

**GERMAN BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY: RETROSPECTIVE OF A
NEGLECTED LEGACY**

***A Study of the German contribution to the Archaeology
of Palestine in its longue durée, from 1871 to 1945***



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Vorgelegt von

Gabriella B. Rodrigues

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Erstgutachter: Prof. Dr. Manfred Oeming

Zweitgutachter: Prof. Dr. Detlef Jericke

*Der Mensch lebt nicht nur sein persönliches Leben als Einzelwesen, sondern,
bewusst oder unbewusst, auch das seiner Epoche oder Zeitgenossenschaft.*

Hans Castorp in *Zauberberg* by Thomas Mann

*A man lives not only his own personal life as an individual, but also, consciously or
unconsciously, the life of his epoch and his contemporaries.*

Hans Castorp in *The Magic Mountain* by Thomas Mann

Preface

This thesis is about rethinking the concept of biblical archaeology, its history and actors. It aims at shifting away from the traditional ways of presenting Western archaeological activities in Palestine from the 19th to the first half of the 20th centuries, as it focusses on the German participation in this enterprise.

Biblical archaeology is a phenomenon created by Europeans and North Americans within the context of Imperialism and Colonialism, which dealt with conflicts of science and religion. The fact that the German participation in this process – that has a particular development – is barely mentioned in the historiography of biblical archaeology, was the leading question of this work. Therefore, it offers a different and non-traditional perspective on the history of biblical archaeology, based on alternative interpretations of archaeology.

Although the main interest lies in the construction of German biblical archaeology was through time (from 1871 up to 1945), the general background of the historical relationship between Germany and the East – especially Palestine and the modern State of Israel in a broader political context – deeply motivated the investigation.

In sum, this is an effort of studying and understanding how different views and ways of thinking through time shaped a discipline and whether it affects directly or indirectly how archaeology is practiced today in the Near East.

For didactic reasons, this work is divided into two parts: the first one presents elements of the history of the discipline that are common to the traditional accounts, with the purpose of introducing the reader into the problems addressed in the following session. The second part is dedicated exclusively to German biblical archaeology (GBA); it is composed by different thematic studies that shaped what it is called here GBA, throughout the periods of the German Empire (1871-1918), the Weimar Republic (1919-1933) and the Nazi Regime (1933-1945). It was though not my intention to present events in a chronological order or important personalities in a biographical way. All scholars mentioned in this work, as well as their achievements, are presented in the context of the particular periods in which they have worked – in a way that combines the intellectual and cultural background of the studied author together with its contemporaries. In the end,

however, the reader should get both an overview of the importance of GBA and an analysis of some of its most characteristic developments. All this in a critical way.

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List of Abbreviations

- ASOR – American Schools of Oriental Research
- BArch – Bundesarchiv
- BB I – Babel und Bibel, 1st Lecture
- BB II – Babel und Bibel, 2nd Lecture
- BB III – Babel und Bibel, 3rd Lecture
- DAI – Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
- DEI – Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes
- DOG – Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft
- DPV – Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas
- EBAF – École Biblique et Archéologique Française
- GBA – German biblical archaeology
- LdB – Das Land der Bibel – Gemeinverständliche Hefte zur Palästinakunde
- MDOG – Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
- MNDPV – Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
- OC – Orient-Comité
- PEF – Palestine Exploration Fund
- PJ – Palästina-Jahrbuch des Deutschen evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem
- SDOG – Sendschrift der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
- TM I A – Tell el-Mutesellim I. Band, A. Text, 1908
- TM I B – Tell el-Mutesellim I. Band, B. Funde, 1908
- TM II – Tell el-Mutesellim II., 1929
- TT I – Tell Ta’annek, Bericht 1904
- TT II – Tell Ta’annek, Nachlese 1905
- WVDOG – Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen
- ZDPV - Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins

Introduction

1. *Germany and the Near East: today and yesterday*

1.1. *Germany and Israel*

The contemporary connection between Germany and modern Israel is marked by the traumatizing memories of the NS regime. The Holocaust still plays an important role in the collective memory of both the Israelis and the Germans, even as we move chronologically further away from the event and the number of survivors becomes naturally lower (Zimmermann 1997, p. 266; Sheffi 2004, p. 66).

A closer analysis of the German perception of citizenship shows distinctly negative traces together with a rejection of national pride, based on sadness and shame for the Nazi-era (Herf 2004; Brown 2014). The reception of the Holocaust in the German contemporary society constitutes part of an *Erinnerungslandschaft* (Assmann 2006), a transposition of cultural memories into *lieux de mémoire*, “boundary stones of another age”, “the ultimate embodiments of a memorial consciousness” (Nora 1989). The Holocaust Memorial, built in 2005 in Berlin, is mentioned by Assmann (2006) as one monument in this landscape. Even if the memorial’s function is to “crystallize and transmit memories from one generation to the next”, it symbolically “characterizes, by referring to an event shared by a small living minority, a larger group that may not have participated in it” (Nora 1989, p. 19 modified). Although the concept of *Erinnerungslandschaft* can be seen as an endless act of *representation* and *recalling* (Assmann 2006), the creation of a *lieu de mémoire* can signify the absence of a *milieu de mémoire* (Nora 1989). In the case of Berlin’s Holocaust Memorial, there are many controversial opinions, even suggesting it “as a gigantic objetivization of the Holocaust”, hence “the monument would serve to bury memories rather than keep them alive” (Bernbeck, Pollock 2007, p. 224).

Those ambivalences show the uniqueness of the situation in Germany and how hard it still is for the newly built democracy to deal with its past. On the other hand, for the Jewish victims, then survivors, a first act of dealing with this limit event was to put down in words their experiences. Robert Antelme was one of the pioneers of this new literary genre: the *literary testimony*. He had already published in 1947, *L'espèce humaine*, an

account of his experiences in Nazi concentration camps and was then followed by many others, as the famous Primo Levi. A constant in their works, which came to characterize the literary testimony, is the difficulty to translate the trauma into text, the dispute between the simultaneous need for and the impossibility to tell, the break between the language and the event (Seligmann-Silva 2005, 2013). Those narratives are documents of the politics of persecution and extermination during Hitler's dictatorship and are, therefore, crucial to our understanding of History and historical fact concerning the event (Seligmann-Silva 2013, p. 48; Bauman 1989). They are, though composed as personal memories, that is victims telling their own experiences or other victims' stories, written "out of a kind of moral obligation toward those who were silenced or in order to free ourselves of their memory" (Levi 1989, p. 84). Above all, *memory* is a central concept of Judaism; the memory of catastrophe is a tradition. *Yizkor Bikher*, or memorial books, are private compilations made by survivors to be distributed inside their communities as a "way to commemorate their families and friends who perished in the Holocaust" (YIVO Institute for Jewish Research). To keep with the tradition, the books also represented the "obligation to remember and not forget the evil" (YIVO Institute for Jewish Research).

This obligation became a major issue in Israel. As Hanna Arendt once mentioned about herself (*apud* Prinz 2012), many Jews realized that they were Jews only after they were told so; so did the persecution provoke this identity to emerge. Many Germans, Polish, Romanians, Hungarians, Austrians, French, just to mention a few, were then labeled as "Jews" and turned into targets. After the war, however, they were offered a new homeland. From a Land promised by God, to one promised by Balfour, the State of Israel should become the officially responsible body for each individual Jew; a secure place where a new "Jewish man" could arise, and forget the *Galut*, the diaspora (Bodemann 2006).

After the Second World War, Germany committed itself not only to the overall well-being of the Jews, but also of the Israelis in general. The persecution of individual Jews by the Nazis turned into a national experience, as soon as the State of Israel was created and the reparation measures were the first steps in the establishment of diplomatic relations between both countries. The *Wiedergutmachung* agreement, signed in 1952 by Konrad Adenauer – Chancellor of West Germany – and Moshe Sharett – Israeli Foreign Minister – established the payment of material compensation *to the State of Israel*, the land of the Jewish People rather than of Israelis (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1948). This

agreement, also called Luxemburg agreement, put an end to the first phase of this relationship, from complete strangeness to negotiations. As Stein (2011, p. 12) insists on emphasising, this was not however a general priority among the Bundestagabgeordnete, although a very important issue for Adenauer, in his effort to establish normality *ab chao*. Likewise, in Israel, the agreement evoked some protests. According to Oz (2005, pp. 11–12), “In Jerusalem versammelten sich Zehntausende wütende Demonstranten, die dieses ‘Wiedergumachungsabkommen’ als Schande betrachteten. Als Entweihung des Andenkens an die sechs Millionen Ermordeten und als Ausverkauf der ‚nationalen Selbstachtung‘ aus purer Geldgier.“

Thanks to his efforts, and of Ben Gurion’s, on the other side, the German Republic and the Modern State of Israel have since then become partners, with increasing political and economic connections (Prozor 2005). The Luxemburg agreement still did not establish diplomatic relations between the countries, which came to happen only in 1965, in the second phase of the relationship (Hansen 2002, p. 15). The process, until both sides were in the position of establishing diplomatic relations was, however, a very delicate one and its success did not often seem very convincing. Scholars describe the connection between both countries over the first twenty years after the war, as neurotic or even schizophrenic (Zimmermann 1997; Hansen 2002; Jelinek 2004). Zimmermann (1997, p. 280) warns of a strong ambivalent attitude from the Israeli side towards “the German” as part of the Jewish collective identity, still so intense in the 1990s, that its overcoming did not seem realistic for him.

The definitions of “Germany”, “German” and “Germanness” was worldwide affected by the war, but in Israel in particular, this process was a very significant issue. “Germans” and “Nazis” were interchangeable terms, used as synonyms for enemy: an inherited enemy of a state that was not there during the war (Bodemann 2006). With time, as other enemies took the place of Germany in Israeli politics, hostility seemed to lessen, making way to the recognition of the importance of “Germanness” for the modern Jewish identity. All in all, the history and culture of the Jews were intrinsically connected to Germany, and this existed already much earlier than the rise of the Nazis to power.

German Jews were a massive part of the European Scientific and Intellectual circles. From Moses Mendelsohn (1729-1786), to Karl Marx (1818-1883), Albert Einstein (1879-1955), Hans Adolf Krebs (1900-1981), and Hannah Arendt (1906-1975), they were at the

centre of German culture. As Elon (2002, p. 8) remarks, “the major revolutions in European and American Jewish life during the 19th century, from religious reform to political Zionism, originated in Germany or Austria among Jews passionately devoted to German culture”. According to the *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933* (Röder; quoted also in Markl 2003, p. 51), one third of the German emigrants, after the Nazi’s rise to power, were Jewish Scholars, many of them members of several research societies, including the ones dedicated to Ancient Studies and archaeology.

In the German-Israeli dialogue, besides the political and economic cooperation, scientific and cultural programmes played an important role in narrowing the gaps between the two societies. Immediately after the war, the recently founded country, Israel, aroused considerable interest among several German scholars and intellectuals (Jelinek 2004). Interestingly, Vogel mentions that in the end of the 1990s (1989a,), the importance of the Youth as a determinant in future relations between Germany and Israel became apparent. He is probably happy to recognise that this not so traumatized generation chose the exchange and it did shape the history of this relationship in the last years. Nowadays, the number of Israelis learning German in Israel or living in Berlin, the amount of common scientific projects and research societies or even the number of scholarships given by German exchange programmes to Israelis, would probably make Zimmermann reconsider his skeptic position cited above. There are many German-language schools spread over Israel, as the traditional *Goethe Institut*. Around 20.000 young Israelis are living in the German capital now and Germany has lately become a hot topic for Israeli literature (Bähr 2014). The German Ministry for Education and Research, together with many private Foundations supports scientific bilateral relations between both countries, which started already in the end of the 1950s. Examples of their efforts are institutions, as the Minerva Foundation, the German-Israeli Foundation for Scientific Research and Development (GIF), the *Deutsche-Israeli Projektkooperation* (DIP) from the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG), just to mention a few. Besides the official dimensions, Vogel mentions many stories of ordinary people who contribute towards strengthening those ties, as the one of the foundations of the “Walter-Hirsch-Bibliothek”, a library of German books, created by a German pediatric, who had moved to Tel Aviv to open his office there (Vogel 1989b, pp. 13–14). In terms of what Jelinek (2004, p. 373) calls *informal relationships*, there was always an opening, since the beginning.

In the area of archaeology, documents suggest a cooperation between the two countries starting already in 1952 (ISA 517/7, ISA 2539/4 *apud* Jelinek 2004, p. 386). The first German to join an archaeological excavation in Israel was Volkmar Fritz in 1965 at Tel Arad. Fritz was a German theologian who moved to Jerusalem in 1964 to study biblical archaeology in the Hebrew University (Hübner 2007). A few years later, he became the first German to direct an archaeological excavation together with an Israeli, Aharon Kempinski, after World War II (Tel Masos, 1972, 1974-75). As a Professor and field Archaeologist, member of the German Society for the Exploration of Palestine (DPV), the German-Orient Society (DOG) and director of the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology (DEI), Fritz is an icon of the modern German Archaeological interests for the Near East.

The first known official German visitor in Israel was a Priest from the Heiliggeistkirche in Heidelberg. Hermann Maas (1877-1970) was a supporter of Ecumenism and famous for helping many Jews during the time of the Nazi persecution. In 1950, Maas was invited by the State of Israel to visit the country. On the diaries of his travels, Maas recorded his impressions of the new country, together with an analysis of the situation of the Christians in Israel. According to Jelinek (2004, pp. 41–42), while he was there, Maas worked as an emissary of the *Deutscher Verein vom Heiligen Land* – a catholic society which supported research on Palestine since the 19th century. His task was to conduct an inspection of the properties of the Catholic Church in Jerusalem for the Vatican.

Nowadays, there are many other projects celebrating the German-Israeli partnership in archaeology. One of the most important ones in the category is the *Lautenschläger Azekah Expedition*, a project from Heidelberg and Tel Aviv Universities, which brings together every year more than a hundred scholars and volunteers from all over the world to excavate in Israel.

1.2. *Germany and Palestine*

Nevertheless, Amos Oz (2005, p. 7) points out that a “normal relationship” between Germany and Israel is not only impossible, but also inappropriate. Because of the historical legacy, both countries developed instead a sort of “special relationship”, which, in being special, cannot be called normal. One should mention, however, that this “special

relationship”, though always seen as an almost natural consequence of the World War II, has a much older story. Before the State of Israel, its territory was already a focus of German interests.

As a buffer territory between the Western world and the Middle and Far East, Palestine has been a much-disputed region in different historical phases. The region saw many ancient kings on the crossroads of world conquest, marching on to this corridor that connected Mesopotamia and Asia Minor to Egypt and the Red Sea (Idinopulos 1999,). Modern armies also took advantage of Palestine’s strategic position, although this is not the only magnet of the place. From the religious aspect, Palestine experienced a unique reclamation, by Muslims, Christians and Jews, as the cradle of their spirituality.

For Christianity, the holiness of the land was officially recognised at the time of the Roman Emperor Constantine (306-377 CE). Inspired by his mother Helena, Constantine not only converted to Christianity, but also unleashed a process that would transform Palestine into the most important place of its sacred topography. Although the impact of Constantine’s conversion to the practice of religion, as well as to the establishment of a pilgrimage tradition is very disputed, it can be said, following Bitton-Ashkelony (2005, pp. 22–23), that the definition of a new religious landscape, expressed by the construction of holy places all over his Empire, although an exercise of power, did influence religious perceptions.

According to Wilken’s (1992 ch. 3) study of the term, the concept of the “holy land” appears for the first time in Christian literature in the 2nd century in *Dialogue with Trypho*. In this text, a Christian apologist known as Justin – or later on, Justin Martyr and Saint Justin – defends an eschatological meaning of “holy land”, related to the rise of an “everlasting and imperishable kingdom” (*dial.* 123.7 cited in (Wilken 1992, p. 58), in Jerusalem, under Jesus Christ. Therefore, “Christian hopes for the future were rooted in the land promised to Abraham and in the words of the prophets about the glorification of Jerusalem” (Wilken 1992, p. 58).

Following the Prophets and the Gospels, the Crusades mark the second historical moment, when Christian collective memory strains to establish itself physically in Palestine and particularly in Jerusalem (Halbwachs 2008, p. 161). If the Middle Ages were the period the Church came into enormous wealth, on the other hand, Christianity needed a lot of organized efforts to survive the influx of non-Christians after the Western Roman Empire

had vanished. According to Armstrong (2001, p. 58), relics, as a tangible link with Heaven, played a fundamental role in the European religious experience at this time, because they could offer “lay people some of the stability and security that the monks enjoyed”. As a result, pilgrimage to important reliquaries increased, together with the physical importance of sacred places. In a sort of armed pilgrimage, the Crusaders aimed at conquering Jerusalem, “the holiest relics of all” (Armstrong 2001, p. 59) and changing the local landscape, through adding Christian elements to it, such as medieval castles and churches; some of them are still standing today (Wilken 1992,). The Crusades are the highest expression of a medieval European identity, based on Christianity, violence and warfare.

Pilgrimage and relics were however not encouraged by Protestantism, which attributed another role to the Holy Land. As Bar-Yosef (2005, p. 19) writes, “the Reformation drew believers away from the earthly Jerusalem” transforming it into a “metaphor, easily associated with the believer’s most intimate experiences, effortlessly literalized in the most familiar of settings”. This mythological Holy Land inhabited by “shepherds and olive trees, of dusty hill and donkeys” (Wilken 1992,) is recorded in many literary works and paintings.

However, soon enough Palestine would attract renewed European attention as a historical land. It happened in the 19th century, a sequel to the Napoleon Campaign to Egypt in 1798, when he launched military offensives against Palestine, at that time, a territory of the Ottoman Empire. The largest Islamic power ever to control the region ruled for more than six centuries, only to be defeated during the First World War. Only in the last hundred years of its government, the Ottoman Empire became a major obstacle to Europe, when they extended their imperialist interests to the Orient.

“Oriental question”, “Eastern question” or “Palestine question” is the common terminology to describe the tension concerning the development of the Near East, after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, in the 19th century. Due to its wide area – which covered the territory from the Austro-Hungarian borders to the Russian Empire, Persia and Arabian Peninsula, down to North Africa –, the diversity of its inhabitants and the interests of some of its neighbors, instability was a constant threat to the rulers of Constantinople (Kent 1996, p. 1). After 1875, a sequence of uprisings took place in their territory, developing strongly in the Balkans in the first place. Constantinople’s reaction to it led to a

later war against Russia, with Ottoman's defeat (Schumacher 2014, p. 73). All this is said to have weakened the Empire and to have fed European insecurity towards peace in the continent. Besides, there were some pieces of that empire, which the Europeans would be happy to inherit, if the Sultan was going to collapse (Kröger 2008; Stürmer 2003, p. 4).

The dissolution of the Empire, however, was not as imminent as some European governments might have expected. Moreover, historiography started to deconstruct the Eastern Question as a period of decline of the Ottoman Empire, with the argument that the concept of decline is constructed over the European norms of political and economic development and progress; hence, does not fit for the Ottoman experience (Quataert 2003). All in all, following Schumacher (2014), the Eastern Question was more an European concern, as it was a Turkish, which is to say that it should be studied in the light of the European perspectives on the Ottoman Empire and the East. In Schölch's (1986, p. 49) words, the Eastern Question was a question of "wieviel vom Osmanischen Reich in welcher Form im Interesse der europäischen Mächte unbedingt erhalten werden mußte".

When Napoleon invaded Egypt in the turn of the 19th century, it provoked England to support the Ottoman Army to defeat the French at Acre, after they had already taken the port of Jaffa on the Palestinian coast. Napoleon was defeated in the Siege of Acre (1799) and retreated from Palestine as a consequence. Besides the rivalry between the French and England in the territory that would become traditional later on, the events that followed Napoleon's invasion of Egypt granted the country relative autonomy from the Ottoman Empire and subsequent expansion. From 1831 to 1840, under Egyptian control, Palestine experienced an opening to European political and cultural penetration, which culminated in the establishment of the first international Consulate in Jerusalem, the British, in 1838.

If Egypt was Europe's first target in the Near East, with the promise of the Suez Canal and the already well-established agriculture, Palestine also held considerable appeal that was not restricted to the religious importance of the region. As already mentioned, this tiny portion of land with a vast coast, and with many ports was a gateway to the Middle East. Considering the European colonial practices, Palestine was an exception, since it never got to be governed by one European power exclusively. It became then a main target for British, French, Russian, Austrian, Prussian influence and control (Schölch 1986, p. 47).

If, by *Imperialism*, one assumes the control of a region, by ruling over it, as it enters the vocabulary in the context of colonialism (Hobsbawm 1987, p. 61), the efforts made by

the European Empires in Palestine then requires another terminology. “Informal imperialism”, meaning “a situation in which a powerful nation manages to establish dominant control in a territory over which it does not have sovereignty”, as adopted by Díaz-Andreu (2007, p. 99) might be a better option. Therefore, European imperialistic interests in Palestine combined geopolitics, economy, religion, an enlightened curiosity about the unknown and a romantic desire to discover it.

A way to increase their influence, that proved efficient later on, was the protection of non-Muslim communities, minorities who lived in poor conditions in Palestine. They were charged special taxes, enjoyed almost no political and legal right in practice, and could barely make their own decisions (Idinopulos 1999, pp. 45–46). France, the most traditional catholic empire in Europe had already been negotiating for privileges to Catholic Christians and for control over the Christian holy places with the Turks. They established themselves as the representatives of the Vatican, sent their own missionaries and money to support the Franciscan activities in the Holy Land and the re-establishment of the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem. The Russian Empire, on the other hand, presented themselves as the natural protectors of the Orthodox Christians of the land. They worked the same way as France to the Orthodox pilgrims and the Arab and Greek Orthodox (Ben-Arieh 1984; Idinopulos 1999). Protestant England had no obvious community to take care of in Palestine; but to catch up with the dispute; they offered the small Jewish community their protection and proposed an alliance with Prussia to strengthen Protestant presence in the Holy Land. As a result, an Anglican-Prussian Bishopric was created in 1841 by the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm IV and the Archbishop of Canterbury William Howley; this triggered even more missionary activities in the region (Carmel 1981 *passim*).

Protecting minorities also meant gaining control over their religious sanctuaries. This led the European Empires to constant clashes, while they were trying to officialize their protectorates before Constantinople. For instance, some of those disagreements are considered to have triggered the Crimean War (1853-1856), when France and Britain fought on the Ottoman side, against the Russians, over the control of sacred places and over a long-term perspective of the Holy Land itself.

How those disputes developed is not the main topic of this work. It is important now, however, to situate the German role in this scenario, so that one can understand the questions addressed along this work.

When Germany became an unified Empire in 1871, there was already an established dispute, mostly between France, Great Britain and Russia for the Holy Land. Germany, recently turned into an Empire, had to recover lost ground; so the Kaiser put in many efforts in the relationship with the Sultan. Although Germany developed the same interests as England, France, Austria and Russia, the strategy to build up an alliance with the Ottoman Empire – if this happened by chance or if this was planned ahead – seemed more appropriate as the confrontation developed. Germany could profit from the connections already established between Prussia and Turkey, as for example the commitment of General Helmut von Moltke to train and organise the Ottoman Army (Stürmer 2003, p. 5). German money and technology was invested in the modernisation program Constantinople adopted (Stürmer 2003, p. 7), as the notorious Bagdadbahn, “run by the Gesellschaft für den Bau der Eisenbahnen in der Türkei, based in Frankfurt am Main, headed by Geheimrat Dr.-Ing, e.h. Otto Riese, and financed by a 1909 contract with the Deutsche Bank” (Rothschild 2003, p. 237).

This new and particular way established by Germany to conduct its explorations let German interests in the region develop in a privileged way.

2. German Archaeology in the Near East: Research question

How did the German archaeology in the Near East develop in this scenario, from its first steps, until the World War II, is the leading question of this work. Scientific investigation was a strategy adopted by the Europeans to penetrate and explore the region during the 19th century; the region was poorly known according to modern scientific parameters. Napoleon Bonaparte’s campaign to Egypt in 1798, not only reinserted the Near East in the geopolitical scenario, but also introduced the scientific curiosity of the Enlightenment, as a new aspect of the exploration. Even though it was clearly a military campaign, it is well known that Napoleon’s expedition had scientific interests as well. Much more than soldiers, he took a scientific delegation of more than 150 men, including engineers, artists, mathematicians, a chemist, a geologist, a physicist, a naturalist, and the famous Vivant Denon, the first director of the Louvre Museum. They were there to work with the army, but also for the army, by mapping out roads or supplying food and water.

In the course of the expedition, however, those scholars observed and registered modern Egypt's flora and fauna and mineral resources, but they also collected historical and archaeological information on ancient Egypt. The famous Rosetta Stone that later enabled the decipherment of hieroglyphs, was discovered during this campaign and hundreds of other artifacts were also collected. A collection of all the scholars' observations and analysis was published on Napoleon's orders between 1809 and 1821, as *Description de l'Égypte* (Idinopulos 1999).

Following his example, a series of European travelers and military personnel engaged in the investigation of Palestine. Many different maps were produced in the first half of the 19th century, tracing possible commercial routes, highlighting the mineral and water resources and marking biblical names on top of the Arabic names.

Instead of sending several military expeditions to Palestine, Germany could count on their own people living there, as the only country to establish colonial settlements in the region. In the year 1867, the German *Tempelgesellschaft* – a Protestant community from Württemberg – established its first colonies in Palestine. They founded seven settlements over the coast, in Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Galilee, becoming “the biggest, most successful, and most influential European group to settle in Palestine in the nineteenth century” (Goren 2003a,). A decade later, as part of Germany's *Ostpolitik*, Theodor Herzl led the Zionists to establish their own settlements in Palestine (Friedman 2003, p. 63).

As a result, the number of German-speaking scholars, exploring the region prior to 1865, surpassed the English, the French, and any other group (Goren 2001, p. 157). The German settlers contributed not only from the scientific point of view, as their presence in the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries transformed the organisation of the Palestine region in a process identified by a few scholars as “the Germanization of the Holy Land” (Eliav 1975; Elan 1984).

By contrast, the British Empire and France, and later the United States, are the countries occupying the leading roles in the numerous histories written about the Archaeology practiced in Palestine, including the most recent ones (Ben-Arieh 1979; Silberman 1982; Moorey 1991; Clark, Matthews 2003; Davis 2004). For Germany, the only role left is of the supporting actor, another country in the scenario of western competition

for the Holy Land, whose purpose is nothing more than to highlight the deeds and advances of the leading ones. Those histories present the archaeology of the region in a sequence of progressive facts that are usually very detailed and chronologically broad based. In fact, they are mostly traditional narratives, with leading characters, big events, controlled problems, which withdraw the general cultural background to which they belong¹, thus leaving almost no space for anything that escapes this linear totalizing explanation.

Moreover, it is today considered a common approach to adopt Edward Said's theories on the West-East relationships during the 19th and 20th centuries. His publication of *Orientalism* in 1978 was a revolution and a very important contribution to modern scholars. He publicly denounced that our idea of Orient had much more to do with the way we always understood it, than with what it was for the local people. In other words, Orientalism refers to the West's patronizing and romantic perceptions and depictions of the Middle East, Asia and North Africa, that is "the East". Much more than a geographic denomination, the Orient is a western invention that depicts it under the label of exotic and inferior (Said 1978).

Many scholars might agree that Said's analysis has provided us with the necessary tools for deconstructing some of the colonialist views we still cultivate. However, some recent studies criticise this approach of Orientalism as a product of the (modern) Empire, and therefore an expression of French and British scholarships, not very accurate for other countries connections to the region. For Said (1978, p. 19),

Yet at no time in German scholarship during the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century could a close partnership have developed between Orientalists and a protracted, sustained national interest in the Orient. There was nothing in Germany to correspond to the Anglo-French presence in India, the Levant, North Africa. Moreover, the German Orient was almost exclusively a scholarly, or at least a classical, Orient: it was made the subject of lyrics, fantasies, and even novels, but it was never actual, the way Egypt and Syria were actual for Chateaubriand, Lane, Lamartine, Burton, Disraeli, or Nerval.... What German Oriental scholarship did was to refine and elaborate techniques whose application was to texts, myths, ideas, and languages almost literally gathered from the Orient by imperial Britain and France.

