformity" and to demonstrate "how far it is calculated to subserve or to injure the interest of truth and virtue."[142] Peers' effort he credits with "possessing and communicating a high tone of moral thought and feeling."[143]

Though completely ignored by critical opinion, the same moral objectives might also be attributed to the third text in the cluster of poems engaging with the destruction of Jerusalem in the early years of the third decade of the nineteenth century. Yet otherwise, its author might more justly be classified as one of the "myriad poetasters" denounced by the *New Monthly Magazine*.

Obscure Closure to the Cluster: Church the Younger

Self-published by the author for a relatively small number of subscribers, John Church the Younger's *The Fall of Jerusalem* (1823) presumably never attracted any wider attention.[144] The short epic poem is nevertheless of interest for some of the idiosyncratic interpretations it offers, although—commensurate with the text's relative obscurity and the imminent dissolution of the thematic cluster—they did not become productive in other poetic engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem.

Church added an epigraph to his title which links the destruction of Jerusalem as a sign of god's rejection of the Jews to the notion of their restless wandering, which is otherwise expressed in the Ahasuerus legend: "My God will cast them away because they did not hearken unto him, and they shall be wanderers

140 Anonymous, "Art. VIII.—The Siege of Jerusalem," 161.
141 Ibid., 162.
142 Ibid.
143 Ibid., 163.
144 See John Church, *The Fall of Jerusalem* (London: Printed for the Author by R. O. Weston, 1823).

among the nations."[145] It is likely that the epoist, another clergyman, was cognizant of the implications which, only a few years later, found more focused articulation in George Croly's *Salathiel*.

In Church's epic poem, unique among literary engagements with the historical occasion of this period, Titus is a Christian. The poet follows in this a medieval tradition and turns the war between Jews and Romans effectively into a war between Jews and Christians.[146] Like Milman and Peers, he situates his epic in contemporary apocalyptic discourse:

> A sight like this was never seen before,
> A sight so horrid shall be seen no more,
> Till the last trump shall wake the slumb'ring dead,
> And bid them rise from out their clayey bed;
> Till Jesus' blood-cross'd banner be unfurl'd,
> And God's avenging fire shall strike the world,
> When fearing men and fiends shall dread the hour,
> But all shall own the Saviour's mighty pow'r,
> Till Jews and Romans shall like friends arise,
> And take their flight together through the skies;
> There lost to anger and the love of fame
> Shall join to bless the Tri-une's sacred name;
> Or like their native cities, burning go,
> And sink for ever to eternal woe.[147]

Jerusalem is addressed with the very first word of the poem,[148] which, following the established pattern, introduces the reader in its first part to the holy city's alleged iniquities. The much less conventional second part of the epic poem commences with a fantasy based on Revelation which imagines the enthroned Christ: "See how he shines! the wondrous great God-man."[149] The apocalyptic imagery is further extended by the juxtaposition of this vision with the Jewish rejection of Christ and the ensuing cataclysm:

145 See Hosea 9:17.

146 Church, *Fall of Jerusalem*, p. 9. For the medieval tradition of representing Titus as a Christian, see, e.g., Kara L. McShane and Mark J. B. Wright, "Introduction," in *The Destruction of Jerusalem, or Titus and Vespasian*, eds Kara L. McShane and Mark J. B. Wright (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2021), pp. 1–29, p. 18 and Andrew Zissos, "The Flavian Legacy," in *A Companion to the Flavian Age of Imperial Rome*, ed. Andrew Zissos (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), pp. 487–512, p. 491: "Medieval belief in the conversion of Vespasian and Titus to Christianity was surprisingly widespread."

147 Church, *Fall of Jerusalem*, p. 80.

148 See ibid., p. 3.

149 Ibid., p. 33.

To save e'en Jews his precious blood was spilt;
But they, perverse, his promis'd ransom scorn'd,
And lost in sin, to sin their safety pawn'd.
Now comes the tainting force of sin's harsh breath,
War, famine, murder, slavery, and death.[150]

As in Peers' epic, Titus interacts in Church's *The Fall of Jerusalem* with Jews. In this case, the familiar stereotypical configuration of the old Jewish father and young daughter is reiterated by the poet. Titus, as in Peers, shows mercy to them as he finds the old Jew close to death and the beautiful maiden lamenting his fate. Untypically, the old Jew is not depicted as stiff-necked and stubborn but beseeches Titus to act as a guardian for his daughter Jezra after his imminent death. The dying father's acquiescence in effect condones and authorizes also Titus's spiritual guardianship over Jezra. Typically, the young woman in this way is set up to embody the conversion paradigm which she indeed fulfils.

As Gibson correlated the mercy of Titus and of God, demonstrating the exhaustion of the latter, Church also contrasts human and divine mercy. Yet he, other than Gibson, shows the latter to be never-ending. It is invoked by the epoist as Jezra, wandering around the Roman camp, gazes at the doomed city and at the Temple,

Beneath whose concave she so of hath knelt,
Warm'd by that mercy angels never felt:
Angels ne'er felt?—nay, reader, do not pause,
What sav'd us from the curse of broken laws?
For what did Jesus undertake our cause?
For what did Jesus take a mortal form?
For what did Jesus bear each angry storm?
For what did Jesus tread our earthly road?
For what did Jesus bear our heavy load?
For what did Jesus sweat, did Jesus sigh?
And oh! for what did Jesus groan and die?
To save fall'n man from gaping hell—and prove
The strength of mercy and his saving love;
Redeeming love, to angels e'en unknown,
Redeeming mercy, ne'er to angels shown:
'Twas this that Jezra's pious bosom fill'd,
'Twas this that ev'ry rising passion still'd;
'Twas this, when at the altar's foot she lay,
Cheer'd her young soul, and bade her fears give way;
'Twas thoughts of this, and happy days gone by,
That now made Jezra roll her languid eye.[151]

150 Ibid., pp. 34–5.
151 Ibid., pp. 64–5.

In analogy of this praise of redeeming mercy, the young Jewish woman seeks to invoke once again the mercy of Titus by warning him that the fall of the Temple would mean her death. Eventually, Jezra ensures the literal truth of her assertion by walking into the burning edifice.[152] To Titus, she leaves a letter from which it emerges that she has converted to Christianity. Referring to herself in the third person, she writes:

> No more she'll point thee to thy heav'nly home;
> No more the mercy of thy God she'll show,
> And tell what Jesus suffer'd here below.[153]

Mercy appears here as a concept that, inspired by the divinity, emerges as the basis of human interaction which, as exemplified by Jezra's death, follows nevertheless a higher imperative which submits it to God's wisdom which is not always discernible to mere mortals. In this way, even the punitive destruction of Jerusalem can become a manifestation of divine mercy.

Church's treatment of the destruction of Jerusalem appears to have been the final contribution to the main cluster of epic engagements with the subject in England in the third decade of the nineteenth century. In response to the expanding market for literary production and changing reading habits and practices, the epic mode—perhaps because it suffered, as suggested by Klein, from "exhaustion"—was subsequently largely supplanted with narrative fiction. Yet the epos never faded completely in the nineteenth century.[154] The tension between both genres, manifest in the dichotomy between Milman's and Peers' efforts, became once again evident about a decade later in the nearly simultaneous publication of William Lisle Bowles' dramatic poem and Agnes Bulmer's extensive epic, both of which privilege even more clearly than the earlier texts the trajectory from typological destruction to universal restoration.

Afterthoughts to the Cluster: Bowles and Bulmer

Following like an afterthought on the cluster of poetic engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem, the subject was revived about a decade later in two poetic texts which focused on the expectation of the New Jerusalem in substitution for

152 See ibid., pp. 67, 72.

153 Ibid., p. 77.

154 See, e.g., Herbert F. Tucker's expansive exploration of the epic in Britain during the long nineteenth century, *Epic: Britain's Heroic Muse, 1790–1910* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

the destroyed city and simultaneously suggested the succession of empires to culminate in Britain's spiritual resurgence. They as such exemplify the wider trajectory that is archetypal of the English engagement with the subject and which largely informed also Pierson's oratorio. Yet Bowles and Bulmer—like Wrangham and Trollope in their Seaton Prize-winning poems of 1794 and 1795, respectively—at the same time challenge the redemptive status of Britain in an almost prophetic vein by exhorting it to mend its ways. Bowles' *St John in Patmos* is another dramatic poem; Bulmer's *Messiah's Kingdom* is a "typological epic" of exceptional breadth, which privileges, in the words of Herbert F. Tucker, "the virtues of interpretation over those of story."[155]

Religious Poetry in an Iron Age

The English focus on the comprehensive trajectory from the destruction of Jerusalem to the coming of the New Jerusalem was articulated explicitly in *St John in Patmos* (1832) by the Reverend William Lisle Bowles (1762–1850).[156] First published pseudonymously, this dramatic poem describes the exile of the supposedly inspired author of the biblical Book of Revelation in the Aegean island of Patmos as well as the visions he recorded in this book. It includes references to the destruction of Jerusalem and the apocalyptic certainty of a New Jerusalem associated with the Last Judgment.

Initially published under the pseudonym "One of the Old Living Poets of Great Britain" in response to a challenge issued by the *Edinburgh Review* which maintained that Britain's great poets had all fallen silent,[157] the earliest reviews of the dramatic poem speculate about the identity of the author, which was, however, soon revealed.[158] The *Athenæum*, correctly divining the name of the pseudonymous author, was less than enthusiastic about the poem. Pointing to the intrinsic dangers of versifying, and expanding on, Scripture, it alleged caustically that "[t]he oldest of living British poets has not the power to expound in verse the meaning of those dark but glorious visions."[159]

155 Ibid., p. 284. See William Lisle Bowles, *St. John in Patmos: A Poem* (London: Murray, 1832) and Agnes Bulmer, *Messiah's Kingdom: A Poem. In Twelve Books* (London: Rivington, 1833).

156 See Bowles, *St. John in Patmos*.

157 See ibid., p. [v].

158 See Anonymous, "VIII. St. John in Patmos: a Poem. By one of the old living poets of Great Britain, etc.," *The Monthly Review* 3.1 (September 1832): 119–30.

159 Anonymous, "Our Library Table," *Athenæum* 241 (June 9, 1832): 368.

While other critics were also skeptical about the endeavor of versifying the Apocalypse, their assessment of Bowles' effort tended to differ from the unequivocal dismissal expressed by the *Athenæum*. The *Gentleman's Magazine* enthused that "[a] subject more worthy the pen of the poet can hardly be conceived," though it, too, cautioned that "we should tremble to see it in the hands of one who did not unite a deep and awful sense of the realities upon which he was engaged with the highest qualities of the art by which it was to be illustrated and adorned."[160] Yet it credits the poetic effort of Bowles with meeting these criteria fully.

The *Monthly Review* opined that "the gift of Divine inspiration" was necessary for explaining the apocalypse in poetry and that the endeavor was otherwise "most hopeless";[161] it noted that the poet "has felt the necessity of mixing earthly interests and feelings with the sublime scenes," but attested in contrast to the *Athenæum* that Bowles "shadows [them] forth with great delicacy of taste and execution from the Revelations."[162]

The *Christian Remembrancer*, finally, referring to Bowles as "our Magnus Apollo,"[163] went even further and insisted that with regard to his *St John in Patmos* "no man, of the least religious feeling, can rise from its perusal without being sensible of having been improved in both his religious and moral conceptions."[164]

In 1836, the second edition of Bowles' poem was published. Reminiscent of earlier responses to religious poetry, such as Milman's *The Fall of Jerusalem* as well as Peers' *The Siege of Jerusalem*, reviews once again reveal unallayed Christian anxieties of being entrenched and embattled in the modern age. The *British Critic* wonders "[h]ow any man, in this utilitarian, this rail-road, this steam-engine, this truly *iron* age, can have heart to write poetry."[165] In its pages, Bowles' poem was reviewed alongside Thomas Dale's "The Church's Lament for St John" (1836),[166] because otherwise "their sweet, and devotional, and gentle strains could have little chance, we fear, of a fair hearing in this hour of turbulent polemics."[167]

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160 Anonymous, "St. John in Patmos, a Poem. By One of the old Living Poets of Great Britain," *The Gentleman's Magazine* 102 (1832), *Supplement*: 619–21, 620.

161 Anonymous, "VIII. St. John in Patmos," 120.

162 Anonymous, "St. John in Patmos. By one of the old Living Poets of Great Britain, etc.," *The British Magazine* 1 (June 1, 1832): 373–6, 373.

163 Anonymous, "Art. III.—St. John in Patmos; a Poem. By One of the Oldest Living Poets of Great Britain," *The Christian Remembrancer* 14 (1832): 465–8, 465.

164 Ibid., 466.

165 Anonymous, "Religious Poetry," *The British Critic* 19 (1836): 520–2, 520.

166 For Dale's poem, see Michael Wheeler, *St John and the Victorians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 15–16.

167 Anonymous, "Religious Poetry," 520.

Nevertheless, doubts were also voiced once again about the ability—and the authority—of the poet to add to the inspired words of the Apocalypse and to disrupt its cohesion. The *New Monthly Magazine* opined that "the sublime imagery of the Apocalypse has imparted a nervous energy and force to this recent poem," but that "[a]s a whole it is unequal, and we cannot but think the plan of breaking the continuity of the divine vision vouchsafed to the beloved apostle detrimental to the general effect."[168]

In a review of a sermon by Bowles which refers to John biding his time to be the last of the apostles to give testimony of the divine plan of redemption, the critic summarizes Bowles' argument that "[t]he solemn AMEN appended to his [i.e., John's] gospel shows, that he did not think it necessary to add another word; therefore none should be supplied by human TRADITION."[169] John the Evangelist was commonly conflated with John the Divine nearly to the end of the nineteenth century.[170] The latter was the scribe of the Book of Revelation, which similarly concludes with a firm "Amen."[171] Bowles must have been aware of the contradiction to this sense of closure constituted by his earlier poem, yet nevertheless decided that his effort, which he noted was seminal, was also worthy. As he explained in the preliminary matter to the first edition of his poem, implicitly alluding to the millenarian frenzy of the time:

> The subject is peculiarly in unison with the aspect of the times; but it seems extraordinary that it should not, long since, have engaged the attention of the poet, when it unites picturesque description, the most sublime and awful imagery, and the most elevated and sacred interest.[172]

In the dramatic poem, John is visited in his exile in Patmos by a mysterious Stranger, an angelic figure, as transpires later. The Stranger facilitates the visions of John as they are described in the Book of Revelation. Yet, as indicated by the poet's critics, these visions are embedded not only in the descriptions of John's life in Patmos and—apparently according to a medieval legend—of his missionary success among the island's population of convicts, but they are also disrupted by the narrative of the Stranger and other visions experienced by John which correlate to the apocalyptic trajectory of his inspired book but which are not scriptural.

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168 Anonymous, "St. John in Patmos. By the Rev. W. L. Bowles," *The New Monthly Magazine* 48 (1836): 233–4, 233.

169 Anonymous, "St. Peter and the Keys," *The Church of England Quarterly Review* 2 (1837): 260–2.

170 See Wheeler, *St John and the Victorians*, pp. 10–11.

171 Revelation 22:21.

172 Bowles, *St. John in Patmos*, p. viii.

The horrors of the fall of Jerusalem are recounted by one of the convicts converted by John who used to be a Roman soldier. Pedanius is based on the eponymous Roman cavalryman described by Josephus, who was praised by Titus for grabbing a Jewish warrior by the heel and carrying him into the Roman camp;[173] yet the poet elaborates a new narrative in relation to Pedanius, according to which the body of a baby that was starved to death is thrown from the walls of Jerusalem into the path of his horse. When in the confusion of the battle the distraught mother rushes from the gates and beseeches him to protect her, the Roman takes her and the dead baby out of the fray, in analogy to Pedanius' feat as described by Josephus. From afar—once again enacting the familiar gaze backward toward the stricken city—they see the glow of the burning Temple.[174]

The famished mother is cast by the poet as an antitype to Mary of Bethezuba, who is not mentioned in the dramatic poem at all; the young Jewish woman—a Beautiful Jewess whose appearance, if not her moral stature, is diminished, but not obliterated, by her suffering—arouses the reader's pity and compassion:

> Her infant she had taken from the ground,
> To lay in her bosom, while the tears
> Fell on its folded hands; but when she saw
> Still its wan livid lips, and the same glare
> Of its dead eyes, she turn'd away her face,
> Half-looking down, half-rais'd to heav'n, and shed
> Her tears no more: one hand, as thus she sat,
> With fingers spread, held fast her infant's arm,
> O'er its right shoulder, while its arid lips
> She drew, in vain, towards her open breast.[175]

Rather than a symbol of Israel's iniquity, like Mary of Bethezuba, the image, which is also an antitype to representations of the Madonna, suggests the withering of the Jewish faith. This symbolic potential is further enhanced when Pedanius and the unnamed Jewish woman fly past the grave of Lazarus. The suggestion is that they forego the promise of resurrection and the life everlasting offered through Jesus. Eventually, they marry according to Jewish law, which indicates the continued adherence of the woman to the religion of her fathers; unable to follow the now void law, the Roman joins a band of robbers. Cognizant of Pedanius' transgressions, the woman finally turns insane and, dying, wistfully exclaims: "Oh! Jerusalem, Jerusalem!"[176] The episode is calculated to emphasize the

173 See Josephus, *Jewish War*, pp. 349–50 (6.2.8).
174 See Bowles, *St. John in Patmos*, pp. 57–8.
175 Ibid., p. 54.
176 Ibid., p. 61.

eternal loss of Jerusalem and the annulation of the old covenant, but also the continuous attachment of the Jewish woman to her superseded faith, in contrast to Pedanius who, as a gentile Christian, is assured of his redemption in the New Jerusalem.

The Stranger, too, has experienced the destruction of Jerusalem, but he contextualizes it toward John in contrast in relation to the divine plan of redemption and exults in the creation of the Church from the city's ashes:

> 'So the fair city of Jerusalem
> 'Perish'd: but, lo! CHRIST'S HOLY CHURCH shall
> 'rise—
> 'Rise from its ashes—yea, is risen now—
> 'Its glorious gates shall never be cast down,
> 'Till He, the KING OF GLORY, shall appear.
> 'He, founded it upon a Rock—a Rock,
> 'Which time, the rushing earthquake, or the
> 'storm,—
> 'While earth endures—shall never shake![177]

The emphasis on the rise of the Church of Christ is similar to Milman's conclusion. But in line with its wider subject and with the Book of Revelation, Bowles's dramatic poem enquires moreover into "What things shall be HEREAFTER."[178]

Alluding to Psalm 137 and its implicit connotations of Jewish restoration after the destruction of the First Temple, the Stranger recounts:

> "I sat
> "Upon a stone of fall'n Jerusalem,
> "'Sat down and wept, when I remember'd thee,
> "'O Sion,' and thy Temple, and thy sons
> "Scatter'd in the wide world—scatter'd or dead.[179]

The "hereafter" that emerges after the cataclysm for the remnant of the Chosen People is dire. Yet the Stranger prophesies also the fall of Rome in the "hereafter":

> "Hark! The Barbarian trump: Jerusalem
> "Shall be aveng'd, and those of distant days,
> "Pond'ring the fate of empires, there shall come
> "To muse upon the fragments of her might,
> "Her ancient glory pass'd as morning clouds,

177 Ibid., p. 15.
178 Ibid.
179 Ibid., pp. 29–30.

> "And tremble for the judgments of the Lord
> "In all the world![180]

Indeed, in another vision imparted to him by the Stranger, John sees from a mountain the succession of empires—of Greece and of pagan Rome, but also of Catholic Rome:

> It is the Imperial Mistress of the world,
> ROME—ROME—now Pagan; but a pow'r unknown
> Shall rise, and, throned on those seven hills—
> When Cæsars moulder with their palaces—
> Shall hold dominion o'er the prostrate world,
> Not by their glitt'ring legions, but the pow'r
> Of cowled Superstition, that shall keep
> Kingdoms and kings in thrall—till, with a shout,
> A brighter Angel, from the heav'n of heav'ns,
> As ampler knowledge shoots her glorious beams,
> Shall open the Lamb's book again, and night,
> Beck'ning her dismal shadows, and dark birds,
> Fly hooting from the day-spring of that dawn.[181]

Reflecting old Protestant interpretations of papal Rome as the New Babylon, the Reformation is extolled by the poet in the imagery of the Book of Revelation. The apocalyptic biblical vision is in this way mapped onto historical events. Underlying the trajectory is the notion of a religious *translatio imperii*. This is further elaborated when John's final vision in the succession of empires is of England:

> From that far isle, amid the desert waves,
> Back, like the morning on the darken'd east,
> To lands long hid, in ocean-depths unknown,
> The radiance of the Gospel shall go forth,
> And the cross float triumphant o'er the world.[182]

The vision presents Britain effectively as a New Jerusalem from which the word shall go forth in its missionary efforts.[183] The *Christian Remembrancer* proudly noted: "The downfall of Rome is shadowed forth, and England pointed out as the spot from whence the Asiatic Churches are destined, once more and for ever, to receive their 'first love,' the pure Gospel of Christ!"[184] Yet the Christian critic

180 Ibid., p. 91.
181 Ibid., p. 127.
182 Ibid., p. 129.
183 See Isaiah 2:3.
184 Anonymous, "Art. III.—St. John in Patmos," 467.

chose to ignore the severe criticism and the debilitating doubt to which the poet subjects this vision. A cloud suddenly hides London and John cries out:

> Ah! The PALE HORSE and rider! the PALE
> HORSE
> Is there! Silence is in the streets! The ark
> Of her majestic polity—the CHURCH—
> The TEMPLE OF THE LORD!—I see no more.[185]

In response to John's increasing terror, the Stranger ties the vision of Britain and its hereafter with awful ambiguity to the imagery—and to the prophecy—of the apocalypse:

> Pray that her faith preserve her: the event
> Is in His hands, who bade his angels sound
> Their trumps, or pour the avenging vials out.[186]

The ambiguity of the Stranger's words suggests that the final judgment on whether London shall be the New Jerusalem or a reiteration of the Old Jerusalem and its cataclysmic fall is yet to come.

Prayer and Literary Diligence

In the year after the pseudonymous publication of Bowles' dramatic poem, Agnes Bulmer (1775–1836) published *Messiah's Kingdom* (1833). Bulmer had a strong Methodist background,[187] and her text ranges from the Garden of Eden to the epoist's own day. The *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* attested to the female author "high moral courage in assuming the character of a guardian of truth in times of great moral relaxation"[188] even while it rejected charges that Methodism showed "a lack of devotion to the muses."[189] To the contrary, quoting from another contemporary review,[190] the critic disparaged current responses to literary produc-

185 Bowles, *St. John in Patmos*, p. 130.
186 Ibid., pp. 130–1.
187 For a detailed appreciation of Bulmer, see Andrew O. Winckles, *Eighteenth-Century Women's Writing and the Methodist Media Revolution* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019), pp. 211–45.
188 Anonymous, "Messiah's Kingdom, a Poem. By Agnes Bulmer," *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* 57 (May 1834): 357–76, 360.
189 Ibid., 375.
190 See Anonymous, "The Philosophy of the Moral Feelings. By John Abercrombie," *The London Literary Gazette* 872 (October 5, 1833): 629–30.

tion according to which "poetry is declared to be a drug";[191] a process which he compared to, and suggested to be, "a conspiracy of the utilitarians."[192] The review from the *London Literary Gazette* from which the critic quoted, lamented in a reiteration of the familiar trope the current state of literature. It denounced

> the excesses which disgrace the national literature, when hardly any thing but furious invective, extravagant satire, or gross scurrility, will go down with the readers of the periodical prints; when offensive personality and licentious anecdote form a sure passport to public favour, and a writer, to succeed, has only to be insolent—it is not wonder that we see few works issue from the press that will survive the interest of the passing moment.[193]

As from earlier reviews of Milman's dramatic poem and Peers' epic, there emerges a pervasive sense from the review of Bulmer's *Messiah's Kingdom* in the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* of the perception that literature of artistic merit and moral value was increasingly rare and that there was an obligation of making these worthy texts known for the benefit of society.

The Methodist critic insisted that while "[t]he severe and uncompromising spirit of Revelation, forbidding all approach to fictions, however palpable, from the obvious fear of truth itself being corrupted by fable, has been deemed unfavourable to such an appendage,"[194] such a narrow view was to be rejected. As in the discussion about Bowles' corresponding effort of finding poetic expression for the biblical book, the critic vindicates Bulmer's endeavor "because of its subserviency to the interests of diviner truth."[195] He attests to Bulmer that her epic poem was "no less a matter of prayer, than of literary diligence"[196] and, bridging all denominational strife, maintains that her effort may "be relished by every section of the church of Christ."[197]

Bulmer structured her extensive epic poem in twelve books according to the principle of analogies in typological juxtaposition. The first half of the epic rephrases the scriptural narrative from its beginnings to the crucifixion and then, pivoting on Book VII which is dedicated to the Acts and the Apocalypse, its second half expounds ecclesiastical history commencing, in Book VIII, with the fall of Jerusalem. In the two concluding books, the epoist projects the succession of empires to the emergence of England at the end of Book XI and the beginning of Book XII.

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191 See Anonymous, "Messiah's Kingdom," 357; the critic cites from Anonymous, "The Philosophy of the Moral Feelings," 629.

192 Anonymous, "Messiah's Kingdom," 357.

193 Anonymous, "Philosophy of the Moral Feelings," 629.

194 Anonymous, "Messiah's Kingdom," 362.

195 Ibid., 376.

196 Ibid., 359.

197 Ibid., 376.

The epic poem finally concludes with a reflection on Earth and Time which is subtitled "THE THEATRE FOR THE DISPLAY OF THE DIVINE PERFECTIONS"[198] and which culminates in the triumphant assertion: "MESSIAH, ever bless'd, shall all creation own."[199]

Confirming the contemporary desire to articulate fully the narrative of religious poetry in a scriptural vein, the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* claims that *Messiah's Kingdom* is "a rich repository of Hebrew melodies."[200] While previously denied to Byron, the same praise was, albeit in a more ambivalent manner, also bestowed on Milman's dramatic poem by another critic. The claim is clearly intended to suggest the power and authority of Bulmer's text, as well as its linguistic aptness for the depiction of the historical occurrence as an eschatological event. "Jerusalem's last terrible overthrow," in particular, was invoked by the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* more specifically as an example of "the transcendant descriptive powers" of the author.[201] In terms of its theological import, the argument of Book VIII, which focuses on the destruction of Jerusalem, contextualizes the historical occurrence in the familiar eschatological trajectory:

> The obstinate rejection of Messiah by the Jews avenged, and their fearful imprecation fulfilled, in the destruction of their city and temple, and in their own unparalleled sufferings. God's especial care over his people, and his providential interpositions for their deliverance in seasons of general calamity and judgment. The dissolution of the Jewish polity, and consequent abolition of the Mosaic ritual, a dispensation of mercy, as well as of justice; removing entirely the typical and representative system, and thus making room for the reality which it prefigured.[202]

Book VIII includes moreover "The Glory, Fall, and Restoration of Jerusalem. A Lyric Episode," which is an ode in two parts,[203] the latter of which concludes with "Prophetic annunciations of the renewed glory and prosperity of Jerusalem, on the repentance of Israel, and their embracing Christ as the Messiah."[204] As in most of the other texts originating in the English tradition, here too, the restoration of the Jews, a concern already of the Seatonian Prize competition, is a crucial expectation because, according to millennial beliefs derived from the Book of Revelation, the conversion of the Jews precedes the Second Coming.

198 Bulmer, *Messiah's Kingdom*, p. 477.
199 Ibid., p. 486.
200 Anonymous, "Messiah's Kingdom," 365.
201 Ibid., 368.
202 Bulmer, *Messiah's Kingdom*, p. 260.
203 See ibid., pp. 273–304.
204 Ibid., p. 260.

In the initial lament on the rejection of Jesus by the Jews and the resulting destruction of Jerusalem, the epoist bemoans Jewish blindness to the divine plan of salvation:

> Ah! how thine [i.e., Jerusalem's] eyes were closed! Thou wouldst not see
> The wing of Mercy spread to shelter thee![205]

The trope of Jewish blindness to the new truths of the Christian faith is frequently reiterated in texts engaging with the destruction of Jerusalem, as we have seen also in the previous part. It can be traced to the apostle Paul[206] and informed the medieval iconography of the personifications of Ecclesia and Synagoga as type and antitype with Synagoga often represented as blindfolded.[207] The trope is picked up again by Bulmer in the conclusion to the second part of the ode, where the promise of Jewish restoration also entails the restoration of Israel's spiritual vision as anticipated by the apostle Paul:

> WHEN Israel, wilder'd long, shall understand
> The prescient Spirit's counsel to the wise,
> And to celestial truth unveil their long-closed eyes.[208]

The typological structure of the epic poem is made explicit in relation to the destruction of Jerusalem:

> TYPE of a world destroy'd, prelusive sign
> Of Guilt's excision from the peace Divine,
> By Heaven set forth, devoted Salem lies
> Yet mercies from the depths of judgment rise,
> Jehovah's ways man's labour'd thoughts transcend,
> By wisest means he works the noblest end,
> And still inscrutable in counsel shines,
> While power and love effect his vast designs;
> While justice vindicates his awful throne,
> And truth and goodness make his nature known.[209]

The historical dimension of the occurrence is of no real relevance to the poet who elaborates its soteriological significance instead. It is extolled in emulation of Pauline doctrine as the punishment of Israel and the admittance of pagan proselytes to the Christian faith; the destruction of the Temple, too, is interpreted in this con-

205 Ibid., p. 265.
206 See 2 Corinthians 3:13–16.
207 See LCI (1994), IV, col. 232.
208 Bulmer, *Messiah's Kingdom*, p. 304.
209 Ibid., pp. 271–2.

text as the removal of the implications of Jewish chosenness and the confirmation of the universal significance of the redemptive sacrifice of Christ:

> 'Twas he [i.e., Jehovah], incomprehensible, who fought
> Against offending Israel, and brought
> The Gentiles to his fold: He scourged their crime,
> And swept aside that institute sublime
> Which shadow'd mercy's mystery to the world;
> His glorious house from Zion's height he hurl'd,
> His ploughshare o'er her desolations drove,
> Sent forth her unbelieving sons to rove
> As outcasts from his face. 'Twas Wrath Divine,
> For guilt's rejection of the grace benign,
> Messiah's slighted love. 'Twas Mercy, too,
> Whose hand the ceremonial sign withdrew;
> Hid types and shadows obsolete; declared
> The mysteries of that elder age, prepared
> But as the vestibule of Glory's shrine,
> Abolish'd now by ordinance Divine;
> Proclaim'd the temple's sanctities complete,
> The pale removed, the radiant mercy-seat
> To all accessible, who plead the grace
> Messiah purchased for a guilty race;
> Renounce the righteousness of self and pride,
> And only live through Him who for their ransom died.[210]

In analogy to the universalizing interpretation of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple in the early modern period noted by Groves,[211] Bulmer asserts the universalization of sacred space and of the new Christian Israel in *Messiah's Kingdom*.

Bulmer's epic poem at the same time also reaffirms the notion of the succession of empires which, as in Bowles' dramatic poem and already in Wrangham's Seatonian Prize-winning epic poem, culminates in Britain. In Book XI, as summarized in the argument, "Britain, emancipated from its thraldom, made the depositary of scriptural truth" and "[b]y her twofold emancipation from heathenism and from Popery, laid under imperative obligation to communicate the blessings of the gospel to all mankind."[212] The imperative of the Great Commission of Pauline doctrine has, in the succession of sacred empires, devolved to Britain:

210 Ibid., p. 272.
211 See Groves, *Destruction of Jerusalem*, p. 18.
212 Bulmer, *Messiah's Kingdom*, p. 372.

> Britannia, haste! on wings of mercy fly!
> Salvation to a ransom'd world dispense;
> Unfold the treasures of Omnipotence;
> Fulfil the high behest, the charge assign'd,—
> Evangelists! discipling all mankind,
> Send forth thy consecrated sons to claim
> The purchased nations in Messiah's name![213]

Yet in Book XII Britain's redemptive potential is very much qualified, again like in Wrangham, Trollope, and Bowles. Bulmer castigates the British exploitation of India and, even more scathingly, the violation of Africa and the persistence of slavery:

> Benighted, wandering, snared, enslaved, despoil'd,
> Through rugged paths her sable sons have toil'd,
> The prey of Avarice, the scoff of Pride,
> The common brotherhood of man denied;
> Leagued with the beasts, to brutal labours doom'd,
> By tortures, scourges, chains, and deaths consumed;
> From home, from country, friends, and kindred torn,
> By pirate bands to ruthless bondage borne,
> From stranger isles to lift the imploring cry,
> To Him, who, touch'd with mortal misery,
> An earnest of approaching vengeance pours,
> In storm and tempest on those heaving shores;
> Who shakes his curses from the whirlwind's wing,
> Bids murmuring thunders threats of judgment bring;
> By blasting flames of livid lightning shows,
> How fierce his wrath against oppression glows.[214]

To this imprecation and the implicit threat of God's wrath, the poet opposes the invocation of Britannia's goodness and faith which should transcend Britain's worldly power:

> BRITANNIA! more than warrior trophies, gain'd
> When hostile blood the field of conflict stain'd;
> More than thy navies, though in gallant pride
> Throughout the world in every port they ride;
> More than thy power, thy commerce, or thy gold,
> Shall truth and righteousness thy name uphold;
> And more than scrolls of long ancestral race,
> Those patriot pleaders shall thy senate grace,

213 Ibid., p. 403.
214 Ibid., p. 426.

> Who dare, with warm benevolence replete,
> The darkling frown of Mammon's brow to meet;
> Who, generous, fired with philanthropic zeal,
> Arouse the world for Afric's wrongs to feel;
> To feel the holy rights of nature stain'd,
> The great Creator in his work profaned;
> And kindle, while that Heaven-affronting crime
> Remains to blot the heraldry of time,
> A temper'd flame of stern, reproving light,
> To show the darkness of that world of night.[215]

As in Book XI, the epoist's exhortation transitions into another imperative to carry the light of true Christian faith into the world.

The point was belabored also by the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* in an exposition which illustrates very well the process in which British imperialistic certainties were sustained by religious fervor. It moreover brings with George Croly a writer into play who will be of further significance to this enquiry. With reference to the Methodist theologian Adam Clarke and, as indicated, the Reverend George Croly, the critic affirms that Great Britain "is made to assume [. . .] an importance rivalling that of ancient Judea."[216] The texts the critic presumably has in mind are Croly's *The Apocalypse of St John* (1827) and the chapter "The British Empire" in his *The Life and Times of His Late Majesty King George the Fourth* (1830), from which he quotes extensively.[217] Intriguingly, ignored by the critic, where Bulmer castigates the British exploitation of the Indian subcontinent, Croly exults that "[o]f all revolutions of power," the British dominion "was the happiest for India" and that Britain, "like a mighty minister of good" assuaged the "chaos" in the subcontinent.[218]

With respect to Africa whose violation was denounced by Bulmer in no uncertain terms, Croly once again has a very different outlook. He claims in unmitigated colonialist parlance:

> The diffusion of the arts and knowledge of Europe among a people not yet perverted by the atrocities of the slave-trade; a better system of morality, the spirit of law, and of Christianity, would be the gifts of British intercourse: a vast multitude of the human race would be elevated in their rank as social beings.[219]

215 Ibid., p. 427.

216 Anonymous, "Messiah's Kingdom," 361.

217 See ibid., 370–1; see George Croly, *The Apocalypse of St. John* (Philadelphia: Littell, 1827) and *The Life and Times of His Late Majesty King George the Fourth* (London: Duncan, 1830), esp. pp. 390–1, 413–14.

218 See ibid., pp. 394–5.

219 See ibid., p. 399.

The Reverend maintains that with its anti-slavery legislation, "England was disburdened of a weight of crime."[220] Using biblical imagery which evokes the chosenness of Israel as a type of that of England, Croly envisions that "England's [religion] will be the wand that struck the waters from the rock, and filled the desert with fertility and rejoicing."[221] In logical progression and articulating colonialist objectives as manifestations of Britain's implicit chosenness, Croly eventually concludes, as quoted by the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine*:

> [T]he most illustrious attribute of this unexampled empire is, that its principle is Benevolence! that knowledge goes forth with it, that tyranny sinks before it, that in its magnificent progress it abates the calamities of nature, that it plants the desert, that it civilises the savage, that it strikes off the fetters of the slave, that its spirit is at once "glory to God, and good-will to man!"[222]

Croly's enthusiastic praise of the British Empire all but sets it up as the Kingdom of God. So do the poets discussed in this chapter. Despite their criticism of the political and economic as well as religious transgressions they note, there is a pervasive sense of Britain's destiny as the latest, and last, of the empires that succeeded one another since biblical times.

Bowles, too, was familiar with Croly, whom he considered "one of the most splendid Poets of the age."[223] Yet in his preface he acknowledges that he became aware of Croly's book on the apocalypse too late for consideration in his dramatic poem. But he also is quite clear that his own conclusions differ distinctly from those of Croly, though both, as Bowles emphasizes, made use of Edward Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1777), "turning the infidel into a witness for the truth."[224]

Bulmer's criticism of the transgressions of the British Empire in *Messiah's Kingdom*, prefigured already in Wrangham and Trollope, is much more concrete than in Bowles' *St John in Patmos*, though his image of Britain being lost in the fog with the Pale Rider (Death) about is not only more poetic but arguably also, with the apocalyptic scenario it associates, more effective than Bulmer's extended enumeration of British contraventions against the divine will. Both texts are far removed from the destruction of Jerusalem which, though given some prominence in each of them, is ultimately no more than the pivotal moment on which the elaboration of the vision of the New Jerusalem hinges. It is, however, also the

220 Ibid., p. 404.
221 Ibid., p. 410.
222 Ibid., pp. 413–14.
223 Bowles, *St. John in Patmos*, p. viii.
224 Ibid.

type for the destruction to be expected if Britain—as the new Israel and, possibly, the New Jerusalem—were not compliant with the divine will that it should carry the light into the world.

As such, providing an afterthought to the cluster to which they are otherwise hardly related anymore, Bowles' and Bulmer's poems are also very different from the next text to be discussed. George Croly's *Salathiel* precedes both poems. If these texts are like an afterthought to the cluster, the novel goes off on a tangent. Though to some extent sharing the thematic preoccupation of the cluster and presumably inspired by it, *Salathiel* is not really a part of it. The trajectory typical of the texts of the cluster toward the New Jerusalem, Jewish restoration, Christian resurgence, and the succession of empires culminating in Britain, while certainly of interest to Croly, does not inform his novel. The author's choice to write narrative fiction implies not only a different intended readership, but suggests also different means and objectives. With its main focus on Ahasuerus, perhaps following the implicit suggestion of Milman with the Old Man in his *The Fall of Jerusalem*, the novel may take its inspiration from the cluster but transforms it into something new which then itself becomes seminal for a re-configuration of the engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem. The model elaborated by Croly brings elements of myth and legend to the fore; it is laced with adventure, and its Christian meaning is indirect and insinuated, but for that not necessarily less effective. *Salathiel* exemplifies the adaptation of the historical occurrence to the form of the novel which is designed to reach a broader, and socially more diverse, potentially less educated, readership than either the epic or the dramatic poem.

The Shift from the Epic to Narrative Fiction: Croly

Arguably, the most influential literary engagement with the legend of the Wandering Jew was the anonymously published *Salathiel* (1828) by George Croly (1780–1860). The novel was widely disseminated across Europe. Its significance accrued to *Salathiel* not only because its popularity prompted the proliferation of narrative engagements with the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem but also because, following the example of Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's lyrical rhapsody "Der ewige Jude" (1783; "The Wandering Jew"), it promulgated the association of the legendary figure of Ahasuerus with the historical occurrence.

In his preface, establishing the authenticity fiction of his own effort, Croly situates his novel vaguely within the plethora of literary representations of the Wandering Jew. He is clearly aware of the German preoccupation with the subject, but at the same time articulates his doubts not only about the veracity of its products but also, more generally, about German idealism:

> A number of histories have been invented for him [i.e., the Wandering Jew]; some purely fictitious, others founded on ill-understood records. Germany, the land of mysticism, where men labour to think all facts imaginary, and turn all imagination into facts, has toiled most in this idle perversion of truth. Yet those narratives have been in general but a few pages, feebly founded on the single, fatal, sentence of his punishment for an indignity offered to the Great Author of the Christian faith.[225]

Perhaps not surprisingly, the author's derisive reference to German idealism was omitted by his German translators. Though his own effort preceded Kaulbach's engagement with the subject by about a decade and found articulation in another medium, the monumental painting's Hegelian substratum would presumably have incurred Croly's censure as well. Conversely, while it is likely that the artist would have known, or at the very least have known of, Croly's novel, it nevertheless seems doubtful that *Salathiel* should have been a model for Kaulbach. The artist's approach to the figure of the Wandering Jew bears little resemblance to that of the Irish writer.[226]

Whereas Salathiel is represented as a Prince of the tribe of Naphtali and throughout his first-person narrative retains his nobility, Kaulbach's Ahasuerus is defined by the terror he experiences as he flees the conflagration. Perhaps more significantly, the supersessionist impetus of Croly's *Salathiel* is rather muted, which is striking, given the author's ecclesiastical background and the wider context in which his novel originated. Ordained in 1804, the Anglican minister earned his livelihood mainly by the pen, before becoming rector of St Stephen's in the London ward of Walbrook in 1835.[227] Croly was a prolific writer who regularly contributed to *Blackwood's Magazine*, yet *Salathiel* is generally considered his most important literary work.

The transgression of Salathiel, the Ahasuerus figure in the novel, originates in the circumstances of his time rather than in individual malice and exaggerated religious zeal. It is, as will be discussed in more detail below with reference to Croly's theological writings, a soteriological necessity which reflects the inexorable trajectory of supersession. Having been cursed, Salathiel flees Jerusalem but decades later, after a life of adventurous journeys, returns to the city to join its defenders during the Roman siege. A formidable and prudent warrior in the battlefield, Salathiel is nevertheless a loving husband and father. In a review of the novel's first German translations, the Prince of Naphtali was favorably described

225 [George Croly], *Salathiel: A Story of the Past, the Present, and the Future*, 3 vols (London: Colburn, 1828), I, vi.

226 For sources for Kaulbach's Ahasuerus figure, see Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 123–6, who does not mention *Salathiel*.

227 For Croly's biography, see DNB (1888), XIII, 135–6.

as an "indefatigable fighter for his fatherland"; revealing an intriguing imaginary of the Jews, the anonymous reviewer emphasized:[228]

> Salathiel is the true Israelite, fiery in every sense, prudent, intrepid, of strict moral conduct, an affectionate husband and father, zealous in his faith and the ceremonial service, but also implacable, pusillanimous, and obstinate.[229]

Politically, Croly's Salathiel matures into a moderate who actively seeks to negotiate with the Romans in the best interest of his nation. Yet any efforts at reconciliation are thwarted by a mysterious stranger who incites the Jews against the Romans with prophetic fervor. It is, in Croly's novel, this demonic figure who eventually carries the destructive fire into the Temple.[230]

While clearly situated within the historical framework elaborated by Josephus, Croly's narrative of the siege and fall of Jerusalem is developed imaginatively and is embedded in a convoluted amalgamation of elements of adventure fiction and gothic writing, including—against the dramatic backdrop of the heroic landscape and scorching sun of the Holy Land as well as terrifying tempests—the stock elements of love and murder, abductions and reunions, and even a pirate episode. In addition, it also creatively incorporates in much imaginative detail the portents described by the ancient historian; such as the ghostly battle in the air; and, before the city's final destruction, a vision of the First Temple in the roiling clouds of a terrifying thunderstorm as well as their sudden dispersal as a sign of the impending cataclysm, which is accompanied by the voices of the Elohim as they leave the doomed edifice on Mount Moriah.[231]

To these, Croly added further supernatural elements, which included in addition to his immortal Ahasuerus figure the abovementioned appearance of the demonic prophet and the apparition of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, King of the Seleucid Empire, who severely persecuted the Jews of Judaea and Samaria in the second century BCE. In the novel, the (un-)dead king is described as "one of those spirits of the evil dead, who are allowed from time to time to re-appear on earth in the body."[232] He prophesies to Salathiel the destruction of Jerusalem[233] and, during

228 [84.], "Romanenliteratur," *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* 5.71 (March 12, 1830): 282–4, 283: "rastlosen Kämpfer für sein Vaterland."

229 Ibid.: "Salathiel ist der echte Israelit, in jedem Sinne feurig, klug, unerschrocken, von streng moralischem Wandel, ein zärtlicher Gatte und Vater, eifrig in seinem Glauben und dem Ceremoniendienst, aber auch verfolgungssüchtig, verzagt und verstockt."

230 See [George Croly], *Der ewige Jude: Eine historische Novelle der Vorzeit*, ed. and transl. Ludwig Storch, 3 vols (Stuttgart: Frankh, 1829), III, 281.

231 See ibid., III, 273.

232 [Croly], *Salathiel*, I, 99.

233 Ibid., I, 104–7.

the final hours of the Roman siege, returns to show Salathiel how his prophecy is about to come to pass.

As Salathiel probes his unworldly wisdom, Epiphanes discloses to him the future of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple as a history of universal rejection and abjection. Without any explicit reference to Christianity, the suggestion nevertheless is that this abjection is the manifestation of the divine punishment of Jewish transgression:

> But, one grand hope was still to be given; they cast it from them. Ages on ages shall pass, before they learn the loftiness of that hope, or fulfil the punishment of that rejection. Yet, in the fulness of time, shall the light break in upon their darkness. They shall ask, Why are we the despised, the branded, the trampled, the abjured of all nations? Why are the barbarian and the civilised alike our oppressors? Why do contending faiths join in crushing us alone? Why do realms, distant as the ends of the earth, and diverse as day and night,—alike those who have heard our history, and those who have never heard of us but as the sad sojourners of the earth,—unite in one cry of scorn? And what is the universal voice of nature, but the voice of the King of nature?[234]

The passage establishes not only the exceptionalism of the Jewish fate as one ordained by divine providence but reads moreover like an abstraction of the fate attributed in Christian legend to Ahasuerus. The collective of the first person plural suggests to the reader the metonymic nature of Ahasuerus-Salathiel's wanderings. As with his own transgression, Salathiel is thus portrayed not so much as a culpable individual but as part of a transgressive collective.

Yet the undead king also gives articulation to a future hope. This, once again, is not explicitly tied to Christianity but is clearly meant to evoke the vision of Christian fulfilment. Saying that now—i.e., during the Roman siege—Mount Moriah was "a sight of splendid evil," Epiphanes adds:

> But upon that mountain shall yet be enthroned a Sovereign, before whom the sun shall hide his head, and at the lifting of whose sceptre heaven and the heaven of heavens shall bow down! To that mountain shall man, and more than man, crowd for wisdom and happiness. From that mountain shall light flow to the ends of the universe; and the government shall be to the Everlasting![235]

There is no direct evidence situating *Salathiel* in the context of the Christian mission to the Jews, whose aim was not just the conversion of the Jews but their restoration to Palestine as "an essential precursor to the second coming."[236] Instead,

234 Ibid., III, 294–5.

235 Ibid., III, 296.

236 Thomas J. Kelley, "'Come, Lord Jesus, quickly come!': The Writing and Thought of Edward Nangle, 1828–1862," in *Protestant Millennialism, Evangelicalism, and Irish Society, 1790–2005*, eds

its eponymous protagonist is an enlightened character who, after his initial transgression, is shown to develop an affinity with Christian precepts and frequently comes close to conversion—and yet, always recoils. As such, Salathiel offers a potentially flawed identification figure. Yet as his lot is an unhappy one, which his contemporary co-religionists supposedly share with him, the suggestive power of the novel is perhaps even more persuasive for the almost visceral desire finally to take the inexplicably deferred redemptive decision with him.

At one point, imprisoned by the Romans together with other Jews, among whom he encounters a group of Nazarenes, Salathiel is impressed with the calm conviction and strong faith of the Christians, with their humility and self-denial, and with their power of preaching, their enthusiasm, and their sincerity. The conversion paradigm is embodied in the novel by Salathiel's brother-in-law, the erstwhile commander of the fallen fortress of Masada, who is the captives' spiritual leader. Before Eleazar is martyred, he enjoins on Salathiel to preserve himself:

> Salathiel, you are not fit to die; pray that you may not now sink into the grave. You have fierce impulses, untamed passions, of whose power you have yet no conception. Supplicate for a length of years; rather endure all the miseries of exile; be alone upon the earth—weary, wild, and desolate: but pray that you may not die, until you know the truths that Israel yet shall know. Let it be for me to die, and seal my faith by my blood. Let it be for you to live, and seal it by your penitence. But live in hope.[237]

Eleazar effectively offers a redemptive reading of Salathiel's curse which construes it as an indispensable reprieve, a purification in penitence, a blessing even, so as not to forego salvation.

Offering a caution against impatience and an illustration of the dangers besetting Salathiel on his path to redemption, the dead Eleazar later appears to his kinsman to save him from the temptation of restoring Judah as its King,[238] a temptation which mirrors the dichotomy between political and spiritual conceptions of messianism and, ultimately, the third temptation of Jesus when Satan shows him "all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them."[239] Prompted by Elea-

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Crawford Gribben and Andrew R. Holmes (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 99–118, p. 103. For the influential London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, founded in 1809 and operating worldwide since the following decade, see William Thomas Gidney, *The History of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews: From 1809–1908* (London: London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, 1908).

237 [Croly], *Salathiel*, III, 164.

238 Ibid., III, 266–7.

239 Matthew 4:8; see also Luke 4:5–8. The nexus between the third temptation of Jesus and the political and spiritual conceptions of the messianic mission has, for instance, been proposed by George S. Barrett in *The Temptations of Christ* (Edinburgh: MacNiven and Wallace, 1883), p. 147.

zar's spirit, Salathiel resists the temptation. It is a choice which asserts his free will but at the same time also initiates his trajectory toward redemption.

And yet Salathiel is aware that there is "an influence hanging over" him which forces his destiny.[240] It is the same divine "influence" holding sway also over the Jews as a nation. The destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple is accordingly firmly attributed to divine providence and Salathiel keenly feels that the city "was not to be saved."[241] The iniquities perpetrated by the Jews according to Josephus are given little attention in Croly's novel. They appear to be incidental to the doom of the city preordained by the Lord. Simon bar Giora and John of Giscala consequently hardly play a role in *Salathiel* and, in fact, are said at one point to have been reduced to mere shadows of themselves: "yet the memory of their mischiefs survived with a keenness aggravated by the public discovery of the miserable insignificance of the instruments."[242]

As noted with some wonder in a review of the earliest German translations of the novel, the originator of Salathiel's curse is never indicated, which presupposes the reader's familiarity with the legend of Ahasuerus as the narrative's point of departure.[243] After setting the trajectory of the narrative, the curse is hardly mentioned anymore, although—as observed before—Salathiel variously notes that his life appears to be determined by an unseen external force. It is only at the very end of the novel, when the flames engulf the Temple and Salathiel faints next to the miraculously unscathed Holy of Holies that the words of the curse reverberate once again in his mind.

In a short epilogue, Salathiel acknowledges that he is doomed to remain the same while all the world around him changes. In very broad strokes, he sketches the intervening centuries to the present; how he was motivated successively by revenge, the mysteries of nature, human fame, and materialism, but also by more noble aspirations: Continuously striving in an almost Faustian manner for knowledge, Salathiel prompts the discovery of the New World, is present at the invention of the letterpress, is acquainted with Michelangelo and Raphael, and kneels in awe at Luther's pulpit.[244] The Wandering Jew is thus sketched as a spirit of unrest who is in effect the whip of progress.

Salathiel was originally published anonymously. It is nevertheless instructive to consider next to it some of the in the widest sense theological writings of the author, who contributed to the contemporary "premillennial frenzy" of Anglican

240 [Croly], *Salathiel*, III, 198.
241 Ibid., III, 101.
242 Ibid., III, 98.
243 [84.], "Romanenliteratur," 283.
244 See [Croly], *Der ewige Jude*, III, 284–6.

theologians.[245] Croly's exposition of *The Apocalypse of St John* (1827), published just before *Salathiel* and mentioned by Bowles, is especially significant in this context because in it the minister offers a typological interpretation of the destruction of Jerusalem. Not in itself original, as we have seen in the preceding discussion, this nevertheless explains his interest in the subject and the rationale of his fictional engagement with the apocalyptic scenario and its salvific import, which is innovative. It may also, to some extent, shed light on his conception of the Jews and of the figure of Salathiel in particular.

Croly believed that the apocalypse was approaching apace and that the French Revolution stood "as the last great event before it."[246] More specifically, elaborating on the old Protestant identification with Israel, he argued that, "as Judæa was chosen for the especial guardianship of the original Revelation; so has England been chosen for the especial guardianship of Christianity."[247] From this analogy, like Wrangham and Trollope as well as Bowles and Bulmer, he extrapolates the destruction of Jerusalem as a warning to his contemporaries. Croly's particular concern is the assertion of Protestant supremacy and the purge of popery. He alleges that whenever Catholicism insinuated itself into the English polity, decline and defeat were the result. Elaborating on the fall of Jerusalem as a type of the imminent apocalypse, Croly insists that a "striking analogy subsists between the ancient Jewish corruptions and the Romish [i.e., of the Roman Catholic Church]."[248]

245 See Kelley, "'Come, Lord Jesus, quickly come!'," p. 103.

246 Croly, *Apocalypse of St. John*, p. 4.

247 Ibid., p. v. Croly expanded on this notion in *England, Fortress of Christianity* (London: Hatchards, 1837) in response to the "calamitous year" of 1829, p. 6, in which Roman Catholics were allowed membership in Parliament; the pamphlet was widely disseminated and endorsed in Protestant circles, as, e.g., in an anonymous review in Charlotte Elizabeth's *The Christian Lady's Magazine* 7 (1837): 569–70, which emphasized its affordability and enthused: "yea from the core of our inmost heart, God speed it to every corner of the land!" Yet Croly's arguments did not remain uncontested. S. O. argued in "Relation between the Old and New Testaments: A Critical Commentary and Paraphrase on the Old and New Testament and the Apocrypha. By Patrick, Lowth, Arnald, Whitby and Lowman," *The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany* 39 (1845): 116–29 against the nationalistic appropriation of the Jewish notion of exclusivity as proffered in Croly's *Apocalypse*, saying that "[u]ndoubtedly there is much power in the belief that a nation has an exclusive mission, and its statesmen and soldiers are not only promoting their own success, but the glory of God. But we need not go back to Moses for the true source of the nation's power and the true fidelity of the citizen. Christianity has principles of its own to apply to every interest of life, to the race and nation as well as to the individual," 128; more importantly, the author contends that Christian supersession did not signify the rejection of Judaism, but its inclusion and assimilation into Christianity; and Christianity, he understands to transcend the nation state, see 129.

248 Croly, *Apocalypse of St. John*, p. 308.

As scriptural evidence for his typology, Croly cites the Sixth Seal in the Book of Revelation,[249] which he explains as follows:

> Our Lord's prediction of the fall of the Jewish polity and nation employs a force of language not to be accounted for even by the unequalled calamnities [*sic*] of the Jews, except it were intended as the type of some infliction adequate to the crimes or the purification of a world. And that it was thus typical is substantiated by the almost verbal repetition of our Lord's prophecy in this Seal.[250]

It was, presumably, his apocalyptic bent of mind which sustained Croly's fascination with the destruction of Jerusalem, which he continued to articulate in different contexts.

When David Roberts, whose own pictorial version of *The Destruction of Jerusalem* was briefly discussed in chapter I (see Figure 11), published the sketches he made during his tour of the Holy Land and the Middle East in 1838–40, Croly contributed the historical and descriptive text to the first volume of the handsome publication on *The Holy Land* (1842)[251]—apparently against the wishes of the artist, who described Croly as "[a]n arrogant prelate who just writes and does as he likes with little regard to the subjects."[252]

The narrative Croly created corresponds to his earlier exposition of the apocalypse and effected a contextual reconfiguration of the sketches which was presumably not to the artist's liking. As Amanda M. Burritt observes, "Croly's tone of evangelical preaching did not sit well with Roberts, who generally preferred a more descriptive and non-emotive prose."[253] From Roberts's journal emerges a clear sense of the perception of the Holy Land from an artist's perspective and that "he distinguished between the Holy Land of faith and the physical reality he encountered."[254]

For Croly, the Holy Land was defined by its palimpsestuous simultaneity which was informed by its historical continuum in the salvific trajectory of divine providence and by its topological and typological significance within this trajec-

249 See Revelation 6:12–17.

250 Croly, *Apocalypse of St. John*, p. 64. For the words attributed to Jesus, see the gospels of Luke 19:41–4, Mark 13:1–8, and Matthew 24:1–8.

251 See David Roberts, *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt, and Nubia: After Lithographs by Louis Haghe from Drawings Made on the Spot*, ed. George Croly, 6 vols (London: Moon, 1842–49).

252 Quoted from Debra N. Mancoff, *David Roberts: Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land* (San Francisco, CA: Pomegranate Communications, 1999), p. 117.

253 Amanda M. Burritt, *Visualising Britain's Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), p. 108.

254 Ibid., pp. 91–2.

tory. Through these, it was embedded in the biblical narrative, and vice versa. In the very first sentences of his introductory historical section to *The Holy Land*, Croly extols the history of the Jews as

> the most characteristic, the most important, and the most sublime, in the world. For, to this people alone were given the primitive knowledge of the Almighty; the trust of preserving it unstained while the earth was bowed down in idolatry; and finally, the magnificent privilege of dispensing it, in the appointed time, through all the families of mankind.[255]

It is this understanding of the soteriological role of the Jews, their chosenness, which explains the nobility of Salathiel in Croly's earlier novel. Yet no less significant is the author's demarcation of "the appointed time," which denotes the end of this "privilege," wilfully forfeited by the Jews in accordance with divine providence.

Croly acknowledges that "the history of the Jews establishes, on the most solid grounds, the three truths most important to human knowledge:—the Being of a God, a Perpetual Providence, and a Moral Government of the world."[256] On the basis of these truths, he extrapolates the future trajectory of "the Jew," whose redemption is possible only with a complete renewal: "The Jew will be restored, but it is as the human frame will be restored; he will return from the moral grave, with a nature fitted for a new and higher course of existence."[257]

The developmental analogy of the collective to the individual—akin, perhaps, to phylogenesis and ontogenesis—is extended by Croly also to the articulation of the supersession. "[T]he career of the nation," he maintains, "from its commencement to its close, will be found to bear a distinct analogy to the career of human life; the succession of Judaism and Christianity, to paternal discipline; and the history of the world itself, to the progress of crime and conversion in the soul of man." Croly concedes that "Christianity has yet to complete its course," but insists that "Inspiration declares the triumphs of the future, with a voice as firm and as distinct as that in which it ever pronounced the calamities of fallen Israel."[258] The fulfilment of Christianity will also be the fulfilment of Israel: "The dawn of its unending day will be the restoration of the exiles of Judah."[259] The millenarian expectation of the restoration of Israel, as indicated in the Sixth Seal of the Book

255 Roberts, *Holy Land*, I, 1.
256 Ibid., I, 28.
257 Ibid., I, 30.
258 Ibid., I, 29.
259 Ibid.

of Revelation,[260] is interpreted by Croly in his *Apocalypse* as referring to the Christian Church, for "[t]he Christians, the successors of those to whom the promises were given, are called the 'Israel of God'."[261] It is, therefore, another confirmation of the supersession and the trajectory toward the fullness of time, but also of the complete annihilation of Judaism, which, according to Croly, has run its course and has been sealed with the destruction of Jerusalem.

The first volume of *The Holy Land*, illustrated with lithographs produced by Louis Haghe after Roberts's original drawings, includes various views of Jerusalem. The historical perspective established through Croly's introduction suggests a palimpsestuous reading of the images. They achieve their true significance then primarily in correlation to their significance for the gospel narrative. The destruction of Jerusalem, prophesied by Jesus, functions effectively as an extension to, and confirmation of, the gospel narrative. It is also, as emerges from Croly's description of "Jerusalem from the South" (see Figure 13), a linking device, which reaffirms the continuous impact of God's intervention. The author emphasizes that

> [t]he horrors of the Roman siege, as narrated by Josephus, proverbially form the most overwhelming collection of the images of suffering by famine, popular fury, and national despair, that were ever combined to make the fall of a people fearful to its own age and memorable to every age to come.[262]

That the reading public chose to follow Croly's evangelical exposition and superimposed it on the sketches, contrary to the artist's intention, is indicated by contemporary reviews. Responding to successive instalments of the publication venture, the anonymous reviewer for the *Art-Union*, for instance, following Croly's emphasis on prophecy and miracle as "the especial instruments of the Divine government among this extraordinary people,"[263] exulted that *The Holy Land* "in a manner surpassingly beautiful illustrates the prophecies and miracles—the indestructible citadels of Christian Hope."[264] He simultaneously insisted that "no description can ever make us feel so profoundly the utter desolation of the land as this pictorial history."[265] The emphasis on the contemporary desolation signifies not only an articulation of orientalist stereotypes of decay, which simultaneously elevates and imbues with mystery the artist's "arduous and really perilous enterprise of traversing the deserts, amid which the sites of many of them [i.e., the

260 Revelation 7:4–8.
261 Croly, *Apocalypse of St. John*, p. 67.
262 Roberts, *Holy Land*, I, 41.
263 Ibid., I, 2.
264 Anonymous, "The Holy Land, Egypt, Arabia & Syria," *Art-Union* 4 (1842): 15.
265 Anonymous, "Roberts's Sketches in the Holy Land," *Art-Union* 6 (1844): 113.

Holy Cities] must be sought";[266] the "utter desolation" of the Holy Land moreover ultimately originates in the rejection of Christ by the Jews and the divine punishment visited on them, of which the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple was the culmination but not the conclusion. Pulling all the threads together, the critic enthuses that *The Holy Land*

> sets before us as facts of yesterday, the events described in the New Testament; and illustrates the invincible truths of the Old. The objects described by the pencil of Mr. Roberts, are bound up in association with things most sacred; they are scattered throughout lands wherein our religion was first preached; and where had prevailed the older rites of the Jewish nation, of whom Dr. Croly says, "In language astonishing for its vividness, awful for its divine indignation, and appalling for its historic reality, we see their successive sufferings; first, in the pestilences and famines of the land; then in the captivity; then in the Roman invasion, and the horrors of the seige, and finally in the great dispersion; the whole prediction, like some vast picture in the skies, giving us, at a glance the portraiture of those most powerful changes and deep calamities, which for three thousand years have gone on beneath, realizing on the surface of the world."[267]

Croly's contribution, cited here in evidence of the writer's "impressive eloquence"[268] and once again emphasizing the pivotal significance of the destruction of Jerusalem, was extolled by the critic as having been written by one of the most "accomplished scholars of the age"[269] and offering "a volume of thought in a few pages."[270]

Croly's appreciation of the Jews, it should be noted, is purely historical in his commentary to *The Holy Land*. In contrast to his novel, which solicits the reader's empathy with its Jewish protagonist, in later years, Croly was very clear that any sympathy with contemporary Jewry was misplaced. In a pamphlet of 1848, the churchman vehemently opposed the civil and political emancipation of the Jews in England because he insisted on the fundamentally Christian character of the English polity and of Parliament as a "Council of Christianity."[271] In this context, Croly rails against the "childish sentimentality" recently "excited for the Jews."[272]

266 Anonymous, "Holy Land, Egypt, Arabia & Syria," 15.

267 Ibid. For the extended quotation from Croly's text, see Roberts, *Holy Land*, I, 8.

268 Anonymous, "Holy Land, Egypt, Arabia & Syria," 15.

269 Anonymous, "The Publications of Mr. F. G. Moon," *Art-Union* 6 (1844): 63.

270 Anonymous, "Sketches in the Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt and Nubia," *Art-Union* 4 (1842): 287.

271 George Croly, *The Claims of the Jews Incompatible with the National Profession of Christianity* ([London]: Seeley, 1848), p. 13. For the context of the debate about civil and political equality of the Jews in Britain, see, e.g., Geoffrey Alderman, *Modern British Jewry* (1992; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), pp. 51–101 and, for the "leading anti-emancipationist" George Croly, p. 59.

272 Croly, *Claims of the Jews Incompatible*, p. 14.

He polemically insists that "this sympathy is totally unfounded" and declares categorically: "*There is no Jewish religion in the world.* The religion of Moses expired 1,800 years ago; it has never been revived, and can never be revived. Judaism, since that day"—he means the destruction of the Temple—"is a phantom."[273] Denying to Judaism the very right to exist, Croly advocates a strict supersessionism:

> Providence, which made Judaism only for a temporary purpose, formed it dependent on localities, and thus limited its duration. From the building of the first Temple, the national existence was bound up with the Temple, and the city of the Temple. Sacrifice, and the solemnization of the great festivals, all essential to the national religion, could be held only in Jerusalem. When Christianity came, Judaism was to cease. But this great result was not to be left to the common changes of time, or the general impulses of man. The Temple was ruined, and Jerusalem was given over to the heathen; and from that hour, the Jew has never been able to offer sacrifice, to solemnize any one of the great festivals, or to perform any part of the public ceremonial inseparable from pure Judaism. The Temple was essential to them all; but a mosque stands upon Mount Moriah![274]



Figure 13: Louis Haghe, after David Roberts, "Jerusalem from the South," in David Roberts, *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt, and Nubia: After Lithographs by Louis Haghe from Drawings Made on the Spot*, ed. George Croly (London: Moon, 1842), I, facing p. 41; British Library, London (10027. aa.22.). (With kind permission.)

273 Ibid.
274 Ibid., p. 15.

The final observation, which echoes a similar claim in his introduction to *The Holy Land* and is reminiscent also of Peers,[275] cements the finality of the destruction of Judaism and reiterates the palimpsestuous perception of the Holy Land, visible in the presence of the Dome of the Rock and the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Roberts's views of Jerusalem (see, e.g., Figure 13). Rabbinic Judaism, the attempt to reinvent Judaism after the loss of its cultic center and to project it into the future, is to Croly no more than a desperate farce. While he does not explicitly refer to the concept of a Jewish mission, as it was concurrently developed in German Reform Judaism, discussed in more detail in chapter V, it is nevertheless likely that he would have seen this simply as another blasphemous attempt to try to breathe life into the alleged phantom.

For Croly, the finality of the fall of Judaism does not correspond to the finality of the punishment of the Jewish transgression. He asks: "But why has the punishment of a transgression, committed 1800 years ago, been visited beyond the punishment even of Idolatry; and lasted, not only to 'the third and fourth generation,' but through ages which seem to be endless?" The reason, he offers, is that "the Jew is not punished for the ancient crime of his fathers, but for his own. Their crime was the rejection of the Gospel 1800 years ago. His crime is the same rejection at this hour."[276]

If only implicitly, "the Jew" as he is described here appears to mirror the very Ahasuerus figure of myth and legend that was censured by Croly in his preface to *Salathiel*. The apparent tolerance in his earlier novel may then also have been more specifically a strategy to insinuate Christian values to a Jewish readership. In this light, Salathiel's homage to Luther at the end of the novel, reflecting also Croly's own Protestant fervor, may be read as a subtle call for conversion: "Israelite as I was, and am—I did involuntary homage to the mind of Luther. At this hour, I see the dawn of things, to whose glory the glory of the past is but a dream."[277]

When Salathiel ends his narrative, he establishes an intriguing parallel between the vagaries of his thoughts and his roaming far and wide which he reinterprets as a "pilgrimage," thus giving meaning to it and, implicitly, suggesting its telos in conversion: "But I must close these thoughts, as wandering as the steps of my pilgrimage. I have more to tell; strange, magnificent, and sad. But I must await the impulse of my heart."[278] Salathiel's emphasis on "the impulse" of his heart is ambiguous. It is overtly linked to his narrative effusions but indirectly

275 See Roberts, *Holy Land*, I, 29.
276 Croly, *Claims of the Jews Incompatible*, p. 18.
277 [Croly], *Salathiel*, III, 305.
278 Ibid., III, 305–6.

also to the notion of conversion on whose brink the wandering Jew so frequently has been. A future narrative, prompted by the "impulse" of his heart, may thus be expected to be, finally, of his conversion and the sublimation of his Jewishness.

In line with his interpretation of the Book of Revelation, Croly attributes the apparent contemporary decline of England and the Empire to the weakening of Protestantism, of which the suggestion to allow "the Jew" to take political responsibility is palpable proof to him. Croly concludes:

> We must reject the Jew. In the first place, because he pronounces our Lord a deceiver, and our faith a fabrication. In the next, because his race, during their long sojourn in England, have established no claim to public distinction. And lastly, because, from the very nature of their tenets, they must be auxiliaries to every assailant of the Church of England.[279]

The nobility attributed to Salathiel in Croly's earlier novel has been replaced with stereotypes of the intractable Jew, of dual loyalty, and even an essentialist enmity.[280]

Croly considered the welfare of England and the Empire a gauge of the supposedly pernicious incursion of Catholicism and thus a continuous process. The analogy to the cycle of transgression, punishment, and renewal of the covenant, which is the pattern of the interaction of Israel with its God in the Old Testament, is clearly intended; and it is an exhortation to his compatriots. Croly considers the suffering of the Jews a result of their intractability and indignantly exclaims: "Who can wonder at their sufferings?"[281]

David Roberts's painting of *The Destruction of Jerusalem* was briefly discussed in chapter I. It may well be that the artist's creative engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem, on which he worked from 1847–49,[282] was inspired by his reluctant collaboration with Croly. Yet if so, the painting appears to offer a revision of the evangelical approach superimposed by the Anglican minister on the artist's earlier sketches from the Holy Land. The eschatological dimension elaborated by Croly in his commentary was eschewed by Roberts. As discussed in chapter I, his historical painting of *The Destruction of Jerusalem* does not make any obvious theological claims. Like Byron, whose poem about the historical occurrence seems to have been a more immediate inspiration for Roberts, the artist rather captures a strange wistfulness in contemplation of the terrible beauty of the conflagration. It appears to be historicized and simultaneously divested of

279 Croly, *Claims of the Jews Incompatible*, pp. 39–40.
280 See ibid., pp. 32, 37.
281 See ibid., p. 18.
282 See James Ballantine, *The Life of David Roberts, R.A., Compiled from his Journals and Other Sources* (Edinburgh: Black, 1866), pp. 165–6.

any specific religious consequence, which is also reflected in Roberts's omission of the paraphernalia frequently associated with the iconography of the destruction of Jerusalem, such as the menorah and other spoils from the Temple.

As Anderson observes, Croly's novel was the first to introduce a nationalist Jewish perspective which shows his Ahasuerus figure "fighting for the independence of Israel as a homeland" and appears to have engendered a succession of narratives tying the figure of the Wandering Jew to the destruction of Jerusalem.[283] Attesting to the popularity of Croly's novel also in Germany, two independent translations into German, by A[madeus] Kaiser (b. 1804) and by Ludwig Storch (1803–81),[284] appeared, as mentioned before, already in the year after its publication.[285] Both translators offer brief reflections on the text's idiosyncracies. While Kaiser seeks to situate *Salathiel* in relation to other literary engagements with the Ahasuerus legend,[286] Storch discusses the genre of the historical novel in implied comparison to historical painting.

Implicitly asserting the realist mode of pictorial representation and appropriating it to the novel in what appears to be an attempt to vindicate the popular genre, Storch likens *Salathiel* to a canvas on which poesy designs her creations as faithful imitations of continuously shifting and changing life. The skilful distribution of light and shadow helps the writer to shape his "painting" as a perfect whole—the literary model Storch refers to is of course Walter Scott whom he acknowledges as the creator of the "genuine" historical novel. Yet to Storch the historical distance of Scott's novels, reaching no further back than to the Middle Ages, lets them appear still sufficiently connected to his present to facilitate an easy understanding. He implies that the imaginative power necessary to sketch "with bold strokes of the brush the painting of the life of a time almost two thousand years in the past" is much greater but no less absorbing.[287] Having made this case for the appropriation of unfamiliar material by the author of the histori-

283 See Anderson, *Wandering Jew*, p. 189.

284 See [George Croly], *Salathiel, oder Memoiren des ewigen Juden*, transl. A. Kaiser, 4 vols (Leipzig: Taubert, 1829) and [Croly], *Ewige Jude*, transl. Storch. For Storch see Ludwig Julius Fränkel, "Storch, Ludwig," in ADB (1893), XXXVI, 439–42.

285 See Ronen, "Kaulbach's Wandering Jew," 249. As Croly's novel was first published anonymously, Storch is named as editor. A prolific writer, Storch continued to have an interest in Jewish subjects and later published a novel in four volumes on Shabbatai Tsvi, entitled *Der Jakobsstern: Messiade* (Frankfurt a. M.: Sauerländer, 1836–38).

286 In his afterword, Kaiser mentions Franz Horn, Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, Wilhelm Müller, Jean Paul, Aloys Schreiber, August Wilhelm von Schlegel, and Joseph Görres, see [Croly], *Salathiel, oder Memoiren*, IV, 193.

287 [Croly], *Ewige Jude*, I, vii: "[M]it kühnen Pinselstrichen das Lebensgemälde einer Zeit zu entwerfen, die fast zweitausend Jahre hinter uns liegt, [ist] darum nicht weniger interessant."

cal novel, he then nevertheless claims that the text in hand, while recreating a period of almost two millennia ago, is in fact anything but unfamiliar. The "pictorial" realism attributed by Storch to the novel is complemented by an imaginary realism which is based on the perceived truths of the Christian belief system:

> The painting of this work has not been taken from any soil that is alien to us, though we never strode on it ourselves; these creations do not originate in a time alien to us, though eighteenhundred years are between it and ours; for yet a strong magnet has drawn all the nations of Christianity to them, because they are the soil and the time of the young Christian faith, sprouting fresh and strong. To whom should be alien the land where of yore the Saviour walked; his predecessors, the prophets, the Baptist, the kings of Israel; and his successors, the holy apostles?[288]

What emerges very clearly from this effusion is the imaginary nature of the topography and of the period described, which appears to be determined entirely by the *dramatis personae* of the Bible and Christian eschatology. It was another thirteen years until Roberts's *The Holy Land* was to appear. As discussed above, this too contributed to the same imaginary, reconciling it with geographical realism, not least through Croly's evangelically informed commentary. It is only against the background of this pervasive scriptural imaginary, which would moreover have been very much informed by "real" paintings of the biblical figures and the eschatological narrative, that the more specifically "historical" elements of *Salathiel* are seen to play themselves out and to be imbued with significance.

Kaiser, who similarly felt the need to justify the historical distance of the novel by citing the example not only of Scott but also of Elijah Fenton's *Mariamne, An Historical Novel of Palestine* (1825),[289] makes a similar point:

> The author chose the fatherland of the religion of Christ, *the* consecrated soil, for the home of his creation, to which the eye of Christendom is still turned with awe.[290]

288 Ibid., I, viii: "Das Gemälde dieses Werkes ist nicht von einem uns fremden Boden genommen, wenn wir selbst auch nicht auf demselben gewandelt, diese Gebilde sind keiner uns fremden Zeit entsprungen, wenn auch achtzehnhundert Jahre zwischen ihr und der unsrigen liegen; denn ein starker Magnet hat noch alle Völker der Christenheit zu ihnen hingezogen, weil sie der Boden und die Zeit des jungen frisch und kräftig aufkeimenden Christenglaubens sind. Wem wäre das Land fremd, wo einst der Heiland, seine Vorgänger, die Propheten, der Täufer, die Könige Israels, und seine Nachfolger, die heiligen Aposteln gewandelt?"

289 Elijah Fenton, *Mariamne, An Historical Novel of Palestine*, 3 vols (London: Whittaker, 1825).

290 [Croly], *Salathiel, oder Memoiren*, IV, 189–90: "Der Verfasser wählte das Vaterland der Christusreligion, *den* geweihten Boden zur Heimath seiner Schöpfung, dem das Auge der Christenheit noch immer mit Ehrfurcht zugewendet ist."

He emphasizes, moreover, that Salathiel's narrative covers the period of his natural life expectancy and therefore lacks the expression of mounting despair generated by his inability to die. Yet the destruction of Jerusalem is identified by Kaiser as the turning point—hence, though the translator does not explicitly say so, the reiteration of the curse as it flashes through Salathiel's mind. The significance this extends to the historical episode is explained by Kaiser, as it was done by Storch, with reference to the art of painting:

> Only with the destruction of Jerusalem, with the annihilation of the sovereignty of the Jewish nation, begins his true misery, and up to this point Salathiel provides us through his narrative with a painting of his times. But then, after death has scorned him, commence his wanderings and he remains perpetually the representative of the Jewish people that endures, as does he; and, expelled from the land of his fathers, restlessly wanders across the globe, without finding peace; and whose gaze is turned towards the Promised Land, as his is towards the conciliatory beyond.[291]

Storch mentions the desperate struggle of the Jews to free themselves from the oppressive Roman rule. Yet he takes pains to emphasize that at the time both peoples had already internally disintegrated and, terminally sick, were heading for their demise. The antisemitic element so prominent in many of the German engagements with the subject is conspicuously absent from Croly's novel. Yet it was arguably inserted by Storch. When he maintains that the egotism of "the Jewish" character emerges from the novel, only thinly disguised by fanaticism and bigotry, he appears to suggest the persistence of this trait, consistent with contemporary stereotypes, into his own day.[292] This not only seems to reveal the translator's underlying antisemitism, in contrast also to Kaiser, but in fact indicates a trope which was to resurface in later debates about Ahasuerus.

The author's decision to use the figure from Christian myth as his protagonist and narrator is critically interrogated by Storch.[293] His concern is obviously the challenge to verisimilitude inherent in the mythical figure of the Wandering Jew. While the translator excuses his author's poor judgment in this instance with the innovative nature of the novel, it is worth noting that in Germany none of the

291 Ibid., IV, 192: "Erst mit Jerusalems Zerstörung, mit der Vernichtung der Selbständigkeit des jüdischen Volkes, beginnt sein wahres Elend, und bis dahin giebt uns Salathiel mit seiner Geschichte das Gemälde seiner Zeit. Dann aber, nachdem ihn der Tod verschmäht hat, beginnen seine Wanderungen, und er bleibt fortwährend Repräsentant des jüdischen Volkes, das, gleich ihm, fortbesteht, und vertrieben aus dem Lande seiner Väter unstät über den Erdball wandert, ohne den Frieden zu finden, und dessen Blicke nach dem gelobten Land gerichtet sind, wie die seinen nach dem versöhnenden Jenseits."

292 See [Croly], *Ewige Jude*, I, x.

293 Ibid., I, xi.

subsequent narrative fictions about the destruction of Jerusalem, which began to proliferate since the 1840s and which are discussed in chapters IV and V, includes the figure of Ahasuerus.[294] As suggested by Storch's criticism, one reason for this may have been conceptual considerations.

Narrative fiction about the destruction of Jerusalem, in particular the novel, commenced in Germany in the late 1830s and began to proliferate in the second half of the century. In contradistinction to Croly's otherwise very influential *Salathiel* and other strains of the adaptation of the legend of the Wandering Jew in narrative fiction,[295] none of these texts included an Ahasuerus figure, presumably because of its supernatural quality. They are, however, replete with manifestations of the Beautiful Jewess who is mostly represented as an exemplar of the conversion narrative. As such, the figure appears also—possibly in the wake of Milman—in all of the dramatic poems and plays discussed in the concluding section of this chapter.

In Germany, the *paragone* was also invoked by the influential poet and critic Wolfgang Menzel in a more general sense in a reflection on the contemporary novel.[296] Writing in 1838, the author somewhat rashly maintained: "It has long since been established that poesy should not vie with painting, because it can present to the imagination only sequentially what the painter's picture can display to the eye in one moment."[297] Menzel seems to assume that both media are in effect capable of conveying the same content, regardless of their different means of articulation; but they are set apart by the different sequentiality of perceiving the information they offer. This is derived from Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's influential treatise on the interrelation of the visual arts and poesy, *Laokoon: oder über die Grenzen der Mahlerey und Poesie* (1766; *Laocoon: or, The Limits of Poetry and Painting*).[298] Yet to Lessing the sequentiality of poesy is not a

294 The only exception I am aware of is Anna Freiin von Krane, *Das Siegesfest der sechsten Legion* (Cologne: Bachem, [1915]), which I discuss in digression III.

295 See Mona Körte, *Die Uneinholbarkeit des Verfolgten: Der Ewige Jude in der literarischen Phantastik* (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2000), pp. 95–129.

296 For the contemporary significance of Menzel's conception of the novel, see Hartmut Steinecke, *Romantheorie und Romankritik in Deutschland: Die Entwicklung des Gattungsverständnisses von der Scott-Rezeption bis zum programmatischen Realismus*, 2 vols (Metzler: Stuttgart, 1975), I, 56–7.

297 W[olfgang] M[enzel], "Die Romane," *Deutsche Viertel-Jahresschrift* 1.2 (1838): 92–137, 110: "Es ist schon eine alte Lehre, daß die Poesie nicht mit der Malerei wetteifern soll, weil sie nur nacheinander der Einbildungskraft vorzuführen vermag, was das Bild des Malers in einem Moment dem Auge darstellt."

298 See Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoon: or, The Limits of Poetry and Painting*, transl. William Ross (London: Ridgway, 1836), p. 177; see also Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laokoon: oder über*

disadvantage, as claimed by Menzel, because its prerogative is the representation of "progressive actions";[299] nor can, according to Lessing, the content of a painting and a literary text ever be quite the same, because the objects of visual representation are bodies in space while poesy describes actions in time.[300]

In his appreciation of Croly's *Salathiel*, Storch sought to reconcile both aspects and suggested that the literary text, with the different means at its disposal, nevertheless created a comprehensive painting of the period in which it was set. The "painting" is thus still considered the desired result, but—as Menzel also suggested—it can be achieved in different ways. In his theoretical exposition of the novel, Menzel similarly elaborates frequent comparisons between the historical novel and historical painting.[301] With regard to the "historical" genre, Menzel is critical of both contemporary painting and the contemporary novel and censures in particular the supposed pedantery of proliferating details which, he argues, by indifferently attributing meaning to a plethora of details in fact dissipates any meaning.[302] Instead, he insists that the artist—painter and writer alike—should not stifle the imagination with too much detail.[303] With reference in particular to painting, he contends that this practice subverts the advantage of the visual art of presenting a consistent and coherent narrative to the eye in one moment.

Before the rise of the historical novel in the wake of Scott, the prevalent model of the novel in Germany prioritized in the idealist tradition the individual. Its main subject was, as maintained by Hegel, the conflict of the individual with reality—as in Goethe's enormously influential *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1795–96).[304] The historical novel confronted this model with a different conception of the protagonist. Instead of their individuality and personal development, its main focus shifted to the mediation of history through the protagonist.[305] History was

die Grenzen der Mahlerey und Poesie, new expanded edition, ed. Karl Gotthelf Lessing (Berlin: Voß, 1788), p. 176.

299 See Lessing, *Laocoon*, pp. 148–52, and, for the quotation, p. 149; see also Lessing, *Laokoon*, pp. 152–55, and p. 152: "fortschreitende Handlungen."

300 See Lessing, *Laocoon*, p. 151; see also Lessing, *Laokoon*, p. 154.

301 See M[enzel], "Romane," 105, 109–11. As Steinecke notes, contemporary conservative literary criticism, influenced by Lessing's ideas, censured the pictorial quality of some historical novels, see *Romantheorie und Romankritik*, I, 47–8.

302 See M[enzel], "Romane," 111. Lessing makes a similar point more generally, castigating in poesy "the love of delineation" and in painting "allegorical display," Lessing, *Laocoon*, p. xvii; see also Lessing, *Laokoon*, p. [v]: "die Schilderungssucht [. . .] die Allegoristerey."

303 See M[enzel], "Romane," 110–11.

304 For Hegel and his implicit reliance on the model provided by Goethe, see Steinecke, *Romantheorie und Romankritik*, I, 54.

305 See ibid., I, 35.

accordingly no longer conceptualized as the product of the actions of illustrious individuals but as a much more complex interaction of divergent forces.[306] A corollary of this development was the revaluation of verisimilitude and realism, which reflects a more pervasive shift in the perception of, and relation to, reality.[307] The persistent prevalence of idealist thought in Germany, derided by Croly in the preface to his *Salathiel*, meant that the historical novel never achieved the same significance in this country as in other European literatures.[308] It also meant that the historical novel was frequently predicated on an idealist conception which sought to obliterate the more unsavory aspects of reality.[309]

By the end of the 1830s, the novel was perceived to have deteriorated. Giving voice to prevalent critical opinion, it is described by Menzel as entertainment, mostly addressed to the "weaker" sex and younger readers[310] and its writers are to him an inferior sort of poets.[311] The critic derides the novel as an ephemeral "fashion product"[312] which is replete with mannerisms and false pathos;[313] he castigates in particular the proliferation of "factory"[314] products with insipid and morally questionable love plots.[315] Menzel perceives in the novel the same impetus toward degradation that was traditionally attributed also to genre paintings for their focus on non-heroic material of quotidian experience. While genre painting in an academic sense occupied one of the lower rungs of artistic genres, historical painting with its moral and heroic subjects occupied its apex. In literary production, the heroic traditionally was the province of the epic, which was considered to transcend the common and quotidian while the novel appeared as realistic and sober.[316] Menzel maintains that the disorganization of metric poesy led to the emancipation of prose;[317] he moreover alleges that the epic character of the novel increasingly turned toward the dramatic (dialogue),[318] a point already made by one of the British reviewers of Milman's *The Fall of Jerusalem*.[319]

306 See ibid., I, 34.
307 See ibid., I, 44, 49–51.
308 See ibid., I, 52.
309 See ibid., I, 139–40, 162.
310 See M[enzel], "Romane," 92: "das schwächere und jüngere Geschlecht."
311 See Steinecke, *Romantheorie und Romankritik*, I, 6–7.
312 See M[enzel], "Romane," 92: "Modeartikel."
313 See ibid., 111.
314 See ibid., 110.
315 See ibid., 117–18.
316 See ibid., 94–5.
317 See ibid., 92.
318 See ibid., 132.
319 See Anonymous, "Art. III. The Siege of Jerusalem," 594.

As the epic supposedly disintegrated,[320] the historical novel emerges for Menzel in a parallel hierarchy as the only serious contender in narrative fiction for lofty subjects, rather than drama, which he considers to be too limiting:

> Heroic poems have become increasingly rare in our time and are not very popular because, almost without exception, they are only more feeble imitations of the better older ones, which date back to a time in which the novel did not yet exist. Many historical, and also political, subjects have been treated in drama and in this manner, as Schiller in particular proves, have produced a great effect; and yet, its form is too constrained for a more comprehensive painting [. . .]. The novel, in contrast, is perfectly suitable for the comprehension of larger paintings from our history and, through them, to elevate and excite the audience.[321]

Menzel suggests as improvements in particular for the historical novel the articulation of patriotic sentiments,[322] and the engagement with religion and culture.[323] He attributes to it the potential of elevating its readership and of filling it with enthusiasm.[324] "The historical paintings," Menzel is still talking about novels,

> offer a new stimulus in opposition to that triviality and lead from the chimaeras of a sullied imagination back to the firm ground of truth and reality. At the same time they tie to the poetic also the political interest, which has become so predominant in our times, and they are suited better than any other form to imprint political lessons in examples, patriotic memories, and great inspiring ideas.[325]

That the author's political imagination is curbed by historical truth, to which the writer of historical fiction is committed, is considered by the critic a wholesome corrective.

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320 See also Steinecke, *Romantheorie und Romankritik*, I, 37, 146.

321 M[enzel], "Romane," 126: "Heldengedichte sind in unserer Zeit immer seltener geworden und wenig beliebt, weil sie fast ausschließlich nur mattere Nachahmungen der bessern alten sind, die aus einer Zeit stammen, in der es noch keinen Roman gab. Das Drama hat viele historische, auch patriotische Stoffe verarbeitet und dadurch, wie namentlich Schiller beweist, große Wirkung hervorgebracht; allein seine Form ist zu eng für umfangreichere Gemälde [. . .]. Der Roman hingegen eignet sich vollkommen, größere Bilder aus unserer Geschichte aufzufassen und das Publikum dadurch zu erheben, zu befeuern."

322 See ibid., 126.

323 See ibid., 128.

324 See ibid., 126.

325 Ibid., 124: "Die geschichtlichen Gemälde bieten jener Trivialität gegenüber einen neuen Reiz dar und führen von jenen Phantastereien einer befleckten Phantasie zum festen Boden der Wahrheit und Wirklichkeit zurück. Zugleich knüpfen sie an das poetische Interesse auch das in unserer Zeit so sehr vorherrschende politische an und eignen sich besser als jede andere Form, politische Lehren in Beispielen, vaterländische Erinnerungen und große begeisternde Ideen einzuprägen."

Accordingly, Menzel criticizes that the historical novel in the tradition of Scott imposes modern views on the past,[326] which has of course remained a significant characteristic of the historical novel to the present day.[327] Menzel maintains that

> [w]hosoever depicts times which were excited by ideas should also penetrate into these ideas and show us in which ways they modified themselves in the struggles of the time, on the peculiar level of education of the time, and according to differences in status, age, and sex.[328]

More specifically, the critic accuses Scott of inverting German Romanticism, by which he maintains the Scottish writer was inspired. He nevertheless credits Scott with having enabled modern readerships to look beyond love stories and family sagas "into the immeasurable panorama of universal history."[329] European readerships, he claims, were "for the first time confronted through the *belles lettres* with the fate of whole nations and of famous historical persons," and he concludes: "This is a grand result."[330] The historical novel is therefore a genre which, he hopes, will prove its resilience.[331] And, of course, it did.

In this context, it is instructive to consider another contemporary voice on the correlation of the novel and the epic. Articulated a few years later, in 1844, Hermann Marggraff—the brother of the previously mentioned art historian Rudolf Marggraff—represents a more progressive approach than Menzel's.[332] Menzel's "Die Romane" offered in fact a conservative revision of his own earlier politicization of the novel.[333] His earlier criticism had strongly influenced the view of the *Junges Deutschland* (young German) movement that the novel should repre-

326 See ibid., 109.

327 For the interplay between history and fiction in the historical novel, see, e.g., Brian Hamnett, *The Historical Novel in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Representations of Reality in History and Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 32 and esp. chapter 5.

328 M[enzel], "Romane," 128: "Wer Zeiten schildert, die von Ideen aufgeregt waren, soll auch in diese Ideen eingehen und uns zeigen, wie sie sich in den Kämpfen der Zeit, auf der eigenthümlichen Bildungsstufe der Zeit und nach der Verschiedenheit des Standes, der Jahre, des Geschlechts und des Temperaments modificirten."

329 Ibid., 110: "in das unermeßliche Panorama der Weltgeschichte zu blicken."

330 Ibid.: "Das europäische Publikum wurde zum Erstenmal durch die Unterhaltungsliteratur mit den Schicksalen ganzer Völker und berühmter historischer Personen beschäftigt [. . .]. Das ist ein großes Resultat."

331 See ibid., 125.

332 For Marggraff and his contextualization within the young German movement, see Steinecke, *Romantheorie und Romankritik*, I, 136–7.

333 See ibid., I, 42, 58–9, 126.

sent a mirror image of society and that the historical novel therefore needed to elaborate a meaningful relation between the past and the present.[334]

Marggraff, a prominent proponent of the *Junges Deutschland*, indicates a shift which occurs in literary production with the emergence of narrative fiction. Confirming Menzel's earlier observation, he notes that the contemporary period has little interest in epics or dramatic poetry.[335] He attributes this primarily to a change in reading habits, which he feels to have become more pragmatic, distanced, and rational.[336] In addition, Marggraff emphasizes the flexibility and adaptability of the novel. He specifically highlights its unlimited potential for discursive expansion, which he considers the basis for its continuous self-rejuvenation.[337] As such, the novel has, in his estimation, initiated the dissolution of both the epic and the drama.[338] Its "tasteful but formless hybridity" mirrors in the critic's view that of the contemporary individual.[339] To Marggraff, another attraction of the novel is that it appears to him more democratic and capable of evading censorship more easily than the drama.[340]

Like Menzel, Marggraff characterizes the novel in contradistinction to the epic, which, he maintains, it has superseded:

> At its highest peak, the epic is an expression of the sublime and of greatness; it magnifies the figures of the characters acting in it to the colossal and superhuman, brings the mysterious and marvellous to bear, and moves Heaven and Hell. The epic is based on ancient or at least archaic cognizance, the novel in contrast achieves its apex precisely where it corresponds most perfectly to the modern awareness; consequently, like modern cognizance per se, it can in no way agree with the colossal contours and gigantically elongated and extended characters favoured by the epic. Yet, even less admissible is [to the novel] the meddling in human affairs of gods, half-gods, demons or angels and devils, which the epic in particular requires.[341]

334 See ibid., I, 73, 121.

335 See Hermann Marggraff, "Die Entwicklung des deutschen Romans, besonders in der Gegenwart. Erster Artikel. Der deutsche Roman vor 1830," *Deutsche Monatsschrift für Litteratur und öffentliches Leben* 3.2 (1844): 58–67, 58. See also Hermann Marggraff, "Die Entwicklung des deutschen Romans, besonders in der Gegenwart. Zweiter Artikel. Der deutsche Roman nach 1830," *Deutsche Monatsschrift für Litteratur und öffentliches Leben* 3.2 (1844): 97–116.

336 See Marggraff, "Entwicklung des deutschen Romans," 59: "wohin zweckt Das ab? in welchem Verhältnisse steht Das zu mir? was nutzt es mir?" For the shifting demographics of the consumption of literature, and in particular the novel, see Steinecke, *Romantheorie und Romankritik*, I, 4–6.

337 See Marggraff, "Entwicklung des deutschen Romans," 59.

338 See ibid., 106.

339 Ibid., 59: "ein, zwar geschmackvolles, aber formloses Mischprodukt."

340 Ibid., 59–60.

341 Ibid., 61: "Das Epos ist auf seiner höchsten Höhe Ausdruck der Erhabenheit und Größe; es verlängert die Gestalten der in ihm auftretenden Personen ins Kolossale und Übermenschliche, zieht das Mysteriöse und Wunderbare mit ins Spiel und setzt Himmel und Hölle in Bewegung.

It is thus the realism, or verisimilitude, of the novel which determines its suitability to engage with modern life.[342] Hence Storch felt the need to justify Croly's focus on the mythical figure of Ahasuerus; at the same time, the presence of Ahasuerus in epic poems seems to be a manifestation of the mysterious and marvellous that is congenial to the genre. Mona Körte notes that in the epic of the nineteenth century, Ahasuerus is no longer the guiding principle of the history of religion and of the church, but of universal history; she moreover observes that, as initiated with Croly, the epic was increasingly ousted by the novel.[343]

Marggraff was less enthusiastic about the future of the novel than Menzel. To his mind, because addressed to a broad readership across social divisions, the historical novel avoids anything so profound that it might disturb the pleasure of reading;[344] the critic maintains that the novel has been stagnating and, echoing Menzel, that it has been degraded by the proliferation of set pieces.[345] Marggraff moreover, like the reviewer of Milman's *The Fall of Jerusalem* in *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, censures in particular translations as a "nuisance"[346] which sustains the proliferation of mediocre texts.

With regard to the historical novel, Marggraff concedes that this has the potential to be at least an "innocent, tasteful reading matter which combines entertainment with intellectual pleasure."[347] Menzel, less cerebral but more emotional, claimed that, whereas the historiographer "speaks only to reason," the writer "can charm the eye, rouse the heart."[348] This sentiment was elaborated in more

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Das Epos beruht auf antiker oder wenigstens urzeitlicher Anschauung, der Roman dagegen erreicht gerade da seine Höhe, wo er dem modernen Bewußtsein am Vollkommensten entspricht; daher verträgt er sich, wie die moderne Anschauung überhaupt, auf keine Weise mit den kolossalen Umrissen und den ins Riesenhafte gedehnten und gestreckten Gestalten, welche das Epos liebt, noch weniger aber duldet er jene Einmischung von Göttern, Halbgöttern, Dämonen oder Engeln und Teufeln in menschliche Angelegenheiten, wie gerade das Epos sie braucht."

342 For shifting conceptions of realism in the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century, see Steinecke, *Romantheorie und Romankritik*, I, 38, 44, 46, 49–51, 139–40, 162.

343 See Körte, *Uneinholbarkeit des Verfolgten*, p. 94.

344 See Marggraff, "Entwicklung des deutschen Romans," 106.

345 See ibid., 107–8.

346 Ibid., 110: "Unwesen."

347 Ibid., 107: "unschuldige, geschmackvolle und Vergnügen mit geistigem Genusse verbindende Lektüre."

348 M[enzel], "Romane," 127: "Jener [i.e., the poet] kann das Auge bezaubern, das Herz fortreißen, wo dieser [i.e., the historiographer] nur zum Verstande spricht." Herbert F. Tucker notes that on the other hand the defamiliarization implicit in the verse form of the epic "opened up other paths [of access to historical alterity] that were quite different from those maintained by workaday prose norm," *Epic*, pp. 19–20.

detail by Menzel's and Marggraff's contemporary Hermann Kurz.[349] In the afterword to his historical novel *Schiller's Heimathjahre* (1843; Schiller's Years at Home),[350] the writer maintained that there "remained something insoluble between history and its representation,"[351] and it was here that he saw the relevance of historical fiction, which alone he considered able to illuminate these large areas of darkness, not frivolously, but "in the service of history."[352] Implicitly evoking, once again, a pictorial metaphor, Kurz attributed to historical fiction the task of "lending to [the historian's] grey outlines colour and life"; as such, it was, to him, a "necessary companion" to historiography that was able to fill its "gaps."[353] Aware of the derogatory perception of the novel as mere entertainment, the writer clarified that he did not mean "romantic entanglements" but nothing less than the "representation of life."[354] Understanding his own age in the civilizatory optimism of the nineteenth century to be the culmination of previous centuries, Kurz saw in historical fiction a vehicle of cultural self-reflection,

> so that our own time—which appears to be predestined to encapsulate once again, and to conclude, tempestuously or tranquilly, yet in any case vigorously, the desires and movements of so many centuries at once from that summit at which it has arrived—may survey in clarity the past and in its mirror comprehend the future.[355]

To Kurz, the writer of historical fiction therefore is in effect a "clairvoyant historiographer."[356]

349 For Kurz, see Steinecke, *Romantheorie und Romankritik*, I, 148–9.

350 See Hermann Kurtz [*sic*], *Schiller's Heimathjahre: Vaterländischer Roman*, 3 vols (Stuttgart: Franckh'sche Buchhandlung, 1843). This edition was not accessible to me; subsequently, I quote the writer's afterword from Hermann Kurz, "Nachwort," in *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Paul Heyse, 10 vols (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1874), IV, 216–31.

351 Ibid., IV, 216: "zwischen der Geschichte und ihrer Darstellung [bleibt] etwas Unauflösliches liegen."

352 Ibid., IV, 217: "Hier bleibt denn ein großes dunkles Gebiet zu durchforschen, in das kein anderes Licht zu dringen vermag als das Licht der Poesie [. . .] im Dienst der Geschichte."

353 Ibid.: "seinen grauen Umrissen Farbe und Leben zu leihen [. . .] als ihr [i.e., historiography's] nothwendiger Genosse" and ibid., IV, 218: "Er [i.e., the poet] hat ihre Lücken auszufüllen."

354 Ibid.: "Nicht um romantische Verwicklungen handelt es sich, sondern das Leben soll dargestellt werden."

355 Ibid.: "auf daß unsere Zeit, die bestimmt zu sein scheint, das Wollen und die Bewegungen so vieler Jahrhunderte noch einmal zusammenzufassen und stürmisch oder friedlich, aber jedenfalls kräftig zu Ende zu führen, von dem Gipfel, wo sie angelangt, die Vergangenheit klar überschauen und in ihrem Spiegel die Zukunft erkennen möge."

356 Ibid.: "wird der Dichter zum hellsehenden Geschichtschreiber."

Epic Survival and the Ahasuerus Debate

None of the Seatonian Prize winners seem to have had any impact on German literature.[357] However, they explain the context for Milman and Croly, both of whom chose different genres which reflected the attrition of the epic mode and the rise of more dialogic and, eventually, narrative forms. It is, in this context, perhaps symptomatic that Coleridge never wrote the epic about the destruction of Jerusalem he envisaged. And yet, contrary to Menzel's and Marggraff's prophecies of doom, the epic did not really vanish from the literary scene of the nineteenth century, neither in Germany, nor in Britain. In fact, in relation to the self-assertion of the too early lamented epic, in the 1830s—only a few years after the publication of the two translations of *Salathiel*—Germany saw a fierce debate about the ideological import of the literary resurgence of the figure of the Wandering Jew. This renewed the literary focus on epic poetry even as it may at the same time have had an impact on narrative representations of the destruction of Jerusalem.

Goethe, that indefatigable catalyst of the literary imagination in Germany, recounts in Book XV of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (1830; *From my Life: Poetry and Truth*) his plan for an epic poem about Ahasuerus that remained unfinished (1774–75).[358] Published posthumously in 1836 as "Der ewige Jude" (The Wandering Jew), the epic fragment appeared in the very year in which Kaulbach was commissioned to paint the destruction of Jerusalem and has been said to have kindled wide-spread interest in the figure of Ahasuerus.[359] Following Goethe's posthumous intervention, the Wandering Jew made his appearance most significantly in Berthold Auerbach's *Spinoza: Ein historischer Roman* (1837; Spinoza: A Historical Novel) and in Julius Mosen's epic poem *Ahasver* (1838; Ahasuerus).[360]

Among the numerous reviews elicited by the latter was a critical appreciation by Karl Gutzkow. This, in turn, provoked what has been called the *Ahasver-Streit* (Ahasuerus debate),[361] which—commencing in 1838—gave further prominence to

357 Tucker also ignores the Seatonian Prize poems, see *Epic*.

358 See Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Werke*, vol. 26: *Dichtung und Wahrheit. Dritter Theil* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1830), pp. 302–6.

359 See Paul Lawrence Rose, *German Question/Jewish Question: Revolutionary Antisemitism in Germany from Kant to Wagner* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 194. This was preceded by Carl Friedrich Göschel's anonymously published *Ueber Göthe's Faust und dessen Fortsetzung. Nebst einem Anhange von dem ewigen Juden* (Leipzig: Hartmann, 1824).

360 For context, see Anderson, *Wandering Jew*, pp. 218–20.

361 See Horch, *Auf der Suche nach der jüdischen Erzählliteratur*, pp. 46–8 and, more recently, Jonathan Skolnik, *Jewish Pasts, German Fictions: History, Memory, and Minority Culture, 1824–1955* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014), p. 33.

the figure of the Wandering Jew. Indeed, as Kathrin Wittler has observed, the figure of Ahasuerus was at the time one of the most popular literary subjects in Germany.[362] It is more than likely that Kaulbach, too, would have followed the debate; as would have contemporary writers, and in particular those writers working on Jewish themes and engaged in the emancipation debate, which had been linked by Gutzkow to the figure of Ahasuerus.

Gutzkow, whose conflicting views about Jews have frequently been remarked upon,[363] was a leading figure in the *Junges Deutschland* movement. Steeped in the antisemitic stereotypes of his time, he nevertheless was a vocal supporter of Jewish emancipation and was friends, among others, with Auerbach and Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, the polymath and emancipationist whose libretto to Ferdinand Hiller's oratorio on *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* was discussed in chapter I of this book.

Auerbach's *Spinoza* was to some extent a response to Gutzkow's earlier novella *Der Sadducäer von Amsterdam* (1834; The Sadducee of Amsterdam), which focuses on the historical Uriel Acosta (also da Costa) and his ultimately futile struggle to break free from restrictive Judaism and engage in free thought. The novella has been described as a "commentary on the 'Jewish Question' in 1830s Germany" and as an exposition of the "conflict between 'universalism' and 'particularism'," [364] which ultimately envisages the annihilation of Jewish particularity.[365] The young Baruch Spinoza is mentioned as a minor figure that embodies hope for a Jewish future outside the confines of Judaism.

Auerbach's treatment of the Jewish theologian and philosopher a few years later sees him achieve what was denied to Gutzkow's Acosta.[366] After extricating himself from the suffocating Jewish past, and after testing and rejecting non-Jewish alternative identification patterns, Spinoza eventually gains his individual freedom.[367] In the novel's final chapter, entitled "Redemption," the philosopher experiences a vision of the dying Ahasuerus who recognizes in Spinoza not only his own redeemer, and that of the Jews, but of all humanity.[368] Yet Spinoza's freedom and his redemptive potential are predicated on the "exorcism" of Ahasuerus, on his annihilation and that of the obsolete Jewish legacy he embodies.[369]

362 See Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, p. 374.

363 See, e.g., Rose, *German Question/Jewish Question*, pp. 29–30.

364 Skolnik, *Jewish Pasts, German Fictions*, p. 33.

365 See ibid., p. 35.

366 For Auerbach's *Spinoza*, see, e.g., ibid., pp. 25–7, 31–4.

367 See Florian Krobb, *Selbstdarstellungen: Untersuchungen zur deutsch-jüdischen Erzählliteratur im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2000), p. 39.

368 See Berthold Auerbach, *Spinoza: Ein historischer Roman*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Scheible, 1837), II, 299–300.

369 See Krobb, *Selbstdarstellungen*, p. 39.

The novel has been described as a "productive continuation" of Gutzkow's novella, but was moreover significantly influenced by the so-called Spinoza debate provoked by Goethe's "Prometheus" (1789), for which the poet had abandoned his Ahasuerus project and on which he reflected in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* immediately following on the outline of his plan for "Der ewige Jude."[370] This proximity may have suggested to Auerbach not only to recast Spinoza as "precursor of the eighteenth-century German-Jewish Enlightenment" and as agent of "an exemplary German-Jewish cultural synthesis,"[371] but, more specifically, also to confront him with the figure of Ahasuerus.

When Mosen's epic poem appeared in the following year, Gutzkow published a review in two parts in which he criticized attempts of re-interpreting the legend of the shoemaker of Jerusalem and, more specifically, of instrumentalizing the figure in the struggle for Jewish emancipation.[372] He denounced in particular the tendency of turning Ahasuerus into a martyr and attributing him with a mission. Effectively confirming the allegorical validity of the legend with its historical vindication, he maintained: "Ahasuerus, as is well known, is Jewry itself, and the legend of his sorrowful immortality contains a prophecy made *post eventum*."[373] More specifically, Gutzkow claimed that Ahasuerus's crime was not really against Christianity but consisted, in fact, of the most base lovelessness: "He offended not as a Jew, but as an egoist and opportunist."[374]

As in his earlier novella, Gutzkow once again attacked Jewish particularism:

> The Jews were not damned to wander across the earth because they were not Christians, but because they lacked the stirrings of moral, noble, beautiful, human feeling, because they lack[ed] love, because they with the despising mocking spirit of this race sneered at misfortune. They committed a crime, not against Christianity, but against humanity![375]

370 See Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit. Dritter Theil*, pp. 307–9. See also Skolnik, *Jewish Pasts, German Fictions*, pp. 34–5.

371 Ibid., pp. 35–6.

372 See Karl Gutzkow, "Julius Mosens Ahasver. I.," *Telegraph für Deutschland* 2.124 (August 1838): 985–91 and "Julius Mosens Ahasver. II.," *Telegraph für Deutschland* 2.128 (August 1838): 1017–22. For Gutzkow and Mosen, see Anderson, *Wandering Jew*, pp. 216–20.

373 Gutzkow, "Julius Mosens Ahasver. I.," 986: "Ahasver ist bekanntlich die Judenschaft selber, und die Sage von seiner traurigen Unsterblichkeit enthält eine *post eventum* gemachte Prophezeiung."

374 Translation quoted from Rose, *German Question/Jewish Question*, p. 197. See also Gutzkow, "Julius Mosens Ahasver. I.," 987: "Was er verbrach, verbrach er nicht als Jude, sondern als Egoist und Eventualitätsmensch."

375 Translation quoted from Rose, *German Question/Jewish Question*, p. 197. See also Gutzkow, "Julius Mosens Ahasver. I.," 987: "O und nicht darum wurden die Juden verdammt, zu irren auf der Erde, weil sie nicht Christen waren, sondern weil ihnen die moralische, edle, schöne, menschliche Regung des Gefühls, weil ihnen die Liebe abging und sie im schnöden, witzelnden Parti-

Gutzkow's attempt to separate the fate of Ahasuerus from its religious context is indeed a modernization of the legend inasmuch as it effectively introduces notions of modern biological antisemitism into the debate: What the writer seems to suggest is that the Jews were not condemned for remaining Jews, as suggested by Croly, but for being Jews in the first place, the kind of Jew, that is, who is represented by Ahasuerus.

Consequently, Ahasuerus's literary resurgence was sarcastically criticized by Gutzkow as confirmation of the continued validity of the figure's allegorical potential, resulting—as implied already by Storch in the foreword to his translation of Croly's *Salathiel*—from the perpetuation of "Jewish" traits:

> This is the modern Ahasverus [*sic*] as he still constantly trades and haggles among us, as he jeers in literature, dissolving the organic. This is the disgusting, self-reinforcing part of Judaism, that part which is always celebrating itself, this is Ahasverus who has now in our poems transformed himself into a great man and a missionary of the future.[376]

For Gutzkow, this modern Ahasuerus embodies Jewish inassimilability and represents the Jew "precisely in his incapacity to have a mission."[377] In short, he is everything that still hinders emancipation.[378]

The German writer instead offered a plan of his own for a "modern" Ahasuerus in which he sought eventually to reach the "standpoint of Spinoza."[379] Gutzkow's preoccupation with the "modern" Ahasuerus may implicitly have been a response to an earlier review of Mosen's poem by the writer Ferdinand Gustav Kühne who had noted that the epic lacked any reference to the modern period. Kühne maintained that "no one has yet given shape to the modern Ahasuerus, no one has yet comprehended him as the modern Prometheus who, for his ire towards God, seeks to make humanity happy."[380] In conclusion, the critic chal-

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kularismus sich über das Unglück moquirten und ein Verbrechen (nicht am Christenthum, sondern) an der Menschheit begingen!"

376 Translation quoted from Rose, *German Question/Jewish Question*, p. 197. See also Gutzkow, "Julius Mosens Ahasver. I.," 989: "Grade dies ist der moderne Ahasver, wie er noch immer unter uns schachert und trödelt, wie er in der Literatur witzelt, das Organische zersetzt, der schlechte, sich auf sich selbst steifende Theil des Judenthums, der Theil des Judenthums, der meinetwegen jetzt selbst sich schon besingt, Ahasver, der sich selbst in Gedichten auf sich selbst zum großen Mann und Zukunftsmissionär macht."

377 Translation quoted from Rose, *German Question/Jewish Question*, p. 197. See also Gutzkow, "Julius Mosens Ahasver. I.," 987: "grade in seiner Missionsunfähigkeit."

378 See Gutzkow, "Julius Mosens Ahasver. I.," 987.

379 Ibid., 986: "Standpunkt Spinozas."

380 F[erdinand] G[ustav] Kühne, "Julius Mosen's Ahasver," *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* 38.116 (June 16, 1838): 461–3, 463: "der moderne Ahasver ist noch von Niemand zur Gestalt gebracht,

lenged: "Who among the German poets shall find a suitable form for the modern Ahasuerus?"[381]

In the course of his argument, Gutzkow attacked also Ludwig Philippson as well as "Jewish clubs" and "emancipation societies" for resisting to acknowledge that Judaism was supposedly no more than a "deaf nut."[382] Philippson's venture of a Jewish newspaper, he had established the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* in the previous year, was decried by Gutzkow because, to him, it appeared to affirm Jewish particularity and was thus another hindrance on the path to full Jewish integration through assimilation.

Ahasuerus may have personified for Gutzkow everything that was obstinate and obsolete in Judaism, yet the German writer emphasized that he had "a great hope of the younger generation of Jews."[383] As observed by Paul Lawrence Rose, rather than offering reassurance, this may well have appeared to his contemporaries "a statement of his innermost conviction that the vast majority of Jews are evil and incapable of redemption."[384]

Philippson was quick to respond to what he perceived as Gutzkow's attack on Judaism. The reform-oriented rabbi fiercely criticized the "symbolization"[385] of Jewish history in the figure of Ahasuerus as it was observed by Gutzkow but simultaneously also perpetuated by the writer with his own proposal for a modern Ahasuerus. Insisting on the idea of a Jewish mission, Philippson sternly rebuffed the dissolution of Jewish particularism demanded by the German writer:

> Lo and behold, *then* we should be traitors, because we should have sold *our* mission, the part of universal life that accrued to *us*; because we should have sent to the bottom of the sea, where it is nothing nor creates anything, the hoard that we defended with our hearts' blood, *that* truth *we* have been entrusted to safeguard![386]

noch von Niemand als der moderne Prometheus erfaßt, der aus Zorn gegen den Gott die Menschheit beglücken will."

381 Ibid.: "Wer von den deutschen Dichtern wird für einen modernen Ahasver die geeignete Form finden?"

382 Gutzkow, "Julius Mosens Ahasver. I.," 989: "Judencasinos [. . .] Emanzipationsvereine [. . .] taube Nuß."

383 Translation quoted from Rose, *German Question/Jewish Question*, p. 199. See also Gutzkow, "Julius Mosens Ahasver. I.," 991: "auf die *jüngern* Juden hab' ich eine große Hoffnung."

384 Rose, *German Question/Jewish Question*, p. 199.

385 [Ludwig Philippson], "Ahasver, Gutzkow und Juden. I.," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 2.114 (September 22, 1838): 460–1, 460: "Symbolisierung."

386 [Ludwig Philippson], "Ahasver, Gutzkow und Juden. (Fortsetzung und Schluß.) II.," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 2.117 (September 29, 1838): 472–3, 473: "Sehet da, *dann* wären wir Verräther, weil wir *unsre* Mission, den *uns* gewordenen Antheil am allgemeinen Leben verkauft,

Following on this, in what was apparently meant to be the concluding sentence of his response to Gutzkow, Philippson exclaimed: "We have *experienced* history, why should we understand it so badly?!"[387] The insistence on experienced history and its didactic value appears to conceive of Judaism and Jews as a community of fate and suffering.[388] This not only re-affirms the particularity of Judaism and Jews in a historical continuum but emphasizes the self-reflexivity in relation to history which perpetuates the Jewish community.

In an apparently new conclusion to his response, published a week later and polemically directed at Gutzkow, Philippson added to this in a paraphrase of Steinheim, that Judaism includes "the autonomy of mankind on the basis of revelation."[389] The Jewish editor and writer extols Judaism in this way as a religion of reason focused on humanity but authorized by the divinity.

It was only in the second part of his review that Gutzkow eventually engaged with Mosen's epic poem. Favorably noting that the poet's re-interpretation affected the legend's human and moral motifs rather than its theological import, Gutzkow nevertheless insisted that any deviation from the established "Christian" narrative was inadmissible, in particular its Jewish appropriation to the emancipation struggle. More specifically, the writer felt that the identification of Ahasuerus with the Jewish nation was misleading because the messianic hope as well as the concept of a Jewish mission were oriented toward the future and did not look for oblivion, did in fact lack the "drive for self-annihilation" attributed to Ahasuerus.[390]

As Wagner was to echo about a decade later,[391] for Gutzkow Jewish self-annihilation was precisely what the "modern" Ahasuerus should symbolise, be-

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weil wir den von uns mit unserm Herzblute vertheidigten Hort, *die* Wahrheit, die *uns* zu wahren aufgegeben worden, in das Meer versenkt hätten, wo er Nichts ist und schafft!"

387 Ibid.: "Wir haben die Geschichte *erlebt*, warum sollten wir sie so schlecht verstehen?!"

388 See *The Babylonian Talmud. Seder Nashim. Yebamoth*, transl. Israel Slotki, ed. Isidore Epstein (London: Soncino, 1936), Yebamoth 47a.

389 [Ludwig Philippson], "Ahasver, Gutzkow und Juden. (Schluß.) III.," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 2.120 (October 6, 1838): 484–5, 485: "die Selbstständigkeit des Menschen auf dem Grunde der Offenbarung." See also Steinheim, *Offenbarung nach dem Lehrbegriffe der Synagoge*, I, 283. A final contribution was published by Philippson in response to Gutzkow's reaction to Theodor Creizenach's accusation that the Ahasuerus debate revealed the writer's "occasionally dishonest manner," see Theodor Creizenach, "Gutzkow über Ahasver," *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* 38.189 (September 27, 1838): 753–5, 755: "zuweilen unlautere[] Art." See also [Karl] G[utzkow], "Noch einmal Ahasver," *Telegraph für Deutschland* 2.168 (October 1838): 1339–41 and [Ludwig Philippson], "Tages-Controle," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 2.129 (October 27, 1838): 519–20.

390 Gutzkow, "Julius Mosens Ahasver. II.," 1019: "Trieb der Selbstvernichtung."

391 For Gutzkow's influence on Wagner and critical perspectives on the writer's views, see Rose, *German Question/Jewish Question*, pp. 193–202.

cause his curse was in truth not the eternally unfulfilled wish to die, but his feeble and exhausted stagnation, his "outliving of himself" and his progressive "obsolescence."[392] It was only in his destruction—and that of the Jewish nation—that a full emancipation was possible through complete assimilation.

The messianic hope of Judaism was considered by Gutzkow a particular hinderance to Jewish emancipation and assimilation. As a witness to the significance of another, new and universal Jewish mission which he considered to transcend the fatal stagnation, Gutzkow too invoked Steinheim, in whose home he was a frequent guest and who was an occasional contributor to the *Telegraph für Deutschland* edited by Gutzkow.[393] The objective of this mission was, according to the writer, to facilitate the reversion of all philosophies and religions to Jehovah by safeguarding "the invisible Temple of Jerusalem,"[394] or, in other words, ethical monotheism.

In the previous year, Gutzkow had published under the pseudonym E. L. Bulwer a critical reflection on his times entitled *Die Zeitgenossen* (1837; The Contemporaries),[395] in which he articulated his views on emancipation and to which he explicitly refers in a footnote in his review of Mosen's epic, maintaining that he concurs with everything said by "Bulwer" about the Jewish question.[396] In short, Gutzkow detests the particularism of Jews as allegedly manifest especially in their manners,[397] which—as Wagner was also to claim—the German writer perceives to foment "our" revulsion toward the Jewish way of thinking and acting.[398] Any emancipation on merely political grounds he rejects; to him, emancipation must rather be based on moral affinity.[399] Gutzkow consequently values emancipation as an instrument of undermining Jewish particularism and of the destruction of that "decay" which envelops the "morals of the old and obstinate Judaism."[400] Implicitly linking the question of Jewish emancipation to the concept of the Wan-

392 Translation quoted from Rose, *German Question/Jewish Question*, p. 199. See also Gutzkow, "Julius Mosens Ahasver. II.," 1019: "das *Sichselbstüberleben*, das *Veralten*."

393 For a bibliography of Steinheim's contributions, see Alfred Estermann, *Inhaltsanalytische Bibliographien deutscher Kulturzeitschriften des 19. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2: *Telegraph für Deutschland (1837–1848)* (Munich: Saur, 1995), p. 320.

394 Gutzkow, "Julius Mosens Ahasver. II.," 1019: "den unsichtbaren Tempel von Jerusalem."

395 See E. L. Bulwer [i.e., Karl Gutzkow], *Die Zeitgenossen: Ihre Schicksale, ihre Tendenzen, ihre großen Charaktere*, 2nd edn (1838; Pforzheim: Finck, 1842).

396 See Gutzkow, "Julius Mosens Ahasver. I.," 990.

397 See Bulwer [i.e., Gutzkow], *Zeitgenossen*, p. 227.

398 See ibid., p. 226.

399 See ibid., p. 228.

400 See ibid., p. 230: "destroy that mould with which the customs of the old and obstinate Judaism are coated! [jenen Moder zerstören, mit welchem die Sitten des alten und verstockten Judenthums umzogen sind!]"

dering Jew, once again like Wagner after him, Gutzkow concludes: "emancipation would scatter the Jews all the more, [it] would disperse them across the world and fulfil the curse which *Christ* saw in their eternally ceasing to be *one* people."[401]

Polemically, Gutzkow called for action on the part of the Jews, rather than eternal lamentation.[402] His primary target may have been Joel Jacoby's controversial *Klagen eines Juden* (1837; Lamentations of a Jew). In this collection of poems modeled on biblical psalms, Jacoby amplified the idea of Jewish sorrow, which he associated with the romantic concept of *Weltschmerz* (world-weariness) and which he universalized, suggesting that "the world has turned into the Wandering Jew."[403] Widely considered exaggerated and inauthentic, Jacoby's text was criticized also by Steinheim. In a note to his own *Gesänge aus der Verbannung*, he decried the poet's effort as "repulsive" and "revolting" and insisted that his state of mind was not representative of the Jewish collective.[404] Philippson, too, denounced the poet as one of the "false Jews" who "sniff at and bemoan Judaism";[405] he commenced, as Wittler puts it, a "veritable campaign" against Jacoby in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*.[406] Philippson fiercely rejected the suggestion that the situation of contemporary Jews in Germany was in any way similar to that of the Babylonian Exile[407] and insisted: "We have not yet *lamented*, and have not *accused*—we *hope* and *strive*!"[408]

Yet Gutzkow's criticism of Jewish lamentation was clearly aimed not only at Jacoby but also at Eduard Bendemann. "Wherever one looks," he taunted, "we see lamenting and sorrowful Jews, either sitting amid the ruins of Jerusalem or by the rivers of Babylon."[409] In the same year, Gutzkow mocked in an article about

401 Ibid., p. 234: "aber gerade die Emanzipation würde die Juden erst recht aus einander treiben, nach allen Weltgegenden hin zerstreuen und den Fluch erfüllen, den *Christus* darin sah, daß sie in Ewigkeit aufhören sollten, *ein* Volk zu seyn."

402 See Gutzkow, "Julius Mosens Ahasver. I.," 990.

403 Joel Jacoby, *Klagen eines Juden* (Mannheim: Hoff, 1837), pp. 81–2: "die Welt ist zum ewigen Juden geworden." For Jacoby's text and the controversy it aroused, see also Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, pp. 384–96.

404 See Steinheim, *Gesänge aus der Verbannung* (ed. 1837), p. 91.

405 [Philippson], "Ahasver, Gutzkow und Juden. I.," 460: "Das trifft denn ganz herrlich mit jenen falschen, traurigen und schwermüthigen Dichtern und Künstlern zusammen, die das Judenthum beschnüffeln und beseufzen, mit den falschen Juden, die vom Weltenweh und Weltenschmerz, vom Judenweh und Judenschmerz leiern und psalmodieren."

406 See Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, p. 396: "einen regelrechten Feldzug gegen ihn."

407 See [Philippson], "Ahasver, Gutzkow und Juden. I.," 460.

408 Ibid., 461: "Wir haben noch nicht *geklagt*, und noch nicht *angeschuldet*—wir *hoffen* und *streben*!"

409 Gutzkow, "Julius Mosens Ahasver. I.," 990: "Wo man hinblickt, sehen wir klagende und trauernde Juden, bald sitzen sie auf den Trümmern Jerusalems, bald an den Wasserbächen Babylons."

Wilhelm von Schadow (1837), at the time the director of the Düsseldorf Academy of the Arts, the romantic preoccupation of the so-called Düsseldorf school of painting, with which both Bendemann and Kaulbach were associated. Again, he in particular criticized its alleged obsession with lamentation, such as Bendemann's hugely, and internationally, successful *Gefangene Juden im Exil* (1832; Figure 5) and *Jeremias auf den Trümmern Jerusalems* (1834–35; Figure 6); both are discussed in relation to Kaulbach's painting in chapter I.[410] This kind of subject, Gutzkow maintained, was not really adequate to the art of painting. It could only ever be fully comprehended by the poet because it needed to be associated with thoughts, reflections, and historical judgments. No painting of this sort, he insisted, could be truly pleasing. It would always remain theatrical and in need of poetical explication: "The genuinely tragic in such a composition can only be achieved by the poet who alone knows how to represent it."[411]

Gutzkow intervened with his criticism in the perennial *paragone* debate about the respective expressive potential of the arts which had reasserted itself in the nineteenth century and which Menzel had discussed in relation to the historical novel.[412] Whereas Gutzkow felt that Bendemann had challenged the literary prerogative with his 'Jewish' paintings,[413] Hermann Püttmann argued for the superiority of the artist's representation. The art historian, intriguingly taking recourse to literary descriptors, more specifically suggested that Jacoby's *Klagen eines Juden* compared to Bendemann's *Jeremias auf den Trümmern Jerusalems* like a "puppet show" to a "tragedy by Sophocles."[414]

The question mooted by Gutzkow in a polemical spirit was nevertheless valid, and it translates in the context of the cultural engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem into the question of which medium and which genre might best be suited to giving expression to the lofty subject. The cultural productivity of Kaulbach's painting observed in chapter I in relation to a number of oratorios which were produced intermittently throughout the century highlights the desire

410 For the success of both paintings and their significance for the negotiation of the so-called Jewish Question, see Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, pp. 407–25.

411 Karl Gutzkow, "Wilhelm Schadow. 1837," in *Gesammelte Werke*, 1st series, vol. 9: *Oeffentliche Charaktere*, 3rd edn (Jena: Costenoble, 1879), pp. 242–55, p. 253. The male figure in *Gefangene Juden im Exil* has been said to have been modeled on Schadow, see Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, p. 428n192.

412 For the resurgence of the *paragone* in the nineteenth century, see Sarah J. Lippert, *The Paragone in Nineteenth-Century Art* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019).

413 See Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, pp. 423–4.

414 Püttmann, *Düsseldorfer Malerschule*, p. 45: "wie ein Marionettenspiel zu einer Sophokleischen Tragödie." For a more detailed discussion of the *paragone* debate around Bendemann's 'Jewish' paintings, see Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, pp. 423–4.

for the comprehensive articulation of the subject. At the same time, Kaulbach's attempts to enhance his pictorial representation through its oratorial extension suggest that Kaulbach felt his own art inadequate to doing the subject full justice.

Roughly concurrent with the completion of Kaulbach's artistic engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem began to emerge what was to become a proliferation of literary treatments in different genres, encompassing dramatic poems, narrative fiction, and epic poems. While narrative fiction is the main focus of chapters IV and V, products of the dramatic imagination will mostly be explored in chapter III. With regard to the epic genre—in contrast to England, but also Italy and Spain[415]—the treatment of the historical occurrence remained rudimentary in Germany. Intriguingly, only two epic poems specifically dedicated to the destruction of Jerusalem appear to have been published in nineteenth-century Germany within two years of one another, in 1836 and in 1838, respectively, and both remained fragments.

Epic Failure: Schnaase and Walter

Die Zerstörung Jerusalems (1836; The Destruction of Jerusalem) by Eduard Schnaase (1805–86) originates in the context of the Christian mission to the Jews. Schnaase was a Protestant preacher and, later in life, archdeacon of St Catharine's in Danzig (present-day Gdansk in Poland). The Protestant clergyman published various devotional books, including a song book for schools, as well as a number of historical studies;[416] his *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Danzigs actenmäßig dargestellt* (1863; The History of the Protestant Church in Danzig According to the Records) is still referred to today.[417] With his *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, Schnaase pursued a twofold agenda. The proceeds of his publication were meant to support Jewish proselytes to Protestantism in Lublin; with his text the Protestant minister moreover hoped to win further Jewish proselytes to the Christian faith.[418]

415 For a Spanish epic about the destruction of Jerusalem, see Angel Sanchez, *La Titiada, compuesta in doce libros*, 2 vols (Madrid: Ibarra, 1793).

416 See, e.g., Eduard Schnaase, *Schulgesangbuch zum Gebrauche beim Beginn und Schlusse des Unterrichts in Volks- und Bürgerschulen* (Cöslin: Hendeß, 1837); *Christliche Geburtstags-Gedichte für Kinder von 5 bis 10 Jahren* (Danzig: Gerhard, 1838); *Christliche Morgen- und Abendfeier in täglichen Gebeten* (Berlin: Oehmigke, 1840); *Die Schule in Danzig und ihr Verhältnis zur Kirche: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Schule* (Danzig: Schroth'sche Offizin, 1859).

417 See Eduard Schnaase, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Danzigs actenmäßig dargestellt* (Danzig: Bertling, 1863).

418 See Eduard Schnaase, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems. Erster Gesang: Das letzte Osterfest* (Danzig: Botzon, 1836), title page and preface.

Only the first canto of the poet's "attempt," as he called it,[419] was completed and it is unclear how many cantos were originally envisaged; presumably the response to his epic instalment was not as encouraging as Schnaase had anticipated.[420] The missionary objective of the poet is in evidence throughout the fragment and distinguishes it clearly from the learned tradition of epics about the destruction of Jerusalem which originated in England in the late eighteenth century.

Following the pattern of contemporary Pietist missionary efforts, outlined in more detail in chapter IV, Schnaase elaborates Jewish customs at Passover in order to confront them with their Christian re-interpretation. He does so against the background of the historical destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple which is clearly meant to confirm the salvific truth of this re-interpretation and the supersession it indicates. In addition to the historical Temple service, Schnaase describes the *seder* ceremony in detail as it continues to be celebrated to this day. Yet while soliciting the reader's sympathy with the magnificence and profundity of the celebrations in ancient Jerusalem, the poet insists on their ultimate vacuity and the new meaning given to the Passover ceremonies through the sacrifice of Jesus. Peers, too, in his *The Siege of Jerusalem*, challenged the ritual of Passover, but he neglected to make its Christian re-interpretation productive for his text. To Schnaase and his missionary objective, in contrast, it is crucial; it was a focus which the English epoist did not share. The renewal offered with the re-interpretation of Passover as Easter was rejected by the Jews of ancient times and has therefore, according to Schnaase, precipitated the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Temple. The Protestant minister's epic is thus a plea to contemporary Jews to recognize the supposed truth of supersession and to convert to Christianity, rectifying the alleged mistake of their forebears.

The epic fragment commences with the evocation of the *ubi sunt* motif, a staple of homiletic discourse, in regard to Zion and elaborates in its first stanzas a condensed image of the city's destruction. The poet is shaken by the gruesome spectacle but is enjoined not to question the divine decision of the punitive judgment even as he is instructed to address his "brethren":

> To your brethren proclaim that not lessened is my arm,
> In your songs do tell that gladly I take pity
> On him who looks for mercy, his face to me doth turn;
> Yet in eternity condemn him, who my word not heeds.[421]

419 Ibid., title page: "Ein Versuch."

420 See the author's brief preface, ibid., n.p.

421 Ibid., p. 3: "Verkünde deinen Brüdern, dass unverkürzt mein Arm, / Erzähl' in deinen Liedern, dass ich mich gern erbarm' / Dess, der nach Gnade sucht, sein Antlitz zu mir kehrt, / Doch ewiglich verflucht, der auf mein Wort nicht hört."

The offer of divine mercy to those who turn to God and the threat of eternal damnation to those who will not is clearly directed by the poet at potential Jewish proselytes. In his invocation, addressed to the Spirit of Mercy, Schnaase concisely articulates his missionary purpose:

> Spirit of Mercy, descend Thou
> Upon me, strengthen me
> That I may sing in your honour,
> That I proclaim Zion's fall
> For the blindness of its sin,
> And yet the brethren's faith increase;
> That they in Thy word should trust,
> Joyfully believe until they shall see.[422]

The Jewish rejection of Jesus is related by the epoist not only to the last Passover in the doomed city, but Schnaase moreover attributes its destruction in a reiteration of well-known stereotypes to the alleged moral corruption of the Jews and their supposed perseverance in sin and hypocrisy:

> Their hearts are corrupted,
> Have died,
> Dark, they are, as is the night;
> Easter came so graciously,
> Yet it did not lift
> The power of sin.
>
> Come, come, shepherd of the soul,
> Bring goods,
> That remain for evermore!
> Come, come and spare!—
> Yet the Son
> Is basely cursèd by the people's multitude.
>
> Woe, woe! Ruin
> Cannot die
> In the feast's sacred sounds;
> For the song is vain hypocrisy,
> Vile flattery,—
> Ruin is its reward![423]

422 Ibid., p. 5: "Geist der Gnaden, senke dich / Auf mich nieder, stärke mich / Dass ich sing zu deiner Ehre, / Dass ich Zions Fall verkünde / Ob der Blindheit seiner Sünde, / Doch der Brüder Glauben mehre; / Dass sie deinem Worte trauen, / Freudig glauben bis sie schauen."
423 Ibid., p. 39: "Doch die Herzen sind verdorben, / Sind erstorben, / Finster sind sie wie die Nacht; / Ostern ist so freundlich kommen, / Doch genommen / Hat es nicht der Sünde Macht. //

Schnaase identifies Passover—or Easter—as the pivotal connection between God and His people. Elaborating the narrative of Israel's liberation from bondage, he suggests this to be the type for the liberation of humankind through the sacrifice of Jesus as symbolized through the re-configuration of the *seder* as the Last Supper. Passover and the Temple cult of sacrifice have been superseded with the one and eternal sacrifice of Jesus. Schnaase emphasizes the finality of this last Passover before the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple and the failure of Israel to apprehend the substitution:

> [. . .]
> The end of celebrations arises for the people;
> *One* last time, the Lord is close to it.
>
> For the celebrations' decorations descends
> Black gloom of night,
> To receive with shivers
> Whatever lived and kept a wake;
> Nevermore the feast shall come,
> Who bestowed it, took it, too,
> When the Temple's curtain was rent,—
> The downfall is assured.
>
> And from afar and far
> It resounds like the crash of thunder;
> In black the stars enshroud themselves;
> And approaches the Son of the Eternal.
> Lo, He keeps what He did promise,
> To tear the rug of Moses;
> Comes, yet not in mercy anymore;
> War and misery Him precede.
>
> Peace, peace in the highest!
> Once did say the angels' multitude;
> Yet now it chimes: Woe! Woe!
> Woe! Now and for evermore.
> Woe! Woe, in Salem's gates!
> Woe to all that were born!

Komme, komme Seelenhüter, / Bringe Güter, / Die da bleiben immerdar! / Komme, komme und verschone!—/ Doch dem Sohne / Fluchet schnöd' des Volkes Schaar. // Wehe, wehe! Das Verderben / Kann nicht sterben / In des Festes heil'gem Klang; / Denn der Sang ist eitel Heucheln, / Loses Schmeicheln,—/ Das Verderben ist der Dank!"

Woe, the Judge is nigh!
And the Day of Wrath has come![424]

The evocation of the apocalyptic dimension with which Schnaase's fragment concludes associates the universal exhortatory significance of the destruction of Jerusalem in homiletic discourse. His epic is predominantly, but not exclusively, addressed to the Jews, whose ancestors had experienced the supposed historical divine judgment. As such the destruction of Jerusalem is construed as a type of the Last Judgment and its literary exposition emerges as a plea to the remnant of Israel finally to see the light before it is too late; yet it is calculated to put the fear of God also into the Christian reader.

It seems difficult to imagine where the ecclesiastical poet should have gone from here. His failure to complete his project may not only have been due to its lack of commercial and missionary success but also to conceptual issues. His point strongly made in this first canto with the evocation of supersessionist logic and of the Last Judgment, any continuation could, at best, only have been a reiteration of the same which, at worst, would have been perceived as numbing and loathsome.

Johannes Walter's *Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Ein Epos* (1838; The Destruction of Jerusalem: An Epic), of which no copy seems to have survived, did not fare any better than Schnaase's effort, though it appears to have followed a very different trajectory.[425] It did not, as far as can be gauged, participate overtly in the discourse on the mission to the Jews, but focused rather on the historical dimension and its moral and religious import. The first of several projected instalments

424 Ibid., p. 48: "[. . .] / Der Festschluss ist dem Volke da, / Noch *ein* Mal ist der Herr ihm nah. // Nieder steigt zum Festes-Prangen / Schwarze Finsterniss der Nacht, / Um mit Schauer zu empfangen / Alles, was gelebt, gewacht; / Nie mehr soll die Feier kommen, / Der sie gab, hat sie genommen / Als des Tempels Vorhang riss,—/ Das Verderben ist gewiss. // Und aus weiter, weiter Ferne / Dröhnts heran wie Donnerton; / Schwarz verhüllen sich die Sterne / Und es naht des Ewgen Sohn. / Sieh, er hält, was er verheißen, / Mosis Decke zu zerreißen; / Kommt, doch nicht in Gnaden mehr, / Krieg und Elend vor ihm her. // Friede, Friede in der Höhe! / Rief wohl einst der Engel Schaar; / Doch nun tönte es: Wehe! Wehe! / Wehe! jetzt und immerdar. / Wehe! Weh', in Salems Thoren! / Wehe Allem, was geboren! / Weh', es ist der Richter nah! / Und der Tag des Zorns ist da!"

425 Johannes Walter, *Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Ein Epos* (Augsburg: Kollmann, 1838). This was the first volume of the epic poem, which apparently comprised a lengthy apology by the author and, entitled "Weihegesang" (Consecration Song), was the first of altogether twelve projected cantos, of which no more seem to have appeared in print. The volume is still mentioned in *Bibliotheca Judaica: Bibliographisches Handbuch umfassend die Druckwerke der jüdischen Literatur einschliesslich der über Juden und Judenthum veröffentlichten Schriften*, ed. Julius Fürst (Leipzig: Engelmann, 1863), p. 492.

which apparently never made it into print, the slender volume, printed at the author's expense, was given the title "Weihegesang" (Consecration Song) and comprised "the portents heralding the destruction as well as the comprehensive depiction of the moral and mystical state of this period and the lamentable political circumstances of the Jews in this era."[426]

Advertised as the first poetic work of its author, who was the editor of the *Augsburger Tagblatt*, Walter's epic poem was praised by Joseph Heinrich Wolf as highly dramatic and quite original; the critic noted moreover that occasionally the poet adopted the style of oratorio libretti.[427] The reviewer for *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* was less charitable.[428] Focusing mostly on the poet's use of meter and orthography rather than his rendering of the subject, the critic expressed strong reservations, although he deferred his final judgment to the publication of the remaining cantos of the epic. He nevertheless emphasized that the chosen subject was perfectly suitable for an epic treatment.

In the publisher's announcements, praising the poem's Klopstockian enthusiasm,[429] a similar claim had been made:

> In the whole of history there will hardly be any subject more suitable for a purely epic treatment than the present one; and following that section of history which directly encompasses the foundation of the Christian religion, the narrative of the destruction of Jerusalem, the once so mighty city and initial cradle of Christianity, the narrative of the fall of the Jewish people and its dispersal throughout the world, may very well be one of the most remarkable for all denominations.[430]

426 "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem, ein Epos von Johannes Walter" [advertisement], *Der Erzähler: Ein Unterhaltungsblatt für Jedermann* 4.33 (April 24, 1839), *Intelligenz-Blatt zum Erzähler* 1–2: 4: "[Es enthält] die der Zerstörung vorangegangenen Wunderzeichen, sowie ein gedrängtes Bild des moralischen und mystischen Zustandes jener Periode, wie der politisch traurigen Lage der Juden in jener Epoche."

427 See J[oseph] H[einrich] Wolf, "Feuilleton," *Bayerische National-Zeitung* 5.166 (October 21, 1838): 678.

428 See Anonymous, "Bericht über eine Poeten-Centurie aus dem Jahre 1839," *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* 15.2 (July 2, 1840): 737–51, 747. The review may have been written by Heinrich Brockhaus, the editor of the magazine, until Hermann Marggraff took over from him in 1854.

429 See "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem. Ein Epos von Johannes Walter" [advertisement], *Bayerische National-Zeitung* 6.3 (January 4, 1839): 16.

430 "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem, ein Epos von Johannes Walter" [advertisement], *Der Erzähler: Ein Unterhaltungsblatt für Jedermann* 4.33 (April 24, 1839), *Intelligenz-Blatt zum Erzähler* 1–2: 4: "In der ganzen Geschichte möchte es wohl keinen Stoff geben, der zu einer rein epischen Darstellung sich mehr eignen würde, als der Vorliegende, und nach demjenigen Abschnitte der Geschichte, welche direkt die Gründung der christlichen Religion in sich begreife, möchte die Erzählung von der Zerstörung Jerusalems, der einst so mächtigen Stadt und anfänglichen Wiege

In Germany, the sentiment appears not to have been generally shared, or the undertaking may simply have been considered too daunting by other poets—Heinrich von Kleist apparently considered it, as did Coleridge in England, yet ultimately neither embarked on this major undertaking. In any case, the epic treatment of the destruction of Jerusalem appears to have been a disheartening failure in German literature of the nineteenth century. More intriguing is therefore the claim as to the interest that the subject was thought to hold to all denominations. As discussed in chapter IV, the destruction of Jerusalem in fact became a remote battleground in which the two major denominations in Germany—Protestantism and Catholicism—enacted a side, or after, show to the *Kulturkampf*.

Epic Transformations of Ahasuerus against the Background of the Destruction of Jerusalem: Mosen, Heller, and Giseke

Schnaase's and Walter's epic poems about the destruction of Jerusalem appear to be the only ones to have been published in nineteenth-century Germany. Yet there are, among the plethora of epic poems on the related subject of the Wandering Jew, three works in which the link between Ahasuerus and the destruction of Jerusalem, suggested by Croly's *Salathiel* and Kaulbach's monumental painting, was also elaborated in a significant way, though three decades lie between Julius Mosen's *Ahasver* (1838) and Seligmann Heller's *Die Wanderungen des Ahasver* (1865; 1868; The Wanderings of Ahasuerus) and Bernhard Giseke's *Ahasverus, der ewige Jude* (1868; Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew).[431]

Mosen (1803–67) was descended from an originally Jewish family which had converted centuries earlier.[432] By profession an advocate, his literary production was associated with the *Junges Deutschland* movement. Among his contemporaries, Mosen may have been known best for his "Andreas-Hofer-Lied" (1831; Andreas Hofer Song) about the heroic figure of the eponymous Tyrolean freedom fighter during the Napoleonic Wars.

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des Christenthums, die Erzählung von dem Sturze des jüdischen Volkes und dessen Zerstreuung durch die ganze Welt, wohl eine der merkwürdigsten für alle Confessionen seyn."

431 See Julius Mosen, *Ahasver: Episches Gedicht* (Dresden and Leipzig: Fleischer, 1838); S[eligmann] Heller, *Die Wanderungen des Ahasver* (Wien: Verlag der typogr.-liter.-artistischen Anstalt, 1865); and Bernhard Giseke, *Ahasverus, der ewige Jude* (Berlin: Schweigger, 1868). For Mosen's epic poem, see Anderson, *Wandering Jew*, pp. 218–20 and Skolnik, *Jewish Pasts, German Fictions*, pp. 33–4. For Heller, see Anderson, *Wandering Jew*, pp. 261–2; for Giseke, see ibid., pp. 254–5. For the cultural productivity of the Ahasuerus legend in the German context, see Werner Zirus, *Ahasverus: Der ewige Jude* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1930).

432 For Mosen's biography, see DLL (1986), X, cols 1353–4.

Mosen's *Ahasver* was the product of a philosophical approach in which he sought to create a counterpart to his earlier *Das Lied vom Ritter Wahn* (1831; Lay of the Knight of Delusion).[433] In this poem, in contrast to the later epic, he sought to find poetic expression for "the soul struggling to become one with God in immortality," while in his *Ahasver* he attempted to articulate

> the nature of man encompassed in its earthly being, like as to the spirit of universal history embodied in the individual, that initially in involuntary defiance and then in acute consciousness brusquely confronts the God of Christianity.[434]

Controversially, Mosen maintained moreover that "[l]ike the German people has been the real carrier of Christianity in universal history, it may also avail itself in consistent inevitability of the legend of Ahasuerus as a national myth."[435]

Mosen's epic poem in *terza rima* appeared in the same year as Walter's fragment—in the very year in which Kaulbach's cartoon was first exhibited. It is difficult to say, therefore, whether it had a direct impact on the artist's conception or, conversely, whether the poet was familiar with the artist's design.[436] Yet his conception of the Ahasuerus figure is, in any case, very different from that of Kaulbach. Other than Schnaase's and Walter's efforts, Mosen's epic won critical acclaim, as witnessed by Gutzkow's interest and a proliferation of reviews.[437]

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433 See Julius Mosen, *Das Lied vom Ritter Wahn: Eine uraltitalische Sage in vier und zwanzig Abenteuern* (Leipzig: Barth, 1831).

434 Mosen, *Ahasver*, p. 184: "Im Liede von Ritter Wahn, [. . .] habe ich den Gegensatz von Ahasver—die zur Vereinigung mit Gott in der Unsterblichkeit ringende Seele—zur poetischen Anschauung zu bringen gesucht, während jetzt in Ahasver die in irdischem Dasein befangene Menschennatur, gleichsam der in einem Einzelwesen verleiblichte Geist der Weltgeschichte, erst in unbewußtem Trotze, dann endlich mit deutlichem Bewußtsein dem Gotte des Christenthums sich schroff gegenüberstellt."

435 Ibid., p. 185: "Wie aber das deutsche Volk der eigentliche weltgeschichtliche Träger des Christenthums gewesen ist, so darf es wiederum in folgerechter Nothwendigkeit die Sage von Ahasver als Nationalmythos in Anspruch nehmen."

436 Avraham Ronen suggests that Mosen's *Ahasverus* or one of the translations of Croly's *Salathiel* may have inspired Kaulbach's use of the figure of the Wandering Jew, see, "Kaulbach's Wandering Jew," 249. Yet, while the artist was still working on his painting by the time Mosen's epic poem appeared, as indicated by Ronen, his cartoon was already completed in 1838.

437 See in addition to Gutzkow's review, e.g., the anonymous review in *Phoenix: Frühlings-Zeitschrift für Deutschland* 4.149 (1838): 593–6 and 4.150 (1838): 598–9; and the reviews by August Lewald in *Europa: Chronik der gebildeten Welt* 3 (1838): 133–6; by Wolfgang Menzel in *Literaturblatt* 32.66 (June 29, 1838): 261–4 and *Literaturblatt* 32.67 (July 2, 1838): 268, the literary supplement of *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser*; by Ferdinand Gustav Kühne in *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* 38.116 (June 16, 1838): 461–3; and by "121" in *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* 13.327 (November 23, 1838): 1325–8 and 13.328 (November 24, 1838): 1329–31 as well as, somewhat later, in an exploration of recent "philosophical" epic poems, V. A. H., "Die neuesten Versuche auf dem

Mosen's main conceit is the re-interpretation of Ahasuerus, like Job, as an embodiment of suffering humanity. Yet in contrast to Job, he loses his spiritual certainty in response to circumstances. When he is supposed to give up his two children—Ruben and Lea—to "Roman lust and bondage," as one critic explains the poet's more oblique rendering,[438] Ahasuerus approaches Jesus, whom he believes to be the Messiah of the Jewish imagination—mighty, a savior come with his sword to free the Jews from the Roman yoke. Yet Jesus, in response, prophesies the destruction of Jerusalem. In disappointed rage, Ahasuerus accuses the Galilean of having lied and betrayed his people. Seeing no alternative, Ahasuerus eventually kills his children to save them from the Romans and descends into strict materialism which denies any transcendence:

> Made from earth is Man, and on the Earth
> And of the Earth he lives, so that once,
> Like his mother, he turn into earth again.[439]

And so the focus of his ire shifts to include the new and contrary god:

> Not a human struggle is incumbent on us,
> Not with Rome alone and a Roman world;
> Incumbent it is, to subdue a new, strong God.[440]

In relation to his extensive description of the destruction of Jerusalem, Mosen devises a configuration which may have inspired later narrative variations of the subject. Lea, the daughter of Ahasuerus, is in love with the Christian Roman Matthias; and his son Ruben is the Roman's best friend. When the Temple is all ablaze and only Ahasuerus and his two children survive on its roof, Matthias, returned against his will as a soldier in the besieging army, seeks to save them. Yet Ahasuerus hurls first him and then his children into the blaze before he too, "the last Jew,"[441] in vain seeks his death in the flames.

In each of the three periods in which the poem is structured—the second focusing on Julian the Apostate and the attempted reinstatement of the Jewish Tem-

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Gebiete des philosophirenden Epos," *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung* 33.70 (September 2, 1843): cols 553–7, 33.71 (September 6, 1843): cols 561–6, 33.72 (September 9, 1843): cols 569–71, and 33.73 (September 13, 1843): cols 577–9; and K. H., "Deutsche Dramatische Dichter. II. Julius Mosen," *Illustrirte Zeitung* 4.95 (April 26, 1845): 265–8 and 4.96 (May 3, 1845): 286–[7].

438 V. A. H., "Die neuesten Versuche," 555: "Römischer Lust und Dienstbarkeit."

439 Mosen, *Ahasver*, p. 24: "Aus Erde ist der Mensch und auf der Erde / Und von der Erde lebt er, daß er einst / Wie seine Mutter wieder Erde werde."

440 Ibid., p. 47: "Es gilt nicht einen Menschenkampf zu kämpfen, / Nicht nur mit Rom und einer Römerwelt, / Es gilt den neuen, starken Gott zu dämpfen."

441 Ibid., p. 82: "der letzte Jude."

ple cult—his children are restored to Ahasuerus, like those of Job. Yet again and again, unlike Job, he becomes guilty of their deaths.

Eventually, hiding from the world, in the third period Ahasuerus has visions of the dead proceeding past him and finally he perceives the "demon" of his people, "Jehovah with the tiger's visage."[442] The terrible vision is contrasted with the appearance of the maternal personification of Nature who, his children at her breast, promises Ahasuerus to keep them alive until they shall be restored to him. Yet the "demon" incites him as an instrument of his own revenge against the Christian god who "with a brush of fire / Has swept far and wide the children of Israel."[443] The "demon" seeks to elect to himself another people—the progeny of Ismael. He thus inspires the foundation of Islam by Mohammed, and Ahasuerus is his messenger:

> Yet you, man of the first experience,
> Shall be with him [i.e., Mohammed], so he learns to comprehend
> Within himself the new, great revelation.[444]

With the Muslim hordes Ahasuerus then besieges Roman Jerusalem. When he fails to mobilize Israel to join the fray, he rejects his people. Instead, he opens himself up to love for all humankind and thus means to turn his curse into a blessing.

For the last time, the children of Ahasuerus are restored to an earthly life at the Holy Sepulchre. Yet, ignorant of this miracle and echoing the biblical story of Jephtha, Ahasuerus vows that anyone found at the holy site of Christianity shall be put to death. Despairing at the cruelty of the circumstances he seeks to save Lea and Ruben, but his soldiers shoot at him and the children at his breast: "At his chest, like glass they [i.e., the arrows] shatter, / Yet fell his children's tender limbs."[445]

Nearly insane with pain and sorrow, Ahasuerus challenges Christ to an eternal fight so as to save humankind from him: "Unshackled from Him and from His mercy / Commence I now the lengthy fight 'gainst Him, / 'Til all humankind from Him I shall have saved!"[446] In a final vision of Christ who accepts the challenge

442 Ibid., p. 38: "Jehova mit dem Tigerangesichte."

443 Ibid., p. 150: "[. . .] mit Feuerbesen / Die Kinder Israels weit hinweggefegt."

444 Ibid., p. 151: "Du aber, Mann der ältesten Erfahrung / Sollst bei ihm [i.e., Mohammed] sein, daß er begreifen lernt / In sich die neue, große Offenbarung."

445 Ibid., p. 177: "An seiner Brust zersplitterten sie [i.e., the arrows] wie Glas, / Doch strecken sie der Kinder zarte Glieder."

446 Ibid., p. 178: "Von ihm und seiner Gnade losgekettet / Beginn' ich jetzt mit ihm den langen Kampf, / Bis ich von ihm die Menschheit hab' errettet!"

and defers its resolution to the Last Judgment, Ahasuerus is told by Jesus to "struggle on! and on!"[447] The epic poem thus offers an idiosyncratic Christian interpretation of the legend, in which Ahasuerus is given Promethean qualities and his quasi-Faustian struggle is presented as paradigmatic of the human condition. Ahasuerus is revaluated by Mosen as an eternally striving everyman figure, which reflects an increasing interest in imbuing the otherwise insufficiently complex figure of the Wandering Jew with life by representing him as the personification of a principle.[448]

Seligmann Heller (1831–90), mainly known for his translations from the Hebrew into German, was also of Jewish heritage but, unlike Mosen, identified as a Jew. His *Die Wanderungen des Ahasver* (The Wanderings of Ahasuerus) first appeared in 1865 but was reissued in a second edition in 1868 to which were added two more "wanderings" and the subtitle *Ein Heldengedicht* (A Heroic Poem).[449]

Noting the poet's indebtedness to Johann Gottlieb Rönnefahrt, whose own dramatic poem is discussed below in more detail, as well as to Croly and Robert Browning, Anderson scoffed that Heller's *Ahasverus* "is all familiar to us, especially the passages dealing with the destruction of Jerusalem."[450] Yet this appears to be a simplification. The description of the historical event is not only extremely condensed, in contrast to both Mosen and Giseke, but the poet moreover explicitly rejects the otherwise pervasive Christian notion of the destruction of Jerusalem being the fulfilment of the prophecy of Jesus. Rather, the cataclysmic catastrophe is attributed exclusively to the internal strife among the Jews and the zealous distortion of their religion.[451] It is thus effectively disengaged from the in Christian texts pervasive soteriological framework and is represented as the result of the Jews' betrayal of their essentialized national character.

By far the most detailed description of the violent events of the destruction of Jerusalem in the epic genre is Giseke's. His *Ahasverus, der ewige Jude* (1868; Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew) is influenced, as Anderson observes[452], by the Book of Lamentations and, once again, by Croly's *Salathiel*.[453] As the critic notes, there

447 Ibid., p. 182: "ringe weiter! weiter!"

448 See Körte, *Uneinholbarkeit des Verfolgten*, p. 94.

449 See Heller, *Wanderungen des Ahasver* and S[eligmann] Heller, *Ahasverus: Ein Heldengedicht* (Leipzig: Wigand, 1868).

450 Anderson, *Wandering Jew*, p. 261. Recognizing the poet's ambition, Anderson nevertheless concludes that "[i]n many ways the poem is the most spectacular failure in the whole history of the art form of the Legend," p. 262.

451 See Heller, *Wanderungen des Ahasver*, pp. 29–31.

452 See Anderson, *Wandering Jew*, pp. 254–5.

453 See ibid., p. 254.

is nothing "Byronic or romantic" in Giseke's epic poem: "it is in many ways a realistic narrative, and its very flatness—its almost cold, remorseless objectivity of style—makes for dynamic writing."[454]

Giseke, appearing to conflate him with John of Giscala, sets Ahasuerus up as inciting the war against the Romans and usurping leadership. He attributes to him, by implication, the destruction of the city and the Temple:

> Is this, Ahasuerus, what you bring?
> Then, the torch you wield is
> A firebrand that in terror
> This city, and us, shall consume.[455]

After the destruction of Jerusalem, burrowing through the ground beneath the ruins, Ahasuerus escapes to Masada. During his extended subterranean existence, he loses all "measure of time."[456] At Masada he is, once again, conflated with another historical figure, in this case Eleazar ben Jairus, who incited the Jewish garrison to mass suicide in the face of the impending breach of the defences of the Jewish stronghold by the Romans. In the speech attributed by Giseke to Ahasuerus, the Zealot envisages the future coming of the Messiah even as he concedes that he misread the signs of the times—another allusion to the Wandering Jew's fall from time:

> Ere all this calamity here happened,
> Believed I that the time was now.
> Since the signs I misunderstood,
> Jehovah I did not recognise.[457]

The epoist ties his Ahasuerus to messianic ideas, but the signs he fails to recognize are not signs of redemption but of destruction; supersession is implicit in Giseke's epic poem. In Heller's epic, the messianic expectation finds no articulation at all, in line with the poet's demythologization of the historical occurrence. In Mosen's *Ahasver*, finally, the figure of the Messiah appears as a manifestation of divine power in the world, yet its inactivity and apparent helplessness toward the un-

454 Ibid., p. 255.

455 Bernhard Giseke, *Ahasverus, der ewige Jude* (Berlin: Schweigger, 1868), p. 30: "Ist's dies, Asvere, was du bringst, / So ist die Fackel, die du schwingst, / Ein Feuerbrand, der schreckensvoll / Die Stadt und uns vertilgen soll."

456 Ibid., p. 82: "das Maß der Zeit."

457 Ibid., p. 88: "Eh all dies Unglück hier geschah, / Vermeint' ich schon, die Zeit sei da. / Da ich die Zeichen falsch verstand, / Hab ich Jehova nicht erkannt."

folding of the divine will provokes disappointment and materialism as a consequence. Nevertheless, the deceptive indifference of the Messiah in Mosen's epic is ultimately the power which provokes Ahasuerus's resistance and his own activity. It thus sets his teleological and potentially redemptive trajectory in motion, which is denied to the figure in the other two epics.

Digression II
Vice in all its Ugliness: Rittershausen

The notion of the dramatic poem took hold also in Germany. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, predating both Kaulbach's pictorial effort and the various musical articulations of the subject discussed above, the destruction of Jerusalem inspired also the dramatic engagement with the historical episode. The presumably earliest dramatic engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem in nineteenth-century Germany predates Loewe's oratorio by almost two decades. Joseph Sebastian von Rittershausen's tragedy *Jerusalems Zerstörung* (Jerusalem's Destruction) was published in 1811. This play, because it includes no Ahasuerus figure, does not correspond to the pattern of the other dramatic texts discussed in the following chapter. It is, moreover, very different from both the British and the German emerging traditions. It nevertheless offers an important, though idiosyncratic and culturally unproductive, dramatic engagement with the subject and I therefore insert its discussion here as a digression.

An Idiosyncratic Precursor

Joseph Sebastian von Rittershausen's (1748–1820) tragedy *Jerusalems Zerstörung* (Jerusalem's Destruction) was published in 1811 during the Napoleonic Wars in a time of momentous upheaval. It is intriguing in particular as an articulation of a Catholic appropriation of the subject long before the *Kulturkampf*, and for the political context by which it is implicitly informed.

An honorary spiritual counsellor (*geistlicher Rat*), for some time a monk of the Theatine order, professor of philosophy, and ordained priest living on a small sinecure in Munich, Rittershausen was moreover active as a painter of religious and historical subjects as well as a dramatist and writer. In the course of his long career, which took him also to France and Italy, the versatile and adversarial author ruffled quite a few feathers. In *Die Hypokriten in Bayern* (1802; The Hypocrites in Bavaria),[1] initially published anonymously and followed by several supplements,[2] Rittershausen polemically denounced the "Sadducean" professors at higher schools in Bavaria whom he censured for propagating atheism or at least

1 [Joseph Sebastian von Rittershausen], *Die Hypokriten in Bayern* (s. l.: s. n., 1802).

2 See [Joseph Sebastian von Rittershausen], *Ehre und Pasquill, Anhang zu den Hypokryten in Bayern* (s. l.: s. n., 1802) and [Joseph Sebastian von] Rittershausen, *Zum neuen Jahre für die Hypokriten in Bayern* (Munich: Zängl, 1803).

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the abandonment of true Christian faith.[3] Accusing them of "hatching Kantian embryos,"[4] he maintained that the egotism, despotism, and slavery to the passions they fostered ultimately produced nothing but despair.[5] The author's reference to Sadducees, one of the factions among the Jews of the later Second Temple period, associates the internal unrest which hastened the destruction of Jerusalem. It may already reflect, at least partially, the historical analogy the author was to elaborate a little later in *Jerusalems Zerstörung*.

Much earlier, in the first volume of his *Hauslegende oder Feyerstunden eines Christen* (1787; Home Legend or a Christian's Hours of Celebration), Rittershausen had described the Sadducees as a "stealthy sect" of "generally merry brothers and the foremost of lechers."[6] In the two volumes of *Hauslegende*, Rittershausen sought to relate the life of Jesus in an engaging narrative with the objective of educating the lower classes to the truths of the Catholic faith. In the first volume, he included also a lengthy description of biblical Jerusalem,[7] a setting of the scene, as it were, that encompassed the destruction and rebuilding of the First Temple.[8] The author seems to have projected further volumes but, if so, his plans came to nothing.[9] Nevertheless, his Jerusalem play, conceived by Rittershausen as a companion piece to his earlier *Die Tochter Jephtes* (1785; Jephtha's Daughter),[10] may arguably also be understood as a continuation—and conclusion—of his project.

3 [Rittershausen], *Hypokriten in Bayern*, p. 56.

4 [Rittershausen], *Ehre und Pasquill*, p. [3]: "Ungestört, unangefochten, durch keine öffentliche Schrift beleidigt, saßen ruhig auf ihrem Katheder die Professoren zu München, und brüteten Kantische Embrionen aus."

5 [Rittershausen], *Hypokriten in Bayern*, p. 56.

6 Joseph Sebastian von Rittershausen, *Hauslegende oder Feyerstunden eines Christen*, 2 vols (Augsburg: Wolff, 1787–89), I, 107: "schleichende Secte" and p. 106: "insgemein lustige Brüder, und die ersten Wollüstlinge."

7 See ibid., I, 97–127.

8 See ibid., I, 99–100.

9 See ibid., II, [489]. Rittershausen announces that: "the sad fates and the abundance of misery which came to pass in latter times shall be told in their place. [Die traurigen Schicksale, und des Elends Fülle, welche sich in spätern Zeiten ereigneten, werden an ihrem Ort erzählet werden]," ibid., I, 100.

10 See Joseph Sebastian von Rittershausen, *Die Tochter Jephtes* (Bregenz: Typographische Gesellschaft, 1785). For Rittershausen's play, see *Jephtas Tochter: Eine alttestamentliche Geschichte in Eichstätt*, exhibition catalogue, Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, 2003–04, ed. Klaus Walter Littger (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), pp. 6, 138.

The Apex of Iniquity and Divine Retribution

In the epilogue to *Jerusalems Zerstörung*, Rittershausen acknowledges the "true history" of Josephus as his source and describes his subject as one of the "greatest occurrences" in universal history.[11] He maintains that the destruction of Jerusalem promotes the most profound reflection on the Lord's merciful forbearance as well as his eventual punitive justice. Echoing Schiller's thoughts on the stage as a moral institution, the author moreover identifies dramatic art as a distinct voice with a strong impact on human morals—be it positive or negative.

Anticipating the censure of his critics, Rittershausen moreover felt it necessary to assert that it was his objective to represent virtue as desirable and vice in all its ugliness. Again, this invokes Schiller and, more specifically, his preface to the first edition of *Die Räuber* (1781; *The Robbers*), in which the dramatist explains:

> It is the course of mortal things that the good should be shadowed by the bad, and virtue shines the brightest when contrasted with vice. Whoever proposes to discourage vice and to vindicate religion, morality, and social order against their enemies, must unveil crime in all its deformity, and place it before the eyes of men in its colossal magnitude.[12]

It may well be that Rittershausen was in fact inspired by his reading of Schiller's play to turn to the destruction of Jerusalem in the first place. In scene two of the first act of *Die Räuber*, Karl Moor, reading in Plutarch about the lives of great men, is disgusted with the insipidity of his own century and, more specifically, with the critical and creative reception suffered by the heroes of old at the hands of sickly academics and foolish playwrights; the scheming Spiegelberg chides him: "Josephus is the book you should read."[13] Spiegelberg then proceeds to develop his own bizarre scheme of gathering the Jews in Palestine and reviving the kingdom of Judah under his sceptre. Arguably, Spiegelberg was conceived by Schiller as a converted Jew, and his scheme of re-establishing a Jewish kingdom

11 Johann Sebastian von Rittershausen, *Jerusalems Zerstörung: Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen mit Chören* (Landshut: Weber, [1811]), p. [116]: "nach Josephs wahrer Geschichte," "eine der größten Begebenheiten."

12 Friedrich Schiller, *Die Räuber* [1781], in *Schillers Werke, Nationalausgabe*, ed. Herbert Stubenrauch (Weimar: Böhlau, 1953), III, 5: "Es ist einmal so die Mode in der Welt, daß die Guten durch die Bösen schattiert werden, und die Tugend im Kontrast mit dem Laster das lebendigste Kolorit erhält. Wer sich den Zweck vorgezeichnet hat, das Laster zu stürzen, und Religion, Moral und bürgerliche Gesetze an ihren Feinden zu rächen, ein solcher muß das Laster in seiner nackten Abscheulichkeit enthüllen und in seiner kolossalischen Größe vor das Auge der Menschheit stellen."