Said's statements can be seen as over-simplistic, as Marchand argues that "the German-speaking polities have had a very long and important relationship with both the Holy Land and the Ottoman Empire, and the Wilhelmine Empire did have colonial interests,

¹ Silberman 1982 represents an exception to this trend.

and even colonial territories (Qingdao and Samoa, for example) in the East” (Marchand 2009,). For her (2009, p. 1),

German Orientalism – defined as the serious and sustained study of the cultures of Asia – was not a product of the modern, imperial age, but something much older, richer, and stranger, something enduringly shaped by the longing to hear God’s word, to understand the meaning of his revelation, and to propagate (Christian) truths as one may understand them.

For all this, by writing a history of the German role in this story and placing the German archaeological exploration of the Holy Land in its broader context, the thesis intends to rescue a part of a history that has been neglected.

Before we go on further, to justify why one should write a history of the German Archaeological interest in Palestine from 1871 to 1945, it might be important to first position this work in the whole corpus of the histories of archaeology and with it, justify and support why it is legitimate to focus on composing an alternative history of archaeology.

3. *Archaeology: a brief presentation*

Because this thesis is a work of archaeology intended not specifically for archaeologists, but for a broader public with distinct academic backgrounds, it is important to introduce an obvious subject, namely archaeology. Thus, the following paragraphs present what is understood under the terminology *archaeology* along this thesis.

Archaeology as a scientific discipline exists since the 19th century. Its invention is, however, not a *creatio ex nihilo*, but a long process, which combined internal and external factors. Nevertheless, the emergence of the discipline as we know it today dates to a specific period when the interest in the past – which is apparently as old as humankind is (Schnapp 1996; Trigger 2006; Holtorf 2007) –, started to develop its methods and fields of work. Even though some authors might like to trace archaeology back to Antiquity (Daniel 1952) or to Renaissance (Clarke 2008), it should be understood as a modern phenomenon, which carries Modernity’s positive and negative aspects. There are records of earlier forms

of “archaeological thinking” (Thomas 2004, p. 3)², but these earlier glimpses of the discipline cannot be understood as organised efforts of practicing archaeology, since they comprehend the results of a general curiosity about the world, life, and ancestry. Although it might be still too early for archaeology to claim on its professionalisation (Cf. Levine 2002), this is the moment when it “emancipates itself from the antiquarian tradition” (Schnapp 2002, p. 139).

Momigliano (1950, p. 286) discusses the importance of the Age of the Antiquaries as a “revolution in historical method” that, according to Schnapp (2002, p. 135) denotes a “yearning to return to the past and to *come into contact with it*”. An Antiquarian used to be a literate person, usually some well-born gentleman, who had been introduced to the ancient world as part of his traditional education. Thus, Antiquarians would practice their interest and curiosity about the past, while collecting its antiquities. According to Sklenář (1983, p. 27), the definition of Antiquities had a very broad meaning, comprising “material and written sources, articles of daily use, and works of art, inscriptions, coins, etc.”. Antiquarians were very common in Europe during the Renaissance, when the classical past became the main source for its learning and a model for its society. Besides the poor reputation Antiquarianism has today, its contribution to modern understanding of the past cannot be denied. Much more than collectors, Antiquarians developed a science of Antiquities from the 17th century on (Schnapp 1996, p. 179) that helped to broaden the horizons, while exposing the material remains of other traditions than the Graeco-Roman. Therefore, new possibilities of accessing the past – besides written texts – were created. The exhibition of collections of Antiquities in a cabinet of rarities or curiosities – that might be considered the precursors of the modern museums – are another important element in the Antiquarian tradition, as they show the evidences of a rising preoccupation with disseminating knowledge and, on the other hand, of the power of the past as a propaganda tool. After the Europeans reached the American continent, the long period of exploration and colonization of the New World enabled them to collect objects of natural history, local

² Daniel as well as Schnapp mention the particular interest king Nabonidus (556-539 BCE) of Babylon showed for antiquities. Nabonidus would conduct an excavation under the Temple of Shamash at Sippar, where a foundation stone laid by Naram-Sin more than 3000 years before his time was found (Daniel 1952, p. 16; Schnapp 1996, pp. 16–18). The first evidence of excavation activity is indeed even earlier, and it is recorded on a sculpture of the Egyptian high priest Khaemois (1290-1224 BCE), son of pharaoh Ramses II. According to the text, Khaemois uncovered a statue of Kaouab, son of pharaoh Kheops, some 13 centuries old at that time (Schnapp 2002, p. 135). Besides, there are other stories of excavations of search for antiquities during classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

artifacts that would be placed today on the ethnographic section, and many other curiosities. This would also happen during the European colonization of the African continent. Many of those objects would also land in the cabinet of curiosities, a “microcosm of the world, interpreted as a macrocosm” (Schnapp 1996, p. 167).

Therefore, from an internal perspective, Antiquarianism is said to be archaeology’s closest ancestor. Archaeology, would focus, however, on other aspects of the study of the past. Much more than to compose a historical narrative, it was increasingly important to “attribute ancient objects to identified persons or periods” (Schnapp 2002, p. 135), to give material things a *context*. In other words, artifacts became less a passport to a mystical past, as they started to be understood as legitimate sources of its comprehension. The science that should combine the techniques of collecting (including from under the ground, i.e., excavation), with registration, description, and interpretation received the name of archaeology, from Greek, the *study* of what is ancient, in opposition to Antiquarian, etymologically meaning what belongs to ancient times.

An externalist analysis of this development places archaeology’s first steps in the immediate post-Enlightenment era, when rationalism became the basis for human knowledge, leading to a wider emancipation of ideas from tradition, which culminated in the breakthrough of modern sciences and new scientific methods, already in the 17th and 18th centuries (Dupré 2004,). The ideas of Enlightenment developed mainly in Western Europe, first in France and would later spread to other countries and Central Europe. The social and political contestations that enabled the Age of Revolutions to happen – to borrow Hobsbawm’s (1996) term, to the period corresponding to the years 1789 to 1848 – brought also a new concept of time. In contrast to the medieval idea, modern time was not stable, grounded on the invocation of a changeless past. In fact, instead of the divine Providence that, according to Bossuet, determined the whole course of history adapting reality to God’s plans (Dosse 2010), modern concept of time, oriented itself toward the future; thus, giving human beings the capacity to change the course of events (Dupré 2004, p. 187). Rather than God, Enlightenment placed humanity at the center of the universe; therefore, 18th century writers, such as Montesquieu, Voltaire and Gibbon placed the study of the past in the center of all scientific knowledge, as the only way to study human nature (Dupré 2004, p. 188; Thomas 2004, pp. 52–53).

Voltaire's great contribution to historiography is his *Siècle de Louis XIV*, from 1751, where he presents an attempt of universal history as a "history of the human mind", in contrast to earlier works of history as chronicles of political and military events put in a religious background. In his words: "We mean to set before posterity not only the portrait of one man's actions but that of the spirit of mankind in general, in the most enlightened of all ages" (Voltaire 1901, p. 7). Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776) is famous for the methodic use of the primary sources and for its empirical approach. He conceives his historical narrative not only from ancient literary texts, but mostly based on his knowledge of ancient monuments and ruins in Italy (Bowersock 1996; cited in Dupré 2004, p. 215). Nevertheless, besides their particularities, there was a constant present in Gibbon, Voltaire and other philosophers at that time, as Condorcet and Turgot, which is very important for understanding the emergence of archaeology: the idea that humanity was constantly ascending to an ideal state, through the accumulation of knowledge.

In this sense, history appears as a constant progress, or even

...l'exemplification de cette marche de la Raison vers toujours plus de transparence. Elle est la ressource majeure à partir de laquelle se réalise la figure de la Raison en tant qu'instrument de la liberté et de la perfectibilité humaine à une échelle universelle. (Dosse 2010)

The developments that should be progressively completed, originated in the past. Therefore, the growing interest on the methodological investigation of its remains, through the past artifacts, could have, for instance, materialized in this historical evolution. As mentioned above, Antiquarians converted the material remains of the past into "original authorities", i.e. reliable sources in the study of the past (Momigliano 1950, p. 286).

However, History would continue for a long time to be the major discipline in the study of the past yet, as material remains did not have the same status as a written document (Díaz-Andreu 2007, p. 42). Non-literary sources were adopted by historians as a way to check ancient texts (Momigliano 1950, p. 311) for, there was, at that time, no proper dividing line between historians and antiquarians. As Schnapp (2014, p. 1) more recently remarks, since the Greek writers Herodotus and Thucydides, historians "have cited the evidence of material remains and celebrated the charm of monuments". The opposite was also true, since Antiquarians depended on written records to give their objects a historical context. As mentioned above, a great contribution of the Age of Antiquaries is the

awareness of other earlier traditions besides the Classical past; as for example, prehistoric times with its monuments such as megaliths as at famous site of Stonehenge. This came to be, however, the greatest impasse the science of antiquities would fail to overcome, as they realized there were no written records, on which they could rest their interpretations (Sklenář 1983, p. 59; Trigger 2006, p. 70). Although, by the end of the 18th century, some antiquarians could already excavate and use stratigraphy to estimate the age of the finds and monuments, they did not manage to develop their own methods of understanding the past through interpreting its material remains. Thus, the science of antiquities could only exist in its relation to History. As Trigger (2006, p. 72) observes, they still shared with classicists the idea that “historical knowledge can be acquired only from written documents or reliable oral traditions”; in other words, material remains were indeed sources for the study of the past, but any understanding could only be revealed in connection to the traditional sources.

In the 19th century, however, the formalization of knowledge into science triggered by the Enlightenment became a trend: each area had to develop its limits, to define its objects and methodologies. Modern discipline as “unit divisions of knowledge” should bring together ideas with empirical experiences, should assemble questions and tentative answers and should establish scientific communities that would organize publications (Stichweh 1992, 2001). For its dependency on History, Antiquarianism did not make through its scientification. This is when archaeology entered the scene.

There is no homogeneous definition for archaeology. Following its etymology, archaeology is most commonly described today as the study of the past through its material remains, although there are many ways to characterize the past and to interpret material culture. Therefore, the traditional definition of archaeology as *Alttertumswissenschaft*, i.e. as the discipline concerned exclusively with material culture of a specific geographic area – Europe, North Africa and the Near East – from a determined time scope – similar to the subject of Ancient History – cannot be supported here. Even the association of archaeology with Humanities and Social Sciences has been made problematic as more and more archaeologists are applying Hard Sciences’ methods to construct their interpretations. All this put together with the umbilical relationship to History, contributed to a lack of self-esteem among the practitioners of the discipline.

González-Ruibal's *Reclaiming archaeology* summarizes how archaeological terms became metaphors used by other disciplines during the 20th century and how this had a negative impact on archaeology "because the discipline has been dealt with perfunctorily as a mere provider of metaphors that other intellectuals have exploited" (González-Ruibal 2013a, p. 1). Because philosophers, historians, art historians, and scholars from other fields apply "ruins", "materiality", "excavation" or "archaeology" itself without any mention to the work of the discipline, González-Ruibal launches a manifesto for archaeologists to "return to what is most essentially archaeological: the craft, the tools and the materials that make up the discipline" (González-Ruibal 2013a, p. 2).

Saying that modernity offered archaeology the conditions for its emergence does not mean that these conditions were homogeneous and that modern ideas were universally accepted. As this is the case, the study of the past through its material remains would not happen the same way everywhere. However, some contra-modern ideas also played an important role in various developments in archaeology. Romanticism, for instance, rejects the importance of reason, substituting it with passion and myth. Although it developed in Central Europe, where the feudal system was still strong, as a reaction to the French enlightenment, romantic thought carries many characteristics of modernity, especially the interest in science. Romanticism inspired Antiquarians to turn to abbeys, castles and megalithic monuments, rather than classical monuments, it legitimated the voyages of exploration; it promoted the creation of heroes, and later inspired the development of nationalism (Trigger 1995; Thomas 2004, pp. 42–44; Holmes 2010).

For the development of archaeology, the contrasts of Romanticism and Enlightenment triggered two specific movements that separated archaeology from antiquarianism in the 19th century: the method of relative dating and the study of paleolithics (Trigger 2006, p. 76).

The first one, in his words "a controlled chronology that did not rely on written records", was developed by Christian Thomsen, in 1816, in Denmark and is better known as the Three-Age System. It is based on the idea of technological progress, an obvious conclusion of the idea of human progress of the time. The Europeans did not let it pass unnoticed, that antiquities varied very much from one another and the observation of some stone tools raised their curiosity about its production and age. When Thomsen

received the task to organize a collection of Danish antiquities, he did so by classifying the objects according to the material they were made of, namely stone, bronze and iron. He distributed the artifacts in what he believed was the correct chronological succession, dating the tools made of stone to be the oldest and the iron one the most recent (Daniel 1952, p. 43). Thomsen did not create the concept of progressive use of different raw materials; it was already present in Antiquity, for example, in the roman writer Lucretius, whose *De rerum Natura* suggested the progressive use of stones together with man's nails and teeth, after that of wood and fire, later of copper and even later of iron. During the Age of the Antiquaries the idea was recovered, inspired by the variety of their collections. Nonetheless, Thomsen is known for giving shape to the Three Age System, for publishing it and for applying it to other artifacts (Gräslund 1987, p. 18). According to Renfrew and Bahn (2005, p. 198), Thomsen's main contribution to archaeology was the extension of his dating system further to other finds in the collection, besides the cutting tools. After he understood the artifacts should be examined in association with one another, he was able to associate objects made, for example, of pottery or glass, to the ones he could date according to the Three Age System.

The second one, namely the study of paleolithics, is connected to the investigation of the antiquity of humanity. It developed first in England and France, where many caves and glacial deposits preserved traces of human activity during its earlier phases. The discovery of the "cave men" during the 1850s and 1860s was only possible thanks to the development of some principles of geology and paleontology, especially the evolutionary concept. Without it, the discussion on the antiquity of men was limited to the debates between Catastrophists and Fluvialists (Daniel 1952, p. 33).

Many discoveries of human bones and artifacts in association with extinct animals were made already in the beginning of the 19th century. Although in some cases, the occupational layers were sealed between layers of stalagmite and some of the pioneers gave reports as accurate as they could be for that time, contemporaries did not consider their results. First of all, they saw the excavation of cave remains with lots of skepticism, since caves used to be occupied successively. But most important was the fact that they could not explain the existence of fossilized man in antiquity according to the biblical account of the Earth's formation. To challenge the biblical account could have been one of the main goals of the Age of Reason, but until the beginning of the 19th century, the

Creation of the Universe as described in the Book of Genesis still had many supporters. They believed that the Earth had been created not earlier than 5000 BCE, and so all the evidence of life collected through those years had to be organized inside this short length of time.

Georges Cuvier (1769-1832), called “the Pope of bones”, was one of the most influencing figures in the study of fossils in the period. He interpreted the creation of the World as a series of sudden geological *catastrophes* – the Flood in the Book of Genesis being the most recent one – so that he could explain the extinction of animals, whose fossils he had been studying and distribute them into different epochs (Daniel, Renfrew 1988, p. 25; Trigger 1998, p. 89). At the same time, at Oxford University, the first Reader in Geology, William Buckland (1784-1856), published his *Reliquiae Diluvianae; or Observations on the Organic Remains contained in Caves, Fissures, and Diluvial Gravel and on other Geological Phenomena attesting the action of an Universal Deluge*, an attempt of combining the biblical story with the evidence of human fossils and geological deposits (Daniel 1952, p. 37). On the other hand, Fluvialists such as Charles Lyell (1797-1875), a pupil of Buckland, exclude the need of catastrophes for the explanation of the formation of the Earth. According to his geological perspective, ancient and modern conditions were pretty much the same; hence, the formation of the Earth resulted out of a long process of sedimentation and erosion. This concept, known as uniformitarianism, combined ideas of other researchers of the time, such as James Hutton (1726-1797), – whose *Theory of the Earth* (1785) compared formation of rocks with processes still going on in seas, rivers and lakes –, and William Smith (1769-1839), – who published the idea of the existence of stratum, how deposition worked and how it was possible to assign “ages to rocks by noting their fossil contents” (Daniel 1952, pp. 37–38).

Catastrophism as well as uniformitarianism were a product of their times. Both developed in the context of the modern need to explain the world scientifically and of the idea of progress. As Renfrew and Bahn (2005, p. 205) remark, it is important, however, to note that although the first was committed to the biblical text, therefore could barely fit a modern interpretation, it was in fact based on empirical observation, as the fractures and contortion of rocks, or the disappearance of species.

If the results of the first cave explorations were not scientifically strong enough to prove that humankind was older than the Diluve, a better understanding of stratigraphy

associated with an increasing knowledge of extinct mammals enabled the finds of a cave called Brixham, in England, to successfully challenge that interpretation (Daniel 1952; Trigger 1998). In Gruber's reconstruction of the short history of excavations in Brixham, he states:

...The stratigraphic situation of these implements was such as to leave no doubt that whatever the origins of the contents of the cave, these implements of human manufacture were at least as old as the mammalian remains. And there could be no doubt about the latter. The bone bed in which the flints were found contained the remains of the trichorine rhinoceros, cave bear, and cave hyena. Most significantly, however, both bones and implements lay together under and sealed off by stalagmite, on the surface of which was embedded "a fine horn of reindeer nearly perfect, from the basal 'bur' to the terminal branches of the beam", a discovery that indicated to Falconer that the "Reindeer continued to be an inhabitant of Britain after the appearance of man in the island." (Gruber 2008, p. 33)

A series of other discoveries throughout France helped to push back the age of humankind to much older times. In the same way Enlightenment challenged the static view of history, the modern studies of natural sciences, especially biology and paleontology undermined the static view of nature. The modern concept of man enabled the narrative of human evolution to be developed, a fatal coup against the religious explanations of the universe. In 1859, Darwin's *On the Origins of Species by Means of Natural Selection or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* was published. Darwin's theories could finally explain the changes observed in the paleontological record what triggered the empirical studies on the antiquity of men (Trigger 1998, p. 94; Thomas 2004, pp. 45–46).

Although the Three Age System, together with the recognition of the antiquity of men are important steps, in the process of scientification of archeology, they were not accepted in its entirety. As Sklenář (1983, p. 88) points out, the variety of finds in Central Europe – due to a "mixture of remains left by many different cultures" and "complicated still further by the presence of the Romans on the Rhine and the Danube" – delayed the application of those dating methods and enabled the traditional approach to live longer, as the division of time into pagan and Christian ages. Scientific and religious truths would still walk together, but as the centrality of Man became more and more important for Science, conflict between both increased very fast. It was not a matter of denying the interpretation on the antiquity of the cave men anymore, but also denouncing the whole evolutionary theory expressed by Darwin and all the new possibilities to explain the universe being

developed in that period (Gruber 2008, pp. 43–44). There were new limits to the past, to history, which was pushed way back from the development of writing. This is when pre-history adopted the path of scientific studies, established its own methods and premises. The creation and development of Humankind would raise many other questions and archaeology could help them find some answers (Daniel 1952, p. 67).

Archaeological practice improved not only on fieldwork, but also in the institutional aspect. Universities and Research Societies opened their doors to archaeologists; publications raised their numbers very fast. Museums became from exhibitions of private and royal collections to the place where the results of excavations were presented to the public according to the principles of classification. There were already state institutions that would soon turn into national museums. The evolution of material culture exhibited there, represented the inherent progress of human nature. With the increasing stress on national identity, artifacts would become a symbol of an entire nation's progress, and of the lack of progress of the others.

The Nation-State is modernity's main political expression, as it is the political results of the apogee of Reason. After the French Revolution, the State should comprise a well-limited territory, and should control directly its inhabitants. Those inhabitants were the people inside the State's borders; but to be a Nation, they had to share a culture. Through power and education, those people should become homogeneous and standardized, talking the same language, sharing convictions and a past with each other, more than with the inhabitants of the other States (Gellner 2006; Hobsbawm 1992; Hobsbawm, Ranger 2003; Smith 2010). National identity could support the idea of a State; however, as the ideas of State and Nation, national identity was not a natural quality, inherent to society, but a construct, an artifact of the modern era. A common culture expressed by a unique language and by a shared narrative of ancestry was something ingeniously created and established from above as a mechanism to legitimate and ensure the Nation-State.

As some authors have been pointing out, archaeology played a fundamental role in the formation of national identities and in the creation of territorial borders (Silberman 1989; Kohl, Fawcett 1995b; Meskell 1998b; Díaz-Andreu 2007; Trigger 1995). As during the Renaissance period and in the era of Antiquaries, ancient monuments, artifacts and everything that could represent great deeds of ancient people was considered important

in the making-of modern cultures. They adopted ancient civilizations and heroes as their own ancestors; their successful stories would turn into their own history and their founding myths. Besides the needs of a historical unity, the Nation-States were also based on a biological unity. Archaeological classification, together with Darwinian evolutionism gave modern Europeans the tool they needed to justify racism, and therefore colonialism. In Eastern Europe, Romantic archaeology appealed to a pride in the Nation that sponsored the formation of new Nation-States (Trigger 1995).

On the other hand, archaeology as we know it today, owes much to this process (Thomas 2004, p. 96). The contemporary traditions of archaeological practice were defined, or at least influenced, by the modern borders of the States (Kohl, Fawcett 1995a). It was within the context of Nationalism that archaeology developed its first school of thought, namely culture-historical. Culture-historical archaeology inspired a more social archaeology, which later became the basis of processual archaeology in the 1960s.

In this sense, archaeology as an “unavoidable political enterprise” should be studied as a “political enterprise”. In other words, as the ultimate discipline concerned with *things*, the ways archaeology inserts material culture into social and cultural contexts has political implications, which should not be ignored or undermined. This should not minimize the importance of the discipline in the study of the past; but on the contrary make us aware of its power as “storytelling metaphor”, when we practice it, as well as when we study it.

4. *Writing the History of Archaeology*

The ambiguities of archaeology in addition to this identity crisis make the writing of its history a special effort. The first histories of archaeology started to be written almost a century after archaeology became to develop as a professional discipline. Archaeology was then conceived as a “practical undertaking” (Renfrew, Bahn 2005) and those histories were mere accounts of its discoveries in a chronological perspective (e.g. Daniel 1952). Indeed, the discoveries that got to the books were mainly the ones that sparked the most furor not only among the general public, but also between scholars. In this context we can mention the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun in Egypt, of the painted caves of Lascaux in France, of the lost Maya cities of Mexico (Renfrew, Bahn 2008, p. 19).

Later on, what Clarke (1973) once called archaeology's loss of innocence had also its impact in the writing of its history. The development of an *archaeological consciousness* might correspond to the establishment of its condition as an academic discipline. In the 1960s and 1970s archaeology was experiencing a new and different process of scientification "with agreed sets of producers, models and theories" (Hodder, Hutson 2003,). This led the discipline to the acquisition of its *self-consciousness*, in other words, to the awareness of its epistemology (Renfrew, Bahn 2005,) and provoked the break into the boundaries of disciplinary innocence (Clarke 1973, p. 6).

This new interest in archaeology's epistemic and theoretical conditions has become commonplace, in the last decades, among many archaeologists (Daniel 1952; Clarke 1979; Trigger 2006), who later started focusing on the political aspects of the discipline. From the 1990s on, the connection between archaeology and modern nationalism became a major topic, as the mechanisms of construction of modern identities based on the past were systematically scrutinized (Silberman 1989; Kohl, Fawcett 1995b; Marchand 1996a; Meskell 1998b; Hingley 2000; Díaz-Andreu 2007; Ben-Yehuda et al. 2007; Murray, Evans 2008; Funari, Ferreira 2008; Hamilakis 2009).

Although Haber and Roberts (2014) argue that archaeology, being a discipline that studies the material remains of Man's past, has an obsession with its own history, it seems, however, that much more recently the subject of the history of archaeology has been disappearing from conference sessions and publication titles. It seems that the preoccupation with the future of archaeology either overshadowed the interest in the past of the discipline or dissolved it in the approach of other theoretical issues.

Still, there are many ways in which the history of the discipline can contribute to deconstruct traditional interpretations and hegemonic categories. This thesis intends to offer one of them.

The interest for the history of archaeology is contemporary to the emergence of the history of Science as an "independent professional discipline", in the 1950s. According to Kuhn (1977), histories of disciplines were traditionally justified as "a rich repository of forgotten ideas and methods, a few of which might well dissolve contemporary scientific dilemmas". Although Kuhn disagrees with it, this idea that the importance of the past should be explained by the fact that it can teach us live better in the present, was probably

the most extensive justification to write a history of a Science. Daniel, one of the pioneers in the history of archaeology, made use of this argument in 1952 (Daniel 1952), as did Christenson, some years later (Christenson 1989, p. 2).

In his *Tracing archaeology's Past*, Christenson (1989, p. 1) lists different uses for the history of archaeology, as commemorations, obituaries, reviews of past works, and “writings that look in detail at the origin and evolution of archaeological ideas and that attempt to place current archaeology in a historic context”. The first two, he characterizes as positive by nature; the last form is for him more relevant, but though he presents it as “critical historiography”, it is important to notice that an external approach can also make for a positive history.

The search for the *origins* and *evolution* of archaeology – or in post-modern terms its *genealogy* – has been revealing archaeology's darkest sides. Considering archaeology a modern enterprise means not only that Modernity gave archaeology the conditions to exist (Thomas 2004), but also that modernity concepts and operations, such as illumination, industrialization, capitalism, imperialism, colonialism, or distinctions as “ancient vs. modern”, “civilization vs. barbarism”, are ontologically constitutive of archaeology (González-Ruibal 2013b).

A “decolonized” practice of archaeology, for instance, is being developed as alternative to colonialist foundations of archaeology in places that have been under European sovereignty in the past, where colonialism formalized the imperialistic intentions of the Old World (Gnecco 2009; Haber 2012). In those countries, the study of the history and theoretical developments of archaeological practice is an important tool in favor of a more egalitarian and libertarian discipline, which can promote more complex understandings of the past.

In other peripheries, however, there is not much emphasis in theoretical discussions, as it is the case in the archaeology practiced in the Near East. When the history of the discipline is worth summoning, it still pursues the same traditional goal of emphasizing the deed of the pioneers, the founding fathers of the field, and their great discoveries, and so, tracing a noble origin – i.e. European enlightened – to the archaeological practice in the region. As Meskell (1998a, p. 2) notes, “Mediterranean, Near Eastern and Egyptian [archaeologies] are marginalized fields whose practitioners are considered still trapped in the throes of culture history and thus reticent to engage in

contemporary issues of politics or praxis". Besides, the politics of informal colonialism in the Near East did not provoke the strong response the formal colonialism gave in South-America and Africa that led to the postcolonial approach of science and its later critics and developments (Given 2004).

More or less traditional, the already written histories of archaeology are a rich object of analysis in itself. All those efforts on recording the history of archaeology until the present moment, are important sources, because not only they register how archaeology has been carried out, but also how this has been told. In other words, the ambiguity of History summarized by de Certeau (1988, p. 21) as "the explanation which is *stated*, and the reality of *what has taken place* or what takes place". By telling the history of a discipline, its practitioners create an opportunity to "reinforce their claims" (Haber, Roberts 2014). This statement leads to a central tenet of historiography, namely the discursivity of history, since writing history is merely a construction of narratives that are specific to its time and ruled by established circumstances (Foucault 1981).

The final product of the work of an archaeologist can be very similar to the one of a historian, in the sense that both should produce a version of a past event. Therefore, archaeologists also write inside a logic of discourse production in which their social, ethnic, sexual, gender conditions, as well as their loyalties are crucial. Their writings can thus be read as "allegories of the narratives of power" (Haber, Roberts 2014).

This thesis is not a work of raw historiography, though. It should come first as epistemological approach/review since it intends to write a history of archaeology based on the archaeologies done in the past and, at the same time, to think critically the histories of archaeology that were already written on this subject.

Second, responding to Oates' (2001, p. 370) call that "archaeologists should take the time to re-examine not only the models but also the evidence on which earlier generations have been based", this thesis intends to offer an opportunity to reassess in a critical manner the materials, sites and methods that have been researched in the past. Indeed, archaeology is not only about excavating, interpreting the material culture and eventually discussing the works of earlier archaeologists; it is though a continuum work, from the *generation* of material culture, its *compilation* as archaeological record and the

retrieval of records as facts suitable for composing a narrative to the *construction* of narratives with retrospective significance (adapted from Trouillot 1995; Wylie 2008). One could argue that the work begins even earlier, by the writing of the applications for funding or the choice of the site.

Still, every step in the making-of the archaeological past is a result of choices and depends directly on the nature of the archaeological evidence. For example, the material culture that survives, to archaeologists to excavate, does not equally represent earlier inhabitants of the site or it is just a small portion of what could survive in those conditions (soil, temperature, humidity, later occupation); what archaeologists collect from the field is among “what is visible, accessible, and technologically tractable”; what seems to answer to the specific questions they are asking – some of those have been formulated already, when they first decide to excavate on that specific site, and not somewhere else.

Earlier works of former archaeologists, the ones considered to have pioneered the discipline, should be approached very critically, to address its theoretical foundations. Actually, more than a history of archaeology, what this thesis offers is an archaeology of archaeology, in the sense that González-Ruibal (2013b, p. 3) interprets from Agamben’s “philosophical archaeology” (Agamben 2009.). That is, to get to the moment of enunciation of the archaeological practice, to the genealogy of the kinds of knowledge it evokes (Foucault 1980), so that it will be possible to scrutinize the net of interactions between power and knowledge (Foucault 2012), in the search for a more compromised practice of archaeology.

5. *Organization of this study*

The peculiarities of the German archaeological practice in Palestine are going to be analyzed throughout three different periods: i) starting in the German Empire (1871-1918) especially under Wilhelm II; ii) throughout the Weimar Republic, up to the rise of National Socialism to power (1933); and then iii) until the end of the Second World War (1945).

First of all, the German contribution to the archaeology of Palestine is going to be presented in its *longue durée*, that is, its developments will be placed in a long term perspective, inside the broader movement of biblical archaeological research. In other

words, German biblical archaeology³ should be understood in the first place in the context of all sorts of biblical archaeology put together – national ones, as British or French biblical archaeology, or religious ones, as the archaeology developed by Protestant or Jewish groups.

After that, the discipline foundations, its contribution to the processes of legitimation, and the discipline responses to it will be traced, in order to first understand the importance of German archaeological activities in Palestine to German scholarship, in areas such as ancient history, philology, biblical studies and theology; and second to German society in the public and political arena.

The thesis will conclude with an analysis of how the history of the discipline shaped our contemporary understanding of the past and how the modern archaeological research in Palestine is affected by this legacy.

Roughly speaking, the traditional periodization of the archaeology of Palestine divides the period from the turn of the 20th century until the break of the World War I as the *formative* period, followed by the *professionalization* of the discipline with a large amount of American money invested on excavations, and later, after the World War II, by the rising of an archaeology practiced by Jews, after the creation of the State of Israel (Dever 1980; Moorey 1991; Davis 2004). The chronological framework of this thesis follows a different logic. It was chosen based on the events that took place in Europe, and more specifically in Germany, rather than in Palestine itself.

The unique connection already mentioned between Kaiser Wilhelm II and the Ottoman Sultan is the key feature for the understanding of German biblical archaeology in its first period. His politics of friendship with the Sultan Abdul Hamid II, while England, France, and Russia were just waiting to share his territory, illustrated by German military and economic missions, and by the reception prepared by the Ottomans when he went himself to visit Constantinople and Palestine, in 1889, was an important step for German claims in the Middle East (Silberman 1982). Following his visit, large-scale excavations led by Germany started in Ottoman territories, conducted by German research societies.

³ If there is such a thing that could be called German Biblical Archaeology, what is going to be discussed in the first chapter of this thesis.

With World War I, the situation in Palestine changed dramatically, with the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of Palestine under British dominion. In Germany, the Wilhelmine Empire also ended, to be followed by the Weimar Republic, founded in 1919. This period is often seen as a “prelude or a transitory phase that eventually gave way to National Socialism”. As Eckel describes, “according to this perspective, Germany’s first democracy was strained from the beginning, unfolded under extremely unfortunate circumstances, and finally collapsed with a certain inner logic.” (Eckel 2010, p. 28). He suggests however, that the history of Weimar should be “at the center of every attempt to understand German national history of the 20th century” (Eckel 2010, p. 27). During the Weimar Republic, there was no German excavation in Palestine, although there were plans to resume expeditions from the earlier period. Most of the German settlers were though removed from Palestine, under British Mandate. The German Research Societies had to adapt themselves, but they never stopped working. How did they manage to keep their importance or what happened to the material found earlier in their excavations are some questions addressed within this work.

For the third period of analysis, there are some specific questions to be addressed, based on Bettina Arnold’s history of the development of German archaeology under National Socialism (Arnold 2008). The foundations of German biblical archaeology and its role in the process of political legitimization during Hitler’s dictatorship are going to be investigated. Besides, the official – and non-official – position of the Research Societies and their members on Germany’s new political condition, and the governmental responses towards the control of the discipline will also be reviewed. Also included, will be the effects of the state control on research and how it impacted the later development of the discipline.

Those and other issues are distributed along the second part (B) of this work as follows: two studies related to the period of the *Kaiserreich*, followed by two studies of the Weimar Republic and an epilogue with the developments of GBA during the Nazi Regime. Chapter B-I.1 (“Research and Rule”) deals with the first German large-scale archaeological excavation in Palestine (Megiddo) within the context of the German religious communities in Palestine; and Chapter B-I.2 (“Archaeology meets the Bible and vice versa”) presents a discussion on the first uses of material culture in the interpretation of the biblical text in German scholarship. The following Chapter (B-II.1 “Research Societies: a stronghold of GBA

from World War I to the Third Reich”) tells the story of the creation of societies for the scientific research of Palestine, but especially of how they were responsible for keeping GBA alive after the First World War. In the sequence, Chapter B-II.2 (“Normalizing the Practice of GBA”) studies the publications of these Research Societies and how they represented official forums of discussion for the discipline. In the epilogue (B-III), the interruption of the works of GBA are discussed within the context of the Nazi politics for Sciences and Universities in Germany as well as the Regime’s expansionist ideas.

Before that, however, Part A consists of a second introduction, this time to the general subject of the thesis, namely Biblical Archaeology. Within it, the discussions concerning terminology and its implications are presented. These are followed by a short presentation of the context in which biblical archaeology started to delineate itself, within other field of inquiry, such as Near Eastern studies and biblical Studies.

Introduction to the Subject Area: The Archaeological Practice in Palestine

1. *Introducing the terms*

In the Introduction of this thesis, terms such as “archaeology of Palestine”, “archaeology of the Near East” and “biblical archaeology” have been used, without being problematized. Due to the immediate prejudices it might evoke, the last has been intentionally avoided, especially without any previous definitions. In fact, as a result of its history, the archaeology practiced in the region has many names and definitions. Even its geographical scope is a topic of debate, like the disputed term Palestine.

Above all, this chapter defines some concepts and terminology used throughout this thesis.

1.1. *Biblical Archaeology and other names*

“Biblical archaeology” addresses an explicit connection between archaeology and the Bible. How this connection expresses itself may vary. Along its history, biblical archaeology has been practiced and understood in different ways. There is, for example, biblical archaeology as the archaeology carried out in sites mentioned in the biblical texts, which would be for example the archaeology of Jerusalem, Jericho, or Megiddo. On the other hand, there is the archaeology of the Near East carried out in the period in which the biblical texts emerged – or which they refer to –, with a majority of research focusing on the time of the Old Testament, lately accompanied by an increasing interest in the period of the New Testament. Moreover, there is the archaeology motivated by a specific biblical subject or issue, such as the conquest of Canaan or the United Monarchy.

The phrase can also carry other broader meanings that include an additional geographical and a chronological framework, such as the research on the “fertile crescent” from the Neolithic Age through late antiquity, as listed by Sharon (2008, p. 920). Broader definitions, like the one by William F. Albright (1891-1971), have been extremely popular. For the American theologian who has been called “the father of biblical archaeology”, the term should comprise the archaeology of “all Biblical lands, from India to Spain and from

southern Russia to South Arabia, and to the whole history of those lands from about 10,000 B.C. or even earlier, to the present time” (Albright 1966, p. 13).

As Cross describes (1973, p. 3), Albright’s biblical archaeology should include “papyri from Egypt, the onomasticon of the Amorites, a cylinder seal from Greece, Phoenician ivories from Spain, an ostrakon from Edom, a painted Athenian pot, a skull from Carmel”. This approach emphasizes the main characteristic of biblical archaeological research, from the first efforts to Albright’s time: the starting point of the investigation was the Bible. Albright’s generalist approach might not have been constant; but the interest to shed light on biblical issues through material culture was.

Nevertheless, as Dever (2003a, p. 57) remarks, Albright did not use the term biblical archaeology very often, preferring instead Palestinian archaeology. George E. Wright, a famous pupil of Albright, is considered to be the one to consolidate and spread the term biblical archaeology, criticizing its parallel use to Palestinian archaeology.

In his definition, Wright brought biblical archaeology closer to archaeology, calling it a “special ‘armchair’ variety of general archaeology”, which, although “intelligently concerned with stratigraphy and typology upon which the method of modern archaeology rests”, has “the understanding and exposition of the Scriptures” as the central goal (Wright 1947a, p. 74; Wright 1947b, p. 7).

Alternatively, the term “archaeology of the Holy Land” has also been used. The biblical text was from the beginning a *leitmotiv* for the archaeological enterprise in Palestine, but only later did it become important to emphasize this connection, when the discipline was remodeling its identity, in the context of the political transformation of the world and the development of world archaeology towards professionalization and specialization.

Before the period in which Albright carried out research, most of the publications such as travel journals or exploration reports during the 19th century adopted the term Palestine⁴. They based their decision to use the term on a tradition dating back to ancient Greek writers, such as Herodotus who used to identify the area between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River as Palestine (Rainey 2001). The term Palestine

⁴ To mention a few: Seetzen 1854 *Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabia Petraea und Unter-Aegypten*; Buckingham 1821 *Travels in Palestine Through the Countries of Bashan and Gilead, East of the River Jordan*; Robinson, Smith 1841 *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea*; Bliss, Macalister 1902 *Excavations in Palestine during the years 1898-1900*.

had, though, another meaning, when Albright and Wright first arrived there. This was a different one, created after the First World War, when the Palestine Question, the Balfour Declaration and the idea of the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine, made it necessary to (re-)define Palestine and its territorial borders (Susser 2012).

In his works on the names of the discipline, Dever became disturbed by the umbilical connection between Bible and archaeology in Palestine – at least in the theoretical plane – so that he proposed, in the beginnings of the 1970s, the adoption of a new name: Syro-Palestinian archaeology. He did not see biblical archaeology as an archaeological discipline, but as an “interdisciplinary pursuit – a ‘dialogue’ between specialists in Near Eastern archaeology and biblical historians” (Dever 1982, p. 103). Inspired by the development of the so-called New Archaeology in the United States, Dever defended a necessary change in biblical archaeology, in order to approach anthropological and processual thoughts and leave the theological orientation behind. In this context, the author speaks of death, decline or fall of biblical archaeology.

Based on Albright’s and Wright’s definitions, Dever calls biblical archaeology an American phenomenon. In fact, one should be aware of the high degree of patriotism in Dever’s view of biblical archaeology. He claims that there was biblical archaeology when *Americans* decided to search for “external ‘proofs’, provided by archaeological discoveries” (Dever 1997, p. 315), until the moment when New Archaeology revolutionized *American* archaeology, so that biblical archaeology became an unacceptable term. This can only be understood as an insistent claim for exclusivity or leadership of the Americans in the field of biblical archaeology, to the point of ignoring the developments of the discipline before World War I.

More recently, Dever admitted the inaccuracy of using Palestinian archaeology according to the late geopolitical developments of the region. He also states, however, that the term is still being used in many Israeli publications (Dever 2003a, p. 59). Other than that, local archaeologists also use the terms archaeology of Israel/Jordan or prefer to adopt the historical period of the research as its name, such as the archaeology of the Iron Age. Nevertheless, biblical archaeology can still be found, even in Reference books, as a synonym of contemporary archaeology practiced in Israel (Revilla 2002; Sharon 2008).

Finally, the term Near Eastern archaeology is also applied. Near East, together with the terms Middle East and Far East, was also created by Westerners during the 19th and

20th centuries, in an attempt to specify regions inside the broader term, Orient. Near East is usually adopted to describe the modern portion of land from the Mediterranean Sea to Iraq, from Egypt to Turkey. The traditional term to refer to the same area in ancient times is Ancient Near East.

Alternatively, this thesis follows Neil A. Silberman's definition of biblical archaeology. By contemplating biblical archaeology outside the framework of American biblical archaeology, he studies it in its historicity. For him, biblical archaeology is an "unique cultural manifestation of the age in which it was born" (Silberman 1982,). The "scientific" consciousness of the 19th century together with Nationalism, Imperialism and Patriotism fomented the lure of the Holy Land. There was no need to stress the fact that Palestine, the land where the biblical narrative took place, was the Holy Land, even in the 19th century. Therefore, only while accepting biblical archaeology as a historical phenomenon, by placing it in the specific historical context it belongs, it is possible to understand its trajectory and importance.

When the biblical orientation is not the focus of the analysis, more generic terms such as "archaeology of Palestine" or "of the Near East" are going to be prioritized. Thus, biblical archaeology can be included in the broader terms of Palestinian or Near Eastern archaeologies, but the opposite does not apply, since the last two cannot and should not be reduced to biblical archaeology.

1.2. Names are not merely names

Terminology might not be a big issue for the modern practitioners of archaeology in Israel and Jordan, but it is an important tool of reflection. As suggested before, there are many ways to understand the implications of the terms Bible and archaeology.

Albright, for instance, had a clearly political and theoretical position, namely to defend the literary interpretation of the Bible of its critics. Thus, for what became known as Albright's school, archaeology should be used as a tool to prove the Bible right. Archaeology was important since it could offer the evidence for an interpretation that was already there. Actually, this version of biblical archaeology was closer to theology.

Despite the regional character of Dever's approach, he has an important point in recognizing archaeology as an independent discipline. Although he does not propose the

laicization of the archaeological practice in Palestine⁵, he stresses the importance to follow its own methodologies and theoretical discussions, inspired by the trend of New Archaeology. One important point in the way of thinking of Processual archaeology is the understanding of Material Culture as an evidence in itself, capable of giving information about the society in which it was created, independent of any written sources (Binford, Binford 1968). In this context, a Bible-oriented archaeology is intrinsically problematic, because it is oriented by a textual source. Besides, this tradition of biblical archaeology was mostly a practice of theologians, biblical scholars and religious institutions and not of trained archaeologists.

New Archaeology developed in the United States, but soon became mainstream in theoretical discussions in several countries. In the 1980s, archaeology opens itself to Postmodernism, in the form of Postprocessualism. Postprocessual archaeology is considered the most deconstructionist of all archaeological schools of thought. Nevertheless, there are still many traditional views of the archaeological practice worldwide today. This could not be different in the Near East, especially because of the discipline's popularity out of Academy.

As a matter of fact, some archaeological evidences, which were previously understood as proof of biblical accounts, do not have the material support anymore. This is true, for example, for the narratives of the Patriarchs from the book of Genesis (12-50), the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites presented in Joshua (6-12), some of the descriptions of cultic practices of the Deuteronomy (Dever, Clarke 1977; Finkelstein 1988; Biran 1994; Finkelstein, Silberman 2002; Dever 2003b; Bartlett 2009).

On the other hand, there is still a strong movement that insists upon emphasizing the secondary role of archaeology in the re-construction of the history of ancient Israel. The Bible offers the facts; they just need to be found on the ground, materialized and thus made irrefutable. The insistent search for evidences of the glorious reign of David and Solomon as presented in the books of Samuel (1-2Sam) and Kings (1Kg) illustrates this perspective. Biblical David is a shepherd from Judah. Although young and not a soldier, he triumphs over the enemies of God – the Philistines and their giant Goliath. Later, becomes

⁵ Although Dever has been known for his campaign against the traditional biblical orientation of the archaeological practice in Israel and the importance to follow the mainstream global archaeology (see Silberman 1998, p. 177), he does believe that archaeology should illuminate the Bible, or even prove it right (Dever 1982, 1995, 2001; see Finkelstein 2007).

the King of Judah, conquers Jerusalem and establishes a reign unifying Judah with Israel in the North. His son Solomon – presented as a wise man – inherits the United Monarchy, expands and consolidates it, through the erection of several buildings all over its territory.

Besides this entire trajectory, the conquests and constructions, there is no archaeological evidence to match with the biblical narrative of the United Monarchy. More recently, after a century and a half of fieldwork in Jerusalem, Eilat Mazar's excavations at sites such as the City of David and the Ophel in Jerusalem produced pieces of evidence (so she recognizes) of the historical accuracy of the Bible. Among them are artifacts which she interpreted as belonging to the palace of the biblical King David (Mazar 2006; Mazar 2009). Another example is the excavations of Yosef Garfinkel and Saar Ganor at the site of Khirbet Qeiyafa, between 2007 and 2013 – a project, which is well-known for the publicity they created after the excavators concluded that they were digging a Judahite stronghold from the time of the biblical King David (Garfinkel, Ganor 2009; Garfinkel et al. 2014). In both cases, the finds are supposed to attest the importance of Jerusalem and the well-organized administrative system during the 10th century, as described in the biblical text. The results of the excavations of both sites have been vehemently contradicted; they were considered ultimate examples of circular argumentation that uses the Bible as primary evidence of its own accuracy (Finkelstein et al. 2007; Finkelstein 2011; Faust 2012; Na'aman 2008a, 2008b; Dagan 2009; Finkelstein, Piasezky 2010a; Finkelstein, Fantalkin 2012).

Alternatively, to counteract this trend, there are situations in which the link with the biblical text is especially avoided. For example, in the context of the debate on the Chronology of the Iron Age strata in the Levant, Israel Finkelstein (Finkelstein 1996; Finkelstein, Piasezky 2011) suggested to lower the dates of the Iron Age Ila, which is traditionally based on the biblical narrative of the United Monarchy, from the 10th century BCE to the first half of the 10th BCE until the late 9th or even early 8th centuries BCE.

For Finkelstein, if one forgets the biblical background and tries to understand sites such as Megiddo – and many other interpreted according to the same circular reasoning – by means of the archaeological record, the traditional dating would not stand the stratigraphy. This is what he proposed first with relative chronology, and later, suggesting absolute datings, with the development of the carbon 14 method (Finkelstein, Piasezky 2010b). For this reason, Finkelstein considers his work to be “Archaeology of the Iron Age”,

with no prior connections to any biblical periodization. His starting point is the archaeological material interpreted according to archaeological parameters.

This is an example of the attempt to an archaeological practice *per se*, although in a site that might be important for biblical history. Historians are welcome to adopt the archaeological information to their effort in order to better understand ancient Israel, but how the records are going to be written is a matter of agenda.

1.3. Biblische Archäologie *or the State of the Question in Germany*

In German, the term *Biblische Archäologie* is being adopted in monographs, lectures and dictionaries since the end of the 18th century. Between 1787 and 1799 Johann Joachim Bellermann (1754-1842), who was a professor in Berlin published his *Handbuch der biblischen Literatur*. Its first volume was dedicated to *Biblische Archäologie*, followed by *Biblische Geographie, Chronologie, Genealogie, Geschichte, Naturlehre und Naturgeschichte, Mythologie und Götzengeschichte, Alterthümer*, and *Nachrichten von den biblischen Schriftstellern*. Ten years later, Johann Jahn (1750-1816) published the first book of a series entitled *Biblische Archäologie*. The volumes were dedicated to *Häusliche Alterthümer* (1817), to *Politische Alterthümer* (1825), and to *Heilige Alterthümer* (1805). Moreover, from 1810 to 1842, Wilhelm Gesenius (1786-1842) worked at the University of Halle, where he lectured on *Biblische Archäologie, Biblische Alterthümer*, and *Hebräische Archäologie* (Hübner 2013).

Archäologie as used by Gesenius, Jahn, Bellermann, and others had though a different meaning than today. Considering the trajectories of the archaeological discipline mentioned in this work (refer to Introduction – item 3), one can say that at their time, the term was gaining popularity also in the German language as a general synonym for Antiquities (*Altertümer*). Therefore, *Biblische Archäologie* was understood as the study of things – here the meaning of *things* is closer to concepts and ideas – mentioned in the Bible, and could be used interchangeably with *Biblische Altertümer* (Kalthoff 1840; Volz 2004), *Biblisch Altertumskunde* (Rosenmüller 1823; Allioli 1844b, 1844a), or even as a synonym for *Hebräische Archäologie* (Faber 1773; Wette 1814; Benzinger 1894).

In this sense, those authors combined topics related from administration, governability and wars, to details of daily life, such as crafts and trading, or birth, marriage, and death, as well as diet, cult and religious practices. Most of the publications started with

a general introduction to the geography, climate, fauna and flora of the Biblical lands, which were followed by a history of Israel from Abraham to the Romans (Hübner 2013, p. 461). They usually contained a presentation of Israel's neighbours, because, as Jahn (1817, p. 3) pointed out, for it to be *Biblische Archäologie*, the Biblical scholar needed to know the Egyptians, the Hittites, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Persians, and the Arabs.

For this reason, the use of the term *Biblische Archäologie* is extremely controversial. There are, however, other aspects that add to this controversy. When *Biblische Archäologie* started to refer to archaeological excavations and retrieving of material culture from the ground, it was understood as an *Alttertumswissenschaft* (Baentsch 1909), that is, the study of real touchable things – of *Realia* – in the form of artifacts and structures related to the Bible. Therefore, as the *klassische Alttertumswissenschaft* departed from classic written documents to understand the material remains of the ancient Greeks and Romans, *Biblische Archäologie* used the Biblical text to conduct excavations and interpret its results. Consequently, as the following chapters will present, *Biblische Archäologie* is intrinsically related to Biblical studies in Germany – or among German-speaking scholars.

Recently German scholarship started reconsidering the uses of *Biblische Archäologie* to refer to the discipline today. *Biblische Archäologie* as an academic discipline exists today in Germany only within Theological Faculties and Seminars. This makes the main scholars involved in the discipline – either active or passively – theologians/biblical scholars – and not archaeologists.

Among them, one can discern two main vertents: There are biblical scholars who actively *practice* and *produce* archaeology; and on the other side, there are the ones that *use* archaeology. In other words, there are some biblical scholars active in the discipline who conduct fieldwork projects and publish their results following the current methodological standards of the archaeological discipline (e.g. Vieweger, Haser 2013; Vieweger 2014; Palmberger, Vieweger 2015; Hübner 2003, 2008, 2016; Lipschits et al. 2015; Lipschits et al. 2016; Kamlah, Sader 2010; Fritz et al. 1983). To the second – and larger group – belong the German biblical scholars who use the results of archaeological excavations to their theological interpretations or reconstructions of the world of the Bible. They are not practitioners of the discipline, as they do not produce archaeological results themselves, but adopt the works of others – who deal directly with fieldwork and the retrieving of artifacts – as their sources.

In general, the first group is behind the critics to the uses of the term *Biblische Archäologie*. Hübner (1999) and Vieweger (2012) defend that it can only be used if one is aware of the independence of both exegesis and archaeology as distinct disciplines, and if by Archaeology one understands the modern concept of the discipline. They both make an effort to disconnect *Biblische Archäologie* from the biblical orientation.

In fact, Frevel (1989) once described four different models of interpretation in biblical archaeology, mainly based on German authors. The *Affirmationsmodell* assumes the confirmation – or the *affirmation* – of the biblical text. In other words, the results of the archaeological research are adopted by biblical scholars very selectively, only when they offer support to an already existing biblical interpretation.

The second is the *Ancilla-Modell* that treats archaeology as a secondary discipline, limited to deliver results that shed light into questions posed by other disciplines. As classic archaeology has been seen once as adjacent to ancient history, biblical archaeology is understood, according to this model, as an assistance to biblical studies, which is the leading discipline.

In contrast, Frevel presents the *Kooperationsmodell*, which accept archaeology as an independent scientific discipline, but still treats biblical archaeology as ultimately aiming at the understanding of the Bible. In this model, archaeologists and biblical scholars are expected to develop parallel researches and the results are combined according to methodological rules.

The last one is the *Distinktionsmodell*, which understands both archaeology and exegesis as independent disciplines, with their own methodological procedures and inquiries. There are no expectations of neither cooperation or dialogue between archaeologists and Bible scholars. Indeed, Frevel (1989) notes that according to this model,

Die Bibelwissenschaft ist überwiegend literaturwissenschaftlich orientiert und nur gelegentlich an archäologischer Forschung interessiert. Gesamtkonzepte geschichtlicher Entwicklung seitens der Archäologie werden wahrgenommen, aber als inkompatibel oder irrelevant aus der Beschäftigung mit den Bibeltexten herausgehalten.

Although this classification is almost three decades old, and besides the fact that it is not always easy to distinguish from one model to the other (sometimes one author can circulate between *Kooperations* and *Distinktionsmodell*, for example), it is still possible to place works on *Biblische Archäologie* today in these categories, including the first ones.

The best known German reference book on the subject - *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel* – for example, applies *Biblische Archäologie* as *ancilla theologiae* in the reconstruction of Israel's past. Although the publication dates back to the beginnings of the 1980s, Keel, Küchler and Uehlinger's presentation of archaeology is as romantic as in the early days of the discipline:

...Die Archäologie kann, wie das beim Reliquienkult häufig der Fall war, eine abergläubische Prestigeangelegenheit, ein geistloses Anhäufen von wirklichen oder vermeintlichen Wertgegenständen werden. Sie kann aber auch, wie das El Greco-Haus in Toledo oder das Goethe-Haus in Frankfurt, sowohl durch kritisches Betrachten wie durch fasziniertes Betasten den Kontakt herstellen zwischen den Generationen von einst und von heute und Gemeinschaft unter ihnen stiften, Gemeinschaft in ihren Hoffnungen, ihrem Versagen und ihrem Überleben dank der Kraft Gottes. (1984, p. 377)

Other publications do acknowledge the importance of independent archaeological work (e.g. Conrad 1995; Niemann 2001; Berlejung 2010a, 2010b). This seems to be a tendency; however, it is possible to say that archaeology is still treated as a tool for some biblical scholars, who understand it as it was in the 19th century, as *ancilla* to other sciences. The history of the development of the German archaeological interest in Palestine is strongly responsible for this situation, as this thesis will discuss.

2. *Archaeological Practice in Palestine: A Historical Perspective*

Whether biblical archaeology or more generically the archaeological practice in Palestine is a movement inside religious studies or it belongs to the archaeological discipline is a question that should be analyzed in the context of its history. What follows is a selection of events attributed to the history of the archaeological enterprise in Palestine, organized not chronologically, but according to its main agenda.