13 Ibid., III, 20: "Den Josephus mußt du lesen."

in Jerusalem has been read as a desperate response to the inner conflict between his Christian and Jewish identities.[14] It seems that Rittershausen, albeit himself in danger of warping ("verhunzen") the heroism of yore in his tragedy, nevertheless felt compelled to take Spiegelberg's advice to engage with Josephus.[15]

Rittershausen's apology for the representation of vice and excess on the stage in emulation of Schiller may have been motivated in particular by the author's choice to give much prominence to Mary of Bethezuba's teknophagy in addition to the iniquities and cruelty of Simon bar Giora and John of Giscala (Johannes von Giscala). In justification of his approach, Rittershausen moreover cites the painter Correggio who is said to have responded to the charge that his designs were neither as accurate as Michelangelo's nor as beautiful as Raphael's that he painted as prompted by his emotions.[16] The allusion suggests that the author sought to engage an emotional dimension through his play that would potentially extend his own emotional investment to the reader and an imaginary audience, though it is doubtful that Rittershausen would have expected *Jerusalems Zerstörung* ever to be performed on the stage.

Rittershausen's decision to pre-empt the censure of his critics was neither arbitrary nor out of character. Decades earlier, his cicerone to the art collections in Munich, *Die vornehmste Merkwürdigkeiten der Residenzstadt München* (1787; The Most Distinguished Curios of the Capital City of Munich),[17] had been scorned by some reviewers. The indignant author responded with a lengthy polemical pamphlet *An die Rezensenten zu Jena* (1789; To the Reviewers at Jena).[18] Nor was Rittershausen very reticent in the literary debate he instigated with his denunciation of the "hypocrites" in Bavaria.

Indeed, his intractability did not stand Rittershausen in good stead. In the newly established Kingdom of Bavaria (1806), which relied very much on the support of imperial France to assert itself against the neighboring Austro-Hungarian

14 See Manfred Misch, "Spiegelberg und sein Judenstaatsprojekt," in *"In Spuren gehen . . .": Festschrift für Helmut Koopman*, eds Andrea Bartl et al. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), pp. 127–38, pp. 130–1.

15 See Schiller, *Räuber*, III, 21.

16 See Rittershausen, *Jerusalems Zerstörung*, p. [116]. The play was initially published in two print runs, one of which, otherwise identical with the other, included a colored title vignette. Probably designed by Rittershausen himself and engraved by Joseph Erasmus Bellinger, this showed the burning Temple as a massive and forbidding edifice dwarfing the multitude of its attackers. The flames and smoke flaring from its roof are as yet the only indication of its destruction.

17 Joseph Sebastian von Rittershausen, *Die vornehmste Merkwürdigkeiten der Residenzstadt München: Für Liebhaber der bildenden Künste* (Munich: Lentner, 1787).

18 Joseph Sebastian von Rittershausen, *An die Rezensenten zu Jena* (s. l.: s. n., 1789).

Empire and against Prussia, the irksome author had incurred suspicion for his anti-Napoleonic stance and was exiled to Bayreuth in the recently acquired Franconian province where he remained until 1817.[19] Read in this context, *Jerusalems Zerstörung* acquires a topicality which suggests that the author's conception of the historical occurrence and its actors may have been intended as a commentary on his own time, perhaps even as an attempt to placate the political establishment.

The obvious analogy would suggest the Jews in Jerusalem and the tyrants under whose rule they suffer to correspond to the German states, in particular Prussia and Austria, with the Maccabee Silas and his followers as well as the sincere and honorable priests embodying an equally pious and enlightened minority that might conceivably be decoded as signifying the German states under French protection, such as those of the *Rheinbund* (1806–13; Confederation of the Rhine) which included Bavaria. In such a scenario, the conquering Romans might easily be identified with the French which would then suggest the figure of Titus to evoke the war-like emperor, Napoleon Bonaparte. Indeed the erstwhile First Consul's grab for, and irresistible rise to, the highest power in 1804 offers a plausible enough parallel to both the emperor Vespasian and his son and successor Titus.

While largely portrayed in accordance with the image sketched by Josephus, Rittershausen's characterization of Titus surpasses the Jewish historian's encomium of the Roman imperator. His Titus, hailed in emulation of Aurelius Victor without any irony as the "treasure" of his people and the "delight of humanity,"[20] appears at the end of the play as a kind of *deus ex machina* to insist that he was no more than the instrument of divine providence,[21] a trope perpetuated in Christian discourse no less than the imperator's alleged mercy and benevolence.

More importantly, and arguably intended as an implicit admonition to the French emperor, Rittershausen's Titus pledges his commitment to good governance:

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19 See Clemens Alois Baader, *Lexikon verstorbener Baierischer Schriftsteller des achtzehnten und neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Augsburg and Leipzig: Jenisch and Stage, 1825), II.ii, 38–41, 39. It is not quite clear when Rittershausen had to move to Bayreuth; his exile is not yet mentioned in Felix Joseph Lipowsky, *Baierisches Künstler-Lexikon* (Munich: Fleischmann, 1810), II, 44–5.

20 Rittershausen, *Jerusalems Zerstörung*, p. 109: "Wonne deines Volkes und die Freude der Menschen." The epithet occurs in *Epitome de Caesaribus* attributed to Aurelius Victor, see *Sexti Aurelii Victoris liber de Caesaribus; praecedunt Origo gentis Romanae et liber de viris illustribus urbis Romae, subsequitur Epitome de Caesaribus; Liber de Caesaribus*, ed. Franz Pichlmayr (Leipzig: Teubner, 1911), X.6: "deliciae atque amor humani generis appellaretur."

21 See Rittershausen, *Jerusalems Zerstörung*, pp. 106–7.

> Oh, you Romans! Would that I could satisfy all your desires. But I am only a mortal, like you. I shall love you like a father loves his children: but I will never be without faults; and yet my innermost striving shall aim to make you happy. Should I once be your emperor: I shall be yours truly and shall not entrust a hireling with your concerns:—I shall myself maintain law and justice and not suffer any tyranny that abuses my name. With my own hand shall I break the yoke that rests heavily on your necks: I shall watch if not a silent lament trouble the peaceful stars: if loud lamentation cry for justice to the seat of the immortal gods on high.[22]

Should he not succeed in making all his subjects happy, Rittershausen's Titus wishes at least to be able to say that he made none of them unhappy.[23]

The imperator's assertion that it was his objective to give the Jews a constitution which should have protected them from internal strife and any destructive tendencies is once again of contemporary significance.[24] Bavaria was given its first constitution only a few years prior to the publication of Rittershausen's play in 1808 by King Maximilian I Joseph. Its twofold objective was to unify the new state and to forestall a constitution otherwise to be imposed by the French emperor.[25] Clearly, the author welcomed the democratic innovation, though it was only the revised constitution of 1818—after Napoleon's fall and Rittershausen's return from exile—which actually came into effect and ultimately secured the people's representation in Bavaria.[26]

The destruction of Jerusalem and the divine punishment suffered by the contrary Jews emerges thus in a political sense as a warning example to the author's contemporaries:

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22 Ibid., pp. 110–11: "O ihr Römer! wäre es mir gegeben, alle eure Wünsche zu befriedigen. Aber ich bin nur ein Sterblicher, wie ihr. Ich werde euch lieben, wie ein Vater seine Kinder liebt: aber ich werde nie ohne Fehler seyn; indessen soll mein innerstes Bestreben dahin zielen, euch glücklich zu machen. Werde ich einst euer Imperator seyn: ich werde euch selbst anhören, und eure Sache keinem Miethlinge überlassen:—selbst Recht und Gerechtigkeit pflegen, und keine Tyranney gedulden, welche meinen Namen mißbraucht. Mit eigener Hand werde ich das Joch zerbrechen, das schwer auf eurem Nacken liegt: ich werde lauern, ob keine stille Klage die friedsamen Sterne beunruhigt: oder ob lauter Jammer um Gerechtigkeit zum Sitz der unsterblichen Götter hinaufruft."

23 See ibid., p. 111.

24 See ibid., p. 106.

25 See Karl Möckl, "Die bayerische Konstitution von 1808," in *Reformen im rheinbündischen Deutschland*, ed. Eberhard Weis (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1984), pp. 151–67 and Marcus Junkelmann, *Napoleon und Bayern: Von den Anfängen des Königreiches* (Salzburg: Pustet, 1985), p. 156.

26 Ibid., p. 157.

> Let, oh let this dreadful catastrophe be an unprecedented warning to all of humanity of the abyss into which the pride of human presumption hurls itself if, despising divine and human laws, it dissolves the ties of those obligations without which no state may endure![27]

In Rittershausen's play, any laws, human and divine, are indeed denied and mocked by the iniquitous Simon bar Giora and John of Giscala. John is drawn by the author as a villain of Machiavellian cast and Simon is portrayed as a sadistic brute. Their characterization is not only a perpetuation of the stereotypes that developed over the course of centuries in the wake of Josephus, it is in some ways even a further radicalization of the historian's account which offered gruesome illustrations of their cruelty and inhumanity that only served to emphasize the justice of the divine punishment to befall the city in which such excesses proliferated.

Simon and John's depravity, emphasized throughout the play, is demonstrated most graphically in the fourth act which sees them carousing and gorging themselves in a subterranean vault while famine and illness rage in Jerusalem. The devious John moreover plans to have the Temple burnt. He expects the sight to excite its defenders to an absolute frenzy toward the Romans that should result in Jewish victory; in addition, he hopes that Silas, the fictional descendant of the Maccabees and honorable antagonist of the tyrants, will perish in the flames. To Simon he promises kingship and, once he will have satisfied the people's superstition with a new Temple, that he will be hailed as savior. Yet as he relates his scheme to Simon, his asides reveal that he seeks to betray the other: He intends to accuse Simon of the deed to remove the uncomfortable rival and envisions for himself to be anointed High Priest and King.

The Machiavellian cast of John is acknowledged by the politically less savvy Simon with admiration. His own ambitions are less refined—or refined in a very different sense. Inspired by the other's stratagem, he reveals his own sadistic phantasies: Simon desires to emulate the historical precedent of the King and High Priest Alexander (i.e., Alexander Jannaeus) who entertained himself during a feast with the crucifixion and murder of hundreds of his opponents.[28]

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27 Rittershausen, *Jerusalems Zerstörung*, p. 110: "Laß, o laß dieses entsezliche Verhängniß dem ganzen Menschen-Geschlechte eine beispiellose Warnung seyn, in welchen Abgrund der Stolz des menschlichen Eigendünkels sich stürzt, wenn er ein Verächter göttlich- und menschlicher Gesetze, das Band jener Pflichten lößt, ohne welche kein Staat bestehen kann!"

28 See ibid., p. 82; the same historical occurrence is described almost verbatim by the author in Rittershausen, *Hauslegende*, I, 107–8. See also Flavius Josephus, *The Antiquities of the Jews*, in *The Works of Josephus*, transl. William Whiston (1737; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1987), pp. 27–542, 13.372–83 and *Jewish War*, pp. 39–41 (1.4.2–6). See also James S. McLaren, *Power and Politics in*

Yet the very brief second scene around which the act pivots even eclipses this horror. In it Simon and John are informed of Mary's teknophagy. The scene is interesting in particular because John, characterized throughout as sly and crafty, if in his own way no less a villain than the brutish and cruel Simon whom he deftly manipulates, is completely shaken by the very idea. In the stage directions, he is described as "horrified," "much dismayed," "completely having lost his composure," and "faint-hearted."[29] Simon, in contrast, callously mocking that no feast should lack roast, is desirous to behold the "female tiger" and to relish her torture.[30]

The confrontation with Mary (Maria) follows in the third scene. Simon, his sadism now provided with an object, insists that he has not yet had his fill watching her pain and envisions that with his own belly full he will see her die of hunger. He will indeed see her die, yet the tables will be turned against him. The tyrants give Mary wine and the insane woman confides: "Human flesh gives a thirst." Toward Simon and John she continues: "You have devoured so much human flesh, that is why there are so many goblets in front of you."[31] When Mary eventually phantasizes to be accused by her murdered child and to be judged by God himself, her hallucination finally alarms even Simon. The distraught woman calls the eternal God's judgment upon the tyrants and invokes the dead:

> O rise up around me all you bloody shades of the murdered! [. . .] Tremble, entrails of the earth, release all the dead slain by all the tyrants of the earth—cast the world into chaos—jolt the elements—eradicate humanity—[. . .] Arise—arise—spectres—wreak vengeance—vengeance—[32]

Upon which the unfortunate woman falls dead to the ground. Yet to Simon and John she rises up again as a shadow to the unabating dreadful blare of a trombone which evokes the Last Judgment:

Palestine: The Jews and the Governing of Their Land, 100 BC–AD 70 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), pp. 55–7.

29 See Rittershausen, *Jerusalems Zerstörung*, pp. 83–4: "entsetzt [. . .] sehr betroffen [. . .] ganz außer Fassung [. . .] zaghaft."

30 See ibid., pp. 83–4: "diesen weiblichen Tyger."

31 Ibid., p. 89: "Menschenfleisch macht Durst. [. . .] Ihr habt viel Menschenfleisch verzehrt, darum stehen auch so viele Pokale vor euch."

32 Ibid., pp. 94–5: "O ersteht um mich alle ihr Blutgestalten der Niedergemordeten! [. . .] Erschüttert euch Eingeweide der Erde, gebt die Todten alle herauf, die alle Tyrannen der Erde niederwürgten—bringt die ganze Welt in Unordnung—rüttelt die Elemente zusamm—vertilget die Menschheit—[. . .] Herauf—herauf—Gespenster—rächet—rächet—"

> John and Simon get up, reeling.—The chairs topple over. In front of their footsteps rises up the shadow of Mary with the bloody knife, the murdered child in her arm. The tyrants seize one another—wrestle—one hurls the other away, wherever they turn in flight, the shadows of the famished rise up against them. The lamps die down—flashes of lightning are thrown towards them.[33]

In an almost Shakespearean manner, the scene ends in a pantomime of confusion and dread. Mary's unnatural deed becomes paradigmatic of the guilt the tyrants have incurred not only through their own inhumane actions, but by making others guilty and by compromising all moral certainty. In a terrifying climax, the Chorus of the Famished rises up and demands their judgment to the accompaniment of programmatic music: "The music gives expression to the final punishment," the fate of damnation, and "[t]he tyrants meet in a pantomime of the most dreadful fright, stumbling through the shadows along the cavernous passages."[34]

In the concluding fifth act, Simon and John, once again fighting each other, are apprehended by the Romans and assigned to the jurisdiction of the Senate in Rome. Their well-deserved end is left to the imagination of the reader or their knowledge of the historical events.

Yet not all the Jews in the tragedy are as depraved and vile. The "good" Jews, Silas the Maccabee and his followers as well as the High Priest Matathias and his sons and daughter Dina are contrasted with them. However, all of these "good" Jews perish at the hands of the tyrants or in the cataclysm of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple.

Matathias, who knowingly walks into the Temple toward his death at the hands of the tyrants, recognizes: "The extent of your sins, oh Judaea! is at full measure—now He will quarrel with you, the Eternal One."[35] He entrusts his children to the honorable and heroic Silas and prays that he may meet them again in the afterlife. Silas accepts the trust and promises either to triumph over the Romans or to lead his wards untainted and with their honor intact to the reunion with their father after their death.

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33 Ibid., p. 95: "Johannes und Simon taumeln auf.—Die Stühle stürzen um. Vor ihrem Fußtritte ersteht der Schatten der Maria mit blutigem Messer, das gemordete Kind im Arm. Die Tyrannen fassen sich an—ringen—einer schleudert den andern vor sich hin, wohin sie entfliehen, erstehen vor ihnen Schatten der Erhungerten [*sic*]. Die Lampen erlöschen—ihnen kommen Blitze entgegen."

34 Ibid., p. 96: "Die Musik drückt die letzten Ahndungen aus. Die Tyrannen begegnen sich in der Pantomime der schrecklichsten Angst, taumeln durch die Schatten die Felsengänge durch."

35 Ibid., p. 65: "das Maaß deiner Sünden, o Judäa! ist voll—itzt wird er mit dir rechten der Ewige."

Dina and her brothers, in no less a heroic spirit, then ask for swords to enter the fray. Silas's response is intriguing in that it articulates a rather "Catholic" belief in the martyr's crown. Toward Dina, his betrothed and another manifestation of the Beautiful Jewess, he enthuses:

> [I]f, in the morn, I will not wind the hymeneal wreath around thy tender temple, oh, then thou wilt already have gained the martyrs' crown!—If you, my sons! will not carry the hymeneal torch to the nuptials, then you will have robbed the palm of its most beautiful ornament. Perhaps we are the sacrifice the Lord is still waiting for to placate his wrath.[36]

In a Christian sense, the sacrifice envisioned by Silas has of course already been made and it is in Christian soteriology precisely Jewish guilt and blindness toward its veracity which provoke the divine wrath, although this is not made explicit in the play. With the notion of a sacrifice, Silas nevertheless mirrors Christian salvific discourse, which informs his further utterances as well.

The Ambivalent Catholicization of the 'Good' Jews

Confronted with catastrophe, Silas adopts a parallel discourse to "Catholic" discourse. It not only extols martyrdom but also emulates the invocation of intercessories. In analogy to the veneration of the Virgin Mary, Silas addresses the great Mother of the Maccabees, who stands "raised on a luminous cloud before the face of the eternal one."[37] The reference is to "The Martyrdom of Seven Brothers" in the deuterocanonical book of 2 Maccabees 7. Recognized by the Catholic Church as the "Holy Maccabean Martyrs" and included in the *Martyrologium Romanum* (*Roman Martyrology*),[38] the seven brothers, cruelly martyred for their faith, were domesticated in late antiquity as "Christian figures and gradually drained [. . .] of

36 Ibid., p. 71: "winde ich dir Morgen den hochzeitlichen Kranz nicht um deine zarte Schläfe, o dann hast du schon die Martyrer-Krone erkämpft!—Tragt ihr Morgen, meine Söhne! nicht die hochzeitliche Fackel zum Brautfeste; dann habt ihr die Palme ihres schönsten Schmuckes schon beraubt. Vielleicht sind wir die Opfer, auf die der Herr noch wartet, seinen Zorn zu versöhnen."
37 Ibid., p. 70: "O große Mutter der Machabäer! die du erhaben auf einer lichten Wolke vor dem Angesichte des ewigen [*sic*] stehest."
38 For the Christian commemoration and cult of the Maccabean Martyrs, see, e.g., Margaret Schatkin, "The Maccabean Martyrs," *Vigiliae Christianae* 28.2 (1974): 97–113; Gerard Rouwhorst, "The Emergence of the Cult of the Maccabean Martyrs in Late Antique Christianity," in *More Than a Memory: The Discourse of Martyrdom and the Construction of Christian Identity in the History of Christianity*, eds Johan Leemans and Jürgen Mettepenningen (Leuven: Peters, 2005), pp. 81–96; and Raphaëlle Ziadé, *Les martyrs Maccabées: de l'histoire juive au culte chrétien: Les homélies de Grégoire de Nazianze et de Jean Chrysostome* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

their original Jewish identity."[39] In the twelfth century, Bernard of Clairvaux noted, as paraphrased by Margaret Schatkin, that "[t]he Maccabees were Jewish martyrs since they died before the Redeemer had come and perforce went down to Hades; but they were to be counted as Christian martyrs because of the form of their martyrdom, which was a confession."[40]

The martyrdom of the "good" Jews in Rittershausen's tragedy takes a different form. And yet it seems as if Rittershausen construed an analogy to this precedent in relation to the "good" Jews, even though by the time of the destruction of Jerusalem the Redeemer had come. Silas is a serious character and his words certainly are not a mockery or intended to be understood as such. When he elaborates the image of a sword piercing his soul seven times with the death of each of the seven brothers, this moreover evokes the *mater dolorosa* and, again, no mockery seems intended.

The certainty of a reward in the afterlife and the deferral of ultimate triumph to the world to come as the basic premise and promise of martyrdom is another instance of the "Catholicization" of Silas. His almost ecstatic vision blatantly emulates hagiographic discourse:

> What will the glory of transfiguration be in which your immortality will hover around me—rise up to the halleluja of the heavens from decay and death. A trembling sense of joy awakens in me!—Oh, my children! Look up—there already comes down from eternal spring to meet us the lovely youth of heaven: [. . .] crowns, crowns, glide down—away to death, to death—to triumph.[41]

The sons of Matathias are subsequently indeed slaughtered on the steps of the Temple by the followers of John while the tyrant himself murders Matathias in front of the "ark of the covenant"[42]—which is a curious lapse in the author's historical awareness as the ark of the covenant was lost after the destruction of the First Temple and the Holy of Holies was left void in the period of the Second Temple.[43]

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39 Daniel Joslyn-Siemiatkoski, *Christian Memories of the Maccabean Martyrs* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 76.

40 Schatkin, "Maccabean Martyrs," 112.

41 Rittershausen, *Jerusalems Zerstörung*, pp. 71–2: "In welcher Glorie der Verklärung werde ich von eurer Unsterblichkeit umflogen—von Verwesung und Tod zum Jubelgesang der Himmel aufsteigen. Bebendes Freudengefühl erwacht in mir!—O meine Kinder! blickt empor—sie kommt uns schon entgegen aus dem ewigen Frühling die holde Jugend des Himmels: [. . .] Kronen, Kronen schweben herab—fort zum Tode, zum Tod—zum Triumph."

42 See ibid., p. 75: "vor der Lade des Bundes."

43 See, e.g., 2 Maccabees 2:4–8 and Graham Hancock, *The Sign and the Seal: The Quest for the Lost Ark of the Covenant* (New York: Crown, 1992).

Dina and Silas also die in the concluding act. Their deaths suggest a further redemptive trait. Both transcend notions of the unforgiving God of the Old Testament by endorsing forgiveness as they die, similar to the last words of Jesus on the cross according to the gospel of Luke: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."[44] Doing so, they in effect appear to embrace the new dispensation. Dina, at the beginning of the fifth act dying in the arms of Silas of an unspecified and unexplained wound, implores him: "To the Avenger leave the vengeance."[45] Silas, perfidiously stabbed from behind by John, dies next to her body, saying to his assassin: "Silas forgives you."[46]

The implicit reinterpretation of the destruction of Jerusalem as a martyrdom is of course theologically problematic. As Bernard of Clairvaux implied, subsequent to the death of Jesus on the cross, his continued rejection equalled the rejection of divine grace and the wilful denial of God's plan of salvation. Intriguingly, if compared with other cultural engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem, conversion is not a topic in Rittershausen's tragedy. There are no Christian characters among the *dramatis personae*, nor is the conversion of the Jews pictured at any time.

However, in this context the appropriation of martyrological discourse by Silas, or perhaps, conversely, his subsummation under Catholic martyrology at the intersection between Judaism and Christianity, is important. It signifies a path of redemption which, although it forecloses Jewish existence post-destruction, admits its potential redeemability through martyrdom. And yet, there remain further inconsistencies because of the punitive nature of the destruction visited upon Jerusalem that supposedly was preordained by the Lord, whereas Titus and his Roman soldiers were merely instruments to the fulfilment of the divine will. Silas and Dina as well as the other "good" Jews are caught up between rejection of the new faith and divine retribution. Their death is inevitable but their redemption, though anticipated rather than promised, appears possible as the result of their atonement. With such a suggestion Rittershausen deviates significantly from established doctrine.

44 Luke 23:34.

45 See Rittershausen, *Jerusalems Zerstörung*, p. 98: "Dem Vergelter laß die Rache."

46 Ibid., p. 103: "Silas vergiebt dir."

Josephus as Explicator and Facilitator

Rittershausen used the figure of Flavius Josephus to extrapolate on the perceived authority of his historiographic account. The figure of the Jewish historian appears in two consecutive scenes in the tragedy when, at the behest of the imperator, he seeks to negotiate with the Jewish defenders of Jerusalem. In effect, his character, as it has been alleged about the real Josephus's history of the Jewish War, is a mouthpiece for the praise of Titus. When he first begins to speak to Simon and John, he apostrophizes the imperator as "peace-loving" and "kind" and asserts that all he desires is to deliver the city from its misery.[47] Josephus's speech is rhetorically polished and flowery. Whereas it reiterates some of the arguments proffered by the historian in *The Jewish War*,[48] it is based only loosely on the historical model. More specifically, Rittershausen's Josephus insists on his good intentions: "I am not, as you deem, bribed to flatter the Roman triumphs. Titus has chosen me because I am of your tribe and of your law. He believes that from my mouth you will calmly listen to the truth."[49]

At the same time, Rittershausen casts the impiety and depravity of Simon and John into sharper relief through Josephus. The peace envoy is careful to emphasize the difference between their experience of the siege and that of the people: "But you do not suffer hunger [. . .]; you do not bleed, therefore you also do not know. [. . .] You do not see the thirsting babe-in-arms [. . .], not the father [. . .], not the bridegroom [. . .], not the bride [. . .]. You do not recoil in horror [. . .]."[50]

The other characters' attitude toward Josephus is to some extent an indicator of their own integrity. Josephus is denounced by Simon and John as traitor. Yet while it is only down to the latter's cunning eloquence to save the negotiator from immediate execution, he is nevertheless arrested by Simon, in breach of the conventions of war. Silas, in contrast, come to rescue his beloved Dina from the clutches of Simon, who abducted the young woman and seeks to violate her, hails him as "dear Joseph!"[51] and, as the historian points him to where the tyrants have fled, effectively sets him free as well.

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47 Ibid., p. 46: "friedliebend [. . .] gütig."

48 For the first address of Josephus to the defenders of Jerusalem, see Josephus, *Jewish War*, pp. 317–22 (5.9.3-4).

49 Rittershausen, *Jerusalems Zerstörung*, p. 48: "Ich bin kein erkaufter Wohlredner der römischen Triumphe, wie ihr wähnt. Titus hat mich ausersehen, weil ich aus eurem Stamme und eures Gesetzes bin. Er glaubt, daß ihr aus meinem Munde die Wahrheit gelassen hören werdet."

50 Ibid., pp. 48–9: "Aber ihr hungert nicht [. . .]; ihr blutet nicht, darum wisset ihr auch [nicht]" and: "Ihr sehet den lechzenden Säugling nicht [. . .], den Vater nicht [. . .], den Bräutigam nicht [. . .] die Braut nicht [. . .]. Ihr schauert nicht zurück [. . .]."

51 Ibid., p. 53: "theurer Joseph!"

Chapter III
The Destruction of Jerusalem and the Trajectory of Ahasuerus: Fleeing the Conflagration or Seeking it?

In his monumental painting of the destruction of Jerusalem, Wilhelm von Kaulbach gave the legendary figure of the Wandering Jew striking shape as he flees the conflagration of the destruction of Jerusalem. It was further enhanced with the addition of the avenging demons pursuing the distraught Ahasuerus. As a pictorial motif, this was unprecedented.[1] Indeed, though there is a long iconographic tradition of representing the Wandering Jew in graphic illustrations and single-sheet prints, the origins of this particular motif appear to lie outside of art with Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's "Der ewige Jude" (1783; "The Wandering Jew").[2]

In the German poet's lyrical rhapsody about the Wandering Jew, an "angel of death" appears before the transgressor, and a "black dæmon, let loose from hell upon Ahasuerus, goads him now from country to country."[3] It is also Schubart who first places Ahasuerus at the scene of the conflagration. Desperately seeking his death, the poet's Ahasuerus precipitates himself "into the destructive flames" of Jerusalem, yet to no avail.[4] Kaulbach appears to have assimilated and amalgamated both of these suggestions, though, quite significantly, he reverses the trajectory of Ahasuerus and projects it away from the burning Temple into the future.

1 See Ronen, "Kaulbach's Wandering Jew," 248 and Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 124.

2 For Schubart, see Anderson, *Wandering Jew*, pp. 171–3.

3 This anonymous prose translation, entitled "The Wandering Jew," based on an earlier translation by P. W. in *The German Museum* (1801) and presumably a source for Percy Bysshe Shelley's fragment of an epic on *The Wandering Jew* (1811), appeared in *La Belle Assemblée; or Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine* 6 (January 1809): 19–20; for the quoted passage, see 20. See also Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, "Der ewige Jude. Eine lyrische Rhapsodie" [1783], in *Sämtliche Gedichte* (Frankfurt a. M.: Herrmann, 1787), II, 68–73, 69: "Ein Todesengel trat / Vor Ahasveros hin, und sprach im Grimme: / 'Die Ruh' hast du dem Menschensohn versagt; / 'Auch dir sei sie, Unmenschlicher! versagt, / 'Bis daß er kömmt!!—/ Ein Höllentflohner / Daemon geisselt nun dich, Ahasver, / Von Land zu Land. Des Sterbens süsser Trost, / Der Grabesruhe Trost ist dir versagt!"

4 Schubart, "The Wandering Jew," 20; see also Schubart, "Der ewige Jude," II, 70: "Ich rannt' in die Flamme."

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Yet the most influential literary manifestation of the Wandering Jew prior to Kaulbach's visualization was offered, as suggested in the previous part, by George Croly whose anonymously published novel *Salathiel* (1828)—itself presumably inspired by Schubart's poem, of which prose translations had become available in England in the early years of the nineteenth century—was widely disseminated across Europe. One or both of the two German translations published in 1829 and discussed in the previous chapter may well have been known to the artist. Kaulbach would moreover have been familiar with the debate about the figure of the Wandering Jew in contemporary German literature which was instigated by Karl Gutzkow's review of Julius Mosen's epic poem *Ahasver*.

Sebastian von Rittershausen's idiosyncratic attempt to engage with the destruction of Jerusalem in a tragedy predated both Croly's novel as well as the Ahasuerus debate in Germany. It is hence no surprise that he does not include the legendary figure in his *dramatis personae*. In fact, it took more than four decades after his early effort until a succession of dramatic poems and plays appeared in Germany, which engaged with the destruction of Jerusalem. Conspicuously, all of them feature the figure of Ahasuerus in connection to the historical occurrence; presumably, they were responses to the notoriety the legendary figure had acquired by the latter half of the century. They were also, of course, antedated by Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* and, intriguingly, they all acknowledge more or less explicitly the artist's painting as an intertext. There is, however, no obvious interaction in any of these plays with any of the oratorios mentioned in chapter I.

None of these dramas, like Rittershausen's, were presumably intended for actual stage performance, but the epic genre also appeared too limited for the adequate representation of the subject. In Germany, as discussed in the previous chapter, the epic failed to produce an adequate treatment of the destruction of Jerusalem. Instead, the legendary figure of the Wandering Jew inspired a proliferation of texts, some of which elaborated the historical occurrence in relation to the paradigmatic figure of the immortal Jew, as Croly had done in the genre of the novel. In his review of Mosen's *Ahasver*, Ferdinand Gustav Kühne, not fully satisfied with the poet's attempt in the epic genre, emphasized the fundamental unsuitability also of the narrative and dramatic genres for a convincing rendering of the Wandering Jew. He suggested that "[f]or the novel, the figure of Ahasuerus is too mythical, for the drama too little character and person."[5] Instead, Kühne advocated a hybrid form, as in Goethe's engagement with the Faust legend.

5 Kühne, "Julius Mosen's Ahasver," 463: "Zum Roman ist Ahasver's Gestalt zu mythisch, zum Drama zu wenig Gestalt und Person."

Narrative fiction about the destruction of Jerusalem, in particular the novel, commenced in Germany in the late 1830s and began to proliferate in the second half of the century. In contradistinction to Croly's otherwise very influential *Salathiel* and other strains of the adaptation of the legend of the Wandering Jew in narrative fiction,[6] none of these texts included an Ahasuerus figure, presumably because of its supernatural quality—an exception is a short novella by Anna Freiin von Krane published in the early years of the First World War (1915) in a series of literary texts directed specifically at soldiers, which is briefly discussed following on this chapter in my third digression.

The in the widest sense dramatic texts discussed in this chapter follow the tangent pursued by Croly with his focus on the Ahasuerus figure. This may, possibly, derive to some extent from the figure of the Old Man in Milman's *The Fall of Jerusalem*. Like Croly offers an idiosyncratic interpretation of the Ahasuerus legend and the corresponding figure of Salathiel in his eponymous novel, the various dramatic poems and plays emerging in Germany to engage with the legendary figure in relation to the destruction of Jerusalem similarly emphasized different aspects of this character which may, at least in some instances, originate in the reception of Kaulbach's monumental painting. Like Kaulbach—and perhaps once again in response to Milman—all of these texts, both dramatic or narrative, are replete with manifestations of the Beautiful Jewess who is mostly represented as an exemplar of the conversion narrative in contrast to the Wandering Jew.

In Leonhart Wohlmuth's tragedy about the destruction of Jerusalem (1857), it is Ahasuerus who sets fire to the Temple. There appear also to be some echoes of Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* in the play. The playwright's conception of the Wandering Jew, owing much to Schubart, is more specifically derived from *Salathiel* and contributes, as Anderson observes, to "the Croly tradition or the Destruction-of-Jerusalem motif" it is said to have engendered.[7]

Translated into German in 1829, as seen in the previous chapter, Croly's text emerged as an influential rendering of the legend of the Wandering Jew in relation to Wohlmuth's tragedy and to the third part of Otto Franz's *Messias* (1869; Messiah) trilogy, which similarly focuses on the destruction of Jerusalem and Ahasuerus; but it is in this context also related back to Kaulbach as a possible intertext for his painting.

Franz acknowledges in the scene description and stage directions of the final act of his tragedy that his Messiah trilogy as a whole was inspired by the fresco version of Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* in Berlin. He specifies that the scenic

6 See Körte, *Uneinholbarkeit des Verfolgten*, pp. 95–129.

7 Anderson, *Wandering Jew*, p. 189.

design for his fifth act should follow Kaulbach's model. The constellation of his figures and their entry and exit directions are clearly derived from the painting, though the High Priest is substituted with Simon bar Giora.

As in Wohlmuth and Franz, the Ahasuerus figure is only a minor character in Hans Herrig's tragedy inspired by the destruction of Jersualem. In his *Jerusalem* (1874), like in the other plays, Ahasuerus is nevertheless a character who is significant either as a catalyst of the action or as a reflector figure in relation to the cataclysmic events. Herrig, more specifically, develops antisemitic stereotypes with regard to Ahasuerus. In all plays, as indicated already in Kaulbach's painting, the figure of the Wandering Jew is, consistent with his alleged immortality, suggested to be paradigmatic of the Jews through the ages.

Kühne's suggestion that the figure of Ahasuerus might only be approached through a hybrid literary form may have been an inspiration to Johann Gottlieb Rönnefahrt. The poet's own engagement with the figure of Ahasuerus (1855), discussed below, is indeed a hybrid which combines epic and dramatic elements. In addition, it thematically also interweaves the Faust legend with that of the Wandering Jew. Rönnefahrt's hybrid narrative poem articulates an idiosyncratic approach which implicitly suggests the historical occurrence of the destruction of Jerusalem as a prism for the author's forceful intervention in the politics of his own day and, more specifically, the build-up of the *Kulturkampf*, which provides a highly relevant context also to some of the other literary engagements with the subject of both Catholic and Protestant provenance and which is discussed in more detail in chapter IV.

Ahasuerus, Faust, and the First Stirrings of the *Kulturkampf*: Rönnefahrt

Published in 1855, the "basic epic treatment"[8] of the Ahasuerus legend by Johann Gottlieb Rönnefahrt (1804–92) in his long narrative poem *Der Tod Ahasvers, des ewigen Juden* (The Death of Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew) is a hybrid which combines epic with dramatic elements.[9] While the destruction of Jerusalem is mentioned only briefly, it is nevertheless perceived as a pivotal occurrence and the author alludes at least implicitly to Kaulbach's painting. *Der Tod Ahasvers* moreover offers an idiosyncratic approach to the eponymous figure which removes it from

8 Ibid., p. 255.

9 Johann Gottlieb Rönnefahrt, *Der Tod Ahasvers, des ewigen Juden* (Tangermünde: Doeger, 1855). For Rönnefahrt's epic poem, see Anderson, *Wandering Jew*, pp. 255–6, whose account is inaccurate in some factual details which also skew his interpretation.

the context of the Ahasuerus debate two decades earlier, though Rönnefahrt's conception converges in salient points with Gutzkow's deliberations.

"Ahasver's Distant Past"[10] is covered in the introduction in the guise of an epic poem, in which the destruction of Jerusalem is also mentioned. Following the pattern established by Schubart, Ahasuerus laments the futility of the struggle and his failure to die in the conflagration of the burning Temple.[11] The first chapter of the dramatic poem proper sees Ahasuerus awakening in a noxious swamp to which he had retreated in despair and where he lay dormant for centuries. Finding that civilization has been encroaching on his deadly refuge, he enters the world again to make the swamp his own and, initially, to hinder its further cultivation, but eventually, seeing the inhospitable bog having turned into a life force, he discovers hope for himself. Yet the world he enters is one of social unrest and exploitation, of political reaction and oppression. As he soon learns, a Jesuit conspiracy hatched by the Kirchwardein (church warden) threatens to suffocate the country; its young and irresponsible prince is not strong enough to confound the ecclesiastical wiles.

All through his long wanderings, Ahasuerus has never seen times as dire as this. He observes: "Time in warping labour must / With monsters pregnant be";[12] and mischieviously exults:

> When the joints of Time do yield,
> Th' Heavens and the earth do tangle,
> Then that He I surely am,
> Who truly may th' deliv'ry speed.[13]

Ahasuerus subsequently takes on the identity of Count Faust von Pfaffenhut, who is murdered by highwaymen. As his intrigues multiply, he learns that the Pfaffenhut family are rumored to have been Jews in the distant past and that they have always been restless and driven. Ahasuerus is perplexed. He realizes that he is not alone, that he is not so much a symbol of Jewish condemnation, but a metonymy. The curse, it seems, befell not the individual Jew but a Jewish collective though not, apparently, every Jew. Ahasuerus muses:

10 Ibid., pp. 3–47: "Ahasver's Vorzeit."

11 See ibid., p. 36.

12 Ibid., p. 71: "Die Zeit muss bei verzerrenden Wehen / Mit Missgeburten schwanger gehen."

13 Ibid.: "Wenn die Zeit aus den Fugen weichet, / Himmel und Erde sich verwirren, / Dann bin ich freilich der rechte Mann, / Der die Entbindung fördern kann."

Can one be like the other[?]
What miracle that a Pfaffenhut,
Issued from the same blood,
Should be like to Ahasuerus,
Like to him, tossed through the sea of time?
Thus two Ahasvers are there now
That may not rest nor die, and no respite.
Who knows how many, not just me,
Such a life eternal drags all o'er,
And vainly search for Heaven's gate?[14]

Even with his new identity, there remains a trace of the uncanny in Ahasuerus, which the other figures experience to differing degrees. The Prince chances in the palace of the Pfaffenhut family on a wall painting and reflects on the image:

A profound dread seizes my soul
When I look upon yon tall figure of a man,
That, bowed down by fate's heavy burden,
Still raises his neck so straight and full of pride.
The runes that pain in this forehead
In indelible marks hath etched
Tell of superhuman struggle of the soul.
With what wrath and ire doth he gaze
'Pon the blazing city and its fall.
Fight he did. Yet all in vain! It tumbles!
And yet like hazy mem'ries of sometime bliss
Ineffably, a spirit of divine blessing
In reconciliation thrusts itself forth from wrath!
A man, he stands in potent manly vigour,
That opposes destruction;
Yet we behold only that spirit, whom eternity
And sovereignty of mind hath bequeathed
Victory in pangs of death to ward all earthly plight.
Spirit more than body and yet corporeal.
Th' eternal spiritual battle in the body's prison.[15]

14 Ibid., pp. 89–90: "Kann Einer für den Andern stehn. / Was Wunder, daß ein Pfaffenhut, / Abstammend dazu aus gleichem Blut, / Sich ähnlich weiset dem Ahasver, / Gleich diesem geschleudert durch's Zeitenmeer? / So giebt's zwei Ahasvere nun, / Die dürfen nicht rasten und sterben und ruhn. / Wer weiß, wie Mancher außer mir / Solch ewig Leben schleppt umher / Und sucht umsonst des Himmels Thür?"

15 Ibid., pp. 251–2: "Ein tiefes Graun erfasst die Seele mir / Beim Anschaun dieser hohen Mannsgestalt, / Die unter schwerer Schicksalslast gedrückt / Den Nacken noch so strack und stolz erhebt. / Die Runen, die der Schmerz auf diese Stirn / In unvertilgbaren Spuren hat geprägt, / Erzählen übermenschlichen Seelenkampf. / Mit welchem Zorn und Grimm betrachtet er / Den Brand

The described painting appears to exhibit significant similarities with Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*. And yet, the resulting image is subtly different from that of the artist's Ahasuerus. Where Kaulbach's rendering conveys terror and abhorrence, guilt and drivenness, the likeness encountered by the Prince is characterized by defiance and mental strength, tempered with hope of reconciliation. Rönnefahrt evokes "a spirit of divine blessing," rather than a curse. The Prince recognizes: "'Tis Ahasver at Jerusalem's fall." And, deep in thought, adds: "Yes, yes! Thus the Son of Man doth walk this side the grave / On error's path—yet God is merciful—/ And love one day will be the noble victor's prize—"[16]

The scheming Kirchwardein's perception of the painting is very different:

> I know not what arrests my gaze
> And communicates so spookily in this picture—
> .....
> The Wand'ring Jew—like a guest of hell
> The form thrusts itself from the picture—
> This face—ha! am I surrounded by devils' tricks?
> Cursèd! cursèd! It is the count's face
> Full of wrath and scorn—what wouldst thou, phantom—
> Come! come!—turning back its gaze
> It pushes on and strides towards me—
> Ha! How it grows and wields the lance's shaft—
> Woe is me! Here it comes . . . .[17]

The cleric is beset by the alleged superstitions of his faith which, as will emerge from the further discussion, were considered obsolete by Rönnefahrt. Indeed, as a stage direction indicates, the main figure of the painting covers a secret door, which is opened as the cleric takes flight. The optical illusion, just as Kaulbach's almost life-

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der Stadt und ihren Untergang. / Er hat gekämpft. Umsonst! Sie stürzt dahin! / Und doch wie Ahnung einst'ger Seligkeit / Drängt sich versöhnend unfassbar ein Geist / Göttlicher Weihe aus dem Grimm hervor! / Ein Mensch steht da in mächt'ger Manneskraft, / Die sich dem Untergang entgegenstemmt; / Doch schaun wir nur den Geist, dem Ewigkeit / Und Geisteshoheit unter Todesqualen / Den Sieg bestimmt ob aller Erdennoth. / Mehr Geist als Körper und doch körperfest. / Der ew'ge Geisteskampf in Leibeshaft."

16 Ibid., p. 252: "'s ist Ahasver bei'm Sturz Jerusalems. [. . .] Ja, ja! So geht der Menschensohn hienieden / Des Irrthums Bahn—doch Gott begnadet ihn—/ Und Liebe lohnt dereinst dem edlen Sieger—"

17 Ibid., p. 253: "Ich weiß nicht, was den Blick mir hält gefangen / Und spricht so geisterhaft an diesem Bilde—/ [. . .] / Der ew'ge Jude—wie ein Höllengast / Drängt die Gestalt sich aus dem Bild hervor—/ Dies Antlitz—ha! umgiebt mich Teufelsspuk? / Verflucht! verflucht! Es ist des Grafen Antlitz / Voll Grimm und Hohn—was willst du, Truggestalt—/ Komm an! komm an!—Den Blick zurückgewandt / Strebt es hieher und schreitet auf mich dar—/ Ha! Wie es wächst und schwingt den Lanzenschaft—/ Weh mir! Es kommt . . . ."

sized rendering of the Wandering Jew, seems to tumble from the frame of his painting, then turns real as Ahasuerus steps through the hidden door.

Ahasver's 'tribal' relationship with the Pfaffenhuts explains the uncanny likeness in the painting. His theft of the identity of the murdered Faust von Pfaffenhut moreover associates him with the eponymous protagonist in Goethe's *Faust* (1808). Anderson notes that since the mid-nineteenth century, the "tendency to associate Ahasuerus with the protagonists of other legends" intensified.[18] The association of the Wandering Jew with Faust may have been suggested to the author more specifically by one of the various continuations of Goethe's drama which proliferated in the early decades of the century and even after the publication of the tragedy's second part in 1832.[19]

One such attempt was Jakob Daniel Hoffmann's *Faust* (1833). In the play's concluding section, his eponymous protagonist ascends from the Savior's Tomb in Jerusalem, Mephistopheles and the Wandering Jew firmly clasped by the hand, to heaven. There they form a kind of mismatched trinity which encompasses striving, contradiction, and hesitation.[20] As the sweetly smiling divinity utters in conclusion, it is the stubbornly faithful Jew's charge to curb the others' dialectic exuberance and, when time rushes to gain the future, to anchor them in the past.[21] Ahasuerus is thus given a redemptive function originating precisely in the spiritual inertia denounced only a few years later by Gutzkow as the condemning feature of Jewish idiosyncracy.

Deriding Carl Christian Ludwig Schöne's earlier continuation of Goethe's iconic drama (1823),[22] the literary historian Wilhelm Scherer vociferated in his *Geschichte der Deutschen Litteratur* (1883; *A History of German Literature*) that this "miserable production was even surpassed in worthlessness by a similar essay on the part of J. D. Hoffmann in 1833."[23] Rönnefahrt is not mentioned by Scherer, but it is likely that he would not have fared any better in the critic's estimation, though his narrative-dramatic poem is not a continuation, nor even quite

18 Anderson, *Wandering Jew*, p. 245.

19 See also [Göschel], *Ueber Göthe's Faust und dessen Fortsetzung*, pp. 262–3, where a comparison between Faust and Goethe's conception of Ahasuerus is elaborated.

20 Jakob Daniel Hoffmann, *Faust: Eine Tragödie von Goethe. Fortgesetzt von J. D. Hoffmann* (Leipzig: Lauffer, 1833).

21 See ibid., p. 245.

22 See Carl Christian Ludwig Schöne, *Fortsetzung des Faust von Göthe: Der Tragödie zweiter Theil* (Berlin: Maurer, 1823).

23 Wilhelm Scherer, *A History of German Literature*, transl. Mary Emily Conybeare, 2 vols (New York: Scribner, 1886), II, 319; see also Wilhelm Scherer, *Geschichte der Deutschen Litteratur*, 8th edn (1883; Berlin Weidmann, 1899), p. 704: "[D]as elende Product wurde durch ein ähnliches Wagnis von J. D. Hoffmann (1833) an Erbärmlichkeit noch übertroffen."

an adaptation, of *Faust* but rather elaborates a number of parallels. Most significantly, in the context of this chapter, Ahasuerus not only assumes the identity of the enigmatic count whose name, Faust von Pfaffenhut, is evocative in more than one way. Yet more important still, are the conceptual parallels elaborated by Rönnefahrt.

Like his model, Rönnefahrt's Ahasuerus reclaims land and, in fact, strives to complete what Faust set out to accomplish. Where Faust, exhilarated by his vision of draining a baleful swamp and thus creating the freedom and the livelihood of millions,[24] experiences that moment of supreme bliss which brings him death and, effectively, redemption, Rönnefahrt's Ahasuerus eventually similarly endeavors to drain his malignant swamp in order to provide for the destitute. It is, as with Faust, part of his redemptive project with which he actively seeks to end the curse under which he labors.

Yet crucially different from Faust who, though he becomes involuntarily guilty by having to answer for the deaths of Philemon and Baucis, is redeemed as he expires,[25] Ahasuerus is still denied death. As the heading of the final part of Rönnefahrt's epic-dramatic poem indicates, he fails to find the path of righteousness.

Like Mephistopheles, described by Goethe as "[a] part of that power, which is ever willing evil and ever producing good,"[26] Ahasuerus, too, is willing to do evil, but his agency eventually produces good: the swamp is fully drained and cultivated; the various romantic entanglements are happily resolved; and the reformed prince creates an enlightened commonwealth which reconciles him with his subjects as the Jesuit plot is foiled and the clerics are banished.[27] This, how-

24 See Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Faust II*, in *Faust*, ed. Gotthard Erler (Berlin: Aufbau, 1983), pp. 205–425: ll. 11562–86, prior to which Faust is seen to build dikes and dams to reclaim land from the sea.

25 See ibid., ll. 11938–44.

26 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust: A Dramatic Poem*, transl. A. Hayward (London: Moxon, 1834), p. 54; see also Goethe, *Faust I*, in *Faust*, ed. Erler, pp. 65–203: ll. 1336–7: "Ein Teil von jener Kraft, / Die stets das Böse will und stets das Gute schafft."

27 In *Göthe's Faust und Schiller's Wilhelm Tell*, Rönnefahrt idealizes Friedrich II, the Great, of Prussia, emphasizing that no prince ever ruled more absolutely, but that at the same time he fostered religious tolerance, intellectual freedom, and prosperity. He enthuses that "as King he was the living law embodied in himself, a law ruling over all strata of the state and to which the King, as an individual, subjected himself." Johann Gottlieb Rönnefahrt, *Göthe's Faust und Schiller's Wilhelm Tell nach ihrer weltgeschichtlichen Bedeutung und wechselseitigen Ergänzung* (Leipzig: Dyk, 1855), p. 120: "[A]ls König [war er] nur das lebendige, in ihm persönlich gewordene Gesetz, ein Gesetz, das über allen Schichten des Staatslebens waltend steht, und dem der König als Individuum sich selber anheimgiebt."

ever, does not extend to his own fate. As Mephistopheles remains a hellish fiend, thus Ahasuerus in the end remains the Wandering Jew. In this sense, the dramatic poem is misnamed, for death once more eludes the cursed Jew. Yet, while there is no hope for Mephistopheles, there is hope for Ahasuerus.

Severely wounded in a fight with the Kirchwardein—who crows in glee as he flees: "We remain invulnerable, invincible, / Rule firm as a rock the blind world!"[28]—and close to death, Ahasuerus experiences visions which conjure up to him the figures of Moses, Pythagoras, Socrates, and Christ. Yet the redemption that seems so close is shattered by the apparition of pope Gregory VII, only to be followed by Luther, Calvin, and, finally, the poet Friedrich Schiller who invokes the power of virtue and concludes:

> God's throne be far in the highest heavens high:
> He it is, who e'en our suffering turns to grace,
> If willingly we do as Christ did teach,
> And piously through loving-kindness Him revere . . . .[29]

Finally asleep and bathed in the reflex of the light into which the apparition dissolves, the countenance of Ahasuerus is suffused with peace as the dramatic poem comes to an end.

The reference to Schiller reflects Rönnefahrt's notion of historical progression. The author, who was the headmaster of a school for young gentlewomen at Stendal in Saxony-Anhalt,[30] published a number of interpretations of classical German literature, among which was also—in the same year as *Der Tod Ahasvers*—an exploration of *Göthe's Faust und Schiller's Wilhelm Tell nach ihrer weltgeschichtlichen Bedeutung und wechselseitigen Ergänzung* (1855; Goethe's Faust and Schiller's Wilhelm Tell according to their Universal Historical Significance and Mutual Complementation).[31] Arguably, the study offers an interpretive key to his dramatic poem.

As Rönnefahrt explains in the preface to his study, his aim was to align poesy in a genuine relationship with the "living life."[32] He insisted in particular on its

28 Rönnefahrt, *Tod Ahasvers*, p. 275: "Wir bleiben unverwundbar, unbezwinglich, / Regieren felsenfest die blinde Welt!"

29 Ibid., p. 283: "Ob Gott auch hoch in höchsten Himmeln thronet: / Er ist's, der auch durch Schmerzen Heil verleiht, / Wenn willig wir geübt, was Christ gelehret, / Und gläubig ihn durch Liebesthat verehret . . . ."

30 See Rönnefahrt, Johann Gottfried, "Indexeintrag: Deutsche Biographie," https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd1035536560.html (accessed January 9, 2024).

31 Rönnefahrt, *Göthe's Faust und Schiller's Wilhelm Tell*.

32 Ibid., p. [iii].

poietic potential and practical impact on the formation of the human character (*Menschenbildung*). Universal history, with which he engaged in *Der Tod Ahasvers*, was understood by the author simultaneously as admonition and as consecrated prophecy.[33]

Rönnefahrt argues that in the second part of Goethe's *Faust* (1832), progress in the natural sciences has deprived the devil of his magic, but that he has become obsolete also in a moral sense. With Philemon and Baucis and their chapel on the beach, Mephistopheles—wilfully misinterpreting Faust's instructions—destroys the last remnants of ecclesiasticism and thus the framework of belief and superstition which sustains his own existence.[34] This is presumably also why Mephistopheles makes no appearance in *Der Tod Ahasvers*. Rather, some of his characteristics are attributed to the conflicted figure of Ahasuerus, who is otherwise determined by Faustian elements. But Faust, too, in Rönnefahrt's system, occupies a stage of human and social development that has been superseded. While he embodies the principle of progress and of striving for ever more ambitious goals on which human dignity, human rights, and human happiness rely, he is nevertheless fettered by what Rönnefahrt describes as the rationalistic subjectivity and individualism of the late eighteenth century.[35]

To Rönnefahrt, it was essential that the discovery of subjectivity be transcended into a balanced and synergetic collective in which individualities conjoin and collaborate in the creation of "humanity as the sum of all human beings."[36] True freedom, Rönnefahrt asserts, may only be found in the awareness of being an intrinsic part of the whole of humanity. Applied to Ahasuerus, it is striking that the author's endorsement of universalism is similar to Gutzkow's; and when he notes that stagnation and persistence in the particular will result in decay,[37] this too is reminiscent of Gutzkow's anti-particularist stance and his attack on the "Jewish" Jews.[38] It is also the refutation of Hoffmann's valorization of hesitancy embodied in his Wandering Jew.

According to Rönnefahrt, collectives enter history and recognize themselves and their actions as a product of the interaction of the totality of all being and

33 Ibid.

34 See ibid., p. 123.

35 See ibid., p. 128.

36 Ibid., p. 131: "So bildet sich die Summe der Menschen zur Menschheit."

37 See ibid., p. 130.

38 It is interesting to note that Rönnefahrt's Ahasuerus variously nonchalantly acknowledges: "Well, that's all over and done with," accepting change and adapting to it. See Rönnefahrt, *Tod des Ahasver*, p. 58: "Doch das ist abgethan."

becoming.[39] As collectives engage with one another, they engender human history and universal history, from which eventually emerges the ideal form of the state, in which each citizen, as a fellow citizen, achieves recognition as a fully entitled member of the collective in acknowledgment of their human essence sustained by their intellect and freedom.

Rönnefahrt emphasizes that a struggle is necessary before the ruling and the ruled elements of a state align into a rational relationship; before the rule of a miracle-mongering ecclesiasticism transforms itself into a healthy congregational structure determined by human parameters; and before each individual in the collective has been imbued with a practical awareness of their rights and duties according to their capabilities.[40] In *Der Tod Ahasvers*, this struggle has already commenced, but the appearance of the Wandering Jew acts like a catalyst and, eventually, Ahasuerus becomes a mediator.

The new age envisioned by Rönnefahrt must fulfil the unification of what is divided and separate into propitious action. This new age the author sees called to life by Schiller with Karl Moor in *Die Räuber* (1781; *The Robbers*) and prophetically given essence and its telos with Wilhelm Tell in the eponymous play (1804). In particular in *Wilhelm Tell*, Rönnefahrt finds this concept to have been transformed into palpable reality.[41] Hence the inclusion of Schiller's concluding words in *Der Tod Ahasvers*.

God is for Rönnefahrt a force immanent in the world and in humanity that drives historical development. Indeed, as he insists on the fall of an imaginary heavenly redoubt of the divinity, Rönnefahrt emphasizes that God in fact neither dwells imperiously in an impervious beyond, nor, quoting from Acts, "in temples made with hands."[42] The latter is, of course, the very word of Jesus which served to cement the notion of supersession and which gave divine sanction to the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple.

The destruction of Jerusalem and the internal dissent by which it was precipitated appears to be invoked in Rönnefahrt's dramatic poem as a scenario that carries a serious warning. The figure of Ahasuerus is the connecting device between the historical occurrence and the present of the mid-nineteenth century, in which internal strife, fomented—as the author suggests—once again by zealous priests (and he clearly means Catholicism), threatens the commonwealth.

There is no suggestion of any other external enemy and the association with the fall of Jerusalem is not presented as a type that corresponds in every detail to

39 See Rönnefahrt, *Göthe's Faust und Schiller's Wilhelm Tell*, p. 132.
40 See ibid., p. 135.
41 See ibid., pp. 134–5.
42 See ibid., pp. 127–8 and Acts 7:48.

the present. And yet it carries weighty implications. Most significantly, perhaps, it evokes the bane of theocratic rule. Yet in Rönnefahrt's hybrid text, it is the voice of moderation and conciliation which finally triumphs and in response to which an enlightened constitutional rule is established which unites the people and the prince in the contentment of a peaceful and thriving commonwealth.

Obviously, published in 1855, only a few years after the mostly unsuccessful revolutions in the German lands, the text is highly topical. Indeed, Rönnefahrt's text is unique in the corpus of engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem discussed in this chapter in that it is the only one to suggest—if only implicitly—the historical occurrence as a pervasive interpretive pattern for contemporary events. It is clearly a highly politicized literary response to the revolutions of 1848–49 and the Weavers' Uprising in Silesia in 1844, more famously commemorated in Gerhart Hauptmann's naturalistic play *Die Weber* (1892; *The Weavers*). More specifically, the text takes a very firm anti-Catholic position within the wider context of the incipient *Kulturkampf*. Any form of organized religion, but particularly Catholicism, is pilloried as inherently inimical to worldly authority which it ultimately seeks to usurp.

Ahasuerus, Destroyer of the Temple: Wohlmuth

The idiosyncratic treatment of Ahasuerus in Rönnefahrt's *Der Tod Ahasvers*—which shifted the emphasis from the historical destruction of Jerusalem to its exhortatory potential and, through the association of Ahasuerus with Faust, envisaged a redemptive end to the curse of Ahasuerus—was 'revoked' in Leonhart Wohlmuth's (1823–89) much more conservative *Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem* (1857; The Destruction of Jerusalem).

Wohlmuth, a writer of little talent and less success, who later was to seek the safe haven of a position as a teacher,[43] eventually settled in the Franconian city of Bayreuth, where Rittershausen had languished in his exile. In his tragedy, the author re-visited the historical context of the destruction of Jerusalem. He also re-established the familiar configuration of the major historical actors to whom he added once again the Beautiful Jewess in the guise of the daughter of the High Priest—who predictably converts to Christianity—as well as various Christians and the Wandering Jew. Simon abducts the Beautiful Jewess, incongruously called Judith. The young woman is rescued by the appearance of her father who seeks to mediate between Simon and John.

43 See Erdmuthe-Annika Eben, "Wohlmuth, Leonhart," in DLL (2015), XXXIV, col. 657.

More interesting are Wohlmuth's idiosyncratic divergences from, and additions to, the established narrative. Of particular significance is the figure of Josephus. Corresponding to the construction of Titus as the play's enlightened and merciful hero, Josephus is presented as the Roman's sincere envoy. Resigned to the fate that will befall Jerusalem, he pleads with the imperator to allow him to persuade his aged mother, Salome, to leave the doomed city.

The old woman is represented as blind in both a literal and a figurative sense. In the ensuing confrontation with her son, Salome curses Josephus for defecting to the enemy.[44] Her wrath is such that she even prays for her senses of hearing and touch to be confounded as well, so she may banish him fully from her life.[45] In a hurtful move, she calls out to the gathered people for a "poor, orphaned child, / Yearning for a mother's heart,"[46] to whom she promises to give solace as a substitute for the son so hateful to her. It is Judith's brother, the insane Ephraim, who eventually answers her call. He believes to hear his own mother's voice. Together, they symbolize the misguided obstinacy of the Jews and the loss of bearings they suffered. When the two move away, Ephraim once again utters the cries of woe of the Prophet of the Jews.[47] This presumably also foreshadows Salome's fate who henceforth is seen no more, while Ephraim, his sanity briefly restored, is later said to have died in battle.[48]

Salome's figurative blindness is blamed by Josephus on the tyrants. Her unnatural rejection of her son is, moreover, implicitly paralleled by Wohlmuth to the gruesome act of teknophagy perpetrated by Mary of Bethezuba. The unfortunate woman is not mentioned by name, but the responsibility for her unspeakable offence is similarly imputed to Simon.[49] Accusing the tyrant of the perversion of the order of nature, the Jewish officer Judas uses the unnatural deed of Mary of Bethezuba to mark the climax of this corruption:

> If children their mother may slay,
> The mother hath that same right to do to her child.
> Is not the fatherland the common,
> The Mother sacred to all children of man,
> That no mortal with impunity doth wound?

44 Leonhart Wohlmuth, *Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Tragödie in fünf Aufzügen* (1857; Munich: Schurich, 1861), p. 97: "For his mother and his mothersoil / He left and to the enemy he defected [Weil er die Mutter und die Muttererde / Verließ und zu dem Feinde überging]."

45 See ibid., p. 98.

46 Ibid., p. 99: "kein arm verwaistes Kind, / Das sich nach einem Mutterherzen sehnt?"

47 Ibid., p. 101: "Wehe."

48 See ibid., p. 118.

49 See ibid., p. 91.

> And dids't not thou stab thy brazen murd'rous steel
> Into the widow's bosom of thy fatherland?[50]

Judas is mentioned only briefly. He is nevertheless interesting because he engages in secret negotiations about a surrender to the Romans, an action which seems to explain his name, because it associates him with the eponymous betrayer of Christ.[51] Yet the officer's betrayal initially seems justified with the dire situation of the besieged city and the madness of its unpredictable and cruel rulers. Judas, who would rather emulate Judas Maccabee, offers a pragmatic alternative to the inexorable destruction. However, as such his actions are indeed another betrayal also of Christ, because—without knowing it—his aim is the subversion of the prophecy of Jesus of the destruction of Jerusalem.

In Wohlmuth's tragedy, it is Ahasuerus who eventually becomes the instrument of divine providence and ensures the fulfilment of the prophecy. Ahasuerus returns to Jerusalem to seek his own destruction in the anticipated conflagration in a rendering whose antecedents can be traced at least as far as Schubart's influential "Der ewige Jude":[52]

> Jerusalem fell. I crushed the sucking babe, and precipitated myself into the destructive flames. I cursed the Romans; but, alas! alas! the restless curse held me by the hair, and—I could not die.[53]

As they prepare to abandon the city, the figure of Ahasuerus is understood by the Christians in Wohlmuth's play

> as a marvel
> To strengthen and increase our faith,
> A living, a horrible testament is he,
> And yet a joyful one, that
> The word of the Lord is pure and true.
> That this word should fully true become
> The earth no grave to Ahasver allows.
> As this threat terribly was fulfilled,

50 Ibid., p. 92: "Wenn Kinder ihre Mutter tödten dürfen, / Hat gleiches Recht die Mutter auf sein [*sic*] Kind. / Ist nicht das Vaterland die allgemeine, / Die allen Menschenkindern heilige Mutter, / Die ungestraft kein Sterblicher verletzt? / Und stießest Du nicht Deinen frechen Mordstahl / In Deines Vaterlandes Wittwenbrust?"

51 For the historical figure, Judas ben Jairus, see Josephus, *Jewish War*, pp. 390–1 (7.6.5).

52 For Schubart's poem and its influence on the transmission of the legend, see Anderson, *Wandering Jew*, pp. 171–3.

53 Schubart, "Wandering Jew," 20; see also Schubart, "Ewige Jude," 70: "Jerusalem sank. Ich knirschte den Säugling, / Ich rannt' in die Flamme. Ich fluchte dem Römer; / Doch, ach! doch, ach! Der rastlose Fluch / Hielt mich am Haar, und—ich starb nicht."

Thus that other one will be fulfilled as well,
That the Saviour cast against Jerusalem.[54]

The same connection between the fate of Ahasuerus and Jerusalem is later dramatically enacted by the Wandering Jew himself: Ahasuerus wields the fatal firebrand in search of atonement and of his own death.[55] Consigning the destructive torch to Ahasuerus may have been suggested to Wohlmuth by Croly's *Salathiel*, where—for the first time—it was not hurled by a recalcitrant Roman soldier, but a demonic figure actively promoting the destruction of the Jews and the Temple under the guise of religious and national enthusiasm.

Yet Ahasuerus emerges unscathed from the conflagration of the burning Temple and, after accepting God's judgment and a final farewell to Judith and Ruben, a young Christian and friend of Titus, he quickly makes his way "towards the colonnade" which, as a stage direction explains, is stage left.[56] This moment is clearly reminiscent of Kaulbach's painting. Earlier in the play, Ahasuerus had mockingly bared his chest to Simon's sword,[57] which similarly associates the visual representation, the more so as he does so to aid the escape of the Christians who simultaneously leave the stage on the right in obvious emulation of Kaulbach's conception.[58]

More significantly, Ahasuerus's action is also his conscious fulfilment of Jesus's prophecy of the destruction of the Temple: "The Nazarene's words shall be / Fulfilled even to the last letter!"[59] In an earlier confrontation with the Christian elder Mathias, in an eruption of self-pity, defiance, and obstinacy, Ahasuerus seeks to set himself apart from all creation by his hate. He upbraids the old man:

So you, too, are inflexible and cold
And cruel towards me like the others!
Yet, so be it—if I may not love,
Yet will I hate, deep and ardently I'll hate,
Hate men, for they are happy,

54 Wohlmuth, *Zerstörung von Jerusalem*, p. 76: "Ihn hat der Herr uns wunderbar gesandt / Zur Stärke und zum Wachsthum unsres Glaubens, / Er ist ein lebendes, ein schreckliches / Und zugleich freudenreiches Zeugnis, daß / Das Wort des Herrn die lautre Wahrheit ist. / Damit dies Wort zur vollen Wahrheit werde, / Vergönnt dem Ahasver kein Grab die Erde. / Wie diese Drohung furchtbar sich erfüllte, / So wird auch jene in Erfüllung gehen, / Die ob Jerusalem der Heiland sprach."

55 See ibid., p. 121.

56 Ibid., p. 122: "nach dem Säulengange"; see also p. 111.

57 See ibid., p. 107.

58 See ibid., p. 108.

59 Ibid., p. 120: "Des Nazareners Worte sollen sich / Erfüllen bis zum letzten Laut!"

Hate Heaven, for it made me
To have a creature for it to curse.[60]

Yet his despair is tempered when, induced by Judith's pity, Mathias gives hope to Ahasuerus:

Not eternally, like to man, the Lord is angry,
Not a vengeful God is He; no, mercy
Is in His crown the pearl most beauteous and rich.
Howsoever great thy sin, He shall forgive,
When by the penance of thy life in remorse it is atoned,
He, who hath redeemed all sin of man,
He shall show thee yet His paternal grace.[61]

The promise of redemption to the Wandering Jew is simultaneously another articulation of the supersession, which is confirmed at the end of the play, when Eleazar returns mortally wounded from the battle to die on the stairs to the Temple.

Again, as if he were following Gutzkow's claim of the supremacy of poesy over painting, Wohlmuth divides the temporal unity of Kaulbach's composition into different sequential strands. Ruben and Judith have returned to the Temple. The High Priest's daughter accordingly is next to him as her father dies, but Wohlmuth rewrites the scene represented by the artist. For one, Eleazar—armed with the sword of David—associates the figure of the Levite rather than that of Kaulbach's High Priest. He does not seek his own death, nor does he forcefully restrain his daughter. Instead Eleazar gives Judith his blessing and dies, a potent symbol of supersession as he asks Judith to close his eyes[62] and acknowledges with his last breath the Christian truth: "His is the victory, the man of Nazareth's—/ Follow his star—it is the Star of Truth!"[63]

His final words indicate the trajectory toward stage right that will shortly after be followed by Judith and Ruben as they are invited by Titus to Rome and as

60 Ibid., pp. 72–3: "So bist Du auch starr und kalt / Und fühllos gegen mich wie all die andern! / Doch sei es drum—wenn ich nicht lieben darf, / So will ich hassen, tief und glühend hassen, / Die Menschen hassen, weil sie glücklich sind, / Den Himmel hassen, weil er mich erschuf, / Um ein Geschöpf für seinen Fluch zu haben."

61 Ibid., pp. 74–5: "Nicht ewig zürnt der Herr, dem Menschen gleich, / Er ist kein Gott der Rache, nein, die Gnade / Ist seiner Krone schönste, reichste Perle. / Wie groß auch Deine Schuld, er wird vergeben, / Wenn reuig sie gesühnt Dein Büßerleben, / Er, der getilgt hat alle Menschenschuld, / Er zeigt auch Dir noch seine Vaterhuld."

62 See ibid., p. 118.

63 Ibid., p. 121: "Er hat gesiegt, der Mann von Nazareth—/ Folgt seinem Stern—es ist der Stern der Wahrheit!"

Ruben articulates the concluding assurance: "A New Age commenceth on this day, / The Age of Love and the Age of Grace!"[64]

Anderson sees Ahasuerus in Wohlmuth's play as "a proponent of an international and universal kingdom of a worldly Messiah."[65] Yet he is so only to a degree, and only up to his re-emergence from the burning Temple and his acceptance of divine providence. It is rather in Otto Franz Gensichen's *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (The Destruction of Jerusalem) that the notion of a worldly Messiah gains prominence. Ahasuerus is given here a role similar to Wohlmuth's play, yet he is side-lined by the figures of Judas Iscariot and his (fictitious) mother Lea who, akin to Salome in Wohlmuth's play, seeks to advance her son.

Bringing Art to Life: Franz

Both Emil Naumann's cantata and August Klughardt's oratorio were explicitly based on Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, yet no record is known of the scenic use of the painting as a backdrop to any of their performances. While there is also no record of Otto Franz's *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1869; The Destruction of Jerusalem) ever having been performed on stage, the dramatist's stage directions are nevertheless very clear on the use of the fresco version of Kaulbach's artistic composition for its scenic backdrop. The explicit reference to the painting distinguishes his play from all the other dramatic engagements with the subject discussed in this part, none of which explicitly indicates Kaulbach's influence. However, as seen in the discussion of Wohlmuth's tragedy, there is a suggestion in this case that the author may have derived the sequence of his scene settings as well as some plot elements from the monumental painting, while Rönnefahrt seems to have adapted the pictorial representation of Ahasuerus from Kaulbach's work.

Born in Driesen in the Margraviate of Brandenburg (present-day Drezdenko in Poland), Otto Franz Gensichen (1847–1933) studied mathematics, philosophy, and classical philology in Berlin. In 1869, not yet 23 years of age, he was awarded his doctorate and not long afterward became dramaturge at the Wallner Theater in Berlin. In the same year, Gensichen—under his pen-name Otto Franz—also published his first creative works, a volume of poetry and his dramatic trilogy *Der Messias* (1869; The Messiah) of which *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* was the third part.[66]

64 Ibid., p. 125: "Mit diesem Tag beginnt die neue Zeit, / Die Zeit der Liebe und die Zeit der Gnade!"

65 Anderson, *Wandering Jew*, p. 248.

66 Otto Franz [i.e., Otto Franz Gensichen], *Gedichte* (Berlin: Heimann, 1869) and *Der Messias* (Berlin: Heimann, 1869). For Franz's tragedy, see Anderson, *Wandering Jew*, p. 248. Franz ac-

Like most of the other engagements with the subject, Franz's trilogy articulates Christian supersession. It is interesting in particular for the way in which it not only explicitly refers to Kaulbach's painting but in fact offers a dramatization of the artist's composition which ties the visual representation into the wider context of the biblical narrative and the historical episode. The latter is achieved in particular through the inclusion of Flavius Josephus among the *dramatis personae* in the final play of the trilogy.

The historian is characterized as "a paragon of priestly egotism"[67] and otherwise of little significance in Franz's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*. He appears briefly as the imperator's envoy, in vain entreating the Zealots to surrender. It is, however, worth noting that he introduces an element of German nationalism into the trilogy when Josephus admonishes his stubborn compatriots:

> And yet consider,
> That the Teutons even are Roman slaves,
> They, who in courage and bodily strength,
> In their love of freedom, surpass
> All the nations all around the inhabited earth.
> And yet eight Roman legions
> Constrain this wild, impetuous people.[68]

As this is immediately followed by Simon's attack on the priesthood for their suspected collusion with Rome, an allusion may be intended to the anxieties of liberal circles in Germany of being constrained by another Rome, of ecclesiastical provenance. This seems to be another indication of the incipient *Kulturkampf*, as in Rönnefahrt's dramatic poem, though the topic—presumably in deference to restrictive censorship—achieved more prominence in narrative fiction about the destruction of Jerusalem which, as will be discussed in chapter IV, was frequently instrumentalized by either side.

With regard to the biblical narrative, Franz most significantly offers a comprehensive reinterpretation of Judas Iscariot. The trilogy (and each of its parts) is appositely prefaced with an epigraph from Heraclitus: "A man's character is his fate." This indeed appears to be the governing principle of the dramatist's charac-

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knowledges that he had to pay for the printing of his early works out of his own pocket, see Otto Franz Gensichen, *Kulissenluft: Wallnertheater-Erinnerungen* (Berlin: Paetel, 1909), p. 103.

67 Otto Franz, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (Berlin: Heimann, 1869), p. 8: "Ein Musterbild der priesterlichen Selbstsucht."

68 Ibid., p. 56: "Bedenket doch, / Daß selbst die Deutschen Römersclaven sind, / Sie, die durch Tapferkeit und Leibesstärke, / Durch ihre Freiheitsliebe alle Völker / Der rings bewohnten Erde übertreffen. / Und dennoch halten acht Legionen Roms / Dies wilde, ungestüme Volk in Schranken."

terization of his figures, but it is perhaps most obvious in the case of Judas. Franz eschews the stereotypical representation of Judas as a shifty villain who sells his Lord for a paltry sum of money. Since the Middle Ages, the character of Judas had frequently been used as synonymous with the Jews. As such it had not only supported stereotypes of Jewish materialism but also constructions of Jewish obstinacy in rejecting salvation, which prompted anti-Jewish excess. In Franz's trilogy the one character flaw of Judas is, as Macbeth's in Shakespeare's eponymous play, his ambitious pride which makes him susceptible to the suggestions of another, in his case his dominant mother.

Initially, Judas is portrayed by Franz as a righteous character who does not hide his aversion to Jesus. He proudly asserts: "I never learnt how to dissemble."[69] As he comes to acknowledge the prerogative of Jesus and links his own political destiny with that of the man from Galilee, he nevertheless can agree neither with the objectives nor the means of his former rival. Alleging that Jesus confuses the imagination of the people with the spiritual dimension of his mission, he insists: "Deeds are called for, only deeds can save us."[70] Yet his own deed proves to be a disastrous political miscalculation, a betrayal not only of Jesus, but of himself, which turns him involuntarily into a "dissembling villain"[71] because he completely misjudges the historical moment and its players.

Like some of the oratorios discussed in chapter I, Franz aims to create a total work of art (*Gesamtkunstwerk*), as it had also been envisioned by Kaulbach. Yet in the same way that the artist must have been aware of the pitfalls besetting such an endeavor, Franz must have realized that his trilogy was not suitable for stage performance. The fifth act of the young dramatist's tragedy is explicitly linked to Kaulbach's fresco version of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* through his acknowledgment that it inspired the whole of his trilogy. His detailed description of the final tableau as a simulacrum of the fresco in conjunction with resounding triumphal music, which signifies the climax of his narrative, therefore must be considered an appeal to the imagination that presupposes the familiarity of the reader with the author's visual model. Indeed, though Franz himself may have been inspired by the fresco in the Neues Museum, Kaulbach's painting was further disseminated in a new engraving by Gustav Eilers (1869; see Figure 14) in the very year in which the *Messias* trilogy was published and it is likely that the dramatist too worked with this reproduction, as it included additional details from the artist's cartoon that proved relevant to his interpretation.

69 Otto Franz, *Jesus von Nazareth* (Berlin: Heimann, 1869), p. 55: "Ich hab' das Heucheln nicht gelernt."

70 Ibid., p. 56: "Der That bedarf's, die That nur kann uns retten."

71 See Otto Franz, *Judas Ischarioth* (Berlin: Heimann, 1869), p. 62.



Figure 14: Gustav Eilers, after Wilhelm von Kaulbach, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1869); engraving, in *Wilhelm von Kaulbach's Wandgemälde im Treppenhause des Neuen Museum zu Berlin: In Kupfer gestochen von G. Eilers, H. Merz, J. L. Raab, A. Schultheiss*. Mit erläuterndem Text herausgegeben unter den Auspicien des Meisters, ed. Alexander Duncker (Berlin: Duncker, 1872), fol. 3.

Franz inserts in the stage directions the *dramatis personae* of his play into what is effectively a description of the architectural frame and background of the painting:

> The scenic arrangement of this final act is to correspond as closely as possible to *Kaulbach's* fresco at the Berlin Museum by which the poet was first inspired to the composition of the Messiah trilogy. On the left hand, the front and the flight of open stairs of the Temple, which form an obtuse angle. To this is joined towards the right a colonnade in such a manner that it forms on the right-hand side another obtuse angle corresponding to the flight of stairs on the left. In the middle of the obtuse angle on the right is a gate. On the flight of stairs on the left are sitting *Lea* with the harp, *Ahasuerus*, people. On the stage are *Levi*, *Simon*, *John*, *Merton*, *Alexas*, *Jairus*, *Gypthäos* and people.[72]

72 Franz, *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, p. 75: "Das scenische Arrangement in diesem letzten Akte ist möglichst übereinstimmend zu machen mit dem im Berliner Museum befindlichen Wandge-

Indeed, the whole drama, as this suggests, unfolds a narrative that utilizes and effectively explains the figural constellation of Kaulbach's painting. The concluding setting, finally, has Franz's characters arrive at a tableau which corresponds to that of the artist, although it includes a number of significant substitutions:

> The final scene should be arranged as follows: on the open flight of stairs on the left are standing *Merton*, *Jairus*, *Gypthäos*, people. In the very foreground on the left, *Ahasuerus* is fleeing. On his right, *Levi* is cowering, with a sword in his hand. In the middle of the stage *Simon bar Giora* stands above the corpse of his eldest son who is covered with [a cloak of] royal purple, next to him are his two wives on whom he has drawn his sword. Between *Levi* and *Simon* are sitting women in the background who prepare to stab their children with knives. In the background on the right *Titus* enters through the colonnade, riding on a white stallion and followed by his army. In front of him *John of Giscala* is led by *Julian* as a captive. The Romans carry their banners into the Temple. In the very foreground on the right are the withdrawing Christians, carrying palm [fronds]; among them *Mary Magdalen*, *Tabitha*, *Diotrephes*, *Cypria*, *Demetrius*. The [final] curtain falls to resounding triumphant music.[73]

Probably the most significant divergence from Kaulbach's composition is Franz's substitution of the High Priest, central in the fresco, with Simon bar Giora (Simon Bargioras). In the play, the High Priest Ananus—as well as Matthias and Nikodemus—have been murdered earlier at the behest of Simon to whom is attributed by Franz the condemnation of the priests by Titus as recorded by Josephus and reiterated with disgust by the Jewish historian Heinrich Graetz: "Priests must per-

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mälde *Kaulbachs*, durch welches in dem Dichter die erste Idee zur Abfassung der Messiastrilogie geweckt wurde. Links die Vorderfront und Freitreppe des Tempels, welche eine stumpfe Ecke bilden. Daran schließt sich nach rechts hin eine Säulenhalle, welche den Hintergrund der Bühne bildet. Diese Säulenhalle zieht sich dann so, daß auf der rechten Seite eine stumpfe Ecke gebildet wird, ensprechend der Freitreppe auf der linken Seite. In der Mitte der stumpfen Ecke rechts ist ein Thor. Auf der Freitreppe links sitzen *Lea* mit der Harfe, *Ahasverus*, Volk. Auf der Bühne sind *Levi*, *Simon*, *Johannes*, *Merton*, *Alexas*, *Jairus*, *Gypthäos* und Volk."

73 Ibid., p. 84: "Das Schlußbild is folgendermaßen zu arrangieren: Auf der Freitreppe links stehen *Merton*, *Jairus*, *Gypthäos*, Volk. Ganz im Vordergrunde links flieht *Ahasverus*. Rechts von ihm kauert *Levi*, ein Schwert in der Hand. Mitten auf der Bühne ganz im Vordergrunde steht *Simon Bargioras* über der mit dem Königspurpur bedeckten Leiche seines ältesten Sohnes, neben ihm seine beiden Weiber, auf die er das Schwert zückt. Zwischen *Levi* und *Simon* sitzende Weiber im Hintergrunde, welche Messer auf ihre Kinder zücken. Rechts im Hintergrunde reitet *Titus* auf weißem Hengste durch die brennende Säulenhalle ein, gefolgt von seinem Heere. Vor ihm wird *Johannes von Gischala* als Gefangener von *Julianus* geführt. Die Römer tragen ihre Fahnen in den Tempel. Ganz im Vordergrunde rechts die ausziehenden Christen, Palmen tragend; unter ihnen *Maria Magdalena*, *Tabitha*, *Diotrephes*, *Cypria*, *Demetrius*. Unter rauschender Siegesmusik fällt der Vorhang."

ish with the Temple."[74] The replacement of the High Priest's daughter in the fresco with one of the two wives of Simon is in line with these alterations. In Franz's conception, it is instead the daughter of the Pharisee who represents the figure of the Beautiful Jewess. In contrast to the High Priest's daughter in Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, who appears to be torn between Judaism and Christianity, Tabitha has adopted the new faith and is therefore among the Christians leaving the city who, in Franz's play, do not correspond entirely to the artist's figural constellation; nor did Franz include the Jewish orphans. Instead, he added to the figures as represented in the fresco the captive John of Giscala.

Yet even with these minor alterations in mind, the whole drama remains in effect a narrativization and as such an expansive interpretation of Kaulbach's fresco. Indeed, as the final play in Franz's trilogy, originally published in one volume, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* should not be read without reference to the preceding plays, which commence with the emergence of John the Baptist in *Jesus von Nazareth* (Jesus of Nazareth) and conclude with the suicide of Judas in *Judas Ischarioth*. In addition to the comprehensive thematic development from Jesus's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem as related by Ahasuerus[75] to the final cataclysmic moment of the fall of the Temple and the blasphemer's horrified flight recreated in imitation of Kaulbach's fresco, Franz knits his three plays closely together through the consistent and recurrent use of the central characters, though their prominence varies in relation to the shifting historical contexts elaborated across the trilogy.

Given the significance accorded by the author to Kaulbach's mural, he must in fact have imagined those characters which in the final scene are inscribed into his recreation of the painting from the very beginning with their position and expression as visually established by the artist. Those of his *dramatis personae* he did not find in his pictorial model, he simply added to the multitude of figures in the painting according to their various affiliations.

Perhaps the most notable among the characters consistently employed by Franz across the trilogy are Mary Magdalen (Maria Magdalena), Ahasuerus, Levi, and Lea, the mother of Judas. No less significant, though of course no longer among the *dramatis personae* of the final play, is Judas himself whose character is developed by the dramatist across the first two plays of his trilogy in parallel to that of Jesus—who in fact never makes an actual stage appearance—and in relation to Mary Magdalen and his mother Lea. Though obviously also not among the Jews represented in Kaulbach's fresco, Judas is in fact a crucial figure in Franz's

74 Ibid., p. 58: "Priester müssen mit dem Tempel sterben."
75 Franz, *Jesus von Nazareth*, p. 40.

engagement with the biblical narrative and the historical episode and his earlier presence still reverberate in the final scene of the trilogy.

Jesus von Nazareth commences in imitation of biblical genealogy with Judas being informed of his lineage. With her claim that he is from the house of David, Lea incites her son to think of himself as the Messiah who, by force of his arms, shall become the savior of his people and free his country from the Roman yoke. Judas is, moreover, in love with Mary Magdalen. After their first night together, the young girl is accused of fornication. Brought by the religious court before Jesus to test him, he responds: "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her."[76] Mary Magdalen, her original death sentence commuted to being outcast, renounces all worldly love and abandons Judas in order to follow Jesus. Frustrated moreover also in his political endeavors by the people's belief that Jesus is the Messiah, Judas initially is consumed with hatred of the other. Yet he soon also falls under the spell of the Nazarene and dreams of joining forces with the gentle Galilean.

Characterized as heroic and beloved by the people, unyielding and courageous toward the Roman occupiers of Judaea, Judas is nevertheless shown to be easily swayed by his mother and her fierce ambition—both characters, if in a slightly different constellation, in fact seem to be modeled to some extent on Shakespeare's Macbeth and Lady Macbeth. In *Judas Ischarioth*, it is his mother's scheming and the intrigues of the priests, in particular of Levi, that in conjunction with the jealousy by which he is tormented for being deserted by Mary Magdalen make Judas ultimately betray not only Jesus but also his own honorable nature. Indeed, Franz presents Judas as a tragic hero whose pragmatism and indomitable spirit are shattered as he confronts the otherworldly meekness and power of Jesus.

Destroyed by his betrayal, Judas one by one denounces his now tarnished virtues of which pride is the last to which he clings. Yet his pride is at the same time his fatal flaw. As Satan in Milton's *Paradise Lost* seeks to equal God, his pride casting him "out from Heaven,"[77] thus Judas has the presumption to think of himself as the Messiah. Like Satan, he cannot bear to be second and would indeed have been destined to be first had not his adversary been so inhumanly superior.

The emphasis on Judas may seem immaterial in relation to Kaulbach's pictorial composition. Yet his is a crucial, if historically contingent, absence in the artist's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* no less than in the dramatist's. As recognized by Franz and elaborated in his trilogy, there is a profound affinity between Judas

76 Ibid., p. 72. See John 8:7.

77 Milton, *Paradise Lost*, p. 357 (I.37).

and Ahasuerus. Like Judas, Ahasuerus was seen as "a symbol of the Jewish people"[78] and both are eternally punished for their rejection of Christ. Though manifest before the middle of the nineteenth century, this was a theme that developed "strongly during the remainder of the century."[79]

Kaulbach may already have been aware of the link between Ahasuerus and Judas that was also elaborated in the second part of Franz's trilogy. In addition to the various pictorial sources meticulously researched and discussed by Möseneder,[80] the artist's constellation of the demons and the precipitate figure of Ahasuerus arguably owe their inspiration also to an illustration of Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock's *Der Messias* (1748–73; *The Messiah*) by Heinrich Friedrich Füger. The illustration to Canto IX of the widely disseminated religious epic represents Judas as he is cast into Hell by Abbadon, one of the Angels of Death and, more specifically, the Angel of the Abyss (see Figure 15). Incidentally, Füger's design was engraved by Johann Friedrich Leybold who in 1787 also crafted the frontispiece of the second volume of Schubart's poems which represents the enraged Ahasuerus casting off the craggy cliffs of Mount Carmel the skulls of the long line of those of his kin and progeny survived by him.

Precipitate, like Kaulbach's Ahasuerus, Judas staggers in the left foreground of Füger's illustration toward the abyss and, with eyes wide, stares in horror at the beholder.[81] Behind him the central figure of Abbadon points imperiously into the depths; the flaming sword in the angel's other hand indicates Jesus on the cross in the top right corner of the background. Two other winged figures behind the Angel of the Abyss, shying away from the precipice, complete the diagonal axis between the crucified and his betrayer which is additionally emphasized with a bolt of lightning next to the Redeemer's cross. Their recoiling movement and Abbadon's pointing hand in the very center of the composition as well as the momentum of Judas's lurching body suggest his inevitable trajectory toward the burning pit in the right foreground out of which a serpent rises to claim the betrayer of Christ.

78 Anderson, *Wandering Jew*, p. 248.

79 Ibid.

80 See Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 123–6.

81 Füger's Judas was clearly also an inspiration for Samuel Hirszenberg's (1865–1907) striking painting of *Żyd wieczny tułacz* (1899; The Wandering Jew); oil on canvas; 343 cm × 293 cm; The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Like Kaulbach's composition, this shows Ahasuerus fleeing the conflagration of the destruction of Jerusalem. For Hirszenberg's painting as a response to Kaulbach, see Ronen, "Kaulbach's Wandering Jew," 251–4. For Hirszenberg's sources, see also Richard I. Cohen and Mirjam Rajner, "The Return of the Wandering Jew(s) in Shmuel Hirszenberg's Art," *Ars Judaica* 7 (2011): 33–56, who do not, however, include Füger's illustration to Klopstock in their discussion.



Figure 15: Johann Friedrich Leybold, after Heinrich Friedrich Füger, *Klopstock's Messias. Neunter Gesang* (1799), in *Der Messias. Ein Cyclus von Darstellungen nach Motiven aus Klopstock's Messias gezeichnet von H. Füger* [. . .] 14 Platten mit erläuterndem Text (Stuttgart: Göpel, [1846?]; engraving; British Library, London (General Reference Collection Tab.1349.c.). (With kind permission.)

In terms of the composition, the influence of Füger's illustration on Kaulbach's painting is suggested not only by the constellation of the three portentous figures of the angels in relation to the fugitive to which correspond the three avenging demons. His position in the left foreground is also similar, as is the wild aspect of his face and eyes. While obviously derived from the Erinyes, and perhaps even more directly from Schubart's "dæmon, let loose from hell," the snakes wound around the demons' heads in the *Zerstörung Jerusalems* appear to be prefigured by the unruly locks blown wildly around Abbadon's head.

In addition to these parallels, a conceptual similarity between Judas and Ahasuerus is moreover suggested by Klopstock's verse. The "trembling spectre" of the "Traitor's ghost,"[82] Judas, already dead by his own hand, pleads with the angel to kill him with his flaming sword. He, like Ahasuerus, seeks to end his punishment and to find rest. Yet his fate is "death that ne'er sleeps."[83] Like Ahasuerus, he is condemned to perpetual pain, never to be redeemed, though not on earth but in eternity.

Perhaps more significant still is the change in the perception of Judas which was initiated with Klopstock's epic. In the third canto, Satan swoops down in Gethsemane on the sleeping form of Judas and forces an evil dream upon him in which the ghost of his father not only insinuates to him the feeling of being slighted and hated by Jesus but suggests to him to hasten the coming of the kingdom of the Messiah through his contrived betrayal:

> Lo, the Messiah lingers to fulfil
> His great redemption; to establish yet
> His promis'd kingdom! Nought, meantime, can prove
> More hateful to the souls of Israel's chiefs,
> Than to obey, as king, the Nazarene.
> Daily they plot his death. Dissemble then!
> Feign to be willing to give up thy Lord
> Into their Elders' hands; not to avenge
> His causeless hatred, but to urge him on,
> Weary of persecution, to arise
> In formidable wrath, his foes to quell,
> To smite them to the earth with scorn in shame,
> And blind confusion, and at once t' erect
> His long-expected kingdom. [. . .][84]

82 Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, *The Messiah: A Poem*, [transl. Catherine Head,] vol. 2 (London: Longman, etc., 1826), IX: 553, 562; see also Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, *Der Messias* (Leipzig: Göschen, 1839), I, 319: "ein bebender Todter [. . .] der Geist des Verräthers."

83 Klopstock, *Messiah*, IX: 596; see also Klopstock, *Messias*, I, 323: "hier schläft der Tod nicht."

84 Klopstock, *Messiah*, III: 605–18; see also Klopstock, *Messias*, I, 97: "Sieh', der Messias säumt mit seiner großen Erlösung / Und mit dem herrlichen Reich, das er aufzurichten verheißen. / Nichts ist den Großen verhaßter, als Nazareths König zu dienen. / Täglich sinnen sie Tod' ihm aus. Verstelle Dich, Judas, / Schein', als wolltest Du ihn in die Hand der wartenden Priester / Ueberliefern, nicht, Rache zu üben, weil er dich hasset, / Sondern, ihn nur dadurch zu bewegen, daß er sich endlich / Ihrer langen Verfolgungen müd' und furchtbarer zeige, / Daß er, mit Schande, Bestürzung und Schmach sie zu Boden zu schlagen, / Sein so lang' erwartetes Reich auf Einmal errichte."

Suggested by Satan through the dream specter of Judas's father, the expectation of the Messiah's kingdom articulated here is clearly political, not spiritual. It reflects the materialism attributed to Judas in the epic which is indeed introduced as the incentive for his betrayal of Christ: "as foll'wer of a dreaded Chief" the sooner to gain, "[d]rear as it is, thy heritage."[85]

Yet Klopstock's suggestion of personal greed as the underlying motivation for Judas's political engagement was subsequently superseded with his more idealistic political zeal. This notion was elaborated, for instance, by Goethe in his plan for an epic poem on Ahasuerus. The posthumously published "Der ewige Jude," mentioned above as seminal to the renewed interst in Ahasuerus since the 1830s, may have been known to Kaulbach, and presumably also to Otto Franz. The fragment itself does not include the Judas episode. Yet in the poet's plan, published already in 1830 in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, it occurs in a rudimentary form, which reveals it to be a further development of Klopstock's conception.

In Goethe's plan, Judas confides after the betrayal in despair over his misguided deed to Ahasuerus:

> He had been, he said, as well as the shrewdest of the other disciples, firmly convinced that Christ would declare himself regent and head of the nation. His purpose was only, by this violence, to compel the Lord, whose hesitation had hitherto been invincible, to hasten the declaration. Accordingly, he had incited the priesthood to an act which previously they had not courage to do. The disciples on their side, were not without arms, and probably all would have turned out well, if the Lord had not given him up, and left them in the most forlorn state.[86]

This shift in the perception of Judas, sustained and promoted in particular by the historical research into the life of Jesus that emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century,[87] was expressed quite succinctly by Thomas de Quincey in his

85 Klopstock, *Messiah*, III: 619, 621; see also Klopstock, *Messias*, I, 97: "ein Jünger von einem gefürchteten Meister; / Dann, dann würdest du auch dein Erbtheil früher Erlangen! / Ist es auch klein [. . .]."

86 Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *The Auto-Biography of Goethe. Truth and Poetry: From My Own Life. The Concluding Books*, transl. A. J. W. Morrison (London: Bell, 1874), p. 36. See also Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit. Dritter Theil*, p. 304: "Er sey nämlich, so gut als die klügsten der übrigen Anhänger, fest überzeugt gewesen, daß Christus sich als Regent und Volkshaupt erklären werde, und habe das bisher unüberwindliche Zaudern des Herrn mit Gewalt zur That nöthigen wollen, und deßwegen die Priesterschaft zu Thätlichkeiten aufgereizt, welche auch diese bisher nicht gewagt. Von der Jünger Seite sey man auch nicht unbewaffnet gewesen, und wahrscheinlicher Weise wäre alles gut abgelaufen, wenn der Herr sich nicht selbst ergeben und sie in den traurigsten Zuständen zurückgelassen hätte."

87 See, e.g., David Friedrich Strauß, *Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet*, 2 vols (Tübingen: Osiander, 1836), II, §115, pp. 392–3.

essay on "Judas Iscariot" (1852). With reference to developments in Germany, de Quincey argues that Judas, failing to appreciate the spiritual dimension of Jesus's mission, expected him to establish an earthly kingdom and to restore the throne of David. Thus misunderstanding the nature of the Messiah, as did many others, Judas, de Quincey suggests, had the presumption of precipitating the prevaricating Jesus into action by his apparent betrayal so that

> he would be forced into giving the signal to the populace of Jerusalem who would then rise unanimously, for the double purpose of placing Christ at the head of an insurrectionary movement, and of throwing off the Roman yoke.[88]

This absolves Judas from base desires and absolute evil. It potentially even establishes him as a tragic hero. Consequently, as Hyam Maccoby observes, "[t]his version of events has proved popular not only with scholars but with authors of novels and film-scripts about Jesus and early Christianity."[89] Franz's conception of the figure of Judas clearly is also indebted to this school of thought, though his suggestion of the defiant disciple's doubts about his own chosenness as the Messiah goes far beyond these considerations.

Richard Wagner, too, was intrigued by the shift in the perception of Judas in the wake of Goethe's conception. In the draft for an abandoned opera project on "Jesus von Nazareth" (1848; Jesus of Nazareth), the composer elaborated the tension between conflicting expectations of a political and a spiritual Messiah.[90] Like Goethe, and like Franz after him, Wagner conceived of Judas as a Zealot. In his fragmentary draft, Judas, serious and sincere, but materialistic, urges Jesus to declare himself and instigate an armed revolt against Roman rule and the Jewish theocracy. Yet Jesus explains that he conceives of himself not as a scion of David but as the Son of God.[91] Jesus, that is, chooses the universal over the particular, while Judas, with his expectation of a worldly messianic realm, remains effectively mired in the Jewish particularity denounced by Gutzkow and Wagner.

From 1843–49 musical director at the court theater in Dresden, Wagner had a strained relationship with Gutzkow, who was appointed the theater's dramaturge in 1846. Yet his notion of the destruction of Ahasuerus as the exemplar of Jewish redemption through the destruction of Jewish particularity, articulated in his notorious essay on "Das Judenthum in der Musik" shortly after he abandoned the

88 Thomas de Quincey, "Judas Iscariot" [1852], in *Judas Iscariot and Other Writings* (Edinburgh: Black, 1863), pp. 1–34, p. 6.

89 Hyam Maccoby, *Judas Iscariot and the Myth of Jewish Evil* (New York: Free Press, 1992), p. 136.

90 See Richard Wagner, *Jesus von Nazareth: Ein dichterischer Entwurf aus dem Jahre 1848* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1887).

91 See ibid., pp. 6, 12 and 23–5.

"Jesus von Nazareth" project, may well have been influenced by the writer, whose alleged affinity with the Jews the composer was later to denounce with disgust as he ascribed supposedly Jewish character traits to him.[92]

It is not likely that Franz would have been familiar with Wagner's treatment of Judas, which was not published until 1887, four years after the composer's death. Jewish particularity in itself is also not a prominent concern of the dramatist. Beyond the potential influence of Füger's illustration to Canto IX of Klopstock's *Messias* on Kaulbach, the construction of Judas as a Zealot is intriguing in the present context in particular inasmuch as it is related by Franz to the Berlin fresco and as such suggests a further dimension to the representation of the destruction of Jerusalem. After all, the eradication of the city and the Temple is the absolute negation of the messianic hope of which Judas and his condemnation become emblematic no less than the Ahasuerus figure.

Descended into madness after the death of her son, Lea is associated by Franz through Ananus with Ahasuerus as metonymy for an obsolete Judaism: "Embodied / Appears to be in these ancient figures / The Judaism of old; two shrill types / For a painter's brush."[93] Mention of the painter's brush may well be considered a further reference to Kaulbach whose Ahasuerus is indeed a "shrill" figure. Lea's character, however, is another absence from the artist's fresco, though Franz found a way of inserting her by association.

The High Priest, like Levi, seeks to promote peace. Both fear the upheavals and power shifts resulting from either a Jewish or a Roman victory. Yet Lea craves to re-establish the Jewish royal line through her son. She is therefore a threat to the power of the priests, if no longer—in the final part of the trilogy, after the death of Judas—in actuality. In her madness, she fantasizes about welcoming her victorious son as the Jewish king upon his return from battle. With her song and harp, she assumes a prophetic voice with which she extols Zion's rise from destruction and abjection. But her vision is obsolete and lacks divine sanction. In the final act, which in particular was inspired by Kaulbach, she calls with increasing despair for her son as the Lion of Juda. When she is not heard, in complete desolation, she rips in a frenzy of destruction the strings of her harp before she shatters the instrument and finally casts herself off the Temple Mount.

None of the figures in Kaulbach's pictorial composition corresponds to the character of Lea, yet the engravings by Merz as well as Eilers and Eichens, based on the Munich and Berlin cartoons of the artist, respectively, include in the fore-

92 See Jacob Katz, *The Darker Side of Genius: Richard Wagner's Anti-Semitism* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 1986), p. 18.

93 Franz, *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, p. 45: "Verkörpert / Erscheint in diesen greisigen Gestalten / Das alte Judenthum; zwei grelle Typen / Für eines Malers Pinsel."

ground a broken harp (see, e.g., Figure 14), a detail omitted in either of the completed versions of the painting.[94] It would seem that Franz, inspired by the image of the shattered harp and its implications, extrapolated from it the character of Lea. The broken instrument denotes the absence left by the old woman and the utter destruction of the hope of the restoration of a Jewish kingdom as embodied in the trilogy by her and by Judas, though Kaulbach may rather have conceived of it as a symbol of the failure of the royal line of the house of David. He may also have included it as a further instrument of radicalization in comparison to the destruction of the First Temple after which, as suggested in Psalm 137—and as represented in Bendemann's painting—the Jews hung their harps in sorrow in the trees. The broken harp in Kaulbach's painting cannot be retrieved or mended.

Ahasuerus envies Lea's madness, as insanity would offer him release from the curse weighing upon him.[95] His character too, like hers and Levi's, appears already in the first part of Franz's trilogy but gains prominence mainly in the second and third parts. In an inversion of Kaulbach's pictorial representation, Ahasuerus is hounded by the spirit of vengeance to revisit the site of his transgression. When he returns to Jerusalem, eternally driven and restless, he is deeply affected by his encounter with the aged Mary Magdalen whose face impresses on him "the splendour of the beatific peace of rapture" that eludes him.[96] His is another voice of despair and destruction, but different from Lea's. Ahasuerus—as in Schubart, Croly, and Wohlmuth—seeks his own death in the imminent conflagration.[97]

In Franz's play, Ahasuerus's prophecy of doom is therefore also different from Mary Magdalen's who foretells the destruction of the old order as she heralds the new. As already suggested by Wohlmuth, it is the fate of Ahasuerus himself which she elaborates as paradigmatic of the whole of Israel:

> Oh, Land, Land, Land, hearken to the word of the Lord.
> All of Israel will wander the earth
> Without a home, like Ahasuerus,
> And towards its fulfilment time is thrust.
> The hour of the Last Judgement has come,
> Defiled is the Holy of Holies
> And Adonai's abode insolently profaned.[98]

94 This detail was omitted for unknown reasons in both the final Munich and Berlin versions, see Menke-Schwinghammer, *Weltgeschichte als "Nationalepos,"* p. 42.

95 See Franz, *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, p. 46.

96 Ibid., p. 12: "[. . .] deren Antlitz / Im sel'gen Frieden der Verklärung strahlt."

97 See ibid., p. 20.

98 Ibid., p. 21: "O Land, Land, Land, vernimm das Wort des Herrn. / Ganz Israel wird heimathlos die Erde / Durchschweifen müssen wie Ahasverus, / Und der Erfüllung drängt die Zeit entgegen. / Des Weltgerichtes Stunde bricht herein, / Geschändet ist das Allerheiligste / Und Adonai's Woh-

Mary Magdalen condenses into these lines almost the whole of Kaulbach's artistic conception. Peace is denied to Ahasuerus because his transgression—blasphemy against the Holy Spirit—cannot be forgiven. Yet Mary Magdalen exhorts him to recognize Jesus as his redeemer:

> I say unto thee, thou shalt find no peace,
> Unless thou rest beneath His cross.
> The Vanquisher of Death and Prince of Peace
> Alone can give you true tranquillity.[99]

This future hope is what ultimately distinguishes Ahasuerus from Judas. The betrayer of Jesus cannot be redeemed. As he watches the crucfixion from afar, Judas braves the tumult of the elements and defiantly describes the hour of horrors as the birth hour of the messianic realm he seeks to establish:

> Firm, firm, the hour
> Of labour approaches and I as physician
> First receive from the womb
> The child, the child of affliction, the new Empire,
> That in Israel I seek to create.[100]

Yet he collapses senseless, a lesser man than he believed himself to be. When he awakens, Ahasuerus, pursued—as in Kaulbach—by avenging spirits, identifies both as traitors. Yet he takes comfort in the knowledge that with Judas there is one who is more evil than himself.[101] Almost stoned by the frenzied people, Judas eventually makes his escape and, all his dreams shattered, curses himself and his mother. And yet, once more does he try to rally the priests in support of his messianic ambitions. When he is mocked and cast out, he finally despairs and kills himself—in contrast to biblical tradition—with a dagger. The significance of the cross-shape of the weapon is not lost on him: "Thus the cross to both of us delivers death."[102] Yet he is, once again, the lesser of the two.

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nung frech entweiht. / Die Römer nahen eilig unsrer Stadt, / Als die Vollstrecker göttlicher Befehle, / Damit das Wort des Herrn erfüllet werde."

99 Ibid., p. 20: "Ich sage dir, nicht eher findst du Frieden, / Als bis du ausruhst unter seinem Kreuze. / Der Todbezwinger und Friedefürst / Kann dir allein die wahre Ruhe geben."

100 Franz, *Judas Ischarioth*, p. 58: "Fest, fest, es naht / Die Stunde der Geburt, und ich als Arzt / Empfange aus dem Mutterleib zuerst / Das Kind, das Schmerzenskind, das neue Reich, / Das ich in Israel begründen will."

101 See ibid.

102 Ibid., p. 73: "So giebt das Kreuz uns beiden also Tod."

In the concluding part of Franz's trilogy, Levi too anticipates the impending catastrophe and the exile of the Jews.[103] The Pharisee's response, once again different from that of the other characters, is a debilitating sense of futility and failure as well as the anguished and grudging acknowledgment of supersession. His choice is to die in the conflagration as a representative of the old order, thus eventually to achieve what is denied to Ahasuerus. For Levi, too, wishes to die but is initially forced to live on to witness the iniquities perpetrated by John of Giscala and his followers.[104]

In *Jesus von Nazareth* and even more clearly in *Judas Ischarioth*, Levi emerges as an evil schemer whose lust for power and obsession with the status quo compel him to instigate the betrayal of Judas and the persecution and crucifixion of Jesus. However, in *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, set more than three decades later, he appears worn down by doubts about his own actions in the past. His frequently reiterated realization—"Thine is the victory, Nazarene,"[105] an echo of Eleazar's dying words in Wohlmuth's play—punctuates the rapid progress of doom in the final part of the trilogy:

> Unstoppable the old into itself does
> Fold, and the new gains in power.
> .....
> And all I so proudly built disintegrates.
> One thing, one alone, is left to me, the love of a child.[106]

Yet his daughter Tabitha too is lost to the Pharisee when the Beautiful Jewess, once again confirming the gendered conversion narrative, leaves her father's faith. The constellation and the individual trajectory of either figure is similar to Eleazar's and Judith's in Wohlmuth's play. Together with the Christians, among them her betrothed, Tabitha withdraws from the doomed city. Levi is resigned rather than incensed but will not follow her:

> Away, away, I will not curse you,
> Yet nevermore do I wish to lay my eyes on you.
> All alone will I die on the ruins of
> Jerusalem, true to the God of my Fathers
> E'en in death. Oh, fiercely a canker

103 See Franz, *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, p. 63.

104 See ibid., p. 60.

105 Ibid., p. 27: "Du hast gesieget, Nazarener"; see also pp. 29, 66, 84.

106 Ibid.: "Unhaltbar stürzt das Alte in sich selbst / Zusammen, und das Neue wächst an Kraft. / [. . .] / Und Alles bricht, was ich so stolz gebaut. / Eins, Eins nur blieb mir, eines Kindes Liebe."

Gnaws within me, and eternally resounds
The word: "Thine, Nazarene, is the victory!"[107]

The new dispensation is articulated with supersessionist certainty by Tabitha when she finally abandons her father in the Tempel: "You die for the God of Vengeance and of Wrath, / For the God of Love Tabitha will live."[108]

In the first two parts of Franz's trilogy, the Beautiful Jewess was embodied in Mary Magdalen. In the concluding part, the type is represented by Tabitha. If only very briefly, there is a suggestion that both may be closely connected in that the older woman has taken on the role of a motherly confidante for the presumably motherless daughter of the old Jew.[109] In this particular case, Mary Magdalen is moreover an eye witness to the unfolding eschatological events whose truth she transmits. The constellation of older converted woman and motherless daughter is particularly effective and is occasionally reiterated in dramatic and narrative representations of the destruction of Jerusalem, though not in the oratorios.[110]

As in Wohlmuth's play, the gruesome narrative of Mary of Bethezuba is used by Franz as a signifier of the worst of the depravity perpetrated in the doomed city. And as in the earlier play, her individual guilt is deflected onto John and Simon. Her unnatural deed is portrayed as a symptom of the corruption that was engendered by these men among the population of the besieged city. Again, to some extent as in the earlier play, Mary becomes a kind of touchstone against which the true mettle of the Jewish leaders is tested.

John of Giscala is and remains evil; he seeks to plant internal strife for his own ends and his iniquity and moral corruption is without bounds.[111] He is an opportunist without beliefs, as is indicated also by his proto-communist demands, which he exploits for his own benefit: "The communion of goods, and of all women / Be henceforth law in Jerusalem."[112] John is moreover a coward and will

107 Ibid., p. 29: "Hinweg, hinweg, nicht fluchen will ich euch, / Doch nimmer mag ich euch mit Augen sehen. / Vereinsamt werd' ich sterben auf den Trümmern / Jerusalems, dem Gotte meiner Väter / Auch noch im Tode treu. O, heftig nagt / Ein Wurm im Innern mir, und ewig tönt / Das Wort: 'Du, Nazarener, hast gesiegt!'"

108 Ibid., p. 83: "Du stirbst dem Gott der Rache und des Zornes, / Dem Gott der Liebe wird Tabitha leben."

109 See ibid. For the frequent effacement of the mother figure of the Beautiful Jewess, see Sicher, *Jew's Daughter*, p. 11.

110 See, e.g., the figures of Rahel and Miriam in Hans Herrig's tragedy *Jerusalem* (1874), discussed below; in Jutta Ihlenfeld's novel *Ruth, die Nichte des Apostels Paulus* (1899), which is examined in chapter IV, the figures of Ruth and her old slave Iras are converted simultaneously.

111 See Franz, *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, pp. 14, 30–2.

112 Ibid., p. 36: "Gemeinschaft aller Güter, aller Weiber / Sei künftig Satzung in Jerusalem."

not die honorably, like Simon;[113] shifty, and once more thinking only of his own advantage, he seeks to escape the conflagration he incited. He is construed as the very embodiment of modern stereotypes of degenerate Jewishness. His character clearly plays to the anxieties of an imaginary modern audience inculcated with antisemitic stereotypes. But when he is led away a captive by the victorious Romans, those anxieties are laid to rest.[114]

Simon, similar to Judas, is a noble soul who has been corrupted by the depravity of his times and, more specifically, by the wiles of the self-serving priests which compelled him, as he recognizes himself, to stray "sideways off the path of virtue" and therefore provoked his vengeance and his hubris.[115] He realizes: "my soul hath crushed itself" and defiantly seeks to wreak destruction:[116]

> I through noble deeds could have been great,
> Yet the times are not propitious,
> Thus I want to stand, in unyieldingly stiff
> Defiance, mocking death, head
> And shoulder above the petty monsters
> That ever lived as the scourge of a world.[117]

Simon's heroic and ultimately honorable nature reasserts itself as he prepares to kill his family and himself. He is shaken by the perversions perpetrated within the city and in particular by the unnatural act of Mary's teknophagy. Confounded by the sheer scale of the iniquity in Jerusalem, Simon entreats God to bury it under the ruins of the Temple.[118] He thus turns into the imposing and heroic figure Kaulbach gave to the High Priest and as which he was conceived by Franz.

Ahasuerus, in a parallelism which equates his sin with that of the doomed city, uses the same image, ultimately derived from Schubart: "Cover me / With thy ruins, sacred Temple / And put an end to my great torment."[119] As in Wohlmuth's play, this articulates the admission of his guilt and eventually, as he flees the conflagration, the continuation of his cursed wanderings. Yet where in the

113 See ibid., p. 80.

114 See ibid., p. 83.

115 Ibid., p. 63: "Seitwärts vom Pfad der Tugend."

116 Ibid., p. 70: "meine Seele hat sich selbst vernichtet."

117 Ibid.: "Ich könnte groß durch edle Thaten sein, / Der Zeiten Ungunst hat es nicht gewollt, / So will ich denn durch todverhöhnenden, / Unbeugsam starren Trotz um Hauptes Länge / Die kleinen Ungeheuer überragen, / Die je als Geißel einer Welt gelebt."

118 Ibid., p. 79: "Des Kinderfraßes Gräuel / Mußt du bedecken mit des Tempels Trümmern, / Denn länger darf die Sonne nicht bescheinen / Den Ort, wo Mütter ihre Kinder schlachten."

119 Ibid., p. 80: "Decke mich / Mit deinen Trümmern, heil'ger Tempel, zu / Und setz' ein Ende meiner großen Qual."

earlier play Ahasuerus accepts the redemptive nature of God's punishment, this dimension is absent from Franz's drama.

Mary upbraids the Zealots as cowardly and exhorts them to follow her own example and abandon the last vestiges of any moral restraints. At the same time, she accuses them of having prompted her unnatural act: "Yours is the blame, / Who to such horrors mothers do compel."[120] Hence, Mary invokes her cannibalized child as an "avenging spirit" to haunt "the iniquitous corrupters of Zion" and to become "a fable for posterity"—as in Franz's trilogy.[121] Yet even more important, the author shows Mary's unnatural deed to goad other mothers into seeking to kill their children and to revert to the human sacrifice of the Moloch cult, which had been superseded by the Ten Commandments delivered by Moses.

The corruption in the city thus results in Jewish regression as opposed to the progression of the Christians: the law is revoked and perverted into inhumane abjection in one case and transcended to divine grace in the other. Christian supersession is variously affirmed in the trilogy; it is also triumphantly reiterated in the conclusion to the drama and the *Messiah* trilogy as a whole by the withdrawing Christians among whose number is Levi's converted daughter Tabitha: "Praised be Christ! Our faith is / The victory that will overcome the world."[122]

The Eternal Jew and Encroaching Antisemitism: Herrig

In the preface to his *Jerusalem* (1874), Hans Herrig (1845–92) noted his fascination with the period of "the fall of the ancient world and the rise of Christianity." He considered this to be "the most magnificent and tragical phenomenon in all of the history of the world" and, moreover, the only one in which inheres a "reconciliation."[123] The dramatic poem appears to have been the first in a tetralogy left unfinished by the author in which he intended to address the main ideas of Christianity in the crucial moments of its emergence and of which his *Nero* (1883),

120 Ibid.: "Euch trifft die Schuld, / Die ihr zu solchen Gräueln Mütter zwingt."

121 Ibid.: "Ein Rachegeist / Sei er den schändlichen Verderbern Zions," and: "Sei eine Fabel für die Nachwelt."

122 Ibid., p. 84: "Gelobt sei Christus! Unser Glaube ist / Der Sieg, der überwinden wird die Welt."

123 Hans Herrig, *Jerusalem* (Leipzig: Fritzsch, 1874), p. V: "ich [halte] den Untergang der alten Welt und die Erstehung des Christenthums für die großartigste und tragischste Erscheinung der ganzen Weltgeschichte und zwar für die Einzige, welche in sich selbst eine Versöhnung trägt, und [habe] deßhalb mir vorgenommen, wenn meine Kräfte reichen und das Schicksal es gestattet hat, dieselbe noch nach anderen Beziehungen hin zu schildern, und zwar in den bedeutungsvollen Gestalten eines Nero, Diocletian und Julian."

though first in the chronological sequence, was the second to appear.[124] Herrig's projected plays about Diocletian and Julian the Apostate were never published.

Already in 1875, shortly after the publication of *Jerusalem*, Herrig was discussed in the year's review of continental literature in the London-based *Athenæum* as one of "[t]he dramatists of modern Germany [who] seem to be in a fair way to annihilate the distinctions between the epic and dramatic forms of presentation."[125] His latest play was described as a reworking of Josephus's narrative "into an epic series of effective historical pictures." The article nevertheless insisted that "[t]he delineation of periods in the world's history" was "a task that epic poetry alone can undertake" and as such was beyond "the capabilities not of the actual only, but of any possible stage" which, in the author's estimation firmly relegated plays, such as Herrig's, not unreasonably to being read only.

The historical drama of Schiller, the author suggested, was being turned by these new writers into dramatic history. Indeed, Herrig is mentioned next to Heinrich von Kleist and Christian Dietrich Grabbe as one of the "genial but uncouth *Kraftdramatiker*" who are regarded as "dramatic forerunners" of Wagner's music theater.[126] Herrig was in fact an ardent admirer of Wagner and it has been observed that his "melodic" use of language is reminiscent of the composer's *leitmotifs*.[127]

The Prussian victory over Austria in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 has been described as another external influence supposedly crucial to Herrig's development as a writer. A contemporary critic argued that it made him recognize the significance of history and, more specifically, of national history:

> All his plays are historical, their subject matter taken partly from national and partly from universal history. For Herrig is not at all of the opinion that only those plays are national whose subjects are based on the history of one's own nation.[128]

In this context, Herrig's supposedly realistic construction of Ahasuerus simultaneously as a historical and symbolic figure that, echoing Gutzkow, embodies "the

124 See Ludwig Fränkel, "Herrig, Hans H.," in ADB (1905), L, 234–43, 237.

125 Robert Zimmermann, "Germany," in "Continental Literature," *Athenæum* (December 25, 1875): 857–78, 864–8, 865.

126 Ibid.

127 Arnold Fokke, *Über Hans Herrig*. Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Programm des Königlichen Gymnasiums zu Wilhelmshaven, 1891 (Wilhelmshaven: Süss, 1891), p. 36.

128 Ibid., p. 19: "Alle seine Dramen sind historische, der Stoff derselben zum Teil der vaterländischen und zum Teil der Universalgeschichte entnommen. Denn Herrig ist keineswegs der Meinung, dass nur das Drama national sei, welches seinen Inhalt aus der Geschichte des eigenen Volkes schöpfe."

deification of the most blatant egotism"[129] has been suggested to be particularly effective:

> There is nothing of the mystical drapery in which he [i.e., Ahasuerus] otherwise is cloaked, so as to incite the imagination by the veil of mystery; clear and transparent like other men who with overt actions pursue a particular purpose, thus the Wandering Jew is presented to us, in speech and deeds most acutely defined.[130]

Ahasuerus, in this contemporary reading of Herrig's play, symbolizes the inclination not just of the Jews, but of all humankind, toward the worldly and carnal. In this sense the destruction of Jerusalem as a historical occurrence is once more given the character of an exemplum that is, however, dissected into what is common to humanity and the Jewish particular which, according to Arnold Fokke, "after the fall of Jehovah in the drama no longer has the right to exist."[131]

Herrig's dramatic poem presents another confrontation between political and spiritual conceptions of the Messiah, in relation to which Ahasuerus is given much prominence. He is indeed drawn in analogy to Judas Iscariot and represented as an active promoter of the idea of political messianism. His singlemindedness and fierceness is emphasized by his orphaned great-granddaughter Rahel, who suffers from his lack of affection and excess of religious zeal. Rahel is in the familiar configuration once again a manifestation of the Beautiful Jewess who, in a long-drawn process, converts to Christianity. While not, in this instance, the daughter of the High Priest, she is nevertheless betrothed to his son, Juda. Pained by the emotional distance maintained by Ahasuerus, she is divided between her love of Juda and her affection for Miriam (Mirjam). The old woman has been like a mother to her and, in a configuration encountered already in Franz's *Messiah*, introduces her to Christianity. Exposed by Juda as a former prostitute, Miriam is a Mary Magdalen figure (like Maria Magdalena in Franz's trilogy) who herself embodied the Beautiful Jewess in the past but whose spiritual trajectory becomes the model for the virtuous Rahel who does not reject the maternal confidante even in the light of the revelations of her past.

When Simon bar Giora enters the city at the head of his troops, Ahasuerus, described by Rahel for his "divine raptures" as a "resurrected Jeremiah,"[132] hails

129 Ibid., p. 6: "Das Symbol dieser Gottsetzung der krassesten Selbssucht [*sic*] ist der Ahasver."
130 Ibid., pp. 6–7: "Da ist nichts von der mystischen Gewandung, in welcher er [i.e., Ahasuerus] sonst erscheint, um durch den Schleier des Geheimnisses die Phantasie zu erregen; klar und durchsichtig wie andere Menschen, welche mit offenem Thun einen bestimmten Zweck verfolgen so tritt der ewige Jude vor uns hin, in Reden und Handeln aufs schärfste umschnitten."
131 Ibid., p. 22: "nach dem Sturze Jehovas im Drama nicht mehr existenzberechtigt."
132 Herrig, *Jerusalem*, p. 14: "in göttlichen Verzückungen, / Ein auferstand'ner Jeremias."

the Galilean in biblical language as the bridegroom of Jerusalem and as the Messiah.[133] Juda, representing a younger, heroic, but similarly misguided generation of Jews, shares his enthusiasm. In open confrontation with his father, who seeks the reconciliation with Rome, he, too, welcomes Simon as the Messiah. Juda elaborates on the wedding metaphor, which, although he dissembles modest hesitation, is nevertheless indirectly also picked up by Simon himself.[134] Yet when he is welcomed as God's anointed, Simon claims that he will not be anointed as the earlier kings with oil but with the blood of both friend and foe.[135] Denounced as charlatan by the High Priest, Simon is initially denied Anan's blessing, upon which the presumptive Messiah accuses the aged priest of being blind.[136]

And yet, comparing himself to Jesus, Simon still will not directly arrogate to himself the title: "Am I the Messiah, / Never o mouth, say this proud word yourself, / As that Nazarene did!"[137] Rather, in an accomplished demagogic manipulation, he has himself acclaimed by the people.[138] They nevertheless soon begin to doubt him when the situation gets increasingly dire, though Herrig does not focus very much on the deprivations and moral deterioration in the city; thus, he has no interest in the teknophagy of Mary of Bethezuba, who is not mentioned at all in his dramatic poem. Challenging Simon, Rahel promotes a political messianic vision: "Why so timid dost though walk the earth."[139] Hailed by Simon as a prophetess, Rahel's invocation of royal might and splendour is exploited by the would-be Messiah to consolidate his worldly position. Yet it is built on an empty imaginary informed by poetic metaphors which do not participate in the spiritual truth of the messianic mission of Jesus.

To prove his legitimation, Simon eventually brazenly enters the forbidden Holy of Holies. Like Herrig's Titus, who declares the blind belief in the gods a thing of the past,[140] he clearly is not a believer himself, but seeks to exploit the people's superstitions. When he rushes out of the Holy of Holies, he stabs Anan to death without hesitation. With this unprecedented and daring move, he succeeds once more in winning the support of the shocked throng, and, after an intense debate, even that of Juda, the victim's son.

133 See ibid., p. 8.
134 Ibid., pp. 27–8.
135 Ibid., p. 29.
136 Ibid., pp. 31–2.
137 Ibid., p. 32: "Bin ich Messias, / Nimmer o Mund, sag selbst dies stolze Wort, / Wie jener Nazarener es gethan!"
138 See ibid.
139 Ibid., p. 57: "Weßhalb so zag' auf Erden wandelst Du."
140 Ibid., p. 86.

Eventually, Simon indeed claims to be the Messiah and ruthlessly leads the final Jewish sortie. Earlier, disgusted with the despondence of the Jews in Jerusalem, Ahasuerus defiantly described the Cherubim guarding the Holy of Holies as "violence and terror."[141] His recognition of both qualities in Simon after having faced the shrine is therefore to him nothing less than a confirmation of the Zealot's messianic legitimacy. Intoxicated with the false news of a Jewish victory, Ahasuerus envisions Jewish world domination. Yet his dreams are shattered when the truth of the final defeat asserts itself.

Furtively hiding in the subterranean passages underneath the Temple, Simon confesses that his motives were never innocent and pure:

> What then! Messiah? King I craved to be,
> For rather would I treat *myself* to it than any *other*!
> Well, dost think, that any man waxed ever great,
> Ever others great did make, who not of himself,
> Who did not think of himself foremost!?[142]

By the time he emerges from the dark and dank passages after the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, Simon is blind and deranged. He now truly believes himself to be the Messiah:

> Not such a Messiah was I as he was feigned
> By the Christians, who suffers at the cross, dies,
> And who, transported then to distant heaven,
> With the earth has no more truck. No!
> As the Lion of Juda dreamt him:
> Sword in hand did I enter this world,
> And have created now a realm
> As only may be gained by the might of the sword.[143]

The irony of Simon's words is caustically pointed out by Ahasuerus: "The realm of the sword? Well do I see it all around, / Yes, monarch of the earth is the

141 Ibid., p. 50: "Gewalt und Schrecken."

142 Ibid., p. 81: "Was doch! Messias? König wollt' ich sein, / Weil ich's *mir* lieber gönnte als den *andern*! / Ei, meinst Du, daß ein Mensch je groß geworden, / Je andre groß gemacht, der nicht an sich, / Der nicht gedacht vor Allem an sich selbst!?"

143 Ibid., p. 97: "Nicht ein Messias war ich, wie die Christen / Ihn lügen, der am Kreuze leidet, stirbt, / Und der zum fernen Himmel dann entrückt, / Nichts mit der Erde mehr zu thun hat. Nein! / Wie sich der Löwe Juda ihn geträumt: / Das Schwert kam in den Händen ich zur Welt, / Und euch gestiftet hab ich nun ein Reich, / Wie's nur die Macht des Schwertes erwerben kann."

sword."[144] Yet his cynical assertion lacks insight. It is not the rule of the sword as such that is challenged by Ahasuerus but that his dreams of Jewish world domination should have come to naught against the superior power of the Roman Empire and that Jehovah should have abandoned Israel in its struggle.

His obstinacy, no less than Simon's delusion, still does not recognize the failure of the political model of messianism and, by extrapolation, of Judaism. Yet Simon's explicit comparison to, and continued rejection of, the spiritual mission of Jesus in effect reinforces the significance of his failure and that of the political conception of the Messiah which Ahasuerus also adheres to. While Simon descends into madness, Ahasuerus remains unrepentant to the very end of the play. He eventually kills the impostor as the embodiment of the failed hope of messianic glory, just as he feels that God obliterated this very hope.

Like the "resurrected Jeremiah" as whom he was apostrophied earlier by Rahel, Ahasuerus laments the end of Jerusalem and all his hopes, when Josephus enters and joins his lament. They are construed as opposites and when Ahasuerus mourns Israel's passing, Josephus counters: "Israel did not die. Do not you and I live?"[145] Referring to the already existing diaspora of the Jews in Rome, Alexandria, Spain, and Babylon, Josephus extols its potential for survival:

> Prosperity they enjoy, and good morals,
> Are respected by their fellow citizens,
> Many a one gained honourable fame
> For his worldly wisdom and piety. They gather
> On the Sabbath in the synagogue,
> To listen to the Torah's noble admonition;
> In the mornings they kneel before the creator
> And their faces cover in their shawls;
> They wait for the Messiah, Who cometh[,]
> And leave matzos for Him on the evening
> Of Passover—[146]

Josephus confronts Ahasuerus with the fantasy of Jewish life in prosperity and contentment in the diaspora, of which he is an embodiment himself. Herrig's is

144 Ibid.: "Das Reich des Schwerts? Wohl seh' ich's rings umher, / Ja, der Monarch der Erde ist das Schwert."

145 Ibid., p. 102: "Israel starb nicht. Leben wir nicht beide?"

146 Ibid., p. 103: "Des Wohlstands freun sie sich, der guten Sitten, / Sind angesehn bei ihren Stadtgenossen, / Manch einer auch erwarb sich hohen Ruhm / Durch Weltweisheit und Gottesfurcht. Sie sammeln / Am Sabbath in der Synagoge sich, / Der Thora edles Mahnwort zu vernehmen; / Des Morgens knien sie vor dem Schöpfer nieder / Und hüllen sich das Haupt in ihren Mantel; / Sie harren des Messias, welcher kommt / Und legen hin die Mazzen ihm am Abend / Des Passahfestes—"

indeed the only engagement with the subject in the nineteenth century in which the diaspora is valorized simultaneously as pre-existing to the destruction of Jerusalem and as an intrinsically desirable, comfortable, and comforting mode of living. It is important that this acknowledgment of a flourishing Judaism in the diaspora is an explicitly Jewish vision. Earlier in the dramatic poem, Ahasuerus and his granddaughter are alone in the burning Temple and the old man laments that he has lost the center of his life, his home ("Heimath"). Rahel's consolation that his home will now be everywhere, like God's, who once resided in the Temple and nowhere else, is recognized, and rejected, by Ahasuerus as Christian in nature.[147] Yet the diasporic idyll sketched by Josephus is no more acceptable to him. He responds despondently, but also with defiance:

> Israel should be alive—that's a lie!
> Jerusalem, its crown, was split asunder
> And Palestine, its body, carved up!
> Where should its heart then beat—where resound
> Our nation's language? Think you, a nation
> Were nothing but a band of those who pray?
> Think you, when on a Sabbath you sing the psalms
> In a language you hardly comprehend,
> Or, when you, gathered in the stillness of the house,
> Forgetting the day's business, timidly
> Dredge up the old home's sounds,
> That Israel yet had a mouth?
> No! Israel is dead! No nation lives
> Whose language not from the proud mouth of a king
> Issues laws to the world, not his victories doth
> Sing to himself and posterity in a bold song.[148]

Ahasuerus stubbornly holds on to the political conception of Judaism. The notion of a merely spiritual community—be it Christian or Jewish—is abhorrent to him.

With his insistence on the nation-building significance of language and, more specifically, the anticipation of the decline of Hebrew and its escalating disjunction

147 Ibid., p. 83.

148 Ibid., p. 103: "Ein Israel gäb's noch—das ist gelogen! / Jerusalem, das Haupt, ward ihm zerspalten / Und Palästina ihm, der Leib, zerstückelt! / Wo schlüge da sein Herz—wo klänge noch / Die Sprache unsers Volks? Meint ihr, ein Volk / Sei nichts als eine Schaar von Betenden? / Meint ihr, wenn ihr am Sabbath singt die Psalmen / In einer Sprache, die ihr kaum versteht, / Oder, wenn ihr, im stillen Haus zusammen, / Vergessend da des Tags Geschäfte, zag / Der alten Heimath Laute sucht hervor, / Es hätte Israel noch einen Mund? / Nein! Israel ist tot! Es lebt kein Volk, / Deß Sprache nicht aus stolzem Königsmund / Der Welt Gesetze giebt, nicht seine Siege / Sich und der Nachwelt singt in kühnen [*sic*] Lied."

from an increasingly hollow liturgy, Ahasuerus articulates an alternative perspective on diasporic Judaism which illustrates the reverse of the image elaborated by Josephus. Both arguably reflect developments contemporary to Herrig's dramatic poem.

In *Rom und Jerusalem* (1862; *Rome and Jerusalem*), which presumably would have been know to the dramatist, Moses Hess strongly criticized contemporary attempts within Reform Judaism of eliminating Hebrew from Jewish life.[149] Other than Ahasuerus in Herrig's dramatic poem, Hess ascribes a cohesive function not only to Hebrew but, more specifically, to liturgical texts in the holy language:

> They [i.e., the Jewish reformers] fancy that a recently manufactured prayer or hymn book, wherein a philosophical theism is put into rhyme and accompanied by music, is more elevating and soul-stirring than the fervent Hebrew prayers which express the pain and sorrow of a nation at the loss of its fatherland. They forget that these prayers, which not only created, but preserved for millenniums, the unity of Jewish worship, are even to-day the tie which binds into one people all the Jews scattered around the globe.[150]

Hess's proto-Zionist treatise confronted tendencies of assimilation and antisemitism ("Judenhass") in Germany with the notion of Jewish national cohesion and patriotism and, ultimately, the return of the Jews to Palestine and the creation of a national state.

To some extent, Herrig seems to reiterate and, in the figures of Ahasuerus and Josephus, to give dramatic expression to the contemporary internal Jewish dichotomy described by Hess between the pious Jew (Ahasuerus) and the new Jew (Josephus):

> The pious Jew is above all a Jewish patriot. The "new-fashioned" ["neumodische"] Jew, who denies the existence of the Jewish nationality, is not only a deserter in the religious sense, but is also a traitor to his people, his race, and even to his family. If it were true that Jewish emancipation in exile is incompatible with Jewish nationality, then it were the duty of the Jews to sacrifice the former for the sake of the latter.[151]

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149 See Moses Hess, *Rome and Jerusalem: A Study in Jewish Nationalism*, transl. Meyer Waxman (New York: Bloch, 1918), p. 62; see also Moses Hess, *Rom und Jerusalem, die letzte Nationalitätenfrage: Briefe und Noten* (Leipzig: Wengler, 1862), p. 17.

150 Hess, *Rome and Jerusalem*, p. 95; see also Hess, *Rom und Jerusalem*, p. 47: "Ihnen [i.e., to the Jewish Reformers] dünkt ein selbst fabrizirtes Gebet- oder Gesangbuch, worin ein philosophischer Theismus in Reime gebracht und in Musik gesetzt ist, weit erbaulicher, als die rührenden Gebete in hebräischer Sprache, die überall den Schmerz um den Verlust des jüdischen Vaterlandes ausdrücken,—Gebete, welche die Einheit unsres Cultus geschaffen und Jahrtausende lang erhalten haben, welche noch heute das Band sind, das alle Juden auf dem ganzen Erdenrunde umschlingt."

151 Hess, *Rome and Jerusalem*, p. 62; see also Hess, *Rom und Jerusalem*, p. 18: "Der fromme Jude ist vor allen Dingen jüdischer Patriot. Der 'neumodische' Jude, der die jüdische Nationalität verleugnet, ist nicht nur ein Apostat, ein Abtrünniger im religiösen Sinne, sondern ein Verräther an

Even though he sketches an idealized image of the "Judæo-Spanish cultural epoch" and its reconciliation of both tendencies,[152] Hess ultimately seeks to promote the restoration of the Jews to Palestine, although he does not envisage a "total emigration."[153] In fact, he acknowledges that "[e]ven after the establishment of a Jewish State, the majority of the Jews who live at present in the civilized Occidental countries will undoubtedly remain where they are."[154]

To Herrig the Jewish restoration to Palestine is irrelevant. While clearly informed by his reading of Hess, his perspective is diametrically opposed to that of his Jewish contemporary. The centripetal force imagined by Hess is a centrifugal one in Herrig. His Ahasuerus becomes the Wandering Jew of Christian legend and he is in fact branded as such by the head of the Christian community in the dramatic poem. In a way, Herrig turns Hess against himself with Ahasuerus's insistence on essentialism—i.e., the particularism denounced already by Gutzkow in the Ahasuerus debate of almost four decades before. Hess seeks the reconciliation of a Jewish national renaissance with the persistence of the diaspora. Yet Herrig's dramatic poem seems to suggest that this is not an option. Ahasuerus retreats eternally to the margins. Juda, the High Priest's son, dies a convert. But his redemption is not of this world; nor is Rahel's, who, though also converted, enters a life of slavery. Not even Elymaeus, paradigmatic of the Jewish Christians, escapes the antisemitic scourge.

Josephus is portrayed as a traitor, and the assimilation he envisages is an idyllic fantasy whose reality must have seemed shaky at best to the contemporary reader. Elaborating on the divergent constructions of Jewish identity, Herrig has his Josephus cynically remark toward Ahasuerus: "Thus, methinks, the only Jew you may well be, / And those whose carcasses here do rot?"[155] The fundamental irreconcilability of both conceptions—an essentialist construction and the assimilative, evolutionary model—is emphasized by Ahasuerus with the atmospheric

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seinem Volke, an seinem Stamme, an seiner Familie.—Wäre es wahr, daß die Emanzipation der Juden im Exil unvereinbar sei mit der jüdischen Nationalität, so müßte der Jude die Erstre der Letzern zum Opfer bringen."

152 Hess, *Rome and Jerusalem*, p. 108; see also Hess, *Rom und Jerusalem*, p. 59: "Spanisch-jüdische Culturepoche."

153 See, e.g., Hess, *Rome and Jerusalem*, pp. 116, 260; see also Hess, *Rom und Jerusalem*, pp. 66, 233: "allgemeine[] Auswanderung."

154 Hess, *Rome and Jerusalem*, pp. 260–1; see also Hess, *Rom und Jerusalem*, p. 233: "Selbst nach der Herstellung eines modernen jüdischen Staates werden ohne Zweifel die relativ wenigen Juden, welche die civilisirten Länder des Occidents bewohnen, meist dort bleiben, wo sie ansäßig sind."

155 Herrig, *Jerusalem*, p. 103: "So wärst du ja der einz'ge Jude wohl / Und jene, deren Leiber hier vermodern?"

evocation of the gothic imaginary of the Wandering Jew rampant in the nineteenth century:

> O, when you then at succot, the Feast of Booths,
> Peacefully the silver lamps have lighted,
> And the prayer said to that God,
> Who now no longer is yours, then, perhaps,
> Late at night a beggar knocks on the door
> With burning eyes and tousled beard,
> Covered in rags, sore his feet,
> Seat him with your servants, call him guest,
> Of the children of Israel, he's one,
> One of the host of exiles![156]

Again, there is a suggestion that the evolution undergone by Judaism has broken the covenant: their God is no longer the same. This God is no more the Jewish God than Jesus was the Jewish Messiah. Ahasuerus reflects once more on the meek nature of Jesus in contrast to all expectations and credibility. "He who did die there between the malefactors, / He should be the Messiah,"[157] he exclaims disdainfully. Yet the allusion to Luke 23:43, in which is told how one of the two malefactors crucified next to Jesus mocks him while the other believes and repents, is in effect merely another iteration of the previously observed dichotomy.

Whereas Ahasuerus is clearly associated with the unrepentant villain, Juda is correlated with the compliant malefactor. Both Jews, and therefore all Jews, it is important to note, are implicitly represented as malefactors. The implied dichotomy does not allow for the continuation of Judaism. Yet the son of the High Priest, mortally wounded, finds solace in the story of the two malefactors which is recounted to him by Elymaeus. Recognizing the significance of the occurrence to himself, he converts in his final moments.[158] When Rahel is led past as a slave, Juda's last words to her—and the concluding words also of the dramatic poem—are those of Jesus as they were told to Juda by the old Christian: "Verily I say unto thee, / Today shalt thou be with me in paradise!"[159]

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156 Ibid., p. 104: "O wenn ihr dann am Lauberhüttenfest / Die Silberlampen friedlich habt entzündet, / Und das Gebet zu jenem Gott gesprochen, / Der nun der eure nicht mehr ist, dann klopft / Vielleicht noch spät ein Bettler an die Thür / Mit glühnden Augen und zerzausten [*sic*] Bart, / Gehüllt in Lumpen, an den Füßen wund, / Setzt ihn zu euren Knechten, nennt ihn Gast, / S'ist [*sic*] eines von den Kindern Israels, / S'ist [*sic*] einer aus den Schaaren der Verbannten!"

157 Ibid., p. 105: "Der dort verschieden zwischen Schächern war, / Der wäre der Messias."

158 See ibid., p. 110.

159 Ibid., p. 112: "Wahrlich, noch heute / Wirst du mit mir im Paradiese sein!"

Ahasuerus, unrepentant like the first malefactor and echoing the Old Man in Milman's *Fall of Jerusalem*, insists on his essential and inalienable Jewish identity: "A Jew I'll be, as always I have been!" His assertion, even as it is another instance of his obstinacy, has a profoundly tragic resonance, when he adds: "The last, the only one—."[160] As specified in the stage directions, his dark silhouette is seen against the morning sky as he wanders off, and Elymaeus pronounces him: "The Eternal Jew!"[161]

The "Eternal" Jew, it should be remembered, is German for the Wandering Jew, "der ewige Jude." The temporal dimension evoked by the epithet is crucial to an understanding of the subtext delivered by Elymaeus. The old Christian affirms Ahasuerus's unchanged and, quite importantly, unchangeable nature—he is eternally a Jew, a Jew as defined by the essentialist conception of Ahasuerus himself. At the same time, Elymaeus is implicitly credited with coining the term which is so highly charged with anti-Judaic and, more recently, also antisemitic significance. To the reader or spectator it evokes all the stereotypes associated with the eternally lonely wanderer.

Although the dramatic poem evidently promotes the notion of Christian supersession, it nevertheless appears to be alert to—and potentially also complicit in the articulation and perpetuation of—an uncomfortable dissonance heralding a paradigm change. This is visible in the ambivalent conferral of the epithet of the "eternal" Jew to Ahasuerus. But Elymaeus himself, who brands Ahasuerus as such, is also subject to antisemitic slurs. The way in which Herrig emphasizes Elymaeus's Jewish "race" over his faith is particularly interesting in this context. It reflects the encroachment of antisemitic stereotypes which invalidate the spiritual dimension and subject it to a biological determinism. It moreover once again appears to be derived from the author's reading of Hess.

Close to the beginning of the dramatic poem, as he seeks to chastise Elymaeus for planning to desert the besieged city, Juda taunts him: "will they not all recognize thee at once / And cry: Behold, a man from Palestine."[162] That Juda refers to racial stereotyping becomes clear in what follows: "O man, by your nose, / By your eye, I beseech thee."[163] The suggestion is that the racial slur trumps religious affiliations. A similar claim is made by Hess: "The German hates the Jewish reli-

160 Ibid., p. 111: "Ich bleib ein Jude, wie ich's stets gewesen! / [. . .] / Der letzte, einzige—"
161 Ibid.: "Der ew'ge Jude!"
162 Ibid., p. 22: "erkennen dich nicht Alle gleich / Und rufen: Seht, ein Mann aus Palästina."
163 Ibid.: "O Mensch, bei deiner Nase, / Bei deinem Aug' beschwör' ich dich."

gion less than the race; he objects less to the Jews' peculiar beliefs than to their peculiar noses."[164]

Elymaeus may propose to transcend the markers of his Jewishness with his religious affiliation, yet this is a strategy which, as history demonstrates and as Herrig's contemporaries already knew, was successful only to a degree—and, as they were yet to learn, for a limited period.

Contrasts and correspondences are the governing structural principles of Herrig's *Jerusalem*. In an almost typological approach, the earlier occurrence is systematically challenged and superseded with the latter: the seed of a new time is proclaimed by both Simon bar Giora and the old Chrsitian Elymaeus;[165] Simon stabs the High Priest Anan to death and is in turn stabbed to death by Ahasuerus;[166] Anan is said by Simon to be figuratively blind, while Simon turns literally blind at the end of the dramatic poem;[167] Titus maintains that the time of the gods is past, and yet he becomes God's instrument.[168] But the most important dichotomies are those between the self-proclaimed Messiah Simon and the Christian Messiah and between Jewish particularism as embodied by Ahasuerus and the universalism symbolized by Josephus.

The latter may be an echo of the Ahasuerus debate initiated by Gutzkow almost four decades earlier. Yet the introduction of antisemitic parameters in relation to Elymaeus suggests another dichotomy, of Jew and non-Jew, which maintains on an involuntary, biological level the essentialism promoted by Ahasuerus and in this sense profoundly challenges the vision of co-existence offered by Josephus. Herrig's dramatic poem in this way conveys the deeply disconcerting suggestion that it is not just Judaism which, as was observed by Fokke, has no longer a right to exist, but also the Jews.

164 Hess, *Rome and Jerusalem*, p. 58: "No reform of the Jewish religion, however extreme, is radical enough for the educated German Jew. But the endeavors are vain. Even conversion itself does not relieve the Jew from the enormous pressure of German Anti-Semitism. The German hates the Jewish religion less than the race; he objects less to the Jews' peculiar beliefs than to their peculiar noses"; see also Hess, *Rom und Jerusalem*, p. 14: "Keine Reform des jüdischen Kultus ist dem gebildeten deutschen Juden radikal genug. Selbst die Taufe erlöst ihn nicht von dem Alpdruck des deutschen Judenhasses. Die Deutschen hassen weniger die Religion der Juden, als ihre Race, weniger ihren eigenthümlichen Glauben, als ihre eigenthümlichen Nasen."

165 Herrig, *Jerusalem*, pp. 52, 108.

166 See ibid., pp. 64, 100.

167 See ibid., pp. 32, 97.

168 See ibid., p. 86.

Digression III
The Destruction of Jerusalem and the First World War: Krane

Though strictly speaking beyond the remit of this study, if only just, I nevertheless would like to mention a novella by Anna Freiin von Krane (1853–1937). *Das Siegesfest der sechsten Legion* (The Victory Celebration of the Sixth Legion) appeared first in 1910 in *Das Licht und die Finsternis*,[1] a collection of stories about the life of Jesus, and was reprinted after the outbreak of the First World War in 1915 in the series *In der Feuerpause: Ernste und heitere Erzählungen unseren Feldgrauen gewidmet* (During Lulls in Hostilities: Serious and Serene Tales, Dedicated to Our Field Grey [Soldiers]),[2] issued by the Catholic publishing house of J. P. Bachem in Cologne, which ten years earlier had also published Adam Josef Cüppers's *Hanani*, which will be discussed in chapter IV. Krane's short text, overlooked by Anderson,[3] is among the plethora of literary engagements with the legend of Ahasuerus. It is of particular interest here not only because it offers an intriguing description of the fighting in the burning Temple but also because of its later publication context during the First World War.

The novella's plot is quickly summarized: It is ten years after the destruction of Jerusalem when the Sixth Legion, at the time heavily involved in the fighting, celebrates in its current garrison by the River Rhine in the German province the anniversary of its victory. War tales are being told, among them also one about the unnerving appearance of an unarmed Jew whom it was impossible to kill, though he clearly sought his own death—but even the raging flames consuming the Temple would recede when he approached. Drawn to the celebrations in the garrison, the uncanny figure of an old man passes by the dazed guards—moving slowly, bowed down, and as pale as a corpse but with a strange fire in his eyes. At the celebrations, the wife of the commanding officer has her young Jewish slave dress up in his native costume and entertain the officers with his songs. When her husband demands the slave sing "that song about the rivers of Babylon,"

1 Anna Freiin von Krane, *Das Licht und die Finsternis* (Cologne: Bachem, 1910).

2 Other titles by Krane in the same series included its first three volumes: *Der Träumer von Nazareth* (1915), *Das Gastmahl der Sünder* (1915), and *Der Zöllner: Erzählung aus der Zeit Christi* (1915). The series otherwise comprised among others a sequence of stories from the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 (volumes 17–21: Heinrich von Steinaecker, *Erinnerungen an den deutsch-französischen Krieg 1870–1871*) and a number of stories by Gerhard Hennes which included also, as volume 13, a folkloristic tale in the vernacular of Cologne, *Ne kölsche Kreger* (1915).

3 See Anderson, *Wandering Jew*.

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Juda's performance, inspired by the words of Psalm 137, turns into a "cry for revenge that rose to heaven from a chest wounded to the death!"[4] The young Jew's audience inadvertently realize that "something inimical" has happened: "A people trampled to the ground had cried out! A curse had been uttered that shrilled piercingly and menacingly into the joy of victory!"[5]

When Juda is condemned to death for his presumption by his furious master, Ahasuerus shows himself and points with bony fingers at the Roman. He then vanishes and Juda is promised his life if he brings the old man back. Led back to the celebration by Juda, the old Jew tells his story and explains the nature of the curse under which he labors. In an intriguing twist to the legend, Ahasuerus cannot remember the name of the god he offended. He feels that only if he remembers shall he find his rest and so, when he senses that the name has been uttered by one of the soldiers in the garrison he sets forth to seek him out, with the officers and their wives in his wake. Eventually he confronts the Christian soldier and, being told the name of Jesus Christ, his memory returns. Yet with it does not come redemption and his pleas to the soldier to kill him are futile as the other realizes that he could indeed strike the old man down but that doing so would mean to interfere with divine providence.

Overall, Krane's representation of the Jewish characters in her novella is sympathetic. Juda is a beautiful and imposing figure whose love for his blind mother and pain at the fate of his people evoke pity and even sympathy while his pride and fortitude invite admiration. His performance of the psalms has a spellbinding effect on the Romans who appreciate their poetic and musical beauty and are impressed by his noble appearance.[6] Yet the evocation of the glorious Jewish past, lost with the destruction of Jerusalem, in the last instance serves more specifically to emphasize the abject situation of the Jews in captivity. Juda is paraded like the natives in one of the ethnographic shows so popular in the nineteenth century.[7] Yet what starts out as a mockery turns into a frightening reassertion of the young Jew's true identity.

Juda is identified as the grandson of the High Priest Caiaphas who, as Ahasuerus exclaims, is a thousand times more guilty than he is, for sentencing Jesus to

4 Anna Freiin von Krane, *Das Siegesfest der sechsten Legion* (Cologne: Bachem, [1915]), p. 16: "den Gesang von den Flüssen Babylons. [. . .] ein Racheschrei, der aus todverwundeter Brust zum Himmel drang!"

5 Ibid., p. 17: "etwas Feindliches [war] geschehen. Ein zu Boden getretenes Geschlecht hatte aufgeschrien! Ein Fluch war ausgesprochen worden, der grell und drohend in die Siegesfreude hineinschrillte!"

6 See ibid., pp. 15, 26.

7 See ibid., p. 14.

death. Realization begins to dawn on Juda; he begins to internalize the causal relationship between the crucifixion and the dominant traumatic experience of his own childhood, the destruction of Jerusalem.

While Ahasuerus in the end is condemned to continue his wanderings, "burdened with the curse of the divinity and pursued by the hate of all nations,"[8] Juda is set by him on the path to conversion. Ahasuerus beseeches him: "O Juda ben Caiaphas, thou too art cursed, but thou art innocent. Therefore seek to know Him whom thy father [*sic*] sentenced to death."[9] The passage is interesting in particular because, like Anton de Waal's *Juda's Ende*, discussed in chapter IV, it appears to negate the blood curse as recorded in Matthew 27:25, which has been linked to the destruction of Jerusalem.[10] It claims the innocence of the descendants of the guilty generation and it is this very innocence too that makes the young Jew respond: "I shall do it, so help me God!"[11]

Ultimately, Krane's novella reasserts in this manner the bifurcation of models of Jewish existence in the modern world: to convert and thus to build on the glory of the Jewish heritage by overcoming it or, like Ahasuerus, to wander beyond redemption and beyond humanity, a frightful shadow to whom are denied any human emotions and who is cast out from any community.[12] Though not gendered as expected in this instance, Jewish redeemability is once more determined by age. The suggestion is, therefore, that also the contemporary young and open-minded generation of Jews has the potential to convert while the narrative at the same time offers Jewish achievements shared by Christians as a means of avowing the Jewish past.

An intriguing detail is that when Ahasuerus describes the time of the siege of Jerusalem he not only attributes this to the curse placed on him taking effect but notes how all his family fell victim to hunger, illness, hostile missiles, and the marauding gangs of the Jewish factions in the city. He recounts how he himself was cruelly abused and left for dead by the robbers. In contrast to Croly's *Salathiel*, Krane's Ahasuerus does not join the fight against the Romans as a combatant

8 Ibid., p. 36: "Beladen mit dem Fluche der Gottheit und verfolgt von dem Haß aller Völker."

9 Ibid., p. 34: "O Juda ben Kaiphas, auch auf dir liegt der Fluch, doch du bist schuldlos daran. Darum suche, daß du den kennen lernst, den dein Vater [*sic*] zum Tode verurteilte."

10 It has been suggested that the passage, which does not occur in the other synoptic gospels nor in the gospel of John, is a redactional fiction of the author of the gospel of Matthew that reflects on the historical destruction of Jerusalem, see Ulrich Luz, "Fiktivität und Traditionstreue im Matthäusevangelium im Lichte griechischer Literatur," *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Älteren Kirche* 84.3–4 (1993): 153–77.

11 Krane, *Siegesfest*, p. 34: "Ich werde es tun, so helfe mir der Herr!"

12 See ibid.: "Menschlich empfinden kann ich nicht mehr!"

much less as a military leader. His sole motive is to find his death. His purpose is no longer political but intensely subjective: to alleviate his suffering.

Krane's novella, as indicated before, was addressed to German soldiers in the First World War. Series like the one distributed by the publishing house of J. P. Bachem offered a cheap way of taking the soldiers' minds off the fighting during brief moments of a lull in the hostilities. They also offered a vehicle for indoctrination and the boosting of morale. As such the story of Ahasuerus and the destruction of Jerusalem appears a strange thematic choice. There are no obvious identification figures in the story, apart perhaps from a number of Teutonic legionnaires who are mentioned along the way. While the Romans are sketched as efficient soldiers, their commanding officer emerges as verbose and whimsical and his wife as a would-be socialite and domestic harridan. Juda, though imposing, pious, and noble, and of an age that would be shared by many of the conscripted soldiers targeted by the series, remains—at least biologically, i.e., in contemporary antisemitic discourse, racially—a Jew. His envisioned conversion is, moreover, built on the ruins of his nation after a cruel and protracted war of which the scenes of fighting in the Temple sketch a gory image with the bodies of the fallen piling up high and the destruction of everything he held dear complete. Nor is the uncanny figure of the Wandering Jew any more reassuring, his fate a horror and a supposedly just punishment.

The story's geographical setting, in what was later to become the city of Neuss, fosters a tenuous proximity to the established readership of the Cologne publishing house. This catered predominantly for the Catholic archdiocese of the city, which encompassed also the city of Neuss. In this sense the notion of the Rhineland occupied by the Roman legions might be considered to spark patriotic feelings, perhaps associating the French occupation during the Napoleonic Wars. Even so, the identification potential of the oppressed Jews of the first century CE for contemporary Germans would seem far-fetched. Any such suggestions remain rather vague so that in the end the Christian message, originally intended by Krane, known as the "German poet of Christ,"[13] appears to be central to the text.

13 R. S. Elmar, "Weihnachtsbücherschau. I," *Volkswohl: Christlich-soziale Monatsschrift* 11 (1920): 384–90, 384: "Deutsche Christusdichterin."

Chapter IV
The Destruction of Jerusalem as a Battleground in the Culture War

One of the predominant challenges of the nineteenth century in Europe was, in conjunction with the forging of national identities, the negotiation of conceptions of the modern and secular state in relation to ecclesiastical authority with the aim of eliminating in particular the influence of the Catholic Church on political life and institutions. In the German-speaking lands, this struggle, referred to as *Kulturkampf*, or culture war, gained prominence mainly in the second half of the century. It manifested itself in the political, social, and cultural spheres and was additionally fueled by the competing efforts of Prussia and Austria in the struggle for political hegemony in Germany.

The manifest beginning of the *Kulturkampf* has frequently been linked to the defeat of Austria in the Franco-Austrian War of 1859 and to Prussia's refusal to support its Catholic rival in the establishment of political control over Germany in this conflict.[1] However, the antecedents of the *Kulturkampf* have been traced to the revolutionary year 1848.[2] In fact, an argument might conceivably be made that the origins of interdenominational strife in the context of growing national awareness and assertion reach even further back, to the romantic movement and its mythically tinged construction of the convergence of national greatness and Catholicism in the idealized Middle Ages. Nevertheless, the post-revolutionary period with the highly effective Catholic missionary campaign and the attending Catholic revival prompted not only a corresponding Protestant revival but, as argued by Michael B. Gross, "a specifically middle-class, liberal movement" that eventually "joined with the power of the Bismarckian state to create a socially, culturally, and economically modern nation state."[3]

The *Kulturkampf* proper was moreover a reaction in particular to the First Vatican Council of 1869–70 which condemned and rejected the imposition of civil authority on the governance of the Church and in turn asserted in *Pastor aeternus*, one of the two dogmatic constitutions it agreed on, the doctrines of the apostolic primacy conferred on St Peter, the perpetuity of this primacy in the Roman pontiffs,

1 See, e.g., Günther Hirschmann, *Kulturkampf im historischen Roman der Gründerzeit, 1859–1878* (Munich: Fink, 1978), pp. 20–1.

2 See Michael B. Gross, *The War against Catholicism: Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), p. 11.

3 Ibid., p. 127; see also, for the Catholic mission campaign and its impact, esp. chapters 1 and 2.

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the meaning and power of the papal primacy, and—most controversially—papal infallibility.[4] In response, anti-Catholic legislation in the newly created German Empire resulted in the closure of almost two hundred religious houses; the imprisonment of hundreds of priests and other Catholics; the vacancy of hundreds of parish incumbencies and even of some dioceses; the banishment of the Jesuit order as well as, in 1875, of all remaining orders; and accusations of dual loyalty which suggested that a good Catholic could not at the same time be a good German.[5]

As alleged by Reich Chancellor Otto von Bismarck in a speech to the Prussian parliament in 1875, Catholic institutions were perceived to form a "state within the state" that was headed "by the Pope with autocratic rights."[6] It seemed intolerable that it should be possible for Catholics to create such "a state within the state" and answer to dual loyalties.[7] As Gross notes, the Jesuit order in particular represented, "according to Prussian authorities, a rogue 'state within the state,' a hostile camp inside the nation or parasite in the body of Prussia."[8]

When the ideological and religious confrontation escalated in post-revolutionary Germany and was increasingly yoked to the Prussian-Austrian dualism and the political struggle between the proponents of the lesser or greater German solutions, literature, and in particular the historical novel, emerged as a vehicle that facilitated forceful interventions in the debate and that was largely dominated by anti-Catholic objectives.[9]

The persistent Catholic anxieties produced by this situation were articulated drastically, and with some exaggeration, by Heinrich Keiter in a pamphlet entitled *Konfessionelle Brunnenvergiftung* (1896; Confessional Well-Poisoning). Emphasizing the wide dissemination of "the poison of confessional demagogy" in lit-

4 For a detailed discussion of the First Vatican Council in its ecclesiastical and historical context, see, e.g., John W. O'Malley, *Vatican I: The Council and the Making of the Ultramontane Church* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018); a translation of *Pastor aeternus* is included in the appendix.

5 See Gross, *War against Catholicism*, pp. 257, 248.

6 [Otto von Bismarck], *Fürst Bismarck als Redner: Vollständige Sammlung der parlamentarischen Reden Bismarcks seit dem Jahre 1847*, ed. Wilhelm Böhm, 13 vols (Berlin and Stuttgart: Spemann, [1888]), VII, 243: "in der Spitze dieses Staates im Staate [. . .] steht der Papst mit autokratischen Rechten."

7 See R. E. M. Irving, *The Christian Democratic Parties of Europe* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs; Allen & Unwin, 1979), p. 14.

8 Gross, *War against Catholicism*, p. 69.

9 See Wolfgang Frühwald, "Katholische Literatur im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert in Deutschland," in *Religiös-kulturelle Bewegungen im deutschen Katholizismus seit 1800*, ed. Anton Rauscher (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1986), pp. 9–26, p. 13. See also Hirschmann, *Kulturkampf*, pp. 50–62.

erature through proliferating book sales, loan libraries, and periodicals,[10] the Catholic writer and critic declared:

> Literature is a power factor to whose possession is tied the dominion in the realm of the mind. Non-Catholic literature labours to increase the growth of the destructive forces; we must protect and extend our Catholic ideal of culture with the same forces of which the destruction avails itself.[11]

Keiter maintained that, even in 1896, long after the *Kulturkampf* proper, which was concluded in 1878, an "insidious, fanatical culture war is being waged against the Church in literature" and, staying with the implied metaphor, the author belligerently added: "the ensuing chapters shall follow us onto its battlegrounds."[12]

One such battleground, though not explored by Keiter, was the historical subject of the destruction of Jerusalem. This was indeed appropriated by both Protestant and Catholic writers, if to different ends; and the battle was fought by proxy rather than with fanfare. With the former, the objective was mainly to reach young readers and to engage in internal mission as well as in the Protestant mission to the Jews; any critique of Catholicism is indirect at most, in contrast to other established subjects negotiated in historical novels of the *Kulturkampf* period.[13] With the latter, the purpose was mostly apologetic and aimed simultaneously at the affirmation of loyalty to the secular state and the reassertion of Catholic legitimacy and authority.

The Catholic Historical Novel: Faith and Aesthetic Failure

The proliferation of the historical novel in the nineteenth century was prompted not only by a renewed focus on history for history's sake but, more specifically, by the reception of contemporary political events. It offered to writers invested in the politics of their own day an opportunity of addressing contemporary issues by converting them into poetic material.[14] Accordingly, contemporary events

10 Heinrich Keiter, *Konfessionelle Brunnenvergiftung*, 2nd improved and expanded edn, ed. Bernhard Stein (Essen-Ruhr: Fredebuel & Koenen, 1908), p. 4: "das Gift konfessioneller Verhetzung."
11 Ibid., pp. 11–12: "Die Literatur ist ein Machtfaktor, an dessen Besitz sich die Herrschaft im Reiche des Geistes knüpft. Die nichtkatholische Literatur arbeitet am Wachstum der zerstörenden Kräfte; wir müssen unser katholisches Kulturideal mit denselben Kräften, deren sich die Zerstörung bedient, schützen und ausbauen."
12 Ibid., pp. 12–13: "Ein schleichender, fanatischer Kulturkampf wird gegen die Kirche in der Literatur geführt; auf seine Schlachtfelder sollen uns die nachfolgenden Kapitel folgen."
13 For anti-Catholic thematic preoccupations of the Protestant historical novel, such as the Reformation and the Thirty-Years' War, see Hirschmann, *Kulturkampf*, pp. 53–4, 58, 152–5.
14 See ibid., p. 50.

were frequently projected onto history in the service of a tendentious anti-Catholic attitude infused with *Kulturkampf* polemics.[15]

The Catholic priest and literary critic Peter Norrenberg observed in 1873 that, in the wake of the First Vatican Council, the epic and the historical novel were tasked with correcting "a-Catholic views of history" for the common good.[16] Positing the urgency of a Catholic literary response to competing constructions of history and in particular the Protestant novel and its alleged falsifications, Norrenberg nevertheless acknowledged the aesthetic deficiencies of extant literary endeavors by Catholic writers. He noted that "the principles of the aesthetic are the criterion of literary history" and candidly conceded that the contemporary Catholic novel "cannot withstand an aesthetic analysis."[17] The critic more specifically noted that Catholic literary production suffered from a lack of what he called the aesthetic dialectic of modern poesy.[18]

The problem, Norrenberg realized, was intrinsic to contemporary Catholic literary production, because it prioritized the intervention in the ecclesiastical-political conflict over aesthetic attainment.[19] Nor were the aesthetic deficiencies of Catholic literature limited, according to Norrenberg, to the works of German writers. He opined that the "biased translation of French, English, and Italian belles lettres can have only serious consequences"; not least, because he considered these texts in aesthetic terms to be no more sophisticated than their German counterparts.[20]

Catholic historical novels also related to contemporary events but tended to avoid any direct polemics. Their 'tendency' (*Tendenz*), as Günther Hirschmann notes, consisted rather of their apparent neutrality in relation to the certainty of redemptive Catholic piety;[21] for which reason the early Catholic historical novel failed to be fully effective against the Protestant onslaught.[22] As the last line of defence, it frequently retreated to the thematic preoccupation with martyrs: Martyrs always triumph in death and through their death.[23]

15 See ibid., p. 52.

16 Peter Norrenberg, *Deutschlands katholische Dichtung der Gegenwart (1847–1873)* (Münster: Brunn, 1873), p. 3: "Das Epos und der historische Roman mußten dazu dienen Berichtigungen akatholischer Auffassungen der Geschichte gemeinnützig zu machen."

17 Ibid., pp. 3–4: "die Prinzipien der Aesthetik sind der Maßstab der Literaturgeschichte [. . .] [hält] einer aesthetischen Analyse nicht Stand."

18 See ibid., p. 4.

19 See ibid.

20 Ibid., p. 5: "[Die] einseitig betriebene Uebertragung französischer, englischer und italienischer Unterhaltungsliteratur [kann] nur böse Folgen haben."

21 See Hirschmann, *Kulturkampf*, p. 62.

22 See ibid., p. 63.

23 See ibid., p. 66.

As observed by Hirschmann, in the Protestant historical novel of the *Kulturkampf* period, self-denial, dying, the wish to die, and the willingness to sacrifice oneself, were also a concern; but here, they originated in heroic disdain that was perceived and presented as a national duty.[24] In Catholic novels the desired effect was different. In these, the willingness to sacrifice oneself is not motivated with national duty but with the sense of, and faith in, the ultimate invincibility of the stronger (religious) principle. Confident in divine providence, Catholic heroes do not attempt to change the world themselves but limit their objectives to the enduring fulfilment of their role within the divine plan of salvation.[25]

An immensely influential fictional narrative, in many ways setting the pattern for the Catholic historical novel of the period, was Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman's *Fabiola; Or, The Church of the Catacombs* (1854). Two independent translations of the English novel appeared in Germany already in the year following its publication. Manz in Ratisbon, founded in 1830 and one of the leading Catholic publishing houses in Germany, led with *Fabiola, oder die Kirche der Katakomben* (1855) in the translation of Carl B. Reiching.[26] Bachem in Cologne, another important Catholic publisher, established already in 1818,[27] followed suit with a new translation by Franz Heinrich Reusch, which appeared under the same title (1855) as the fourth volume of their "Sammlung von klassischen Werken der neuern katholischen Literatur Englands" (Collection of Classical Works of Recent Catholic Literature of England) series.[28]

24 See ibid., p. 71.

25 See ibid., p. 70.

26 See Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman, *Fabiola, oder die Kirche der Katakomben*, transl. Carl B. Reiching (Regensburg: Manz, 1855). For the history and strong denominational interest of Manz, see Wilhelm Eggerer, *Manz 1830–1980: Festschrift zum 150-jährigen Bestehen* (Munich and Dillingen: Manz, 1980). Manz, as appears from Carl B. Reiching's preface to his German translation of Cardinal John Henry Newman's *Callista* (1855), particularly targeted the Catholic southern German lands, such as Swabia, Bavaria, and Austria, see Cardinal John Henry Newman, *Callista: Eine Erzählung aus dem dritten Jahrhundert*, transl. Carl B. Reiching (Regensburg: Manz, 1856), p. x.