It is sometimes very difficult to separate scientific interest of the religious or political ones, since they are usually complementary, especially in the early beginnings of the discipline. In this session, however, science and faith are going to be artificially separated as general categories to understand specific events along the development of the archaeological research in Palestine.

2.1. Biblical Archaeology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies

The archaeological interest in Palestine should be understood first in the context of a general interest for the Orient, which has been part of the Western culture since ancient times. In cases of conflict or coexistence, the ancient Greeks interacted with the Egyptians and the Persians, the Romans with the Carthaginians and the Byzantines, the Christians with the Muslims (Aravamudan 2012, p. 11).

A brief examination of the accounts of the history of archaeology in the Orient reveals the biblical interest as the first or at least one of the most important reasons that led scholars to carry out research early on (e.g. Daniel 1952; Silberman 1982; Trigger 2006; Díaz-Andreu 2007). The explanation for this lies often in the importance of the Bible as a historical source, either because the Bible is deliberately adopted as a historical source or because it is considered infallible, which is why it can be taken as a source for historical inquiries. In fact, very few was known about the “great civilizations” of the Near East, such as the Assyrians and Babylonians, which are not only mentioned in the biblical narrative, but also are of great importance for their developments. Knowledge about the ancient Orient was actually very limited, restricted mainly to the biblical text and some classical authors such as Herodotus, Aeschylus or Xenophon. It is probably no exaggeration to say that without the Bible, someone living in the 18th century would probably have neither heard cities such as Nineveh nor kings such as Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar.

On the other hand, the biblical landscape, the cradle of European faith, had become a wild and strange Orient – a place of pilgrimage, of crusades, or travels of romantic writers and curious explorers from the West. The very first expeditions were not large, organized enterprises, but the effort of individuals, who were either motivated by their own curiosity or by a sense of patriotism that took them to explore this unknown world.

The East was thus at the same time unknown and familiar; both feelings were combined with an Enlightened curiosity and a Romantic atmosphere triggered the explorations in the Orient. It is important to remember, however, that the Enlightenment did not represent a sudden rupture with the traditional religious perception of the world; so, religion remained in the background of the explorations, yet not as the universal explanation.

The earlier explorers, who produced travel journals full of adventure and romantic descriptions, were mostly orientalists a character who played an important role in the

Western scholarship from the 18th century on. The Orientalist was a scholar with considerable expertise in the Orient, usually in its languages and literature, whose main task was to present the Orient to his fellow citizens.

The geographical definition of the Orient has varied through time, from the Levant, especially among French scholars in the eighteenth century later, to a much broader region that encompassed Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Arabia, India, China and Japan (Macfie 2000, p. 1; Irwin 2006, p. 5). More than a matter of geography though, the Orient which concerned the Orientalists was a *modern* one – both contemporary and mysterious at the same time. The ancient Orient, an object of the antiquarian purposes of many travelers, was more familiar to them than the modern one, which was so unexplored. However, to be able to access the ancient Orient, they needed first to discover the modern one. In other words, the orientalists represented a renewed contact with an old region, acknowledged long ago, that had been part of the European minds and cultures, but that was in a way forgotten, or even lost.

In fact, the idea of a completely interrupted contact between Europeans and the Middle East – from the period following the return of the Crusaders in the thirteenth century only to be reestablished after Napoleon's Campaign to Egypt in 1798 – should be considered more critically. The movement which is being discussed here, though, involves a certain oriental curiosity manifested in European culture and sciences from the eighteenth century on, which brought the ancient Eastern empires, together with Islam to the center of their attention. Another important point to consider is that this gap in the intellectual approach to the Oriental existed – if so – only in the Western scholarship. As Matthews (2003, p. 4) remarks, with the beginnings of Islam, Arab intellectuals such as al-Tabari, al-Mas'udi, al-Biruni, and Ibn Battuta produced comparative accounts of ancient communities before the Islam, with the beginnings of Islam, and the classical tradition, since the tenth century.

Until the middle of the 19th century, the classic orientalist was a lonely scholar and sometimes an eccentric man (Irwin 2006, p. 7), who traveled around wild places recording its landscape, collecting information on communities, inquiring about their ancient inhabitants and registering some of their ruins, who collected manuscripts for European libraries, who published catalogues of manuscripts and other local works, who delivered samples of local geology, fauna and flora to European collections. The creation of orientalist

societies, such as the Dutch Batavian Society of Arts and Science in 1778, the French Société Asiatique in 1822, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in 1823, the American Oriental Society in 1842, the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft in 1845, and the organization of congresses paved the way for institutionalizing the work of the individual orientalist. Orientalism became therefore, more than the *milieu* of orientalists; it turned into a “corporate institution designed for dealing with the orient” (Macfie 2000, p. 2; Said 1978).

After the Second World War, the concept of Orientalism was harshly criticized. Abdel-Malek notes that the increasing interest of the Oriental studies for either the Arab World or the Far East is contemporary to the period of colonial establishment and “above all, from the domination of the ‘forgotten continents’ by the European imperialisms (middle and second half of the 19th century)” (Abdel-Malek 2000, p. 48).

The object of the work of the orientalist was the Orient and its inhabitants. In other words, to compose their idea of East, scholars from the West attribute an essentialist character to it, turning it into a passive construct defined by others (Abdel-Malek 2000; Said 1978). The departure point of the mechanism of elaboration of *the Other* was, though, the Western (read: European) culture, which was at the same time defining itself. According to Hartog, the act of talking about the other is assuming it as different,

« c’est poser qu’il y a deux termes *a* et *b* et que *a* n’est pas *b*. [...] Mais la différence ne devient intéressante qu’à partir du moment où *a* et *b* entrent dans un même système: on n’avait auparavant qu’une pure et simple non-coïncidence. On a désormais des écarts, donc une différence assignable ou significative entre les deux termes. »

He continues, emphasizing that « dès lors que la différence est dite ou transcrite, elle devient significative, puisqu’elle est prise dans les systèmes de la langue et de l’écriture » (Hartog 1980, p. 225).

The rhetoric of otherness comprises three different categories, namely, the *inversion*, the *comparison* and the *thôma*. The first one assumes that there is no *b*, but only *a* and its *opposite*; i.e. *a* tells the people of *a* about *b*, by means of anti-sameness (Hartog 1980, p. 226). The *comparison* is an effort to combine *a* and *b* – the world recounted with the world in which it is recounted – while assuming differences and similarities between them, in a free proportion, according to the results expected (Hartog 1980, p. 237). Finally, the *thôma* (meaning marvels, curiosities) represents a positive reaction in contact with

what is new and what makes the narrator anxious to report, an object of stupefaction (Hartog 1980, p. 243).

Throughout this process, what Said calls the Orientalization of the Orient, occurs: “a process that not only marks the Orient as the province of the Orientalist but also forces the un-initiated Western reader to accept Orientalist codifications as the *true* Orient” (Said 1978, p. 67). “Converting the Orient from something into something else” is the work of the Orientalist – a work, which can be done “for him-self, for the sake of his culture, in some cases for what he believes is the sake of the Oriental” (Said 1978, p. 67). The acknowledgement of otherness is a *topos* of the travel literature, already present in Herodotus’ *Histories*.

The phenomenon of the western representation of the Orient appears also in authors such as Aeschylus, Euripides, Aristotle, and Juvenal (Hall 1989). Although it is easily arguable whether their works should be classified as orientalism or not (Cf. Said 1978; Irwin 2006), it is impossible to deny that their contact with the East provided them with the prerogative of creating their narrative about the Orient vis-à-vis their own culture. It is also important to mention that classical Greek and Roman texts constitute the basis of Western culture until today.

However, Orientalism – as applied in this thesis – is a product of Enlightenment. Enlightenment not only created the conditions of Orientalism to rise with its thirst for knowledge; but also, following the critics of the Frankfurt School, the Enlightenment *instrumentalized* knowledge (Horkheimer, Adorno 1971), paving the way for Orientalism to develop into a “Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (Said 1978, p. 3).

Orientalism also manifested itself in the Romantic Movement, as exoticism offered a very profitable source for the European romantic imagination. The interest for the simple and pure peasantry was commonplace in Europe from the end of the eighteenth century until the consolidation of nationalism (Hobsbawm 1992, pp. 103–104). The more the Orient was presented to the West, the more its customs and folklore became a refuge for Europeans who preferred the bucolic instead of the revolution and the past instead of the uncertainties of the future. The “Orientalist Renaissance” had a strong impact in the visual arts, music, academic work and literature. For the orientalist literature, the Orient turned

into a “world full of magic in the minds of Europeans, who no longer felt threatened by it” (Fähndrich 2000, p. 97).

In short, the encounter with the Orient was permeated by anxiety and configured in no sense a homogeneous discourse. While the eastern cultures were seen inferior and unenlightened, “repositories of ignorance, fanaticism, and underdevelopment” they were also seen as “sources of fiction, culture, wisdom, precedence, and even enlightenment” (Aravamudan 2012, p. 11).

With this in mind, it is time to present some of the first explorers of Palestine, how they narrated their adventures, their discoveries and the contact with this *other*-world.

In this context, the travels of Ulrich Jasper Seetzen (1767-1811) and Johann Ludwig Burckhardt (1784-1817) are worth mentioning. Seetzen was a German scholar who believed he could contribute better to the *Vaterland* through venturing in the unknown. He traveled around western Palestine, exploring the Galilee, the course of the Jordan River, and the Sinai during the first years of the 19th century. Burckhardt was a student of an English geographer and former explorer of Palestine, Edward Daniel Clarke (1769-1822), who instructed him to travel to Syria and Palestine. The dukes Aemil Leopold August of Sachsen-Gotha-Althenburg and Peter Friedrich Ludwig of Holstein-Oldenburg were the main sponsors of Seetzen’s travels, while Burckhardt was serving the British *Association for Promoting the Discoveries of the interior parts of Africa*. They were equally interested both in the contemporary as in the ancient land, looking for ruins and ancient cities to identify, but also recording the uses of the Arabic language and the customs of local people. Seetzen and Burckhardt considered acting and looking a native during their expeditions so important that they adopted local costumes. More than a survival strategy, this reveals the insatiable lust for the Orient in some European minds in the 19th century. According to Kruse, who published Seetzen’s travel diaries in 1854, this was an obsession for him:

Er hielt dazu eine möglichst vollständige Assimilierung seiner selbst mit den Bewohnern der zu bereisenden Gegenden für nothwendig. In Sitten, Gebräuchen, täglicher Lebensart, Kleidung, Sprache und in der Religion dachte er sich ganz den Einwohnern des Orients gleich zu machen. Ja selbst seiner Gesichtsfarbe, wollte er ein anderes Ansehn verschaffen. (Kruse 1854,)

This behavior enabled them to approach the natives and easily access information on lost antiquities and cities. Travels chose their tracks following their interest, which could be very different from the interests of the local people, as Burckhardt emphasized:

A traveller ought, if possible, to see every thing with his own eyes, for the reports of the Arabs are little to be depended on, with regard to what may be interesting, in point of antiquity: they often extol things which upon examination, prove to be of no kind of interest, and speak with indifference of those which are curious and important. (Burckhardt 1822, p. 431)

The results of their curiosity-inspired adventures are mainly the localization of cities as Jerash and Philadelphia (Rabbath-Ammon, modern Amman) by Seetzen, and Petra by Burckhardt, the collection of different materials, and their descriptions. Concerning the discovery of Jerash and Petra, they wrote the following piece of information to their journal:

Dann kamen wir nach Dscherásch, den alten Gerasa. Hier sieht man noch die Reste eines herrlichen Amphitheaters in einer Vertiefung. Es stehen noch 2 herrliche Säulenreihen vor demselben, zum Theil mit ihrem Gebälke, korinthischer Ordnung von einem röthlichen herrlichen Marmor und noch trefflich erhalten. [...] Von einem schönen Tempel standen noch in einer Reihe 7 korinthische Säulen mit ihrem Gebälke, und nach dem Chorende zu lag eine umgestürzte Säule von schön polirtem ägyptischen rothen Granit. [...] Eine bewundernswürdig schöne gerade Kreuzstrasse hatte auf beiden Seiten schöne korinthische Säulen, wovon noch 50-60 stehen. [...] In Dscherásch stehen noch jetzt wirklich über 200 gezählte Säulen; aber die Zahl von der umgefallenen ist unendlich grösser. (Seetzen 1854, pp. 388–390)

After proceeding for twenty-five minutes between the rocks, we came to a place where the passage opens, and where the bed of another stream coming from the south joins the Syk. On the side of the perpendicular rock, directly opposite to the issue of the main valley, an excavated mausoleum came in view, the situation and beauty of which are calculated to make an extraordinary impression upon the traveller, after having traversed for nearly half an hour such a gloomy and almost subterraneous passage as I have described. It is one of the most elegant remains of antiquity existing in Syria; its state of preservation resembles that of a building recently finished, and on a closer examination I found it to be a work of immense labour. (on Petra Burckhardt 1822, p. 424)

Seetzen tried periodically to send material back to Germany. In addition to, his journals, some letters, and manuscripts, his sponsors received many boxes full of local household articles, plants, seeds, minerals, see products, animals, four mummies, 40 mummified heads, medals, and many antiquities (Kruse 1854, pp. xxxix–xlii). Burckhardt's travels did not concentrate on the antiquarian purposes of collecting – as did Seetzen's; his manuscripts are considered his main contribution. He was actually sent to Aleppo in order to prepare himself for the main goal of the expedition: the exploration of the African continent. The natural side effect would be the exploration of parts of Palestine, modern Lebanon, Syria and Jordan,

which had been the least frequented by European travellers, and thus he had the opportunity of making some important additions to our knowledge of one of those countries of which the geography is not less interesting by its connection

with ancient history, than it is imperfect, in consequence of the impediments which modern barbarism has opposed to scientific researches. (Leake 1822,)

From his observations and field measurements, two main maps of the region could be drawn, with a special emphasis on the geography of the Sinai Peninsula and of the area from the Dead Sea to the Red Sea (Leake 1822, pp. v–vii). Besides many inaccuracies, Burckhardt draw attention to the particular topography of the straight line from the Jordan River all the way to Aqaba, from which the theory of the region's particular geography being the result of tectonic movement would later develop (Ben-Arieh 1979, p. 41)

Above all, the main legacy of these two travelers are the recognition of the importance of Arabic place names for the rediscovery of ancient ones (Ben-Arieh 1979, p. 41). They compared the Arabic with the Greek and Roman names of ancient cities to catch the ancient Semitic versions, which were sometimes preserved:

Die jetzige Aussprache mehrerer Ortsnamen beweiset, dass die Römer ihr G wie ein Dsch aussprachen, z.B. Gaulanitis jetzt Dschaulan; Gamala heisst nach Josephus Kameel, folglich Dschémmeel; Galaad jetzt Dschélaûd; Legio jetzt Ledschûn; Gerasa jetzt Dscherásch; Galilaea jetzt Dscheldschulía; Gináea jetzt Dschiniñ, u.s.w. (die Römer scheinen nach dem ägyptischen Dialekt gesprochen zu haben). (Seetzen 1854, p. 303)

The discovery of Petra would later immortalize Burckhardt, but besides this, their contributions are not of particular use for modern scholarship. During the time they were active, however, the publications of their journals were very significant for all the ethnographic and geographic descriptions they carried. Seetzen had his German journal translated into English and published by the *Palestine Association* as early as 1810. Burckhardt's manuscripts came out in four different volumes. Both of them are mentioned in later travelers' documents, and became a reference for subsequent research projects throughout the 19th century.

The first excavations in Palestine begin still in the context of Orientalism and Romanticism, expressed by the scientific curiosity for the unknown. Mainstream histories of archaeology lists a French scholar called Louis Felicien de Saulcy (1807-1880) as the first to excavate in Jerusalem. De Saulcy was born in a noble family, which offered him the traditional humanist education of that time that helped him be the orientalist he later became – including the experience in the army. In his sometimes dramatic narratives, de Saulcy attributes the reason for his expedition more to a personal issue – the death of his wife – than to the adventure of science. However, he chose the destination strategically so

that he could figure as a pioneer (Saulcy 1853, pp. 1–2). He first planned to explore the Dead Sea ("le lac étrange"), but then decided that the entire Palestine deserved all the time and money they could spend, since there was so much to be studied there, for the lack of scientific knowledge of the Europeans concerning the region was dramatic (Saulcy 1853, p. 5).

So, during the year 1850, de Saulcy and his companions wandered around what he interpreted as Phoenicia, Galilee Judaea, Canaan and Moab. His geographical references were mainly biblical ones, but as a member of the *Académie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* of Paris, his expedition had a general humanist interest for ancient history. This would not prevent him from being overwhelmed by religiosity and let this guide his identification of ruins. In this first expedition, he believed to have located the biblical cities of Sodom and Gomorrah in the area of the Dead Sea (Saulcy, Delessert 1853). Besides, he was completely convinced that the place called Qbour-el-Molouk (Tomb of the Kings), north of the Damascus Gate in Jerusalem – mentioned by many ancient authors such as Josephus Flavius, Eusebius of Caesarea and Jerome – was indeed the resting place of Kings David and Solomon. With this belief, and encouraged by the passion that archaeology could raise in the general public (Saulcy 1865, p. 345), he decided to carry out a second expedition to the Orient, and reached Jerusalem in 1863 with the idea of conducting excavations there. During his first expedition, de Saulcy had learned how to interpret architectural features on a chronological basis (e.g. Saulcy 1853, p. 191; van der Steen 2014, p. 346). The knowledge of this, combined with an analysis of written sources, guided his excavations. This is how he describes what is considered the first archaeological excavation in Jerusalem:

Une première et large tranchée fut ouverte en avant du vestibule du tombeau, c'est-à-dire dans la grande cour intérieure. Cette tranchée avait un double but : elle devait d'abord rendre impossible dans l'avenir les odieuses mutilations que les touristes, depuis plusieurs années, faisaient subir aux sculptures de la façade ; en second lieu, elle devait rechercher les traces du monument expiatoire d'Hérode, que j'espérais bien reconnaître, et dont la présence, on en conviendra, devait venir singulièrement en aide à ma théorie. (Saulcy 1865, pp. 346–347)

With the same propriety that de Saulcy describes his methodologies, he describes the logic behind his interpretations as follows:

Il n'est donc pas possible que les Qbour-el-Molouk soient le tombeau d'Hélène et de son fils. Aujourd'hui, il faut de toute nécessité renoncer à cette attribution, qui n'a plus l'ombre d'apparence, et chercher une autre origine pour les Qbour-el-Molouk.

J'ai surabondamment démontré, depuis bien des années, qu'il n'est pas possible de penser aux rois asmonéens, pas plus qu'à la dynastie d'Hérode. Force est donc toujours de revenir aux rois de Juda. (Saulcy 1865, pp. 396–397)

As it is clear from this excerpt, there was skepticism concerning his conclusions during his time in Jerusalem. Indeed, the sarcophagi he found inside the cave complex are today identified as belonging to the Queen Helena of Adiabene (1st century CE) and her family, as already suggested by some authors contemporary to de Saulcy. Her sarcophagus was sent by him to the Louvre Museum in Paris, together with some other artifacts and the news of the French discovery of the tombs of Kings David and Solomon.

The excavations of an Englishman at Tell el-Hesi, in 1890 are considered symbol of the abandon of amateurism for the professionalization of fieldwork in Palestine. W.M. Flinders Petrie (1853-1942) started his career as a field archaeologist in Egypt, where he developed a methodology, which praised a more careful removal of the excavated material so that it would be possible to register its relation to the monuments around. Another basic contribution of Petrie is the importance he gave to the publication of the reports of the excavations as a priority as a guide for future excavators and scholars (Petrie 2013).

The idea of a *tell* as a mound formed by several layers of occupation, one on top of the other, was already introduced by Schliemann in Hissarlik (Daniel 1952, p. 168); the idea that painted and decorated pottery could help scholars understand the chronology of a site was also known. When Petrie was sent to dig in Palestine by the *Palestine Exploration Fund*, he was forced to deal with many sherds of unpainted pottery in different occupation strata, and concluded that they could be used the same way. By comparing its stratigraphy with the results he obtained in Egypt, he was able to establish an absolute chronology of Tell el-Hesi. Actually, he saw the site as an “ideal place for determining the history of pottery in Palestine”, because of its condition as a tell, “a deep and stratified town to work on, and therefore good scope for dating by levels” (Petrie 1891, p. 40). In a lecture given at the PEF, Petrie points out some important aspects of his work:

The first difficult that we meet is that there are *no coins* and *no inscriptions* to serve to date any of the levels. How then can we read history in a place if there is *not a single written document*? How can we settle here what the date of anything is, if not a single name or date remains? This is the business of archaeology. *Everything is a document to the archaeologist*. His business is to know all the varieties of the products of past ages, and the date of each of them. When our knowledge is thus developed everything teems with information. Nothing is so poor or so trivial as not to have a story to tell us. The tools, the

potsherds, the very stones and bricks of the wall cry out, if we have the power of understanding them.

But how are we to proceed in a country where we know nothing as yet of the age of its products? It is like an inscription in an unknown language: *for that we have to wait till we find objects from other countries of known age*, intermixed with those as yet unclassified, in order to spell out the archaeology of a fresh country. This interpretation of the archaeology of Palestine was the special attraction for me to work there. The materials of known age proved but scanty in my work; a few pieces of pottery were all I had to rely on. To anyone unfamiliar with such evidences this might seem a slender basis for the mapping out of a history; yet I had full confidence in it. (Petrie 1892, pp. 4–5 emphasis added)

Petrie is a symbol of his time, a moment when archaeology was still in its early stages slightly aware of its self-consciousness as a science. This excerpt illustrates his insistence on the importance of artifacts of all natures to the interpretation of a site – an approach which Daniel classifies as Petrie’s great contribution to pre-historical archaeology, i.e. textless archaeology (1952, p. 177). However, his proposal of a comparative dating system drove him into a circular argument, since his dating references usually came from a context where material culture was dated in relation to texts and inscriptions. Moreover, he established a system of sequence dating, distributing ceramics’ typology into a relative chronology, which is another of his contributions to the archaeological methodology (Albright 1940; Callaway 1980; Dever 1980; Fritz 1985; Laughlin 2000.). In fact, most of the methodology of Petrie’s time still frames contemporary archaeological practice in the Near East. It should be considered, however, that some of Petrie’s achievements are embedded in the ideas of evolution and progress characteristics of the 19th century. In his words, the idea of a sequence dating is possible because “there had been an early and a later period, as certain types of pottery were manifestly *decadent in style*” (Petrie 1920, p. 3). Petrie’s prejudices regarding racial conflict in the development of human’s history configures his most long-lasting legacy to the archaeology of Palestine (see Silberman 1993a).

In contrast to de Saulcy’s, Petrie’s expedition is constantly described as a professional excavation. If the historians of archaeology imply by this a sense of objectiveness, because of the more scientific character of his work, they might be proving themselves naïve. After all, Petrie also based his interpretation on the biblical evidence, erroneously identifying Tell el Hesi as “the Lachish of the Amorites” (Petrie 1892, p. 17), for example.

When faith was not the main reason behind excavations in the Near East, the biblical narrative was still there, on the background of the interpretation. Fieldwork outside Jerusalem or Palestine had the same fate. Excavations in Mesopotamia, for example, offered new information on the world of the Bible, as they brought the Sumerians and the Assyrian to light, and enabled the translations of their texts. The Ancient Near East in its full extension was interpreted as a potential source of information for biblical subjects; therefore, every archaeological enterprise in such a territory could be seen as a part of biblical archaeology.

2.2. *Biblical Archaeology and Religion*

In other cases, a better understanding of the biblical text was not a consequence but actually the real aim of the research. This section aims at briefly introducing the reader to the involvement of religious interests and backgrounds within the process of signification of biblical antiquities and in the first developments of biblical archaeology.

Since the first scientific efforts in Palestine, biblical archaeology was very often interpreted as the study of the antiquity of the Bible, which had the Bible itself as the starting point for research. According to this perspective, the Bible could offer reliable information on ancient life in its sacred, political and domestic aspects, which could be easily combined with archaeological excavations, whose results were going to illustrate such aspects of the past (Davis 2004, p. 20). Biblical illustration lies unquestionable in the background of the first developments of Ancient Near Eastern studies and Egyptology.

In Iraq, the region of ancient Mesopotamia started to be uncovered in the form of slabs of stone reliefs and human-headed winged bulls from monumental Assyrian palaces, cuneiform clay tablets, prisms and other artifacts. All this went on until the outbreak of the Crimean War, when the expeditions were interrupted. As a result, after the decipherment of the cuneiform script, many important discoveries to the study of the Bible were acknowledged. Among them are a fragment of, what is today known as the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, narrating a Babylonian story of a deluge; references of the biblical King Hezekiah found in inscriptions describing the military campaigns of the Assyrian King Sennacherib to Israel and Judah in the 8th BCE; and the so-called Babylonian Chronicle, which included the period of the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem.

The study of modern western Egyptology was triggered by the amount of information and sources collected by Frenchmen during the campaign to Egypt led by Napoleon in 1798. In 1822, François Champollion was able to decipher the Egyptian hieroglyphs based on the Rosetta Stone, which was brought to France together with many other artifacts. The discovery of the modern site of El-Amarna, ancient Akhetaten – mentioned already in the *Description de l'Égypte*, investigated by a Prussian team led by Lepsius, and later excavated by the PEF (Petrie, 1880s) and the DOG (1907-1914) – reveals the attempt for a monotheistic reform of the Egyptian Pharaoh Amenophis IV (later Akhenaten). According to Bernal (1987-2006, pp. 383–384), some Egyptologists made an effort to attribute northern (even Aryan) roots to Akhenaten's cultic reform. Others, however, preferred to accept this as an Egyptian phenomenon that might have laid the fundamentals for Jewish monotheism, which Moses learned. Besides, an archive comprising more than 300 clay tablets was discovered at the site probably by natives in 1887. These documents of the 14th BCE – later to be called the "Amarna letters" – offer unique information on the social and political history of the Ancient Near East at that time. Most of them is correspondence between the Egyptian king and the rulers of Palestine and Syria, and so its importance to biblical studies put the Amarna letters in the center of scholarship (Moran 1992).

Nevertheless, not the Bible itself, but different theological approaches determined the way foreign interest became active in Palestine. In fact, the disputes between Protestantism and Catholicism not only shaped these interests in different manners, but also strengthened the competition among their practitioners. Trying not to fall into the schema of traditional accounts on the pre-history of Biblical archaeology – which describe the activities of the the European powers in Palestine in the 19th century as a dispute between Great Britain and France – a short glimpse on the different impressions of a British Protestant and a French Catholic as pilgrims to the Holy Land should favour the understanding of the multifaceted world in which biblical archaeology emerged.

Edward D. Clarke, Burckhardt's mentor mentioned above, was able to visit Palestine in 1801, as a consequence of the British defeat of the French Army under Napoleon in Akko in 1799. He left England to explore a territory covering from Russia to Greece through the Ottoman Empire – a journey, which resulted in many volumes of memories. De Chateaubriand was a French writer, who had at the time published the journal of a travel

to the Near East (Chateaubriand 1811). Their writings became historical documents, testimonies not only of this specific historical event of the Western interest in Palestine, but also a rich record of the ancient monuments of Palestine.

As Ben-Arieh (1979, p. 51) registers, de Chateaubriand's description of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher is the most detailed record of the building before the fire that largely damaged it, two years after his visit. Clarke's memories were the most detailed and accurate report on Palestine in general, at the time of the publication in the first years of the 19th century (Silberman 1982, p. 19; Idinopulos 1999, p. 28).

Both records differ, however, dramatically from each other. Clarke is said to have applied *secular knowledge* in the search for antiquities (Silberman 1982, p. 20). Although he was a scholar, his secular approach should not be understood as a particular appreciation for a lay knowledge; on the contrary, Clarke believed he was enlightened by the *right* religious option, namely Protestantism. Therefore, as a pious Protestant he could "see the country with other eyes than those of monks", for he would use – in contrast to the Catholics – "the *Scriptures*, rather than Bede or Adammanus", as his guide to "the Holy Places", with no "legends and traditions of the Fathers of the Church" as background to his interests (Clarke 1814, x).

Clarke's opinions represent a severe critic of the traditional Catholic practice of pilgrimage, as a way to achieve remission of sins by being closer to religious places or by the acquisition of indulgences in form of "beads, rosaries and crucifixes, manufactured and sold by the craftsmen of Jerusalem" (Clarke 1814, xi). In particular, he directs his criticism to the works of de Chateaubriand. As a Frenchman, de Chateaubriand represented the traditional Catholic pilgrim, who embedded a strong romantic orientalist spirit. He is considered the first romantic in French literature, and this style is also present in his travel narratives, which did not aim to describe places and landscapes with an "objective truth"; instead, his priority was the description of the feelings and impressions caused by them on the traveler, or produced by the traveler in his own subjectivity (Soriano Nieto 2009, p. 19). While Clarke identifies himself, not only as an "enlightened Christian", but also as an "enlightened traveler", able of producing a faithful description of the observed reality, de Chateaubriand's romantic view was not seen as an appropriate travel description by Clarke.

Nonetheless, besides the pilgrimage, Clarke notes how imperative it was for Protestants to invest in missionary work in Palestine. According to him,

... there are no Lutherans; and if we add, that, under the name of Christianity, every degrading superstition and profane rite, equally remote from the enlightened tenets of the gospel, and the dignity of human nature, are professed and tolerated, we shall afford a true picture of the state of society in this country. The cause may be easily assigned. The pure gospel of Christ, every where the herald of civilization and of science, is almost as little known in the Holy Land as in Caliphornia or New Holland. A series of legendary traditions, mingled with remains of Judaism, and the wretched phantasies of illiterate ascetics, may now and then exhibit a glimmering of heavenly light; but if we seek for the blessed effects of Christianity in the lands of Canaan, we must look for that period, when "the desert shall blossom as the rose, and the wilderness become a fruitful field". (Clarke 1814, p. 246)

This necessity of missionary interference in the Holy Land is an important element – together with politic and economic interests – in the advances of scientific research in Palestine. The most acknowledged contribution to biblical geography at the time, which is also seen as a turning point in the archaeology of the region, happened within the context of a missionary movement. Edward Robinson's (1794-1863) famous two-month-and-a-half expedition to Palestine counted on the knowledge of his travel companion, Eli Smith (1801-1857) accumulated from his works for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Smith not only travel exploring mission possibilities in Greece and the Near East, but also dedicated great effort in publishing translations into Arabic of schoolbooks, catechisms, sermons and even parts of the Bible (Smith 1842; Stowe 1998).

Together, Robinson and Smith precisely identified more than hundred biblical sites, using Seetzen and Burckhardt's methods of comparison of the place names over history. Although their *Biblical Research in Palestine and the Adjacent Regions* was not a report on archaeology, it became a geographical guide to the region, exploring its topographical and human aspects (Alt 1939b, p. 375), offering basic knowledge to later archaeological enterprises. Robinson's most famous discovery was made in Jerusalem, and carries today the name of Robinson's Arch. The ruins are today located in the Jerusalem Archaeological Park and interpreted as part of the structure that used to support a staircase leading to the plateau where the Herodian Temple might have stood.

Following Clarke's pattern, as a Protestant, Robinson combined the knowledge of the Bible and his own observations so that he could adopt the biblical text as the basic criterion to judge other evidences, because for him, in contrast to local traditions, the Scriptures were already pieces of verified truth (Davis 2004, p. 10).

At Robinson's time, however, the reliability of the Bible as historical truth had already been challenged. The traditional allegorical interpretation of the biblical text, common during the Medieval Age in the work of the Church Fathers, was challenged by the humanist approach of the Renaissance scholars. Instead of the medieval allegorical method – that departed from the literal meaning of a word, only to identify its figurative, hidden meaning – the biblical narrative came to be treated as a *text*, which had to be submitted to the study of its languages in the search for its original, plain meanings (Shuger 1994). The development of philology, particularly of classical philology, offered a more historicized approach to language, in which the meaning of languages, texts and words were embedded in history. This period saw a great effort on the production of dictionaries and encyclopedias, philologically-oriented commentaries, multi-language editions and renewed translations of the Bible (Yarchin 2011,). The Reformation inherited some of the early humanistic ideas, promoting a return to the text as the ultimate principle of authority, in contrast to the patristic tradition of an allegorical interpretation that needed an authoritative interpreter. For Luther, the Scriptures had only one meaning, namely the meaning of the words themselves, to which one should stick; thus, the possibility of the self-interpretation of the Bible – *sacra scriptura sui ipsius interpres* (Oeming 2007, pp. 12–13). Although topics concerning Jesus Christ were predominant, the focus shifted to the OT, where the messianic stories could be interpreted according to their historical contexts.

With the discovery of different versions of the Hebrew Bible besides the *Biblia Rabbinica* – the standard edition during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – many questions about the reliability of the Masoretic Text have been raised.⁶ The method of textual criticism developed from the comparison of the versions of the OT available at the time, such as the so-called Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint. As a result, many morphological and syntactical problems, but also stylistic and literary-critical issues were found. These were attributed mainly to scribal errors (van der Kooij 2009, p. 580).

As the interpretation of the Bible adjusted itself more and more to the scientific enterprise from the period of the Enlightenment on, it did not become less faith-oriented. Indeed, words in a text had, at this period, a literal, single, plain meaning, leaving no room

⁶ The so-called Masoretic Text is an edition of the Hebrew Bible, in which individuals belonging to a "masoretic school" added marks to the consonantal text to establish its liturgical recitation, pronunciation and grammatical structure. This text was then complemented by notes of a statistical-linguistic nature, called *massorah*. There are different MTs with minor distinctions among them; the most traditional one is considered to be the Tiberian MT (Elwolde 2009, p. 138).

for different interpretations. This authorially intended meaning could be reached only by considering the linguistic and historical world of the Bible. With the application of alternative sources such as Josephus and Philo's texts, or the rabbinic literature and ancient Semitic texts that would be later uncovered by archaeology, "the meaning of Scripture was no longer to be found in a network of doctrinal symbols connoted by the words of Scripture, that is, in a symbolic universe, but rather in the physical and historical universe" (Yarchin 2011, xxiv).

In fact, less than one entity, the Bible came to be understood as a collection of heterogeneous writings. Especially in Germany, by the end of the eighteenth century, scholars were questioning authorship, unity and sources of the biblical books (Rogerson 1985). The search for the original meaning, original historical sense or original historical settings of biblical narratives continued, however, a prerogative of biblical exegesis. The study of the Bible was meanwhile not a question of faith, but rather a scientific enterprise, as the study of the classical texts of ancient Rome and Greece also assumed an interpretation *ipsis litteris*, inside a historical context.

The "world behind the text" is an important issue for the historical-critical method of exegesis. Under the umbrella of historical criticism, there is a branch of different specializations still in use that should therefore be understood by looking at its long history. For the purpose of this section, apart from the textual criticism, the studies of the history and sociology of the ancient Israel and the time of the early church are going to be emphasized.

The year of 1835 proved to be a turning point in the critical studies of the Bible. Vatke's *Biblical Theology* defended that only very little could be known about the history of ancient Israel until Moses' time from the biblical accounts. Moreover, Strauss's *Life of Jesus* represented a vehement attack on the authority of the Gospel of John as a primary source for the life of Jesus Christ (Krümmel apud Rogerson 2009, p. 850).

In brief, from medieval times to the eighteenth century, some traditional biblical truths were denied, only to be substituted by other ones, more up to date with the external developments of intellectual life and the new methods of the time. From sacred revelation immune to external factors, the Bible turned into a document written in and addressed to a specific historical context. Neither the Enlightenment nor the 19th century would eradicate a more orthodox theological doctrine completely; the modern biblical

scholarship had, besides the challenge to explain how the authority of the Bible could be maintained – now that more about its origins and history was known – to deal with the conservative reaction.

Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918), one of the most influential theologians of the historical-critical method until today, did recognize the importance of historical studies to the interpretation of the biblical text. In 1878 he published a study on the sources of the Pentateuch and its traditions that were meant to provide the reader with tools to understand his revolutionary perspective of ancient Israel (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*). A member of the *Realpolitik* generation, Wellhausen believed in scientific theology. Departing from many ideas already proposed by other theologians of his time, Wellhausen concluded that the Pentateuch was written by different authors who used many sources probably from different periods between the eighth to the fifth centuries BCE (Marchand 2009, pp. 181–182). With it, he proposed a new chronology for the biblical text, which could offer a deeper insight into some doctrinal debates. Moreover, he questioned the historicity of many biblical accounts, suggesting that they did not represent the period they were talking about, but depicted much later contexts (Rogerson 1985, pp. 266–268).

Besides the new methods of biblical criticism and the archaeological discoveries in the Ancient Near East, this period also witnessed the publication of Darwin's *On the Origins of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (1859). This book used to be interpreted as the trigger of a great battle between science and religion; more recently, however, its impact upon Theology has been reassessed and minimized (Moore 1979; Rogerson 1985). Less than a revolution in the concept of God and the traditional *Weltanschauung*, Darwin's theory of evolution is another example of its *Zeitgeist*. Nevertheless, Wellhausen was accused of applying Darwin's evolutionism to Theology in his interpretations of the idea of Priesthood and of how sacrifices developed from bloody to symbolic practices (Delitzsch apud Marchand 2009, p. 178) (for more on Wellhausen's biblical criticism, refer to Chapter B-I.2).

Naturally, in this ebullition of criticism, there would be manifestations in defense of the Bible. Apologetics would place biblical archaeology in the center of the research for the cradle of civilization. An illustrative practitioner of apologetic archaeology in Palestine was W.F. Albright.

Albright was a biblical scholar active in Palestine from the 1920s until the 1960s. His agenda was to prove the biblical critics wrong through the study of the *evolution* of the history of religions – “from the Stone Age to Christianity” to its later developments in the Greco-Roman world (Cross 1973, pp. 3–4). According to him, in order to investigate this evolution, archaeology and historical studies (comprising language and literature) had be combined.

He departed from the biblical text as the main source for his scientific investigation and saw the archaeological material from the Holy Land through it in order to elucidate the interpretation of specific biblical passages (Murray 2001). Under Albright, biblical archaeology became the “process of constructing biblical theory on the realia of archaeology” (Davis 2004, p. 85).

Albright became the acting director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem at the age of 29. He occupied this position from 1920 to 1929, and later again during the 1930s. In 1922, he conducted his first excavation project in Palestine at Tell el-Ful, ca. 5km north of Jerusalem. The site had already been investigated by earlier scholars, who thought that the site could be King’s Saul capital, Gibeah (Albright 1924a; King 1988, p. 19); however, lacking enough knowledge on the formation of a tell, they could not identify any remains of the former city (Albright 1922a). In pursuit of this technical knowledge, Albright excavated the fortress, located on the top of the tell through five main trenches, and an ancient village on the eastern slope (Albright 1922b, 1924a). His conclusions are a very illustrative example of his combination of archaeological material and biblical text:

These seven periods of building between 1200 B. C. and 70 A. D., make our mound a most interesting archaeological study. Owing to the comparatively small interval of time represented by the first three fortresses, to the frequency with which Gibeah is mentioned in the Bible, and to the pottery sequences, I think they can all be identified with fortresses mentioned or indicated in Holy Writ. The first, burned fortress may be identified certainly with the hold of Gibeah, which was destroyed by fire in the civil war between Israel and Benjamin (Jud. 20:40). The second fortress, the most elaborate of all, almost certainly dates from the time of Saul. Among the finds were fragments of bronze trinkets and an imported potsherd. It was partially restored after the collapse of the massive stone staircase, but then fell to ruin, evidently after the rise of the Davidic kingdom. The third fortress belongs to the Jewish royal period. Its pottery resembles closely that of Hielite Jericho. I would ascribe its foundation to Asa (1 Kings 15:22), but the combination depends upon the correctness of the identification of Mizpah with Nebi Samwil, for which strong new evidence will be adduced in the final publication. It was partly destroyed during the civil wars of the ninth and eighth century, and hastily restored. The restored fortress was burned by a hostile army,

perhaps that of the Syro-Ephraimitic coalition, since Sennacherib advanced from the southwest. (Albright 1922c, p. 3)

Albright dedicated much of his efforts to the study of ceramics, since he believed that pottery analysis, if carried out with precision, could assign any ruin to a particular ethnic group and to a date (Silberman 1993b, p. 12). After Tell el-Ful, Albright directed the excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim, a site located in the southern Shephelah. The site was chosen by Albright to develop his theories of ceramic chronology (Albright 1924b, p. 5). During the four seasons of fieldwork (1926-1932), he was able to develop a ceramic index for Palestine from the 20th to the seventh century BCE, adapting some of Petrie's earlier results. Albright's excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim were so pottery-oriented that he would publish a first volume of the reports entirely about the pottery of the first three military campaigns (Albright 1932). However, this publication is not only a description of the pottery sherds and objects collected on field, but also an appreciation of the already established interpretations and in some cases, a history itself of some of the indicative pottery he found. The formation of the tell, a result of different layers whose occupation was interrupted by several abrupt destructions, provided Albright with strata relatively easy to discern, separated by ash layers and burnt bricks (Albright 1938, p. 9; Davis 2004, p. 71). This, together with a comparative research of parallels for the Tell Beit Mirsim pottery, convinced him about his chronology.

With his chronology settled, Albright could challenge some of the Wellhausen critical interpretations of the biblical text, as *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* (1932) reflects. Against Wellhausen's skepticism on the historical validity of the accounts of the Pentateuch, Albright proposed to examine the period of the Patriarchs, the biblical Law and the Period of the Exile and its end. Archaeologically, only the first and the second could be testified, since the nature and antiquity of the Law were topics that were not related to excavation. The Middle Bronze Age was the period Albright related to the Patriarchs and much of his research was dedicated to its reconstruction, using not only the archaeology of Palestine, but also results of excavations in Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, to demonstrate that the biblical narrative of the world of Abraham was accurate (Davis 2004, p. 85). On the other hand, Albright did not develop an interest in the Persian period in Palestine, since "many of the towns in Southern Judah and Simeon were not occupied after the Exile". As a matter of fact, this proved "that the Babylonian invasion was quite as disastrous as it is portrayed in the Old Testament" (Albright 1924b, p. 5).

As Davis (2004, p. 86) notes, the narrative of the Conquest of Canaan was not an issue for Albright, for he believed the archaeological evidence matched the biblical account. During his excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim, he found evidence of a massive destruction dating back to the beginning of the Iron Age. According to the biblical interpretation, this was the time of the Conquest, where several cities in the region of Tell Beit Mirsim were reportedly destroyed in the process. As a consequence, he concluded that the Israelites had destroyed Tell Beit Mirsim. Departing from this one site, Albright believed that the biblical account of the Conquest was proved.

This interpretation would change later, when further excavations at Ai and Jericho challenged a direct reading of the Book of Joshua and placed the narrative of the Conquest at the center of biblical archaeology fieldwork.

To conclude, the religious disputes in Palestine at the time were intrinsically connected to the way ancient monuments and the antiquities of the region were handled. The Crimean War, as a conflict also on the tutelage of religious monuments, is another example to illustrate the powerful triad Religion-Politics-Heritage.

The phenomenon of the emergence of the Research Societies for the exploration of Palestine is another aspect of these disputes, then religious interests lie in the background of the most secular of these Societies: The English Palestine Exploration Fund (1865). In 1870 the American Palestine Exploration Society was founded, followed by the Society of Biblical Archaeology in the same year. The *Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas* was created in 1877, and the *Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft* in 1898. The French *École pratique d'Études bibliques* opened its headquarters in Jerusalem in 1890. 1900 was the year of the creation of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

The developments of these Research Societies linked religion, science and politics in an unprecedented way in the history of Palestine, as it will be explored in the next chapters.

German Biblical Archaeology

I. 1871-1918: Germany enters the Game

I.1. "Research and Rule"

It has been already mentioned in this work that Palestine is not an example of classic European Imperialism. In the previous chapter, the figures of the independent explorer, the missionary and the scholar in official mission of a Research Society has been shortly introduced. The phenomenon of the individual missionary developed into active organized religious communities in Palestine. They represented at the same time Christian efforts to protect – and control – the sacred sites, as well as triggering the development of European independent activities in Ottoman territory. Several countries sent religious missions to Palestine; nevertheless, only German religious communities are known to have settled in the land.

Among the Germans in the area, Protestants were not the only active religious group, Catholics and Jews were active as well (BArch R 5101/21912, fol. 24-33 Aufzeichnung des früheren Generalkonsuls in Jerusalem, Dr. Brode dem Preussischen Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung, 1919). They were responsible for an immigration process that started already in the first half of the 19th century and played a fundamental role in the transformation of Palestine at the turn of the 20th century.

Although their main goal was to settle, build infrastructure and develop agriculture in the land, many of these settlers contributed to the German scientific enterprise in Palestine.

This chapter presents the most remarkable example of this cooperation among religious communities and the investigation of Palestine. That is the first German large scale archaeological excavation in the land, which was conducted by a famous German Templar, Gottlieb Schumacher. Before that, however, each of these German religious communities is shortly introduced, with a special focus on their contribution to the German interests in the land.

1.1.1. Protestants

Before the German unification, Prussia and England joined efforts in an attempt to make Protestantism officially recognized by the Ottoman authorities. Before that, if a citizen of the Ottoman Empire converted to Protestantism, he would lose his citizenship rights (Hänsel 2003, p. 19). A Joint Bishopric between Prussia and England, idealized by King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia and the German Diplomat in London, Christian Bunsen, was established in 1841 in Jerusalem to defend Protestant interests. In 1850 Protestantism was finally allowed in the territory by the Sultan (Schölch 1993, p. 19; Hänsel 2003, p. 25).

Within the context of Protestant activities, the concept of the “restoration of the Jews”, which had its roots in Anglican Messianism, played an important role. According to this narrative, God’s plans of salvation chose Protestants (the legitimate descendants) first to reunite Jews (the first heirs to the land) in the Holy Land, and later to disseminate the Christian message among them, eventually to convert them (Schölch 1993, pp. 27–31). This expanded the scope of interests of Protestants, who gathered Christians and Jews under their spheres of influence.

Under Kaiser Wilhelm II, religion gained an even higher priority in politics. In the context of Germany’s *Ostpolitik*, the Kaiser saw himself as a modern crusader – and as his duty, to continue the deeds of his medieval ancestors, the Knights of the Holy Roman Empire. From this perspective, the connection between Germany and the Holy Land would date back to the reign of Charlemagne, who as early as the 9th century promoted the construction of monasteries, a hospice and a market in Jerusalem, becoming the “most prolific builder” of this city at the time (Goren 2003a, xii).

670 years after a “German” Emperor had sailed to Palestine, Kaiser Wilhelm II promoted his own Crusade to the Holy Land in 1898.⁷ His tour⁸ started in Constantinople, shortly after Germany had held peace negotiations between the Ottoman Empire and their long-time enemies, the Kingdom of Greece, in favor of the preservation of the Ottoman Empire (Marchand 1996b, p. 309). On October 25, the imperial yacht, *Hohenzollern*,

⁷ In commemoration of his *Orientreise*, Kaiser Wilhelm II donated a mosaic depicting Friedrich II’s (1194-1250) own march to the Holy Land in 1228. The mosaic in Saint Elizabeth’s Chapel in the German medieval fortress of Wartburg, carries, however, the date of 31 October 1898 and its iconography resemble the Kaiser’s convoy itself (Arad 2005).

⁸ Information on the *Orientreise* of the German Kaiser was taken mainly from the official publication (Mirbach 1899); other sources were used as indicated.

anchored in the newly-built harbor of Haifa (**Figs. 8-9**). From October 29 to November 4, the Kaiserpaar stayed in Jerusalem. They had a tight schedule to keep, the zenith of which was the official inauguration of the Church of the Redeemer (**Figs. 1-3**) (BArch N 284/32; BArch RM 2/369; BArch R 901/37892 Nr. 4844, Nr. 4854).

This church was built on the ruins of the Carolingian Church Sancta Maria Latina in the region of the Muristan, where the first Hospice of the Order of the Knights of St. John was erected as well (Wagner-Lux, Vriezen 1998). The Lutheran Church of the Redeemer was inaugurated on October 31, the day Protestants celebrate the Reformation. Its construction represented not only the official establishment of the German evangelical power in modern Jerusalem – with direct Kaiser’s support – but its architectural features in Neo-Romanesque style⁹ were also a monument representing both patriotism and heritage (Krüger 1998). The building – planned a decade earlier by Friedrich Adler and realized by Paul Groth – and its bell tower, which was sketched by the Kaiser himself (Eisler 1999) remains a symbol on the landscape of Jerusalem until today (**Fig. 4**).

This was not the only building to be erected in Jerusalem on behalf of the Kaiser. Overlooking the Old City, on the ridge of the Mount of Olives, the complex with the Kaiserin Auguste Viktoria Hospice and the Church of the Ascension was inaugurated in 1910. Both the German guesthouse and the Church were to serve as places for reunion for the local Germans, under the patronage of the Auguste Viktoria Foundation. The complex was planned by Robert Leibnitz, an architect from Berlin, who followed the model of a medieval fortress in the Neo-Romanesque style (Arad 2005).

In 1852, the former Order of the Knights of St. John was recreated as an evangelical institution by the King Friedrich Wilhelm IV. At the time, the director of the *Johanniters* was the second son of the *Kaiserpaar*, Eitel-Friedrich. Wilhelm II handed over the German buildings in the Muristan and on the Mount of Olives to the Johanniter Order. This was the last and definitive maneuver to seal the connection between Christian Jerusalem, the Crusaders and the new German Empire. Moreover, many decorative elements in the buildings celebrate this connection.¹⁰

⁹ The Wilhelmine Neo-Romanesque is an appropriation of the Romanesque architecture – dating back to the Crusader’s time – characterized by “the massive and severe look, the typical German, tiled, pointed roof with cuckoo windows, and the heavy towers” (Arad 2005, p. 129).

¹⁰ For an analysis of the architectural features and decoration of the German construction in Jerusalem, refer to Krüger 1995 and Arad 2005.

Still within the schedule of the *Orientreise*, Kaiser Wilhelm II visited the ruins of the Crusaders' fortress at Atlit, south of Haifa (**Fig. 10**). Moreover, he had several meetings with religious leaders and communities of all confessions and greeted the German colonists. Among them, special attention was given to a group of Protestants from Württemberg, who belonged to an institution called *Tempelgesellschaft*.

I.1.1.1. The German Templers of the *Tempelgesellschaft*

The German Templers would carry out the very core of German activities in Palestine (Eliav 1975, p. 431). They were the first large group of Europeans to settle in Palestine in the 19th century and they had become the most successful and influential foreign community in the land in such a short time (Goren 2003a, xv).

The *Tempelgesellschaft* was founded in the region of Stuttgart in 1861 by a group of 64 religious men who gathered under the name of *Deutscher Tempel*. It was an independent religious organization headed by a "Bishop" – Christoph Hoffmann. The main goal of the society was to build a *Temple* in Jerusalem; yet, not a temple of stone, but rather "die Schaffung eines geistlichen Tempels, von dem Christus der Eckstein und jeder einzelne der Anhänger ein Baustein ist" (Hoffmann 1961, p. 5).

For this purpose, the first Templers left for Palestine in 1867, to be followed by several others, reaching 750 people (Carmel 2000, p. 46). Their establishment in the land can be divided into three phases (Carmel 2000; Goren 2003b). In the first phase (1868-1875) – *die Ansiedlung* – the Templers built settlements in Haifa (1869), Jaffa (1869), Sarona (1871), and Jerusalem (1873). The second period – *die Konsolidierung* – dates from 1876 to 1898, when the religious goals of the Society gave way to other economic and political interests. After that, three other settlements were erected – Wilhelma (1903), Bethlehem in Galilee (1906), and Waldheim (1907) (Goren 2003b, p. 306).

The Templers planned to establish an exemplary community that could better the conditions in Palestine regarding daily life (Kark, Thalmann 2003, p. 202). They built streets and houses, their own religious and educational institutions as well as libraries and medical organizations (Goren 2003b, p. 272). A community building hosted presentations of music and literature, and, most importantly, guaranteed cultivation of a German national consciousness among the Templers (Carmel 2000, p. 54). This was the work of the first colonists, who concentrated on the construction and development of the settlements (**Figs.**

11-13) (BArch R 5101/21912, fol. 37ff Satzung der deutschen evangelischen Kirchengemeinde in Palästina, Jaffa und Haifa).

Carmel (2000, p. 51) estimates an increase from 3 to 9-10 million Francs in the value of the possessions of the *Tempelgesellschaft* in Palestine in the second phase. During this period, over 1300 people lived in the colonies of the *Tempel*. Most of the professions exercised by German colonists were not previously represented in Palestine (Carmel 2000, p. 54). They were active not only in the agricultural sector, but also in the industrial sectors: craft activities, planning, architecture and buildings and transportation. The prominent travel agency Thomas Cook, for example, engaged Templer services to transport the tourists traveling in the area (Kark, Thalmann 2003, p. 211)

A delegation of Templers welcomed Kaiser Wilhelm II and Kaiserin Auguste Viktoria with an enthusiastic reception, side by side with an Ottoman military band in Haifa. Christoph Hoffmann II, the head of the *Tempelgesellschaft* during the *Orientreise* of the Kaiser, invited him to visit the settlements of the Templers in Palestine (**Figs. 14-15**). Hoffman highlighted the fact that the *Tempelgesellschaft* honored both the cultural and historical significance of the Holy Land, and ensured that the institution was a follower of the King Friedrich Wilhelm IV in his efforts to protect the land by Protestant's hands (Letter Hoffman II to Kaiser Wilhelm II, July 1898 BArch N 284/32).

The Kaiser not only attended to his invitation to visit the settlements, but also delivered a proud and encouraging speech to them:

... Es freut Mich, daß Ihr es verstanden habt, durch euer persönliches Leben euren Nachbarn ein gutes Beispiel zu geben, und daß Ihr gezeigt habt, wie man es machen muß, um in diesem Lande dem deutschen Namen Achtung zu verschaffen.

Ihr habt ... durch euern Fleiß und durch eure Frömmigkeit dem deutschen Namen Ehre gemacht und euch einen guten Ruf erworben, hier und auch im Auslande, und habt gezeigt, wie man es angreifen muß, öde Felder wieder fruchtbar zu machen. ...

Ich hoffe, daß, wie augenblicklich, so auch in Zukunft die freundschaftlichen Beziehungen zum osmanischen Reiche, und insbesondere die Freundschaft zwischen dem Sultan und Mir, dazu dienen werden, eure Aufgabe zu erleichtern. Wenn irgend einer von euch Meines Schutzes bedarf, so bin Ich da... und erfreulicher Weise ist das Deutsche Reich ja imstande, seinen Angehörigen im Auslande nachdrücklichen Schutz zu gewähren. (Wilhelm II 1904, pp. 124–125)

Parallel to the colonization, the Templers developed some important research on Palestine. Already before the first settlements, the newspaper of the religious society – *die Warte* – published results of reconnaissance missions to Palestine. While investigating the conditions for settling in the land, these missions collected complex information about

Palestine, which was of scientific interest. Among the diversity of subjects one can mention the emphasis on agriculture (soil condition and fertility, typical plants and grains), climate (temperature, water and watering systems), raw materials, health and security issues (typical diseases), and mobility (transportation) (Die Warte 1858; Carmel 2000, p. 15; Goren 2003b, p. 307).