27 See Rüdiger Müller, *200 Jahre J. P. Bachem—Eine Kölner Familie schreibt Geschichte* (Cologne: Bachem, 2018).

28 See Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman, *Fabiola, oder die Kirche der Katakomben*, transl. Franz Heinrich Reusch (Cologne: Bachem, 1855). Other titles collected in the series included, e.g., Georgiana Fullerton's *Francisca Romana, die Heilige* (1855; *The Life of St Frances of Rome*, 1855), John Henry Newman's *Callista, eine Erzählung aus dem 3. Jahrhundert* (1856; *Callista, a Sketch of the Third Century*, 1855) and his *Verlust und Gewinn* (1861; *Loss and Gain*, 1848) as well as the American writer Orestes A. Brownson's *Erinnerungsblätter eines Convertiten* (1858; *The Convert; Or, Leaves from my Experience*, 1857). The success of Wiseman's novel in Germany may be gauged by the fact that by 1902, Reiching's translation reached its 12th edition, while Reusch's had run into its 38th edition already in 1900.

In the preface to *Fabiola*, the Cardinal affirmed that it was his desire, rather than writing a learned treatise, "to make his reader familiar with the usages, habits, condition, ideas, feeling, and spirit of the early ages of Christianity."[29] Wiseman acknowledged as his main sources "Acts of primitive Martyrs"[30] and the Roman breviary[31] and made it quite clear that his text consisted "rather of a series of pictures than of a narrative of events."[32] This he explained with the conceptual aptness and efficacy of the hagiographic style which he described in relation to the breviary as follows:

> in the offices of certain saints a peculiar style prevails, which presents the holy persons commemorated in a distinct and characteristic form. This is not the result so much of any continuous narrative, as of expressions put into their mouths or brief descriptions of events in their lives, repeated often again and again, in antiphons, *responsoria* to lessons, and even versicles; till they put before us an individuality, a portrait clear and definite of singular excellence.[33]

This was precisely what Wiseman too sought to achieve with his historical romance. More specifically, he envisaged his stylistic and narrative choices to inspire "some admiration and love [. . .] of those primitive times, which an over-excited interest in later and more brilliant epochs of the Church is too apt to diminish or obscure."[34]

The immediate context for the Cardinal's literary endeavor was his project of creating a popular Catholic library designed for the entrenched Catholic minority in Britain. More particularly, Wiseman's novel was a response to the Anglican churchman and social reformer Charles Kingsley's enormously successful *Hypatia; Or, New Foes with an Old Face* (1853) which, projecting an image of the early Church as divided and corrupt, had a strongly anti-Catholic bias.[35]

Yet Wiseman's *Fabiola*, too, was an immediate success and quickly gained iconic status within Catholic literature. Thus, the historical romance was acknowl-

29 Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman, *Fabiola; Or, the Church of the Catacombs* (London: Burns & Lambert, 1854), p. viii. The preface was included also in both of the German translations, see Wiseman, *Fabiola*, transl. Reiching, pp. v–x and Wiseman, *Fabiola*, transl. Reusch, pp. ix–xiii.

30 Wiseman, *Fabiola*, p. viii.

31 The Roman breviary, a collection of the liturgical rites of the Roman Catholic Church, includes two sections with offices for the saints: the *proprium sanctorum*, special offices of saints containing the lessons, psalms, and liturgical formularies for their respective festivals; and the *commune sanctorum*, general offices for saints which encompass inter alia psalms, antiphons, and lessons for feasts of various categories of saints.

32 Wiseman, *Fabiola*, p. x.

33 Ibid., p. viii.

34 Ibid., p. x.

35 A translation into German appeared in 1858, see Charles Kingsley, *Hypatia, oder neue Feinde mit altem Gesicht*, transl. Sophie von Gilsa, 2 vols (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1858).

edged as an inspiration on the title pages of various other texts published by Manz which were categorized as "side-pieces" to *Fabiola*, such as the anonymous *Fabiola's Schwestern, die christlichen Heldinnen: Ein Seitenstück zu Wiseman's Fabiola oder die Kirche der Katakomben* (1865; Fabiola's Sisters, the Christian Heroines: A Side-Piece to Wiseman's Fabiola; Or, The Church of the Catacombs), translated into German from a French source. Manz moreover harnessed the marketing value of *Fabiola* also to the translation of Cardinal John Henry Newman's *Callista* (1855), which they published in the following year in three successive editions,[36] and to novels by the German writers Maria di Sebregondi (also known as Maria Lenzen) and Friedrich Carl Magon, which were similarly hailed as "side-pieces" to the successful English novel.

It should, however, be noted that, in the case of Sebregondi, her *Der Sieg des Glaubens: Eine Erzählung aus dem 2. Jahrhundert* (The Victory of Faith: A Tale of the Second Century), first published already in 1840 and later re-issued twice with the variant title *Melete* (1842, 1867), in fact preceded Wiseman's novel by more than a decade.[37] Norrenberg was well aware of this, yet he maintained that the writer's "enthusiasm and pure portrayal, clear as light," nevertheless "did not equal the spiritual penetration and comprehension of this magnificent time," as it was later achieved by the Cardinal.

Other German Catholic writers, too, the critic insisted, lacked Wiseman's "Attic refinement."[38] Norrenberg was thinking in particular about Magon's *Sabina: Ein Lebensbild aus den ersten Zeiten der christlichen Kirche* (1861; Sabina: A Portrait of a Life from the Earliest Times of the Christian Church). The Catholic priest described this novel in *Deutschlands katholische Dichtung der Gegenwart* (1873; Germany's Contemporary Catholic Poesy) as "a hell-Breughel [*sic*] with the most infernal tints."[39] With disgust, he elaborated:

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36 See Newman, *Callista*, transl. Reiching; this, like the earlier translation by Gerhard Schündelen, which appeared in the same year with Bachem in Cologne, was referred to in advertisements as a "side-piece [Seitenstück]" to Wiseman's *Fabiola*.

37 Maria Lenzen [i.e., Maria di Sebregondi], *Der Sieg des Glaubens: Eine Erzählung aus dem 2. Jahrhundert* (Regensburg: Manz, 1840). The novel was re-issued in a second edition already in 1842 and, once again, in a third edition in 1867 with the slightly altered title *Melete, oder der Sieg des Glaubens: Eine Erzählung aus dem 2. Jahrhundert* (Melete; Or, The Victory of Faith: A Tale of the Second Century); it was now advertised on its title page as a "side-piece to Wiseman's *Fabiola*."

38 Norrenberg, *Deutschlands katholische Dichtung*, p. 53: "ohne daß aber ihrer Begeisterung und reinen, lichtklaren Darstellung die geistige Durchdringung und Erfassung jener großen Zeit gleich gekommen wäre. Diese attische Feinheit Wisemann's [*sic*] fehlt auch den folgenden Erzählern."

39 Ibid.: "ein Höllen-Breughel [*sic*] mit den infernalsten Tinten." The critic derived the reference to "Höllenbreughel" from the novel itself, where the author uses it to describe an orgy in honor

> It is not the manicured hand of the artist, with white cuffs, that we see wielding the paint brush here, but the naked arm of a butcher with rolled-up sleeves. The palette turns into an abbatoir; each passion, each virtue, into a travesty; rage into stuttering fury, innocence into the most childish naivety, agony into delirium. Only rarely, moreover, do the layers of the clouds of archaeological erudition part and does the clear blue aether of transparent representation open up.[40]

Offering a modern, psychological understanding of the historical novel—which in fact distinguished his approach from the practice of Wiseman and his followers, whose interest was in the representation of true faith and its significance as a model for contemporary life—Norrenberg maintained that the "ideal-aesthetic interest" of the historical novel

> does not rest on the certainty of an archaeological anatomy but on the diagnosis of the psychological symptoms of historical life. But its fable is also not the result of a universal humanity *per se* but of a humanity as it has shaped itself in a particular period of its development.[41]

This progressive stance—which acknowledges psychological individuality and historical relativism—was, however, revoked by the Catholic priest in his *Allgemeine Litteraturgeschichte* (Universal Literary History) of 1884. Now, Norrenberg remarked blandly that there was a pervasive sense that a critic may

> confer the praise of being objective exclusively on those representations of literary life which consider the products of poesy and the efficacy of its media in the light of divine revelation and of the ecclesiastical rule of faith and of morals derived from it.[42]

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of Isis; see Friedrich Carl Magon, *Sabina: Ein Lebensbild aus den ersten Zeiten der christlichen Kirche* (Regensburg: Manz, 1861), p. 197.

40 Norrenberg, *Deutschlands katholische Dichtung*, p. 53: "Es ist nicht die gepflegte, manchettirte Hand des Künstlers, die wir hier den Pinsel führen sehen, sondern ein nackter Fleischerarm mit aufgerolltem Hemdärmel. Die Palette wird zur Metzgerbank, jede Leidenschaft, jede Tugend zum Zerrbild, die Wuth zum stotternden Rasen, die Unschuld zur kindischsten Naivetät, die Agonie zum Delirium. Nur selten auch zertheilen sich die Wolkenschichten archäologischer Gelehrsamkeit und öffnet sich der klare blaue Aether durchsichtiger Darstellung."

41 Ibid., p. 52: "sein ideal-aesthetisches Interesse beruht nicht auf der Sicherheit einer archäologischen Anatomie, sondern in der Diagnose der psychologischen Symptome des geschichtlichen Lebens. Seine Fabel ist aber auch nicht das Ergebniß des allgemein Menschlichen an und für sich, sondern des Humanen, wie sich dasselbe in einer speziellen Periode seiner Ausbildung gestaltet hat."

42 Peter Norrenberg, *Allgemeine Litteraturgeschichte*, 3 vols (Münster: Russell, 1884), I, i: "[Ein Kritiker kann] nur derjenigen Darstellung des literarischen Lebens das Lob der Objektivität abgewinnen, welche die Produkte der Poesie und die Wirksamkeit ihrer Träger im Lichte der göttlichen Offenbarung und der aus ihr hergeleiteten kirchlichen Glaubens- und Sittenregel betrachtet."

In order to clarify more particularly the position of the *Catholic* critic, Norrenberg added tersely: "Ecclesiastical science is not only the legitimate interpreter of world literature, but it is also entitled to do so."[43]

The attribution of interpretive authority to a dogmatically and didactically inflected Catholic science, which represents an uncomfortable narrowing down of Norrenberg's earlier deliberations, may have been prompted by the *Kulturkampf* and its immediate aftermath. Whereas in *Deutschlands katholische Dichtung der Gegenwart*, at the height of the *Kulturkampf*, Norrenberg had advocated at least implicitly an aesthetic reform of Catholic writing so as to make it a more successful contender in the fray, his later stance reinstates the prerogative of Catholic dogma over aesthetic claims. It is in all likelihood a response to the failure of Catholic literature to achieve the aesthetic proficiency envisioned by the critic a decade earlier.

The fault-line between the *Kulturkampf* and the period preceding it emerges also from the comparison of Sebregondi's second novel and Magon's "hell-Breughel." Published before the *Kulturkampf* and shortly after the Franco-Austrian War, respectively, both texts of Catholic provenance illustrate the shift toward 'tendentious' literature that was discerned by Norrenberg in the individual conceptions and thematic preoccupations of both writers.

The Transition into the *Kulturkampf*: Sebregondi and Magon

Maria Lenzen's *Nekodas, oder Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1841; Nekodas; Or, The Destruction of Jerusalem) is one of the earliest examples of narrative fiction in Germany engaging with the destruction of Jerusalem. Born Maria di Sebregondi (1814–82),[44] the author fell silent for almost three decades during her second marriage after early widowhood before she resumed writing, once her son had reached adulthood.[45] Her work is therefore divided into two distinct periods. It has been noted that in her early narratives thematic interests dominate and that it was only in her later fiction that Sebregondi, which was the writer's preferred name, focused mainly on the psychological development of her characters.[46]

43 Ibid.: "Die kirchliche Wissenschaft ist nicht allein die berechtigte sie ist auch die berufene Interpretin der Weltliteratur."

44 For the writer's biography, see Franz Brümmer, "Sebregondi, Maria Lenzen geb. di," in ADB (1891), XXXIII, 509–10.

45 Ibid., 510: "[sie] glaubte die häuslichen und mütterlichen Pflichten ungleich höher stellen zu müssen als die Schriftstellerei."

46 See Heinrich Keiter, *Katholische Erzähler der neuesten Zeit: Litteraturhistorische Studien*, 2nd improved and substantially expanded edn (1880; Paderborn: Schöningh, 1890), p. 220.

Another important influence on Sebregondi's work throughout her writing career was her Catholic faith. It presumably provided the motivation for the author's choice of historical subjects from early Christianity during her first creative period. Sebregondi's first published novel, *Der Sieg des Glaubens*, is the narrative of a fictitious Christian martyr in second-century Greece: Melete's martyrdom inspires a young Roman to convert and to follow her to his own martyrdom which unites both in their deaths.

The model character of the martyr whose *imitatio* the novel not only incorporates in the development of its plot but suggests also to the contemporary reader was emulated by Magon in *Sabina*. It has been observed that Cardinal Wiseman, whose fictitious Fabiola in his eponymous novel is not a martyr herself, was reluctant "to undercut the historicity of his other figures by mingling such a character in with their sacrosanct sufferings."[47] In *Der Sieg des Glaubens*, Sebregondi seems not to have felt these scruples. In *Nekodas*, which in fact appears to have been the first novel the writer completed,[48] Sebregondi avoided the representation of a fictional martyrdom, though she nevertheless applied the pattern of *imitatio* and the posthumous union of two lovers. Yet, overall, the novel follows a different pattern which moves beyond the predictability of a hagiographic narrative, such as *Melete*.

The young widow had returned after her first husband's death in 1833 to her parents' house in the Westphalian province and there is no tangible indication that Sebregondi was familiar with Kaulbach's painting or Loewe's and Hiller's oratorios.[49] It nevertheless seems too much of a coincidence that her novel should appear within a year of Kaulbach's *Erläuterungen* and of Hiller's oratorio—and within less than a decade of Loewe's earlier musical engagement—to assume that she did not know, or know of, at least one or more of them. It is, moreover, inconceivable that her publisher would not have known of the artist's cartoons in the near-by cultural center of Munich and alerted the author to their existence. Yet even so, Sebregondi's novel offers enough idiosyncratic detail to suggest that in any case she did not engage openly with either oratorio or with Kaulbach's pictorial conception, though she may have drawn her initial inspiration from them.

In her novel, Sebregondi firmly establishes the notion of history as the history of salvation. In this context, she employs the familiar trope of the Romans, and Titus in particular, being instruments of the Lord's wrath. The Jews, oblivious to the divine judgment that is to confound them, are gathering in Jerusalem; while

47 Royal W. Rhodes, *The Lion and the Cross: Early Christianity in Victorian Novels* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1995), p. 100.

48 Joseph Wiedenhöfer, *Maria Lenzen, geb. di Sebregondi: Ausgewählte Gedichte. Aus ihrem handschriftlichen Nachlaß mit einer Lebensbeschreibung* (Gelsenkirchen: Ostermann, 1908), p. 48.

49 See Brümmer, "Sebregondi, Maria Lenzen geb. di."

the Romans are initially hesitant, so as to allow all Jews to enter the city: "as if they meant to crush the whole nation of the Jews with a single blow."[50] Yet the supersessionist certainty articulated in *Nekodas* also envisages the fall of pagan Rome which, in particular in Catholic engagements with the subject, is a frequently recurring trope: "The hour will come also for the second Babylon to fall, and the Lord will remember against the sons of Rome the day of Jerusalem!"[51]

The only group to leave the heaving capital is that of the withdrawing Christians. Yet a young man separates from them to remain in the stricken city, ostensibly so as not to desert his aged parents, but in truth also because of his love to a Jewish maiden. His "shameful passion"[52] is recognized and scolded by a leader among the Christians. Adoram's failure to renounce his earthly love will indeed lead to his death in the conflagration while the Christian community, withdrawn to Pella, remains unscathed. But Adoram's love of Ada, daughter of the Jewish priest Nekodas, is pure. Within the logic of the novel, it serves the author to triangulate the notion of supersession between the young couple and the old priest against the background of utter devastation and an eschatological trajectory.

Sebregondi introduced in *Nekodas* an original configuration which, though it made use of the conversion narrative and of the persistent trope of the intransigent Jewish father and his beautiful daughter, was not emulated in subsequent narrative fiction on the historical occurrence. Nekodas seeks to re-establish the royal lineage of David, to which Adoram is the only remaining heir. The ambitious priest strives for the royal crown of Judah for his daughter as Adoram's queen. Yet the young Christian holds fast to his new-found faith; rather than seeking his own elevation, he anticipates the coming Kingdom of God and warns Nekodas: "[T]he Lord has sealed your eyes, that you do not recognise His truth, nor the paths of right!"[53]

The trope of spiritual blindness employed here by Sebregondi, originating in Romans 11:25 and familiar already from the English texts discussed in chapter II, recurs also in later versions of the Christian narrative of the destruction of Jerusalem.[54] It occurs, for instance, in the libretto Guido Görres composed in conversation with Kaulbach's painting. Another recurring trope is the juxtaposition of worldly ambition

50 Maria Lenzen [i.e., Maria di Sebregondi], *Nekodas, Oder die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Eine Erzählung* (Regensburg: Manz, 1841), p. 9: "als wollten sie mit einem Schlage das ganze Volk der Juden zermalmen"; for God's judgment, see pp. 61, 62–3, 70, 100, 172, 225, 303, 304, 306.

51 Ibid., p. 318: "Es wird die Stunde des Falles kommen auch für die zweite Babylon, und der Herr wird den Söhnen Roms gedenken den Tag Jerusalems!"

52 Ibid., p. 13: "schimpflicher Leidenschaft."

53 Ibid., p. 71: "Aber der Herr hat dir die Augen verschlossen, daß du seine Wahrheit nicht erkennest, noch die Wege des Rechts!"

54 See, e.g., ibid., pp. 12, 69, *et passim* and 176, where it is articulated through the reflector figure of Josephus.

with spiritual elation and elevation which later was also to be negotiated for instance by Otto Franz in his *Messiah* trilogy. In Sebregondi's novel, Nekodas misguidedly envisages the Lord as "one of the mighty of the earth"[55] and is under the delusion that "his God Himself took up arms to fight for, and along with, him; and that the days of Israel's glory are nigh";[56] in fact, he dreams of Jewish world domination.[57] In this spirit, Nekodas tempts Adoram on a pinnacle of the tower named Hippikus with the rule over his people in a scene that is reminiscent of, and conflating, the second and third temptations of Jesus by Satan as decribed in the gospel of Matthew.[58] But the young Christian remains "glorious victor over himself."[59]

As the novel progresses, the character of Nekodas increasingly unravels, not so much in psychological detail than in response to the effect of his own schemes. He is a character divided between elation and, increasingly, self-accusation and disdain as well as an awareness of terrible guilt.[60] Indeed, the progressive decay and moral deterioration of the besieged Jews, of which he is cognizant, is mirrored in Nekodas.[61] Initially, the priest is a benevolent, caring, and loving father.[62] And yet, evoking the biblical Jephtha,[63] he vows to kill Ada if she does not become Adoram's queen.[64] Foiled in his plans, when he realizes that Adoram will not forego his Christian faith, Nekodas eventually conceives of the reckless idea of sending his daughter into the Roman camp like a second Judith so that she should entice and, ultimately, assassinate the imperator.

The Jewish priest's willingness to sacrifice his child for his beliefs and his ambition is implicitly paralleled with the teknophagy of Mary of Bethezuba, which is given some prominence in the novel.[65] Mary (Maria), in stark contrast to Ada, emerges as a beauty without character whose empty pretensions are revealed when she is faced with adversity, which leads her first to debauchery and then to insanity as she kills and devours her child, who is given a name (Jadin) in Sebregondi's novel in an attempt to invest his mother's nefarious excess with even deeper resonance. The association between Nekodas' fixation on the re-enactment

55 Ibid., p. 58: "einem Gewaltigen der Erde."

56 Ibid., p. 69: "sein Gott selbst streite für ihn und mit ihm, und die Tage der Herrlichkeit Israels seien nahe."

57 See ibid., pp. 124–5, 127.

58 See ibid., p. 177 and Matthew 4:5–10.

59 Lenzen [i.e., Sebregondi], *Nekodas*, p. 178: "glorreicher Sieger über sich selbst."

60 See ibid., p. 235.

61 See ibid., pp. 30, 35–6, 38, 47.

62 See ibid., p. 47.

63 See ibid., pp. 56, 269.

64 See ibid., p. 56.

65 See ibid., p. 103.

of the Judith narrative and Mary's teknophagy is elaborated by Titus in the novel. Ada, rejecting the biblical precedent, reveals the impious plot to the imperator but does not disclose its author. Yet Titus, having heard of the unnatural parental behavior of Mary quickly deduces the truth by analogy.[66]

Appalled by the callous scheme, Titus nevertheless shows not only an awareness of its ambiguity from different perspectives, but, more specifically, an appreciation of Ada's virtue:

> "Truly!" the Roman cried full of admiration: "he who chose you for doing a deed that he thought great rather than disgraceful knew you well—everything, your pride and your courage, your steadfastness and prudence—but not the purity of your soul."[67]

The episode is significant in particular inasmuch as it illustrates the ethical dimension of supersession. Where the benighted fantasy of Nekodas is the epitome of the faith of the old covenant, Ada is suggested to have moved beyond the pale of its limitations and the comprehension of her narrow-minded father. Yet Titus, too, for all his admiration of the virtue of the young Jewish woman, has no real conception of the purity of Ada's soul and the nature of her virtue, as emerges from his contemplation of her heroic death.

In contrast to her *Melete*, on which she must have been working more or less at the same time, Sebregondi's *Nekodas* portrays no real Christian martyrdom. When Adoram is killed, he dies *in* his faith but not *for* his faith; Ada never converts, though she softens toward the convictions of her betrothed and transcends the alleged limitations of Judaism. Having rejected the idea of turning into another Judith, Ada remains steadfast in her virtue. Forced by her father to enter the enemy camp, and kept by Titus as an honored prisoner, she still becomes despondent. Considering death as an escape, she contemplates: "how would finding rest, falling silent, sinking into oblivion compare to a perpetual life of humiliation and disgrace?"[68] Yet the commandment of "Thou shalt not kill" prevents her from choosing this path.

Death is nevertheless granted to Ada by divine providence. When a Roman tries to violate her, she is killed in the ensuing struggle, her innocence intact, a certainty that is also affirmed by Adoram with his dying breath. Intriguingly, Ada is effectively blinded by her increasingly desperate attacker as he tries to subdue her fierce resistance with tightening her veil around her head. While this symbolic ac-

66 See ibid., p. 300.

67 Ibid., p. 301: "'Wahrlich!' rief der Römer voll Bewunderung: 'der dich wälte zu einer That, die er eher für groß als für schändlich hielt, hat dich wol gekannt—Alles, deinen Stolz und deinen Muth, deine Festigkeit und Besonnenheit—nur nicht die Reinheit deiner Seele.'"

68 Ibid., pp. 319–20: "was wäre in Ruhe sinken, verstummen, vergessen werden, gegen ein endloses Leben der Erniederung und Schande?"

tion associates the metaphorical blindness of her father, Sebregondi nevertheless grants her redemption in her death when she sighs: "O God—of Adoram!"[69] In an inversion of her spiritually blind father, Ada is externally blinded, yet her internal vision perceives and accepts the Christian God:

> Thus wedded on her pure lips her dying breath the name of her God and of her beloved; and her devotion and her love, those most sacred and delicate sentiments of her heart, which she had never been able to separate in her life, carried the redeemed spirit up on high to its home in her final hour.[70]

Like Adoram not a martyr for the Christian faith, Ada's death is nevertheless redemptive, like his. Their deliverance by death sets the lovers apart from Nekodas who dies in utter despair.

Yet in the case of Ada, another dimension adheres to her death. It is misunderstood and misrepresented by the Romans on the basis of their own cultural understanding and as such may offer a meta-commentary on the origins of legends and the moral framework from which they emerge.[71] More significantly, it emphasizes the value of virtue also when it is not known. Titus, called to the scene of Ada's death, believes with admiration that she killed herself to save herself from the ignominy of being paraded at his triumph in Rome:

> How much more beautiful was the death she died, fighting for her innocence, rather than having sinned by dying by her own hand because the future appeared grim to her. Yet how great did it appear to the mind of the pagan Romans that she cast away her life for honour and elected the grave above disgrace.[72]

Ada's death, with whose true circumstances the reader is acquainted, in this sense turns into a counter narrative of the heroism of Judith, or of Cato and Portia, whom Titus invokes.[73] Her heroism is of a meek kind, it is a heroism of suffering, of virtue, and of faith in the Lord. As such, and because it is predicated on good works rather than on divine grace, it may be said to have a Catholic bias. Yet other-

69 Ibid., p. 325: "O Gott—Adorams!"

70 Ibid.: "So vermälte auf ihren reinen Lippen ihr letzter Lebenshauch den Namen ihres Gottes und ihres Geliebten, und ihre Andacht und ihre Liebe, diese heiligsten und zartesten Empfindungen ihres Herzens, die sie nie in ihrem Leben zu trennen vermochte, trugen in ihrer Todesstunde den erlös'ten Geist in seine Heimat empor."

71 See ibid., p. 332.

72 Ibid.: "Wie viel schöner war aber der Tod, den sie gestorben war, im Kampfe für ihre Unschuld, als hätte sie frevelnd selbst Hand an sich gelegt, weil ihr die Zukunft finster erschien. Aber wie groß erschien es dem Begriffe der heidnischen Römer, daß sie das Leben weggeworfen für die Ehre, und das Grab erwählte vor der Schmach."

73 See ibid., p. 330.

wise, Sebregondi's *Nekodas* lacks a specifically Catholic dimension and as such is recognizably a text by a Catholic writer that antedates the *Kulturkampf*.[74]

Adoram's death is aligned even less with Catholic sensibilities, though he expires in the certainty of, and with the consolation offered by, his faith. He is murdered by the jealeous Zealot Eleazar. In his death throes, he admonishes Nekodas not to despair of the truthfulness of the Lord: "The prophecies *are* fulfilled," he insists, "Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah."[75] His assertion that "Jerusalem's ruins are the tomb of the last son of David"[76] is thus not only the acknowledgment of his own impending death but it is the assertion that Nekodas' ploys have failed because David's house must wither by necessity within the divine scheme of supersession; its rightful heir is Jesus Christ as the true Messiah. In symbolical reinforcement, the last bulwark of the Jews is breached and the fall of Jerusalem is sealed at the very moment of Adoram's death.

The symbolical trajectory is continued with the narrative of Nekodas' fate. Having survived the siege, but with all his hopes in the imminence of the messianic age irrevocably confounded, the embittered priest is taken as a slave to Egypt, the land of Israel's bondage. As his fellow slaves begin to sing Psalm 137, the lament of the captive Jews in Babylon, the first destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple is evoked, which—as has previously been observed—was rescinded by the Lord with their restoration. Yet it is precisely this implicit notion of restoration after the final destruction of the cultic center of Judaism which Sebregondi negates as she further unfolds the symbolic potential of her narrative.

Deeply affected by the sentiment evoked by the psalm, Nekodas lifts his eyes in an implicit reference to another psalm, but there is no help;[77] all he sees are the pyramids, and they only reinforce his despair:

> as he now slowly lifted his eyes, he was confronted from afar with the enormous tombs of Cheops and his brother, the greatest and most remarkable pyramids of Egypt, which had existed for thousands of years and which continue to exist to the present day, the wonder and awe of all nations and peoples. But to him, exiled from his home, the captive son of Israel; to him, they were nothing but dreadful monuments of the earlier, harsh bondage of

74 Wiedenhöfer, *Maria Lenzen, geb. di Sebregondi*, p. 49 makes the point that Sebregondi should not be considered a specifically Catholic writer, though her writing may be informed by Catholic opinions and customs: "the conflict between the Catholic and Protestant view of life she has, as far as we can see, represented nowhere, nor even touched upon [den Widerstreit katholischer und protestantischer Lebensauffassung hat sie, soweit wir sehen, nirgends dargestellt oder auch nur gestreift.]"

75 Lenzen [i.e., Sebregondi], *Nekodas*, p. 348: "Die Verheißungen *sind* erfüllt; Jesus von Nazareth ist der Messias."

76 Ibid., p. 349: "Jerusalems Trümmer sind das Grab für Davids letzten Sohn."

77 See Psalm 121:1–2.

> his people, and of the cruel despotism of its tyrannical masters; symbols of a terrible past and sinister prophets of a future that was even worse.[78]

The references to the present day and to a future that has since come to pass cement the notion of supersession which is also reinforced by the death of Nekodas with which Sebregondi's novel concludes. The priest finally realizes, as earlier indicated by Adoram, that he served a false god: "that I tormented myself for a chimera, that I worshiped a false dream image."[79] Paralleling Ada's reflections on the commandment of "Thou shalt not kill," which she re-affirmed,[80] Nekodas, in contrast, negates it as given by this supposedly false idol and seeks his own death. He walks into the River Nile to drown himself, a return to the place from which Moses arose, and an annulment of the law-bringer's existence and its consequences. The only thing he still yearns for is "Rest!—Rest!—Rest!"[81]

The desire for rest is also that of Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew. It may safely be assumed that Sebregondi was well aware of this and that her implicit allusion to the legendary figure is deliberate. Nekodas is indeed granted rest in her novel, but he is also sinking into oblivion, without any monument or tomb to serve as a memorial to his destructive ambition. Where for Ahasuerus there is hope in his restless suffering because of the promise of salvation after conversion, Nekodas symbolizes the absolute annihilation of the dream of Jewish resurgence.

Nothing New under the Sun: The Destruction of Jerusalem and the *Kulturkampf*

Manz not only published Sebregondi's *Nekodas* but also—two decades later—Friedrich Carl Magon's *Sabina: Ein Lebensbild aus den ersten Zeiten der christlichen Kirche* (1861; Sabina: A Portrait of a Life from the Earliest Times of the Christian

78 Lenzen [i.e., Sebregondi], *Nekodas*, p. 356: "als er nun seine Augen langsam erhob, traten ihm aus der Ferne die ungeheuren Grabmäler des Cheops und seines Bruders entgegen, die größten und merkwürdigsten Pyramiden Egyptens, die seit Jahrtausenden waren, und bis auf den heutigen Tag noch sind, das Staunen und die Bewunderung aller Länder und Völker. Ihm aber, dem Verbannten aus seiner Heimat, dem gefangenen Sohne Israels im Lande Pharao's, ihm waren sie Nichts als furchtbare Denkmale der früheren, harten Knechtschaft seines Volkes und der grausamen Despotie seiner Zwingherren, Wahrzeichen einer schrecklichen Vergangenheit und finstere Propheten einer noch schlimmeren Zukunft."

79 Ibid., p. 358: "daß ich mich für ein Hirngespinnst gemartert, daß ich ein falsches Traumbild angebetet habe."

80 See ibid., p. 320.

81 Ibid., p. 358: "Ruhe!—Ruhe!—Ruhe!"

Church). This novel offered another early narrative engagement with the historical episode of the destruction of Jerusalem. Yet, whereas *Nekodas* was not yet marked by denominational strife and specificity, Magon's novel was not only firmly rooted in Catholicism but was, in effect, an early literary intervention in the *Kulturkampf*.

Born in Viersen, Magon (1829–69) was at the time of the publication of his novel rector of the St Lambert chappel in Eupen; in 1863, he became vicar in Vilich near Bonn.[82] Here, he completed a *Handbuch der Patrologie und der katholischen Litteraturgeschichte* (1864; Guide to Patrology and to the History of Catholic Literature) in two volumes which was also published by Manz in Ratisbon and which reflected the author's interest in the early period of Christianity that had already formed the background to his novel.[83]

Mainly addressed to students struggling with the confusing scope of patrological literature and to preachers and catechists, Magon's *Handbuch der Patrologie* offers a selective reading of the patristic texts that excises anything condemned by the Catholic Church and is predicated on its practical homiletic applicability.[84] If in a different way and directed toward another, predominantly laicist, readership, Magon's novel also incorporates a homiletic dimension with its hagiographic content, which is made explicit at the end of the novel with the assertion that Sabina's life, like that of every saint, was beneficial not only for her contemporaries and for her own glorification but also as a model of true Christian virtue for generations to come.[85]

The novel accordingly concludes with the further history of the body of St Sabina, which is in effect, as seen from the level of the narrative, a projection into the future and into the present of the writer. Magon mentions the translation of the bodies of the saints Seraphia and Sabina and the erection of the basilica of St Sabina on the Aventine Hill in Rome. He emphasizes that the basilica became the parent house of the Dominican order and that the convent produced many a saint:[86]

> The blessing which is disseminated by a saint, spreads further and further, like a good deed, like holy alms. Thus it was also with Sabina; what good she did has come down to later gen-

82 See *Handbuch der Erzdiözese Köln*, ed. H. J. B. Althöwer, 11th edn (Cologne: Selbstverlag, 1866), p. 204; Magon appears to have retired to a monastery and died in 1869, see Joseph Kehrein, *Lexikon der katholischen Dichter, Volks- und Jugendschrifsteller im 19. Jahrhundert*, 2nd edn (1868; Würzburg: Woerl, 1872), p. 242.

83 Friedrich Carl Magon, *Handbuch der Patrologie und der katholischen Litteraturgeschichte*, 2 vols (Regensburg: Manz, 1864).

84 Ibid., I, v–vi.

85 See Friedrich Carl Magon, *Sabina: Ein Lebensbild aus den ersten Zeiten der christlichen Kirche* (Regensburg: Manz, 1861), p. 530: "Ihr Leben war der Mitwelt zum Segen, vielen Menschen zum Heile, für sie selbst zur größeren Verherrlichung."

86 See ibid.

> erations; it has born its fruits for eternity, which are worth more than her magnificent temple which is abounding with marble and mosaics.[87]

Apparently lacking Norrenberg's discernment, Magon acknowledges in the preface to *Sabina* the excellence of Catholic literature in England with which he implicitly seeks to align his own literary effort. He emphasizes in particular Wiseman's "talent of representation [Darstellungsgabe]" and Cardinal Newman's "superb art of ordering his material [vortreffliche Kunst in Anordnung des Stoffes]"; he also mentions the "magnificent conception of the characters [großartige Auffassung der Charaktere]" by the Abbé Jean-François Bareille, whose *Emilia Paula* (1858) had been translated into German in 1859 and again in 1860.[88] As his own objective, the author explains that he wished

> to represent only some characteristics and facts of those times in which Judaism lost its national position among the nations of the ancient world; in which paganism in its development to its fullest flowering already carried the seed of decay within itself; and in which nascent Christianity, sustained by the Catholic Church, commenced the long struggle with these two adversaries. If some passages and deliberations should occur which display the character of our present age, or better, if our time conducts itself like these days did, one should remember Salomon who in his wisdom said: "Nothing new under the sun."[89]

In conclusion of his preface, Magon articulates in the guise of an invocation the imperative of the *imitatio* of the saint:

> May the Lord give that the love of the Holy Church shall awake in the hearts of a multitude of readers and shall yield fruit in them for the life eternal, as it did in the heart of Saint Sabina![90]

87 Ibid., p. 538: "[D]er Segen, den ein oder eine Heilige verbreitet, pflanzt sich wie eine gute That, ein heiliges Almosen, weiter und weiter. So ist es auch mit Sabina ergangen, was sie Gutes gethan, ist auf die späte Nachwelt übergegangen; es hat seine Früchte getragen für die Ewigkeit, welche mehr werth sind als ihr herrlicher Tempel, welcher von Marmor und Mosaik strotzt."

88 See ibid., p. III.

89 Ibid., p. IV: "[Ich] wollte nur einige Züge und Thatsachen jener Zeit darstellen, wo das Judenthum seine nationale Stellung unter den Völkern der alten Welt verlor, das Heidenthum in seiner Entfaltung zur höchsten Blüthe den Keim des Zerfalles schon in sich trug und das junge Christenthum, getragen von der katholischen Kirche, jenen langen Kampf mit diesen beiden Gegnern began. Wenn Stellen und Erörterungen vorkommen sollten die das Gepräge der heutigen Zeit an sich tragen, oder besser, wenn unsere Zeit zum Theile sich verhält wie die damalige, der möge sich an den Spruch des weisen Salomon erinnern: 'Nichts Neues unter der Sonne.'"

90 Ibid.: "Gott gebe, daß es bei recht Vielen geschehe, daß die Liebe zur heiligen Kirche in den Herzen der Leser erwache und in denselben Früchte treibe für das ewige Leben, wie sie es im Herzen der heiligen Sabina gethan!"

The exemplary tale of martyrdom thus follows the established exhortatory and didactic trajectory of hagiographic writing.

Among his sources, Magon specifies Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont's *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles* (1693–1712; *Ecclesiastical Memories of the First Six Centuries*) and Friedrich Leopold Stolberg's *Geschichte der Religion Jesu Christi* (1806–18; History of the Religion of Jesus Christ).[91] Both originate in a Catholic milieu, yet while Tillemont wrote with a Jansenist background and his ecclesiastical history was noted for its objectivity and the author's attempt to cleanse it from any legendary and superstitious dross,[92] Stolberg was a recent convert from Protestantism who sought to interpret universal history in the light of the divine plan of salvation.

Yet the single most important 'ideological' source of Magon was the Abbé Jean-Joseph Gaume's social history of the family; it may, in fact, even have prompted him to engage with the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem in the first place. In his *Histoire de la société domestique chez tous les peuples anciens et modernes, ou influence du christianisme sous la famille* (1844; History of Domestic Society among all the Ancient and Modern Peoples; Or, The Influence of Christianity on the Family),[93] the Abbé fulminates against the perceived disintegration of family life as a sign of progressive paganism against which Christian family values offered the last bastion.

Gaume likens contemporary liberal, or pagan, society that divested itself of God and religion to a ship without ballast, rudder, and compass that is tossed about on the sea and—exhorting his reader to take agency and revive the family—compares the present to the period of early Christianity:[94]

> Eighteen hundred years ago, pagan society, that other ship without God, stubbornly cast Christianity away from itself and foundered under the wave of barbarism; the family looked after its own preservation; it saved the life principle that had been given to it; Christianity, hidden in the homely hearth, penetrated deeply into the morals, grew, finally ascended to

91 See Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, 16 vols (Bruxelles: Fricx, 1693–1712) and Friedrich Leopold zu Stolberg, *Geschichte der Religion Jesu Christi*, new edition, 12 vols (Solothurn and Sitten: Schwäller and Advokat, 1806–18).

92 See, e.g., Jean-Louis Quantin, "Reason and Reasonableness in French Ecclesiastical Scholarship," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 74.3 (2011): 401–36.

93 The German translation, whose translator is not named, appeared with Manz in Ratisbon, like Magon's and Sebregondi's novels, see Jean-Joseph Gaume, *Geschichte der häuslichen Gesellschaft bei allen alten und neuen Völkern oder Einfluß des Christenthums auf die Familie*, 3 vols (Regensburg: Manz, 1845).

94 Ibid., III, 292.

> the imperial throne, and through the family, the world was saved. The same situation, the same duties: He that hath ears to hear, let him hear![95]

The destruction of Jerusalem is crucial to the Abbé as an occurrence which confirms the continuum of salvation history. Referring to the prophecy of Jesus—"Weep not for me, but weep for yourselves"[96]—Gaume elaborates:

> He [i.e., Jesus] knows better than anyone that this word is not an empty threat. It is a divine anathema! it is a wind that tears down; it is a fire that burns; it is lightning that destroys; it is Jerusalem in ruins; it is the Temple in ashes; it is Israel dispersed to the four winds; it is Rome struck by Totila; it is Asia under the churchyard of Mahomet; it is Europe bowed down under the yoke of disgrace and every tyranny; it is the world on the eve of the Last Judgement.[97]

The destruction of Jerusalem, provoked by the rejection of Christ, is, in the Abbé's enumeration of cataclysmic occurrences that mark the progress of salvation history, the first historical event. Epitomizing the destructive force of the natural catastrophes described by the Abbé, it launches a whole sequence of historical disasters, similarly predicated on the rejection of divine revelation, which culminates in the present ominous situation of Europe and, ultimately, the Last Judgment whose imminence is suggested by Gaume.

Indeed, the Abbé insistently evokes an apocalyptic dimension in his critique of contemporary culture and civilization. The ascendancy of reason, which to him is the heresy which encompasses all other heresies,[98] the predominance of divisive nationalism,[99] and the degeneration of the family, in particular the challenge to pa-

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95 Ibid.: "Vor achtzehnhundert Jahren stieß die heidnische Gesellschaft, dieß andere Schiff ohne Gott, hartnäckig das Christenthum von sich, und verschwand unter der Woge der Barbarei; die Familie sorgte für ihre eigne Erhaltung; sie bewahrte das Lebensprinzip, das sie empfangen hatte; das Christenthum, im häuslichen Herde verborgen, drang tief in die Sitten ein, wuchs, stieg endlich auf den kaiserlichen Thron, und durch die Familie ward die Welt gerettet. Dieselbe Lage, dieselben Pflichten: möchte doch der hören, der Ohren hat zu hören!"

96 Luke 23:28.

97 Gaume, *Geschichte der häuslichen Gesellschaft*, I, 22: "'Weinet nicht über mich, sondern über euch.' Er [i.e., Jesus] weiß es besser als irgend Jemand, daß dieß Wort keine leere Drohung ist. Es ist ein göttliches Anathem! es ist ein Wind, der umstürzt; es ist ein Feuer, das verbrennt; es ist ein Blitz, der vertilgt; es ist Jerusalem in Ruinen; es ist der Tempel in der Asche; es ist Israel, in die vier Winde zerstreut; es ist Rom unter den Streichen Totilas; es ist Asien unter dem Kirchhof Mahomets; es ist Europa, unter dem Joche der Schande und jeder Tyrannei gekrümmt; es ist die Welt am Vorabend des letzten Gerichts."

98 Ibid., I, 28: "All partial heresies converge in one great heresy, which encompasses them all: the systematic idolisation of human reason. [Alle partiellen Häresien münden in eine große Häresie, welche sie alle in sich schließt: die systematische Vergöttlichung der menschlichen Vernunft.]"

99 See ibid., I, 171.

triarchal authority,[100] all of which defy the hegemony of the Catholic Church, are to him signs of the incipient rule of the Antichrist.[101] They originate in the proud arrogation of divinity by humanity which the Abbé also situates in a framework of salvation history and, more specifically, divine retribution—the Fall of Lucifer, the expulsion from paradise, the Deluge, and the deicide of the crucifixion:

> For the fourth time the word of pride is uttered: I will be like as unto the Eternal. What the Deluge did two thousand years before, this is now done by Titus at Jerusalem, by the barbarians in the rest of the world. The catacombs become Noah's ark.[102]

Affirming the notion of the continuum of salvation history as it is symbolized by the transgression and the punitive destruction of Jerusalem, Gaume universalizes the historical moment and its geographical setting: "The history of the past, the prophet of the future, the bloody spectacle of Mount Calvary renews itself in the present: Christ lives perpetually. Jerusalem is no longer in Asia, Judas and the Jews are everywhere."[103] In particular, the Abbé insists on the analogy between the last days of Jerusalem and the present of the nineteenth century, though he indicates that the final conflagration has as yet not ensued:

> It is true, then, more true than we can say: there is a resemblance between Christ at Jerusalem at the time of Judas, of Pilate, and of Herod and Christianity in the nineteenth century; such a striking resemblance that, to be perfect in every respect, only the final part is missing: Titus and the Romans.[104]

Anticipating the destruction at the end of times, the Abbé finds consolation in the analogy to the delivery of the Christians from the devastation of Jerusalem which he implicitly understands as a type for his own time:

> What more shall we say? God has his chosen everywhere and in all ages. When the final catastrophe approaches, the Good Shepherd, as Isaiah says, will make a gust of wind so as

100 See, e.g., ibid., III, 167–9, 268–74, 287–8.

101 See ibid., I, 24.

102 Ibid., I, 58: "Zum vierten Mal wird das Wort des Stolzes ausgesprochen: Ich werde dem Ewigen gleich seyn. Was die Sündfluth zwei tausend Jahre früher gethan, das thun Titus zu Jerusalem, die Barbaren in den übrigen Theilen der Erde. Die Catakomben werden die Arche Noas."

103 Ibid., I, 9: "Die Geschichte der Vergangenheit, die Prophetin der Zukunft, das blutige Schauspiel des Calvarienberges erneuert sich in der Gegenwart: Christus lebt immer. Jerusalem ist nicht mehr in Asien, Judas und die Juden sind allenthalben."

104 Ibid., I, 18: "Es ist also wahr, weit mehr wahr, als wir es sagen können: zwischen Christus zu Jerusalem zur Zeit des Judas, des Pilatus und des Herodes, und dem Christenthum im neunzehnten Jahrhundert ist eine Aehnlichkeit; eine so schlagende Aehnlichkeit, daß, um in jeder Hinsicht vollkommen zu seyn, nur noch der letzte Zug mehr fehlt: Titus und die Römer."

> to call to Him his sheep that are dispersed to the four corners of the earth, as on the eve of the incineration of Jerusalem.[105]

To Gaume, the Reformation is the source of all evil that besets modern society. But his disdain extends also to philosophers, whom he considers the purveyors of the ills of modern society as whose misguided tenets he denounces "Progress! Liberty! Emancipation!,"[106] all of which are encompassed in the abhorrent concept of individualism.[107] It epitomizes, to him, the opposition between the divine word and the human word.[108] The authors of novels have become, according to Gaume, the "philosophers of the shacks"[109] and disseminate the nefarious modern and liberal ideas shamelessly to a wider, and lesser educated, readership. Yet the Abbé, writing in early 1840s France, also notes the resurgence of a "Catholic movement" in the arts and in literature, which he attributes to the desire to forego the inadequate consolations of philosophy and to find some respite in religion.[110]

Both, the Abbé's hopeful reference to a specifically Catholic literature and his universalization of the historical episode of the destruction of Jerusalem may have prompted Magon to intervene in what Gaume perceives to be an existential struggle between good and evil of cosmic dimensions. To Magon, about one and a half decades later, at the beginning of the *Kulturkampf*, this would not have been an empty concept. To the contrary, the notion of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple being a type of the present clearly was a forceful realization to the Catholic priest and aspiring writer.

After evoking the death of Jesus on the Cross, the Abbé Gaume launches in the introductory chapter of his *Histoire de la société domestique* into a harangue against the Jews in graphic language which seeks to transport the reader in their imagination to the destruction of Jerusalem. This is telescoped through the voice of the Prophet of the Jews into immediate temporal proximity to the crucifixion and linked to the upheaval of nature this is said to have caused:

> All of nature is shaken; the sky wraps itself in a dark veil; terror is everywhere. Soon a prophet of doom, like no one has seen before, strides day and night around Jerusalem incessantly crying: "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against

105 Ibid., I, 64: "Was sollen wir noch sagen? Gott hat Auserwählte aller Orten und zu allen Zeiten. Beim Herannahen der letzten Catastrophe wird, wie am Vorabend der Einäscherung Jerusalems, der gute Hirte nach dem Ausdruck des Isaias einen Windstoß geben, um seine in die vier Weltgegenden zerstreuten Schafe herbeizurufen."
106 Ibid., I, 20: "Fortschritt! Freiheit! Emancipation!"
107 See ibid., I, 34.
108 See ibid., I, 198.
109 Ibid., III, 170: "die Philosophen der Hütte."
110 Ibid., I, 63: "katholische Bewegung."

> Jerusalem and the holy house, a voice against this whole people. Doom! Doom! Woe! Woe!" He falls silent. Do you hear the clinking of the arms? Do you see the walls, which fall to pieces, and the flames, which devour everything? It is finished; see, in all the roads across the world are droves of slaves, who offer their torn shoulders to the *slave traders'* whips, which are dripping with blood: it is the nation of deicides. In the place of the Temple, there is a mound of ashes; in the place of Jerusalem there is a grave: the justice of the Lord passed by there.
>
> And yet, from the womb of this cursed nation a new community wrested itself. Consisting of the small number of those who did not participate in the sacrilege, and of those who have been enlightened by the death of the Righteous One, it grows, struggles, triumphs; and its triumph continues: it is called—*the Catholic Church*.[111]

The two assertive paragraphs read almost like an abstract of Magon's *Sabina*, though the anti-Jewish tendency is less pronounced in the novel. The author moreover adopted the Abbé's strategy of intimating the narrative presence of the reader at the historical moment, following a long tradition of devotional writing. More specifically, the supersessionist trajectory articulated by the Abbé, and his inclusion of the destruction of Jerusalem, may have suggested to Magon the same rationale for including the historical occurrence in his own hagiographic narrative.

Another strategy Magon found prefigured in the Abbé's social history is the exploration of supposed historical analogies. These are not limited to the implicit comparison of Sadducees and modern liberals and the restorative role of the family but extend, more specifically, to the affinity and, indeed, the continuity of the precarious situation and the steadfast faith of early Christian communities with the Catholic Church. Another analogy comprises the Roman Empire and its decline as a paradigm for contemporary society. More specifically, Magon elaborates the failure of a merely human order, as that articulated in the late Roman Empire, as opposed to the recognition of the divine order and, ultimately, the Kingdom of God. It is

111 Ibid., I, 8: "Die ganze Natur wird erschüttert; der Himmel umhüllt sich mit einem düsteren Schleier; Entsetzen ist überall. Bald schreitet ein Unheils-Bote, ein Prophet, wie man noch keinen gesehen, Tag und Nacht um Jerusalem, und schreit ohne Aufhören: 'Stimme des Ostens, Stimme des Westens, Stimme der vier Winde, Stimme gegen Jerusalem und gegen den Tempel, Stimme gegen das ganze Volk. Unheil! Unheil! Wehe! Wehe!' Er ist verstummt. Hörst du das Geklirr der Waffen? Siehst du die Mauern, die zusammenbrechen, und den Brand, der Alles verzehrt? Alles ist vollendet; siehe, auf allen Straßen der Welt sind Heerden von Sclaven, die ihre zerfleischten Schultern der bluttriefenden Geißel der *Sclavenhändler* hinstrecken: es ist das gottesmörderische Volk. Statt des Tempels ist ein Aschenhaufen da; an der Stelle Jerusalems ist ein Grab: die Gerechtigkeit Gottes ist da vorübergegangen. // Dennoch hat sich dem Schooße des verfluchten Volks eine neue Gesellschaft entwunden. Bestehend aus der kleinen Zahl derer, die keinen Theil gehabt an der Frevelthat, und derer, welche der Tod des Gerechten erleuchtet hatte, wächst, kämpft, triumphirt sie, und ihr Triumph währt noch fort: sie heißt—*die katholische Kirche*." See also Jean-Joseph Gaume, *Histoire de la société domestique chez tous les peuples anciens et modernes, ou influence du christianisme sous la famille*, 2 vols (Bruxelles: Vanderborght, 1844), I, iv–v.

worth quoting this at some length because the contemporary resonance, though not made explicit, would hardly have escaped Magon's readers:

> Providence assigned to Rome in the world of that time a preferential role in order to show the living and subsequent generations in how far human strength of mind and human intelligence were able to solve the highest objective of humankind; and in how far a more than human power was needed in order to fill with spirit and life the form that, be it never so perfectly fashioned, comprehensive, and magnificent, was nevertheless empty inside and dead; and to substitute for an earthly empire the eternal Kingdom of God. It sought to realise the idea of a state that satisfied every human need and it strove with such valour, with such self-denial and perseverance, with such sagacious restraint and prudence towards this aim that it would have been worthy of a better fate and destiny. Although it did not fulfil its mission, one nevertheless should concede that its aim was not amiss; for in no other nation may religion and public life, divine worship and the state have been as closely intertwined; in no other nation has the idea of a civil community and the life of the state appeared to be more profoundly and more magnificently conceived. [. . .] Unfortunately, however, with increasing power and esteem the good old custom was lost and in its degeneration the Roman nation offers fundamental proof of where humanity is destined if it tears itself away from God and is left to its own devices.[112]

This is clearly a caution addressed to the society of Magon's own day. At the same time, the redemptive function of Christianity is clearly envisioned not only in its historical potency but also as a contemporary imperative:

> Into this spoilt [sticky] mass, rotten from the inside and out, Christianity immersed itself like some new sourdough so as to permeate it with its spirit and its teachings.[113]

112 Magon, *Sabina*, p. 256: "Die Vorsehung wies Rom in der damaligen Welt eine Vorzugsstellung an, um den lebenden und nachfolgenden Geschlechtern zu zeigen, wie weit menschliche Willenskraft und menschlicher Verstand die höchste Aufgabe der Menschheit zu lösen im Stande sei, und wie es einer mehr als menschlichen Kraft bedürfe, um die, wenn auch noch so vollkommen ausgebildete, noch so umfassende und großartige, doch innerlich leere und todte Form mit Geist und Leben zu erfüllen, und an die Stelle eines irdischen Weltreiches ein unvergängliches Gottesreich treten zu lassen. Die Idee eines Staates, der alle menschliche Bedürfnisse befriedigen sollte, wollte es erreichen, und es strebte mit einem Heldenmuthe, einer Selbstverleugnung und Beharrlichkeit, mit einer so weisen Mäßigung und Besonnenheit nach diesem Ziele, daß es eines bessern Looses und Geschickes würdig gewesen wäre. Wiewohl es diese seine Aufgabe nicht gelöst hat, so muß man dennoch bekennen, daß sein Zweck kein verfehlter gewesen; denn bei keinem Volke ist wohl Religion und öffentliches Leben, Gottesdienst und Staat so innig verbunden gewesen; bei keinem die Idee der bürgerlichen Gemeinschaft und des Staatslebens tiefer und großartiger aufgefaßt erschienen. [. . .] Leider ging aber bei zunehmender Macht und Ansehen die gute alte Sitte verloren, und das römische Volk in seiner Entartung liefert den schlagenden Beweis, wohin der von Gott losgerissene und sich selbst überlassene Mensch gelangt."

113 Ibid., pp. 260–1: "In diese so verdorbene, nach innen und außen faule Masse senkte sich das Christenthum wie ein neuer Sauerteig ein, um sie mit seinem Geiste und seinen Lehren zu durchdringen." For the sourdough metaphor, see Christopher Clark, "Missionary Politics. Protestant

Sabina is divided into two parts, which, roughly corresponding to *vita* and *passio* in a saint's legend, reflect its hagiographic trajectory.[114] The novel's first part is entitled "World" and is set in Judaea and Jerusalem from the beginning of the Jewish War in 66 CE to the destruction of the Temple four years later. "Christianity," the second part of *Sabina*, focuses on the spiritual development and, finally, the martyrdom of the eponymous protagonist. The Catholic writer's interest appears to be in the "World" only inasmuch as it provides the point of departure for "Christianity" and suggests an analogy to his own present.

The main source for the hagiographic component of the novel were the lives of Saints Serapia (Seraphia) and Sabina in the *Acta Sanctorum*.[115] Here, Magon presumably also found inspiration for his elaboration of the Jewish context. Sabina's father is named in the *Acta* as Herodes Metallarius,[116] which suggests his Jewishness. While there is no further indication of a Jewish connection in the *vita* of Sabina, the author's decision to locate her origins in Judaea is more significantly also motivated with the theological implications of supersession. This in fact appears to be the main reason for including the destruction of Jerusalem in his narrative, to which it adds an affirmative symbol of the divine authentication of the new faith.

His conception allows Magon to chart the trajectory of his narrative within the wider context of the divine plan of salvation, which then not only comprises the immediate, but also the more distant, biblical, past and extends into the writer's own present, achieving universal validity through the historical precedent. In this sense, the destruction of Jerusalem is once again conceived of as a historical turning point, but one that is defined within the all-encompassing framework of salvation history (*Heilsgeschichte*). Woven into the narrative of this history—whose factual details are largely derived from Josephus, presumably via Tillemont's ecclesiastical history and Stolberg's history of Christian religion which the author lists among his sources[117]—are biographical details of the life of Sabina which for the most part are pure invention but which serve to connect the two parts of the novel.

Missions to the Jews in Nineteenth-Century Prussia," *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 38.1 (1993): 33–50, 38.

114 For a brief discussion of Magon's novel in the context of historical novels on the destruction of Jerusalem, see Fabian Wilhelmi, "Jerusalem in historischen Romanen des 19. Jahrhunderts über den Jüdischen Krieg: Ein Beitrag über die literarische Rezeption Jerusalems," in *Ex Oriente Lux: Literaturwissenschaftliche und imagologische Ansätze*, eds Fatma Öztürk Dagabakan, Leyla Cosan, and Ahmet Sari (Berlin: Logos, 2019), pp. 55–68, p. 61.

115 *Acta Sanctorum: Augusti Tomus Sextus*, eds Guillaume Cuypers, SJ, Jean Pien, SJ, Jean Stiltingh, SJ (Antverpiæ: van der Plassche, 1743), pp. 496–504.

116 See ibid., p. 499.

117 See Magon, *Sabina*, p. v.

In effect, the first part of *Sabina* serves as a lengthy exposition to the second. As such, it presents not only the protagonist and her Jewish origins but in the process elaborates commentaries on the main historical factions and circumstances which contribute to the destruction of Jerusalem and the subsequent dissemination of Christianity across the Roman world.

The intricate political situation is initially explained through the introduction of the historical figures of Berenice and her brother Agrippa (i.e., Herod Agrippa II). The focus is first on the failure of the Jewish princess to mediate between the Romans and her people;[118] later, Agrippa appears as a reflector figure who—together with the High Priest and a courtier named Herod (Herodes)—assesses the political developments. The "imposing" figure of the High Priest is of interest mainly because of his description as a "real" manifestation of a "true" Israelite.[119] And yet, it reveals an imaginary of the Jews that, all positive aspects aside, is nevertheless informed by racial stereotypes contemporary to the writer of the novel.

Though of gray and sparse hair, Magon's High Priest may potentially relate to the prominent figure in Kaulbach's painting, prints of which had begun to circulate already a decade prior to the publication of *Sabina*. But even if it were not inspired by Kaulbach's representation, Magon's figure suggests the same ambivalence about the Jews as it was captured also by the painter and which reflects racial stereotypes about the biblical Israelites being different from contemporary Jews, while the deceitful and malicious impulses attributed to the latter in the emerging antisemitic discourse are nevertheless suggested to be a persistent substratum that corresponds also to orientalist stereotypes:

> Free from any affectation in behaviour and attitude, he presented not only a notable contrast to a hypocritical Pharisee, but his regular yet acutely distinctive features suggested an unmistakable superiority of the intellect. His tall, muscular physique commanded respect and reverence. Even though his pale and dreamy forehead, the serious face, and the deep dark eyes let shimmer forth deceitfulness and malice, this disagreeable impression was nevertheless completely obscured with pleasant civility and the obvious contempt of anything foolish.[120]

118 For Berenice, who is characterized as vain, see Magon, *Sabina*, pp. 17, 26, 43, 75, 76; for a brief summary of her fate, see p. 219.

119 Ibid., p. 36: "[Es] zeichnete sich besonders der Hohepriester, ein ächtes Exemplar von einem wahren Israeliten, durch seine imponirende Gestalt aus."

120 Ibid.: "Frei von jedem affektirten Wesen im Benehmen und Haltung bildete er nicht nur ein merkwürdiges Gegenstück von einem heuchlerischen Pharisäer, sondern ließ auch in seinen regelmäßigen, aber scharf ausgeprägten Gesichtszügen auf eine unverkennbare Geistesüberlegenheit schließen. Sein hoher muskulöser Körperbau nöthigte Achtung und Ehrfurcht ab. Wenn auch die bleiche und träumerische Stirn, das ernste Gesicht und die tiefen dunklen Augen Falschheit und Tücke hervorschimmern ließen, so wurde doch dieser unangenehme Eindruck wieder

Magon sums up his description of the High Priest with emphasizing that "one believed to see in his person only the image of the serious and caring father."[121] Although the High Priest plays no further role in the novel, the patriarchal aspect invoked here is significant throughout. It is not only another possible indication of the indebtedness of Magon's description to the image of Kaulbach's High Priest, whose paternal responsibility manifests itself in the painting in the attempt to slay his children in the face of the Roman victory. More importantly, in the novel, the High Priest's patriarchal authority is challenged by the unruly factions among the Jews which, to Magon, following the Abbé Gaume, indicates the internal decay of the Jewish commonwealth; finally, the High Priest's role is implicitly countered later in the novel with the paternal care of the Roman bishops and an extensive exposition of the love of God Father for his creation. In fact, once again based on the Abbé Gaume, family life, with the supposedly natural position of the father at its head, is extolled by the author as the nucleus of comprehensive religious and social recovery.[122]

Contrasted to the High Priest is the Sadducee Herod, who fails dismally in his responsibilities as a father. Characterized as a "man of the world," as they were supposedly proliferating in this "characterless" and "profligate" age,[123] Herod is described with obviously intended contemporary resonance as follows:

> Thus, lacking any religious and moral ground [and] cast into an age that was divided, beset with doubts, conceited, and hedonistic; completely degraded in bad company, he strove only—with hate and envy in his heart, his soul filled with bitter rancour against the better ones among his people—to achieve wealth, honours, and pleasures without questioning his choice of means. [. . .] With no beliefs, with no love of his fatherland, craving sensual delights, all his scheming strove to swear allegiance to him who offered him the best prospects of supporting him in his parasitic life.[124]

durch die Gefälligkeit im Umgange, durch die augenscheinliche Verachtung thörichter Dinge [. . .] gänzlich verwischt."

121 Ibid.: "Man glaubte in seiner Person nur das Bild des ernsten und besorgten Vaters zu sehen."

122 See, e.g., Gaume, *Geschichte der häuslichen Gesellschaft*, III, 167–9, 268–74, 287–8.

123 Magon, *Sabina*, p. 64: "Mann von Welt [. . .], deren es in der damaligen character- und gesinnungslosen Zeit leider nur eine zu große Menge gab."

124 Ibid., pp. 63–4: "So ohne religiösen und sittlichen Boden in eine zerrissene, aufgeregte, zweifelsüchtige, hochmuthsvolle und genußsüchtige Zeit hinausgeschleudert, in schlechter Gesellschaft vollends verkommen, haschte er nur, Haß und Neid im Busen, die Seele voll bittern Groll gegen die Bessern seines Volkes, nach Reichthümern, Ehren und Genüssen, ohne lange um die Wahl seiner Mittel verlegen zu sein. [. . .] Ohne Glauben, ohne Liebe zum Vaterlande, nach sinnlichen Genüssen lechzend, kannte er kein anderes Sinnen und Trachten, als zu der Fahne desjenigen zu schwören, welcher die meisten Aussichten bot, ihn in seinem Schmarotzerleben zu unterstützen."

The characteristics of this society, of which Herod is the product and which clearly are meant to be recognized by the reader in their own society, are mirrored in the critical perception of the nineteenth century, predicated on the ascendancy of technical progress and science, social conflict, and the decline of religion and moral values.

Offering a variation on the familiar constellation of Jewish father and daughter, Herod—resembling anything but the stereotypical intransigent old Jew and embodying contemporary anti-Semitic stereotypes as indicated by the previous quotation—is the irresponsible progenitor of a daughter he hardly knows and whose religious education he neglects. Sabina accordingly also deviates from the established pattern. She is a Beautiful Jewess, but while intrinsically virtuous, her Jewishness is only nominal. Instead, Sabina, at the beginning of the narrative a young girl of ten, though later in the novel described as a "fiery Oriental,"[125] is from the start characterized in terms which establish her as a (future) martyr:

> a soft melancholy expressed itself in the features of her angelic face; a dreamy gaze shone from her eyes; a fine feeling for everything that is beautiful poured from her heart; and from her soul blazed a willingness to sacrifice herself, of which it was undecided whether it had its origin in an uncertain urge to be called or whether it derived from a previously experienced misfortune.[126]

Because her father Herod is considered a traitor by the Zealots, an attempt is made on the girl's life. Yet the assassination is foiled by the centurion Valentinus. The Roman rescues the budding virgin once more in Alexandria when, after the fall of Jerusalem a prisoner of Titus, Sabina is maliciously introduced by the jealous Berenice to the secret orgiastic rites of Isis from which, her virtue inviolate, she seeks to escape. Taken to Rome to be paraded at the triumph of Titus and subsequently living with an aunt, the young woman meets Valentinus for the third time years later, after the cataclysmic eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE. They marry, but Sabina is soon widowed when her husband is killed in action in the Dacian War. Thus ends the first part of the novel; its second part subsequently focuses on the gradual conversion to Christianity of Sabina. It is in particular the Christian slave Seraphia who exerts a strong influence on her widowed *domina*; Sabina eventually converts, gives most of her wealth away to the poor, and follows her mentor to martyrdom.

125 Ibid., p. 301: "feurigen Orientalin."

126 Ibid., pp. 68–9: "Daher sprach aus den Zügen ihres engelgleichen Antlitzes eine sanfte Melancholie; leuchtete aus den Augen ein träumerischer Blick; entquoll dem Herzen ein feines Gefühl für alles Schöne und flammte aus ihrem Gemüthe eine Opferwilligkeit, die es unentschieden ließen, ob sie ihren Ursprung aus einem ungewissen Drange nach Berufung, oder von einem früher erlebten Unglücke herleiteten."

The vanity of material values is indicated early on in the novel. As Herod surveys Jerusalem, coming home in the early morning from his debaucheries to his neglected daughter, his glance turns from the resplendent edifice of the Temple to the ruins of the citadel of the Tower of David which suggest "how all the magnificence and greatness of the world come to nothing."[127] While the recognition of *sic transit gloria mundi* is lost on the Sadducee, it is a foreshadowing of the fate not only of the Temple and Jerusalem but also Herod himself. After the war, bereft of his fortune and imprisoned by Titus, he fades away even though the pious Sabina obtains his pardon. The value Herod attaches to material objects is reflected in the Jewish attachment to the Temple. Magon alleges that the more vacuous and externalized Judaism became, the more significance accrued to the Temple.[128] Its destruction is, to him, not only a manifest sign of the Lord's insistence on supersession, but is moreover understood as evidence of the eternal presence of the divine in history which persists even as it progressively divests itself of what is merely material.

Magon deduces this from the "conspicuous phenomenon [auffallende Erscheinung]"[129] of the continued devotion of the Jews to the remnants of the edifice (i.e., the Western Wall) and the strength of their religious feelings. His graphic portrayal shows him nevertheless bemused by the Jewish practices which, to the Catholic priest, appear to be articulations of a futile and vain yearning:

> Even unto our own days, nothing makes the dispersal of the Jews so venerable and melancholic as the loss of their fanum, for whose restoration they pray, fast, weep, and lament. They spare no sacrifice nor shrink from any trouble of travelling to be permitted to visit the site of their Temple, there to wail and to lament, with their mouths to kiss the mossy ashlars, and to scratch them with their nails.[130]

The preoccupation of the Jews with the material is complemented with their susceptibility to prejudice. The Zealots in particular are blinded by the pride and arrogance of their belief in the continued chosenness of the Jews.[131] Yet ultimately they propel supersession as unwitting instruments of the divine will:

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127 Ibid., p. 62: "wo die Burg Davids gestanden, deren Trümmer ihm sagten, wie alle Pracht und Größe der Welt verschwinden"; see also p. 63.

128 See ibid., p. 149 and, for the Temple, pp. 62, 147–50.

129 Ibid., p. 149.

130 Ibid.: "Nichts macht jetzt noch die Zerstreuung der Juden so ehrwürdig und wehmütig, als der Verlust ihres Heiligthumes, um dessen Wiedererlangung sie beten, fasten, weinen und klagen. Sie scheuen nicht die Opfer und Beschwerden der Reise, um ihre Tempelstätte besuchen zu dürfen, um dort zu heulen und zu lamentieren, mit ihrem Munde die bemoosten Steine zu küssen und mit ihren Nägeln zu bekratzen."

131 Magon gives some prominence to Judas the Gaulonite and his son Menahem of Galilee as well as Simon bar Giora; see Magon, *Sabina*, pp. 89, 94, 96.

> in their arrogance, [the Zealots] did not acknowledge the supreme authority of the Romans and in their blindness with stiff-necked obstinacy held fast onto the letter of the law according to which their nation was to be first among the nations of the world. That, instead, following the Lord's wise plan, the world state of the Romans—or better the mash of nations under Roman rule—was to be prepared as a suitable soil for Christianity did not penetrate into the minds of these overbearing, puffed-up people who were ensnared in their prejudices. No nation was better suited than the Roman for introducing Christianity into the life of the nations. By means of the external unity and community of life they were meant to be made receptive for its absorption, like the Israelites were meant to progress slowly by means of a visible theocracy and an external law to Christian freedom.[132]

Magon appears to echo Heinrich Graetz's revaluation of Jewish dispersal as "a blessing and an act of providence" which initiated the Jewish mission of ethical monotheism.[133] Yet, while applying the concept to the emergence of Christianity, the Catholic writer erases the Jewish perspective completely. In fact, the supersessionist trajectory articulated here is further explained with the supposed internal decay of Judaism. For Judaism, according to Magon, had commenced to "become a thing of the past and to pass away."[134] "How," he asks, "could a people endure and invigorate itself that was physically and morally so rotten and degraded as the Jewish people was at that time."[135] Resorting to the metaphor of an incurably sick man, an image he found also in the Abbé Gaume's *Histoire*,[136] the writer insists:

132 Ibid., pp. 77–8: "welche [i.e., the Zealots] in ihrem Hochmuthe die Oberherrschaft der Römer nicht anerkannten, und in ihrer Verblendung mit starrer Hartnäckigkeit an den Buchstaben des Gesetzes, wonach ihr Volk das erste der Erde sein werde, festhielten. Daß indessen nach Gottes weisem Plane der Weltstaat der Römer oder besser dieser Völkerbrei unter Roms Oberherrschaft vorbereitet werde, damit das Christenthum einen geeigneten Boden fände, leuchtete diesen hochmüthigen, aufgeblasenen, in ihren Vorurtheilen festgerannten Menschen nicht ein. Kein Volk war besser dazu angethan als das römische, um das Christenthum in das Leben der Völker einzuführen. Durch diese äußere Einheit und Gemeinschaft des Lebens sollten sie für die Aufnahme desselben fähig gemacht werden, wie die Israeliten durch eine sichtbare Theokratie und durch ein äußerliches Gesetz allmählig erst zur christlichen Freiheit gelangen sollten."

133 See Heinrich Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden von der ältesten Zeit bis auf die Gegenwart*, vol. III: *Von dem Tode Juda Makkabi's bis zum Untergange des jüdischen Staates* (Leipzig: Schnauß, 1856), pp. 298–9.

134 Magon, *Sabina*, p. 123: "sich zu überleben und abzusterben."

135 Ibid.: "Wie konnte ein so durch und durch geistig, physisch und moralisch angefressenes Volk, wie das jüdische um diese Zeit heruntergekommen war, fortbestehen und sich in sich kräftigen."

136 See Gaume, *Geschichte der häuslichen Gesellschaft*, I, 206.

> No physician would have been able to cure the ailing body or even just to fend off the destructive influences, because the marrow of life was withered and the blood had turned into putrefaction. Finally, the Lord, as He does with every individual, decreed an end to the nation as a whole; all the arts of diplomacy and politics were therefore incapable of doing any more than what medicine may do at best, which will never find a means to achieve immortality but, at most, may effect a temporary reprieve and an extension of the common lifespan.[137]

The image of illness and exhaustion is also applied to the moral integrity of the Jews who are compared to a man

> who after years of indulging in pleasures has heaped sin upon sin and wasted all his vigour and who may now very well convert and die; but who no longer possesses the necessary natural strength to lead a new life in virtue. To this was added the light of Christianity ignited by the Saviour, which, struggling with darkness, like the dawn of a glorious new day, breathed new morals and a new life into the dead lives of the nations.[138]

The Sadducee Herod is easily recognized in this portrayal; as is the future trajectory embodied in his daughter Sabina as an exemplar of the new life offered by Christianity.

The logic of supersession, while insisting on the fertile soil provided by the Roman Empire, also emphasized by Croly, nevertheless anticipates the dissolution also of this political construct. Like Sebregondi in *Nekodas*—and effectively following the prophecy of Jesus,[139] which was also included by Kaulbach in one of the spandrels of the original frame of his painting—the writer articulates in his novel a retrospective prophecy of the fall of pagan Rome which reinforces the notion of Christian supersession.[140] Titus is once again represented as an instrument of the divine

137 Magon, *Sabina*, p. 134: "Kein Arzt war mehr im Stande, den siechen Leib zu heilen oder auch nur die zerstörenden Einflüsse abzuwehren, weil das Lebensmark verdorrt und das Blut in Fäulniß übergegangen war. Endlich hatte auch der Herr, wie er es jedem Einzelnen thut, dem ganzen Volke das Ziel gesteckt; alle Künste der Diplomatie und der Politik vermochten daher nicht mehr, als allenfalls die Heilkunde auch vermag, die nie ein Mittel zur Unsterblichkeit finden wird, sondern höchstens nur eine Fristung und Verlängerung der gewöhnlichen Lebensdauer bewirken kann."

138 Ibid., p. 124: "Die Judem [*sic*] selbst aber waren einem Manne ähnlich, welcher durch ein jahrelanges Schwelgerleben Sünde auf Sünde gehäuft und alle seine Lebenskräfte vergeudet hat, und nun sich zwar wohl bekehren und sterben kann; aber zu einem frischen Leben in der Tugend nicht mehr die nothwendigen natürlichen Kräfte besitzt. Dazu kam noch das durch den Erlöser angezündete Licht des Christenthums, welches mit der Finsterniß kämpfend, wie die Morgenröthe eines neuen herrlichen Tages, neue Sitten und neues Leben den abgestorbenen Völkerleben einhauchte."

139 Luke 21:24.

140 Magon, *Sabina*, p. 156: "Es wird die Stunde des Falles kommen auch für das zweite Babylon, und der Herr wird den Söhnen Roms gedenken den Tag Jerusalems." This phrase is taken verba-

will.[141] Yet whereas, other than in *Nekodas*, the cruelty of the siege is never criticized in *Sabina*, the apparent contradiction of civilization and the proclivity for brutal and bloody entertainments is emphasized by Magon. The writer elaborates an analogy between Jewish degeneracy and Roman decay, which suggests moreover its implicit application to the author's own day: "Was such a nation [i.e., the Romans] in a position to make moral laws or was it not rather ripe for destruction?!"[142]

The actual destruction of Jerusalem is covered only very briefly in *Sabina*,[143] though, consistent with Magon's penchant for graphic descriptions of blood and gore, the writer does not neglect to dedicate a paragraph to Mary of Bethezuba, whose story is significant to him not only as an illustration of the inhumane character of the unnatural deed but also because it represents the ultimate breach of the familial bond.[144] The family, as has already been indicated, is, to Magon, following the Abbé Gaume, of crucial significance as the nucleus of eternally valid social and religious structures and moral recovery; he therefore concludes the first part of his novel with an encomium on marriage.[145]

Marriage, a sacrament in Catholicism, is to Magon the epitome of the family; and the family is the pre-eminent vehicle to effect Christianity's powers of fermentation as the new "sourdough" in society. In his novel, the priest attributes the following thoughts to the apostle Peter: "Your civilization, which you, proud Rome, boast to have carried to the ends of the earth shall be ennobled and perfected by me in that I will bring you true freedom, in the womb of your family, to wit!"[146] As observed by Hirschmann, a conciliatory orientation toward the future is a defining feature of the Catholic historical novel.[147] It is also articulated in *Sabina*:

> Everything this poor man [i.e., the apostle Peter] said has become reality in the course of time; the enormous work which he promised to undertake has celebrated centuries later

tim from Sebregondi's *Nekodas*, see p. 318; it is a play on Psalm 137:7, which refers to the destruction of the First Temple.

141 See, e.g., Magon, *Sabina*, p. 174.

142 Ibid., p. 400: "Konnte ein solches Volk [i.e., the Romans] wohl sittigende Gesetze geben, oder war es nicht vielmehr reif für den Untergang?!"

143 See ibid., pp. 166–9.

144 See ibid., p. 168.

145 See ibid., p. 251.

146 Ibid., p. 261: "Deine Civilisation, welche du, stolzes Rom, bis zu den Enden der Erde gebracht zu haben dich rühmst, soll durch mich veredelt und vervollkommnet werden, indem ich dir die wahre Freiheit bringe und zwar im Schooße deiner Familie!"

147 See Hirschmann, *Kulturkampf*, p. 62; Magon's novel is mentioned by Hirschmann for its readiness to change historical topography and chronology, p. 65.

> the triumph of completion. Its regeneration of humankind has ensued, although its achievement entailed great effort and struggle.[148]

In fact, Magon insists that the ambitious project did not come to a conclusion with the martyr's death of the apostles Peter and Paul: "To the contrary, the enormous work continues to expand and because it is an enormous work, it also progresses in enormous strides."[149] Emphasizing the beneficial impact of the family—and, more specifically, of the Christian family—on the state, and echoing once again the Abbé Gaume, Magon insists:

> If things are not going well in families, it is impossible that the state should be doing well. But, then, the foundation of order in the family is of course, once again, love.[150]

Like the Abbé Gaume, Magon took issue with philosophers. On her trajectory to conversion, Sabina is confronted with two philosophers whose destructive and vindictive character has a negative impact on the family of the Christian community and the family over which Sabina presides as *domina*. Apollonius of Tyana, based on the controversial figure of the historical philosopher, extols the concept of Roman unity which he sees threatened by the rise of Christianity. The philosopher, censured by the church historian Eusebius, as delineated, for instance, in Magon's *Handbuch der Patrologie*,[151] is discredited in the course of the narrative not only by his presumption but also by his reiteration of half-truths and misinterpretations which jar with the reader's better knowledge as well as their identificatory investment. Apollonius for instance misrepresents the Christians as a "godless sect" that was conspicuous for its prayer practice and for "the slaughter of a child that was consumed during their communal worship."[152] The philosopher is cast in analogy to the obfuscating liberal of modern times. His idolization of reason, as the Abbé Gaume calls it,[153] is revealed by Magon to be no more than a different form of superstition.

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148 Magon, *Sabina*, p. 262: "Alles, was dieser arme Mann gesprochen, ist im Verlaufe der Zeit Wahrheit geworden; das Riesenwerk, welches er zu unternehmen versprochen, hat nach Jahrhunderten den Triumph der Vollendung gefeiert. Seine Regenerirung des Menschengeschlechtes ist eingetreten, obschon sie nicht ohne große Mühe und Kampf gelungen ist."

149 Ibid., p. 263: "im Gegentheile, das Riesenwerk dehnt sich immer weiter aus, und weil es ein Riesenwerk ist, geht es auch mit Riesenschritten vorwärts."

150 Ibid., p. 421: "Wenn es in den Familien nicht gut geht, kann es unmöglich um den Staat gut stehen. Nun ist aber das Fundament der Ordnung in der Familie eben wieder die Liebe." See also Gaume, *Geschichte der häuslichen Gesellschaft*, I, 170.

151 See Magon, *Handbuch der Patrologie*, I, 278–9.

152 Magon, *Sabina*, p. 287: "die gottlose Christensekte, die durch auffallende Gebetsweise und durch Schlachten eines Kindes, welches in ihren gottesdienstlichen Versammlungen verzehrt werde."

153 See Gaume, *Geschichte der häuslichen Gesellschaft*, I, 28, 146–7.

The appropriation of the blood libel is more striking. In its Christian form, as blamed on the Jews, it originates in the middle ages but had found its most recent reiteration of international impact in the so-called Damascus Affair of 1840.[154] Jews were falsely accused of having killed a Catholic priest and his servant for ritual purposes. Clearly, the transferal of the blood libel on the sacrament of the transubstantiation in the Eucharist is meant to emphasize the absurdity of the accusation in relation to the Christians. A similar blood libel is reiterated in the novel by the philosopher Proclus, who, for base reasons of greed and vanity, incites the Roman authorities to prosecute Sabina.[155] Again, the fabricated nature of the blood libel against the Christians is evident.[156]

As Sabina recognizes, it is striking "that precisely those confessing to the Mosaic Law are lumped together with these sinister figures [i.e., the Christians]."[157] The effect of this is to challenge this association at least implicitly. And since the (Catholic) reader is very much aware that the allegedly "sinister figures" are in fact figures of light, the reversal suggests that the genuinely sinister figures are those adhering to the Law of Moses. With the false accusation of the Christians therefore nevertheless reverberates the historical blood libel leveled against the Jews. The inclusion of the blood libel is in this sense an important element of the dissociation between Christians and Jews. It was used in a similar way also by Kaulbach in his painting with the juxtaposition of Mary of Bethezuba and the Eucharist.

Challenges within the Christian community to papal authority, which reflect issues of the *Kulturkampf* and respond to anxieties of the erosion of patriarchal and Christian society as articulated by the Abbé Gaume, are also addressed by Magon. The writer insists in *Sabina* on the patriarchal function of the Pope. Em-

154 For the Damascus Affair, see Jonathan Frankel, *The Damascus Affair: "Ritual Murder," Politics and the Jews in 1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). In Germany, articulations of the blood libel led to Jewish persecution, e.g., in Dormagen (1819), Neuenhoven (1834), Willich (1835), and Thalmässing (1845); for an overview, see Stefan Rohrbacher and Michael Schmidt, *Judenbilder: Kulturgeschichte antijüdischer Mythen und antisemitischer Vorurteile* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1991), pp. 304–68.

155 See Magon, *Sabina*, p. 411. Magon's Proclus is not to be confused with the Athenian Neoplatonist of the fifth century CE who was very much admired by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, which would presumably have been reason enough for Magon to reject him.

156 For the blood libel applied to Christians in antiquity, see Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta, "The Early Christians and Human Sacrifice," in *The Strange World of Human Sacrifice*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), pp. 81–102. The accusation was current in the second century, but may in fact originate already in the first century, pp. 83–4; for the transferal, or extension, of ritual murder accusations against the Jews to Christians, see pp. 98–9.

157 Magon, *Sabina*, p. 318: "daß man gerade die Bekenner des mosaischen Gesetzes mit diesen Dunkelmenschen [i.e., the Christians] zusammenwirft."

phasizing his paternal character, the author sketches a harmonious image of ecclesiastical hierarchy:

> Our Father in Rome presides as paramount shepherd over all parishes *urbis et orbis* (of the city of Rome and across the globe). To him turn the faithful; in his wisdom they trust; to his just judgement they present their complaints and with joy they submit to his decisions.[158]

At the same time, the novel alludes to a historical schism among the community in Corinth which required the intervention of Pope Clement.[159] In this context, Magon explicitly refers to the First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.[160] The letter, which is not included in the biblical canon but was nevertheless widely known, enjoins the Corinthians to reinstate the superiors they had dismissed. It thus reinforces ecclesiastical hierarchy and confirms the patriarchal authority of the bishop of Rome. Both were controversial issues during the *Kulturkampf*. In its contemporary application, the internal criticism is projected outside onto the Christian community as a whole and the critical response to the claims of the Catholic hierarchy and, in particular, the leading role of the Pope which was cemented a few years later with the dogmatic constitution of *Pastor aeternus*.

In his *Handbuch der Patrologie*, published three years after *Sabina*, Magon suggests that Clement suffered his martyrdom under the persecution of Nero. Yet in his novel he situates Clement in the time of Domitian. Taking this historical liberty allows the author to introduce the text of Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians to his narrative. Its insistence on ecclesiastical hierarchy clearly is a point the writer seeks to reinforce in relation to the *Kulturkampf*.

Clement is, moreover, described in his appearance as the archetype of the willing martyr:

> [H]is features shine with a patience and submission which appear to prepare themselves already in anticipation for what is to come. In addition, an endless elation may be read in the patient features as if they were celebrating their rapture in the initiation of their suffering.[161]

158 Ibid., p. 372: "Unser Vater zu Rom steht aber als Oberhirte allen Gemeinden *urbis et orbis* (der Stadt Rom und des Erdkreises) vor. An ihn wenden sich die Gläubigen; seiner Weisheit vertrauen sie sich an; seinem gerechten Urtheilsspruche unterbreiten sie ihre Klagen und mit Freude unterwerfen sie sich seinen Entscheidungen."

159 See ibid., p. 282; for Clement, see, e.g., Magon, *Handbuch der Patrologie*, I, 47–56.

160 See Magon, *Sabina*, p. 282.

161 Ibid., p. 283: "Trotzdem leuchtet aus den Zügen des Angesichts eine Geduld und Ergebung hervor, die sich schon im Voraus auf die kommenden Zeiten vorzubereiten scheinen. Unendliche Verklärung ist zugleich in den geduldigen Zügen zu lesen, wie wenn sie in der Entstehung der Leiden ihre Beseligung feiern."

A similar descriptive pattern was used by the author already in relation to Sabina for whom the Pope, similar to Seraphia, becomes a model of (early) Christian, i.e., Catholic, submission. The novel in this way elaborates a whole succession of martyrs all of whom assume model function for subsequent martyrs. Their model is also extended by implication to contemporary Catholics, a point that is made explicit by Clement:

> Know, then, that this time of trials and danger awaits us, that the Lord has once more taken hold of his winnowing fan so as to separate the wheat from the chaff, and to receive his children into the eternal habitations, after they will have been purified through the fire of tribulation. Exult and rejoice if you are to be deemed worthy to be chosen to be among the Lord's children in the coming storm of persecution.[162]

Sabina's conversion is to be understood as a model for contemporary readers, like Seraphia is the model for Sabina and, once again, in an ever expanding chain of martyrs, for the contemporary reader.

In the *passio* of Seraphia, as narrated by Magon, the former Syrian slave assumes a position from which she reflects in her defense against the charges brought forward against her on the relationship of Christians to the secular state. In Seraphia's trial the Christians are accused of subverting the state and of being bad patriots.[163] Seraphia's refutation of these allegations clearly responds to contemporary concerns and articulates the Catholic position in the *Kulturkampf* as one of simplicity, sincerity, and steadfastness:

> we Christians are no different than other people, neither for our fatherland, nor for our language, nor for our civil customs; only that we love our fatherland more sincerely, that our language is more noble and chaste, that our customs correspond more to the order and the maintenance of the state. We do not live in cities of our own, nor do we make use of a special language; our way of living includes nothing that is extraordinary. We seek not to learn what only makes the spirit curious, much less do we set ourselves up as defenders of this or that philosopher. It is of no consequence where we live; we adopt local customs and do not insist on any particular food; for we are content with little, moderate in pleasures, simple in our dress and blameless in our conduct. We pray for the emperors, pray for their well-being, but do not obey their sinful commands. In these instances, we must obey the Lord rather than men. Each foreign country is a fatherland for us, and every fatherland is foreign to us; for our

162 Ibid., pp. 284–5: "[S]o wisset denn, daß diese Zeit der Prüfung und der Gefahr uns bevorsteht, daß der Herr seine Wurfschaufel wiederum in der Hand hat, um den Weizen von der Spreu zu sondern, und seine Kinder, nachdem sie durch das Feuer der Prüfung geläutert sind, zu sich in die ewigen Wohnungen aufzunehmen. Freuet Euch und frohlocket, wenn Ihr gewürdigt werden solltet, in dem nun nahenden Sturme der Verfolgung als Kinder Gottes erkoren zu werden"; see also p. 464.
163 See ibid., pp. 468, 469.

> true home is not of this world. [. . .] This is how we truly are, although we be mocked and ridiculed by the people; but this only happens because we are not known.[164]

The inherent contradiction in Seraphia's plea demonstrates the difficulty of negotiating the dichotomy between nationalism and Catholicism. Associating tropes of Jewish difference from which the Christians distance themselves, the text engages in a precarious tightrope act between affirming loyalty to the (modern) state and rejecting nationalist impulses in favor of the perceived unity of society under a Catholic influence that was also vaunted by the Abbé Gaume.[165] Nationalism and Catholicism are, to the Abbé, ultimately irreconcilable because to him they embody the dichotomy of the word of men and the word of God.[166]

Accordingly, the dangers of secularization, the elevation of the word of men above that of God, as it was phrased by the Abbé Gaume, and even the arrogation of divinity to humanity, is denounced by Seraphia. In a passage which distils the Abbé's views and which is clearly addressed to the reader as a commentary on contemporary liberalism, Seraphia expounds to Sabina, whose conversion she promotes:

> These consequences are, then, to strive to be like God; to exalt oneself above oneself; to be from, through, and in oneself everything, without God, without any other Being; pride, therefore, self-idolisation, complete independence, so-called freedom and detachment from everything. Just as the striving of such a being was wrong and improper; so this striving to be wrong and improper, to live in order to enjoy evil and to be evil for evil's sake remains with him. The further consequences are emptiness, lack of the true foundation, the source

164 Ibid., pp. 470–1: "wir Christen unterscheiden uns nicht von andern Menschen weder durch unser Vaterland, noch durch unsere Sprache, noch durch unsere bürgerlichen Gebräuche, nur daß wir unser Vaterland aufrichtiger lieben, unsere Sprache edler und züchtiger ist, unsere Gebräuche mehr der Ordnung und der Aufrechterhaltung des Staates entsprechen. Wir wohnen nicht in eigenen Städten, noch bedienen wir uns einer besonderen Sprache; nichts Außerordentliches haben wir in unserer Lebensweise. Wir suchen das nicht zu lernen, was nur den Geist neugierig macht, viel weniger aber werfen wir uns zu Vertheidigern dieses oder jenes Philosophen auf. Es ist ganz einerlei, wo wir wohnen; wir bequemen uns der Landessitte an, sehen auf keine ausgesuchte Nahrung; denn wir sind mit Wenigem zufrieden, mäßig im Genusse, einfach in der Kleidung und gut in der Aufführung. Wir beten für die Kaiser, flehen um ihr Wohlergehen, gehorchen aber nicht ihren sündhaften Befehlen. Hier müssen wir Gott mehr gehorchen als den Menschen. Jedes fremde Land ist für uns ein Vaterland und jedes Vaterland ist uns fremd; denn unsere eigentliche Heimath liegt nicht auf dieser Erde. [. . .] So sind wir in Wirklichkeit, obschon wir von den Menschen verhöhnt und verspottet werden; aber es geschieht nur lediglich deßhalb, weil man uns nicht kennt."

165 See Gaume, *Geschichte der häuslichen Gesellschaft*, I, 74, 211.

166 See ibid., I, 166–7.

> and cause of his innermost being, his life, his work; yes, even the loss of clear understanding, of the appreciation of the creator may be found in the wake of such behaviour.[167]

In effect, Seraphia outlines the battle line of the enemy here. The struggle, as the legal murder of Seraphia and Sabina as well as the persecution of the Christians in the Rome of Domitian demonstrate, is existential. The contemporary parallel, on which Magon and the Abbé Gaume insist alike, is meant to refute allegations of double loyalty and to offer the latter-day Catholics of the present strength and consolation. In *Sabina*, this is further encouraged with the notion of wide-spread crypto-Christianity in the catacombs. Sabina is surprised "when she [finds] in the subterranean meetings of the Christians many of whom she would not have thought that they were also among the congregation."[168] The suggestion is that in the present of the reader as well Catholicism is much stronger than it would appear.

Enlisting Foreign Catholic Literature in the *Kulturkampf*

If Magon's novel provoked Norrenberg's scorn for its aesthetic shortcomings and its excess of gory details, the translation of a French novel which appeared a few years later with Bachem in Cologne may have prompted the critic's doubts about the appeal of introducing foreign Catholic literature to the German market. It is nevertheless instructive to include the Abbé Charles Guénot's *Hanani, oder die letzten Tage Jerusalems* (1865; Hanani; Or, The Last Days of Jerusalem; *Hanani l'Essénien, scènes des temps apostoliques*)[169] in this discussion because its translation inserted it into German literary discourse on the subject of the destruction of

167 Magon, *Sabina*, p. 366: "Diese Folgen sind nun das Streben wie Gott zu sein; sich über sich selbst zu erheben; sich aus, durch und in sich Alles, ohne Gott, ohne irgend ein Wesen zu sein; also Stolz, Selbstvergötterung, gänzliche Unabhängigkeit, sogenannte Freiheit und Losgebundenheit von Allem. Wie nun eines solchen Wesens Streben, verkehrt, unrecht war; so auch bleibt ihm dieses Streben, verkehrt, unrecht zu sein, zu leben, am Bösen Freude zu haben und bös um des Bösen willen zu sein. Die weitern Folgen sind Leerheit, Mangel des eigentlichen Grundes, der Quelle und Ursache seines innersten Seins, Lebens, Wirkens; ja selbst der Verlust der deutlichen Erkenntniß, der Anerkennung des Schöpfers finden sich im Gefolge solchen Handelns."

168 Ibid., p. 438: "als sie unter der Erde in der Versammlung der Christen Viele fand, von denen sie nicht vorausgesetzt hätte, dieselben zählten auch zu dieser Schaar."

169 See Charles Guénot, *Hanani, oder Die letzten Tage Jerusalems* (Cologne: Bachem, 1865); see also Charles Guénot, *Hanani l'Essénien, scènes des temps apostoliques* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1865). For the Abbé's role in French cultural politics, see Michel Manson, "Les romans historiques chez Mame (1834–1914): faire revivre le passé à la lumière de la foi," in *Mame: Deux siècles d'édition pour la jeunesse*, ed. Cécile Boulaire (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2019), pp. 219–27, p. 226.

Jerusalem. Indeed, Bachem clearly saw the novel as another reinforcement for the Catholic effort in the literary battleground of the *Kulturkampf*. They published *Hanani* as the first text in a new series that offered "Zeitbilder in Erzählungen aus der Geschichte der christlichen Kirche" (Images of the Times in Tales from the History of the Christian Church).

The idea was to provide with the series a common Christian, i.e., Catholic, readership with literary sketches of the decisive epochs of ecclesiastical history. More specifically, the objective of the project was to encourage the "correct understanding [richtige() Kenntniß]" of the divine plan of salvation outside the scholarly pale.[170] The easily accessible form of literary narratives, following a French initiative, was chosen in emulation of Cardinal Wiseman's notion of a popular Catholic library which had been inaugurated by his *Fabiola* but which then stalled. The learned ballast of antiquarian detail indulged in by Magon and criticized by Norrenberg—though persisting in the German context and experiencing a resurgence toward the end of the nineteenth century, for instance, in novels by Joseph Spillmann, SJ and Anton de Waal—is conspicuously absent from the French novel.

Responding to claims of the incipient decline of religion, the series editor insisted in his preface to the Abbé Guénot's *Hanani* on the continued, if sometimes shrouded, significance of Christian morality even in secular European societies. Resorting to an image already elaborated by Magon, he maintained that society was permeated with the ferment of a Christian sourdough ("durchsäuert") because the morality Christianity promoted was an innate part not only of the order of the world but of human nature.[171] Echoing the Abbé Gaume, the editor claimed that

> since Christianity came into the world as an act of God, nations and individuals alike became more or less proficient, more or less happy, [. . .] inasmuch as they accepted the Glad Tidings in a manly, joyful, and active manner or rejected it and left it unheeded.[172]

To this argument for the intrinsic validity and importance of the Catholic Church, the editor added the triumphant assertion that the contemporary resurgence of religion contested all expectations to the contrary. Like Magon, the editor concludes with an invocation, in this instance, that the "Images of the Times" offered by the new series should contribute to the knowledge of the world historical mis-

170 Guénot, *Hanani, oder Die letzten Tage Jerusalems*, p. v.

171 See ibid., p. vii.

172 Ibid., pp. vii–viii: "seit das Christenthum als That Gottes in die Welt getreten ist, [sind] die Völker wie die Einzelnen tüchtiger oder untüchtiger, glücklicher oder unglücklicher [. . .] geworden, als sie die frohe Botschaft männlich und freudig und thatkräftig aufgenommen oder von sich gestoßen und unbefolgt gelassen haben." See also Gaume, *Geschichte der häuslichen Gesellschaft*, I, 55–6.

sion of the Catholic Church. Though measured and eschewing blatant polemics, the rhetoric of the editor's preface and the conception of the series as a whole nevertheless indicate the significance that was attributed by Bachem to asserting the Catholic presence in this corner of the battleground of the *Kulturkampf*.

Replicating the pattern critically observed by Norrenberg, the aesthetic quality of the text which constituted the first manifestation of this intervention was dubious at best, but it offered an unequivocal didactic projection of Catholic values. Like Sebregondi and Magon, the author chose the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple for the historical background of his narrative. Yet where *Nekodas* unfolded a narrative that cemented supersession without articulating a specifically Catholic tendency, and where *Sabina* intervened in the *Kulturkampf* with a hagiographic narrative which encouraged the *imitatio* of the saint and moreover explored the perceived analogy between the times of the early Church and its contemporary tribulations, the Abbé Guénot's *Hanani*, indulged in a veritable frenzy of martyrs, miracles, and conversions.

In a tale that, like Croly's *Salathiel* and Magon's *Sabina*, amalgamates stock elements of the adventure novel with religious legends and, in case of he latter, a hagiographic component, the eponymous protagonist of Guénot's *Hanani* is an Essene who, following an attempt on his life in the Temple at Jerusalem, is nursed back to health by a Christian family. He is converted, becomes a Christian priest, and all the adventurous mysteries of wicked intrigues and lost relatives are eventually resolved. Among the other figures of the novel are the apostles Peter and Paul as well as James the Great (Jakobus). Like Peter returned to Rome to bear the cross of his martyrdom after encountering the apparition of Jesus—an early Christian legend made famous with Henryk Sienkiewicz's novel *Quo Vadis?: Powieść z czasów Nerona* (1895; *Quo Vadis: A Narrative of the Time of Nero*) and referred to also by the Abbé Guénot[173]—Hanani elects to stay in Jerusalem when the Christians withdraw to Pella, so as to help any stragglers and, if possible, to convert others. He does indeed convert Jews and Romans and, eventually, the assassin who stabbed him and who turns out to be his nephew.

Struck by leprosy for his sins, the assassin and betrayer Charykles is eventually crucified by the Romans along with hundreds of Jews who tried to flee from Jerusalem. Since crosses are increasingly scarce, he is crucified on a tree. It turns out to be the very tree on which Judas hanged himself. The symbolism could hardly be any more blatant. Yet Charykles, taken from the tree following Hanani's pleas and surrounded by those he sought to harm—all having converted to Chris-

173 See Guénot, *Hanani, oder Die letzten Tage Jerusalems*, pp. 144–5.

tianity in the course of the novel—finally sees the light, is healed from his leprosy, and, dying, finds his way to God.

Hanani's own son, stolen as a child and now a chieftain among the robbers, is captured by the Romans and, with other Jews, thrown to the wild animals in the arena of Caesarea:

> The exhausted animals appeared to have more pity than the humans and granted them a moment of rest. Suddenly, an old man could be seen as he descended into the arena. For a few minutes, he talked fervently with the two victims of the slaughter; then they sank to their knees before him. The old man poured water over their foreheads, embraced and kissed them. He was not yet ascended once again, when the wild animals, prodded by their keepers, attacked the two unhappy men with a roar and seized them with deadly claws.[174]

Hanani is received and saved by his converted Roman friends and, challenged by them, he explains that he learned that one of the Jews in the arena was his lost son and that he could not spare any effort to save his immortal soul; the second Jew in the arena turns out to be the brother of the reformed and converted Sadducee Demas. The novel concludes with the following sentences which, like the earlier excerpt, illustrate its trajectory very well—they incorporate piety and submission to the divine will, martyrdom, conversion, and redemption as well as yet another miracle:

> "The Lord be praised! They are now with Christ in the Realm of Glory!" prayed the tribunes and the centurion.
> "Amen!" a voice laden with emotion could be heard from behind them. It was that of Demas, whom the Lord's mercy had healed from his lameness.[175]

Even more than Magon's novel, the Abbé Guénot's *Hanani* demonstrates in concentrated form the objectives of the Catholic historical novel and, more specifically, its engagement with the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem. It was neither necessary, nor desirable, for these authors to sound the psychological motivation of the individual. The real focus of their literary interventions in the *Kulturkampf* was the confirmation of, and submission to, the divine plan of salva-

174 Ibid., p. 212: "Die ermüdeten Thiere schienen mehr Mitleid zu haben als die Menschen und gönnten ihnen einen Augenblick Rast. Plötzlich sah man einen Greis hinuntersteigen in die Arena. Einige Minuten sprach er eifrig mit den beiden Schlachtopfern; dann warfen diese sich vor ihm auf die Knie. Der Greis goß Wasser über ihre Stirne, umarmte und küßte sie. Er war noch nicht wieder hinaufgestiegen, als die wilden Thiere, durch ihre Hüter angetrieben, brüllend auf die beiden Unglücklichen losstürzten und sie mit todbringenden Krallen erfaßten."
175 Ibid., p. 213: "'Gott sei gelobt! Sie sind jetzt bei Christus im Reiche der Herrlichkeit!' beteten die Tribunen und der Centurio. / 'Amen!' erscholl hinter ihnen eine bewegte Stimme. Es war die des Demas, welchen die göttliche Barmherzigkeit von seiner Lähmung geheilt hatte."

tion which manifests itself in revelation and the ongoing history of salvation; the perceived reality of supersession; the exaltation of the Catholic Church and its hierarchy; and the refutation of allegations of dual loyalties.

Four decades after the Abbé Guénot's *Hanani*, Bachem published an adaptation of the novel. Adam Josef Cüppers' *Hanani: Erzählung aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1905; Hanani: A Tale from the Time of the Destruction of Jerusalem), illustrated with four colored woodcuts and a cover illustration by Wilhelm Rohm, appeared as volume 28 in the series "Bachems neue illustrierte Jugendschriften" (Bachem's New Illustrated Books for Adolescents).[176] The recalibration in relation to an adolescent readership is indicative not only of the continued significance of the objectives of the earlier Catholic literary engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem long after the *Kulturkampf* proper, but also of its devolution to an impressionable young readership.

Generally following the narrative development of the Abbé's earlier novel and incorporating some passages verbatim, Cüppers' rewriting nevertheless achieves a character of its own; its trajectory veers away from his model especially toward the end of the novel. In particular, the author sought to avoid the worst of the Abbé Guénot's excesses of gory martyrdom, sentimental conversions, and blatant symbolism. More specifically, he revised the figure of Charykles. In Cüppers' novel, it is not he who is crucified, but his father Jonadabad, who is the scheming villain of both novels. Jonadabad, in contrast, is denied conversion and redemption. As he is about to be saved from the cross by Charykles, torn between revenge and the reformation of his character, a rock fired by the defenders of Jerusalem crushes him to death. Cüppers' also dispensed with the sentimental conversion of Hanani's son and Demas' brother in the arena. His novel ends with the reunion of Hanani's scattered family in Pella and the conversion of Charykles. His conversion, presumably with the intended adolescent readership in mind, thus translates into a productive Christian life on earth rather than the expectation of redemption in the afterlife.

Whereas *Nekodas* was published before the *Kulturkampf* gained intensity and lacks any focus on the early church, Magon's and the Abbé Guénot's later novels as well as Cüppers' adaptation of *Hanani* elaborate the circumstances of the persecution of early Christianity. The destruction of Jerusalem emerges in these novels as a momentous turning point in the history of salvation which cements supersession. More specifically, the conflict between Jews and Romans signifies to Magon an analogy to his own present which he explores in his *Sabina* with the obvious objectives of unfolding a pervasive cultural criticism of his own

176 See Adam Josef Cüppers, *Hanani: Erzählung aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (Cologne: Bachem, 1905).

times and of encouraging Catholics to emulate the faith and strength of the early Church also in the latter day struggle of the *Kulturkampf*. The Abbé Guénot's *Hanani*, though less explicit about it, is similarly predicated on the notion of a historical analogy. Yet the writer's main interest is in exalting the suffering of martyrs and a multiple conversion narrative; they are elaborated as models for Catholic steadfastness in the present of the *Kulturkampf*. The almost frenetic character of the novel was ameliorated by Cüppers with his adaptation which refocuses on the assurance of earthly bliss in the faith rather than the promise of the afterlife.

Sebregondi's ultimately supradenominational approach, which the Catholic author, prior to the *Kulturkampf* proper, applied to her literary engagement with the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem mirrored in this respect the perspective elaborated by Wilhelm von Kaulbach. The monumental painting was more obviously anchored in Hegelian philosophy, but—like *Nekodas* preceding the *Kulturkampf*—it eschewed denominational particularity. Yet the Catholic artist's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* was eventually nevertheless also deployed as ordnance in the denominational struggle that dominated the second half of the nineteenth century.

The Catholic Reconfiguration of Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*

Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* was appropriated through Guido Görres's libretto to the denominational discourse it had originally abstained from. Its conception was neither denominational, nor even—in the deepest sense—Christian. As outlined above, Kaulbach conceived of the occurrence as a *historical* turning point that happened to be determined by its religious context. As such the artist's pictorial composition projected a secular vision that included a religious component. Yet with the publication of the libretto in *Deutsches Hausbuch* in the year after the painting's completion, it was contextually reconfigured; not that Kaulbach would have been averse to the fact.

As discussed in chapter I, the artist had encouraged his friend to compose a libretto based on his painting. Kaulbach moreover was himself an esteemed contributor to the magazine edited by Görres. He designed the title illustrations to both volumes of *Deutsches Hausbuch* (see Figures 16 and 17), and both are steeped in Catholic imagery that gives a clear indication of the magazine's objectives as well as its political and religious position. It is useful in this context to refer to the explication of the artist's design (see Figure 16) in a contemporary review of *Deutsches Hausbuch* which originates in the circle around the younger Görres:

> The main objective of the *Hausbuch*, for its part to contribute to the formation and strengthening of a religious patriotic spirit among the youth, is indicated also in a pictorial manner with its cover illustration. [. . .] Drawn in amicable kindness by Wilhelm Kaulbach, it represents the two majestic rivers on German soil: the Rhine with the crown of vines of inspiring wine and the Danube with the wreath of ears of nourishing wheat. As warlike guardians and protectors of the fatherland, the two heroic figures, armoured and armed, rest on a seat of stone holding one another by the hand in fraternal concord.[177]

Kaulbach's illustration added to Görres's preface an explicitly political dimension. It offered an intervention in the debate about the so-called German Question which referred to efforts of unifying the German-speaking lands in response to growing nationalism since the Napoleonic Wars. As opposed to the lesser German solution (*kleindeutsche Lösung*) that envisaged the unification of the northern German states under Prussian hegemony with the exclusion of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the allegorical illustration clearly favors the greater German solution (*großdeutsche Lösung*) that was championed by the latter and by its supporters and that entailed the unification of all German-speaking peoples in one state under Austrian leadership. Both models crucially connoted also divergent denominational orientations, with Prussia promoting Protestantism and Austria Catholicism. Hence the blatant affiliation of the Catholic *Deutsches Hausbuch* through Kaulbach's illustration with the greater German solution and its emphasis on the higher authority of Christ articulated in a Latin formula of allegiance:

> Yet between the warlike rivers, at their heads, arises an old cross, encircled with a wreath of fresh roses and oak leaves with the inscription: Christus imperator noster.[178]

The affirmation of Christ's sovereignty over the German lands was extended in Kaulbach's design for the title illustration of the second volume to the assertion of its universal reach (see Figure 17). A variation on the iconographic tradition of "Christ in triumph," it shows the Christ child with halo, cross-staff, and pennon riding on a fierce-looking but obedient lion, the ground it walks on suggests the

177 Anonymous, "Ueber Volksschriften und Volksbildung," *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland* 19 (1847): 183–92, 192: "Das Hauptbestreben des Hausbuches, von seiner Seite zur Bildung und Kräftigung eines religiösen vaterländischen Sinnes der Jugend beizutragen, ist auch bildlicher Weise in dem Titelblatte [. . .] angedeutet. Gezeichnet mit freundschaftlicher Güte von Wilhelm Kaulbach, stellt es die beiden großen königlichen Flüsse der deutschen Erde dar: den Rhein mit der Rebenkrone begeisternden Weines, und die Donau mit dem Aehrenkranze nährenden Waizens. Als kriegerische Hüter und Schirmer des Vaterlandes lagern die beiden Heldengestalten, gewappnet und bewehrt, auf steinernem Sitze, in brüderlicher Eintracht sich die Hand fassend."

178 Ibid.: "Zwischen den kriegerischen Flüssen, ihnen zu Häupten, aber erhebt sich ein altes Kreuz, umschlungen von einem Kranze frischer Rosen und Eichenlaubes mit der Aufschrift: Christus imperator noster."

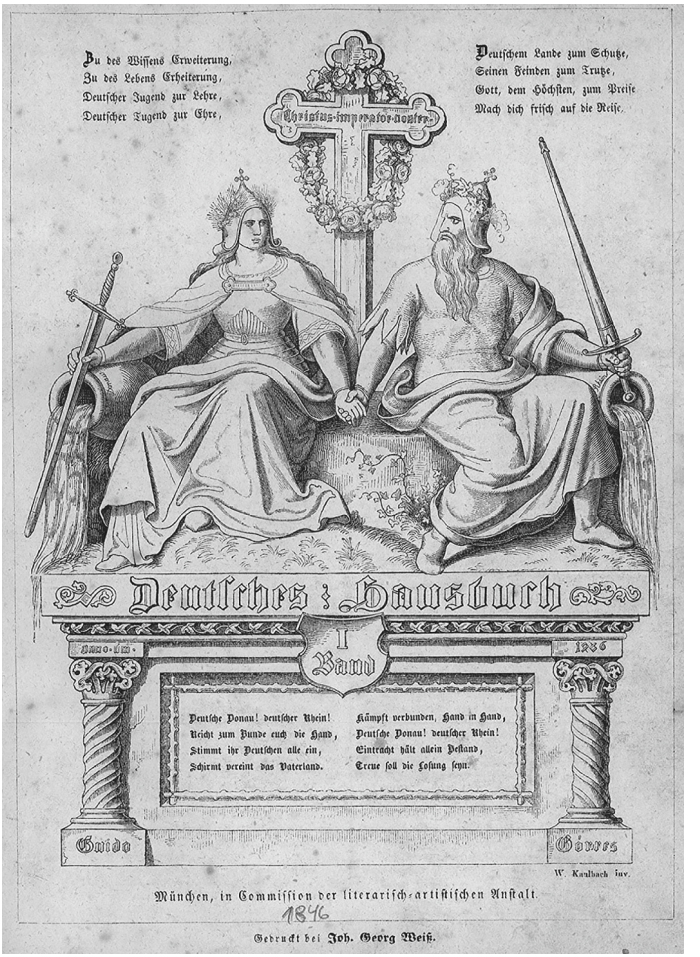


Figure 16: Wilhelm von Kaulbach, frontispiece to *Deutsches Handbuch* 1 (1846). (Public domain.)

curvature of the earth and thus its rider's victory over the world.[179] Not itself an established iconographic type, the image may have been derived by the artist from representations of "Christ treading on the beasts," which frequently include the cross-staff and pennon, or "Christ recognized by the beasts."[180] In either in-

179 For the iconography of "Christ in triumph," see LCI (1994), I, col. 403.
180 See ibid.



Figure 17: Wilhelm von Kaulbach, frontispiece to *Deutsches Hausbuch* 2 (1847). (Public domain.)

stance, the lion—like the dragon and sometimes also the asp and the basilisk[181]—represents evil that is overcome by the resurrected Christ.[182]

The *Hausbuch* signified a call to rally under both the German and the Catholic banners. It was a programmatic attempt to confront what Görres called in the

181 See Psalm 90:13.

182 See LCI (1994), I, col. 403. Kaulbach may have conflated these iconographic traditions with representations of the third-century child martyr St Mamas of Caesarea who is frequently depicted riding on a lion, see LCI (1994), VII, cols 483–4, though this is tenuous at best as there is no obvious interpretive link.

preface to the first volume the "obliviousness" of the Germans to their glorious past and, more specifically, of "us Catholics" to the great and magnificent contribution of Catholicism to cultural production.[183] He accuses Catholics of having internalized their enemies' allegations of cultural inferiority and of having consigned to oblivion even the very best of their own. Yet after a long period of "hibernation" he notices the first stirrings of spring, the resurgence of a "new life" to which he considers *Deutsches Hausbuch* to be a significant contribution.[184]

Crucial to Görres's agenda is not only the conjunction and mutual legitimation of "German" and "Catholic" but also a nostalgic retrospective on a time—long past, as his very first sentence laments—that was supposedly simple and modest, but more homely, trusting, and merry than the present, a time in which family life centered on oral traditions and venerable books read aloud on a winter's eve by the glowing embers of a fire across the generations and complemented with narratives of the old folks' life experiences.[185] The editor's aim is not only to provide with *Deutsches Hausbuch* an evolving substitute for the lost treasure of edifying books and stories, but to recover the values of those lost times from their source which he presents as originating in the Christian, i.e., Catholic, Middle Ages in Germany.

His conception is grounded in romantic medievalism and the idealized construction of a glorified past in which "the Germans sat at the loom of world history."[186] Tying together national glory and the cultural productivity of the Catholic Middle Ages, Görres promotes the resulting imaginary as a formula to be emulated in the present, and *Deutsches Hausbuch* as the vehicle for its implementation.

Through the publication of Görres's libretto in the second volume of *Deutsches Hausbuch*, the artist's painting of the destruction of Jerusalem was assimilated to this idea. As with Joseph Sebastian von Rittershausen's earlier engagement with the subject, if perhaps more obliquely, it suggests a contemporary political application. In this instance, in a post-restoration setting, the representation of internal strife is presumably to be mapped onto the disunity of the member states of the *Deutscher Bund* (German Confederation) and increasing unrest during the run-up to the revolutions of 1848. While less straightforward in its analogy to contempo-

183 [Guido Görres], "Eingang," *Deutsches Hausbuch* 1 (1847): V–VIII, VI: "Trifft diese Schuld der Selbstvergessenheit die Deutschen im Allgemeinen, so trifft sie uns Katholiken noch insbesondere."

184 Ibid., VII: "Doch der Winter und der lange Winterschlaf ist vorüber, die Sonne ist wieder frühlingswarm über den Schnee- und Eisgefilden aufgegangen; ein neues zukunftreiches Leben ist erwacht; seinen Bestrebungen soll sich auch das Hausbuch anschließen."

185 See ibid., V.

186 Ibid., VI: "wo die Deutschen am Webstuhle der Weltgeschichte saßen."

rary events than the earlier dramatic text, it more specifically envisages a Christian communality as opposed to Rittershausen's political vision. The suggestion appears to be the promise of salvation to the community established through the Eucharist and, in emulation of the Roman Empire and its transformation into a Christian, i.e., Catholic, realm, of the creation of a strong and Catholic German Empire.

Guido Görres was clearly influenced by the model of universal history elaborated by his father Joseph. In three lectures held in Munich in November 1829 and published with the title *Ueber die Grundlage, Gliederung und Zeitenfolge der Weltgeschichte* (1830; On the Basis, Structure, and Sequence of World History), the elder Görres had developed a specifically Catholic conceptualization of history which he perceived to be the manifestation of a divine principle.[187] Görres described altogether thirty-six ages of history determined by a cyclical progression of moments of divine disjunction and synthesis. Within this development, he identified a succession of Christian triumphs first over the Romans and then over the Germanic vanquishers of the Romans,[188] which, as we have seen, informed also Kaulbach's conception as well as, in a slightly different guise, the Protestant imagination in Britain.

The idea of the *translatio imperii* is articulated also in the preface to the second volume of *Deutsches Hausbuch* in which the author indulges in reminiscences of the Italian campagna which include the inscription of a Catholic topography over that of Roman paganism as in later literary engagements with the subject, though the younger Görres's vision is once again infused with a medievalizing romanticism when he describes

> the secluded monastery of the Passionists amid the forest green and the ruins of the old Temple of Jupiter Latinus, where once the Roman conquerors offered their sacrifices to thank the gods of Latium for the victories they had won, and where now in nocturnal silence echoes the liturgy of the hours sung by the brethren![189]

The "gothic" image, reminiscent of the paintings of Caspar David Friedrich, is completed and transcended with the soaring dome of St Peter's rising in the dis-

187 See Joseph Görres, *Ueber die Grundlage, Gliederung und Zeitenfolge der Weltgeschichte* (Breslau: Max and Company, 1830), pp. 116–17; for a potential influence on Kaulbach's *Thurmbau zu Babel* and the Japhetites, see pp. 88–93.

188 See ibid., p. 101.

189 [Görres], "Eingang," VI: "das einsame waldumgrünte Kloster der Passionisten und die Trümmer des alten Tempels des Jupiter Latinus, wo einst die römischen Eroberer ihre Dankesopfer den Göttern Latiums für ihre gewonnenen Siege darbrachten, und wo nun in nächtlicher Stille der Horengesang der Brüder erschallt!" The monastery referred to is presumably the Passionist convent SS. John and Paul on the Celian Hill. It was reconstituted in 1814 after the French occupation of the Papal States in 1798.

tance from the mists.[190] The same symbol of the triumph of the Catholic Church turned into soaring stone was also used with awe in an anachronistic shattering of the suspension of disbelief and an insistence on the eternal truth of the Catholic faith in historical fiction narratives about the destruction of Jerusalem by Catholic writers such as Joseph Spillmann, SJ and Anton de Waal.

Indeed, the issues raised by Görres in his prefaces—in particular his attempt to confront allegations of the inferiority of Catholic literature, his romanticism, and his yoking together of German and Catholic—were to gain new momentum half a century later when Spillmann and de Waal turned to the destruction of Jerusalem as a historical setting of soteriological import. By then, in the final years of the nineteenth century, the *Kulturkampf* proper had long since been concluded. Yet its effects lingered on. Thus, the Jesuit Law was still in force and allegations of ultramontanism and dual loyalties continued to pervade public discourse.[191]

The Inferiority Debate and Catholic Affirmation: Spillmann and de Waal

Literature was recognized by Catholic writers as a means of confronting the perceived abuse and of affirming Catholic identities. And yet, at the same time the allegation of the inferiority of Catholic literature also resurfaced—intriguingly among Catholic critics. Spillmann's *Lucius Flavus: Historischer Roman aus den letzten Tagen Jerusalems* (1898; *Lucius Flavus: An Historical Tale of the Time Immediately Preceding the Destruction of Jerusalem*) in particular became a bone of contention in the early stages of the inferiority dispute that was initiated by the publication of a polemic pamphlet by Karl Muth under the pseudonym Veremundus.[192]

Muth/Veremundus had posed already in the title of his pamphlet the contentious question of whether Catholic literature was conversant with recent developments in literary production: *Steht die katholische Belletristik auf der Höhe der Zeit?* (1898; Are Catholic Belles Lettres Up-to-date?). Spillmann was mentioned by

190 See ibid., VI.

191 The Jesuit Law was not abolished before April 1917; the return of Jesuits to Germany, though not into their monastic communities, was permitted already in 1904. See Wolfgang Huber, *Staat und Kirche im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, vol. 3: *Staat und Kirche von der Beilegung des Kulturkampfs bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs* (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1983), pp. 502, 471.

192 For the inferiority debate, see, e.g., Bernhard Doppler, *Katholische Literatur und Literaturpolitik: Enrica von Handel-Mazetti. Eine Fallstudie* (Königstein: Hain, 1980); Rosa Allram, "Studien zum katholischen Literaturstreit 'Gral' – 'Hochland'" (PhD diss., University of Vienna, Vienna, 1956); and, with a particular focus on Karl Muth and his literary program, Jutta Osinski, *Katholizismus und deutsche Literatur im 19. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1993), pp. 339–402.

Muth/Veremundus only in passing and was moreover dismissed next to the "adventurer" Karl May (who was not, in fact, a Catholic) as a writer of no more than fiction for adolescents.[193] Heavily criticized for this assessment and his initial refusal to discuss the popular writer at any length, Muth/Veremundus dedicated in his response, published in the following year with the forward-looking title *Die litterarischen Aufgaben der deutschen Katholiken* (1899; The Literary Tasks of German Catholics), almost a whole chapter to Spillmann and in particular to his most recent novel, *Lucius Flavus*.[194]

A Jesuit and expelled from Germany in 1872 in consequence of the Jesuit Law, the Swiss-born Spillmann was subsequently sent by his order to England, Belgium, and, finally, Luxembourg.[195] In acknowledgment of his inclinations and talent, it was decided early on by his superiors that the young Spillmann was to become a writer.[196] As such he not only produced shorter fiction and seven novels but collaborated also in various Catholic publication ventures, including the Jesuit journal on Christian culture, *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* (Voices from Maria-Laach; since 1914 entitled *Stimmen der Zeit*, i.e., Voices of the Times), and *Die katholischen Missionen* (The Catholic Missions), the illustrated monthly of the *Verein der Glaubensverbreitung in den Ländern deutscher Zunge* (Association for the Dissemination of the Faith in the German-speaking Countries). The priest moreover had a strong interest in the history of martyrdom, further kindled by the beatification of more than fifty martyrs from England and Wales in 1886 in the aftermath of which he published various scholarly volumes on the history of the persecution of Catholics in England between 1535 and 1681.[197]

The literary historian Alexander Baumgartner, SJ, a close friend of Spillmann's, described his literary ambitions as "letting the divine sun of truth and love shine once more into horribly confused, degenerate, and debased humanity."[198] Accord-

193 See Veremundus [i.e., Karl Muth], *Steht die katholische Belletristik auf der Höhe der Zeit?* (Mainz: Kirchheim, 1898), p. 27: "Abenteurer."

194 See Veremundus [i.e., Karl Muth], *Die litterarischen Aufgaben der deutschen Katholiken: Gedanken über katholische Belletristik und litterarische Kritik, zugleich eine Antwort an seine Kritiker* (Mainz: Kirchheim, 1899), pp. 41–51. The novel was translated into English and French and a pirated translation was published in Swedish.

195 See A[lexander] Baumgartner, SJ, "Erinnerungen an P. Joseph Spillmann, S. J.," *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* 69 (1905): 1–22.

196 See ibid., 6.

197 See Joseph Spillmann, SJ, *Geschichte der Katholikenverfolgung in England von 1535–1681*, 2nd expanded edn (1901; Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1905). For the publication history of the five volumes, see Baumgartner, "Erinnerungen," 9–10.

198 Baumgartner, "Erinnerungen," 13: "diese Gottessonne der Wahrheit und Liebe wieder in die schauerlich verworrene, entartete, heruntergekommene Menschheit hineinleuchten zu lassen."

ing to Baumgartner, the Jesuit writer therefore shunned Schopenhauer and Nietzsche as "calamitous will-o'-the-wisps" who undermined "healthy common sense" and "faith," and he rejected the "modern" literature that originated in this "quagmire of the alienation from God and of despair."[199] From his own biased position, Baumgartner noted that Spillmann's novelistic work was permeated with a religious spirit that was not artificially and tendentiously inserted into the organic fabric of his fiction but was in fact the soul that gave life to it: "it is nothing but the living Christian conviction and the profound, religious feeling with which the poet comprehended, penetrated, and executed his subject."[200]

While this encomium indicates what he expected of the Catholic writer and of Catholic literature at large, Baumgartner inisisted that the literary quality of Spillmann's work was in no way diminished by its infusion with the author's religious beliefs. His apologetic assertion responded to allegations of the inferiority of Catholic literature which, as discussed above, had emerged earlier in the century and were revived from within with the publications of Muth/Veremundus. Not much later, in 1909, Baumgartner intervened more directly in the proliferating debate on the quality of Catholic literature, known as *katholischer Literaturstreit* or *Inferioritätsdebatte* (1898–1911; Catholic literature dispute or inferiority debate), with three essays published in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* and collected in the following year in his pamphlet on *Die Stellung der deutschen Katholiken zur neueren Literatur* (1910; The Position of German Catholics toward Recent Literature). This latest flare-up of the dispute had been prompted by the publication of Nanny Lambrecht's *Armsünderin* (Poor Sinner-Woman) in instalments in Karl Muth's magazine *Hochland* in 1909. Critical of the intransigence of Catholic doctrine, Lambrecht's novel contributed to the debate about unmarried mothers and, unsurprisingly, incurred the wrath of ultramontanists.

In the same year, prompted by new attacks of his detractors, Muth summed up his objectives in retrospect in his final contribution to the dispute, controversially entitled *Die Wiedergeburt der Dichtung aus dem religiösen Erlebnis* (1909; The Re-birth of Poesy from the Spirit of Religious Experience):

199 Ibid., 12: "verhängnisvolle Irrlichter, welche [. . .] den gesunden Menschenverstand wie den Glauben untergruben. Sich an einer Novellistik zu bilden, welche als 'modern' aus diesem Pfuhl der Gottesentfremdung und der Verzweiflung hervorgegangen, ist ihm im Traume nie eingefallen."

200 Ibid., 18: "Dieser Geist ist nicht als eine künstliche Tendenz in das organische Gewebe hineingetragen, es ist die Seele, die es belebt; es ist nichts anderes als die lebendige christliche Überzeugung und das tiefe, religiöse Gefühl, mit welchem der Dichter seinen Stoff erfaßte, durchdrang und ausführte."

> *To bring about a literature arising from the Catholic spirit and from Catholic feeling that is artistically fully accomplished, to secure for Catholicism as a world view its conquering power also in the areas of poesy and art, that was the explicitly framed purpose of the Veremundus pamphlet.*[201]

The main objective identified in his second pamphlet was therefore "*a literary rebirth of the Catholic world view*."[202] Muth's conviction that German Catholics needed to overcome their feeling of inferiority was influenced by the initial stages of the *renouveau catholique* in France where a similar concept had been put into practice and where the author had spent some time in the early 1890s.[203]

Baumgartner sensed in the notion of a "religious experience" Muth's proximity to Protestant conceptions of redemption.[204] He would in particular have suspected the influence of Friedrich Schleiermacher's insistence on the significance and autonomy of subjective religious experience as contrasted to formal dogmatism.[205] More specifically, Muth engaged with Wilhelm Dilthey's *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung* (1906; Experience and Poesy).[206] Dilthey, influenced by Schleier-

201 Karl Muth, *Die Wiedergeburt der Dichtung aus dem religiösen Erlebnis: Gedanken zur Psychologie des katholischen Literaturschaffens* (Kempten and Munich: Kösel, 1909), p. 27: "*Eine aus katholischem Geist und Empfinden herausgewachsene Literatur von künstlerischer Vollwertigkeit herbeizuführen, dem Katholizismus als Weltanschauung seine erobernde Kraft auch auf dem Gebiet der Dichtung und Kunst zu sichern, das ist der ausdrücklich ausgesprochene Zweck der Veremundusschrift gewesen.*"

202 Ibid., p. 27: "[*E*]*ine literarische Wiedergeburt der katholischen Weltanschauung.*"

203 See Osinski, *Katholizismus und deutsche Literatur*, p. 339. For the *renouveau catholique* in France, see, e.g., Waldemar Gurian, *Die politischen und sozialen Ideen des französischen Katholizismus 1789–1914* (Mönchen-Gladbach: Volksverein, 1929) and for its reception in Germany, Albert Fuß, "Der Renouveau catholique und seine Rezeption in Deutschland," in Rauscher (ed.), *Religiös-kulturelle Bewegungen*, pp. 137–67.

204 See Alexander Baumgartner, SJ, *Die Stellung der deutschen Katholiken zur neueren Literatur* (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1910), p. 16.

205 See, e.g., Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Ueber die Religion: Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern*, 4th edn (1799; Berlin: Reimer, 1831), esp. pp. 16–21 and 50–4. For the significance of Schleiermacher to the relationship between Christianity and culture in German nineteenth-century Protestantism, see, e.g., Martin Greschat, "Zur Verhältnisbestimmung von Christentum und Kultur im deutschen Protestantismus am Ausgang des 19. Jahrhunderts," in Rauscher (ed.), *Religiös-kulturelle Bewegungen*, pp. 27–45.

206 See Wilhelm Dilthey, *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung: Lessing—Goethe—Novalis—Hölderlin. Vier Aufsätze* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1906). For Muth's references to Dilthey's study, see Osinski, *Katholizismus und deutsche Literatur*, p. 347n41.

macher and frequently considered the founder of the history of ideas (*Geistesgeschichte*),[207] understood human intellectual life to be dependent on a web of experiences, a concept which he applied in his collection of four essays on Lessing, Goethe, Novalis, and Hölderlin to much acclaim to literary studies. If this were not enough, Baumgartner would moreover also have noted the analogy of the title of Muth's pamphlet to Nietzsche's *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik* (1872; *The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music*). This would have been no less anathema to him than Schleiermacher's revaluation of revelation and Dilthey's insistence on the autonomy of the human mind.

Muth inferred from Dilthey that contemporary religious experience should be given more depth and that religious *Bildung* (education) should address not only the intellect but the individual's character and personality.[208] For Muth, poesy reborn from religious experience was accordingly "the hope of the future,"[209] for the more profound the experience of the soul, the more convincing its literary emanation—and what could be more profound than the experience of God?

Muth's program of literary reform from within prompted a defiant declaration of Catholic writers, led by Richard von Kralik. They insisted that the proposal would put not only the professional interests and the reputation of individual authors at risk but the very existence of Catholic cultural production. They feared it would set off a whole sequence of catastrophic developments that would diminish not only the recognition of Catholic ideas in politics and society as a whole but, no less important, with the buttress of Catholic literature gone, that the "modern literature of the enemy" would inevitably find its way to "our people" and the spirit of negation would increasingly gain ground.[210]

Literature was recognized in this declaration not only as a tool for the strengthening of Catholic religiosity; as discussed above, it was considered a powerful

207 See, e.g., Otto Friedrich Bollnow, "Wilhelm Diltheys Stellung in der deutschen Philosophie. Zur Geschichte der Dilthey-Edition und Dilthey-Rezeption" [1976], in *Studien zur Hermeneutik*, 2 vols (Freiburg i. Br.: Alber, 1982), I, 178–203.

208 See Muth, *Wiedergeburt der Dichtung*, p. 43.

209 Ibid., p. 44: "die Hoffnung der Zukunft."

210 See Baumgartner, *Stellung der deutschen Katholiken*, p. 21 who quotes from the declaration: "Nicht etwa nur das Standesinteresse und der Ruf einzelner Autoren steht auf dem Spiele, sondern es handelt sich um das Interesse und die Existenz katholischer Geistesarbeit. Wird katholische Literatur zerstört, so wird die Werbekraft der katholischen Ideen auch auf den Gebieten der Politik und der Gesellschaft sinken; um so mehr muß an Stelle der katholischen die moderne gegnerische Literatur in unserem Volke Eingang finden und damit der Geist der Verneinung immer weiter um sich greifen."

weapon in a war that affected not only the quotidian in the guise of the *Kulturkampf* and its aftermath but also the prospects of eternal salvation of the simpler souls all too easily led astray by temptation. The "enemy" apostrophized in the declaration is not explicitly named and yet it is clear that it refers to Protestant or atheistic writers and everything comprised by the nightmare specter of "naturalism."

As mentioned earlier, even before the publication of the first of Muth's Veremundus pamphlets, Heinrich Keiter had been rather more outspoken about the identity of the enemy as well as their nefarious designs.[211] In *Konfessionelle Brunnenvergiftung*, the writer and journalist contended that the *Kulturkampf* was continued with the production of a specifically anti-Catholic literature and therefore argued for the necessity of an independent Catholic literature.[212] A second, expanded edition, prepared by Bernhard Stein, appeared posthumously in 1908 during the final phase of the inferiority debate.[213] In the following year, Baumgartner too noted that it was crucial, now more than ever, that Catholic literature be affirmative. The alignment ("Anschluß") with the Protestants in literary production demanded by Muth was accordingly denounced by him as the very opposite of what was needed.[214] Instead, he called on Catholics "to invigorate and engage our own powers in noble self-confidence and competent industry" and, as much as possible, to dissipate the prejudices underpinning the *Kulturkampf* which, he feared, might all too easily be revived.[215] After all, he maintained, three decades after the *Kulturkampf*, in spite of a partial normalization and reconciliation between the denominations, some vestiges of its legislation as well as the sentiments from which it originated still remained in force.[216]

Baumgartner argued rather that reason and faith, the integration of the individual into family, state and church; law and authority; God and the order ordained by God ought to be restored in literature.[217] Significantly, the Jesuit critic emphasized that there was no contradiction in being a dutiful Catholic as well as a true German:

> German pioneering spirit and German emotional profundity, German [courtly] love and German loyalty, German piety and the German sense of right and wrong, the deepest roots of our poesy and of our complete character, do not originate in the days of denominational

211 For Keiter and his project, see Osinski, *Katholizismus und deutsche Literatur*, pp. 335–6.

212 For Keiter, see, e.g., Frühwald, "Katholische Literatur," pp. 14–16.

213 Keiter, *Konfessionelle Brunnenvergiftung*.

214 See Baumgartner, *Stellung der deutschen Katholiken*, p. 27.

215 Ibid., p. 42: "in edlem Selbstgefühl und tüchtiger Arbeit unsere eigenen Kräfte zu stärken und zu betätigen."

216 See ibid., p. 41.

217 See ibid., p. 79.

> schism; they were there before, they held the Empire together even in the gloomiest times of fragmentation; its renewal arose from them. Germanness and the Catholic faith, German folk spirit and German sentiment are therefore no contraries, neither in life nor in literature.[218]

Like Görres, six decades before, Baumgartner sought to reconcile German and Catholic. In order to do so he too resorted to a medievalizing idiom that looked back to a time before the denominational divide in which, in the same romantic spirit, he located a national greatness that was born from the creative amalgamation of both.

Yet for the spirit of perseverance in the face of adversity, Baumgartner looked to early Christianity.[219] His comparison of the situation of Catholics of his own day with that of the early Christians is based on the analogy of a persecuted but faithful and standfast minority willing to make sacrifices but certain of their ultimate triumph in the name of the Lord. In addition, the comparison may have been inspired by the anticipation of the empire, both of Roman and German provenance, eventually succumbing to the faith. The time of the destruction of Jerusalem more specifically may have been attractive in this context with regard to the formation of the community of the true Church and the elaboration of its distinctive rituals, its topography, and its future trajectory.

Emphasizing the international scope of Catholic literature,[220] Baumgartner singles out Cardinal Wiseman's *Fabiola* as a seminal text.[221] With its deliberate dismissal of narrative innovation and psychological realism, *Fabiola*, no less than its profuse literary progeny, epitomizes also precisely the kind of Catholic literature disparaged by Muth. In his first pamphlet, Muth/Veremundus had accused Catholic literature

> of lagging behind for several centuries because it did not emulate the development of style, it became rusticated; it no longer understands half the words made use of by writers; in one word, it has become a camp of illiterates. Unable to separate good from bad, it frowned on the filth of pornography and at the same time on the works of art. In short, it perpetrated

218 Ibid., p. 81: "Deutscher Forschergeist und deutsche Gemütstiefe, deutsche Minne und deutsche Treue, deutsche Frömmigkeit und deutscher Rechtssinn, die tiefsten Wurzeln unserer Dichtung und unserer Gesamtbildung, stammen nicht aus den Tagen der Glaubenstrennung; sie sind vorher dagewesen, sie haben das Reich noch in den trübsten Zeiten der Zersplitterung zusammengehalten; aus ihnen heraus hat es sich erneuert. Deutschtum und katholischer Glaube, deutscher Volksgeist und deutsche Gesinnung sind also keine Gegensätze, weder im Leben noch in der Literatur."

219 See ibid., p. 78.

220 See ibid., p. 2.

221 See ibid., pp. 3, 5.

> such follies, it went to market with such nonsense, that it suffered utter contempt and no longer counted for anything.[222]

What Veremundus—or Karl Muth, since the author chose to reveal his name in the preface to his second pamphlet[223]—was at pains to argue was that Catholic readers and critics alike chose to ignore the formal aspects of good writing in favor of its thematic and ideological appeal. In fact, echoing Norrenberg's earlier criticism, he maintained that the lack of formal and stylistic innovation and of the consistent and convincing saturation with psychological insights was responsible for the inferiority of Catholic literature. Prompted by the angry repudiation of his detractors and their triumphant citation of *Lucius Flavus* in support of their claims, the detailed analysis of Spillmann's novel served Muth to make his point.

While conceding that Spillmann's writing was generally accomplished and much elevated above the contemporary dross, he nevertheless insisted that aesthetically it was not sufficiently stimulating and argued that in *Lucius Flavus* the author's thematic interest by far outweighed the aesthetic.[224] Muth contended that Spillmann, instead of sounding its poetic depth, merely explored the thematic range of his subject.[225] He felt that the writer did not take the time to create moods and, rather than being master of his own narrative, was carried away by its momentum and allowed it to be dissipated in a plethora of occurrences and images.[226] Similarly, the critic deemed that the author failed to create rounded and psychologically convincing characters.[227] Most crucially, while acknowledging that the novel's conception was promising, Muth was disappointed with Spillmann's unsatisfactory exploration of the internal conflicts of his characters, which he considered neither sufficiently probing nor persuasive.[228]

To illustrate his point, Muth emphasized the generic differences between the novel and the saint's legend:

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222 Karl Muth, *Wiedergeburt der Dichtung*, p. 47: "Die katholische Partei ist um mehrere Jahrhunderte zurückgeblieben, da sie der Entwicklung des Stiles nicht folgte, sie ist verbauert, sie versteht die Hälfte der Wörter, deren sich die Schriftsteller bedienen, nicht mehr, sie ist mit einem Worte zu einem Lager von Illiteraten geworden. Unfähig, das Gute vom Schlechten zu sondern, mißbilligte sie gleichzeitig den Schmutz der Pornographie und die Werke der Kunst. Kurz, sie hat solche Dummheiten gemacht, so ungeheuern Blödsinn zu Markte getragen, daß sie der vollen Verachtung anheimfiel und nicht mehr mitzählte."

223 See Veremundus [i.e., Karl Muth], *Litterarischen Aufgaben der deutschen Katholiken*, preface.

224 See ibid., p. 45.

225 See ibid., p. 47.

226 See ibid., p. 45.

227 See ibid., p. 46.

228 See ibid., pp. 47–9.

> The saint's legend, frequently considering only external facts, may create the appearance that such reconciliations, by the power of grace, are effected promptly and inexplicably; for the poet, they are deep, psychological processes, the more interesting the less deliberation the poet invested to facilitate the solution to be represented.[229]

Muth maintained that in *Lucius Flavus* these contradictions hardly proved effective and, if at all, then only in theory.[230] He claimed that the novel was cluttered with didacticism[231] and riddled with what he called "dead passages,"[232] passages which rang untrue and disrupted any empathy the reader might have felt with the characters. In short, Muth insisted that true art should not be subjected to criteria of denominationalism but only to aesthetic scrutiny.[233]

Baumgartner, in turn, praised *Lucius Flavus* as the most magnificent product of Spillmann's narrative art. He described it as "a grandiose depiction of the divine judgement that was visited upon the murderers of the Son of God and their descendants in the guise of the destruction of Jerusalem."[234] Beyond this clichéd and intrinsically anti-Judaic emphasis on the retributive nature of the soteriologically interpreted historical cataclysm he offers no further observations on the specifically Catholic character of the novel, such as its strong focus on relics (including the cup of the Last Supper and the sudarium) and on the Eucharist; the emphasis on the testimony of witnesses to the resurrection; the description of a Christian topography; the glorification of suffering for the sake of the faith even unto martyrdom; the mystery of the faith; the apostolic mission; and the emergence and consolidation of an ecclesiastical organizational structure and hierarchy which project into the future not just survival but the ultimate triumph of the Church.

The significance of martyrs emerged already in Rittershausen's *Jerusalems Zerstörung*, where the Maccabean Martyrs were given prominence in the characterization of the "good" Jews in a decidedly Catholic spirit, even though no Christian characters were included among the *dramatis personae*. In Spillmann's novel about the destruction of Jerusalem another Jewish martyr is mentioned when the Roman centurion Lucius Flavus, not yet fully converted, pragmatically seeks to

229 Ibid., p. 49: "Mag uns die oft nur auf äußere Thatsachen Rücksicht nehmende Heiligenlegende auch den Schein erwecken, daß sich solche Versöhnungen in Kraft der Gnade rasch und unbegreiflich vollzogen, für den Dichter sind es tiefe, psychologische Prozesse, die um so interessanter sind, je weniger absichtsvoll der Dichter die darzustellende Lösung sich erleichtert hat."
230 See ibid.
231 See ibid., p. 50.
232 Ibid., p. 49: "tote Stellen."
233 See ibid., p. 51.
234 Baumgartner, "Erinnerungen," 17: "eine grandiose Darstellung des Gottesgerichts, das in der Zerstörung Jerusalems über die Mörder des Gottessohnes und ihre Nachkommen hereinbrach."

reconcile his emerging belief in the one God with the outward participation in pagan ritual so as not to compromise his career.[235] He is made aware of the martyrdom of Eleazar who, under Antiochus IV Epiphanes, was faced with the choice of pretending to eat pork or suffer death.[236]

Eleazar's martyrdom suggests an admonition to confess openly to one's faith that was clearly considered by Spillmann of topical relevance also in the anti-Catholic climate of the aftermath of the *Kulturkampf*. The further development of Lucius indeed illustrates the path of the confessing Christian whose potential martyrdom in the future is hinted at but who, though variously at the brink of being killed for his faith, is denied the martyr's crown during the period narrated in the novel. Once he has been baptized, he suffers imprisonment and degradation for his faith but never wavers and is eventually rewarded in life with the love of the Jewish proselyte Tamar (Thamar) and with becoming the commanding officer of the Praetorian guard of the emperor. His character is obviously calculated to set an example of rewarded fortitude to Spillmann's contemporary Catholic readership.

The progress of Lucius's conversion is clearly meant to be exemplary and exhortatory in relation to the pervasive anti-Catholicism in Germany in the years following the *Kulturkampf*. It offers, moreover, reasons for the rejection of Judaism which, inspired by the Roman's incipient love of Tamar, is briefly suggested as a potential alternative objective for the trajectory of his spiritual development. Imprisoned together with the apostle Paul in the subterranean vaults of the Neronian Circus, Lucius is confronted with "a completely new philosophy"[237] that rests not only on the monotheistic idea but on "Christian renunciation":[238]

> Up to now he had conceived of Christianity only as the doctrine of the one God in contrast to paganism. Now he saw a much more drastic contradiction. Whereas paganism ultimately idolised servitude to the passions and preached the most impudent egotism, Christianity demanded that all desires be curbed; self-denial and sacrifice instead of self-love. [. . .] Christians were not to set their hearts on earthly possessions but to crucify their flesh like Christ and to bow in willing obedience. [. . .] "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me."[239]

235 See Joseph Spillmann, SJ, *Lucius Flavus: Historischer Roman aus den letzten Tagen Jerusalems*, 4th edn, 2 vols (1898; Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1905), II, 57.

236 See 2 Maccabees 6:18–31.

237 Spillmann, *Lucius Flavus*, II, 97: "eine ganz neue Philosophie."

238 Ibid., II, 98: "christliche[] Entsagung."

239 Ibid.: "Er hatte bisher dasselbe [i.e., Christianity] nur als die Lehre von dem einen Gott im Gegensatze zum Heidentum aufgefaßt. Jetzt sah er einen viel einschneiderenden Widerspruch. Während das Heidentum im Grunde den Dienst der Leidenschaften vergötterte und die frechste Selbstsucht predigte, verlangte das Christentum die Bändigung aller Gelüste und statt der Selbst-

Supersession is substantiated here beyond the transmission of the monotheistic idea. The passage almost reads like a response to, and repudiation of, attempts of Jewish Reform thinkers, theologians, and writers—such as Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, Ludwig Philippson, Julius Kossarski, and Abraham Geiger, discussed in chapter V—to justify the continued significance of Judaism after the emergence of Christianity with the Jewish mission. As the distinctive feature of Christianity emerges its ethical imperative of renunciation which offers an approach that is very different from the notion of Jewish ethical monotheism and its reliance on the Law.

To this distinctive feature is added later in the novel the acknowledgment of the resurrection and the apostolic mission: "To be witness to the resurrection was the first and most distinguished duty of the apostolic sermon; for on the resurrection of Christ rests the Christian faith."[240] For this reason, the novel emphasizes the testimony of the witnesses to the passion and resurrection of Christ, such as Eusebius, whose sincere and venerable character guarantees the truthfulness and persuasive significance of his memories.

Freed after the death of Nero and returned to Palestine during the siege of Jerusalem, Lucius suffers for his faith and, like other Christian legionnaires, is transferred to a punishment cohort because of his religious conviction. Yet it is precisely the unarmed punishment cohort, led by Lucius in contempt of the orders of its cowardly non-Christian commander, that saves Titus from being captured or killed during a Jewish sortie. The heroic deed—a manifestation not of Roman but of Christian "vengeance,"[241] i.e., of forgiveness—leads to the reinstatement of the Christian legionnaires and Titus promises to Lucius, if in an aside, never to persecute any Christians after his accession to the imperial throne.[242]

This is a palpable attempt to explain known historical facts through fictional details that conform to the Christian master narrative. Lucius accordingly anticipates an end to persecution and envisions the blessing that the "fruit of the cross" will bring to the whole world.[243] Obviously addressed to the reader with the benefit of hindsight which offers a reassuring evaluation of Christian history in the sense of this master narrative, the observation is nevertheless qualified by an

liebe Selbstentäußerung und Opfer. [. . .] der Christ sollte sein Herz nicht an irdischen Besitz hängen, sein Fleisch mit Christus kreuzigen und sich in willigem Gehorsam beugen. [. . .] 'Wer mir nachfolgen will, der nehme sein Kreuz täglich auf sich.'" See Luke 9:23; see also Matthew 16:24 and Mark 8:34.

240 Ibid., II, 213: "Zeuge der Auferstehung zu sein, war ja die erste und vornehmste Aufgabe der apostolischen Predigt; denn auf der Auferstehung Christi beruht der christliche Glaube."

241 See Spillmann, *Lucius Flavus*, II, 232.

242 See ibid., II, 240.

243 Ibid., II, 242: "Kreuzesfrucht."

auctorial comment: "Well, it was to take a little longer than Lucius in those days believed, elated by his consolation."[244] Another analogy to recent developments is implied here with the ironic potential of this observation which arguably offers a veiled criticism of contemporary anti-Catholicism in Germany while simultaneously envisaging the ultimate triumph of the Church.

The novel clearly reflects contemporary discourse when Vespasian exclaims: "But we cannot suffer within the Roman Empire a state within the state with its own gods and laws."[245] The analogy with the rejection of ultramontanism and Catholic attempts at reasserting ecclesiastical authority seems obvious. Spillmann's agenda comprises the rehabilitation of Catholicism by repudiating the allegation of the existence of a state within state; at the same time, the Jesuit writer sought to reaffirm Catholic authority and papal primacy as if in illustration of the dogmatic constitution *Pastor aeternus*.

Further elaborating the analogy, some of the anti-Catholic arguments articulated during and after the *Kulturkampf* are in fact attributed in Spillmann's novel in indirect speech to the Jewish apostate Tiberius Alexander who argues in the Roman war council under the walls of Jerusalem that the good of the state required the destruction of the Temple:

> The nation of the Jews had to cease to constitute a discrete entity within the Roman state; yet as long as its Temple rose up as the centre of its particularity, any amalgamation would be impossible. The Jewish religion was the root of all previous rebellions; together with the Temple and the sacrifice it had to be eradicated. In addition, the Temple provided for any rebellion of the Jews an almost impregnable fortress and the Temple tax, which every Jew was obliged to pay, provided the priests continually with new means for a war against Rome. "Therefore, away with the Temple! The didrachma for the Temple shall in future be paid to the Emperor, and the Jews must become Romans, like I did, with body and soul."[246]

244 Ibid.: "Nun, es sollte doch noch etwas länger dauern, als Lucius Flavus damals im Hochgefühle seines Trostes meinte."

245 Ibid., II, 141: "Aber wir können im römischen Reiche keinen Staat im Staat mit eigenen Göttern und Gesetzen dulden."

246 Ibid., II, 323–4: "Das Staatswohl verlange dieses Opfer [i.e., the destruction of the Temple]. Das Volk der Juden müsse aufhören, ein Sonderwesen im römischen Staate zu bilden; solange aber sein Tempel als Mittelpunkt seiner Eigenart dastehe, sei an eine Verschmelzung nicht zu denken. Die jüdische Religion sei die Wurzel aller bisherigen Empörungen gewesen; mit dem Tempel und dem Opfer müsse sie ausgerottet werden. Zudem bilde der Tempel bei jeder Erhebung der Juden eine fast uneinnehmbare Festung, und die Tempelsteuer, zu der jeder Jude verpflichtet sei, liefere den Priestern stets neue Mittel zum Kriege gegen Rom. 'Fort also mit dem Tempel! Die Tempeldidrachme werde inskünftig dem Kaiser entrichtet, und die Juden müssen Römer werden, wie ich es mit Leib und Seele geworden bin.'"

The political argument for the destruction of the Temple is superseded in the novel by a soteriological one which is unwittingly proffered by Titus. Rejecting Tiberius's advice, the imperator reasons: "The preservation of the Temple signifies the fall of the Christian religion which I consider much more dangerous to the Roman Empire than the Jewish one. Its founder will be branded as a liar and thus it must fall. And with it the Jewish religion too."[247] In inverse logic, the destruction of the Temple then emerges in fact as proof of the divinity of Christ and as confirmation of the divine plan of salvation. Titus wonders: "Whether our descendants will ever adopt this tenderhearted religion? And what the fortunes of the Roman Empire will then be?"[248] The answer would have been obvious to any of Spillmann's contemporary readers.

The author's intention to intervene in the conflict between the secular state and the Catholic Church is evident. On the one hand, as discussed above, the two volumes of his novel offer spiritual support and sustenance to those persecuted or disadvantaged for their faith in the present. On the other hand, they clearly seek to repudiate the suggestion of the ecclesiastical arrogation of worldly power. The separation of state and church is variously emphasized in the novel. The text thus signals that the culture war waged by liberalism and the latter day state against the Catholic Church and the continuing anti-Catholicism were misguided—other than the divinely preordained Jewish War—and that their premises were faulty. And yet, at the end of the novel, the apostolic mission of the Church is emphasized, as is its ultimate triumph—in the certainty of which it concludes with the motto of the Society of Jesus: "O. A. M. D. G." (i.e., *Omnia Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam*, or: "everything to the greater glory of God").[249]

The deliverance of the Christians from Jerusalem as the marauding Roman soldiers enter the fallen city may well have been imagined by the author with deference to Kaulbach's painting. The cup of the Last Supper, conspicuously included in the pictorial composition alongside the withdrawing Christians, is given much prominence also in Spillmann's narrative where it similarly accompanies the last of the Christians to leave the burning city.[250]

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247 Ibid., II, 326: "Die Erhaltung des Tempels bedeutet den Sturz der christlichen Religion, welche ich dem Römerreich für viel gefährlicher halte als die jüdische. Ihr Stifter wird als Lügner gebrandmarkt, und so muß sie fallen. Und mit ihr die jüdische."

248 Ibid., II, 307: "Ob unsere Nachkommen wohl je diese weichherzige Religion annehmen? Und wie es dann mit dem Römerreiche stehen wird?"

249 Ibid., II, 424.

250 See ibid., II, 398: "Yet the cup that Eusebius hid under the folds of his robe meant more to them than gold and silver. [. . .] Led by the Christian soldiers, the small group of Christians thus withdrew, as if under the protection of holy angels, from the unhappy city through the horrors of devastation. [Der Kelch aber, den Eusebius unter den Falten seines Gewandes barg, galt ihnen

The significance of the Eucharist as the confirmation of the new covenant in supersession of the old and as the bond between Christians of different origin, Jewish and pagan, emerges clearly from the novel. But most importantly, the magnitude and the nature of the miracle it is seen to constitute and which appears to be beyond any doubt are emphasized: "How did Lucius wonder about such a love and such a miracle! Yet never did he doubt the reality and truth in his heart that was full of grace. The eternal truth had said it: 'This is my body!' and that was enough for him."[251] Tamar similarly no longer feels any doubt. The process of her own conversion has made her receptive to the divine gift, which is articulated in the novel in the very same syntactical structure and with the same ecstatic exclamation mark: "How did Tamar wonder about the depth of the divine love when Eusebius initiated her into this unfathomable mystery of the Christian religion!"[252]

Both Lucius and Tamar moreover experience the gift of the Eucharist in settings that offer a topographical confirmation of its significance. The Jewish maiden receives her first communion in the *coenaculum* in Jerusalem, according to legend the actual place where the Eucharist was instituted by Jesus at the Last Supper. She is completely overwhelmed by the divine love it signifies: "Tamar was like unto one destroyed by the excess of divine love."[253] The Roman proselyte is introduced to the miracle of the transubstantiation in the dungeons underneath the Neronian Circus where he is imprisoned with the apostle Paul. It is a space associated with the martyrdom of countless Christians in the arena as well as the sublime martyrdom of the apostle Peter, which is in fact witnessed by Lucius through the window of his cell.

As such, it is a foundational space from which the apostle Paul goes forth to suffer his own martyrdom and from which Lucius is released back into the world to begin his new life as a Christian and to persevere in the apostolic mission. Illustrative of the topographical supersession of Jerusalem by Rome, it signifies also the space of the new center of the Christian faith which takes shape in the basilica of St Peter's that is to be erected above the place of the apostle's martyrdom. In his description of the apostle Peter's martyrdom the novel's narrator wonders if

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mehr als Gold und Silber. (. . .) So zog, von den christlichen Soldaten geleitet, die kleine Christengruppe wie im Schutze heiliger Engel mitten durch die Greuel der Verwüstung aus der unglücklichen Stadt.]" The chalice is not mentioned by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*, see pp. 85–7.

251 Ibid., II, 100: "Wie staunte Lucius über eine solche Liebe und ein solches Wunder! Aber ein Zweifel an der Wirklichkeit und Wahrheit regte sich nicht in seinem von der Gnade erfüllten Herzen. Die ewige Wahrheit hatte es ja gesagt: 'Das ist mein Leib!' und das genügte ihm."

252 Ibid., II, 201: "Wie staunte Thamar über die Abgründe der göttlichen Liebe, als Eusebius sie in dieses unbegreifliche Geheimnis der christlichen Religion einweihte!"

253 Ibid., II, 214: "Thamar war durch das Übermaß der göttlichen Liebe wie vernichtet."

the apostle had a prophetic vision of the basilica to be built by the first Christian emperor above his tomb on the foundations of the Neronian Circus, or of "the vault of the proud dome that 1500 years later was to soar to dizzying heights above it? Did he see on the obelisk the shining words: *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat*, and on its top the splendour of the golden cross?"[254]

Martyrdom is portrayed in the novel not only as the ultimate sign of Christian triumph but also as the ultimate act and reward of absolute faith. When the nephew of the apostle Paul, Paulinus, is pressed into the army of the defending Jews but refuses to curse the Roman enemy, he is stoned. Left for dead, he is later picked up by Eusebius and another, simpler, soul who observes: "It seems almost wrong to me that we tear the crown away from him. I would not thank you if you were to pull me back to life under such circumstances, from the very gate to heaven, as it were."[255] Eusebius responds more soberly: "And yet it is our duty to hold back the departing life [. . .]. The crown that he deserves, the Lord in his mercy will not allow him to be robbed of, but will keep it for him, and one day will offer it to his head spangled with new jewels."[256] Yet not enough with this, the victim's own mother laments: "Poor child, so you had to return from heaven to the earth. Courage! Another time you will be allowed the crown."[257] Paulinus himself accepts his survival only with regret: "In his heart of hearts he had still been hoping to succumb to the wound. Now he felt like a swimmer who already touches dry land but who is thrown once more into the stormy sea by a merciless wave."[258]

The reiterative insistence on the redemptive value of martyrdom may have an almost comical effect on the reader who is not invested in the Catholic belief system. But to those whom the novel addresses, it was clearly meant to teach not

254 Ibid., II, 107: "Hatte er in diesem Augenblicke ein prophetisches Gesicht und sah er die Basilika, die 250 Jahre später der erste christliche Kaiser auf den Fundamenten des Neronianischen Zirkus über seinem Grabe erbauen, oder die stolze Kuppel, die nach 1500 Jahren sich in schwindelnder Höhe darüber wölben würde? Sah er auf dem Obelisken die Worte leuchten: *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat*, und auf dessen Spitze das goldene Kreuz strahlen?"

255 Ibid., II, 253–4: "[E]s kommt mir fast unrecht vor, daß wir ihm die Krone entreißen. Ich würde dir wenig danken, wenn du mich unter diesen Umständen, sozusagen aus der Himmelsthüre heraus, wieder ins Leben zurückrissest."

256 Ibid., II, 254: "Und doch ist es unsere Pflicht, das fliehende Leben zurückzuhalten [. . .]. Die Krone, die er verdient hat, wird ihm der Herr in seiner Barmherzigkeit nicht entreißen lassen, sondern hinterlegen und mit neuen Edelsteinen geschmückt dereinst seinem Haupte bieten."

257 Ibid., II, 261: "Armes Kind, so mußtest du aus dem Himmel heraus wieder auf die Erde zurück. Mut! Ein anderes Mal wird man dir die Krone lassen."

258 Ibid., II, 262: "Er hatte noch immer im stillen gehofft, der Wunde zu erliegen. Jetzt kam er sich vor wie ein Schwimmer, der das rettende Ufer mit der Hand schon erfaßt hat, den aber eine unbarmherzige Woge wiederum in die stürmische See zurückschleudert."

only humility but also the latent strength of the faithful prepared to sacrifice their earthly existence for the martyr's crown. It is thus the reiteration of the appeal to stand firm in their faith to contemporary Catholics.

The catholic—i.e., the all-embracing—character of Roman Catholicism is emphasized in Spillmann's novel with the disruption of the pervasive narrative tradition which promotes the inherent dichotomy of representations of the Jewish father and his daughter and in which the beauty of the Jew's daughter, signalling her moral appetence and her convertibility, is programmatically contrasted to the somatic and moral ugliness of her intransigent father.[259] In the novel, Tamar's father for a long time corresponds to the stereotype of the intransigent Jewish father who rules absolute over his daughter and resists conversion.[260] Yet contrary to the type he embodies, the Pharisee Sadok eventually sees the light and, now with his baptized name Cornelius, establishes a scriptorium in which the gospels are copied in apostolic spirit: "For through these books which contain the written word of God, the holy Church, led by the divine spirit and provided with the golden key of the apostolic tradition, shall disclose unto the end of times the pure and solely beatifying doctrine of Christ to the nations."[261] The idea of the mission is firmly re-appropriated to Christianity and, more specifically, to Catholicism within which the figure of Rabbi Sadok, like his daughter Tamar, embodies not only the notion of Jewish redeemability but also of the all-embracing character of Roman Catholicism. Accordingly, the novel's conclusion triumphantly states: "The Pope's pronouncement has been fulfilled. All those to whom he directed it have been victorious and the Church has been victorious and shall be victorious in eternity!"[262]

Spillmann noted that Anton de Waal's *Juda's Ende: Historische Erzählung aus den Anfängen des Christentums in Rom* (1898; Judah's End: A Historical Narrative from the Beginnings of Christianity in Rome) appeared while he was still working on his own novel. He observes that this romance, as it were, offers a continuation and conclusion to his *Lucius Flavus*, in particular with regard to the relationship between Titus and Berenice. In his own novel, Berenice is portrayed as cunning and spoilt. Initially, she mistakes Lucius for the Roman who, as prophesied to her, shall

259 See Sicher, *Jew's Daughter*, pp. 47, 49.

260 See ibid., pp. 10, 11–12.

261 Spillmann, *Lucius Flavus*, II, 417: "Denn aus diesen Büchern, die das geschriebene Wort Gottes enthalten, wird die heilige Kirche, vom Geiste Gottes geleitet und mit dem goldenen Schlüssel der apostolischen Überlieferung versehen, bis ans Ende der Zeiten die reine und alleinseligmachende Lehre Christi den Völkern erschließen."

262 Ibid., II, 419: "Das Wort des Papstes hat sich erfüllt. Alle, an die er es richtete, haben gesiegt, und die Kirche hat gesiegt und wird siegen in Ewigkeit!"

give her the imperial crown. Later, she effortlessly shifts her interest and allegiance to Titus who, however, is no less calculating and knows exactly how to exploit her.

De Waal subverts the established narrative of Berenice's emotional hold over the imperator with the attraction the young and innocent Domitilla increasingly exerts on him. As in *Lucius Flavus* where the eponymous centurion is briefly enticed by Judaism before he embraces Christianity, the notion of supersession is also introduced into human relationships.

Chronologically, *Juda's Ende* indeed follows immediately on the destruction of Jerusalem and commences with the return of the triumphant Titus to Rome in 71 CE. It is nevertheless interesting in the present context because, as the author remarks in his preface, the narrative is situated in what he perceives to be the liminal space between two epochs, which is defined by the emergence of Christianity from the destruction of Jerusalem.[263] De Waal illustrates his rationale with a rather drastic image:

> Yet next to the nascent life is at the same time the *end* of a life, a dying and decline, not as old age expires, but in the most cruel throes of death; next to the child of the future, it is the body of the mother, all curdled over with blood, to which we lead the reader.[264]

Monsignor de Waal (1837–1917)—at the time his novel was published Prelate to the Pontifical House (since 1896), and later Protonotary Apostolic (since 1900)—was also active as an archaeologist with a particular interest in the early Christian catacombs, which informs not only *Juda's Ende* but also his earlier *Valeria oder der Triumphzug aus den Katakomben* (1884; Valeria; Or, The Triumphal Procession from the Catacombs) and *Katakomben-Bilder: 6 Erzählungen aus den ersten Jahrhunderten der römischen Kirche* (1891; Catacomb Pictures: Six Narratives from the First Centuries of the Roman Church).[265] Like Baumgartner and like Sebregondi in the third edition of her *Melete* and Magon in his *Sabina*, de Waal too explicitly references Cardinal Wiseman's *Fabiola* (1854) as a germinal text which generated a new genre of romance literature on early Christianity and in which tradition he situates

263 See Anton de Waal, *Juda's Ende: Historische Erzählung aus den Anfängen des Christentums in Rom* (Berlin: Becker, 1898), p. VIII.

264 Ibid., p. VI: "Aber neben das aufkeimende Leben stellt sich gleichzeitig ein Lebens*ende*, ein Sterben und Untergehen, und nicht in einem greisenhaften Erlöschen, sondern in grauenvollstem Todeskampfe; neben dem Kinde der Zukunft ist es die blutüberronnene Leiche der Mutter, zu welcher wir den Leser führen."

265 De Waal carried out excavations at the San Sebastiano Catacombs on the Via Appia in 1892–93 and in 1915, see Stefan Heid and Anna Maria Nieddu, "Die Platonia von San Sebastiano. Anton de Waal's Grabungstagebuch 1892–1893," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 103 (2008): 1–54.

his own narrative.[266] Yet *Fabiola*, like Sebregondi's *Melete*, is set long after the destruction of Jerusalem in the third and second centuries, respectively. For de Waal it was precisely the historical significance of the destruction and, once again, its pivotal impact that kindled his interest.

In fact, to the high-ranking cleric, it was only its pivotal significance to the ascendancy of Christianity and the continued remembrance and mourning among Jews to the present day which elevated the historical occurrence above similar cataclysmic events, such as the destruction of Carthage. Yet while the author acknowledged the continued Jewish presence in the world as well as Jewish commemoration of the devastation as a peculiarity in this case, this was still not sufficient to explain its continued significance in the modern world.[267]

Kaulbach had insisted on the importance of the destruction of Jerusalem as a historical turning point in a secular sense of universal history that followed an eschatological trajectory. But by de Waal even a purely historical interest in the destruction of Jerusalem is subjected to its religious significance from the dominant Christian perspective:

> Only at the base of the cross soaring into the sky does the destruction of Jerusalem as it was prophesied by the Lord achieve its universal historical significance. From the gates of Sion, laid to smoking ruins, young Christianity sallies forth, wending its way towards the west, and with it departs the recognition and cult of the true God alongside the fullness of all prophecies and grace from the orient to the occident. A new book in universal history commences, its first pages writ in the blood of the martyrs and then in golden letters; yet always, we nevertheless fall back on the preceding books without whom the new one were to remain incomprehensible.[268]

In analogy, the literary engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem therefore appears to be a strategy of defining the self and of explaining the eventual histori-

266 See de Waal, *Juda's Ende*, p. V.

267 See ibid., p. VII.

268 Ibid., p. VIII: "Erst am Fuße des hoch zum Himmel ragenden Kreuzes gewinnt die Zerstörung Jerusalems, wie der Herr sie vorhergesagt, ihre welthistorische Bedeutung. Aus den Thoren des in Trümmern rauchenden Sion zieht das junge Christentum aus, seine Schritte nach Westen lenkend, und mit ihm wandert die Erkenntnis und der Kult des wahren Gottes mit der Fülle aller Verheißungen und Gnaden aus dem Orient nach dem Abendlande. Ein neues Buch der Weltgeschichte beginnt, auf seinen ersten Blättern mit dem Blute der Märtyrer und dann mit goldenen Buchstaben geschrieben; aber immer greifen wir doch auch wieder zurück zu den vorhergehenden Büchern, ohne welche das neue unverständlich bleibt."

cal and soteriological outcome: "the world religion of Christianity with its civilization and all its blessings for humankind."[269]

The only 'non-historical' figure in *Juda's Ende* is the Jewish slave Phoebe, lady's maid to the young Domitilla, who is described as a "representative of Judaism in its sufferings and its hopes."[270] Granddaughter of the High Priest Caiaphas, Phoebe is tormented by the awareness of the blood curse.[271] Yet she is eventually reassured by the forgiveness of Jesus dying on the cross[272] and his invitation: "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."[273] Indeed, when Phoebe dies she prays to Jesus for forgiveness and in death her face appears to assume a wonderful enraptured smile.[274] When her body is laid to rest, it is emphasized that she was the last of her lineage. The implication is not only that the blood curse may be revoked through conversion and that she is redeemed but more drastically also that it no longer applies.