Especially in the second phase of the Templer colonization, scientific research became part of the activities of the community. Colonists were part of the project of a German society for the scientific exploration of Palestine, the *Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas*. The DPV, created in 1877 (for the history and development of this Research Society refer to Chapter B-II.1.1 and B-II.2.3), added to its statute (§5) the article that utilized the strength of the German colonists to the goal of research.

For instance, the Templers collaborated actively in the DPV's project of a study of the meteorological conditions of Palestine (refer to Chapter B-II.1.1). In 1894, stations of meteorological observation were built in the Tempel colonies of Jerusalem, Saron and Haifa and the colonists were trained by Blanckenhorn to use the instruments and read the information. They were also taught to fill in a questionnaire about agriculture and botanic science prepared by Kersten for the DPV (Guthe 1895). The first report of a colonist to the DPV was submitted already in 1895 from Jerusalem by Gerhard Dück, a teacher in the schools of the *Tempelgesellschaft* in Jaffa, Jerusalem, Wilhelma and Bethlehem (Kautzsch 1895, p. 77).

Moreover, the Templers contributed to the publications of the DPV with several articles, since its first issue in 1878 (refer to Chapter B-II.2.3). One Templer in particular appears assiduously as an author in the journals. His name was Gottlieb Schumacher and he was going to be of extreme importance in the consolidation of German research in the land.

I.1.1.2. Gottlieb Schumacher

Gottlieb Samuel Schumacher (1857-1925) was born in the United States, after his father Jacob Friedrich Schumacher (1825-1891) had immigrated from Tübingen to Ohio in 1848. Oriented by Hoffmann, Jacob Schumacher participated in the attempts to create a Templer colony in the State of New York in the first years of 1860s. In 1869 the Schumacher family left for Haifa as one of the first Templers to participate in the building of the colonies

on behalf of the *Tempelgesellschaft* (Eisler 2011). The father was responsible for planning the settlement in Haifa and supervising the construction of each of its houses and streets. He later became the head of this settlement (Carmel 2006, pp. 167–168).

After accompanying his father in many building activities, Gottlieb Schumacher attended the University in Stuttgart, studying Engineering and Architecture (1876-1881). When he returned to Palestine, he began to work in the construction. A bridge over the Kishon river, the hospital of the Scottish mission in Tiberias, the Missionary complex of the London Jews Society in Safed, the Russian Hospice in Nazareth, the German School in Haifa, the memorial for the visit of the Kaiser on the Carmel and the German Catholic Hospice in Tagbha are only a few examples of his activities (Eisler 2011).

Nevertheless, Schumacher's main contributions to Palestine are in the field of scientific research. His engineering knowledge enabled him to conduct a large project of cartographic and topographic measurements of the region east of the Jordan river (refer to Chapter B-II.1.1), which was to complement the British Survey of Western Palestine (1871-1877) by C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund (Conder et al. 1998). Besides, Schumacher reported on archaeological and epigraphic finds made during his trips, conducted the investigation of burial tombs in the vicinities of Haifa (Schumacher 1885), the excavations at Megiddo and the restoration works at the Palace at Baalbeck (Wiegand 1921).

Although Schumacher was German, his knowledge of Palestine and privileged conditions as a colonist also served the British PEF, yet in a smaller scale. His works were published mainly in the PEFQS, ZDPV and MNDPV.

I.1.1.3. Conrad Schick

The Templers were not the first German Protestants to be sent to Palestine though. Among the very first there was another young German who would define the development of research in the land.

Schick, considered by Carmel the “größter Jerusalem-Kenner seiner Zeit,” was one of the two first missionaries to be sent to Palestine by a German organization – *Pilgermission Chrischona*, organized by Spittler. He arrived in Jerusalem in 1846 to build a German Protestant *Brüderhaus* and stayed in the city until his death on December 23, 1901 (Carmel 1983). During this time, he planned several buildings, constructed models of the

city's most important sites, and investigated its history (Schick 1881b, 1891, 1889c) and topography (Schick 1893b, 1894a, 1894c, 1894b, 1894d, 1890c, 1890d). Schick became such an authority in the subject of Jerusalem that he would play a role in most of the studies of Germans and non-Germans in the city (Goren 2003b, p. 274).

Schumacher's and Schick's contributions will be explored in details throughout this work. As a starting point, Schumacher's excavations at Megiddo are discussed in the final part of this chapter.

1.1.2. Catholics

In comparison not only to other religious communities in Palestine, but also to the number of Catholics in Germany, the German Catholics in Palestine composed a very small group: in the 1880s they were only 20 people, concentrated around the Catholic Hospice in Jerusalem (Elan 1984, p. 25). Nevertheless, this did not prevent the Kaiser from supporting the German Catholics in Palestine in the occasion of his *Orientreise*. He intended to present himself in Palestine as a Kaiser for all Germans – not only for the Protestants (BArch R 901/39723). Therefore, on the same day of the inauguration of the Church of the Redeemer in the Old City of Jerusalem, Kaiser Wilhelm II transferred the land he had negotiated with the Ottomans on the Mount Zion, just beside the *Coenaculum* – believed to be the place of Jesus' Last Supper – to the use of the German Catholics of the *Deutscher Verein vom heiligen Lande* (DVHL) (Fig. 5).

1.1.2.1. Deutscher Verein vom heiligen Lande

The DVHL was a religious institution founded in 1855 in Cologne, under the name of *Verein vom Heiligen Grabe*, with the purpose of securing the interests of German Catholics in Palestine and to increase missionary activity among the locals by means of the construction of a hospice, a church and a school (Eliav 1975, p. 431). During the *Kaiserreich*, the Society reached a number of 30 thousand members, but never managed to organize German Catholic settlements in Palestine. In contrast, they erected, besides the imposing Dormition Abbey (Figs. 6-7), the Hospice of Saint Paul/Schmidt School for European and Arab girls, both inaugurated in 1910 – on the same event of the inauguration of the Auguste Viktoria Compound. Another hospice for pilgrims was built along the Sea of Galilee

(Emmaus and Tabgha), where they developed agriculture with the assistance of local inhabitants (Mock, Schäbitz 2005).

Starting from 1857, the Society published a journal entitled *Das Heilige Land*, which has appeared quarterly until today. This publication was not only going to offer the reader a glimpse of the activities of the DVHL, but also build a stronger connection between the Catholics in Germany and in Palestine in particular. The articles were expected to cover seven different subjects: reports on the situation of the Catholics and the Holy Places in Palestine; description and historical appreciation of the sacred sites in the cities of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth; historical and statistical information on the Orders connected to the Holy Land; historical information and details of the planned Pilgrimages; reports on the contact with Palestine; reports on the donations and distribution of the funds; reports on scientific work and their assessment; and further announcements concerning the Holy Land (Goren 2009, pp. 147–148).

In 1908, Ernst Schmitz (1845-1922) moved to Jerusalem as the director of the DVHL. Besides being a Catholic priest, Schmitz was also a naturalist, specializing in Ornithology. Although he did not do research on history and archaeology, his contributions to Zoology are remarkable and included a collection of local species of plants and animals and the description of many unknown species. Schmitz contributed to *Das Heilige Land* with several articles on the fauna and flora of Palestine (Schmitz 1910, 1911, 1912b, 1912a, 1913b, 1913c, 1914). Moreover, he was also a contributor of the *Ornithologisches Jahrbuch* and *Ornithologische Monatsberichte*. Schmitz published also on the German Catholic Missionaries in Palestine (Schmitz 1913a).

1.1.2.2. Jerusalemer Institut der Görres-Gesellschaft

The German Catholics in Palestine could count on another institution from 1909 onwards, namely the *Orientalische Institut der Görres-Gesellschaft*. The *Jerusalemer Institut der Görres-Gesellschaft* (JIGG), as it is known today, is one of the four foreign institutes – the others are in Rome, Madrid, and Lisbon – of the *Görres-Gesellschaft zur Pflege der Wissenschaft*, which was created in 1876 in Germany. The main goal of the institute was the investigation of the Church in the Orient – Palestine and Syria – through its monuments, literature and religious activities (Goren 2009, pp. 380–381).

At the time of its foundation in Jerusalem, the Institute planned to offer young catholic theologians the opportunity to visit the Holy Land and to study it *in situ* (Elan 1984, p. 26). Archaeology was the main point of interest; accordingly, the JIGG promoted excavations in the Church of the Multiplying of the Loaves and Fishes at Tabgha already in 1892. The projects was resumed in the 1930s and exposed Byzantine mosaics on the floor of the Church (Schneider 1934).

Paul Karge (1881-1922), a catholic priest and professor of archaeology at the University of Münster, and Konrad Lübeck (1873-1952) from Fulda, were the first to be sent to Jerusalem to conduct research. The first was in charge of the subjects of the ancient Orient, while the second engaged in the studies of the beginnings of Christianity (Cramer 1980, p. 86). As a result of their activities, Karge published an archaeological study on the Rephaim (Karge 1917) and Konrad Lübeck (1873-1952), on the Christian Missionaries in Palestine (Karge 1916; Lübeck 1917). Until 1915 the *Görres-Gesellschaft* granted five other scholarships for study-trips to Jerusalem (Andreas Evarist Mader, Georg Graf, Adolf Rücker, Michael Huber, Johannes Straubinger).

Their studies on the history of Palestine, on oriental Christian liturgy, hagiography and archaeology were published in the series *Collectanea Hierosolymitana* (Kaufhold 2010). However, the impact of both world wars and the British invasion of Palestine prevented the Society from publishing more than four volumes from 1917 to 1934, thus limiting its scholarly activities to a modest, yet singular contribution.

1.1.2.3. German-speaking Catholics

Among the German-speaking missionaries, two Austrians particularly contributed to the scientific enterprise in Palestine.

Hermann Zschokke (1838-1920) worked in Jerusalem as the director of the Austrian Hospice from 1864 to 1866. Already in 1865, he published the results of his and Conrad Schick's investigations of the ruins of el-Kubeibe, where the Franciscans planned to build a Monastery. The site was identified with the biblical Emmaus, yet the ruins were attributed to the Crusader's period (Zschokke 1865). After his duties in Jerusalem, Zschokke became a professor of Oriental languages and Bible Studies at the University of Vienna. During this period, he continued to publish the results of his research in Palestine (e.g. Zschokke 1866a, 1866b). Among his works, he wrote a catholic travel guide to Palestine (Zschokke 1868), to

complement the already existing ones that were written by Protestants. He also published popular articles on archaeology on *Das Heilige Land* (Goren 2003b, p. 212; Zschokke 1872, 1873, 1886).

George Gatt (1843-1924) was sent to Palestine by the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem in 1869. He worked in the Austrian Hospice and participated in the construction of the French *St Pierre de Sion Orphanage*, a school where Christians and Muslims were taught foreign languages and crafts. Ten years later, he would build the first Catholic mission in the city of Gaza. Gatt carried out research on the history, archaeology and topography of Jerusalem and Gaza, as well as studies on particular topics, such as the Philistines. He published several articles on the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (refer to Chapter B-II.2.3), the most important German journal for scientific research on Palestine. Among them is a map of Gaza from 1887, drawn and commented by Gatt (1888).

He was also a loyal contributor of *Das Heilige Land*, with several articles on Jerusalem (e.g. Gatt 1873, 1874, 1875b, 1875a, 1880, 1881, 1882). According to Goren (2003b, p. 311), Gatt's *Beschreibung über Jerusalem und seine Umgebung* (1877), is one of the most accurate descriptions of Jerusalem published in the 19th century.

1.1.3. Jews

Grosser Gott! Warum sind wir so verschieden von jedem Volk und dessen Sprache? Warum ist für sie, die Völker der Erde, dies das Heilige Land? Für sie ist es, nur das Land ihres Messias, der Boden, auf welchem seine Füße einige Jahre schritten. Und wie bemühen sie sich, dieses Land kennen zu lernen, es zu erforschen und zu verstehen. Wieviele tausend Bücher und Untersuchungen wurden schon über dieses Land geschrieben und verfasst, wieviele wissenschaftliche Reisen wurden in dieses Land unternommen, wieviele Gesellschaften zur Erforschung dieses Land wurden schon gegründet, wieviel Geld wurde und wird noch immer investiert, wieviel Arbeitskraft und gewaltige Ausdauer ausvollkommener Aufopferung! Man wandert das Land in seiner Weite und Breite durch, man erlernt die Eigenschaften der Ortschaften, man, sammelt jede Pflanze, jeden Strauch und jedes Grass, man lernt die Lebewesen und die Tiere kennen, man erforscht die Sprache der Bewohner und deren Gebräuche als auch die Bekleidung und die Geräte, welche sie benutzen. All dies ist ihnen nicht genug, und sie graben auch unter der Erde und sind über jede Scherbe, welche sie finden, überglücklich, über jeden Buchstaben, über jede Inschrift, welche sie finden, sie gründen Institute und senden Professoren und deren Schüler, um dieses Land zu erforschen, und all dies, um ihre zwei heiligen Lehren besser verstehen zu können.

Und wir! Wir, denen dieses ganze Land gehört, unsere Vergangenheit und unsere Zukunft, unser Ursprung, unsere Ehre, die Erde unserer Vorfahren, das Land unserer Bibel und unserer heiligen Schriften - was taten und was tun unsere Gelehrten und unsere Rabbiner und die Schriftgelehrten aus dem Ausland und sogar diejenigen aus dem Land, ja sogar aus dem heiligen Jerusalem zur Erforschung dieses Lande? Hunderte „weise Schüler“ verbringen ihre Tage

nutzlos mit Lehren, welche keinerlei Nutzen bringen, nicht ihnen und nicht anderen, nicht dem Himmel und nicht den Menschen, verderben ihren Verstand mit leeren Spitzfindigkeiten, mit Fragen und Antworten, mit welchem Finger – ihr vergebt mir – muss man schnauben, und wieviele Handbreit darf man aufdecken oder aber verdecken, und welchen Fuss muss, man zuerst bekleiden und noch ähnliche grosse Probleme, welche auf ewig dem Geiste Israels zur Schande seien werden, – und es fällt ihnen nicht ein, ihre Begabungen und ihre „Kräfte der Erforschung dieses Landes des Heiligen und dieser heiligen Erde zu verwenden! Ach! Wie verschieden sind wir geworden von jedem anderen Volk und dessen Sprache! (Ben-Yehuda apud Carmel, Bloedhorn 2002, p. 12)

This emotional outburst by Ben-Yehuda is both an ode to the international scientific enterprise in Palestine and a harsh criticism of the local Jewish community. On the one hand, a lack of attitude or interest can be attested since Jews did not organize themselves as a collective group – under a Jewish identity – to promote scientific investigations of the land. However, many individual Jews are known to have participated and contributed to some of these investigations carried out by the “Völker der Erde”.

This study is not the place to address the topic of the collective identity of Zionist Jews, especially in contrast to their national identities.¹¹ Particularly relevant for this work is the fact that they were referred to as Jews by the European governments and by the Evangelical and Catholic community in Palestine since the first immigration wave in the second half of the 19th century. This reference had – as shown in the following paragraphs – both positive and negative connotations.

Within the context of the Christian immigration, the German Kaiser realized that also the Zionist movement could contribute to Germany's *Ostpolitik* (Friedman 2003, p. 63). Instructed about the movement by the founder of political Zionism, Theodor Herzl through his uncle Frederick, Grand Duke of Baden, Kaiser Wilhelm II seemed convinced of the benefits Jewish colonies in Palestine could bring both to the Ottoman and the German Empire. He believed that the settlement of *wealthy* and *diligent* Jews “would bring millions into the purse of the Turks and of the upper class and effendis and so gradually help to save the 'Sick Man' from bankruptcy”. With it, the Ottomans would not need foreign investment and know-how to the construction of highways and railways “and then it would not be so easy to dismember Turkey”. For the benefit of Germany, Jewish “energy and creative powers and abilities... would be directed to more dignified purposes than the exploitation of Christians”; moreover, “many Semites of the Social Democratic party, who are stirring

¹¹ For a discussion on this and further references, see Schatz, Wiese 2006 (especially Gelber) and Er'el 2004 (especially Benari).

up opposition, will move eastwards, where more rewarding work will present itself” (Letter from Kaiser Wilhelm II to the Grand Duke of Baden, 29.9.1898 apud Ellern, Ellern 1961, pp. 48–53, English version by Friedman 1977, pp. 65–67).

In the urge to increase the Germanization of the land, German Zionists and their enterprises in Palestine would accelerate the dissemination of the German language. Therefore, even though the Kaiser believed the Jews to have killed Jesus Christ (apud Ellern, Ellern 1961, x), he found it beneficial to offer them protection and intercede with the Sultan for them. Thus, while waiting for God’s judgement, the Jews would serve German interests in Palestine and at the same time ease the Jewish Question.

In Herzl’s plan of a Jewish State (Herzl 1920), Palestine came into question as the “ever-memorable historic home” of the Jews (Herzl 1980, p. 425). The First Zionist Congress in Basel (1897) proposed, first and foremost, “the promotion, on suitable lines, of the colonization of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers” (Mendes-Flohr, Reinhartz 1980, p. 429). Before World War I, the Jewish Community of Palestine (*Yishuv*) made up nearly 14% of the total population, with 80 to 90 thousand people. In Jerusalem, for example, where the population numbered 80 thousand, there were 45 thousand Jews (Kolatt 1975, p. 211). The majority among them was composed by immigrants from Eastern Europe, while the German Jews formed a distinct group, characterized by highly-educated people of an elite class (Gelber 2006, p. 264).

Eliav (1975) discusses the key role of the German consulate in Jerusalem in the development of the *Yishuv* during the 19th century. Since the creation of the Prussian consulate in Jerusalem in 1842, this institution became the patron *par excellence* not only of German Jews, but also of Jews without citizenship (Eliav 1975, p. 428; Elan 1984, p. 12). Under von Alten (1869-1873) and von Münchhausen (1874-1881), the consulate assistance reached a new level, in an attempt of improve the living conditions of the Jewish communities by promoting economic recovery and offering opportunities for them to increase their cultural levels. According to Eliav (1975, p. 430), though, the first embodied a desire for “justice and honest wish” while the latter saw Jews as nothing more than an instrument and wished “to hasten the Germanization of the Jewish community”.

The Ottoman government – afraid of a Judeo-German Palestine within the context of a Franco-Lebanon idea – posed obstacles to the Zionist ideas (Friedman 2003, p. 62). The German Government did not want to put their relations at risk, but, on the other hand,

they did not lost interest in the *Yishuv*. Therefore, the German General Consulate in Jerusalem (under Schmidt) and the German Consulates in Jaffa (under Brode) and Haifa (under Löytved-Hardegg) adopted a hostile attitude towards the nationalistic ambitions of the Zionists (Eliav 1975, p. 440).

Nevertheless, with the outbreak of World War I, Germany acted in favor of Palestinian Jews, as the Ottoman Empire declared war against Zionism. In a top secret document to the Consulate in Jerusalem dating from November 22, 1915, the German Government reestablishes the “freundliche Haltung gegenüber dem Zionismus” and recommends the support to the local Jews, „auch durch tätiges Eingreifen“ (Friedman 1977, pp. 422–423, 2003, p. 65). The German intervention was especially important when the Commander of the Ottoman 4th Army, Ahmet Jemal Pasha, ordered the evacuation of all Jews from Tel Aviv/Jaffa (27 March 1917), and planned the evacuation of Jerusalem Jews on the subsequent days.

The interference of the governments of Germany and the United States guaranteed the permanence of the Jews in Palestine and the British Mandate enabled the return of the exiled Jews to the land (Friedman 2003, p. 64).

Shortly before the war, in 1914, a Jewish Society for the Reclamation of Antiquities was created. In the 1920s, they engaged in the scientific research of the land for the first time as a group. Guthe (1923b, p. 224) reports of a Hebrew School of archaeology in Jerusalem, with 130 members in Palestine and 75 from around the world. Responsible for it were the chair David Yellin, the director Nahum Slouseh and the Secretary Isaias Preß. It is likely that Guthe was talking about the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, a continuation of the 1914’s Society and a precursor of the Israel Exploration Society. In 1924, a Zionist bibliographical journal was created – *Kirjath Sepher* by H. Bergmann and H. Pick. The journal listed especially literature about scientific research on Palestine produced in the land. Moreover, there was the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, which was founded in the 1920s and its Department of Archaeology was founded in the 1930s.

Before that, however, Jews engaged in scientific research for German Research Societies, as did Protestants and Catholics. Several German Jews joined the local branch of the DPV that existed in Palestine from 1897 to 1906 (Eisler 2006, p. 212). Moreover, they participated in the projects of the DPV, such as the meteorological observations. At request of the Zionist Commission for the Research of Palestine, some of the meteorological

stations were installed in Jewish colonies in Palestine – among them were the stations in Zamarin on the Haifa-Yafo road and Mesha (later Kfar Tabor) on the lower Galilee. They were operated by Jewish colonists, financed by the Zionist movement and scientifically supervised by the DPV (Blanckenhorn 1904a).

German Jews who immigrated later to Palestine also contributed to German research in the land. Leo Picard and Moshe Schwabe are examples that are going to be mentioned later in this work (refer to Chapter B-II.2.3).

1.1.4. Tell el-Mutesellim (Megiddo)

The tell that was going to stage the first large-scale excavation in Palestine organized by a German Society was the tell el-Mutesellim – better known today by its biblical name, Megiddo. Its strategic location in ancient and modern times was the main factor that led scholars to excavate on this site. The tell is situated at the southern edge of the Jezreel Valley and the northern foot of the Samaritan highland, just where the Via Maris turns east, on a narrow road; 32,5km from Haifa and 20km from Nazareth. As Schumacher noted:

... Von keinem Orte am Rande der großen Ebene ist der Blick über diese so umfassend wie vom tell el-Mutesellim. Derselbe liegt hart an der Grenze der mit Eichbäumen und Dornen bedeckten Abhänge der samaritanischen Berge und des baumlosen „käsefarbigen“ Belād er-Rōḥa; der rotbraune, eisenhaltige Boden des Nordabhanges von Umm el-Faḥm endet plötzlich mit dem Wādi 'Āra, der südlich von unsrem Tell die natürliche und politische Grenze zwischen dem Gebiet von Nāblus und der Rōḥa bildet. (TM I A, p. 4)

The tell is composed of an upper and a lower mound. Schumacher concentrated his activities mainly on the upper mound (**Figs. 16-18**). Due to its geographical position, Megiddo has had a long-lasting historical importance. The site is mentioned in documents of all great powers of the ancient Near East and in the Bible – both in the Old and New Testaments. In the NT, Megiddo is named Armageddon (from the Hebrew *Har Megiddo*, Tell Megiddo), the place of the very last battle (Rev. 16:16), when the God Almighty (16:14) delivers his Last Judgement and angels come down from the sky to defeat the beast, the false prophet (19:20) and the dragon (20:29).

Megiddo from the OT is also a place of battles (Jdg 5:19) where King Ahaziah (2Kg 9:27) and King Josiah (2Kg 23:29; 2Chr 35:20-24) died. In fact, other historical sources

mention other important battles taking place at Megiddo. The site was recorded as relieves at Karnak, first on the annals of the Egyptian Pharaohs Thutmose III of the battle against the Canaanites in the 15th century BCE, as well as on the list of cities conquered by the Pharaoh Shoshenq I in the 10th century BCE, both (see Cline 2002).

Actually, Megiddo is not only a historical battlefield; several generations and different cultural groups settled in the site, creating an impressive tell with nearly 30 occupational layers. In fact, Schumacher was the very first European who tried to understand the history of this site through archaeology.

I.1.4.1. The 1903-1905 excavations at Tell el-Mutesellim

The excavations at Tell el-Mutesellim mark an important step in the history of the *Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas* (For the history and developments of the Research Societies, refer to Chapter B-II.1). The Society was created with the clear objective to promote archaeological excavations on the Palestinian territory; thus, Megiddo became its first large excavation project, which was carried out 27 years after the foundation of the DPV. For this important project, the DPV joined forces with the *Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft*, which provided 10.000M for the expedition. In fact, this was a private fund from James Simon who was the most important Maecenas of the DOG and who saw excavations in Palestine as a profitable scientific enterprise (refer to Chapter B-II.1). Therefore, the DOG and the DPV signed an agreement, establishing the guidelines for the work (SMB ZA III/DOG II 2.1.1 Vertrag zwischen der DOG und dem Deutschen Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas, 25-01.1903). The project received especially the financial support of the government; in fact, Kaiser Wilhelm II covered two thirds of the costs. Moreover, many of the DPV members answered the appeal of the society (Geschäftliche Mitteilungen 1903, pp. 12–13) and contributed with an extra amount, besides their annual membership fees.

As Kautzsch emphasizes on the preface of the first report (Kautzsch, iii), over 20 years had passed from the first DPV excavations in Jerusalem (Guthe 1882a) and the quick development of research in the Ancient Near East contributed directly to the acknowledgment of the importance and the impact of archaeological investigations. Megiddo's historical importance had been already testified by written documents of the Pharaoh Thutmose III – and all the biblical mentions to the site. Subsequently, archaeology

would then illuminate the most challenging questions by cutting deep into the ground, (Kautzsch 1878, iii). For these reasons, excavating Megiddo came across as the right project to boost German biblical archaeology.

In fact, the site was already the target of the DPV since 1899, after a series of correspondences between Schumacher and Socin drew the attention of the society not only to the importance of the tell, but also to the fact that other researchers would very soon be aware of it. Therefore, to avoid that “man auch von nichtdeutscher Seite das Augenmerk auf den *tell el-mutesellim* und die *chirbet el-leddschūn* richten würde“, the DPV decided to act. First challenge was to negotiate with Ernst Sellin (Vienna University), who was looking for a site to excavate on the Jezreel Valley. Shortly after, Sellin started his excavations at Tell Ta’anek (refer to Chapter B-I.2) and the DPV applied to the Ottoman authorities for a permission to excavate at Tell el-Mutesellim (Guthe 1902b, p. 45).

The *ferman*, authorizing the DPV to develop archaeological investigations at the tell el-Mutesellim and in Khirbet el-Lajjun (Kaḍā Dschinīn) for two years, arrived in January 1903 in name of Dr. Gottlieb Schumacher (Geschäftliche Mitteilungen 1903, p. 14). Based on the Ottoman *Règlement sur les antiquités* from 1874, work was going to resume in the next three months following the date of the permission. Therefore, on April 1, 1903, Schumacher started the excavations at the tell.

After the end of the second year, the DPV decided to extend the project for another year. As Guthe (1905, p. 83) summarizes:

... Wenn sich auch das schließliche Ergebnis der Ausgrabungen noch nicht übersehen läßt, so ist es doch jetzt schon völlig über allen Zweifel erhaben, daß die Stätte, an der wir graben lassen, eine lange, bis in ein hohes Altertum hinaufgehende Geschichte gehabt und eine stattliche Ausbeute an Funden geliefert hat, die über Zeit und Zustände Palästinas zu uns reden, aus denen wir wenige oder gar keine Nachrichten besitzen.

All in all, the German Megiddo expedition took place from 1903 to 1905, with proper fieldwork developing twice a year, mainly during spring and fall. Along these years, the site was excavated by means of a large trench cutting the tell from North to South, by test trenches and squares of 2-3 meters at the edges of the plateau and down the slope, by diagonal trenches crossing on several orientations and by deeper shafts, which could help exposing larger buildings (TM I A, p.7).

In the end of the project, Schumacher admitted that there was still much work to be done at Megiddo. He calculated 9 to 12m of occupational layers, dug by him only a few

meters below the surface. Therefore, only the upper edges of the ring-wall, for example, could be exposed – with the exception of six spots where they dug deeper and a particular one, where the whole height of the wall and the use of buttresses could be verified. Besides, less than half of the area of the castles and the palace could be uncovered. Finally, he mentions that the lowest, and thus the oldest settlement level was not exposed at all (TM I A, p.8).

I.1.4.1.1. Reports

The results of the 1903-1905 Megiddo expedition were first published partially in several preliminary reports in the MNDPV (Schumacher 1904a, 1904b; Benzinger 1904; Schumacher 1905c, 1905b, 1905a, 1906b, 1906a, 1906d, 1906c; Kautzsch 1904b, 1904a, 1906), one in the MDOG (Stumme 1903) and finally in 1908 in a two-parts report by the DPV: *Tell el-Mutesellim: Fundbericht A. Text, and B. Tafeln*. Steuernagel was in charge of the edition of the book, contents of which were in accordance with Schumacher's manuscripts.

As the first report of the excavations at Tell el-Mutesellim, this publication was planned as a presentation of the finds in their context. In other words, architectural features and artifacts were described in their relation to each other and organized in a chronological sequence, according to the stratum they belonged. Still a historical analysis of the several strata, as well as absolute dating were to be left for a later report. In fact, a second report was published, yet 21 years later (Watzinger 1929).

Schumacher organizes his report according to the relative chronology he had established, from the oldest stratum (1) to the most recent ones (TM I A). The main session of his report is entitled *Das Mauerwerk und die Gebäude der verschiedenen Kulturschichten*. It is subdivided into chapters describing each stratum, as well as the finds excavated on the surroundings of the tell. In every chapter, Schumacher attempts to describe the buildings he attributed to that stratum, first by detailing its architectural features (*Das Mauerwerk*) and then by presenting the artifacts (*Die Kleinfunde*).

Carl Watzinger was a classical archaeologist, who had excavated in Greece, Egypt and in Palestine, at Jericho (refer to Chapter B-II.2). His appointment as the scholar who was to re-evaluate and publish Schumacher's finds is a sign of a different era of German biblical archaeology, when archaeological experience became imperative to the

development of the discipline (see more on Chapter B-II.1). In his report, he attributes historical periods to Schumacher's finds, namely the Bronze and Iron Ages. First, he uses data from Schumacher's report to justify his dating and lists the finds belonging to each strata. Then, in the conclusion of each period, he summarizes the historical events.

I.1.4.1.2. Further excavations at Megiddo

After Schumacher, Megiddo was excavated by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago from 1925 to 1939. This project became the "largest single excavation in the history of archaeological research in Israel" (Finkelstein et al. 2000, p. 1). It was directed by Clarence S. Fisher, P.L.O Guy and Gordon Loud (Lamon, Shipton 1939; Loud 1948). In the 1960s, work on the tell was resumed by the Israeli Yigael Yadin for three short seasons on behalf of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Yadin returned to the site in the beginning of the 1970s (Yadin 1970; Davies 1986; Kempinski 1989).

Their results laid the foundation for several academic disputes concerning the chronology of Israel during the Bronze and Iron Ages. Therefore, in order to reinterpret the site according to modern excavation methods on behalf of the Institute of Archaeology of the Tel Aviv University, Israel Finkelstein and David Ussishkin started a long-term excavation project at Megiddo. Since 1992, Tel Aviv University and a consortium of several other international institutions are excavating the site. The current (season 2016) expedition directors are Finkelstein (TAU), Matthew J. Adams (Albright Institute of Archaeological Research) and Mario A.S. Martin (TAU).

Since 2005 Megiddo is on the Unesco World Heritage List (Ref. 1108).

I.1.4.1.3. Re-evaluating Schumacher's excavations

Critics, from his contemporaries to modern literature, criticized Schumacher's Megiddo excavations. Recently, critics accused Schumacher of disregarding the theoretical mainstream of his time, giving more importance to the architecture than to the artifacts, especially pottery (Kempinski 1989; Niemann, Lehmann 2006a; Kreuzer 2008). In the 1920s, Fisher accused Schumacher of not having control over his workers. A proof of it was, as he claimed, that native workers under Fisher's supervision during the Chicago excavations found a piece of the stela of Pharaoh Shoshenq I – a very important discovery – buried in Schumacher's dumps (Fisher 1929).

Pioneer work is rather criticized than appreciated in its proper context. The world of the first archaeological excavations in Palestine is over a hundred years away from today – a century in which archaeology is known to have become an academic discipline. Much of its theoretical and methodological developments are due to the discoveries of the pioneers: their successes were improved; their failures taught lessons to future archaeologists.

A return to the ways in which field techniques and interpretations created the discipline of archaeology is imperative to understand and criticize the modern practices of the discipline. Finkelstein and Ussishkin once considered the history of the excavations in Megiddo as representatives of the history of biblical archaeology itself, its methods and techniques (Finkelstein, Ussishkin 2002, p. 11). Therefore, a re-evaluation of the very first large-scale excavation in this site would provide us with the first steps into the history of biblical archaeology.

On the one hand, anyone studying the topic would realize the political background of the broader European interests in the Near East, as the first part of this chapter illustrates. On the other hand, anyone interested in the interpretations of the biblical sites from archaeological works should be aware of the methods employed to obtain the data that supports this or that interpretation, either to judge its reliability or to use it as foundation for their own research.

In a similar investigation, Sparks (2013) analyses the excavations of Flinders Petrie in Egypt in the first half of the 20th century in order to explore the correlations between practices of excavation and artifact recovery. Based on her study, Schumacher's excavations at Megiddo were analyzed according to the following criteria: excavation strategies and workforce, recording methods and object collection policies. The analysis is based mainly on published material of Schumacher's excavations at Megiddo (TM I A and B, and articles published in the MNDPV).

Every decision Schumacher made – from the field technique, application of workforce and distribution of tasks – determined the way object was recovered and recorded on the field. Moreover, his strategies affected the description and interpretation of architectural features and artifacts in different ways as they were presented in the publications.

I.1.4.1.4. The excavation process

Excavations began at the highest point of the tell, its eastern edge, on square O31 (**Fig. 17**). Because this was the most likely area to look for a cultic place, the excavation was expanded to north in sqs. N29 and 31, to the west in S25, and to the southwest in W30. The strategy was to obtain as much information from such a large tell in a limited time scope, Schumacher decided to excavate a 20m wide trench N-S delineated. This began in sqs. B22 and F22, and was expanded during the second season to sqs. H22 and H23. While excavating sqs. W20/W21-Y20/Y21 at the southern edge, remains of a massive wall and upright-standing monoliths were revealed. Still, in the spring of 1903, rock tombs located in the surroundings of the tell were emptied and examined (TM I A, p.7).

The results of the excavation of the large trench determined the next steps for the following seasons. First, Schumacher extended it all the way to sqs. Y20 and Y21 on the southern edge of the tell, and in M24 and N24, he enlarged its width to 30m. Along the trench for 73m length, the excavator identified two complexes of castles connected to each other, namely the Nordburg (=northern castle) and the Mittelburg (=central castle). On the edges of the western half of the tell, four test trenches were excavated in sqs. C11/C12-E11/E12 and G4/G5-H4/H5 (NW), O1/O2-P1/P2 (W), and X5/X6-Y5/Y6 (SW). Moreover, 3 to 6m deep shafts were dug in different parts of the plateau, especially in sqs. I11/I12-K11/K12, U5/U6-V5/V6 and N13/N14. Diagonal cuts were also dug in different parts, such as from the edge O1 all the way to the N-S trench meeting in sq. T21, from C11 to K19 (NW-SE orientation), and M24 to H31 on the plateau, and on a terrace northeast of the tell, where a Felsaltar (=rock altar) was discovered. During these excavations, a brick wall was discovered in the test trench in sq. W26, X26 and Y27, which Schumacher described as surrounding the tell, abutting smaller buildings of stone and mud north and south. Besides, below their camp in the Dahr ed-Dar (**Fig. 16**) remains of a Roman theater were exposed, together with several tombs (TM I A, pp. 7-8).

In 1905, the focus of the expedition was in the “prehistoric buildings” – the Nordburg and the Mittelburg. In order to achieve a better understanding of the complexes, the N-S trench was expanded in such a way that their architecture, burial places, and altars could be carefully examined. Moreover, Schumacher dug a shaft down to bedrock in sq. L22 as well as test trenches between sqs. U24 and Y23, and T22 and V26. Another large building was uncovered between sqs. T17-T20 and T20-W20, which Schumacher called the

Palast (=palace). He considered it to have existed later than both of the castles. Moreover, a large gate structure was excavated in this season at the southern edge, in sqs. Y20/Y21, identified as the Südliches Burgtor (=southern castle gate). Parallel to the excavations, the team continued to explore the vicinities of the tell. On the northeast side of Megiddo, at 'Ain el-Kubbi, they discovered Roman milestones that enabled them to underline the course of the main road that led from el-Lajjun to Acco on the coast (TM I A, p. 8).

Schumacher's way of conducting an archaeological excavation developed mostly from his former works in Palestine as an engineer and surveyor. If this did not train him in the interpretation of the finds, it was through this experience that he learned the territory and its people. Schumacher was used to work with locals; he could speak Arabic and understood their customs. He himself had grown up in Palestine and wanted to die there, where he felt mostly at home. Besides, the training as an engineer and architect conferred him with the skills to comprehend, even if not in its entirety – the occupation history of a tell.

In fact, much of the excavation techniques applied by archaeologists in the beginning of the 20th century were developed through their own field experiences and experiments. Although Schumacher had worked with Sellin at Tell Ta'anek, Tell el-Mutesellim was his first major work as the director and the very first large scale excavation project of the DPV and the DOG in Palestine.

a. Architectural horizons

Although Schumacher recognized the existence of several layers lying one on top of each other in the composition of a tell, he followed the principle of exposing architectural horizons. Therefore, as soon as architectural features were spotted within an excavation area, he decided to follow them, either to expose an entire building when possible, or to excavate at least until some of its characteristics could be assessed.

If this is considered an inappropriate field technique today, it was an advantage at the time, considering that the director of the first excavations at Megiddo was an engineer/architect with no expert knowledge of pottery interpretation.

To begin with, Schumacher could describe and record the architectural features with meticulous detail. His top plans, section and building drawings are glowing components of his publications. In the final report (TM I B), 14 section drawings were

published. Among them, two are drawings of South-North and West-East cuts of the entire tell, five of the ring-wall – East (Pegs 3 and 4), Southwest (Peg 22), West (Pegs 17 and 19), Northwest (Peg 15) – others are sections of structures such as the tower on Peg 19 and the Burial chambers (**Figs. 22-25** in contrast to **Figs. 19-21**). Moreover, for each complex of buildings excavated by Schumacher, there is a top plan identifying buildings and finds with their elevations marked on it and different construction phases are marked by different colors (**Fig. 26**).

Besides, Schumacher was able to identify different building techniques such as the Megiddo version of the Vitruvian *opus spicatum* on the second phase of the walls of the Stratum 2 in M22 and on the western enclosure wall of the Nordburg (**Fig. 27**), ashlar masonry in the walls of the Palast in Stratum 5, and the use of headers and stretchers (**Figs. 28-29**). He also noted building techniques which he believed were not yet known in Palestine at the time such as wooden foundation for stone walls in the fourth stratum, below the corner R of the tower (TM I A, p. 118).

All this made his description of masonry very accurate, considering modern standards of research:

... Die Quadern greifen teils als Binder, und zwar meist als einzelne (c), bisweilen aber auch als zwei nebeneinander gelegte (d), über die ganze Mauerdicke; teils überbindet ein langer Block (a) mehrere Läufer (vgl. auch Abb. 135 [here Fig. 28]); teils stehen deren zwei (b in Abb. 135 [here Fig. 28]) als bindende Orthostaten mitten in der Mauer. Häufig ist eine kreuzförmige Anordnung durch die Wiederkehr zweier Läufer (a) in der ersten und dritten Schicht im Wechsel mit einem Binder (b) in der dazwischenliegenden Schicht (Tafel XXIX B) oder die Abwechslung von Läufern (a) und Bindern (b) wie in Abb. 136 [here Fig. 29]. (TM I A, p.92)

An additional advantage of Schumacher's architectural orientation of fieldwork is that in his publications, he presents the finds according to the location of their find-spots and not by typology or raw material, as was usual for his time (Cf. Bliss, Macalister 1902; Petrie 1894, 1891, 1930). For example, he describes the finds of Stratum 3 of the Nordburg, outside the burial chambers as follows:

Neben den Gruben des Quadrates L 23 unweit des Kindergrabes f unmittelbar auf dem Lehm Boden des Hofes fand sich eine Terracotta-Figur mit abgebrochenem Kopf. [description and pictures of the figurine and a sketch of the pit follows]
Dicht daneben, hart an dem genannten Grabe f, lagen auf demselben Lehm Boden des Hofes zwei weitere Figuren. [description and pictures follows]
(TM I A, pp. 62-64)

Although not all of the small finds were registered on the top plans, this strategy of presenting them by location contributed to Watzinger's re-evaluation and further analysis of the excavation finds, and to re-assemble associated finds, whose importance as a group might have escaped Schumacher.

b. Mapping and grid system

One of Schumacher's priorities when fieldwork began at Megiddo was the mapping of the site and the region. Schumacher undertook the measurements and drawings himself with the assistance of Bez, using a leveling instrument; he produced a topographic map of the tell in a scale of 1:1000 and another of its adjacent areas in a scale of 1:5000.

While taking the measurements, he left several pegs over the tell, recording elevations. Along the edge of the plateau, he placed 24 pegs every 20 meters. After a first sketch of the plan was ready, Schumacher divided the entire area in a grid system, annotated by numbers and letters forming 10x10 squares (**Fig. 17**).

The use of a grid system, although broadly applied today, was not a common practice in the first archaeological excavations in the Near East. Petrie, for example, adopted an overall site grid for the first time in 1938 (Sparks 2013, p. 153); Bliss and Macalister do not mention such a method in the reports of their own excavations in the Shephelah at all (Bliss, Macalister 1902). In the absence of the reference of a grid, the excavator had to wait until architecture appeared to delineate and describe the context of a specific find within an area.

In Schumacher's excavations, it is not clear when the grid was first established. Schumacher referred to squares for the first time in his final publication in 1908 and made no mention of them at all in the preliminary reports. In contrast, he uses the pegs as reference to locate the artifacts and features. With the development of the excavations, the opening of the trench cut and the further exposing of walls, Schumacher increasingly adopted the reference of architecture and excavation areas.

In the preliminary report of the first season, Schumacher describes the excavations of the Tempelburg (= temple castle) on the east edge of the tell (Schumacher 1904b). He describes the finds by their location in relation to the pegs and then presents the top plans of the areas according to the them – in this case Peg 5 and Peg 6 (**Figs. 30-32**). The same

area is presented on a top plan in the final publication with the lines of the squares Q30/Q31-R30/R31 marked on it (**Fig. 33**).

It is likely that he matched the find spots and contexts of the finds recorded in the top plans of his excavation and notes to the grid system. Nevertheless, the use of pegs seems to have secured at least a minimum of reference for the recording of the finds before architectural features were uncovered – enough to guarantee the conversion of it to the squares' labels in the final report.

c. Workforce and the distribution of tasks

To compensate his lack of experience as an archaeologist, Schumacher decided to delegate the positions of supervisors to men he had already been working with at the construction of the railway and the streets of the Tempel colony in Haifa (TM I A, p. 2). For the general supervision of the work, he chose to engage Germans, most of them very close to him, since they had to be particularly trustworthy. The main workers, however, were recruited locally, from the neighboring villages of Umm al-Fahm, es-Sile, Musmus, el-Mansi, and el-Lajjun.

The workforce varied in number, from nearly 20 to 50 workers per day in the beginning of the first season (Schumacher 1904a, p. 14), reaching a maximum of 200 men throughout the project. This resulted in an average number of 70 workers per day (TM I A, p.1). Schumacher divided these men in five different excavation areas, with nearly 20 people each, in a ratio of five men to 15-18 women (TM I A, p.2). Usually, three men were responsible for pickaxing the soil, loosening it; two other men would shovel the loose soil into baskets so that the women could carry the soil away and dump it at the edge of the tell or in determined areas 25-30m away (TM I A, p.1) (**Figs 34-38**). Women also sifted the soil from specific areas, such as tombs, chambers, or cleaned pottery vessels, in an attempt to discover important smaller finds (TM I A, p.2).

According to Schumacher, this was the most effective way of working on the tell: the division of tasks between men and women could ensure a continuous speed of the dig; while the limited number of people in the area would possibly ease supervision work. (TM I A, p. 2).

In fact, the supervisors were responsible for ensuring that the excavation work was being done according to plans and on the right pace, encouraging and guiding the workers

when necessary. Moreover, they also had the duty of removing the small and delicate artifacts from the soil and keeping the most valuable items safe, until they got back to the camp. Ideally, the team was to work in such a harmonious way that the supervisor could also spend time inside the trenches, excavating (TM I A, p.2). In one of the reports for the DPV, Schumacher registers their names and describes them as follows:

... Eljas 'Aṣfūr genannt "Doktor" wegen seiner Kenntnisse auf kanaanitischen Gebiete, Mūsā, Dschīrius (gennant *dschrīs* bei den einheimischen Arbeitern), Elījā, der niemüde Spaßvogel, der, wenn alle flügellahm am Abend in ihre Koje kriechen, immer noch ein Scherzwort zur Aufheiterung bereit hat, und Rāschid der „ferch“ (=halbwüchsig, weil Neuling). (Schumacher 1905c, pp. 1–2)

This intimacy provided a harmonious atmosphere, which guaranteed that the workers could learn their jobs easily, minimizing the problem of lack of training among the natives. In this way, Schumacher's closest assistants could dedicate themselves to more complex activities such as recording the data. The first German to hold this function was Johannes Bez, who was Schumacher's companion during his earlier works, and who was from Haifa. His first task was to take the elevations of several points along the tell so that they could produce a topographic plan of the site. Schumacher also hired Nicola Datodi, who had been working at Tell Ta'anek. He was mainly responsible for the administration of the workers and for the payments, but would also supervise the fieldwork when needed (Schumacher 1904a, p. 14). In the summer of 1904, Bez was substituted by a teacher from Haifa, Dietrich Lange, who worked on the drawings and pictures of some important artifacts (Schumacher 1905c, p. 2). During the fall campaign of 1904, Alfred Schumacher, the son of the director, assisted him in the drawings and numbering of the finds, in the measurements and recording of the walls and tombs and in taking pictures (Schumacher 1905a, p. 81).

Schumacher was the appointed director of the project. Nevertheless, in the campaign during the fall of 1903, the Berlin Museums instructed him to conduct the mission of removing the façade of the Mshatta castle from its original site in modern Jordan and transporting it to Berlin¹². In his absence, the DPV sent Lic. Dr. J. Benzinger to conduct the work at Megiddo.

¹² Today, the Mshatta-Façade belongs to the collection of the *Museum für Islamische Kunst* (I. 6163), exhibited in the *Pergamon Museum* in Berlin. It was built by the Umayyad dynasty around 743-744 CE. According to the official description, the Façade arrived in Germany in 1903 as a special gift from the Ottoman Sultan to the German Kaiser. Documents attest, however, that the Germans had interest in acquiring part of the castle's façade since Wilhelm von Bode (1845-1929, later director of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum) first saw it. Thanks

In general, the distribution of workers in excavation areas as well as the ratio of workers per staff member has a direct impact in what is collected from the field and how registration develops. The experience level both of staff and workers is another key factor. An ideal number of workers under trained supervision could be decisive in guaranteeing the identification of artifacts still *in situ*, or the changes in soil color and texture indicating the proximity of a new layer of occupation. Equally important is that the supervisor needs time and specific conditions to record properly the context of recovered artifacts.

In this excavation, not only the workers but also the entire staff lacked archaeological experience. Nevertheless, many of Schumacher's decisions proved to be, if not the most correct according to the standards of the excavations of his time, at least prudent.

For instance, the concentration of work in some specific areas, chosen by the stratigraphy of the tell reveals this clearly. In contrast to most excavations of his time, Schumacher's approach favored the preservation of the tell. He did not touch the soil outside the areas he determined to excavate, which were considerably small for the size of the plateau and concentrated mainly in the southeast and the north-south trench (**Figs. 17-18**). This was very criticized by his contemporaries, such as Fisher, who mentioned that such a limited excavation could not determine the stratification of a tell (Fisher 1929, pp. viii–ix). In fact, the Chicago expeditions at Megiddo planned to excavate the mound entirely, removing one layer after the other¹³. Thanks to the enormous cost (of time and money), such a strategy was partially abandoned, not before a huge cut was dug up to bedrock on the eastern side of the tell (**Fig. 19**).

The reasons why he decided to concentrate the work in such areas can be questioned and one can argue he would have done differently if the DPV had more money to keep the project going for more seasons or to hire more workers. Nevertheless, the fact is that cutting a deep trench was a good strategy for collecting the information at the time

to the Kaiser's personal interest and the effort of many people (Bode, Schöne, Wiegand, Wangenheim), Germans were able to exchange the entrance of the castle for expensive black horses shipped to Constantinople. The Mshatta-Façade was dismantled and sent to Berlin in 442 installments under Schumacher's supervision against the Ottoman antiquities law (Marchand 1996b, pp. 315–316; Watzinger 1944). Schumacher's work was assessed as professional and prudent, at the same time he was full of energy and skilled (BArch R 901/37704). As a result, he was nominated to the Königlich Kronen-Orden, 3rd Class (BArch R 901/37706).

¹³ "Not until the mound is *completely* excavated and virgin rock is reached, can we determine the full number of strata which it contains." (Fisher 1929, p. 9; emphasis added)

and therefore he left the rest of the tell intact for future generations to excavate with their own field techniques and questions.

Moreover, there is no evidence of neither a lack of harmony or discipline among the fieldworkers nor a lack of control on the side of Schumacher. Fisher considers the fact that an important artifact – a piece of Pharaoh Shoshenq I stela – was found in the dumps of Schumacher's excavations as an evidence of the German's "insufficient control of the native labor" (Fisher 1929, ix). It is naturally regrettable that the fragment of the stele was not found in its original context and thus its find-spot is forever lost. On the other hand, this case does not demonstrate the quality of the German excavations, since it was not the first, nor the last excavation to have artifacts ending up in the dumps. Unfortunately, this is part of the excavation process – thankfully becoming less common as field techniques improve – but still very hard to avoid in large-scale projects. Besides, the same happened in the Chicago excavations, as a fragment of a clay tablet with part of the Epic of Gilgamesh in cuneiform was found by a shepherd from kibbutz Megiddo among the rests of their dumps in the 1950s (Goren et al. 2009).

Schumacher's distribution of tasks proved indeed to be effective for registration work. Watzinger's second report, published 21 years after the first report and 26 years after the beginnings of excavation proves this. The great majority of Schumacher's field notes and drawings were lost before Watzinger began to work on the second report. Besides, Watzinger had no connection with the Megiddo expedition at all: he neither worked nor visited the site during Schumacher's work.

Firstly, if Schumacher had not recorded the find-spot of many artifacts by attributing them to specific context and measuring their elevations (see below), Watzinger would never be able to reconstruct their provenience and thus classify the material. Secondly, thanks to Schumacher's precise descriptions, Watzinger was able to recognize many of the mistakes of the first and offer a more appropriate interpretation of the tell (**Table 1**).

I.1.4.1.5. Recording Methods

A formal system of recording the fieldwork and registration of finds common to the members of the staff is not known to have been applied in Schumacher's excavations. There is no mention of how data was recorded, besides that architecture was planned by Schumacher himself (with assistance, for example of his son) with top and bottom levels of

walls and surface levels of floors taken systematically (**Figs. 26** and **33** for example of top plans). Moreover, the combination of grid system and pegs as reference points contributed to the degree of information of provenance that could be attributed to individual finds.

In some cases, the exact find-spot of an artifact was registered on the top plan, sometimes with levels and other measurements. Still, it was not clear if all finds spotted *in situ* were recorded on the top plans. *In situ* photographs seem to be planned for all *in situ* finds in the beginning of the project; however, as Schumacher became busier within the season, they became less common. Nevertheless, there are nearly 20 find-spots registered on top plans and at least 12 photographs of artifacts and burials are still *in situ* on the final report.

A good example of recording on top plan and pictures is burial *f* of the Necropolis provenience (TM I A, pp. 56-57). The location of the grave was registered on the top plan (**Fig. 26**) 176.0 m above sea level, photographed and described (**Figs. 39-40**).

Moreover, Schumacher took also photographs of entire contexts, such as rooms, pits and burials. These pictures were used by Watzinger during the production of his report. He could recognize mixed contexts on some of the pictures, for example when floors were accidentally cut by workers and artifacts sealed below them – that is, older than the floor – were collected as belonging to the same context of others on top of the floor. Thanks to these pictures, Watzinger could attribute more precise dates to some of the strata.

Recording methods could vary along an excavation project, due not only to the pace of the work – the more to do, the less information was recorded – but also to the interests of the excavators. It is interesting to see how many burials were recovered during Schumacher's excavations at Megiddo, and how detailed their recording was in comparison to other finds. Kautzsch recorded the excitement of such a discovery in his personal journal as follows:

...Painstaking work undertaken again uncovering a number of skeletons; one of them had three stones laid under its head; the feet of another one were next to the skull of the other one. Oh, if only they could talk now and tell us how they got there, what people they belonged to! It makes a curious impression on one, such a skeleton, at least 3,000 years old, with well-preserved teeth in the brittle jawbones. Schumacher photographed the whole thing in the afternoon. (apud Niemann, Lehmann 2006b, p. 698)

Moreover, some specific buildings or strata received more attention than others did, as it is the case of both of the “*Masseboth Rooms*” from Strata 5 and 6, which have

their own section in the report (TM I A, pp. 105-110; 125-130), in contrast to stratum 8, where only the Islamic tower deserved attention (TM I A, pp. 151-153).

Deliberate omissions also occurred, especially when excavators were looking for specific periods of occupation. In the case of the first excavations at Megiddo, if there had been only the report of the finds by Watzinger, information concerning the oldest settlements excavated by Schumacher would have been lost. One can argue that there was not much information about these first strata, or that “die Funde aus größerer Tiefe zusammenhanglos und unbedeutend sind” (TM II, p. v); nevertheless, Schumacher did record excavating material from the Stone and early Bronze ages – material which was disregarded by Watzinger in his report.

Besides, from the field registration to the writing of the final report, usually there was a gap of several years. Preliminary reports can be key documents to track the development of the interpretation of the site by its excavators. For example, some of the finds of the Mittelburg mentioned before were not added to the TM I A (see TM II, p. 3).

I.1.4.1.6. Payment

The payment method chosen by Schumacher for Megiddo was the “day pay”, that is, fixed salaries for the day’s labor. The salaries varied according to the workers’ job (**Table 2**) and payment happened every 14 days, usually on Saturday afternoons (Schumacher 1904a, p. 19). On payday, each worker was registered on the payroll and was paid individually (TM I A, p. 3).

The payment *per diem* proved to be a better choice in comparison to the payment by piece, which was adopted by Petrie in the same year in his excavations in Egypt (Petrie 1904). According to this criterion, workers were paid according to the amount of soil removed per cubic meter, considering the nature of the deposit – how hard the soil was, or how deep the pit was (Sparks 2013). Although this method was useful when speed was required, unexperienced workers digging fast would often not recognize finds and features, ignoring or even damaging important artifacts; besides, it made supervision and recording of data very difficult. “Day pay”, on the other hand, prized a more structured digging, with closer supervision and more detailed recording of finds.

Schumacher praised the supervision very much. He mentioned in many instances, how “Aufmerksamkeit und Ehrlichkeit meist zu wünschen übrig lassen”. For these reasons,

he encouraged the workers through the payment of a “finders fee”, in addition to the fixed amount. This system known as *bakshish* was extensively applied at excavations in the Near East in the first half of the 20th century (Sparks 2013, p. 148). When workers encountered valuable finds, they would be rewarded with 0,5 Beschlik (22 Pfennigs); for finds considered even more precious, the price paid was 1 Beschlik (Schumacher 1904a, p. 17; TM I A, p.3).