As in Sebregondi's *Nekodas* and other narrative engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem, in *Juda's Ende*, an ultimately unsuccessful Jewish plot to forestall the end evoked in the title of de Waal's novel is also hatched. After the terrible fate that befell her nation, Berenice returns to her faith and seeks to redeem the Jews as a new Esther.[275] On the day of the triumphal procession, she summons Josephus and exhorts him to record all the iniquities and sacrileges perpetrated by Rome against the Lord, to which the historian replies that everything he recorded so far was written with blood and tears and that he hopes to write the last page of the calamitous book with fire.

Yet Berenice reassures the historian: "It shall not be the last leaf! No, your book shall not become a tombstone! A new Jeremiah, you shall write Judah's lamentations;—a new Ezekiel, you shall herald Judah's glory!"[276] While Jeremiah foretold and lamented the destruction of the First Temple and Jerusalem, Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones predicts the restoration of the Israelites from death

269 Ibid., p. VIII: "die Weltreligion des Christentums mit seiner Civilisation und all seinen Segnungen für die Menschheit."

270 Ibid., pp. IX–X: "Repräsentantin des Judentums in seinen Leiden und seinen Hoffnungen."

271 See ibid., p. 115.

272 See ibid., pp. 118–19; see also Luke 23:34: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."

273 See de Waal, *Juda's Ende*, p. 197: "Kommet alle zu mir, die ihr mühselig und beladen seid: ich will euch erquicken!" See also Matthew 11:28.

274 See de Waal, *Juda's Ende*, pp. 212–13.

275 See ibid., p. 90.

276 Ibid., p. 92: "Es soll nicht das letzte Blatt sein! Nein, Dein Buch soll kein Grabstein werden! Ein neuer Jeremias schreibst Du Juda's Klagelieder;—ein neuer Ezechiel wirst Du Juda's Herrlichkeit verkündigen!"

to life and to the Land of Israel.[277] Berenice's vision is to reverse the fate of the Jewish people by becoming Titus's empress. In vindictive spirit, she imagines new coins with the words "*ROMA capta*" and that "every king and every nation shall bow before Judah's scepter."[278] Josephus, "the hot-blooded Jew overcoming the cold politician,"[279] enthusiastically identifies Berenice with the biblical Esther and Judith. Yet Berenice wants to be more than either Esther or Judith.[280] Not only does she want to rebuild Jerusalem and the Temple more magnificently than ever they were, but then

> into ruins this Rome must sink with its heathen temples; not one stone shall be left upon another. Jerusalem, turned into the centre of the earth, shall rule all nations and I, I shall be called blessed by all generations.[281]

Berenice envisions another Jewish mission. Yet it is a vision that is very different from that imagined by Kossarski and Philippson, which is discussed in chapter V. Hers is a vision of worldly domination similar to the political expectation of Judas in the *Messias* trilogy of Otto Franz or of Nekodas in Sebregondi's eponymous novel, yet one to be achieved through intrigue and military force.

Berenice succeeds in inspiring Josephus who exclaims: "How clearly do I see the hand of the Lord guiding Israel! Rivers of blood had to flow, so as to atone for all the transgressions of the past; now the Lord will fulfil what he promised. With holy enthusiasm I will write Judah's glory."[282] It is hardly a coincidence that the words of Josephus are negated by the title of de Waal's novel—not Judah's glory, but *Juda's Ende*. In a calmer moment, the historian's prudence prevails: "Josephus recorded the conversation with the queen; yet he did not come out of mourning."[283] After an audience with Vespasian, Josephus knows that there is indeed no hope: Berenice will never be allowed to marry Titus.[284]

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277 See Ezekiel 37:1–14.

278 De Waal, *Juda's Ende*, p. 93: "alle Könige und alle Nationen vor Juda's Herrscherstab sich beugen."

279 Ibid., p. 94: "der heißblütige Jude über den kalten Politiker [siegend]."

280 See ibid., p. 95.

281 Ibid., p. 96: "[D]ann muß in Trümmer sinken dieses Rom mit seinen Götzentempeln; es darf kein Stein mehr auf dem andern bleiben. Jerusalem, zum Mittelpunkt der Welt gemacht, wird herrschen über alle Nationen, und mich, mich werden alle Geschlechter selig preisen."

282 Ibid.: "Wie klar erkenne ich Gottes Walten über Israel! Die Ströme Blutes mußten fließen, um alle Schulden der Vergangenheit zu sühnen; jetzt wird der Herr erfüllen, was er verheißen. In heiliger Begeisterung werde ich Juda's Glorie schreiben."

283 Ibid., p. 97: "Josephus schrieb die Unterredung mit der Königin nieder; seine Trauerkleider, die legte er nicht ab."

284 See ibid., p. 167.

The novel concludes with a letter of Domitilla and a brief reflection of the author on the fate of Titus in which he also explains why, as a Christian, Domitilla had to renounce her love of the heir apparent to the imperial throne. Affected by the events depicted in the novel, the young woman writes to her Christian friends after having visited Jerusalem.

As she surveys the expanse of ruins, she is deeply impressed with the absolute finality of the destruction and the horrifying punitive judgment. She remembers the words of forgiveness of the Crucified and his invitation to come unto him which projects a spiritual hope of redemption onto the debris that is alike to Phoebe's salvation.[285] More specifically, with this certainty in her mind she proceeds to impose a Christian topography onto the debris in which she retraces the Passion of Jesus and then follows the steps of the apostles from the waste land of Jerusalem into the world.[286] In this sense, Domitilla is the real protagonist of the novel in whom is mirrored the emergence of the Christian apostolic mission from the devastation of its Jewish origins.

The specifically Catholic trajectory of the novel is manifest in particular in the Christian superinscription also of pagan topography in Rome. In *Lucius Flavus*, Spillmann wondered in the description of the apostle Peter's martyrdom if he had a prophetic vision of the basilica to be built above his tomb.[287] De Waal evokes in a similar way the triumph of the Roman Church. In her letter, Domitilla confides: "Sometimes I wonder what Rome and the world will be like when the Crucified reigns over the orb and what that Temple will be like that will be dedicated to the Son of God in the capital of the empire instead of Jupiter Capitolinus."[288]

Domitilla's musings reiterate and refer back to an earlier auctorial reflection on the original memorial chapel built for the apostle Peter on the site of his martyrdom:

> May time, which destroys everything, also touch this edifice: in its stead a much more magnificent Temple shall be erected, whose dome, glimmering with golden mosaics, shall arch above the tomb of Peter like the heavens. And when then, far in the future, another Easter shall be celebrated, a High Priest shall be enthroned on the Holy See of Peter whom millions all around the world shall venerate as their Father and Shepherd; and when, on the anniversary of the death of Peter, he shall celebrate the holy mysteries above his tomb, thousands from all

285 See ibid., pp. 217–18.

286 See ibid., pp. 218–21.

287 See Spillmann, *Lucius Flavus*, II, 107.

288 De Waal, *Juda's Ende*, p. 220: "Manchmal grübele ich darüber nach, wie wohl Rom und die Welt aussehen mögen, wenn der Gekreuzigte den Erdkreis beherrscht, und wie jener Tempel sein mag, der an Stelle des capitolinischen dem Sohne Gottes in der Hauptstadt des Reiches gewidmet sein wird."

> nations shall kneel around him within the immense soaring halls of the giant cathedral, who in all languages shall speak the One Language of the Catholic and Apostolic faith.[289]

The vision of the future is, to the contemporary reader, aligned with their present. De Waal offers his narrative as the substratum of contemporary experience, which emerges as an authentication strategy: The objective credibility of Domitilla's vision of the future is evident; hence the truthfulness of the novel as a whole is suggested in analogy. As discussed above, Spillmann employed a similar strategy in relation to the basilica of St Peter's.

Both Spillmann and de Waal in addition offer visual material as part of the authentication strategy of the soteriological narrative they pursue. The two volumes of *Lucius Flavus* feature a cover illustration showing the iconic relief from the Arch of Titus of the menorah being carried away; the author moreover includes with annotations a map of Jerusalem as well as a ground plan and reconstruction of the Second Temple. De Waal intersperses his text with art supplements ("Kunstbeilagen") which include photographs of antique architecture and sculpture portraying the main historical protagonists as well as a reconstruction of the Forum Romanum and a chariot race in the Circus Maximus. Besides, de Waal adds detailed annotations spanning fifteen pages and illustrations of art from the catacombs, the "Iudaea capta" coin, and the reliefs of the Arch of Titus. In either case, the additional visual material not only stimulates the imagination of the reader but presents historically authenticated information which invites the reader to immerse themselves in the narrative.

At the same time, beginning with the sixth edition of his *Der Rompilger: Wegweiser zu den wichtigsten Heiligthümern und Sehenswürdigkeiten der ewigen Stadt* (1900; The Pilgrim to Rome: A Guide to the Most Important Holy Sites and Sights of the Eternal City), de Waal recommended *Juda's Ende* and some of his other narrative fiction to serious pilgrims as preparatory reading.[290] He in particular em-

289 Ibid., p. 145: "Mag die Zeit, die alles zerstört, ihre Hand auch an dieses Bauwerk legen: an dessen Stelle wird ein noch viel großartigerer Tempel erstehen, dessen in Goldmosaik schimmernde Kuppel wie ein Himmel sich über dem Grabe Petri wölbt. Und wenn dann, in jenen fernen Zeiten, wieder das Osterfest gefeiert wird, dann thront auf dem Stuhle Petri ein Hohepriester, den Millionen auf dem Erdenrunde als ihren Vater und Hirten verehren, und wenn er am Jahrestage des Todes Petri über dessen Gruft die heiligen Geheimnisse feiert, so knien um ihn in den unermeßlich weiten Hallen des Riesendomes Tausende aus allen Nationen, die in allen Sprachen die Eine Sprache des katholischen und apostolischen Glaubens reden."

290 See Anton de Waal, *Der Rompilger: Wegweiser zu den wichtigsten Heiligthümern und Sehenswürdigkeiten der ewigen Stadt*, 6th edn (1888; Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1900), p. 2. For the use of literary texts to prepare pilgrims for their experience, see Jgnaz Civelli, *Der Pilger im Coupé: Pilgerreisen mit der Eisenbahn, 1850 bis 1939—eine Alltagsgeschichte* (Hamburg: tredition, 2021), pp. 102–10.

phasized the usefulness of his annotations and illustrations for gaining insights into early Christianity in a not too demanding manner.[291]

The frontispiece to *Juda's Ende*, more specifically, offers the reader instructions for the interpretation of the novel (see Figure 18). De Waal describes it at length in the appendix to ensure that these visual instructions are adequately absorbed. The image comprises

> below the two reliefs from the Arch of Titus, drawn together into one scene, the spoils from the Temple and the victorious imperator on the quadriga.—In the centre is shown the coin which was minted in remembrance of the victory. Its inscription, IUDAEA CAPTA, is in its own way at the same time also the title of our narrative. Next to the coin, behind wreaths, appears the overturned seven-branched candelabrum.—In the upper scene the Christians leave the smoking ruins of Jerusalem; the host of the faithful, with palm fronds and banners, follow an angel who carries before them the radiant cross,—the glorious sign of a new time that, in days to come, shall celebrate its victory also over paganism when, opposite to the Arch of Titus, the Arch of Constantine shall rise.[292]

The destruction of Jerusalem gains its significance only in relation to Christian supersession, as the author was at pains to explain in his preface. Any hopes of resurrecting Jewish sovereignty, and indeed the expectation to gain dominion over the world as articulated in the abortive Esther scheme, are therefore disappointed by necessity.

The flight to Pella, prominently included in the cover design by the Austrian painter Philipp Schumacher (1866–1940), was also an integral element in Kaulbach's painting where it was juxtaposed with the figure of the Wandering Jew. Yet Schumacher's design, like the novel by de Waal it illustrates, significantly contrasts this understanding that is predicated on the notion of eternal retribution. The image of the triumphal arches of Titus and Constantine, which is also elaborated in

291 See de Waal, *Rompilger*, p. 2. As Günther Hirschmann demonstrates, annotations were employed in historical novels of the *Kulturkampf* period not only as evidence of exact historical work but served also to convey apologetic or aggressive sentiments, see *Kulturkampf*, p. 85.

292 De Waal, *Juda's Ende*, p. 227: "Unser Titelbild, vom Maler Schumacher entworfen, zeigt unten die beiden Reliefs aus dem Titusbogen in Eine Scene zusammengezogen, die Beute aus dem Tempel und der siegreiche Imperator auf dem Viergespann.—In der Mitte ist die Denkmünze wiedergegeben, welche zur Erinnerung an den Sieg geprägt wurde. Die Umschrift IUDAEA CAPTA ist in ihrer Weise zugleich Titel unserer Erzählung. Neben der Münze erscheint hinter Kränzen der umgestürzte siebenarmige Leuchter.—In der oberen Scene zieht aus dem in Trümmern rauchenden Jerusalem das Christentum hinaus; die Scharen der Gläubigen, mit Palmzweigen und Fahnen, folgen einem Engel, der ihnen das strahlende Kreuz voraufträgt,—das glorreiche Zeichen einer neuen Zeit, das dereinst auch über das Heidentum seinen Sieg feiern wird, wenn dem Titusbogen gegenüber sich der Triumphbogen des Constantin aufbaut."



Figure 18: Philipp Schumacher, frontispiece to Anton de Waal, *Juda's Ende: Historische Erzählung aus den Anfängen des Christentums in Rom* (Berlin: Becker, 1898). (Public domain.)

de Waal's preface,[293] rather suggests the decisive end to Jewish significance in the divine plan and absolute supersession. Even as conversion is proffered as the path to redemption, the continued Jewish existence is not portrayed as cursed. *Judaea capta*, the central symbol in the design, is finite, it is not—like Ahasuerus pursued by the avenging demons—a symbol that is projected into the future.

293 See ibid., pp. VII–VIII.

The Wandering Jew may nevertheless make an appearance in de Waal's novel, though he is not identified as such. As the Romans debate whether to destroy the Temple or not, the uncanny figure of a stranger appears. Titus, already determined to save the Temple, is admonished by the old man that he is no more than the Lord's instrument and that the destruction of the Temple is God's will:

> Jehovah has turned away from his people. For Judah is bowed down by a blood guilt which an ocean of blood and tears shall not wash away. He is no longer pleased with the sacrifices of his people since on Golgatha died this great sacrifice. Therefore, destroy this Temple; and it shall not be left one stone upon another![294]

When Titus complies, but then, full of remorse, seeks to salvage the burning edifice, it resists all attempts to save it: "It was as if the edifice had not been built from stone but from wood, as if the water we carried to the flames had turned into oil so as to fuel the fire only the more."[295]

Destruction is also to be the fate of Rome. Though not as envisaged by Berenice, Rome too will fall without fail. In the end, Christianity, recognized by Titus as the real danger to the Roman Empire, will indeed triumph. The *translatio imperii* described by the elder Görres and articulated in de Waal's juxtaposition of the Arch of Titus and the Arch of Constantine, which was dedicated to the first Christian emperor of Rome, was emphatically reiterated by the author at the very end of his book in two distichs placed between reproductions of the reliefs of the Arch of Titus:

> Reduced to rubble, the holy city, Titus takes the spoils
> Proudly in triumph to Rome,—Rome's and the Flavians' pride
> Will also turn to rubble once; yet triumphant above ruins
> Shines in eternal splendour, ruling worlds, the Cross.[296]

Spillmann made the same claim, but was more circumspect. In his *Lucius Flavus*, it is manifestly visualized with the image of the obelisk of St Peter's. As an Egyptian spoil, this is itself a monument to the *translatio imperii* which, nevertheless, with its inscription asserting the rule of Christ in the present tense and the cross

294 Ibid., p. 79: "Jehovah hat sich abgewandt von seinem Volke. Denn auf Juda lastet eine Blutschuld, die kein Meer von Blut und Thränen tilgt. Er hat kein Wohlgefallen mehr an seines Volkes Opfern, seitdem auf Golgatha das große Opfer starb. Darum zerstöre diesen Tempel; es soll kein Stein mehr auf dem andern bleiben!"

295 Ibid., p. 80: "Es war, als ob der Bau nicht aus Stein, sondern aus Holz aufgeführt wäre, als ob das Wasser, das wir in die Flammen trugen, sich in Oel verwandelt hätte, um den Brand noch mehr zu nähren."

296 Ibid., p. 241: "Liegt sie in Trümmern, die heilige Stadt, führt Titus die Beute / Stolz im Triumphe nach Rom,—Rom und der Flavier Stolz / Sinken in Trümmer auch einst; doch siegreich über Ruinen / Strahlet in ewigem Glanz, Welten beherrschend, das Kreuz."

at its point, signifies the telos of this trajectory that was already anticipated by Kaulbach in his title illustration for *Deutsches Hausbuch*.[297] Otherwise, Spillmann advocated in his novel a largely conciliatory approach in the aftermath of the *Kulturkampf*. De Waal is more assertive. This may be the reason why he recommended his own novel in his pilgrim's guide to Rome, but not Spillmann's.

Theatrical Entertainment in Catholic Workers' Clubs and the Jews

Above, I suggested that the engagement of Catholic writers with the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple offered an intervention in the *Kulturkampf* and, in its aftermath, continued to negotiate Catholic identities and the position of Catholicism within the political and social as well as cultural and religious fabric of the German Empire. The literary quality of these interventions was frequently considered inferior. Conspicuously, these texts are moreover often informed by antisemitic topoi and stereotypes of a specifically Catholic provenance. Indeed, the association between Catholicism and antisemitism was strengthened in the *Kulturkampf*.[298] At least partially, from a Catholic perspective, Jews were considered responsible for the pervasive conflict between secular and religious forces from the very beginning.[299] In particular, any anti-Catholic tendencies were attributed to both supposedly "Jewish" liberalism and philosemitic Protestants.[300] More specifically, evoking the specter of Jewish world domination, the anonymous Catholic author of the polemic antisemitic pamphlet *Der Mauscheljude: Ein Volksbüchlein für deutsche Christen aller Bekenntnisse* (1879; The Mauschel-Jew: A Chapbook for German Christians of all Denominations) alleged that

> [t]o incense the Christians among themselves and to stir up hatred among them can only seem convenient to the many branches of Mauscheldom; to make these weak, but themselves strong; these small and impotent, yet themselves great and powerful.[301]

297 See Spillmann, *Lucius Flavus*, II, 107.

298 See Olaf Blaschke, *Katholizismus und Antisemitismus im Deutschen Kaiserreich* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), p. 141.

299 See ibid., p. 42.

300 See ibid., p. 47.

301 Anonymous, *Der Mauscheljude: Ein Volksbüchlein für deutsche Christen aller Bekenntnisse, von einem deutschen Advokaten* (1879; Paderborn: Bonifacius, 1880), p. 20: "Die Christen unter sich zu erbittern und sie gegen einander zu hetzen, kann dem weit verzweigten Mauschelthum nur dienlich erscheinen, um jene schwach, sich aber stark, jene klein und ohnmächtig, sich aber groß und mächtig zu machen."

In *Die Wiedergeburt der Dichtung aus dem religiösen Erlebnis*, Karl Muth mentioned with some disdain what he called "club literature."[302] Katharina Kleebeck's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1894; Destruction of Jerusalem) and Julius Berberich's *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems durch den römischen Feldherrn Titus im Jahre 70 n. Chr.* (1898; The Destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman Imperator Titus in the Year 70 AD) are precisely the kind of plays envisioned by Muth with his derogatory epithet.[303] Both were written for Catholic workers' clubs with an explicitly didactic agenda in mind; both are also suffused with antisemitic tropes of a specifically Catholic derivation.

As Olaf Blaschke emphasizes, since priests began to influence Catholic workers through the institution of the workers' clubs, negative stereotypes of the Jews were disseminated into this milieu which traditionally had been less susceptible to antisemitism than the population in rural areas in which, before the First World War, the majority of Catholics lived.[304] Catholic workers' clubs were established mostly in urban areas in particular since the early years of the German Empire in response to the perceived political, social, and cultural threat of socialism.[305] Socialism, it was feared, would obliterate religion as well as Christian morality and family values from the working class milieu.[306] Seeking to create among workers an understanding of their Catholic faith and to foster religious commitment, these clubs offered religious instruction, participation in religious practices (such as communion services), and various forms of entertainment, which were frequently conceived as didactic and edifying, such as lectures, musical performances, and theatrical productions.

302 Muth, *Wiedergeburt der Dichtung*, p. 147: "Vereinsliteratur."

303 For Catholic club theater in the context of the inferiority debate, see, e.g., Gabriele Clemens, "Zwischen 'Inferiorität' und 'Integration'. Die katholische Arbeitervereinskultur im Deutschen Kaiserreich am Beispiel des Theaterspiels," in *Lebendige Sozialgeschichte: Gedenkschrift für Peter Borowsky*, eds Rainer Hering and Rainer Nicolaysen (Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2003), pp. 223–39, pp. 228–9.

304 See Blaschke, *Katholizismus und Antisemitismus*, pp. 216–17.

305 For the Catholic workers' club movement, see, e.g., Raymond Chien Sun, *Before the Enemy is Within Our Walls: Catholic Workers in Cologne, 1885–1912. A Social, Cultural and Political History* (Boston: Humanities Press, 1999); Gabriele Clemens, *"Erziehung zu anständiger Unterhaltung": Das Theaterspiel in den katholischen Gesellen- und Arbeitervereinen im deutschen Kaiserreich. Eine Dokumentation* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2000); Clemens, "Zwischen 'Inferiorität' und 'Integration'," pp. 223–39; and Michaela Bachem-Rehm, *Die katholischen Arbeitervereine im Ruhrgebiet, 1870–1914: katholisches Arbeitermilieu zwischen Tradition und Emanzipation* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2004).

306 See Sun, *Before the Enemy is Within Our Walls*, p. 112.

While it has been observed that Protestantism was slower to respond in the urban centers to the challenges of industrialization than the Catholic Church and was "far more conservative and patriotic" in its approach, "on the social and recreational level there was little to choose between the two denominations; in both cases the emphasis was on education and self-improvement."[307] In the Catholic context, more specifically, however, as Raymond Chien Sun notes, "the common enjoyment of innocent entertainment, under the beneficent guidance of the priest," who was inevitably put in charge of any club, was intended to have a "cleansing, restorative effect on workers, allowing them to enter back into true Catholic community as characterized by deep relations of 'comradeship, friendship, and conviviality.'"[308] In this spirit, the attendance of women and children at social events organized by the clubs was actively encouraged. Such occasions, as Sun observes, were understood to "model and help bring about the sense of family that club members were supposed to have toward one another."[309]

Though there was also some scepticism among clerics about the suitability of theatrical entertainment, stage productions—including also the less demanding *tableaux vivants*—were popular recreational activities in Catholic workers' clubs,[310] as were group singing and choral performances. The repertoire of plays encompassed mostly religious subjects corresponding to the Christmas or Easter celebrations or, otherwise, comedies and melodramas.[311] "In form," as Sun remarks, "these plays were almost certainly short, one-act works of simple construction, relying on broad humor and action to catch the audience's attention."[312] Yet, coinciding with the economic recession during the first years of the twentieth century, concerns arose that the artistic aspirations of some clubs not only distracted from their didactic and instructive function but also prompted projects that were too ambitious. Curbing the artistic enthusiasm of club members, the ecclesiastical institutions failed to realize, as Sun argues, that entertainment and sociability were "not just a source of pleasure, but could be an important means of building Catholic worker's self-esteem in their social identity."[313]

307 Lynn Abrams, *Workers' Culture in Imperial Germany: Leisure and Recreation in the Rhineland and Westphalia* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 125.

308 Sun, *Before the Enemy is Within Our Walls*, p. 131.

309 Ibid., p. 132.

310 For criticism of the potential frivolity of drama as an entertainment, see Clemens, "Zwischen 'Inferiorität' und 'Integration'," pp. 225–8.

311 See Sun, *Before the Enemy is Within Our Walls*, p. 135.

312 Ibid., p. 136.

313 Ibid., p. 137.

This potential dichotomy emerges also in relation to the two plays on the destruction of Jerusalem written for performance in Catholic workers' clubs by Kleebeck and Berberich. The former clearly had some literary aspirations, while the latter, himself invested in the Catholic Workers' Club movement, was more practice-oriented and added to his play a preface and various footnotes which give a good indication of the context from within which these entertainments originate and of the purpose they were meant to serve.[314]

In his preface, Berberich asserts that he considers the subject of particular relevance to the stage of Catholic clubs because it is not only of historical interest but also edifying and of didactic value.[315] He includes practical advice with regard to the staging of the play and recommends it in particular to those who mean to bring to the fore not only its emotional appeal ("Gemüt") which he locates in the first three acts of his play, but also the vigour and life ("Kraft und Leben") he attributes to the fourth and fifth acts.[316]

The production of plays by Catholic clubs is categorized by Berberich with a critical undertone as a fashionable requirement of the times. Given the usual theatrical fare of seasonal carnival plays and light comedies, the priest notes the lack of serious religious drama in the club repertoire as a vehicle of instruction and edification. It is this he seeks to remedy with his *Zerstörung Jerusalems*. Reiterating the by now familiar trope, he insists that the historical episode constitutes one of the most magnificent and most important occurrences in the history of the world because it was not only prophesied by Daniel but also by Jesus. Berberich moreover emphasizes that the prophecies of Jesus relating to the destruction of Jerusalem are the topic of various liturgical lessons on Sundays and on feast days of the Catholic calendar and that they are taught in the subject of religious history at school and as a part of the catechism.[317] Ultimately, he explains the thematic choice of his play with this topical ubiquity. The historical subject of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple encompassed moreover many of the tropes of Catholic antisemitism for which it became a productive vehicle of dissemination.

314 The author's footnotes give practical advice as to the construction of props, such as children's toys to be used on the stage, the use of music and fireworks, and the construction of a horse for the final triumphant entry of Titus.

315 See Julius Berberich, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems durch den römischen Feldherrn Titus im Jahre 70 n. Chr: Historisches Schauspiel mit Gesang in fünf Aufzügen* (Paderborn: Bonifacius, 1898), p. 4.

316 See ibid., p. 5. The author's instructions, which channel the interpretation of the play, are addressed not only to the performers but implicitly also to the theater audience and readership.

317 See Berberich, *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, pp. 3–4.

The Parameters of Catholic Antisemitism

Kleebeck's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* appeared in 1894 as the forty-second volume in the series "Katholisches Vereins-Theater" (Catholic Club Theater) published by Hoffmann in Duisburg.[318] Her play preceded by four years Berberich's *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems durch den römischen Feldherrn Titus im Jahre 70 n. Chr.*, which was published by the Bonifacius press in Paderborn in Westphalia in 1898. Westphalia, encompassing the archdiocese of Paderborn and the diocese of Münster, was—and continues to be—a stronghold of Catholicism with a well-developed infrastructure of Catholic publishing houses.

Like the Catholic publishing houses of Adolph Russell in Münster, which printed in successive editions August Rohling's perfidious *Der Talmudjude: Zur Beherzigung für Juden und Christen aller Stände* (1871; The Talmud Jew: To be Heeded by Jews and Christians of all Stations), the Masse'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung in Soest, and Schöningh in Paderborn, the Bonifacius press notoriously propagated antisemitic polemics.[319] It was co-founded in 1869 by the Catholic priest and praeses of the minor seminary in Paderborn, Joseph Rebbert, who used it also for the dissemination of his own antisemitic pamphlets, such as *Christenschutz—nicht Judenhatz: Ein Volksbüchlein* (1876; Protection of Christians—Not Incitement to Hatred of Jews: A Chapbook).[320] Bonifacius also printed the aforementioned *Der Mauscheljude*, published anonymously "by a German advocate."

Catholic antisemitism was different in quality from Protestant, nationalist, and racial manifestations of antisemitism. While it was an integral element to the Catholic worldview, it was nevertheless subordinate to the primacy of religion.[321] As Blaschke shows, the notion of a "double" antisemitism pervaded Catholicism since the final decades of the nineteenth century.[322] Racial antisemitism was rejected because the criteria on which it was based were perceived as incompatible with the principle of divine grace and with the concept of monogenism, which posited the common origin of humanity as narrated in Scripture.[323] Catholic antisemitism, in turn, was construed as defensive: It was understood as indispensable to protecting Christians from the noxious influence of the Jews, which was deemed to have rapidly

318 See Katharina Kleebeck, *Zerstörung Jerusalems: Schauspiel in 5 Aufzügen* (Duisburg: Hoffmann, 1894).

319 See Blaschke, *Katholizismus und Antisemitismus*, pp. 140–1.

320 Joseph Rebbert, *Christenschutz—nicht Judenhatz: Ein Volksbüchlein* (Paderborn: Bonifacius, 1876).

321 See Blaschke, *Katholizismus und Antisemitismus*, p. 76.

322 Ibid., pp. 70–1.

323 See ibid., p. 77.

increased since emancipation.[324] Rebbert's pamphlet and the anonymous *Der Mauscheljude* are prominent articulations of this approach. Seizing on the argument of the Protestant writer Otto Glagau who asserted in his *Des Reiches Noth und der neue Culturkampf* (1879; The Empire's Distress and the New Culture War) that "the new culture war targets the dominance of the Jews,"[325] the author of *Der Mauscheljude* even went as far as to proclaim a new, and just, *Kulturkampf* between Christians and Jews.[326]

This ostensibly defensive antisemitism was sustained and intensified with the assimilation of rampant stereotypes of the Jewification ("Verjudung") of German society, of Jewish financial hegemony, and of the alleged Jewish conspiracy to achieve world domination.[327] More specifically, as Blaschke argues, the pervasive ritualization of Catholic quotidian life continuously reinforced religious anti-Jewish topoi with strong emotional appeal. They included discourse on the Antichrist and the Wandering Jew; the Judas syndrome; the Jewish mocking of Jesus; the central accusation of deicide; the judgment of reprobation, the final rejection of the Jews by the Lord; supersessionism; the blindness and obstinacy of the Jews; the dichotomy of Law and Grace; and the instrumentalization of the Jews in salvation history.[328] The subject of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple subsumed the majority of these topoi and was itself, as emphasized by Berberich in the preface to his *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, a constant presence in contemporary Catholic discourse.

Thus, while operating within a particular value system which saw itself frequently at odds with the (pseudo-)scientific and nationalistic tenets of racial antisemitism, Catholic antisemitism was effectively not only more persistent than ideological antisemitism even beyond the cataclysm of the Holocaust;[329] it moreover contributed through its stigmatization of the Jews to the religious underpinning of antisemitic ideology. A prominent example, discussed by Blaschke, is the blood libel.[330] Instances of the ritual murder accusation proliferated in the nineteenth century. Though they were soon appropriated to racial antisemitic dis-

324 See ibid., p. 70.

325 Otto Glagau, *Des Reiches Noth und der neue Culturkampf*, 3rd rev. edn (1879; Osnabrück: Wehberg, 1880), p. 295: "Der neue Culturkampf gilt der Judenherrschaft."

326 See Anonymous, *Mauscheljude*, p. 23.

327 See Blaschke, *Katholizismus und Antisemitismus*, p. 84.

328 See ibid., p. 73.

329 See ibid., pp. 19, 72.

330 See ibid., pp. 74–5.

course,[331] their emergence was frequently linked to what Blaschke refers to as "excessive" Catholic piety.[332]

While Kleebeck does not frame the blood libel explicitly in her play, it is nonetheless implicitly associated with the narrative of Mary of Bethezuba which, as in Kaulbach's painting of the destruction of Jerusalem, is given much prominence by the author. Yet her primary interest is in the authentication of Josephus as the historian of a pivotal event in salvation history.

The Validation of Catholic Antisemitism Through the Validation of Josephus's History of the Jewish War: Kleebeck

Katharina Kleebeck (1859–1939) was a teacher who, according to Franz Brümmer, became a writer during her first posting in a remote location in the Westphalian province to mitigate her solitude and the lack of adequate social interaction.[333] With her *Zerstörung Jerusalems* she manifestly articulates literary pretensions much different from the more practice-oriented Berberich's humble effort. Much longer, and more complex than his play in both language and structure, Kleebeck's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* arguably did not correspond very well to the modest theatrical aspirations of the Catholic Workers' Club movement for which she originally conceived it. Her plays were nevertheless recommended as eminently suitable for the stage of Catholic clubs by Bernhard Stein in *Katholische Dramatiker der Gegenwart* (1909), whereas the critic does not even mention Berberich.[334]

Like Berberich's play, Kleebeck's earlier *Zerstörung Jerusalems* is also indebted to, and answers to, the recognition effect of its historical subject. It is initially set in the besieged city during Sukkot, a Jewish festival which commemorates the exodus from Egypt and that has its origins in giving thanks for the yield of the harvest. But Levi and his little sons are starving. The Prophet of the Jews, Jesus Ben Ananus, frightens the children with his dire prophecies of doom and

331 See ibid., p. 75.

332 Ibid., p. 74.

333 See Franz Brümmer, *Lexikon der deutschen Dichter und Prosaisten vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart*, 6th revised and expanded edn, 8 vols (1876–77; Leipzig: Reclam, 1913), III, 479.

334 See Bernhard Stein, *Katholische Dramatiker der Gegenwart* (Ravensburg: Alber, 1909), p. 267.

their father acknowledges that "For as long as the world / Exists, no such atrocities ever occurred. / It is, as if the world were going out of joint."[335]

Brought before the High Priest and the priests Rabbi Abba and Jonathas, the prophet is enjoined to cease his disconcerting exhortations but remains steadfast. His persistence moves Rabbi Abba to criticize the High Priest for his draconian punishment of the prophet. He is concerned that he may in fact have been inspired by the Lord—as potentially may have been also Jesus of Nazareth and the apostles Paul and James (the Great)[336]—and reminds the High Priest of a vision of the Prophet Elijah he experienced:

> Do you forget what once the prophet Elijah,
> As in a quiet hour he spoke to me,
> Mournfully told me? "Hear," said the Holy One,
> "[. . .]
> The signs which herald the Messiah,
> I shall no longer, now, keep hidden from you:
> All the world shall follow the Romans;
> The religion of the Jews shall break apart,
> And all the nations shall arise:
> The subjects against their king,
> The accused against their judge,
> The fools against the wise; children against
> The parents, the wicked against all that are good.
> Then shall He come, the Yearned-for, but
> The world shall despise Him, yea, with wickedness
> Engulf Him and, at last, kill Him."
> Thus said the Holy One.—Ananias, do you
> Not realise that those times are here,
> That the Messiah has already come——[337]

335 Kleebeck, *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, p. 12: "So lang' die Welt / Besteht, sind solche Greu'l nicht vorgekommen. / Es ist, als ging die Welt aus ihren Fugen."

336 See ibid., pp. 18–19.

337 Ibid., p. 16: "Vergißt du, was einst der Prophet Elias, / Da er in stiller Stunde zu mir sprach, / Mir trauernd sagte? 'Höre,' sprach der Heil'ge, / '[. . .] / Die Zeichen, welche den Messias künden, / Jetzt will ich sie nicht länger dir verbergen: / Es wird die ganze Welt den Römern folgen; / Die Religion der Juden wird zerfallen, / Und alle Völker werden sich erheben: / Die Unterthanen gegen ihren König, / Die Angeklagten gegen ihren Richter, / Die Thoren gegen Weise; Kinder gegen / Die Eltern, Schlechte gegen alle Gute. / Dann wird er kommen, der Ersehnte, aber / Die Welt wird Ihn verachten, ja mit Bosheit / Ihn überschütten und zuletzt ihn tödten.' / So sprach der Heil'ge.—Ananias, merkst / Du nicht, daß diese Zeiten da sind, / Daß der Messias schon gekommen ist——."

Ananias, shaken by the heretical words, outlines concisely the logic of continued Jewish resistance to the new faith, any acceptance of which would render the past not only futile and meaningless but would also reveal it as guilt-ridden:

> You, too, are infected with the teachings
> Of the Nazarene, Abba, oh, you too?
> Thus all that Caiaphas and Annas did
> Was done in vain? Thus I, too, in vain
> Had James killed, the head
> Of the Nazarenes in Jerusalem?[338]

Rabbi Abba, while remaining critical, recants. Yet later, when the daily sacrifice in the Temple ceases, he despondently reiterates and confirms the prophecy of Elijah, which articulates supersession and Jewish reprobation: "'It shall / The religion of the Jews all break apart.' / As of today the eternal sacrifice ceases / Forever. Israel has been cast off by the Lord."[339] At the end of the play, the rabbi is murdered by a Roman soldier as the Temple is destroyed, a symbol also of the destruction of the old order and the supersession of the old covenant. Yet his friend Jonathas, before he too is murdered, converts, acknowledging the new covenant.

Otherwise, Christians do not feature prominently in Kleebeck's play, though, as they withdraw from the city, they are shown to pray for the Jews. However, their prayer is ultimately hardly more than the affirmation of Jewish sinfulness and of the inevitability and justness of their tribulations.[340] After the conflagration, the only edifice to have survived the razing of the city is the *coenaculum*, the site of the Last Supper. It is found by the returning Christians, as they look in the ruins for holy sites.[341] The symbolic value of the building exalts in implicit analogy the sacrament of the Eucharist which was also emphasized in other Catholic engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem. But the play ends neither with the triumph of the Christians, nor with the actual destruction of the Temple, which concludes act four. Intriguingly, it is the history of the war to be written by Josephus which is given pre-eminence.

Though never made explicit, the suggestion appears to be that the accurate history of the Jewish War is a kind of bearing witness to the post-biblical period in relation to the biblical truths and the concept of salvation history. In the con-

338 Ibid., p. 17: "Auch du bist angesteckt von dieser Lehre / Des Nazareners, Abba, ach, auch du? / So haben Kaiphas und Annas alles / Umsonst gethan? So hab' auch ich umsonst / Jakobus töten lassen, dieses Haupt / Der Nazarener zu Jerusalem?"

339 Ibid., p. 58: "'Es wird / Die Religion der Juden ganz zerfallen.' / Mit heute hört das ew'ge Opfer auf / Für immer. Israel ist vom Herrn verworfen."

340 See ibid., p. 25.

341 See ibid., p. 79.

cluding monologue of the play, Vespasian commissions Josephus to complete his historiographic project to establish for all time the historical truth about the salvific significance of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple:

> The nation that you [i.e., Titus]
> Did vanquish, was among the most prominent one, and their
> History is so marvellous that it
> Truly is worth the effort to record it.
> I heard that Josephus already has commenced; . . .
> So shall he conclude it then as well,
> [. . .]
> In particular should he the last war
> Remember and Jerusalem's destruction,
> Of which he was an eye-witness. He shall
> Describe it meticulously and thoroughly, the year
> And day and month, yea, the hour itself
> Shall he seek to record with great accuracy,
> That once posterity may refer to him
> And say: thus came to an end beautiful
> Jerusalem as a punishment for its sacrileges.
> Thus it was. *For thus it is written by Flavius*
> *Josephus, the historian of the Jews!*[342]

There is, once again, a clear didactic emphasis inscribed into Kleebeck's play. Any transgression against the divine will is punished, as the historical example graphically illustrates.

Yet, in contrast to other literary engagements with the subject, the cruelty of the Romans is never criticized; nor is the further trajectory of supersession pursued by Kleebeck, which is predicated on the decline of pagan Rome and the rise of Christianity. Rather, the trope of the humane mercy of the imperator is transmitted uncritically, because much emphasis is in turn given to the notion of Titus as a divine instrument, which is emphasized throughout but made most explicit in a dialogue with Josephus when the Roman imperator reflects on the fate of the beautiful city and its magnificent Temple:

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342 Ibid., p. 84: "Vespasian: / [. . .] / [. . .] Das Volk, das du [i.e., Titus] / Besiegt, war eins der vornehmsten, und ihre / Geschichte ist so wunderbar, daß es / Der Mühe wahrlich lohnt, sie aufzuschreiben. / Ich hörte, daß Josephus schon begonnen; . . . / So möge er es denn zu Ende bringen, / [. . .] / Besonders möge er des letzten Krieges / Gedenken und Jerusalems Zerstörung, / Wovon er Augenzeuge. Möge er's / Genau und umständlich beschreiben, Jahr / Und Tag und Monat, ja, die Stunde selbst / Mit großer Treue aufzuzeichnen suchen, / Daß einst die Nachwelt sich bei ihm erkund'gen / Und sagen kann: So endete das schöne / Jerusalem zur Strafe seiner Frevel. / So war's. *Denn also steht's bei Flavius / Josephus, dem Geschichtsschreiber der Juden!*"

Titus: [. . .]
Oh, God! Oh holy God of the Jews, Thou,
[. . .]
Thou art my witness that the fall
Of the nation and of the city I did not seek!
Thou Thyself, Thou High One, Thou Just One, hast
Poured the cup of Thy wrath upon
Them; I, I was Thy poor tool.[343]

Kleebeck uses Josephus's response to justify the ways of God to humankind by reiterating the unequalled sinfulness of the Jews which mandated the unequalled punishment:

Josephus:
Yes, never has a city suffered like her!
Yet know as well, since the beginning of the world
No people has ever been as awful in sacrilege.[344]

The proliferation of sacrilege and iniquity among the Jews is presented in the play mostly through Simon bar Giora (Simon bar Gioras) and the crafty Theudas. The historical figure of Simon is introduced as an overbearing bandit who likens himself to the Roman emperor Nero as a warrior, murderer, and—having composed a robber's song—as a poet.[345] He yearns for the crown of Judah; it is the one resemblance to the emperor as yet not achieved. Indeed, Simon seeks world domination: "All the world to make subject to my will, / Not just this miserable Jerusalem."[346] Again, like in various of the other literary engagements with the historical occurrence, contemporary anxieties of a Jewish conspiracy—a trope also of Catholic antisemitism—seem to be reflected in the alleged Jewish desire for universal supremacy. Together with Simon rises the false Messiah Theudas, as prophesied by Jesus,[347] whom Simon seeks to recruit for his own purposes. As a complement to the bandit's materialistic objectives, the transient success of Theudas demonstrates the spiritual volatility of the Jews.

But the most striking instance of the utter failure of the moral certainty of the Jews in the play is Kleebeck's reworking of the Mary of Bethezuba episode to which

343 Ibid., p. 77: "Titus: / [. . .] / O Gott! O heil'ger Gott der Juden, Du, / [. . .] / Du bist mein Zeuge, daß den Untergang / Des Volkes und der Stadt ich nicht gewollt! / Du selbst, Du Hoher, Du Gerechter, hast / Die Schale Deines Zornes über sie / Ergossen; ich, ich war Dein armes Werkzeug."
344 Ibid.: "Josephus: / Ja, nie hat eine Stadt soviel gelitten! / Doch wisse auch, seit Anbeginn der Welt / War kein Geschlecht so furchtbar je an Freveln."
345 See ibid., p. 21.
346 Ibid., p. 22: "Die ganze Welt gehorsam mir zu machen, / Nicht blos dies elende Jerusalem."
347 See, e.g., Matthew 24:11, 24 and Kleebeck, *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, p. 24.

she gives much prominence by linking it with the characters of Levi and his children. In the play, Mary (Maria) is Levi's wife. She slaughters her youngest child to feed the two older ones. The gruesome episode becomes a terrible symbol of the alleged aberration and barrenness of Judaism. Levi's children, tormented by hunger, ask their father to tell them once more one of their favorite stories; it is the story of Jesus multiplying bread and fish as told in the synoptic gospels.[348] When the children ask what happened to this wonderful man, Levi reluctantly and pained by the memory eventually tells them that Jesus was crucified at the behest of the Jews. One of his sons exclaims: "The ungrateful ones!,"[349] while the other realizes:

> Oh, Father,
> Oh, now do I see why the Lord such great
> Tribulations sends. It is the punishment for
> The murder of the innocent Nazarene.
> Levi:
> 'Tis what I fear as well. Horribly have we sinned.
> We killed Him, Who called Himself
> The Son of the Highest.
> Zacharias:
> Father! Father!
> He, the Son of God?!—Oh, then our punishment
> Is only too just; never must we complain.
> Levi:
> Yes, yes, just . . . (To himself:) Yet difficult it was to believe.[350]

Levi's attempt to explain his hesitation—and, presumably, that of the Jews—mirrors the doubt of the apostle Thomas who believes in the resurrection of Jesus only after having laid his hand into his wounds: "Jesus saith unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed."[351] It is this leap of faith which Levi and the Jews fail to perform—and which they persist in refusing to the present day; as such, obstinately rejecting the Christian truth, the Jews continue to be irredeemable even

348 See, e.g., Mark 6:37–44.

349 Kleebeck, *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, p. 43: "Die Undankbaren!"

350 Ibid.: "Zacharias: / [. . .] O Vater, / O, jetzt versteh' ich's, warum Gott so große / Bedrängnis schickt. Es ist die Strafe für / Den Mord an dem unschuld'gen Nazarener. / Levi: / Ich fürcht' es auch. Wir haben schwer gesündigt. / Wir haben Ihn getödtet, der Sich Selbst / Den Sohn des Höchsten nannte. / Zacharias: / Vater! Vater! / Er Gottes Sohn?!—O dann ist uns're Strafe / Nur zu gerecht; wir dürfen nimmer klagen. / Levi: / Ja, ja, gerecht . . . (Für sich:) Doch es war schwer zu glauben."

351 John 20:29.

into the contemporary period and illustrate to the audience of Kleebeck's play by their negative example the path of the righteous.

The children are later shown to be fighting for a piece of leather to chew on, when Levi tells them that their mother has prepared some roast. Attracted by the smell, Simon bar Giora also demands some of the meat, though he quickly realizes that it is of human origin: "And on the floor a curly little head lies / Besmirched with blood; there lie little hands, little feet / And the entrails of a little child."[352] The depiction is the more gruesome because it suggests the perversion not only of the mother but also of the fierce robber who, as he eats, chokes on his tears:

> Ben Giora:
> Then gawps
> The woman at me with tearless gaze
> And says: "Are you more gentle, then, than a woman,
> And more tender than a mother?" And
> A piece of the roast she offers to me.
> So I eat and choke on my tears.[353]

After the event, the enormity of the occasion having dawned on Simon, he tells his comrades: "now I quake even in the deepest marrow."[354]

When Levi, the unhappy father, learns of the origins of the roast, he despairs and prays for his death. His wife having turned insane, he is indeed slain by a Roman soldier after rejecting Josephus's offer to help him. His two sons are spared by the Roman for their market value as slaves.

The punitive dimension of the destruction of Jerusalem and its persistence in relation to the Jews is emphasized by Josephus who affirms that the dispersal of the Jews is meant to be a continuous deterrent:

> The fall of the Temple
> And of this holy city is Israel's punishment.
> [. . .]
> The remnant, it has escaped, yet where?
> Dispersed across the world—like it is now
> Dispersed across the world—thus shall it remain,

352 Kleebeck, *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, p. 50: "Und an der Erde liegt ein lockig Köpfchen / Mit Blut besudelt; liegen Händchen, Füßchen / Und Eingeweide eines kleinen Kindes."

353 Ibid., p. 50: "Ben Gioras: / [. . .] Da blickt / Das Weib mich an mit thränenlosem Blick / Und spricht: 'Bist du denn weicher, als ein Weib, / Und zärtlicher als eine Mutter?' Und / Sie bietet mir ein Stück von ihrem Braten. / Da esse ich und schluck an meinen Thränen."

354 Ibid., p. 49: "jetzt erschaud're ich in's tiefste Mark."

> Thus it shall remain until the final hour:
> A cautionary example, a constant punishment.[355]

Given the alleged eternal validity of the historian's account as it is posited in the final lines of the play, the antisemitic topoi it reiterates are also validated in relation to the history of salvation which emerges as a continuum that closely links the present to the past.

Widening the Appeal of Sacrifice and Punishment: Berberich

When Berberich observed that there was a lack of serious club plays, he seems to have ignored, or to have been ignorant of, Kleebeck's efforts. Her *Zerstörung Jerusalems* clearly was an attempt to infuse the club repertoire with serious drama.[356] Berberich's own eponymous play is significantly shorter than Kleebeck's and was evidently conceived with the amateur stage in mind. These considerations may also have had an impact on the literary merit of the play, which is dubious at best. As Sun notes,

> in order to prevent the theater from diverting members from the higher goals of the workers' clubs, the works performed were to be modest in their artistic demands.[357]

If Berberich was aware of Kleebeck's earlier effort to address the destruction of Jerusalem in a play written for Catholic clubs—and, given that it was published in a series of play scripts that was rather prominent in the Catholic milieu, it is likely that he would have been—he may have deliberately simplified the more ambitious play and given its subject a more easily digestible shape.

Ordained as a Catholic priest in 1871, Julius Berberich (1846–1916) completed his doctorate in theology in Freiburg in 1880. Two years later, he was tasked with re-establishing the minor seminary of the Archdiocese of Freiburg in Tauberbi-

355 Ibid., p. 78: "Josephus: / [. . .] / [. . .] Der Untergang des Tempels / Und dieser heil'gen Stadt ist Israels Strafe. / [. . .] / Der Rest, er ist entkommen, doch wohin? / Zerstreut in alle Welt—so wie er jetzt / Zerstreut in alle Welt—so wird er bleiben, / So wird er bleiben bis zur letzten Stunde: / Ein warnend Beispiel, eine stete Strafe."

356 The writer contributed in the following years another two serious plays to Hoffmann's Catholic Club Theater series: *Der Auszug aus Ägypten* (1895; The Exodus from Egypt) and *Widukind, der Sachsenführer* (1896; Widukind, Chieftain of the Saxons), respectively. See Katharina Kleebeck, *Der Auszug aus Ägypten: Schauspiel in 4 Aufzügen* (Duisburg: Hoffmann, 1895) and *Widukind, der Sachsenführer: Schauspiel mit Gesang in 5 Aufzügen* (Duisburg: Hoffmann, 1896), the forty-fourth and forty-sixth volumes in the "Katholisches Vereins-Theater" series, respectively.

357 Sun, *Before the Enemy is Within Our Walls*, p. 135.

schofsheim (Erzbischöfliches Knabenkonvikt), which had been closed during the *Kulturkampf* in 1874, shortly after its inception. From 1889–1901, during which period he wrote his play, Berberich was rector of the institution. The cleric's strong interest in Catholic club culture, articulated in his *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, manifested itself later also in his position as parish priest in Bühl in the Grand Duchy of Baden (from 1904–16), where he established and chaired the local Catholic Workers' Club in 1907.[358]

Like Kleebeck, Berberich opens his play with children on the stage. In both cases, their presence confirms the integration of families at the social events of Catholic workers' clubs, reaching as far even as their active participation in the clubs' dramatic ventures. The respective roles moreover offered the children—on the stage and in the audience—identification patterns of familial cohesion and of hardship in a context of transgression and punishment with which they would not have been entirely unfamiliar. The didactic potential of the situational setting was certainly initiated deliberately by both authors; both were, after all, also active in the education of children and young adults.

Berberich opens his play with a discussion of the portents mentioned by Josephus which, to a Catholic audience steeped in the belief in miracles, would have been an easily recognizable indication of the impending doom and its divine provenance. Similar to Kleebeck, he explores the situation initially through the configuration of children and an old man—in his play, the priest Baruch.[359] With regard to the alleged deicide, they embody not only the dichotomy between the memory of the perpetrator generation and the innocence of those born after the fact, but illustrate moreover the trajectory of the curse called on their own heads and those of their children by the Jews which invalidates the absolution of generational demarcation. Again, similar to Kleebeck, Berberich adds as a catalyst to the situation the Prophet of the Jews, Jehoshua, and his dire predictions which are correlated to the prophecies of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple by Jesus, which are in the following scene quoted from the gospel of Luke.[360]

The Christians then enter as they withdraw from the stricken city in response to the prophecies of its destruction and launch a harangue about the guilt incurred by Jerusalem: "From all the cities in all the land, none other has resisted the Redeemer, our Saviour Jesus Christ [. . .], and his holy gospel, so spitefully and venom-

358 For Berberich's biography, see Julius Mayer, "Necrologium Friburgense 1916–1920," *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 49 (1921): 1–67, 1–2.

359 Berberich's *dramatis personae* describe the children being between the ages of five and ten years old, see *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, pp. 6–7.

360 See ibid., p. 17; see Luke 19:42–44.

ously as has Jerusalem."[361] The blood curse is then invoked: "Yea, and they have provoked the Lord's punishment: 'His blood be on us, and on our children!'"[362] The Christians in Berberich's play repeatedly affirm the common tropes of Catholic antisemitism of the Jewish deicide, reprobation, and the blood curse:

> Thus the city and all the Jewish people have not only perpetrated a deicide on our Saviour but moreover nefariously called upon themselves down from the Heavens the bloody judgement and have to the present day resisted the grace of the Holy Spirit.[363]

The accusation results in the assertion of All Christians that "[i]t is truly no wonder, then, that the great punishment must come."[364]

The variously invoked blood curse, mentioned also in Kleebeck's earlier tragedy, is at the center of Berberich's play. It is affirmed as the trajectory of the divine punishment of the Jews; but it is also inverted in the relationship of Baruch and his son Gessur. While, according to the blood curse, children are condemned for their parents' transgression, the play suggests that parents may also be redeemed for their children's faith. Baruch, as discussed above, is of the perpetrator generation, but in the end he is saved by Gessur, meant to be about twelve years of age,[365] who does everything he can to make his spiritually "blind" father see.

Gessur, is converted but, because his father—who is old and almost blind—will not follow suit, he refuses to leave the city with the other Christians although he is certain of the approaching cataclysm. "The dear Lord shall repay you a hundred-fold for your sacrifice,"[366] he is told by the Bishop of Jerusalem. The Christians then withdraw, singing Psalm 116 in Latin. As explained in a footnote, a musical supplement with notes and German translations are appended to the play. The use of Latin also in the text when the Christians follow their momentous decision to leave the city indicates, as in the libretto by Görres, not only the Catholic

361 Berberich, *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, p. 15: "Unter allen Städten im ganzen Lande hat keine andere so gehässig und so giftig sich dem Erlöser, unserm Heiland Jesus Christus [. . .] und seinem heiligen Evangelium widersetzt als Jerusalem."

362 Ibid., p. 16: "Ja, und sie haben auch die Strafe Gottes herausgefordert: 'Sein Blut komme über uns und über unsere Kinder!'" See also Matthew 27:25.

363 Berberich, *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, p. 16: "So haben die Stadt und das ganze Judenvolk am Heiland nicht nur einen Gottesmord begangen, sondern auch frevelhaft das blutige Strafgericht selber vom Himmel auf sich herabgerufen und bis heute der Gnade des Heiligen Geistes Widerstand geleistet."

364 Ibid., p. 16: "Da ist freilich nicht zu verwundern, daß große Strafe kommen muß."

365 See ibid., p. 7.

366 Ibid., p. 18: "Der liebe Gott wird dir dein Opfer hundertfältig vergelten."

provenance of the play but also the almost liturgical quality of the representation of the Christian exodus.[367]

Berberich's second act is focused on Jewish discord. It introduces the conspirators and a sacrificial service in the Temple which is once again dominated by the singing of psalms (Psalms 133, 122, and 129). Again, reference is also made to the musical supplement which includes a German translation of the psalms. As the Jews start to fight among themselves, the Romans attack and the High Priest invokes unity in the face of the external threat. A temporary truce is achieved, but at the same time—an extension of the Jewish discord on another level of salvific import—Gessur is cast out by his father Baruch. Gessur seeks to emphasize the continuation, and the fulfilment, of Judaism in Christianity toward his father but is not heard.[368] In conclusion of the act, the High Priest and other priests invoke the Lord's mercy in the face of external and internal discord.

The third act introduces Flavius Josephus as a centurion in the Roman army. He laments: "to the present day I have not learnt to deny my Jewish descent. I still love my people, as much as ever I loved them."[369] Mentioning the Roman admiration of the martial enthusiasm of the Jews and of their sacrificial courage, he nevertheless acknowledges that the city will fall by necessity: "I am writing the history of the Jewish war; I feel as if I had to plunge the quill into my heart's blood; so much everything pains me that I see and hear."[370] Gessur, enters, having been captured by the Romans, whose cruelty is represented in the play but not explicitly criticized. The boy is sold as a slave to the pagan priest Heliodorus who has him whipped and his left arm cut off, all of which he patiently explains and then launches into prayer:

> Oh, my dear Saviour in the Heavens! The wounds are so very painful on my lacerated back and in the cut off arm! But the Christian faith is such an eternally precious good that for the sake of your name I willingly bear everything.[371]

367 See ibid.

368 See ibid., p. 26.

369 Ibid., p. 28: "[B]is heute habe ich nicht gelernt, meine jüdische Abstammung zu verleugnen. Ich liebe mein Volk jetzt noch, so sehr ich es je geliebt habe."

370 Ibid., p. 29: "Ich schreibe eben an der Geschichte des jüdischen Krieges; ich meine in mein Herzblut die Feder tauchen zu müssen; so weh thut mir alles, was ich sehe und höre."

371 Ibid., pp. 31–2: "Ach, mein lieber Heiland im Himmel! Die Wunden thun mir so arg weh auf dem zerschlagenen Rücken und an dem abgehauenen Arm! Aber der Christenglaube ist ein so unendlich kostbares Gut, daß ich gern alles ertrage um deines Namens willen."

Indeed, it is only the blindness of his father toward the true faith which pains Gessur. There is no character development in Berberich's play. Baruch's conversion is sudden and can be explained only with Gessur's intercession and the Lord's grace: "It is an unutterably great, unmerited fortune that I found the right knowledge of the true Christian faith"; Baruch enthuses: "For this, I presumably have to thank the prayer and sacrifice of my dear child Gessur!"[372] The old man castigates himself for his "blindness [Blindheit]."[373] Gessur, in the meantime also having been blinded in one eye by Heliodorus, flees to his father and they reconcile. The last to be seen of father and son is Baruch—whose name means "blessed" in Hebrew—giving his blessing to Gessur. Their fate in the conflagration remains uncertain, but their spiritual redemption is ensured.

If anything is surprising in Berberich's play, it is the sympathetic representation of the High Priest. He is shown to be mild and humane; toward the frightened children, he acts like a good father. In the end, he takes the leadership of the Jews and, as he joins the final battle, evokes the values of the community in terms which would not only be familiar to the play's audience but would in fact have been preached to them as well—with the one significant difference that the High Priest addresses the true confessors of the Mosaic Law:

> Now, go ye all to your stations! Show that you are true confessors of Moses. That you are fighting for the paternal faith, for the fatherland, for the city, for the Temple, for your families, and for your own freedom and honour.[374]

The High Priest's desperate last rallying of the Jews at the end of act four invites an intriguing identification with the Jews, which presumably also explains his positive characterization in analogy to the Catholic 'High Priest,' the Holy Father. But it is of course flawed in its point of reference. In fact, the renewed insistence on the Mosaic Law condemns him and all those who follow him to the just punishment of the Lord. Of Baruch, too, Gessur says earlier that he only wants "what is true and good" but that he is fettered by his blindness to the true Christian faith.[375] It is no coincidence that in the first scene of act five this last appearance of the Jews in the play is immediately followed by the reconciliation of Baruch

372 Ibid., p. 44: "Ein unsäglich großes, unverdientes Glück ist es, daß ich zur rechten Erkenntnis des wahren Christenglaubens gelangt bin. Das habe ich wohl dem Gebete und Opfer meines lieben Kindes Gessur zu verdanken!"

373 Ibid., p. 44.

374 Ibid., p. 48: "Jetzt geht ihr alle an eure Posten! Zeigt, daß ihr wahre Bekenner des Moses seid. Daß ihr für den väterlichen Glauben, für das Vaterland, für die Stadt, für den Tempel, für eure Familien und für eure eigene Freiheit und Ehre kämpfet."

375 See ibid., p. 32: "was wahr und recht ist."

and Gessur in the Christian faith.[376] It is presumably what the author referred to when he suggested that the concluding acts of his play were determined by vigour and life even though it ends with the destruction of the Temple and the reiteration of the claim of Titus having done God's will:

> A magnificent work is this mighty Temple, how gigantic are its walls; how mighty its towers. With our strength alone, we would not have conquered this work, if the divinity had not aided us.[377]

Berberich's rendering of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple is much abbreviated; its structure and language are simple, as is its dialogue, which is frequently expository and explanatory. Where Kleebeck seeks to establish the authenticity and accuracy of salvation history as recorded by Josephus in an attempt to validate the soteriological interpretation of the destruction of Jerusalem and the condemnation of the Jews, Berberich reduces the historical narrative to the bare bones of accusation, reprobation, and punishment on the one hand and faith, sacrifice, and redemption on the other.

Unexpectedly, his play seems to be less indebted to the tropes of Catholic antisemitism than Kleebeck's; at least, Berberich offers the conversion route to transcend the fate of divine rejection. In fact, in the confrontation with racial antisemitism, the efficacy of the conversion of Jews had become increasingly suspicious. While the sacrament of baptism was never challenged, the racial definition of Jewishness began to encroach on the perception of converted Jews at least in some Catholic circles.[378] As Rebbert phrased it, "[t]he individual may well abandon his confession, but not the particularities of his race; the humanistic Reform Jew, too, is, and remains, a 'Jew'."[379]

In Berberich's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, things are more simple. Though presumably not intended, there nevertheless inheres in one of the author's notes with practical advice a certain symbolic value which makes it quite intriguing in the context of the conversion debate: "In the meantime all the Jews have changed

376 Only the voice of the High Priest can be heard briefly in act five, when he cries that the Temple continues to burn, see ibid., p. 54.

377 Ibid., p. 55: "Ein gewaltiges Werk ist doch dieser mächtige Tempel, wie riesig sind seine Mauern; wie mächtig die Türme. Aus unserer Kraft hätten wir dieses Werk nicht eingenommen, wenn die Gottheit uns nicht geholfen hätte."

378 See Blaschke, *Katholizismus und Antisemitismus*, p. 79.

379 Joseph Rebbert, *Blicke ins Talmudische Judenthum. Nach den Forschungen von Dr. Konrad Martin, Bischof von Paderborn* (Paderborn: Bonifacius, 1876), p. 81: "Der einzelne kann wohl seine Confession, nicht aber die Eigenthümlichkeiten seiner Rasse aufgeben; auch der humanistische Reformjude ist und bleibt 'Jude'."

[their costumes], do Christians now, join the Christians."[380] The succession of the multiple roles played by the actors in the drama palpably exemplifies the sweeping transformation of Jews into Christians. Whether the implicit meaning of this symbolic potential would have been decoded by either the actors or the audience is doubtful, but it certainly corresponds to the easy conversion of Baruch in the play.

Despite its more ambitious scope, Kleebeck's play does not offer a fundamentally new interpretation of the historical occurrence. Like Berberich's, it is nevertheless significant with regard to the re-configuration of the subject it proposes in the context of the Catholic workers' movement and the wide dissemination among the Catholic working classes this potentially entailed.

As Berberich indicated, the subject was widely known, but both plays offer idiosyncratic nuances of interpretation. Though it is not given any ritualistic significance, the horror of the child murder in Kleebeck's play suggests an uncomfortable proximity to the blood libel. Momentous instances of the blood libel, pervasive throughout the nineteenth century, had occurred in close temporal and, in one case, even geographical proximity in its final decades. The blood libel of Tiszaeszlár of 1882–83 provoked international reactions. It was followed in Prussian Poland by the blood libel of Skurcz (present-day Skórcz) of 1884–85. Of huge impact in Germany, and quickly developing into a nation-wide media event, was the blood libel of Xanten in the Lower Rhine area of 1891, less than a hundred kilometres from Münster.[381]

To her contemporary audience, Kleebeck's emphasis on the Mary of Bethezuba episode must have confirmed with the historical veracity she attributes to Josephus the cannibalistic murder of children by Jews. Though the unnatural deed is characterized as an aberration, which results in the unhappy mother's madness and the unsuspecting father's despair and death and even moves the villain to tears, it is nevertheless of topical resonance. While Kleebeck elaborates the historical context of dire need and in this way may in fact have meant to absolve Jews from the accusation of ritual child murder, it at the same time is also of significance within the framework of salvation history applied by the author. In this context, it suggests Jewish reversion to sacrificial practices which negate the significance of the *akedah*, the Binding, or Sacrifice, of Isaac, and confirm Jewish reprobation.[382]

380 Berberich, *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, p. 15: "Inzwischen haben alle Juden sich umgekleidet, machen jetzt Christen, schließen sich den Christen an."

381 For the Xanten blood libel, see, e.g., Julius H. Schoeps, "Ritualmordbeschuldigung und Blutaberglaube. Die Affäre Buschoff im niederrheinischen Xanten," in *Köln und das rheinische Judentum: Festschrift Germania Judaica 1959–1984*, ed. Jutta Bohnke-Kollwitz (Cologne: Bachem, 1984), pp. 286–99.

382 For child sacrifice in ancient Israel, see Ed Noort, "Child Sacrifice in Ancient Israel: The Status Quaestionis," in Bremmer (ed.), *Strange World of Human Sacrifice*, pp. 103–25.

Berberich ignores the Mary of Bethezuba episode. His focus on Josephus is also calibrated differently from Kleebeck's; he does not seek to validate the historian's reliability. His interest rather appears to be in the fulfilment of Jewish chosenness in Christianity and the significance of conversion as a divine grace in the divine plan of salvation.

Engagements with the Destruction of Jerusalem in Protestant Literature

The destruction of Jerusalem was a subject which was recognized by Catholic writers and dramatists as eminently suitable for literary interventions in the *Kulturkampf* and, more generally, to assert the Catholic faith, both in relation to supersession and to negotiations of ecclesiastical and secular power. The subject was widely familiar through the liturgy and the Catholic calendar but was moreover also disseminated in different other media, most significantly through easily accessible historical fiction, but also in the guise of plays in Catholic workers' clubs, which facilitated its dissemination among different social classes.

While Sebregondi's *Nekodas* is not yet informed by the conflict, the specifically Catholic character of Magon's, Spillmann's, and de Waal's novels has variously been emphasized. Magon was directly invested in the *Kulturkampf*, in which he intervened with his hagiographic novel *Sabina* with which he sought to insert himself into the emerging tradition of Catholic novels crucially influenced by Cardinal Wiseman's *Fabiola*. The author was criticized even from within the Catholic literary establishment for his graphic depictions of violence and gore. Spillmann's *Lucius Flavus*, too, long after the *Kulturkampf* proper—like de Waal's *Juda's Ende*—needs to be understood within the wider context of this conflict. His novel was, moreover, controversially discussed in the debate about the alleged inferiority of Catholic literature.

Protestant historical fiction, in contrast, because it employed modern narrative strategies and techniques and, more specifically, created psychological depth rather than exalted models of triumphant faith, was thought to deliver its tendentious agenda with an aesthetic sophistication that was unattainable to Catholic literature. In order to appreciate the other voice in the *Kulturkampf*, three Protestant engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem by Friedrich von Uechtritz, Friedrich Palmié, and Jutta Ihlenfeld will be explored in this section.

After Jerusalem—Pella and Masada as Alternative Trajectories: Uechtritz

Friedrich von Uechtritz has already been mentioned as a close acquaintance of the painter Eduard Bendemann, whom the writer's interest in the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem may have inspired to his early 'Jewish' paintings. Like the poet's earlier effort, these relate to the destruction of the First Temple. Yet to Uechtritz, as he maintains in the preface to his *Eleazar. Eine Erzählung aus der Zeit des großen jüdischen Krieges im ersten Jahrhunderte nach Christo* (1867; Eleazar: A Tale from the Time of the Great Jewish War in the First Century after Christ), his dramatic poem *Die Babylonier in Jerusalem* (1836; The Babylonians in Jerusalem) was really only a surrogate for what he eventually attempted to realize with this novel in three volumes.[383]

As he recalls, the writer was first introduced to the idea of a literary engagement with the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem by Ludwig Robert (1778–1832; born Liepmann Levin), the brother of the celebrated *salonière* Rahel Varnhagen.[384] Robert mentioned to Uechtritz that Heinrich von Kleist had outlined to him the "great" and "consequential" conception of a tragedy on the subject and that, after Kleist's suicide, he himself had long sought to give shape to this literary inheritance, yet eventually desisted in frustration from his fruitless endeavors.[385] Uechtritz, who then started to research the historical background, similarly found the subject to be "completely unwieldy and inhibiting, even contrary,"[386] and diverted his interest to the destruction of the First Temple of which his dramatic poem was the outcome.

Uechtritz's preface seems not only to be the only indication of Kleist's interest in the subject,[387] but the writer reiterates that the subject appears to him to be

383 See Uechtritz, *Eleazar*, p. xi.

384 Uechtritz provides no date for the occasion, but during the relevant period Ludwig Robert resided from about 1822–24 and, again, from 1826–31 in Berlin; yet it is more likely that Uechtritz would have met him at the soirees of the historian Friedrich von Raumer during the earlier years; for Robert, see ADB (1889), XXVIII, 720–2.

385 See Uechtritz, *Eleazar*, pp. ix–x; "groß und bedeutungsvoll," p. x.

386 Ibid., pp. x–xi: "völlig unhandlich und spröde, ja selbst widrig"; the writer mentions "Stolberg's Kirchengeschichte," i.e., Friedrich Leopold Graf zu Stolberg, *Geschichte der Religion Jesu Christi*, Siebenter Theil (Solothurn: Schwäller, 1818).

387 Uechtritz sought to verify Robert's report in correspondence with Rudolph Köpke, see Uechtritz to Köpke on December 27, 1865, in Maria von Uechtritz (ed.), *Erinnerungen an Friedrich von Uechtritz*, pp. 339–42, p. 342; yet the historian, whose *Heinrich von Kleist's politische Schriften und andere Nachträge zu seinen Werken* appeared in 1862, was unaware of this project, see Köpke to Uechtritz on March 27, 1866, in ibid., pp. 342–7, p. 344. See also *Heinrich von Kleists Lebensspuren:*

one of the most fertile in respect of its profundity, and one of the most formidable in terms of the scope of its import.[388] Uechtritz, who commenced his writing career as a dramatist but fell silent for more than a decade before turning to the novel,[389] moreover reflects on his eventual choice of the "plain, unassuming form" of the narrative genre as opposed to the drama, yet insists that he nevertheless claims for it the "full weight of the significance of a tragedy" and anticipates an effect similar to that of "tragic poesy."[390] The writer's claim was confirmed by a critic who, drawing an intriguing, though misleading, connection to Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, enthused:

> The author calls it "a tale," yet more aptly it should read: a piece of that grandiose history of the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersal of the Jewish people all across the world [. . .]. The whole picture of that grand time [. . .] affects the reader like the famous fresco by Kaulbach does the viewer.[391]

Dokumente und Berichte der Zeitgenossen, ed. Helmut Sembdner (1957; Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1996), pp. 432–3. Kleist seems to have been thinking about a tragedy on the subject matter of the destruction of Jerusalem in the years 1808/09, at which time he borrowed a copy of Josephus's *The Jewish War* and a book about the Mosaic Law, see Heinrich von Kleist, *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, vol. 3: *Erzählungen, Anekdoten, Gedichte, Schriften*, ed. Klaus Müller-Salget (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1990), p. 1083. For Kleist's engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem and Josephus and its significance for his final play, *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* (written 1809/10; *The Prince of Homburg*), see Renate Just, *Recht und Gnade in Heinrich von Kleists Schauspiel "Prinz Friedrich von Homburg"* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1993), pp. 57–60.

388 See Uechtritz, *Eleazar*, p. xi: "einer der ergiebigsten an Tiefe des Gehaltes und der gewaltigsten an großartiger Bedeutsamkeit."

389 In 1842, Uechtritz published on occasion of the visit of the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm IV to Düsseldorf a patriotic poem which invokes German unity, *Ehrenspiegel des deutschen Volkes und vermischte Gedichte* (Düsseldorf: Schaub, 1842); he then turned to narrative fiction with his first novel, *Albrecht Holm, eine Geschichte aus der Reformationszeit*, 7 vols (Berlin: Duncker, 1852), followed by *Der Bruder der Braut. Oder sittliche Lösung ohne rechtliche Sühne*, 3 vols (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1860) and, eventually, his *Eleazar*.

390 Uechtritz, *Eleazar*, pp. xi–xii: "Es ist nur die schlichte, anspruchslose Form der Erzählung, in der ich ihn [i.e., the subject] vorlege. Doch habe ich so viel Muth, das volle Gewicht der Bedeutung einer Tragödie dafür in Anspruch zu nehmen und auf eine der tragischen Poesie verwandte Wirkung zu hoffen."

391 [15.], "Eleazar. Eine Erzählung aus der Zeit des großen jüdischen Krieges im 1. Jahrhundert nach Christo von Friedrich von Uechtritz," *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* 38.2 (1867): 602–4, 602: "Der Verfasser nennt es 'Erzählung', richtiger würde es heißen: ein Stück jener grandiosen Geschichte der Zerstörung Jerusalems und der Zerstörung [*sic*; should read: Zerstreuung] des Judenvolks über alle Welt [. . .]. Das Gesammtbild jener großen Zeit [. . .] wirkt auf den Leser wie das berühmte Kaulbach'sche Wandgemälde auf den Beschauer."

Die Babylonier in Jerusalem was, in fact, Uechtritz's final dramatic effort and, clearly, was already no longer conceived for the stage but as a dramatic poem. Inserted in his reflections on the Düsseldorf Academy in *Blicke in das Düsseldorfer Kunst- und Künstlerleben* (1839–40; Glances into the Life of Art and Artists at Düsseldorf), the writer noted the perceived decline of the German stage during and following the restoration,[392] which he explained with its lack of any significance to the present and of any fervor intrinsic to the period.[393] More importantly for the context of this chapter, Uechtritz situated contemporary cultural production more specifically within the dichotomy between the two major denominations and their respective impact on literature and the arts.

While studying law in Leipzig from 1818–21, Uechtritz had forged close ties to the romantic writer Ludwig Tieck and the philosopher and economist Adam Müller, who was at the time the Austrian consul general in Leipzig and who, incidentally, had been a close friend of the late Heinrich von Kleist. Both Tieck and Müller were of formative influence on the aspiring young writer. Müller, in particular, whose agency in the conversion to Catholicism of the Duke and Duchess of Anhalt-Köthen somewhat later, in 1825, was considered highly controversial, appears to have kindled a forceful attraction to the Catholic faith also in Uechtritz. Ultimately, the writer remained Protestant, yet he retained a life-long interest in religion and theology which informed also his literary production.[394]

In his reflection on the Düsseldorf school of painting, which in fact extends to an appreciation of the theater at Düsseldorf under the direction of Karl Immermann and, in the second volume, a lengthy exposition of the novels of Goethe, Uechtritz acknowledges denominational differences to the creation of a conducive atmosphere for artistic production. He emphasizes an affinity of Catholicism in particular with the visual arts, though he nevertheless notes that the immensely productive "serene" Catholicism preceding the Council of Trent gave way with the Counter-Reformation to a "fanaticism of the most withered intellect."[395] While emphasizing his own Protestant convictions, Uechtritz denounces the rationalistic barrenness and sobriety as well as the Pietist limitations of con-

392 Uechtritz, *Blicke in das Düsseldorfer Kunst- und Künstlerleben*, I, 196–7.

393 Ibid., I, 200.

394 In his posthumously published *Studien eines Laien über den Ursprung, die Beschaffenheit und Bedeutung des Evangeliums nach Johannes* (Gotha: Perthes, 1876), Uechtritz still calls on his three novels as witnesses for his more than common interest in religious questions, see p. iii: "Aber meine Romane 'Albrecht Holm,' 'Der Bruder der Braut' und 'Eleazar' werden das Zeugniß ablegen, daß ich mich mit den religiösen Fragen näher und gründlicher, als es sonst leicht bei einem Laien der Fall ist, beschäftigt habe."

395 Uechtritz, *Blicke in das Düsseldorfer Kunst- und Künstlerleben*, I, 39: "Fanatismus des dürrsten Verstandes."

temporary Protestantism which he links also to what he perceives as its increasingly amorphous character.[396]

Taking issue with the recently proliferating Pietism and, in particular, with Heinrich Leo's *Lehrbuch der Universalgeschichte* (1835–44; Textbook of Universal History),[397] which was an effort to structure and read universal history from a Christian perspective,[398] Uechtritz extols the vigorous spirit of the Reformation to which he attributes the reconciliation of religion with the world.[399] The reconciliation of the two denominations itself is invoked by Uechtritz with the anticipation of another apostle Paul, though he is very much aware of the "fantastical" dimension of his hope.[400]

His emphasis on the morality of literature put Uechtritz in line with Baumgartner's much later insistence, from a Catholic perspective, on the affirmative role of literature. "It is not the function of drama, nor of poesy as a whole, to show us that iniquity and injustice dwell on earth," Uechtritz asserted:

> Rather, they are called upon to make us feel the spirit of the divinity which wafts through this world, to make us experience the revelation of the Lord in nature and in humanity. The foundation of the drama must therefore be a moral order with which not only the innermost life of the poet should harmonise, which he not only recognises in his innermost being as just and true, but which takes dominant and triumphant agency also in the world to which he introduces us.[401]

And yet, Uechtritz insists that it is not merely the function of drama and poesy to extol morality, but that they also need to reflect beauty, the power of nature, the sensual fullness of life, and innate human individuality.[402] It is in particular the final point which is recognized by Uechtritz as inherently Protestant. As he identi-

396 See ibid., I, 37.

397 Heinrich Leo, *Lehrbuch der Universalgeschichte*, 6 vols (Halle: Anton, 1835–44).

398 See Jan Carsten Schnurr, "'Das predigt uns diese Geschichte laut': Geschichtsbewusstsein und Geschichtsschreibung der Erweckungsbewegung im deutschen Vormärz," in *Geschichtsbewusstsein und Zukunftserwartung in Pietismus und Erweckungsbewegung*, eds Wolfgang Breul and Jan Carsten Schnurr (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), pp. 221–34, p. 228.

399 See Uechtritz, *Blicke in das Düsseldorfer Kunst- und Künstlerleben*, I, 43.

400 See ibid., I, 102: "phantastische."

401 Ibid., I, 225: "Das Drama und überhaupt die Poesie ist nicht dazu da, uns die Erde als einen Aufenthalt der Verruchtheit und Ungerechtigkeit zu zeigen. Sie sind vielmehr berufen, den Odem der Gottheit fühlbar zu machen, der die Welt des Irdischen durchweht, die Offenbarung Gottes in Natur und Menschheit zu unsrer Anschauung zu bringen. Es muß daher dem Drama eine sittliche Ordnung der Dinge zum Grunde liegen, mit der nicht nur das innerste Leben des Dichters harmonirt, die er nicht nur im Innersten als eine gerechte und wahre anerkennt, sondern die sich auch in der Welt, in die er uns einführt, als eine herrschende und siegreiche bethätigt."

402 See ibid., I, 226.

fies painting as an intrinsically Catholic art, drama is for Uechtritz intrinsically Protestant, because of the painful inner conflict of the individual in cognizance of their sinfulness as he traces it back to Luther and the Reformation.[403] The "full recognition of the enigmatic, half-divine and at the same time half-demoniacal and sinister double nature of our innermost feelings of life," he argues, could only "originate in the womb of the Reformation, could only in a Protestant spirit have dug itself in such a manner into the most secret hiding places of our inner life."[404] It is no coincidence that the writer's first novel, *Albrecht Holm* (1852), is set in the Reformation period.[405]

Thus, while the life principle of Catholicism is to Uechtritz the "immaculate halo" of "absolute holiness and observance of the law," he perceives in Protestantism a predilection for a light that is refracted through humanity.[406] Catholic "holiness" appears to Uechtritz as morbid, as something prejudiced and artificial;[407] which does not necessarily remove it beyond the pale of interest also of Protestant writers. Yet:

> From a Protestant point of view, Catholic holiness in this way lapses back into the universal fate of everything that is human, to be an insoluble admixture of weakness and power, evil and good. In this sense, it may as well qualify as a subject for a Protestant poet, inasmuch as the poet be able to imagine with sufficient profundity a world that will always remain alien to him. However, as soon as it is to be depicted as something perfectly pure and unclouded, it will most definitely be only the Catholic poet who will be able to find the interior experience and the full fervour of the faith for such a [representation].[408]

403 See ibid., I, 242.

404 Ibid., I, 243: "[die] volle[] Erkenntniß der räthselhaften, halbgöttlichen und zugleich halbdämonischen und sinistern Doppelnatur unsrer innersten Lebensregungen [. . .] konnte nur aus dem Schooße der Reformation hervorgehn, nur in einem protestantischen Geiste sich so in die geheimsten Schlupfwinkel des inneren Lebens hineinwühlen."

405 See Uechtritz, *Albrecht Holm*.

406 See Uechtritz, *Blicke in das Düsseldorfer Kunst- und Künstlerleben*, I, 249: "Denn wie der Protestantismus am liebsten in jener Welt des gebrochnen Lichtes verkehrt, die wir oben kennen gelernt haben, hat der Katholicismus den makellosen Glorienschein einer absoluten Heiligkeit und Gesetzeserfüllung zu seinem Lebensprincipe."

407 See ibid., I, 250.

408 Ibid., I, 251: "Die katholische Heiligkeit fällt so für den protestantischen Standpunkt in das allgemeine Loos alles Menschlichen zurück, ein aus Schwäche und Kraft, Bösem und Guten unauflösbar gemischtes zu seyn. In diesem Sinne würde sie denn auch einen Gegenstand für einen protestantischen Poeten abgeben können, insofern nur der Dichter im Stande wäre, sich tief genug in eine ihm doch immer fremdartig bleibende Welt zu versetzen. Sobald sie aber als sein vollkommen Reines und Ungetrübtes hingestellt werde soll, wird entschieden nur der katholische Dichter nicht bloß die innre Anschauung, sondern auch die volle gläubige Begeisterung für sie finden können."

Uechtritz anticipates, in a nutshell, the arguments proffered in the debates about the inferiority of Catholic literature and in particular during the Veremundus affair. Effectively, he situates already in 1839 the psychological dimension of fictional characters in relation to Protestant inwardness and argues for mixed characters in drama and in poesy as a whole.[409]

In his own novels, all of which are concerned with religion, Uechtritz accordingly sought to give articulation to the psychological dimension. This was appreciated by the anonymous reviewer of his second novel, *Der Bruder der Braut* (1860; The Brother of the Bride), in *Protestantische Monatsblätter für innere Zeitgeschichte* who saw in the writer a "refined and acute psychological observer."[410] The critic at the same time emphasized that the historical novel, too, was primarily a novel and therefore needed to correspond to the "idea" of the genre, which, in this instance, he maintained, required

> that in the character and the fate of an individual, or of many, must be represented the whole nature or class of human beings of the same emotional nature whose life coincides with the same cultural period of the same people. The heroes of the true novel therefore need to be individuals and symbols at the same time.[411]

In Uechtritz's novel, the critic found this quality in abundance.

Theodor Fontane, in contrast, noted about *Eleazar* in a letter to his wife that "after 1 hour of reading I [had] more than enough."[412] Yet the writer's review in the conservative *Kreuzzeitung* was less censorious.[413] Fontane contextualizes the historical period approached in *Eleazar* with Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834) as well as, once again, Wiseman's *Fabiola* and Kingsley's

409 See ibid., I, 224, 238–9.

410 L., "Der Bruder der Braut oder sittliche Lösung ohne rechtliche Sühne. *Ein Roman von Friedrich v. Uechtritz*," *Protestantische Monatsblätter für innere Zeitgeschichte* 18 (1861): 392–406, 405: "feinen und scharfsinningen psychologischen Beobachter." See Uechtritz, *Bruder der Braut*. The contents page of the magazine attributes the anonymous review to "L.," but it is signed "Φπ."

411 L., "Bruder der Braut," 393: "Die Idee des Romans ist aber [. . .] die, daß in dem Charakter und den Schicksalen eines Individuums oder Mehrerer die ganze Art oder Classe von Menschen gleicher Gemüthsbeschaffenheit, deren Leben in dieselbe Culturperiode desselben Volkes fällt, dargestellt wird. Die Helden des echten Romans müssen also zugleich Individuen und Symbole sein."

412 Theodor to Emilie Fontane on June 27, 1867; see Emilie and Theodor Fontane, *Der Ehebriefwechsel*, vol. 2: *Geliebte Ungeduld: Der Ehebriefwechsel 1857–1871*, ed. Gotthard Erler (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1998), p. 274: "nach 1 stündiger Lektüre habe ich mehr als genug."

413 See Theodor Fontane, "Eleazar. Eine Erzählung aus d. Zeit d. großen jüdischen Krieges im ersten Jahrhundert n. Chr., von Friedrich v. Uechtritz," *Kreuzzeitung*, i.e., *Neue preußische Zeitung* 168 (July 21, 1867); see also Theodor Fontane, "Friedrich von Uechtritz: *Eleazar*," in *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 21.2: *Literarische Essays und Studien*, ed. Edgar Gross (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlags-Handlung, 1974), pp. 75–8.

Hypatia, all of which he praises as excellent. Yet with respect to Uechtritz, while acknowledging the frequently invoked magnificence of the subject and noting with regret that Kleist's project did not come to fruition, Fontane criticizes that the writer's conception of his narrative was dramatic rather than epic and that the novel lacked in convincing detail.

Already in 1839, Uechtritz had acknowledged the contemporary novel's focus on external, descriptive details.[414] Yet he in fact valorized the novel as the poetic form corresponding not only to the contemporary desire for the representation of external experience but also to what he perceived to be a contemporary focus on inwardness. The novel was, for him, precisely the literary genre which, other than the drama, facilitated a psychological approach in association with external details and as such was predestined to articulate contemporary experience, both internal and external.

It was not only Fontane who was not entirely convinced by Uechtritz's fiction. Anton Edsinger, the editor of the Viennese *Literaturblatt*, reiterating an observation by Karl Immermann, argued that Uechtritz's work was characterized by a preponderance of the "reflexive," or even of the "dogmatic," which, originating in the writer's religious denomination, affected all his views and representations und imbued his compositions with "severity," or even "harshness," and a "brusque, dictatorial forcefulness"; to Edsinger, Uechtritz's novels—and in particular his *Eleazar*—felt as if they were "locked and bolted."[415]

In the preface to *Eleazar*, Uechtritz identified as the main historical source of his novel Friedrich Leopold Stolberg's *Geschichte der Religion Jesu Christi* (History of the Religion of Jesus Christ), published in fifteen volumes between 1806–18. This ecclesiastical history, used also by Magon, was a product of the conversion to Catholicism of Stolberg in 1800. The conversion of the poet, who had been raised in a Pietist environment, was widely perceived as a scandalon. In retrospect, it was also seen as the first of many that were to follow: among them Friedrich and Dorothea Schlegel (1808) as well as, from the circle Uechtritz was to frequent somewhat later in Leipzig, the brother-in-law (1803), sister-in-law (1805), and the wife (1805) of Ludwig Tieck as well as Adam Müller (1805).[416]

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414 See Uechtritz, *Blicke in das Düsseldorfer Kunst- und Künstlerleben*, II, 343.

415 [Anton Edsinger], "Aus Friedrich Hebbel's Briefwechsel mit Friedrich von Uechtritz," *Literaturblatt* 2.5 (1878): 132–9, 133: "das Ueberwiegen der Reflexion [. . .] des Dogmatischen." "Dasselbe verpflanzte sich vom religiösen Bekenntniß aus über den ganzen Bereich seiner Auffassung und Darstellung und verlieh seinen Compositionen und seiner Zeichnung eine Strenge, welche der Härte verwandt ist, und eine schroffe, dictatorische Eindringlichkeit. Diesen Eindruck empfängt man von seinen ernsten, wie mit Schlössern und Riegeln versehenen Romanen, unter denen 'Eleazar' [. . .] vielleicht den Ehrenplatz einnimmt."

416 See Eleoma Joshua, *Friedrich Leopold Graf zu Stolberg and the German Romantics* (Oxford: Lang, 2005), pp. 151–2.

Stolberg's *Geschichte* was enthusiastically received in the emerging Catholic milieu. Its author was hailed as the inaugurator of a new era of ecclesiastical historiography in Germany because it offered a clear separation from rationalistic interpretations of history as they had been developed during the Enlightenment.[417] In the Catholic milieu, historical knowledge was perceived to be merely gratuitous if it was not habituated as knowledge of faith and as such sustained the institution of Catholicism.[418] Based on the foundational principles of theocentrism and a Christological component, Stolberg's *Geschichte* facilitated this habituation of historical knowledge. It was conceived as a history of the world which was at the same time also a history of religion. It was, more specifically, underpinned by the firm belief that history was informed by the religion of Jesus Christ, which accordingly offered also the interpretive pattern to understanding history correctly. History, that is, was salvation history (*Heilsgeschichte*) that manifested itself in a progressive revelation and culminated in the coming of Jesus Christ.[419]

The missionary impact of Stolberg's *Geschichte* was observed by Friedrich Schlegel in 1816, who noted its vital influence on the decision of many converts of his acquaintance.[420] Arguably, Stolberg's religiously motivated challenge to models of history promoted by, and developed in the wake of, the Enlightenment—which, though Catholic in conception, nevertheless "incorporated such Lutheran elements as the belief in salvation exclusively through God's mercy"[421]—provided inspiration also to the Protestant Awakening Movement which had gained momentum in the second decade of the nineteenth century.[422] Like Stolberg, the Protestant Awakening Movement engaged since the mid-1820s in producing historiographic works that reflected the contemporary canon of knowledge but attempted to imbue it

417 See Andreas Holzem, *Weltversuchung und Heilsgewißheit: Kirchengeschichte im Katholizismus des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Altenberge: Oros, 1995), pp. 145–8.

418 See ibid., p. 161.

419 See ibid., pp. 30–7.

420 See Friedrich Schlegel, *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe* (KSA), vol. VIII: *Studien zur Philosophie und Theologie*, eds Ernst Behler and Ursula Struc-Oppenberg (Munich etc.: Schöningh, 1975), p. CLXIII; already in 1808, Schlegel had published a positive review of the first volumes of Stolberg's *Geschichte*, see Friedrich Schlegel, "Geschichte der Religion Jesu Christi, von Friedr. Leop. Grafen zu Stolberg," *Heidelbergische Jahrbücher der Literatur* 1.2 (1808): 266–90 and KSA, VIII, 86–104.

421 Roger Aubert et al., *The Church between Revolution and Restoration*, transl. Peter Becker (London: Burns and Oats, 1981), p. 218.

422 For the Protestant Awakening Movement, see, e.g., Andrew Kloes, *The German Awakening: Protestant Renewal after the Enlightenment, 1815–1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019); see also Jan Carsten Schnurr, *Weltreiche und Wahrheitszeugen: Geschichtsbilder der protestantischen Erweckungsbewegung in Deutschland, 1815–1848* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011) and, for Stolberg's acceptance within the movement, p. 349.

with a Christian perspective and structure.[423] The first of these was August Neander's *Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche* (1826–52; Universal History of the Christian Religion and Church);[424] another example is Leo's *Lehrbuch der Universalgeschichte*, which Uechtritz was to criticize for its perceived Pietist flavor and biased condemnation of the alleged joyfulness of Catholicism.[425]

The explicit reliance of Uechtritz on Stolberg's *Geschichte* is significant mostly because it suggests a conscious positioning of his novel and reflects the author's own earlier entanglements with Catholicism and his enduring sympathies with this denomination. Yet it also effectively denotes the presumably deliberate circumvention of the Jewish historians Isaak Markus Jost and Heinrich Graetz and their more recent, but very different, approaches to historiography and to the destruction of Jerusalem which will be discussed in chapter V in relation to Julius Kossarski's dramatic rendering of the historical occurrence.

While Uechtritz was sympathetic toward the Jews, he nevertheless was not prepared to adopt a perspective which acknowledged a future trajectory for Judaism. Instead, his novel offers an implicit endorsement of the mission to the Jews that was articulated explicitly by Stolberg at the end of his account of the destruction of Jerusalem, which culminated in the plea: "Let us look with heartfelt pity on this people, but also with [a] high and certain hope!"[426] To Stolberg the very fact of Jewish survival after the destruction of the Temple and the subsequent scattering of the Chosen People was proof of the actuality of the divine plan of salvation and the eventual gathering of the "dispersed sons and daughters of Israel" to "the high pennant of the Cross."[427]

The symbolic structure of Uechtritz's *Eleazar* follows the same trajectory. The Jewish youth Eleazar, living a simple life by the Sea of Galilee, is betrothed to Salome, the beautiful daughter of his neighbor. When he visits Jerusalem for the Passover celebrations, he is accosted by his estranged uncle Manahem[428] who seeks to win him for the anti-Roman cause of the Zealots of which Eleazar's grandfather, Judas the Gaulonite, was an instigator. Judas is mentioned by Jose-

423 See Schnurr, "'Das predigt uns diese Geschichte laut'," p. 228.

424 August Neander, *Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche*, 6 vols (Hamburg: Perthes, 1826–52).

425 For Leo's *Lehrbuch der Universalgeschichte*, see Schnurr, *Weltreiche und Wahrheitszeugen*, pp. 41–4. For Uechtritz's criticism, see his *Blicke in das Düsseldorfer Kunst- und Künstlerleben*, I, 96.

426 Friedrich Leopold zu Stolberg, *Geschichte der Religion Jesu Christi*, new edition (Solothurn and Sitten: Schwäller and Advokat, 1818), VII, 214: "Sehen wir mit herzlichem Mitleid auf dieses Volk, aber auch mit hoher und sichrer Hoffnung!"

427 Ibid., VII, 215: "Israels zerstreute Söhne und Töchter [werden] sich sammeln um das hohe Panier des Kreuzes."

428 See Josephus, *Jewish War*, pp. 166–8 (2.17.8–9).

phus as the founder of a "fourth philosophic sect"[429] among the Jews—i.e., the Zealots—whom the historian denounces as an "infection" that "brought the public to destruction."[430] But it is only when he is confronted with the conversion of Salome and all her family to Christianity that Eleazar lets himself be infected as well. After rescuing Salome and the Christians of Jerusalem from a raid by the Zealots, he joins the *sicarii* at Masada. In the meantime, the Christians, escaping from their Jewish pursuers, withdraw to, and settle at, Pella. Following a massacre perpetrated by the garrison of Masada as they forage at Engaddi, a historical atrocity also described by Josephus and reiterated by Stolberg,[431] Eleazar leaves his companions in disgust at the end of the second volume of the novel. In the third volume, after a time lapse that is unaccounted for, he enters Jerusalem at the side of Simon bar Giora. The concluding volume then follows Eleazar from the fight for Jerusalem to Masada where he leads the *sicarii* in the last stand of the Jews against the Romans.

Like Magon and other writers, Uechtritz develops a strong focus on the alleged moral decay and the internecine quarrels of the Jews. Significantly, however, his main protagonist neither converts nor is he removed entirely from the political and moral trials, temptations, and tribulations of his compatriots. Indeed, translating his interest in psychologically convincing mixed characters into practice, Uechtritz unfolds through Eleazar as a focalizer figure the perspective of a partial insider whose experiences instil in the reader a sense of identification and empathy, if not sympathy.

In order to establish the historical context, Uechtritz illustrates the iniquity of the Galilean followers of John of Giscala by elaborating on their supposed transgression of the symbolic gender order when they dress in women's clothes, adopt female hairstyles, use cosmetics like "bawds [Buhlerinnen]," and both perpetrate and suffer shameful acts of depravity.[432] The prominent voice of his narrator, who reiterates here almost verbatim Stolberg's account of the iniquities of the Zealots,[433] speculates that this was a backlash of strict Jewish exclusionism which, he alleges, simultaneously provoked a heinous hybridization with the worst aberrations of pagan idol worship.[434] It is, to him, a manifestation of the "frantic convulsions [krampfhaften

429 Josephus, *Antiquities*, 18.1.1.

430 Ibid., 18.1.6; see also *Jewish War*, p. 133 (2.8.1).

431 See ibid., pp. 266–7 (4.7.2) and Stolberg, *Geschichte*, VII, 72.

432 Uechtritz, *Eleazar*, III, 32. Stolberg suggests this to be a kind of honey trap in that they hid their swords under their female robes and then surprised those they were about to kill, see Stolberg, *Geschichte der Religion Jesu Christi*, VII, 102.

433 See ibid.

434 See Uechtritz, *Eleazar*, III, 21–2.

Zuckungen]" of the Jewish spirit caught in the nets of divine judgment.[435] While Uechtritz appears to have adapted the image of the net from Stolberg, where it is suggested that the Jews entangled themselves in their own "nets" of discord,[436] his exclusion and hybridization theory has no equivalent in his source.

Simon bar Giora is given much more prominence in the novel than John (Johannes), presumably because Eleazar is among his followers. At the same time, the proximity to Simon in which Uechtritz imagines his protagonist answers a strategy of characterizing him in contradistinction to the idiosyncratic historical figure. Emphasizing the charisma of Simon, Uechtritz compares him to Ernst von Mansfeld, a military leader in the Thirty Years' War, and to Maximilien de Robespierre, one of the instigators of the "reign of terror" during the French Revolution.[437] Acknowledging that Eleazar's actions were motivated not only by his oath of fidelity but also by "his innermost desires and views of his nature,"[438] the narrator concedes that the young Jew acted more in the spirit of Simon than one should have expected from earlier expressions of his character:[439]

> We know that the personality of Simon, though so much more crude and ignoble than his, had its effect also on him with an enigmatic as well as nature-magical predominance. This cruder character exerted an influence on his [character] that secretly dominated him from the inside.[440]

Affecting a narrative stance that is not fully omniscient and presents itself as objective, the narrator pretends to be surprised to see Eleazar in Simon's retinue. From this is then developed an enquiry into his mentality, in the course of which the narrator pleads with the reader for their understanding of the young Jew. The description of the iniquities of the different Jewish factions is mostly motivated with showing Eleazar's response, or lack of response, and his self-positioning toward them. It is, perhaps, the most sustained elaboration of the psychological perspective on the young Jew in the novel. The narrator seeks to explain Eleazar's affiliation with the Zealots and simultaneously to absolve him of his absolute responsibility for his, if only partial, complicity in the atrocities perpetrated by them. This is explicitly set in

435 See ibid., III, 21.

436 See Stolberg, *Geschichte*, VII, 100.

437 See Uechtritz, *Eleazar*, III, 26–7.

438 Ibid., III, 85: "mit den innersten Trieben und Anschauungen seines Wesens."

439 See ibid., III, 102.

440 Ibid., III, 124: "Wir wissen, daß die Persönlichkeit Simon's, obwohl so viel roher und unedler als die seinige, auch auf ihn mit einem räthselhaften, wie naturmagischen Uebergewicht wirkte. Ein ihn heimlich innerlich beherrschender Einfluß ging von dieser roheren Natur auf die seinige aus."

relation to his earlier moral integrity and his abhorrence of the cruelty of his erstwhile companions in Masada.

The moment of peripeteia for Eleazar is located in the narrative void between his flight from Engaddi and his reappearance in Jerusalem. No information is proffered about any actual key experience, but there is a suggestion of the futility of any attempt of Eleazar's to extricate himself from the exigencies of his time:

> He had, after leaving Engaddi, done everything he could to obtain some worthy occupation, had seized the best that offered itself to him in this respect. Any knowledge about his fortunes and his conduct in this interim reaches us only sparsely and darkly.[441]

Eleazar is nevertheless shown to descend inexorably further and further into moral degradation in spite of his innate nobility.

The correspondence between the individual and the collective that was applauded by the reviewer of Uechtritz's second novel clearly informs also the author's *Eleazar*. Sketching the general background to the historical developments, which—like Stolberg—he embeds within the trajectory of salvation history, the narrator suggests:

> Truly, if ever there were days in relation to which one feels obliged to believe in a confusion of minds through the wrath and judgement of God, it is these days that must give us cause to do so.[442]

The same confusion has also taken hold of Eleazar in whose familiar figure the divine punishment gains a disconcerting immediacy which engages the empathy of the reader:

> The confusion of minds to which we referred above as a divine verdict of judgement and punishment against the guilt-ridden Jewish people appeared to have dragged him into its vortex as well.[443]

441 Ibid., III, 31: "Er hatte nach seinem Abgange aus Engaddi Alles, was nur an ihm lag, gethan, sich eine würdige Thätigkeit zu gewinnen, hatte nach dem Besten, was sich in dieser Hinsicht ihm darbot, gegriffen. Die Quellen über sein Ergehen und Thun in dieser Zwischenzeit fließen uns nur spärlich und dunkel zu."

442 Ibid., III, 44–5: "Wahrlich, wenn es jemals Tage gegeben hat, bei denen man sich gedrungen sieht, an eine Verwirrung der Geister durch ein Zorn- und Strafgericht Gottes zu glauben, so müssen uns diese Tage dazu die Veranlassung geben."

443 Ibid., III, 53–4: "Auch ihn schien jene Verwirrung der Geister, von der wir oben als von einem göttlichen Verhängnisse des Gerichtes und der Strafe über das schwer verschuldete Judenvolk sprachen, in ihren Strudel gerissen zu haben."

The narrator is at pains to explain Eleazar's behavior as an individual on the basis of the circumstances within which he finds himself and which are determined by the divine will:

> We should not be surprised, then, if we do not see him make any attempt to work towards the soothing of the fratricidal conflict through giving advice or mediation and thus to bring about a better, or less inauspicious, state of affairs.[444]

Eleazar's moral degradation is gradual, but inexorable; it is psychologically reflected in the narrator's attempt to understand the motivation not only of the individual but also of the collective of which he is a part:

> He, too, should experience the effect of those forces of dissolution which in times like those holding sway over Judaea then threaten with their gnawing poison all the feelings of what is noble and right which seem to be rooted most firmly in the hearts of men.[445]

Ultimately, Uechtritz posits a divinely ordained determinism which affects individual agency and moral integrity. And yet, both may nevertheless reassert themselves in a strong character, such as Eleazar, who, at the end of the novel, returns to a heroic morality. But the continued trajectory of the rejection of Christianity means that in the symbolic structure of the novel, as in its historical model, complete destruction—of both the individual and the Jewish collective of which he is paradigmatic—is inevitable.

Uechtritz offers various examples of the gradual moral decay suffered by Eleazar which is characterized by the stirrings of his humanity he experiences and against which he has not yet entirely hardened himself.[446] Particularly instructive is one situation which is deliberately paralleled to an earlier occurrence when Eleazar appeared as a savior to Salome and her Christian community. Now witnessing how a group of Zealots molest a young girl and terrorize her family, Eleazar once again intervenes. The intrusive narrator comments: "But do we recog-

444 Ibid., III, 48: "Wundern wir uns daher auch nicht, wenn wir ihn keinen Versuch mehr machen sehen, auf die Beschwichtigung des brudermörderischen Zwiespaltes durch Rath und Vermittlung hinzuwirken und so einen bessern, oder doch minder unheilsvollen Zustand herbeizuführen."

445 Ibid., III, 102: "Auch er sollte die Wirkung jener Mächte der Auflösung an sich erfahren, welche in einer Zeit gleich der damals über Judäa waltenden, Alles, was an Gefühlen für das Edle und Rechte im Herzen des Menschen am festesten zu wurzeln scheint, mit ihrem nagenden Gifte bedrohen."

446 See ibid., III, 111.

nise in the tangled hair, in the disheveled, unkempt appearance of the man who enters the chamber ahead of the child still the rescuer of these days?"[447]

Some of the moral certainty which made Eleazar dissociate himself from the perpetrators of the atrocities at Engaddi still persists, but the narrator emphasizes that, after having been exposed to the reign of terror of Simon in Jerusalem, the memory of the atrocities perpetrated at Engaddi was no longer sufficient to repel him from choosing a path which presented itself to him as determined by divine providence.[448] In this instance, too, Eleazar saves the girl and her family from the violence of the Zealots, yet then himself requisitions the little food they hide for his own men. Indeed, the resurgence of his humanity is brief, though Eleazar throughout remains "clement and humane" in comparison to Simon.[449]

Eventually, Eleazar descends into a stupefying torpor, from which only the reality of battle can rouse him. For his psychological development, the impending destruction of Jerusalem and the attending Roman cruelty means that his oppressive mood finally vanishes and he once again is "himself."[450] It is, in fact, precisely when the destruction of Jerusalem is finally imminent that the narrative focus shifts from the stricken city to Masada, where Eleazar once again assumes agency. During a heroic sortie, he and a small number of his men are separated from the Jewish contingent. In the rugged terrain around Jerusalem, their nocturnal attempt to rejoin the city's defenders fails and Eleazar, finally recognizing some landmarks in the approaching dusk, decides to continue the struggle against the Romans at Masada.

Historically, Masada was the last Jewish stronghold to resist Roman military might for another three years after the fall of Jerusalem. Uechtritz thus shifts the historical focus of his narrative to the end of the Jewish War and the notorious collective suicide of the Jewish defenders of the fortress, which is frequently ignored in other literary engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem. This historical occurrence, and the concomitant destruction of the Temple, is in fact only briefly mentioned in the novel. Uechtritz nevertheless insists that the destruction of the "old-sacred city" together with its Temple and the Jewish temple cult was too much at the center and apex of the "dreadful, world-historical and world-renewing affliction which was then cast on Israel" to permit only a passing mention.[451]

447 Ibid., III, 113: "Aber erkennen wir in dem wirren Haare, dem vernachlässigten, verwilderten Wesen des Mannes, welcher dem Kinde voran in die Kammer tritt, noch den Retter von damals?"
448 See ibid., III, 142.
449 Ibid., III, 123: "Wohl blieb Eleazar im Vergleiche zu Simon ein Milder und Menschlicher."
450 See ibid., III, 180.
451 Ibid., III, 169: "Doch der Untergang der altheiligen Stadt mitsammt ihres Tempels und Tempelcultus bildet zu sehr den Schwer- und Höhepunkt der furchtbaren, weltgeschichtlichen und

The destruction of Jerusalem is the real moment of bifurcation and the following chapter makes this very clear. It develops a soteriological perspective on the divergent developments of both Masada and Pella:

> Masada and Pella! Both excelling in the same days of suffering and grief in the history of Judah and of mankind; both destined to be prominent scenes and tools in the evolution of this history; only a few days' journey distant from one another,—and yet, how far distant in the significance of their historical charge! How amazing and magnificently terrible does the final outcome of the Jewish resistance against the Roman world power present itself in warlike Masada; how humble and unassuming the sanctuary of the fugitive Christian community in peaceful Pella! But the gem in the inconspicuous shell, how does it nevertheless outshine all the glories of a tenacious heroic defiance and resolute Jewish courage in the face of death, whose memory gives lustre to the place where once Masada towered high.[452]

In Pella, the Christians develop their own kind of heroism which is not martial but which is therefore no less daring. The Christians are portrayed not as weaker than the warlike Jews but as following a different imperative. Joram, who proves himself a worthy suitor to Salome, motivated by "saving love,"[453] rescues at the risk of his own life a little child from drowning in the raging torrents of a stream swollen after a thunderstorm. His objective is to save the boy's life but also to save the soul of the child's embittered grandmother: "she shall *believe*," Joram insists as he embarks on the rescue.[454] Of course his heroism is rewarded and he succeeds in the conversion of both the old woman and the boy. Christian heroism, manifest in good works, is thus no less palpable a merit than Jewish heroism as embodied by Eleazar. But it is informed by, and directed toward, a higher, spiritual understanding of the world, and toward the fulfilment of salvation history. Consequently, in Uechtritz's novel, too, although of Protestant provenance, Christian martyrdom is anticipated. Yet it is deferred in cognizance of historical devel-

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welterneuernden Heimsuchung, die damals über Israel erging, um uns bloß auf eine beiläufige Erwähnung beschränken zu dürfen."

452 Ibid., III, 181–2: "Masada und Pella! Beide in den nämlichen Tagen der Trübsal sich in der Geschichte Juda's und der Menschheit hervorhebend; beide zu einem namhaften Schauplatze und Werkzeuge in der Entwickelung dieser Geschichte bestimmt; bloß wenige Tagereisen von einander entfernt,—und doch wie weit ab in der Bedeutung ihres geschichtlichen Amtes von einander entlegen! Wie staunenswerth und großartig grauenvoll zeigt sich der letzte Ausgang des jüdischen Widerstandes gegen die römische Weltmacht im kriegerischen Masada; wie demüthig und unscheinbar die Geborgenheit der flüchtigen Christengemeine im friedlichen Pella! Aber das Kleinod in der unscheinbaren Muschel, wie überstrahlt es dennoch an Werth und Herrlichkeit alle Glorien eines ausdauernden Heldentrotzes und jüdisch zähen Todesmuthes, deren Andenken um die Stätte schimmert, wo sich einst Masada gethürmt hat!"

453 Ibid., III, 198: "rettende Liebe."

454 Ibid., III, 216: "sie soll *glauben*."

opments toward the generation of the grandchildren of the Christians at Pella and, not a part of the narrative, envisages the eventual triumph of Christianity.

The history of Masada, removed from the immediate divine punishment of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, nevertheless emphasizes the way in which Judaism is destined to perish in a last heroic convulsion of which the fate of Eleazar is suggested to be paradigmatic. At Masada, the young Jewish warrior is elected as successor to the dying commander of the Jewish fortress. The novel closely follows the account of Josephus in elaborating the end of the Jewish garrison who, as the Roman victory becomes inevitable, destroy all the treasure in the stronghold and kill one another, leaving Eleazar ben Jairus to take his own life.

In Uechtritz's novel, his Eleazar is thus the last of the (fighting) Jews, which invests his figure with strong symbolic potential. By his bloodline, he is tied to the beginnings of the Zealot movement and the rebellion instigated by his grandfather, Judas the Gaulonite, no less than to its resurgence under his uncle Manahem. In addition, the figure of Eleazar is throughout presented as paradigmatic of what is best in Judaism, but at the same time he exemplifies the inexorable destruction of the Jews if they do not follow the new dispensation.

At Masada, Eleazar is fully aware of the futility of resistance, but he nevertheless remains true to himself, to his nation, and to his God as he understands them: "Eleazar did not hesitate to embark on the conclusion of the bloody sacrifice to which he was called as priest and as the final victim."[455] The historical tragedy and its impact is thus projected into the individual who becomes its psychologically comprehensible articulation that is nevertheless situated within a soteriological context. This suggests an implicit application to the present, as in other literary engagements with the historical subject; but it is not—like in the Catholic novels of Magon, Spillmann, and de Waal—linked to the notion of the triumph of the Church. Rather, it relies on the human character and condition and explores simultaneously notions of historical and salvific determinism as it interacts with free will.

The dichotomy between Pella and Masada is projected onto Eleazar's encounter with two diametrically opposed female figures, both of whom are once again representations of the Beautiful Jewess. Salome and Hagith offer another manifestation of the familiar two types of the Beautiful Jewess and are, once again, also equivalent to representations of Ecclesia and Synagoga. Embodying the two extremes between which Eleazar needs to negotiate, they are also paradigmatic of the juxtaposition between Pella and Masada. As Eleazar turns from Salome, he

455 Ibid., III, 289: "Eleazar aber zögerte nicht, an den ersehnten Schluß des blutigen Opferwerkes, bei dem er als Priester und letztes Opfer bestellt war, zu gehen."

progressively experiences moral decay. When he eventually recognizes his love of Hagith at Masada, he recovers his moral strength and purpose, but they are directed toward a doomed purpose.

Avoiding a saintly image by attributing to her a "mischievous" smile, Salome is nevertheless characterized by Uechtritz as an idealized character of an unobtrusive beauty which the narrator associates with lunar simplicity:

> The beauty of the girl that only just then was maturing into a maiden was that of a Jewess; and who does not know what even now, in the degenerate condition of this people after millennia of suffering, the beauty of a Jewess can signify. A yellowish but crystal clear colouring infused her face and bathed itself in purple only in her cheeks of rosy red and in her delicately formed little mouth, from which the purest pearls shone. Her smile was not only mischievous but graceful beyond words. Above her neck, dark tresses, swelling in rich bounty and yet obediently yielding in the softest ringlets and wavy lines, spilled in plain billows from underneath the white unadorned ribbon which was wound around her head. The brown, dark eye shone almost blindingly but from a sagacious depth. Everything presented itself in a blaze of colour and full of the life of the Orient, but as if it were illumined with the chaste light of the moon. But of a moon of a particular kind, whose light did not dull the colours, or otherwise turned them magical by dulling them. For of course the light of the moon was not what came to mind considering the rich splendour of that most youthful, fresh, and joyful life; only that, though it was resplendent with an almost voluptuous shimmer, it remained the most innocent, pure, and maidenly of lives.[456]

The reference to contemporary Jewish women and their idealized beauty made explicit here, and moreover articulated unequivocally through the trope of the Beautiful Jewess, links the Jews of the time of the destruction of Jerusalem to the present of the writer but is qualified with the notion of Jewish degeneracy, a stereotype current in both contemporary antisemitic and orientalist discourse. To

456 Ibid., I, 93–4: "Die Schönheit des sich erst eben zur Jungfrau entfaltenden Mädchens war die einer Jüdin; und wer weiß nicht, was noch jetzt, in dem durch jahrtausendjährige Drangsal verkümmerten Stande dieses Volkes die Schönheit einer Jüdin bedeuten kann. Eine gelbliche, aber krystallreine Färbung überwob ihr Antlitz und tauchte sich nur auf den Wangen in Rosenroth und auf dem zartgeformten Mündlein, aus dem die reinsten Perlen lachten, in Purpur. Ihr Lächeln war nicht sowohl schalkhaft als von unaussprechlicher Anmuth. Dunkle, in reicher Fülle schwellende und sich doch willig in die weichsten Windungen und Wellenlinien fügende Locken quollen in schlichter Bauschung unter dem weißen schmucklosen Bunde, der sich um ihr Haupt schlang, über dem glänzenden Nacken hervor. Das braun dunkle Auge leuchtete bis zur Blendung, aber aus sinniger Tiefe. Alles zeigte sich voll Farbenpracht und Leben des Orients, aber wie von keuschem Mondlicht beschienen. Doch von einem Monde eigener Art, dessen Schein die Farben nicht dämpfte oder sie doch in der Dämpfung erst recht zauberisch wirksam machte. Denn freilich war bei diesem reichen Glanze des jugendlichsten, frischesten, freudigsten Lebens nicht recht an Mondlicht zu denken. Nur daß es bei allem fast üppigen Schimmer, von dem es strahlte, das unschuldigste, reinste, jungfräulichste Leben blieb."

the latter, in particular, is also indebted the indication of voluptuousness. This is, however, tempered with the young woman's innocence, purity, and chastity which explain the lunar allusion but at the same time also implicitly emphasize her Christian faith.

Clearly, Salome is portrayed as desirable in a manner which evokes through the contemporary allusion notions of "colonial desire." However, the desire she kindles is not licentious but chaste; indeed, her description may evoke representations of the Virgin Mary, an association which may have suggested itself to the Protestant writer as a result of his earlier attraction to Catholicism and its pictorial dimension. But other than the Virgin Mary, Salome is attainable; she is of an earthly beauty of which Jewish women of the present become a model. Salome is drawn in love to Eleazar and only later, when the young Jew's trajectory increasingly diverges from hers, does she allow Joram to woo her. His selfless rescue of the little boy and his subsequent collapse convince her of his worth. Though not made explicit, as for instance by Magon, Uechtritz also extols the family. But for him it is not so much the importance of the sacrament of marriage which imbues their union with significance, but the Christian love which ties them together and which aligns their idyllic married life with contemporary values of simple German family life.

Contrasted with Salome is the figure of Hagith, whom Eleazar encounters at Masada. Hagith, likened to the biblical figures of Miriam and Deborah,[457] is an emanation of the prophetic spirit. But her figure emerges in all its intensity as ambiguous and menacing. Hagith, too, is a Beautiful Jewess, but—similar to the dichotomy explored a little later by Martin Blumner in his oratorio—she embodies in her darker aspect, evoked also in August Klughardt's Judith, the perceived spirit of the Old Testament:

> The closely-set, flashing, deeply black eyes, illumined with a demonic rather than a heavenly fire; the softly arched nose with its delicate and noble curvature between them; with the black, almost merging brows above them; the dark clouds of tresses; and below them on the narrow, beautifully and purely formed forehead the gleam of an expression at once heroic, enthusiastic, and threatening, misted over as of nocturnal shadows—all this harmonically coalesced with the kind of Amazon-like determination with which the slender limbs moved to an appearance to which one cannot deny the accolade of a certain wild grace. Everything was so different from Salome, but—in spite of the alarming element that intruded,—it was attractive, having a kind of magical effect, pleasing.[458]

457 See ibid., III, 249.

458 Ibid., III, 249–50: "Die nahe aneinander blitzenden, tiefschwarzen, von einem eher dämonischen als himmlischen Feuer leuchtenden Augen, die sanftgekrümmte Nase in feiner edler Biegung dazwischen mit den schwarzen, fast ineinandergehenden Brauen darüber, das dunkle Gewölk der Locken und darunter auf der schmalen, schön und rein gebildeten Stirne der wie von nächtlichen Schatten überflorte Glanz eines heldenmüthigen, begeisterungswilligen, aber be-

Apostrophized as "prophetess on the tower,"[459] for most of the defenders of Masada, Hagith remains, despite her beauty, "an object of reticence rather than fondness."[460]

That Eleazar is attracted to her and, in fulfilment of the oath of the last Jewish defenders of Masada, ultimately kills her before he takes his own life, is of deep symbolic resonance. Their heroic deaths confirm the utter destruction of the prophetic spirit and biblical relevance of the Jews. It is for this reason that Hagith, unlike Salome, is not compared to any living Jews. She, like Eleazar, who also does not have his like among the Jews of the present, are the final embodiment of the Chosen People that, their elevation having been overturned, had to perish without reprieve, but also without falling prey to the degeneration experienced by those Jews of a lesser mettle—Eleazar was perceived by one critic as "the protoype of a Jew of that time, but in a better sense."[461] Hagith's and Eleazar's fate of heroic destruction is conceived in palpable contrast to the immortality of Ahasuerus who, as in Kaulbach's painting, emerged as the paradigm of a different kind of Jewishness, as elaborated by Herrig in his *Jerusalem*, discussed in the previous part.

Another element that distinguishes Uechtritz's approach and situates it within a Protestant mentality is the absence, in his novel, of the suggestion of an earthly *translatio imperii*. In the novels of Magon, Spillmann, and de Waal, this concept served to authenticate and legitimate the reign of Christ on earth through the line of his appointed successors and the Catholic Church. This was articulated by Spillmann and de Waal with the powerful image of the basilica of St Peter's which they implicitly extolled as the successor of the Temple; intriguingly this trajectory was not yet explored by Magon who praised the Second Temple and the Roman Capitol as architectural achievements unmatched in the modern world.[462] For the Protestant writer, it is not only the Temple in Jerusalem that is no longer necessary;[463] it is rather the very idea of any temple at all that has been superseded through the Protestant focus on the individual and their unmediated relationship with the Lord.

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drohlichen Ausdrucks—Alles stimmte mit der Art von amazonenhafter Entschiedenheit, womit sich die schlanken Glieder leicht und gewandt bewegten, harmonisch zu einer Erscheinung zusammen, der man den Preis einer gewissen wilden Anmuth nicht absprechen konnte. Alles war so anders wie bei Salome, aber—trotz des Bedenklichen, das sich darein mischte,—anziehend, mit einer Art von Zauber wirkend, gefällig."

459 Ibid., III, 259: "Seherin auf dem Thurme."

460 Ibid., III, 250: "[F]ür die Meisten blieb sie, bei all ihrer Schönheit, mehr ein Gegenstand der Scheu als der Neigung."

461 [15.], "Eleazar," 602: "das Prototyp eines Juden jener Zeit, aber im bessern Sinne."

462 See Magon, *Sabina*, pp. 150–1.

463 See Uechtritz, *Eleazar*, III, 186.

As in other literary engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem, Uechtritz too emphasizes in his *Eleazar* the notion of Titus having fulfilled the divine will. Yet more than any other writer, he condemns the unprecedented cruelty of the Roman siege which, he maintains, must not be justified by a "misunderstood piety [übelverstandene Frömmigkeit]";[464] neither with the notion of Titus being the instrument of God's wrath and judgment, nor with contemporary practice. Indeed, the mixture of the cruelty and inhumanity of such military practice and a highly refined culture is denounced by Uechtritz as making things worse. He takes this as a cue to include an eulogy of civilizatory progress and the achievements of his own time. In asserting this, his main objective is, however, to insist—as Magon had also done—on the continued and pervasive subliminal influence of Christianity:

> Contemporary world culture, which occasionally in its extreme manifestations is so inimical to Christianity and deems to stand so independently on its own feet and to draw only from its own source, after closer scrutiny proves to be no more than a fruit, a branch and articulation of the great reorganisation of the world which almost nineteen centuries ago inserted its heavenly shoot into the soil of mankind. More than it is itself aware and more than has been conceded to it on behalf of orthodox ecclesiasticism, it draws its best juices from this sacred root.[465]

In this way, Uechtritz articulates the notion of another kind of supersession which has its effect not only on institutions but, and here emerges once again his Protestant mentality, on the individual and on the collective of which the individual is a part.

The Offer of Redemption after Destruction: Palmié

With the exception of Maria di Sebregondi's early novel and Katharina Kleebeck's play about the destruction of Jerusalem, the Catholic literary engagements with the subject previously discussed in this chapter were written exclusively by priests. This preponderance arguably reflects the claim of the Church to its exegetic monopoly and its exclusive mediating function between the divinity and the faithful. In the Protestant tradition, the ecclesiastical provenance is notably less conspicuous. Indeed, the three writers considered here have little in common

464 Ibid., III, 175.

465 Ibid., III, 177–8: "Die Weltcultur unserer Tage, die sich zuweilen in ihren extremen Richtungen dem Christenthume so feindlich gegenüber stellt und so selbstständig auf eigenen Füßen zu stehen und nur aus eigener Quelle zu schöpfen meint, erweist sich für den tieferen Blick doch nur als eine Frucht, als ein Abzweig und Ausdruck der großen Weltumgestaltung, die vor nun bald neunzehn Jahrhunderten ihr himmlisches Pflanzreis in den Boden der Menschheit gesenkt hat. Mehr als sie selber weiß und als ihr von Seite einer rechtgläubigen Kirchlichkeit zugestanden wird, zieht sie ihre besten Säfte aus dieser heiligen Wurzel."

with one another and may to some extent be deemed paradigmatic of the diversity of opinions and approaches contained within Protestantism. Friedrich von Uechtritz, though involved as a layman in religious matters, held no official position within the institution of any of the Protestant churches. In fact, of the three Protestant authors discussed here, only Friedrich Palmié was a cleric. Jutta Ihlenfeld, chronologically the latest of the three, writing toward the end of the last decade of the nineteenth century and in the first decades of the twentieth century, was in terms of class and education perhaps the most unlikely to engage with the lofty subject, though her interest in the destruction of Jerusalem may indicate once again the ubiquity of the historical episode not only in Catholic discourse, as suggested by Berberich, but also in Christian discourse more generally.

The prominence and significance of the historical occurrence of the destruction of Jerusalem in Protestant religious discourse since the first half of the nineteenth century as well as its wide dissemination across national and linguistic borders may be illustrated with the anonymously published novella *Thirza, oder die Anziehungskraft des Kreuzes: Züge aus dem Leben einer jüdischen Familie* (1840; *Thirza; Or the Attractive Power of the Cross* [Sketches from the Life of a Jewish Family]), originally printed by the *Wuppertaler Traktat-Gesellschaft* (Wuppertal Tract Society).[466] The novella was frequently reprinted well into the twentieth century, often by Protestant missionary tract societies, such as the *Hauptverein für christliche Erbauungsschriften in den preußischen Staaten* (1841; Central Association for Christian Devotional Literature in the Prussian States) and, in America, by the American Tract Society (1845; in German);[467] it was moreover translated into various languages, such as French (1841) and Dutch (1841) as well as English (1842), Welsh (1844), and Polish (1900).[468] *Thirza* was also the first German Christian novel to be translated into Chinese and to be adapted to the Chinese cultural context by Ferdinand Genähr in 1852.[469]

466 See [Hermann Ball], *Thirza, oder die Anziehungskraft des Kreuzes: Eine Gabe zur Passionszeit* (Barmen: Wupperthaler Traktat-Gesellschaft, 1840); the different subtitle was dropped in subsequent editions.

467 See [Hermann Ball], *Thirza, oder die Anziehungskraft des Kreuzes* ([Boston:] Herausgegeben von der Amerikanischen Tractat-Gesellschaft, 1845).

468 See [Hermann Ball], *Thirza, ou l'attraction de la croix*, imité de l'allemand (Strasbourg: Levrault, 1841); *Thirza, of de aantrekkingskracht van het Kruis* (Rotterdam: Wijt en Zonen, 1841); and *Thirza; Or the Attractive Power of the Cross*, transl. Elizabeth Maria Lloyd (London: Wertheim, 1842).

469 See John T. P. Lai, "The Bible and Missionary Novels in Chinese," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in China*, ed. K. K. Yeo (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 283–300, p. 293.

Before becoming pastor of the reformed Protestant church in his home town of Elberfeld from 1838 to his death in 1860, the novella's author, Hermann Ball (1804–60), worked as a Pietist missionary to the Jews in Posen (present-day Poznań).[470] Ball's earlier field of activity clearly informed the thematic preoccupation of his *Thirza*, which tells the story of the conversion of a Jewish family. In his novella, it is once again the pliable Beautiful Jewess who initially embodies the conversion paradigm; though the eponymous protagonist is later followed by her father and, as it turns out, was preceded by her mother. Thirza's conversion arises from her involuntary attraction to Christian worship after her first exposure to the faith during her early school years. At the beginning of the novella, the young Jewish woman furtively attends a Protestant service. The terror induced in her by the pastor's sermon makes her faint and when she is looked after by the minister's compassionate wife, her trajectory toward conversion is inevitable.

The subject of the unsettling sermon is the simultaneously redemptive and condemnatory power of blood. Following on an exposition of the sacrificial and redemptive nature of the death of Jesus, the pastor expounds on the blood curse as articulated in Matthew 27:25. The apparent irrevocability of the condemnation of Israel affects Thirza profoundly. The destruction of Jerusalem emerges from the sermon as an emblem of the terrible impact of the curse:

> With awful solemnity, the preacher reiterated the fearful imprecation, "His blood be on us and on our children." He shewed how this curse, which they had so madly invoked, had fallen upon them: how the Roman army, the swift messengers of Almighty vengeance, had suddenly overwhelmed them, and, after a siege of unparalleled horrors, razed Jerusalem to the ground. He followed them as wanderers and outcasts over the face of the earth, a reproach and a proverb among the Gentiles. He dwelt upon their abject state, their national and spiritual alienation from God, and then held up the dark and melancholy picture as a warning to the Christian world.[471]

470 For Ball, see *Album ministrorum der Reformierten Gemeinde Elberfeld: Prediger und Pastoren seit 1552*, ed. Hermann-Peter Eberlein (Bonn: Habelt, 2003), pp. 116–21; for the minister's engagement in the mission to the Jews, see *Der Freund Israels: Nachrichten von der Ausbreitung des Reiches Gottes unter Israel*, ed. Verein der Freunde Israels (Basel: Schneider, 1843), III, 123–4, and George Müller, *A Narrative of Some of the Lord's Dealings with George Müller, Minister of Christ, Written by Himself*, 2 vols (London: Nisbet, 1837), I, 14, 33, where Ball is identified as one of the Pietist brethren of Halle serving as a missionary to the Jews in Poland, a position he had to leave because of his poor health.

471 [Ball], *Thirza*, transl. Lloyd, p. 10; see also [Hermann Ball], *Thirza, oder die Anziehungskraft des Kreuzes: Züge aus dem Leben einer jüdischen Familie* (1840; Zurich: Hanke, 1841), p. 6: "Nun wiederholte der Pastor den schauerlichen Fluch, den das ganze Volk auf sich und seine Kinder herabgerufen, zeigte, wie der Fluch, den sie gewollt über sie gekommen, zeigte die Adler der Strafgerichte Gottes, die über das Aas des in Unglauben abgefallenen Israels herabgestürzt, schil-

The German original is in fact much more graphic than Elizabeth Maria Lloyd's translation into English; it compares lapsed Israel to carrion swooped down upon by the eagles of the judgment of the Lord, a metaphor not only for the Roman legions but also for the alleged corruption of the Jews.

The focus of the sermon on the destruction of Jerusalem as a consequence of the blood curse is clearly motivated with the objective of the mission to the Jews. Ball's novella was primarily targeted in a missionary spirit at Jewish readers. But as a vehicle of the internal mission, it was presumably moreover intended to confirm Christian readers in their faith. Hence the explicit emphasis on the exhortatory dimension of the historical occurrence at the end of the sermon, which may well reflect common practice. A description of the destruction of Jerusalem was included in many Protestant hymnals and the pericope for the tenth Sunday after Trinity was also dedicated to the subject.[472]

In conclusion of the novella, it is revealed to Thirza by her father after his own conversion following his recovery from a severe illness that her mother died a Christian and on her death bed, in a fever, "had exclaimed that Thirza had come home from school, and repeated the verse 'The blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanses from all sin'."[473] The text thus returns to the topic of the introduc-

derte die Schrecken der Zerstörung Jerusalems, sprach mit mitleidiger Wehmuth von dem tiefen Elend des Verstoßenseins vom Herrn, in welchem das jüdische Volk von Jahrhundert zu Jahrhundert schmachte, und entwarf also in gewaltiger Kraft der Rede die erschütternden Züge des Bildes, das als ernster Warnungsspiegel der Christenheit vor Augen gestellt ist."

472 For the origins of the pericope of Luke 19:41–48, see Mildenberger, *Israelsonntag*, pp. 30–4. A description was appended, for instance, under the title "Beschreibung, wie das der Stadt Jerusalem angedrohte Gericht Gottes vollzogen, und die Stadt zerstört wurde" (Description of how the judgment of God threatened to the city of Jerusalem was fulfilled and the city was destroyed) to the section of prayers in the variously reprinted and widely distributed *Christliches Gesangbuch für evangelische Gemeinden* (Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klasing, 1858), pp. 82–4. The "Geschichte von der Zerstörung Jerusalems" (History of the Destruction of Jerusalem) was also included in the *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Gesangbuch zum Gebrauch der Stadt Halle und der umliegenden Gegend: Nebst einem Anhange von Gebeten* (1790; Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1812), pp. 963–72 that was published by the print-shop of the Francke Foundations in Halle. In the *Gesangbuch für die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche des Fürstenthums Schaumburg-Lippe* (Bückeburg: Grimme, 1857), p. 139 the destruction of Jerusalem was explicitly referred to as an "instructive monument [belehrendes Denkmal]." For the inclusion of the history of the destruction of Jerusalem in Protestant hymnals since the Enlightenment, see Mildenberger, *Israelsonntag*, pp. 112–52.

473 [Ball], *Thirza*, transl. Lloyd, pp. 91–2; see also [Ball], *Thirza* (ed. 1841), p. 59: "[Sie habe] dann auf ein Mal davon angefangen: Thirza komme aus der Schule und bete den Spruch: das Blut Jesu Christi, des Sohnes Gottes, macht uns rein von aller Sünde." The source of this verse, 1 John 1:7, is added in the English translation.

tory sermon. It confirms, after the tribulations initiated by the blood curse, the promise of its redress through the blood of Jesus and thus also, through baptism, the redeemability of the Jews.

The mission to the Jews was mainly a Protestant concern. It originated in the hope for the conversion of the Jews of the early Martin Luther but was revived, more specifically, in Pietism.[474] Pietism, an antirational reform movement in Protestantism, was predicated on the belief in God's transformative power and on the personal experience of awakening to the faith. Pietists were convinced that their mission was to embrace a sincere personal faith, to observe the commandments of the Lord, and to commit themselves to building the Kingdom of God.[475] Accordingly, they invested themselves in leading a life they considered pleasing to God and in both internal and external missionary projects. Promoting since the end of the seventeenth century a "non-supersessionist understanding of the Jews and their role in history,"[476] Pietism more specifically engaged in the fulfilment of salvation history through the evangelization of the Jews.

Though a varied and complex phenomenon which defies easy categorization, German Pietism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as Peter Vogt notes, by and large acknowledged that there was "a deep connection between the Christian faith and the Jewish tradition, a connection reaching back to the memory of shared origins, yet also, and more importantly, reaching forward to the expectation of a shared future."[477] This conviction originated in the belief in the continued soteriological significance of the Jews and the certainty "that God, according to the biblical witness"—such as Romans 11:1, 25, Genesis 49:10, Jeremiah 31, and Revelation 12—"had not rejected his people."[478] Indeed, there was a pervasive sense among Pietists that, though the present tribulations of the Jews were considered a result of their transgressions,[479] the covenant with the Jews had not been revoked and that a "mysterious divine purpose" had "guided their survival as a people throughout the centuries."[480]

Pietist missionary activities among the Jews were characterized mainly by a fourfold strategy. First, the Pietists provided "their evangelists with knowledge on

474 See Yaakov Ariel, "A New Model of Christian Interaction with the Jews: The Institutum Judaicum and Missions to the Jews in the Atlantic World," *Journal of Early Modern History* 21 (2017): 116–36, 119.

475 See Peter Vogt, "Connectedness in Hope: German Pietism and the Jews," in *A Companion to German Pietism, 1660–1800*, ed. Douglas H. Shantz (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 81–115, p. 85.

476 Ariel, "New Model of Christian Interaction," 135.

477 Vogt, "Connectedness in Hope," p. 81.

478 Ibid., p. 82.

479 Ibid., p. 93.

480 Ibid.

Judaism and Jews."[481] Second, they disseminated among the Jews biblical texts in Hebrew or Yiddish translation, particularly from the Old Testament, which "according to Pietist faith pointed to the appearance and ministry of Jesus" but which were also recognized in the Jewish tradition.[482] The messianic hope in particular was considered by Pietists a point of convergence between their own convictions and the Jewish longing for messianic fulfilment,[483] although, as observed by Vogt, the interpretation of the messianic prophecies "usually led to unbridgeable differences" between Pietists and Jews.[484] The mission to the Jews was moreover hampered by the, for Jews inacceptable, Christian belief in the divine nature of Jesus and, ultimately, the identification of Jesus with YHWH as well as the doctrine of the Trinity.[485] These theological issues were compounded by internal Christian discord and by the perceived immorality among Christian believers, all of which tainted the missionary efforts from the Jewish perspective.[486]

Third, the Pietists targeted in particular the younger generation of Jews that was perceived to be more open to missionary approaches.[487] Fourth, finally, the Pietists directed their efforts not only at the Jews themselves but in addition "intended to influence Protestant opinions and present Jewish life, culture, and language in a manner that would stir sympathy and support."[488] In each case, the primary vehicle for the missionary effort was the dissemination of appropriate publications.

While distinct from the religious tracts and translations of Scripture adopted to promote the strategies of the Pietist mission to the Jews and originating in a subtly different context, narrative fiction could serve a similar double purpose of reaching out to the Jews and of promoting an understanding of the Jews. *Thirza*, a patently missionary text written by a former Pietist missionary, may be considered an example; but so may also, for instance, Friedrich Palmié's *Rufus: Eine Erzählung aus dem ersten Jahrhundert nach Christi Geburt* (1880; Rufus: A Tale of the First Century after the Birth of Christ). While this novel did not emerge from the same missionary milieu, its author was nevertheless affected by the tenets of Pietism which clearly inform his text.

Friedrich Paul Karl Palmié (1848–1905), born in Schloppe in West Prussia (present-day Człopa in Poland) as the son of a pastor, commenced his theological

481 Ariel, "New Model of Christian Interaction," 123.
482 Ibid., 130.
483 See ibid.
484 Vogt, "Connectedness in Hope," p. 101.
485 See ibid., p. 103.
486 See ibid., p. 101.
487 See Ariel, "New Model of Christian Interaction," 122.
488 Ibid., 127.

studies at the University of Halle-Wittenberg in 1869.[489] Following a period as private tutor, Palmié became pastor at Trebra in the Prussian province of Saxony from 1875–83, during which time he wrote most of his fictional narratives, including *Rufus*. He later became senior teacher and inspector at the Francke Foundations in Halle and served as pastor at St Georgen in Glaucha before leaving for Osterburg in the Altmark in the Prussian province of Saxony in 1890. Here, he took the positions of senior pastor at St Nicolai, superintendent of the diocese, and district school inspector.

With the exception of his last novel, *Der Bürgermeister von Osterburg* (1894; The Mayor of Osterburg),[490] Palmié's literary interests shifted after having left his incumbency at Trebra from fictional to non-fictional. In addition to various sermons, he published his thoughts on literary criticism, on the social question, on texts for matin prayers at school and on the form of the divine service in Protestant schools.[491] More relevant in the context of this study is an earlier polemical pamphlet, published in the year after the publication of his *Rufus*, with which Palmié responded to the notorious conversion to Catholicism of the Protestant pastor Georg Gotthilf Evers in 1880 and, more specifically, to the apostate's extensive published justification of his momentous decision in the following year.[492]

The pamphlet offers a distillation of Palmié's understanding of Protestantism. In this sense, it is useful to consider it as a parallel text to the more or less concur-

489 For Palmié's biography, see Brümmer, *Lexikon der deutschen Dichter und Prosaisten*, V, 220–1 and Uwe Czubatynski, *Evangelisches Pfarrerbuch für die Altmark: Biographische Daten und Quellennachweise als Hilfsmittel zur kirchlichen Ortsgeschichte der Mark Brandenburg und der Provinz Sachsen* (Halle: Landesheimatbund Sachsen-Anhalt, 2000), p. 252.

490 See Friedrich Palmié, *Der Bürgermeister von Osterburg: Eine Erzählung aus der Altmärkischen Reformationsgeschichte* (Halle: Strien, 1894).

491 See, e.g., Friedrich Palmié, *Die Frauengestalten in G. Freytags Ahnenvortrag* (Halle: Strien, 1887); *Evangelische Schul-Agende*, 2 vols (Halle: Strien, 1888–89); *Zur sozialen Frage* (Halle: Strien, 1890); and *Die evangelischen Schulgottesdienste* (Gotha: Perthes, 1890).

492 See Friedrich Palmié, *Wir bleiben evangelisch!: eine kurze Antwort an den zum Katholicismus übergetretenen Pfarrer Evers, früher zu Urbach, auf dessen Schrift: "Katholisch oder protestantisch?"* (Nordhausen: Greiner, 1881). See also Georg Gotthilf Evers, *Katholisch oder protestantisch? Oder: Wie war's möglich, daß ein orthodox-luthrischer Pastor "nach Rom gehen konnte?,"* 4th improved edn (1881; Hildesheim: Borgmeyer, 1883). Evers responded at length to Palmié's imputations in *Der "Prediger" in Trebra: Er bleibt "evangelisch"; 1. weil—? 2. trotzdem—? 3. damit—?; Antwort auf die Schmähschrift des "Predigers" in Trebra gegen mich und zugleich gemeinfaßliche Ergänzung zu "Katholisch oder protestantisch"* (Hildesheim: Borgmeyer, 1882). The conversion of the Protestant pastor prompted a plethora of publications, such as reviews in *Der Katholik* 61.2 (1881): 223–4; *Theologisch-praktische Quartal-Schrift* 35 (1882): 626–7; *Pastoralblatt für die Diöcese Augsburg* 25 (1882): 264; and, from a Protestant perspective, a polemic by the theologian Gustav Kaverau, "Conversionskünste," *Deutsch-evangelische Blätter* 7 (1882): 264–79.

rent novel with which it shares some thematic interests and which it accordingly helps to illuminate. While Palmié's use of quotation marks in his pamphlet is creative, he nevertheless gives a largely accurate account of the arguments proffered by Evers for his conversion, which he condenses to the allegation of the moral decay and dissolution of Protestantism.[493] Palmié then more specifically focuses on the Lord's Supper as a communal sacrament as opposed to the Eucharist celebrated by the Catholic priest during mass, which he dismisses as an invention of the Middle Ages;[494] on the affecting simplicity of Protestantism in contrast to the external splendour of Catholic rituals and ceremonies;[495] on papal primacy and the legitimacy of papal succession, which he challenges by questioning the historical presence of the apostle Peter in Rome and his martyrdom there;[496] on personal faith and the word of God;[497] and on the moral character of Martin Luther as well as on the divine justification of the reformer, which had been denied by Evers.[498] With regard to Luther, Palmié moreover alerted his readers to a nationalist dimension which reverberates with the rhetoric of the *Kulturkampf*:[499]

> [N]o other nation in this world has suffered under the arrogation of this authority [i.e., of excommunication and interdict] like our German nation. I only need to remind us of Canossa to be assured of the assent of every patriot. "We no longer go to Canossa," and that we do not need to do so, this we owe to Luther alone who set us free from this violation and enslavement in worldly and spiritual matters at the hands of a foreigner, the Pope.[500]

493 See Palmié, *Wir bleiben evangelisch!*, p. 7.

494 See ibid., pp. 7–14, 18.

495 See ibid., p. 11.

496 See ibid., pp. 17–18.

497 See ibid., pp. 11, 21–2, 27.

498 See ibid., pp. 13–27. Evers' attacks on Luther may also have motivated Palmié's efforts to 'correct' the other's image of the ecclesiastical reformer in a short biography, see Friedrich Palmié, *Luthers Leben, dem deutschen Volke erzählt* (Eisleben: Christlicher Verein, 1883).

499 Palmié quotes Reich Chancellor Otto von Bismarck's notorious assertion before the Reichstag: "Do not worry, to Canossa we will not go, neither bodily nor spiritually [Seien Sie außer Sorge, nach Kanossa gehen wir nicht, weder körperlich noch geistig." StBR, May 14, 1872, p. 356. The reference is to the Holy Roman Emperor Heinrich IV who was excommunicated by Pope Gregory VII for challenging the Church; the excommunication was only revoked after Heinrich walked in atonement to Canossa where the Pope eventually received him.

500 Palmié, *Wir bleiben evangelisch!*, p. 21: "kein Volk der Welt hat so unter der Anmaßung dieser Machtbefugnis [i.e., of excommunication and interdict] gelitten wie unser deutsches Volk. Ich brauche wohl nur an Kanossa zu erinnern, um der Zustimmung jedes Patrioten gewiß zu sein. 'Wir gehen nicht mehr nach Kanossa,' und daß wir das nicht brauchen, das danken wir Luther allein, der uns frei gemacht hat von dieser Vergewaltigung und Knechtung unsrer Nation in weltlichen wie in geistigen Dingen durch einen Ausländer, den Papst."

With the obvious exception of the moral character and legitimacy of Luther, all of these issues surface also in Palmié's *Rufus*. The significance of personal faith is variously affirmed in the novel, most conspicuously in the account of the conversion of Palmié's protagonist and in the emphasis on conscience as the highest moral authority of the individual.[501] The apostle Peter—prominently mentioned by Magon, Spillmann, and de Waal—is eliminated from Palmié's novel. Conversely, the extended description of the celebration of the Lord's Supper by the Christians in Jerusalem on the eve of its destruction is given much prominence in *Rufus*. More specifically, Palmié emphasizes the simplicity and the simultaneously communal and individual nature of the celebration of the sacrament, which is not—as in Catholicism—predicated on the mediation of a priest, when he at length describes how each individual is given bread and wine in a collective and personal communion with the Lord:

> He [i.e., the apostle John] took the bread which lay before him and blessed it; then he broke it into small pieces and gave it to the deacons who carried it to each and everyone in the congregation. Then he took the cup, blessed it too, drank from it, and gave it to his neighbour, who did the same. While the cup went around from hand to hand, the whole congregation sang with soft voices.[502]

Evers had attacked the supposedly indifferent spirit in which the Lord's Supper was celebrated in contemporary Protestant communities.[503] In his pamphlet, Palmié emphatically rejected any allegations of insincerity and of hollowing out the sacrament; instead, he emphasized the profound communal and personal spirituality of Protestant congregants.[504] In his novel, published in the year before and perhaps an expression of the author's wishful thinking, the eyes of the kneeling communicants shine "in blissful rapture"[505] and everyone observes the most profound silence during the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which is described as "solemn and moving and at the same time so comforting and edifying."[506]

501 See, e.g., Friedrich Palmié, *Rufus: Eine Erzählung aus dem ersten Jahrhundert nach Christi Geburt* (Nordhausen: Greiner, 1880), pp. 71–81, 236.

502 Ibid., p. 64: "Er [i.e., the apostle John] ergriff das Brot, das vor ihm lag und segnete es; dann brach er es in kleine Stücke und reichte es den Diakonen, die es jedem Einzelnen in der Versammlung zutrugen. Darauf nahm er den Kelch, segnete auch ihn, trank daraus und reichte ihn dem Nächsten, der das Gleiche that. Während der Becher aber im Kreise von Hand zu Hand ging, sang die ganze Gemeinde mit leiser Stimme."

503 See Evers, *Katholisch oder protestantisch?*, pp. 21–5.

504 See Palmié, *Wir bleiben evangelisch!*, pp. 8–9.

505 Palmié, *Rufus*, p. 65: "in seliger Verzückung strahlten die Augen der Knieenden."

506 Ibid., p. 66: "ernst und ergreifend und zugleich so tröstend und erhebend."

Perhaps even more important than the militant spirit in which Palmié defended the Protestant denomination and insisted on his continued loyalty to it in his pamphlet was his conspicuous affinity with Pietist spirituality which became externally manifest when he took up his position at the Francke Foundations shortly afterward in 1883. The orphanage, founded in 1698 by August Hermann Francke, was one of the centers of Pietism in Germany.[507] It incorporated a school and was conceived by its initiator as the "foundation" and "example" of a reform of the Protestant church and the school system.[508] The orphanage was also loosely connected to the *Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum*, founded in 1728 by Johann Heinrich Callenberg, which not only printed the literature utilized in the missionary efforts of the Halle Pietists to the Jews and the Muslims but also trained and sent out missionaries until its closure in 1792 by the Prussian state,[509] serving "as a model for Pietist and evangelical missions far beyond the territories in which it had operated."[510]

Long after he had left his position at the orphanage, in 1897, Palmié published a short reflection on Pietism and on Francke, in whose footsteps he had also followed with the ministry at St Georgen in Glaucha. Palmié asserts that

> *Pietism has essentially been the vehicle and promoter of that magnificent life of the searching, saving, and preserving agape of the Protestant church and has remained so to this hour*.[511]

The pastor's claim as to the continuity of Pietist spirituality and its effect in the world—which, historically, it achieved mainly through internal and external mission—is of particular significance because the neo-Pietism and the Awakening Movement of the early nineteenth century in fact declined in the Prussian province of Saxony in the latter half of the century and was maintained largely by individu-

507 See, e.g., Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), pp. 117–22.

508 See, e.g., Friedrich de Boor, "Die Franckeschen Stiftungen als 'Fundament' und 'Exempel' lokaler, territorialer und universaler Reformziele des Hallischen Pietismus," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 10 (1984): 213–26, 218.

509 See, e.g., Christoph Rymatzki, *Hallischer Pietismus und Judenmission: Johann Heinrich Callenbergs Institutum Judaicum und dessen Freundeskreis (1728–1736)* (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2004).

510 Ariel, "New Model of Christian Interaction," 118.

511 Friedrich Palmié, *Der Pietismus und A. H. Francke* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1897), p. 18: "[*D*]*er Pietismus* [*ist*] *im wesentlichen der Träger und Förderer jenes gewaltigen Lebens in der suchenden, rettenden, bewahrenden Liebesthätigkeit der evangelischen Kirche gewesen und bis auf die Stunde geblieben*."

als, such as Palmié.[512] But even more importantly for the context of this chapter, Palmié emphasizes once again in his encomium on Francke and Pietism the crucial significance of personal faith and the unmediated relationship with God which allows the individual to know, and act according to, the will of the Lord.[513] He moreover mentions as vehicles of the internal mission which originate in Francke's efforts to promote the distribution of the Bible and of sermons as well as, with some relevance also to his own endeavors, "the provision of the people with good light fiction"[514]—among which he presumably would have included his *Rufus*.

Whereas Ball's *Thirza* was clearly conceived as a missionary text primarily targeted at prospective proselytes, most prominently of Jewish origin, *Rufus* was directed at a wider readership which, in all likelihood, was nevertheless expected to include Jews. Though published independently, Palmié's novel incorporates to varying degrees most, if not all, of the four strategies employed by the Pietists in the mission to the Jews.

As lengthy passages of explanation illustrate, *Rufus* offers to its Christian readers detailed information on Jewish customs and ethics which reflect by implication on contemporary Jewish difference and seek to make the Jewish other familiar to the Christian reader.[515] In addition, again in line with Pietist endeavors of the mission to the Jews, Palmié's novel solicits the reader's sympathy with the Jews through the focalizer's eyes of his main protagonist, the Roman tribune Rufus, secrectly a Christian, who has recently been deployed to Palestine. In the opening pages of the novel, the young tribune, an unlikely Roman with blond hair and blue eyes, is seen in the midst of a cavalry unit next to Yohanan (Jochanan), a young Jew whom—as is later explained—Rufus and his men rescued from certain death at the hands of robbers. On their way to Jerusalem, they overtake streams of pilgrims, for it is the eve of Passover when all Jews are expected to gather in the holy city. Yohanan willingly answers the Roman's questions about the customs of his people. When the holy city finally comes into view, the young Jew, like the throngs of pilgrims, exclaims in awe: "Jerusalem! Jerusalem!"[516] Yet Rufus, lost in the striking view, utters under his breath: "Jesus! Jesus!"[517]

512 See, e.g., Gustav Adolf Benrath, "Die Erweckung innerhalb der deutschen Landeskirchen 1815–1888. Ein Überblick," in *Der Pietismus im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, ed. Ulrich Gäbler (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), pp. 150–271, p. 184.

513 See Palmié, *Pietismus*, pp. 46, 48.

514 Ibid., p. 45: "die Versorgung des Volks mit guter Unterhaltungslektüre."

515 See, e.g., Palmié, *Rufus*, pp. 3–4, 52, 53–6.

516 Ibid., pp. 4, 5.

517 Ibid., p. 5.

That his protagonist is already a Christian as he enters the politically volatile city in the spring of the year 66 CE, just before the eruption of hostilities, distinguishes Palmié's novel from all the other texts discussed in this chapter. It allows the author not only to develop from the beginning a Christian perspective on the Jews and Judaism but also to introduce Rufus into the hidden Christian community of Jerusalem. The representation of the Christians, in turn, offers the Jewish reader of the novel insights into supposedly true Christianity.

The effect of the configuration of Rufus as a mediator figure, which is given further scope by the fact that he speaks Hebrew, is a progressive confrontation of the Jewish and Christian perspectives which culminates in the Roman's altercation with Yohanan's father Simon Bargorich. In the lintel of the entrance to Bargorich's house is engraved the first sentence of the *Shema*, the prayer which articulates the monotheistic essence of Judaism and indicates his strict beliefs.[518] In fact, in the course of the novel, the old Jew turns from a Pharisee more and more into a Zealot and his fictional character ultimately becomes one of the leading figures of the Jewish rebellion in the novel.

As a Roman officer, Rufus moreover moves also in the circles of the occupying forces and their administration. Most importantly, he interacts with the historical figure of the procurator Gessius Florus and his fictional spouse Fulvia. Mixing fact and fiction, the author drew the character of the procurator in the manner of the scheming villain of contemporary adventure romances. Unknown to Rufus, Gessius was his guardian after the early death of his parents and squandered his ward's ancestral fortune. Fearful of discovery and the anticipated revenge of the young officer, the procurator seeks to entrap and kill him with the help of his beautiful wife. But Fulvia, starved of the pleasures of Roman civilization and disgusted with her jealous and devious husband, genuinely falls in love with the noble and sincere Rufus whom she is meant to seduce.

Well knowing that there is no hope of fulfilment for her love, she nevertheless repents of her and her husband's wrong-doing and an amicable relationship with Rufus ensues in the course of which he confesses his Christian faith to her. As he defends Fulvia on an excursion to the Mount of Olives against robbers, Rufus is struck down and, to remove him from the procurator's machinations, is secretly moved by her to Simon Bargorich's house. Here, he is nursed back to life and falls in love with Yohanan's sister Tamar (Thamar) who returns his feelings. But Rufus realizes that they cannot act against the wishes of her father, who is becoming more and more zealous and, when he suspects the Roman to have attempted to seduce Yohanan into apostasy, expels him from his home.

518 See ibid., p. 7. For the first line of the *Shema*, see Deuteronomy 6:4.

Eventually, hostilities between Jews and Romans commence in response to the unlawful appropriation of the Temple treasure by the procurator. Rufus is captured by the Jews but freed with the help of his Christian friends and, after distinguishing himself in the war in the Galilee, eventually finds himself as a legate in the Roman army besieging Jerusalem. He quickly becomes a friend and confidant of Titus. After the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, during which Bargorich is killed, he reunites with his Jewish friends who convert to Christianity. Tamar and Rufus marry and, preferring the contemplative bliss among his family, he withdraws from public life to a small manor by the foot of Mount Vesuvius. The eruption of the volcano in 79 CE finds them unawares. Yohanan and the loving couple perish, but Rufus' wish to die next to his beloved is fulfilled; their two young sons are saved and adopted by Christian friends.

The drama of the novel's conclusion was strongly criticized by the anonymous critic for *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, who attributed it mainly to the alleged sensationalism of the author.[519] But, mostly, the reviewer took umbrage at Fulvia's death during the eruption of Vesuvius, like the innocent Christians; for Fulvia, remarried after the shameful end of Gessius Florus by his own hand and returned to a life of pleasures, rejects the conversion offered to her by Rufus. Poetic justice consequently appears not to be served in the novel. What the critic seems to neglect is the implicit perspective on the afterlife. Even foregoing the martyrdom so prominent in Catholic novels, Rufus and Tamar are given the crown of eternal life by the saving grace of the Lord, they are—it is suggested—spiritually saved. Fulvia, in contrast, committed the sin of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit by knowingly rejecting her salvation. And yet, she too, may be saved by the grace of the Lord which eludes the comprehension of mere humans.

Grace is one of the five principles of the Protestant faith, which, though systematized only in the twentieth century, have served since the Reformation to distinguish Protestant belief from Catholic doctrine: s*ola scriptura* (by Scripture alone) sets the inspired word of God above tradition; *sola fide* (by faith alone) promotes faith above works; *sola gratia* (by grace alone) exalts grace above merit; *solus Christus* (Christ alone) affirms that salvation does rely exlusively on the mediation of Christ rather than of priests; *soli Deo gloria* (glory to God alone) rejcts the veneration of the Virgin Mary, saints, and angels.[520] All five principles find articulation in Palmié's novel.

519 Anonymous, "Palmié, F. Rufus. Eine Erzählung aus dem ersten Jahrhundert nach Christi Geburt. Nordhausen 1880, Greiner," *Theologisches Literaturblatt* 1.51 (1880): 406.

520 For the five principles of the Reformation, see, e.g., Mihai Androne, *Martin Luther: Father of the Reformation and Educational Reformer* (Cham: Springer, 2020), pp. 8–15.

The interaction of Rufus with Fulvia gives Palmié more specifically the opportunity to have his protagonist elaborate on the decline of the old dispensation and the need for an immovable divine point of reference for humanity as well as his personal faith and, importantly, on the experience of his personal awakening to the faith. As with the other novels discussed in this part, the social criticism of the author is clearly extended to his contemporary society which, implicitly, is paralleled to the historical context.

The old faith, Rufus explains to Fulvia on their excursion to the Mount of Olives, is about to perish and the portents of a cataclysmic disruption of the world order proliferate. The central question of humanity for the past millennia, of what constitutes genuine human bliss, Rufus expounds, has never been solved, despite all the different approaches pursued in the past. They are, to Rufus, "a terrible cacophony of sounds which makes us certain that humanity will never, by itself, be able to resolve this disharmony into a perfectly blissful harmony."[521] The lack of a divine point of reference and the urge of everyone to enforce their own happiness, he says once again with contemporary resonance, entails:

> A state of war of all against all, a never-ending raging against, and murdering of, men by their fellow men, and thus a bleak future for all of us. How different, though, if we honour in the order [of the world] the work and will of a Higher Being whose wisdom created it, whose love and omnipotence maintain it. Then times may come in which whole dynasties, or even whole nations challenge this order; times, as we experience them now, in which all ties of discipline and morals in the state and in the family appear to be tearing apart and in which art and the sciences are considered by the majority merely as a means of numbing themselves through sensual pleasure: the cheerful belief in a better future they will not be able to take from me because I know that above the hustle and bustle of demented and blinded souls, there is sitting One whose very word is enough to make an end to all aberrations at once and to usher in the Golden Age for whose advent the world has been hoping for millennia.[522]

521 Palmié, *Rufus*, p. 101: "ein schauerliches Durcheinander von Tönen, das uns die Gewißheit giebt, daß die Menschheit aus eigener Kraft nie dahin kommen wird, diese Disharmonie in vollkommen beseligende Harmonie aufzulösen."

522 Ibid., pp. 103–4: "Der Krieg Aller gegen Alle, ein unaufhörliches Wüthen und Morden des Menschen gegen seine Mitmenschen, und somit für uns alle eine trostlose Zukunft. Wie anders dagegen, wenn wir in diesen Ordnungen das Werk und den Willen eines Höheren ehren, dessen Weisheit sie ins Leben rief, dessen Liebe und Allmacht sie erhält. Dann können Zeiten kommen, in denen ganze Geschlechter, ja ganze Völker diese Ordnungen in Frage stellen, Zeiten, wie wir sie jetzt erleben, in denen alle Bande der Zucht und Sitte in Staat und Familie zu zerreißen scheinen und Kunst und Wissenschaft den Meisten nur noch als Mittel gelten, in sinnlichem Genusse sich zu betäuben: den freudigen Glauben an eine bessere Zukunft vermögen sie mir nicht zu nehmen, weil ich weiß, daß über dem Treiben wahnwitziger, verblendeter Menschenkinder der sitzt, von dem ein Wort genügt, um allen Verirrungen mit einem Schlage ein Ende zu machen

The criticism of culture and civilization articulated here through Rufus is not signally different from the censure expressed by Catholic writers, such as Magon. Yet the solution proffered by Palmié through Rufus is essentially Protestant if compared, for instance, to the emphasis on the family articulated by Magon in the wake of the Abbé Gaume. In *Rufus*, the eponymous protagonist affirms to Fulvia that he found the constant which offered him the solution of all the dissonances that raged within himself: "it is the belief in an eternal, personal God, who is simultaneously the creator of the universe and its keeper and ruler."[523]

The insistence on the individual and their personal relationship to God is reinforced with Rufus' account of his own experience of awakening to the faith which adds a distinctly Pietist flavor to the narrative. It is reiterated also through the emphasis on the individual's conscience. "You should do, my brother, as your conscience tells you to do,"[524] the apostle John responds to Rufus as he proposes not to join the Christians in Pella but to return to his commission:

> Certainly, I dread the tasks that the near future will demand of me. Over ruins and dead bodies—this is what I foresee—my path will lead. But this gives me comfort, that in this fight I will find ample opportunity of showing Christian love to those who will fall into our hands and also of appeasing my brothers-in-arms. For this reason alone I would not want to withdraw fully from participating in this war which is now bound to ensue.[525]

The Protestant notion of a personal faith is also articulated, associatively, with the appearance of two eagles soaring above Rufus and Fulvia on the Mount of Olives. While the birds might be read as foreshadowing the imminent Roman siege, similar to the sermon in *Thirza*, they are more pertinently also reminiscent of the image of two eagles rising toward the sun that is displayed in the pediment of the main house of the Francke Foundations above the text of Isaiah 40:31: "But they that wait upon the LORD shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles."[526] In the novel, the image of the eagles is then not only of signifi-

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und das goldene Zeitalter herbeizuführen, auf dessen Kommen die Welt seit Jahrtausenden hofft."

523 Ibid., p. 102: "es ist der Glaube an einen ewigen, persönlichen Gott, der der Schöpfer dieses Weltalls und sein Erhalter und Regierer zugleich ist."

524 Ibid., p. 236: "Thue du, mein Bruder, was dein Gewissen dir gebietet."

525 Ibid., pp. 235–6: "Wohl graut es mir vor den Aufgaben, die in nächster Zeit vor mir liegen. Ueber Trümmer und Leichen—das sehe ich im Voraus—wird mein Weg führen. Aber das tröstet mich, daß sich in diesem Kampfe mir Gelegenheit genug bieten wird, christliche Liebe zu üben an denen, die in unsere Gewalt gerathen, und auch meine Kampfgenossen milder stimmen zu können. Schon darum möcht ich mich von der Theilnahme an diesem Kriege, der jetzt nothwendig folgen muß, nicht gänzlich zurückziehen."

526 The original reads in Luther's translation of the Bible: "Die auf den Herrn harren kriegen neue Kraft, daß sie auffahren mit Flügeln wie Adler."

cance as a foreshadowing of the further spiritual development of Rufus, but may also be considered another indication of the Pietist provenance of the novel.

The prophet Isaiah, in line with the Pietist practice of utilizing texts from Scripture which are recognized in the Jewish tradition, is also cited by Palmié. In the description of the Passover celebrations in Jerusalem, the "holy sounds" of a song reverberate across the city from the Temple, moving the listening faithful to tears:[527]

> Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. For, behold, the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people: but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee. And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising. Lift up thine eyes round about, and see: all they gather themselves together, they come to thee: thy sons shall come from far, and thy daughters shall be nursed at thy side. Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee.[528]

The text, taken from Isaiah 60:1–4, and presented here as an element of a Temple-based Jewish liturgy, is part of one of the messianic prophecies of the Old Testament, written after the destruction of the First Temple and envisaging the rebuilding of the Temple. Immediately preceded in the concluding verses of Isaiah 59 with the messianic promise, "And the Redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith the Lord,"[529] it has been read in the Jewish tradition as referring to the restoration of the Chosen People and the coming of the Messiah. In the Christian tradition, the prophecy has, more specifically, been read as heralding the coming of Jesus as the Messiah. While Judaism rejects this interpretation, the deliberate inclusion of the passage in the novel nevertheless illustrates the Pietist missionary practice of engaging the Jews on their own grounds.[530]

After having listened to the "holy sounds" emanating from the Temple, Rufus makes his way for the first time to the Christian community in whose midst he participates in the Lord's Supper. Set in the *coenaculum* and celebrated by the

527 Palmié, *Rufus*, p. 60: "heiligen Klängen."

528 Ibid.: "Erhebe dich und werde Licht! / Denn dein Licht kommt und Jehovahs Herrlichkeit geht auf über dir. / Denn siehe, die Finsterniß bedeckt die Erde / Und Dunkel die Völker. / Doch über dir wird Jehovah aufgehen / Und seine Herrlichkeit wird über dir erscheinen! / Völker gehen zu deinem Lichte, / Könige zu dem Glanze deines Aufgangs. / Hebe deine Augen nach allen Seiten und siehe: / Alle versammeln sich. / Es konunen [*sic*] zu dir deine Söhne, / Aus der Ferne kamen sie; / Deine Töchter werden auf dem Arme hinzugetragen! / Erhebe dich und werde Licht! / Denn dein Licht kommt und Jehovahs Herrlichkeit geht auf über dir." See Isaiah 60:1–4; verse 1 is repeated by Palmié, following on verse 4.

529 Isaiah 59:20.

530 See also Mendelssohn, *Paulus*, no. 15, where Isaiah 60:1–2 indicates the moment of the apostle's conversion.

last of the apostles, the Lord's Supper is imbued with a claim to authenticity in Palmié's narrative and the author utilizes its detailed description to address with the divinity of Christ one of the most contentious issues in the mission to the Jews. The apostle John explains in preparation of the celebration of the Lord's Supper the simultaneously divine and human nature of Jesus:

> For He is our peace, who turned Two into One and tore down the fence that rose between God and us, and reconciled us with God in one body through the Cross, and slew enmity and proclaimed in the gospel peace to those far and near, that all of us through him have access to the Father in one spirit.[531]

In addition to the divinity of Christ, the passage reiterates the reality of a personal faith and, most importantly, the validity of the gospel and of the path to God through Jesus for everyone. In the narrative sequence of the novel following on the text from Isaiah, it should therefore be read as the final argument in the implicit debate with the Jews which reaffirms the identification of Jesus Christ with the Messiah.

In support of this missionary objective, Palmié variously emphasizes the continuity of Judaism and Christianity as suggested in this progression in his novel. Most conspicuously, it is articulated once again in the celebration of the Lord's Supper which incorporates elements of the Passover *seder*. The shared meal of the agape feast ("Liebesmahl"), "to which everyone contributed indiscriminately and at which prayer and singing alternated,"[532] consists of the Passover lamb, a plate of bitter herbs, and unleavened bread. The persistence of the Jewish Passover customs signifies the continued relevance of Israel to the divine plan of salvation which was recognized by the Pietists; it is reflected also in the apostle's concluding blessing of Israel: "Peace be upon Israel!"[533]

The notion of the underlying continuity of Judaism and Christianity is more explicitly given articulation in the confrontation of Rufus with Bargorich. In response to the curse cast upon him by the father of his friend Yohanan and his beloved, Rufus explains the difference between Judaism and Christianity but emphasizes more specifically their common origin and the necessary progression from the former to the latter. Rejecting Bargorich's allegation that he sought to

531 Palmié, *Rufus*, p. 64: "Denn er ist unser Friede, der aus Zweien Eins gemacht hat und hat abgebrochen den Zaun, der zwischen Gott und uns stand, und hat uns versöhnt mit Gott in einem Leibe durch das Kreuz, und hat die Feindschaft getödtet und hat im Evangelium den Frieden verkündet den Fernen und den Nahen, daß wir Alle durch ihn einen Zugang haben zum Vater in einem Geiste."

532 Ibid., p. 66: "zu dem Jeder ohne Unterschied beitrug und bei dem Gebet und Gesang abwechselte."

533 Ibid., p. 64: "Friede über Israel!"

seduce Yohanan to apostasy, Rufus insists that the Christian God and the Jewish God are one, whom he, too, calls Jehovah:

> I believe in the same God, Joseph Bargorich, the Eternal and Almighty One. Yet to me He is not merely the implacable Judge Who punishes the sins of men, like you imagine Him and before Whom you therefore tremble; but in my unshakeable faith in His love, which you don't know, I lift my hands to Him and pray: Our Father, Who art in heaven! Bless, comfort, protect me, Your child! And do you want to know, rabbi, who sealed the certainty of this comforting faith for me? He, Whom your eyes presumably have seen and Whose words your ears have heard, He, by means of Whose coming to the earth Jehovah gave all men the best proof that He loves them like a Father loves his children: Jesus the Christ, the eternal Son of the Highest! The faith in Him and through Him in the invisible Jehovah, that is the religion of the future to which the world shall belong, because it shall bring to the world for what it has yearned for thousands of years: peace.[534]

This is not only a reiteration of personal faith, but the affirmation of the principle of *solus Christus*. As such, Rufus simultaneously emphasizes implicitly the rejection of Jesus by the Jews, as exemplified by Bargorich. Yet he also anticipates reconciliation and redemption for the Jew through God's great love:

> You shall hinder the blessing that arises from my faith as little as you shall obstruct the progress of the sun for even one moment! Yet I shall bless you for as long as I live, and I shall pray for you to Jehovah, that He may soften your harsh mind, which brags with vain self-righteousness, and that He shall give you the full knowledge of His love.[535]

Bargorich, offering the Jewish reader a perspective on the conversion trajectory, is shaken by the words of Rufus and briefly entertains doubts:

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534 Ibid., pp. 158–9: "Ich glaube an denselben Gott, Joseph Bargorich, den Ewigen und Allmächtigen. Nur daß er mir nicht bloß der unerbittliche Richter ist, der die Sünde der Menschen straft, wie du ihn dir denkst und darum vor ihm zitterst, sondern daß ich im felsenfesten Vertrauen auf seine Liebe, die du nicht kennst, die Hände zu ihm hebe und ihn bitte: Vater unser, der du bist im Himmel! Segne, tröste, schirme mich, dein Kind! Und willst du wissen, Rabbi, wer mir dieses tröstlichen Glaubens Gewißheit versiegelt hat? Der, den deine Augen selbst wohl gesehen und dessen Worte deine Ohren selbst wohl gehört haben, der, durch dessen Kommen auf Erden Jehovah allen Menschen den besten Beweis gegeben hat, daß er sie liebt wie ein Vater seine Kinder: Jesus der Christ, der ewige Sohn des Höchsten! Der Glaube an ihn, und durch ihn an den unsichtbaren Jehovah, das ist die Religion der Zukunft, der die Welt gehört, weil sie der Welt das bringen wird, wonach dieselbe sich schon Jahrtausende lang sehnt: den Frieden."

535 Ibid., p. 159: "Du hältst den Segen, der aus meinem Glauben kommt, so wenig zurück, wie du den Lauf der Sonne nur einen Augenblick hemmen kannst! Ich aber will dich segnen, so lange ich lebe, und will für dich zu Jehovah beten, daß er deinen harten Sinn, der mit eitler Selbstgerechtigkeit sich brüstet, erweiche und dir die volle Erkenntnis seiner Liebe gebe."

> When Rufus was gone, the rabbi slowly lifted his face again. He felt as if he bore a tremendous burden. An inner restlessness had come upon him; he, who never before had distrusted his decisions, doubted whether he should not hasten after the tribune and call him back.
> "I cursed him," he said under his breath, "and he blessed me. Just so did He in Whom he believes, when He hung upon the Cross and I jeered at Him: Are You the Messiah, then save Yourself and climb down from the Cross. The words of the tribune made me recall the gaze with which the crucified Jesus looked at me then, and once again the words He then spoke burn within my heart. Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do! What if it were true, after all? If He, Whom we cursed and crucified, in truth were the prophesied Messiah?"[536]

The reference to Luke 23:34 is crucial here because it legitimizes hopes of a Jewish return to salvation history. Bargorich is indeed poised on the brink of recognition and of salvation. But then his obstinacy reasserts itself:

> "No," he suddenly exclaimed, "it is all lies and blasphemy! Never would a God have died the death of a criminal! Another image of the Messiah was drawn for us by the prophets, in this I believe and in nothing else. A hero he shall be, who shall return to the people of Jehovah the greatness and independence it had in the times of David and Salomon. With the sword in his hand he shall sever the fetters of the bondage with which Israel is restrained, all the nations of the world he shall make his subjects; fawning, the kings from across the world shall come to his throne in Zion, to his judgement all shall bow! If this Jesus had had only one trait of this image of the Messiah, I should have been the first to fall to my knees before him and to acknowledge him as my lord. [. . .]"[537]

536 Ibid., p. 160: "Als Rufus sich entfernt hatte, richtete der Rabbi langsam sein Angesicht wieder auf. Ihm war zu Muthe, als ob eine ungeheure Last auf ihm ruhe. Eine innere Unruhe war über ihn gekommen; er, der sonst nie in seinen Entschlüssen geschwankt, zweifelte, ob er nicht dem Tribunen nacheilen und ihn zurückrufen solle. // 'Ich habe ihm geflucht,' sprach er halblaut vor sich hin, 'und er hat mich gesegnet. Gerade so hat der gethan, an den er glaubt, als er am Kreuze hing und ich ihn verspottete: bist du der Messias, so hilf dir selbst und steig vom Kreuze herab. Ich mußte bei den Worten des Tribunen an den Blick denken, mit dem der gekreuzigte Jesus mich damals anschaute, und aufs Neue brennen die Worte, die er sprach, in meinem Herzen. Vater vergieb ihnen, sie wissen nicht, was sie thun! Wenn es nun doch Wahrheit wäre? Wenn jener von uns Verfluchte und Gekreuzigte wahrhaftig der verheißene Messias gewesen wäre?'"
537 Ibid., pp. 160–1: "'Nein,' schrie er plötzlich auf, 'es ist Lüge und Lästerung! Nie wäre ein Gott den Tod eines Verbrechers gestorben! Ein anderes Bild haben die Propheten uns vom Messias gezeichnet, an das glaube ich allein. Ein Held soll er sein, der dem Volke Jehovahs die Größe und Unabhängigkeit wiederbringen soll, die es zu den Zeiten Davids und Salomos gehabt. Mit dem Schwerte in der Hand soll er die Fesseln der Knechtschaft brechen, in denen Israel liegt, alle Völker der Erde soll er sich unterwerfen, huldigend sollen die Könige aus der ganzen Welt zu seinem Throne auf der Zionsburg kommen, vor seinem Richterspruch soll Alles sich beugen! Hätte jener Jesus nur ein Merkzeichen dieses Messiasbildes an sich getragen, ich wäre der Erste gewesen, der vor ihm auf die Kniee gefallen wäre und ihn als meinen Herrn anerkannt hätte. [. . .]'"

Bargorich cannot transcend his expectations, which are informed by the traditional Jewish imaginary of the Messiah as a king who comes in majesty. He is aware of Jesus's prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem,[538] but gloats: "the prophecy has not come to pass and never shall. We are Jehovah's chattels, that He may well chastise but that He shall never destroy."[539] This belief in the eternal chosenness of the Jews, which persists in Judaism, is challenged through the logic of Palmié's narrative which argues from a position of hindsight: Jerusalem and the Temple have been destroyed in historical reality. Hence, the truth of the prophecy is evident; by extrapolation, the truth of the gospel as a whole, that was earlier doubted by Bargorich, is also reaffirmed. For Bargorich, who cannot see this truth, who has no faith, the end is death in the Temple as it bursts into flame, and even in death, his features are "stern and unrelenting."[540] As in other texts about the destruction of Jerusalem, in *Rufus*, too, the old Jew's demise is symbolic of the demise also of Judaism.

Yet in Palmié's novel, while the old covenant may have lost its validation, the Chosen People endure. His narrative does not focus on the enslavement of the survivors of the destruction of Jerusalem, nor on their decimation in the arena. Instead, Rufus envisages the rehabilitation of the Jews in God's plan of salvation:

> I see the hour come when all the barriers which today rise between the nations and individual men shall fall, when every man shall see in his fellow man a brother to whom God's sun and God's grace shines as well as to himself. Your people, too, Tamar, that proudly stays aloof from all the other nations and contemptuously looks on all those that do not share its faith shall not be able to withstand this power, or it shall be destroyed by it.[541]

Again, the writer ultimately argues with the logic of hindsight. The Jews survive into his and the reader's present; they have not been destroyed. Hence they still await their soteriological restoration in conversion through the grace of God. The younger generation, targeted also by the missionary efforts of the Pietists and represented in the novel by Yohanan and Tamar, accordingly convert to Christianity. They embody the conversion paradigm, which is generational but not gen-

538 For references to Jesus's prophecy in the novel, see, e.g., ibid., pp. 156, 234, 235, 298.

539 Ibid., p. 162: "die Weissagung hat sich nicht erfüllt und wird sich nie erfüllen. Wir sind Jehovahs Eigenthum, das er wohl züchtigt, aber nie vernichtet."

540 Ibid., p. 298: "streng und unerbittlich."

541 Ibid., p. 149: "Ich sehe die Stunde kommen, wo alle die Schranken, die heute zwischen den Völkern und den einzelnen Menschen stehen, fallen werden, wo jeder Mensch in seinem Mitmenschen einen Bruder sehen wird, dem Gottes Sonne und Gottes Gnade so gut leuchtet wie ihm selbst. Auch dein Volk, Thamar, das sich stolz von allen andern Völkern der Erde abschließt und verächtlich auf alle die sieht, die seinen Glauben nicht theilen, wird dieser Macht nicht widerstehen können, oder von ihr vernichtet werden."

dered in *Rufus* and which in Palmié's rendering signifies the continued relevance of the Jews as the Chosen People under the new covenant.

When Rufus first arrives in Palestine, he feels a perplexing sympathy for the Jews:

> "A strange people, these Jews," he murmured to himself. "Kings in beggars' rags whom I should despise but towards whom I feel the most profound pity because there is nothing that can save them from the wrath of Him to Whom they offer their sacrifices today and to Whom they raise their hands in prayer. With much contempt they look upon the other nations and yet are themselves despised by all the world, an object of ridicule, even of repugnance, wherever they show themselves. Should I recognise in this the commencement of Thy judgements, my Lord and Saviour, which Thou prophesied'st to this people that did not want to be taught by Thee and that nailed Thee, its Messiah, to the Cross? [. . .] a people rigid in its service of the letter and stiff-necked rejection of the teaching of Him, Who was a child of this people and Who had come to call it to true freedom. [. . .]"[542]

In the face of Jewish obstinacy, Rufus initially even doubts the prophecies:

> And now, as I see this nation, Thy people, to whom Thou hast revealed all Thy divine love, adhere stubbornly to the old laws, I am almost overcome by an uneasy fear whether the prophecy that the future of the world shall be Thine and of Thy Kingdom shall ever come to pass, which Thou, parting, gavest to Thy apostles.[543]

The novel as a whole of course serves to affirm the relevance of salvation history as it unfolds in the narrative. For Palmié, the historical occurrence is of historical significance, as it was for Kaulbach and many of the other writers engaging with the destruction of Jerusalem. But for Palmié, its finality is, as we have seen, asserted in relation to the old covenant, not in relation to the Jews. His imaginary of

542 Ibid., pp. 56–7: "'Ein seltsames Volk, diese Juden,' murmelte er vor sich hin. 'Könige im Bettlergewande, die ich verachten sollte und mit denen ich doch das tiefste Mitleid habe, weil sie unrettbar dem Zorne dessen verfallen sind, dem sie heut ihre Opfer bringen und zu dem sie betend ihre Hände heben. Voller Verachtung sehen sie auf die andern Völker und sind doch selbst von aller Welt verachtet, ein Gegenstand des Spottes, ja des Abscheus, wo sie sich sehen lassen. Soll ich darin das Beginnen deiner Strafgerichte sehen, mein Herr und Erlöser, die du diesem Volke geweissagt hast, das sich von dir nicht weisen lassen wollte und dich, seinen Messias, ans Kreuz schlug? [. . .] ein Volk, erstarrt im äußern Buchstabendienst und halsstarriger Verschlossenheit gegen die Lehre dessen, der ein Kind dieses Volkes gewesen und es zu wahrer Freiheit zu rufen gekommen war. [. . .]'"

543 Ibid., p. 57: "Und nun, wo ich dies Volk, dein Volk, dem du deine ganze Gottesliebe offenbart hast, hartnäckig hangen sehe an den alten Satzungen, will mich fast banges Zagen überkommen, ob die Verheißung, die du scheidend deinen Aposteln gegeben hast, daß die Zukunft der Welt dir gehören solle und deinem Reiche, sich je erfüllen wird."

the Jews does not admit of Ahasuerus as the guilt-ridden incarnation of Jewishness which projects the impact of the divine judgment on the Jews into eternity.

It is therefore intriguing that the author offers in his novel also another reinterpretation of Kaulbach's painting, but one from which the idea of Ahasuerus has been excised. The final scene in the Temple is evidently based on the painting and transposes its narrative simultaneity into the narrative sequentiality of the novel. The passage is clearly inspired by the artist's central group of the High Priest and his daughter in front of the altar and gives the painting's dramatic development a new meaning through another contextual reconfiguration of the visual representation. The narrator, establishing Rufus as a focalizer, implicitly assumes the perspective of the beholder of Kaulbach's painting:

> Searching, he [i.e., Rufus] glanced across the wide space in whose middle rose the altar for burnt offerings. A dense throng of escaped men and women encircled it, looking for refuge and deliverance in this sacred place. [. . .] From amidst the men and women rose the tall figure of Joseph Bargorich [. . .]. But leaning against his chest was Tamar who gazed fearfully towards the fight that came ever closer. [. . .] Then, as he [i.e., Rufus] called her, she proffered her arms towards the one she had so long yearned for and wished to rush towards him as he approached. But Joseph Bargorich had grasped the arm of his daughter and held fast on to it. He, too, had heard the shout; he, too, saw at a distance of only a few steps, beaming with happiness, the face of the man he hated. He searchingly looked at his daughter's face; blushing, she lowered her eyes; a terrible suspicion rose in the old man. [. . .] He drew a daggerlike knife from his belt and wielded it against the breast of his child.[544]

These nodal sentences, contained within a longer passage, encompass the middle ground of Kaulbach's monumental painting. Its background, with the triumphal appearance of Titus, follows a little later:

> In a commanding gesture, she [i.e., Tamar] extended her hand towards the gate of the Temple through which at this very moment charged a shiny mounted troop into the outer court of the Temple. Shouts of immeasurable joy of the Roman warriors saluted the new arrivals. "Hail Titus! We salute you, Son of the Emperor!" the enthusiastic warriors cheered their

544 Ibid., pp. 296–7: "Suchend flogen seine [i.e., Rufus's] Blicke über den weiten Raum, in dessen Mitte sich der Brandopferaltar erhob. Eine dichte Schar geflüchteter Männer und Frauen umgab ihn, Schutz und Rettung an dem heiligen Orte suchend. [. . .] Mitten aus den Männern und Frauen ragte die hohe Gestalt Joseph Bargorich's hervor [. . .]. An seiner Brust aber lehnte Thamar und schaute furchtsam auf den immer näher herankommenden Streit. [. . .] Da streckte die Gerufene in seligem Glücke ihre Arme dem lang Ersehnten zu und wollte dem Kommenden entgegeneilen. Aber Joseph Bargorich hatte den Arm seiner Tochter ergriffen und hielt sie an demselben fest. Auch er hatte den Ruf gehört, auch er sah wenige Schritte von sich entfernt das glückstrahlende Gesicht dessen, den er haßte. Er sah prüfend seiner Tochter ins Angesicht, erröthend senkte diese ihre Augen, eine furchtbare Ahnung stieg in dem Greise auf. [. . .] Er zog ein dolchartiges Messer aus seinem Gürtel und schwang es gegen die Brust seines Kindes."

> general. With satisfied glances Titus reviewed his troops. Suddenly, his gaze met the group by the altar for burnt offerings. He steered his steed towards it.[545]

Titus, entering the scene triumphantly in Kaulbach's painting, is an unequivocally positive character in *Rufus*. The ubiquitous epithet by Aurelius Victor that the imperator was the delight of the human race is cited also by Palmié.[546] But in this instance, the author takes pains to dissipate even the least doubts about its validity. The crucifixion of thousands of Jews described by Josephus and denounced as cruelty, for instance by Magon, is attributed by Palmié to an order of Vespasian, as is the destruction of the Temple and the razing of the city. As Titus explains to Rufus, Vespasian seeks to destroy the Jewish religion and its cultic center because he fears that it would forever thwart any attempts to integrate the Jews as useful citizens into another commonwealth.[547]

In *Rufus*, the destruction of the Temple is therefore a foregone conclusion, based on political calculation rather than supersessionist logic. Accordingly, Titus is also never described as the instrument of God's wrath. While the judgment that befalls the Jews is still presented as of divine origin, its scope as a divine punishment is limited in the novel. Palmié appears to develop a mitigated supersessionism which disavows the utter destruction of everything Jewish in line with Pietist thought according to which the remnant retains soteriological relevance which is, however, predicated on the progressive transition to Christianity. Thus, while the narrative confirms that "the power of the Jewish nation was forever crushed,"[548] this should be understood in a political sense but not in relation to the fulfilment of salvation history.

Judaism is denounced by Vespasian as a subversive religion. Arguably, Palmié may have intended here a veiled criticism of Catholicism, which was similarly accused during the *Kulturkampf* of promoting a state within the state. The adherence to the letter of the law and the significance of good works in Judaism and, more generally the value given to external manifestations of the faith rather than its interiorization, are also characteristics for which Protestantism blamed the Catholic Church. Christianity, but obviously in the spirit of Rufus' ultimately

545 Ibid., p. 300: "Sie [i.e., Tamar] streckte gebietend die Hand gegen die Pforte des Tempels aus, durch die in diesem Augenblicke eine glänzende Reiterschaar in den Vorhof des Tempels sprengte. Ein unermeßliches Jubelgeschrei der römischen Krieger begrüßte die Ankömmlinge. 'Heil Titus! Sei gegrüßt, Kaisersohn!' jauchzten die begeisterten Sieger ihrem Feldherrn zu. Mit zufriedenen Blicken musterte Titus seine Schaaren. Plötzlich fiel sein Blick auf die Gruppe am Brandopferaltare. Er lenkte sein Roß auf dieselbe zu."

546 See ibid., pp. 314–15.

547 See ibid., p. 270.

548 Ibid., p. 304: "die Macht des jüdischen Volkes war für immer gebrochen."

'Protestant' beliefs, is explicitly exhonerated by Titus when he promises to end the persecution of the Christians with the assertion: "A faith that counts men like you among its believers cannot be inimical to the state."[549]

It has been suggested by Fabian Wilhelmi that Palmié's *Rufus* is determined by a strict dualism which exalts Christian values and repudiates any contradictory views.[550] The relationship between Bargorich and Rufus is considered by Wilhelmi one that cements the alleged superiority of Christianity with the reiteration of established anti-Jewish stereotypes.[551] The critic argues that the same sense of superiority also determines the association of Rufus with Yohanan and Tamar. In particular the romantic relationship with the latter is read by Wilhelmi as the conquest of the young Jewish woman which, he suggests, is at the same time an allegory of the conquest of Jerusalem by the Romans and of the victory of Christianity over Judaism.[552] While such a reading certainly agrees with many of the literary engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem in the nineteenth century, most pertinently perhaps in the Catholic novels discussed earlier in this part, and reverberates to some extent also in Palmié's novel, such a view nevertheless appears too simplistic in light of the Pietist provenance of the novel, as I hope to have shown in this chapter.

In another essay, Wilhelmi attributes to Jutta Ihlenfeld's literary engagement with the historical occurrence a similarly anti-Jewish tone.[553] Again, this should not come as a surprise, it clearly reflects the attitude of the times. But in this case, too, a closer look at the text reveals a more complex image. In Ihlenfeld's novel, the patriotic element comes to the fore. But the Jews, as converted Jews, offer a model for the identification of the Germans as a new Chosen People.

The Destruction of Jerusalem and the Intrusion of German Nationalism: Ihlenfeld

Among the Protestant writers discussed here for their literary engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem, Friedrich von Uechtritz was critical of Pietism,

549 Ibid., p. 317: "Nicht staatsfeindlich kann ein Glaube sein, der solche Männer wie dich zu seinen Anhängern zählt."

550 See Fabian Wilhelmi, "Konfrontation und Kooperation. Freund- und Feindbilder in historischen Romanen über den jüdischen Krieg," in *Freundschaften—Feindschaften: Essays*, ed. Gisela Dachs (Frankfurt a. M.: Jüdischer Verlag im Suhrkamp Verlag, 2020), pp. 26–36, p. 35.

551 See ibid., pp. 30–1.

552 See ibid., pp. 31–2.

553 See Wilhelmi, "Jerusalem in historischen Romanen," p. 64.

while the pastor Friedrich Palmié endorsed it; his *Rufus* is infused with Pietist ideas which manifest themselves in particular in the position the novel takes toward the Jews and their continued soteriological significance. The perception of the Jews in Jutta Ihlenfeld's *Ruth, die Nichte des Apostels Paulus. Eine Geschichte aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1899; Ruth, the Niece of the Apostle Paul: A Tale of the Time of the Destruction of Jerusalem), which will be discussed in this section, largely aligns with Palmié's Pietist outlook, though, in contrast to the pastor, the author was situated not so much in the Pietist milieu but in the Protestant Awakening Movement.

Ihlenfeld's *Ruth* was first published in the year after Spillmann's *Lucius Flavus* and de Waal's *Juda's Ende*.[554] It was frequently reprinted and is, in fact, one of the few novels discussed here that is still in print; it was also translated into Dutch and Icelandic.[555] Born Auguste Emilie Henriette Ihlenfeld (1866–1935) in Fürstenberg on the Havel in Mecklenburg, the author initially went into service in Berlin. After educating herself, she worked as a maid and governess in her native town; from 1909–25 she taught needlework at the municipal school of Fürstenberg and—with her last novel, *Erobert mir die Welt!* (*Love and Martyrdom in Rome*),[556] published in 1910—appears to have ceased her literary activity.[557]

Ihlenfeld's novels without exception explore religious subjects and most of them were published, or reprinted, by the *Hauptverein für christliche Erbauungsschriften in den preußischen Staaten* (Central Association for Christian Devotional Literature in the Prussian States). Emerging from a tract society founded in 1811 by the Protestant cleric and director of the first Protestant missionary training seminary in the world,[558] Johannes Jänicke, the *Hauptverein* was constituted in Berlin in 1816 in emulation of the English Religious Tract Society based in London with which it developed close relations and by which it was supported.[559] Its mission was the dissemination among the lower classes of religious literature that, based

554 See Jutta Ihlenfeld, *Ruth, die Nichte des Apostels Paulus: Eine Geschichte aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (Berlin: Hauptverein für christliche Erbauungsschriften, 1899).

555 See Jutta Ihlenfeld, *De Joodsche slavin: een verhaal uit den tijd van Titus*, transl. J. A. Wormser (Kampen: Uitgeversmaatschappij J. H. Kok, 1914) and *Rut: skáldsaga frá dögum Titusar keisara* (Reykjavik: Helgason, 1935).

556 See Jutta Ihlenfeld, *Erobert mir die Welt! Roman aus der Zeit der Christenverfolgung* (Leipzig: Wallmann, 1910).

557 For the author's biography, see DLL (2013), VIII, cols 542–3.

558 See Kloes, *German Awakening*, p. 170.

559 For the *Hauptverein für christliche Erbauungsschriften* see, Christina Rathgeber, "Zwischen Staat und Gesellschaft: Die 'Preußische Hauptbibelgesellschaft' und der 'Hauptverein für christliche Erbauungsschriften in den preußischen Staaten' (1814–1848)," in *Das preußische Kultusministerium als Staatsbehörde und gesellschaftliche Agentur (1817–1934)*, vol. 3.1: *Kulturstaat und*

on Scripture, was composed in a "purely Protestant manner."[560] Initially, the *Hauptverein* was under the close scrutiny of the Prussian Ministry of Education and the Arts. There was some anxiety that it might promote a revolutionary spirit among the lowest classes, which allegedly lacked "a more mature discernment, the ability and practice of distinguishing the erroneous from the truthful, of easily recognising exaggeration, and of avoiding the deviation into the realm of superstition."[561] It was only after the revolutionary years of 1848–49 that the *Hauptverein* was given more autonomy.

In contrast to the *Preußische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft* (Prussian Central Bible Society), established in 1814 and modeled on the British Foreign Bible Society, the *Hauptverein* attracted members less from government circles and the educated elite, but mostly comprised clerics and teachers as well as tradesmen and craftsmen.[562] There nevertheless was a significant intersection in the membership of both societies whose objectives were, after all, very similar.[563] Many of the *Hauptverein*'s members engaged themselves moreover in other Christian societies, notably in the *Gesellschaft zur Beförderung des Christenthums unter den Juden* (Society for the Advancement of Christianity among the Jews), which was established in 1822.[564] One of the presidents of the *Hauptverein* (from 1832–49), Julius Eduard Hitzig, was himself a converted Jew who was not only a noted Criminal Counsel but was moreover prominently involved in the literary life of Berlin. The mission to the Jews was a conspicuous concern of many Protestants in particular since the 1820s, though—as discussed in the previous section—earlier efforts had already been made mainly within the Pietist movement.

Bürgergesellschaft im Spiegel der Tätigkeit des preußischen Kultusministeriums—Fallstudien, ed. Bärbel Holtz (Berlin: Akademie, 2012), pp. 55–103, p. 80.

560 Quoted from Rathgeber, "Zwischen Staat und Gesellschaft," p. 80: "kleine religiöse Schriften, besonders unter dem gemeinen Manne [. . .], welche, auf die Bibel gegründet, rein evangelisch abgefaßt sind."

561 Quoted from ibid., p. 85: "wo das reifere Urteil, die Fähigkeit und Geübtheit, das Irrige von dem Wahren zu unterscheiden, die Übertreibung leicht zu erkennen und vor dem Abschweifen auf das Gebiet des Aberglaubens sich zu hüten, am meisten mangelt."

562 See ibid., p. 82.

563 See ibid.

564 See ibid., p. 92. For the Berlin Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews, see, e.g., Christopher Clark, "Missionary Politics. Protestant Missions to the Jews in Nineteenth-Century Prussia," *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 38.1 (1993): 33–50. Societies for the mission to the Jews proliferated since 1820 in the German-speaking countries, among them Basel (1820), Elberfeld (1820), and Berlin (1822) as well as Barmen (1838) and Cologne (1842); see, e.g., Kloes, *German Awakening*, p. 156.

The pervasive ambivalence of the Protestant perception of the Jews originating in the mission to the Jews in the nineteenth century has been noted by Wolfgang E. Heinrichs. It was informed by the antithetical assessment of the Jews simultaneously as deniers of Christ and as witnesses to God's plan of salvation, both positively, as witnesses to the faith in the Lord, and negatively, as witnesses to God's judgment—as manifest, for instance in the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple.[565]

While not integrated into the mainstream of Protestantism, the mission to the Jews was nevertheless highly influential in determining the imaginary of the Jews not only of the Protestants but also of civil society as a whole.[566] Predicated on the certainty of the continued soteriological significance of the Jews, it posited a correlation between the salvation of the faithful and the Jews. In a socio-historical sense, the conversion of Jews served, moreover, as a reaffirmation of Protestant convictions and simultaneously offered an aid to the understanding of, and the orientation in, a rapidly changing environment.[567] While, on the one hand, contemporary secular Jews were considered to be implicated in the advance of modernity, the supposed redemptive agency of venerable Israel, of those Jews faithful to the Law, was recognized as instrumental to addressing the fragmentation of modern society and to mediating a redemptive vision to contemporary humanity.[568] As such, the representation of the Jewish redemptive potential suggested to Protestants an implicit imperative to return to a similar fidelity and to confront the crisis of modernity.[569] Another Christian imperative derived from the perception of the Jews as a part of the living gospel was the mission to the Jews.[570]

This ambivalence, originating in the interplay of an ever increasing antisemitism and the biblical-chiliastic philosemitism current in nineteenth-century Protestantism,[571] is reflected also in Ihlenfeld's novel. In *Ruth* the imaginary of the Jews as redemptive figures competes with contemporary resonance with their representation as degenerate. Incorporating contemporary stereotypes, the Jews of Jerusalem prior to its destruction are described as utterly debased:

565 See Wolfgang E. Heinrichs, "Juden als ideelle Hoffnungs- und Heilsträger im Protestantismus des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Geliebter Feind—Gehasster Freund: Antisemitismus und Philosemitismus in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, eds Irene A. Diekmann and Elke-Vera Kotowski (Berlin: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2009), pp. 213–31, p. 221.
566 See ibid., pp. 217, 218.
567 See ibid., p. 215.
568 See ibid., pp. 218, 222–4.
569 See ibid., p. 226.
570 See ibid., p. 225.
571 See ibid., p. 214.

> Yes, the Jewish people had fallen low.—With the superstitious observance of external practices they believed to satisfy their God, they indulged in a frivolous life and in every vice, and Jerusalem, the holy city, had become a second Rome; a seat of pagan might and also a centre of all ungodly practices.[572]

Yet this image of corruption is confronted in the novel with the very positive representation of those Jews in the novel who convert. As missionaries, they become multiplicators of their new faith and by their agency develop their redemptive potential not only toward the Jews but also, more specifically, toward the Germanic tribes.

Like Palmié's earlier novel, which originated in the neo-Pietist movement, Ihlenfeld's *Ruth* is clearly situated within the milieu of the mission to the Jews, though the author had no obvious connection to Pietism. As has been noted, the Pietist perception of the Jews was informed by the certainty of the ongoing soteriological relevance of the Chosen People, a view that was shared by Ihlenfeld. Of course, the insistence on the primacy of the Christian faith and the model character attributed to the conversion paradigm in both *Rufus* and *Ruth* is still condescending and dismissive of Jewish particularity. But the notion of the redeemability of the Jews sets them apart from blatant antisemitism, and in particular from any form of racial antisemitism, because it is predicated on the transformative power of baptism.

Ruth was Ihlenfeld's first novel and was preceded only by her novella *Die Enkelin* (1896), also published by the *Hauptverein*. With the subtitle of her novel, *Eine Geschichte aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (A Tale of the Time of the Destruction of Jerusalem), Ihlenfeld situated her narrative within a new, and increasingly proliferating genre, the historical narrative set in the time of the destruction of Jerusalem. Mainly appearing since the 1840s, when Kaulbach's *Erläuterungen* were published as well, these fictional tales in a historical setting predominantly addressed young readers or were conceptualized as devotional literature. Their titles tend to be generic, frequently made up of the name of the protagonist and, in a subtitle, referring to the destruction of Jerusalem. But, significantly, while these narratives are situated in the *time* of the destruction, they do not usually give much attention to the cataclysmic occurrence as such. Though the actual destruction of Jerusalem is certainly implicit, the emphasis typically is different and reflects a mostly Christian bias in that it applies a perspective which relegates the historical occurrence to a mere frame for something that is

572 Ihlenfeld, *Ruth*, p. 50: "Ja, tief gesunken war das jüdische Volk.—Mit abergläubischer Beachtung äußerlicher Gebräuche glaubten sie ihrem Gotte Genüge zu tun, gaben sich dem leichtsinnigen Leben und allen Lastern hin, und Jerusalem, die heilige Stadt, war ein zweites Rom geworden, ein Sitz der heidnischen Macht und auch ein Mittelpunkt aller unheiligen Gebräuche."

conceived of as more important: most prominently, and mostly entangled with one another, the conversion of the (frequently Jewish) protagonist to Christianity, occasionally their martyrdom, and almost invariably the assertion of supersessionism—in effect, the progress of salvation history (*Heilsgeschichte*).

Specific manifestations of, and variations to, this pattern frequently arise from their respective denominational origin. In fact, since the latter half of the nineteenth century, these historical narratives—as suggested throughout this chapter—often need to be seen as interventions in the *Kulturkampf* which still reverberated even in its aftermath. Examples of the proliferating genre are: *Emanuel: Historische Erzählung aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1849; Emanuel: A Historical Tale of the Time of the Destruction of Jerusalem) by Philipp Körber;[573] *Juda: Erzählung aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems durch Titus* (1870; Juda: A Tale of the Time of the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus) by Adolf Jauß;[574] *Das Haus Hillel: Historischer Roman aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1879) by Max Ring, a writer of Jewish heritage, which is discussed in detail in chapter IV;[575] *Maria: Eine Erzählung aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1889; Maria: A Tale of the Time of the Destruction of Jerusalem) by J. Paulus;[576] the second edition of Sebregondi's *Nekodas* was also published with the new subtitle *Eine Erzählung aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1891); *Berenice: Historischer Roman aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1893; Berenice: Historical Novel of the Time of the Destruction of Jerusalem) by Heinrich Vollrat Schumacher, which is scrutinized in the final digression of this book;[577] *Der Tempel-*

573 See Philipp Körber, *Emanuel: Historische Erzählung aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (Nürnberg: Lotzbeck, 1849).

574 See Adolf Jauß, *Juda: Erzählung aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems durch Titus* (Stuttgart: Steinkopf, 1870). In the same year, Jauß published a series of popular lectures on the significance of the resurrection of Jesus, see Adolf Jauß, *Wahrheit oder Täuschung? Drei populäre apologetische Vorträge über die Auferstehung Jesu* (Stuttgart: Steinkopf, 1870); in his preface to this publication, the author explicitly states that he seeks to challenge the current "modern world view which teaches that there are no miracles and, thus, also no living God [moderne Weltanschauung, welche lehrt, es gebe keine Wunder, also auch keinen lebendigen Gott]," p. 3. His novel about the destruction of Jerusalem, which was directed at a young readership and which was reissued in a second edition in 1895, needs to be seen in this context, too. Jauß (1838–1910) studied theology at the Universtiy of Tübingen and, later in life, became professor and headmaster at a higher school in Stuttgart.

575 See Max Ring, *Das Haus Hillel: Historischer Roman aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems*, 3 vols (Berlin: Janke, 1879).

576 See J. Paulus, *Maria: Eine Erzählung aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (Stuttgart: Steinkopf, 1889).

577 See Heinrich Vollrat Schumacher, *Berenice: Historischer Roman aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (Leipzig: Friedrich, [1893]).

hauptmann: Historische Erzählung aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems (1899; The Commander of the Temple Guard: A Historical Tale of the Time of the Destruction of Jerusalem) by Anton Ohorn;[578] and *Hanani: Erzählung aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1905; Hanani: A Tale of the Time of the Destruction of Jerusalem) by Adam Josef Cüppers, previously briefly discussed as an adaptation of an earlier French novel. In 1913 appeared also a new translation by A. Rehberg-Worden of Croly's *Salathiel* with the new title *Ein neuer Ahasverus: Roman aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (A New Ahasuerus: A Novel of the Time of the Destruction of Jerusalem).[579]

The prominence in these subtitles of the historical occurrence is an indicator of its popularity and of the wide-ranging familiarity of potential, frequently young, readers with the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem. The repetitive subtitle furthermore suggests a certain formulaic quality informing all of these texts. Ihlenfeld's treatment of the subject, though she also adopted many of the established topoi, is nevertheless idiosyncratic in its elaboration of a nationalistic agenda which is a typically Protestant preoccupation. Her novel is divided into two parts, the first of which is set in Jerusalem during the time of its destruction, while the second part follows the protagonist to Rome. In this respect, the trajectory of Ihlenfeld's narrative is similar to the novels of Palmié, Magon, and—published in the year before her own—of Spillmann. The author moreover employs the established formula of a young Jewish woman being rescued by a Roman—in Ihlenfeld's novel, the eponymous Ruth and the centurion Antonius Arrius; their separation and, after the destruction of Jerusalem, the enslavement and deportation to Rome of the Jewish woman; their eventual reunion and conversion to Christianity; and, finally, their conjugal union; frequently, the Roman is, moreover, a friend of Titus—like Antonius—or at least highly regarded by the imperator.

As in other literary engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem, Josephus is given some prominence in Ihlenfeld's novel.[580] The author, like others before her, interrogates the Jewish historian's motives. She suggests that his prophecy of the succession of Vespasian to the throne of the Roman Empire was a political calculation, meant not only to secure the goodwill of the Flavians toward himself but also, as was previously claimed by the German Jewish historian Isaak Markus Jost, to protect the

578 See Anton Ohorn, *Der Tempelhauptmann: Historische Erzählung aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (Leipzig: Bredt, 1899).

579 See George Croly, *Ein neuer Ahasverus: Roman aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems*, transl. A. Rehberg-Worden (Halle a. S.: Hendel, 1913), also published as *Der Fürst von Naphtali: Roman aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (Halle a. S.: Paalzow & Lehmann, 1913).

580 See Ihlenfeld, *Ruth*, pp. 25–32, 70, 82, 84–85, 86, 89, 97, 98, 128–129.

remnant of his people.[581] More importantly, however, in contrast to Kleebeck, who utilized the historical figure to authenticate the post-biblical history of Israel as salvation history, Ihlenfeld uses Josephus to emphasize the difference between prophecies of divine origin and as manifestations of political exigency. Following on the brief description of the destruction of Jerusalem toward the conclusion of the first part of her novel, the author confirms: "Everything came to pass exactly as the Lord Jesus Christ had prophesied: Jerusalem was completely razed."[582] Effectively demystifying the Jewish historian's account, she then reflects:

> [Josephus] wrote the history of the Jewish war.—Whether the fate of his nation strongly touched his heart?—Who can tell!—He was shrewd;—he safeguarded his advantage and through his prophecy was spared not only his life but gained his freedom and the favour of powerful Vespasian.
>
> Did the divine spirit really reveal to Josephus the future?—Who knows!—Josephus was well-travelled. He knew countries and people. He had lived at the court of the tyrant whose cruelties were without bounds, who did spare neither his own mother, nor his spouse and his aged teacher. Could not then the penetrating, calculating Josephus recognise that enough was enough, that Nero's discontented peoples should shake off his yoke and should pass judgement on him themselves?[583]

Significantly, this appraisal of political discernment and pragmatism follows not only immediately on the affirmation of the truthfulness of the prophecy of Jesus but also concludes the first part of the novel. As such, it appears to mark the boundary between the biblical and the post-biblical, between the word of God and the word of men, which was cemented with the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple and which saw the Jews pushed to the margins of salvation history.

In contrast to Palmié's *Rufus*, no catastrophe occurs at the end of the novel; rather, similar to Spillmann's *Lucius Flavus*, the loving couple retire to an idyllic

581 See ibid., p. 86; see also Isaak Markus Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Maccabäer bis auf unsere Tage* (Berlin: Schlesinger, 1821), II, App. 64.

582 Ihlenfeld, *Ruth*, p. 128: "Es traf also alles genau ein, wie es der Herr Jesus Christus geweissagt hatte: Jerusalem ward vollständig geschleift."

583 Ibid.: "[Josephus] hat die Geschichte des jüdischen Krieges aufgeschrieben.—Ob das Schicksal seines Volkes ihm schwer zu Herzen ging?—Wer kann es sagen!—Er war klug;—er hatte seinen Vorteil gewahrt und durch seine Prophezeiung nicht nur Leben und Freiheit allein, sondern auch die Gunst des mächtigen Vespasian errungen. // Hatte der Geist Gottes wirklich dem Josephus die Zukunft enthüllt?—Wer weiß es!—Josephus war weit gereist. Er kannte Länder und Völker. Er hatte am Hofe des Tyrannen gelebt, dessen Grausamkeiten keine Grenzen kannten, der selbst seiner eignen Mutter, seiner Gattin und seines greisen Lehrers nicht verschont hatte. Konnte da der tiefblickende, berechnende Josephus nicht eingesehen haben, daß das Maß Neros voll sei, daß seine unzufriedenen Völker sein Joch abschütteln, ihn selbst richten würden?"

life which allows them to live their faith. As in Spillmann, where Tamar's father Rabbi Sadok, now baptized Cornelius, fulfils the apostolic mission by producing copies of the gospel, in *Ruth*, too, it is one of the converted Jews, the eponymous heroine's brother, David, who follows the missionary imperative; the Great Commission is in fact explicitly articulated in the novel in a retrospective on the apostle Paul: "Go ye therefore, in all the world and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."[584]

Yet whereas Spillmann extols the triumph of the Catholic Church, Ihlenfeld emphasizes the hope for redemption and, more specifically, also the promise of redemption to the Jews. In the end, David goes into the world to preach the gospel in fulfilment of Isaiah 9:2, with which the novel concludes: "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined."[585]

Ihlenfeld replicates Palmié's use of Isaiah in emulation of the practice of Pietist missionaries to the Jews who sought to achieve their objective with the reinterpretation of the messianic promise. The passage from Isaiah not only suggests the Jews to be the "people that walked in darkness" but that it is the mission of the convert David to make them see the light of the Christian Messiah. As would have been known to any reader familiar with the prophetic book, in its original biblical context the passage introduces Isaiah's prophecy of the Kingdom of Peace (*Friedensreich*), synonymous with the Kingdom of God, which reverberates with Ihlenfeld's text and which in the Christian exegetic tradition has always been understood to refer to Jesus as the Son of God:

> For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this. The Lord sent a word into Jacob, and it hath lighted upon Israel.[586]

Significantly, there are no mixed characters in either Ihlenfeld's or Palmié's novels, which to Uechtritz signified the manifestation of Protestant individualism and the power of conscience. In *Ruth*, for instance, in stark contrast to the internally conflicted Eleazar in Uechtritz's eponymous novel, David insists:

584 Ibid., p. 64: "Gehet hin in alle Welt und lehret alle Völker und taufet sie im Namen des Vaters, des Sohnes und des heiligen Geistes." See Matthew 28:19.
585 Ibid., p. 309: "Das Volk so im Finstern wandelte, sah ein großes Licht, und über die da wohnten im finstern Lande, schien es helle." See also Isaiah 9:2 and Mattthew 4:16.
586 Isaiah 9:6–8.

> I was among the Zealots, father, yet in their atrocities I never took part. Always, I took care not to take any stolen goods; I not even shared their food with them, and was I never so famished, because I realised that whatever they owned was ill-gotten goods. Long since have I seen through the Zealots; they disgust me. Yet I stayed with them to defend the city.[587]

The seed of David's conversion is planted as he witnesses the death of his newly converted parents in the burning Jerusalem. His faith in the Christian God begins to grow in him as he is sold as a slave and, finally, re-enters the narrative toward its conclusion as a galley slave. Rescued from this fate by Antonius and Titus, he explains to them his spiritual progress:

> With suspense and interest they all listened as he told them about his arrogance and his sins as a fanatical Jew; then about his doubts and of the calamity that had come over him and his people; and how in the profound abstraction and confusion of his innermost heart, how in the worst plight and the greatest misery the Saviour revealed Himself to him, Who gave him succour in all troubles and delivered him so gloriously.[588]

The destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple emerges from his account, which once again in a Protestant spirit also emphasizes the individual and its connection to the collective, not only as a punishment, but as the starting point of the trajectory toward salvation. It is an admonition also to the contemporary reader, and, more specifically, to the Jewish reader. The deliverance experienced by David is thus implicitly also offered to his people; it is the underlying motivation for his mission to "the people that walked in darkness."

As in Palmié's *Rufus*, the description of Christian rituals in Ihlenfeld's novel evokes the simplicity of Protestant religious practices as opposed to what Wagner had called Catholic embellishment. The worship of the Christians in Rome whom Ruth secretely joins after her enslavement and deportation is characterized by a hymn that is "serious and solemn and that goes to one's heart."[589] The venue is

587 Ihlenfeld, *Ruth*, p. 117: "Ich war unter den Zeloten, Vater, doch an ihren Grausamkeiten habe ich nie teilgenommen. Stets habe ich mich gehütet, von geraubten Sachen zu nehmen, ich habe noch nicht einmal gegessen bei ihnen, wenn ich auch noch so starken Hunger hatte, weil ich einsah, daß alles, was sie hatten, ungerecht erworbenes Gut sei. Längst habe ich die Zeloten durchschaut; es ekelt mich vor ihnen. Doch ich blieb bei ihnen, um die Stadt zu verteidigen."

588 Ibid., p. 296: "Mit Spannung und Interesse hörten alle, wie er erzählte von seinem Hochmut und seinen Sünden als fanatischer Jude, dann von seinem Zweifel und dem Unglück, das über ihn und sein Volk hereingebrochen, und wie in der tiefen Zerfahrenheit und Zerrüttung seines Innern, wie in tiefster Not und größtem Elend sich ihm der Heiland offenbarte, der ihm beigestanden in aller Not und ihn so herrlich errettet hatte."

589 Ibid., p. 166: "[Die Gemeinde] stimmte einen Gesang an, ernst und feierlich und zu Herzen gehend."

stark in its simplicity, "in the whole room no ornaments could be found, the walls were whitewashed and the floor was covered with stone slabs; the cross, too, was without any ornament."[590] The author emphasizes the community of the early Christian congregation, which reminds Ruth of the closeness of her own lost family in Jerusalem: "It was true that the simple room could not compare with the stately chambers in the palace of Simon in Jerusalem; nor really, as a place of worship, with the famous Temple on Moriah; but the faithful knew that the Highest was present at their worship and that the Saviour was in their midst."[591] Important are not the externals, but—in implicit allusion to Matthew 18:20—the community and presence of the Lord: "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."[592]

The sermon—about the love of the Savior and the imitation of Christ—includes a homily on the miracle of Jesus making the blind see again.[593] It is applied to the faith of the Christians and reflects implicitly back on the trope of the alleged blindness of the Jews, derived from the apostle Paul's Epistle to the Romans.[594] As in Palmié's *Rufus*, the celebration of the Lord's Supper is also mentioned, though it is not described at length by Ihlenfeld.[595] Her emphasis is on the loving community of the Christians, which is encapsulated in the communion but which is more palpably articulated with Ruth's inclusion in the rituals of the Christian community to whom she reveals herself to be the niece of the apostle Paul.

Finally, Ihlenfeld extolls in the Protestant spirit the significance of the word. Still in Jerusalem and after the Christians have withdrawn to Pella, Ruth and her old slave Iras draw strength from fragments of Scripture left with them:

> Ruth read aloud from the Epistle of the Apostle [i.e., the Epistle to the Philippians], and Iras listened with affectionate reverence to the holy doctrines which her favourite Saul had bequeathed to Christendom as a memory. They also read the other texts in pious devotion and rejoiced in their faith.[596]

590 Ibid., p. 172: "Weiter war im ganzen Raume kein Schmuck zu finden, die Wände waren weiß getüncht und der Boden mit Steinen ausgelegt, auch das Kreuz war ohne Schmuck."

591 Ibid.: "Zwar konnte sich der einfache Raum nicht messen mit den Prachtzimmern im Palaste des Simon in Jerusalem, oder als Gotteshaus gar mit dem berühmten Tempel auf Morija; aber die Gläubigen wußten des Höchsten Gegenwart bei ihrem Gottesdienste und den Erlöser in ihrer Mitte."

592 Matthew 18:20.

593 See Mark 10:46–52, Luke 18:35–43, and Matthew 9:27–30.

594 See Ihlenfeld, *Ruth*, pp. 173–4 and Romans 11:25.

595 See Ihlenfeld, *Ruth*, pp. 174, 176.

596 Ibid., p. 81: "Ruth las aus dem Brief des Apostels vor [i.e., the Epistle to the Philippians], und Iras hörte mit inniger Verehrung die heiligen Lehren, die ihr Liebling Saulus der Christenheit als

The power of the divine word is extolled more explicitly toward the conclusion of the novel, when Ruth and Antonius realize that they should withdraw from the world: "A great force is the gospel," Ruth avers, and adds: "on miserable soil, drenched in blood, it raises a Kingdom of Peace."[597]

The Kingdom of Peace (*Friedensreich*) is a frequent preoccupation of Protestant historical novels during the *Kulturkampf* period.[598] In Ihlenfeld's *Ruth*, the notion is also very prominent. Ruth's attribution to the gospel of raising the Kingdom of Peace implicitly offers an answer to Titus, who is drawn extremely positive in the novel. Appalled by the brutality of the siege of Jerusalem, the imperator acknowledges the inhumanity of war and deprecates the glorification of military fame:

> When shall war cease forever?—Wherefore is war?—It is true, it brings fame,—yet also unspeakable misery, and many men it carries away! [. . .] Oh, would there was on earth a Kingdom of Peace that admits all men as brothers![599]

Yet, the Kingdom of Peace cannot, as the novel suggests, be achieved by human agency. It is only within the divine plan of salvation that it can be raised—and the vehicle of revelation is the gospel. Intriguingly, Ruth's assertion of the agency of the gospel circumvents the apocalyptic scenario elaborated in the Book of Revelation.

As has been indicated, another signifier of the Protestant provenance of Ihlenfeld's *Ruth* is its articulation of German nationalism. The critical consensus on the German national movement of the nineteenth century suggests that it was strongly informed by religious ideas.[600] While initially interdenominational, it soon came to be dominated by Protestantism which led to the denominational dualism that found its most palpable expression in the *Kulturkampf*. Accordingly, as observed by Hirschmann in relation to the historical novel of the *Kulturkampf* period, Catholic fiction tended to employ a sentimental pathos, while Protestant fiction frequently adopted a national pathos.[601] Though Ihlenfeld does not, in her

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Andenken hinterlassen hatte. Auch die anderen Schriften lasen sie in frommer Andacht und waren glücklich in ihrem Glauben."

597 Ibid., pp. 306–7: "Eine große Macht ist das Evangelium. [. . .] auf jammervoller, blutgetränkter Erde stiftet es ein Friedensreich."

598 See Hirschmann, *Kulturkampf*, p. 166.

599 Ihlenfeld, *Ruth*, p. 102: "Wann wird der Krieg wohl ganz aufhören?—Wozu ist der Krieg?—Zwar bringt er Ruhm,—doch auch so namenloses Elend, und viele Menschen rafft er hin! [. . .] Ach, gäbe es doch auf der Erde ein Friedensreich, das alle Menschen als Brüder in sich aufnähme!"

600 See, e.g., Barbara Stambolis, "Nationalisierung trotz Ultramontanisierung oder: 'Alles für Deutschland. Deutschland aber für Christus': Mentalitätsleitende Wertorientierung deutscher Katholiken im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift* 269 (1999): 57–97, 57.

601 See Hirschmann, *Kulturkampf*, p. 75.

novel as a whole, promote the appreciation of the warlike, aggressive, and heroic, which Hirschmann noted as a distinctive feature of Protestant historical novels of the *Kulturkampf* period,[602] *Ruth* includes a long digressive chapter that infuses the conversion narrative with a strong national pathos.

The insertion of such a pronounced nationalist perspective is unusual in the corpus of texts dealing with the destruction of Jerusalem. While de Waal, too, includes in his novel a muted perspective on the Teutons, in the Catholic context, in which nationalism was castigated as divisive (see, e.g., the Abbé Gaume), nationalistic sentiments are usually carefully avoided. Ihlenfeld, in contrast, gives much prominence to one of the constitutive myths of German national unification, which she elaborates as the basis not only of a perplexing analogy between Jews and Germans that construes Rome as their common enemy in the past, but—at least implicitly—also of a continued dichotomy between Rome and Germany, in which Rome is understood as a metaphor for the Catholic Church.

The topic of nationalism is broached early on in the novel when Ruth is rescued outside the walls of Jerusalem by Antonius from the unwanted attention of some gladiators on furlough. Ruth's fierce nationalism emerges in the ensuing conversation in which she tells the Roman that his nation is to be punished by the Lord for its pride and the misery it brings on all the other nations. Unconcerned, Antonius responds: "the weak must yield to the strong, that is the way of the world, and thus Rome became ruler of the world"; he insists: "The God of War rules the world."[603] The Roman's arrogance, articulating contemporary social Darwinist tenets, provokes Ruth's indignation: "Proud Roman, believe me, I, too, am proud of my nation! Israel was already mighty when Rome was as yet unknown und small."[604] Antonius in turn derides Israel's greatness as a thing of the past and insists that the present belongs to Rome, to which Ruth retorts:

> "And the future, the future—," she interrupted him with joyful enthusiasm. Her shining gaze rested at the same time in the distance on the mighty edifice of the Temple, that, on the top of Mount Moriah, towered above everything, and whose battlements sparkled in the last gold of the evening sun. She thought of the promised Messiah who would soon appear to restore the Kingdom of Judah, her Judah, and make it mighty and great.[605]

602 See ibid., p. 68.

603 Ihlenfeld, *Ruth*, p. 17: "das Schwache muß sich dem Starken beugen, das ist der Lauf der Welt, und so ist Rom die Herrscherin der Welt geworden. [. . .] Der Kriegsgott regiert die Welt."

604 Ibid.: "Stolzer Römer, glaube mir, auch ich bin stolz auf mein Volk! Israel war schon mächtig, als Rom noch unberühmt und klein war."

605 Ibid.: "'Und die Zukunft, die Zukunft—,' unterbrach sie ihn freudig erregt. Ihre leuchtenden Blicke sahen dabei in die Ferne auf den mächtigen Bau des Tempels, der vom Berge Morija aus alles überragte, und dessen Zinnen im letzten Abendsonnengold funkelten. Sie gedachte des ver-

Ruth's elation articulates the political hopes attached by the Jews to the Messiah of which the magnificence of the Temple is suggested to be a material symbol.

Ruth's faith in divine providence is contrasted with the centurion's belief in fame; a fame that, to Antonius, justifies Roman aggression because it promises immortality, but which is later questioned even by Titus in cognizance of the cruelty and misery of war. The notion of martial fame is implicitly also challenged in the novel by another, Christian, conception of fame. It emerges that Ruth's maternal uncle, whom she never met, was ostracized by the family and, still alive, was declared dead. Interrogating the slave Iras, Ruth finds out that the old woman remembers Saul as a child and recounts that it was the little boy's desire to become as famous as Alexander the Great. But what became of Saul neither of them knows; instead of fame, his fate seems to have been oblivion. It is only when Ruth and Iras help an old man, who turns out to be a Christian, that they learn of Saul's dramatic conversion to Christianity and his exploits as Paul the Apostle:

> Know then that he whom you love, whom you raised to manhood, has become a blessing for all humanity of all times. His fame shall never fade and centuries hence, millennia hence, his name shall be praised and shall eclipse the names of great kings and heroes, such as Alexander of Macedonia and Caesar![606]

The story of Clement (Clemens), the old Christian, is one of several conversion narratives integrated into the novel. Of Roman descent, he was the turnkey at the prison in Philippi in which Paul languished, but was converted by the apostle's faith and by his supernatural liberation. Touched by Ruth's fierce religious nationalism, Clement gently seeks to disabuse her of her delusion. Explaining Jesus's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, he nevertheless suggests in analogy to Paul a redemptive turn through the envisioned conversion of the Jews:

> His words rang with boundless friendliness and pity, as he now said to her: "How you now stand before me, irate and agitated, the true image of your people!—Yet also those who are proud must yield to Him.—He can tame the lion,—*He*, Who turned Saul into Paul!"[607]

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heißenen Messias, der bald kommen und dann das Reich Juda, ihr Juda, aufrichten, und mächtig und groß machen sollte."

606 Ibid., p. 65: "Denn wisse, der, den du liebst, den du großgezogen hast, ist ein Segen geworden für die ganze Menschheit aller Zeiten. Sein Ruhm wird nie erlöschen, und nach Jahrhunderten, nach Jahrtausenden noch wird sein Name gepriesen werden und wird die Namen von großen Königen und Helden, wie Alexander von Mazedonien und Cäsar verdunkeln!"

607 Ibid., p. 59: "Unendlich freundlich und mitleidsvoll klangen seine Worte, als er nun sagte: 'Wie du vor mir stehst, zornig und erregt, ganz das Abbild deines Volkes!—Aber auch Stolze müssen sich Ihm beugen.—Er kann Löwen bändigen,—hat *Er* doch aus Saulus einen Paulus gemacht!'"

Clement promotes a strongly Christological faith which rests on the principle of the justification by faith, represented by the author through the old Christian as the epitome of Pauline theology and which is another indicator of the Protestant provenance of Ihlenfeld's *Ruth*.[608]

After having been paraded at the triumphal entry of Titus in Rome, Ruth—like her brother—is sold as a slave. In the household of a haughty Roman widow, she is protected by the withdrawn and mysterious Astrid. The taciturn old woman, respected and feared by her fellow slaves, looks after the frightened girl and facilitates her attendance at secret Christian meetings. Yet it is only as she lies dying that she bares her soul to the young Jewish woman. It emerges that the day is not only the holy Day of the Norns (*Nornentag*), the Germanic goddesses of fate, but that it is the anniversary of the day

> when Germany broke the Roman yoke and annihilated the Caesar's legions; when Rome for the first time trembled before the mighty nation that obstinate and strong and with simple morals roams its forests and that, once the time will have come, will wreak destruction on Rome.[609]

As Astrid unfolds her narrative, it emerges that she was the foster sister and closest friend of Thusnelda, the wife of Arminius, or Hermann, the Cheruscan who led the Germanic coalition to victory against the Romans at the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest in 9 CE. Hermann is exalted by Astrid as the German redeemer;[610] associating the notion of the Messiah, this is one of a number of parallels elaborated by Ihlenfeld between the Jews and the Germans which defy a more or less straightforward antisemitic reading of the novel as it has been proposed by Wilhelmi.[611] The redemption offered by Hermann is, moreover, political and it, like the Jewish expectation of the political Messiah, eventually fails; the suggestion is that, once they will have accepted the spiritual redeemer, Jesus Christ, the Germans will fulfil their destiny as a people chosen by God. Like the Jews, suffering under Roman rule, the Germanic tribes, too, are divided; yet like the Jews, they eventually unite in their fateful rebellion against their oppressors. Like the Jews, the Germans trust in divine providence decreeing their victory. Like the Jews, the Germans, it is suggested, ulti-

608 See, e.g., Ferdinand Prat, SJ, "Paul, Saint," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, eds Charles G. Herberman et al. (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1913), IX, 567–77, 574.

609 Ihlenfeld, *Ruth*, p. 212: "wie Deutschland das Joch der Römer brach und die Legionen des Kaisers vernichtete, wo Rom zum erstenmal erzitterte vor dem gewaltigen Volke, das trotzig und stark und mit einfachen Sitten in seinen Wäldern haust, und das, wenn die Zeit gekommen sein wird, dem stolzen Rom den Untergang bringen wird." The Battle of the Teutoburg Forest lasted from September 9 to 11, 9 CE.

610 See ibid., pp. 209, 211, 216.

611 See Wilhelmi, "Jerusalem in historischen Romanen," p. 64.

mately believe in one God, the Allfather ("Allvater"; i.e., Wodan). Ihlenfeld even invents Alwin, the singer, who in parallel to Josephus chronicles history.[612] And, finally, like the Jews, the Germans are a stiff-necked people, of which the figure of Astrid offers an example. Entreated by Ruth to convert to Christianity, the old woman refuses, saying: "You know not a German heart, then."[613]

Over the centuries, the myth of Hermann the Cheruscan was culturally extremely productive in Germany and found a plethora of articulations in literature, art, and music.[614] Its popularity reached its zenith in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the myth of the Germanic military leader was tied to the emerging German nationalism. After the foundation of the German Empire in 1871, the Hermann myth suggested a meaningful continuity with early Germanic history: It offered the anachronistic identification of contemporary Germans with the ancient Germanic tribes and of contemporary Germany with the imaginary of an ancient Germania. Perhaps the most influential manifestation of the Hermann myth in the nineteenth century was the monument to the Cheruscan warrior that was dedicated to the German people in 1875 in the presence of Emperor Wilhelm I and an estimated thirty thousand "monument pilgrims."[615]

The colossal structure near Detmold, rising to a height of almost 57 metres, had first been conceived in 1838 by its creator, Ernst von Bandel. It celebrated German unity in the face of external enemies—of the Romans in antiquity, and of the French in the Napoleonic Wars and the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71, the latter of which resulted in the creation of the Empire. The Hermann monument implied a collective past that invoked national cohesion and unity and evoked and consolidated the notion of a national identity. In this way, it became a symbol of the foundational myth of the German Empire that exhorted the Germans to defend their unified nation against external enemies.

612 See Ihlenfeld, *Ruth*, p. 219.

613 Ibid., p. 209: "Da kennst du ein deutsches Herz schlecht."

614 See, e.g., Richard Kuehnemund, *Arminius or the Rise of a National Symbol in Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953); *Arminius und die Varusschlacht: Geschichte, Mythos, Literatur, Verantwortung*, eds Rainer Wiegels and Winfried Woesler (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1995); Rainer Wiegels, "'Varusschlacht' und 'Hermann'-Mythos—Historie und Historisierung eines römisch-germanischen Kampfes im Gedächtnis der Zeiten," in *Erinnerungsorte der Antike: Die römische Welt*, eds Elke Stein-Hölkeskamp and Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 503–25, 766–7; and Martin M. Winkler, *Arminius the Liberator: Myth and Ideology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

615 L. v. B., "Die Einweihung des Hermanndenkmals auf der Groteburg bei Detmold," *Über Land und Meer* 17.2 (1875): 1018–19, 1018: "Denkmalpilger." For the inauguration ceremony, see Hans Schmidt, *Das Hermannsdenkmal im Spiegel der Welt: Baugeschichte—Beiträge—Besucher—Interpretationen* (Detmold: Bösmann, 1975), pp. 25–8.

The alleged historical parallels of Arminius routing the Romans and of Wilhelm vanquishing the French served, more specifically, to legitimate the national project and to demarcate collective German identity against alleged external enemies, in particular against the French, which were styled as the hereditary enemy (*Erbfeind*).[616] Yet the monument and its manifestation as a media event were pitched in the spirit of the *Kulturkampf* also against contemporary Rome, i.e., against the Catholic Church and its faithful who were construed as internal enemies. While the Catholic press sought to offer its own ameliorating interpretations, the national-Protestant emphasis on the topicality of the Hermann myth and its monumental embodiment appears to have been very prominent in public discourse in Germany.[617]

The inauguration ceremony in August 1875 was given wide coverage in the national (and international) press.[618] Two very different visual representations by Knut Ekwall (also Ekvall) and Gottlob Theuerkauf, respectively, published shortly after the ceremony, give an indication of its scope and significance.[619] In Ekwall's illustration (see Figure 19), published in the widely popular magazine *Die Gartenlaube*, the monument appears in the background of the composition, slightly off-center toward the right. On its left and right huge trees form the background against which, in the left middle ground, rises the canopied imperial grandstand; it is faced, on the right, by a rostrum in the guise of a pulpit from which an orator holds forth. The space between these structures is completely filled with figures and, receding in the distance toward the monument, a veritable sea of flags.

The actual statue faces west—toward France, rather than south, toward Rome. Due to the terrain, the grounds laid out for the celebrations extended toward the rear of the monument. This arrangement is reflected in both Ekwall's and Theuerkauf's visual records. In relation to the statue, which was, after all, the main attraction, this creates a strange effect, inasmuch as it is seen only from behind; at the same time, however, it suggests the throng of visitors to follow the Germanic warrior as he brandishes his sword toward France, though the crowd in Ekwall's woodcut, in contrast to Theuerkauf's, is unruly and embodies no military order.

616 See, e.g., H. N., "Die Uebergabe des Hermanns-Denkmales an das Deutsche Volk," *Fürstlich Lippisches Regierungs- und Anzeigeblatt* 190 (August 17, 1875): n. p.

617 See Sebastian Knauer, "Das Hermannsdenkmal vor dem Hintergrund des Kulturkampfes," *Rosenland* 5 (2007): 2–15.

618 See Schmidt, *Hermannsdenkmal im Spiegel der Welt*, p. 27.

619 Rudolf Scipio, "Der Ehrentag des Teutoburger Waldes," *Die Gartenlaube* 38 (1875): 638–42; the text was accompanied by two illustrations by Knut Ekwall: "Der Kaiser und der Künstler," p. 637 and "Festscene bei der Einweihung des Hermann-Denkmals," pp. 640–1. In *Über Land und Meer*, Gottlob Theuerkauf offered another perspective on the event, see G[ottlob] Theuerkauf, "Enthüllung des Hermanndenkmals," *Über Land und Meer* 34.51 (1875): 1013.

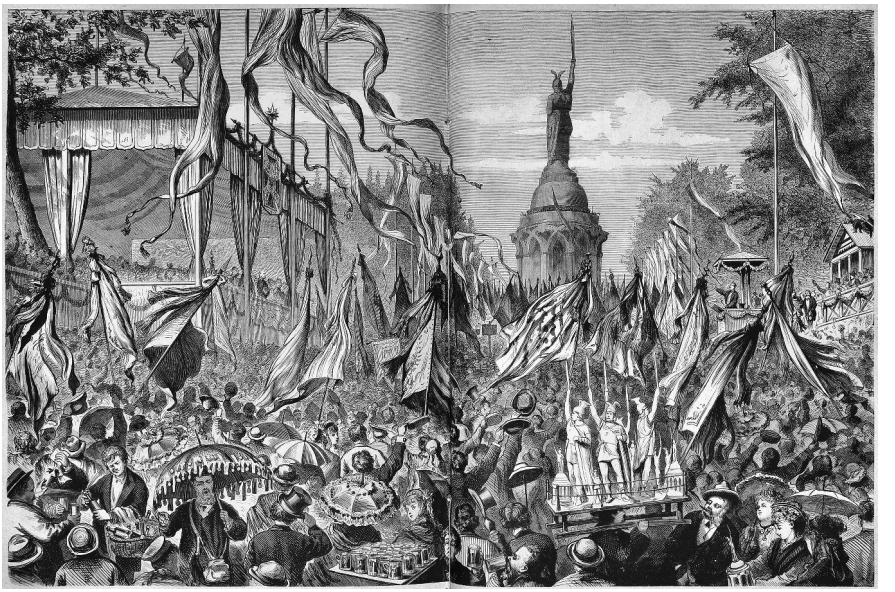


Figure 19: Knut Ekwall, "Festscene bei der Einweihung des Hermann-Denkmals," *Die Gartenlaube* 38 (1875): 640–1. (Public domain.)

The Swedish-born artist included in the right foreground among the figures in his teeming composition a hawker who carries plaster statuettes of the warlike Cheruscan and replicas of the monument as a whole on a tray on his head. They are astutely arranged in a way which allows the artist to depict the Hermann statue also from the front and in both its left and right profiles; due to the perspective, the plaster Hermanns are moreover the same size as the statue in the background. At the same time, however, the proliferation of statuettes creates a disconcerting effect in that it suggests a confusion among the various white Hermanns of different size which almost seems to mock the dark silhouette of the monument looming in the background. The replicas amid the multitude might, moreover, also be read as a challenge to any internal enemies of the German Empire, an issue that was broached in the opening speech of the ceremony by General Superintendent Adolf Koppen of the Protestant Church of the Principality of Lippe.

Ekwall moreover included a group of three young women in the throng whose response to the plaster casts appears to suggest paradigmatic patterns of popular appreciation of the monument. One of the young women has purchased a small plaster replica and, holding it at arm's length, gazes dreamily at it; next to her, another young woman remains more aloof, though Ekwall only shows her in quarter profile from behind; the third of the young women looks up at the statuettes and

replicas on the tray with an ambiguous expression that might be read as either petulant or wistful. That these responses to the monument are gendered and generational suggests a trivializing and potentially even mocking dimension to the romantic appeal of the figure of Hermann and the concept of national unity it associates.

The simulacral aspect emphasized by the artist moreover challenges the connection of the monument and its replicas to reality. It suggests the dissociation between the imagined past and the construction of the present: Some irretrievable reality has been given shape in the projection of an idealized imaginary of Germanness with the monument, which itself has been copied in a proliferation of simulacra, and copied again in Ekwall's print. The simulacrum, as Jean Baudrillard argues, induces the belief in the existence of a reality that lies outside it. Yet this reality no longer exists; rather, it belongs to the hyperreal order. As a sign without an original referent, it conceals "the fact that the real is no longer real."[620] At least implicitly, the artist's woodcut is thus a subversive reminder of this dissociation.

To the detail of the plaster casts Ekwall added other observations which reinforce the commercial and tacky dimension of the celebrations: he includes waiters with huge trays of beer tankards and baskets of wine bottles; people perspiring in the sweltering August heat and from the liberal consumption of alcohol; as well as a hawker of commemorative medals, which he has pinned all around an opened umbrella.[621] The emphasis on commercial transactions and the visual dissipation of the monument severely challenges the seriousness of the national moment.

Theuerkauf's woodcut in *Über Land und Meer* is much more formalized and eschews the representation of such critical details and of the boisterous confusion in which Ekwall delights in his composition, which is advertised in the caption as having been "recorded according to nature."[622] Both illustrations, as internal evidence suggests, represent different stages of the proceedings, which may explain the more rigid order depicted by Theuerkauf earlier in the morning during the opening speech of General Superintendent Koppen, who is portrayed on the rostrum. Ekwall, in contrast, shows the closing speech of Counsellor of Justice Otto Preuß.

620 Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulations*, transl. Sheila Faria Glaser (1981; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), p. 13.

621 At least two different medals were struck to commemorate the occasion, by an anonymous medailleur and by Heinrich Friedrich Brehmer (1815–89), respectively; see Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, inventory nos. N2010/262 and N2010/264. For the latter, see also Friedrich Brehmer, "Medaille zur Einweihung des Hermanns-Denkmals 1875," *Das Kunstwerk des Monats* (Juni 1987) (Münster: Westfälisches Landesmuseum, 1987).

622 Ekwall, "Festscene," p. 641: "Nach der Natur aufgenommen."

In contrast to Koppen, Preuß was careful to avoid any divisive rhetoric. He invoked the unity of the Empire and represented both Hermann and Wilhelm as heroes of national unification.[623] Yet, the account of the ceremony in the official *Fürstlich Lippisches Regierungs- und Anzeigeblatt* jarred noticeably with his conciliatory speech, which it reproduced. Rather, echoing the *Kulturkampf* rhetoric introduced by Koppen to the occasion, of whose speech it included a summary, it ended on an openly acerbic note, invoking a covenant under the leadership of "our heroic Emperor" against "the vipers of Rome."[624] The report by the writer Rudolf Scipio in *Die Gartenlaube*—which was accompanied, and to some extent subverted, by Ekwall's non-denominational illustration—similarly understood the monument to be

> an exhortation to hold high the banner of national liberty and independence, no matter whether the arms with which the fight for these ideals is waged are similar to the sword of Arminius or whether they are the arms of the free spirit with which we today, after two thousand years, once again fight with the battle cry: "Against Rome."[625]

The articulation of these anti-Catholic sentiments reflected the trajectory of Koppen's speech, which was "pervaded with the most fiery enthusiasm," as the popular magazine *Über Land und Meer* noted with wry irony.[626] The reformed pastor implicitly denounced Catholics as internal enemies of the Empire who threatened the cohesion of the nation, its "Protestant liberty," and its sustenance through divine providence.[627] The principle of divine providence was established by the churchman as the main focus of his deliberations in relation to the scriptural base of 2 Chronicles 32:8 in affirmation of the German national project and its divine legitimation: "but with us is the LORD our God to help us, and to fight our battles."[628]

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623 The speech of Otto Preuß was published in H. N., "Die Uebergabe des Hermanns-Denkmales," n. p.

624 Ibid., n. p.: "unseres Heldenkaisers [. . .] gegen Roms Vipern."

625 Rudolf Scipio, "Ehrentag des Teutoburger Waldes," p. 642: "eine Mahnung, hochzuhalten das Panier der nationalen Freiheit und Selbstständigkeit, gleichviel ob die Waffen, mit welchen der Kampf um jene Güter gekämpft wird, dem Schwerte Armin's gleichen, oder ob es die Waffen des freien Geistes sind, mit welchen wir heute nach zweitausend Jahren abermals kämpfen unter dem Schlachtrufe: '*Wider Rom.*'" Though critical of the authoritarian structure of the German Empire, *Die Gartenlaube* positioned itself in the *Kulturkampf* clearly on the side of the state against the Catholic Church, see Nina Reusch, *Populäre Geschichte im Kaiserreich: Familienzeitschriften als Akteure der deutschen Geschichtskultur 1890–1913* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2015), p. 219.

626 L. v. B., "Einweihung des Hermanndenkmals," 1018: "von feurigstem Enthusiasmus durchhauchten Festrede."

627 Adolf Koppen, *Rede gehalten bei der Einweihung des Hermannsdenkmals am 16. August 1875* (Detmold: Meyer'sche Hofbuchhandlung, 1875), for the quotation, see p. 6: "evangelische Freiheit."

628 See ibid., p. 3: "Mit uns aber ist der Herr unser Gott, daß er uns helfe und führe unsern Streit."

While never made explicit, and potentially not even intended, Koppen's national-Protestant speech moreover suggests a number of poignant analogies to the Chosen People and, arguably, the destruction of Jerusalem, which implicitly reverberates as a nightmare specter of cataclysmic annihilation in the background. The most obvious analogy—very similar to that elaborated by Ihlenfeld in her novel a quarter of a century later—is the imaginary of the German people, like the ancient Israelites, living securely in a close covenant with God; the continued favor of the Lord may only be suspended as a punishment for transgression, which manifests itself, as in the biblical precedent, in apostasy:[629]

> Only a German people degenerate in apostasy would drop the sceptre. For in conjunction with trust in God, the right self-assurance; in conjunction with pious faith, brave courage and the readiness happily to die should fail, if it were incumbent to fight for the fatherland and to perish. If we Germans remain faithful to our God, then will we learn at any time: but with us is the Lord our God to help us, and to fight our battles.[630]

The adherence to Catholicism, Koppen implies, is a transgression against the true faith; Catholics, he moreover suggests, sow discord.[631] The specter of internal discord finds its parallel in the disunity of the Jews on the eve of the destruction of Jerusalem which, as has been discussed, carries strong associations of a divine judgment for the continued rejection of the true faith and of the abandonment of the Chosen People by the Lord. It is thus a powerful warning example.

A final parallel, entailing a shift of perspective, is the belief that the Prussian King Wilhelm I acted, like Titus, as an instrument of the Lord's will in the Franco-Prussian War. Koppen (mis-)quotes Wilhelm's well-known telegram about the decisive German victory at Sedan to his queen, Augusta von Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach: "What a turn of events through the guidance of God."[632] The pastor's deliberately inaccurate quotation—which substitutes "guidance [Führung]" for "providence [Fügung]", which was the Prussian King's original choice of word—was a common emendation within the national-Protestant milieu.[633] It reflects the appropriation of

629 See ibid., pp. 4–6.

630 Ibid., p. 6: "Nur einem im Unglauben entarteten deutschen Volke würde der Herrscherstab entsinken, denn mit dem Gottvertrauen würde auch das rechte Selbstvertrauen, mit dem frommen Glauben auch der tapfere Muth und die Todesfreudigkeit, wenn es gälte für das Vaterland zu kämpfen und zu sterben, hinsinken. Bleiben wir Deutsche unserem Gotte treu, dann werden wir zu jeder Zeit erfahren: Mit uns aber ist der Herr unser Gott, daß er uns helfe und führe unseren Streit."

631 See ibid., p. 6.

632 Ibid., p. 5: "Welch eine Wendung durch Gottes Führung."

633 See Gangolf Hübinger, "Kirchen und Staat im Deutschen Kaiserreich," in *Max Weber's Religionssoziologie in interkultureller Perspektive*, eds Hartmut Lehmann and Jean Martin Ouédraogo (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), pp. 17–28, p. 18.

current events and their mediation in an effort of establishing Protestant political and cultural hegemony in the emerging German Empire through the creation of a narrative that projected the belief in the active intervention of the Lord in the destiny of the German nation as it was also articulated by Koppen.

The pastor moreover conflated the well-known sentence with a passage from a letter Wilhelm wrote to Augusta on the day after the French surrender:

> I bow before God Who alone chose me, my army, and my allies to accomplish what has come to pass and Who appointed us to become the instruments of His will. Only in this sense may I comprehend the work, so as to praise with humility God's guidance and His mercy.[634]

The salvific significance within a divine plan extracted by Koppen from the Prussian King's words is utilized by him once again to legitimate the ensuing unification of the German nation and to support the Protestant claim to God's active guidance.

Wilhelm's avowed submission to the divine will in relation to the overwhelming military success of the campaign in France was also taken note of in the Catholic press. Less than three weeks after the German victory at Sedan, on September 21, 1870, the Viennese journal *Der Pilger*, according to its subtitle a *Familienblatt für alle Stände* (The Pilgrim. Bulletin for Families of All Estates), that was edited by Franz Xaver Schumacher, also attributed salvific significance to the words and actions of the Prussian King. Yet, unsurprisingly, the Catholic author's interpretation was predicated on a contextual reconfiguration of the parameters and envisaged a very different trajectory. Schumacher celebrated the Prussian King as "executor of the divine judgement" meted out upon Napoleon III for his support of the Italian patriotic movement and the withdrawal of French troops protecting the Papal States against the army of the Italian King Vittorio Emanuele II.[635] While Schumacher implicitly indicated some doubts about Wilhelm's sincerity, he nevertheless quoted the same passage from the Prussian King's letter and praised the monarch for acknowledging that he was merely an instrument of the divine will.

More contentious appeared to be the question of what exactly the will of the Lord was. Schumacher challenged Wilhelm to find out and to continue to fulfil the true will of God; other than Napoleon III who also considered himself an instrument of the Lord, but then turned against Him and was therefore punished

634 Koppen, *Rede*, p. 5: "Ich beuge mich vor Gott, der allein mich, mein Heer und meine Mitverbündeten ausersehen hat, das Geschehene zu vollbringen und uns zu Werkzeugen seines Willens bestellt hat. Nur in diesem Sinne vermag ich das Werk aufzufassen, um in Demuth Gottes Führung und seine Gnade zu preisen." For Wilhelm I's letter to his wife, see Wilhelm Oncken, *Das Zeitalter des Kaisers Wilhelm* (Berlin: Grote, 1892), II, 172.

635 [Franz Xaver Schumacher], "Nach Paris," *Der Pilger* 4.27 (September 21, 1870): 330–1, 330: "König *Wilhelm* als Vollstrecker des göttlichen Strafgerichts vor der Hauptstadt des Kaisers der Franzosen."

by another of His instruments—i.e., Wilhelm. Schumacher felt he knew what the will of God was. He held forth:

> The King of Prussia is at the gates of Paris. Will he recognise the will of God better than his prisoner, the vanquished of Sedan? Everything depends on this with regard to the future of the King and the future of Germany. The first sure sign that the victor of Sedan acknowledges the will of God would be an energetic step in support of the Pope, the second would be his return to the bosom of the only true Church. If he does not recognise and fulfil it, he, too, shall have been no more than a temporary instrument in the hand of the Lord, which the Lord shall shatter once it is of no more use to Him, so as to call upon another One as executor of the divine will, a Christian hero who understands the meaning of the angelic song of praise: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men!"[636]

Schumacher was quickly disabused of his illusions if, indeed, his recommendations were meant seriously. As he was still denouncing Vittorio Emanuele II as the Antichrist and prophesied his imminent judgment under the walls of Rome, these very walls had already been breached on the day before and the city had been captured by the Italian forces, news of which may have reached Vienna too late for the press.[637]

Although it may have taken him a little longer to realize it, Schumacher's hopes for the return of Wilhelm to the bosom of the Catholic Church were equally futile. By 1875, when the Hermann monument was inaugurated, the *Kulturkampf* had reached its climax and Koppen, as discussed above, reclaimed the words of the Prussian King, who was now also the German Emperor, in support of a Protestant construction of German nationhood under divine guidance which effectively excluded Catholics.

636 Ibid., 331: "Der König von Preußen steht vor Paris. Wird er den Willen Gottes besser erkennen, als sein Gefangener, der Besiegte von Sedan? Davon hängt Alles ab für die Zukunft des Königs und für die Zukunft Deutschlands. Das erste sichere Zeichen, daß der Sieger von Sedan den Willen Gottes anerkennt, wäre ein energischer Schritt zu Gunsten des Papstes, das zweite seine Rückkehr in den Schooß der alleinseligmachenden Kirche. Erkennt und erfüllt er ihn nicht, dann wird er eben auch nichts Anderes gewesen sein, als ein vorübergehendes Werkzeug in der Hand Gottes, welches Gott zerbricht, wenn er es nicht mehr brauchen kann, um einen Andern als Vollstrecker seines göttlichen Willens zu berufen, einen christlichen Helden, welcher die Bedeutung des englischen Lobgesangs versteht: Ehre sei Gott in der Höhe und Friede den Menschen auf Erden, die guten Willens sind!" See also Luke 2:14. Croly used part of the same passage from Scripture to conclude his encomium of the British Empire, see Croly, *Life and Times of His Late Majesty King George the Fourth*, p. 414.

637 See [Schumacher], "Nach Rom," 329–30, 329 and "Nach Paris," 330. Rome was captured on September 20, 1870; for the historical circumstances, see, e.g., David I. Kertzer, *Prisoner of the Vatican: The Popes' Secret Plot to Capture Rome from the New Italian State* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2004), p. 3.

While not of immediate obvious relevance to Ihlenfeld's novel about the destruction of Jerusalem, discourse on the Hermann myth and, more specifically, the Hermann monument nevertheless has a bearing on the interpretation of *Ruth*. Effectively, by writing her novel into this discourse, the author activated its potential of signification also for her own text. In *Ruth*, Astrid articulates in her retrospective on the events preceding the battle between the Germanic tribes and the Romans and on its aftermath constitutive stereotypes of the Hermann myth which translate easily into the contemporary national-Protestant stereotypes which proliferated at the height of the *Kulturkampf* in relation to the Hermann monument.

Astrid maintains that as a result of Roman rule "German customs and morals were more and more driven out";[638] moreover: "Free German men, who were too proud to acknowledge any master, had to bow their necks under the yoke of bondage."[639] The Germanic desire for freedom is eventually the driving force which allows Hermann to unify German resistance to the Roman yoke. "Do you not know how a German heart feels the disgrace of having to serve foreign masters?,"[640] the Chatti tell him, to which he responds: "I, too, am come to fight for freedom. Almighty was the power that drew me from Rome, which I despise so profoundly; homeward, to my beloved mountains, to my simple people with its pure, noble customs and morals."[641]

The sword brandished by Bandel's Hermann atop the colossal monument on the Groteburg, seven meters long, carries the inscription: "German unity [is] my strength, / My strength [is] Germany's might."[642] The assertion of German unity is indeed, as discussed, one of the main objectives of the monument, no less than of the foundation myth of the Empire. It is also reiterated by Ihlenfeld. Her Hermann maintains: "And as soon as we are of one mind, we shall also be strong. Is there another nation in the world that is like unto the German in pride, courage,

638 Ihlenfeld, *Ruth*, p. 216: "deutsche Sitten wurden immer mehr verdrängt."

639 Ibid.: "Freie deutsche Männer, die zu stolz waren, einen Herrn über sich anzuerkennen, mußten ihren Nacken dem Joche der Knechtschaft beugen."

640 Ibid., p. 221: "Weißt du nicht, was ein deutsches Herz empfindet bei der Schmach, fremden Herren dienen zu müssen?"

641 Ibid.: "Auch ich bin gekommen, um für die Freiheit zu kämpfen. Mit Allgewalt zog es mich von Rom, das ich so tief verachte, heimwärts zu meinen geliebten Bergen, zu meinem einfachen Volke mit seinen reinen, edlen Sitten."

642 For a contemporary description of the memorial, including the inscription of the sword, see Anonymous, "Das Hermanns-Denkmal im Teutoburger Walde," *Besondere Beilage zum Deutschen Reichs-Anzeiger und Königlich Preußischen Staats-Anzeiger* (August 14, 1875): 1–3, 3: "Deutsche Einigkeit meine Stärke, / Meine Stärke Deutschlands Macht."

and bravery? The Allfather is with us and shields his German people!"[643] This avowal of national greatness and the absolute faith in divine providence articulates in condensed form the essence of General Superintendent Koppen's opening speech at the inauguration ceremony of the Hermann monument. It is also, as suggested above, one of the points of intersection between the Jews and the Germans elaborated by Ihlenfeld.

In the novel, a wise woman ("Alraune") prophecies to Hermann the greatest earthly bliss, but that it will not last long. Yet, she also tells him: "you shall be immortalised!—For as long as one German shall yet live on German soil, your name shall be praised, your fame shall be sung!"[644] The monument is one manifestation of this immortalizing commemorative practice, tied to the projection of national perpetuity; it is estimated that by 1900, just after the publication of Ihlenfeld's novel, the annual number of "monument pilgrims" exceeded twenty-two thousand.[645] Ihlenfeld's novel is another manifestation of the commemoration of Hermann. The author returns here to the concept of fame. But this is yet another form of fame. It is not the Roman fame, extolled by Antonius and predicated on voracious military aggression; nor is it the spiritual fame achieved by the apostle Paul. The fame envisaged here creates transcendence because it is anchored in the divine plan of salvation. As such, it is envisioned by the author in parallel to the fame of the Chosen People, yet it reflects the transformation into the soteriological reality of the new covenant.

When Astrid tells Ruth of the fate of Hermann and Thusnelda's son Thumelicus, who died in young years as a gladiator, she curses Rome: "Miserable Rome, now thou feelest so safe! The noble stem, before which thou trembled'st, it fell; its flourishing branch thou hast cut off, yet it shall not be to thy gain!—True it is that Hermann had to perish, and his lineage,—yet Hermann's spirit lives on in the German people and shall never die."[646] This is an articulation of the author's interpretation of the present through the past and, no less important, of the past through the present which reflects the utilization of the Hermann myth as a foundation myth of the German Empire which emphasized national unity and cohesion.

643 Ihlenfeld, *Ruth*, p. 221: "Und sobald wir einig sind, sind wir auch stark. Gibt es ein Volk auf der Erde, das dem deutschen an Stolz, Mut und Tapferkeit gleicht? Allvater ist mit uns und schirmt sein deutsches Volk!"

644 Ibid., p. 223: "du wirst unsterblich werden!—Solange auf deutschem Boden noch ein Deutscher lebt, wird dein Name gepriesen, wird dein Ruhm gesungen werden!"

645 See Schmidt, *Hermannsdenkmal im Spiegel der Welt*, p. 43.

646 Ihlenfeld, *Ruth*, p. 243: "Elendes Rom, du fühlst dich jetzt so sicher! Der edle Stamm, vor dem du zittertest, sank hin, den blühenden Zweig hast du ihm abgeschnitten, doch dir ist's kein Gewinn!—Wohl mußte Hermann sterben und sein Geschlecht,—Hermanns Geist aber lebt fort im deutschen Volke und wird nimmer sterben."

The historical Hermann succeeded only briefly in cementing a coalition of Germanic tribes against the Romans. Eventually, he became a victim of internal discord, as it raged also among the Jews at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem; he was murdered by his own kin. Even at the height of his power, he had to fear the treachery of his rivals. Thusnelda's father Segestes, the scheming villain in Astrid's narrative, was a collaborator of the Romans. After his betrayal of the Germans to the Romans, when they once more dare to invade Germania, he delivers his daughter and Astrid as hostages to the Roman imperator Germanicus, who parades them at his triumphal entry into Rome. Suffering the disgrace of captivity, Thusnelda prophecies the utter destruction of the Roman Empire at the hands of the Germanic tribes. "We shall die, wane on Roman soil," she confides to Astrid:

> yet the German people shall wax mighty and mightier still. Heroes shall flourish, like Hermann, and then they shall come, the Germans, across the high snowy mountains. Italy, they shall trample, and Rome shall be destroyed.[647]

Considering the analogy between the ancient Romans and the contemporary Roman Catholic Church elaborated in public discourse on the Hermann monument, it seems more than likely that Ihlenfeld, too, invokes the same contemporary dimension in her novel beyond the historical destruction of the Western Roman Empire by the Visigoths and Ostrogoths in the fifth century.

Astrid's relation and the magnificence of her thoughts induce Ruth's reverence ("Verehrung").[648] Considering her own earlier fierce nationalism, this reinforces the analogy between Jews and Germans, but it suggests at the same time that the Germans, other than the Jews, will ultimately triumph over Rome. Yet this triumph must be transformed into a Christian triumph which cements the notion of the Germans superseding the Jews and emerging as the new Chosen People in true, i.e., Protestant Christianity. The vehicle for achieving this is conversion.

Yet Astrid, close to death, is still adamant in her faith to her gods though Ruth argues that Wodan, the *Allvater*, is the same God as the Christian God and that Valhalla is only another word for the place prepared by the Lord for his flock.[649] She asserts that, following Ruth's savior, Astrid will find there all those she loved. Ruth argues: "And all those, who prayed to their God here on earth, who looked up with yearning to the eternal home and sought salvation with ardent desire; all those, He

647 Ibid., p. 242: "Wir werden sterben, untergehen auf römischer Erde; das deutsche Volk aber wird wachsen, mächtig und mächtiger werden. Helden werden erblühen gleich Hermann, und dann kommen sie, die Deutschen, übers hohe Schneegebirge. Italien werden sie zertreten und Rom wird zugrundegehen."

648 Ibid., p. 243.

649 See ibid., p. 245.

wrested from the fetters of death."[650] Circumventing most of the five Protestant principles, this universal divine amnesty may be theologically dubious, yet Ihlenfeld has Ruth insist: "For love the Lord came to this earth, for the sake of grace does He wish to bless all men; only one sin shall He not forgive, that is the sin unto death, the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit." This is, as Ruth explains to Astrid: "When a man elects to disregard the admonition of his heart, when he turns a deaf ear to the words of the Savior which by necessity must overcome him—."[651] Saved from this sin, Astrid eventually dies, sighing: "Allfather—to Thee, Jesus Christ!"[652] And, as the text affirms: "Her soul hastened towards its home"[653]—just as Ruth had promised.

Astrid's conversion, circumventing and predating the eighth-century mission of St Boniface to the Germanic tribes, signifies the transition of the Germans into the new Chosen People which creates a new covenant between nation and God, as it had also been suggested by General Superintendent Koppen in his speech at the inauguration ceremony of the Hermann monument in 1875. Ihlenfeld's novel in fact develops a new nationalist perspective on the soteriological significance of the Jews. They provide a model to German nationhood which is predicated on the chosenness of the Israelites and their fierce trust in God as the guarantor of their nationhood as it is articulated by the Jewish Ruth. The transgressive internal discord among the Jews and their rejection of the Savior is then symbolically overcome with the conversion of Ruth. When Astrid is converted by Ruth, the circle is closed: the Germans are construed as a newly chosen nation that adopts true Christianity and will thus triumph over the Roman Empire and over the Roman Catholic Church alike.

Negotiating Between the Destruction of Jerusalem, Hermann the Cheruscan, and the Apostle of the Germans: Körber and Cüppers

Both the Protestant Philipp Körber and the Catholic Adam Josef Cüppers, mentioned earlier as having contributed to the emerging genre of the novel of the

650 Ibid., p. 246: "Und alle, die hier auf Erden gebetet haben zu ihrem Gott, die sehnsüchtig auf geschaut haben nach der ewigen Heimat und mit heißem Verlangen das Heil gesucht haben, die alle hat er den Banden des Todes entrissen."

651 Ibid.: "Aus Liebe ist der Herr zur Erde gekommen, aus Gnade will er alle Menschen selig machen, nur eine Sünde wird er nicht vergeben, das ist die Sünde wider den heiligen Geist. [. . .] Wenn ein Mensch dem Mahnen seines Herzens nicht folgen will, wenn er sein Ohr verschließt vor den Worten des Heilands, die ihn doch überwinden müssen—"

652 Ibid., p. 247: "Allvater—zu dir, Jesus Christus!"

653 Ibid.: "Ihre Seele eilte der Heimat zu."

time of the destruction of Jerusalem, also wrote novels about Hermann the Cheruscan; Cüppers moreover provided the libretto for Max Bruch's oratorio *Arminius* (1875; op. 43).[654] But neither of them brought the subjects of the destruction of Jerusalem and of Hermann the Cheruscan into conversation with one another. In fact, as far as I am aware, Ihlenfeld is the only writer to combine the two subjects in one narrative and to have them mutually reinforce the notion of German nationalism and Protestant hegemony. The literary engagements of Körber and Cüppers with the historical subject of Hermann the Cheruscan are nevertheless of interest in the context of this chapter, because they reflect—originating in the period before and just after the *Kulturkampf* and in a Protestant and Catholic milieu, respectively—very different responses to the Hermann myth which help to triangulate Ihlenfeld's amalgamation of the foundational myth of the German Empire with the destruction of Jerusalem.

Körber (1811–73), a teacher and cantor in a suburb of Nuremberg, was a prolific writer of young adult fiction.[655] In the same year in which he published his *Emanuel: Historische Erzählung aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalem's* (1849; Emanuel: A Historical Tale of the Time of the Destruction of Jerusalem), Körber published also a novel about *Hermann, der Cherusker: Germaniens Befreier von der römischen Herrschaft. Historische Erzählung* (1849; Hermann the Cheruscan: The Liberator of Germania from Roman Rule. A Historical Tale). While the author makes no direct reference in *Emanuel* to his novel about the Germanic warrior, the book curiously includes at the very end a steel engraving of "Hermann's Aufforderung zum Kampfe" (Herman's Call to Arms).[656] Presumably a marketing ploy, rather than a mistake, Körber's *Hermann, der Cherusker* in turn includes a steel engraving of "Julius Caesar's Tod" (The Death of Julius Caesar), which rightly belongs into the author's *C. Julius Caesar*, a historical novel which also appeared in 1849 with the same publisher and which includes a steel engraving of "Die Ermordung des Tiberius" (The Assassination of Tiberius).[657] The connection be-

654 It is interesting to note that Cüppers, who was Catholic and published his *Hanani* with Bachem in Cologne, also wrote the libretto for one of the fifteen oratorios on St Boniface composed in nineteenth-century Germany, see August Wiltberger, *Der Heilige Bonifatius: Oratorium für Soli, gemischten Chor und Klavier- oder Orchesterbegleitung mit verbindendem Text und lebenden Bildern* [piano reduction], op. 66 (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1896). St Boniface, as mentioned above and as discussed in more detail below, provided a Catholic counter imaginary to the Hermann myth.

655 See DLL (2014), IX, cols 126–8.

656 The illustration includes a page reference, which correlates in the novel thematically with the steel engraving, see Philipp Körber, *Hermann, der Cherusker: Germaniens Befreier von der römischen Herrschaft. Historische Erzählung* (Nürnberg: Lotzbeck, 1849), p. 58.

657 Philipp Körber, *C. Julius Caesar* (Nürnberg: Lotzbeck, 1849).

tween Körber's *Emanuel* and *Hermann, der Cherusker* suggested by the illustration is thus tentative at best. There is nevertheless some thematic convergence between the two novels. Both focus on the misery of internal discord and on resistance to an external oppressor, provoked, as articulated in *Emanuel*, with the substitution of "the old venerable simplicity of our forebears" with "the presumptious morals and customs of the foreign oppressors."[658] It may well be that the author chose the historical subjects for both novels precisely for their relevance to the contemporary political situation.

Körber's *Hermann* predates the completed monument and, arguably, also the *Kulturkampf*. Rather, published in 1849, it must be read in the context of the revolutions of 1848–49. As explicated in a lengthy introduction, Körber's novel—addressed to a young readership—construes a dichotomy between the alleged simplicity of the Germanic tribes and their yearning for freedom on the one hand and Roman civilization and imperialism on the other. Yet the author crucially maintains that the Germanic tribes acknowledged the "superiority of the spirit" of the Romans, which he implicitly identifies as the seed of civilization as it later evolved.[659] In fact, the trajectory of his novel aims at the productive synthesis of both influences.

In his introduction, Körber affirms the equality of all races and insists on the arbitrariness of their classification. Such a categorization, he maintains, was neither intended by the creator, nor may it be justified with the internal organization of the human body. More importantly, effectively rejecting contemporary racial theories, the author insists that the appetence of humanity's "powers of the soul" for being educated does not depend on their geographical origins.[660] When he refers as an example to the ancient Syrians, allegedly "long since degenerated through base bondage" under Roman rule,[661] Körber's point is to denounce the destructive effects of subjugation and oppression. The contemporary political significance of this claim in relation to the revolutions against the prevalent authoritarian systems in the German states is obvious. In relation to the ancient Germanic tribes and their alleged desire for freedom, it moreover reflects contemporary political efforts which were largely crushed with the failed revolutions.

658 Philipp Körber, *Emanuel: Historische Erzählung aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (Nürnberg: Lotzbeck, 1849), p. 6: "die frechen Sitten der fremden Unterdrücker [. . .] [verdrängen] die alte ehrwürdige Einfalt unserer Vorfahren."

659 Ibid., p. 6: "Uebermacht des Geistes."

660 Ibid., p. 3: "überall gleich großen Bildungsfähigkeit seiner [i.e., of a human being's] Seelenkräfte."

661 Ibid., p. 9: "längst durch niedere Knechtschaft entarteten Syrer."

What Körber ultimately advocates is the mutually beneficial interpenetration of Roman civilization and Germanic freedom in peaceful coexistence. The author therefore emphasizes the significance of Roman civilization for the development of the free German spirit:

> In the time in which Hermann and his contemporaries lived, the minuscule foundation stones were laid for that future civilisation, and the subsequent violent wars destroyed once again what the ingenious mind of the Romans created here. Yet as the rough winter may well cover the seed grain and bend its first shoots; but must yield to the imminent mild spring in whose balmy breeze everything flourishes anew and more beautifully and sprouts up high; thus, what had been sown by Rome was still alive, despite the devastation of raging storms, and became the bud for the later blossoming and for the early morality of the low German lands.[662]

Applied to contemporary developments, Körber's is a conciliatory approach which pleads for measured progress without coercion. The ideal he envisages is effectively an unpolitical republic of letters, when he concludes:

> But Hermann's fame could not be forgotten. It is him to whom the Germans need to thank for their fatherland, freedom, and peculiarity of culture and morality. Without Hermann, Germania would have become a Roman province and Germany, the heart of Europe, would not have become the *formative place of the mind, not the hearth of thought*.[663]

Adam Josef Cüppers (1850–1936) was of a younger generation. He, too, was a schoolteacher, initially in Straelen, then in Essen, and finally as headmaster in Ratingen. Here, he moreover founded a vocational school and established a public library and an adult education center. Like Körber, Cüppers was extremely prolific; he wrote novels, plays, epics, novellas, librettos, and poems. Even Karl Muth (as Veremundus) conceded that Cüppers was, in fact, a "manly [männlich]" Catholic author of much promise who applied aesthetic ideals to his fiction.[664]

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662 Ibid., p. 12: "In jener Zeit, wo Hermann und seine Zeitgenossen lebten, wurden erst die kleinen Grundsteine zu jener spätern Civilisation gelegt, und die folgenden wilden Kriege zerstörten wieder, was der bildsame Sinn der Römer hier angelegt hatte. Doch wie der rauhe Winter das Samenkorn zwar decken und seine ersten Triebe knicken kann; aber dem kommenden milden Frühling doch weichen muß, in dessen milden Hauch alles neu und schöner wiederkeimt und emporsproßt; so blieb auch das, was von Rom gesäet worden war, doch noch lebendig, trotz der darüber vernichtend hinbraußenden [*sic*] Stürme und wurde der Grund zum späteren Aufblühen und zur frühen Gesittung der niederdeutschen Lande."

663 Ibid., p. 108: "Aber Hermanns Ruhm konnte nicht vergessen werden. Er ist es, dem die Deutschen Vaterland, Freiheit, Eigenthümlichkeit der Bildung und Sitte danken müssen. Ohne Hermann würde Germanien eine römische Provinz und Deutschland, das Herz Europas, nicht die *Bildungsstätte der Geister, nicht der Heerd der Gedanken* geworden sein."

664 See Veremundus [i.e., Karl Muth], *Steht die katholische Belletristik auf der Höhe der Zeit?*, p. 27.

Like Körber, Cüppers also develops in his novel about the destruction of Jerusalem no palpable parallel to his earlier Hermann fiction. As mentioned above, his *Hanani* was an adaptation of the Abbé Charles Guénot's *Hanani, oder die letzten Tage Jerusalems*, rather than an original work; like the earlier text, it was published by Bachem in Cologne. Cüppers' literary engagements with the historical figure of Hermann the Cheruscan are nevertheless of particular interest in the context of this chapter because they offer a direct response to the Hermann monument unveiled in 1875. His novel, first published in 1880, includes a frontispiece that shows a view of the monument. The Catholic writer's *Hermann—Arminius—der Cherusker, der Sieger im Teutoburger Walde: Heldengeschichte aus alter Zeit für Volk und Jugend* (Hermann—Arminius—the Cheruscan, the Victor of the Teutoburg Forest: A Heroic Tale of the Times of Yore for the People and the Youth) is an obvious attempt in the face of national-Protestant appropriations, such as Koppen's, to reclaim the figure of Hermann, both as a myth and as represented in the monument, as a symbol of an inclusive German nationalism which embraces also Germans of the Catholic faith.

In the introduction to his novel, Cüppers invokes the monument explicitly and maintains—reminiscent of Körber—that Hermann's memory will live on in perpetuity "for as long as German hearts beat, for what we are and what we have we owe to this deliverer of his fatherland."[665] Yet, in telling contrast to Körber, Cüppers, writing three decades later and from a Catholic perspective, in the immediate aftermath of the *Kulturkampf*, correlates the process of German national fulfilment not to education and philosophy, but to the rise of Christianity. "Dark are the days from which his [i.e., Hermann's] image faces us," he says, and, as he continues, he conflates the metaphor for the dearth of historical sources with religious imagery:

> As yet, the new light had not risen upon the earth that shone in the faraway Orient and that was to spread its lustre across the nations; Christ was still of a tender age, and our fatherland was cultivated only centuries later by Christians.[666]

The Catholic writer invokes the rule of Christ over the world, a trope encountered also in Catholic fiction on the destruction of Jerusalem, such as the novels of Spillmann and de Waal or in Kaulbach's frontispieces to *Deutsches Hausbuch*. At the same

665 Adam Josef Cüppers, *Hermann—Arminius—der Cherusker, der Sieger im Teutoburger Walde: Heldengeschichte aus alter Zeit für Volk und Jugend*, 2nd edn (1880; Leipzig: Spamer, 1893), p. vii: "solange deutsche Herzen schlagen, denn was wir sind und was wir haben, verdanken wir jenem Befreier seines Vaterlandes."

666 Ibid.: "Dunkel sind die Tage, aus denen uns sein [i.e., Hermann's] Bild entgegenblickt; [. . .] Noch war das neue Licht nicht aufgegangen über die Erde, das im fernen Morgenlande erstrahlen und seinen Glanz über die Völker ausbreiten sollte; Christus war erst wenige Jahre alt, und unser Vaterland wurde erst Jahrhunderte später von Christen kultiviert."

time, he implies the cultural agency of Christianity prior to the Reformation—i.e., of the Catholic Church—in the development of civilization in Germany. This, too, is a familiar trope that was employed, for instance, by Guido Görres.

When Arminius (Hermann) is murdered in Cüppers' novel by the henchmen of his uncle, his last words are:

> *Unify*, and Germany will be strong; no foe shall enter your shires, and the nations shall quake before you. But if the flames of discord rage in the land, then they shall come with the fetters of slavery and parcel out your inheritance, and your women and children shall groan.[667]

Hermann dies kissing his sword, which is presented throughout the novel as a near mythical object; the author clearly had the monumental statue and its prominent sword in mind. He returns to it in the conclusion of his novel: Taking a conciliatory position in the immediate aftermath of the *Kulturkampf*, Cüppers promotes the integration of Catholics into the German nation with the admonition to take seriously Hermann's call for unity. In the concluding sentences of his novel, he therefore once more refers to the contemporary Hermann monument:

> And now, after almost two thousand years; now, that once more a hereditary enemy of the German nation has been vanquished and Germany stands united as a strong empire; now, the name of the great hero has also been revived among his grateful people, and from giddy heights his statue looks down on the vales where once he broke servitude and preserved all that for his country in which it delights and of which it vaunts itself, and in the beams of the sun the gleaming words on his mighty sword meet us:
> **"Germany's unity, my strength!"**
> An admonition to the nation and to each of her sons.[668]

The interpretation of the monument as a call for internal unity promoted by Cüppers was previously also offered by Catholic papers in response to the *Kulturkampf* rhetoric with which the inauguration ceremony of the Hermann monument had been infused and which had been reiterated, and elaborated, in the Protestant

667 Ibid., p. 95: "*Seid einig*, und Deutschland wird stark sein; kein Feind wird eure Marken betreten, und die Völker werden vor euch zittern. Wenn aber der Zwietracht Flammen im Lande wüten, dann werden sie kommen mit Sklavenketten und sich teilen in euer Erbe, und es werden seufzen eure Weiber und Kinder."

668 Ibid., p. 96: "Und jetzt, nach fast zweitausend Jahren, wo abermals ein Erbfeind der deutschen Nation niedergeworfen worden und Deutschland als ein einiges, starkes Reich dasteht, da ist auch der Name des großen Helden wieder lebendig geworden in seinem dankbaren Volke, und von luftiger Bergeshöhe schaut sein Standbild herab auf die Thäler, wo er einst die Knechtschaft brach und seinem Lande alles das bewahrte, dessen es sich jetzt erfreut und rühmt, und im Sonnenstrahl blitzten [*sic*] uns die Worte entgegen von seinem gewaltigen Schlachtschwerte: / '**Deutschlands Einheit, meine Stärke!**' / Ein Mahnruf an die Nation und an jeden ihrer Söhne."

press.[669] The Catholic press, in contrast, sought to promote strategies of integration. The *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, for instance, as has been noted by Sebastian Knauer, suggested that the instrumentalization of the monument in the *Kulturkampf* contradicted the historical imperative of the Hermann figure. Arguing that, if anything, the myth—and in particular the murder of the Cheruscan warrior by his kin—revealed the blight of internal discord, the paper elaborated an alternative interpretation: It insisted that Hermann's fate should inspire both Protestants and Catholics to settle their differences. The very existence of the German Empire, the paper intimated, depended on the resolution of the denominational conflict; the Hermann monument therefore called for the reconciliation of the two denominations.[670]

The anonymous article in the Catholic *Kölnische Volkszeitung* reads almost like a blueprint for Cüppers' *Hermann—Arminius—der Cherusker*. Ihlenfeld followed a different nationalistic agenda. The betrayal of Segestes, who collaborates with the Romans, is considered absolute, irreversible, and indefensible. For Ihlenfeld the cultural hybridization envisaged by Körber is also of no concern. She envisages the utter destruction of Rome in the future at the hands of the Germans who, implicitly, through the association of early Christianity as described in her novel with Protestantism and under circumvention of the Catholic mission of St Boniface in the eighth century, are presented as Protestant.

By the time he published his novel in 1880, Cüppers (under the pseudonym of Friedrich Hellmuth) had already written the libretto for an oratorio about *Arminius*, composed by Max Bruch (op. 43). It was first performed with the "exceptional participation of the audience"[671] and conducted by the composer himself in Barmen in December 1875 and was eventually published in 1877.[672] Apparently inspired by the inauguration of the Hermann monument earlier in the year, Bruch believed his effort to have been the first attempt to treat a patriotic subject in the form of the oratorio.[673] The anonymous reviewer for the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* emphasized that the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest was indeed "an occurrence with which our patriotic awareness has become more conversant through the recent inauguration of the Hermann monument" and asserts:

669 See Knauer, "Hermannsdenkmal," 11–14.

670 For a discussion of the debate about the monument in denominational papers, and in particular for the view expressed by the *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, see ibid., 13–14. See also "Wochen-Rundschau," *Kölnische Volkszeitung* (August 18, 1875).

671 H., "Die erste Aufführung von 'Arminius'," *Deutsche Musik-Zeitung* 2.52 (December 23, 1875): 424–5, 424: "außerordentlichen Betheiligung des Publikums."

672 Max Bruch, *Arminius: Oratorium für Chor, Solostimmen und Orchester* [piano reduction] (Berlin: Simrock, 1877).

673 See H., "Erste Aufführung von 'Arminius'," 424.

> Like these celebrations—transcending time and place—have drawn their sustenance from the patriotic resurgence of recent years, thus we should comprehend our oratorio not at all from the narrow horizon of a single act of liberation but as the universal musical expression of the patriotic resurgence of which our generation has been a witness.[674]

The oratorio, as indicated by the reviewer, remains secular. The exclusion of any denominational allusions is in and of itself an affirmation of national integration. Bruch, who was Protestant, and the Catholic Cüppers appear to have been of one mind in this matter.

Incidentally, Bruch (1838–1920) studied with Ferdinand Hiller in his native Cologne from 1853–57 and the older composer and director of the conservatoire at Cologne "was to exercise a most significant and important influence upon him throughout his life,"[675] though their later relationship was not without tensions.[676]

While the young Cüppers' libretto for *Arminius*, in which Bruch apparently also had a hand,[677] took a stance in the appropriation of the Hermann myth to the *Kulturkampf* by omission, the writer clarified his own convictions in his later years with the libretto for August Wiltberger's oratorio *Der heilige Bonifatius* (1896; op. 66; Saint Boniface). Indeed, with his libretto Cüppers picked the thread up from where he had left it in the introduction to *Hermann—Arminius—der Cherusker*. His claim, there, had been that Christians, rather than the liberation movement, had cultivated Germany. Bonifatius (Boniface), in the Protestant tradition preferably called by his birth name Winfrid,[678] was a Benedictine monk who led the Anglo-Saxon mission to the Germanic tribes with the support of the Carolingian Empire. Bonifatius thus brought, in Cüppers' words, the "new light" of Christianity to Germania. Like Hermann, the historical figure of the early missionary was also subjected to alternative interpretations by Protestants and Catholics in nineteenth-century Germany. In his collaboration with the composer August Wiltberger (1850–1928), Cüppers affirmed the Catholic claim to the historical figure.

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674 Anonymous, "Arminius, Oratorium von Max Bruch," *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 10.52 (December 29, 1875): cols 817–21, col. 818: "ein Ereignis, welches unserem patriotischen Bewusstsein durch die jüngst erfolgte Enthüllung des Hermannsdenkmals näher getreten ist [. . .]. Wie aber jene Feier—über Zeit und Ort hinwegeilend—aus dem patriotischen Aufschwung der Nation in den letzten Jahren ihre eigentliche Nahrung sog, so haben wir auch unser Oratorium nicht etwa von dem engen Gesichtskreis einer einzelnen Befreiungsthat im Anfang unserer Zeitrechnung aufzufassen, sondern als allgemeinen musikalischen Ausdruck des patriotischen Aufschwungs, dessen Zeuge unsere Generation gewesen ist."

675 Christopher Fifield, *Max Bruch: His Life and Works* (1988; Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2005), p. 20.

676 See ibid., p. 59.

677 See H., "Erste Aufführung von 'Arminius'," 424.

678 See Koldau, "Apostel der Deutschen," p. 357.

Moving beyond a long-established local Catholic tradition, the first phase of the veneration of Boniface in a national context, from the early nineteenth century to the early 1840s, was mostly informed by interdenominational concord in a concerted response to the ongoing process of secularization and its perceived moral decline. But this changed as the conflict between the secular states and the Catholic Church intensified.[679] The ensuing second phase was characterized by mounting ultramontanism and the concomitant tension between the denominations as well as between the Catholic Church and the nation.[680] The main trajectory of the veneration of Boniface now shifted toward an increasingly polemic 'denominalization' of the missionary; such denominational constructions of the imaginary of Boniface were further reinforced during the *Kulturkampf*.[681] Simultaneously, alternative figures of national 'saints' were promoted by Protestants, most importantly Martin Luther and, as discussed before, Hermann the Cheruscan.[682]

During the first phase of his veneration in the nineteenth century, the emphasis was on the unifying efforts of Boniface in a cultural context.[683] The Catholic celebrations of the 1100 year anniversary of the martyrdom of Boniface in 1855 changed this incisively. They promoted with enormous mass appeal the notion of the unifying impact of the Catholic Church and, at the same time, the bond of the Catholic Church in Germany with Rome.[684] This was most vocally, and polemically, expressed in a pastoral letter by Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler, the Bishop of Mainz.

Ketteler emphasized that Boniface had achieved the unification of all Germanic tribes within a comprehensive ecclesiastical order through mission and reform.[685] It was, for him, the prerequisite for the Germanic tribes to fulfil the noble task they were given by God within the history of the world.[686] Controversially, the Bishop maintained:

679 See ibid., p. 344.
680 See ibid., p. 345.
681 See ibid., p. 338.
682 See ibid., p. 345.
683 See ibid., p. 344.
684 See Siegfried Weichlein, "Bonifatius als politischer Heiliger im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," in *Bonfatius: Vom angelsächsischen Missionar zum Apostel der Deutschen*, eds Michael Imhof and Gregor Karl Stasch (Petersberg: Imhof, 2004), pp. 219–34, p. 226.
685 See Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler, "Bei Gelegenheit der Säkularfeier des hl. Erzbischofes und Märtyrers Bonifatius" [1855], in *Hirtenbriefe*, ed. Johann Michael Raich (Mainz: Druckerei Lehrlingshaus, 1904), pp. 126–39, pp. 128, 131. The bishop's pastoral letter was orignally published in *Der Katholik, eine religiöse Zeitschrift zur Belehrung und Warnung* N. F. 11 (1855): 385–401.

> Because of this work of unifying the German tribes in one faith and in one Church, St Boniface is not only our spiritual father, but he is simultaneously also the true founder of the greatness of the German people as a unified mighty nation. He not only won a great number of tribes for Christianity; he also implanted in these peoples the spiritual foundation of their civil unification, of their Christian state system, and of their greatness within the history of the world.[687]

It is easy to see how the complete appropriation of the cultural, political, and national development of the German nation to the influence of the Catholic Church would have alienated and even antagonized not only Protestant but also national-liberal Germans. Implicitly condemning the Reformation, Ketteler attributed to it not only the destruction of this spiritual unity but also the decline of German unity and greatness:

> When therefore this spiritual foundation was disturbed and the spiritual bond was torn with which St Boniface had united the German peoples, that was the end also of German unity and of the greatness of the German people.[688]

Drawing an analogy to the Jews and their alleged exclusion from salvation history, Ketteler accused post-reformatory Germany of having lost its place in salvation history and of having contributed to the destruction of the Kingdom of God on earth:

> As the Jewish people lost its vocation on earth after having crucified the Messiah, so the German people has lost its noble vocation for the Kingdom of God after having torn apart the unity in the faith which St Boniface had founded. Since then, Germany has contributed almost more to the destruction of the Kingdom of Christ on earth and to giving rise to a pagan world view.[689]

In contrast, with strong contemporary resonance, the Bishop maintained that the agency of the missionary was an enactment of the divine will as an emissary of the Catholic Church:

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686 Ketteler, "Bei Gelegenheit der Säkularfeier," p. 131.

687 Ibid.: "Durch dieses Werk der Einigung der deutschen Völker in einem Glauben und einer Kirche ist der heil. Bonifatius aber nicht nur unser geistiger Vater, sondern er ist auch zugleich der wahre Begründer der Größe des deutschen Volkes als einer einigen mächtigen Nation. Er hat nicht nur zahlreiche Volksstämme zum Christentume gewonnen, er hat auch in diese Völker die geistigen Fundamente ihrer bürgerlichen Einigung, ihrer christlichen Staatsordnung, ihrer Größe in der Weltgeschichte gelegt."

688 Ibid., pp. 131–2: "Als daher später diese geistige Grundlage wieder gestört und das geistige Band zerrissen wurde, durch welches der heil. Bonifatius die deutschen Völker verbunden hatte, da war es auch aus mit der deutschen Einheit und der Größe des deutschen Volkes."

689 Ibid., p. 132: "Wie das Judenvolk seinen Beruf auf Erden verloren hat, als es den Messias kreuzigte, so hat das deutsche Volk seinen hohen Beruf für das Reich Gottes verloren, als es die Einheit im Glauben zerriß, welche der heil. Bonifatius gegründet hatte. Seitdem hat Deutschland fast nur mehr dazu beigetragen, das Reich Christi auf Erden zu zerstören und eine heidnische Weltanschauung hervorzurufen."

> The will and decree of God was recognised by St Boniface not only through the voice of conscience, which is easily subject to self-delusion; nor only through the light of reason, which so often errs; nor through the written word of God, whose meaning the erring human spirit has to determine; but through the living voice of God in his one, visible, Catholic Church under its visible principal, the Pope.[690]

This is a blunt contestation of Protestant beliefs and principles as they were to inform, for instance, Palmié's novel about the destruction of Jerusalem. The Bishop's assertion of the primacy of the Catholic Church and its spiritual leader as the conduit for the true and unmistakable will of God substitutes national with ecclesiastical constructions of religious, political, and cultural identities. It clearly was the source also of Schumacher's certainty with regard to the will of God as he delineated it to the Prussian King after Sedan.

In the aftermath of the *Kulturkampf*, the polemic polarization of the imaginary of Boniface was eventually defused. In this third phase of the Boniface veneration in a national context, Catholics increasingly committed to German nationalism and were progressively integrated into the social, political, and cultural fabric of the German Empire.[691] The festivities of the 1150 year anniversary of the martyrdom of Boniface in Fulda in 1905 reflected these developments. Once again a mammoth event, like the earlier celebrations of 1855, it was no longer overshadowed by denominational polemics, but promoted an integrative all-German idea.

Wiltberger and Cüppers' oratorio, which was performed in the course of the celebrations in Fulda almost a decade after its creation, needs to be understood in this context. It marks for Cüppers nevertheless an affirmative step beyond his strategy of containment and integration of which his earlier Hermann novel was a product. His libretto, which in addition envisages and describes six suggested *tableaux vivants*,[692] invokes the "unity of the faith."[693] The one Christian—i.e., Catholic—faith Boniface introduces to the feuding Germanic tribes is simultaneously presented by the author as the decisive factor in their unification in the final chorus: "Tribes that inimically separated themselves, he locked together with the ties of love, the first creator of a unified people and land."[694] Not the pagan Arminius, then, but the Christian Boniface

690 Ibid., p. 134: "Gottes Willen und Rathschluß erkannte aber der heil. Bonifatius nicht nur durch die Stimme des Gewissens, bei welcher leicht Selbsttäuschungen mitunterlaufen, oder nur durch das Licht der Vernunft, welche so oft irrt, oder durch ein geschriebenes Wort Gottes, über dessen Sinn der irrende menschliche Geist zu entscheiden hat, sondern durch die lebendige Stimme Gottes in seiner einen, sichtbaren, katholischen Kirche unter dem sichtbaren Oberhaupt, dem Papste."

691 See Koldau, "Apostel der Deutschen," pp. 355–6.

692 See Wiltberger, *Heilige Bonifatius* [piano reduction], n. p.

693 Ibid., p. 41: "Glaubens Einheit."

694 Ibid., pp. 66–7: "Stämme, die sich feindlich trennten, schloss er mit der Liebe Band fest zusammen, erster Schöpfer für ein einig Volk und Land."

is the "first" architect of German unification: "Thanks be to the great teacher of the peoples, who planted the miracle tree of the Cross in German soil, carried the light into night and dream."[695]

The pre-Christian period is quite literally deemed benighted, the ephemeral alliance of the Germanic tribes in battle against the Romans a mere episode that is triumphantly superseded with their lasting unification as a result of their Christianization. This sentiment is vividly illustrated with the concluding *tableau vivant* against the background of an archetypal idyllic German landscape including a river, a castle, and a cathedral: "The Germanic tribes, Bavarians, Franks, Saxons etc. in their national costumes gathered around a Cross, raised in their midst. Background: landscape with river, castle, and cathedral."[696] The image is a vivid invocation of the unity of land, people, and religion; but it is predicated on the inscription of ecclesiastical might into this idyll in the guise of the cathedral whose building plans were presented in the third *tableau vivant*.[697]

As mentioned in chapter I, the figure of the so-called Apostle to the Germans, was the most popular subject of non-biblical oratorios in nineteenth-century Germany.[698] As discussed, most of the oratorios about Boniface, or Winfrid, were invested in the *Kulturkampf*, even if—like Wiltberger and Cüppers' *Der heilige Bonifatius* toward the end of the century—they offered a more conciliatory perspective. Perhaps contrary to expectations, the oratorios about the destruction of Jerusalem eschewed involvement in the conflict. They are in this respect in stark contrast to the narrative fiction discussed in this part. All of these texts, whether overtly or covertly, can be situated within the denominational confrontation. In the following digression, I discuss a novel which positions itself outside the denominational dichotomy of the *Kulturkampf*, while nevertheless addressing its dominant issues from an altogether different—masonic—perspective. The arguably ambiguous title of Franz Julius Schneeberger's *Götterkampf* (Contest of the Gods; or, Contest with the Gods) already indicates the proximity to the contention between different perceptions of, and approaches to, the divinity. Yet it moreover suggests at least implicitly also a contest between the gods and humanity, from which humanity emerges as absolute.

695 Ibid., pp. 65–6: "Dank dem grossen Völkerlehrer, der des Kreuzes Wunderbaum pflanzte in die deutsche Erde, trug das Licht in Nacht und Traum."

696 Ibid., n. p.: "Die deutschen Stämme, Bayern, Franken, Sachsen etc. in ihren Nationaltrachten um ein in der Mitte aufgestelltes Kreuz geschart. Hintergrund: Landschaft mit Fluss, Burg und Dom."

697 See ibid., n. p.

698 See also Koldau, "Apostel der Deutschen," p. 361, who includes Wiltberger and five other composers omitted by Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, IV, 104.

Digression IV
Contest of the Gods and Contesting the Gods—The Extension of the *Kulturkampf* and the Rise of Humanity: Schneeberger

Arthur Storch, not to be confused with the translator of Croly's *Salathiel* earlier in the century, was the pseudonym of the Austrian engineer, writer, and Freemason Franz Julius Schneeberger (1827–92).[1] His *Götterkampf oder Jupiter—Jehovah—Christus: Geschichtlicher Roman aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1879; Contest of the Gods; Or, Jupiter—Jehovah—Christ: Historical Novel of the Time of the Destruction of Jerusalem) was foremost an articulation of the author's masonic convictions.[2] Its title is potentially misleading in that the novel is not religious in the same sense as are, for instance, those by the Catholic writers Magon, Spillmann, and de Waal or the Protestant authors Uechtritz, Palmié, and Ihlenfeld. Rather than in soteriological certainties, Schneeberger's interest was in the social aspect and the agency of religion in a sociocultural context in a period of radical change. This accounts also for his excessive and erudite elaboration of historical details, which, in a rough estimate, informs about a third of his extensive text, published in three volumes.[3]

At the same time, his focus on the time of the destruction of Jerusalem is explained by Schneeberger, more specifically, with the affinities he perceives between the historical period and his own day:

> In these two epochs we encounter the decline, or rather the fall, of ancient and obsolete religious concepts; magnificent, rich, profusely ornate, and artistically flawless, but empty, half-deserted temples and altars; now, as then, an indiscriminate muddling of ancient and new concepts and, emerging from this spiritual-chemical process, bringing clarity, a new religion: then of Christianity, and now, of Humanity.[4]

1 See Reinhard Müller und Ingrid Bigler-Marschall, "Storch, Arthur," DLL (2000), XX, cols 383–4.

2 Arthur Storch [i.e., Franz Julius Schneeberger], *Götterkampf oder Jupiter—Jehovah—Christus: Geschichtlicher Roman aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems*, 3 vols (Wien, Pest, Leipzig: Hartleben, 1879); the text included a frontispiece, 20 illustrations, and a map.

3 See ibid., I, 198.

4 Ibid., I, 233: "Es läßt sich wohl keine Zeit und keine geschichtliche Erscheinung so passend miteinander vergleichen, als jene vor nahezu neunzehn Jahrhunderten mit der gegenwärtigen.—In diesen beiden Epochen begegnen wir dem Niedergange, oder richtiger gesagt, dem Untergange alter und veralteter religöser Anschauungen, prächtigen, reichen, kunstgeschmückten und kunstvollendeten, aber leeren, halbverlassenen Tempeln und Altären, hier wie dort ein Durcheinanderzerren alter und neuer Anschauungen und aus diesem geistig-chemischen Processe heraus sich entwickelnd und klärend eine neue Religion, dort des Christenthums, hier der Humanität."

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Humanity as an ethical imperative was crucial to Schneeberger. In 1869, the writer was a founding member of the "non-political" masonic association Humanitas and, three years later, of the eponymous masonic lodge in Neudörfl as whose first Worshipful Master he was elected (*Meister vom Stuhle*).[5] Schneeberger was also instrumental in founding an orphanage in Vienna under the aegis of the lodge that was likewise called Humanitas.

Accordingly, in his novel humanity appears to be the author's real concern, and the historical Jesus is identified by Schneeberger as instrumental to its advancement.[6] Reflecting on the origins of Christianity or, as he prefers to call it, "the 'Gospel of the Poor'," [7] the writer explores in emulation of contemporary research in the historical Jesus in a positivistic approach the environment from which the Galilean emerged in order to explain his way of thinking, his character, and his compulsion of becoming a prophet.[8] More specifically, Schneeberger associates Jesus with the social malcontents in whom that "profound and sacred pain became pervasive [. . .] in which originate great decisions and world-changing events."[9]

With reference to Tacitus and Josephus,[10] Schneeberger argues that this feeling of discontent with current religious, political, and above all social conditions was prevalent especially among the lower social strata and resulted in the complex political situation in Palestine under Roman rule and in particular the unrest

5 See, e.g., Hermann Beigel, "Der nicht politische Verein 'Humanitas' in Wien und die Loge gleichen Namens in Neudörfel," *Die Bauhütte* 16.11 (March 15, 1873): 84–5; *Geschichte des nichtpolitischen Vereines Humanitas in Wien und der Loge gleichen Namens zu Neudörfl a. d. L.: Herausgegeben von der Loge "Humanitas" aus Anlass ihres zehnjährigen Bestandes im Jahre 1882* (Wien: Praetorius, 1882); and the strongly anti-masonic overview of masonic activities in Austria by Annuarius Osseg, *Der Hammer der Freimaurerei am Kaiserthrone der Habsburger* (Amberg: Habbel, 1875), pp. 24–6. The lodge in Neudörfl was the first of many border lodges, which were founded in Hungary to escape the restrictive legislation in Austria, which has been explained with the Catholic hegemony in this part of the double-monarchy, see Peter Leisching, "Freimaurertum und Katholizismus," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. IV: *Die Konfessionen*, eds Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch (Wien: Verl. der Österr. Akad. der Wiss., 1985), pp. 152–4. After the First World War, it transpired that Schneeberger was in fact a police informer on masonic activities, see Eugen Lennhoff and Oskar Posner, *Internationales Freimaurer-Lexikon* (Zürich: Amalthea, 1932), s. v. "Schneeberger, Franz Julius."

6 See Storch [i.e., Schneeberger], *Götterkampf*, I, 234.

7 Ibid., I, 233: "das 'Evangelium der Armen'."

8 See ibid., I, 235.

9 Ibid: "[in dem] jener tiefe und heilige Schmerz zur Grundstimmung wurde, welcher [. . .] der Vater großer Entschlüsse und weltumgestaltender Ereignisse geworden ist."

10 See ibid.

which produced the *sicarii* and the messianic rebellion against Antipas during the childhood of Jesus.[11]

Schneeberger nevertheless emphatically rejects contemporary attempts to reduce the figure of Jesus to that of a "*socialist agitator*" and to compare the social movement of his own day perfunctorily to that of the time of Jesus.[12] Highly critical of what he perceives to be the incendiary agitation of modern socialists, Schneeberger emphasizes the added spiritual dimension of the mission of Jesus, which he describes as addressing the inner being and demanding as a pre-requisite for social change first of all the profound and deeply felt self-improvement of the individual.[13]

Schneeberger accordingly offers in *Götterkampf* an idealized representation of the early Christian community.[14] He notes that there were precepts, but not an institutionalized church, and that religious leadership had not yet become a commercial proposition but had in fact devolved to laymen;[15] in a more practical sense he emphasizes the community's poor and charitable nature and that all possessions were voluntarily shared.[16] While he acknowledges that it was impossible to sustain such a social principle over a longer period of time,[17] Schneeberger attributes to this simplicity of early Christianity its moral conquest of the world. He sees in it the humanistic principle of human fraternity and the awareness of a great human family striving to lead ennobled humankind through the knowledge of the revelation of the harmony of the world unto the creator.[18]

Consequently, the contest between the gods is unequivocally decided in Schneeberger's novel for the Christian God as represented in Christ:

> And therefore, between the violent Thunder God of the pagans, sullied with all the human passions, and the morose protector of the Jews, we concede the place of honour in their middle without hesitation and with the utmost conviction to our "Sage of Nazareth," the place of honour in the cultural contest of the gods between "Jupiter—Christ—Jehovah!"[19]

11 See ibid.

12 Ibid., I, 239: "*socialistischen Agitator*."

13 See ibid.

14 See ibid., I, 239–40.

15 See ibid., II, 268.

16 See ibid., I, 240–1.

17 See ibid., I, 241.

18 See ibid.

19 Ibid.: "Und darum räumen wir aus innerster Ueberzeugung zwischen dem gewaltthätigen, von allen menschlichen Leidenschaften befleckten Donnergotte der Heiden und dem griesgrämigen Protector der Juden unserem 'Weisen von Nazareth' unbedenklich den Ehrenplatz in der Mitte ein, den Ehrenplatz in dem culturellen Götterkampfe zwischen 'Jupiter—Christus—Jehovah!'"

As de Waal's *Juda's Ende*, Schneeberger's earlier novel offers with its frontispiece—produced in the xylographic workshop of Günther, Grois, and Rücker in Vienna (see Figure 20)—an elaborate allegorical visualization of the text.

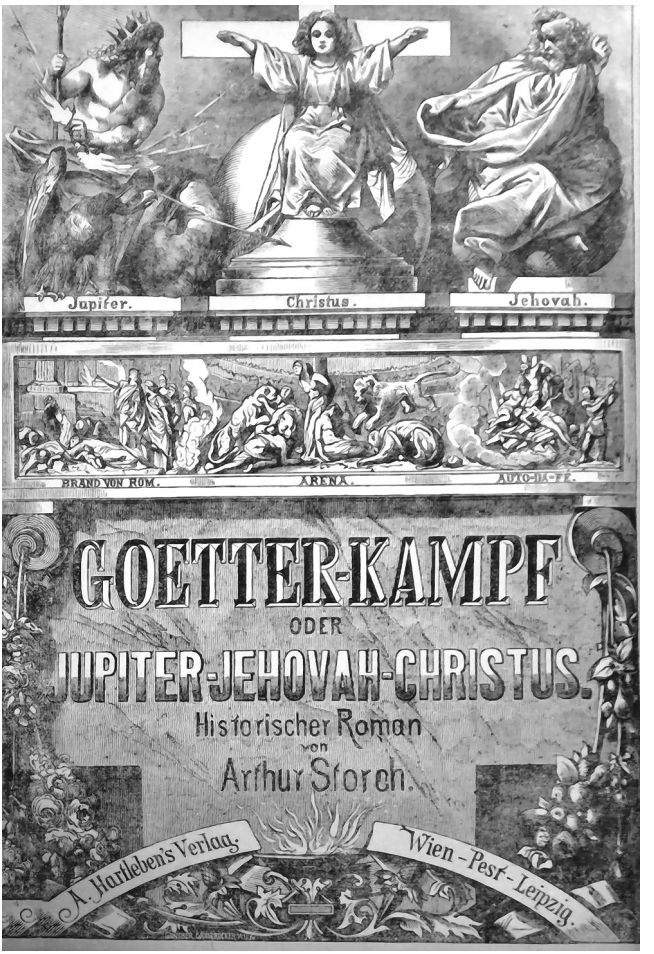


Figure 20: Xylographic workshop Günther, Grois, and Rücker (Vienna), frontispiece to Arthur Storch [i.e., Franz Julius Schneeberger], *Götterkampf oder Jupiter—Jehovah—Christus: Geschichtlicher Roman aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (Wien, Pest, Leipzig: Hartleben, 1879), I. (Public domain.)

The allegory is extended by the writer also to the level of the configuration of his fictional characters. Schneeberger emphasizes that the figures in his novel "individualize" the contest between Jupiter, Jehovah, and Christ. He presents them as

representatives of an idea about the beginning, development, and ending of all things that perfects itself as it progresses from one religious system to the next.[20]

Rome is portrayed in the novel in decline and dissolution, its "formerly giant body consumed by the pestilence of putrefaction."[21] Elaborating on the parallel of his own day and the fall of the Roman Empire, Schneeberger cautioned in his preface:

> Are not the storms of the early spring of a new, nascent time upon us, in whose turbulent floods the firm forms of a future only half divined by us may already have begun to take shape!——[22]

Hence the one honorable and sincere Roman in *Götterkampf*, the young centurion Cajus Aurelius Cotta, is drawn to Christianity; he is disgusted by polytheism and suspicious of religion because of its commodification and the moral degeneracy of the pagan priests,[23] as they are embodied by the Pontifex Maximus and the Priestess of Vesta.[24] Other Romans appear as atheists who, though at times prone to superstition, exploit religion only as the means to an end,[25] while Roman women are sketched as utterly bereft of any moral compass.[26]

Schneeberger challenges also received wisdom of alleged Roman humanity. Castigating the Roman treatment of slaves, in particular of the Teuton Arminius, whose rough exterior hides a noble soul, and who is depicted as a victim of Roman brutality and inhumane martial laws, Schneeberger seeks to dispel the last remnants of what he denounces as the ridiculous blind admiration of the institutions of classical antiquity.[27] With the introduction of the Teuton, he moreover follows established precedent in fictional narratives about the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, many of which introduce such a figure in order to invite the German reader's identification. Arminius also converts to Christianity and eventually returns to his tribe to establish a Christian mission.

20 See ibid., I, 198–9.

21 Ibid., I, vi: "zehrte die Pestseuche der Verwesung an seinem einstigen Riesenleibe."

22 Ibid.: "Naht nicht auch uns bereits der stürmische Vorfrühling einer neuen, werdenden Zeit, in deren aufgeregten Fluthen die festen Formen einer von uns nur halb geahnten Zukunft wohl bereits begonnen haben!——"

23 See ibid., I, 227.

24 See ibid., I, 199.

25 See ibid.

26 See ibid., I, 200.

27 See ibid., I, 199.

The Jew Thaddaeus (also Taddaeus), and the Greek Agathokles[28] embody the divergence between Judaeo-Christians and gentile Christians. Thaddaeus cannot completely free himself of the ancient law.[29] Agathokles, in contrast, emerges as a sceptic and sophist.[30] He supposedly was converted by the apostle Paul.[31] The apostle, though demythologized,[32] is described by the author as the "theoretical" founder of Christianity to whom he ascribes its early success.[33] Yet that success is denounced by Schneeberger in fact as the failure of developing an independent universal doctrine of Christian morality and, ultimately, as the failure of forming a truly new religion concomitant with modern times.[34] In this development, he sees the main reason for the godlessness of his own time.[35]

Schneeberger insists that in religion inheres "a supremely moral mission,"[36] and that it is the "religious idea"—a concept encountered in different guise in Ludwig Philippson's *Die Entwickelung der religiösen Idee im Judenthume, Christenthume und Islam* (1847),[37] discussed in chapter V—which as a transformative and historically productive force ensures moral progress.[38] In consequence, Schneeberger invokes a cult furthering the moral impulse and envisions that with the establishment of such a cult humanity will have fulfilled the highest aims of civilization.[39]

The novel is a reflection on how this aim may be achieved and presents different approaches. One of these is attributed to the conflicted character of Quirinus, a Robin Hood-like bandit also known as Mactator (slaughterer). Quirinus misguidedly appropriates Christian objectives, precepts, and values.[40] Inspired in particular by the Christian idea of equality, he pursues a pragmatic approach[41] and, insisting that the principle of non-violence intolerably defers redemption,

28 See ibid., I, 200.
29 See ibid., I, 227.
30 See ibid., I, 226.
31 See ibid.
32 See ibid.
33 See ibid.
34 See ibid., I, 228.
35 See ibid.
36 Ibid., I, 229: "eine hochsittliche Mission."
37 See Ludwig Philippson, *Die Entwickelung der religiösen Idee im Judenthume, Christenthume und Islam: In zwölf Vorlesungen über Geschichte und Inhalt des Judenthums* (Leipzig: Baumgärtner, 1847).
38 See Storch [i.e., Schneeberger], *Götterkampf*, I, 229.
39 See ibid., I, 228.
40 See ibid., II, 279.
41 See ibid., II, 279–80.

seeks to establish Christianity by force and thus engages to change society within two generations.[42] Arguing his point against the objection that this would violate the spirit of Christianity, he presages that, once established, Christianity will avail itself of the same principle and anticipates violent expansion and mission.[43] The point is of course made by Schneeberger in hindsight. It implicitly associates the crusades and the various ongoing colonial ventures of his own time with the patently un-Christian endeavor of the Mactator.[44]

Quirinus plans to abolish the office of the emperor should his rebellion be successful,[45] and aims to replace it with a theocratic and militaristic structure reminiscent of Jewish hierocracy as it was just then engaged in mortal combat with the Roman Empire during the Jewish War.[46] Indeed Quirinus and his militia, conscripted into the Roman army, prove instrumental to the destruction of Jerusalem. Yet Quirinus' scope is purely worldly. He misunderstands Jesus, just as Judas did in Franz's *Messias* trilogy. His impatience and the purely material dimension of his vision carry the seed of his own failure.

The significance of Jerusalem and its destruction is elaborated by Schneeberger in reliance on Scripture and the historical authority of Flavius Josephus of whom he is very critical.[47] Josephus is characterized by the author as erudite, gifted, yet supremely egotistical and pragmatic.[48] He likens the historian's shrewdness to the base cunning of the fox or the snake and elaborates in an apt metaphor:

> Abundantly endowed with this shrewdness, *Flavius Josephus* skilfully steered the ship on which he had just taken up his station; he always leaves it precisely when it threatens to sink and without scruples abandons it together with its crew to its fate; yet he himself nimbly takes to a skiff, knows to evade any cliffs, and with a bold manoeuver enters favourable fairways, yes, even the safe port of imperial favour.[49]

42 See ibid., II, 279, 280.
43 See ibid., II, 280–1.
44 See ibid.
45 See ibid., II, 284.
46 See ibid.
47 See ibid., III, 235–6.
48 See ibid., III, 238–9.
49 Ibid.: "Mit dieser Klugheit im vollsten Maße ausgestattet, steuerte *Flavius Josephus* geschickt das Schiff, auf dem er gerade seinen Posten genommen; er verläßt es stets zur Zeit, wo es zu sinken droht, und ohne Gewissensbisse überläßt er es sammt der Bemannung seinem Schicksale; er selbst aber besteigt hurtig einen Nachen, weiß jeder Klippe auszuweichen, und eine kühne Wendung bringt ihn in günstiges Fahrwasser, ja in den sicheren Hafen kaiserlicher Gunst."

Schneeberger notes that, as with the French Revolution of 1789 and other revolutions, many of the initial supporters of the Jewish rebellion—such as Josephus—later shied away from it in disgust when it got out of hand.[50]

Jerusalem nevertheless signifies to Schneeberger the constant which bridges human efforts at ethical development from antiquity to the present; it signifies to him a unique transformative power:

> Nonetheless, this royal seat, so magnificent of yore, has a significance through which even Rome's splendour in universal history is dulled. For from here emanated, before and after the appearance of Christ, those rays of the truths of faith through which the deathly nocturnal murkiness of idol worship was penetrated, overcome, dispersed and destroyed, so that all the circumstances of the nations and states suffered an entirely renovative transformation and still continue to suffer it.[51]

Schneeberger acknowledges that this transformative power has been abused in the past by Zealots and false prophets:

> And such false prophets or impostors there were many in Jerusalem; they were in cahoots with the leaders of the insurgents so as to incite by mendacious abuse of the name of the Lord the unhappy people, whom they led to believe in victory and liberation, to endure and to engage in the ultimate resistance.
>
> Anyhow, it was such bigoted scoundrels in the first place who had enticed the Jews to hazard the insane fight with the Roman world power. An ambiguous oracle—"that at that time one arising from their country was to achieve world supremacy"—had most strongly driven them to war.[52]

Superstition is denounced by Schneeberger as the fatal flaw of Judaism which resulted in the destruction of Jerusalem. Reflecting on the historical proliferation of proselytes to Jewish monotheism, the author quotes among others from Seneca's

50 See ibid., III, 239–40.

51 Ibid., III, 41: "Nichtsdestoweniger hat dieser vormals so prachtvolle Königssitz doch eine Bedeutung, wodurch selbst Roms welthistorischer Glanz verdunkelt wird. Denn von hier aus gingen vor und nach Christi Erscheinung jene Strahlen von Glaubenswahrheiten aus, wodurch die todesnächtigen Finsternisse des Götzendienstes durchbrochen, überwältigt, zerstreut und vernichtet wurden, so daß alle Verhältnisse der Völker und Staaten eine gänzlich erneuernde Umwandlung erlitten und auch noch fortwährend erleiden."

52 Ibid., III, 316: "Und derlei falsche Profeten oder Betrüger gab es in Jerusalem viele; sie spielten mit den Anführern der Empörer unter einer Decke, um durch lügnerischen Mißbrauch des Namens Gottes das unglückliche Volk, dem sie Sieg und Befreiung vorgaukelten, zum Ausharren im äußersten Widerstande zu bewegen. / Ueberhaupt waren es auch solche frömmelnde Schurken, welche die Juden verleitet hatten, den wahnsinnigen Kampf mit der römischen Weltmacht zu wagen. Ein zweideutiger Orakelspruch: 'daß zu dieser Zeit Einer aus ihren Lande die Weltherrschaft erlangen werde,' hatte sie am meisten zum Kriege getrieben."

lost tractate *De superstitione* as preserved in Augustine's *City of God*. In the context of the first Roman siege of Jerusalem under Pompey (i.e., Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus) in 63 BCE, the Roman philosopher lamented that "the customs of that most accursed nation have gained such strength that they have been now received in all lands; the conquered have given laws to the conquerors."[53]

In contrast to Jewish theocracy, which fostered the destructive potential of superstition, Schneeberger hails the separation of religious and secular power as an achievement of Christianity:

> Indeed, this separation of Church and State is the greatest and most drastically effective peculiarity of all in the Christian times. Spiritual and secular power may closely touch one another, have the closest relation to one another; *completely congruent* they can be only as an exception and for a short time.—On their relationship, their mutual position towards one another has since then been based one of the most significant factors of all history.[54]

With respect to the significance of the *Kulturkampf*, provoked by the contemporary re-negotiation of this relationship between church and state, Schneeberger invokes Schopenhauer's "golden words" about religions in general:

> "The religions are," he [i.e., Schopenhauer] says, "like glow-worms; they shine only when it's dark. A certain amount of general ignorance is the condition of all religions, the element in which alone they can exist. And as soon as astronomy, natural science, geology, history, the knowledge of countries and peoples have spread their light broadcast, and philosophy finally is permitted to say a word, every faith founded on miracles and revelation must disappear; and philosophy takes its place."[55]

---

53 Ibid., III, 143: "Die Gewohnheiten dieses verruchten Volkes haben derart überhand genommen, daß sie bereits in allen Ländern Aufnahme fanden; die Besiegten haben den Siegern Gesetze gegeben." For the English translation from book VI.xi, see Aurelius Augustine, *The City of God*, transl. Marcus Dods (Edinburgh: Clarke, 1913), I, 256; for a contextualization of Seneca's harangue against the Jews, see, e.g., Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 225–6, 459. Seneca's treatise on superstition is lost.

54 Storch [i.e., Schneeberger], *Götterkampf*, II, 269: "[I]n der That besteht in dieser Trennung der Kirche vom Staate die größte, am durchgreifendsten wirksame Eigenthümlichkeit der christlichen Zeiten überhaupt. Die geistliche und die weltliche Gewalt können einander nahe berühren, in der engsten Gemeinschaft stehen; *völlig zusammenfallen* können sie höchstens ausnahmsweise und nur auf kurze Zeit.—In ihrem Verhältnisse, ihrer gegenseitigen Stellung zu einander, beruht seitdem eines der wichtigsten Momente aller Geschichte."

55 Ibid.: "'Die Religionen sind,' sagt er [i.e., Schopenhauer], 'wie die Leuchtwürmer; sie bedürfen der Dunkelheit, um zu leuchten. Ein gewisser Grad allgemeiner Unwissenheit ist die Bedingung aller Religionen, ist das Element, in welchem allein sie leben können. Sobald hingegen Astronomie, Naturwissenschaft, Geologie, Geschichte, Länder- und Völkerkunde ihr Licht allgemein verbreiten und endlich gar die Philosophie zum Worte kommen darf, da muß jeder auf Wunder und Offenbarung gestützte Glaube untergehen; worauf dann die Philosophie seinen Platz einnimmt.'" See Arthur Schopenhauer, "Ueber Religion" [1851], in *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Julius Frauenstädt, vol. VI:

Schneeberger's own literary effort, inspired by his masonic beliefs, seems to be an illustration of this principle as argued by Philalethes (Friend of Truth) in Schopenhauer's dialogue on religion, "Ueber Religion" (1851; "Religion: A Dialogue"), against Demopheles (Lover of the People). Whereas Demopheles believes that, though false, religion is sacred to the person who choses to believe in it and therefore should be respected, Philalethes argues that religion should not be considered as an approach to truth at all because it sets out to monopolize societies.

Evidently reliant on the contentions proffered by Philalethes, Schneeberger seems to occupy in his novel a middle ground between Protestantism and Catholicism in relation to the *Kulturkampf*. The ossified belief in empty forms he attributes to paganism, and which some of his Protestant readers might have conflated with Catholicism, is denounced by the writer as destructive just as well as conflicting Christian approaches by Judaeo-Christians and gentile Christians. He exemplifies this contention with explicit and implicit allusions to his own present which he maintains is defined by Christianity as it evolved after the Pauline intervention. At the same time, the merely human approach of Quirinus is also not sufficient; nor should Jesus be reduced to the role of social reformer. Rather, as Schneeberger argues, the Galilean's social innovations need to be correlated with, and founded on, the ethical and moral education of humanity in a philosophical spirit. In this way, Schneeberger inscribes into his novel masonic ideas of humanitarian progress which defy the logic of the *Kulturkampf*. His *Götterkampf* describes not conly a contest between the Gods but ultimately, divesting Jesus of his divinity, it also contests the very idea of the divine.

Parerga und Paralipomena: Kleine philosophische Schriften (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1874), pp. 353–424, pp. 369–70. For the English translation, see Arthur Schopenhauer, "Religion: A Dialogue," in *Religion: A Dialogue, and Other Essays,* transl. T. Bailey Saunders (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1893), pp. 1–51, p. 32.

Chapter V
The Destruction of Jerusalem in the German Jewish Literary Imagination

Every year on *Tisha b'Av*, Jews commemorate the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. In 1847, the German Jewish poet Julius Kossarski, gave voice to the continued emotional potency of the historical occurrence in its religious setting:

> Today, in augmentation of my grief,
> I see bearded old men as they pray.
> Alas, they mark the destruction
> Of Judah, in a pious circle.
>
> That day I hear them all
> Bewail and lament so loudly,
> That saw Jerusalem fall,
> Judah's might reduce to dust.[1]

The passage is of interest also because it suggests a significant difference between the speaker and the pious old men evoked in the poem. For the religious old men, the destruction of Jerusalem appears to be of spiritual significance, their sorrow reduced to mere lamentation. The second stanza effects a subtle shift in perspective which elaborates a political and, implicitly, a national dimension. This is already hinted at in the different quality of the pre-existing sorrow of the speaker which is, after all, merely augmented by that of the old men as articulated in the ancient ritual, but which appears to respond in particular to the loss of Judah's might, of Jewish sovereignty.

Whereas their shared sorrow connects the pious old men and the voice of the younger speaker, his ensuing reflection introduces a new perspective on the destruction of Jerusalem which transcends commemorative religious practice and instead valorizes a historical perspective which situates the historical occurrence not in aquiescent religious thought but in a historical continuum. The imaginary trajectory of the historical continuum suggests instead of the religious spiritualization of the retrospective lamentation a yearning for redress and, potentially, even for the restoration of Jerusalem to the seat of Jewish worldly power. The

1 Julius Kossarski, *Wallfahrt in Palästina* (Berlin: Simion, 1847), p. 181: "Heut, zu meines Gram's Vermehrung, / Seh' ich beten bärt'ge Greise. / Ach, sie feiern die Zerstörung / Juda's, im andächt'gen Kreise. // Jenen Tag hör' ich von Allen / Laut beweinen und beklagen, / Der Jerusalem sah fallen, / Juda's Macht in Staub zerschlagen."

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introduction of a historical perspective, outside the religious construction of time, is a momentous shift in the Jewish response to the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple which is also reflected in German Jewish literary engagements with the event as historical occurence.

Given the centrality of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Second Temple to Jewish existence invoked by Kossarski, the relative dearth of literary engagements of Jewish writers with the historical occurrence in nineteenth-century Germany is conspicuous. Ludwig Philippson addressed the destruction of Jerusalem in a novella; published in 1839, it appears to be the earliest narrative engagement with the subject in German. Herrmann Reckendorf and Max Ring engaged with the historical occurrence in two very differently conceived novels which nevertheless converge thematically in their conciliatory approach, which is paradoxically both apologetic and affirmative. Kossarski himself returned to the subject a few years after the publication of his poem in a "historical-dramatic poem" in which he seeks to re-write history from a Jewish perspective.

Including, with representations of the figures of the historians Josephus, Tacitus, and Justus of Tiberias, a metahistoriographic dimension, Kossarski challenges established historical narratives of the destruction of Jerusalem which were largely based on Josephus's account. In his play, Simon bar Giora and John of Giscala appear to be true and noble heroes, while Titus is a much more ambivalent character whose relationship with the Jewish princess Berenice is critically interrogated, as is her role as the betrayer of her people. On the whole, Kossarski's dramatic poem insists on the Jewish mission among the nations and its promotion of monotheism in an attempt to validate Jewish particularity in the present, as did Hiller's oratorio and Bendemann's painting of the *Wegführung der Juden* (see Figure 4).

Significantly, Kossarski's dramatic poem was the very first publication of the *Institut zur Förderung der israelitischen Literatur* (1855–73; Institute for the Promotion of Israelite Literature). Almost in parallel, the Institute published in its first year the third volume of Heinrich Graetz's influential *Geschichte der Juden* (1856; *History of the Jews*) which covers the period from the Maccabees to the destruction of Jerusalem and thus offers a scholarly complement to Kossarski's play. Both texts need to be read in conjunction and should be understood within the context of the Institute which was led by Ludwig Philippson and was a venture that was of crucial significance to the creation of a Jewish reading public in the German-speaking lands and to the negotiation of (bourgeois) Jewish identities between (neo-)Orthodoxy and Reform.

Jewish Responses to Josephus and the Re-Writing of Jewish History

As observed in chapter I of this study, the Christian perspective—if secularized, as in Kaulbach's understanding of his subject—was predominant in the oratorial engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem inspired by the artist's monumental painting. The only exception to this pattern was the Jewish perspective elaborated by Ferdinand Hiller and Ludwig Steinheim and, if at a much later date and in a different medium, by Eduard Bendemann. But both of these efforts of singing or of painting back, respectively, resorted to the destruction of the First Temple in the attempt to reaffirm Jewish particularity and its continued significance in the modern world. Thus, while originating in the confrontation with Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, they shifted the parameters in their bid to challenge the prevalent narrative, a sleight-of-hand that could not fully defuse the stigmatizing potential of the tradition emerging in the artist's wake.

As discussed in chapter IV, narrative fiction about the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple was similarly informed by the stigmatizing impetus of Christian provenance. Though the perspective on the Jewish other in these historical novels might vary according to the authors' denominational affiliations and individual attitudes, these texts were largely determined by the predominance of conversion narratives and the reiteration, and Christian appropriation, of the historical model as it was elaborated by Josephus.

There is no indication that Julius Kossarski (1811–79; variant spelling Koßarski), born Jakob Mirsel in Bromberg (present-day Bydgoszcz),[2] responded directly to Kaulbach or to the emerging oratorial and novelistic traditions with his *Titus oder die Zerstörung Jerusalem's* (1855; Titus; Or, The Destruction of Jerusalem). Yet having studied philosophy and philology at Berlin, and with his brother Ludwig based in the Prussian capital as well as enduring connections to his writer friends there, he may well have been familiar with its fresco version completed in 1851. Kossarski's "historical-dramatic poem" is certainly a spirited attempt to re-appropriate the pivotal event without taking the evasive action of looking to the destruction of the First Temple. Rather, it boldly challenges the historiographical tradition and rewrites its history from a (modern) Jewish perspective. Its significance as such is confirmed by the play's publication context. Kos-

2 For biographical information on Kossarski, see Isaak Herzberg, "Die Tragik im Leben eines jüdischen Dichters," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* 84.11 (March 12, 1920): 128–30, 129n4 and Aaron Heppner and Isaak Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Juden und der jüdischen Gemeinden in den Posener Landen* (Koschmin: Selbstverlag, 1909), p. 341n3; for a brief obituary, see [S. Cohn, "Notizen"], *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 43.30 (July 22, 1879): 476.

sarski's tragedy was the very first publication of the influential Institute for the Promotion of Israelite Literature.[3]

Established in 1855 on the initiative of Ludwig Philippson (1811–89), the Institute's success has been described as "formidable."[4] It developed "into an important cultural force,"[5] created "a reading public for works of Jewish scholarship and historical novels," and acted as "a powerful agent of cultural production" far beyond the confines of the German lands.[6] The list of its publications included scholarly works, such as a number of volumes of Heinrich Graetz's *Geschichte der Juden* (1853–75; *History of the Jews*),[7] Isaak Markus Jost's *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten* (1857–59; History of Judaism and its Sects), and, translated by Meir Wiener, Joseph Ben Joshua ha Cohen's sixteenth-century history of Jewish persecution, *Emek habacha* (1858; *The Vale of Tears*, 1558–75); poetry, such as Abraham Geiger's anthology of *Jüdische Dichtungen der spanischen und italienischen Schule* (1856; Jewish Poetry of the Spanish and Italian Schools) and Emil von Boxberger's *Barkochba* (1857; Bar Kokhba); as well as fiction, such as Ludwig Philippson's historical novels *Sepphoris und Rom* (1866; Sepphoris and Rome) and *Jakob Tirado* (1867) as well as, in translation, Grace Aguilar's *Maria Henriquez Morales* (1860; *Vale of Cedars*, 1850) and Benjamin Disraeli's *David Alroy* (1862; *The Wondrous Tale of Alroy*, 1833).

The strong prevalence of historical works among the Institute's publications—fictional, poetic, and scholarly—is plainly programmatic.[8] It reflects the aim of Philippson to promote Jewish literary production and, more specifically, the historical-heroic genre as the paradigm of contemporary Jewish narrative fiction.[9] The Reform-oriented rabbi was simultaneously editor of the widely read

3 For the Institute for the Promotion of Israelite Literature, see Nils Roemer, *Jewish Scholarship and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Germany: Between History and Faith* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), pp. 73–7.

4 Roemer, *Jewish Scholarship and Culture*, p. 76.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., p. 75; for the Institute's "substantial" international membership, see p. 74.

7 The Institute published only volumes III and V to X of Graetz's *History of the Jews*. The first volume to appear was volume IV (1853); volume XI (1870) was considered controversial and appeared without the support of the Institute, see, e.g., Jeffrey Charles Blutinger, "Writing for the Masses: Heinrich Graetz, the Popularization of Jewish History, and the Reception of National Judaism," (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2003), pp. 232–5; volumes I and II appeared in 1874 and 1876, respectively.

8 See Skolnik, *Jewish Pasts, German Fictions*, p. 70 who notes that about a fifth of the Institute's publications was comprised of historical novels alone.

9 See Horch, *Auf der Suche nach der jüdischen Erzählliteratur*, p. 155.

and enormously influential *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, which he established in 1837.[10] His main objective was to strengthen Judaism. Literature was perceived by Philippson, who was himself a prolific writer of historical fiction, the most efficient vehicle for this purpose:

> Judaism is in need of strengthening. [. . .] The means of this strengthening are not only the *synagogue* and the *school*, but also *literature*. Indeed, if many attend services only sporadically, if the effect of school in life is soon effaced, literature in contrast continuously and time and again approaches people, speaks to them in a more attractive and more stimulating manner so that its impact indisputably is the most significant means also for religious life in the present.[11]

The unattributed epigraph of Kossarski's text, possibly meant also for the series, correspondingly asserts the productive interaction of history and literary production in an invigorating and regenerative process of national self-reflection: "History is the everlasting monument of nations, poesy its golden flower and green leaf winding its vines around it and crowning it with eternal fresh life."[12] And there, obviously, lies also its significance in the Jewish context and, more specifically, in relation to the objectives of the Institute.

Facilitated by the emancipation debate and invigorated with the establishment of *Wissenschaft des Judenthums* in 1819 (the scholarly study of Jewry and Judaism),[13] a process of self-reflection and self-definition had been engaged in by

10 For the significance of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, founded in 1837 by Ludwig Philippson, see, e.g., George Y. Kohler, "Ein notwendiger Fehler der Weltgeschichte. Ludwig Philippson Auseinandersetzung mit dem Christentum," in *Die Entdeckung des Christentums in der Wissenschaft des Judentums*, ed. Görge K. Hasselhoff (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), pp. 33–62, p. 34 and, specifically in relation to its promotion of Jewish literature, Horch, *Auf der Suche nach der jüdischen Erzählliteratur*.

11 Ludwig Philippson, "Aufforderung an alle deutsch-lesenden Israeliten zur Gründung der israelitischen Literatur-Gesellschaft," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 19.8 (February 19, 1855): 87–9, 87: "Das Judenthum bedarf der Erkräftigung. [. . .] Die Mittel dieser Erkräftigung sind nicht allein *Synagoge* und *Schule*, sondern auch die *Literatur*. Ja, wenn von Vielen der Gottesdienst nur selten besucht, wenn die Wirkung der Schule im Leben bald wieder verwischt wird, so tritt hingegen die Literatur fortwährend und immer wiederholt an die Menschen, spricht zu ihnen in einer für sie jetzt anziehendern und anregendern Weise, so daß ihre Wirksamkeit unstreitig das bedeutsamste Mittel auch für das religiöse Leben in der Gegenwart ist."

12 Julius Kossarski, *Titus oder die Zerstörung Jerusalem's* (Leipzig: Schnauß, 1855), epigraph: "Die Geschichte ist das unvergängliche Monument der Völker, die Poesie die goldene Blüthe und das grüne Blatt, die es umrankt und mit ewig frischem Leben krönt."

13 For *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, see, e.g., Ismar Schorsch, *From Text to Context: The Turn to History in Modern Judaism* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 1994) and, more recently, *Wissenschaft des Judentums in Europe: Comparative and Transnational Perspectives*, eds Christian Wiese and Mirjam Thulin (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017) and *Wissenschaft des Judentums beyond Tra-*

German Jews since the concluding decades of the eighteenth century in relation to which the Institute and its objectives must be understood. In fact, the Institute with its literary output was effectively a vehicle for negotiating the Jewish position both internally and within the cultural, social, and religious fabric of the German lands. The use of "Israelite" in the Institute's title, instead of "Jewish," associates a religious community rather than a biologically, or racially, defined national collective and as such, while insisting on Jewish particularity from a historical perspective and the resurgence of its cultural production (also of transnational provenance), it clearly does not envisage national self-definition outside the German socio-political context.

The Institute for the Promotion of Israelite Literature and the Destruction of Jerusalem: Philippson and Kossarski

The infirm and frequently ailing Kossarski submitted his dramatic poem anonymously through the mediation of a friend, the Bromberg merchant Hermann Jacobi.[14] Once it was accepted, Philippson was quick to send the manuscript to the printer, yet Kossarski was anything but happy with the terms suggested to him, which he initially had left to the editor's discretion. The altercation escalated, with the author eventually availing himself of the services of a solicitor, but in the end appears to have been settled out of court.[15]

The correspondence between Philippson, Jacobi, and Kossarski offers some insights into the poet's creative process and gives, moreover, some indication also of the expectations tied to it. As such it usefully complements public discourse on the Institute, shaped in particular by the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*.[16] The paper was in fact a platform for announcements relating to Philippson's project and its progress. In its pages the editor called for submissions of "*works of belles lettres, novellas, tales*—naturally in an area of Jewish interest, noble in form and lofty in spirit."[17] Somewhat later he gave wholesale praise to the quality

dition: Jewish Scholarship on the Sacred Texts of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, eds Dorothea M. Salzer, Chanan Gafni, and Hanan Harif (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019).

14 See Herzberg, "Tragik im Leben eines jüdischen Dichters," 129.

15 Isaak Herzberg, "Die Tragik im Leben eines jüdischen Dichters," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* 84.14 (April 2, 1920): 153–5, 154–5.

16 See, e.g., Horch, *Auf der Suche nach der jüdischen Erzählliteratur*.

17 Ludwig Philippson, "Das Institut zur Förderung der israelitischen Literatur," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 19.22 (May 28, 1855): 277: "*Unterhaltungsschriften, Novellen, Erzählungen*—natürlich auf dem Gebiete des Judenthums, in edler Fassung und noblem Geiste."

of what he had received as "*sterling*" and commended as "superb" in particular some of the submissions in the popular and *belles lettres* section.[18]

When the list of the first of the Institute's publications was finally made public in November 1855, the as yet anonymous *Titus* was acclaimed by the editor as "splendid."[19] In truth, however, Philippson felt that he needed to invest a substantial effort to smooth the author's uneven verses. He moreover explained to Kossarski, once his identity had been revealed, that he omitted a long passage about Jesus for fear of falling foul of the censor in Austria and Bavaria.[20] This segment, unfortunately, appears now to be lost.[21] In the course of the confrontation, Philippson emphasized that it was predominantly its subject matter that had recommended the dramatic poem to him, its "Jewish spirit,"[22] rather than its literary quality which he now in fact disparaged, in particular its "dry historical lectures."[23] In support of his own assessment he cited the expert opinion of such "aestheticians" as Berthold Auerbach and the non-Jewish writer Karl Gutzkow, both of whom he appears to have consulted.[24]

18 Ludwig Philippson, "An die Deutsch-lesenden Israeliten," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 19.27 (July 2, 1855): 342: "*gediegen* [. . .] vorzüglich."

19 Ludwig Philippson, "An alle Förderer des Instituts für israelitische Literatur," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 19.45 (November 5, 1855): 571: "vortrefflich."

20 In 1855, the Austrian Government immediately issued a prohibition against joining the new society, and Philippson was expelled from Austrian territory when he visited Milan in 1858, see Ludwig Philippson, "Eine Episode aus meinem Leben," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* (May 19, 1868): 427–9, 428. The threat attributed to the literary publication society must have been perceived to emanate from the notion of a separate cultural identity it disseminated. This suggested the danger of fostering a divisive spirit and creating unrest, if less among its targeted readership but rather among other, potentially more rebellious communities with clearly defined territories which were tied into the multi-ethnic dynastic state, such as the North of Italy. For the impact of Austrian censorship on the Institute, see Roemer, *Jewish Scholarship and Culture*, pp. 76–7.

21 See Isaak Herzberg, "Die Tragik im Leben eines jüdischen Dichters," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* 84.12/13 (March 26, 1920): 139–40, 139.

22 See Herzberg, "Tragik im Leben eines jüdischen Dichters," 153: "ist jüdischer Geist darin—das genügt mir."

23 See ibid.: "die dürren historischen Vorlesungen."

24 See ibid.: "Aesthetiker vom Fach." Auerbach was celebrated in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* for his integral amalgamation of Jewishness and Germanness in his work, while Philippson was critical toward Gutzkow because of his advocacy of Jewish emancipation as assimilation, see Horch, *Auf der Suche nach der jüdischen Erzählliteratur*, pp. 126 and 46, respectively, and in more detail about both writers, pp. 125–9 and 45–52.

The historical background, as indicated by Philippson's critical observation, was indeed extremely important to Kossarski. In his dramatic poem, as suggested above, he sought to rewrite the established historical narrative as it had been derived from Josephus. Kossarski, based in the Prussian backwater of Bromberg (today the major city of Bydgoszcz in Poland), accordingly pursued the historical research for his *Titus* at great private expense. In a plea for the author's more liberal remuneration his specifically purchased sources were enumerated by Jacobi: "Jost, Munk, Salvador, Abbé Calmet, Tacitus, Lamartine, Chateaubriand, Lundius, Josephus, Gefrörer [*sic*], Dio Cassius and Suetonius."[25]

Kossarski himself somewhat petulantly maintained toward Philippson that "[t]he most learned men found in my manuscript much that was not previously known and even more that was original."[26] The author moreover referred to his acquaintance (though presumably not in person) with Isaak Markus Jost (1793–1860) who, alongside Philippson and the preacher and synagogue orator Adolf Jellinek (1821–93), served on the Institute's selection committee and who, some years before, had commented favorably on Kossarski's *Wallfahrt in Palästina* (1847; Pilgrimage in Palestine).

The collection of poems included a section on "Titus in Jerusalem," whose introductory verses were discussed at the beginning of this chapter and in which inanimate nature, animals, and angels all seek to avert the destruction of Jerusalem yet need to bow to God's decree.[27] The sequence, as mentioned above, is framed by descriptions of old men lamenting on *Tisha b'Av*, the anniversary of the destruction of Jerusalem, by which the poet's vision is inspired. The cycle of poems indicates that the subject was on Kossarski's mind long before he com-

25 Quoted in Herzberg, "Tragik im Leben eines jüdischen Dichters," 139. The references are to Cassius Dio's *History of Rome*; Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*, and Tacitus' *Histories* as well as Isaak Markus Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Maccabäer bis auf unsere Tage* (Berlin: Schlesinger, 1820–29); Salomon Munk, *Palestine, description géographique, historique et archéologique* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1845); Joseph Salvador, *Histoire de la domination romaine en Judée et de la ruine de Jérusalem* (Paris: Guyot et Scribe, 1847); Antoine Augustin Calmet, *Dictionnaire historique et critique de la Bible* (Paris: Emery, 1722–28); Alphonse de Lamartine, *Voyage en Orient, 1832–1833* (Paris: Gosselin, 1841); François-René de Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris a Jérusalem et de Jérusalem a Paris* (Paris: Normant, 1811); Johannes Lundius, *Die alten jüdischen Heiligthümer, Gottesdienste und Gewohnheiten*, ed. Heinrich Muhlius (1711; Hamburg: Brand, 1738); and Flavius Josephus, *Geschichte des jüdischen Krieges oder vom Untergang des jüdischen Volkes und seiner Hauptstadt Jerusalem*, ed. August Friedrich Gfrörer (Stuttgart: Rieger, 1836).

26 Quoted in Herzberg, "Tragik im Leben eines jüdischen Dichters," 153: "Die gelehrtesten Männer haben in meinem Manuskripte viel Unbekanntes, noch mehr Originelles gefunden."

27 See Kossarski, *Wallfahrt in Palästina*, pp. 179–214.

pleted his dramatic poem and the author indeed claimed toward Philippson that he had worked for five years or more on his *Titus oder die Zerstörung Jerusalem's*.[28]

Whereas Philippson had observed toward Jacobi that Kossarski's name and works were as yet entirely unknown among Jews, the poet seems to have been something of a minor local celebrity. He claims to have been invited to the house of the president of the administrative district of Bromberg after the completion of the manuscript of his *Titus*.[29] In addition, Kossarski surprisingly was described in an article on "Jüdische Literatur" (1856; Jewish Literature) in *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* as a chief representative of young-Jewish poetry in Germany. The article was presumably authored by the journal's editor, Hermann Marggraff, who was well acquainted with Kossarski from his time in Berlin when both had been members of what Heinrich Heine is said to have designated somewhat deprecatingly, and not quite accurately, the "farther Pommeranian school of poetry."[30]

In his dispute with Philippson, Kossarski suggested Marggraff—whose thoughts on the dichotomy between novel and epic were discussed in chapter II—as his arbitrator.[31] It is therefore perplexing that Marggraff neglected to mention his friend's dramatic poem in what was otherwise a clearly prejudiced encomium of Kossarski's rather limited oeuvre in which he even compared the Jewish writer to Ferdinand Freiligrath, one of the foremost poets of the *Junges Deutschland* (Young Germany) movement. Marggraff may nevertheless have obliquely alluded to the affair when he declared:

> [W]e would be wondering about the fact that his [i.e., Kossarski's] poetry does not appear to have found the favourable reception it deserves at least among his tribe, did we not know that among Jewish poets and writers too there is an exclusive côterie that understands very well the art of ignoring and disdaining and that through guild-like segregation obstructs the competition of any others as much as possible.[32]

28 See Herzberg, "Tragik im Leben eines jüdischen Dichters," 140.

29 See ibid.

30 See Theodor Fontane, *Unbekannte und vergessene Geschichten aus der Mark Brandenburg*, vol. 7, part 2: *Das Ländchen Friesack und die Bredows*, eds Gotthard Erler and Rudolf Mingau (Berlin: Aufbau, 1994), p. 143: "hinterpommersche Dichterschule"; see also Roland Berbig, *Theodor Fontane im literarischen Leben: Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, Verlage und Vereine* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000), p. 11. Much earlier, in 1840, Marggraff was censured by Gabriel Riesser for his ignorance of Jewish literature and his presumption of nevertheless writing about it and creating much confusion in the process, see Gabriel Riesser, *Jüdische Briefe: Zur Abwehr und zur Verständigung* (Berlin: Veit, 1840), I, 138–40.

31 See Herzberg, "Tragik im Leben eines jüdischen Dichters," 155.

32 H[ermann] M[arggraff], "Jüdische Literatur," *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* 16.27 (July 1, 1856): 497–9, 497: "[W]ir würden uns wundern, daß seine [i.e., Kossarski's] Dichtungen

If this was in fact a covert indictment of Philippson, it appears to have been unmerited. Exasperated as he was with Kossarski for his unrealistic financial expectation and exaggerated confidence in his own literary proficiency, the editor—mindful no doubt also of his project of the Institute—nevertheless included the poet's work in his review of Max Waldau's *Rahab* (1855) and Adolf Böttger's *Der Fall von Babylon* (1855; The Fall of Babylon), though in a letter to Jacobi he had grumbled that he no longer felt like doing so.[33]

While Philippson censured the decadence of Waldau and Böttger whose poems he felt to taint their lofty biblical subjects by turning them into insipid if formally accomplished love, revenge, and murder narratives,[34] he attested to Kossarski that he was a genuine Jewish poet whose work was informed by the Jewish "spirit." This Jewish spirit was identified by Philippson as "having comprehended the content and purpose of the history of Israel" and, "seized by its task, inflamed by its teachings," to "celebrate the perpetually repeated advance of our fate throughout the history of the nations."[35]

Acknowledging the aesthetic shortcomings of Kossarski's *Titus*, Philippson asserted that those limitations faded in view of finally being in possession of a description of the destruction of Jerusalem that was inspired by the Jewish spirit. To the critic's mind, the author understood the struggle between Rome and Judah from the appropriate national point of view. The dramatic poem, he enthused, was animated by the awareness that Judaism did not perish alongside Jerusalem and the Temple but that amid the defeat Judah's spirit commenced its triumphal progress around the world. It is this that elevated Kossarski's *Titus* in Philippson's opinion far beyond any run-of-the-mill love, revenge, and murder narratives.[36] Even so, Kossarski seems to have fallen silent after the publication of his dramatic

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wenigstens unter den Stammesgenossen nicht den ihnen gebührenden Anklang gefunden zu haben scheinen, wüßten wir nicht, daß es auch unter den jüdischen Dichtern und Schriftstellern eine exclusive Coterie gibt, welche die Kunst des Ignorirens und Zurücksetzens sehr gut versteht und durch zunftmäßige Absperrung Andern die Concurrenz möglichst schwer macht."

33 See Herzberg, "Tragik im Leben eines jüdischen Dichters," 154. For Philippson's review, see "Literaturbericht IX," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 19.51 (December 17, 1855): 646–8; 19.52 (December 24, 1855): 659–60; 20.1 (January 1, 1856): 4–5; 20.2 (January 7, 1856): 14–16.

34 See Ludwig Philippson, "Literaturbericht IX. (Fortsetzung.)," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 19.52 (December 24, 1855): 659–60, 660.

35 Ludwig Philippson, "Literaturbericht IX. (Fortsetzung.)," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 20.1 (January 1, 1856): 4–5, 4: "der den Inhalt und Zweck der Geschichte Israels begriffen [hat], von dessen Aufgabe ergriffen, von dessen Lehre entflammt, den immer wiederholten Durchbruch unsres Geschickes durch die Geschichte der Völker feiert."

36 See Ludwig Philippson, "Literaturbericht IX. (Schluß.)," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 20.2 (January 7, 1856): 14–16, 15.

poem. No further publications under his name are known, though some of his works appear to have been re-issued during his lifetime—not, however, his *Titus*.[37]

The Historians and the Poet: Jost, Graetz, and Kossarski

With Kossarski's dramatic poem as the first of the Institute's publications, the topic of the destruction of Jerusalem was given compelling prominence.[38] In retrospect, it seems indeed an obvious choice with a strong programmatic impetus. The historical episode reflects the end of Jewish national sovereignty and history. But as such it at the same time also marks a new beginning, of a diasporic existence that for a long time had remained largely outside written history; and thus it represents the withering of the "green leaf" and of the "golden flower." It moreover marks the formation and proliferation of pernicious stereotypes linked to both the cataclysmic destruction of the Temple, not only as a historical catastrophe resulting in the loss of a religious, or cultic, and geo-political center, but also as a divine punishment and apparent fall from grace. It was, as outlined in chapter I, perceived in this sense by Kaulbach, whose assessment of the pivotal nature of the historical occurrence was clearly shared by Kossarski, if not his interpretation which, as will be seen, was emphatically different.

It should, however, be noted that, though prevalent, the notion of the paramount consequence of the historical occurrence was not unchallenged. In his *Geschichte der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Maccabäer bis auf unsere Tage* (1820–29; History of the Israelites from the Time of the Maccabees to our Own Day), written almost three decades before his more recent publication with the Institute, the German Jewish educator and historian Isaak Markus Jost had claimed that "the bonds among the Jews as a nation" had in fact been "dissolved" long before the cataclysmic event.[39] Implicitly challenging the myth of its character as a divine punishment, Jost concluded:

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37 In addition to his *Titus* and *Wallfahrt in Palästina*, Julius Kossarski published *Gedichte an eine schöne Brombergerin* (Bromberg: Levit, 1840), *Sagen des Morgenlandes* (Berlin: Adolf, 1852) and *Der Mönch von Meran* (Berlin: Allgemeine Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1855).

38 The topic, as observed by Marcus Pyka, was of much interest also to Christian theology and scholarly engagement proliferated in the second half of the nineteenth century, see Marcus Pyka, *Jüdische Identität bei Heinrich Graetz* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), p. 230.

39 Isaak Markus Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Maccabäer bis auf unsere Tage* (Berlin: Schlesinger, 1821), II, 164: "die Bande der Juden als eines Volkes [waren] längst gelöst." For this conception, see also Pyka, *Jüdische Identität bei Heinrich Graetz*, p. 232.

> This truth we cannot hide from ourselves that *Jerusalem*, the only city within the far-reaching empire conquered by the Romans in Asia, would surely have been subjected to the rule of the conqueror of the world in any case, even if the Jews had observed their laws most strictly, and that the city of God would never have descended into such misery as that we see her in now if the Jews, neglecting only their own laws and committing individual but not collective crimes, would have remained loyal to the Romans. If there was anything that precipitated the fall of Jerusalem from the very beginning, then this was [. . .] the internal strife among the Jews and their mixing with completely dissimilar peoples who were powerful enough to use every moment to achieve significant advantages.[40]

The historian's attempt to separate the historical occurrence from the mythical baggage with which it was burdened is intriguing not only because it challenged received opinion but also because it applied a pragmatic perspective to Jewish history which offers a re-interpretation of its particularity. Jost, frequently considered a pioneer of modern Jewish historiography,[41] even suggests, if indirectly, the power of historiographic constructions holding sway to his own day, when he observes that the impact of Jerusalem on posterity was much stronger after its destruction than on its contemporaries while it still existed.[42]

Seeking to replace the current master narrative, Jost's interpretation of the destruction of the Second Temple was informed by his notion that it prioritized the eternal idea over the transient national structure and effected the transition from a "nation" to a "community" as "a spiritual whole."[43] Crucially, the historian emphasized the dynamic nature of this process which culminated in but had not begun with the physical destruction of Jerusalem:

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40 Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, II, 165: "Die Wahrheit können wir uns nicht verhehlen, daß *Jerusalem*, die einzige Stadt in dem weiten von Römern eroberten Reiche in Asien, gewiß auch so unter die Gewalt des Welteroberers gekommen wäre, wenn auch die Juden ihr Gesetz aufs Strengste beobachtet hätten, und daß die Gottesstadt nie in ein so tiefes Elend, als worin wir sie jetzt finden, versunken wäre, wenn die Juden nur bei Vernachlässigung ihres eigenen Gesetzes, und bei einzelnen Verbrechen, die ihrer Gesammtheit nicht angehören, dem Römer treu geblieben wären. Wenn etwas den Fall Jerusalems von je her beschleunigte, so war es [. . .] der innere Zwist der Juden, und ihre Vermischung mit völlig ungleichartigen Völkern, die Macht genug hatten, um jeden Augenblick zur Erringung bedeutender Vortheile zu benutzen."

41 See Salo W. Baron, *History and Jewish Historians: Essays and Addresses* (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1964), p. 241.

42 See Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, II, 162.

43 See Isaak Markus Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Maccabäer bis auf unsere Tage* (Berlin: Schlesinger, 1822), III, 181–3: "Volk [. . .] Gemeinde [. . .] ein geistiges Ganzes."

> Yet this had long since been prepared. The fall of the nation had been decided more than a hundred years before; the community since then had already been established in other places; Judaism carried within itself the conviction of the perpetual existence of the community.[44]

Jost's accordingly was a construction of Jewish history that corresponded neither to Kaulbach's nor to Kossarski's; nor—as will emerge from the subsequent discussion—to that of Heinrich Graetz (1817–91) whose own *Geschichte der Juden* forcefully reinstated the pivotal status accorded to the destruction of Jerusalem, if with yet another twist in that he sought to rehabilitate the Jews and their struggle for freedom. And in this the historian's objectives converge with those of the poet and dramatist.

Kossarski, as mentioned above, attempted to re-write the history of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple and to invest the allegedly villainous tyrants with nobility. Graetz's *Geschichte der Juden* pursued the same objective. The third volume of his monumental and widely influential history, published by the Institute in 1856 within its first year of activity, though against the initial resistance of Jost,[45] covered the period from the death of Judas Maccabeus to the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem and thus complemented Kossarski's dramatic imagination with a scholarly account that differed crucially from Jost's earlier representation.[46] The Institute at the same time promoted in parallel to Kossarski's and Graetz's efforts also a call for a new annotated translation of the *Jewish War* to be issued in the same year. This, however, came to nothing.[47]

The third volume of Graetz's *Geschichte der Juden* may have been published just after Kossarski's historical-dramatic poem, yet its objective—of re-writing Jewish history and of rehabilitating the Jewish side as far as the documents would allow appears to have been similar to that of the dramatic poem.[48] And

44 Ibid., III, 183: "Dies war aber längst vorbereitet. Der Untergang des Volkes war schon seit mehr, als hundert Jahren zuvor entschieden; die Gemeinde stand seitdem an andern Orten schon fest; das Judenthum trug in sich eine Ueberzeugung von der ewigen Dauer der Gemeinde."

45 See Horch, *Auf der Suche nach der jüdischen Erzählliteratur*, p. 156.

46 For Graetz, see, e.g., Michael Brenner, *Prophets of the Past: Interpreters of Jewish History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 53–92.

47 See Ludwig Philippson, "Das Institut zur Förderung der israelitischen Literatur," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 19.25 (June 18, 1855): 317.

48 The most pertinent section of the volume is its fifteenth chapter on the fall of the Jewish state, see Heinrich Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden von der ältesten Zeit bis auf die Gegenwart*, vol. III: *Von dem Tode Juda Makkabi's bis zum Untergange des jüdischen Staates* (Leipzig: Schnauß, 1856), pp. 420–46 which corresponds to chapter XI in the second volume of the American translation, see *History of the Jews*, vol. II: *From the Reign of Hyrcanus (135 B.C.E.) to the Completion of the Babylonian Talmud (c. 500 C.E.)*, transl. Bella Löwy (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Soci-

although there is currently no evidence that Kossarski was in contact with Graetz prior to the publication of either volume, or in fact afterward, their convergence in this attempt is worthy of note. The historical dividing line between the third volume of Graetz's *Geschichte* and its previously published fourth volume (1853), the first of altogether eleven volumes to appear until 1876, reaffirmed the same sense of an irrevocable ending as suggested by Kossarski.[49] But like the dramatist's text it also offered a revaluation of the Jewish protagonists in the historical drama, a trajectory on which Graetz was to elaborate even further in subsequent editions of his widely recognized *Geschichte*, four of which appeared during the historian's lifetime. Graetz's magnum opus was moreover translated into English, French, Polish, and Russian as well as Yiddish and Hebrew, either in full or in part, and is said to have "dominated the landscape of nineteenth and early twentieth-century Jewish scholarship."[50]

Like Jost, Graetz acknowledges the internal strife among the Jewish defenders of the city, but he attributes to them "yearning for freedom," "patriotism," "ambition," "revenge," and "desperation" and he emphasizes their "heroism" and "contempt of death."[51] While he concedes that they were lacking the necessary prudence and disastrously underestimated the Roman enemy, he nevertheless emphatically attests to the just cause for which they were fighting.[52] In later editions of his *Geschichte*, Graetz was to develop this bias even further, in particular with the increasingly positive characterization of the main Jewish historical protagonists.[53] Though, as ob-

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ety of America, 1902), pp. 291–310. The translation project has been described by Graetz in his preface to its first volume as a "condensed reproduction of the entire eleven volumes," *History of the Jews*, vol. I: *From the Earliest Period to the Death of Simon the Maccabee (135 B.C.E.)*, transl. Bella Löwy (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1891), p. vi.

49 For Graetz's periodization rationale and its changing focus and relevance, see Pyka, *Jüdische Identität bei Heinrich Graetz*, pp. 230, 233–41.

50 Blutinger, "Writing for the Masses," p. 13; for the multi-faceted and frequently critical reception of Graetz, see esp. pp. 133–64, 204–34 and throughout.

51 Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III (ed. 1856), 420: "Freiheitsdrang," "Vaterlandsliebe," "Ehrgeiz," "Rache," "Verzweiflung," "Heldenmuth," and "Todesverachtung." For the corresponding chapter, numbered sixteen, in the "fourth improved and much enlarged edition," see Heinrich Graetz, *Geschichte der Judäer von dem Tode Juda Makkabi's bis zum Untergange des judäischen Staates*, 4th edn (1856; Leipzig: Leiner, 1888), pp. 503–41; for these epithets, see p. 503. If not otherwise indicated, translations are my own as the "condensed reproduction" of the edition of the Jewish Publication Society of America is frequently distorting.

52 Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III (ed. 1856), 421; III (ed. 1888), 504.

53 For Graetz's conception of heroic Jewish masculinities and his unbalanced depiction of gendered villainy, see Pyka, *Jüdische Identität bei Heinrich Graetz*, pp. 265–70.

served by Marcus Pyka, his master narrative remained largely unaltered throughout,[54] the ostensibly minor changes introduced by the historian nevertheless appear to be more significant than Pyka allows.

Simon bar Giora, blamed by Jost for the pernicious sedition in Jerusalem and described as bloodthirsty and an "affronted animal of prey," if brave and daring,[55] was in Graetz's first edition still a "freebooter"[56] but is later characterized by his physical strength and daring, by his ambition and his desire for action, if also—articulated much less stridently—by his "imperviousness to tender-heartedness."[57]

Even more intriguing is the rehabilitation of John of Giscala whom Jost had cast as "dishonourable."[58] Graetz credits John in later editions not only with charisma and heroism but claims that in daring and contempt of dying the other leaders' equal, he surpassed them in perspicacity and ingenuity, insisting: "he was born to be a ruler."[59]

According to Jost, the Zealots, led by Eleazar ben Simon, were merely seeking to establish their tyranny.[60] Graetz in contrast emphasizes already in the first edition of his *Geschichte* that they were not "robbers and murderous arsonists," as which they are disparaged by Josephus,[61] but counted among them "well-respected citizens and members of the priestly aristocracy."[62] In later editions, he repeatedly credits them with their "democratic conviction"[63] and—in direct contradiction of the first edition—explains that during their "reign of terror" none of those who were suspected of conspiracy were executed without a hearing.[64]

54 See ibid., p. 230.

55 See Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, II, 155, 157, 154.

56 Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III (ed. 1856), 424: "Freibeuter."

57 See Graetz, *Geschichte der Judäer*, III (ed. 1888), 508, 519, 520.

58 See Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, II, 146: "ehrlos[]."

59 Graetz, *Geschichte der Judäer*, III (ed. 1888), 515: "An Kühnheit und Todesverachtung den übrigen Führern gleich, übertraf Johannes sie an Scharfblick und Erfindungsgabe; er war zum Herrscher geboren."

60 See Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, II, 145.

61 See Josephus, *Jewish War*, pp. 244–5 (4.3.3–6), *et passim*; Williamson translates "bandits" and "terrorists."

62 Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III (ed. 1856), 425: "Man darf nicht vergessen, daß diese Zeloten nicht Räuber und Mordbrenner waren, sondern in ihren Reihen angesehene Bürger und Glieder des priesterlichen Adels zählten." See III (ed. 1888), 509.

63 See, e.g., Graetz, *Geschichte der Judäer*, III (ed. 1888), 510.

64 Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III (ed. 1856), 429: "Schreckensherrschaft"; "Alle diejenigen, welche einer Verschwörung verdächtig waren, alle, die sich an dem Kampfe beteiligt hatten, wurden hervorgesucht und ohne Verhör hingerichtet." Graetz, *Geschichte der Judäer*, III (ed. 1888), 513 adds: "[. . .] wurden hervorgesucht und *gewiß nicht* ohne Verhör hingerichtet"; emphasis added.

Toward the religious establishment Graetz is much less forgiving in later editions and one wonders if his scathing condemnation is a reflection of the ongoing *Kulturkampf* in Germany. As discussed in the previous part, the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem was variously used in particular by Catholic writers as a vehicle for an intervention in the *Kulturkampf*. Graetz, emphasizing the corruption of the Jewish hierocracy, blames the High Priest Anan, whose impertinence and hunger for power he emphasizes, for inciting the civil war in Jerusalem.[65]

But the real villain in Graetz's account is Flavius Josephus.[66] From the very beginning, he denounces the ancient historian for his bias and betrayal and even accuses him of having at least indirectly instigated the violent movement in Jerusalem in the first place with his "traitorous game and defection to the Romans."[67] Yet in this instance, too, in later editions Graetz elaborates even further on his characterization and amplifies the negative representation of Josephus not only with the proliferation of assertions of his supposed exaggerations, lies, and wicked libels,[68] but also with illustrations of his allegedly unsavory private conduct: "Indifferent to the painful convulsions of his people, he married twice after his defection to the Romans; he was looking for comfort in his life and for the joys of matrimony."[69] Yet not enough with this insinuation of frivolity, Graetz continues to speculate, without citing any evidence whatsoever, that Josephus was left by his first wife, "presumably because she despised his insensitivity towards his fatherland."[70]

Jost, in contrast, recognizing the difficult position of the historian who was embroiled in the events he committed to the collective memory of posterity, tried to filter out of his own account whatever appeared to him "improbable" in Josephus's *Jewish War*.[71] More specifically, he added an extensive appendix in which

65 Graetz, *Geschichte der Judäer*, III (ed. 1888), 511: "Keckheit [. . .] gewalthaberisch."

66 Yet Graetz nevertheless acknowledged the significance of Josephus as a writer, if mainly based on his *Against Apion* and *Antiquities of the Jews*, the latter of which he extolled as a "national monument [Nationaldenkmal]," see *Geschichte der Juden*, II (ed. 1856), 458 and L[eopold] Treitel, "Flavius Josephus by H. Graetz," in *Heinrich Graetz: Abhandlungen zu seinem 100. Geburtstage*, ed. M. Brann (Wien and Berlin: Löwit, 1917), pp. 65–71, pp. 65–6.

67 Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III (ed. 1856), 424: "Josephus' verrätherisches Spiel und Uebergang zu den Römern gaben gewissermaßen die Veranlassung dazu." See Graetz, *Geschichte der Judäer*, III (ed. 1888), 508.

68 See, e.g., ibid., III, 516, 525, 539n1.

69 Ibid., III, 530: "Unbekümmert um die schmerzlichen Zuckungen seines Volkes ging er nach seinem Uebertritt zu den Römern zweimal eine Ehe ein; er suchte Lebensbehaglichkeit und Ehefreuden."

70 Ibid., III, 530–1: "wohl aus Verachtung wegen seiner Gefühllosigkeit gegen sein Vaterland."

71 Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, II, 162: "unwahrscheinlich."

he discussed the reliability of the ancient historian.[72] While emphasizing the veracity, enquiring mind, and diligence of Josephus, Jost acknowledges his many distortions and misrepresentations which, he suggests, were not intentional but originated in the circumstances in which the historian found himself.[73] More specifically, Jost criticizes that the perspective on Josephus has been informed by ecclesiastical history to which Jewish history was made subservient and insists: "We, however, are only concerned with the *Jewish history* of those times, for which ecclesiastical history is dispensable, bar a few circumstances."[74] Most significantly, noting that Josephus's history was originally written in Hebrew for a Jewish readership,[75] Jost insists that the ancient historian himself sought to exculpate the remnant that had escaped the conflagration by further denouncing those implicated in the insurrection:

> After the fall of his people, *Josephus* wanted to exculpate at least the few unhappy ones that remained; for this reason, he strove to represent the matter of the insurgence in such a way that the nation would be extricated, as it were. And how successful he was is clearly evidenced with the parroting of later historians.[76]

In truth, Jost suggests, "the robbers and murderous arsonists thus called by *Josephus* were such for their *deeds* but not for their *intentions*. They were the common mass of those who had risen against the enormous pressure of the enemy and were led in their actions mostly by respected Jews."[77]

Even so, in his own account, Jost appears to have been not entirely impervious to the reiteration of established patterns of historical interpretation, because he too, as we have seen, denounced the notorious leaders of the rebellion in no

72 Ibid., II, App. 55–73.

73 Ibid., II, App. 57, 59.

74 Ibid., II, App. 59: "Wir aber haben es nur mit der *jüdischen Geschichte* damaliger Zeit zu thun, bei welcher die Kirchengeschichte bis auf wenige Umstände entbehrlich ist."

75 See ibid., II, App. 70.

76 Ibid., II, App. 64: "*Joseph* wollte aber nach dem Untergange seines Volkes, wenigstens die noch übrig gebliebenen Unglücklichen von der Schuld lossprechen; daher hat er sich bemüht die Angelegenheit der Empörung so vorzustellen, daß die Nation gleichsam herausgezogen würde. Und wie sehr ihm dies gelang, davon ist die Nachbeterei der spätern Historiker ein deutlicher Beweis."

77 Ibid., II, App. 63: "Die Räuber und Mordbrenner, die *Joseph* so nennt, waren es durch die *That*, aber nicht durch die *Absicht*. Sie waren die gemeine Masse derer, die sich gegen den unerhörten Druck der Feinde empört hatten, und in ihrem Thun meist von angesehenen Juden geleitet wurden."

uncertain terms while perpetuating the notion of the humane character of the "splendid" Roman imperator Titus.[78]

Graetz, in contrast, not only elaborated on his increasingly biased characterizations of the historical protagonists on the Jewish side, charging them with emotional appeal, both positive and negative, as corresponding to his objective of rehabilitating the main opponents of the Roman attackers. The same strategy is manifest also in his representation of the imperial enemy. Vespasian increasingly appears as an opportunistic political tactician, both in his military campaign and in his calculating bid for the imperial mantle in Rome; more interesting still is Titus whose amorous relationship with the Jewish princess Berenice gains much prominence in Graetz's expanded account.

Graetz claims that Berenice was another "magnet" attracting the imperator to the Jewish War and even adds the insalubrious rumor of Titus and Berenice fornicating on a Torah scroll in the Holy of Holies of the burning Temple.[79] Indeed, Titus's frequently invoked mercy[80] is explained by Graetz with his infatuation with Berenice: "Besides he did not want to abandon the holy city to its destruction because of his love of the Jewish princess whose heart it commanded in spite of her sinful way of life."[81] Berenice's sinful way of life had been intimated earlier in the *Geschichte* with the suggestion of an incestuous relationship with her brother Agrippa and of her wantonness.[82] Yet the mere fact of her relationship with the pagan Titus, no matter how piously she may otherwise have lived according to Jewish observance, was represented by Graetz as culpable.[83]

In the first edition, little attention is given to this relationship which is mentioned only twice, once to observe that the (still) beautiful princess was older than Titus,[84] and once in relation to her intrigues with regard to Vespasian: "In this, the princess Berenice whose love affair with Titus was still developing, had her finger

78 Ibid., II, 209: "trefflich."

79 See Graetz, *Geschichte der Judäer*, III (ed. 1888), 523, 539. The source for this story is presumably the tractate *Gittin* from the *Babylonian Talmud*, where Berenice is, however, not named; the text alleges that Titus "took a harlot by the hand and entered the Holy of Holies and spread out a scroll of the Law and committed a sin on it," *The Babylonian Talmud. Seder Nashim. Gittin*, transl. Maurice Simon, ed. Isidore Epstein (London: Soncino, 1936), Gittin 56b.

80 See, e.g., Suetonius, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, "Life of Titus," VIII.471; see *Suetonius*, transl. J. C. Rolfe, vol. 2 (London: Heinemann, 1916).

81 Graetz, *Geschichte der Judäer*, III (ed. 1888), 532: "Sodann wollte er aus Liebe zu der judäischen Prinzessin, deren Herz trotz ihres Sündenwandels an der heiligen Stadt hing, diese nicht der Zerstörung preisgeben."

82 See Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III (ed. 1856), 345; III (ed. 1888), 428.

83 See Graetz, *Geschichte der Judäer*, III (ed. 1888), 523.

84 See Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III (ed. 1856), 411–12.

in the pie. She already dreamed herself into the glamour that would shine around her as the empress of Rome and knew to win over the morose Vespasian by satisfying his weakness, his avarice, with rich gifts."[85] Typical of the shifting trajectory of his emplotment of the historical occurrences, Graetz chose in this particular instance to introduce in later editions an even extended focalized narrative in free indirect discourse:

> After all, Titus's love for her was so obvious that no one around them doubted but that he had promised to marry her. Should she not engage all means afforded to her by her beauty and female shrewdness to achieve this goal? What a splendid future did she have! She, Titus's wife, could, and should, according to human wisdom, become the empress of Rome. She would be able to bring about a reconciliation between Judaea and Rome and to avert the fall of the Jewish commonwealth. Titus's limitless love for her would not be able to deny anything to her.[86]

The reader is thus introduced to a personal perspective in the guise of a lengthy passage of free indirect discourse which purports to allow an authentic internal glimpse on Berenice's character and motivation.

Already in the first edition of his *Geschichte*, Graetz described Titus as a monster ("Unmensch") by quoting from Josephus's account his pronouncement that the Jewish priests should perish with their Temple.[87] Later he inserted in addition the epithet accorded to Titus by Aurelius Victor that he was the delight of the human race ("Wonne der Menschheit")[88] in ironic conjunction with the claim that Titus had 500 Jews crucified every day.[89] Jost makes no mention of this detail—which is explained by Josephus with the exigencies of the situation which

85 Ibid., III, 437: "Die Prinzessin Berenice, deren Liebesverhältniß mit Titus noch immer im Wachsen war, hatte dabei die Hand im Spiele. Sie träumte sich schon in den Glanz hinein, der sie als Kaiserin von Rom umstrahlen würde und wußte den grämlichen Vespasian für sich einzunehmen, indem sie seine schwache Seite, den Geldgeiz, durch reiche Geschenke befriedigte."

86 Graetz, *Geschichte der Judäer*, III (ed. 1888), 524: "Titus' Liebe zu ihr war ja so offenkundig, daß die Umgebung nicht daran zweifelte, er habe ihr die Ehe versprochen. Sollte sie nicht alle Mittel, welche ihr Schönheit und weibliche Schlauheit an die Hand gaben, aufbieten, um dieses Ziel zu erreichen? Welch eine glänzende Zukunft eröffnete sich ihr! Sie, die Frau des Titus, könnte und müßte, nach menschlicher Berechnung, römische Kaiserin werden. Sie könnte eine Versöhnung zwischen Judäa und Rom herbeiführen und den Untergang des judäischen Gemeinwesens abwenden. Titus' grenzenlose Liebe zu ihr könnte ihr nichts versagen."

87 See Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III (ed. 1856), 445; III (ed. 1888), 540.

88 See *Sexti Aurelii Victoris liber de Caesaribus*, X.6; see also Suetonius, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, "Life of Titus," I.465.

89 Graetz, *Geschichte der Judäer*, III (ed. 1888), 534.

determined Titus to act in spite of his pity[90]—but emphasizes the imperator's mercy toward Jewish deserters.[91]

In Graetz's account there is a pervasive sense of the inequity of fate which favored a monster like Titus and rapacious Rome. Ultimately, if only briefly, Graetz envisages a wished-for but disappointed alternative history which is grounded in a kind of poetic justice:

> Were it not that the power of the Jewish nation had already been broken at that time, the fearless Jewish warriors, who were already prostrate in the dust, would have been able to rise as one against anarchic Rome; had Agrippa taken the lead of the movement and, like his father, forged an alliance with the Asiatic peoples against Rome, who knows if the Roman colossus would not have collapsed even then. Yet it was preordained by [divine] providence that Judaea was to lose its national character and that Rome was to enslave the nations for another four hundred years.[92]

The historian clearly regrets that the implicitly morally superior party was thwarted by providence which decreed otherwise.

Graetz's partisan attempt to create sympathy with the vanquished and violated Jews culminates in the chapter's conclusion which is almost identical in both editions:

> Once again, Zion sat on the burned ruins and wept, her sons were fallen, her daughters led away into ignominious slavery. She was now much more unhappy than after the first destruction, because now no seer foretold her an end to her widowhood and mourning.[93]

Yet in the later edition the historian once again amplified the emotional impact of his account with the drastic addition that for Zion's daughters the alternative to slavery was being allotted to the soldiers for their sexual gratification ("zur Be-

90 See Josephus, *Jewish War*, p. 326 (5.11.1).

91 See Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, II, 200.

92 Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III (ed. 1856), 434: "Wäre damals nicht schon die Kraft der judäischen Nation gebrochen gewesen, hätten die todesmuthigen judäischen Krieger, die schon im Staube lagen, wie ein Mann gegen das anarchische Rom auftreten können, hätte sich Agrippa an die Spitze der Bewegung gestellt und, gleich seinem Vater ein Bündniß mit den asiatischen Völkern gegen Rom geschlossen, wer weiß, ob nicht damals schon der römische Koloß zusammengestürzt wäre. Allein es war von der Vorsehung bestimmt, daß Judäa seinen staatlichen Charakter verlieren, und daß Rom noch vier Jahrhunderte die Völker knechten sollte." See Graetz, *Geschichte der Judäer*, III (ed. 1888), 523–4.

93 Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III (ed. 1856), 446: "Wiederum saß Zion auf der Brandstätte und weinte, ihre Söhne waren gefallen, ihre Töchter in schmähliche Sclaverei geführt. Sie war noch viel unglücklicher, als nach der ersten Zerstörung, da ihr jetzt kein Seher das Ende ihrer Wittwenschaft und ihrer Trauer verkündet hat." See also III (ed. 1888), 541.

friedigung ihrer Brunst").[94] More importantly, perhaps, either version emphasizes as the crucial difference between the destructions of the First and Second Temples the unmitigated finality of the latter event.

Kossarski and an Alternative Jewish Dramatic Historiography

The notion of a divine punishment is briefly suggested but then forcefully rejected by Justus in Kossarski's dramatic poem in an attempt to revaluate the destruction of Jerusalem as a necessary requirement for the Jewish mission. Indeed, the finality and irreversibility of the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple is transcended by Kossarski through the idea of the Jewish mission which is crucial to his understanding of the historical occurrences in that it retrospectively gives meaning to the conflagration. Already encountered in Hiller and Steinheim, the idea of a Jewish mission, also known as ethical monotheism, became increasingly pervasive among Jewish theologians and thinkers within the Reform movement.[95] Over the course of more than two decades, the trajectory of Graetz's *Geschichte*—emotionally fraught as well as popularizing Jewish history as "national Judaism"[96] and in the process developing a master narrative from the conquest of Canaan to the present (1848)[97]—gave articulation to a similar belief, even though Graetz was not motivated by Reform ideas but rather by the affinity with conservative neo-Orthodoxy.[98] At the beginning of the twelfth chapter of the third volume of his *Geschichte*, chronologically still antedating the destruction of Jerusalem, the historian described the Jewish dispersion as

94 Ibid.

95 The three hugely influential rabbinic conferences of Braunschweig (1844), Frankfurt (1845), and Breslau (1846; present-day Wrocław in Poland), which defined the Reform movement and in which Philippson, who called the Baunschweig conference, was prominently involved, were crucial in disseminating also the idea of ethical monotheism; for the significance of the conferences, which "changed the nature of the German Reform movement and paved the way for the conquest of most German-Jewish communities by the forces of religious change," see, e.g., Steven M. Lowenstein, "The 1840s and the Creation of the German-Jewish Religious Reform Movement," in *Revolution and Evolution: 1848 in German-Jewish History*, eds Werner E. Mosse, Arnold Paucker, and Reinhard Rürup (Tübingen: Mohr, 1981), pp. 255–97, p. 264.

96 See Blutinger, "Writing for the Masses."

97 See Mirjam Thulin, "Vom Schreiben jüdischer Geschichte im Zeitalter des nationalen Denkens: zum Begriff der Nation in Heinrich Graetz' 'Geschichte der Juden'," *Transversal* 8.2 (2007): 95–114, 96.

98 See Schorsch, *From Text to Context*, pp. 278–9.

> a blessing and an act of providence. The indestructibility and immortality of the Jewish tribe was thus ensured. Persecuted and ground underfoot in one land, they gathered in another and established places for the increasingly precious law. They were seeds spread by providence so as to carry everywhere a pure knowledge of God and a deeper morality.[99]

It was in particular the notion of Judaism's "deeper morality"—in contrast to Jost's "spiritual whole"—that was understood by Graetz as the force to create meaning, purpose, and cohesion among the exiles and that determined the Jewish mission[100]—an idea upon which the historian elaborated in much detail almost three decades later in the anonymously published *Briefwechsel einer englischen Dame über Judenthum und Semitismus* (1883; Correspondence of an English Lady on Judaism and Semitism).[101]

Jost, who excluded any national component from his *Geschichte*, had no such beliefs.[102] As Salo Baron observes, his "very objectivity and impartiality may have done him more harm in the eyes of his contemporaries than any of the real shortcomings of his work."[103] Moses Hess, for instance, the author of the proto-Zionist *Rom und Jerusalem*, comparing Jost to Graetz in 1864, merely exclaimed:

> What a difference! There, you see the dry mists of a cold reflection hover over all the situations and veil the passions of the historical drama in which our people played an active or passive role. Here, you feel the pulsations of the heart of the epochs which shaped the life of our people across the ages.[104]

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99 Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III (ed. 1856), 298–9: "Diese Zerstreuung war [. . .] ein Segen und ein Werk der Vorsehung. Die Unvertilgbarkeit und Unsterblichkeit des jüdischen Stammes war dadurch gesichert. In einem Lande verfolgt, zertreten, sammelten sie sich in einem andern und gründeten Stätten für die immer theurer gewordene Lehre. Es waren ausgestreute Saamenkörner, welche von der Vorsehung bestimmt waren, überall hin lautere Gotteserkenntniß und tiefere Gesittung hinzutragen."

100 See Pyka, *Jüdische Identität bei Heinrich Graetz*, pp. 256–7.

101 See [Heinrich Graetz], *Briefwechsel einer englischen Dame über Judenthum und Semitismus* (Stuttgart: Levy & Müller, 1883), esp. letters 10–14.

102 See Blutinger, "Writing for the Masses," p. 43 and Baron, *History and Jewish Historians*, p. 246.

103 Ibid., p. 260. As Marcus Pyka observes, these allegations need to be revised, see *Jüdische Identität bei Heinrich Graetz*, p. 233. Jost's *Geschichte*, though reissued in a much shortened two-volume edition in 1832, which achieved a second edition in 1850, never was anywhere near as popular as Graetz's, see Blutinger, "Writing for the Masses," p. 45.

104 Maurice [i.e., Moses] Hess, "Études d'histoire sacrée et profane," *Archives Israélites* 25.18 (September 15, 1864): 798–803, 800: "[Q]uelle différence! Là, vous voyez les brouillards secs d'une froide reflexion planer sur toutes les situations, et voiler les passions du drame historique, dans

Kossarski's objective of dramatizing history in his *Titus* arguably aligns him with the emotional and, as it were, visceral approach to historiography commended by Hess in Graetz's magnum opus.

The poet opens his historical-dramatic poem with the appearance of spirits in the guise of three magi who, akin to the chorus, introduce, and continue to comment on, the dramatic action at the end of every act. Identified as Chaldeans and evoking the origins of the patriarch Abraham, they are presumably conceived as ancestors of the ancient Hebrews and may moreover serve to associate the prophetic function of the Three Magi recognizing the Christ child. Extolling the wonders of life and the creation, the Chaldeans ponder the destructive element in human lives and prophesy the fall of Jerusalem. Yet beyond the conflagration of the present, they envision in parallel to the prophecies of Isaiah and Micah the ultimate triumph of the law and the word of God going forth from Jerusalem.[105] Jerusalem, and its Temple, it is suggested, has been superseded:

> If this be so, then let her die,
> It is the coil alone that will perish,
> Millions will inherit
> What abundantly flowers on her crests.
>
> The pagan god is turned to scorn:
> She sent the one and only God,
> With neither din of battle, nor blood nor murder,
> To every new-found land.
>
> She remains, after her fulfilment, great,
> Zeus through her was made a children's mockery;
> Completed is the holy mission by her,
> The doctrine of the invisible God she taught.[106]

The "holy mission" is the mission of ethical monotheism. It is a peaceful mission which scorns such violence as it was meted out upon the unfortunate city. It is moreover a mission that is not restricted to the Chosen People but universal. Sig-

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lequel notre peuple a joué un role actif ou passif. Ici, vous sentez les pulsations du cœur des époques dont se compose la vie de notre peuple à travers les âges." For the continuation of Hess's review, see *Archives Israélites* 25.20 (October 15, 1864): 893–7 and 25.23 (December 1, 1864): 1036–40.

105 See Isaiah 2:3 and Micah 4:2.

106 Kossarski, *Titus*, p. 5: "Und wenn dies ist, so laßt sie sterben, / Es wird die Hülle nur vergeh'n, / Es werden Millionen erben, / Was reich erblüht auf ihren Höh'n. // Der Heidengott ist Hohn geworden: / Sie hat den einzigen Gott gesandt, / Ohn' Schlachtenlärm, ohn' Blut und Morden, / In jedes neubekannte Land. // Sie bleibt noch groß nach der Vollendung, / Zeus ward durch sie zum Kinderspott; / Vollbracht hat sie die heil'ge Sendung, / Gelehrt den unsichtbaren Gott."

nificantly, it is a mission that is projected not only in space with the dispersion into the diaspora but also in time, into the future. In the face of apparent destruction, it marks this destruction paradoxically as a fulfilment, as the inevitable and predestined end of an era that is to be superseded by a new beginning.

The claim as to the impact of the Jewish mission may seem counter-intuitive in view of historical and contemporary Christian hegemony. Ernest Renan was to argue in 1866 that "the monotheistic propaganda of Judaism" was in effect usurped by "a generation of fanatics" who deprived the older religion "of its recompense, and hindered its gathering the harvest it had prepared."[107] Antedating Renan's observation by more than a decade, Kossarski seems to have imagined the reversal of this usurpation with the analogous supersession of Christianity with Jewish ethical monotheism.

Within the wider context of religious progression and the notion of supersession, in particular in relation to the struggle between monotheism and polytheism, Kossarski's dramatic poem articulates some ambivalence toward Christianity. On the one hand, invoking the scapegoat paradigm, there is a suggestion that the Jews are hated by the Romans, incited by their priests, for the sake of Jesus whose followers proselytize among them.[108] On the other hand, there is a conflation with, or perhaps rather a harnessing of, Christianity as a monotheistic religion in relation to a future resurgence of Judaism. Where Christianity argued the supersession of Jerusalem and the Temple with the internalization of its religious tenets—"the most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands"[109]—the supersession envisaged by Kossarski is really a progression beyond the need of having a physical temple in the universalizing sense that ethical monotheism supplants any ties of land and statehood.

The Chaldeans prophesy that history one day will confirm the downfall of the Roman gods and that, to scorn Rome but for the benefit of all humankind, the doctrine of the invisible God will be taught at the Capitol:[110]

107 Ernest Renan, *The Apostles* (1866; New York: Carleton, 1869), p. 225; see also Ernest Renan, *Les Apôtres* (Paris: Lévy, 1866), p. 260: "[L]e christianisme continua la propagande monothéiste du judaïsme [. . .]. En ce sens, la gloire du christianisme est vraiment confondue avec celle du judaïsme. Une génération de fanatiques priva ce dernier de sa récompense, et l'empêcha de recueillir la moisson qu'il avait préparée." See also Adolf Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten dreihundert Jahren*, 2nd edn (1902; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1906), I, 14.

108 See Kossarski, *Titus*, p. 168.

109 Acts 7:48; see also 17:22–29.

110 See Kossarski, *Titus*, p. 185.

Our Temple could fall,
But not its spirit of faith,
Pilgrims shall our brothers be,
Its stern promise to teach;

Pilgrims they shall be, to teach
Year by year eternally:
One God must, alone, adorèd be,
One alone in all eternity!

They shall wander, pilgrims be,
Faithful to this doctrine's seed,
Until in their Temple's halls
In days to come, the Deliv'rer shall draw nigh![111]

Christianity is perceived in this prophecy as no more than a vehicle for the monotheistic idea to be truly fulfilled after the destruction of the Temple in a resurgent Judaism. The wanderings of Jewish exile are re-interpreted as a teleological and proselytizing pilgrimage in its service until the coming of the Messiah.[112] If not explicitly stated, the rejection of Jewish integration and assimilation is ultimately portrayed by Kossarski as beneficial in that it promotes the Jewish mission.

The "Jewish spirit" attested to Kossarski's dramatic poem by Ludwig Philippson may have seemed most congenially manifest to him precisely in this conception of the Jewish mission. In 1847 the Reform-oriented rabbi had published a series of lectures on *Die Entwickelung der religiösen Idee im Judenthume, Christenthume und Islam* (The Development of the Religious Idea in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam), in which he argued for the continuing significance of Judaism in the world as the bearer of the unadulterated "religious idea."[113] The origins of the religious idea, including most significantly the concept of monotheism, are located by Philippson in the Mosaic faith. Jewish history embodies the permanent progress of this idea, initially against internal and then against external resistance.

111 Ibid.: "Auf dem gold'nen Capitole / Lehrt man Eurem Rom zum Spott, / Zu der Menschheit ew'gem Wohle / Nur den unsichtbaren Gott! // Unser Tempel konnte fallen, / Aber nicht sein Glaubensgeist, / Uns're Brüder werden wallen, / Lehren, was er streng verheißt; // Werden wallen, werden lehren / Durch der Jahre ew'ge Zeit: / Nur *ein* Gott sei zu verehren, / Einer nur in Ewigkeit! // Werden wandern, werden wallen, / Getreu dieser Lehre Saat, / Bis in ihres Tempels Hallen / Sich einst der Befreier naht!"

112 A similar notion was already entertained by Maimonides in the twelfth century, see Kohler, "Ein notwendiger Fehler der Weltgeschichte," p. 33, who observes that this passage in Maimonides' *Mishne Tora* was censored for centuries and was only reconstructed in the second half of the twentieth century, see p. 34.

113 See Philippson, *Entwickelung der religiösen Idee*. For a discussion of Philippson's conception, see Kohler, "Ein notwendiger Fehler der Weltgeschichte," pp. 33–62.

Understanding history as a continuous, systematic development determined by divine providence,[114] Philippson considers the destruction of Jerusalem and the subsequent dispersion of the Jews as an inevitable stage in this process because it catapulted the religious idea into the world. Nevertheless, it was in particular the concurrent, to Philippson anything but coincidental, ascendancy of Christianity which ensured its transmission into the pagan world, as later also observed by Renan.[115] Yet in an inevitable process of hybridization Christianity amalgamated the "religious idea" with the "human idea" predominant in the pagan world and, with its focus on the individual and the development of a dichotomy between church and state, compromised its essence.[116] Christianity was therefore not to be recognized as the fulfilment of the religious idea. Rather, this must await its triumph in the human world in the future.[117] Hence, not entirely dissimilar to Steinheim's conception, the continued existence of Judaism was necessary to preserve the religious idea in its entirety and the implication is, as in Kossarski's dramatic poem, that this future triumph will be achieved through an evolved Judaism.

In fact, in his partisan, yet nevertheless prudently pacific, endorsement of Judaism Philippson insists that it does not seek the conversion of others but their own intrinsic progression toward the religious idea as it has been preserved by Judaism through all its phases of development. In this process of assimilating the religious idea Judaism itself will also evolve and, like the other religions, be absorbed into a totality wholly informed by the religious idea.[118] But what Judaism, and only Judaism, as the bearer of the religious idea, is ultimately able to achieve extends far beyond the mere unification of humanity. Philippson attributes to it nothing less than the reconciliation of the "idea" with "life" because, in contrast to the other Abrahamic religions, it embraces a holistic understanding of humankind that includes also its social interrelations.[119]

Kossarski may or may not have been familiar with Philippson's deliberations. There is no evidence either way and the poet might have encountered the idea of the Jewish mission also elsewhere, for instance in the work of Salomon Munk whom Jacobi mentioned in his list of the author's sources.[120] More important is

114 See Philippson, *Entwickelung der religiösen Idee*, p. 94: "als eine fortgeführte, planvolle Entwickelung unter der Leitung der göttlichen Vorsehung."

115 See ibid., pp. 94, 107.

116 See ibid., pp. 111–12.

117 See ibid., p. 113.

118 See ibid., p. 181.

119 See ibid., pp. 6, 183.

120 For Munk's notion of the Jewish mission, see, e.g., Michael Graetz, *The Jews in Nineteenth-Century France: From the French Revolution to the Alliance Israélite Universelle*, transl. Jane Marie Todd (1989; Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 67–8.

therefore the acknowledgment of the impact that Kossarski's dramatic endorsement of the Jewish mission must have had on Philippson. He must have recognized in the poet's treatment a striking affinity that would have recommended the dramatic poem to him as a comprehensive literary illustration of his own conception and, as he had emphasized, of the "Jewish spirit."

In addition to the ghostly Chaldeans, Kossarski introduced with Marime Maccabea (Maccabäa) an almost prophetic figure who alone among the mortals in his dramatic poem recognizes and promotes the Jewish mission. By her cognomen, Marime is associated with the Maccabees who freed Judaea from Seleucid rule in the second century BCE and established the Hasmonean dynasty. She moreover evokes the biblical heroines, in particular Judith, though this idea is modestly repudiated by her in the dramatic poem,[121] perhaps because it suggests carnal contact with the enemy which Marime disdains but of which she accuses Berenice (Berenike) who, in turn, never rises to the heroic spirit of Judith but remains mired in her base attraction, and submission, to Rome and the Romans.

True to her illustrious heritage, Marime embodies an idealized Jewish virgin—the Beautiful Jewess reappropriated to a Jewish perspective—who conforms with and endorses the traditional female gender role in patriarchal Judaism. She defines the domestic sphere as the female domain and denounces the transgressions of those women who would encroach on the male purview and seek agency for themselves in the affairs of the world. For she who does so will as easily transgress moral boundaries, foregoing what affords her with nobility and grace in the eye of the male: she will appear to men as a hermaphrodite, belonging neither to their circle nor to that of the women.[122]

Marime's impassioned plea is both apologetic and admonitory. She too has assumed agency in that she seeks on her own to induce Queen Berenice to return to Jerusalem. Yet she is justified with the exceptional circumstances and her action more specifically reflects on the debilitating discord among the male Jewish leaders that prompts her intervention. Marime's encomium of the virtues of the females of her people is moreover designed to contrast Berenice who is just such a transgressor and whose own arrogated and misguided agency, her association with Titus and Rome, is denounced by Marime as the cause of the impending conflagration.[123] She accuses Berenice of having attracted Titus and, by yielding to

121 See Kossarski, *Titus*, p. 35.

122 See ibid., pp. 7–8.

123 The episode of Mary of Bethezuba's teknophagy is mentioned only in passing in Kossarski's *Titus* when Marime pleads with Berenice for the last time prior to the fall of Jerusalem, see Kossarski, *Titus*, p. 92. See also Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III (ed. 1856), 443 and *Geschichte der*

his desires, to have given him the courage to seek victory over the Jews in the first place.[124]

The passage is curiously reminiscent of Graetz's designation of Berenice as the "magnet" that drew the Roman imperator to Palestine in later editions of his *Geschichte*.[125] While purely speculative, it is intriguing to imagine that the somewhat younger Graetz may have been influenced in his increasingly dramatic representation of "*historical psychology*"[126] in successive editions by the dramatic-poetic practice of authors such as Kossarski.

In the very year in which the third volume of his *Geschichte* appeared, less than a year after the publication of Kossarski's *Titus*, Graetz placed an article in Joseph Wertheimer's *Kalender für Israeliten* (1856; Calendar for Israelites) in which he narrated the biography of a sixteenth-century Spanish Jew whose adventurous fortunes prompted the historian to reflect on the affinity between history and poesy:

> In the rich treasure trove of Jewish history there is no lack of romantic material in hope of being transformed by the hand of a master into charming poetic works. History sometimes even obliges her gambolling sister, Poesy, with material already half prepared; she invents the disposition, portrays the characters, sketches effectual situations and implores Poesy, as it were, to breathe life into her creation with Pygmalion's kiss.[127]

Conceding the difficulties of gathering suitable material in the Jewish context where sources are obscure and difficult to obtain, his own attempt to assemble "bone to bone," "flesh and skin," and infuse it with "breath" in a creative act uncannily reminiscent of that of Frankenstein is therefore inspired by the intention to offer to poesy historical material already sifted and prepared for her "to touch

Judäer, III (ed. 1888), 537 as well as Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, II, 205–6, who elaborates the episode much more than the former.

124 See Kossarski, *Titus*, p. 24.

125 See the later edition of Graetz, *Geschichte der Judäer*, III (ed. 1888), 523, 539.

126 Baron, *History and Jewish Historians*, p. 272.

127 Heinrich Graetz, "Don Joseph, Herzog von Naxos, Graf von Andros und Donna Gracia Naßi. Eine Biographie," in *Kalender für Israeliten auf das Jahr 5617 (1856/57) nach Erschaffung der Welt*, ed. Joseph Wertheimer (Wien: Sommer, 1856), pp. 1–39, p. 1: "In der reichen Fundgrube der jüdischen Geschichte fehlt es nicht an romantischen Stoffen, die auf eine Meisterhand hoffen, die sie künstlerisch zu reizenden Dichtungen umschaffen soll. Die Geschichte ist sogar zuweilen so gefällig, der Poesie, ihrer tändelnden Schwester, den Stoff halb bearbeitet zu liefern; sie entwirft die Disposition, zeichnet die Charaktere, skizzirt effectvolle Situationen und fleht gewissermaßen die Dichtkunst an, dem Gebilde mit dem Pygmalionkuß Leben einzuhauchen."

it with her wand."[128] Pyka interprets Graetz's prologue as the claim that poesy relies on the historian's expertise.[129] Yet it would seem that Graetz rather envisions a symbiotic affinity between history and poesy and that he ultimately invokes the poetic muse as indispensable to historiographic mediation which to some extent explains also his own adoption of "poetic" narrative strategies.[130]

Although there is no clear evidence to suggest that the historian was familiar with Kossarski's work, it is more than likely that Graetz would have been aware of the historical-dramatic poem published almost simultaneously with his own volume in the same series and on a corresponding topic. Whether that means that he would also have read it is open to conjecture. Similarly conjectural is the suggestion that the poet and the historian may have been acquainted, though Graetz's later interest in numismatics may conceivably correspond to Kossarski's expertise in this area.[131]

In Kossarski's *Titus*, dismissing Josephus's treachery as motivated by base greed, Marime represents Berenice's betrayal of her duty in contrast as instrumental to the impending Jewish defeat and maintains that her return would yet ensure victory over the Romans:[132]

> Of sacred duties I want to remind her,
> That she owes to the people of her country,
> And boldly want to tear her from Titus's side:
> Once she is ours, in vain will be Rome's fight![133]

Like the Chaldeans, with whom she is associated throughout, Marime seems to rise from the ancestors' tomb when she confronts the queen. Adopting biblical

128 Ibid.: "Gebein an Gebein zu einem Gebilde fügen, ihm Fleisch und Haut ansetzen, Odem einhauchen [. . .]. Wir wollen daher der Poesie einen Dienst erweisen, ihr einen bearbeiteten Stoff liefern und sie bitten, ihn mit ihrem Zauberstab zu berühren."

129 See Pyka, *Jüdische Identität bei Heinrich Graetz*, p. 243.

130 See ibid.

131 Graetz taught since August 1854 at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau (present-day Wrocław in Poland). The Jewish cultural center of Silesia was equidistant from Posen (present-day Poznań in Poland) with Bromberg (present-day Bydgoszcz in Poland), the distance between the two altogether only about 300 kilometres. However, Kossarski is not referred to in any of Graetz's surviving correspondence, the bulk of which was destroyed by the historian, see Heinrich Graetz, *Tagebuch und Briefe*, ed. Reuven Michael (Tübingen: Mohr, 1977), p. VII. For Graetz's increasing interest in coins as historical documents, see Pyka, *Jüdische Identität bei Heinrich Graetz*, p. 242.

132 See Kossarski, *Titus*, p. 26.

133 Ibid., pp. 10–11: "Ich will gemahnen sie an heil'ge Pflichten, / Die sie dem Volke ihres Landes schuldet, / Und will sie kühn von Titus' Seite reißen: / Gehört sie uns, dann kämpft vergebens Rom!"

discourse, she compares herself toward Berenice to the Witch of Endor.[134] Her admonition of the queen is thus given a "typological" dimension. In 1 Samuel the spirit of the prophet answering the necromancer challenges Saul: "Wherefore then dost thou ask of me, seeing the Lord is departed from thee, and is become thine enemy?" and tells him that God has chosen David to replace him as his anointed.[135] The application to Berenice is not quite consistent, yet the suggestion appears to be that God has abandoned Jerusalem like the unfortunate king but has ensured its succession—through the Jewish mission.

The ancestors' tomb emerges in Kossarski's dramatic poem as the symbol of a past glory but also as a conduit to the future in that it becomes the space from which originate the prophecies of the Chaldeans. It is also the space from which Marime variously appears. The secret passages to which it is connected allow her not only to confront Berenice, who indeed at first mistakes her for a spirit, but also to escape the conflagration when Jerusalem is destroyed.[136] It offers Marime, out of the vast and ghastly tomb that the city itself has become, quite literally passage into her future and that of her people.

Throughout, Marime supports the fight yet it is she, too, who articulates the Jewish mission in emulation of the Chaldeans. Even as she gives expression to her belief in the Temple and God's unwavering support, she poses the question which—as the dramatic poem suggests through the prophecies of the Chaldeans—is answered by history:

> Who, if not his priests, shall spread
> Belief in the one and only God?
> Who shall to the wide and known world
> Proclaim the name of his majesty?[137]

134 See ibid., p. 22.

135 1 Samuel 28:16–17.

136 See Kossarski, *Titus*, pp. 22, 121–2.

137 Ibid., p. 112: "Wer soll den Glauben eines einz'gen Gottes, / Wenn seine Priester es nicht thun, verbreiten? / Wer soll der weiten und bekannten Welt / Den Namen künden seiner Majestät?" Marime's reference to the Jewish priests also incorporates notions of the Jewish mission as it was arguably first formulated in the modern period by Moses Mendelssohn when he apostrophied the descendants of the biblical Jews as a "*nation of priests*," that is: "a nation, which, by its regular institutions and polity, its laws and practices, its fortunes and changes, should constantly point to sound and unvitiated notions of God and his attributes; and never cease to teach, proclaim, preach, and conserve them amongst all other nations, as it were, merely by its own existence." Moses Mendelssohn, *Jerusalem: A Treatise on Ecclesiastic Authority and Judaism*, transl. M. Samuels, 2 vols (London: Longman et al., 1838), II, 136–7; see also Moses Mendelssohn, *Jerusalem oder über religiöse Macht und Judentum*, 2 vols (Berlin: Maurer, 1783), II, 93–4: "Und nun waren diese ihre Nachkommen von der Vorsehung ausersehen, eine priesterliche Nation zu

Moreover, as the Temple is consumed by flames, Marime's universalist prophecy articulates the Jewish mission in explicit response to her question: "Great remains the realm though thou be fallen! / A blessing be'st thou for the nations of the earth, / Who, pilgrims with troubled hearts, one day shall come to thee!"[138] Her certainty is that "In its God lives forever more also His people!"[139] Marime accordingly embodies the spirit of heroic survival and projection into the future when she pledges for herself and on behalf of her "sisters" to be faithful to her God and her people in adversity in the diaspora.[140] She, the faithful Jewish woman, is like to the personification of the Jewish mission or, in Philippson's terms, the religious idea.

Kossarski's Imaginary of the Historians and their Histories: Josephus, Justus, and Tacitus

Three "historical" historians are among the *dramatis personae* of Kossarski's *Titus*: Flavius Josephus, Justus of Tiberias, and Tacitus. All three wrote about the Jewish War and all three are suggested to be representative of different historiographic approaches. Yet while the work of Justus is lost, Tacitus was not present during the campaign and his account is in fact more of an ethnographic study of the Jews than a military history of the war. It is therefore the history of *The Jewish War* by Flavius Josephus on which the master narrative of the historical episode is based and it is this master narrative which Kossarski attempts to rewrite by implicitly and explicitly discrediting the Jewish historian and his representation of the past. The author's strategy is twofold: Josephus appears as a character in the dramatic poem; and his person and work are reflected upon by some of the other characters. In neither instance emerges a positive imaginary of the historian or his history.

As a character, Josephus is introduced next to Justus. Both appear with Titus during the siege and answer the imperator's questions about Jerusalem's fortifications. It is only later that their roles and portrayals diverge. Justus, secretary to King

seyn; das ist, eine Nation, die durch ihre Einrichtung und Verfassung, durch ihre Gesetze, Handlungen, Schicksale und Veränderungen immer auf gesunde unverfälschte Begriffe von Gott und seinen Eigenschaften hinweise, solche unter Nationen gleichsam durch ihr blosses Daseyn, unaufhörlich lehre, rufe, predige und zu erhalten suche."

138 See Kossarski, *Titus*, pp. 126–7: "Groß bleibt das Reich und bist Du auch gefallen! / Der Segen sei den Völkern dieser Erde, / Die zu Dir einst bedrängten Herzens wallen!"

139 Ibid., p. 147: "Mit seinem Gott lebt ewig auch sein Volk!"

140 See ibid., pp. 171–2.

Agrippa, reappears toward the end of the dramatic poem to give Marime an account of the final occurrences during the siege and to pledge his faithful attendance to Berenice as she prepares to go into exile after her dismissal by Titus. In contrast, Josephus's shallow and opportunistic nature is further exposed when the historian with much embarrassment declines to follow Berenice into her banishment.

Josephus, in the meantime, remains present in comments, though he appears before his final confrontation with Justus and Tacitus also one more time as adviser to Titus during the siege, describing the fortifications of Jerusalem and the Temple.[141] By the Jews he is variously denounced and cursed as traitor[142] and the judgment of God is called upon him.[143] His role as negotiator—in whose execution he is not shown—is mentioned by both Jews and Romans, but so is his abject failure in the face of the intense resentment prompted among the Jews by his person.[144]

John (Johannes von Gischala), articulating the Jewish perspective at length, challenges Josephus's sincerity and, referring to his past as governor of the Galilee and his alleged thirst for blood, recounts how Josephus was an ardent follower of the appeasement party of the priests before, seduced by his desire for fame, he defected to the war party to fight against Rome and finally, vanquished, deserted to the Romans: "With dastardly flattery to Vespasian / His allegiance he gave and ever since the enemy doth serve!"[145]

And yet, in response to Titus's enquiry into the precedent of the first destruction of the Temple and the resulting Babylonian Exile, Josephus recounts that the captives were treated magnanimously and with respect for their wisdom. Following the deuterocanonical book of 1 Esdras 4:33–46, he attributes the permission to rebuild the Temple to Serubabel's (Zorobabel) sincerity toward the Babylonian king when, disdaining the flattery of his competitors, the Jewish courtier averred that truth and love were stronger than anything else in the world, including the power of the king.[146] The passage is interesting mainly because, given the repeated suggestion of Josephus's obsequiousness toward the Flavians, it indicates either that he knows, or should know, better or that he in fact conceives of himself very differently than those around him; it might also have been conceived as dramatic irony.

141 See ibid., p. 84.
142 See ibid., pp. 36, 48, 66, 69.
143 See ibid., p. 37.
144 See ibid., pp. 48, 101, 103.
145 Ibid., p. 110: "Mit feigen Schmeicheleien huldigt er / Dem Vespasian und dient seitdem dem Feind!"
146 See ibid., p. 72.

Whereas Josephus is accused by the Jews of opportunism, of treachery, and of trying to inveigle the besieged with cunning words,[147] Titus rewards him for his efforts, in return for which the historian predicts the imperator's ascendancy to the imperial throne.[148] Titus, that is, is gullible enough to believe in the historian's flattery while the Jews disdain his guile—and yet, as with Vespasian, Josephus's prediction eventually comes to pass.

There is, nevertheless, scepticism toward Josephus also on the Roman side. Josephus is contrasted not only to Justus but also to Tacitus, neither of whom appreciates his historiographic efforts. Their "expert" assessment thus amplifies the negative impression conveyed by the character of Josephus. Tacitus is introduced by Kossarski as the historian of the Germanic tribes[149] as well as of the destruction of Rome through plague and fire and of the catastrophic eruption of Vesuvius during the reign of Titus.[150] The Roman historian was celebrated for his supposedly impartial historical method. In his *Annals* (*Annales*) he asserted that his purpose was to relate history "without either anger or zeal."[151] Kossarski has him exclaim in implicit condemnation of Josephus that "The truth must be printed on the forehead / Of the page of the history of the world / From the beginning to the end of the events!"[152] The offended Jewish historian insists with indignation on the truthfulness of his account of the events he witnessed. His credibility is nevertheless further damaged by the Roman's restrained mockery.

Tacitus is tasked in the dramatic poem by the Roman emperor to give testimony about his internal struggle of renouncing Berenice for his rule.[153] In fact, the historical Tacitus's account of Titus is lost. Suetonius merely emphasized that the emperor sent Berenice from Rome "against her will and against his own."[154] The inner conflict remains imaginary and it would take a historiographer in the vein of Graetz to elaborate it—or a poet like Kossarski. In the latter's rendering, Titus is determined by his hunger for fame and is as such paralleled to Josephus and his eagerness for renown. Yet where the Jewish historian abandons his people, the emperor abandons his love and chooses his national duty, in contrast also to his paramour Berenice. Marime explicitly chastizes the queen for choosing her

147 See ibid., p. 66.

148 See ibid., p. 70.

149 See ibid., p. 149.

150 See ibid., pp. 180–1.

151 *Cornelii Taciti Annalium ab excessu divi Augusti libri*, ed. C. D. Fisher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1906), p. 1: "sine ira et studio."

152 Kossarski, *Titus*, p. 150: "Die Wahrheit muß dem Blatt der Weltgeschichte / Geprägt sein an die Stirn, von Anbeginn / Bis an das Ende der Begebenheiten!"

153 See ibid., p. 155.

154 Suetonius, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, "Life of Titus," VII.2.

love above her duty. Betrothed to John, she confronts Berenice with her own sacrifice, setting aside her personal desires in view of the dire situation of the Jewish nation. As Philippson maintained, Kossarski's was not a mere love, revenge, or murder story but one of national pathos.[155]

It is this national pathos, and the love for their people, that creates a close bond also between Marime and Justus. Yet where Marime is given a prophetic dimension, Justus is the designated preserver and custodian of "true" Jewish history, even though—or perhaps precisely because—contrary to Tacitus's refutation of anger as a driving force of the historian, Kossarski's Justus is clearly motivated by his ire when he recounts to Marime the final occurrences of the Jewish War. His anger is threefold: not only is he incensed about Josephus's biased account but also about the actual occurrences, in particular the cruelty of the Romans relentlessly exposed by him, and about the suppression of his own work that consigns his alternative representation of history to oblivion.

If Jost was censured for being cold in his response to, and representation of, Jewish history, Justus is his exact opposite, rather like Graetz. His narrative of the final weeks of the siege toward Marime in effect constitutes an alternative historiographic account to the established history of Josephus.[156] In conjunction with his claim that his account will cause the world to judge between Rome and Jerusalem and with the implicit censure of the opportunistic historian which indicates the requisite change of perspective and intention this is, presumably, what the History of the Jewish War should have looked like according to Kossarski. It also is, in many ways, what Graetz in effect realized, a history of Jewish persecution but also a revaluation of the Jewish protagonists in what appears to be the historical drama.

Entreated by Marime to keep nothing from her, "do not keep from me even one word [. . .] They are my own, / Horrible has been their lot; I want to hear it!,"[157] Justus's account of the final occurrences of the Jewish war toward the young woman is a passionate indictment of the Romans' pitiless cruelty.[158] The written text of his account the historian describes as even more harrowing than the actual experience of the war, because whereas the former was a singular occurrence, the latter keeps the pain alive with every perusal.[159] Aware that with his own subversive history he forfeits his life should it ever become known, Justus sarcastically observes

155 See Philippson, "Literaturbericht IX. (Schluß.)," 15.

156 See Kossarski, *Titus*, pp. 138–41.

157 Ibid., p. 137: "verhehle mir kein Wort [. . .] Es sind die Meinen, / Sie haben Schreckliches erlebt; ich will es hören!"

158 See ibid., pp. 139–41.

159 See ibid., p. 138.

toward Marime that Josephus knows to describe the exploits of Titus very differently, obsequiously praising Rome and its caesars.[160]

History is evoked by Justus toward Berenice and Agrippa as the judge of their actions and, no less important, the actions they failed to engage in.[161] Yet Marime, condemning "bribed styli,"[162] cynically emphasizes the malleability of historiographical transmission and the willing compliance of Josephus to justify to posterity the ways of the disloyal siblings (Agrippa and Berenice) no less than of Titus. In accordance with his objective of re-writing the history of the Jewish War, Kossarski's dramatic poem articulates a fundamental mistrust in historiography and the transmission of historical truth. History, it is suggested, is written by the victors and historiography appears, potentially, as beholden to vested interests and political exigencies. The subversive history of Justus is thus revaluated, not least because his insights into the present of the siege allow an understanding also of the future, for as the Chaldeans assert toward Titus: the future can be divined by an understanding of the present.[163]

By Jost, Justus was denounced as "the troublemaker from *Tiberias*."[164] Graetz emphasized that Josephus feared his loyalty to the empire might be questioned in the wake of Justus's alternative representation and observed that "after the conclusion of the war of arms the two leaders of two inimical factions continued a war of quills."[165] In later editions, the historian added to this that Justus himself was hardly a "paragon of virtue"[166] and, based largely on Josephus's polemic refutation of the Tiberian's allegations in his *Life* (*Vita*), offers some further information on the historian's life and the publication history of his alternative account which he attributes to Justus's embittered patriotism provoked by the imperial favor enjoyed by his rival.[167]

160 See ibid., p. 137.

161 See ibid., pp. 146–7.

162 Ibid., p. 89: "bezahlte Griffel."

163 See ibid., p. 41.

164 Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, II, App. 66: "*Justus*, der Unruhestifter aus *Tiberias*."

165 Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III (ed. 1856), 456: "Gegen diese parteiische Darstellung des Josephus schrieb Justus von Tiberias eine Geschichte von Moses bis auf den letzten König Agrippa, worin er Josephus als Römerfeind anzuschwärzen und dessen angebliche Abkunft von der hasmonäischen Familie Lügen zu strafen sich bemühte. Die beiden Führer zweier feindlichen Parteien setzten nach Beendigung des Waffenkrieges einen Federkrieg fort."

166 Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III (ed. 1888), 554: "Justus war gerade auch kein Tugendmuster."

167 See ibid., III, 554–5.

The Historian of Destruction: Faithful or Double-Faced?

Heinrich Graetz's imaginary of Josephus gives graphic articulation to his censure of the ancient historian. Throughout the various editions of his *Geschichte*, he retained almost unchanged the juxtaposition of the prophet Jeremiah with the historian Josephus, both of whom bear witness to the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple—if with a historical distance of more than six hundred years:

> Jeremiah, who in distress exhaled his lamentations on the debris of Jerusalem, forms the conclusion of the first period [of Jewish history]; Josephus, who wrote the history of his people in the chambers of the caesars in leisurely comfort, forms the conclusion of the second period.[168]

That Graetz designates Josephus as the "conclusion" of the second period of Jewish history rather than the beginning of the third is perhaps less inevitable than would appear to be the case.

Ludwig Philippson indifferently noted the hybridity of Josephus: "a mixture of Jew, Greek, and Roman."[169] The historian's work he considered paradigmatic of the alleged dearth of Jewish creative power in the period after the inevitable destruction of Jerusalem and the decimation of Jewry in Palestine.[170] Otherwise, he appears to have held no grudge toward Josephus. Not so Kossarski who was not satisfied with such a tepid response. Like many others, such as Graetz, he did not hesitate to condemn the ancient historian for his proclivity toward Rome. It remained for Lion Feuchtwanger (1884–1958), almost eight decades later, to examine and appreciate the ancient historian's hybridity in his Josephus trilogy (1932–42) and to explore its implications in a wider context, most significantly also with regard to its contemporary relevance.

In many ways the most interesting of the numerous literary engagements with Josephus, Feuchtwanger's trilogy—*Der jüdische Krieg* (1932; *Josephus*), *Die Söhne* (1935; *The Jew of Rome*), and *The Day will Come* (1942; *Der Tag wird kommen*)—is far beyond the remit of this study which comprises the long nineteenth century.

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168 Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III (ed. 1856), 457: "Jeremias, der in Ungemach auf den Trümmern Jerusalems seine Klagelieder aushaucht, bildet den Schluß des ersten Zeitraumes [of Jewish history]; Josephus, der in den Gemächern der Cäsaren, in gemächlicher Ruhe die Geschichte seines Volkes schreibt, bildet den Schluß des zweiten Zeitraumes." In later editions, this concluding sentence remained almost unchanged, though Graetz substituted "distress" ("Ungemach]" with "in fetters [in Fesseln]," see *Geschichte der Juden*, III (ed. 1888), 557.

169 Philippson, *Entwickelung der religiösen Idee*, p. 89: "[E]in Gemisch von Jude, Grieche und Römer."

170 See ibid., p. 89.

Essentially a work of the twentieth century, it nevertheless provides a useful foil against which to read earlier engagements with Josephus and clearly exposes the very different conception of conflicts of identity in the nineteenth century. More specifically, earlier representations of the ancient historian generally do not as yet recognize the potential of his alleged hybridity and the resulting conflict of identities between Jewish and Roman, between national and cosmopolitan, to illuminate contemporary predicaments of Jewish existence.

It moreover emerges just how much the Jewish nationalism that is challenged by Feuchtwanger's Josephus time and again in favor of a lofty cosmopolitanism was initially articulated in the engagement of the nineteenth century with the historian and his work in the first place. At the same time, it indicates the conception of another mission, of cosmopolitanism, as well as the beginning of a new period.

That Feuchtwanger's Josephus, too, eventually succumbs to the lure of the national cause and in the process finds his death may be considered an indication of the continued appeal of the emotionally experienced national idea as it was born in the nineteenth century. It also confirms that the imagined figure of the Jewish priest and military leader Yosef ben Matityahu, turned into the imperial historian Flavius Josephus, provided a compelling stimulus for the creation of divergent Jewish constructions of history, even though there is, in fact, "little to support the view that Josephus served as the official court historian and much that suggests otherwise."[171]

Kossarski's *Titus* and the Incipient *Kulturkampf*

From the account of Tacitus in Kossarski's *Titus*, later emulated by Justus,[172] emerges the eruption of hatred toward the Jews in Rome. It is fomented by the Roman religious establishment for their own ends.[173] The Roman priests take control of the imperial power by forcing Titus to abandon Berenice or else to abdicate.[174] Any hopes of a regeneration of the Jewish people within the existing political and social structure of the empire are thus confounded.

The parallels to later historical developments seem conspicuous, both with regard to the persecution of the Jews for their faith and the persistence of civil dis-

171 William den Hollander, *Josephus, the Emperors, and the City of Rome: From Hostage to Historian* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p. 187.
172 See Kossarski, *Titus*, p. 168.
173 See ibid., pp. 165–7.
174 See ibid., p. 165.

abilities as well as, more specifically, with regard to the incipient *Kulturkampf* in Germany which had a decisive impact on Jewish emancipation and which is mirrored with the struggle between ecclesiastical and political interests in the dramatic poem. As discussed in the previous chapter of this study, the *Kulturkampf* was a concern that was to emerge more clearly in later, mainly non-Jewish, literary engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem, yet Kossarski clearly responds to religious tensions in the social and political fabric of Germany and of Prussia more particularly.

In the recently acquired Prussian territories in Poland, denominationalism emerged also as a vehicle for the Germanization of the Catholic majority of Polish heritage.[175] This strategy was only of dubious success. In fact, in later years, during the actual *Kulturkampf*, it is said to have led to Catholic affiliations above national ones.[176] For the Jewish population in Prussian Poland, the polarization frequently entailed an increasingly complex identification with German culture and nationalism.

In the wider context of the German states, in the 1840s, "[p]recisely as issues of Jewish emancipation became less contentious in German circles, liberals' conflicts with the Catholic Church and its supporters became most pronounced."[177] Initially, many Jews sympathized with the liberals, believing that "their own emancipation within German society was dependent on the realization of liberal, humanistic, and rational values."[178] However, as legislature became increasingly repressive, in particular in the wake of the Jesuit Law of 1872, which prohibited Jesuit institutions in the empire and stipulated the expulsion of foreign-born Jesuits, Jewish ambivalence and criticism of the *Kulturkampf* proliferated amidst fears that it would lead "not to the emancipation of the state but instead to the spiritual and cultural conformity of religious and social minorities in the empire."[179]

175 See, e.g., Lech Trzeciakowski, *The Kulturkampf in Prussian Poland* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), pp. 185–6.

176 See Mark Tilse, *Transnationalism in the Prussian East: From National Conflict to Synthesis, 1871–1914* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 137–9; see also James E. Bjork, *Neither German nor Pole: Catholicism and National Indifference in a Central European Borderland* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008).

177 Ari Joskowicz, *The Modernity of Others: Jewish Anti-Catholicism in Germany and France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014), p. 51.

178 Gross, *War against Catholicism*, p. 264.

179 Ibid., p. 265. See also Olaf Blaschke, *Offenders Or Victims?: German Jews and the Causes of Modern Catholic Antisemitism* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), p. 79.

Yet the struggle between liberal and secular forces on the one hand and Catholics and the Church on the other emerged much earlier in the century. Kossarski's dramatic poem should be read as an early product of the early tensions generated by the incipient *Kulturkampf* which conjoins the question of Jewish nationhood with the confrontation of liberal and religious values. His was an idiosyncratic appropriation of the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem to contemporary discourse on Jewishness from an insider perspective. Other Jewish writers were more reticent about engaging with the historical occurrence, though it was addressed from very different perspectives in narrative fiction by Ludwig Philippson, in a short novella published already in 1839; by Herrmann Reckendorf, immediately following the publication of Kossarski's dramatic poem; and, later in the century, by Max Ring—both of whom were also of Jewish heritage.

Jewish Writers, the Historical Novel, and the Destruction of Jerusalem

In 1855 Ludwig Philippson vociferated in *Jüdisches Volksblatt*, which he edited alongside the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, that fathers and mothers should shield their sons and daughters from reading novels.[180] Philippson's harangue was prompted by a letter he had received from Lemberg (present-day Lviv in Ukraine), in which he was challenged for not offering Jewish literature in the style of the popular French writer Eugène Sue.[181] Novels, Philippson fulminated in response, were poison for young people, for the mind, for the heart, for education, and for real life; they were addictive, and, even worse: "who has once become accustomed to reading novels loses the taste for any *serious*, *instructive* reading."[182] The prolific writer's diatribe contrasts strangely to his own practice and to his enthusiastic endorsement of literature earlier in the same year in support of the establishment of the Institute for the Promotion of Israelite Literature quoted above.[183]

180 For the success of *Jüdisches Volksblatt* as a weekly literary supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* and its wide dissemination, see Jonathan M. Hess, *Middlebrow Literature and the Making of German-Jewish Identity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), p. 111.

181 See [Ludwig Philippson], "Vor Einem hüte Deinen Sohn, Vater, Deine Tochter, Mutter!," *Jüdisches Volksblatt* 2.26 (1855): 101–2, 101.

182 Ibid.: "Wer einmal sich an Romanlesen gewöhnt hat, der verliert den Geschmack an aller *ernsten*, *belehrenden* Lektüre."

183 See Philippson, "Aufforderung," 87.

The discrepancy may perhaps be explained with the kind of novel Philippson had in mind. The novels he targets, as did others in his time,[184] are mass produced and formulaic, they are sensationalist and escapist, they distort the truth and "rip circumstances apart in order to reassemble them in a baroque manner."[185] To this was opposed Philippson's idealistic conception of literature in a wider sense, which included primarily texts from the Jewish tradition, historiographic works, and narrative fiction as a vehicle of moral instruction and, more specifically, of Jewish self-reflection, self-assertion, and ideological re-orientation in a rapidly changing world.[186]

The Jewish literature imagined by Philippson was therefore 'denominational'; it sought to (re-)position Judaism and the Jews ideologically and ethically in the modern world.[187] In this, it was similar to Catholic literature, somewhat later in the nineteenth century.[188] Like this, it was ultimately designed to ward off the pernicious interest in, and corruptive influence of, contemporary popular literature. As such, it reflects the increasing penetration of Jewish existence in Germany since the late eighteenth century with a secular education and the German language in the wake of the Enlightenment, the *Haskalah*, and emancipatory efforts.[189] This development exposed Jewish individuals and collectives that were previously frequently more or less isolated from external influences and eventually brought about the pluralization of the Jewish community.

Jewish diversification into Reform, Liberal, and (neo-)Orthodox was in consequence mainly the result of diverging religious, cultural, and political attempts to (re-)define Jewish identities in response to the challenges of modernity and the incisive philosophical, political, and social change by which it was characterized. This change manifested itself, for instance, in the emergence of liberalism, idealism, and the concept of the religion of reason as well as in the rise of a pluralistic bourgeoisie and of new pedagogic ideals of education.[190] As Jonathan M. Hess notes, moder-

184 See Almut Laufer, *Land, Dorf, Kehilla: "Landjudentum" in der deutschen und deutsch-jüdischen Erzählliteratur bis 1918* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), pp. 147–8.

185 [Philippson], "Vor Einem hüte Deinen Sohn," 101: "sie zerren die Verhältnisse auseinander, um sie in barocker Weise wieder zusammenzufügen."

186 See Laufer, *Land, Dorf, Kehilla*, p. 148.

187 See ibid. For an overview of Philippson's poetological conception of Jewish literature and the historical novel in particular, see Horch, *Auf der Suche nach der jüdischen Erzählliteratur*, pp. 139–64.

188 See Hess, *Middlebrow Literature*, p. 21.

189 See, e.g., Shulamit Volkov, *Die Juden in Deutschland, 1780–1918*, 2nd edn (1994; Munich: Oldenbourg, 2000), pp. 12–17.

190 See Anja Kreienbrink, *Neo-orthodoxe jüdische Belletristik in Deutschland (1859–1888)* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), p. 15.

nity therefore ultimately signified "integration into a once foreign world of German culture," but also "abandoning many aspects of traditional Jewish life."[191]

At the same time, it is important to acknowledge Jewish agency in the processes of emancipation and assimilation, or acculturation.[192] Jewish agency was, for instance, exercised in artistic production and, more specifically, in the emerging secular Jewish literature. In particular "middlebrow" fiction, described by Hess as "a complex cultural phenomenon" that embraced "claims of aesthetic grandeur" and fused "democratic ambitions of accessibility and a critique of cultural elitism with a dramatic transformation of books into commodities,"[193] became an important vehicle for Jewish self-reflection and self-positioning in relation to modernity, which "entailed the creation of multiple new identities linking the present and the past."[194] The Jewish historical novel, in particular, emerged as an important manifestation of Jewish literary agency in the process of renegotiating German Jewish identities in the nineteenth century.

Jewish Pluralization, the Historical Novel, and Ghetto Literature

In 1882, acknowledging the supposed decline of Jewish *belles lettres*, less than three decades after the inception of the Institute, which thrived for eighteen years, Philippson retrospectively identified two trajectories of Jewish writing in German.[195] One sought, in the author's words, "to conceive of the historical phenomena of Judaism and the Jews in poetic formulation, to create an awareness of them, and to accentuate their ethical substance."[196] This was historical fiction, of which Philippson names his brother Phöbus and himself, not without reason, as

191 Hess, *Middlebrow Literature*, p. 20.

192 See Shulamit Volkov, "Zur Einführung," in *Deutsche Juden und die Moderne*, ed. Shulamit Volkov (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994), pp. VII–XXIII, pp. XI–XII.

193 Hess, *Middlebrow Literature*, pp. 18–19.

194 Ibid., p. 20.

195 For a discussion of the two divergent traditions, see Horch, *Auf der Suche nach der jüdischen Erzählliteratur*, pp. 144–6.

196 [Ludwig Philippson], "Literarischer Wochenbericht," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 46.46 (November 14, 1882): 750–1, 750: "Die eine stellte sich zur Aufgabe, die geschichtlichen Erscheinungen des Judenthums und der Juden in poetischer Gestaltung aufzufassen, zum Bewußtsein und in ihrem ethischen Gehalte zur Geltung zu bringen."

the foremost practitioners. The other—which, as Jonathan Skolnik notes, Philippson confronted with "programmatic hostility"[197]—concerns itself

> with the objective of sketching, representing psychologically, and explaining, Judaism and the Jews; and to encompass them with the fragrance of poesy as they still existed, felt, and thought in the final period prior to the encounter with modern culture, and their transformation through it, and which in more remote districts is still the case; as it were, to justify their existence which, after all, extends back for centuries.[198]

This was contemporary ghetto literature, of which Leopold Kompert was considered the main proponent by Philippson and which gained prominence in particular in neo-Orthodox Jewish literary production in German.

In contrast to the supposedly preservationist impetus of ghetto literature, the writers of Jewish historical fiction stood, according to Philippson, "on the ground of modern culture" and it was from here that they

> preferably dealt with the conflicts and struggles with contemporary circumstances into which Judaism and Jews were drawn in all epochs of history, that is, in particular those epochs in which they came into close contact and interaction with universal contemporary culture.[199]

Philippson's insistence on anchoring Jewish historical fiction in modern culture is crucial because it emphasizes its inherent distance to its historical subjects as well as its progressive impulse and its function as a vantage point that was supposedly unencumbered by prejudiced obfuscation. More specifically, Philippson attributes to the Jewish historical novel a cohesion-building function as a result of its construction of Jewish history within the (non-Jewish) world as continuous and coherent. As Philippson describes it, in the historical novel "the historical thread of these universal historical encounters was to be spun further, unto the

197 Skolnik, *Jewish Pasts, German Fictions*, p. 16.

198 [Philippson], "Literarischer Wochenbericht," 750: "Die andere befaßte sich mit der Tendenz, das Judenthum und die Juden, wie sie in der letzten Periode vor der Berührung mit der modernen Kultur und vor ihrer Umgestaltung durch diese waren, fühlten und dachten, und wie dies in entlegenern Kreisen noch jetzt der Fall ist, zu zeichnen, psychologisch darzustellen und zu erklären und mit dem Dufte der Poesie zu umgeben, gewissermaßen auch in ihrer Existenz, die ja auf Jahrhunderte zurückreichte, zu rechtfertigen."

199 Ibid.: "Die Autoren der ersten Richtung standen auf dem Boden der modernen Kultur, und bearbeiteten von hier aus vorzugsweise die Konflikte und Kämpfe, in welche Judenthum und Juden in allen Epochen der Geschichte mit den zeitgeschichtlichen Verhältnissen geriethen, also besonders aus den Epochen, wo jene mit der allgemeinen Kultur der Zeit in engere Berührung und Wechselwirkung gekommen sind."

analogous phenomena of the present; and the connection between all these periods was to be poetically reproduced."[200]

The identification of historical analogies is implicitly associated by Philippson with the construction of meaning for the contemporary period through historical fiction. It indicates, more specifically, the cohesion-building function attributed by the author to the Jewish historical novel in relation to his own present. As such, as has been observed by Skolnik, in the Jewish context, historical fiction emerged as "a vehicle for minority self-definition"[201] and, more specifically, for dissimilation. It was "a site where Jewish authors sought to write Jewish history into German history and into new notions of universal history, while at the same time redefining their cultural-religious heritage in modernity."[202]

Dissimilation, a term derived from Franz Rosenzweig,[203] is used by Skolnik to describe Jewish historical fiction as

> a dialectic between Jewish historical narratives and Western, secular notions of historical time, a perennial dynamic of the Jewish encounter with other cultures, but one that experienced a greater tension in an era of emerging ideas of the nation.[204]

Jewish minority popular culture, such as the historical novel, was addressed to, and gave voice to, the Jewish public sphere, to whose emergence in Germany in the early nineteenth century it contributed.[205] More specifically, it promoted "patterns of identity in politics, culture, and gender roles."[206] Jewish historical fiction in particular developed as "the secular culture that articulates Jewish difference."[207] No less importantly, it also served to articulate and demarcate internal Jewish difference; it gave "historical legitimacy to various shades of integrationist Jewish identities,"[208] especially Reform and neo-Orthodox.

200 Ibid.: "Es sollte hiermit der historische Faden dieser weltgeschichtlichen Kontakte bis zu den analogen Erscheinungen der Gegenwart ausgesponnen, und der Zusammenhang zwischen allen diesen Perioden poetisch reproduziert werden."
201 Skolnik, *Jewish Pasts, German Fictions*, p. 4.
202 Ibid., p. 67.
203 See ibid., pp. 1, 7.
204 Ibid., p. 7.
205 See ibid., p. 68.
206 Ibid., p. 71.
207 Ibid., p. 7.
208 Ibid., pp. 7–8.

Imaginaries of History and the Novel

It has been noted that the pluralization of Judaism, which manifested itself in particular in the emergence of neo-Orthodoxy as a result of the reassertion of increasingly compromised traditional values, initiated also the recalibration of Liberal and Reform in response to this development. Analogous to its use in the *Kulturkampf*, literature was recognized in the ensuing debate as a vehicle of ideological formation and articulation. It was employed to this purpose across the spectrum of Jewish affiliations in emulation of the practice initiated by Philippson.

The Reform movement promoted the denationalization of Judaism in favor of its denominationalization.[209] It sought to achieve the renewal of religion by means of a new imaginary of history. In the first half of the nineteenth century, scholars, such as Leopold Zunz, the founder of *Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, the historican Isaak Markus Jost, and the moderate Reformer and historian Abraham Geiger, all contributed to this process.[210] As Ismar Schorsch notes, the "cumulative effects" of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* were to "make historical thinking the dominant universe of discourse in Jewish life and historians its major intellectual figures."[211]

The German Jewish historical novel originated in conversation with this new approach to the history and perception of Jews and Judaism. It was promoted in particular by Philippson with his various publication ventures, which included since 1837 the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, since 1853 the *Jüdisches Volksblatt*, and since 1855 the Institute for the Promotion of Israelite Literature. Partly inspired by the popularity of the emerging genre in both the German and the European contexts, the Jewish historical novel initially was also a response to representations of Jews and Judaism in the contemporary novel, most prominently in ghetto literature. It sought to reappraise and rectify the Jewish imaginary perpetuated by such texts and in turn offered alternative conceptions. As such, it moreover gave articulation to internal Jewish difference, in particular between the Reform spectrum and neo-Orthodoxy.[212]

209 See Amos Funkenstein, "Reform und Geschichte: Die Modernisierung des deutschen Judentums," in *Deutsche Juden und die Moderne*, ed. Shulamit Volkov (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994), pp. 1–8, p. 7.

210 See ibid.

211 Schorsch, *From Text to Context*, p. 1.

212 See Nitsa Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit: Der deutsch-jüdische historische Roman des 19. Jahrhunderts und seine Bedeutung für die Entstehung einer neuen jüdischen Nationalliteratur*, transl. Dafna Mach (1997; Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2006), p. 7.

In the foreword to his historical novel *Sepphoris und Rom* (Sepphoris and Rome), which was issued in 1866 as the forty-first publication of the Institute, Philippson discussed the historical novel as a serious and instructive genre. Commencing with a short allegory, he has the genius of history lament that he is maltreated most horribly without any restraint or sense in the current epigonal times. To this responds his brother, the genius of poesy, that he, too, suffers from his mortal enemies, from "lying, falsification, deeply rooted prejudices, myopia, and the lack of judgement."[213] It is only the bond between both brothers, manifesting itself in the historical novel, which may give them some respite; although with respect to the historical novel Philippson is also wary of disingenuity. To him, the genuine historical novel must have the purpose of

> unfolding the innermost life of a time in the past through poetic invention and [needs] to complement this with self-invented details, with self-created intermediary figures and events, and thus to make it more comprehensible and three-dimensional, where history possesses only sparse and insufficient means; but in such a manner that the truth of historical life be not outright destroyed and falsified.[214]

In *Sepphoris und Rom*, Philippson seeks to realize this ambition with his exploration of an unsettled period of upheaval in late antiquity, in a time,

> when from the north a new, as yet barbaric human race invaded the old sites of culture and founded upon the ruins of a debased civilisation a new strong, if as yet coarse, stock; where everything collapsed that until then had been and had counted for anything; and the ruins only provided the soil for a new plantation of the life of mankind.[215]

Philippson alludes here to the decline of the Roman Empire and its eventual destruction by Germanic tribes which reverberates—in the decade of the wars of German unification—with barely disguised associations of German national aspirations, as they were pictorially anticipated with the trajectory of the Japhetites

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213 Ludwig Philippson, *Sepphoris und Rom: Ein historischer Roman aus dem vierten Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Gerschel, 1866), p. VIII: "der Lüge, der Fälschung, dem eingewurzelten Vorurtheil, der Kurzsichtigkeit und dem Urtheilsmangel."

214 Ibid., p. X: "muß vielmehr den Zweck haben, einer vergangenen Zeit innerstes Leben durch die dichterische Intuition aufzurollen, und dies durch selbsterfundene Details, durch eigen geschaffene Zwischenpersonen und Vorgänge zu ergänzen und um so eingänglicher und plastischer zu machen, wo die Geschichte nur sparsame und unzulängliche Mittel besitzt, so jedoch, daß die Wahrheit des geschichtlichen Lebens nicht geradezu zerstört and verfälscht wird."

215 Ibid., p. XIII: "[J]ene Zeit, wo zugleich von Norden her ein neues, jetzt noch barbarisches Menschengeschlecht in die alten Kulturstätten eindrang, und auf den Trümmern einer verlebten Civilisation einen neuen kräftigen, aber noch rohen Bestand gründete, wo also Alles, was bis dahin gewesen und gegolten, zusammenbrach, und die Ruinen nur den Boden für eine neue Pflanzung des menschengeschlechtlichen Lebens hergaben."

in Kaulbach's *Thurmbau zu Babel* and expressed after the eventual foundation of the Empire in Jutta Ihlenfeld's *Ruth*. Yet while implicitly suggesting the achievement of a new life of humankind in his own time and cultural context, Philippson turned his attention in the novel mainly to enquiring into the mystery of Jewish survival through the ages.

The writer effectively negates in *Sepphoris und Rom* the exclusion of the Jews from universal history after the destruction of Jerusalem as it was suggested by the cycle of Kaulbach's frescos in the stairwell of the Neues Museum at Berlin and as it was also otherwise proclaimed.[216] Though acknowledging the pivotal significance of the conflagration in Jewish history, Philippson focuses in his novel on the period after the loss of Jewish national sovereignty and of its cultural as well as intellectual and spiritual center. He deduces from the unexpected fact of Jewish survival a continued redemptive significance that is very much at variance with the metaphorical substitution of Ahasuerus for the Jewish people elaborated by Kaulbach in the *Erläuterungen* to his *Zerstörung Jerusalems*.

Putting into practice his theoretical ideas, Philippson aimed to create with *Sepphoris und Rom* for his Jewish readership a book of and for the people (*Volksbuch*) in which they were to find the contemporary period reflected in their history.[217] The novel was thus conceived as an aid to the meaningful self-assertion of contemporary Jews and Judaism which sought to explain the present through the past and the past through the present. It offered patterns of identity formation and ethical agency in a time that was, if for different reasons, similarly unsettled and subject to change as the historical setting of the novel.

As influential as Philippson was within the moderate spectrum, neo-Orthodoxy produced its own (counter-)literature, that mainly had a contemporary focus but also included the historical novel. Foremost among neo-Orthodox writers were Sara Hirsch Guggenheimer (also Guggenheim) and Marcus Lehmann. The former was the daughter of Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch, from 1851 to his death in 1888 the rabbi of the Orthodox community in Frankfurt on the Main and the founder of neo-Orthodoxy.[218] Much of Guggenheimer's work was published in her father's monthly journal *Jeschurun*, which appeared from 1854–68 and which published serialized fic-

216 See, e.g., S. N. Eisenstadt, "The Jewish Historical Experience: Heterodox Tendencies and Political Dynamics in a De-territorialized Axial Civilization," in *Axial Civilizations and World History*, eds Johann P. Arnason, S. N. Eisenstadt, and Björn Wittrock (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 225–51, p. 244.

217 See Philippson, *Sepphoris und Rom*, p. XIV.

218 For Hirsch, see Roland Tasch, *Samson Raphael Hirsch: Jüdische Erfahrungswelten im historischen Kontext* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011).

tion since 1863.[219] Lehmann was rabbi of the Orthodox community in Mainz from 1854 until he passed away in 1890. He became particularly influential with the publication of his own weekly newspaper *Der Israelit* since 1860, which he conceived as the *Centralorgan für das orthodoxe Judenthum* (Central Organ for Orthodox Jewry) in Germany and which, as Hess notes, indeed "established itself as a major presence in German-Jewish life."[220]

As in religious matters, the emergence of the neo-Orthodox variant of the Jewish historical novel was provoked by the articulation of Reform ideas in Jewish historical fiction to which it offered an ideologically informed critical response which was soon also extended to aesthetics. Indeed, as has been argued by Hess, neo-Orthodoxy was critical of Reform literature not only for the religious ideology it articulated but also for its alleged lack of aesthetic refinement.[221] The debate about German Jewish literature that emerged in the late 1850s in *Jeschurun* and was continued, a little later, in *Der Israelit* was, in some ways, a curious anticipation of the general parameters of the Catholic inferiority debate which commenced about a decade later.

As sketched by Hess, the debate in *Jeschurun* was initiated with an editorial note by Samson Raphael Hirsch to an anonymously published poem entitled "Sabbathausgang" (The End of Sabbath) in which the neo-Orthodox rabbi noted:

> We verily do not have many effusions of truly poetic enthusiasm which, in the most noble forms, make poetically visible not the legends and sentiments of the distant Jewish past but the living actualization of Judaism from the bosom of its faithful sons and daughters.[222]

Hirsch indirectly challenges Philippson's model of the historical novel, which is precisely focused on the "legends and sentiments of the distant Jewish past"; he also implicitly denies Philippson and his followers true poetic enthusiasm and the mastery of the most noble literary forms. Instead, he envisages the living literary actualization of Judaism to emerge from faithful Orthodoxy. Hirsch thus valorizes the contemporary novel, including ghetto literature, over the to him irrelevant historical novel.

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219 See Hess, *Middlebrow Literature*, p. 50.

220 See ibid., p. 51.

221 See ibid., pp. 172–4.

222 [Samson Raphael Hirsch], "Sabbathausgang" [editorial note], *Jeschurun* 4.1 (1857): 48: "Wir haben wahrlich nicht viele Ergüsse wahrhaft dichterischer Begeisterung, die in den edelsten Formen, nicht die Sagen und Empfindungen jüdischer Vorzeit, sondern das Judenthum in seiner lebendigen Verwirklichung aus der Brust seiner treuen Söhne und Töchter heraus zur poetischen Anschauung bringen."

Not much later, *Jeschurun* printed "Ein Wort über jüdische Belletristik" (1858; A Word about Jewish *Belles Lettres*) by the monogramist N. G. The short article effectively contextualizes, and elaborates on, Hirsch's editorial note. Conceding the reality of social progress, the author insists that this should nevertheless be harmonized with, and subjected to, the requirements of religion. He mentions in particular the desire for education, which "like an electric shock touched all strata of Jewish society,"[223] and acknowledges the decisive impact of literature. At the same time, N. G. notes the danger of assimilating erroneous ideas through education and reading. Yet he nevertheless welcomes the emergence of Jewish *belles lettres*, if with some reservations:

> Would that all these men [i.e., Jewish writers] were truly Jews; would that all these words gushed forth from a heart overflowing with love of Judaism! Unfortunately, experience confirms that not every book with a Jewish name on its cover is a Jewish one.[224]

N. G. castigates in particular the literary articulation of supposed "inaccuracies and infringements, wrong ideas and un-Jewish opinions."[225] Though refraining from attacking any writers by name, he chastises especially any rewriting of the sacred texts as a violation of what is holy and sublime.[226] Though anonymized, the one example the critic elaborates intriguingly refers to an oratorio, presumably Carl Loewe's *Das Hohelied Salomonis* (1855/1859; The Song of Solomon; WoO),[227] for which Wilhelm Telschow wrote the libretto. Claiming the Jewish heritage of the librettist, which I have not been able to verify, N. G. paraphrases from the Talmudic tractate *Sanhedrin* that whoever transforms a verse from the "Song of Songs" into a secular ditty brings evil upon the world.[228]

Shortly after, the debate was continued by Isaak Hirsch, a son of the editor of *Jeschurun* and brother of Guggenheimer, in "Der Jude in der Literatur" (1859; The

223 N. G., "Ein Wort über jüdische Belletristik," *Jeschurun* 4.11 (1858): 574–8, 574: "gleich einem electrischen Schlage alle Schichten der jüdischen Gesellschaft berührte."

224 Ibid., 575: "Wären aber nur alle jene Männer [i.e., Jewish writers] auch wahrhaft Juden, flössen nur alle jene Worte aus einem von Liebe für's Judenthum überströmenden Herzen! Leider bestätigt die Erfahrung, daß nicht jedes Buch, das einen jüdischen Namen an der Stirn trägt, ein jüdisches ist."

225 Ibid.: "Mißgriffe und Uebergriffe, falsche Ideen und unjüdische Anschauungen."

226 See ibid., 578.

227 See Wilhelm Telschow, *Das Hohelied Salomonis als Oratorium, mit einem erklärenden Anhange* (Stettin: Grassmann, 1856). Telschow also wrote the libretti for Loewe's oratorios *Das Sühnopfer des neuen Bundes* (1845–46; first published 1900; WoO) and *Hiob* (1855; WoO) as well as a number of song lyrics.

228 See *The Babylonian Talmud. Seder Nezikin. Sanhedrin*, transl. Jacob Shachter and H. Freedman, ed. Isidore Epstein (London: Soncino, 1935), Sanhedrin 101a.

Jew in Literature).[229] The author implicitly references the destruction of Jerusalem by emphasizing that the Jews, who dispersed across the globe, supposedly "have preserved their original particularity even to the present day."[230] In another implicit rejection of Philippson's conception of the Jewish historical novel, the younger Hirsch insists on the never ceasing contemporary actuality of the Jew as a witness to the truthfulness of Jewish history and the continuing Jewish mission of conserving and protecting monotheism. In terms of literary production, this once again suggests that the representation of contemporary Jewish life is more truthful to the Jewish idea than the reimagination of historical episodes:

> Neither the ruins of the Western Wall, nor the tombs of the Kings proclaim the former flowering of the Jewish Empire;—each Jew is the living representative of the formerly mighty nation and bears more eloquent witness to the truthfulness of the historical record than pyramids and any cuneiform writing ever could. Even today he fulfils the same great national mission which the Jewish state had to fulfil on a grand scale: he is bearer of the divine law, keeper of the only real record of the creation of the world, harbinger of the one great truth: God is one.[231]

In contrast to the Reform idea of the continued external mission of the Jewish people to the world, Hirsch's conception of a mission is internalized and limited to conserving the divinely revealed Jewish monotheism. Hirsch explains with this mission the contested Jewish survival in the past but also its projection into the future, assertively maintaining the primacy of Judaism over the other, derivative, monotheistic religions and philosophical systems:

> while all the world in the most different periods deemed that Judaism had fulfilled its mission and would henceforth cease to be after its work had been done, the same subsisted, and continues to subsist, like its harbinger, the Jewish stem, blossoming in primal strength; and all of these new creations [i.e., Christianity, Islam, and philosophical systems] are but shoots which the eternally young stem sprouted.[232]

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229 I[saak] H[irsch], "Der Jude in der Literatur," *Jeschurun* 5.4 (1859): 203–7.

230 Ibid., 203: "noch heute in ursprünglicher Eigenthümlichkeit sich erhalten."

231 Ibid., 203–4: "Nicht die Ueberreste der Tempelmauer und die Gräber der Könige geben Kunde von der ehemaligen Blüthe des jüdischen Reichs;—jeder Jude ist der lebendige Repräsentant der ehedem mächtigen Nation und legt ein sprechenderes Zeugniß für die Wahrhaftigkeit der historischen Ueberlieferung ab, als Pyramiden und Keilschriften es je vermögen. Er erfüllt noch heute dieselbe große Nationalaufgabe, die der jüdische Staat im Großen zu erfüllen hatte: er ist Träger des göttlichen Gesetzes, Bewahrer der einzigen wirklichen Urkunde der Entstehung der Welt, Verkünder der einen großen Wahrheit: es ist ein Gott."

232 Ibid., 204: "während die ganze Welt in den verschiedensten Zeiten wähnte, das Judenthum habe seine Aufgabe erfüllt und werde nunmehr nach gethaner Arbeit das Zeitliche segnen, bestand und besteht dasselbe, wie sein Verkünder, der jüdische Stamm, in urkräftiger Blüthe und

Hirsch concluded that, "if anywhere, enlightenment and the correction of errors" are needed in the *belles lettres*, because whenever fiction sought to sketch the image of the Jew, it supposedly only ever achieved caricatures.[233] A genuine understanding of the Jew, Hirsch maintains, is only possible from the inside. He asserts that whoever wants to describe the Jew "must comprehend the spirit of Judaism"; and "who wants to understand the spirit of Judaism must thoroughly know the Jew"; this is, according to the author, a knowledge that is tied to the faithful observance of the Jewish law: "Whoever wants to describe the Jew according to his true, his real nature, must indeed be a Jew and not only bear his name."[234]

In response to Hirsch, N. G. concedes that in some cases the literary misrepresentation of the Jew may simply be the result of ignorance. But he then goes a step further and identifies another type of writer of allegedly ideological intent:

> there is another type of writers who are well-versed in the Jewish teachings and Jewish customs but who let their quills be guided by other considerations. While the former err for their ignorance, the latter enter the lists as champions for their religious convictions and the feeble vessel of the novella must serve them as a means of bringing their ideas into the world.[235]

This, he chides, is "tendency writing."[236] N. G.'s allegation was further elaborated a few years later by Marcus Lehmann in *Der Israelit* in the context of a review of Moritz Rappaport's *Bajazzo* (1863).[237] Seeking to contextualize the poem's Reform orientation, Lehmann described Jewish tendency poesy ("Tendenzpoesie") as a recent phenomenon: "Of late, there is now arising a new Jewish tendency poesy, i.e., poesy is abused in order to promote propaganda for religious Reform within

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alle diese neuen Schöpfungen [i.e., Christianity, Islam, and philosophical systems] sind nichts Anderes als Schößlinge, die der ewig junge Stamm getrieben."

233 Ibid., 205: "Wenn irgendwo Aufklärung und Berichtigung der Irrthümer von Nöthen, so ist es hier."

234 Ibid.: "Wer also den Juden schildern will, muß den Geist des Judenthums erfassen, wer den Geist des Judenthums begreifen will, muß den Juden genau kennen. [. . .] Wer den Juden in seinem wahren, wirklichen Wesen schildern will, muß in der That Jude sein, nicht nur heißen."

235 N. G., "Jüdische Belletristik," *Jeschurun* 5.10 (1859): 543–5, 543: "es gibt eine andere Classe Schriftsteller, die wohl vertraut sind mit den jüdischen Lehren und jüdischen Sitten, die aber von anderen Rücksichten ihre Feder leiten lassen. Während jene unbewußt irren, treten diese als Kämpfer für ihre religiöse Richtung ein und die leichte Hülle der Novelle muß ihnen zum Mittel dienen, ihre Ideen in die Welt zu setzen."

236 Ibid., 543–4: "Das sind Tendenzschriften."

237 See Moritz Rappaport, *Bajazzo* (Leipzig: Arnold, 1863).

Judaism."[238] From an aesthetic perspective, Lehmann, echoing the broad consensus of his time, finds tendency poesy wanting. In contrast, he argues that for Kompert, who was also appreciated by Philippson, "poesy is an end in itself" which assures in Lehmann's mind the high degree of perfection ("Vollendung") of his writing.[239]

Incidentally, Rappaport was hailed by the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* on occasion of the publication of his *Bajazzo* as "our most praiseworthily known poet."[240] Philippson insisted on the poem's significance to both German literature and—in a curious paraphrase, which firmly locates German Jewish literature within German literature—to such German literature which adopts its subjects from the Jewish world.[241] Yet Philippson was also critical of the Galician poet's effort. To his mind, it did not offer a real solution to the question of how to reconcile Jewish observance and German education. He insisted:

> Precisely for this reason we must protest against this conclusion of the poem. Conditions in the home countries of our revered poet may still be like this: German Jews and Judaism have long since commenced to follow the path of the solution by effecting the mutual penetration of Judaism and human culture, by achieving a superior organic product and by rejecting both *rigid* orthodoxy and radical antireligious education as untenable.[242]

Lehmann, who acknowledged the poetic mastery of Rappaport even though he loathed his thematic preoccupation, was in his own review especially scathing about the supposedly outmoded work of the Philippson brothers. This, he not only censured as tendentious but contended that it had no aesthetic value whatsoever and consequently denied its effectiveness even as tendency poesy:

> the old and straight after their publication obsolete novellas of the two brothers Phöbus and Ludwig Philippson are so miserable, so without any polish, so without any poetic form, so

238 [Marcus Lehmann], "Die moderne jüdische Tendenzpoesie," *Der Israelit* 4.39–40 (October 7, 1863): 479–83, 479: "Neuerdings taucht nun eine jüdische Tendenzpoesie auf, das heißt, man mißbraucht die Dichtung, um für die religiöse Reform im Judenthume Propaganda zu machen."

239 [Lehmann], "Moderne jüdische Tendenzpoesie," 479: "für ihn ist die Poesie Selbstzweck."

240 Ad[olf] Neubauer, "Literarischer Wochenbericht," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 27.26 (June 23, 1863): 398: "unseres rühmlichst bekannten Dichters."

241 See [Ludwig Philippson], "Bajazzo. Ein Gedicht von Dr. Moritz Rappaport," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 27.30 (July 21, 1863): 457–8, 457.

242 Ibid., 458: "Gerade daher müssen wir im Namen des deutschen Judenthums gegen dieses Resultat des Gedichts uns verwahren. Die Verhältnisse mögen in den Heimatländern unseres verehrten Dichters noch so liegen: das deutsche Judenthum hat längst begonnen, den Weg der Lösung zu betreten, indem es das Judenthum und die menschheitliche Cultur zur gegenseitigen Durchdringung bringt, ein höheres organisches Product erarbeitet und sowohl die *stabile* Orthodoxie als auch die radicale antireligiöse Bildung beide als unhaltbar von sich weist."

> without any substance that in their case, despite the mentioned antireligious tendency, one cannot speak of an actual tendency.[243]

Philippson's preface to *Sepphoris und Rom* may well have been intended as a rejoinder to the debate in *Jeschurun* and *Der Israelit* with which the author sought to legitimize his efforts both in terms of their historical scope and their aesthetic presentation.

The resistance of neo-Orthodoxy to historical subjects in literature eventually dwindled. In the wake of an opening toward history and its scientific exploration as well as the adoption of the notion of a continuous Jewish history,[244] neo-Orthodoxy in time appropriated the popular genre of the historical novel. Lagging three decades behind Reform, which, in turn, lagged behind the development of the German historical novel, neo-Orthodoxy approached the genre nevertheless in an idiosyncratic way by predominantly focusing on the representation of illustrious, and exemplary, men in their historical contexts.

The destruction of Jerusalem was given no attention in this corpus of writing. The orthodoxy on which neo-Orthodoxy based itself was, in fact, preceded by the cataclysmic occurrence. It was neither Mosaic Judaism, nor the sacrificial Judaism of the period of the Second Temple that was perceived as normative by neo-Orthodoxy, but rabbinic Judaism as it developed in the wake of the destruction of Jerusalem and the final collapse of Jewish resistance to the Romans with the failed Bar Kokhba rebellion (132–135 CE). It is no coincidence that Marcus Lehmann offered in his *Akiba* (1881) a literary reading of the latter historical episode.

The novel, which was published in the year before Philippson lamented the decline of German Jewish *belles lettres*, represents the eponymous rabbi as a model of the exemplary application of *Torah im derekh eretz*.[245] The rabbinic concept, which literally means "Torah with the way of the land," was rearticulated by Raphael Samson Hirsch as a practical response to modernity; it meant to him that Jews should embrace secular culture while maintaining strict observance of the Jewish Law.[246]

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243 [Lehmann], "Moderne jüdische Tendenzpoesie," 479: "die alten und gleich nach dem Erscheinen veralteten Novellen der beiden Brüder Phöbus und Ludwig Philippson sind so miserabel, so ohne allen Schick, so ohne jede poetische Form, so ohne jeden Gehalt, daß bei ihnen trotz der ausgesprochenen antireligiösen Richtung von einer eigentlichen Tendenz nicht die Rede sein kann."

244 See Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, pp. 53–4.

245 See ibid., p. 58.

246 For the general significance of the concept, see Hyam Maccoby, *Philosophy of the Talmud* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 104–8, for Hirsch, see p. 105.

Lehmann's *Akiba* is therefore, as discussed by Nitsa Ben-Ari, a perfect articulation of neo-Orthodox ideology.[247] The novel is, moreover, intriguing in respect to the author's programmatically identified use of both Talmudic and Roman sources. It offers, toward the end of the nineteenth century, the application of the historical-critical method by the neo-Orthodox writer. The validation of this approach, derived from Enlightenment principles and Protestant efforts to modernize scriptural exegesis, originates in the Jewish context from within the *Wissenschaft des Judenthums* which sought to transcend the closed circle of Jewish hermeneutics and historiography in the wake of the *Haskalah*. The historical-critical method was therefore initially also closely linked with Reform ideas and, decades before it was acknowledged by Lehmann, influenced historical fiction emerging from the Reform movement.

Jewish Literary Engagements with the Destruction of Jerusalem

As Hans Otto Horch has observed, over the course of his long writing career, Philippson engaged with most of the periods in Jewish history which seemed to him of significance.[248] The historical event of the destruction of Jerusalem was addressed by the writer in a short novella already in 1839, in the third year of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, in which it was published. It notably is the writer's first engagement with Jewish history in narrative fiction, which indicates the importance he ascribed to it as a new beginning of Jewish existence and its elevation to a spiritual level. There is otherwise a conspicuous dearth of Jewish literary engagements with this period in the latter half of the nineteenth century, with the notable exception of Kossarski's historical-dramatic poem and two novels by Herrmann Reckendorf and Max Ring.

Preceding Philippson's deliberations on the historical novel in *Sepphoris und Rom* and his later essay, Reckendorf nevertheless transformed in his *Die Geheimnisse der Juden* (1856–57; The Secrets of the Jews) the other writer's selective approach to poignant episodes in Jewish history into a continuous thread of these

247 See Markus Lehmann, *Akiba: Historische Erzählung aus der Zeit der letzten Kämpfe der Juden gegen die Römer; nach talmudischen und römischen Quellen bearbeitet* (Frankfurt a. M.: Kauffmann, 1881). For Lehmann's novel, see Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, who discusses the text as an example of neo-Orthodox ideology in chapter 3.
248 See Horch, *Auf der Suche nach der jüdischen Erzählliteratur*, p. 144.

"universal historical encounters" from the destruction of the First Temple to the death of Moses Mendelssohn and, in a sequel (1864), to the present. He thus condenses Philippson's conception of the Jewish historical novel into one comprehensive work that combines the individual threads into a tapestry on a grand scale. The destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, while emerging as pivotal, is only one of many nodal points in Jewish history represented in the novel. *Geheimnisse der Juden* is Reform-oriented but its author seeks in particular in its sequel, *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten* (1864; Most Recent Memorabilities), to promote a reconciliation between Liberal, Reform, and neo-Orthodox.

Ring's *Das Haus Hillel* (1879) was described by Skolnik as an assimilationist "pulp tragedy";[249] but the novel also offers, two decades after *Geheimnisse der Juden*, another intervention not only in contemporary Jewish self-definition but, more specifically, in the relationship between Judaism and Christianity by insisting on their common ethical foundation. The novel's title refers to Hillel the Elder, who is supposed to have died during the early childhood of Jesus. The Jewish sage is celebrated for his reiteration of the Golden Rule as the essential element of Judaism and his disciples were known as *Bet Hillel*, the House of Hillel. In his eponymous novel, Ring projects the ethical precepts of Hillel and his disciples onto the time of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple and, by extrapolation, also onto his own present. More specifically, he suggests their ultimate affinity with early Christianity. The novel is arguably the most significant literary engagement of the prolific writer with Judaism and his own Jewish heritage.

The Revaluation of Exile and the Re-Interpretation of Israel: Philippson

Ludwig Philippson engaged with the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem in a novella, entitled "Der Flüchtling aus Jerusalem" (The Fugitive from Jerusalem). First published anonymously in three instalments in 1839 in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, the text is arguably another direct response to Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*. The *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* had taken note of the painting already in the previous year, 1838, by printing a "private communication [Privatmitth.]" in a section of news culled from other papers:

249 Skolnik, *Jewish Pasts, German Fictions*, p. 69.

> The painter *Kaulbach*, famous for his Battle of the Huns [*Hunnenschlacht*], has completed a sketch for the "Destruction of Jerusalem." It's conception is magnificent; yet since the whole scene is represented as the triumph of the Romans and the punitive judgement of God, it does not fill the soul with compassion but with terror and, for this reason, will be rather less accomplished. It has been long since that paintings with hosts of flying angels etc. have been perceived as pleasing.[250]

The rejection of the painter's conception is palpable and, though the insistence on its obsolescence is couched in art historical terms, the emphasis on its prioritizing "terror" over "compassion" is clearly a response to its ideological underpinning. Philippson's novella, reaffirming the continued significance of Judaism, implicitly elaborates another rejection of Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*.

Philippson's novella was included as a complete text in the first volume of *Saron: Gesammelte Dichtungen in metrischer und prosaischer Form* (1844).[251] The collection was later reprinted with a new subtitle, *Saron. Erster Theil: Novellenbuch* (1855) for the Institute as the first of initially four, and later six, volumes of novellas by Philippson and his brother Phöbus.[252] Appearing in the very first year of the Institute, the novella was thus re-published in close proximity to Kossarski's *Titus* and the third volume of Graetz's *Geschichte*.[253] The original frame narrative of the novella was omitted by Philippson from its reprint for the Institute. This is noteworthy because the frame narrative links the embedded historical narrative to the present. It vindicates the diaspora and, more specifically, articulates allegiance to the German fatherland and its language; its omission accordingly indicates a momentous shift in perspective which reinforces the affirmative trajectory of the novella.

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250 [Anonymous]. "Zeitungsnachrichten", *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 2.32 (March 15, 1838): 125–6, 126: " Der Maler *Kaulbach*, berühmt durch seine Hunnenschlacht, ist mit einer Skizze zur 'Zerstörung von Jerusalem' fertig geworden. Sie ist sehr großartig angelegt; da sie aber die ganze Scenerie als Triumph der Römer und Strafgericht Gottes darstellt, so erfüllt sie die Seele nicht mit Theilnahme, sondern mit Schrecken, und wird wol deshalb weniger gelungen sein. Gemälde mit Schaaren von fliegenden Engeln u.s.w. wollen längst nicht mehr ansprechen."

251 See [Ludwig Philippson], "Der Flüchtling aus Jerusalem," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 3.79 (July 6, 1839): 322–6; 3.82 (July 27, 1839): 366–70; and 3.85 (August 17, 1839): 407–10. See also Ludwig Philippson, "Der Flüchtling von Jerusalem," in *Saron: Gesammelte Dichtungen in metrischer und prosaischer Form*, 2 vols (Magdeburg: Falckenberg, 1844), I, 267–304. In this edition, the preposition in the title is slightly different. While its meaning generally remains the same, the spatial aspect, away from, is emphasized in this version.

252 "Der Flüchtling aus Jerusalem," in Phöbus and Ludwig Philippson, *Saron. Erster Theil: Novellenbuch* (Leipzig: Schnauß, 1855), pp. 125–53.

253 For the significance attributed by Philippson to the articulation of the historical perspective, see Horch, *Auf der Suche nach der jüdischen Erzählliteratur*, pp. 144–5.

In the frame narrative, the contemporary unnamed narrator surveys the ruins of the Acropolis in Athens and engages in an imaginary dialogue with its broken columns. Seeking to alleviate their sorrow, he laments that he, as a Jew, is a living ruin, while they are mercifully dead. And yet, both the Greek and the Jew, he reflects, have been resurrected. Whereas the Greek has been revived but in name and in the external world, the Jew, remaining a Jew, endured outside the world and has been restored to life in the realm of the spirit. "Therefore," he observes to the shattered columns, "we are not, after all, a Jewish nation, but nevertheless Jews; and you, Greek ruins, shall remain prostrate, though the Greek be resurrected!"[254] The Jewish exceptionalism articulated by Philippson appears to be predicated on what the writer later was to call the Jewish spirit in his evaluation of Kossarski's dramatic poem. This is, in principle, not that far removed from the younger Hirsch's insistence on the persistence of Jewish particularity. The difference between both is in their understanding of what constitutes the Jewish spirit.

Philippson's frame narrative additionally offers an authentication fiction of the embedded narrative. Disturbed in his musings by the sound of digging, the narrator rejoices to find that the archaeologists he then encounters are German; he indulges "under the Greek sky in the sounds of the beloved mother tongue" and in thinking "of the far-away fatherland"—German and Germany, not Hebrew and Judaea.[255] Among the finds of the archaeologists is a casket with a scroll which contains the narrative of the eponymous fugitive from the destroyed Jerusalem. The recovered text ambivalently projects the affiliations of the narrator of the frame narrative at least implicitly also to the ancient language and the historical nation among whom it was current and of which the narrator perceives himself to be a living ruin. This ambivalence was removed from some later reprints of the story by the omission of the frame narrative.

Considered of no particular value by the ignorant "treasure hunters [Schatzgräber]," [256] the casket and the Hebrew text it contains, which the narrator acquires for a handsome tip, signify moreover, as noted by Wilhelmi, the negation

254 [Philippson], "Der Flüchtling aus Jerusalem," 323: "Darum [. . .] sind wir zwar kein jüdisches Volk, aber doch Juden, und ihr, griechische Trümmer, bleibet liegen, obschon der Grieche auferstanden!"

255 Ibid.: "unter dem griechischen Himmel in den Tönen der theuren Muttersprache uns zu ergehen und des fernen Vaterlandes zu gedenken."

256 Ibid., 324.

of the contribution of Judaism to European cultural history and the exclusion of the Jewish perspective from Eurocentric and Christian dominated interpretations of history.[257] To this view, articulated also by Kaulbach in his frescoes of the Tower of Babel and of the destruction of Jerusalem, Philippson's novella offers a clear challenge.

Beginning with, and interspersed with, ellipses, the originally embedded but later free-standing narrative tells the fragmentary story of a survivor of the destruction of Jerusalem. It reflects his catatonic state following the cataclysmic events, a feeling of dissociation which makes him look upon himself as an other. He holds on to his life only to find an answer to the one question of "*what was yet to happen*,"[258] which is a frequent refrain in his narrative. In his numbness, Amnon witnesses the final destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, is led as a slave across the borders of Israel, but feels nothing: "The world had become my house and faced with the shadow of the soul, the eye saw nothing, not the old as it vanished, nor the new as it appeared."[259]

Taken to the arena in Antioch, the Jewish prisoner survives against the odds a fight against a lion. Eventually rescued by the Jews of Antioch, Amnon experiences a pogrom and fights against Syrians and Romans who seek to slaughter the city's Jewish community. He is now certain that he knows the answer to his question:

> Behold, I now believe I know what shall be. The fire of Jerusalem shall spread from city to city, from country to country. Wherever Israel abides it shall be destroyed. The old prophecy shall not be fulfilled. The God of Israel has decided otherwise.[260]

Confirmed by his experience, and chiming with contemporary resonance, the prophecy of national redemption is replaced with a vision of persecution and destruction. Even so, the fight restores Amnon to himself; he loses his emotional numbness, although he realizes that the motivation of his resistance has been reduced to mere survival and revenge:

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257 See Fabian Wilhelmi, "Die Zerstörung des Zweiten Jerusalemer Tempels in Ludwig Philippsons *Der Flüchtling aus Jerusalem* (1839)," in *DiverCITY: Jewish Berlin—Past and Present*, ed. Rainer Kampling (Berlin: Hentrich and Hentrich, 2022), pp. 102–26, p. 112.

258 [Philippson], "Der Flüchtling aus Jerusalem," 324: "*was wohl noch werden würde?*"

259 Ibid., 325: "Die Welt war mein Haus worden, und vor dem Schatten der Seele sah das Auge Nichts, nicht das Alte schwinden, nicht das Neue kommen."

260 Ibid., 368: "Siehe, ich glaube nun zu wissen, was werden wird. Der Brand Jerusalems soll sich fortpflanzen von Stadt zu Stadt, von Land zu Land. Allüberall, wo Israel weilet, soll es untergehen. Die alte Weissagung will sich nicht erfüllen. Der Gott Israels hat Anderes beschlossen."

> Yet not for Judah do I fight, only for the Jews. No higher good, nor the divine fanum, nor the elation of freedom, nor the independence of the tribe—only the bare, wretched life and ardent revenge I fight for. And yet, blessed am I! I have found myself again![261]

Indeed, he feels that only now, taking the agency of resistance, has he reclaimed his humanity.[262] But his return to life also prompts new questions which demonstrate his despair and how utterly the destruction of Jerusalem has impaired his sense of purpose not only on a subjective level but also with respect to the collective:[263]

> What was your [i.e., Israel's] purpose? what is it now? how long will you yet exist? What for? Does anyone understand you? your sighs as well as your weeping, your knowledge and your faith? Do they not all mock you? [. . .] Do *you* not wish to abandon yourself, as [did] your God? . . .[264]

In contrast to the despondent Amnon, Schulamith, who instigates his rescue from the arena and whose spiritual strength sustains the besieged Jews of Antioch, remains firm in her faith and continues to believe in the coming of the messianic savior. She not only insists that Israel as a whole shall live, even though they and others may perish, but also describes an antithetical progression under divine guidance as the mode of Israel's being:

> Abraham, the wanderer, became the Prince of Knowledge; Jacob, the slave, Master of the Nations; David, the shepherd, the Singer of the Faith. In Israel does not die the power of the spirit. Always, it breaks the fetters, rises from the dust, and raises her head to the stars. Behold, the wise man spreads his chattels, here and there, if he cannot hide them together. Should one be taken, the other remains well preserved for him. Stormy times shall come upon the world, but Israel shall endure, because it shall not be struck in one place. Then, when the times are full, the Lord shall come. Do you mean to demand to live until then? . . .[265]

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261 Ibid.: "Doch nicht für Juda kämpfe ich, nur für die Juden. Kein höheres Gut, nicht das göttliche Heiligthum, nicht der Freiheit Hochgefühl, nicht des Stammes Selbstständigkeit—nur das nackte, traurige Leben und die glühende Rache erstreit' ich. Dennoch wohl mir! Ich habe mich wieder gefunden!"

262 See ibid., 369.

263 See ibid.

264 Ibid.: "Was solltest du? was sollst du? wie lange wirst du noch sein? Wozu? Verstehet dich Jemand? dein Seufzen wie dein Weinen, deine Kunde und deinen Glauben? Spotten sie nicht alle deiner? [. . .] Willst *du* dich nicht verlassen, wie dein Gott? . . ."

265 Ibid., 369–70: "Der Wanderer Abraham ward zum Fürsten der Erkenntniß, der verknechtete Jakob zum Herrn der Völker, der Hirt David zum Sänger des Glaubens. In Israel stirbt die Kraft des Geistes nicht. Immer zerbricht sie die Fessel, ersteht aus dem Staube, und erhebt ihr Haupt zu den Sternen. Siehe, der Kluge verteilt sein Gut hierhin und dorthin, so er es nicht bergen kann beieinander. Wird das Eine geraubt, bleibt das Andere ihm wohlverwahrt. Es kommt eine stürmische Zeit über die Welt, aber Israel überdauert, weil es nicht getroffen wird an einem Orte. Dann, wenn die Zeit voll ist, wird der Herr kommen. Willst du verlangen, bis dahin zu leben? . . ."

The alleged expectation to live to see the coming of the Messiah has twofold significance. It suggests that Schulamith does not consider this occurrence to be imminent; but it may also be an implicit allusion to the Ahasuerus legend, to the Wandering Jew who cannot die. Amnon's continued survival, even when facing the lion in the arena, is otherwise puzzling and may also be meant to associate, and re-interpret, the legend. After all, Philippson intervened forcefully in the Ahasuerus debate initiated by Gutzkow in the previous year. His novella may have been intended as a literary response.

In contrast to Amnon, Schulamith more tangibly attributes meaning to collective Jewish survival, rather than to that of the individual. Israel, she argues,

> has fulfilled its fate in Asia. It must be uprooted from its home, towards a new sun it must hasten, that in the occident has risen long since. The rays of this new sun shall invigorate and preserve it. The age-old hatred of Asia against Judah is the instrument of the Lord with which He drives Israel's remnant towards the evening [i.e., the west], drives it from Asia.[266]

In a circular argument which justifies Jewish existence with itself and which can easily be transferred to the reader's contemporary Jewish experience, she insists: "the God of Israel shall not hide from us, nor shall he let us perish. That we are is proof that we are meant to be. Had all of Judah been meant to perish, the rubble of Jerusalem would have buried us all together."[267] The prophecy, doubted by Amnon, is yet to be fulfilled, after all.

Though she is not able to give full articulation to the notion of the mission of the Jews, there is a strong sense in Schulamith's assertion of a continued Jewish purpose which connects her vision of Jewish survival to the present. Her insistence on the westward trajectory of Jewish existence and purpose echoes Steinheim's *Gesänge aus der Verbannung*. Like the cycle of poems, first published in 1829 and re-issued in 1837, Philippson's narrative does not envision a restoration to Jerusalem and the Promised Land but dispersal and a transformation of national into spiritual parameters of Jewish cohesion.

The omission of the frame narrative in later reiterations of the narrative may in this sense be considered an articulation of a universalizing trajectory which

266 Ibid., 408: "Israel, sprach Schulamith, hat sein Loos beendet in Asien. Es soll entwurzelt werden seiner Heimath, einer neuen Sonne soll es zueilen, die im Abendland längst aufgegangen. An den Strahlen dieser neuen Sonne soll es sich stärken und erhalten. Der uralte Haß Asiens gegen Juda ist das Werkzeug des Herrn, womit er den Ueberrest Israels nach Abend treibt, aus Asien verdrängt."

267 Ibid.: "[D]er Gott Israels wird sich uns nicht entziehen und uns nicht untergehen lassen. Daß wir sind, ist Beweis, daß wir sein sollen. Sollte Juda ganz umkommen, würden uns die Trümmer Jerusalems allesammt begraben haben."

transcends the national particular even as it returns to the notion of an essential Jewishness indicated by the narrator's purported use of Hebrew. As such, it chimes with Reform notions of a Jewish mission and its substitution of the return to the Promised Land, which is transformed into a spiritual idea.

This trajectory is reflected in the conclusion of the story, when Amnon, taken as a slave to Rome, finally feels with sorrow the separation from the Promised Land. Why his account is discovered in Athens is not explained by the frame narrative, which has no conclusion. In the embedded story, Amnon himself recommends to the Jews of Antioch that they should make their way to the Greek city because it is, to him, a liminal space between east and west. As such, Athens appears to be the first station on the envisioned westward trajectory which Steinheim charted toward the New World.

Neither the continuation of this trajectory, nor its antecedents, are elaborated by Philippson whose narrative focus, with the exception of his later abandoned frame narrative, remains limited to the isolated historical occurrence as a liminal experience, if of contemporary significance. The wider perspective, situating the destruction of Jerusalem and its implications in an imaginary continuum of Jewish history, was elaborated somewhat later by Herrmann Reckendorf in his *Geheimnisse der Juden* and its sequel, *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten*.[268]

Re-Writing Jewish History and the Vision of Tolerance: Reckendorf

Born in the Moravian town of Trebitsch in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (present-day Třebíč in the Czech Republic), where his father was a teacher, Herrmann Reckendorf (1825–75; variant spelling Hermann) received a traditional Jewish education at local *yeshivot*. Yet by the time he went to study at Leipzig in about 1856, he had adopted the ideals of the *Haskalah*, the Jewish Enlightenment. Taking an interest in *Wissenschaft des Judenthums* and oriental studies, Reckendorf soon developed personal and professional affiliations with such influential liberal Jewish scholars as Abraham Geiger, Julius Fürst, and Adolf Jellinek, the latter of whom was, until 1859, also a member of the editorial board of the Institute for the Promotion of Israelite Literature. In later years, Reckendorf led a school initially for "Isra-

268 Ultimately going beyond Steinheim and Philippson and suggesting the eventual Jewish 'circumnavigation' of the globe and a spiritual return to a transcendent Jerusalem and its monotheism, Herrmann Reckendorf adopted the same image of the westward flowing river, see Herrmann Reckendorf, *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten: Fortsetzung der Geheimnisse der Juden* (Leipzig: Jünger, 1864), p. 399.

elite" girls, and later also for boys, in Heidelberg,[269] where he may moreover have been a lecturer in Hebraic studies at the university.[270]

Hanan Harif describes the historian, orientalist, and translator as "a mediator and popularizer of 'scientific' knowledge."[271] Reckendorf followed this course in a mixture of genres and styles. From 1856–57, simultaneous with his translation of the Qur'an into Hebrew, he published *Die Geheimnisse der Juden* (1856–57; The Secrets of the Jews), a novel informed by the author's Reform-oriented approach to conceptions of Jewish history and identities. This was followed, in 1864, by a sequel, *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten* (Most Recent Memorabilities); another four years later, Reckendorf published *Das Leben Mosis: Allen denkenden Bibelfreunden gewidmet* (1868; The Life of Moses), dedicated, as its subtitle proclaims in confirmation of the author's Enlightenment principles, to all rational friends of the Bible.

The historical episode of the destruction of Jerusalem was ficitonalized by Reckendorf in the second of the five volumes of his *Die Geheimnisse der Juden* (1857).[272] The novel appeared in close temporal proximity to Julius Kossarski's dramatic poem *Titus oder die Zerstörung Jerusalem's* (1855) and the third volume of Heinrich Graetz's *Geschichte der Juden* (1856), but without the support of the infrastructure Philippson had developed through the Institute for the Promotion of Israelite Literature and the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, from which both Kossarski and Graetz benefitted.

Reckendorf's conception was far-flung. With its scope ranging from the destruction of the First Temple and the Babylonian captivity to Moses Mendelssohn and the *Haskalah*, his novel for the first time offered a continuous and coherent, if fictionalized, construction of Jewish history across the millennia in the popular form of the novel. The significance of this enterprise, which challenged the prerogative of historical interpretation in historiographic writing but also of traditional religious conceptions of Jewish existence, was noted already by the educationist and philosophical writer David Asher in his review of the novel in *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* (1858).[273] At the same time, *Geheimnisse der Juden*

269 See, e.g., the advertisements in *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 23.1 (January 1, 1859): 12 and in *Führer durch Heidelberg & Umgebungen* (Heidelberg: Emmerling, 1860), p. 32.

270 This biographical overview is indebted to Hanan Harif, "Between Sacred and Profane: Three Modern Hebrew Translators of the Qur'ān," in *Jewish Scholarship on Sacred Texts of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, eds Dorothea M. Salzer, Chanan Gafni, and Hanan Harif (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), pp. 149–64, pp. 149–52.

271 Ibid., p. 152.

272 See Skolnik, *Jewish Pasts, German Fictions*, pp. 88–9.

273 David Asher, "Stimmen aus dem Judenthum," *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* 33.10 (March 4, 1858): 179–84, 180.

reflected recent and contemporary historiographical endeavors like those by Jost and, to a lesser degree, by Graetz, which originated in the emergence and consolidation of *Wissenschaft des Judenthums*. Significantly, like these historiographical ventures, Reckendorf's *Geheimnisse der Juden* was based on the recognition that the study of Jewish history was not merely a purpose in and of itself but was potentially also an important tool for the promotion of Jewish interests.[274]

In his afterword, published in the fifth, and final, volume of the novel (1857), the author acknowledged moreover the influence of Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères du peuple* (1849–56; *Mysteries of the People*).[275] In this multivolume project, spanning the fortunes of a Breton family from 57 BCE to 1848, the popular French writer had sought to create "knowledge and consciousness of the past";[276] more specifically, of a past that was not reflected in scholarly historical tomes. Rather, in an effort to write history from below, he focused in his novel on the lower classes. "Hitherto," he says,

> men have always written their history of our *kings*, their courts, their intrigues and their battles, but never that of us of the working-classes; on the contrary, this has been vailed [*sic*] from us, in order that we might draw neither virile teachings nor ardent faith and hope in a better future, from the knowledge and consciousness of the past. This has been a great misfortune, for the better we know and feel what our fathers and mothers suffered in order to conquer for us, through the ages, step by step, and century by century, at the price of their tears, martyrdom and blood, the sacred rights and liberties summed up to-day by the *sovereignty of the people* inscribed into our constitution, the dearer and more holy are these rights and liberties to us, and the more resolved we are to defend them.[277]

274 See Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, p. 155.

275 See Herrmann Reckendorf, *Die Geheimnisse der Juden* (Leipzig: Gerhard, 1857), V, 175.

276 Eugene Sue, *Mysteries of the People; Or, The Story of a Plebeian Family for 2,000 Years*, transl. Mary L. Booth (New York: Clark, 1867), n. p.; see also Eugène Sue, *Les Mystères du peuple, ou histoire d'une famille de prolétaires à travers les âges*, splendide edition, 2nd edn (1849; Paris: Administration de librairie, 1851), I, 174: "la connaissance et la conscience du passé."

277 Sue, *Mysteries of the People*, n. p.; see also Sue, *Mystères du peuple*, I, 174: "Jusqu'ici [. . .] l'on avait toujours écrit l'histoire de *nos rois*, de leurs cours, de leurs amours adultères, de leurs batailles, mais jamais notre histoire à nous autres bourgeois et prolétaires; on nous voilait, au contraire, afin que nous ne pussions y puiser ni males enseignements, ni foi, ni espérance ardente à un avenir meilleur; par la connaissance et la conscience du passé. Ç'a été un grand mal, car plus nous aurons conscience et connaissance de ce que nos pères et nos mères ont souffert pour nous conquérir à travers les âges, pas à pas, siècle à siècle, au prix de leurs armes, de leur martyre, de leur sang, les droits et les libertés consacrés, résumés aujourd'hui par la *souveraineté du people* écrite dans notre Constitution, plus les droits, plus les libertés nous seront chers et sacrés, plus nous serons résolus de les défendre!"

Sue's radical and subversive convictions were articulated more concisely in his epigraph to *Les Mystères du peuple*, in which he insisted on the inescapability of the class struggle and its necessarily violent nature: "There is no religious, political or social reform which our fathers were not obliged to conquer one century after another, at the cost of their blood, by means of INSURRECTION."[278]

The French writer's insurrectionist spirit was coupled with a firm Hegelian belief in human progress and the teleological development of history:

> The better we know and feel the unceasing progress of humanity, which, as is proved by history, has never taken a backward step, the firmer will be our faith in a constantly progressive future, and the more triumphantly shall we overcome that fatal discouragement by which the strongest suffer themselves to be bowed down in days of harsh trials—a fatal discouragement; for our enemies, continually on the alert, will avail themselves of it, with infernal art, temporarily to arrest our journey toward the promised land.[279]

Reckendorf was not so much interested in the class struggle emphasized by Sue, yet he appears to have shared the French writer's faith in historical progress, though in his case—as in the historiographical work of Jost and Graetz—it is inflected with a redemptive certainty of religious provenance. His narrative, too, seeks to tell an untold story and to introduce a subaltern perspective, mainly that of the Jews dispersed across the known world after the destruction of Jerusalem. At the same time, his *Geheimnisse der Juden* was insurrectionist also in a Jewish context. It challenged traditional Jewish and Orthodox constructions of history and identity and substituted them with alternative models of Reform provenance.

Even more ambitious in its chronological scope than Sue's monumental effort, the five slim volumes of Reckendorf's *Geheimnisse der Juden* were by necessity much condensed. In emulation of contemporary Jewish historiography in the wake of *Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, the novel nevertheless sought to give articulation to a perspective that had either been written out of history or whose manifestation in Scripture had been appropriated and contextually reconfigured by Christian majority culture. In contrast to traditional and neo-Orthodox models of

278 Ibid., I, title page: "Il n'est pas une réforme religieuse, politique ou sociale, que nos pères n'aient forces de conquérir de siècle en siècle, au prix de leur sang, par l'INSURRECTION"; my translation.

279 Sue, *Mysteries of the People*, n. p.; see also Sue, *Mystères du peuple*, I, 174: "Enfin, [. . .] plus nous aurons conscience et connaissance du progrès incessant de l'humanité, qui, l'histoire le prouve, n'a jamais fait un pas retrograde, plus nous serons inébranlables dans notre foi à un avenir toujours progressif, et plus victorieusement nous triompherons de ce découragement funeste dont les plus forts se laissent souvent accabler au jour des rudes épreuves! Découragement fatal, car nos ennemis, sans cesse en éveil, l'exploitent avec un art infernal, pour arrêter, momentanement, notre *marche vers la terre promise*."

Jewish subsistence in the world which set their hopes on the divinely sanctioned return to the Promised Land, the writer imbued his articulation of an alternative perspective on the continuum of Jewish existence with the hope of achieving the return of the Jews to history. More specifically, on the basis of a new conception of Jewishness and of the past,[280] he envisaged the resurgence of the Jews within the divine plan of salvation and promoted the reconciliation of Judaism with Christianity in mutual tolerance.

Tolerance and Reform: Rebirth from Destruction

Die Geheimnisse der Juden is divided into twenty-two individual novellas which illustrate nodal occurrences in Jewish history as they intersect with the history of one Jewish family across the millennia. They are tied together by a frame narrative in which the descendant of the Abarbanels is tortured and murdered by the Sultan of Morocco in 1839 in an attempt to extort money from him.[281] In the possession of the venerable old Jew is the entire collection of narratives having been handed down within his family from the father to his most worthy son ever since the destruction of the First Temple, each adding a new narrative and a paradigmatic object for which their respective contribution is named. Because it not only contains the fate of his own family but moreover offers a substantial contribution to the history of the Jewish nation, Abarbanel leaves instructions in his will that successive sections should be read out by the rabbi in the synagogue on consecutive sabbaths after the service.[282]

By its inclusion in *Geheimnisse der Juden*, the destruction of Jerusalem is marked as a significant nodal event in the continuum of Jewish history. In contrast to novels of Christian provenance about the historical occurrence, the destruction is here not causally linked to the crucifixion, though the main focus of the preceding Fifth Sabbath is on the historical figure of Jesus. This is a theological statement in its own right because it refutes at least implicitly the notion of a

280 See Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, p. 150.

281 For the "adulation of the Sephardim" which emerged "during the era of romanticism" and which inspired among the *maskilim*, the representatives of the Jewish enlightenment, the practice to present the Sephardim "as ideal intermediaries, Jews who were capable of breaking down the age-old Hellenic-Hebraic divide," see John M. Efron, *German Jewry and the Allure of the Sephardic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 10–11. The historical figure of Don Isaac Abravanel in particular "exemplified the German-Jewish image of the Sephardic hero," p. 63. As Efron notes, Reckendorf uses the historical family of the Abravanels to claim the uninterrupted presence of the line of King David into his present, see p. 214.

282 See Herrmann Reckendorf, *Die Geheimnisse der Juden* (Leipzig: Gerhard, 1856), I, 17–18.

divine judgment visited upon the Jews for their alleged guilt in the death of Jesus. Rather, the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple is abruptly introduced in retrospect in the reading of the Sixth Sabbath by its narrator, an affluent Jerusalemite named Raphael:

> Jerusalem has fallen for the second time, and much harder than the first time under Nebuchadnezzar; then, it was given the divine promise to be rebuilt after seventy years; but now the voices of the prophets have died away and there is no one who could infuse a drop of balm into the wounds of our heart.[283]

Raphael attributes the moral and political decline of the Jewish commonwealth preceding the catastrophe to the higher social strata from which it radiates downward.[284] Religious observance, Raphael maintains, has degenerated into mere ceremonial,[285] and he blames in particular the theocracy for this development. This is a sentiment that is anchored in Reform sensibilities and was also articulated by Jost and, to a lesser degree and with different motivation, by Graetz.[286] In the novel, it surfaces surreptitiously but is expressed in the Sixth Sabbath most palpably by the Jewish king Agrippa.

As in Magon's *Sabina*, which appeared a few years after *Geheimnisse der Juden*, Agrippa is introduced by Reckendorf as a reflector figure. The Jewish king is represented as a traitor, but his perception of the political dynamics is nevertheless accurate. He warns his people with reference to the earlier victory of the Maccabees:

> Your priests were pious men, then, who were resigned to the will of the Lord and who were aglow with the love of the fatherland [. . .]; your priests today, in contrast, are ambitious, greedy men who, so as to please Rome, have agreed to defile what is most Holy and Reverent.[287]

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283 Herrmann Reckendorf, *Die Geheimnisse der Juden* (Leipzig: Gerhard, 1857), II, 23: "Jerusalem ist zum zweiten Male gefallen, und zwar weit härter als das erste Mal unter Nebukadnezar; damals hatte es die göttliche Zusicherung, nach siebzig Jahren wieder erbaut zu werden; diesmal aber sind die Stimmen der Propheten verhallt, und Niemand ist, der einen Tropfen Balsam in die Wunden unseres Herzens träufeln könnte."

284 See ibid., II, 25.

285 See ibid.

286 See Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, p. 216.

287 Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, II, 32: "Eure damaligen Priester waren fromme, gottergebene, von Vaterlandsliebe durchglühte Männer [. . .]; Eure heutigen Priester hingegen sind ehrgeizige, habsüchtige Männer, welche, um Rom zu gefallen, das Heiligste und Ehrwürdigste zu schänden sich bereit erklären."

Agrippa projects a dire vision of the future to the Jews, which in hindsight has been confirmed by history:

> Have pity on your children whom, if your endeavour were to fail, awaits no other fate but the most gruesome death or the most miserable slavery! More's the pity should this beautiful blossoming land be transformed into a wasteland through the havoc wrought by war! More's the pity, finally, should this magnificent Temple, built at such expenditure, become for the second time the prey of flames and the abode of jackals and owls![288]

Of course, as Reckendorf's readers were bound to know, all of this came to pass, yet in his representation, the political acumen of Agrippa nevertheless cannot obscure his moral vacuity. It is a pattern replicated in the author's extremely negative portrayal of Josephus, who is described by Raphael as "a man, who, for the value of his historical works deserves to be named among our nation's most prominent men of learning; yet who, through his scheming, treacherous behaviour, erected to himself an eternal pillory."[289] In fact, Reckendorf suggests through Raphael that Josephus, "feign[ing] the greatest love of the fatherland in order to gain the position of a commander,"[290] perfidiously engineered his defection to, and subsequent rise among, the Romans by deliberately playing into the enemy's hands.[291] "It is outrageous," Raphael concludes, "to read how Josephus boasts in his historical work of his base betrayal as if he had performed an act of heroism."[292] How Raphael would have gained access to *The Jewish War* is not explained in the novel, though his own narrative is, of course, also retrospective.

Unsurprisingly, Titus, too, is presented by Reckendorf in a negative light. The Roman imperator is characterized as "eager for glory and action"[293] and cruel; emulating Graetz, the author emphasizes the ironic discrepancy between the epithet that Titus was the delight of the human race and the cruelty of the future

288 Ibid., II, 33: "Habt Erbarmen mit Euren Kindern, deren beim Mißlingen Eures Unternehmens kein anderes Loos wartet als der gräßlichste Tod oder die niedrigste Sclaverei! Wie Schade für dieses schöne, blühende Land, daß es durch die Verheerungen des Krieges in eine Einöde verwandelt werden sollte! Wie Schade endlich für diesen herrlichen, mit so großem Kostenaufwand erbauten Tempel, wenn er zum zweiten Male ein Raub der Flammen und ein Aufenthalt der Schakale und Eulen würde!"

289 Ibid., II, 28: "ein Mann, der wegen des Werthes seiner geschichtlichen Werke den ersten Gelehrten unserer Nation angereiht zu werden verdient, durch sein ränkevolles verrätherisches Betragen aber sich eine ewige Schandsäule setzte."

290 Ibid., II, 38: "die größte Vaterlandsliebe heuchel[nd], um eine Befehlshaberstelle zu erlangen."

291 See ibid.

292 Ibid., II, 41: "Es ist empörend zu lesen, wie Josephus mit seinem niederträchtigen Verrathe in seinem Geschichtswerke groß thut, als ob er irgend eine Heldenthat ausgeübt hätte."

293 Ibid., II, 43: "ruhmsüchtigen, thatendurstigen."

emperor during the Jewish War.[294] The calamity of the destruction of Jerusalem is attributed to internal discord, betrayal, and external military force; it is not represented as a divine intervention, as in the novels of Christian provenance discussed above. It is the result of political calculations and the vainglory of the heir apparent to the imperial throne:

> Jerusalem had to be conquered at any cost, otherwise the honour of the new regent and the fame of the young hero would be forfeit. Three Jewish traitors faithfully aided him: our King Agrippa, Josephus Flavius, and Tiberius Alexander; the latter an apostate Jew, the leader of the Egyptian legions.[295]

In *Die Geheimnisse der Juden* the description of the horrors of the destruction of the Temple is only brief;[296] it is later complemented with an account of the desperate situation in the destroyed city, where the survivors are reduced to subsisting on human corpses.[297] Raphael's narrative of the general destruction is followed by his relation of how he fared during the conflagration.[298] The narrator describes his internal struggle between the fatherly love of his children and the love of his fatherland,[299] which turns him from a moderate into a Zealot. Eventually, Raphael is among the last of the Jews to surrender and is subsequently deported to Rome to be paraded at the imperator's triumphal entry. "The crown is fallen from our head: woe unto us, that we have sinned!,"[300] he cites from the Lamentations of Jeremiah, implicitly linking the destruction of the Second Temple to that of the First.[301]

In Rome, Raphael is taken to the arena. Rejecting the sword he is offered, he fights a tiger with apparently bare hands and rips the animal's tongue out.[302] Aware of how unlikely his victory must seem to the reader, the narrator explains the provenance of the object which saved his life and which he adds to the grow-

294 Ibid., II, 52: "Liebe und Wonne des menschlichen Geschlechtes."

295 Ibid., II, 44: "Jerusalem mußte um jeden Preis erobert werden, sonst war es um die Ehre des neuen Regenten und um den Ruhm des jungen Helden geschehen. Drei jüdische Verräther standen Diesem als treue Gehülfen zur Seite: unser König Agrippa, Josephus Flavius und Tiberius Alexander, Letzterer ein abtrünniger Jude, Anführer der ägyptischen Legionen."

296 See ibid., II, 50–1.

297 See ibid., II, 74.

298 Ibid., II, 52: "wie es *mir* erging."

299 See ibid., II, 53.

300 Ibid., II, 56: "Gefallen ist die Krone unseres Hauptes; wehe uns, daß wir dieses verschuldet haben!" See Lamentations 5:16.

301 See also ibid., I, 11–12, where the biblical quotation is applied to the contemporary persecution of the Moroccan Jews.

302 See ibid., II, 60.

ing collection of symbolic memorabilia accompanying the various instalments of the historical narrative:[303] "You wonder, my dear son, about my victory? You think it was a miracle, or you may even believe me to be a liar?"[304]

Anticipating his fate, Raphael explains, he wore a leather glove and sleeve made to look like his own skin. Wild animals supposedly having an aversion to leather, the tiger recoiled from biting it. From the perspective of the narrator, the eponymous object of the glove serves to authenticate his account, but it also highlights his courage and cunning. Indeed, Ben-Ari sees in Raphael the first of a succession of models of a new Jewish identity elaborated in the novel, which are predicated on firmness, vigour, courage, and candour as well as the refusal to adopt uncritically established patterns of behavior.[305]

After having killed the tiger, Raphael is offered his freedom but before he accepts it, he negotiates to engage in two more fights in exchange for the freedom of some of his compatriots.[306] Raphael then returns to Palestine to find his family. When he discovers his son Nathan among the merchandise of a slave trader, he offers himself up as slave to be near him. Father and son are then bought by the Jew Abner, who turns out to be the head of a society seeking to liberate Jewish slaves by purchasing them and aiding their resocialization.[307] Recognizing Nathan's abilities, Abner arranges for the boy to join the rabbinic academy at Yavneh (Jamnia).

With this institution, the author refers to an endeavor which facilitated the transition from Mosaic Judaism, as manifest in the sacrificial temple cult, to rabbinic Judaism. This venture has been credited with ensuring the spiritual survival of Judaism after the destruction of the Second Temple. In the novel, Abner explains the significance of the rabbinic academy as follows:

> [Yohanan ben Zakkai] asked for permission to found a school in Yavneh. He knew what he did; he foresaw the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Temple and wished to erect as a compensation for the earthly Jerusalem and the earthly Temple a spiritual Jerusalem and a

303 For Reckendorf's extensive use of symbols and metaphors, see Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, pp. 162–4.

304 Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, II, 60: "Du staunst, lieber Sohn, über meinen Sieg? Du hältst ihn für ein Wunder, oder siehst mich gar für einen Lügner an?"

305 See Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, p. 193.

306 See Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, II, 61.

307 As Ludwig Philippson expounded in a sermon on the ethos of action in Judaism, a text with which Reckendorf, as discussed below, was in all likelihood familiar, the redemption of prisoners is a charitable action enjoined on Jews; see Ludwig Philippson, "Die That," in *Siloah: Eine Auswahl von Predigten* (Leipzig: Baumgärtner, 1845), II, 245–53, 251.

> spiritual Temple where, instead of murderous internecine fights, spiritual wars should be fought; where, instead of lambs and rams, sacrifices of charity should be made.[308]

The principles of this spiritual Jerusalem and Temple are described by Abner with a metaphor: "The city was encompassed by three impregnable walls on which the whole world rests: learning, piety, and good deeds."[309] As indicated in a footnote, Reckendorf derived his metaphor from *Pirkei Avot* (*The Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*), a talmudic tractate focused on ethical and moral principles. Yet the author's reconfiguration of the text in fact offers a reinterpretation of his source. The very first *mishna* of the first chapter urges the rabbis to make "a fence about the *Torah*," while the second *mishna* concludes: "Upon three things the world rests: upon the *Torah*, upon the Temple service, and upon the doing of acts of kindness."[310] Reckendorf not only amalgamates the two *mishnayot* but also subtly changes their semantic potential, adapting them to the new political reality after the destruction of the cultic center of Judaism. He substitutes Torah with the more general term learning ("Gelehrsamkeit") and Temple service with the, once again, more comprehensive term of piety ("Gottesfurcht"); and so the metaphorical city which is encompassed by them is also a universal symbol rather than the geographically localized Jerusalem.

Reckendorf in fact seeks to highlight this adaptability in his novel as one of the principles of Jewish survival. By implication, he extends it also to his own present, suggesting the need for religious reform. Because, as the novel suggests, the rabbinic model emerging from the academy at Yavneh has also become obsolete. Whereas the academy's transformative potential and its ensuing role for the survival of Israel are acknowledged,[311] the unifying venture all too soon frag-

308 Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, II, 71: "[Jochanan Ben Sakkai] erbat sich die Erlaubnis, in Jamnia eine Schule stiften zu dürfen. Er wußte, was er that; er sah die Zerstörung Jerusalems und des Tempels voraus und wollte als Entschädigung für das irdische Jerusalem und den irdischen Tempel ein geistiges Jerusalem und einen geistigen Tempel aufrichten, wo statt mörderischer Parteienkämpfe geistige Kriege geführt, statt Lämmern und Widdern Opfer der Barmherzigkeit gebracht werden sollten."

309 Ibid.: "Die Stadt wurde mit drei unbezwingbaren Mauern umgeben, auf denen die ganze Welt besteht: Gelehrsamkeit, Gottesfurcht und Ausübung guter Werke."

310 See *The Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* [*Pirkei Avot*], transl. with introd. and notes Joseph I. Gorfinkle, 2nd edn (New York: Bloch, 1913), I.2. The notion of the fence, or wall, is introduced in the preceding sentence: "Moses received the *Torah* from Sinai, and handed it down to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets delivered it to the men of the Great Synagogue. They said three things, 'Be deliberate in judgment; raise up many disciples; and make a fence about the *Torah*'," I.1.

311 See Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, II, 71–2, 84.

ments into inimical factions, a reiteration of the "internecine fights" which led to the fall of Jerusalem:

> With the passing of Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai, the splendour of wisdom was extinguished. The unity of public instruction had come to an end; Rabbi Yohanan's disciples erected after his passing independent schools which quarrelled and bickered among themselves in religious matters.[312]

The pattern is repeated later in the novel in relation to similar endeavors.[313] Reckendorf's criticism of the Jewish theocracy to whom, following the historical conception of Jost,[314] he largely attributes the destruction of Jerusalem is in this way at the very least implicitly extended to Orthodox rabbinic authority, which is portrayed as prone to fragmentation and mutual intolerance. In fact, as Ben-Ari emphasizes, in the logic of the novel as a whole, the author blames religious institutions for the ossification of Judaism throughout the historical continuum he constructs: from the priests of the period of the Second Temple to the rabbis after its destruction and into the medieval period; to the (neo-)Orthodox rabbinate in modern times; and to the Hasidim and Tzaddikim of eastern Europe.[315]

Religious tolerance, in turn, emerges from the novel as the author's main concern. In the Sixth Sabbath, it is most prominently articulated in the narrator's reflections on Abner's domestic arrangements. The configuration and domestic setting reflect other novels about the destruction of Jerusalem, where matters of the faith are often discussed when one character is taken in by another and nursed back to physical health. The implication frequently is that they also attain spiritual health when they follow the conversion route suggested by the goodness of their, usually, Christian hosts, as, for instance, in the Abbé Guénot's *Hanani* and Ihlenfeld's *Ruth*; or, as in the case of Palmié's *Rufus*, when the Christian convalescent converts those who nurse him. The difference in Reckendorf's novel is that spiritual health manifests itself not in the conversion to any particular religion but in the acknowledgment of tolerance.

Taken in by Abner and his family, Raphael notices that his liberator and his wife profess different faiths and yet live together in harmony:

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312 Ibid., II, 91: "Mit dem Tode Rabbi Jochanan Ben Sakkai's erlosch der Glanz der Weisheit. Die Einheit des öffentlichen Unterrichts hatte aufgehört; Rabbi Jochanan's Schüler errichteten nach seinem Tode selbstständige Schulen, welche in Religionssachen sich befehdeten und anfeindeten."

313 See ibid., II, 145.

314 See Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, p. 181.

315 See ibid., pp. 180–1.

> I noticed not a little this difference of religions in one and the same house, in one and the same family, yea, at one and the same table; yet even more I admired the concord, the mutual love, which in spite of the views of different faiths ensued among the family members.[316]

Abner, it turns out, used to be an Ebionite. Ebionites were an early Jewish Christian sect who rejected Pauline doctrine. In the novel, they are described as

> those Nazarenes who recognise Jesus as the promised Messiah, the Son of David, but nevertheless consider the observance of the Mosaic Law essential, according to the dictum of Jesus: Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets.[317]

Believing in the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem by Jesus, Abner leaves the city and settles in Antioch. Yet the local Christians there do not accept his Ebionite beliefs. They "embraced the doctrine of their evangelist *Paul*, who realised that the Mosaic Law had lost its validity with the advent of Jesus."[318] As Abner observes:

> Towards the pagans, this practice was astute and commendable; it made it easier for them to convert from crude idolatry to the pure knowledge of God; but as a Jew I found it difficult to renounce those practices I had come to love from my youth. I was persecuted by the local Nazarenes for my devotion to the Mosaic Law and in my vexation returned to Judaism.[319]

Abner's wife, because she was born a pagan and therefore did not experience the same internal and external conflicts, remains Christian; the enlightened Jew's

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316 Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, II, 79: "Diese Religionsverschiedenheit in einem und demselben Hause, einer und derselben Familie, an einer und derselben Tafel fiel mir nicht wenig auf, noch mehr aber bewunderte ich die Eintracht, diese gegenseitige Liebe, welche trotz der verschiedenen Glaubensansichten unter den Familiengliedern stattfand."

317 Ibid., II, 80: "Darunter versteht man diejenigen Nazaräer, welche Jesum für den verheißenen Messias, den Sohn David's anerkennen, dabei aber die Beobachtung des mosaischen Gesetzes als nothwendig erachten, dem Spruche Jesu gemäß: Ihr sollt nicht wähnen, daß ich gekommen bin, das Gesetz oder die Propheten aufzulösen." See Matthew 5:17. For the Ebionites, see Bart D. Ehrmann, *Lost Christianities: The Battles for Scripture and the Faiths We Never Knew* (2003; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 99–103.

318 Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, II, 81: "Die hierortigen Nazaräer aber huldigten der Lehre ihres Bekehrers *Paulus*, welcher erkannte, daß das mosaische Gesetz mit der Ankunft Jesu seine Gültigkeit verloren habe."

319 Ibid.: "Den Heiden gegenüber war dieses Verfahren klug und löblich; es erleichterte ihnen den Uebergang vom groben Götzendienste zur reinen Gotteserkenntnis; mir aber als geborenem Juden fiel es schwer, von den seit meiner Jugend liebgewordenen Gewohnheiten mich loszusagen. Ich wurde wegen meiner Anhänglichkeit an dem mosaischen Gesetz von den hierortigen Nazaräern verfolgt, und kehrte in meinem Unmuthe zum Judenthum zurück."

own return to the Jewish faith represents another implicit criticism of intolerance while reinforcing the kinship between Christianity and Judaism. The Ebionite sect epitomizes this kinship and offers the vision of a tolerant compromise between both religions. The vision's eventual failure is attributed to dogmatic intransigence, which is why Abner praises the different faiths in his family; even his children are accustomed to the spontaneous practice of religious tolerance.[320]

Eventually, so as to be able to continue the tradition of his family and to hand down the testimonial narratives of his forebears to his son Nathan, Raphael seeks to recover them from the family tomb where he hid them during the siege of Jerusalem. Visiting the site of the conflagration, he encounters a woman dressed in white as she sings a song in the manner of the Lamentations of Jeremiah. Her lament, entitled "The Three Vigils,"[321] envisages a history of the Jews in the past but also projected into the future and divided into the three vigils evoked in its title. The first vigil is late antiquity; the second the medieval period, and, eventually, the early modern period which heralds a luminous new time in which it is permitted to Israel "To be *human* among *humans*."[322] In the elaboration of this second vigil, the singer anticipates the Edict of Emancipation (1782) under the Austrian emperor Joseph II, "Who from *blind madness* the *true* / And *humanity* from *faith* doth part."[323] The third vigil, fervently charting the progress of emancipation and attributed to the voice of God, eventually enthuses:

> Rejoice, exult, Jacob's seed,
> Go, tell of My glory!
> As one, as one My name doth ring
> Across the circle of the world;
> *Bright morn'* shall appear,
> Where man honours man,
> [Where] hearts with hearts unite,
> [Where] *faith* doth teach to *honour faith*![324]

The singer turns out to be the narrator's daughter who was lost in the turmoil of the destruction and its aftermath. Escaped from slavery, Abigail found refuge in the tomb and does penance for the wanton acts she was forced to perform as a slave. The young woman is portrayed like a hermit and she experiences visions of

320 See ibid., II, 83.

321 Ibid., II, 94–102: "Die drei Nachtwachen."

322 Ibid., II, 100: "Unter *Menschen Mensch* zu sein."

323 Ibid.: "Der vom *blinden Wahn* das *Wahre*, / *Menschlichkeit* vom *Glauben* trennt."

324 Ibid., II, 102: "Juble, jauchze, Jakob's Same, / Auf, verkünde meinen Preis! / Einig, einig klingt mein Name / Durch den ganzen Erdenkreis; / *Heller Morgen* wird erscheinen, / Wo der Mensch den Menschen ehrt, / Herzen sich mit Herzen einen, / *Glaube—Glauben achten* lehrt!"

King David prophesying to her "How great Israel [shall] be in its abasement, how noble in its dust!"[325]

When, some years later, Abigail is found dead by her father, he intriguingly describes her corpse in words associating Catholic hagiographic discourse: "a holy rapture radiated from her face, a pure angelic smile hovered on her lips."[326] Indeed, the Catholic associations are made even more explicit when Raphael exclaims: "may she be our intercessor with the Most High; she truly was a saint!"[327] These echoes of Marian discourse and the Catholic veneration of saints are difficult to categorize in relation to the otherwise decidedly Jewish perspective elaborated by Reckendorf. Perhaps the author sought to employ narrative patterns and religious concepts familiar to the Christian readers he envisaged for his novel in order to suggest an empathetic commonality. Conversely, he may have aimed to offer to his Jewish readers patterns of response to revaluate Judaism in competition with, but in the language of, Christianity.

The nodal significance accorded to the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple in the comprehensive historical conception articulated in Reckendorf's novel is emphasized through its being embedded between the controversial Fifth Sabbath and its appropriation of Jesus into Jewish discourse, by which it is preceded; and, subsequent to it, an account of the Bar Kokhba insurrection, which confirmed and cemented the loss of Jewish sovereignty, in the novella of the Seventh Sabbath, narrated by Nathan's son Salomo. Indicating a further interiorization of Jewish particularity and a withdrawal from political agency, this is followed in the narrative of the Eighth Sabbath with the adoption of the Christian calendar—this and all subsequent novellas are dated no longer according to the Jewish calendar, as are the previous stories, but "AD."[328] This was a decision unfavorably noted by one of the Jewish reviewers of the novel. David Asher felt that the compromises made by the author in an apologetic spirit in order to promote his vision of tolerance to Jewish and Christian readers alike in fact compromised his efforts.

325 Ibid., II, 105: "Wie groß wird Israel sein in seiner Erniedrigung, wie edel in seinem Staube!"
326 Ibid.: "eine heilige Verklärung lag auf ihrem Antlitze, ein engelreines Lächeln schwebte um ihre Lippen."
327 Ibid.: "möge sie unsere Fürbitterin beim Allerhöchsten sein; sie war wahrhaftig eine Heilige!"
328 See ibid., II, 140: "nach Christus."

Secrets of the Jews Unveiled

In order to advance his notion of tolerance, Reckendorf sought to elaborate a new perspective on Jewishness both from the inside and from the outside. In his afterword, the author therefore explicitly addressed an imagined Jewish and an imagined Christian readership. To the former, Reckendorf explained:

> Here, dear Jew and coreligionist, you are presented with an excerpt from the history of your nation from when the same lost its national sovereignty unto the most recent times; how the same twisted itself through the most varied circumstances and conditions of life, partly suffering and partly fighting; and, carrying the God of their fathers in their hearts, wearily continued to drag on its mostly miserable existence up to the present day, strengthened by its past, anxious about the present, apprehensive about the future![329]

Like Philippson's *Sepphoris und Rom* and his earlier "Der Flüchtling aus Jerusalem," *Die Geheimnisse der Juden* is very much an enquiry into the unlikely odds for the survival of the Jews and of Judaism after the destruction of Jerusalem.[330] Reckendorf gives expression to the precarious situation of the Jews with the concluding tricolon. It projects uncertainty on the present and the future but simultaneously—and programmatically, it seems, considering the trajectory of the novel as a whole—it emphasizes the empowering effect of the past; the past as history, that is: as consciously experienced by individuals and remembered collectively, and as an element of identity formation and nation-building.

At the same time, in the contemporary post-*Haskalah* period, Reckendorf's novel is a passionate plea for the continued fidelity to the faith which is represented as a cohesion-building factor across the millennia:

> Dear brother in faith! You resemble the wanderer of the fable, wrapped in his cloak; the cloak in which you are wrapped is the *faith of your father*, which shall be your continuous fellow on your earthly pilgrimage. The *gales of persecution* and the *sun of humanity* appear to have laid a wager between them which would first succeed in taking this cloak off you.

329 Ibid., V, 173: "Hier hast Du, lieber Jude und Glaubensgenosse, einen Auszug aus der Geschichte Deiner Nation, seit dieselbe ihre nationale Selbstständigkeit verlor, bis auf die neueste Zeit; wie dieselbe durch die verschiedensten Verhältnisse und Lebensstellungen theils duldend, theils kämpfend sich hindurchwand, und, den Gott ihrer Väter im Herzen tragend, gestärkt durch ihre Vergangenheit, beunruhigt in der Gegenwart, besorgt um die Zukunft, ihr größtentheils jammervolles Dasein bis auf den heutigen Tag mühsam hinschleppte!"

330 For the topic of Jewish survival in the novel as a whole, see Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, pp. 176–80.

> When the *first* gusted against you with the greatest fierceness, you wrapped it more and more tightly around your body; I wish that the latter shall not succeed in what the former failed to achieve![331]

Aesop's fable of "Sonne und Wind" ("The North Wind and the Sun") was widely disseminated in Germany since the late eighteenth century in particular through its translation by August Gottlieb Meißner. In the fable, the wanderer indeed divests himself of his coat in the sun's warmth, proving its superior strength. Its moral suggests that gentleness and kind persuasion prevail where force and bluster fail.[332] Reckendorf truncates the fable. His moral is a different one; it warns the wanderer of discarding his cloak and losing the comfort it provides.

Arguably the fable, as modified by Reckendorf, may also evoke the figure of the Wandering Jew who in contemporary visual representations is frequently provided with the attribute of the cloak. It is reminiscent, for instance, of the eponymous figure in Gustave Doré's series of twelve wood engravings illustrating the legend and published in the previous year (1856); or, based on a design by the same artist, in Louis Paul Pierre Dumont's infamous earlier woodcut of 1852.[333] As such, Reckendorf's creative use of the fable and its central metaphor suggests, at least implicitly, also a reinterpretation of the legend of Christian origin. It is predicated not on the alleged guilt of the exile but on the resilience of his faith and is thus turned from negative to positive. It is, at the same time, also an admonition to remain true to the faith despite the contemporary temptations of emancipation and assimilation.

Yet Reckendorf's novel is explicitly targeted not only at his coreligionists but also at the Christian majority:

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331 Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, V, 174: "Lieber Glaubensbruder! Du gleichst dem in seinen Mantel gehüllten Wanderer in der Fabel; der Mantel, in den Du gehüllt bist, ist Dein *väterlicher Glaube*, der Dein fortwährender Begleiter auf Deiner irdischen Pilgerreise sein soll. Die *Stürme der Verfolgung* und die *Sonne der Humanität* scheinen mit einander gewettet zu haben, wem es eher gelingen würde, Dir jenen Mantel abzunehmen. Als *erstere* Dich in ihrer größten Heftigkeit ansausten, schlangst Du Dir denselben immer fester um den Leib; ich wünsche, daß letzterer Dasjenige nicht gelinge, was erstere nicht vermochten!"

332 See August Gottlieb Meißner, *Aesopische Fabeln für die Jugend* (Prag and Leipzig: Schönfeld-Meißner, 1791), pp. 119–20; see p. 120: "Zehnmal sichrer würken Milde und Freundlichkeit, als Ungestüm und Strenge."

333 See Gustave Doré, *La Légende du juif errant* (Paris: Lévy, 1856) and, for Dumont's woodcut, Eduard Fuchs, *Die Juden in der Karikatur: Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte* (Munich: Langen, 1921), following on p. 144; see also the cover illustration. As would certainly have been known to Reckendorf, the subject was also treated by Sue in his *Le Juif errant* (1844–45; *The Wandering Jew*).

> Here you are presented, dear Christian and fellow human being, with the history of a people which has been dignified by the Lord to receive the *first* revelation, the foundation also of *yours*, from whose midst the founder of *your* faith went forth![334]

Where Reckendorf initially addresses the Jews as his coreligionists, and thus situates himself unambiguously within their community, he now addresses the Christians as fellow human beings, which additionally positions him—and every other Jew—in a superordinate relationship with them as well. In both instances, the author invokes religious communities with their own conventions of inclusion and exclusion, which, in the past, had been at odds with one another. Yet in the case of the latter, which historically appears as the oppressor of the former, the religious identification is superseded by a conception of universal humanity which is designed to remove the sting of intolerance from the interaction between both and, in the process, to promote equality.

David Asher expressed his doubts about the novel's appeal to its intended readership in conjunction with his reservations about its amalgamation of fact and fiction, which he considered detrimental to its usefulness in particular to the Christian reader. He suggested

> that any Christian who wishes to instruct himself in the history of the Jews should hardly be content to limit himself to an adaptation of it in which he will first need to sift fiction from fact, a distinction which, despite the inclusion of references which highlight the latter, is not always palpable.[335]

With respect to the Jewish reader, echoing the gendered approach already pursued by Menzel who maintained that the novel as a genre was mostly addressed to the 'weaker sex' and younger readers for entertainment,[336] Asher anticipated the historical dimension to be more relevant for a female and adolscent readership, for whom he envisaged "a novelistic representation of the history of their people" to be "well suited at least initially to raise in them an interest in it."[337]

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334 Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, V, 174: "Hier hast Du, lieber Christ und Nebenmensch, die Geschichte eines Volkes, welches von Gott der *ersten* Offenbarung, der Grundlage der *Deinigen*, gewürdigt wurde, aus dessen Mitte *Dein* Glaubensstifter hervorging!"

335 Asher, "Stimmen aus dem Judenthum," 180: "ich glaube jedoch, daß der Christ, der sich speziell über die Geschichte der Juden belehren will, sich kaum mit einer Bearbeitung derselben begnügen könne, wo er erst Dichtung und Wahrheit zu sichten hat, was trotz der durch Quellenangabe bei letzterer hervorgehobenen Unterscheidung nicht immer deutlich ist."

336 See M[enzel], "Romane," 92.

337 Asher, "Stimmen aus dem Judenthum," 180–1: "Für das weibliche Geschlecht und die Jugend dürfte eine novellistische Darstellung der Geschichte ihres Volkes, wenigstens um zunächst ein Interesse für dieselbe in ihnen wach zu rufen, ganz geeignet sein."

The emphasis on young readers in particular is a recurrent motif in reflections on historical fiction in the Jewish context. In contrast to its German counterpart, the Jewish historical novel was from its inception mainly directed at a young readership. This has been explained by Ben-Ari with the educational background of many of its authors who, in the wake of the *Haskalah*, sought to elicit in the younger generation a new attitude toward the Jewish past and future.[338] At the same time, historical fiction—as a manifestation of the tendency poesy deplored by Hirsch and Lehmann—offered a vehicle for the surreptitious dissemination of such new ideas, which might otherwise have been rejected without hesitation in traditional circles.[339]

Reckendorf did not specifically target his novel at a particular age group[340] nor gender. Nevertheless, when the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* concluded that in its present form the novel was unsuitable for young readers, it severely contested its general appeal.[341] Asher likewise cautioned against exposing a young (male) readership to the novel. "How," he fretted, "should a father be able to hand a book to his son in which such reprehensible principles are articulated as those which the writer attributes at the end of the first part to the high priest Caiaphas?"[342] The high priest, his face taking on a malicious and mischievous expression, articulates there as the main maxim of his policy: "Appear to be pious, take much, give little, be friendly and indulgent towards the rich, proud and relentless towards the poor!"[343] Reckendorf's Caiaphas, represented in the words of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* not so much the image of the high priest promoted through the New Testament, but offered

> the successful portrait of an Italian or Hispanic cleric of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, when all the world clamoured for a reformation of the head and limbs of the Church and partially implemented it too.[344]

338 See Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, p. 9.

339 See ibid.

340 See ibid., p. 151.

341 See Dr. M., "Die Geheimnisse der Juden, von Herrmann Reckendorf," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 22.15 (April 5, 1858): 201–2, 202.

342 Asher, "Stimmen aus dem Judenthum," 181: "aber wie soll der Vater seinem Sohne ein Buch in die Hand geben, wo solche verwerfliche Grundsätze ausgesprochen werden, wie die, welche der Verfasser am Ende des ersten Theils in den Mund des Hohepriesters Kaiphas legt?"

343 Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, I, 157–8: "Scheine fromm, nimm viel, gib wenig, sei freundlich und nachsichtig gegen Reiche, stolz und unerbittlich gegen Arme!"

344 Dr. M., "Geheimnisse der Juden," 202: "das wohlgelungene Portrait eines italienischen oder hispanischen Pfaffen aus dem 15. oder 16. Jahrhundert, als alle Welt nach einer Reformation der Kirche an Haupt und Gliedern schrie und sie theilweise auch durchführte."

It is indeed the fear of an impending reformation initiated by Jesus which motivates the high priest in the novel as he responds to the concerns voiced by a group of advisers who are concspicuously drawn according to stereotypes of eastern European Jews.[345] Their farcical scheme of eavesdropping on Jesus in a tavern disguised as women results not only in their receiving bloody noses in a brawl that is quickly settled as Jesus enters, but reveals the Galilean exclusively as a social reformer. The parables of the prodigal son and the good Samaritan he tells to his spellbound audience elicit their social criticism which is extended to the hypocrisy and bigotry of the priesthood and, implicitly, of the high priest.[346]

With respect to the male Jewish reader, whose interest in the history of their people Asher apparently takes for granted, the critic was more concerned about the ideological harm he expected the novel to do:

> The Jew, in turn, even if he utilises the work for entertainment rather than instruction, shall, in my estimation, not always be able to draw satisfaction from the opinions of the writer; he may, in fact, frequently even be misled by them.[347]

Geheimnisse der Juden thus not only seems to offer insider knowledge of the Jews to the gentiles, but conversely appears to offer to the Jews knowledge external to, and not compliant with, their own religious system. Asher's way of articulating his reservations is intriguing, because it suggests the seductive power of the literary text against the reader's better judgment, evolving from not being satisfied to being misled.

In order to bridge the divide between Jews and Christians, Reckendorf makes a unilateral offer of disseminating knowledge of the seemingly mysterious—and therefore implicitly menacing—Jewish other through the vehicle of his novel. Ben-Ari suggests, however, that the candor Reckendorf exhibits toward his imaginary Christian readers is only a pose. She suspects that the author's real objective was to mediate to the Jewish reader new images of Jewishness and of their Christian environment at a time when emancipatory progress necessitated for contemporary Jews the renegotiation of their relationship with Christians in the past and in the present.[348] To address Christian readers, as Ben-Ari argues, may then have had the function of repositioning the Jews and Judaism in relation to Christians and Christianity by creating in the course of the narrative in the Jewish reader a

345 See Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, II, 3–5.

346 See ibid., II, 18–21; see also Luke 15:11–32 and 10:30–37.

347 Asher, "Stimmen aus dem Judenthum," 180: "der Jude aber wird, nach meinem Dafürhalten, wenn er das Werk auch mehr zur Unterhaltung als Belehrung benutzt, mit den Ansichten des Verfassers nicht immer zufrieden sein können, ja oft von ihnen irre geleitet werden."

348 See Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, pp. 151–2.

sense of pride in their national past, and by positing their spiritual equality, on which basis alone a meaningful engagement with Christianity becomes possible.[349]

Between Apology and Affirmation

Whether or not Reckendorf was serious about his invitation to Christian readers; that it was nevertheless taken at face value by his contemporaries is reflected not only in the reviews in *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* and *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, which, from an explicitly Jewish perspective register a certain discomfort at the writer's apologetic stance, but also in Sebastian Brunner's Catholic *Wiener Kirchenzeitung* where the offer was rejected with loathing.[350]

With the avowed intention of making the Jewish other known and, by imparting this knowledge, of creating the majority culture's understanding and forebearance toward it, Reckendorf departs from Sue's socio-historical approach in *Les Mystères du peuple*, which was primarily motivated with making visible the invisible history of the lower classes. Emphasizing the sincerity of his venture, the Jewish writer proposes instead to reveal the innermost secrets of his people, both good and bad:

> The title, "*Mysteries*," which I conferred on the present work, is no mere aping of Sue; I rather chose it because in my endeavour I was led by the intention of representing to the eye of the audience of a different faith the *interior* and *religious* life of my nation, its *bright* and *dark sides*, its struggles and errors.[351]

By the time of the publication of Reckendorf's novel, the Jewish other in Germany had long been considered secretive, a perception aided by religious difference, enduring discrimination, and, more specifically, the alleged use of Yiddish as a secret, or "hidden," language.[352]

349 See ibid., p. 152.

350 See [Sebastian Brunner], "Geheimnisse," *Wiener Kirchenzeitung* 11.19 (May 12, 1858): 289–90.

351 Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, V, 175: "Der Titel '*Geheimnisse*,' welchen ich gegenwärtigem Werke beilege, ist keine bloße Nachäfferei Sue's, ich wählte denselben vielmehr darum, weil mich bei meinem Vorhaben die Tendenz leitete, das *innere* und *religiöse* Leben meiner Nation, deren *Licht-* und *Schattenseiten*, ihre Kämpfe und Verirrungen dem Auge des andersgläubigen Publicums darzustellen."

352 Initially, since early Christianity, Hebrew was perceived as a hidden language, see Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred*, pp. 23–4; but "by the beginning of the eighteenth century the idea that the Jews

As noted by Jeffrey Grossman, there was, in Germany, a "long tradition of exploring Yiddish as a means for obtaining knowledge about Jewish culture and behavior" with the aim to "order and control Jewish society" within the wider framework of German society.[353] As early as the late seventeenth century, knowledge of Yiddish was promoted, mainly to aid non-Jews in protecting themselves against alleged Jewish deception and, as discussed in the preceding chapter, to support missionary endeavors; increasingly, knowledge of Yiddish—which significantly informed *Rotwelsch* (thieves' cant)—was moreover perceived to offer protection of the established order and the state against criminal or subversive activities and was, not least, supposed to be profitable in business dealings with Jews.[354]

Reckendorf was certainly aware of these implications. While adopting a by then more or less generic title for his novel, the Jewish writer's offer of unreservedly unveiling the alleged mysteries of his people in a novel written in German was obviously calculated to play on non-Jewish curiosity about the mysterious Jewish other as well as anxieties and suspicions projected onto the Jews. Moreover, the practice of imitating Sue, whose serially published *Les Mystères de Paris* (1842–43; *The Mysteries of Paris*) was an immediate success which the French author repeated about a decade later with his *Mystères du peuple*, was indeed rampant in the mid-nineteenth century all over Europe and has been referred to as "mysterymania."[355]

The alignment of Reckendorf's novel with this proliferating literary fashion that was deplored by Philippson in *Jüdisches Volksblatt* was critically noted in the rather polemic review of *Geheimnisse der Juden* in the *Wiener Kirchenzeitung*. It not only emphasized the frequently anti-Jesuit bias of these novels in the wake of Sue, but scathingly singled out the alleged Jewish heritage of Eugène Briffault, the author of *Le Secret de Rome au XIXe siècle* (1846; The Secret of Rome in the Nineteenth Century), otherwise known in particular as a bon-vivant and theater critic; it denounced the text with an implicit racist slur as "flea market poesy."[356] By emphasizing Reckendorf's Jewishness and by situating his *Geheimnisse der Juden*

possessed a language in which they were able to conceal their evils had come to refer to Yiddish," see p. 76.

353 Jeffrey A. Grossman, *The Discourse on Yiddish in Germany: From the Enlightenment to the Second Empire* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2000), pp. 152, 118.

354 See ibid., pp. 118–31.

355 See Berry Palmer Chevasco, *Mysterymania: The Reception of Eugène Sue in Britain 1838–1860* (Oxford: Lang, 2003).

356 [Brunner], "Geheimnisse," 289: "Trödelmarktpoesie." See, e.g., Eugène Briffault, *Die Geheimnisse von Rom im neunzehnten Jahrhundert: Schattenseiten aus dem Volks-, Hof- und Kirchenleben*, transl. Heinrich Bode, 3 vols (Leipzig: Klemm, 1846) and, for the original, *Le Secret de Rome au XIXe siècle: Le Peuple, la cour, l'Eglise*, 3 vols (Paris: Boizard, 1846). Bode was the author of *Das*

within this literary fashion, Brunner implicitly associated it, too, with the stigma of "flea market poesy." More specifically, the Catholic critic censured the novel's "poetical idealisation" of the Jews and its alleged "Jewish fanaticism."[357] Yet the priest and theologian, notorious for his anti-Jewish bias,[358] was even more suspicious of what he perceived to be the author's retrospective attempt to ingratiate himself with his Christian readers. He decried as "*perfidious*" the novel's conciliatory objective emphasized in Reckendorf's afterword;[359] at the same time, he took issue with the largely positive review of *Geheimnisse der Juden* in *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, which he erroneously attributed to its editor, Ludwig Philippson.

The liberal ideas of the rabbi, writer, and editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* were not well received in Austria. In the multinational state, membership in his Institute for the Promotion of Israelite Literature had been prohibited already in 1855, and in autumn 1858, not long after the publication of Brunner's review, Philippson was banned from Austrian territory while on a journey through the North of Italy.[360] Suggesting Philippson's malicious influence on Reckendorf, Brunner lashed out at what he denounced as the liberal rabbi's endorsement of a devious and deceitful tolerance:

> For Reckendorf has all in all nevertheless instigated and exposed so much enmity and hatred towards Christianity that Philippson, the charming master, fragrant with the blossom of tolerance, may without further ado communicate to him his caiaphacerbic contentment.[361]

The Catholic critic's ire may have been aroused in particular by Reckendorf's attempt to reappraise historical Jewish suffering at the hands of Christians, in relation to which he makes a momentous distinction between Protestant and Catholic.

As Ben-Ari has shown, in the novel as a whole, the Jewish writer sought to indict in particular the Catholic Church for the historical persecution of the

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Innere der Gesellschaft Jesu (Leipzig: Wigand, 1845) which sought to document the internal constitution of the Jesuit order.

357 [Brunner], "Geheimnisse," 289: "poetische Verklärung [. . .] jüdischen Fanatismus." The article was also reprinted in the *Beilage zur Augsburger Postzeitung* (May 27, 1858): 463.

358 See DLL (1969), II, cols 177–81, col. 178.

359 [Brunner], "Geheimnisse," 289: "*perfid.*"

360 See above in this chapter, note 20.

361 [Brunner], "Geheimnisse," 290: "Reckendorf hat nämlich im Ganzen auch doch so viel Feindschaft und Haß gegen das Christenthum los- und bloßgelegt, daß Philippson, der liebreiche, nach der Toleranzblume duftige Meister, demselben ohneweiters seine kaiphäßliche Zufriedenheit mittheilen kann."

Jews.[362] Aware of the controversial potential of his venture, Reckendorf asserted in his afterword with special reference to the medieval, hence Catholic, period: "I attacked Christianity only in as far as it conducted itself as an oppressor of Judaism and, through this practice, deviated from the mild, humanitarian spirit of its founder."[363] This is not only an implicit admonition of the Christians of his own day but also an indictment of the alleged historical perversion of the 'true' Christian faith. When Reckendorf then adds that he omitted any further reference to the Reformation and its promoters because these "had not the least influence on the fate of the Jews and Judaism,"[364] this is a blatant attempt to construe a proximity between Judaism and Protestantism that is supposedly untainted by discrimination.[365] It is also, at least tacitly, a positioning of Judaism and the Jews in relation to the incipient *Kulturkampf*; it aligns them with Protestantism, which was the predominant denomination in Prussia and the northern German states.

The author's apologetic approach was sternly censured by the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*. Initialled Dr. M., the review that Brunner erroneously attributed to Philippson castigated what the critic disparaged as Reckendorf's laudable but specious attempt to tender to his readers notions of religious tolerance and universal altruism,[366] because he felt that such an approach disavowed real differences and belittled the extent of historical persecution. More specifically, the reviewer complained in this context about the representation of Jewish characters in the novel. Rather than being realistic, they were in some instances perceived to have been drawn all too negatively in a spurious attempt to appease Christian sensibilities and thereby were supposed to accede to and perpetuate pernicious stereotypes.

Perhaps even more contentious within the Jewish context was Reckendorf's treatment of history. The *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* emphasized not so much the sensationalist aspect of the novel's participation in the contemporary mysterymania; rather, it more soberly categorized it as a historical novel with the function of popularizing significant historical episodes. As such, the choice of rep-

362 See Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, pp. 153, 189.

363 Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, V, 177: "ich [griff] das Christenthum nur in sofern [an], als es als Unterdrücker des Judenthums auftrat, und durch dieses Verfahren von dem milden, menschenfreundlichen Geiste seines Stifters abwich."

364 Ibid.: "auf die Geschicke des Judenthums nicht den geringsten Einfluß hatten." For a historical perspective on Jewish and Christian relations during, and as a result of, the Reformation, see, e.g., *Jews, Judaism, and the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, eds Dean Phillip Bell and Stephen G. Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

365 See Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, p. 153.

366 Dr. M., "Geheimnisse der Juden," 201. I have not been able to determine the identity of Dr. M; Horch, *Auf der Suche nach der jüdischen Erzählliteratur*, also offers no explanation.

resentative historical events and the method of harmonizing fact and fiction in the historical narrative gained even more significance.

Reckendorf had explained in his afterword his practice of mixing fact and fiction and that, with the addition of footnotes, he sought to aid his reader in separating the two again.[367] The author's adoption of what was, in effect, the historical-critical method was strongly criticized by the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*. It deplored that, where authentic Jewish sources were not available, the author resorted to fiction and to non-Jewish historical sources. The reliability of any material of this sort seemed suspect to the critic, though he conceded to have observed the same dubious practice also in recent historiography.[368]

Reckendorf's approach, to some extent mirroring that of contemporary Jewish historians such as Jost and Graetz, was the product of a new understanding of Jewish history in the wake of the *Haskalah* and *Wissenschaft des Judenthums*.[369] Congenial to the objectives of Reform ideology,[370] the historical-critical method was indeed highly controversial in contemporary Jewish historiography. By subjecting sacred texts to the same critical scrutiny as secular texts and considering sources of non-Jewish provenance,[371] it not only divested Scripture of its claim to absolute authority but also admitted external perceptions of the Jews and Judaism to its critically reflected scholarly enquiry. In particular, they—like Reckendorf's novel—implemented a revaluation of exile and thus also of the destruction of the Second Temple as a pivotal occurrence.[372]

Reckendorf's choice of nodal occurrences from the history of the Jewish people, which was complemented in the novel's sequel with the history of the intervening seven decades from the conclusion of *Geheimnisse der Juden* to the pres-

367 See Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, V, 175. For Reckendorf's use of footnotes, see Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, p. 158.

368 See Dr. M., "Geheimnisse der Juden," 202.

369 See Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, p. 180. It is significant in this context that Reckendorf referred to both Jost and Graetz, whose ideological differences were palpable and reflected a significant "turning point in the history of German Jewish Wissenschaft" in the 1840s with the emergence of a conservative bloc, see Schorsch, *From Text to Context*, p. 278. Jost, "the historian of the radical wing of the Berlin *Haskalah*," was of the first generation of thinkers of the *Wissenschaft des Judenthums* and his *Geschichte der Israeliten* has been described as the "first major achievement of the turn to Wissenschaft," ibid., p. 185. Graetz, in contrast, "challenged the proponents of Reform with their own weapons. His reading and writing of Jewish history were born of opposition and his scholarship was shaped by the determination to provide an alternative view of Jewish history, which would invalidate the claims of the Reform movement to historical legitimacy," ibid., p. 279.

370 See Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, p. 164.

371 See ibid., pp. 160, 164.

372 See ibid., pp. 168–9, 173.

ent,[373] projects nineteenth-century conceptions onto the respective historical eras, as was critically observed by Menzel of the historical novel in general.[374] Yet at the same time the author develops modern ideas from his construction of the past in order to legitimize new values.[375] As Ben-Ari suggests, Reckendorf attributes topical relevance to the situation of the Jews during the period of the Second Temple compared to that of contemporary Jews.[376] In the context of the novel as a whole, this imbues the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple with particular significance as a pivotal occurrence because it necessitated and facilitated the development of new identification patterns and the search for new commonalities which produce cohesion among vastly different Jewish communities as they are described across the historical and geographical range of the text as a whole. Reckendorf's objective to represent the Jewish people through its dispersal as unified is, in effect, an articulation of the conception of history promoted by *Wissenschaft des Judenthums*.[377]

The choice of the historical episodes included in the novel supports such a construction of Jewish cohesion. Within their sequence, the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple gains pivotal significance, not, as in Christianity, for the triumphant emergence of a new religious order; but because the new order Judaism developed after the incisive occurrences is supposed to have failed. The destruction of the Temple did not instigate the return to Mosaic Judaism but resulted in the development of rabbinic Judaism, which is presented by Reckendorf, in correspondence with the objectives of Jewish Reform, as ossified and inhibiting.[378]

Ben-Ari suggests that, from a Jewish persepective, the author's periodization and choice of those epochs he considered to be representative of the history of the Jewish people offer an echo of a controversy within Jewish historiography of the nineteenth century.[379] Ultimately, Reckendorf projects a new Jewish identity informed by a shared past, a shared cultural heritage, and a shared fate and destiny, or mission.[380] Yet he offers an alternative imaginary of Jews in order to

373 See Reckendorf, *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten*.

374 See M[enzel], "Romane," 109.

375 See Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, pp. 156–7.

376 See ibid., p. 157.

377 See ibid., p. 167.

378 See ibid., p. 165. Reckendorf echoes the anti-rabbinism of Jost and Zunz, see Schorsch, *From Text to Context*, pp. 243–4, 307 which, in turn, originates in a strong anticlerical and anti-rabbinic movement since the late eighteenth century, see pp. 26–7; Graetz, in turn, imbued rabbinism with a "positive valence," see ibid., p. 191.

379 See Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, p. 164.

380 See ibid., p. 168.

counter the prevalent imaginary determined by negative stereotypes and prejudices,[381] a programmatic objective common to most Jewish historical novels, no matter whether they originate in the Reform or neo-Orthodox milieus.[382]

The Denominationalization of Judaism and its Self-Assertive Proximity to Protestantism

To Reckendorf's contemporaries, the most controversial section of the novel was probably the reading of the Fifth Sabbath, which is entitled "Der Leibgurt" ("The Girdle").[383] The eponymous object is said to have been worn by Jesus and to have been acquired by the novella's narrator, Tobias, after the crucifixion. Tobias briefly relates the capture of Jesus, who is represented as one of the "most noble and excellent men ever to walk the earth."[384] As such, presumably influenced by the contemporary interest in the historical Jesus, the text articulates a retrospective Jewish acknowledgment of Jesus as a man and, importantly, as a Jew. It accordingly offers the re-appropriation of Jesus of Nazareth to the Jewish people and to Jewish history, even as it challenges the supposed myth of Christian provenance that accrued around the historical figure. It is simultaneously also another articulation of tolerance, which may be meant to be either admonitory or apologetic, or—more likely—both: "He [i.e., Jesus] knew the infirmities of his nation and wanted to remedy them, but his contemporaries did not understand him; posterity will know how to appreciate him."[385] This conveys the implicit instruction to act in accordance with the teachings of Jesus, but in a purely ethical understanding that excludes the notion of the Galilean's alleged divinity.

Reckendorf suggests the inherently close relationship between Christians and Jews, which is predicated on the Jewish origins of Jesus and the emergence of Christianity from Judaism. In this context, the writer reiterates arguments current in particular in contemporary Protestantism and harking back to Martin Luther. In *Dass Jesus Christus ein geborener Jude sei* (1523; *That Jesus Christ was Born a Jew*), the reformer had emphasized the Jewish origins of Jesus in conjunc-

381 See ibid., p. 191.

382 See ibid., p. 170.

383 See Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, I, 148–60 and II, 3–22.

384 Ibid., II, 22: "edelsten und vortrefflichsten Männer, die je auf dem Erdboden gewandelt haben."

385 Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, II, 22: "Er [i.e., Jesus] kannte die Gebrechen seiner Nation und wollte ihnen abhelfen, seine Zeitgenossen aber verstanden ihn nicht; die Nachzeit wird ihn zu würdigen wissen."

tion with his early, but later abandoned, endorsement of a mission to the Jews.[386] As discussed in more detail in the preceding fourth chapter of this study, the awareness of the Jewish origins of Jesus and the notion of the continued soteriological significance of the Jews were especially strong in the Protestant Pietist and Awakening movements originating in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in the resulting mission to the Jews, which gained momentum in the first half of the nineteenth century.[387] Though not majority movements, the imaginary of the Jews disseminated by these initiatives was nevertheless very influential in the Protestant milieu and thus also in German bourgeois society as a whole.[388]

Adopting Christian and, more specifically, Protestant discourse, which understood the Jews to be witnesses to the divine plan of salvation, Reckendorf describes the Jews as "living evidence" also of the Christian faith.[389] On the basis of this special relationship, he reminds the Christian readers of his novel, that they have the opportunity—and, implicitly, the responsibility—to "redress the injustice perpetrated by your fathers."[390] In an emancipationist spirit of enlightenment and tolerance, the writer evokes "amicable behaviour and brotherly kindness" as the principles of Jewish-Christian interaction.[391]

As an example of this, mentioned in the narrative of the Sixth Sabbath, Reckendorf addresses with the historical precedent of the Ebionites a historical practice which was of contemporary resonance within the context of the Christian mission to the Jews. The Pietist movement in particular sought to promote Jewish conversion by preserving "the Jewish identity of converts even after their baptism, by forming Jewish-Christian communities to accommodate them."[392] Though not very successful, these endeavors nevertheless serve as an important

386 For the context of Luther's pamphlet, see Thomas Kaufmann, *Luthers "Judenschriften": Ein Beitrag zu ihrer historischen Kontextualisierung*, 2nd edn (2011; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), pp. 13–42; for the significance of the text to nineteenth-century Protestantism and the mission to the Jews, see Hanns Christof Brennecke, "Die Rezeption von Luthers 'Judenschriften' in Erweckungsbewegung und Konfessionalismus," in *Martin Luthers "Judenschriften": Die Rezeption im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, eds Harry Oelke et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), pp. 85–105 and Vogt, "Connectedness in Hope," p. 88.

387 See, e.g., Brennecke, "Die Rezeption von Luthers 'Judenschriften'"; see also Heinrichs, "Juden als ideelle Hoffnungs- und Heilsträger," 216–17.

388 See, e.g., ibid., 217.

389 Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, V, 174: "die lebenden Beweisträger." See also Heinrichs, "Juden als ideelle Hoffnungs- und Heilsträger," 221.

390 Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, V, 174: "Du hast Gelegenheit in Händen, das begangene Unrecht Deiner Väter gut zu machen."

391 Ibid.: "freundschaftliches Betragen und brüderliches Entgegenkommen."

392 Lutz Greisinger, "Israel in the Church and the Church in Israel: The Formation of Jewish Christian Communities as a Proselytising Strategy within and outside the German Pietist Mission

reminder of the ambivalence of the ways in which Christians, more precisely Protestants, sought to relate to Jews in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Yet, as Reckendorf suggests in his narrative with the rejection of the Ebionites by the followers of Pauline doctrine, it should also be remembered that these endeavors were ultimately articulations of a no more than superficially tolerant attitude; they were always predicated on the acceptance by the Jews of Jesus as the prophesied Messiah.

The representation of Jesus as a Jew in the novel and, in distilled form in its afterword, is ambivalent and was, as emphasized by Ben-Ari, an attempt to renegotiate Jewish attitudes toward Christianity that was highly controversial with respect to internal Jewish divisions.[393] It is effectively a reappropriation, or 'ingathering,' of the historical Jesus and his ethical principles to Jewish history;[394] yet it implies at the same time the continued rejection of his supposed divinity, which is not mentioned even once in the narrative of the Fifth Sabbath.[395]

It should be no surprise that the Fifth Sabbath which encompasses, after all, the initial confrontation between Judaism and Christianity—which the writer sought to defuse with his ingathering of the 'Jewish' Jesus—was criticized by both Jewish and Christian voices though, or perhaps precisely because, Reckendorf tried to be as conciliatory as possible. The *Wiener Kirchenzeitung*, for instance, rejected with disgust the mere notion of the representation of a historical Jewish Jesus in the novel: "Of the way in which the Lord and Saviour is described there, *in which society* he appears—we rather prefer to *keep silent*."[396]

The chapter of the Fifth Sabbath was firmly rejected also by the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*. In fact, its reviewer strongly recommended that Reckendorf thoroughly revise the first volume of his novel and the continuation of the Fifth Sabbath in the second; only then, the critic suggested, would the novel be suitable for young Jewish readers.[397] Asher, too, was concerned about the potential repercussions of the novel's endorsement of tolerance. He felt that it appeared

to the Jews of the Eighteenth Century," in *Pietism and Community in Europe and North America, 1650–1850*, ed. Jonathan Strom (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 129–53.

393 See Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, p. 155.

394 See ibid., pp. 155, 187.

395 See ibid., p. 187.

396 [Brunner], "Geheimnisse," 289: "Wie da der Herr und Heiland geschildert wird, *in welcher Gesellschaft* er erscheint—darüber wollen wir lieber *schweigen*."

397 See Dr. M., "Geheimnisse der Juden," 202.

as if the author were "flirting" with Christianity and that an Orthodox Jewish reader might well suspect him of being a missionary in disguise.[398]

Throughout the novel, and in condensed form in the afterword, Reckendorf implicitly advocates a rapprochement in particular of Protestantism and of Judaism and the Jews. For this, the historically more liberal attitude of Protestantism toward Judaism offered a precedent. One significant, though ambivalent, point of the intersection between Protestantism and Judaism was the perception of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple. In particular since the Enlightenment, but with its origins in the Reformation, in the Protestant liturgical year, the tenth Sunday after Trinity served to commemorate the destruction of Jerusalem. Usually in August, in close proximity to *Tisha b'Av*, a history of the occurrence, which was frequently also included in hymnals, would be read in church.[399] In addition, the pericope of Luke 19:41–48 determined that the sermon on this so-called *Judensonntag* (Jews' Sunday) would be delivered on the prophecy of Jesus about the destruction of Jerusalem. From 1853 onward, offertories collected on this day frequently accrued to the various societies engaging in the mission to the Jews,[400] a practice ironically commented on by the Jewish Reformer Abraham Geiger who noted: "In many churches we [i.e., the Jews] will certainly have been remembered yesterday in the most tender terms."[401] Initially intended to exhort Christian parishioners with the historical example of divine punishment, the association of the *Judensonntag* with the mission to the Jews suggests the perception of a strong connection between the acknowledgment of the destruction of Jerusalem and the attempt to return the Jews to the fold of the Lord by their conversion.[402]

In his afterword, Reckendorf gave expression to the hope for a messianic time of reconciliation, but he does not envision the conversion of the Jews:

> *May the seed of religious tolerance and universal altruism, which I meant to disseminate with this my endeavour, take root in the minds of my valued readers and grow into a magnificent, universally uplifting fruit!* May each one of us seek to bring about through humane attitudes the happy messianic time of which it is said (Isaiah 2:2–4): "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the moun-

398 See Asher, "Stimmen aus dem Judenthum," 181: "liebäugelt"; see also 182.

399 See Mildenberger, *Israelsonntag*, pp. 5, 66. For the gradual substitution of the term *Judensonntag* with *Israelsonntag* after 1945, see pp. 76–82.

400 See ibid., p. 70.

401 Abraham Geiger, "Literaturbericht aus dem Jahre 1853," in *Nachgelassene Schriften*, ed. Ludwig Geiger, 5 vols (Berlin: Gerschel, 1875), II, 275–369, 322: "In vielen Kirchen ist gestern sicher unser [i.e., the Jews] und unserer Blindheit in den zartesten Ausdrücken gedacht worden."

402 See Mildenberger, *Israelsonntag*, p. 5.

> tains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of *Zion* shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem!"[403]

As Ben-Ari notes, Reckendorf's emphasis on these verses from Isaiah echoes Jost's appreciation of the same passage, in which the historian suggested that it most clearly articulated the pure faith and new mission of the Jewish people.[404] No less important, as mentioned above, the messianic passages of Isaiah were frequently also used in the Pietist mission to the Jews in order to emphasize the common ground of Judaism and Christianity and then, however, to direct the interpretation of the prophecy toward Christian soteriology in an attempt to initiate Jewish conversion. As will be discussed below, such attempts were explicitly ridiculed by Reckendorf in *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten*, the sequel to *Geheimnisse der Juden*. In his earlier novel, the author simply reversed the Christian reconfiguration of the Old Testament prophecy. It is once more reconfigured, when Reckendorf adds, in conclusion of his afterword, two more quotations from Isaiah, which evoke the Kingdom of Peace and the knowledge of God on earth as the result of the Jewish mission:

> And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more, [. . .] for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea![405]

403 Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, V, 177–8: "*Möge der Same der religiösen Duldsamkeit und der allgemeinen Nächstenliebe, welchen ich mit diesem meinem Unternehmen auszustreuen gedachte, in den Gemüthern meiner geehrten Leser feste Wurzel fassen, und zur herrlichen, allgemein erquickenden Frucht gedeihen!* Möge jeder Einzelne von uns sich bestreben, durch menschenfreundliche Gesinnungen jene glückliche, messianische Zeit herbeizuführen, von welcher es heißt (Jesaias 2, 2–4): 'Und es wird sein in der späten Zukunft, wird der Tempelberg Gottes fest begründet stehen an der Spitze der Berge, und erhaben über alle Hügel, und alle Völker werden ihm zuströmen; und es werden gehen viele Völker und sagen: Kommet, wir wollen hinaufsteigen zum Berge Gottes, zum Tempel des Gottes Jakob's, damit er uns lehre seine Wege und wir wandeln in seinen Pfaden, denn von *Zion* geht die Lehre aus und das Wort Gottes von Jerusalem!'"

404 See Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, p. 173.

405 See Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, V, 178: "Und er wird richten zwischen den Völkern und entscheiden zwischen den vielen Nationen; und sie werden umwetzen ihre Schwerter zu Sicheln und ihre Speere zu Jäthauen. Kein Volk wird gegen das andere das Schwert erheben, und man wird nicht mehr Kriegskunst lernen (ebendaselbst 11, 9), denn voll wird die Erde der Erkenntniß Gottes sein, wie Wasser das Meer bedeckt!" See Isaiah 2:4, 11:9.

In the Sixth Sabbath, in contrast to his ancestor who witnessed the first destruction of Jerusalem, Raphael—imitating, but effectively reconfiguring Christian discourse, which in turn is a reconfiguration of Jewish discourse (Isaiah)—articulates the notion of the mission not *to*, but *of*, the Jews:

> *he* [i.e., Raphael's ancestor] saw an *earthly*, yet *I* see a *spiritual* Jerusalem rebuilt, a new Zion, from which the Law and the Word of God shall go forth into all the world, a Zion, which shall defy all the gales of the times and all tribulations. Many are the sufferings which shall yet descend upon our nation; *suffering* always was our eternal attendant from our cradle to our grave; in *suffering* we became a sovereign nation, in *suffering* we ceased to be such.[406]

Suffering is identified here as constitutive of the Jewish condition, but it is counterbalanced with the actuality of the Jewish mission to all the nations, which is presented as no less a constitutive element of what it means to be a Jew:

> We have been chosen by providence to be the teachers of all the nations both through our faith and through our fates; we are like the seed of a beneficent plant, which, ripped from its mother stem by rough gales, is carried into a wilderness to fertile soil where it takes root and matures into a magnificent fruit.[407]

It is in particular the messianic belief which, according to Raphael, sustained the Jewish people throughout history. Through his narrator's reflections, Reckendorf introduces yet another imaginary of the Messiah, which is transcended into a universal and idealist realm. While initially evoking the traditional vision of a political Messiah that had been countered by the spiritualization of the concept in its Christian reconfiguration, Reckendorf's alternative vision is in effect a reformulation of Enlightenment idealism amalgamated with Jewish Reform thought:

> In our greatest adversities we are strengthened by the faith in a future Saviour. *How* I should describe Him to you I myself do not know; imagine Him in the shape of a magnificent man, inspired by God, who shall gather the dispersed of our nation from the ends of

406 Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, II, 106: "*er* [i.e., Raphael's ancestor] sah ein *irdisches*, *ich* aber ein *geistiges* Jerusalem wieder aufrichten, ein neues Zion, aus welchem die Lehre und das Wort Gottes nach allen Weltgegenden hinausgeht, ein Zion, welches allen Stürmen der Zeit und allen Anfechtungen trotzen wird. Viel sind der Leiden, welche noch über unsere Nation hereinbrechen werden; *Leiden* waren überhaupt unsere immerwährenden Begleiter von unserer Wiege bis zu unserem Grabe; unter *Leiden* wurden wir eine selbstständige Nation, unter *Leiden* hörten wir auf, eine solche zu sein."

407 Ibid., II, 107: "Wir sind von der Vorsehung auserkoren, die Lehrer aller Nationen sowohl durch unsern Glauben, als durch unsere Schicksale zu sein; wir gleichen dem Samen wohltätiger Pflanzen, welcher von rauhen Stürmen seinem Mutterstängel entrissen und in eine Wildniß auf empfänglichen Boden vertragen wird, wo er Wurzel faßt und zur herrlichen Frucht heranreift."

> the earth and lead them back to their ancestral home,—or as a world-dominating, inspiring idea of *tolerance*, of *fraternity*, and of *universal human rights*; no matter!—Enough, One yet *shall* come![408]

The distinctly human, and humanitarian, dimension of Raphael's alternative vision of the messianic idea may also be reflected in his final advice to his son: "*Be a Jew in the synagogue and a human in the world!*"[409] Similar to the neo-Orthodox Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch's conception of the ideal of the synthesis of universal humanity with Judaism, which was in fact shared by most neo-Orthodox and Reform Jews,[410] Reckendorf may have meant to suggest a compromise, on which he elaborated in the sequel to *Geheimnisse der Juden*. Yet his compromise may have been too unspecific about the observance of the law to satisfy neo-Orthodoxy.

Ben-Ari moreover suggests that by substituting the notion of a political Messiah with the idea of an eschatological, universal messianism, Reckendorf suggested the approximation of Judaism as a 'denomination' to contemporary liberal Protestantism.[411] Such an interpretation might explain why Reckendorf omitted Isaiah 2:5 from his lengthy quotation from the prophetic book in his afterword. The verse may be understood to reassert the primacy of Israel to the exclusion of others: "O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord."[412] Ben-Ari further supports her argument with the observation that the revaluation of exile offered in *Geheimnisse der Juden*, which she reads as another articulation of the objectives of Reform in Judaism, signifies the approximation more speicifically to Lutheran Protestantism.[413]

The novel's situation within the context of the incipient *Kulturkampf* imbues such a self-positioning with particular significance. At the same time, however, it should be emphasized that Reckendorf continues to insist on Jewish religious difference and the reaffirmation of an essentially Jewish perspective within the parameters of a universal humanity. This is in itself a construct that does not signify the abandonment of Jewish particularity, as it was articulated also in the meta-

408 Ibid.: "In unseren größten Widerwärtigkeiten stärkt uns der Glaube an einen künftigen Erlöser. *Wie* ich Dir Diesen schildern soll, weiß ich selbst nicht; denke Dir ihn unter der Gestalt eines gewaltigen, gottbegeisterten Menschen, welcher die Zerstreuten unserer Nation von allen Enden der Erde sammeln und in ihr Stammland zurückführen wird,—oder als eine weltbeherrschende, geisterleuchtende Idee der *Duldsamkeit*, der *Bruderliebe*, des *allgemeinen Menschenrechtes*; gleichviel!—Genug, es *soll* noch einer kommen!"

409 Ibid., II, 108: "*Sei ein Jude in der Synagoge und ein Mensch in der Welt!*"

410 See Volkov, *Juden in Deutschland*, p. 31.

411 See Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, p. 174.

412 Isaiah 2:5.

413 See Ben-Ari, *Romanze mit der Vergangenheit*, p. 182.

phor of the cloak in the fable of sun and wind, but proposes its redirection toward the acceptance of the Jews as equals within the social, political, and cultural as well as the religious fabric of the modern secular state even as it promotes the notion of the mission of the Jews. It is a plea for, and an articulation of, dissimilation, not assimilation.

In response to the schism and the intolerance among the Christians, which was one of the main points of criticism also of contemporary Jewry toward efforts of the Pietist mission to the Jews, Abner elaborates in the Sixth Sabbath a parable that is reminiscent of the ring parable incorporated by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing into his *Nathan der Weise* (1779; *Nathan the Wise*), a text that was highly valued by the *Haskalah*:

> Suppose a father should celebrate his birthday; *one* child presents him with a bunch of flowers, another one with some embroidery, the third with a poem, and so on. What should the father do? he embraces them *all* and praises each and everyone's effort to have given him, as each thinks, the very *best*. Should the children therefore hate one another because each of them made their love and gratitude to their father known in a different manner?—Yet what else is religion than: *the manner in which one makes known to the very Highest one's love and reverence*? Should men therefore hate one another, because they do so in different ways?[414]

Applying the plea for tolerance articulated with his parable also to the domestic setting, Abner asks:

> Does my wife stop being a good Nazarene if, to please me, she takes care of the household according to the Mosaic rite?—Or should she hate me because one of my ancestors may have cast his vote to crucify Jesus? Did not He *want* to, did He not *have* to suffer death on the Cross, according to the opinion of an orthodox Nazarene, so that the corresponding passages in the prophets should be fulfilled?[415]

414 Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden*, II, 82: "Ich setze den Fall, ein Vater feiere seinen Geburtstag; da überreicht ihm *ein* Kind einen Blumenstrauß, das andere eine Stickerei, das dritte ein Gedicht u. s. w. Was thut da der Vater? er umarmt *alle* und lobt das Bestreben jedes einzelnen, ihm seiner Meinung nach das *Beste* dargereicht zu haben. Hätten die Kinder darum Grund, einander zu hassen, weil jedes von ihnen dem Vater seine Liebe und Erkenntlichkeit auf eine andere Art kund gab?—Was ist nun Religion anders als: *die Art und Weise, wie man dem allerhöchsten Wesen seine Liebe und Ehrfurcht bezeigt?* Sollten die Menschen sich darum hassen, weil sie dieses auf verschiedene Arten thun?"

415 Ibid.: "Hört meine Frau auf, eine gute Nazaräerin zu sein, wenn sie mir zu Gefallen das Hauswesen nach mosaischem Ritus versieht?—Oder sollte sie mich etwa hassen, weil vielleicht einer meiner Vorfahren seine Stimme dazu gab, Jesum zu kreuzigen? *Wollte, mußte* Dieser nicht, der Meinung eines rechtgläubigen Nazaräers nach, den Kreuzestod erleiden, um die auf ihn bezüglichen Stellen der Propheten in Erfüllung zu bringen?"

By invoking the accusation that the Jews were deicides and thus addressing yet another, and seminal, historical point of intersection between Jews and Christians which determined the parameters for their mutual perception for centuries, the passage broaches a highly contentious issue. It offers a twofold refutation of the allegation. On the one hand, Abner challenges the notion of intergenerationally transmitted guilt, as suggested in the blood curse notoriously articulated in Matthew 27:25. On the other hand, motivated less with humanitarian considerations than evoking the salvific logic of the Christian faith, he points to the soteriological necessity of the death of Jesus on the cross.

Reckendorf may have been well aware that from a traditional Christian theological perspective his rational argument for Jewish exculpation is invalid: first, because the Jewish rejection of Jesus and his redemptive mission is continuously reiterated for as long as conversion is eschewed; second, because the continuous rejection of Jesus, just like his initial rejection, is the exercise of free will. This sets the rejection of Israel for its knowing repudiation of the revelation of God's will in parallel to Judas whose betrayal is also of soteriological necessity but nevertheless results in his irrevocable and eternal damnation. In his *Judas Ischariot oder das Böse in Verhältniß zum Guten* (1816–18; Judas Ischariot or Evil in Relation to Good), the Protestant theologian Carl Daub, for instance, argued that the betrayal of Jesus by Judas is the only sin that may not be redeemed, nor allows repentance, and therefore eludes divine grace.[416]

The implicit analogy between Judas and Israel was made explicit somewhat later by Karl Barth in his monumental and yet unfinished *Kirchliche Dogmatik* (1932–67; *Church Dogmatics*). As Mark Lindsay notes, the Protestant theologian depicts Judas as the "archetypal figure of rejection who *prima facie* represents Israel."[417] According to Barth, Judas must die for his indelible sin; and so must Jerusalem, for its repudiation of Christ:

> This Judas must die, as he did die; and this Jerusalem must be destroyed, as it was destroyed. Israel's right to existence is extinguished, and therefore its existence can only be extinguished.[418]

416 See Carl Daub, *Judas Ischariot oder das Böse in Verhältniß zum Guten* (Heidelberg: Mohr and Winter, 1816–18), I, 16–17, 21.

417 Mark Lindsay, "Israel," in *The Oxford Handbook of Karl Barth*, eds Paul Dafydd Jones and Paul T. Nimmo (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 325–40, p. 333.

418 Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, transl. G. W. Bromiley et al. (1940–42; London: Continuum, 2009), II.2, 313; see also Karl Barth, *Die kirchliche Dogmatik* (1940–42; Zollikon-Zurich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1946), II.2, 562.

And yet, as argued by Reckendorf in the afterword to his novel, Israel, too, did as it had to do. Barth acknowledges:

> Israel has fulfilled and vindicated the meaning of its existence by giving rise to Jesus Christ. If it must pass because it has rejected the promise in its fulfilment, it still has the promise as it has been fulfilled and its mission as it has been discharged. [. . .] in the repudiation and handing-over of Jesus to the Gentiles Israel too—as Paul showed in Rom. 11—has had to play an active part in its mission.[419]

The hope for Israel's redemption, deduced from the fulfilment of its mission, is articulated by Barth as incremental:

> If Israel had eventually to pass, it did so only in such a way that in the Church of Jesus Christ, gathered from Jews and Gentiles, it experienced a first resurrection as the pledge of resurrection to come, and as it already participated to that extent in the grace of the divine delivering-up.[420]

Significantly, as observed by Lindsay, Barth "insists upon a radical continuity between the 'elect' and the 'rejected'."[421] For, as Barth elaborates:

> The divine "tradition" which the Church of Jesus Christ proclaims in its confession is the hope of Israel, the promise of its election, which always outlasts and excels and surpasses its rejection. The proclamation of this delivering-up is addressed to Israel too. It declares that Jesus Christ died also for rejected Israel.[422]

Yet, again, redemption is ultimately promised to Israel only if it accepts Jesus, which, its theological import notwithstanding, reveals the hollow foundations of such tolerance. It also reveals the essential flaw in Reckendorf's argument, because from a Jewish perspective, to accept the belief that Jesus is the Messiah is impossible.

Taking History to the Present: *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten*

Herrmann Reckendorf's engagement with Christianity, also with Protestantism, became more terse in the sequel to *Geheimnisse der Juden* which he published in commission with Jünger in Leipzig seven years after his earlier novel. The long

419 Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, II.2, 313; see also Barth, *Kirchliche Dogmatik*, II.2, 562.
420 Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, II.2, 313; see also Barth, *Kirchliche Dogmatik*, II.2, 563.
421 Lindsay, "Israel," 333.
422 Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, II.2, 314; see also Barth, *Kirchliche Dogmatik*, II.2, 563.

intermission is explained by the author with the troubled experience of having no regular income, a situation which was resolved with his marriage, as a result of which he became headmaster of a Jewish boarding school in Heidelberg. Perhaps an expression of his newly invigorated self-assurance, his new novel is no longer apologetic. On the assertive basis of the notion of a common humanity, it takes a much firmer stance toward Christianity and rejects any infringements; it is openly anti-Catholic and while the criticism of the Protestant mission to the Jews was veiled in his earlier novel, Reckendorf now unequivocally rejects and ridicules any such efforts.

In his foreword, in which Reckendorf reflects on his previous novel and on the current text, the author explicitly responds to his critics, in particular in relation to his representation of Jesus. Reckendorf refers to this point as the most "slippery [schlüpfrigste]"[423] in Jewish history for the Jewish writer but insists that it cannot be ignored in any work about Jewish history, "because, after all, the Christian faith emerged from the womb of Judaism and exerted the most significant influence on the fate of the Jewish people which extends into the very present."[424]

Reckendorf describes the Jewish engagement with Christianity as a tightrope walk which led some historians to maintain an all too obstinate Jewish position while others, motivated by an all too anxious love of justice, made too many concessions and almost "slipped towards Nazareth."[425] As emerged from David Asher's review of *Geheimnisse der Juden*, the latter criticism was also extended toward Reckendorf himself for his allegedly all too apologetic approach in his earlier novel. The writer therefore affirms: "A *courageous* and at the same time *unprejudiced* appreciation of Christianity from a Jewish perspective *is* still to be expected."[426] And yet, Reckendorf, as he maintained already in the first sentence of his foreword, insists that the times have changed and that therefore his current work too, in contrast to his earlier novel, is not mired in the insalubrities of the past, but is painted in "the bright colour of cerulean clarity of *victorious human rights*, of *spiritual progress*, of *tolerance*, and of *universal altruism*."[427] The editor of the *Wiener Kirchenzeitung*, for one, might not have agreed; indeed, Brunner

423 Reckendorf, *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. IV.

424 Ibid., p. V: "da doch der christliche Glaube aus dem Schooße des Judenthums hervorging und auf die Schicksale des jüdischen Volkes den bedeutendsten Einfluß übte, welcher sich bis auf die jüngste Gegenwart hinein erstreckt."

425 Ibid.: "rutschte beinahe nach Nazareth aus."

426 Ibid.: "Eine *muthige* und zugleich *vorurtheilsfreie* Würdigung des Christenthums jüdischerseits *haben* wir noch zu erwarten."

427 Ibid., p. VII: "die helle himmelsklare Farbe des *siegenden Menschenrechtes*, des *geistigen Fortschritts*, der *Duldsamkeit* und der *allgemeinen Nächstenliebe*."

might have felt vindicated with a view to Reckendorf's blatant anti-Catholicism in his fictional rendering of the most recent history of the Jews.

Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten (1864; Most Recent Memorabilities) is divided into three parts of unequal length. In his foreword, the author suggests that in the period from the passing of Moses Mendelssohn in 1786 to the present (1863), Jewish existence was not affected by any major historical upheavals. He nevertheless elaborates a tentative periodization from the philosopher's death to the inauguration of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* and then to the hopeful revolutionary year 1848 which was followed since 1850 by a period of regression. To this, the author effectively adds a final period with utopian character which envisages the idealized future of Judaism. In consequence, Reckendorf chose to focus, rather than on universal history (*Weltgeschichte*), on the history of education (*Bildungsgeschichte*), which was of such crucial importance to Jewish emancipation and acculturation in the nineteenth century. This different perspective entails also a partially different methodology. While Reckendorf still makes use of footnotes to identify his historiographical sources, he moreover introduces a subjective dimension with reference to his personal experience, which is given the stamp of authenticity and authority.[428]

Describing in his foreword the three major divisions in contemporary Judaism, the Jewish writer attributes one section of his novel to Orthodoxy and to moderate and extreme Reform, respectively. The Orthodox branch, as whose main proponent Reckendorf mentions Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch, is described by the writer as acknowledging Jewish emancipation as the result of spiritual progress and the recognition of universal human rights, but as resistant to any compromises regarding religious observance.[429] The moderate, or liberal, branch, of which Reckendorf names Philippson as the driving force, seeks to distinguish within Judaism between the eternally valid divine revelation of the Mosaic Law and its human additions in the Talmud, which it considers contingent on historical context. It is therefore, as Reckendorf sums up, "at present the task of Israel to separate the authentic from the inauthentic; and only following this prior purification will Judaism be perfectly suitable to achieve its great mission, namely: to

428 See, e.g., ibid., p. 255: "The author, himself born an Austrian who lived for some time in Vienna, speaks here as an eye witness. [Der Verfasser, selber ein geborener Oesterreicher, der längere Zeit in Wien lebte, spricht hier als Augenzeuge.]" See also p. 263: "Fact. [Thatsache.]" and pp. 271, 274, 301, 348.

429 See ibid., p. XIII.

become a *world religion*."[430] The Reform movement, finally, which Reckendorf associates with the late Rabbi Samuel Holdheim (Berlin) and with Rabbi Leopold Stein (Frankfurt on the Main), endeavors to separate authentic from inauthentic even within the Mosaic Laws and to adjust them to present circumstances.[431] Hasidism, as a fourth branch of Judaism, Reckendorf dismisses as an enthusiastic aberration outside the Jewish mainstream.[432] Despite the apparent divisions within Judaism, the writer nevertheless seeks to emphasize the potential of his faith to reintegrate itself in the face of external threats. He maintains that "where the *protection of universal Jewish welfare* is at stake, there are no divisions, but one *universal Jewry which is prepared to make the greatest sacrifices*."[433]

It nevertheless emerges quite clearly from Reckendorf's preface that his own sympathies are with moderate Reform. The text includes an enthusiastic encomium on the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*: "Although the work of men and therefore subject to the defects of everything human, it nevertheless cannot but be considered a spiritual Messiah of the Jewish people."[434] In striking religious language, the author attributes messianic qualities to the paper. Yet the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* is ultimately described by Reckendorf as an instrument of dissimilation:

> it gathered the dispersed spiritual forces of Israel; it provided the foundations for the new spiritual Temple of civil and religious progress; it holds, as did of yore the builders of the Second Temple, in its right the trowel, to mend the damages of Israel, and firmly in its left the defensive weapon against the internal and external enemies of Israel.[435]

430 See ibid., p. XIV: "es ist demnach die gegenwärtige Aufgabe Israels, das Aechte vom Unächten zu sondern; und erst nach dieser vorangegangenen Läuterung ist das Judenthum vollkommen geeignet, seine großartige Bestimmung zu erreichen, nämlich: *Weltreligion* zu werden."

431 See ibid.

432 See ibid., p. XV.

433 Ibid., p. XIV: "wo es *Wahrung gesammtjüdischen Wohles* gilt, da gibt es keine Richtungen, sondern Eine, *zu den größten Opfern bereitwillige Gesammtjudenheit*."

434 Ibid., p. XII: "Wiewohl Menschenwerk, und daher die Gebrechen alles Menschlichen tragend, kann sie [i.e., *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*] doch nicht anders, als ein geistiger Messias des jüdischen Volkes angesehen werden."

435 Ibid.: "sie [i.e., *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*] sammelte die zerstreuten geistigen Kräfte Israels; sie begründete den neuen geistigen Tempel des bürgerlichen und religiösen Fortschritts; sie hält, wie einst die Erbauer des zweiten Tempels, in der Rechten die Maurerkelle, die Schäden Israels auszubessern, und in der Linken kräftig die Vertheidigungswaffe gegen die innern und äußern Feinde Israels." The significance of *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* is also emphasized on the level of the narrative when it is praised by a Russian official, see ibid., p. 323–4.

Given the prominence of this remark, it is likely that Reckendorf conceived of his own novel in a similar way as mending the "damages" of Israel and as defending it against both internal and external enemies.

The novel's first narrative, of the Twenty-third Sabbath, is attributed to Ephraim Abarbanel who is introduced as a student at the *yeshiva* of Rabbi Markus Benedict. Benedict (1753–1829), also known by his Jewish name, Mordecai B. Abraham Benet, is a historical figure. He was rabbi at Nikolsburg (present-day Mikulov in the Czech Republic) and Chief Rabbi of Moravia from 1789–1829; a position later briefly held by Samson Raphael Hirsch (from 1847–51) prior to taking up the Orthodox rabbinate at Frankfurt. As portrayed by Reckendorf, the Orthodox Benedict is pragmatically tolerant but at the same time firmly opposed to religious reform.

The narrative of the Twenty-third Sabbath unfolds the story of Ephraim, who sustains his Orthodox beliefs in a time of severe upheaval and change. Pressed into the Austrian army to fight against the French revolutionary troops, the young Orthodox Jew is characterized as a champion of human rights and religious freedom. Once he feels absolved from his oath of loyalty, he therefore joins the French army under Napoleon.

Ephraim's narrative is meant to demonstrate how it should be possible to remain observant even in the rough environment of soldiers at war. The young *yeshiva* student follows Rabbi Benedict's advice: "*keep what you can keep* [i.e., laws]*; what is impossible, let go*."[436] Echoing Samson Raphael Hirsch's notion of *Torah im derekh eretz*, the rabbi recommends to Ephraim as a minimal requirement the reduction to the *Shema*: "'*Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One*'; to recite this creed, which comprises in our holy Hebrew language only six words, one has enough time in any situation in life."[437] Ephraim subsequently affirms his Orthodox Jewish identity resolutely against all odds and nevertheless achieves full integration into the French army. He returns as a colonel with the victorious French troops to Nikolsburg (abbreviated as N. in the novel) and, with some other Jewish soldiers, joins the commemoration of the destruction of the First and Second Temples on *Tisha b'Av* at the synagogue. When the assembled community repairs to the graveyard, Ephraim eventually reveals himself at a particular grave as the Talmud scholar who left the town years earlier, sacrificing himself at the levy for the young Jew buried here, who was infirm and the only provider for his old mother. Asked how he advanced, as a Jew, to the rank of colo-

436 Ibid., p. 61: "*halte, was zu halten ist, das Unmögliche laß' fahren.*"

437 Ibid.: "'*Höre, Israel, der Ewige unser Gott, der Ewige ist einzig*'; dieses in unserer heiligen hebräischen Sprache nur sechs Worte ausmachende Bekenntniß herzusagen, bleibt Einem in allen Lebensstellungen noch genug Zeit übrig."

nel, Ephraim begins to tell the community gathered in the Jewish graveyard about his incisive experiences in the Napoleonic Wars.

As the most significant of the Jewish soldier's experiences emerges his participation in the war against the Papal States and, more specifically, the capture of Rome in 1798. As he now relates to his spell-bound Jewish listeners, the foremost feeling aroused in him by the prospect of conquering the ancient city was vengeful spite:

> "*To Rome!*" Mention of the monosyllabic word "*Rome*," consisting of four [three] letters, unravelled in me the whole national history of eighteen hundred years; it is well known that Israel has to settle with Rome a lengthy score for these *eighteen hundred years*: in part with the *old* one, but mostly with the *new* one. The *old* Rome reduced to ashes our Temple and our holy city, and robbed us of our sovereignty, sold our sons partly into slavery and partly threw them to wild animals for the sake of amusement; what the new Rome has done to us, and still continues to do to us, and *would do even more*, if only it *could*, of this I will not speak.[438]

In an inversion of discourse on the destruction of Jerusalem—a subject that "simply suited this day of repentance"[439]—Ephraim describes how he considered himself "an honorary member of an instrument of providence."[440] As he eventually entered Rome through the Porta del Popolo, he was in tears, prompted not only by the recognition of the historical significance of his action, but also by the conspicuous historical analogy and by the spiritual connection to those of his nation who suffered the destruction of Jerusalem and the subsequent humiliation of defeat almost two millennia before:

> at this gate Titus may once have made *his* entry, when he engaged in the celebrations of his victory in the conquest of Judaea; with each step I took, I thought: who knows if not at this very place one of my ancestors sighed, then, weighed down with chains![441]

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438 Ibid., p. 141: "'*Nach Rom!*' Die Erwähnung des einsilbigen, und aus drei Buchstaben bestehenden Wortes '*Rom*' rollte eine ganze achtzehnhundertjährige Volksgeschichte in mir auf; Israel hat bekanntlich mit Rom eine langwierige, *achtzehnhundertjährige* Rechnung abzumachen: theils mit dem *alten*, größtentheils aber mit dem *neuen*. Das *alte* Rom hat unsern Tempel und unsere heilige Stadt eingeäschert, und unserer Selbstständigkeit beraubt, unsere Söhne theils als Sklaven verkauft, theils zur Belustigung den wilden Thieren vorgeworfen; was uns das neue Rom that, noch thut, und *noch mehr thäte*, wenn es *könnte*, davon will ich schweigen."

439 Ibid., p. 144: "der Gegenstand paßte eben zu jenem Bußtag."

440 Ibid., p. 143: "Ich sah mich als Ehrenmitglied eines Werkzeugs der Vorsehung an."

441 Ibid., p. 144: "zu jenem Thor mag vielleicht einst Titus *seinen* Einzug gehalten haben, als er seine Siegesfeier über die Eroberung Judäa's beging; bei jedem Schritt, den ich ging, dachte ich: Wer weiß, ob nicht hier einer meiner Vorfahren damals unter der Kettenlast seufzte!"

Of course, when Ephraim refers to the new Rome, he means the Catholic Church. In his own narrative, the capture of the city promises to its Jewish inhabitants freedom from stifling and humiliating laws and release from the restrictions of the ghetto. In a wider context, the persecutions of the Jews by the new Rome manifest themselves across history in the blood libel, the crusades, the inquisition, and continuing discrimination as well as illicit attempts of conversion.

Eventually, later in the novel, Ephraim has to witness the restoration; all the idealistic dreams of his youth and early manhood have been disappointed. Never having married, he has no issue and bequeathes his own narrative and those of his predecessors to his nephew Moses. Whether the barrenness of Ephraim and the failures of his age are meant to be symbolic of neo-Orthodoxy and the bygone period is a moot point. Certainly, the following narrative, which extends into the author's present, while detailing the ongoing persecution of the Jews in different contexts, offers a modicum of hope which is confirmed in the final, utopian, section of the novel.

The second narrative in *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten*, of the Twenty-fourth Sabbath, is told by Sir Moses Montefiore. The historical figure is referred to in the novel by his Germanized name as Freiherr von Blumberg. Reckendorf in fact pledges in a footnote to his preface to use only unadulterated, pure German language.[442] A member of the *Verein für deutsche Reinsprache* (Society for Pure German Language), he maintains: "A people that honours its language honours itself."[443] The Jewish author's complete identification with the German language and nation, which echoes Philippson's narrator of the frame narrative to his "Der Flüchtling aus Jerusalem," may initially seem strange in a novel that purports to revaluate Jewish history and identity. Yet in context with Reckendorf's reappraisal of the diaspora and the contemporary debate on the significance of language and nation in relation to Jewish emancipation and acculturation, both the Jewish writer's membership in the *Verein* and his literary choices appear to be fully consistent with the objectives of his novel and with his emancipatory beliefs.

442 See ibid., p. III.

443 Ibid.: "Ein Volk, das seine Sprache ehrt, ehrt sich selber."

German Jews and the German Language

In the late eighteenth-century, Johann Gottfried Herder correlated language and nation,[444] based on the premise that language embodied the history of a people.[445] This implicitly nationalist conception was radicalized by Johann Gottlieb Fichte in the early nineteenth century with the notion of linguistic purity and its implications.[446] The philosopher postulated that outsiders to the ethno-linguistic community remained also outside the authentic national community.[447] Such considerations challenged the precarious position of Jews in Germany and the progress of emancipation.

When, in the wake of the *Haskalah*, the German language began to permeate Jewish existence in Germany, its intrusion resulted in the destabilization of the Jewish linguistic and religious orders.[448] As noted by Marc Volovici, "[t]he role of Hebrew as the language of only religious work was challenged, the role of Yiddish as a vernacular was undermined, and it was German that came to stand for the promise of Enlightenment."[449] In fact, the significance given to language not only as a marker of inclusion and exclusion but also as a tool of acculturation gave rise among emancipationists to the notion that with linguistic conformity the Jews would also assimilate the cultural assets of the nation and would develop a German national consciousness.[450] As Shulamit Volkov notes, the complete command of the German language became the predominant, if ambivalent, site of Jewish acculturation; it was simultaneously the most conspicuous gauge of their success and where they were most vulnerable to criticism.[451]

This vulnerability is illustrated for instance with Gabriel Riesser's response, in 1832, to a scathing critique of Ludwig Börne's *Briefe aus Paris* (1831–34; Letters from Paris) by Eduard Meyer.[452] Language, as Jefferson S. Chase observes, func-

444 See Arndt Kremer, *Deutsche Juden—deutsche Sprache: Jüdische und judenfeindliche Sprachkonzepte und -konflikte 1893–1933* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007), p. 67.

445 See Marc Volovici, *German as a Jewish Problem: The Language Politics of Jewish Nationalism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2020), p. 21.

446 See Kremer, *Deutsche Juden—deutsche Sprache*, p. 74.

447 See Volovici, *German as a Jewish Problem*, p. 22.

448 See ibid., p. 20.

449 Ibid.

450 See Kremer, *Deutsche Juden—deutsche Sprache*, p. 53.

451 See Shulamit Volkov, "Sprache als Ort der Auseinandersetzung mit Juden und Judentum in Deutschland, 1780–1933," in *Jüdische Intellektuelle und die Philologien in Deutschland, 1871–1933*, eds Wilfried Barner and Christoph König (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2001), pp. 223–38, p. 234.

452 See Gabriel Riesser, *Börne und die Juden: Ein Wort der Erwiderung auf die Flugschrift des Herrn Dr. Eduard Meyer gegen Börne* (Altenburg: Hofbuchdruckerei, 1832) and Eduard Meyer,

tions in Meyer's diatribe against the Jewish-born German writer in French exile "as a primary external manifestation of German–Jewish difference" which supposedly exposed Jewish degeneracy undermining German national aspirations.[453]

Taking umbrage at the Jew Börne representing himself as German, Meyer coldly repudiated him: "*We*, however, should like to refuse this honour most politely, for not the place where someone is accidentally born turns him into a German but rather, more than anything, the German character and the love of the fatherland."[454] These are, in Meyer's logic, not accessible to the Jew who, to him, is a stranger in Germany. He expands: "We do not hate the faith of the Jews, [. . .] but the many hideous particularities of these Asians which cannot so easily be discarded with baptism."[455] Anticipating Joseph Rebbert's biological antisemitism of the latter half of the nineteenth century,[456] which was discussed in the previous chapter of this study, Meyer attributes already in the first half of the century racially determined characteristics which supersede religious difference to the Jews, whom he others as Asians.

The antisemitic attack provoked Riesser's emotional rejoinder:

> Whoever denies my claim to my German fatherland, denies my right to my thoughts, my feelings, to the language I speak, to the air I breathe; for this reason I must defend against him as if against a murderer.[457]

Riesser—champion of Jewish emancipation and, as discussed in chapter I, a friend of Steinheim and Hiller—insisted on the indivisible union of nation, language, and individual in the case of the German Jews. "Your language, your literature are ours,"[458] he asserted in an attempt to emphasize the Jewish contribution to German culture and, by implication, German national aspirations. The significance of the latter, in particular, emerges also from Riesser's articulation of his political belief in

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Gegen L. Börne, den Wahrheit-, Recht- und Ehrvergeßnen Briefsteller aus Paris (Altona: Hemmerich and Lesser, 1831).

453 Jefferson S. Chase, *Inciting Laughter: The Development of "Jewish Humor" in 19th Century German Culture* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000), p. 110.

454 Meyer, *Gegen L. Börne*, p. 12: "*Wir* aber möchten uns diese Ehre höflichst verbitten, denn nicht der Ort, wo jemand zufällig geboren, macht ihn zum Deutschen, sondern vor allem deutsche Gesinnung und Liebe zum Vaterlande."

455 Ibid., p. 13: "Nicht den Glauben der Juden hassen wir, [. . .] sondern die vielen häßlichen Eigenthümlichkeiten dieser Asiaten, die mit der Taufe nicht so leicht abgelegt werden können."

456 See Rebbert, *Blicke ins Talmudische Judenthum*, p. 81.

457 Riesser, *Börne und die Juden*, pp. 21–2: "Wer mir den Anspruch auf mein Deutsches Vaterland bestreitet, der bestreitet mir das Recht auf meine Gedanken, meine Gefühle, auf die Sprache, die ich rede, auf die Luft, die ich atme; darum muß ich mich gegen ihn wehren, wie gegen einen Mörder."

458 Ibid., p. 22: "Eure Sprache, Eure Literatur sind die unseren."

the national unification of Germany and in emancipation as the result of the country's political freedom a few years later, in 1835:

> If one were to offer me with one hand that emancipation towards which all my most fond yearnings are directed, and with the other the attainment of the beautiful dream of the political *unity* of Germany, linked with its political *freedom*, I would without hesitation choose the latter: for I am of the firm, most profound conviction that in the one [i.e., unity and freedom] the other [i.e., emancipation] is also contained.[459]

When Richard Wagner inserted himself into the debate in 1850 with his essay on "Das Judenthum in der Musik," which was already discussed in chapter I, the composer crucially contributed to the cementation of language as an indelible stigma and as a trait of an "immutable Jewish nature"[460] which challenged Riesser's belief in Jewish integration. In his highly influential intervention, Wagner explained "the latent feeling which," as he maintained, "people in general evince towards the Jewish character, and which amounts to an inward dislike," once again by othering the Jews.[461] To him, too, language was the fundamental manifestation of German-Jewish difference which he presented as metonymic of the alleged Jewish inability to engage in artistic creativity. By denying "the Jew" the national language, the composer in effect moreover denied them the participation in the project of the German *Kulturnation* (nation of culture), a term that invokes German cultural and national unity already prior to German unification in 1871.[462] "The Jew," Wagner alleged, "converses in the tongue of the people amongst whom he dwells from age to age, but he does this invariably after the manner of a foreigner."[463] According to Wagner,

459 Gabriel Riesser, "Bemerkungen zu den Verhandlungen der Badischen Ständeversammlung über die Emancipation der Juden im Jahr 1833" [1835], in *Gesammelte Schriften* (Frankfurt a. M.: Riesser Stiftung, 1867), pp. 549–682, p. 672: "Bietet man mir mit der einen Hand die Emancipation, auf die alle meine innigsten Wünsche gerichtet sind, mit der andern die Verwirklichung des schönen Traumes von der politischen *Einheit* Deutschlands mit seiner politischen *Freiheit* verknüpft, ich würde ohne Bedenken letztere wählen: denn ich habe die feste, tiefste Uberzeugung, daß in ihr auch jene enthalten ist."

460 Grossman, *Discourse on Yiddish in Germany*, p. 156.

461 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 2; see also K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 101 (9): "die unbewußte Empfindung, die sich im Volke als innerlichste Abneigung gegen jüdisches Wesen kundgiebt, zu erklären."

462 See Kremer, *Deutsche Juden—deutsche Sprache*, pp. 113–14.

463 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 11; see also K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 103 (14): "*Der Jude spricht die Sprache der Nation, unter der er von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht lebt, aber er spricht sie immer als Ausländer*."

any modern European language therefore resists its appropriation by "the Jew," which he speaks "only as if acquired and not as if he were native to it."[464]

Emphasizing the collective character of linguistic development, the composer maintained that "the Jew" had always remained outside any such collectives:

> A language is not the work of one man, but its mode of expression and its development are the joint emanation of an ancient community; and only he whose life has been fostered within that community can expect to take part in its creations. But alone with his Jehovah stood the Jew outside all such, his race divided and bereft of native land, with all development denied to it; even its peculiar tongue—the Hebrew—being only sustained to it as a dead language.[465]

This alleged immutable Jewish apartness explains to the composer what he perceives to be the purely imitative but not creative nature of Jewish speech and cultural production:

> Even the greatest genius has hitherto found it impossible to write genuine poetry in a foreign tongue. But in the position of a foreign tongue to the Jews has our entire European civilisation remained. As in the formation of the one so in the development of the other he has borne no part, but, at the most, merely looked on, with feelings cold and even hostile, as is natural to a homeless unfortunate. In such language or in such art the Jew can naturally but echo and imitate, and is perforce debarred from fluent expression and pure creative work.[466]

The *Verein für deutsche Reinsprache*, only one of many similar ventures,[467] was established shortly before the pseudonymous publication of Wagner's essay, in

464 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 12; see also K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 103 (14): "moderne europäische Sprache nur wie eine *erlernte*, nicht *angeborene* redet."

465 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 12; see also K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 103 (14–15): "Eine Sprache, ihr Ausdruck und ihre Fortbildung, ist nicht das Werk Einzelner, sondern einer geschichtlichen Gemeinsamkeit: nur wer unbewußt in dieser Gemeinschaft aufgewachsen ist, nimmt auch an ihren Schöpfungen Theil. Der Jude stand aber außerhalb einer solchen Gemeinsamkeit, einsam mit seinem Jehova in einem zersplitterten, bodenlosen Volksstamme, dem alle Entwickelung aus sich versagt bleiben mußte, wie selbst die eigenthümlich (hebräische) Sprache dieses Stammes ihm nur als eine *todte* erhalten ist."

466 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, pp. 12–13; see also K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 103 (15): "In einer fremden Sprache wahrhaft zu dichten ist nun bisher unmöglich gewesen: unsere ganze europäische Civilisation und Kunst ist aber dem Juden eine fremde Sprache geblieben, denn wie an der Ausbildung dieser, hat er auch an der Entwickelung jener nicht Theil genommen, sondern kalt, ja feindselig, hat der Unglückliche, Heimathlose ihr höchstens nur zugesehen. In dieser Sprache, dieser Kunst kann der Jude nur nachsprechen, nachkünsteln,—nicht wirklich redend dichten oder Kunstwerke schaffen."

467 See Anja Stukenbrock, *Sprachnationalismus: Sprachreflexion als Medium kollektiver Identitätsstiftung in Deutschland (1617–1945)* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005).

1848, by the German Catholic dissident priest Josef Dominik Carl Brugger, but was discontinued after its founder's death in 1865. In his preface to a brief history of the *Verein*, the language purist articulates the radical nationalist hope that his book "should go forth as a monument of the Society into all the German shires and proclaim the *final victory of pure language*! May the German show that not only in thoughts but also in *speaking, writing, and taking action* he *could*, and *should*, be German!"[468] Yet the *Verein* seems to have had no injunctions against admitting Jewish members. Certainly, Reckendorf was an esteemed member at least since 1860. Among the documents pertaining to the history of the *Verein* collected by Brugger is a speech given by the Jewish writer on occasion of an early celebration of the Schiller Festival in 1860.[469]

In this text, Reckendorf anticipates some of the concerns he was later to revisit in *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten*. Contrasting the alleged German propensity toward thinking with the supposed French penchant toward taking action, the writer emphasizes the differences between the respective approaches to Jewish emancipation in both countries. Promoting tolerance and full emancipation, Reckendorf argues moreover—in a variation of Riesser's earlier correlation of unity, freedom, and emancipation—that "German unity will not be achieved by subjecting all German lands to *One* imperial crown, but only by giving to all German members *without discrimination* of their faith and status a common and loving fatherland."[470] Like Brugger, Reckendorf draws a direct connection between the purity of speech and the purity of thought as well as, ultimately, the purity of action. Envisioning the eventual transition of the *Verein* into a "universal German *thought-* and *action-*purification society,"[471] he anticipates a time when all its members will be proud to

468 *Geschichte der Gründung und Entwicklung des Vereins der deutschen Reinsprache*, ed. J[osef] D[ominik] C[arl] Brugger (Heidelberg: Mohr, 1862), pp. IX–X: "So möge denn dieses Buch als Denkmal des Vereins in alle deutschen Gauen hinausgehen und den *endlichen Sieg der Reinsprache* verkünden! Möge der Deutsche zeigen, daß er nicht nur im Denken, sondern auch im *Sprechen, Schreiben und Handeln deutsch* sein *könne* und sein *soll!*" For the *Verein der deutschen Reinsprache* and its situation within the context of nineteenth-century efforts to purify the German language, see Stukenbrock, *Sprachnationalismus*, p. 244.

469 Brugger recommends in a footnote Reckendorf's *Geheimnisse der Juden* to all Christians as a "magnificent work [herrliches Werk]" that should make them aware of their historical guilt toward the Jews, see Hermann Reckendorf, "Rede zur Vorfeier des Schillerfestes," in Brugger (ed.), *Geschichte der Gründung und Entwicklung*, pp. 364–7, p. 364.

470 Ibid., p. 367: "die deutsche Einheit wird nicht dadurch erzielt, daß man sämmtliche deutsche Länder unter *Einen* Kaiserhut stellt, sondern nur dadurch, daß man sämmtlichen deutschen Angehörigen, *ohne Unterschied* des Glaubens und des Standes, ein gemeinsames liebevolles Vaterland gibt."

471 Ibid.: "einen allgemeinen deutschen *Gedanken-* und *That*reinigungsverein."

say: "*I am a German!*"[472] These thoughts, amalgamated with notions of the purity of Jewish monotheism, resurface in the utopian ending of *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten*.

Much later, long after the publication of Reckendorf's novel, but conceptually similar and at the same time echoing Riesser's emotional outburst toward Meyer, the German Jewish linguist and philosopher Heymann (Chajim) Steinthal, contended in an essay entitled "Das auserwählte Volk oder Juden und Deutsche" (1890; The Chosen People; Or, Jews and Germans) that German Jews did not form a separate nation but principally constituted a religion which promoted universal values of humanism. The German language, to him, was not an instrument of Jewish infiltration or subversion but rather a medium for the constitution of Jewish identification as German:[473]

> You, my coreligionists, to whom I turn in particular here, and I, we are Germans—we are so, because to us, who have matured in our thinking through the German language, who have been nourished spiritually by German poets, who have been scientifically educated by German scholars, and who understand even our Holy Scripture, "the inheritance of the community of Jacob," only by having translated it into German; we, who, standing amidst, and contributing to, the hustle and bustle of the German national project, are invigorated through German morality to virtue—we are Germans, because to us, as we are, after all, it is impossible not the be Germans.[474]

A few years later, in an essay on "Reindeutsche Sprache" (1893; Pure German Language), critical of an uncompromising language purism which he dismisses as "foolishness,"[475] Steinthal accepted certain sociolects and dialects, but only within the respective groups. Aware of the stigma which by now had been attached to the impure "jargon" of Yiddish as corrupt and morally backward,[476] he also advo-

472 Ibid.: "*Ich bin ein Deutscher!*"

473 See Volovici, *German as a Jewish Problem*, p. 25.

474 Heymann Steinthal, "Das auserwählte Volk oder Juden und Deutsche" [1890], in *Über Juden und Judenthum: Vorträge und Aufsätze*, ed. Gustav Karpeles (Berlin: Poppelauer, 1906), pp. 12–17, p. 14: "Ihr, meine Glaubensgenossen, an die ich mich hier insbesondere wende, und ich, wir sind Deutsche—wir sind dies, weil uns, die wir an der deutschen Sprache zum Denken gereift sind, von deutschen Dichtern geistig genährt, von deutschen Forschern wissenschaftlich belehrt, die wir selbst unsere heilige Schrift, 'das Erbteil der Gemeinde Jakob,' nur verstehen, indem wir dieselbe in deutsche Rede übersetzen, die wir, mitten im Getriebe der deutschen Nationalarbeit stehend und mitarbeitend, von deutscher Sittlichkeit zur Tugend gestärkt werden—wir sind Deutsche, weil es uns, wie wir einmal sind, unmöglich ist, nicht Deutsche zu sein."

475 Heymann Steinthal, "Reindeutsche Sprache" [1893], in *Über Juden und Judenthum: Vorträge und Aufsätze*, ed. Gustav Karpeles (Berlin: Poppelauer, 1906), pp. 78–80, p. 79: "Torheit."

476 See Grossman, *Discourse on Yiddish in Germany*, p. 156 and Volovici, *German as a Jewish Problem*, p. 29.

cated the survival of educated Yiddish.[477] Emphasizing the moral dimension of language, he proclaimed in what was in effect a plea for dissimilation which chimes with Reckendorf's earlier efforts: "Let us adopt all the Germanic virtues, but let us also hold on to our ancient Jewish ones!"[478]

As is well known, the integrationist approach eventually failed in the face of the emergence of biological antisemitism, an early echo of which already reverberated in Meyer's denunciation of "the Jew" Börne. At the cusp of the National Socialist era, the Austrian writer and translator Otto Hauser reasserted the significance of language as a marker of difference:

> Nothing separates the Jew—every Jew—so acutely from the Aryan German as his complete inability to speak and write German in a German manner. His otherwise so reliable mimicry fails him here. The more sophisticated ear will soon discern the Jew.[479]

There is, then, no escape, in racialized antisemitism, from the metonymic linguistic stigma of the Jew. Reckendorf may have been a member of the *Verein für deutsche Reinsprache* and thus have sought to claim his Germanness in addition to his Jewishness. To Hauser, he and his ilk would eternally be one thing, and one thing only, the Jew.

Intriguingly, in his younger years, initially supported as a writer by Theodor Herzl,[480] Hauser inverted the alleged Jewish penchant for mimicry he denounces here by writing a "Jewish novel." His anonymously published *Das neue Jerusalem* (1905; The New Jerusalem) is notable because the author—apparently confirmed by the novel's subtitle, *Ein jüdischer Roman* (A Jewish Novel)—subversively dissimulated his Jewish identity in order to promote to the Jews their emigration to Palestine,[481] an objective which, as we have seen in the discussion of Franz Liszt's *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* in the first chapter of this study, chimed with antisemitic notions of resettling the alleged Jewish orientals in the Promised Land or elsewhere.[482]

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477 See Steinthal, "Reindeutsche Sprache," pp. 79–80.

478 Ibid., p. 80: "Eignen wir uns alle germanischen Tugenden an und halten wir unsre altjüdischen fest!"

479 Otto Hauser, *Die Juden und Halbjuden in der deutschen Literatur* (Danzig and Leipzig: "Der Mensch," 1933), p. 16: "Nichts scheidet den Juden—jeden Juden—so scharf von dem arischen Deutschen wie seine völlige Unfähigkeit, das Deutsche deutsch zu sprechen und zu schreiben. Seine sonst so bewährte Mimikry scheitert hier. Das feinere Ohr merkt alsbald den Juden heraus."

480 See Axel Stähler, "Orientalist Strategies in a German 'Jewish' Novel: *Das neue Jerusalem* (1905) and its Context," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 45.1 (2009): 51–89, 51.

481 See [Otto Hauser], *Das neue Jerusalem: Ein jüdischer Roman* (Stuttgart: Bonz, 1905).

482 See Stähler, "Orientalist Strategies in a German 'Jewish' Novel," 51–89.

For Reckendorf, as for Steinheim and Philippson, the Promised Land of Israel is not the telos of the Jewish trajectory. His *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten* makes very clear what he already promoted in his first novel, that the promised land of the Jews is actually to be found in the diaspora. His novel moreover illustrates Jewish liberation and emancipation through the "pure" use of the German language. His objective is dissimilation, the free development of Jewish particularity and its absorption within a unified, free, and tolerant German nation in the wider context of a teleological progression of the monotheistic idea.

Jewish Emancipation, Future Resurrection, and Resurgence

Blumberg's narrative revolves around three missions undertaken by him in order to alleviate the dire conditions to which his fellow Jews are subjected. The first of his journeys, all three of which are historical, takes him to Damascus to rebut the blood libel of 1840. His second mission leads him to Russia, and his final assignment sees him in Rome to obtain the release of Edgardo Mortara from the papal authorities. The boy, as was mentioned in the first chapter of this study, was abducted during the administration of the papal Cardinal Secretary of State Giacomo Antonelli from his home in Bologna because he had secretely been baptized by a maid during an illness. With Blumberg's journey to Rome, his narrative connects with Ephraim's. Rome emerges from both their narratives as a persistent obstacle to Jewish emancipation and affirmation that needs to be surmounted or subverted.

As seen above, the significance of Rome's ancient manifestation is superseded in Ephraim's narrative with his denunciation of its Catholic (re-)incarnation. While still believing in the teleological progress of history, the Jewish soldier nevertheless acknowledges toward the conclusion of his narrative that the Roman Republic and its abolition of the ghetto were short-lived.[483] The Papal States were indeed first restored already in 1800 and then again in 1814; and with them were restored the anti-Jewish laws of the ecclesiastical state which the Roman Republic had suspended but all too briefly. The Mortara affair, in which Blumberg's narrative culminates, made this very palpable. Yet while Blumberg's intervention in the affair in 1859 remains futile, Reckendorf nevertheless invokes its historical

483 See Reckendorf, *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 189.

context to emphasize the metaphorical, or perhaps even metonymic, significance of the *risorgimento* for the envisioned victory of "freedom, light, and truth."[484]

Following the futile meeting with the arrogant Antonelli, the cardinal's private secretary secretely visits Blumberg. Transformed from the quiet and near-invisible shadow as which he appeared before into a forceful agent, Freschi reveals himself to Blumberg as his nephew who suffered a fate similar to that of the young Mortara. The crypto-Jew secretely has a leading role in the revolutionary conspiracy against the authority of the Papal States. He invites Blumberg to attend one of the conspirators' meetings in the subterranean catacombs underneath St Peter's. The evocation of the cathedral anticipates its resplendent image in Spillmann and de Waal where it symbolizes the triumph of the Catholic Church. Yet it subverts the triumphalism of the later Catholic writers. In Reckendorf's novel, elaborating a compelling symbolism of its own, the very foundations of St Peter's are undermined by the conspirators.

The focus of *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten* on Italy was suggested to the author by contemporary events. In the aftermath of the Second Italian War of Independence of 1859, Rome was declared the capital of the newly-created Kingdom of Italy in 1861, though it was in fact still under papal rule. It was not until 1870 that the capture of Rome proclaimed the effective end of the Papal States, with the exception of the Vatican State—though this could not yet, of course, have been known to Reckendorf in 1863 when he completed the manuscript of his novel.

Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten is, moreover, likely to have been based to some extent on *Rom und Jerusalem* by Moses Hess (1862), which has already been mentioned in relation to Herrig's *Jerusalem* and Kossarski's *Titus*. The proto-Zionist publication contextualized the idea of an emergent Jewish nationalism with contemporary European nationalisms. Like Reckendorf's novel, it was inspired by the contemporary success of the *risorgimento* and was informed by a strong anti-Catholic sentiment. Summing up the agonizing history of the Catholic–Jewish encounter, Hess protested:

> From the time that Innocent III evolved the diabolical plan to destroy the moral stamina of the Jews, the bearers of Spanish culture to the world of Christendom, by forcing them to wear a badge of shame on their garments, until the audacious kidnapping of a Jewish child from the house of his parents [i.e., Edgardo Mortara], which occurred under the government of Cardinal Antonelli, Papal Rome symbolizes to the Jews an inexhaustible well of poison.[485]

484 Ibid., p. 382.

485 Hess, *Rome and Jerusalem*, p. 35; see also Hess, *Rom und Jerusalem*, p. XIII: "Seitdem Innocenz III. den teuflischen Plan fasste, die Juden, welche damals das Licht der spanischen Cultur in die Christenheit trugen, moralisch zu vernichten durch den Zwang, den er ihnen auferlegen

Reckendorf clearly echoes the polemic denunciation of the Catholic Church by the political writer and philospher, yet he does not adopt the national-Jewish perspective so forcefully projected by Hess:

> With the disappearance of the hostility of Christianity to culture, there ceases also its animosity to Judaism; with the liberation of the Eternal City on the banks of the Tiber, begins the liberation of the Eternal City on the slopes of Moriah; the renaissance of Italy heralds the rise of Judah.[486]

To Reckendorf, the rise of Judah is not predicated on any particular geographical space but on spiritual resurgence in a humanitarian context. This, in turn, had been rejected by Hess who saw in the amalgamation of Enlightenment values and the concept of a Jewish mission an insoluble inherent contradiction:

> But what I do not understand is, how it is possible to believe simultaneously in "enlightenment" and in a Jewish Mission in exile; in other words, in the ultimate dissolution and in the continued existence of Judaism at the same time.[487]

To Reckendorf, there is no contradiction; he exemplifies this in the person of his illustrious narrator who, as a British Jew, embodies to him a fully emancipated Jew with all civil liberties but who nevertheless also fully retains his Jewishness. The latter point is illustrated early on in Blumberg's narrative, when he and his wife encounter aboard the packet across the Channel a Protestant missionary who is a member of what Blumberg ironically refers to as the "commendable Institute of Jewish Soul Fishery."[488] Implicitly exemplifying not only traditional gender roles but also the distinction between synagogue and world promoted already in *Geheimnisse der Juden*, both Blumberg and his wife are pictured reading in the vessel's salon: she, associated with the domestic sphere, in the Bible; and he, socially active outside home and synagogue and emulating the English gentleman, in the papers.

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liess, einen Schandfleck auf ihre Kleider zu heften, bis zu dem frechen Raube eines jüdischen Kindes aus dem Hause seiner Eltern unter der Regierung des Cardinals Antonelli, war das päpstliche Rom für die Juden eine unversiegbare Giftquelle."

486 Hess, *Rome and Jerusalem*, p. 35; see also Hess, *Rom und Jerusalem*, p. XIII: "Mit dem feindlichen Verhältnis des Christenthums zur Cultur hört auch sein feindliches Verhältnis zum Judenthume auf; mit der Befreiung der ewigen Stadt an der Tiber beginnt auch jene der ewigen Stadt auf Moria, mit der Wiedergeburt Italiens auch die Auferstehung Judäas."

487 Hess, *Rome and Jerusalem*, p. 117; see also Hess, *Rom und Jerusalem*, p. 55: "Was ich weniger begreife, ist die Zumuthung, dass man zugleich für die Aufklärung und den 'Beruf des Judenthums in der Zerstreuung,' d.h. zugleich für seine *Auflösung* und für seinen *Fortbestand* schwärmen soll." See also the following "Ninth Letter," pp. 118–26 and pp. 56–61, respectively.

488 Reckendorf, *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 237: "löblichen Judenseelfischerei-Anstalt."

When both Blumberg and his wife fall asleep, the impudent missionary takes the holy book from her hands and marks particular passages with dog-ears and red pencil: "The direction these inflicted dog-ears in the Bible took pointed towards some very well-known passages in Isaiah, in the Psalms, Micah, Zechariah, and so on. The from the Christian perspective most relevant central passages had been highlighted with red pencil."[489] Notably, the impertinent evangelist whom Blumberg briskly reprimands is recognized by him as an eastern European Jewish convert.[490] The passage is intriguing because it is the first of several in which Jews are essentialized as recognizably oriental in appearance, though in this case the eastern European provenance of the apostate is even more important because it serves the author to articulate his criticism not only of the dubious conversion practices of the mission to the Jews but also of the supposed degradation of many eastern European Jews.[491] Throughout Blumberg's narrative, though he emphasizes that good and evil are everywhere,[492] the author elaborates a hierarchy of Jewishness, with the eastern European Jew—stereotypically represented as grovelling and spiritually frequently blinkered—at the bottom, and the English Jew, free in mind and body, at its very apex. It serves to reinforce the author's belief into the beneficial amalgamation of enlightenment with Judaism as the product of which he presents Blumberg. This emerges most palpably later in the novel in an exchange of Blumberg with a Russian consul:

> "You are a Hebrew, then; why not, after all? You do not look at all like it!"
> "And what is a Hebrew supposed to look like? is he not a man, then, like other men?"
> "Your whole bearing, your conduct, your language do not at all suggest that you are of this nation."
> "Our *bearing* depends *on the way* in which the *government* keeps us, our *conduct* on what the law *gives* us, our *language*, finally, corresponds to the way in which we are *talked* about. If the *Russian* Jews had a civil position like the English Jews, they would be completely different."[493]

489 Ibid., p. 239: "Die Richtung der stattgehabten Einbiegungen in der Bibel ging nach einigen sehr bekannten Stellen im Jesaias, in den Psalmen, Micha, Zacharias u.s.w. Die der christlichen Ansicht nach treffendsten Hauptstellen waren mit rothem Blei angestrichen."

490 See ibid., p. 240.

491 In Reckendorf's contrasting descriptions of the noble Sephardic Blumberg (Montefiore) and the degenerate eastern European Jews is manifest the "Ashkenazic myth of Sephardic supremacy" described by Efron, *German Jewry and the Allure of the Sephardic*, pp. 45, 78, 191.

492 See Reckendorf, *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 321.

493 Ibid., p. 287: "'Sind Sie also ein Hebräer, warum nicht gar? Sie sehen mir gar nicht danach aus!' 'Und wie soll denn ein Hebräer aussehen? ist er etwa kein Mensch wie andere Menschen?' 'Ihre ganze Haltung, Ihr Benehmen, Ihre Sprache zeugen keineswegs dafür, daß Sie jener Nation angehören.' 'Unsere *Haltung* hängt *davon* ab, wie die *Regierung* uns hält, unser *Benehmen* von

The contrast between the liberties of English Jews and the fettered existence not only of Russian but also of German Jews is illustrated when a Jew from Berlin joins the conversation aboard the packet. Having witnessed Blumberg's dressing down of the missionary, he laments:

> In England you enjoy a good life, where there is religious freedom and one may freely demonstrate one's contempt towards those miserable [men; i.e., the missionaries]. *We* in Berlin, where sanctimoniousness has its greatest patrons among the *highest circles*, and where a position is awarded according to one's *certificate of baptism* rather than one's *intellectual abilities*, we have a hard time with them.[494]

The nameless German Jew presumably refers to institutions such as the *Preußische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft* (Prussian Central Bible Society) and the *Gesellschaft zur Beförderung des Christenthums unter den Juden* (Society for the Advancement of Christianity among the Jews) which, as mentioned in the previous chapter, included members from the highest echelons of society. He complains: "In no other European state, with the exception of Russia, are the Jews treated as stepmotherly as in Prussia."[495]

Subsequently, the German Jew excuses himself because he wishes to join the *table d'hôte* on the boat. Challenged by Blumberg in the face of his blatant breach of the laws of *kashrut*, he proclaims that he is a "*Reformer*."[496] In the ensuing debate Blumberg confronts the ill-considered ideas of his interlocutor who fails to provide a convincing definition of Reform Judaism as essentially different from the other monotheistic religions. Blumberg eventually posits that there are two different strains of Reform Judaism. One, with which he associates the German Jewish Reformer, "which assails what is most venerable and primal in Judaism, which seeks to discard the covenant of Abraham, to shift the Sabbath to Sunday,

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dem, was das Gesetz uns *gibt*, unsere *Sprache* endlich richtet sich darnach, wie man von uns *spricht*. Hätten die *russischen* Juden eine solche bürgerliche Stellung, wie die englischen, wären sie ganz anders."

494 Ibid., p. 241: "In England haben Sie's noch gut, wo Freiheit der Kirche herrscht und man jenen Elenden [i.e., the missionaries] frei und offen seine Verachtung bezeugen kann. *Wir* in Berlin, wo das Muckerthum unter den *höchsten Kreisen* seine größten Gönner hat, und bei Besetzung einer Stelle früher nach dem *Taufschein*, als nach den *geistigen Fähigkeiten* gefragt wird, haben unsere schwere Noth mit ihnen."

495 Ibid., p. 242: "In keinem Staate Europa's, mit Ausnahme Rußlands, werden die Juden von der Regierung so stiefmütterlich behandelt als in Preußen."

496 See ibid., p. 244.

and altogether to reduce the faith to a few insipid principles;"[497] and another, with which Blumberg affiliates himself, "which desires not to overthrow, but to develop, or rather: to rejuvenate the old venerable tradition."[498] In the novel, Blumberg embodies and promotes this moderate Reform throughout. The obvious rejection of extreme Reform in *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten* challenges Ben-Ari's identification of Reckendorf as an extreme Reformer, which was also questioned by Skolnik in relation to the writer's earlier *Geheimnisse der Juden*.[499]

Blumberg's exchange with the German Reform Jew prompts another insolent intervention of the missionary who praises "a third, oldest, and most perfect reform of Judaism"; he elaborates:

> a reform which recognises the Jewish revelation as *true*, shifted the Sabbath also to Sunday, established instead of the covenant of Abraham a much more effective one, did not reduce the faith to a few insipid principles but rather made it central; a reform, finally, which cleared jungles and transformed half-naked savages into civilised humans; and this reform is—*Christianity!*[500]

Unimpressed, Blumberg responds with implicit criticism of the other's pervasive colonialist attitude, and the corresponding dubious practices, with which the missionary's encomium of Christianity is suffused:

> Certainly it hopes [i.e., Judaism], that its vision of God should one day rule the universe; but not by *base means*: not by brute force, not by enticement, not by bribery, not by thrusting conversion tracts [upon others], but exclusively by the power of the *truth inherent in it alone!*[501]

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497 Ibid., p. 246: "welche an das Ehrwürdigste, Ursprünglichste des Judenthums Hand anlegt, den Bund Abrahams gänzlich abschaffen, den Sabbath auf den Sonntag verlegen und überhaupt den ganzen Glauben auf einige flache Grundsätze verflüchtigen will."

498 Ibid.: "welche nicht den Umsturz, sondern vielmehr eine Fortbildung oder besser: Verjüngung der alten ehrwürdigen Ueberlieferung wünscht."

499 See Skolnik's review of Ben-Ari's study, Jonathan Skolnik, "Romance with the past: The Nineteenth-Century German-Jewish Historical Novel and the Creation of a National Literature by Nitsa Ben-Ari," *AJS Review* 24.1 (1999): 145–7, 146.

500 Reckendorf, *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 247: "eine dritte, älteste und vollkommenste Reform des Judenthums [. . .]: eine Reform, welche die jüdische Offenbarung als *wahr* anerkennt, den Sabbath ebenfalls auf den Sonntag verlegte, anstatt des Bundes Abrahams einen weit wirksamern einsetzte, den Glauben aber nicht auf einige flache Grundsätze verflüchtigt, sondern vielmehr zur Hauptsache macht; eine Reform endlich, welche Urwälder lichtete und halb nackte Wilden zu gesitteten Menschen umschuf; und jene Reform ist—*das Christenthum!*"

501 Ibid., p. 250: "Wohl hofft es [i.e., Judaism], daß seine Gottesanschauung einst den Weltall [*sic*] beherrschen werde; aber durch *keine niedrigen Mittel*: nicht durch rohe Gewalt, nicht durch Verlockung, nicht durch Bestechung, nicht durch Aufdringung von Bekehrungsschriften, sondern einzig und allein durch die Kraft der *ihm ausschließlich innewohnenden Wahrheit!*"

The effect of Blumberg's rational approach, which reflects ideas elaborated by Philippson in his *Die Entwickelung der religiösen Idee im Judenthume, Christenthume und Islam*, is ascertained with the effect his admonition has on the German Jew, whom he 'converts' to his own moderate Reform position.

The rather brief concluding section of *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten* offers no coherent narrative voice but presents a sequence of poems which, being entitled "Denkschrift der Zukunft" (Memorandum of the Future) and dated "In the year 19 . . . . . AD,"[502] is given a utopian dimension. The first of these poems, "*Eine Synagogenweihe zu Madrid*" (Consecration of a Synagogue in Madrid) suggests the future closing of the historical circle after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 with their return—not to the Land of Israel—but to the Iberian peninsula; in particular, it envisages the 'resurrection' of the Abarbanels in Spain:[503]

> Arise ye, ye Abarbanels,
> Awake, ye dry bones!
> And praise God with all your might,
> Here, in this sacred alliance![504]

The reference to dry bones evokes Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones in which the bones of the people of Israel in exile are revealed to the prophet who is then enjoined to resurrect them through the word of God and to lead them to the Promised Land.[505] Yet in line with the revaluation of Jewish exile throughout his previous novel, Reckendorf substitutes the diaspora for the Land of Israel as a new Promised Land; the dry bones of the Abarbanels are resurrected in Spain, which, in the Fourteenth Sabbath, set in 984 CE under Muslim rule, is extolled as "truly a Promised Land"[506]—outside the Land of Israel.

The second poem, "*Das Seminar zu Rom*" (The Seminary at Rome) links the concluding utopian section with the preceding narrative by seeing the old Edgardo Mortara return to the doors of the seminary at Rome where, as related by Blumberg, he was detained as a child and forced to imbibe Catholic doctrine. Like the synagogue

502 Ibid., p. 383: "Im Jahre 19 . . . . . n. Chr."

503 The expulsion from Spain is narrated by Isaak Abarbanel in the Nineteenth Sabbat, "Der Wanderstab" (The Walking Stick), see Herrmann Reckendorf, *Die Geheimnisse der Juden* (Leipzig: Gerhard, 1857), IV, 139–56 and V, 3–39.

504 Reckendorf, *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 386: "Erhebet Euch, Abarbanele, / Erwacht, vertrocknete Gebeine! / Und preiset Gott mit voller Kehle, / Hier in dem heiligen Vereine!"

505 See Ezekiel 37.

506 Herrmann Reckendorf, *Geheimnisse der Juden* (Leipzig: Gerhard, 1857), III, 147: "Spanien ist für uns Juden wahrhaftig ein gelobtes Land."

in Madrid, the seminary has become a place for Jewish learning, it has been transformed into a Jewish theological seminary. Its students enthuse toward Mortara:

> At an end is the Papal State,
> The rule of chubby cheeks;
> The noble seed of the doctrine of God
> Has magnificently germinated;
> Free, Israel now raises its head
> High on Roma's soil,
> And hopes with confidence, and believes,
> That *it* shall be victorious one day.[507]

In another implicit allusion to the Ahasuerus legend, Mortara, his course fulfilled, then asks God for his death.

The third poem, "*Eine deutsche Kaiserwahl*" (A German Imperial Election), intriguingly makes no mention of Jews at all but invokes an image of German unity with the coronation of a German Emperor. The Jewish particular, it is implied, is fully integrated within German unity, which Reckendorf, in the years immediately before the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, presumably still envisioned under Austrian hegemony.[508] Reckendorf's vision, earlier expressed in his speech on occasion of the Schiller Festival, once again moreover seems to echo Riesser's declaration of faith in Jewish emancipation in a politically unified and free Germany.

At the center of the following poem, "*Ein einiges Judenthum*" (A Unified Judaism) is the author's vision of internal Jewish reconciliation. Finally, in the concluding poem, "*Schluß*" (Conclusion), Reckendorf elaborates a metaphor of Judaism's universal resurgence which echoes Steinheim's *Gesänge aus der Verbannung* in whose frame narrative was drawn the image of a steadily growing river flowing ever westward and thus projecting as its—and the Jewish diaspora's—telos the New World. Reckendorf modifies and expands Steinheim's metaphor by describing the river flowing from Jerusalem as "long misjudged" and "muddied" and giving life to two great rivers, one flowing west, the other east.[509] They deny their origin and become increasingly muddy; yet, as Reckendorf emphasizes in contrast to Steinheim, since the earth is a sphere, both involuntarily return to their origin; their waters slowly are purified and they realize that they went too far from their source:

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507 Reckendorf, *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 390: "Geendet hat der Kirchenstaat, / Die Herrschaft feister Wangen; / Der Gotteslehre edle Saat / Ist herrlich aufgegangen; / Frei hebt nun Israel sein Haupt / Empor auf Roma's Erde, / Und hofft mit Zuversicht und glaubt, / Daß *sein* der Sieg einst werde."

508 See ibid., p. 393.

509 See ibid., p. 399: "Lange verkannt und verschlammt."

"[. . .] We forgot the river which gave us our being.
Now we shall remain together; no fate shall separate us any more;
With unified force, we shall rule the world!"
This beneficial river is the Jewish faith,
Which the [other] rivers are, you will easily guess, o reader.
One day shall resound the call from all the ends of the earth:
"God Jehovah rules, sole is He, and one!—"[510]

Clearly, the two rivers are meant to signify Christianity and Islam which, as envisaged also by Philippson in his lectures on *Die Entwickelung der religiösen Idee im Judenthume, Christenthume und Islam* and on the religious idea, should return to the pure monotheism of Judaism.

In his speech on occasion of the Schiller Festival in 1860, between his two novels, Reckendorf envisaged a progression from the purity of language to the purity of thought and, eventually, of action. Action and agency are considered by the author constitutive elements of Judaism which need to be recovered without contradiction to Jewish observance, as exemplified in the narratives of Ephraim and Blumberg.

Ephraim, the Jewish soldier, fights for Enlightenment values, but he does not abandon his Jewishness. Echoing Samson Raphael Hirsch's insistence that Judaism "comprises all of life" and that to be a Jew "is the sum total of our life's purpose,"[511] he insists: "Judaism is *action*, which permeates all fibres of life and can only be abandoned with death."[512] Blumberg, too, emphasizing the pragmatic nature of Ju-

510 Ibid.: "'[. . .] Wir vergaßen den Strom, welcher das Dasein uns gab. / Nun zusammen wir bleiben; kein Schicksal soll uns mehr trennen; / Mit vereinigter Kraft herrschen wir über die Welt!' / Jener segenreiche Strom ist der jüdische Glaube, / Welche die Flüsse sind, räthst Du, o Leser, ja leicht. / Einst ertönet der Ruf durch alle Enden der Erde: / 'Gott Jehovah regiert, einzig und einig ist Er!—"

511 Samson Raphael Hirsch, "Religion Allied to Progress" [1854], in *Collected Writings* (New York: Feldheim, 1990), VI, 107–50, 122; see also [Samson Raphael Hirsch], *Die Religion im Bunde mit dem Fortschritt, von einem Schwarzen* (Frankfurt a. M.: Baist, 1854), p. 16: "Judenthum umfaßt das ganze Leben, Jude sein ist die Summe unserer Lebensaufgabe [. . .]. Das Judenthum ist kein Zubehör zum Leben, Jude sein, ist kein Theil der Lebensaufgabe, Judenthum umfaßt das ganze Leben, Jude sein ist die Summe unserer Lebensaufgabe, in der Kirche und der Küche, auf dem Acker und im Gewölbe, im Büreau und auf der Kanzel, als Vater und Mutter, als Sohn und Tochter, als Diener und Meister, als Mensch, Bürger, mit Gedanken und Gefühlen, mit Worten und mit Thaten, mit Genuß und Entbehrung, mit der Nadel und dem Grabstichel, mit der Feder und dem Meißel Jude sein,—ein *ganzes* vom Gottesgedanken getragenes, dem Willen Gottes gemäß vollendetes *Leben*—*das heißt Judenthum*."

512 Reckendorf, *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 82: "Judenthum ist *That*, welche alle Fasern des Lebens durchzieht und kann nur mit dem Tode abgelegt werden."

daism, explains to a Russian official: "Judaism has no dogmas" and, asked on what then it is based, he responds: "On *action* and *life*."[513] The prominence accorded by Blumberg to action may well have been derived from Ludwig Philippson, whose sermon on "Die That" (1845; The Deed) extols Judaism as a "*religion of action*"[514] both in terms of ethics and of connecting the faithful, without an intermediary, to the divinity.[515]

Built into the sequence of narratives of Reckendorf's novels is the notion of a historical progression which suggests that Judaism perfects itself in response to the challenges of the exterior world. Its trajectory is projected by the author onto the revaluation of the diaspora as a new promised land with the telos of Jewish world domination in a spiritual sense as it was also envisaged by Salomon Ludwig Steinheim. This progression is predicated on the processes of the dissemination of Enlightenment values and of the purification of the monotheistic idea, which is articulated in the notion of the Jewish mission.

Envisioning the Reconciliation of Christianity and Judaism: Ring

The seventh decade of the nineteenth century was notable for the rapid rise of antisemitism in Germany. To some measure this was a response to the financial crisis of the *Gründerkrach* (Founders' crash) of 1873 and the alleged involvement of Jewish financiers, but it was further instigated through a proliferation of antisemitic literature, such as Rohling's *Der Talmudjude* (1871), Rebbert's *Christenschutz—nicht Judenhatz* (1876), the anonymous *Der Mauscheljude* (1879) and Glagau's *Des Reiches Noth und der neue Culturkampf* (1879), all mentioned in the previous chapter. The final year of the decade, 1879, moreover brought an escalation of antisemitic agitation in Germany. The historian Heinrich von Treitschke perceived a "growing presumption" among German Jews and argued that antisemitic tendencies in Germany were in fact provoked by Jewish "complacency."[516] As an example, he cited Heinrich Graetz whose eleventh and final volume of his *Geschichte der Juden* (1870) covers the most recent period from 1750 to 1848. The Prussian historian accused Graetz

513 Ibid., p. 326: "Das Judenthum hat keine Dogmen. [. . .] Auf *That* und *Leben*."
514 Philippson, "Die That," 247: "*eine Religion der That*."
515 See ibid., 248.
516 Treitschke, "Herr Graetz und sein Judenthum," 660: "der wachsende Übermuth [. . .] Selbstgerechtigkeit."

of preaching in this volume "fierce hatred" of Christianity and "haughty, provocative contempt" toward the German people.[517]

Treitschke's comments in *Preußische Jahrbücher* in November and December 1879 initiated a fierce controversy which became known as the *Berliner Antisemitismusstreit* (1879–81; Berlin antisemitism debate).[518] In addition, originally coined by Moritz Steinschneider in relation to Renan already in 1860,[519] the very term antisemitism was introduced into public discourse from within the circle around the journalist Wilhelm Marr in 1879 who declared in his pamphlet *Der Sieg des Judenthums über das Germanenthum* (1879; The Victory of Judaism over Germanism) that Germanness had already been vanquished by the Jews and founded the *Antisemiten-Liga* (League of Antisemites) in September of the same year.[520]

Though first published before the worst of these anti-Semitic excesses in instalments in *Deutsche Roman-Zeitung* already in May 1879, Max Ring's *Das Haus Hillel* nevertheless needs to be understood within the context of the mounting antisemitic tension of the decade. The author strove to re-negotiate Jewishness without the triumphalism of which Graetz—but also Jewish theologians, such as the Reformer Abraham Geiger, who challenged Christian conceptions with their insistence on the Jewishness of Jesus[521]—had been accused. Instead, he sought to offer a conciliatory perspective on Judaism and Christianity. Ring thus intervened in the process promoted already by Herrmann Reckendorf in relation to literary engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem, if within the wider scope of Jewish history since the destruction of the First Temple.

Like Reckendorf, but also like many Christian writers of both denominations, Ring suggests in *Das Haus Hillel* the contemporary relevance and resonance of the Roman Empire as the avatar of the secular modern state and civilization. It is a commonweal of political ambition and rational calculus in which morality and true religion have no real value. They are perceived at best as vehicles for political governance and at worst as impediments to human aggrandizement. Ring's novel, like other novels engaging with the historical occurrence of the destruction of Jerusalem thus includes a strong element of cultural criticism. In distinction from novels of Christian provenance, however, Ring valorizes in another histori-

517 Ibid., 665: "wilden Haß [. . .] hoffärtige, herausfordernde Verachtung."

518 For Treitschke's incendiary essays, see "Unsere Aussichten" and "Herr Graetz und sein Judenthum."

519 Moritz Steinschneider, "Zur Charakteristik der semitischen Völker," *Hamaskir* 3 (1860): 16.

520 See Wilhelm Marr, *Der Sieg des Judenthums über das Germanenthum: Vom nicht confessionellen Standpunkt aus betrachtet* (Bern: Costenoble, 1879).

521 See Susannah Heschel, *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 15.

cal parallel of contemporary resonance the Jewish ghetto as the origin of Jewish enlightenment and elaborates through his Jewish protagonist the implicit revaluation and valorization of the Jewish mission.

The Pursuit of Tolerance

Max Ring's (1817–1901) novel *Das Haus Hillel: Historischer Roman aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1879; The House of Hillel: Historical Novel of the Time of the Destruction of Jerusalem) was reissued after its initial journal publication in three volumes later in the same year by the magazine's publisher, Otto Janke, in Berlin.[522] The subtitle of the journal publication intriguingly omits reference to the destruction of Jerusalem and instead locates the narrative merely in the first century. It seems likely that the revised subtitle of the independent book publication reflects market trends and constitutes an attempt to associate Ring's novel with the emerging tradition of novels on the historical subject.

Born in rural Upper Silesia and of assimilated Jewish heritage, Ring was a trained physician who later worked mainly in Berlin as journalist and writer.[523] Conspicuous for his critical response to the social and political origins of the Silesian typhus epidemic of 1847–48, during which he served as a physician,[524] and politically active in the revolution of 1848, Ring moved frequently in the early period of his literary creativity.[525] In this period, he also developed a close friendship with Berthold Auerbach, whom he met in Breslau (present-day Wrocław in Poland) in 1848. Ring moreover maintained friendly relations with Leopold Zunz, the founder of *Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, and the Jewish Reformer Abraham Geiger.[526]

522 See Ring, *Haus Hillel*; for the previous journal publication in instalments, see Max Ring, "Das Haus Hillel: Historischer Roman aus dem ersten Jahrhundert n. Chr.," *Deutsche Roman-Zeitung* 16.2 (1879): 161–202, 241–80, 321–58, 401–40, 481–518, 561–600, 641–74, 721–60, 801–35, 881–910. The novel was also published, in German, in instalments throughout the first volume of the American journal *Germania: A Fortnightly Journal for the Study of the German Language and Literature* (1889), edited by A[ugust] W[erner] Spanhoofd.

523 Two examples of Ring's increasingly patriotic stance are, e.g., *Vaterländische Geschichten*, 2 vols (Berlin: Janke, 1862) and *Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht: Louis Napoleon Bonaparte* (Berlin: Allgemeine Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1870).

524 The publication of a report by Ring was suppressed by the censor though his efforts were acknowledged, see Michael Fraenkel, "Max Ring: Das Lebensbild eines oberschlesischen Dichters," *Der Oberschlesier* 12.7 (1930): 510–17, 512.

525 For Ring's biography, see Adolph Kohut, "Max Ring. Zu seinem 80. Geburtstag," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 61.31 (July 30, 1897): 369–70 and Fraenkel, "Max Ring," 510–17.

526 See Kohut, "Max Ring," 370.

When Ring settled in Berlin in 1850, he quickly became immersed in the literary life of the Prussian capital. After having been a theater critic already in Breslau, he became a critic for the influential *Vossische Zeitung* and a regular contributor to the popular *Die Gartenlaube*. Ring joined the *salon* of Luise Mühlbach (i.e., Clara Mundt), where he struck a friendship with the notoriously difficult Gutzkow, and became a member of the *Tunnel über die Spree* (Tunnel above the Spree) literary society in 1852.[527] The society, initially called *Sonntags-Verein zu Berlin* (Sunday Society at Berlin), was established in 1827 in response to its founder, the Jewish writer and satirist Moritz Gottlieb Saphir, being denied membership in the *Neue Mittwochs-Gesellschaft* (New Wednesday Society; founded in 1824) by Julius Eduard Hitzig, who was mentioned in the previous chapter as a converted supporter of the Christian mission to the Jews.

In particular in its early period, the *Tunnel* society included many Jewish members who were keen to circumvent antisemitic discrimination.[528] Yet over the course of its existence, it was dissolved in 1898, the society attracted many other well-known writers as well as artists and composers. Each member went by an alias, chosen in deference to a famous deceased individual. Theodor Fontane (with the alias Lafontaine) joined in 1844; Wilhelm von Kaulbach became an honorary member in 1850 and Eduard Schüller, whose poetic engagement with the artist's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* was set to music by Emil Naumann in 1856, was a member since 1855 (with the alias Taxis) but had attended meetings as a guest as early as 1853; Theodor Storm, who later was to conduct Hiller's oratorio and sing the part of Achicam, joined in 1852 (with the alias Tannhäuser). Ring adopted Zinzendorf as his alias: Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, the founder of the Moravian Church whose Pietist endeavors included, as mentioned in the previous part, also the mission to the Jews and the attempt to form Jewish-Christian communities.

The writer's reverence toward the religious and social reformer may perhaps be explained with the publication of his second novel just before he became a member of the *Tunnel*. In *Die Kinder Gottes* (1851; The Children of God), Ring attributes to Zinzendorf "mild tolerance" and the wish "to restore the initial simplicity and purity of Christianity and form congregations in which Christian brotherly love should become the common bond for all members."[529] He moreover maintains that "the rare

527 Ring withdrew from the *Tunnel* in 1863, see Anike Rössig, *Juden und andere "Tunnelianer": Gesellschaft und Literatur im Berliner "Sonntags-Verein"* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2008), p. 284.

528 See Hubertus Fischer, "Der 'jüdische' Tunnel über der Spree und die Politik. Ein Kapitel vergessener Vereinsgeschichte," *Zeitschrift für Germanistik* N.F. 4.3 (1994): 557–74, 557.

529 Max Ring, *Die Kinder Gottes*, 3 vols (Breslau: Kern, 1851), II, 83: "sanfte Duldung" and II, 84: "Er wollte die erste Einfachheit und Reinheit des Christenthums wiederherstellen und Gemein-

amalgamation of religious enthusiasm with a practical mind"[530] distinguished the founder of the Moravian Church from other sectarians and that his ideas therefore had a "socialist hue."[531] In the concluding section of the historical novel, the author goes so far as to note that, "in consideration of the Moravian communities, the viability of a communist state may no longer be called into question."[532]

And yet, the eventual flight of Ring's protagonist from the Moravian community exposes what the narrator presents as the fatal flaws of Zinzendorf's endeavors. The Moravian community curtails individual freedom and favors the transcendent realm; as such, it denies the liberal principles developed by Spinoza in his philosophy of immanence which motivate the protagonist's secession. There emerges, moreover, from Ring's early novel a deep mistrust of, and aversion to, any religious enthusiasm and mysticism. His narrator maintains that these "are frequently rooted in sensuality and are only a dangerous kind of wantonness."[533] Instead, the author valorizes tolerance. The promotion of tolerance was indeed a serious preoccupation of Ring's throughout his life, both in his politics and in his writing—and once again, more specifically, also in his novel about the destruction of Jerusalem.

The House of Hillel and the Children of God

Certainly to some extent formulaic and evidently the product of the author's engagement with pre-existing fiction on the subject, but also a number of well-researched historical studies and theological literature, *Das Haus Hillel* nevertheless offers an idiosyncratic engagement with the historical episode from a liberal Jewish perspective. As indicated above, the novel appeared at a time when antisemitic sentiments and agitation were proliferating in Germany. In this atmosphere of mounting antisemitism, Ring's novel continues the tolerant and conciliatory trajectory elaborated by Herrmann Reckendorf in the Sixth Sabbath of his *Geheimnisse der Juden*. Its objective is already indicated by the novel's title. The

den bilden, in denen die christliche Bruderliebe das gemeinschaftliche Band für alle Mitglieder werden sollte."

530 Ring, *Kinder Gottes*, II, 85: "die seltene Vereinigung von religiöser Schwärmerei mit praktischem Sinn."

531 Ibid.: "socialistische Färbung."

532 Ibid., III, 360: "Die Lebensfähigkeit eines kommunistischen Staates ist im Angesichte der Brüdergemeinden nicht länger zu bezweifeln." *Das Manifest der kommunistischen Partei* (1848; *The Communist Manifesto*) was published only three years prior to Ring's novel by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

533 Ring, *Kinder Gottes*, III, 201: "Religiöse Verzückung und Schwärmerei wurzeln oft tief in der Sinnlichkeit und sind nur eine gefährliche Art von Wollust."

House of Hillel, *Bet Hillel* in Hebrew, refers to one of the predominant Judaic schools of thought in the Mishnaic period, which includes the time of the destruction of the Second Temple. Opposed to the House of Shammai (*Bet Shammai*), which has been characterized as intransigent, stringent, and severe in the interpretation of the Law, the House of Hillel has been described as peaceful, gentle, conciliatory, and moderate.[534]

In Ring's novel, whose narrative commences a few years before the destruction of Jerusalem, the House of Hillel has a literal as well as a figurative meaning. It is the actual house of Hillel the Elder in Jerusalem in which his descendants, also referred to as the House of Hillel, still reside, and where the eponymous school established by the sage is led by the current head of the family, the wise and mild Simon; figuratively, it refers to this school and, more specifically, to its tolerant stance.

Arriving from Babylon—like his illustrious relative, generations before him—Ruben, a descendant of Hillel's brother, joins the House of Hillel to study the Law. As in so many novels about the destruction of Jerusalem, the author utilizes the figure of the new arrival as a focalizer to describe the glory and magnificence of Jerusalem and the Temple as it appears to the impressionable young man. Yet Ruben is soon to be disabused of his admiration:

> Only a few days of his sojourn in Jerusalem were sufficient to destroy his splendid illusions and to disappoint him. He found the great and distinguished families to be corrupt, arrogant and avaricious, the people to be fanatic and narrow-minded; instead of unity, fierce party hatred; instead of tolerance and love, persecution and conflict; instead of the freedom of which he dreamt, the double bondage of the city which was ruled by fanatic Zealots and the detested Romans.
> Only in the House of Hillel ruled that mild spirit and genuine piety which he was painfully missing in anyone else.[535]

As he attends the Temple service on the Day of Atonement, the tolerant student of the Law finds himself protecting against the fury of the rabble and the confrontation with the Temple guard an old man who preaches in the colonnades against

534 See, e.g., Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), p. 164.

535 Ring, *Haus Hillel*, I, 64: "Wenige Tage seines Aufenthalts in Jerusalem hatten hingereicht, seine glänzenden Illusionen zu zerstören und ihn zu enttäuschen. Er fand die großen und vornehmen Geschlechter verdorben, hochmüthig und habgierig, das Volk fanatisch und beschränkt, statt der Einheit wilden Parteihaß, statt Duldung und Liebe Verfolgung und Streit, statt der von ihm geträumten Freiheit die doppelte Knechtschaft der von fanatischen Zeloten und verhaßten Römern beherrschten Stadt. / Nur in dem Hause Hillels waltete jener milde Geist und jene echte Frömmigkeit, welche er bei allen Andern schmerzlich vermißte."

the practice of the sacrifice and the social inequality of the Jewish theocracy. Though in the end they escape unscathed, Ruben's courageous defence of the old man, who is accused of being a Nazarene, taints him by association. Not even aware of the Nazarenes and their beliefs, when Ruben is eventually told the story of Jesus by Simon, this only serves to exacerbate his doubts.

The protagonist's successive encounters with new ideas form a pattern frequently repeated in the novel that is also reminiscent of the *Bildungsroman* formula applied by Ring to *Die Kinder Gottes*. A brief look at the author's early novel is warranted in this context because it thematically prefigures *Das Haus Hillel* in many ways. *Die Kinder Gottes*, set in the first half of the eighteenth century and mentioned above in relation to Ring's deference to Zinzendorf, is centered on the religious education of Arnold von Klettenberg. The young boy progresses from the atheism imparted to him by his father (the historical figure of the alchemist Johann Hektor von Klettenberg) to Christianity (secretly taught to him by his mother in his adolescence) and, eventually, in manhood, to the Pietism of the Moravians (inspired by the woman he loves). Yet Arnold's educational trajectory is only completed once he liberates himself and his beloved from the constraints of the religious community. Intellectually and spiritually purified, he finally joins the group of artists and intellectuals gathered at the palace of Rheinsberg by the Prussian crown prince Friedrich, later to be Friedrich II, the Great.

In the third volume of *Die Kinder Gottes*, young Arnold is sent as a Moravian missionary to a Caribbean island where he is faced with the violence and cruelty of white plantation owners toward their slaves.[536] His intervention not only results in his being imprisoned and having to leave the island but precipitates an internal conflict which culminates in his "natural conclusion that religion was not able to make any man better, more virtuous, and therefore any happier."[537]

On the ship to Europe, Arnold meets the Portuguese Jew Nunnez Dacosta. The rich Sephardic merchant—having an interest in medicine, which not only recalls the author's own training as a physician but invokes contemporary social developments and stereotypes of Jewish doctors[538]—saves a fellow missionary of Arnold's from a severe tropical fever. As a consequence, the young Moravian over-

536 The moral reprehensibility of the actions of the plantation owners is explained by the author with reference to stereotypes of medical and colonial discourse: "the colonists [were] unnerved by the southern life and debauchery of all kinds," see Ring, *Kinder Gottes*, III, 65: "die durch das südliche Leben und Ausschweifungen aller Art entnervten Kolonisten."

537 Ibid., III, 170: "Er machte daher den natürlichen Schluß, daß die Religion nicht im Stande sei, den Menschen besser, tugendhafter und dadurch glücklicher zu machen."

538 Jewish physicians were particularly active in promoting the Enlightenment among the Jews, which is reflected in contemporary Yiddish and Hebrew literature, see John M. Efron, *Medicine*

comes the prejudices "of his time" against the Jews.[539] Eventually, Dacosta and he engage in profound conversations about religion and philosophy which are fueled by Arnold's doubts. Most importantly, the erudite Jew—whose detailed description is conspicuously reminiscent of Baruch Spinoza[540]—introduces the Moravian to the ideas of the seventeenth-century Jewish philosopher which lead him to the insight that "[h]e no longer needed a religious revelation, nor miracles, for the greatest miracle was the rational world as he found it in the writings of Spinoza."[541]

Berthold Auerbach, whose eponymous novel about Spinoza (1837) was mentioned earlier and whose translation of the complete works of the philosopher into German was published in 1841, suggested in retrospective that the fascination the philosopher inspired in him originated in his being the first individual free of any religious bondage—a true "*homo liber*."[542] In this sense, Spinoza is significant also in relation to the trajectory of Ring's early novel in which the philosopher's ideas inspire the paradigmatic liberation of Arnold from religious enthusiasm and mysticism.

Spinoza's philosophy of immanence exerted in the nineteenth century a pervasive influence on German philosophy, in particular on German idealism. Interest in the Jewish seventeenth-century philosopher had proliferated in the wake of the so-called pantheism controversy (*Pantheismusstreit* or *Spinozastreit*) which had been triggered by Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi's attempt to refute Spinoza in his *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza in Briefen an den Herrn Moses Mendelssohn* (1785; *On the Doctrine of Spinoza, in Letters to Mr Moses Mendelssohn*).[543] To Jacobi, Spinoza's philosophy was strictly rationalistic and therefore by necessity must lead to atheism and fatalism. Jacobi's pamphlet was a response to conversations with the

and the German Jews (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 64–6; in the second half, and especially toward the end, of the nineteenth century, "more Jews engaged in medical practice than in any other profession," Efron, *German Jews and the Allure of the Sephardic*, p. 92.

539 See Ring, *Kinder Gottes*, III, 181: "da er die Vorurtheile seiner Zeit gegen Juden theilte"; see also p. 183.

540 See ibid., III, 180–1.

541 Ibid., III, 189: "Er bedurfte keiner religiösen Offenbarung, keiner Wunder mehr, denn das größte Wunder war die vernünftige Welt, wie er sie in Spinoza's Schriften fand."

542 Berthold Auerbach, "Spinoza-Arbeiten. Ein Stück aus meinem Leben (Schluß)," *Neue Freie Presse* (September 15, 1880): 1–2, 1; for the beginning of the article, see *Neue Freie Presse* (September 14, 1880): 1–3. For Auerbach's translation of Spinoza, see *B. v. Spinoza's sämmtliche Werke*, transl. Berthold Auerbach, 5 vols (Stuttgart: Scheible, 1841).

543 See Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi, *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza in Briefen an den Herrn Moses Mendelssohn* (Breslau: Löwe, 1785).

late Gotthold Ephraim Lessing who, like his friend Moses Mendelssohn, had engaged with Spinoza with an open mind.[544]

Lessing's engagement with the Jewish philosopher also informed his *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (1780; *The Education of the Human Race*).[545] In this highly influential contribution to the philosophy of religion, Lessing sought to reconcile religion with reason. He argued that the development of humankind followed a gradual teleological trajectory which corresponded to the education of the individual, a thought presumably inspired by Spinoza who in his *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (1670; *Theological-Political Treatise*) maintained that "[t]o the early Jews religion was transmitted in the form of written law because at that time they were just like children."[546]

Of particular significance to Lessing was the concept of revelation. In an aphoristic formulation, he posited: "Education is Revelation coming to the individual Man; and Revelation is Education which has come, and is yet coming, to the Human Race."[547] The dramatist and philosopher suggested that with the ancient Jews, to whom he imparted his first revelation, God had raised future instructors of humankind.[548] He contends that the Jews were given with the Old Testament a primer on the basis of which they were educated. But, insisting on the processual character of the education of humankind and on Christian supersession, Lessing maintained that if the child—or the people—outgrows the primer, the latter becomes harmful. Thus, with Christianity and the New Testament a second volume, a more advanced primer, as it were, replaced the previous one and elevated humankind to the next level of education: "A better Instructor must come and tear the exhausted Primer from the child's hands. *Christ* came!"[549] Fulfilment is envi-

544 See Willi Goetschel, *Spinoza's Modernity: Mendelssohn, Lessing, and Heine* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), pp. 16–19.

545 See ibid., p. 19.

546 Baruch Spinoza, *Theological-Political Treatise*, in *The Complete Works*, ed. Michael L. Morgan, transl. Samuel Shirley (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 2002), pp. 383–582, p. 504; see also Baruch Spinoza, *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (Hamburg: Künrath, 1670), pp. 144–5: "Primis Judaeis Religio tanquam lex scripto tradita est, nimirum quia tum temporis veluti infantes habebantur."

547 Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *The Education of the Human Race*, transl. [Frederick William Robertson] (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1858), pp. 1–3; see also Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (Berlin: Voß, 1780), §2: "Erziehung ist Offenbarung, die dem einzeln Menschen geschieht: und Offenbarung ist Erziehung, die dem Menschengeschlechte geschehen ist, und noch geschieht."

548 See Lessing, *Education of the Human Race*, pp. 12–13; see also Lessing, *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, §18.

549 Lessing, *Education of the Human Race*, p. 46; see also Lessing, *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, §53: "Ein bessrer Pädagog muß kommen und dem Kinde das erschöpfte Elementarbuch aus den Händen reißen.—Christus kam."

sioned by Lessing eventually with a third dispensation, "the time of a new eternal Gospel."[550] Though he insists on the "truths of reason"[551] made known in the process, revelation is to Lessing the educational tool of the divinity, rather than the intellect alone.

Lessing's conception of the education of humankind was hugely influential and was appropriated to different religious contexts. If thinking in terms of salvation history, Pietist theology of the late eighteenth century, for instance, adopted and adapted the dramatist and philosopher's teleological understanding.[552] In the Jewish context, too, Lessing's ideas were adopted and adapted. Lessing, as Michael A. Meyer noted, may have "made contemporary Judaism an anachronism,"[553] yet the Reform movement used his idea of teleological religious progress precisely to argue for the continued significance of Judaism: "Far from being merely a stage in a universal process of religious development, [Judaism] was itself the bearer of ever richer insights into the nature of the Divine and God's will for all humanity."[554]

Where Lessing extols a future dispensation evolved from Judaism and Christianity as the apogee of the progressive trajectory of humankind, Dacosta in *Die Kinder Gottes*—in emulation of Spinoza, and himself another Jew as instructor—posits philosophy as the fulfilment of religion. This ideal is reflected in the spiritual development of Arnold beyond Pietism to philosophical rationalism and the belief in immanence which transforms his earlier mindless atheism. Arnold's education culminates in his previously quoted rejection of revelation and his exaltation of reason.

Revisiting the relationship between Christianity and Judaism, Dacosta contends in the course of their debates toward the young Moravian that the new is rooted in the old covenant. With his insistence on the Jewishness of Jesus, he implicitly challenges the supersessionist model and refutes the external progression posited by Lessing by resituating it internally within Judaism:

550 See Lessing, *Education of the Human Race*, p. 71; see also Lessing, *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, §86: "die Zeit eines *neuen ewigen Evangeliums*."

551 Lessing, *Education of the Human Race*, p. 57; see also Lessing, *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, §70: "Vernunftswahrheiten."

552 See Hans-Martin Kirn, *Deutsche Spätaufklärung und Pietismus: Ihr Verhältnis im Rahmen kirchlich-bürgerlicher Reform bei Johann Ludwig Ewald (1748–1822)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), pp. 103–4.

553 Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, p. 64.

554 Ibid.

> I tell you that the whole of Christianity has no teaching, no law that was not already in place in Judaism. Christ, I admit, was a great man, the focus of Jewish wisdom and world view, yet I can after all see in him only the best and most perfect of Jews.[555]

In response to the fierce theological debate about the historical Jesus in the intervening years, these very sentiments were reasserted by Ring almost three decades later in *Das Haus Hillel*.

Moreover, like Raphael in Reckendorf's *Geheimnisse der Juden* only a few years after the publication of *Die Kinder Gottes*, Dacosta promotes a universal messianism. He eschews the concept of a personal messianic savior and denies any transcendent dimension of messianism. Reminiscent of Lessing's notion of the education of humankind, Ring's Dacosta projects the messianic idea fully onto the progressive perfection of humanity; yet unlike Lessing, he does not link this process to revelation:

> The messianic kingdom I hope for is that time in which humankind shall have achieved understanding and love. Not the sacrificial death of an individual can effect this miracle, notwithstanding if he were a god. Only the progressive education of humankind and the increasing proliferation of humanity shall finally bring about this result.[556]

The Christian doctrine of sacrifice which considers the death of Jesus a vicarious sacrifice for all humankind is rejected by Dacosta; rather, the idea of the sacrifice is projected by him onto a purely immanent level of human self-improvement:

> The messiah is humankind which redeems itself. The sacrifice it must offer is egotism, is selfishness, which each individual must destroy in themselves. The path to this is indicated by science and enlightenment.[557]

Reflecting Lessing's idea of the education of humankind, Dacosta rationally explains the emergence of the politically informed messianic idea with the histori-

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555 Ring, *Kinder Gottes*, III, 187: "Ich sage Euch, daß das ganze Christenthum keine Lehre, kein Gesetz aufzuweisen hat, welches nicht bereits innerhalb des Judenthums gelegen hätte. Christus war, ich gebe es zu, ein großer Mensch, der Brennpunkt jüdischer Weisheit und Weltanschauung, aber ich kann in ihm eben nur den besten und vollkommensten Juden sehn."

556 Ibid., III, 196: "Das messianische Reich, welches ich hoffe, ist die Zeit, in welcher die Menschheit zur Erkenntniß und zur Liebe gekommen sein wird. Nicht der Opfertod eines Einzelnen kann dies Wunder bewirken und wäre er selbst ein Gott. Nur die fortschreitende Bildung des Menschengeschlechts, die immermehr sich verbreitende Humanität werden endlich dieses Resultat herbeiführen."

557 Ibid.: "Der Messias ist die Menschheit, die sich selbst erlöst. Das Opfer, das sie bringen muß, ist der Egoismus, die Selbstsucht, die jeder Einzelne in sich vernichten muß. Den Weg hierzu zeigt die Wissenschaft und Aufklärung."

cal oppression of the Jews and notes its spiritualization in early Christian discourse:

> It was only natural that the Jewish people, when in bondage, imagined a redeemer and liberator in this world who should break the yoke of slavery and restore the old kingdom in its glory. This belief was of a firmly sensual nature. Christ and his disciples appropriated the messianic idea and imbued it with a higher, more spiritual meaning. Redemption was not to be merely material, but the liberation from sin, the revival of the higher potential of the soul and of religious consciousness.[558]

This echoes *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* where it is precisely Christ who is considered "the first certain practical Teacher of the immortality of the soul."[559] Yet this assertion of the transcendental and, in particular, the messianic claim of Jesus which, as Lessing also expounds, signifies his divinity,[560] is rejected by Dacosta because it denotes the deviation from the rational and ethical clarity of his own understanding of the dynamic development of humanity:

> Yet by identifying himself with the Messiah and applying the prophecies of the Old Testament to himself, the purity of the idea was muddied once again. The belief in the Messiah is after all no more than the conviction of the progressive development of humankind and the rule of reason and humanity.[561]

The supposed adulteration of the purity of the monotheistic idea of Judaism, too, was addressed by Ring once again and in much more detail in *Das Haus Hillel*.

Dacosta's thoughts, inspired by Spinoza, reflect theological developments roughly contemporary with the publication of Ring's *Die Kinder Gottes*. The depersonalization of the messianic expectation was a crucial development within the Jewish Reform context. It was mainly a response to the Enlightenment and the public debate on Jewish civil improvement toward the end of the eighteenth

558 Ibid., III, 198–9: "Es war natürlich, daß das jüdische Volk in der Gefangenschaft an einen irdischen Erlöser und Befreier dachte, der das Joch der Sklaverei zerbrechen und das alte Reich in seiner Herrlichkeit wiederherstellen würde. Dieser Glaube war entschieden sinnlicher Natur. Christus und seine Jünger bemächtigten sich der Messiasidee und gaben ihr einen höheren, geistigeren Inhalt. Die Erlösung sollte keine einseitig materielle, sondern eine Befreiung von der Sünde, eine Erweckung der höheren Seelenfähigkeiten und des religiösen Bewußtseins sein."

559 Lessing, *Education of the Human Race*, pp. 59–62; see also Lessing, *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, §58: "der erste *zuverlässige, praktische* Lehrer der Unsterblichkeit der Seele."

560 See Lessing, *Education of the Human Race*, p. 49; see also Lessing, *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, §73.

561 Ring, *Kinder Gottes*, III, 199: "Aber indem Christus sich mit dem Messias selbst identifizirte und die Prophezeiungen des alten Testaments auf sich bezog, wurde die Reinheit der Idee auf's Neue getrübt. Der Glaube an den Messias ist ja eben nur die Ueberzeugung von der fortschreitenden Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts und der Herrschaft der Vernunft und Humanität."

century. Because it suggested that the integration of Jews into German society was thwarted by their hopes for the return to Palestine,[562] Jewish messianism had gained significance within this debate not only as a theological but also as a socio-political issue.[563] As argued by Nils Roemer, it was "regarded by many as an obstacle for Jews' social and civil integration."[564]

In 1843, in an attempt "to remove everything from our religion which has debased and degraded it in the eyes of rational humanity,"[565] representatives of the emerging Reform movement affirmed in a controversial declaration, published as *Programm zu einer Erklärung deutscher Israeliten* (1843; A Declaration of Principles by German Israelites), three essential principles. They insisted on the "possibility of unlimited progress in Mosaism," rejected the Talmud, and asserted: "A Messiah who is to lead the Israelites back to the land of Palestine is neither expected nor desired by us; we know no fatherland except that to which we belong by birth or citizenship."[566]

The declaration of the Reformers suggests their endeavor to be motivated as a response to external perceptions of Judaism; it is an attempt to reframe Judaism as a rational religion so as to gain acceptance also, and perhaps even specifically, within the dominant culture and, in fact, to impress on majority culture the continued ethical significance of a religion that was largely considered to have been superseded. The Reformers described their efforts therefore not only as "a work of *civil necessity* and of *spiritual legitimacy*, but one that is *supremely moral and truly pleasing to God*."[567]

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562 See Nils Roemer, "Colliding Visions: Jewish Messianism and German Scholarship in the Eighteenth Century," in *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*, eds Jeffrey S. Shoulson and Allison P. Coudert (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 266–85, p. 274.

563 See ibid., p. 266.

564 See ibid., p. 275.

565 [Abraham Meyer] Goldschmidt, *Programm zu einer Erklärung deutscher Israeliten*, reprinted in *Der Orient* 4.39 (September 26, 1843): 307–10, 309: "Alles, was unsere Religion in den Augen der denkenden Menschheit entwürdigt und erniedrigt hat, von ihr zu entfernen."

566 For the original German text, see ibid.: "Wir erkennen in der mosaischen Religion die Möglichkeit einer unbeschränkten Fortbildung. [. . .] Ein Messias, der die Israeliten nach dem Lande Palästina zurückführe, wird von uns weder erwartet noch gewünscht; wir kennen kein Vaterland als dasjenige, dem wir durch Geburt und bürgerliches Verhältniß angehören." The translation into English follows W. Gunther Plaut, *The Rise of Reform Judaism* (New York: World Union for Progressive Judaism, 1963), p. 52. The declaration of the three principles is not yet included in the original publication; see Anonymous, *Programm zu einer Erklärung deutscher Israeliten: Freunden religiöser Reform im Judenthume zur Beherzigung vorgelegt* (s. l.: s. n., 1843).

567 Goldschmidt, *Programm zu einer Erklärung deutscher Israeliten*, 309: "nicht nur *bürgerlich nothwendiges* und *geistig berechtigtes*, sondern auch ein *höchst sittliches und in Wahrheit gottgefälliges Werk*."

Not all Jews concurred, not even within the Reform spectrum. Moses Gutmann, Rabbi of the Jewish congregation of Redwitz in upper Franconia, for instance, condemned the radicalism of the declaration and insisted on the continued significance of the messianic expectation. At the same time, however, Gutmann, too, asserted the universal dimension of the messianic idea:

> we do not interpret these promises in a narrow, particularistic sense, which would have the Messiah redeem only Israel and grant it the power to rule over the rest of the world; no, indeed; we base our hope mainly on the sayings of the God-chosen prophets, in which the Messiah is assigned an infinitely greater, nobler role, namely the salvation and redemption of all mankind, the union of all nations in one peaceful realm, to serve their one true God.[568]

In time, as W. Gunther Plaut notes, "most Reformers gave up the concept of a personal Messiah. Instead, they believed in a Messianic age which mankind itself would achieve by its forward development. The Messiah might never come, but Israel would soon lead all men into this blessed era."[569]

The idea of an external Jewish mission among the nations which is expressed here was clearly also important to Ring as articulated through the figure of Dacosta: "The mission of my people for the future," he insists, "is the destruction of dogma and of the rule of the Church and the priesthood which are based on it."[570] Moses Mendelssohn had already claimed that Judaism did have "no dogmas, no saving truths, no general self-evident positions."[571] The implicitly anti-Christian subtext of this assertion is similarly invoked in Dacosta's understanding of the Jewish mission, although his criticism is clearly also extended to the theological ossification of Judaism.

568 Moses Gutmann, "Offenes Antwortschreiben an die jüdischen Reformfreunde in Frankfurt a. M. (Schluß)," *Literaturblatt des Orients* 5.2 (January 9, 1844): 21–3, 22: "Doch fassen wir jene Verheissungen nicht in dem beschränkten und partikularistischen Sinne auf, als ob der Messias blos Israel erlösen und demselben etwa auch die Herrschaft der Welt verschaffen sollte, sondern wir bauen unsere Hoffnung hauptsächlich auf diejenigen Aussprüche der gottgesandten Propheten, in welchen dem Messias eine größere, eine edlere Bestimmung zugetheilt wird, nämlich die Rettung und Erlösung der ganzen Menschheit, die Vereinigung aller Nationen zu einem friedlichen Reiche im Dienste des einzig wahren Gottes." The first part of the article was published in the previous week, see *Literaturblatt des Orients* 5.1 (January 2, 1844): 1–6. The translation into English follows Plaut, *Rise of Reform Judaism*, p. 143.

569 Ibid., p. 142.

570 Ring, *Kinder Gottes*, III, 196–7: "Die Mission meines Volkes für die Zukunft ist die Vernichtung des Dogmas und der darauf begründeten Herrschaft der Kirche und des Priesterthums."

571 Mendelssohn, *Jerusalem*, transl. Samuels, II, 89; see also Mendelssohn, *Jerusalem*, II, 31: "keine Lehrmeinungen, keine Heilswahrheiten, keine allgemeinen Vernunftsätze."

In the concluding section of *Die Kinder Gottes*, Ring appears to distance himself from the contemporary implications of his narrative by declaring his purely historical interest in the period of the eighteenth century:

> The whole life of our hero was only meant to provide the framework for an important historical epoch. With Arnold, we sought to explain this memorable century with its thoughts and sentiments, with its prejudices and aspirations.[572]

This surely is a pretense. Ring's novel obviously addresses by implication the prejudices and aspirations of his own time. That these profound thematic interests no less than their contemporary relevance continued to preoccupy the writer is evident when looking at *Das Haus Hillel*. Here, they recur, if in a different historical setting and as seen from an enlightened Jewish perspective. Like Arnold, Ruben encounters various "instructors" who aid his religious—and human—education. Their backgrounds are Jewish, Christian, and Roman; and their impact on Ruben ranges from the religious to the political and the philosophical. Ultimately, like Arnold, Ruben also achieves his freedom as he negotiates his own position. This freedom manifests itself in his tolerance toward others as well as toward their religious and ideological systems, an issue of obvious contemporary resonance.

The Confrontation with Christianity

In *Das Haus Hillel*, Ruben—like Arnold in Ring's earlier novel—is confronted with various others; the encounters contribute to his personal education which veers very quickly away from his projected course of studying the Law at the House of Hillel but which nevertheless complies with, and ultimately is the epitome of, the tolerant spirit of its founder. In the course of the narrative, the young Jew is faced with amorous and political as well as cultural, ideological, and religious distractions.

In terms of Ruben's amorous experiences, the Jewish princess Berenice (Berenize) is once again, according to stereotype, cast as a seductress, as in so many other novels about the destruction of Jerusalem. Alerted to Ruben's courage and military prowess, Berenice without success seeks to tie the young Jew to her through her thinly disguised advances which he, however, fails to recognize in his innocence. She plans to make him an instrument for her own aggrandizement and the creation of a powerful empire in the orient. Yet Ruben is not so much seduced by the female

572 Ring, *Kinder Gottes*, III, 356: "Das ganze Leben unseres Helden sollte nur den Rahmen einer bedeutenden Geschichtsepoche abgeben. An Arnold suchten wir dieses merkwürdige Jahrhundert mit seinen Gedanken und Empfindungen, mit seinen Vorurtheilen und seinen Bestrebungen zu veranschaulichen."

charms of the princess than enticed by the Greek education she gives him. He nevertheless rejects her plans and, not realizing the danger posed by a woman scorned, even confides in her his love for his cousin Miriam (Mirjam).

Berenice becomes aware of Ruben when he leads in a suicidal mission the destruction of the gallery providing access to the Temple so as to halt the first Roman advance onto the fanum. The only survivor of the desperate action, he is nursed back to health in secret by Theophilos and his granddaughter Tabea. Theophilos, saved by Ruben from the angry mob in the Temple, is indeed a Nazarene, though he used to be the favorite disciple of Hillel. In his and Tabea's devoted care, the young scholar of the House of Hillel is confronted with the mild beliefs of the despised sect, with which he feels a natural affinity. Yet, eschewing the pattern of sick-bed conversions familiar from Christian engagements with the historical subject, Ruben remains attached to Judaism.

In distinction from Christian novels, no amorous entanglements transpire between the gallant Jew and the young Nazarene woman in Ring's novel, though Tabea appears to harbor a spiritual passion for Ruben:

> With her enthusiastic mind she [i.e., Tabea] saw in Ruben a new soul that was won for the Redeemer, a future confessor and herald of the heavenly news, a brother in the Lord, whom she was allowed to love like a sister with pure, holy tenderness.[573]

Ruben, in turn, is fervently in love with Simon's younger daughter, Miriam, who returns his affection.

In the conversations between Tabea and Ruben, Ring emphasizes the constructed character of the messianic narrative:

> The highest poesy and the most simple truth, legend and history, fused in the words of the pale Tabea into that sweetly touching, terribly heart-wrenching poem, replete with profound and divine thoughts, the like of which is not in possession of any other people of the world—now a charming idyll, filled with the meekest images, now a heart-wrenching universal tragedy, animated with the most painful scenes.[574]

573 Ring, *Haus Hillel*, I, 150: "In ihrem schwärmerischen Geist erblickte sie [i.e., Tabea] in Ruben eine neue, dem Erlöser gewonnene Seele, einen künftigen Bekenner und Verkündiger der himmlischen Botschaft, einen Bruder im Herrn, den sie wie eine Schwester mit reiner, heiliger Zärtlichkeit lieben durfte."

574 Ibid., I, 163: "Die höchste Poesie und die schlichteste Wahrheit, Sage und Geschichte verschmolzen in dem Munde der bleichen Tabea zu jenem lieblich rührenden, furchtbar erschütterndem Gedicht, voll tiefer und göttlicher Gedanken, wie es kein zweites Volk der Erde mehr besitzt—bald eine reizende Idylle, von den sanftesten Bildern erfüllt, bald eine erschütternde Welttragödie, von den schmerzhaftesten Szenen belebt."

While Ruben is struck with the sincerity and power of Tabea's religious beliefs, he cannot share them. The religious enthusiasm which informs her faith—and of which Ring was highly suspicious, as indicated already in *Die Kinder Gottes*—eludes his own religious feelings:

> She [i.e., Tabea] appeared to him [i.e., Ruben] as if she were enraptured, as if she were transfigured, or a divinely inspired prophetess whom Ruben did not dare to interrupt, though he was unable to share her enthusiasm.[575]

The 'sanctification' of Tabea, manifest in Ruben's perception of the young Christian woman and supported with the iconography which informs her representation, is sustained throughout the novel up to her martyr's death in the arena in the manner of a Catholic saint's legend:

> After Tabea had ceased to speak, a profound, solemn silence prevailed, only the wind whispered softly in the trees and the birds sang sweet tunes in the air. A white dove hovered above her head, like a luminous spirit towards the heavens. A bright ray of light penetrated the dense foliage of the old olive tree underneath which she sat with Ruben and illumined her white forehead like a radiant gloriole so that she appeared to be surrounded by a golden halo. Full of admiration he gazed at his nurse who seemed to belong to another, higher world.[576]

Although he cannot adopt her enthusiasm, Ruben nevertheless develops an understanding of, and tolerance toward, Christian beliefs. They are represented by the author as entirely compatible with Jewish thought and, in particular, with the precepts of the House of Hillel:

> None of the teachings which Tabea imparted to him were unknown to him and corresponded in their majority to the sayings of the prophets and Jewish sages, in particular with the opinions of the mild and humane Hillel and his followers. Hillel, too, insisted instead of external customs on internal faith; he, too, was filled with the purest love of all human beings, with compassion and tolerance towards those of another faith. His life, too, was pure and above reproach, full of piety, modesty, and humility.[577]

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575 Ibid., I, 160: "Sie [i.e., Tabea] erschien ihm [i.e., Ruben] gleichsam der Erde entrückt, wie eine Verklärte oder eine gottesbegeisterte Prophetin, die Ruben nicht zu unterbrechen wagte, obgleich er ihre Schwärmerei nicht zu theilen vermochte."

576 Ibid., I, 162: "Nachdem Tabea geendet, herrschte ein tiefes, feierliches Schweigen, nur der Wind flüsterte leise in den Bäumen und die Vögel sangen süße Weisen in den Lüften. Eine weiße Taube schwebte über ihrem Haupt, wie ein lichter Geist zum Himmel. Durch das dichte Laub des alten Oelbaums, unter dem sie mit Ruben saß, fiel ein heller Strahl wie eine leuchtende Glorie auf ihre weiße Stirn, daß sie wie von einem goldenen Heiligenschein umgeben war. Voll Bewunderung blickte er auf seine Pflegerin, welche einer andern, höheren Welt anzugehören schien."

577 Ibid., I, 165: "All die Lehren, welche Tabea ihm mittheilte, waren ihm nicht fremd und stimmten zum größten Theil mit den Aussprüchen der Propheten und jüdischen Weisen, besonders mit

Much later in the novel, Ruben reiterates this point even more concisely in his defence before the Sanhedrin at Yavneh in which he presents Jesus as the fulfilment of the teachings of Hillel: "He [i.e., Jesus] sealed with his life and death only what Hillel thought and taught to our sages."[578]

Jesus the Jew and Hillel

The point made by Ruben—ultimately the insistence on the Jewishness of Jesus, as asserted also by Dacosta in *Die Kinder Gottes*—was of acute topicality in the decades prior to the publication of Ring's *Das Haus Hillel*. The life of the historical Jesus, seminally and controversially explored by David Friedrich Strauß already in 1835, attracted new interest among theologians as well as a general readership in the 1860s.[579] Strauß himself published another *Leben Jesu* in 1864, now no longer directed at a specialist readership but explicitly addressed to "the German people" because, as the author maintains, by then the public had been sufficiently prepared for such probing questions.[580] At the same time, as noted by Susannah Heschel, "[t]he focus of liberal New Testament scholarship in the 1860s and 1870s shifted to reconstruct an intermediate stage beyond the Old Testament, an intertestamental period within which early Christianity developed."[581] Both of these developments—entailing a heightened awareness of the Jewish origins of Jesus and of early Christianity—promoted an increasing interest in Judaism, predominantly among Protestant theologians.[582] Conversely, a trajectory that is also manifest in Reckendorf's literary approach discussed in the previous section of this part, Jewish historians and theologians similarly engaged with the historical Jesus and his re-appropriation to Judaism.

In 1856, when the third volume of Graetz's *Geschichte der Juden* was published by Philippson's Institute, a chapter about the historical figure of Jesus and

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den Ansichten des milden und menschenfreundlichen Hillel und seiner Schüler überein. Auch Hillel verlangte statt der äußeren Gebräuche den inneren Glauben, auch er war von der reinsten Liebe für alle Menschen, von Barmherzigkeit und Duldung gegen Andersgläubige erfüllt. Auch sein Leben war rein und tadellos, voll Frömmigkeit, Bescheidenheit und Demuth."

578 Ibid., III, 333–4: "Nur was Hillel und unsere Weisen gelehrt und gedacht, hat er [i.e., Jesus] mit seinem Leben und mit seinem Tod besiegelt."

579 See Heschel, *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus*, p. 146.

580 See David Friedrich Strauß, *Das Leben Jesu, für das deutsche Volk bearbeitet* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1864), p. XI.

581 Heschel, *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus*, p. 194.

582 Ibid., pp. 137–8, 194.

the emergence of Christianity was rejected by the printer,[583] presumably, as in the case of Kossarski's dramatic poem, in anticipation of censorship constraints. Substantial excerpts of the chapter first appeared in the appendix of *Rom und Jerusalem* by Moses Hess in 1862; its full text was eventually included in the second edition of Graetz's volume in the following year.[584] The vagaries of the chapter's publication history are worthy of note because they indicate the implicit struggle about the Jewishness of Jesus as well as the perception of early Christianity in relation to Judaism. As Heschel explains: "Because the figure of Jesus stood on the boundary of Judaism and Christianity, the interpretation of his teachings called the self-understanding of both religions into question."[585]

In this context, a controversial discussion arose about Hillel the Elder. Graetz, in the originally suppressed chapter on Jesus and early Christianity, may have been the first to suggest a connection between the Galilean and the Jewish sage, as it was reflected later by Ring in *Das Haus Hillel*. Graetz maintained:

> The mildness and humility of Jesus are reminiscent of Hillel, whom he appears to have chosen as his model anyhow, and whose golden maxim: "What is hateful to you, do not do to your fellow," he made the starting point of his own teachings. Like Hillel, Jesus considered peacefulness and conciliatoriness the highest virtues.[586]

The proximity of Jesus to Hillel was suggested also by Ernest Renan. In his own *Vie de Jésus* (1863; *The Life of Jesus*), its publication concurrent with that of the second edition of Graetz's third volume of his *Geschichte* in 1863 and translated into German already in the same year, the controversial French orientalist and historian of religion maintained:

> We may suppose, however, that the principles of Hillel were not unknown to him [i.e., Jesus]. Hillel, fifty years before him, had given utterance to aphorisms very analogous to his own. By his poverty, so meekly endured, by the sweetness of his character, by his opposition to priests and hypocrites, Hillel was the true master of Jesus, if indeed it may be permitted to speak of a master in connexion with so high an originality as his.[587]

583 See Heinrich Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden von dem Tode Juda Makkabi's bis zum Untergang des jüdischen Staates*, 2nd improved edn (1856; Leipzig: Leiner, 1863), III, preface, n. p.

584 See Hess, *Rom und Jerusalem*, pp. 135–56 and Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III (ed. 1863), 216–52.

585 Heschel, *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus*, p. 127.

586 Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III (ed. 1863), 225: "Jesu Sanftmuth und Demuth erinnern an Hillel, den er sich überhaupt zum Muster genommen zu haben scheint, und dessen goldener Spruch: 'Was du nicht willst, daß man dir thue, thue auch Andern nicht,' er zum Ausgangspunkt seiner Lehren machte. Wie Hillel betrachtete Jesus die Friedfertigkeit und Versöhnlichkeit als die höchste Tugend."

587 Ernest Renan, *The Life of Jesus* (London: Trübner, 1864), p. 56; see also Ernest Renan, *Vie de Jésus* (Paris: Libraires Éditeurs, 1863), p. 35: "On peut supposer cependant que les principes de

Renan even went so far as to assert that

> Jesus, son of Sirach, and Hillel, had uttered aphorisms almost as exalted as those of Jesus. Hillel, however, will never be accounted the true founder of Christianity. In morals, as in art, precept is nothing, practice is everything. The idea which is hidden in a picture of Raphael is of little moment; it is the picture itself which is prized. So, too, in morals, truth is but little prized when it is a mere sentiment, and only attains its full value when realised in the world as fact.[588]

The mere potentiality of considering Hillel the "true founder" of Christianity, even though rejected by Renan himself, provoked the irate response of Franz Delitzsch, whom we have encountered already in the previous chapter as a promoter of the Christian mission to the Jews.

In a pamphlet entitled *Jesus und Hillel* (1866; Jesus and Hillel), Delitzsch took issue not only with Renan's supposedly unfounded historical claims but also with the enormous international success of the French orientalist's life of Jesus which he denounced as an artful concoction intended to capture through blatant sensationalism the attention of a general readership dulled by the most sophisticated literary stimulants.[589] Renan's book, he inveighed, offered a "new titillating subject" which may be entitled *Vie de Jésus* but which may just as well "in the manner of the *Mystères de Paris* be entitled *Mystères de Jésus*."[590] The manner of Sue's writing to which Delitzsch alluded here was, as discussed in the previous section of this chapter, rejected by Philippson for its supposed insipidity and corruptive potential, whereas Reckendorf deliberately adopted it for his own *Geheimnisse der Juden* as an efficient vehicle for his ideas of tolerance and dissimilation.

Hillel ne lui furent pas inconnus. Hillel, cinquante ans avant lui, avait prononcé des aphorismes qui avaient avec les siens beaucoup d'analogie. Par sa pauvreté humblement supportée, par la douceur de son caractère, par l'opposition qu'il faisait aux hypocrites et aux prêtres, Hillel fut le vrai maître de Jésus, s'il est permis de parler de maître, quand il s'agit d'une si haute originalité."

588 Renan, *Life of Jesus*, pp. 91–2; see also Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, p. 92: "Jésus, fils de Sirach, et Hillel avaient émis des aphorismes presque aussi élevés que ceux de Jésus. Hillel cependant ne passera jamais pour le vrai fondateur du christianisme. Dans la morale, comme dans l'art, dire n'est rien, faire est tout. L'idée qui se cache sous un tableau de Raphaël est peu de chose; c'est le tableau seul qui compte. De même, en morale, la vérité ne prend quelque valeur que si elle passe à l'état de sentiment, et elle n'atteint tout son prix que quand elle se réalise dans le monde à l'état de fait."

589 See Franz Delitzsch, *Jesus und Hillel. Mit Rücksicht auf* Renan *und* Geiger (Erlangen: Deichert, 1866), p. 6.

590 Ibid.: "einen neuen pikanten Stoff [. . .], welcher *Vie de Jésus* betitelt ist, aber nach Art der *Mystères de Paris* ebenso gut *Mystères de Jésus* betitelt sein könnte."

Delitzsch moreover decried the contemporary political relevance of the historical Jesus and his times to the present with which he perceived Renan to have imbued the religious figure:

> Even the unease with respect to the political cirumstances of the present felt itself addressed by this book, which treats the image of Jesus like that of a noble enthusiastic republican, such as Camille Desmoulins; and by presenting imperial France with the time of Jesus as in a mirror, presents itself as the programme of a new social revolution.[591]

The allegation of historical misrepresentation was further exacerbated by the Protestant theologian when he insisted that Renan's *Vie de Jésus* "mobilised all the contrivances and artifices at the disposal of modern historiography to invest the image of Jesus with definition and colour"[592] and that the image of Jesus projected by the French orientalist was not true to historical reality. As an example, Delitzsch challenged in his pamphlet specifically the supposed reliance of Jesus on Hillel, rejecting out of hand Renan's suggestion that the Jewish sage might conceivably be thought to have been the originator of Christianity.[593]

But Delitzsch's real objective was to respond to Abraham Geiger's *Das Judenthum und seine Geschichte* (1864; *Judaism and its History*).[594] The Reform rabbi and historian had claimed even more radically, as quoted by Delitzsch, that "Jesus was a Pharisee, who followed in the footsteps of Hillel. *He articulated no new thought whatsoever*";[595] the emphasis, typographically giving vent to his ire, is Delitzsch's.[596] The Christian theologian moreover deliberately ignored the conclusion of Geiger's sentence: "nor did he [i.e., Jesus] break down the barriers of

591 Ibid.: "Sogar das Mißbehagen an den staatlichen Zuständen der Gegenwart fühlte sich durch dieses Buch angesprochen, welches das Bild Jesu wie das eines edlen schwärmerischen Republikaners, etwa eines Camille Desmoulins, behandelt, und indem es die Zeit Jesu dem kaiserlichen Frankreich wie einen Spiegel entgegenhält, als Programm einer neuen socialen Revolution auftritt."

592 Ibid.: "alle Mittel und Künste moderner Geschichtschreibungsweise aufgeboten hätte, um dem Bilde Jesu Umriß und Farbe zu geben."

593 See ibid., p. 7.

594 See Abraham Geiger, *Das Judenthum und seine Geschichte. In zwölf Vorlesungen. Nebst einem Anhange: Ein Blick auf die neuesten Bearbeitungen des Lebens Jesu* (Breslau: Schletter, 1864); see also Abarahm Geiger, *Judaism and its History*, transl. Maurice Mayer (New York: Thalmessinger and Cahn, 1866).

595 Delitzsch, *Jesus und Hillel*, p. 7: "'Jesus,' sagt er [i.e., Geiger], 'war ein Pharisäer, der in den Wegen Hillel's ging. *Einen neuen Gedanken sprach er keineswegs aus.*'"

596 See Geiger, *Judenthum und seine Geschichte*, pp. 111–12; see also Geiger, *Judaism and its History*, I, 215, where the reference to Hillel is elided.

nationality."[597] This observation serves Geiger to support his claim that, effectively, Jesus was misunderstood by his later followers who disengaged his teachings from the context of Judaism and, by corrupting the purity of Jewish thought with Greek philosophy, created a new religion which was never intended as such by its alleged founder. The re-appropriation of Jesus to Judaism had already been attempted by Joseph Salvador and Samuel Hirsch,[598] but neither was as stringent or as explicit as Geiger. Ruben's perception of Jesus in *Das Haus Hillel* is palpably informed by this background.

The Affinity between Early Christianity and Judaism and its Rupture

Eleazar, the haughty Commander of the Temple guard, with whom Ruben clashes when he defends Theophilus in the Temple, has also set his eyes on Miriam. As a result of his rival's intrigues, Miriam begins to doubt Ruben and the young Babylonian Jew eventually needs to flee the city riven by civil strife. He has, once again, been accused of apostasy. On his precipitous flight, he is rescued from the desert surrounding the Dead Sea by the Nazarenes as they withdraw from Jerusalem to Pella. With Ruben joining the Nazarenes, the author elaborates a perspective on the spiritual disposition and religious practices of the perceived heretics. Ring's objective is, quite clearly, to emphasize the pervasive kinship of early Christianity with enlightened Judaism.

Like Reckendorf, Ring cites the Ebionites as a historical example of the peaceful concurrence and amalgamation of both faiths. Echoing his perception of Zinzendorf's communal endeavors in *Die Kinder Gottes*, the writer emphasizes the "decidedly socialist, almost communist character,"[599] of early Christianity. Presumably in implicit deference to Mendelssohn, he maintains that it had no dogmas and insists, in particular, on the mutual affinity of Jews and early Christians:

> Besides, the first Christians were in no way different from the Jews of this time whose customs, ceremonies, and prayers they observed so faithfully and strictly that they were merely thought to be a particularly pious sect, a kind of Pietists.
> Both still felt to be limbs of one people because of the community of the fatherland and the laws; closely connected, because of the same history, language, and customs. As yet, there was no unbridgeable chasm between them; as yet, the majority of the Christians were not

597 Ibid.; see also Geiger, *Judenthum und seine Geschichte*, p. 112: "auch brach er [i.e., Jesus] nicht etwa die Schranken der Nationalität."

598 See Heschel, *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus*, p. 134.

599 Ring, *Haus Hillel*, II, 166: "entschieden socialistischen, fast kommunistischen Charakter."

> so unjust as to blame the whole Jewish people for the sins of a small group, the guilt of some fanatics.[600]

The happy consensus is eventually destroyed with the intrusion of Hellenic thought into the initial purity of Nazarene beliefs.

Geiger, too, noted the progressive invasion into Christian thought of Greek conceptions which alienated it from Judaism. Geiger identified as the most significant of these alien elements the belief in the divinity of Christ and Pauline doctrine, which promoted the new faith to pagans and therefore dispensed with Jewish rituals and customs.[601] In *Das Haus Hillel*, these transformative elements are introduced in particular through the figure of Aristion, one of two emissaries from the Greek Christian communities:

> Steeped in the pensive spirit of Greek philosophy, of neo-platonic ideas, and the gnostic conceptions of the Hellenic-Jewish school in Alexandria, in particular the logos doctrine of the famous Philo, the brilliant and imaginative Aristion, a former rhetor from Corinth, proclaimed a new Christian faith that was foreign to the simply pious Ebionites.—The meek Son of Man, the teacher of the purest love, the friend and brother of the poor was turned into the Son of God, the mystical logos, the word incarnate—a God who was enthroned next to the Father and the Holy Ghost who was endowed with the same supernatural power.[602]

In his *Geschichte*, Geiger argues that among the Jewish colonies in Greece, the new belief of Christianity as the fulfilment of Jewish messianism

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600 Ibid., II, 167: "Im Uebrigen unterschieden sich die ersten Christen in keiner Weise von den damaligen Juden, deren Gebräuche, Ceremonien und Gebete sie so treu und streng beobachteten, daß man sie nur für eine besonders fromme Sekte, für eine Art von Pietisten hielt. / Beide fühlten sich noch immer als Glieder eines Volkes, durch die Gemeinschaft des Vaterlandes und der Gesetze, durch dieselbe Geschichte, Sprache und Sitten eng mit einander verbunden. Noch gab es zwischen ihnen keine unausfüllbare Kluft, noch war die Mehrzahl der Christen nicht so ungerecht, die Sünden einer kleinen Partei, die Schuld einiger Fanatiker dem ganzen jüdischen Volk zum Vorwurf zu machen." Ring refers in a footnote to Adolf Hausrath's *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 4 vols (Heidelberg: Bassermann, 1868–73), II, 330 as his source.

601 For the significance attributed to Paul for the survival and dissemination of Christianity, see also Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III (ed. 1863), 251.

602 Ring, *Haus Hillel*, II, 185–6: "Erfüllt von dem grübelnden Geist der griechischen Philosophie, von neu-platonischen Ideen und den gnostischen Anschauungen der hellenisch-jüdischen Schule in Alexandrien, besonders von der Logos-Lehre des berühmten Philo, verkündigte der geist- und phantasievolle Aristion, ein ehemaliger Rhetor aus Korinth, ein neues, den einfach frommen Ebioniten fremdes Christenthum.—Aus dem demüthigen Menschensohn, dem Lehrer der reinsten Liebe, dem Freund und Bruder der Armen wurde der Sohn Gottes, der mystische Logos, das fleischgewordene Wort ein neben dem Vater und dem heiligen Geist thronender, mit gleicher, übernatürlicher Macht ausgestatteter—Gott." Ring refers in a footnote to Hausrath's *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, III, 5, 88 as his source.

> met with a new, spiritual element. The Grecian Jews possessed a Græco-philosophical trait, which they had interwoven with their ancient religious belief. The religious speculations in that country especially tended toward the recognition of a divine reflex, a *Logos*, the divine thought which, being an emanation of God, had taken part in the creation of the world, and thus came into, and would forever remain in connection with it; permeated with the spirit of Judaism, philosophy had placed God beyond all contact with the world, placed Him so far beyond all that is finite and temporal, that a certain connection was found necessary, to make it possible to deduce the creation and preservation of the world from God himself.[603]

In fact, the logos doctrine was not unfamiliar to Jewish thought at the time and, as Daniel Boyarin has shown, there was no "simple and linear" parting of the ways.[604] But for both Geiger and Ring—reflecting the theological thought of their time—the injection of Christianity with Hellenic ideas signifies a clear moment of rupture which alienates Christianity, after its initial affinity with Judaism, from its origins. In *Das Haus Hillel*, Ring ultimately advocates a return to this 'prelapsarian' unity which would effect the reconciliation of both faiths. Yet like Reckendorf, Ring, too, appears to circumvent the central significance to Christianity of the belief in the divinity of Jesus.

Although "in spirit" Ruben is already part of the Nazarene congregation,[605] he recoils from the radicalization preached by Aristion:

> Ruben was not able to adopt a faith against which his whole previous thinking and feeling, his mind educated in the school of Hillel, and his rabbinic knowledge, baulked.[606]

In particular, Ruben cannot believe in the divinity of Christ, though he affirms the godlikeness of Jesus:

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603 Geiger, *Judaism and its History*, I, 231; see also Geiger, *Judenthum und seine Geschichte*, p. 120: "Dort aber traf dieser Glaube [i.e., in a new world] auf ein ganz neues geistiges Element. In den griechischen Juden war ein griechisch-philosophischer Zug, den sie mit ihrem alten Glauben verwebt hatten. Die dortigen philosophischen Bestrebungen liefen besonders darauf hinaus, ein göttliches Abbild anzuerkennen, einen Logos, den göttlichen Gedanken, der als ein Ausfluß Gottes, auch zugleich weltschöpferisch mit der Welt in Verbindung getreten ist, weiter mit ihr in Berührung bleibt; von dem geistigen Gedanken des Judentums durchdrungen, hatte man Gott außer aller Berührung mit der Welt zu setzen gesucht, ihn so erhaben über das Endliche und Zeitliche gestellt, daß eine gewisse Vermittlung notwendig war, um Schöpfung und Erhaltung der Welt von Gott ableiten zu können."

604 Boyarin, *Border Lines*, p. 68.

605 Ring, *Haus Hillel*, II, 184: "im Geiste."

606 Ibid., II, 187: "Nur Ruben vermochte nicht, einen Glauben anzunehmen, gegen den sich sein ganzes bisheriges Denken und Empfinden, sein in der Schule Hillel's gebildeter Geist und sein rabbinisches Wissen sträubte."

> I personally do not, after all, doubt the godlikeness of our Saviour, nor His supernatural nature and His miraculous greatness. He was more than Moses and Elijah, the most perfect man in the world, our unattainable model. Yet that He was a human being, that He thought, felt, strove, and struggled—like us—in a human manner, fought against temptation and defeated evil, that He rose through His own power to the heavens and with His death sealed the truth—This precisely makes Him the Redeemer, the Saviour of the world.[607]

Implicitly reflecting on contemporary missionary practice of using scriptural texts recognized in Judaism to offer a new Christian interpretation as it was applied by the Pietist mission to the Jews and critiqued in Reckendorf's *Neueste Denkwürdigkeiten*, Ruben rejects Aristion's efforts by reaffirming the interpretive autonomy of Judaism:

> These passages in Holy Scripture are no proof for me because they are interpreted in a different way by our teachers. All of my knowledge, my thoughts, and my reason resist the faith in the Crucified—[608]

Based on this rational contention, the young Jew retains his Jewishness.

The Apex of Enthusiasm and the Martyr's Triumph

Ruben's doubts make him forego baptism so as to take up arms in defence against the Romans. Eventually captured by the enemy next to Josephus at Jotapata, the young Jew is sent as a slave to the Isthmus of Corinth to labor on Emperor Nero's canal project. Among the slaves, Ruben makes friends with the historical figure of the stoic philosopher Musonius (Gaius Musonius Rufus). Both witness the crucifixion of Aristion who has returned to his native Corinth to preach the gospel. In his death throes, the missionary holds forth:

> The old world is reduced to ruins, Rome's splendour and magnificence go up in smoke and flames, temples and palaces reel, the impotent gods tumble into the dust, the schools of the

607 Ibid., II, 188–9: "Ich selbst zweifle ja nicht an der Gottähnlichkeit unseres Heilandes, nicht an seiner überirdischen Natur, nicht an seiner wunderbaren Größe. Er war mehr als Moses und Elias, der vollkommenste Mensch auf Erden, unser unerreichbares Vorbild. Daß er aber ein Mensch war, wie wir menschlich gedacht und gefühlt, gestrebt und gerungen, gegen die Versuchung gekämpft und das Böse bezwungen, daß er sich durch eigene Kraft zum Himmel erhoben und durch den Tod die Wahrheit besiegelt—Das gerade macht ihn zum Erlöser, zum Heiland der Welt."

608 Ibid., I, 185: "Diese Stellen der heiligen Schrift sind für mich keine Beweise, da sie von unseren Lehrern anders gedeutet werden. All' mein Wissen, mein Denken, meine Vernunft sträubt sich gegen den Glauben an den Gekreuzigten—"

> philosophers are abandoned, humanity despairs and collapses under its burden. In vain you call upon the dumb images of stone and bronze; in vain you kneel in front of your desecrated altars and look for support to your godless priests and philosophers; in vain you muster all your wit and ingenuity; in vain you waste the treasures of the whole world and the blood of your legions in order to ward off the approaching judgement. Nor human penetration and power, nor wisdom and education, nor riches and splendour will be able to fend off the approaching doom.[609]

The dying Aristion's words, which implicitly critique contemporary culture and introduce an apocalyptic and transcendent dimension, have a strong effect on both Ruben and Musonius:

> The words of the fervently god-loving emissary; his enraptured face turned towards the heavens; his whole nature, which proclaimed the supernatural power of conviction, a courage of faith as firm as a rock; the sombre yet faithful painting of a perishing world; and his holy assurance and confidence of victory moved the hearts of those who listened with wondrous power and quelled their protest.[610]

Cast as the type of a Catholic martyr, the crucified Aristion is triumphant in his death. His certainties encapsulate the transformative power of the new faith, as recognized by Musonius and as confirmed in hindsight by the historical development of Christianity as it was asserted, for instance, in the novels of Spillmann and de Waal:

> "If all the Christians are like this enthusiast," he [i.e., Musonius] said with feeling to Ruben, "the new God will vanquish the old gods and the faith of these fools will eventually be more powerful than all our philosophy."[611]

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609 Ibid., II, 280–1: "Die alte Welt sinkt in Trümmer, Roms Pracht und Herrlichkeit vergeht in Rauch und Flammen, Tempel und Paläste wanken, die ohnmächtigen Götter stürzen in Staub, die Schulen der Weisen und Philosophen sind verlassen, die Menschheit verzweifelt und bricht unter ihrer Last zusammen. Vergebens ruft Ihr die tauben Bilder von Stein und Erz an, umsonst kniet Ihr vor Euren entweihten Altären, sucht Ihr eine Stütze bei Euren gottlosen Priestern und Philosophen, bietet Ihr all Euren Witz und Scharfsinn auf, verschwendet Ihr die Schätze der ganzen Erde, das Blut Eurer Legionen, um das nahende Gericht aufzuhalten. Nicht menschliche Klugheit und Macht, nicht Weisheit und Bildung, nicht Reichthum und Glanz vermag das Verderben abzuwenden."

610 Ibid., II, 281: "Die Worte des gottbegeisterten Sendboten, sein verklärtes, zum Himmel gerichtetes Gesicht, sein ganzes Wesen, aus dem die überirdische Kraft der Ueberzeugung, ein unerschütterlicher Glaubensmuth sprach, das düstere, doch zutreffende Gemälde einer untergehenden Welt und seine heilige Zuversicht und Siegesgewißheit, ergriffen die Herzen der Hörer mit wunderbarer Gewalt und ließen ihren Widerspruch verstummen."

611 Ibid., II, 284: "'Wenn alle Christen,' sagte er [i.e., Musonius] bewegt zu Ruben, 'diesem Schwärmer gleichen, wird der neue Gott die alten Götter besiegen und der Glaube dieser Thoren mit der Zeit mächtiger sein als alle unsere Philosophie.'"

Ruben, other than Arnold in *Die Kinder Gottes* indeed eventually realizes that philosophy and rationalism alone are not sufficient to sustain humanity. Love, both he and Miriam recognize, is the ultimate divinely inspired bond that maintains the creation.

The Temptation of Worldly Might and Glory

Rewarded for a service he is able to do for the emperor, Ruben joins the household of (Tiberius Claudius) Epaphroditus, a freedman in the position of secretary for petitions to Nero. After his exposure to Christianity, Ruben is confronted with, and tempted by, the secular might and glory of Rome that was denounced by Aristion. Pleased with his new slave's conscientiousness and intelligence, Epaphroditus confers on Ruben a position of responsibility. The Greek freedman moreover seeks to elicit from the young Jew information about his religion and, eventually, suggests to him that he should renounce his faith and assimilate, in which case he anticipates a successful future as a free man in Roman society for him. Epaphroditus explains to Ruben the pragmatic use of religion as an instrument of governance in the Roman commonweal:

> In my opinion and in the view of everyone who is sensible and educated, religion is nothing but a necessary instrument of the state for the protection and maintenance of the civil order, for the advancement of morals and morality, and a mainstay of those who rule; for this reason we cannot do without it. As long as we observe the external customs and ceremonies, so as not to offend the people and not to set a bad example, everyone is free, besides, to think and believe whatever he wishes.[612]

That this doctrine is flawed in practice is demonstrated in the novel with the perception of the Jews by the Romans; they are "mocked, hated, and persecuted" for their religion.[613] "You must not wonder at that," Epaphroditus explains to Ruben,

> since this people looks on all the other nations with contempt and considers its god the only true god, detesting and rejecting all the other gods; for this reason the Jews are justly held to be the enemies of men and gods. In addition, they make themselves hateful with their ridiculous customs and practices, in particular by obstinately sticking together, and with

612 Ibid., III, 106: "Nach meiner Meinung und der Ansicht aller verständigen und gebildeten Leute, ist die Religion nichts weiter, als ein nothwendiges Staatsinstitut, zum Schutz und zur Erhaltung der bürgerlichen Ordnung, zur Beförderung der Moral und Sittlichkeit und zur Stütze für die Regierenden; weshalb wir sie nicht entbehren können. Wenn wir nur die äußeren Gebräuche und Ceremonien beobachten, um dem Volk keinen Anstoß und kein schlechtes Beispiel zu geben, so steht im Uebrigen Jedem frei zu denken und zu glauben, was er will."
613 Ibid., III, 108: "verspottet, gehaßt und verfolgt."

> their continuous revolts against the government; though I will happily concede that they otherwise also possess some good characteristics and that there are among them some distinguished and honourable men who deserve to be Romans.[614]

The harangue of the enlightened Graeco-Roman clearly responds to rampant stereotypes and anxieties of the author's own time. Bio-sociological antisemitism, as noted above, proliferated in the eighth decade of the nineteenth century in Germany. While contemporary antisemitism began to emphasize the inassimilability of Jews in Germany as essentially oriental aliens—as, for instance, in the notorious formulation of Heinrich von Treitschke who claimed that "there will always be Jews who are nothing but German-speaking orientals"[615]—assimilation was a pervasive response of many Jews to persisting civil disabilities, which further intensified such anxieties.

Making the case for assimilation and the renunciation of Judaism and Jewishness in a way that would therefore similarly have reverberated with contemporary significance to the reader, Epaphroditus nurtures doubts in Ruben:

> I only see that the Jews are the most miserable and despicable people on earth and inexorably rush towards their perdition. Were they indeed the particular favourites of the heavens and their god as mighty as you say, they would not tear themselves to pieces and always be defeated by their enemies. Turn your gaze instead towards Rome and the Romans!—We are the lords of the whole world and the rulers of the earth.[616]

In the language of nineteenth-century colonialism, the Greek freedman extols the might of the Empire which is implicitly associated with modern nation states of the so-called civilized world:

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614 Ibid.: "'Das darf Dich nicht wundern,' erwiderte Epaphroditus, 'da dieses Volk mit Verachtung auf alle übrigen Nationen blickt und seinen Gott für den einzig wahren Gott hält, alle anderen Götter aber verabscheut und verwirft; weshalb auch die Juden mit Recht für Feinde der Menschen und Götter gelten. Dazu kommt noch, daß sie durch ihre lächerlichen Sitten und Gebräuche, besonders durch ihr hartnäckiges Zusammenhalten untereinander und durch ihre fortwährenden Empörungen gegen die Regierung sich verhaßt machen, obgleich ich gern zugeben will, daß sie sonst auch manche gute Eigenschaften besitzen und daß es unter ihnen einige ausgezeichnete und ehrenwerthe Männer giebt, welche Römer zu sein verdienen.'"

615 Treitschke, "Unsere Aussichten," 576: "Es wird immer Juden geben, die nichts sind als deutsch redende Orientalen."

616 Ring, *Haus Hillel*, III, 109–10: "Ich sehe nur, daß die Juden das elendste und verächtlichste Volk der Erde sind und unaufhaltsam ihrem Verderben entgegeneilen. Wären sie wirklich die besonderen Lieblinge des Himmels und ihr Gott so mächtig wie Du sagst, so würden sie nicht sich selbst zerfleischen und stets ihren Feinden unterliegen. Blicke dagegen auf Rom und die Römer!—Wir sind die Herren der ganzen Welt und die Gebieter des Erdkreises."

> Under our protection flourish commerce, art, and trade; arise marvels every day, gigantic edifices, roads across previously impassable areas, bridges across vertiginous chasms, walls and castles against the enemies, colonies and large cities. Wherever we go, we carry education and morality, the blessings of culture, order, and the law. Everywhere, we are respected, and with pride any one of us shouts: *Civis Romanus sum*, I am a Roman citizen, because no one may compare themselves to us and no one dares to attack us.[617]

Awed and tempted by the magnificence and might of Rome and the Roman Empire, and once again of obvious contemporary resonance, Ruben perceives the degeneracy of the Roman ghetto Jews as well as the assimilated Jews:

> The Roman Jews, whom he frequently saw in the streets, were commonly despised and scorned, scoffed at by the people, ridiculed by the fashionable poets and mimes of the theatre. [. . .] Even more disgusting than the poor Jew was to him the rich Jew in Rome who disavowed his origins, flirted with paganism, draped himself with the toga that was alien to him, played the Roman, dropped Greek phrases and verses here and there and swore his oaths never otherwise than by Jupiter Tonans in order to make people forget his Jewishness.[618]

Why, the novel implicitly asks, should anyone choose to remain loyal to this despised tribe? Yet Ruben, an exhortation to contemporary Jews, for whom he sets an example, again persists:

> All this Ruben heard, and felt, and yet he could not find it in himself to betray his faith and to leave his poor, despised people; as yet, he hesitated from day to day to follow the well-meant advice of his master; remained, all temptations and objectionableness of his co-religionists notwithstanding—a Jew.[619]

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617 Ibid., III, 110–11: "Unter unserem Schutz blühen Handel, Kunst und Gewerbe, enststehen täglich Wunderwerke, riesige Bauten, Straßen durch bisher unwegsame Gegenden, Brücken über schwindelerregende Abgründe, Wälle und Kastelle gegen die Feinde, Kolonien und große Städte. Wohin wir kommen, tragen wir Bildung und Gesittung, die Wohlthaten der Kultur, Ordnung und Gesetz. Ueberall sind wir geachtet und mit Stolz ruft jeder von uns: *Civis Romanus sum*, ich bin ein römischer Bürger, weil sich Niemand mit uns vergleichen kann und Keiner uns anzugreifen wagt."

618 Ibid., III, 113–14: "Die römischen Juden, welche er öfters in den Straßen sah, wurden allgemein verachtet und verspottet, vom Volk verhöhnt, von den Modedichtern und Mimen im Theater lächerlich gemacht. [. . .] Noch widerwärtiger als der arme, war ihm der reiche Jude in Rom, der seine Abstammung verleugnete, mit dem Heidenthum kokettirte, sich mit der ihm fremden Toga drapirte, den Römer spielte, mit griechischen Phrasen und Versen um sich warf und nie anders als beim Tempel des Donnerers Zeus schwur, um sein Judenthum vergessen zu machen." Ring refers in a footnote to Hausrath's *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, III, 75 as his source.

619 Ibid., III, 114–15: "Das Alles sah, hörte, empfand Ruben und dennoch konnte er sich nicht entschließen, seinem Glauben untreu zu werden und sein armes, verachtetes Volk zu verlassen;

Ruben, too, like so many of the author's Jewish contemporaries, involuntarily experiences the centrifugal force of assimilation; yet he does not weaken: "Even though Ruben bravely withstood the temptation, it was only the more difficult for him to defend himself against the imperceptible influence his environment exerted upon him."[620]

Ultimately, in what is an implicit social and cultural critique of his own time, Ring has his protagonist realize after Nero's death the iniquity and vacuity of Roman civilization:

> He was wracked by an indescribable disgust of the world in which he now lived, of the moral decay, depravity, and baseness of his whole environs. All the splendour and magnificence, the greatness and the power which, even a short while ago, he used to admire seemed to him an infernal illusion; the great, splendid Rome with its palaces and temples, its monuments and theatres, a made-up cadaver; a whitewashed tomb, filled with horrid putrefaction.[621]

Chastened by his insight and still searching for a viable Jewish identity, Ruben feels henceforth attracted to the Jewish ghetto in Rome, which he sees very differently now:

> Thither [i.e., to the ghetto], Ruben was now drawn, to the pious friends, to the persecuted Christians, and to his despised co-religionists. Stronger than ever rose in his heart the old memories of the home he left and of his poor people, left by him, which—despite all its iniquities—he unconsciously still loved.[622]

Conflating Jews and Christians and leveling their differences, Ruben cherishes their lack of wordly glory and magnificence. Instead, he exalts their morally and ethically superior humanity:

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trotzdem zögerte er von Tag zu Tag, den wohlgemeinten Rath seines Herrn zu befolgen, blieb er ungeachtet aller Verlockungen und aller Widerwärtigkeiten seiner Glaubensgenossen—Jude."

620 Ibid., III, 112: "Wenn auch Ruben der Versuchung muthig widerstand, so fiel es ihm um so schwerer, sich des unmerklichen Einflusses seiner neuen Umgebung zu erwehren."

621 Ibid., III, 179: "Ein unbeschreiblicher Ekel ergriff ihn vor der Welt, in der er jetzt lebte, vor der sittlichen Fäulniß, Verkommenheit und Gemeinheit seiner ganzen Umgebung. All die Pracht und Herrlichkeit, die Größe und Macht, die er noch vor Kurzem bewunderte, erschien ihm wie ein höllisches Blendwerk, das große, glänzende Rom mit seinen Palästen und Tempeln, seinen Denkmälern und Theatern, wie eine geschminkte Leiche, wie ein übertünchtes Grab, von grauenvoller Verwesung erfüllt."

622 Ibid., III, 180: "Dorthin [i.e., to the ghetto] zog es jetzt Ruben, zu den frommen Freunden, zu den verfolgten Christen, und zu seinen verachteten Glaubensgenossen. Stärker als je erwachten wieder in seinem Herzen die alten Erinnerungen an die verlassene Heimat und an sein armes, von ihm verlassenes Volk, das er trotz aller Untugenden unbewußt immer noch liebte."

> Yet in the small, dark houses [of the ghetto] dwelled morality and faithful trust, mercy and love. Underneath the rags were beating true, strong, selfless hearts, capable of the greatest sacrifice; and in these stunted figures lived a miraculous, ideal spirit, humanity, and fraternity, which the proud, heartless, hard Roman with all his education, courage, and political wisdom did not know.[623]

Ruben recognizes that in the ghetto "still prevailed tranquillity and peace, innocence and morals, happiness and purity in the womb of the family which was so dear to the Jews."[624]

Arguably, these passages are calculated to evoke recent contemporary history and the revaluation of the ghetto in modern Jewish literature, such as Kompert's tales. Yet in Ring's novel, the ghetto is nevertheless not a place of nostalgic retrospection. It is, rather, the place from which the Jewish spirit sallies forth, as it did historically in Europe in the wake of the *Haskalah*.

When he is told that Miriam has been disabused of the falsehoods which made her renounce him, Ruben returns to Jerusalem. Yet here, too, he no longer feels at home. After everything he has experienced, he has changed and gone far beyond the exclusively Jewish purview which is shared even by his relations of the House of Hillel:

> Already after a short time, the differences of their political and religious views became manifest between the related friends in an often painful manner since Ruben, because of his familiarity with Christianity, his encounter with the philosophical cosmopolitan Musonius, and his lengthy sojourn in Rome had gained a plethora of new fertile ideas which to Gamaliel [i.e., Simon's son], living in Jewish narrow-mindedness and isolation, in this very moment and from his prejudiced, national point of view must have seemed reprehensible and even heretical.[625]

Jerusalem, Ruben feels, has turned into a madhouse: "Against his will, he saw himself condemned to play the thankless and dangerous role of the single reason-

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623 Ibid.: "Aber in den kleinen, dunklen Häusern wohnte Sittlichkeit und gläubiges Vertrauen, Barmherzigkeit und Liebe. Unter den Lumpen schlugen treue, starke, selbstlose Herzen, fähig der größten Opfer und in diesen verkümmerten Gestalten lebte ein wunderbarer, idealer Geist, Menschlichkeit und Brüderlichkeit, die der stolze, herzlose, harte Römer mit all seiner Bildung, Tapferkeit und Staatsklugheit nicht kannte."

624 Ibid., III, 181: "hier herrschte noch Ruhe und Frieden, Unschuld und Sitte, Glück und Reinheit in dem Schooße der den Juden so theuren Familie."

625 Ibid., III, 222: "Schon nach kurzer Zeit machte sich zwischen den verwandten Freunden die Verschiedenheit ihrer politischen und religiösen Anschauungen in oft peinlicher Weise bemerkbar, da Ruben durch seine Bekanntschaft mit dem Christenthum, durch seine Begegnung mit dem philosophischen Weltbürger Musonius und durch seinen längeren Aufenthalt in Rom eine Fülle neuer befruchtender Ideen gewonnen hatte, welche der in jüdischer Beschränktheit und

able individual among the insane."[626] And yet, though he feels "inwardly separated" from the Zealots and "without any spiritual points of convergence,"[627] Ruben nevertheless joins in the defence of the city.

Following the destruction of Jerusalem and their deportation to Rome, where they are presented to the Roman rabble at the imperator's triumphal entry, Ruben and Miriam eventually meet again at the slave market. After defending Miriam against the wiles of the young Domitian, Ruben is accused of insubordination. Both are about to be sentenced to death when Musonius, reprieved and returned to his former position, rescues them. The philosopher gives the two young Jews their freedom and takes them into his own house. Expanding on their earlier encounter, Ruben is further confronted with philosophy as an alternative to his religion. Musonius, like Epaphroditus, criticizes the essentialized Jewish character which, to him places the Jews and Judaism outside rational compassion and sympathy:

> You are too shrewd and too unprejudiced not to understand that your compatriots fully deserve their fate. A people that lacks any higher education, any political insight, any artistic talent; that has such erroneous ideas of the nature of the divinity and believes the most ludicrous fairy-tales and miracles, that lets itself be ruled by fanatical priests and insane enthusiasts and obstinately keeps apart from all other nations; such a people has no claim to the sympathy and compassion of any rational human being if it perishes by its own fault.[628]

The philosopher's description of the Jews, while based on historical perception during the period of the destruction of the Temple, may, to some extent, also be understood as a reflection on pre-*Haskalah* Jewry. At the same time, his reference to rational human beings appears to articulate the allegation which is implicitly countered by the Reformers' attempt "to remove everything from our religion

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Absonderung lebende Gamliel grade in diesem Augenblick und von seinem einseitigen, nationalen Standpunkt aus für verwerflich und selbst für ketzerisch halten mußte."

626 Ibid., III, 229: "Wider Willen sah er sich zu der ebenso undankbaren als gefährlichen Rolle des einzig Vernünftigen unter lauter Wahnsinnigen verurtheilt."

627 Ibid., III, 222: "innerlich von ihnen geschieden und ohne geistige Berührungspunkte."

628 Ibid., III, 320–1: "Du selbst bist zu klug und zu vorurtheilslos, um nicht einzusehen, daß Deine Landsleute ihr Schicksal vollkommen verdienten. Ein Volk, dem jede höhere Bildung, jede politische Einsicht, jede künstlerische Begabung fehlt, das von dem Wesen der Gottheit so verkehrte Vorstellungen hat und die albernsten Märchen und Wunder glaubt, das sich von fanatischen Priestern und wahnsinnigen Schwärmern beherrschen läßt und sich von allen anderen Nationen hartnäckig abschließt, ein solches Volk hat keinen Anspruch auf die Theilnahme und das Mitleid irgend eines vernünftigen Menschen, wenn es durch seine eigene Schuld zu Grunde geht."

which has debased and degraded it in the eyes of rational humanity."[629] When Ruben responds to Musonius, he insists in the spirit of contemporary Reform Judaism on the ethical mission of Judaism as a moral, monotheistic religion which is based on divine revelation and the pursuance of eternal values:

> Instead, the Lord gave to us the belief in the *one* God, in heavenly revelation, in sacred truth, in a yearning for the highest, in striving for perfection and moral purity, in the hope in an afterlife and in redemption from the fetters of sin. To you belongs the earth with all its transitory treasures, to us the heavens with their eternal glory. Yours is the power and wisdom of the world, ours the faith and the unshakeable power of endurance; yours education, intellect, and mind, ours the heart and the love.[630]

Once again, therefore, Ruben remains steadfast.

Yavneh and the Parting of the Ways

Having been informed that the remnants of their family have gathered in Yavneh (Jamnia), where Yohanan ben Zakkai has established his academy, Ruben and Miriam once again return to the by then devastated Judaea. In the Sanhedrin, presided over by the venerable sage who is, in Ring's narrative, a close friend of Simon's and himself a member of the House of Hillel and teacher of Ruben, the tolerant young Jew is once more accused of apostasy and concedes his affinity with Christianity:

> "I confess," he said after a brief, painful struggle, "that I believe Jesus to be chosen by the Lord, the emissary of God, the true Saviour and Messiah."[631]

In response to the fury of the rabbis who expel and banish him against the wishes of the mild Yohanan ben Zakkai, he asserts:

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629 Goldschmidt, *Programm zu einer Erklärung deutscher Israeliten*, 309: "Alles, was unsere Religion in den Augen der denkenden Menschheit entwürdigt und erniedrigt hat, von ihr zu entfernen."
630 Ibid., III, 321–2: "Dafür aber hat uns der Herr den Glauben an den *einen* Gott, die himmlische Offenbarung, die heilige Wahrheit, die Sehnsucht nach dem Höchsten, das Streben nach Vollkommenheit und Sittenreinheit, die Hoffnung auf ein Jenseits und die Erlösung von den Banden der Sünde verliehen. Euch gehört die Erde mit all ihren vergänglichen Schätzen, uns der Himmel mit seiner ewigen Herrlichkeit. Euer ist die Macht und Weisheit der Welt, unser der Glaube und die unerschütterliche Kraft im Dulden, Euer Bildung, Verstand und Geist, unser das Herz und die Liebe."
631 Ibid., III, 333: "'Ich bekenne,' sagte er nach kurzem, schmerzlichen Ringen, 'daß ich Jesus für einen Erwählten des Herrn, für den Gesandten Gottes, für den wahren Heiland und Messias halte'."

> "You err," Ruben retorted undaunted, "because you don't know Him or His teachings, or because from ignorance you close your eyes to the light, your hearts to the truth."[632]

Ring bases Ruben's exclusion from the academy of Yavneh and the Jewish community on the historical occurrence of the so-called Council of Yavneh which is said to have introduced the *Birkat haMinim* ("Blessing on the heretics") to rabbinic liturgy which may have been calculated to discourage heretics from participating in synagogue services.[633] The Council of Yavneh has been seen as a vehicle of confirming, and closing, the canon of the Hebrew Bible and of finding a solution to internal Jewish strife, in particular between the Houses of Shammai and Hillel.[634] It has moreover been considered an attempt to exclude Judaeo-Christians from Judaism in the so-called parting of the ways,[635] though this hypothesis has more recently been discounted.[636]

Though surreptitiously supported by Yohanan ben Zakkai, Ruben in the end once again needs to leave. Yet Miriam remains loyal to him. She extols love as coming from God,[637] and at the end of the novel, Ruben and she withdraw to the court of Monobazes (Monobazus) of Adiabene, conflated by Ring with Monobazus II, the king of Adiabene. In Adiabene, both are able to live their ideals of tolerance. The happy withdrawal of the lovers from any religious center, either Rome or Jerusalem, is not dissimilar to the conclusions of other novels about the destruction of Jerusalem. Yet it differs from novels of Christian provenance by the withdrawal of the protagonists also from any organized religion and by the exposition of a peaceful co-existence and amalgamation of Jewish and Christian values:

> At the court of the noble Monobazes in Adiabene Ruben and Miriam lived and acted under the most happy circumstances in the spirit of their great ancestor Hillel and in the spirit of the Saviour meekly before God, mild and tolerant towards all human beings, without mak-

632 Ibid.: "'Ihr irrt,' versetzte Ruben unerschrocken, 'weil Ihr ihn und seine Lehren nicht kennt, oder weil Ihr aus Unverstand Eure Augen dem Licht, Eure Herzen der Wahrheit verschließt.'"

633 See Ismar Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Leipzig: Fock, 1913), p. 37. The actual date of the inclusion of the *Birkat haMinim* is controversially discussed, see, e.g., S. J. Joubert, "A Bone of Contention in Recent Scholarship: The 'Birkat ha-Minim' and the Separation of Church and Synagogue in the First Century AD," *Neotestamentica* 27.2 (1993): 351–63.

634 See, e.g., Peter Schäfer, *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), p. 60. For a challenge to the notion of Yavneh as "a centralized and hegemonic power institution," see Boyarin, *Border Lines*, p. 68.

635 See, e.g., Elbogen, *Jüdische Gottesdienst*, p. 36.

636 See Schäfer, *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie*, p. 60 and Boyarin, *Border Lines*, pp. 67–8.

637 See Ring, *Haus Hillel*, III, 322, 338.

> ing distinctions between their faiths and fatherlands, uniting the pious faith of their fathers with the heavenly love of the Saviour.[638]

Then and Now

The implicit connection between the historical and contemporary periods censured by Delitzsch in Renan's life of Jesus—which, as suggested above, also pervades Ring's novel—was made explicit in Geiger's conception of Jewish history. As Heschel notes, the Jewish theologian's *Geschichte* establishes in conclusion a parallel to contemporary Judaism:[639]

> The Pharisees and Sadducees, for example are not only religious groups of the Second Temple period, but also represent general religious tendencies. The situation of the Jews just after the destruction of the Second Temple is compared to that of contemporary German Jews: there are assimilationists who want to throw away "all ancient treasures," and there are Zealots who are "simply looking back upon ancient times." There are also Pharisees, but only of the strict, Shammaitic schools, who "envelop themselves in piety, cling devoutly to what was handed down from earlier times, soaked in old spirit, but without fresh and refreshing power."[640]

Emphasizing the necessity of reform, Geiger insists that "[e]very age creates, and must create, and if we mean to creep on in indolence, the future is killed in its very germ."[641] More than anything else, Hillel—like Jesus—was a reformer to the Jewish theologian.[642] Anticipating the emergence of a new era in his own time, that would be defined by a "healthful" science and "which respects the spirit, and has a presentiment of the Spirit of all spirits,"[643] Geiger asks: "How, then, are *we*

638 Ibid.: "An dem Hofe des edlen Monobazes in Adiabene lebten und wirkten Ruben und Mirjam unter den glücklichsten Verhältnissen im Sinn ihres großen Ahnherrn Hillel und im Geist des Erlösers demüthig vor Gott, mild und duldsam gegen alle Menschen ohne Unterschied des Glaubens und des Vaterlandes, den frommen Glauben ihrer Väter mit der himmlischen Liebe des Heilands vereinend."

639 See Heschel, *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus*, p. 154.

640 See ibid.

641 Geiger, *Judaism and its History*, I, 193; see also Geiger, *Judenthum und seine Geschichte*, p. 100: "Jede Zeit schafft und muß schaffen, und wenn man in ihr blos träge dahin schleichen will, so wird damit auch die Zukunft im Keime erstickt."

642 See Geiger, *Judaism and its History*, I, 192; see also Geiger, *Judenthum und seine Geschichte*, p. 99; see also Delitzsch, who rejects this claim, *Jesus und Hillel*, pp. 11–12.

643 Geiger, *Judaism and its History*, I, 295; see also Geiger, *Judenthum und seine Geschichte*, p. 153: "gesunde Wissenschaft [. . .], die den Geist ehrt und den Allgeist ahnt."

prepared for that new age?"[644] Not too well, the implication appears to be, for Geiger challenges contemporary Judaism with the question: "But where is the new Hillel, with his mild, clear eye, with his loving enthusiasm, with his healthful, spiritual power, that he may co-operate in the furtherance of the new time?"[645]

In *Das Haus Hillel*, similarly elaborating the historical parallel, Ring offers a paradigm for the "new time." It is a paradigm that Geiger, whose own attitude toward Christianity became increasingly hostile,[646] presumably would not have appreciated; nor would have Delitzsch or even Zinzendorf. Despite all the learned authorities cited by Ring, many of whom were Christian, his vague synthesis of Jewish and Christian elements—which crucially excluded the divinity of Christ—was not based on any real theological foundation and therefore could not offer any real remedy to the rift between Judaism and Christianity.

Ring's novel was nevertheless well received. Alexander von Villers, for a time private secretary to Franz Liszt and later in the diplomatic service of Saxony, described *Das Haus Hillel* as "a good fruit on the tree of knowledge."[647] Rudolf von Gottschall's review in *Unsere Zeit* remained a bland synopsis in which, though exasperated with his footnotes, the critic nevertheless commended the vivid quality of the author's descriptions; yet he took no notice whatsoever of the controversial religious issues negotiated by Ring.[648]

From a Jewish perspective, Leopold Treitel offered in *Das jüdische Literaturblatt*, which was a literary supplement to the *Israelitische Wochen-Schrift*, a review replete with Jewish national pathos. "In front of me," he commences, "I have an open book which compels me to muse quietly, which makes me feel now upwelling enthusiasm, now plaintive wistfulness."[649] The critic's emotional investment is prompted by the author's potent re-imagination of the historical period:

644 Geiger, *Judaism and its History*, I, 296; see also Geiger, *Judenthum und seine Geschichte*, p. 153: "Wie sind *wir* nun gerüstet für jene neue Zeit?"

645 Geiger, *Judaism and its History*, I, 296; see also Geiger, *Judenthum und seine Geschichte*, p. 154: "Wo ist aber der neue Hillel mit dem milden klaren Blicke, mit liebender Begeisterung, mit gesunder geistiger Kraft, daß er die neue Zeit mit fördere?"

646 See Heschel, *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus*, p. 36.

647 [Alexander von Villers], *Briefe eines Unbekannten*, [ed. Rudolf Hoyos], 2 vols (Wien: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1887), II, 154.

648 See [Rudolf von Gottschall], "Literarische Revue," in *Unsere Zeit: Deutsche Revue der Gegenwart*, new series 16 (1880): 141–53, 141–2; the journal was a monthly supplement to the popular *Conversations-Lexikon* published by F. W. Brockhaus.

649 L[eopold] Treitel, "Ring, Max, Das Haus Hillel. Historischer Roman aus dem ersten Jahrhundert. 3 Bände. Berlin 1879. O. Janke," *Das jüdische Literaturblatt* 8.50 (December 10, 1879): 199–200, 199: "Vor mir liegt aufgeschlagen ein Buch, über dem ich in stilles Sinnen gerathe, bald hochgeschwellte Begeisterung, bald abwärts ziehende Wehmuth empfinde."

> Well-known figures rise up in front of me from their tombs of many millennia. They are Judah's heroes, who appear transfigured in their mortal combat with the Romans; warriors with swords, who add to their martial fame the splendor of spiritual nobility; quiet scholars, who in the hour of communal danger, forgetting themselves and their studies and recognizing only *one* goal, the deliverance of the distressed fatherland, developed all the virtues of an ardent patriotism.[650]

The critic's own ardent patriotism is evident and it clearly distorts his perception of the novel which, as discussed above, is rather critical of both Judah's heroes and the less tolerant among its scholars. Nor is the patriotism which may be shared by the different factions of the Jewish defenders presented in the novel as positive. The figure of Miriam, the Beautiful Jewess in *Das Haus Hillel*, is similarly given a partisan reading by Treitel which distorts her characterization consistent with his national pathos:

> [I]n her bosom, she cherishes all the exultation, all the ardent enthusiasm for the religion and nationality of her people; she cherishes a tender compassion for the fate of this people, as she alone is deserving, a daughter from the Houses of Hillel and David.[651]

Treitel, whose doctoral thesis on Philo was supervised by Heinrich Graetz, was at the time he wrote his review of Ring's novel rabbi in Koschmin (from 1878–81; present-day Koźmin Wielkopolski in Poland) in the Prussian province of Posen (present-day Poznań in Poland). Whereas his nationalist reading of the novel may lack in convincing substance, Treitel was nevertheless sensitive to the conciliatory and tolerant trajectory of *Das Haus Hillel*. Cautiously, so as not to offend either Christian or Jewish sensibilities, he attributes to both religions as they are described in the novel the same ethical objectives:

> as if in the backdrop to the bloody catastrophe, I see, almost at rest, two world views as they arise, the newly created one of Christianity and that of Judaism, rejuvenating itself in peaceful academies, so as to lead humankind along *different paths* to the *one goal* of true education and morality.[652]

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650 Ibid.: "Wohlbekannte Gestalten steigen vor mir aus ihrer mehrtausendjährigen Gruft herauf, es sind Juda's im Todeskampfe mit den Römern verklärt erscheinende Helden, die Streiter mit dem Schwerte, die zu dem Waffenruhme den Glanz geistiger Hoheit gefügt, stille Gelehrte, die in der Stunde der allgemeinen Gefahr, sich und ihr Studium vergessend und nur noch *ein* Ziel, die Rettung des bedrängten Vaterlandes kennend, alle Tugenden eines glühenden Patriotismus entwickelten."

651 Ibid., 200: "in ihrem Busen bewahrt sie all die Hochgefühle, all die flammende Begeisterung für Religion und Nationalität ihres Volkes, bewahrt sie eine innige Theilnahme an den Geschicken dieses Volkes, wie sie allein würdig ist, eine Tochter aus Hillelitischem und Davidischem Hause."

652 Ibid.: "wie im Hintergrunde der blutigen Katastrophe sehe ich fast still zwei Weltanschauungen, die neuentstandene des Christenthums, wie die in friedlichen Lehrhäusern sich verjün-

Treitel's emphasis on the rejuvenation of Judaism echoes moderate efforts of its contemporary modernization. Like Ring, the moderate rabbi implicitly posits the equality of modern Judaism with Christianity; on this footing, he also appears to endorse the author's conciliatory objective which, however, he seems to locate in the historical setting of the novel, ultimately denying its application to the present and its actual contemporary relevance:

> If in conclusion it may be permitted to mention the tendency of the Book, which is correlated to the great questions of universal history of its time, it should briefly be drawn attention to the efforts of the author to achieve the inner reconciliation of Judaism and Christianity, both of which are world views which increasingly overcame paganism from their first emergence; and to join them—but besides them also the at that time so widespread doctrine of the Stoa—through their representatives and through the summary of the essential elements these world views share.[653]

The *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* took note of the publication of Ring's novel but intriguingly never carried a review of *Das Haus Hillel*.[654] In a later appreciation, the Hungarian-born Jewish journalist and translator Adolph Kohut noted: "In the person of the famous Jewish teacher of the Law, Hillel, we encounter the Jewish people as the people of true religiosity, of healthy thought, and of the interiority of feeling."[655]

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gende des Judenthums sich erheben, um die Menschheit auf *verschiedenen Wegen* zu dem *einen Ziele*, dem ächter Bildung und Gesittung zu führen."

653 Ibid.: "Darf zum Schlusse noch von einer mit den grossen weltgeschichtlichen Fragen seiner Zeit im Zusammenhange stehenden Tendenz des Buches die Rede sein, so sei hier nur kurz auf das Bestreben des Verf. hingewiesen, Judenthum und Christenthum, diese beiden das Heidenthum von ihrem ersten Auftreten an mehr und mehr überwindende Weltanschauungen, daneben aber auch die damals so verbreitete Lehre der Stoa in ihren Vertretern in nähere Verbindung, diese Weltanschauungen selber durch Zusammenfassung der wesentlichen Momente, die ihnen gemeinsam sind, zu innerer Versöhnung zu bringen."

654 See [Ludwig Philippson], "Literarische Notizen," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 43.22 (May 27, 1879): 348.

655 Kohut, "Max Ring," 331: "In der Person des berühmten jüdischen Gesetzlehrers Hillel tritt uns das Judenthum als das Volk der wahren Religiosität, des gesunden Sinnes und der Innerlichkeit des Empfindens entgegen."

Digression V
Berenice: *belle juive*, *juive fatale*, *juive bestiale*

The figure of the Princess Berenice—as suggested by the Jewish historians Isaak Markus Jost and, more specifically, Heinrich Graetz—is highly ambiguous in the history of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple. Julius Kossarski gave her some significance in his historical-dramatic poem and she appears also in some of the other texts relating to the historical occurrence, such as Carl Loewe's oratorio of 1829 and Anton de Waal's *Juda's Ende* of 1899. In each of these representations, she appears as a Beautiful Jewess or rather as a *juive fatale*; mostly because of the amorous relationship ancient historians allege her to have had with Titus and because of the immoral acts Josephus in particular attributes to her.

In all of the texts about the destruction of Jerusalem discussed in this study, Berenice is the only historical female Jewish figure. Yet her character, by necessity based to some extent on Josephus, remained well into the second half of the nineteenth century either a foil for the greatness of Titus, because he supposedly sacrificed his love of the beautiful princess to the greater good of the Roman commonwealth, or a vain and crafty traitor to her own nation.[1] Graetz, as discussed before, employed in successive editions of his historiographical text increasingly sophisticated narrative strategies to insinuate to his readers the depravity and corruption of the historical Berenice. Toward the end of the century finally appeared within a few years of one another two novels—by Karl Erdmann Edler and Heinrich Vollrat Schumacher—which focus on Berenice as a main character and which offer a re-interpretation of her motives and actions and consequently also of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple. The two texts provide an intriguing expansion to the discussion of the Jewish engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem. Both novels were written by non-Jewish authors, but Schumacher's was first published in an Orthodox Jewish periodical and it clearly offers a re-interpration of the subject in relation to Edler's earlier novel, many of whose structural components it adopts and adapts.

1 There is a rich tradition of representations of Berenice in literature, the arts, and music among which the tragedy *Bérénice* by Jean Racine (1670), the heroic comedy *Tite et Bérénice* by Pierre Corneille, and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's opera *La clemenza di Tito* (1791) to a libretto by Pietro Metastasio (1734) are perhaps the best known. The Venetian painter Rosalba Carriera created an iconographic portrait pattern showing Berenice as she cuts off her hair, see *Caterina Sagredo Barbarigo as Berenice* (c. 1741) and *Ritratto della Contessa Orzelska in veste di Berenice* (c. 1742).

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Berenice Chastised and Reformed: Edler

Der letzte Jude by Karl Erdmann Edler was described by a contemporary critic as "captivating" but "occasionally somewhat too imaginative."[2] Another reviewer affirmed that the author's "psychology" was "penetrating,"[3] while yet another critic noted that "the whole carries the blazing colours required by that bacchanalian wild oriental world."[4] Yet this reviewer also suggested that "[t]he romance of the fable might perhaps have been less conspicuous if the author had written his work in verse and turned the novel into an epic."[5] The suggestion that the author should have cast his narrative in the form of an epic harks back to the much earlier debate about the respective qualities of novel and epic outlined in chapter II. Yet rather than an articulation of the sublimity of its heroic characters, the epic is re-interpreted here as a genre suitable in particular for the representation of a fantastic fairy-tale world of the orient. The immersion in the narrative is apparently conceived by the critic to be very different in either case. While the epic distances the reader even as it takes them into an imaginary world which is nevertheless defined as such, the verisimilitude of the novel makes the immersion too immediate and perhaps even threatening.

Edler (1844–1931) was born in Austrian Bohemia. Initially, the aspiring writer earned his living as a private tutor, first in the households of Count Amadei, the governor of the province of Bukovina, and then of the Grand Master of the Court of the Austrian King and Emperor Franz Josef I, the Prince of Hohenlohe. In 1878, by then well known for his historical fiction, Edler became professor of poetics, mythology, and of the history of dramatic art at the Vienna Conservatory.

The critic for *Die Grenzboten* noted with approval that in *Der letzte Jude* (1885; The Last Jew)[6] the author's

> subject is the destruction of Jewish national sovereignty, the destruction of Jerusalem: yet though correlations with the present may have suggested themselves, he nevertheless

2 Anonymous, "Literatur, Kunst und Wissenschaft," *Bonner Zeitung* (July 2, 1885): 3: "fesselnder, stellenweise etwas zu phantasiereicher Roman."

3 Anonymous, "Der letzte Jude. Roman von Karl Erdmann Edler," *Die Grenzboten* 44.3 (1885): 288: "Edlers Psychologie ist eindringend."

4 Anonymous, "Kunst und Literatur," *Kölnische Zeitung* (May 31, 1885): 2: "das Ganze trägt die brennenden Farben, wie jene bacchantisch wilde Orientalenwelt sie fordert."

5 Ibid.: "Die Romantik der Fabel wäre vielleicht weniger auffällig geworden, hätte der Verfasser sein Werk in Versen geschrieben und aus dem Roman ein Epos gemacht."

6 Karl Erdm[ann] Edler, *Der letzte Jude* (Leipzig: Schlicke, 1885).

> avoids them with suitable tact and maintains his artistic objectivity towards his magnificent subject of universal history.[7]

In this, as in its non-generic title, *Der letzte Jude* is indeed distinct from most of the other texts discussed in this study. While arguably no historical novel is entirely independent of its production context, Edler nevertheless refrains from suggesting facile connections to his own present.

The subject was approached by Edler moreover from a structurally unusual angle. The writer eschewed the by then more or less formulaic beginning of so many other texts in this tradition which commence with the protagonist laying eyes on Jerusalem and its glorious Temple for the first time in awe and impart this vision to the reader.[8] *Der letzte Jude* opens instead with a character portrait of Claudius, as a part of which the writer elaborates on the friendship of the weak emperor with the confident Herod Agrippa who facilitated his succession to the throne after Caligula's death. When news of the Herodian king's unexpected demise reach the emperor, he seeks to make his friend's son Agrippa the new King of Judaea. Yet he is not able to assert himself against his advisers and their political machinations which undermine the Herodian monarchy. Jewish sovereignty is consequently lost and the country is subsequently leeched of its riches by a succession of Roman procurators.

Against this background, Titus and the Jew Othniel are introduced as small boys playing together. The future imperator is sketched as a petulant and wilful child with a perverse appetite which makes him lick his toys, while his Jewish friend Othniel, the last of the Maccabees, is plagued by his strong hand which inadvertently makes the boy destroy whatever he touches.

The wayward extremity and its indomitable strength continue to govern Othniel's life as he grows into a sturdy, modest, and taciturn youth. His family having relocated after the death of Herod Agrippa from their exile in Rome to their ancestral manor by the River Tigris in Parthia, Othniel is admired by the young ladies at the Parthian court but is secretly in love with his cousin Mary (Maria) who, after the death of her eponymous mother joins the household.

By eventually identifying Othniel's mother Martha and her sister Mary as the two sisters of the biblical Lazarus, Edler interweaves his narrative with Scrip-

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7 Anonymous, "Der letzte Jude," 288: "Sein Stoff ist der Untergang des jüdischen Nationalreiches, die Zerstörung Jerusalems: aber so nahe auch Beziehungen auf die Gegenwart gelegen hätten, so vermeidet er sie doch mit glücklichem Takte und bewahrt sich die künstlerische Objektivität gegenüber seinem großartigen, welthistorischen Gegenstande."

8 The scene of arrival has been described by Fabian Wilhelmi as a central trope in the literary engagement with Jerusalem, see Wilhelmi, "Jerusalem in historischen Romanen," p. 62.

ture,[9] though his interest in Christianity is otherwise only perfunctory. The Austrian writer certainly was not invested in the *Kulturkampf*. While Martha accompanies her husband into the Roman exile for his kinship with the Maccabees, Mary converts to Christianity and eventually marries Enoch, the fictitious son of Judas Iscariot. Both Enoch and Mary dedicate their lives to atoning for the sinful betrayal of Jesus by Enoch's father. Enoch eventually leaves his family, so as to relieve them of the unbearable burden, yet Mary nevertheless succumbs to it and dies. Her daughter, Othniel's cousin, is a silent, withdrawn child who is dismayed by the involuntary violence of Othniel and his wayward hand. Eventually, she falls in love with Othniel's gentle gentile friend, the Parthian Aribazos.

It is only at this point, well into the first half of the novel, that the political developments in Palestine begin to intrude in the narrative as merchants spread the news about the siege of far-away Jerusalem and the bloody war fought by the Romans against the Jews. Othniel is sent by his ailing father to celebrate a last burnt offering for him at the Temple and to fetch for him holy earth from Judaea for his grave. At the same time, the Mesopotamian Jews as well as the Parthian court entrust him with their own secret missions to the Jewish insurgents.

Meanwhile Titus, mediated by Josephus, secretly meets with Berenice and representatives of the Jews who seek to negotiate with the Romans. The description of the constantly shifting facial expressions of Josephus indicates his protean character:

> There was a rushing and stirring in this face which offered to the viewer no distinct, tangible single image and also left no overall picture in the memory, but merely the recollection of a restless movement of all facial muscles around one single firm point. This was the nose, which protruded greatly in a perfect quarter circle and stood, with the highlights on its sharp-edged ridge, like a firmly grounded defiant lighthouse amid the wild commotion of the waves of [his] facial expression.[10]

The retrospective identification of the "Jewish" nose has been described in relation to perceptions of ethnic otherness in antiquity as the "fallacy of distinguishing Jews."[11] A hooked nose was, in this period, not yet considered a marker of

9 See Luke 10:38–42 and John 11:1–43.

10 Edler, *Letzte Jude*, p. 115: "Es war ein Hasten und Hetzen in diesem Antlitz, das dem Beschauer kein einziges faßbares Einzelbild darbot und auch im Gedächtnis kein Gesamtbild hinterließ, sondern bloß die Erinnerung an eine rastlose Bewegung aller Gesichtsmuskeln um einen einzigen festen Punkt. Dies war die Nase, die in einem vollkommenen Viertelkreis mächtig vorsprang und mit den Glanzlichtern auf ihrem scharfkantigen Rücken dastand wie ein festgegründeter trotziger Leuchtturm inmitten des wilden Wogengetümmels des Mienenspiels."

11 Jonathan P. Roth, "Distinguishing Jewishness in Antiquity," in *A Tall Order: Writing the Social History of the Ancient World: Essays in Honour of William V. Harris*, eds Jean-Jacques Aubert

Jewishness. The author rather projects "modern ideas about supposed Jewish ethnic or racial features" that were informed by antisemitic stereotypes onto the figure of Josephus.[12] The antisemitic perception of Josephus is further augmented with the instability of his shifting features which suggests his—and by implication, Jewish—insincerity.

A similar pattern of fragmentary and successively accumulating description is applied by the author also to Jerusalem and to Berenice. In these instances, however, the emphasis is different. In the description of Jerusalem, the static element which gives meaning to the rest is the Temple; in the case of Berenice, it reflects the gradually shifting focus of Titus', perception onto, and his appreciation of, the Jewish princess.

As Titus and Josephus approach the location of the meeting, the Roman has his first fragmentary glimpse of the city and the Temple which is later suddenly expanded as Berenice opens a window of the garden house on the Mount of Olives.[13] The effect of the magnificent view on Titus is immediate: "Something alien, solemn affects the soul of Titus, a magic enchantment which he knows not to interpret."[14] Though Edler's application of a Christian context to his novel is generally restrained, the location and the view he describes have addtional implicit significance because according to Matthew, Jesus expounded his prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem to his disciples from the very same vantage point.[15]

As Titus', view of Jerusalem is assembled only gradually, so also his perception of Berenice who is first described to him by Josephus prior to the meeting. Lost in thought, the Roman misses the first comments and significant silences of his Jewish attendant who then offers a perplexing summary which confirms the figure's ambiguity before it even appears for the first time in the novel:

> In Berenice nature has created one of those fabulous creatures which otherwise only the overexited brains of your poets have forced together from the most contradictory shapes, a sphinx, a chimera.[16]

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et al. (Munich: Saur, 2005), pp. 37–58, p. 53. For the significance of the Jewish nose, see Sander L. Gilman, *The Jew's Body* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 169–93.

12 Roth, "Distinguishing Jewishness in Antiquity," p. 53.

13 See Edler, *Letzte Jude*, pp. 115, 160.

14 Ibid., p. 161: "Etwas Fremdgeartetes, Ergreifendes, Feierliches tritt aus dem Wunderwerk an die Seele des Titus, ein magischer Zauber, welchen er sich nicht zu deuten vermag."

15 See Matthew 24:3.

16 Edler, *Letzte Jude*, p. 123: "In Berenice hat die Natur eines jener Fabelwesen gezeugt, wie sie sonst nur das überreizte Hirn eurer Dichter aus den widersprechendsten Bildungen zusammengezwungen hat, eine Sphinx, ein Chimära."

Berenice, in turn, appraises Titus very quickly. Emphasizing the similarity of their characters, she hates the Roman from the first moment. She realizes that he is defined by one thing only:

> A voracious striving. And thus was the nature also of her own mind. For that reason she hated him from the first moment. She knew from her own world of thoughts that she, like everything else that crossed his way, either deliberately or not, could never be more to him than the means for his purposes.[17]

Ultimately this is, conversely, also true in relation to her and Othniel, whom—though for the first time experiencing love and truth—she also appropriates to the world of her own thoughts, even though this is entirely alien to his character.

The rapaciousness Berenice observes in Titus, prefigured in his attempts as a child to ingest his toys, is paradigmatic of Roman rule. The Jewish representatives at the meeting accuse Rome of sending the worst kinds of men to govern Judaea. It is a practice of which Titus is well aware:

> Titus knew only too well that Rome had always chosen only the most avaricious and ferocious men as procurators for Judaea so that the flickering small flames of resistance should be turned into a universal blaze of insurgence through the bloody, quarrelsome pressure [they exerted]. Then, finally, an end might be made to the whole Jewish nation all at once, which was hated in Rome like no other nation for its recalcitrance and its arrogant pride. This hatred could be satisfied only through its destruction to which all the previous horrors and the whole menacing present were only the introduction.[18]

The suggestion is that a master plan for the complete subjugation and even destruction not only of Jerusalem but also of the Jewish people is being enacted by the Romans. That the Roman procurators belittle the Zealots and thus instigate the war is part of the same scheme:

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17 Ibid., p. 133: "Ein unersättliches Streben. Und so geartet war auch ihr eigener Geist. Darum haßte sie ihn vom ersten Augenblicke. Sie wußte aus ihrer eigenen Gedankenwelt, daß sie, so wie alles, was seinen Weg gesucht oder ungesucht kreuzte, ihm bloß als Mittel gelten konnte für seine Zwecke."

18 Ibid., p. 157: "Titus wußte nur zu gut, daß man von Rom aus immer nur die habgierigsten und furchtbarsten Männer als Prokuratoren für Judäa ausgesucht hatte, um durch deren blutigen unverträglichen Druck die hie und da emporflackernden Flämmchen des Widerstandes zu einem allgemeinen Brande der Empörung auflodern zu machen. Dann konnte endlich der ganzen jüdischen Nation auf einmal ein Ende gemacht werden, die man wegen ihrer Unbotmäßigkeit und wegen ihres hochmütigen Stolzes in Rom haßte wie kein zweites Volk. Dieser Haß war nur durch ihre Vernichtung zu befriedigen, zu welcher all das vorangegangene Entsetzliche und die ganze drohende Gegenwart bloß die Einleitung gewesen war."

> Titus knew this too. They had order to laugh about it and to let all the heads of the hydra proliferate so that they finally should be trimmed by the sword. That instead of each cut-off head fifty new ones should grow, as with the Lernaean Hydra, Rome had not anticipated.[19]

Berenice enlightens Titus about the Zealot hydra, explaining to him the deadly seriousness and the fanaticism of the Zealots:

> they know not of any present, but they also do not know any past; they are humans who live only in the future. The proud gigantic dream of the Jewish nation of a global empire which they once were promised by their God drives them onward with demonic power.[20]

In this context, she explains to Titus also the particularities of the Essenes and Nazarenes as Jewish sects which, to her, are even more out of touch with reality than the Zealots:

> They know neither past nor present, nor future: They live only in the heavens. The earth is vain, the body evil, caring for the world sinful. They make war on anything that is alluring to humans on earth, that pleases them; they float sentimentally only high in the clouds and live off the smell of incense of the supernatural.[21]

The Jewish character is presented by Berenice as alien to the Romans. She juxtaposes to the rapaciousness of the Romans the particularism of the Jews whose world view she describes to Titus as myopic and fragmented:

> every one of them sees only the particular [. . .], and [sees] this too only closely if his dull eye touches it directly; and in being so close, it obscures to his gaze everything else all around and in the distance. Into this tiny horizon they have stared myopically for centuries and their endless staring has almost turned them blind and dumb. The rest of the world is to them an alien distortion, unknown and uncomprehended, which lies out of the way of their petty particularity without correlation, without any relation to themselves, without any living connection to their solipsistic limitation.[22]

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19 Ibid., p. 167: “Titus wußte auch das. Sie hatten den Auftrag gehabt, darüber zu lachen, und alle die Häupter der Hydra üppig aufwachsen zu lassen, damit sie schließlich mit dem Schwerte weggemäht werden könnten. Daß, wie einst jener lernäischen Hydra, statt jedes abgehauenen Kopfes fünfzig neue anwachsen würden, hatte man in Rom nicht geahnt.”

20 Ibid., p. 171: “sie wissen von keiner Gegenwart, aber sie kennen auch keine Vergangenheit; das sind Menschen, welche nur in der Zukunft leben. Der stolze Riesentraum der jüdischen Nation von einem Weltreich, das ihr Gott einst verheißen, treibt sie mit dämonischer Macht.”

21 Ibid., p. 172: “Die kennen weder Vergangenheit, noch Gegenwart, noch Zukunft: sie leben nur im Himmel. Die Erde ist nichtig, der Leib böse, das Sorgen um die Welt sündhaft. Sie bekriegen alles, was den Menschen auf der Erde lockt, was ihn freut; sie schweben rührselig nur hoch im Gewölke und leben blos vom Weihrauchduft des Übersinnlichen.”

22 Ibid., p. 170: “jeder von ihnen [sieht] nur das Einzelne [. . .], und auch dies nur genau, wenn sein blödes Auge unmittelbar daran stößt, wobei es in solcher Nähe seinem Blicke Alles ringsum

To penetrate the Jewish solipsism is, according to Berenice, next to impossible. She describes to Titus the excruciatingly slow process of Hellenization effected through the Herodians:

> And they [i.e., the Herodian dynasty] have by mercy or severity, by sword or word, by wisdom and seeming indulgence slowly but inexorably striven to accustom the dull eyes of this people to their day star and to revive the nocturnally encircled numbness of Judaism through the universal bright Greek-Roman spirit. To you Romans this process seemed slow, and yet it was a gigantic effort.[23]

Zealots as well as Essenes and Nazarenes are identified by Berenice as countermovements to the giant Herodian undertaking of universalizing the Jews. They seek to reverse the development and to reinstate Jewish solipsism. Edler may not have sought explicit analogies between the historical world he imagined and his present, yet it would have been obvious to his contemporaries that this struggle related to the contemporary discussion about Jewish particularism versus universalism and assimilation which had dominated the debate about Jewish emancipation from the outset.

Titus is impressed with Berenice against his expectations: "You are a Roman!"[24] he compliments her, initially with some irony; yet later he reiterates his praise with admiration.[25] It is, for the Roman, the ultimate praise he is able to bestow on the princess. Initially, he may have perceived her as subaltern, potentially engaged in mimicry; but once he thinks he knows her mind, he accepts her as his equal. Berenice, however, affirming her subaltern perspective and its validity, in effect reverses the apparent power dynamics of their conversation and dismisses the arrogant Roman with similar haughtiness:

> A trueblooded kinship I only feel with the Greeks and with those Romans who became Greeks. I love the sunny power and beauty, the delicate gracefulness of the world, the blithe

und in der Ferne verdeckt. In diesen winzigen Horizont haben sie seit Jahrhunderten kurzsichtig hineingestiert und sind nun von dem endlosen Starren fast erblindet und blöde geworden. Die übrige Welt ist ihnen ein fremdgeartetes Zerrbild, unbegriffen und unverstanden, das ohne Zusammenhang mit ihrer kleinlichen Besonderheit abseits liegt, ohne Beziehung zu ihnen selbst, ohne lebendige Verbindung zu ihrer vereinzelten Beschränktheit."

23 Ibid., p. 174: "Und sie haben es mit Güte oder Strenge, mit Schwert oder Wort, mit Weisheit und scheinbarer Nachgiebigkeit langsam aber unentwegt erstrebt, die blöden Augen dieses Volkes an ihr Tagesgestirn allmählich zu gewöhnen und die nächtlich umschlossene Abgestorbenheit des Judentums durch den weltweiten hellen griechisch-römischen Geist neu zu beleben. Euch Römern erschien solche Gewöhnung langsam, und doch war es ein Riesenwerk."

24 Ibid., p. 173: "Du bist eine Römerin!"

25 See ibid.

> joy of living and the elation which takes full pleasure in being and scoops from the glimmering, quickly passing stream with full hands whatever it may catch.[26]

The almost Epicurean jauntiness projected by Berenice is strangely contrasted with her further characterization as being raised as a shrewd and calculating despot who despises those she rules and also cannot see the beauty of things beyond their pragmatic value:

> Raised with the awful doctrine of the Herodian dynasty of the venality and wretchedness of all other human beings and of their own potent ingenuity, which smiles about it and for this very reason is made stronger by it, already as a child her eye saw only mud where others were pleased in their hearts with the colourful clam for its pretty colours or with the modest colourless abalone shell for the pearl inside. But the political shrewdness of the Herodians is a moloch, to whom even one's own blood is sacrificed.[27]

Berenice may treasure the moment, but the one thing she lacks is happiness:[28]

> Since then she has been directing people with the politically shrewd frostiness of her dynasty—not because she enjoys it, but to animate the desert inside her. [. . .] But happiness she did not find in this either. She only heard about it occasionally.[29]

The Orientalization and Feminization of Berenice: *belle juive* and *femme fatale*

After the meeting on the Mount of Olives, the garden house is destroyed in an arson attack on Berenice. The princess is rescued at the last moment by a tall and strong stranger. Henceforth, the fates of Othniel and Berenice converge and much

26 Ibid., p. 174: "Blutsverwandt fühle ich mich nur den Griechen und jenen Römern, welche Griechen geworden sind. Ich liebe die sonnige Kraft und Schönheit, die leichte Anmut der Welt, die helle Lebenslust und Freude, welche das Dasein ganz genießt und mit vollen Händen aus dem rasch vorüberhastenden schimmernden Strom für sich schöpft, was sie zu erhaschen vermag."
27 Ibid., p. 179: "Aufgezogen in den furchtbaren Lehren der Heroden von der Feilheit und Erbärmlichkeit des übrigen Menschentums und von der eigenen starken Klugheit, welche darüber lächelt und eben daran immer mehr erstarkt, hat schon ihr Kinderauge dort nur den Schlamm gesehen, wo andere die bunte Muschel durch ihre Farbenschönheit oder die bescheiden farblose Muschel durch die Perle in ihrem Inneren erfreut. Aber die starke Staatsklugheit der Heroden ist ein Moloch, dem selbst das eigene Blut geopfert wird."
28 See ibid., p. 180.
29 Ibid.: "Seitdem lenkt sie die Menschen mit der staatsklugen Kälte ihres Hauses—nicht aus Freude daran, sondern um die Öde ihres Inneren zu beleben. [. . .] Aber das Glück hat sie auch dabei nicht gefunden. Sie hat nur zuweilen davon gehört."

prominence is subsequently given to the characterization and the schemes of the princess as well as her ensuing passion for Othniel.

Berenice takes Othniel to a secret palace in the barren mountains by the Dead Sea. The writer indulges in an orientalist fantasy of luxuriously appointed rooms hewn into the rock in which Othniel is tempted with luxury and love like the knight errant of a medieval romance. Berenice, of whose real identity he is unaware, appears to him—maybe in deference to the sorceress Alcina—as a "magical woman"[30] and a "fairy-tale creature."[31] Perhaps the critic who suggested that the epic form might have served the author better than the novel also had the enchanted atmosphere of Alcina's island in Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (1516/1532; Orlando Enraged) in mind. And yet, fortified by the image of Mary, Othniel initially resists Berenice's seductive beauty.

Despite her Hellenized character, Berenice is othered by Edler as oriental, she is, after all, Jewish. This is most obvious in the secret palace episode which is suffused throughout with orientalist stereotypes; yet it becomes most tangible when Berenice dances for Othniel. The Jewish princess feels encouraged by the dance of her notorious cousin Salome and the seductive power of her performance: "There for the head of a hated man—why not here for the heart of a beloved man?"[32]

Berenice's dance is described as a butterfly dance. It is inspired by two butterflies she and Othniel observe fluttering about one another in the hot sunlight as they make their way to the secret palace. The description of the dance is elaborated by the narrator in ever more sensuous detail; it becomes more and more ecstatic; and the pace of the description increases until Othniel abruptly stops Berenice by gripping her arms. The tension between them is palpable, although Othniel has no words for the turmoil into which the dance has precipitated him. As such, the dance signifies the beginning of his reciprocation of Berenice's love. At the same time, however, it taints the foundations of this love. The association of Berenice with Salome is key to this.

Perhaps the most notorious representations of Salome are those in Oscar Wilde's eponymous play (1891) and in Richard Strauss' opera (1905) based on the play, which were, however, created only after Edler's novel. Rehearsals for Wilde's *Salome* in London with the celebrated Jewish actor Sarah Bernhardt in the title role were closed down in 1892 by the Lord Chamberlain's office because

30 Ibid., p. 241: "Zauberweib."

31 Ibid.: "Märchengebilde."

32 Ibid., p. 239: "Dort um das Haupt eines verhaßten Mannes—warum nicht hier um das Herz eines geliebten Mannes?"

of the play's alleged blasphemous content.[33] It was eventually first performed in Paris in 1896, once again with Bernhardt in the role of Salome (Salomé). In both the play and the opera, Salome's dance, described as the dance of the seven veils, is the central articulation of her seductive femininity which, as Sander L. Gilman has observed, takes precedence over her Jewishness.[34] Yet through the Jewishness of Bernhardt, the Jewishness of the *femme fatale* figure of Salome was reciprocally emphasized. Bernhardt, "more than anyone else," Gilman maintains, "came to represent the symbolic embodiment of this destructive stereotype" of the "*belle juive*."[35]

With the development of modern dance, but once again after the publication of *Der letzte Jude*, others adopted and elaborated the sensuality and "serpentine grace"[36] of Bernhardt's performance and its suggestive interplay of revealing and concealing. Anticipated by Edler's Berenice, Loïe Fuller was celebrated for her butterfly dance;[37] somewhat later, Maud Allan became another—non-Jewish—dancer to define the figure of Salome as a seductive *femme fatale*,[38] whose Jewishness had nevertheless indelibly been affirmed by Bernhardt.

Representations of Jewish men in European, and more specifically German and Austrian, culture of the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century, Gilman suggests, "are immediately and always identifiable" because their bodies are always "indelibly marked."[39] Jewish women, in contrast, embody the ambiguity between Jewishness and femininity. Gilman observes two dichotomous and yet complementary images of the Jewish woman, the *femme fatale* and the *belle juive*, which typically "function in two different cultural contexts, the former misogynist, the latter anti-Semitic."[40] Frequently, however, these different cultural contexts align.

The ambiguity noted by Gilman inheres also in the image of the *juive fatale* which conjoins the notions of the *belle juive* and the *femme fatale* in one term. This was presumably first introduced by Zadoc Khan—Chief Rabbi of Paris since

33 See Sander L. Gilman, "Salome, Syphilis, Sarah Bernhardt, and the 'Modern Jewess'," *German Quarterly* 66.2 (1993): 195–211, 203.

34 See ibid., 198.

35 Ibid., 203.

36 Edward Ross Dickinson, *Dancing in the Blood: Modern Dance and European Culture on the Eve of the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 138.

37 See Elizabeth Kendall, *Where She Danced: The Birth of American Art-dance* (Berkeley: University of California, 1979), p. 56.

38 See Wendy Buonaventura, *Dark Venus: Maud Allan and the Myth of the Femme Fatale* (Stroud: Amberley, 2018), esp. chapter 6 on "Salomania."

39 Gilman, "Salome, Syphilis, Sarah Bernhardt," 195.

40 Ibid., 202.

1868 and of France since 1889—in a scholarly discussion of Jewish characters on the stage. Already in 1886, in the year after the publication of Edler's novel, Khan too distinguished between the representation of male Jews and Jewish women. He noted that in the theater, "as much as Jews are repulsive, Jewish women are seductive and fatally beautiful . . . ."[41] Khan observed in this context also an automatism of perception which turns "an ordinary Jewess" into "a fatal Jewess"—a *juive fatale*.[42]

With Berenice's dance, Edler evoked predominantly the femininity of the Jewish princess—like Wilde and Strauss with Salome's a short while after him. And yet, in *Der letzte Jude*, Berenice too is an embodiment of the ambiguity observed by Gilman. She is introduced as a *belle juive*:

> The darkly glowing eye with the carelessly indifferent gaze; the cold mouth, almost disdainfully curved, which appeared to be capable of opening only for imperious commands; the calm majestic posture of the tall body, which, coupled with the alien charm of oriental beauty, intimidated the representative of world-ruling Rome.[43]

The 'darkness' associated with the beauty of the Jewish princess is sufficient to identify her within the cultural context of the nineteenth century simultaneously with both the *belle juive* and the *femme fatale*.[44]

With Berenice's dance, Edler may evoke predominantly the femininity of the Jewish princess, yet her Jewishness has previously been established and the simultaneous validity of both attributions is evident. The prototypical Jewish seductress as a *belle juive* and a *femme fatale* provokes anxieties in non-Jewish men. "[S]uch seductresses are dangerous," Gilman paraphrases, alluding to the biblical figure of Judith: "they kill non-Jewish men like Holofernes."[45] Yet in *Der letzte Jude*, the correlation is more complex. Titus, the non-Jewish man, is in his own way just as ruthless and dangerous as Berenice. Though her impact on him is marked, his egotism and arrogance eventually prevail. Berenice's old retainer, a Nazarene who serves

41 Zadoc Khan, introduction to "Le Juif au Théâtre," *Revue des Études Juives* 12.1 (1886): IL–LXXI, LIV: "Car au théâtre [. . .]—autant les juifs sont repoussants, autant les juives sont séduisantes et belles d'une beauté fatale . . . ."

42 Ibid.: "une juive ordinaire—c'est-à-dire une juive fatale . . . ."

43 Edler, *Letzte Jude*, pp. 130–1: "Das dunkelglühende Auge mit dem achtlos gleichgiltigen Blick, der kalte und fast verächtlich gekrümmte Mund, welcher bloß für gebieterische Weisungen sich öffnen zu können schien, die ruhevolle königliche Haltung des hochgewachsenen Leibes hatten einen Ausdruck von Hoheit und unbeugsamem Stolze, welcher, gepaart mit dem fremdartigen Zauber morgenländischer Schönheit, den Vertreter des weltbeherrschenden Roms einschüchterte."

44 See Gilman, "Salome, Syphilis, Sarah Bernhardt," 202.

45 Ibid., 204.

her in penance because he hates her is also impervious to her charms. It is rather Othniel, the Jew, on whom Berenice's female wiles have the strongest effect. Within their interaction, Jewishness as such is therefore no marker of difference between them, though both embody different conceptions of Jewishness.

In this context, it is interesting to note that Othniel himself, though Jewish, does not exhibit any negatively charged bodily markers of his Jewishness—his character defies the practice observed by Gilman with regard to the representation of Jewish men in other contemporary literature.[46] He is tall and strong and the only corporeal marker that may be construed as indicating his Jewishness is the darkness of his hair—like Berenice's. Yet whereas Edler uses Othniel's hair as a marker of his Jewishness, he evokes with it heroic associations rather than the stereotypical degenerate body defining the nineteenth-century imaginary of the Jew.

Othniel and Berenice

In *Der letzte Jude*, Othniel is variously compared to Samson (Simson): beginning with the fight for Jerusalem, where he takes on the name of Samson himself, he is frequently referred to as Samson by the narrator; eventually, in an evocation of the mythical qualities of the biblical hero, he is confirmed to be a new Samson by the commander of the Jewish stronghold of Masada. This process of a gradually deepening identification with the biblical slayer of the Philistines is set in motion when Othniel's father contemplates his small son as he slumbers. He designates his strong hand, which is not even at rest as the child is asleep, as a "Samson's hand."[47] As with Josephus, Jerusalem, and Berenice, Othniel as Samson is thus described in a similar accumulation of fragmentary perceptions whose assembly eventually produces the final coherent image. In the case of Othniel/Samson, this image is one of mythical associations which evoke Jewish heroism but also prefigure destruction in heroic defeat.[48]

The strategy of a delayed, incremental characterization appears to have been used by the author only for Jewish figures and objects. It is potentially a response to the trope of the unknowability of the Jew which it subverts, though only after a lengthy process of revelation.[49] With Josephus, however, this process is abbreviated. In his case, the unknowability of the Jew is inscribed into the constant protean transformation of his features which characterize also his continuously shift-

46 See ibid., 195.

47 Edler, *Letzte Jude*, p. 53: "Simsonshand."

48 For the biblical figure of Samson, see Judges 13–16.

49 See Gilman, *Freud, Race, and Gender*, pp. 36–38.

ing mental state. Yet this unknowability is simultaneously subverted with a paradigmatic stereotype of antisemitic provenance—the Jewish nose. The Jew may not be knowable from inside, yet he is easily known as a Jew by bodily markers. In this respect, the characterization of Josephus complies with the practice of othering described by Gilman. Josephus is, moreover, also the only Jewish figure which is given an implicit trajectory into the future in *Der letzte Jude*.

With the novel's title in mind as well as his stereotypical attributes, Josephus appears to be not so much a Jew but the caricature of a Jew. He emerges as the exemplar of the modern, contemporary Jew who is not, as the author suggests, an authentic Jew of the ilk of the heroic Othniel but rather the inheritor of the shifty Josephus. Othniel is an ancient Jew, he is a Hebrew as some other historical Jewish figures are described in various of the novels discussed here; he is a Judaean, as Schumacher prefers to call the ancient Jews in his *Berenice*.[50] As such, he is the antithesis to the modern Jews who, figuratively, can trace their lineage back to Josephus. Hans Herrig drew a similar conclusion in his *Jerusalem*. His Josephus, arguing for the diaspora as a refuge of Jews, was directly confronted by the writer with Ahasuerus who, in the guise of the Wandering Jew, became also a figure symbolizing the last Jew, as already in Mosen's epic poem and in Uechtritz's *Eleazar*,[51] if very much different from Edler's Othniel.

Othniel is also in his moral commitment very much different from both Josephus and Berenice. He acknowledges the inspiration for Berenice's striving for power in her perception of the plight of her people. Yet he rejects any such thoughts for himself:

> I feel, as you do, the days of hardship and have seen them with my own eyes in Jerusalem; but I am one of those who trustingly hope, calmly act with the others and, if need be, fight next to the others. Not everybody can give orders, and behind that one who has the command thousands need to stand who obey. Lo, I am one of the thousands [standing] in rank and file![52]

50 As shown by Cynthia M. Baker, "Judaean" and "Jew" are not coterminous; while the former refers implicitly to a birthplace or homeland, the latter has been used "to denote an other—a 'religious' and/or 'ethnic' and/or 'racial' other," see *Jew* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2016), p. 49. Schumacher's use of the term Judaean reflects this difference, as does the change of the title of his history of the Jews by Heinrich Graetz shortly before, in 1888, from *Geschichte der Juden* to *Geschichte der Judäer*.

51 See Mosen, *Ahasver*, p. 82 and Herrig, *Jerusalem*, p. 111. In Uechtritz's *Eleazar*, the eponymous figure is also conceived as the last (fighting) Jew, see III, 289.

52 Edler, *Letzte Jude*, p. 269: "Ich fühle wie du der Tage Not und habe sie mit eigenen Augen in Jerusalem erschaut; aber ich bin einer von denen, die vertrauungsvoll hoffen, gefaßt mit den Anderen handeln, und wenn es sein soll, neben den Anderen kämpfen. Nicht jeder kann gebieten, und hinter dem Einen, der da befehligt, müssen Tausende stehen, die gehorchen. Sieh, ich bin einer von den Tausenden in Reihe und Glied!"

The truth of Othniel's modest words is confirmed when, at the end of the novel, Eleazar, the commander of Masada, submits to him as the last of the Maccabees and hereditary king and offers him the command of the last stronghold of the Judaeans. Othniel demurs. All he wants is to be placed in a position where, like the biblical Samson, he can bring destruction upon the attackers.

To Berenice, Othniel explains his simplicity and his rejection of the political advancement she wishes to confer on him by referring to his religious father:

> Whatever pushed or impeded him [i.e., Othniel's father] in his life, it grew up with me since my childhood as a tranquil and yet distinct knowledge of my purpose, of what is granted to me and what is denied to me. Not for power and greatness in this world did my father swing frankincense—but only for God. Neither could I for power and greatness in the world draw my sword—but only for God.[53]

Othniel's humane humility and simple faith confound Berenice to whom his scruples are incomprehensible:

> She looked at him with wondrously mixed sensations. It was a pity that this magnificent man wished to make his way in the old tracks of the dusty human road instead of blazing a new trail for humanity; it was a deep grudge that he, who should soar with the wings of his spirit above the lowly earth, should reach for the crutches of his father so as to crawl along peacefully like [his sire] in his obsolete world. And yet there also was admiration for this unassuming nature which within the boundaries it had drawn for itself towered above this world of external bloatedness and internal decay; a warm trust into this tranquil oblivious greatness next to all this bragging and yet effete human nullity; a proud look up to this acute, almost roughly hewn character next to all the blurred and slippery nature of the times.[54]

53 Ibid., p. 267: "Was ihn [i.e., Othniel's father] im Leben gedrängt oder gehemmt, es ist seit meiner Kindheit in mir großgewachsen als ein stilles und doch deutliches Erkennen dessen, wozu ich da bin, was mir vergönnt, und was versagt ist. Nicht Weihrauch schwang mein Vater vor Macht und Größe dieser Welt—sondern nur vor Gott allein. Und nicht um Macht und Größe könnte ich das Schwert ziehen—sondern nur für Gott allein."

54 Ibid., pp. 267–8: "Sie blickte ihn mit einem wunderlich gemischten Gefühl an. Es war Mitleid, daß dieser herrliche Mann in dem alten Geleise der staubigen Menschenstraße ziehen wollte, statt den Menschen neue Bahnen zu brechen; es war ein tiefer Groll, daß er, der da mit Flügeln des Geistes über die niedere Erde hinschweben sollte, nach den Krücken seines Vaters langte, um an ihnen in dessen veralteter Welt friedlich langsam fortzuschleichen, wie jener. Und doch war dabei zugleich ein Bewundern dieser sich selbst bescheidenden Natur, welche innerhalb ihrer selbstgezogenen Grenzen verdichtet und gefestet emporragte mitten aus einer Welt von äußerer Aufgedunsenheit und innerer Zerfallenheit; ein warmes Vertrauen auf diese stille unbewußte Größe neben all der groß redenden und klein handelnden Nichtigkeit der Menschen; ein stolzes Emporblicken an diesem scharf, fast rauh gemeißelten Charakter neben dem gesamten verwischten und spiegelglatten Wesen dieser Zeit."

Othniel's steadfastness is a reaffirmation of the faith of his father, and by implication, the faith of his fathers; it affirms a traditional, pragmatic, and tolerant conception of Jewishness.

Although Othniel never loses his moral superiority, he nevertheless eventually succumbs to Berenice's female (and Jewish) charms. The author, likening the otherworld of the hidden palace to a worldly paradise, resorts to Scripture to give articulation to the temptation Berenice poses to Othniel:

> And thus it came to pass once again, as of old, when man and woman sat in paradise: she showed him the apple of knowledge, and he already gazed up to it and asked himself if he should eat of it.[55]

Othniel eventually eats of the forbidden fruit inasmuch as he truly falls in love with Berenice. Yet the denouement of the biblical narrative is implicit in the act.

Her love to Othniel changes Berenice profoundly: "All the prudence which she had observed and nurtured all her life had left her."[56] She nevertheless senses the destructive potential of the incompatibility between her own and Othniel's characters:

> And something else is there, something dreadful, which makes her shudder and whose memory she casts from herself like the thought about death. She is Berenice, of the bloodline of Herod, yet she is touched by dread, dread of herself.[57]

Othniel discovers Berenice's true identity when he is sent by the *sicarii* to assassinate the Jewish princess in the Roman camp. As he recognizes her, he turns away in disgust. It is part of the tragic trajectory of the Jewish princess, because

> [t]he only one towards whom she had not played a role, to whom she had given in truth her whole glowing heart, her thoughts and her desires, her pride and her ambition, this one, the Jew Othniel, thought that the only truth of her life had been a role.[58]

The fulfilment of her desires, though briefly glimpsed, is forever thwarted.

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55 Ibid., p. 211: "Und so hatte es sich auch hier erfüllt, wie einst, da Mann und Weib im Paradiese saßen: sie hatte ihm den Apfel der Erkenntnis gewiesen, und er sah schon zu ihm empor und fragte sich, ob er davon essen solle."

56 Ibid., p. 303: "Alle Klugheit, welche sie ihr ganzes Leben geübt und großgezogen, war von ihr gewichen."

57 Ibid., p. 256: "Und noch etwas ist da, etwas Furchtbares, vor dem sie schaudert, und dessen Erinnerung sie von sich stößt, wie den Gedanken an den Tod. Sie ist Berenice, aus dem Blute des Herodes, und ein Grauen faßt sie an, ein Grauen vor sich selbst."

58 Ibid., p. 400: "Der einzige, welchem gegenüber sie keine Rolle gespielt hatte, dem sie in Wahrheit ihr ganzes glühendes Herz, ihr Sinnen und Trachten, ihren Stolz und ihre Ehrbegier hingegeben, dieser einzige, der Jude Othniel, hatte die einzige Wahrheit ihres Lebens für eine Rolle angesehen."

The Pisgah Sight of Love and National Sovereignty

Pointing from the secret palace by the Dead Sea to Mount Nebo across the Jordan valley, Berenice tells Othniel as she still seeks to win him for her fantasy of world domination: "There, on Mount Nebo, the man [i.e., Moses] took leave from the people which he had re-created, from the land for which he had re-created it."[59] Moses, the law-giver who led his people from the Egyptian bondage to the Promised Land and as such re-created the national identity of the Israelites as well as their religious identity, is evoked by Berenice as a model for the transformation she seeks to initiate in Othniel. Mount Nebo, otherwise also know as Mount Pisgah, is the mountain from which Moses was allowed to see the Promised Land but where he had to die without being granted to enter it.[60] The yearning but resigned gaze of Moses toward the promised, yet to him unattainable, land has hence been called Pisgah sight. The mountain and its symbolic significance as the metaphor for an unfulfilled desire plays a central role in the novel.

Othniel, emphasizes his commitment to unfulfilled striving as he elaborates on the metaphorical meaning he attributes to the semantically charged mountain in response to Berenice's implicit admonition:

> Blessed who finds his Mount Nebo! I, too, and you, the two of us united, shall strive for it within our more narrow compass, with our more limited power. Moses, the man of superhuman divine power did this at the head of a whole nation; yet to act righteously and bravely, to strive at the same pace as the others, to fight in rank and file for them all, this every good human being can do—and, in addition, to suffer whatever sacrifices and sorrow, labour and self-effacement such simple acts engender.[61]

When Othniel leaves the refuge in the rock, he reminds Berenice of their own Mount Nebo and insists that he leaves only to bring his father's blessing to them. Yet Berenice, moved by anxiety for Othniel, betrays him. She has him imprisoned by another king, who is dependent on her, so as to protect her love from any danger.[62]

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59 Ibid., p. 271: "Dort auf dem Berge Nebo nahm der Mann [i.e., Moses] Abschied von dem Volke, welches er umgeschaffen, von dem Lande, für welches er es umgeschaffen."

60 See Deuteronomy 32:48–50 and 34:1–5.

61 Edler, *Letzte Jude*, pp. 271–2: "Selig, wer seinen Berg Nebo erreicht! Auch ich, auch du, wir beide vereint wollen darnach streben in unserem engeren Kreise, mit unserer beschränkteren Kraft. Moses, der Mann übermenschlicher Gotteskraft, that dies an der Spitze eines ganzen Volkes; aber mitten im Volke recht und wacker handeln, in gleichem Schritte mit den Anderen streben, in Reihe und Glied kämpfen für Alle, das kann jeder gute Mensch—und dazu auch das ertragen, was ihm schon solch schlichtes Thun an Mühsal und Selbstverläugnung, an Opfern und Wehe bringt."

62 See ibid., p. 280.

Berenice's scheme fails. Her love in the secret hideaway of the mountain is no more than her own Pisgah sight. Othniel escapes and joins the Jews in their fight against the Roman aggressors, first in Jerusalem and then in Masada. When he alone is left of the garrison who kill themselves when the defences of the Jewish mountain stronghold are breached, Othniel continues the fight on his own. Feared among the Romans as the "demon of Masada,"[63] he is eventually found by the deathly arrow. In the moment of his death, however, two golden rays of sunlight break through the early morning clouds:

> Yet there, where they had penetrated, the celestial blaze collided with Mount Nebo. It seemed to Othniel then as if from the mountain rose a dark gigantic figure into the purple sky, in one hand the tablets of the commandments, the other one extended to bless the Promised Land, sending from the enormous head the two golden rays of light across the wide world. And they gazed upon one another from mountain to mountain, the first of the Jews, who had taken possession of this land with his eyes; and the last, who took his leave from it.[64]

The passage, which offers a reversal of the Pisgah sight, not only explains the novel's title but, more importantly, closes a mythical circle from the time the Israelites took possession of the Promised Land to its irrevocable loss. That this loss is indeed irrevocable is confirmed by Othniel's designation as the last Jew. As the writer Emmy von Dincklage observed in her review of the novel, "Edler makes no concessions to the audience, the very title 'The Last Jew' confronts the Jews of modern times with forceful confidence."[65]

63 Ibid., p. 386: "Dämon von Masada."

64 Ibid., pp. 383–4: "Dort aber, wo sie hervorgebrochen waren, stieß der Himmelsbrand an den Berg Nebo. Da war es Othniel, als rage von dem Berge eine dunkle Riesengestalt in den purpurnen Himmel empor, in der einen Hand die Tafeln des Gesetzes, die andere zum Segen ausgestreckt ob dem Lande der Verheißung, aus dem gewaltigen Haupt die beiden goldigen Lichtstrahlen hinaussendend über die weite Erde. Und sie blickten einander an von Berg zu Berg, der erste Jude, der dies Land mit seinen Augen in Bestitz genommen, und der letzte, welcher von ihm Abschied nahm."

65 E[mmy] von Dincklage, "Der letzte Jude. Roman von Karl Erdm. Edler," *Deutsches Litteraturblatt* 8.17 (July 25, 1885): 66: "Edler macht dem Publikum keine Zugeständnisse, schon der Titel 'Der letzte Jude' stellt sich dem Judentum der Neuzeit mit wuchtigem Selbstbewußtsein entgegen."

Titus, Rome, and Death

The Romans, as noted by Dincklage as well, are generally drawn rather negatively in *Der letzte Jude*. To Titus, in particular—with his lack of empathy, remorse, and guilt and his egotism—are attributed traits of a psychopath:[66]

> The most contradictory roles were successfully played by this man to the point of self-deception; he forgot every time completely that he only gave a show piece for others and immersed himself so far into the role that he thought it was reality.[67]

Titus is described as "a cunning, greedy, bloodthirsty regent, a debauched, dissolute man, hated and feared by the people."[68] Berenice is never deceived by the Roman: "She knew that he loved her because he loved himself."[69] She also realizes that his marriage proposal after the war is merely a ploy intended to provoke the resistance of the Roman people and then to banish her so that Titus is seen to do the people's will, though Berenice wants to flee Rome in any case as she mourns Othniel. For Titus, her banishment is the prompt to change his role once more and for the last time, from cruel to benevolent:

> Thus the "second Nero" was transformed into the "love and the delight of the human race," and this he remained as well. The final role is for the quickly oblivious crowd usually authoritative.[70]

An example of the self-love and deceptive nature of Titus is his treatment of Berenice when she pleads with him to spare the Temple. While ostentatiously moved by his love and acceding to her wishes, he sets the destruction of the Temple secretely in motion according to his sober political rationale. This is a re-interpretation by the author which challenges the Christian master narrative as it originated in, and was adapted from, Josephus.

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66 The figure of Titus as characterized by Edler scores about 33 out of 44 points on the original Hare Psychopathy Checklist, see https://psychology-tools.com/test/pcl-22 (accessed November 17, 2023).

67 Edler, *Letzte Jude*, p. 284: "Die widersprechendsten Rollen gelangen diesem Manne bis zur Selbsttäuschung; er vergaß jedesmal vollkommen, daß er bloß ein Schaustück für andere darstellte, und spielte sich so tief in die Rolle hinein, daß er sie für Wirklichkeit hielt."

68 Ibid., p. 337: "Der eigentliche Regent des Reiches war Titus. Er war ein hinterlistiger, habgieriger, blutdürstiger Regent, ein ausschweifender, zügelloser Mensch, verhaßt und gefürchtet von dem Volke."

69 Ibid., p. 341: "Sie wußte, daß er sie liebte, weil er sich liebte."

70 Ibid., p. 395: "So ist aus dem 'zweiten Nero' die 'Liebe und Wonne des Menschengeschlechtes' geworden und auch geblieben. Die letzte Rolle ist für die leicht vergeßliche Menge gewöhnlich die Maßgebende."

Titus may be able to deceive Berenice in this instance, yet divine retribution is called upon his head by one of the Zealot defenders of Jerusalem:

> The Temple you desire to burn down? Burn it down, blasphemer, if you can! The other enormous Temple of the Universe in which the God of the Jews is enthroned you shall not burn down. Yet Jehovah shall find thee one day and He shall pour the chalice of His wrath upon thee; thou, who puffest thyself up down there and thinkest thou art great; and yet thou art only the scourge in His hand which He wields against the sins of His people.[71]

The sinfulness of the Jews is acknowledged, as is the notion of Titus as an instrument of divine wrath, but significantly not in a Christian sense. The fulfilment of the divine retribution prophesied here is evoked by the narrator with a legend from the tractate *Gittin* in the *Babylonian Talmud*, which attributes the death of Titus to a gnat (a worm in the novel) which entered his head through his nose and tortured him for seven years.[72] It is, according to the Talmudic tractate, the revenge of the Jewish God on "wicked Titus who blasphemed and insulted heaven."[73]

The actual destruction of the Temple is summed up with its projection into the future through memory:

> a horrifying image which the few that were saved carried in blazing colours with them into the world, which then lived on for centuries in lore and lament and impressed itself unforgettably even into the steeled souls of the conquerors in its sublime terror.[74]

Edler describes the destruction of Jewish sovereignty as the result of political expediency with all its devastating consequences: "Thus was a richly planted flourishing tract of land methodically transformed into that which it has ever since remained, into a barren sorry stony desert."[75] The blighted land, like the memory of the conflagration, remains a constant reminder of the cataclysm to the present day. Another reminder is the persistence of the Jewish nation even in their dispersal:

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71 Ibid., pp. 330–1: "Den Tempel willst du verbrennen? Verbrenne ihn, Gottesschänder, wenn du es vermagst! Den anderen ungeheueren Tempel des Weltalls, darin der Gott der Juden thront, wirst du nicht verbrennen. Dich aber wird Jehovah dereinst finden und die Schale seines Grimmes über dich ausgießen, der du dich da unten blähest, und großes von dir denkst, und doch nur eine Zuchtrute bist in seiner Hand, welche er schwingt über die Sünden seines Volkes."

72 See *Babylonian Talmud*, Gittin 56b.

73 Ibid.

74 Edler, *Letzte Jude*, p. 332: "ein schauervolles Bild, welches die wenigen Geretteten in glühenden Farben mit sich davontrugen in die weite Welt, das dann Jahrhunderte fortlebte in Sage und Klage, und selbst den gestählten Seelen der Eroberer in seinen erhabenen Schrecken sich unvergeßlich einprägte."

75 Ibid., pp. 334–5: "So ward planmäßig ein reich bepflanzter blühender Landstrich zu dem umgestaltet, was er seither geblieben ist, zu einer dürren traurigen Steinöde."

> With the exception of that part of the inhabitants of the land who were not able to tear themselves away from their enslaved home that was drenched in blood, the remnant was dispersed to the four corners of the world into every country, henceforth no longer a nation, yet still persisting unsullied among the other nations, as it has been said of them: "the nation, that living shall die, and dying shall live; that trampled by all, shall trample upon all; that bleeding from a thousand wounds, shall be unhurt; that beggared, shall wield the wealth of nations; that without a name, shall sway the councils of kings; that without a city, shall inhabit in all kingdoms; that scattered like the dust, shall be bound together like the rock; that perishing by the sword, by the chain, by famine, by fire, shall be imperishable."[76]

Since Edler does not explicitly invoke the Christian interpretation of the exhortatory character of Jewish survival, his insistence on Jewish imperishability creates a strange tension with the title of his novel. The intertextual reference in this passage is to the vision imparted by Antiochus Epiphanes to Salathiel in George Croly's eponymous novel. Edler clearly was familiar with the Ahasuerus figure, whose immortality makes him another incarnation of the last Jew and which—certainly in the wake of the Ahasuerus debate—was frequently considered a metonymy of the survival of contemporary Jewry. *Der letzte Jude*, by eschewing the Ahasuerus figure, may have been intended as a late contribution to this debate which demythologizes Jewish survival. It severs any direct connection between modern Jewry and the ancient Jewish heroes. If at all, the only connection suggested by the novel between ancient and modern Jewry appears to be through the figure of that other notorious Jewish survivor—Josephus.

Berenice remains indistinct as an identification figure. At the end of the novel, chastised by the blows of fate which she provoked with her own decisions, the Jewish princess eventually makes her way to Parthia. There she witnesses the baptism of Aribazos' and Mary's son by the old Nazarene who left her service and eventually reveals himself to her as Enoch in order to give her the strength to overcome her desperation by sharing with her his own story. In response to her despair, he gives her absolution.[77] Whether Berenice converts to Christianity and should be considered another female exemplar of the conversion paradigm re-

76 Ibid., p. 335: "Mit Ausnahme jenes Teiles der Landesbevölkerung, welche sich von der blutüberströmten geknechteten Heimat nicht loszureißen vermochte, zerstreute sich der Rest nach allen Weltgegenden über alle Lande, fortan keine Nation mehr, gleichwohl aber unverwischt unter anderen Nationen beharrend, wie denn von ihnen gesagt worden ist: 'Sie sind als Volk lebendig gestorben und leben sterbend fort; sie bluten aus tausend Wunden und bleiben unbeschädigt; sie bewohnen alle Königreiche ohne eine eigene Stadt; sie sind in alle Welt zerstreut und halten doch zusammen wie Felsen; sie sind durch Schwert, Hunger, Ketten vertilgt worden und dennoch unvergänglich." The passage cites Croly's *Salathiel*, I, 101 in the translation of A. Kaiser.
77 See Edler, *Letzte Jude*, p. 405.

mains an open question, but she certainly has been taught the humility which characterized her lost love Othniel.

Berenice, the Savage Beast: Schumacher

Heinrich Vollrat Schumacher (1861–1919), also known by his pseudonym Heinz Suter, was born in the Hessian province. After a brief spell of working in the tax administration of the Prussian province of Hesse-Nassau, Schumacher studied Protestant theology, philosophy, literature, and music in Berlin. He later eked out a living as a private tutor until he eventually started to write full-time after the publication of his first literary effort, the play *Vogelfrei!* (1891; Outlawed!). Like Jutta Ihlenfeld, the hopeful writer chose the lofty subject of the destruction of Jerusalem for his first extended essay into narrative fiction. His *Berenice: Historischer Roman aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* (Berenice: A Historical Novel of the Time of the Destruction of Jerusalem) was followed by various contemporary novels, including the fiercely nationalistic and patriotic *Schwert Siegfrieds wider Albions Gold* (1915; Siegfried's Sword against Albion's Gold). Yet Schumacher was eventually to be best known for his historical novels about Lord Nelson and his mistress, Lady Hamilton.[78] The writer returned to antiquity and—more specifically, the destruction of Niniveh in the seventh century BCE—only in his last novel, *Nitokris*, published posthumously in 1922.

Burning Brighter than the Torches of Nero

Schumacher's *Berenice* was initially published in instalments in 1892 in *Sabbat-Stunden*, the literary supplement of the Orthodox weekly *Die jüdische Presse*, edited by Rabbi Hirsch Hildesheimer.[79] As Judith Bleich notes, the *Jüdische Presse* "has been regarded as the most 'Zionistic' in orientation of the many periodicals that appeared in Germany before the emergence of political Zionism."[80] The journal's proto-Zionist trajectory may perhaps explain its interest in the destruction of Jerusalem. That it printed Schumacher's novel may nevertheless seem a perplexing choice. Jewish customs and rituals are barely mentioned in the novel, it

78 See Heinrich Vollrat Schumacher, *Liebe und Leben der Lady Hamilton* (1910) and *Lord Nelsons letzte Liebe* (1911).

79 Schumacher, *Berenice*.

80 Judith Bleich, *Defenders of the Faith: Studies in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Orthodoxy and Reform* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2020), p. 83.

also does not, as do the texts by Reckendorf and Ring, offer a future perspective to Jews and their religion in the diaspora, nor does it re-negotiate Jewish-Christian relations; besides, the writer was not Jewish.

There are nevertheless some features of the novel which may have recommended it to Hildesheimer, the editor also of *Sabbat-Stunden*. Schumacher's representation of John of Giscala is revisionist and, as noted by the reviewer of the Dutch translation of the novel of 1894, the figure of the insurgent is sketched as "a truly affable personality, with whom we already think and cooperate and fight and commiserate."[81] The revaluation of John of Giscala is manifest already in Kossarski and Graetz; Schumacher appears to continue this trajectory. At the same time, the tacit rejection of the Hellenized element of Judaism as embodied by Berenice and her brother Agrippa may have been understood to offer an implicit rejection of contemporary Reform efforts in Judaism, even though the novel elaborates no real Jewish alternative. Finally, the suggestion of a humane kinship between Judaeans and Teutons signifies an indirect refutation of contemporary antisemitic tendencies. An article entitled "Christen und Juden" (Christians and Jews) which was published in the supplement to the *Jüdische Presse* in early January 1892, coinciding with the first instalment of the novel, notes "the severe hardship of the severe present" which subjects Jews and Judaism to the unfounded "accusations of rabble-rousers with regard to race and religion."[82] The publication of *Berenice* may have been intended as an intervention in the debate.

The book publication of *Berenice*, which appeared in 1893, was dedicated by the author to Georg Ebers. The Egyptologist, like Felix Dahn, was a practitioner of what has disparagingly been called the *Professorenroman* (novels written by professors). The term refers to historical novels or novels on archaeological subjects which exhibit erudition rather than creative imagination or stylistic excellence. Ebers, not yet a professor when he published his first historical romance with the objective of popularizing Egyptian lore by means of narrative fiction in 1864, was very successful in particular with his novels about ancient Egypt. The *Gesellschaft*, a liberal-progressive journal which explicitly challenged received popular taste, enthused that Schumacher's novel was "[a] devilishly well made story on a

81 J. W. B., "Berenice. Historische roman uit den tijd van de verwoesting van Jeruzalem," *Het Leeskabinet* 61 (1894): 74–6, 75: "een echt sympatieke persoonlijkheid, met wien we al spoedig meedenken en meewerken en meestrijden en meelijden."

82 Anonymous, "Christen und Juden," *Die jüdische Presse. Beilage* (January 7, 1892): 9–10: "Zu den harten Aufgaben, welche die schwere Noth der schweren Zeit der jüdischen Journalistik auferlegt, gehört die undankbare Aufgabe, diejenigen Kundgebungen zu verzeichnen, welche Juden und Judenthum gegen die Anwürfe der Racen- und Religions-Hetzer in Schutz nehmen."

grand scale," and, in fact, "a successful outstripping of Herr Professor Ebers."[83] It emphasized in particular the poetic qualities of the novel as opposed to the professorial work of Ebers: "Vollrat Schumacher is in addition a poet—quite seriously—where Ebers stops at being a professor."[84]

Schumacher's dedication nevertheless indicates not only the younger author's aspiration of emulating the established writer's success, but is effectively a claim to a historically and archaeologically informed approach, though unlike some of the other writers discussed in this book, he used footnotes only sparingly. Then again, while the general historical background of his narrative is accurate enough, some of the writer's interpretations are certainly idiosyncratic and can hardly be reconciled with historiography. In the end, however, as the critic for the *Gesellschaft* fervently asserted, his was simply a good yarn: "For a long time I have not experienced such an exciting story";[85] in fact, he suggests—if in a slightly mocking tone—that Schumacher's effort puts other representations of the period to shame: "The torches of Nero by Siemiradzki are friendly salon matches next to this."[86] The reference is to the Polish painter Henryk Siemiradzki's celebrated monumental painting *Pochodnie Nerona* (1876; *Nero's Torches*), which shows Christians being burned by the emperor as human torches.[87] In the end, the critic—presumably in ironic reference to the fate of Berenice elaborated in the novel—avows: "Profoundly touched I close the book. Makes you mad. Bravo Schumacher!"[88]

Love and Power, Civilization and Savagery: *belle juive* and *juive bestiale*

Like in Edler's *Der letzte Jude*, Berenice finds true love for the first time in her life also in Schumacher's eponymous novel. And once again like in the earlier novel, Berenice's love is a Pisgah sight that ultimately remains unfulfilled. Yet Schumacher has his Berenice subsequently follow a very different trajectory from Edler's. Where in *Der letzte Jude* the Jewish princess eventually in contrition finds her

83 XYZ, "Vollrath Schumacher. Berenice. Historischer Roman aus der Zeit der Zerstörung Jerusalems," *Die Gesellschaft* 9.3 (1893): 1071–2, 1071: "Eine verteufelt geschickt gemachte Geschichte großen Stils, eine gelungene Übertrumpfung des Herrn Professors Ebers."

84 Ibid., 1072.

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid.: "Die Fackeln des Nero von Siemiradzki sind freundliche Salonstreichhölzer daneben."

87 See Henryk Siemiradzki, *Nero's Torches* (1876); oil on canvas; 385 cm × 705 cm; National Museum, Kraków.

88 XYZ, "Vollrath Schumacher. Berenice," 1072.

way to some form of atonement and, perhaps, even to Christianity, Schumacher has her turn into a fury, a savage beast. As *Het Leeskabinet* remarked about the Dutch translation:

> *Schumacher* has naively made of the voluptuous, witty, and very beautiful Herodian queen a monster of sensuality and thirst for power and cruelty and treachery, a fury who can only induce disgust, whose later remorse and madness in Palestine cannot for a moment reconcile us to the thought of her past crimes.[89]

Insane, Berenice's end in the revisited debris of Jerusalem is lonely and overshadowed by the ominous accusation of a stranger whose words conclude the novel: "*The children of God wander the earth.*"[90]

Berenice, but also her brother Agrippa, are in different ways the architects of the cataclysm. They embody both the beauty of the Hellenized and Romanized Herodian dynasty as well as its alienation from the Judaeans. But both also develop, in the course of the narrative, as their fatal flaw, an entirely unrestrained craving for power:

> The same noble features, here and there, but also the same stamp of sensual lust for pleasure—a combination which defined the celebrated beauty of the Herodian dynasty; yet everything that was vigorous and supple in Berenice appeared to be weakened and dull in Agrippa. He was, as if creative nature, following an arbitrary whim, had exchanged her gifts and had awarded to the man what belonged to woman and to the woman what should have belonged to man. Up to this moment, the purpose and substance of both their lives had been unrestrained and multifarious pleasure; with the difference that Berenice had found time and again healing and new incentives in the mountains of the fatherland and in the primal simplicity of its inhabitants, while Agrippa, educated by Claudius and his Messalina in Rome, had lost all his sparkle and his naturalness already by the time when, barely seventeen years old, he had ascended to power after the all too early death of his father.[91]

89 J. W. B., "Berenice," 75: "*Schumacher* heeft van de wufte, geestige en schooner Herodiaansche koningin eenvoudig gemaakt een monster van zinnelijkheid en heerschzucht en wreedheid en verraad, een furie, die alleen afschuw kan inbezoemen, wier latere wroeging en krankzinnigheid in Palestina ons geen oogenblik kan verzoenen met de gedachte aan haar vroegere misdrijven."
90 Schumacher, *Berenice*, p. 514: "*Die Kinder Gottes irren über die Erde.*"
91 Ibid., pp. 46–7: "Die Aehnlichkeit der Geschwister trat in diesem Augenblicke auf das Schärfste hervor. Dieselben edlen Linien, hier und dort, aber auch dasselbe Gepräge sinnlicher Genusseslust—eine Vereinigung, welche die gepriesene Schönheit des herodischen Geschlechts ausmachte; nur daß alles das, was bei Berenice kraftvoll und elastisch war, bei Agrippa geschwächt und matt erschien. Es war, als habe die schöpferische Natur, einem Spiele willkürlicher Laune folgend, ihre Gaben vertauscht und dem Manne verliehen, was des Weibes, dem Weibe, was des Mannes hätte sein sollen. Beiden war unbeschränkter, wechselreicher Genuß bis dahin des Lebens Zweck und Inhalt gewesen, nur daß Berenice in den Bergen des Vaterlandes und der ursprünglichen Einfachheit seiner Bewohner immer wieder Gesundung und neuen Anreiz gefun-

Significant for the further development of Berenice's character in the novel is also the siblings' transgression of the symbolic gender order, which is said to originate in their respective gifts of nature, but also, in particular in Agrippa's case, in his education: "Among the dissolute women of Rome he had turned into a woman himself, and among the ruling slaves of Caesarism into a slavish ruler."[92] The slavishness attributed to the emasculated Agrippa's mind is both articulated and transcended by his fantasies of Jewish world domination which miscarry devastatingly.

In his exploration of the symbolic significance of Sarah Bernhardt as an embodiment of the ambiguity of *belle juive* and *femme fatale*, Gilman refers to a pseudonymously published text which purports to be a collection of travel letters by Bernhardt from three continents.[93] Published presumably already in 1882, before the Jewish actor's association with the figure of Salome but also before the publication of Edler's novel, this collection creates an image of Bernhardt which, according to Gilman, "generates a further exclusionary category of the female."[94] Her image in this text, as Gilman observes, "is 'mannish' in her demand for control over the world—but this is also Jewish."[95] To Gilman, in this text, the Jewish actor's "seemingly 'feminine' nature masks a masculine one"; in fact, going a step further, he argues that "[t]he Jewishness of Bernhardt provides for an ambiguous masculinity—making her a 'third sex'."[96]

This observation is relevant to a better understanding of the figure of Berenice in Edler's *Der letzte Jude* but also, and perhaps even more pertinently, in Schumacher's *Berenice*. In neither novel is Berenice allowed to be only woman. She is portrayed as a scheming politician but also as a political pawn and an object of male desire. In Schumacher's novel, between *belle juive* and *femme fatale*, she too embodies a "third sex." This is already hinted at in Edler's novel; but in *Berenice* it is made explicit. Through the emphasis on Berenice's masculine features, the notion of the *belle juive* as a *femme fatale* is eventually exaggerated even beyond the imaginary of the *juive fatale* to what might be called the *juive bestiale*.

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den hatte, während Agrippa, in der Schule eines Claudius und seiner Messalina in Rom aufgewachsen, alle seine Frische und Natürlichkeit bereits zu der Zeit verloren hatte, da er, kaum siebzehn Jahre alt, nach dem allzufrühen Tode seines Vaters zur Macht gelangt war."

92 Ibid., pp. 46–7: "Unter den zuchtlosen Weibern Rom's war er selbst zum Weibe und unter den herrschenden Sclaven des Caesarenthums zum sclavischen Herrscher geworden."

93 See Kikeriki [i.e., Ottokar Franz Eberberg], *Sarahs Reisebriefe aus drei Welttheilen (Amerika, Europa, Skobolessia)* (Würzburg: Kreßner, [1882]).

94 Gilman, "Salome, Syphilis, Sarah Bernhardt," 205.

95 Ibid.

96 Ibid.

The implied underlying manliness in spirit of the otherwise intensely female Berenice in Schumacher's novel testifies to the ambiguity which characterizes her throughout. Confronted with the Roman provocations and transgressions in Judaea, she realizes: "In the past, I was a frivolous, exuberant creature! [. . .] I lived only for my beauty and my pleasure. What did I know of the fatherland and the faith in God?"[97] With the awakening of her social conscience, the ambivalence of her character is manifest in the contrast between her lofty thoughts and her persistent sensuality and nervous energy:

> she paused, and the magnitude of her thought bestowed on her beautiful features a noble expression of melancholy majesty, with which the sensuous fullness of her lips and the restlessly trembling nimbleness of her hands formed a peculiar contrast.[98]

The idea of the Jewish God is invoked by both Berenice and her brother Agrippa. The enthusiasm of the beautiful princess is, for the moment, sincere and born from the belief in the ethical superiority of the Jews:

> "This is precisely what makes our people, the people of the old covenant, so strong and invincible; the knowledge that it must defend the highest goods of human feeling and the ascent of the soul against the miserable, bestial baseness of Rome! This will not be a war about worldly interests, but about the most elevated, about God!"
> It appeared as if she had intoxicated herself with her own words. In resounding enthusiasm she had risen and now stood in front of her brother, her right hand raised high, in her long, dark, cascading garment, which bestowed on her tall, proud figure a prophetic and regal aspect, so that Agrippa involuntarily lowered his head and played in embarrassment with his bracelet.[99]

97 Schumacher, *Berenice*, p. 43: "Früher war ich ein leichtfertiges, daseinsfreudiges Geschöpf! [. . .] Nur meiner Schönheit und meiner Lust lebte ich. Was wußte ich von Vaterland und Gottesglauben?"

98 Ibid.: "Sie hielt sinnend inne, und die Größe des Gedankens verlieh ihren schönen Zügen einen edlen, schwermütig erhabenen Ausdruck, zu welchem die sinnliche Fülle ihrer Lippen und die erregt zitternde Beweglichkeit ihrer Hände einen eigenartigen Gegensatz bildete."

99 Ibid., p. 44: "'Das ist es ja gerade, was unser Volk, das Volk des alten Bundes, so stark, so unbezwingbar macht, das Bewußtsein, daß es die höchsten Güter menschlichen Empfindens und seelischen Aufschwungs gegen die jammervolle, verthierte Niedrigkeit Rom's zu verteidigen hat! Nicht ein Krieg um weltliche Interessen wird da geführt werden, ein Krieg um das Erhabenste, um Gott!' / Es war, als habe sie sich an den eigenen Worten berauscht. In tönender Begeisterung war sie aufgesprungen und stand nun vor dem Bruder, die rechte Hand hoch erhoben, in ihrem lang herabwallenden dunklen Gewande, das ihrer hohen, stolzen Gestalt etwas Prophetisches, Königliches verlieh, sodaß Agrippa unwillkürlich das Haupt senkte und verlegen mit seinem Armring spielte."

Agrippa, in turn, has hatched a political scheme within which he assigns to Berenice the role of seductress and in which Judaism and its ancient prophecies are ultimately no more than the means toward the end of the world domination he craves:

> Under the ashes of his heart, burnt to cinders by Roman wantonness, a tiny spark of the adherence to the sublime doctrine of his people had still been glowing, unbeknownst to him—and had he not had the firm intention, then, when all his schemes should have been realized, when he proudly should have been allowed to call himself Master of Asia, to ignite this spark into a bright flame and to become in truth—the Chosen of God, the priest-king, the saviour of the future according to the messianic prophecy?—a premonition of which, like a mysterious, guiding thread ran through the history of Israel from the day of the exodus from Egypt to the present and which, it had been believed once before, his father had embodied: Through nothing to being! Through suffering to glory?![100]

In megalomaniac frenzy, Agrippa reveals to Berenice his "gigantic plan whose execution must convulse the whole world in its foundations."[101] He seeks to legitimize his illicit desire for absolute political power with a religious interpretation of history:

> had not this idea of divine world domination slumbered for a very long time in the soul of the Judaeic people, similar to the volcanic fire that surges up and down mysteriously in the depths of the earth? The predictions of the prophets, the tradition of the messiah of the future, the great wars of the Maccabees and the Herodians, what else were they but the blazing signs of the imminent eruption flaring up towards the surface?[102]

Within this scheme, the part assigned by Agrippa to his sister is to ensnare Titus through her female charms; but Berenice refuses. Her fancy has been captured

100 Ibid., p. 50: "Unter der Asche seines durch römische Lüste verbrannten Herzens hatte, ihm selbst unbewußt, doch immer noch ein winziger Funke der Anhänglichkeit an die erhabene Lehre seines Volkes geglüht—und hatte er nicht die feste Absicht gehabt, dann, wenn alle seine Pläne verwirklicht sein würden, wenn er sich stolz den Herren Asiens nennen dürfte, diesen Funken zur hellen Flamme anzufachen und in Wahrheit das zu werden, dessen Ahnung wie ein geheimnisvoller, leitender Faden sich durch die Geschichte Israels vom Tage der Auswanderung aus Aegypten bis in die Neuzeit hinzog, was man in seinem Vater schon einmal zu erblicken geglaubt hatte—der Erwählte Gottes, der Priesterkönig, das Heil der Zukunft nach der messianischen Weissagung: Durch das Nichts zum Sein! Durch Not zur Herrlichkeit?!"

101 Ibid., p. 54: "Er hatte den ganzen, gigantischen Plan, dessen Ausführung die gesammte Welt in ihren Grundvesten erschüttern mußte, mit kalter, überlegener Ruhe vor Berenice entrollt."

102 Ibid.: "[H]atte diese Idee der Gottesweltherrschaft nicht schon seit Langem in der Seele des judäischen Volkes geschlummert, dem in den Tiefen der Erde geheimnisvoll auf und niederwallenden Vulkanfeuer gleich? Die Weissagungen der Propheten, die Ueberlieferungen von dem Messias der Zukunft, die gewaltigen Kämpfe der Maccabäer und Herodäer, was waren sie anders gewesen, als die zur Oberfläche heraufzüngelnden Flammenzeichen des nahenden Ausbruchs?"

by a young Jew, Reguel, the fictitious son of John of Giscala whom she nursed back to life in her garden house after he was attacked by henchmen of the Jewish governor of the Galilee, Joseph ben Matthia, i.e., Josephus. The garden house, called Beth-Eden, the House of Eden, is no gothic orientalist fantasy of luxury and pleasure like the secret palace in the rocks opposite Engaddi in Edler's *Der letzte Jude*. Nevertheless orientalist, Schumacher rather imagines an edenic garden secluded from the world in which Berenice's love of the beautiful youth recreates for a while the otherworld of a paradisiacal space amidst the exigencies of the times. From early childhood a victim of the political intrigues of her dynasty "until her feelings had hardened towards the more refined impulses of the soul,"[103] Berenice feels liberated and inspired:

> Only once more to be allowed to breathe freely, to feel without restraint, for once to see one's own image installed on the altar of the heart consecrated to God in another's innermost being! Once to be a goddess herself!
> Another ambition, yet different from that which she had served so far![104]

Compared by Reguel with the biblical figures of Deborah, Judith, and Esther,[105] Berenice—like Edler's—keeps her real name a secret so as not to repulse the virtuous Reguel. It is another indication of the shaky foundation of her love: "Once again she had availed herself of betrayal to guide him [i.e., Reguel] according to her intentions,"[106] like Edler's Berenice also betrays Othniel. The names of the biblical heroines suggested by her young lover subsequently all gain significance as antitypes of her chosen identifications and self-staging. In the end, however, she fails to conform to any of them. Toward Reguel, Berenice identifies as Deborah, a figure to whom she also attributes the transgression of the symbolic gender order; yet as she realizes herself, the biblical patterns of female heroism do not apply anymore in her own day:

> No, today, it was no longer possible for a woman to go into manly battle in the manner of the heroines [of yore]; Deborah's times were gone! Female victory no longer depended on the edge of the sword, nor on the echoing cry of war; those were the customs and peculiarities of barbaric times, today the mind was master of masters![107]

103 Ibid., p. 66: "bis ihr Gefühl sich verhärtet hatte gegen die feineren Regungen der Seele."
104 Ibid.: "Nur einmal noch frei atmen dürfen, uneingeschränkt empfinden, einmal das eigene Bild im Inneren eines Andern auf dem gottgeweihten Altar des Herzens erblicken! Einmal selbst Göttin sein! / Auch ein Ehrgeiz, doch ein anderer, als der, dem sie bisher gedient hatte!"
105 See ibid., p. 70.
106 Ibid., p. 244: "Wiederum hatte sie zum Betruge gegriffen, um ihn [i.e., Reguel] nach ihren Absichten zu leiten."
107 Ibid., p. 100: "Nein, heut' war es dem Weibe nicht mehr gegeben, nach Art der Heldinnen in die Männerschlacht zu ziehen; Debora's Zeit war dahin! Weibersieg hing nicht mehr an der

In spite of this realization, however, the "manly battle" is precisely what she later attempts, if in a completely insane manner. In effect, Berenice by transgressing against the symbolical gender order turns toward the end of the novel into a reverse Deborah who destroys her country and her people and, eventually, also herself.

Berenice also considers the biblical Judith as a role model, as it had been thrust on Ada by her father in Sebregondi's *Nekodas*. The scriptural precedent Berenice once again considers obsolete and envisions another suitable revision to the ancient model:

> Yes, a new Judith she wanted to be among her people! But not that Judith who by brute force, with the stroke of a sword did the saving deed,—after all, a hundred avengers would arise from the blood of Titus!—no, first elevate him to the highest pinnacle of power, then ruthlessly to assert her own over him, to destroy his mind and will with the sword of beauty, to intoxicate it with her poisonous drink, and to rule with the master everything.[108]

In the glow of her first true love, however, she soon discards all of these heroic models:

> Her heart became warm and wide with the thought. She did not recognize herself anymore. Love! Love!
> She knew now, in Reguel she loved what she had lacked, what she had cruelly been robbed of, her youth.
> Rapturous, wonderful youth, steeped in being![109]

Of course the innocence of the House of Eden is only an illusion. The lovers "were like children!,"[110] the narrator variously insists; yet while for Reguel this is indeed his first innocent love, Berenice is well versed in love as an art: "With demonic art, the princess knew to make the youth entirely her slave."[111] The clash of inno-

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Schneide des Schwertes, noch an hallendem Kriegsruf, das war barbarischer Zeiten Sitte und Gepräge gewesen, heut' war der Geist Herr der Herren!"

108 Ibid., p. 101: "Ja, eine neue Judith wollte sie werden in ihrem Volke! Aber nicht jene Judith, die mit der rohen Gewalt, mit einem Schwertstreich die rettende That vollführte,—würden doch aus Titus' Blute hundert Rächer erstehen!—nein, erst ihn zur höchsten Höhe der Macht heben, um dann die eigene über ihn rücksichtslos geltend zu machen, seinen Geist und Willen mit dem Schwerte der Schönheit zu vernichten, mit ihrem Gifttrank zu berauschen, und in dem Herrn das Ganze zu beherrschen."

109 Ibid., p. 168: "Das Herz wurde ihr warm und weit bei dem Gedanken. Sie erkannte sich selbst nicht mehr. / Liebe! Liebe! / Sie wußte es nun, in Reguel liebte sie das, was sie entbehrt hatte, was ihr grausam geraubt worden war, die Jugend. / Die schwärmende, daseinsheiße, wunderbare Jugend!"

110 Ibid., pp. 223, 228, 231: "Sie waren wie Kinder!"

111 Ibid., p. 237: "Mit dämonischer Kunst hatte es die Fürstin verstanden, den Jüngling ganz zu ihrem Sklaven zu machen."

cence and experience carries the seed of destruction. Berenice may deceive herself and her young lover awhile, but catastrophe constantly looms: "with breathless greed she clung to the present, she wilfully forgot the past and sought to ward off the threatening future,"[112] another echo of Edler's *Der letzte Jude*, where Berenice articulates a similar sentiment.

Berenice's self-deception is shattered when she receives a letter from Agrippa in which he apprises her that now, after the fall of Jotapata, she needs to begin to play her role within the political scheme devised by him. "The same role," he says, invoking the last of the three female identification figures from Scripture mentioned by Reguel, "which Esther once played."[113] Agrippa wants her to ensnare Titus with her female charms and marry the Roman. The encroaching reality uncharacteristically triggers in Berenice an irrational flight reflex:

> Flight was the only remedy to save her, a quick flight without delay. No matter where to! Just not to confront the gleaming, enticing magic of ambition which Agrippa so dexterously knew to ignite in her.
> What Deborah, what Esther, what Augusta, a mistress of the world! A woman was all she wanted to be now, a simple unregal woman![114]

Augusta, the idea of the Roman empress, is as hateful to her now as the heroic models suggested by Deborah and Esther.

Yet the dream of a simple life of innocent love and feminine fulfilment is finally and irrevocably wrecked by Agrippa when he orders Berenice's slave Stephanus to assassinate Reguel in order to break his sister's resistance to his plan. The slave, long since jealous of the young Judaean, decides to kill his rival by burning Beth-Eden. After the arson attack, believing Reguel dead, Berenice despairs:

> What did she have to expect? A vapid, empty life, even more shallow than her previous one. Then she had not known yet how much happiness there was on earth. Now she had tasted it, now she had felt the first drop of true pleasure run through her veins, whose invigorating

112 Ibid., p. 238: "mit atemloser Gier klammerte sie sich an das Gegenwärtige, vergaß sie absichtlich das Vergangene und suchte das drohende Zukünftige von sich abzuwehren."
113 Ibid., p. 240: "Und jetzt endlich [i.e., after the fall of Jotapata] beginne Berenices Rolle. Dieselbe Rolle, die einst Esther gespielt habe."
114 Ibid., p. 243: "Flucht war das einzige Mittel zur Rettung, schnelle, unverzögerte Flucht. Gleichviel wohin! Nur nicht wieder dem gleißenden, verlockenden Zauber des Ehrgeizes gegenübertreten, den Agrippa in ihr so geschickt zu entfachen verstand. / Was Debora, was Esther, was Augusta, eine Herrin der Welt! Nur Weib wollte sie noch sein, einfaches unkönigliches Weib!"

> warmth had sent shivers through her body and had elevated her soul high above the miserable insignificance of the average fate of humanity.[115]

Schumacher's, like Edler's Berenice, experiences in effect a Pisgah sight. The apparent death of her lover is the psychological turning point for her. She seeks to blame fate, and then God, for thwarting her hopes:

> Fate?
> God!
> It was God; that very God who had inflamed her earlier so that she had been willing to sacrifice everything for him! Did he not want her sacrifice, or had he decided the downfall of his people, or . . . ?
> Was there a God at all?
> If there was a God, Israel must be the first of all the nations in the world, all the others had to bow down before it into the dust![116]

In this fragile state of mind, Berenice becomes aware of her terrifying destructive power:

> This slim, weak hand was able to turn resplendent flowery groves into barren deserts blighted with rocks, was able to turn humans against humans, brothers against brothers; to rouse children against parents to a raging war of destruction, was able to hurl this shimmering, glorious, common world back into the chaos of the beginning.[117]

The pursuit of power, always a main factor in Berenice's life before her amorous distraction, reasserts itself with a sensual, almost orgasmic, pleasure:

> Her face was as if petrified by the awful greatness of her thought. Her eyes began to glow with that semi-insane, scorching light of the demon of destruction. From between her lips

115 Ibid., p. 266: "Was erwartete sie? Ein schaales, leeres Leben, inhaltloser noch, als das vergangene. Da hatte sie noch nicht gewußt, wie viel des Glückes auf der Erde war. Nun hatte sie es gekostet, nun den ersten Tropfen wahren Genusses durch die Adern rinnen gefühlt, dessen belebende Wärme ihren Leib durchschauert und ihre Seele hoch über die erbärmliche Kleinheit des Durchschnittslooses der Menschheit erhoben hatte."

116 Ibid., pp. 266–7: "Das Schicksal? / Gott! / Gott war es; dieser selbe Gott, der sie vorhin entflammt hatte, daß sie willens gewesen war, Alles für ihn hinzugeben! Wollte er ihr Opfer nicht, oder hatte er den Untergang seines Volkes beschlossen, oder . . . ? / Gab es überhaupt einen Gott? / Wenn ein Gott war, so mußte Israel das erste aller Völker sein des Erdkreises, so mußten sich die anderen vor ihm beugen im Staube!"

117 Ibid., p. 270: "diese schlanke, schwache Hand vermochte auch aus prangenden Blütenhainen öde, felsstarrende Wüsten zu machen, vermochte Menschen gegen Menschen, Brüder gegen Brüder, Kinder gegen Eltern zu rasendem Vernichtungskampfe zu entflammen, vermochte diese schimmernde, strahlende, gemeine Welt in das Chaos des Anfangs zurückzuschleudern."

> emerged a gasp of wantonness in the imagination of which her nerves trembled. Inexorable, bewitching, thrilling the awareness of her power came over her.[118]

Her paramount yearning for power has her not only concede to marrying Titus but raises in her the "demon of the contempt for humanity."[119]

Berenice's transformation results in her active intervention in the war. Clad in iron and—once again contesting the symbolic gender order—disguised as Titus, she enters the fray. She is challenged by a Jewish warrior in whose eyes she sees a residue of mildness; but the narrator notes that "this war that destroyed everything that was sublime, noble, and humane had roused in him the nature of the beast."[120] Yet in truth, it is Berenice who turns into a savage beast, there is neither mildness nor love left in her:

> [S]he bent taught to pounce, with whistling breath and eyes that shimmered green. Straightaway, she hung from his neck and dug her fingers in his flesh and burrowed her teeth in his gullet.
> Like a cat.[121]

Berenice's savage attack on the Jewish warrior is prefigured through her favorite slave Stephanus. The Aethiopian, brutally made mute and deaf by Agrippa, having his tongue ripped out and molten lead poured into his ears, is the confidant and secret instrument of the princess. Stereotypically characterized as a savage by his unbridled urges, Stephanus is infatuated with the unattainable Berenice and is tormented by fierce jealousy. His figure, robbed of his own articulate voice and condemned to produce only uncouth sounds, is constituted of an assembly of unmitigated stereotypes. The black slave is portrayed as lascivious and vindictive, devious and cruel; effectively, he is dehumanized in the novel and suggested to be no more than a savage beast. The various stages of this characterization are significant because his savage bestiality is increasingly mirrored in Berenice.

Secretely studying Berenice, to whom he is as the air, Stephanus indulges in a cannibalistic fantasy: "His massive, dull-coloured teeth then showed themselves be-

118 Ibid.: "Ihr Antlitz war wie versteinert von der furchtbaren Größe des Gedankens. In ihren Augen glühte es auf, jenes halbirre, sengende Licht des Dämons der Vernichtung. Ueber ihre Lippen drang ein Keuchen der Wollust, in welcher die Vorstellung ihre Nerven erzittern ließ. Unwiderstehlich, berückend, hinreißend kam das Bewußtsein ihrer Macht über sie."

119 Ibid., p. 301: "der Dämon der Menschenverachtung."

120 Ibid., p. 415: "Der Krieg erst, dieser alles Erhabene, Edle, Menschliche vernichtende Krieg hatte die Natur des Tieres in ihm geweckt."

121 Ibid.: "[Berenice] bog sich zusammen mit pfeifendem Atem und grünlich schillernden Augen, zum Sprunge. Gleich darauf hing sie an seinem Halse und schlug ihre Finger in sein Fleisch und grub ihre Zähne in seine Kehle. / Wie eine Katze."

tween the half opened quivering lips. As if they had to burrow into the florid, swelling flesh there in front of them."[122] As he observes from afar the fire in which he meant to kill his "rival" Reguel, "his chest rose and sank with savage gulps of air and his eyes flared with the wantonness of satisfied revenge."[123] When he follows the distraught Berenice on horseback at breakneck speed, "in his wide open eyes was an uncanny flicker and from between his grinding teeth emerged a ghastly, cruel, lascivious laugh."[124] The lion, the narrator adds, confirming the Aethiopian's dehumanization with this metaphor, dared to pounce for the first time.[125]

The metaphoric identification of Stephanus with "the lion of his native country"[126] is first made earlier in the novel when Berenice is prompted by his "consuming passion"[127] for her to reminisce about a female lion tamer she once saw cowing a lion and putting her head between its jaws. Yet she remembers also the uncanny light in the eyes of the animal, its increasing hunger, and the reassuring thought that the lion tamer knew exactly how far she could go:

> Berenice too knew it, yet she nevertheless frequently could not help an internal shudder, when she gazed in Stephanos' [*sic*] eyes—hungry eyes.
> Like just now again.[128]

Berenice's relationship to her slave, whose passion may startle her but mostly amuses her and whom she tends to ignore, reveals the bestiality of the civilized woman who is utterly insensitive to her degrading and inhumane treatment of the human other. Yet it is in the battle scene that her subliminal bestiality first manifests itself with overt barbaric cruelty. What she does to the Jewish warrior is a terrifying escalation of Stephanus's initial cannibalistic urge.

Berenice, too, is variously described as a lioness. Initially, with a positive association, she thinks of herself as a lioness defending Reguel against the machinations of her brother.[129] Yet as the veneer of her civilized persona crumbles, she is

122 Ibid., p. 252: "Seine massiven, mattfarbenen Zähne zeigten sich dann zwischen den halbgeöffneten zitternden Lippen. Als müßten sie sich in das blühende, schwellende Fleisch da vor ihnen graben."

123 Ibid., p. 254: "seine Brust hob und senkte sich in wilden Atemzügen und seine Augen flackerten in der Wollust befriedigter Rache."

124 Ibid., p. 255: "in seinen weit aufgerissenen Augen flackerte es unheimlich und durch seine knirschenden Zähne kam ein schauerliches, grausames, wollüstiges Lachen."

125 See ibid.

126 Ibid., p. 61: "der Löwe seiner Heimat."

127 Ibid.: "verzehrende Leidenschaft."

128 Ibid., p. 62: "Auch Berenice wußte es, und doch konnte sie sich oft eines inneren Schauders nicht erwehren, wenn sie in Stephanos' [*sic*] Augen blickte—hungrige Augen. / Wie eben wieder."

129 See ibid., p. 243.

described by the narrator once again as a lioness just prior to the battle when Stephanus helps her to don her armor. She suddenly pounces on the slave and strangles him. A fierce struggle ensues between them: "It was like the fight between two cats, a lion and a lioness. Both strong, of exactly equal strength, for neither yielded, neither the man nor the woman,"[130] until they are separated by an attendant. Yet Berenice recognizes that there must be yet another, decisive fight between them: "It had to become clear who was stronger, man or woman! Yet, was the lioness not always master of the lion?"[131]

It is in this savage frame of mind that she joins the battle. Transformed by her first kill into something feral, Berenice experiences a heightened frenzy of battle which effectively dehumanizes her in analogy to Stephanus—lion and lioness:

> Berenice was as if she were intoxicated. The smell of blood, the vapour of the burning bodies, the savage, rattling death cry of the human creature, had the same effect on her as a heavy, intoxicating wine.[132]

During the battle for the Temple, "[h]er helmet dropped from the princess's head; the long, golden red hair, illumined by the glow, whipped after her like a fiery flame."[133] The image evoked by the writer intriguingly anticipates a later work by Friedrich August von Kaulbach, a cousin once removed of Wilhem von Kaulbach. Entitled *Deutschland—August 1914* (1914; Germany—August 1914), the painting represents a fiercesome Germania at the beginning of the First World War and it may well have been inspired by Schumacher's description of Berenice's flaming hair against the fiery glow of the burning Temple—which, in the novel, she sets ablaze herself.[134]

A hunger for power, the obsession of Berenice and Agrippa, is awakened by the latter also in Titus. It leads to a confrontation between Berenice and Titus, in which the Roman too is compared to a beast of prey: "And thus, these two faced one another for a short while, man and woman, like two beasts of prey, ready to

130 Ibid., p. 412: "Es war, wie der Kampf zweier Katzen, eines Löwen und einer Löwin. Beide stark, gleich stark, denn Keines wich, weder der Mann noch das Weib."
131 Ibid.: "Es mußte klar werden, wer stärker war, der Mann oder das Weib! Doch, war die Löwin nicht immer Meisterin des Löwen?"
132 Ibid., p. 427: "Berenice war wie trunken. Der Blutgeruch, der Dunst der brennenden Leiber, das wilde, röchelnde Todesgeschrei der Kreatur übte dieselbe Wirkung auf sie, wie schwerer berauschender Wein."
133 Ibid., p. 428: "Der Helm war der Fürstin vom Haupte gefallen; das lange, goldrote, von der Glut durchleuchtete Haar peitschte hinter ihr her wie eine feurige Lohe."
134 See ibid., p. 417.

pounce on one another."[135] The parallel to the confrontation of Berenice with Stephanus is obvious, though it is preceded by this passage. The implications are also obvious. Titus, too, is exposed as a predator underneath the more polished layer of his Roman civilization.

After the fall of Jerusalem, the process of Berenice's mental disintegration continues apace; and in Rome, after the war, she "lost herself entirely."[136] The documents which prove that she is, in fact, married to Titus are stolen at the behest of Vespasian who confronts her and explains that the Roman people will never accept a Judaean empress on the throne. Berenice understands all this to be the retribution for her actions, and yet, she seeks to hold on to what she has. What the novel does not explain is that there was a real fear among Romans that, with a Jewish consort, the Flavian dynasty itself might become Jewish and that, in this way, the ultimate victors of the Jewish War might in fact be the Jews.[137]

Yet Berenice is rejected not only by the Romans but also by the remnant of the Jews. When she is recognized by captured Judaeans who face their death in the arena, they curse her as a traitor. When the call is taken up by the Romans as well, she is as paralyzed, until she eventually flees from the arena.[138] The Jews she betrayed also reach out to her from beyond the grave. The dying John of Giscala enjoins on his son Reguel that he should take revenge on Berenice.[139] Having survived the fire of Beth-Eden and the destruction of Jerusalem, Reguel seeks to assassinate Berenice in her palace in Rome, but when he recognizes in her his beloved Deborah, the young Judaean recoils and cannot do the deed, like Othniel also recoiled from killing Berenice in *Der letzte Jude*. Reguel's failure to stab Berenice signifies his own death when Stephanus surprises him, furious that Reguel survived his earlier arson attack. His fierce jealousy revived, Stephanus reverts fully to his dehumanized bestiality:

> Like a beast about to pounce. [. . .] And his lips sought hers. Yet he did not kiss Berenice. With a suppressed, moaning, ghastly howl he burrowed his flashing teeth in her flesh and drank her blood as it spurted [from her neck].
> More! More![140]

135 Ibid., p. 110: "Und so standen sie eine kleine Weile sich gegenüber, der Mann und das Weib, wie zwei Raubtiere, bereit, über einander herzufallen."

136 Ibid., p. 446: "hatte [. . .] sich ganz verloren."

137 See, e.g., Tal Ilan, *Queen Berenice: A Jewish Female Icon of the First Century CE* (Leiden: Brill, 2022), pp. 144–5, 147.

138 See Schumacher, *Berenice*, pp. 468–9.

139 See ibid., p. 409.

140 Ibid., p. 510: "Wie eine Bestie zum Sprung. [. . .] Und seine Lippen suchten die ihren. Aber er küßte Berenice nicht. Mit einem unterdrückten, stöhnenden, grauenhaften Heulen schlug er seine blinkenden Zähne in ihr Fleisch und trank er ihr hervorspritzendes Blut. / Mehr! Mehr!"

Finally, the fight between lion and lioness has been decided. As Berenice killed the Judaean warrior, so the Aethiopian satisfies his earlier craving.

There is a certain poetic justice in the attack suffered by Berenice. She survives, yet after the mutilation, which disfigures her horribly, she turns fully insane, fantasizing about her eternally lost beauty. Accompanied only by Stephanus who, his savage instincts having been satisfied, serves her again with all the passion she evokes in him, Berenice makes her way to the ruins of the Temple where her story ends with her death.

Judaeans, Teutons, and the Destruction of Rome

As in some other texts about the destruction of Jerusalem, Schumacher too introduces to his narrative the figure of a Teuton warrior. Chlodomar of the tribe of the Chatti has been displaced by the Roman conquest of Germania and lost wife and child. The Germanic tribe of the Chatti settled in the region now known as Hesse, where Schumacher himself was born. Chlodomar is thus not only a figure onto which, in the course of the narrative, a German nationalist perspective is projected, but implicitly also a more locally defined Hessian one. Like Ihlenfeld established a close relationship between Jews and Teutons and suggested the fulfilment of Jewish resistance and redemption to manifest itself in the Teutonic overthrow of Rome, the Protestant Schumacher also construes a close relationship between the Teuton and the Judaeans.

Chlodomar, at that time in the service of Agrippa, saves Reguel from the burning Beth-Eden. Afterward, he knows that he needs to make sure that the innocent young Judaean is also saved from the influence of the seductive Berenice. More importantly, as both hide in a cave after having escaped the fire, "Chlodomar projected whatever remained of his love of humankind, which had been trampled by Rome, onto Reguel"[141] and reflects on the similarities of their situations:

> Like the Judaean, so also fought the Teuton with the monster of Rome; and high and sublime, as in the mysteries of the God of the Judaeans, was the breath of the mysterious murmured magical, miraculous songs and tales underneath the sacred oak trees of Germania. As by [the shore of] the unfathomable pond of the wooded valley surrounded by nodding reeds, when he was still a boy, thus here, too, he divined a premonition of infinity emanating from the Judaeic absorption in the supernatural; world of the divinity; interwoven with thoughts, entangled with legends.

141 Ibid., p. 345: "sammelte Chlodomar den ganzen Rest seiner durch Rom zertretenen Menschenliebe auf Reguel."

> Thus, he felt as if with Reguel, the Judaean stranger, he held his own child in his arms.[142]

The closeness between Chlodomar and Reguel, in which the Judaean effectively takes the place of the Teuton's own lost child, is significant with regard to the fraught relationship between Germans and Jews at the end of the nineteenth century when Schumacher's novel was published in an atmosphere of ever-increasing antisemitism. The Teuton's positive perception of the Judaeans is also reflected in his admiration of "[the] pure, honest character" of John of Giscala, Reguel's real father.[143]

In stark contrast to the imaginary of the historical figure transmitted in historiography and in most literature, John of Giscala is characterized in the novel as a likable, god-fearing man and an astute general of unsullied morality. The author uses his figure to reflect on the otherwise pervasive decay of morality in the besieged city. As he gazes over Jerusalem, John compares it to a charnel house in what then turns effectively into an allusion to, and anticipation of, the Mary of Bethezuba episode: "A charnel house? A mother, it seemed to him, who devoured her own children!"[144] When, much later in the narrative, the actual Mary of Bethezuba episode is briefly mentioned, it seems like a confirmation of John's gloomy thoughts.[145]

Initially, Chlodomar wonders how the Judaeans should resist the Romans, considering that even the Teutons and Britons were defeated by them:

> If the savage sons of Germania and Britain, used to sun and ice and yearning to die in battle bowed their necks, how should then the peace-loving Judaean, disgusted by blood, be able to resist?[146]

Yet the Teuton warrior senses an inner strength in the Judaeans which baffles him:

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142 Ibid., p. 344: "Wie der Judäer, so rang auch der Germane mit dem Ungethüm Rom, und hoch und erhaben, wie in den Mysterien des Judäergottes, raunte auch unter den heiligen Eichen Germaniens der Atem des Geheimnisvollen zauberische, wunderbare Weisen und Sagen. Wie ihn, da er noch ein Knabe gewesen, am unergründlich tiefen, schilfumnickten Weiher des Waldthales, so überschattete ihn auch hier, von der judäischen Versenktheit in das Ueberirdische herwehend, die Ahnung des Unendlichen; gedankendurchwebte, sagenumsponnene Welt der Gottheit! / So war es ihm gewesen, als halte er in Reguel, dem fremden Judäer, das eigene Kind in seinen Armen."

143 Ibid., p. 196: "[den] lauteren, ehrlichen Charakter."

144 Ibid., p. 340: "Einem Leichenhause? / Einer Mutter, schien's ihm, die ihre eigenen Kinder verschlungen!"

145 See ibid., p. 403.

146 Ibid., p. 195: "Wenn die wilden, sonne- und eisgewohnten, kampfestodgierigen Söhne Germaniens und Britanniens den starren Nacken gebeugt hatten, wie vermochte dann der friedliebende, blutekle Judäer zu widerstehen?"

> And yet, there was something in these people, something inexplicable, alien, which filled him with astonished admiration and secret envy! Something that even the Roman did not possess, a secret, inner power whose origin and measure he could not gauge.[147]

When Chlodomar surmises what this inexplicable power might be, he intriguingly suggests that it may originate in the self-imposed isolation of the Judaeans, which associates, and repudiates, contemporary stereotypes of Jewish self-segregation: "Was the Judaean made so strong by his isolation amid the hustle and bustle of the world, or was it his miraculous God?"[148] More obvious in the context of literary representations of the destruction of Jerusalem is Chlodomar's second assumption, that the strength of the Judaeans may derive from their God. This refers back to the earlier reflections on the power of Judaism by Berenice and Agrippa. Yet, once again in the context of the other literary engagements with the destruction of Jerusalem discussed in this study, this suggestion is, in fact, unusual. In all the other texts examined here, with the exception of those of Jewish provenance, supersession is unchallenged or even promoted. Not so in Schumacher's *Berenice*. Supersession is never even mentioned in the novel. Among its figures are no Christians; Christianity, too, is never mentioned.

Considering its original publication platform in an Orthodox Jewish periodical, this may not seem surprising. In this respect, Schumacher's *Berenice* is nevertheless unique in the corpus of texts discussed here. There is also otherwise no known particular affiliation of the author with Judaism, although his novel indicates a certain sympathy and even a preference. Rather than one of the conversions to Christianity with which so many texts are replete which engage with the historical episode, Schumacher includes the conversion of the Roman officer and nephew of Vespasian, Flavius Sabinus, to Judaism in a lengthy passage which outlines the ethical superiority of the monotheistic idea which originated with the allegedly despised people.[149]

The text nevertheless assumes familiarity with the subject even outside the common Christian interpretive framework established in other novels about the destruction of Jerusalem through the religious or even theological approach that was eschewed by Schumacher. Even while implicitly still contending with this context which, as has been discussed, was widely disseminated across all social

147 Ibid.: "Und dennoch war etwas in diesen Menschen, etwas Unerklärliches, Fremdes, das ihn mit staunender Bewunderung und geheimem Neide erfüllte! Etwas, das selbst der Römer nicht besaß, eine geheime, siegende, innere Kraft, deren Ursprung und Maß er nicht zu überblicken vermochte."

148 Ibid.: "Machte seine Einsamkeit mitten im Weltgetriebe den Judäer so stark, oder war es sein wunderbarer Gott?"

149 See ibid., pp. 378, 382, 384.

strata in both religious and secular contexts, it offers the author an opportunity of re-interpreting the historical occurrence supposedly free from its religious ballast and to construe the Jewish princess as a psychologically re-imagined character.

The bond between Judaeans and Teutons suggested by Schumacher is similarly developed on a level that does not correspond to other texts within the emerging tradition, such as Ihlenfeld's, where the connecting link is the Christian faith. Instead, in *Berenice*, the association between Teutons and Judaeans is conveyed through their common humanity and suffering, their underlying national pathos, and the eventual victory over Rome.

This is elaborated in Chlodomar's final defiance of alleged Roman superiority, arrogance, and cruelty during the deathly spectacle of the captive Judaeans being murdered in the arena. A simulacrum of Jerusalem and the Temple has been set up underneath the floor of the colosseum as the scene for their death:

> As they saw the well-known towers and battlements, pediments and roofs, an outcry of unspeakable sorrow arose from the lips of the doomed Judaeans, and their hands reached with clanking chains towards the edifice which shimmered with gold.
> "Jerusalem! The Temple!"
> It was thus. There, everything was replicated in minute detail that once had risen great and magnificent above Jerusalem.[150]

Eventually, the stage set is levered up by some hidden mechanism, "[a]nd the image of the Temple floated upwards as if carried by a magic cloud."[151] The captives are tied to the golden spears on the roof of the Temple simulacrum which, in the original, were meant to keep the birds away from the edifice. Among the Judaeans is also Chlodomar who, victorious in his previous fight in the arena, disdained the Roman pardon offered to him and chooses to die next to the Judaeans and his previously lost daughter whom he discovered in Judaea.

The simulacrum of the holy city and its Temple is a graphic image of the domestication and humiliation of the Judaean other which it performatively re-enacts. In this sense it fulfils a function similar to the variously mentioned reliefs of the Arch of Titus which detail the loot and the triumph of the imperator. Like the architectural monument, which still survives and which was juxtaposed by de

150 Ibid., p. 484: "Beim Anblick der wohlbekannten Thürme und Zinnen, Giebel und Dächer brach ein Aufschrei namenloser Trauer von den Lippen der todgeweihten Judäer, und ihre Hände streckten sich kettenklirrend gegen das goldschimmernde Gebäude aus. / 'Jerusalem! Der Tempel!' / Es war so. Da war Alles im Kleinen täuschend nachgeahmt, was sich einst groß und herrlich über Jerusalem erhoben hatte."

151 Ibid., p. 485: "Und das Bild des Tempels schwebte wie von einer Zauberwolke getragen nach oben."

Waal with the Arch of Constantine as a symbol of supersession, the ephemeral simulacral stage set for the murder of the Jews, which emphasizes the destruction of its original, prefigures implicitly—with the knowledge of hindsight—also the destruction of the space in which it is enacted. The supposed Roman superiority is finally exposed as a fallacy in a vision which Chlodomar experiences before his death as he faces the proliferating Roman audience from the roof of the simulacral Temple:

> From the East! From the mountains of Germania it surged down, from the valleys it gushed up, teeming on rivers and in roads, shone in sparkling, rattling iron and reddish animal hides with nodding horns of the aurochs and antlers. And it rolled and massed together, roared and glistened, thundered and rose; head to head, hand to hand, sword to sword. And surged across the fields of the dead, of the murdered peoples, which arose from the grass into the air, to escort in ghostly squadrons the people's host.
> 'Gainst Rome!
> Yet Rome sank into the dust. Its decayed giant body disintegrated into ashes. And the wind swirled them about and chased the tattered remains into the sea.
> Rome had been!————
> Chlodomar's face shone from the divined triumph of the victory of the Teutons.[152]

Echoes of Kaulbach

Neither Edler's *Der letzte Jude* nor Schumacher's *Berenice* allude overtly to Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*. Yet there are, in the latter novel, two instances which may have been inspired once again by the culturally so productive image of the Wandering Jew as he is precipitated with terror from the scene of the conflagration in the monumental painting. These are conceived as complementary to one another and retrace the two trajectories associated with the Ahasuerus figure.

John of Giscala, close to death and seeking to ensure it, rushes into the flames of the burning Temple as does Schubart's Ahasuerus as well as Croly's Salathiel: "And with a yearning, proud, and death-defying scream, he rent his robe above

152 Ibid., p. 488: "Aus Osten! Von den germanischen Bergen wallte es herab, aus den Thälern quoll es herauf, wimmelte auf Flüssen und Straßen, glänzte in blinkendem, rasselndem Eisen und rötlichem Tierfell mit nickendem Urhorn und Geweih. Und rollte und ballte sich zusammen, brauste und gleißte, donnerte und schwoll; Kopf an Kopf, Hand an Hand, Schwert an Schwert. Und wälzte sich über die Gefilde der Leichen, der gemordeten Völker, die sich aus dem Rasen emporhoben in die Luft, in Geistergeschwadern das Volksheer zu geleiten. / Gen Rom! / Rom aber sank in den Staub. Sein morscher Riesenleib zerfiel in Asche. Und der Wind wirbelte sie durcheinander und jagte die zerflatternden Reste in's Meer. / Rom war gewesen!————/ Chlodomar's Antlitz glänzte von dem ahnenden Triumph germanischen Sieges."

his bosom and stormed out, towards the waving, licking, crackling snake of fire."[153] In effect, this is an inversion of Kaulbach's Wandering Jew who is, himself, presumably based on Schubart and Croly. John of Giscala, as we have seen a very positive figure in the novel, is—like Ahasuerus—not granted to die in the conflagration. He dies instead as passed down through historiography, in a Roman prison.

The other instance in which Schumacher appears to echo the figure of the Wandering Jew pursued by the Furies occurs when Agrippa flees the conflagration in horror and screams, as Milman phrased it, "in dreadful execration 'gainst himself":[154] "Because of you! Because of you! Because of you!"[155] It is the refrain of his terrified flight as described by the narrator: "Thus he must run. And as he did, no redeeming sound came from his lips. Oh, what bliss, if he had been able to scream, to pray; if he had been able to force out even a single sound of misery!"[156]

The writer's appropriation of the painter's well-known powerful image appears to be another re-interpretation of the iconography developed by Kaulbach. Yet in the novel it is then dissipated in the subsequent development of the narrative with Agrippa, relocated to Rome, investing all his energies in revenging himself on his sister who sabotaged his master plan of Jewish world domination.

153 Ibid., p. 410: "Und mit einem lechzenden, stolzen, todestrotzigen Schrei riß er sich das Gewand über der Brust auseinander und stürmte hinaus der winkenden, züngelnden, knisternden Feuerschlange zu."

154 Milman, *Fall of Jerusalem*, p. 138.

155 Ibid., p. 427: "Durch Dich! Durch Dich! Durch Dich!"

156 Ibid., p. 428: "So mußte er rennen. Und dabei kam kein erlösender Laut über seine Lippen. Oh die Seligkeit, wenn er hätte schreien, wenn er hätte beten, wenn er nur einen einzigen Ton des Jammers hätte herauspressen können!"

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