On the one hand, the application of the “finders fee” reveals that the intellectual value of an object could be converted into a monetary value, on the other, this value depended on the character of the object itself and not on its context. Therefore, according to its type, size, preservation and raw material, an artifact could be more or less important, disregarding the context where it was found (Sparks 2013, p. 148).

I.1.4.1.7. Object Collection policy

Schumacher did not describe which finds were awarded the *bakshish*. Nevertheless, he mentions in different instances which finds he considered valuable (TM I A, p.2) such as seals, scarabs, decorated pottery, figurines, coins and inscriptions (**Figs. 41-50**).

Among Schumacher’s great discoveries, the so-called Shema and Asaph seals had a particular effect among German scholars and were analyzed separately in articles in the MNDPV (Kautzsch 1904a, 1904b, 1906).

These were the most-wanted artifacts in an archaeological excavation at the turn of the 20th century. On the one hand, excavators were mainly looking for finds that museums would be interested in, which could legitimize the importance of their work as a trophy to be exhibited back home. On the other hand, these were the finds that could offer more information, especially because the research potential of non-decorated pottery and other common finds to the comprehension of daily life of past cultures was only being sketched by Petrie at the time (Petrie 1904, p. 33) and was not even widely applied in his own excavations (Sparks 2013).

It is not clear from Schumacher’s reports if the payment of the *bakshish* interfered in the degree of provenience of a recovered artifact. During her analysis of Petrie’s excavations, Sparks considered the problem of the prizes being equally awarded, to objects found *in situ* or from questionable provenience. According to her, this would encourage the workers to look for specifically profitable finds, in or out of context. It is very likely that

this happened at Megiddo as well, although a quantitative analysis of unstratified artifacts cannot be carried out due to the lack of sources.

From Schumacher's publications, Watzinger's report and the list of artifacts sent to Germany after the process of the analysis (SMB ZA III/ DOG II 2.1.3, Fundlisten), it can be concluded that most of the artifacts were registered either fully or partially stratified. In other words, their provenance information was composed by a) both area reference (building room, in association with walls) and elevation – fully stratified; or b) either one or another, or by a general area reference (building complex, peg number or Stratum).

There were however, a few finds, which were sent to Germany without detailed provenance information on the list. They are mainly artifacts from investigations on the surrounding areas of the tell, where no stratified work has been carried out. Examples are pottery and coins from the rock tombs south of the tell (SMB ZA III/ DOG II 2.1.3, Fundlisten, Box 7,14), a sample of Arabic faience from Khirbet el-Lajjun, a stamped clay brick from the Roman theater (**Fig. 51**; SMB ZA III/ DOG II 2.1.3, Fundlisten, Box 13).

In the end of the project, many finds from Megiddo were sent to the Imperial Museums in Constantinople, as foreseen in the Ottoman law. A representative of the Ottoman Museum accompanied the expedition at Megiddo, to supervise the work and check the registration of the finds. In the end of each season, it was his responsibility to prepare the finds to be transferred to Constantinople.

I.1.4.1.8. Results

Indeed, if during the period of Schumacher's excavations pottery was not among the most exciting finds, two decades later, during Watzinger's re-evaluation of Schumacher's finds, pottery typology was much further developed. During these years, the main idea of archaeology as a means to recover special artifacts from the ground had changed. In the period, scholars came to acknowledge the importance of daily-life objects as an important key to understand an archaeological site. Commenting on the collection of the *Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes* in Jerusalem (refer to Chapter B-II.1.3) in 1913, the German archaeologist Thomsen remarks

Daß man aus der Gestalt und Verzierung der tönernen Gefäße wichtige Schlüsse auf die Zeit ihrer Entstehung ziehen, ja daraus ein ganzes System der Töpferei in Palästina ausstellen und dann wiederum aus solchen Scherben das Alter einer Schicht der Ausgrabungen bestimmen kann, diese Erkenntnis verdanken wir erst den letzten Ausgrabungen in Palästina. Wenn auch noch dieses und jenes Strittig

bleibt, so ist es doch wünschenswert, daß den bescheidenen Gefäßen des Altertums mehr Aufmerksamkeit zugewendet wird und sie in den wissenschaftlichen Sammlungen mit genauer Angabe ihres Fundortes aufbewahrt werden. (Thomsen 1913, p. 129)

Therefore, while Schumacher's final report from 1908 focuses on the description of the structures and a selection of artifacts, and his interpretation goes as far as to understand the relationship among the architectural complexes, defining the limits and sequence of each strata, Watzinger's report come to offer an absolute dating to the strata of Megiddo. His historical interpretation of the site not only complements, but also contradicts Schumacher's first presentation of the site in several points.

Schumacher identified 8 strata and 16 building complexes, distributed according to the **Table 1**.

Watzinger focused on the finds of the complexes Schumacher had explored the most and thus could retrieve more information: the Nordburg, the Mittelburg, the Südtor, the Palast and the Tempelburg. Although he disagreed with Schumacher's insistence for terms such as –Burg and Palast, he applied them to maintain the references.

As also indicated in the **Table 1**, Watzinger tried to reorganize Schumacher's stratigraphy. He suggested that Schumacher's first stratum should be divided into more layers, yet he did not discuss it.

Like Schumacher, he interpreted the Mittelburg and Nordburg to form a complex, which was also composed by the Stadtmauer and dated to the Bronze Age. Due to the large number of scarabs found in the area of the Mittelburg (interpreted by him as Egyptians), Schumacher gave the complex the name "die ägyptische Burg" (TM I A, p.14). Besides, the discovery of two sealed burial chambers (Grabkammer I and II) by Schumacher offered Watzinger the possibility to compare finds from a safe context to other burial chambers in the Near East (TM II, p. 7-8) and date the complex more precisely within the second millennium BCE (**Table 1**). At the turn of the Middle Bronze to Late Bronze Ages, the Mittelburg was destroyed by fire, and rebuilt shortly after, at a period when the Nordburg was renovated as well (TM II, p. 24).

Despite Watzinger's efforts, Schumacher's excavations did not deliver enough information on the causes of the fire. Yet, according to Watzinger, it could be concluded from the excavations that the account of Thutmose III's conquest of Megiddo later in 1479 BCE did happen without the destruction of the city (TM II, p.25).

Although Kempinsky (1989, p. 6) attributed the correlation of ashlar masonry to the period of the biblical king Solomon to Schumacher, there is no mention of this in Schumacher's final report. It is likely that he might have come to this conclusion once, since he commented on his last preliminary report that „Sehr zu bedauern ist dabei, daß es uns nicht mehr vergönnt war, den mittleren Teil dieses großen Schlosses *aus der Zeit Salomos*, der wohl weitere Gebäude und Toranlagen aufgewiesen hätte, freizulegen.“ (Schumacher 1906d, p. 43; emphasis added). Moreover, Macalister mentioned to have heard this interpretation from Schumacher himself while the later visited the excavations at Gezer (Macalister 1912, pp. 255–256). Whatever the reason, he seems to have changed his mind, either concerning the interpretation or its importance to the final report.

Indeed, he suggested in the final report that the introduction of this building technique “den größten und eingreifendsten Schritt vorwärts” in the architecture of Megiddo, was the work of foreign architects, most likely the Phoenicians (TM I A, p. 91).

Watzinger, on the other hand, considered the remains of Stratum 4 to match “nun aber auffallend die biblische Überlieferung von der Befestigung von Megiddo durch Salomo (1 Kön. 9, 15)” (TM II, p. 57). He based his argumentation on the interpretations of other sites such as Gezer (TM II, p. 56), stating that “diese Kombination ist so überzeugend, daß sie heute allgemein angenommen zu sein scheint” (TM II, pp. 56-57).

In summary, Watzinger interpreted the time gap between Strata 3 and 4 (ca. 1200-1000 BCE) not using archaeology, but through biblical tradition: this is the time when Egypt retreated from Palestine, and the Philistines and the Canaanite attempts to subjugate the Jezreel valley increased (TM II, pp. 57-58). David cannot be responsible for the constructions in Schumacher's Stratum 4 according to the Bible, but Salomon can.

Therefore, the large conflagration that destroyed Stratum 4 is the work of the Campaign of the Egyptian Pharaoh Shoshenq I, dating back to 926 BCE (TM II, p. 67).

After that, the erecting of Schumacher's Palast is considered by Watzinger the work of Omri and Ahab (TM II, p.68), dating back to 900 BCE and destroyed by the Assyrians through fire. The Tempelburg is interpreted by Watzinger as a dwelling area, built after the Palast and not destroyed by the Assyrians, who simply forced the inhabitants to go into exile, according to 2Kg 15:29 (TM II, pp. 89-90).

Watzinger does not go further in his historical approach of Schumacher's finds. Stratum 7 is barely attributed to the Babylonian and Persian periods. The later presents yet Stratum 8 dating back to the Islamic period, built after a long occupational gap on the tell.

1.2. *Archaeology meets the Bible – and vice versa*

1.2.1. *Material culture as Realia*

The development of the discipline of archaeology relies on the acceptance of material culture as an alternative source of knowledge about the past. The acknowledgement of the power of artifacts to illustrate, illuminate and even to prove the biblical narrative has already been mentioned in this work; its use for apologetical purposes in the context of biblical criticism, as well (refer to Chapter A-1.2).

This session explores one of the first examples of the uses of *Realia* – the real, existing and verifiable things from the past – in biblical studies in Germany. The main focus is on how the developments in biblical criticism, and its counteractions shaped German biblical archaeology in its early steps.

1.2.2. *Biblical Interpretation in Theology – Wellhausen’s Criticism*

The name of Julius Wellhausen already appeared in this work, in the general context of biblical criticism. Wellhausen is often mentioned as a key figure in the field of German biblical studies during the 19th century, and was often associated first for discrediting the biblical text as a historical narrative; second for the deconstruction of the unity of the biblical text; and third for a radical interpretation of the ancient Israel and the history of monotheism. These three statements are actually interrelated and are a result of many years, even centuries of research about the biblical text. In his formulation of the so-called “documentary hypothesis”, Wellhausen synthesizes the ideas of many earlier German theologians of his time, who listed several contradictions, doublets, later modifications of laws, and differences of style and language in the Pentateuch (Rogerson 1985, p. 200). In this context, Wellhausen identifies four main editors – who composed the Pentateuch departing from different sources – and organizes them chronologically. He proposed the sequence JE, D and P¹⁴, dating JE to the period of the divided monarchy, D to Josiah’s reforms and P to the period after the Exile (Wellhausen 1963, 1899). Consequently, he

¹⁴ The letter *J* is for *Jahwist*, representing the passages in which God is depicted by the *Tetragrammaton* (יהוה=YHWH, JHWH in German); *E* for the *Elohists* source, which uses the term *Elohim* for God. *D* is named after the Book of Deuteronomy; last, *P* depicts the so-called Priestly Writer (Gertz 2010).

concludes not only that the Torah was written in different chronological phases, but also that the period of time the stories depict are much older than the text itself. This formulation underlies his *Geschichte Israels* (1878), which starts with the following problem:

... die geschichtliche Stellung des mosaischen Gesetzes, und zwar handelt es sich darum, ob dasselbe der Ausgangspunkt sei für die *Geschichte des alten Israel* oder für die *Geschichte des Judentums*, d.h. der Religionsgemeinde, welche das von Assyriern und Chaldäern vernichtete Volk überlebte. (Wellhausen 1899, p. 1 emphasis added)

In other words, Wellhausen distinguishes an ancient Israel from a period of the development of Judaism – which comprises the biblical period – both separated from each other by the destruction of Jerusalem and the Exile (Wellhausen 1899, 1881; Smend 2006). Based on Chronicles, Samuel, Kings and some prophetic texts, Wellhausen concludes that the biblical laws and traditions represent the latest period, and do not depict the way of life and religious practices in ancient Israel. The mosaic law was rather produced during the time after the period of the Babylonian exile, when Priestly ruled Judaism (Marchand 2009, p. 182; Wellhausen 1899, p. 417). He believes that following Josiah's reforms, control over worship became more and more intense, culminating into a full controlled system, after the destruction of the Temple and Exile. The Book of Ezekiel suggests how the priestly won over the prophetic. The projection of the priestly religion to the time of Moses should be understood, together with the Book of Chronicles, as the testimony of this triumph (Wellhausen 1899, pp. 427–428; Rogerson 1985, p. 265).

Wellhausen's *Geschichte* was less a historical work and more a presentation of his methods of textual criticism. The fact that he planned to publish a second historical volume, which could only be understood in light of his *Quellenkritik* might be the reason for it. Since the project would be delayed, he decided to transform the first volume in *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*.

Nevertheless, this publication presented many historical aspects, some of which worth mentioning here such as the traditions concerning the Patriarchs, for instance. Although those texts could not offer historical information about the pre-mosaic period, they offer a justification for the cultic practices during the ninth and eighth centuries BCE at various holy places (Hayward 2009). For him, Monotheism developed from pagan cults through a historical process, not through an artificially imposed one. Moses had unified the Israelites by means of religion, basing the unity upon kinship. In other words, unity was not

imposed by “the giver of a law or the founder of institutions” (Rogerson 1985, p. 268). This implies, in Wellhausen’s words (1881, p. 399),

... that every task of the nation, internal as well as external, was conceived as holy. It certainly did not mean that the almighty Creator of heaven and earth was conceived of as having first made a covenant with this one people that by them He might be truly known and worshipped. *It was not as if Jehovah had originally been regarded as the God of the universe who subsequently became the God of Israel; on the contrary, He was primarily Israel's God, and only afterwards (very long afterwards) did He come to be regarded as the God of the universe.* For Moses to have given to the Israelites an "enlightened conception of God" would have been to have given them a stone instead of bread; it is in the highest degree probable that, with regard to the essential nature of Jehovah, as distinct from His relation to men, he allowed them to *continue in the same way of thinking with their fathers*. With theoretical truths, which were not at all in demand, He did not occupy himself, but purely with practical questions which were put and urged by the pressure of the times. (emphasis added)

As a result, he demystified the idea of Religion as hierocracy, in favor of a religion that was part of the daily life of people.

The religious starting-point of the history of Israel was remarkable, not for its novelty, but for its normal character. In all ancient primitive peoples the relation in which God is conceived to stand to the circumstances of the nation—in other words, religion—furnishes a motive for law and morals; in the case of none did it become so with such purity and power as in that of the Israelites. Whatever Jehovah may have been conceived to be in His essential nature—God of the thunderstorm or the like—this fell more and more into the background as mysterious and transcendental; the subject was not one for inquiry. All stress was laid upon His activity within the world of mankind, whose ends He made one with His own. Religion thus did not make men partakers in a divine life, but contrariwise it made God a partaker in the life of men; life in this way was not straitened by it, but enlarged. The so-called "particularism" of Israel's idea of God was in fact the real strength of Israel's religion; it thus escaped from barren mythologisings, and became free to apply itself to the moral tasks which are always given, and admit of being discharged, only in definite spheres. As God of the nation, Jehovah became the God of justice and of right; as God of justice and right, He came to be thought of as the highest, and at last as the only, power in heaven and earth. (Wellhausen 1881, p. 399)

Thus, Wellhausen draws a connection between modern faith and the time of the Patriarchs, criticizing the institutional cultic tradition in the same way Protestantism once stood against the Catholic Church, while emphasizing the concept of Protestant Christianity as a direct and natural “heir to ancient Israelite monotheism”¹⁵.

¹⁵ Wellhausen describes the mosaic Theocracy as the mother of the Old Catholic Church (Wellhausen 1899, p. 428).

The reception of Wellhausen publications varied profoundly. Some of Germany's most important scholars at the time considered the *Prolegomena* to be the most convincing expression of several important ideas concerning the Bible that were indeed able to reach not only theologians, but also everybody with an interest for the Holy Scriptures (Machinist 2009, p. 475). The ancient historian Theodor Mommsen, for instance, mentioned in a private letter to his son-in-law Willamowitz – who was a colleague of Wellhausen – how the book was able to communicate its message to both experts and untrained, making the old Jewish world more understandable (quoted in Smend 2006, p. 8). Some others found it rather too revolutionary hence shocking and outrageous. This was especially true inside the most conservative circles of theologians, who even accused Wellhausen of being heretical and atheist (Smend 1983; Banks 2006; Barton 2014).

For disputed reasons, Wellhausen resigned his position as a professor of Theology in Greifswald, in 1882¹⁶, and became ten years later professor of Oriental languages at the University of Göttingen. He would dedicate himself first to the study of Arabic texts and the Islam (Wellhausen 1927, 1960) and later to the New Testament (Wellhausen 1914, 1987).

Nevertheless, Wellhausen preserved his view of ancient religions as a construct by its earlier practitioners; this was true for the Second Temple Jews creating Judaism, as it was for the apostles inventing Christianity and Muhammed's disciples, the Islam. If Wellhausen's criticism of the Old Testament would later become orthodoxy in biblical studies – first in Germany and later in England and other countries (Rogerson 1985, p. 288 et passim; Silberman 1993a, p. 548) – his position against the divine origins of Christian Faith would make him quite unpopular even among his former supporters (Marchand 2009, pp. 183–184).

It is important to remember that Wellhausen's interpretations were not only a result of centuries of analysis of the biblical text, but especially of his *Weltanschauung*. Although he never engaged himself into political parties, he was a product of his time and therefore a perfect example of the encounter of German *Realpolitik* and Theology, during the 19th and 20th centuries. His interpretation of the subject of a national unity developing in a political autonomy among the ancient Israelites is a depiction of Bismarck's unification

¹⁶ Wellhausen's discredit for institutions might have led him to a disappointment regarding the Lutheran Church in Germany, so that it discouraged him to continue teaching future Lutheran ministers. For a discussion on it, see Machinist 2009.

project for Germany. Firstly, his realistic approach of the State as a provider of unity and security, combined with the liberal and romantic beliefs of his era, shaped his interest for the origins of Israelite and Jewish culture (Wellhausen 1899; Banks 2006, pp. 67–68; Marchand 2009, pp. 184–185).

Moreover, his interest for institutions such as Nation or State places Wellhausen on the latest historiographic tradition in Germany. History – *wie es eigentlich gewesen* as proposed by the Rankean Historism – should be written without bias and the constraints of traditional theological interpretation. He believed in the critical use of evidence to reach *the truth*; but still, Wellhausen was after all a theologian, who chose to stick to the traditional canon as the main source of his investigations.

The title of Machinist's article "The road not taken" (2009) summarizes Wellhausen's denial to embrace other fields of knowledge studying the world of the Bible, such as Assyriology. It did not take long, however, for archaeology to manage to connect Theology to Ancient Near Eastern studies in Germany – a link that persists until today.

1.2.3. German Empire under Kaiser Wilhelm II – politics, science and culture as formative elements of a nation

If the *Realpolitik* of Otto von Bismarck was a defining characteristic of Germany in the process of Unification, during the rule of Wilhelm II (1888-1918), the most distinctive government policy was the development of an Imperial Culture. It is well known from the example of France after the French Revolution that culture plays a major role in the creation of a national identity. Education was recognized as the fundamental tool for the transmission of collective memory in order to shape an individual identity for patriotic citizens (Carretero et al. 2012; Guibernau 2013). Moreover, in Germany, artists, writers, and thinkers were major actors in the development of the concept of Germanness (Jefferies 2003).

The neo-humanist idealism, which permeated and justified the foundation of the German Empire, was reinterpreted and institutionalized under Wilhelm II in the form of Schools – side by side with the *Gymnasien*, Wilhelm II stimulated the *Realschulen* and the *technische Hochschulen*, to attend the demands of daily life in the Empire – Universities

and Research Societies, such as the *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft* (1911, today *Max-Planck-Gesellschaft*).

Against a historiographic tradition that claims that German intellectuals were not socially or politically engaged¹⁷, Kaiser Wilhelm II had cultivated a close relationship to many of them. He was personally a great supporter of sciences and intellectuals and was seen by his contemporaries as a *dilettante*. He became a member of many of the Research Societies that were being found in the period, attended their meetings, and became a known figure among intellectuals.

Interestingly, the German Kaiser was especially curious about antiquities and archaeology. So that he recorded this interest in his memories as follows:

Ein Gebiet, das mich in den Stunden der Erholung beschäftigt hat, war die Archäologie und die Ausgrabungstätigkeit. Ich hatte dabei einen leitenden Grundgedanken: die Feststellung der Wurzeln, aus denen sich die hellenische antike Kunst entwickelt hat, und das Schlagen oder Finden einer Brücke, um den Einfluß des Ostens auf den Westen in kultureller Beziehung zu ergründen. Die *Assyriologie* erschien mir besonders wichtig, weil von ihr eine *Beleuchtung und Belebung des Alten Testaments*, also der Heiligen Schrift, zu erwarten war. (Wilhelm II 1922, p. 168)

As a consequence of this interest, he visited excavations in Germany and abroad; he provided funds for many of them; he mentioned artifacts and the ancient history of the country in his speeches (Löhlein 2010), and after his rule was over, he published books on archaeology (e.g. Wilhelm II 1924, 1929, 1936).

Among all the fields, however, he declared himself especially attracted to Assyriology. The German ruler became the patron of the *Deutsch Orient Gesellschaft* (DOG), member of the Executive Committee and its most enthusiastic supporter. He would not miss any of its public lectures on the results of the excavations of the Society in the Orient (Wilhelm II 1922, pp. 168–169). This passion led Kaiser Wilhelm also to interfere with the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire in favor of the DOG. To be able to carry out excavations in Ottoman territory, foreign scholars needed to get permissions from Constantinople, which used to be a very bureaucratic process (BArch R 901/37745).

The DOG was established in the beginning of 1898, and started a German archaeological project in Babylon later that year under the direction of Robert Koldewey (1855-1925). The excavations took place until the World War I and produced many important results, such as the discovery of parts of the city of Hammurabi (eighteenth

¹⁷ For more on this tradition, refer to Jefferies 2003, especially Chapter 2.

century BCE) and Nebuchadnezzar's city, dating to the years from 604 to 563 BCE. In the ruins of this city, the excavators found the so-called processional way, the Ishtar Gate (both exhibited today in the Pergamon Museum, Berlin, respectively VA Bab 01379-1407 and VA Bab 0148-01456) and a Ziggurat (for more on the DOG and other Research Societies, refer to Chapter B-II.1).

These finds entered a competition with the finds of other projects carried out by the West in Mesopotamia, such as the excavations led by the French Paul-Émile Botta and the British Henry Layard. Both started their search for great Assyrian cities already at the end of the first half of the 19th century. At the same time, excavations were being conducted in different sites in Egypt – a process, which provided new information about the historical and geographical context of the ancient Near East and hence the Bible.

Long before artifacts produced by the German excavations in Mesopotamia arrived at the museums of Berlin, German scholars had begun to realize how revolutionary all that new knowledge could be. As Kaiser Wilhelm II announced in his memories, there was an undeniable link between Assyriology and the Old Testament. Consequently, specifically in Germany, the excavations triggered the demystification of Israel's historical uniqueness, which has constituted an academic dispute called "Babel-Bibel-Streit".

1.2.4. Biblical Interpretation in Near Eastern Studies – Babel and the Bible

The DOG organized regular meetings in Berlin to gather its members and exchange information and experiences. These meetings were important not only to report about the activities of the society, but especially to emphasize their importance in order to collect funds and find sponsors. It was during one of these meetings in 1902 that the German Assyriologist Friedrich Delitzsch (1850-1922) presented the first lecture of a series of three on the contributions of the archaeological studies in Mesopotamia to the understanding of the Old Testament. The first "Babel und Bibel" lecture addressed the most important members of the DOG, including the Kaiser Wilhelm II.

Delitzsch started his talk by ascribing the Bible the central role for the interest in ancient Mesopotamia, which justified the western competition and rivalry for excavating different sites in the region. In his words,

Wozu diesem Mühe im fernen, unwirtschaftlichen, gefährvollen Lande? Wozu dieses kostspielige Umwühlen vieltausendjährigen Schuttes bis hinab auf das Grundwasser, wo doch kein Gold und kein Silber zu finden? Wozu der Wetfeier

der Nationen, sich je mehr je lieber von diesen öden Hügel für die Grabung zu sichern? Und woher andererseits das immer steigende opferfreudige Interesse, das diesseits und jenseits des Ozeans den Grabungen in Babylonien-Assyrien zuteil wird?

Auf beide Fragen nennt Eine Antwort, wenn auch nicht erschöpfend, so och zu einem guten Teil Ursache und Zweck: *die Bibel*. (Delitzsch 1905b, p. 5)

In the course of the same lecture, however, he reverts the approach and focuses on Assyriology as a key – maybe the most important one – to the understanding of the biblical text. In fact, by addressing the problem of the biblical interpretation, Delitzsch emphasized how this should be completely revolutionized in light of all the new information being discovered in the Near East (Delitzsch 1905b, p. 6).

Bis tief in unser letztes Jahrhundert hinein bildete das Alte Testament eine Welt für sich: es sprach von Zeiten, an deren jüngste Grenzen das klassische Altertum eben noch heranreicht, und von Völkern, deren bei Griechen und Römern gar keine oder nur flüchtige Erwähnung geschieht. ... Jetzt auf einmal fallen die den alttestamentlichen Schauplatz vornehmlich nach rückwärts abschliessenden Wände, um ein frischer, belebender Wind aus dem Osten, gepaart mit einer Fülle von Licht, durchweht und durchleuchtet das ganze altehrwürdige Buch und zwar um so intensiver, als das hebräische Altertum von Anfang bis zu Ende gerade mit Babylonien und Assyrien verkettet ist. (Delitzsch 1905b, p. 7)

Against the expectations that the title of the lecture might have generated, he refuses to justify the practice of archaeology as a means to prove the Bible. On the contrary, he presents what he saw as solid proofs of the idea that many familiar biblical accounts have its origins in older Mesopotamian stories. He traces the influence of ancient Mesopotamian cultures upon contemporary European culture, arguing that it reached the modern world and survived mostly thanks to the biblical text¹⁸.

1.2.4.1. Near Eastern Archaeology: a whole new world

For Delitzsch, much more than bringing biblical characters into life, the contribution of newly discovered artifacts from different excavations in Mesopotamia was the complete new world they depicted. For this reason, to the public he chose to introduce the discoveries that were considered the most exciting ones among Near Eastern scholars in the end of the 19th century. According to him, these discoveries had originated the

¹⁸ „...Wenn wir zwölf Zeichen des Tierkreises unterscheiden und diese Widder, Stier, Zwillinge u. s. w. benennen; wenn wir den Kreis in 360 Grade, die Stunde in 60 Minuten und die Minute in 60 Sekunden einteilen; wenn wir die 7 Wochentage nach den 7 Planeten nennen, unsern Sonntag z. B. nach dem Sonnengott, u. s. w., so wirkt in alledem die sumerisch-babylonische Kultur lebendig bis auf diesen Tag fort.“ (Delitzsch 1905b, p. 47)

traditional stories of the Flood, the Creation of the Universe and the explanations for Human sins.

A Babylonian version of the biblical flood was identified by George Smith in 1872 in the British Museum among the clay tablets excavated at the modern site of Kouyunjik, northern Iraq. The site was identified as the ancient Nineveh and many tablets found in different locations of the tell comprise the so-called Library of the King Ashurbanipal (668-c.630 BCE). The impact of the publication of his discovery is said to have been so tremendous that, very anecdotally, sponsors sent an expedition to Kouyunjik to search a lost fragment of the Flood tablet, which was indeed found, on their fifth day of excavation (Daniel 1952, pp. 132–133; Trigger 2006, p. 103).

The story, presented in the eleventh tablet of the collection, known as the Epic of Gilgamesh (British Museum ref. SM.2131), had traveled to Canaan, according to Delitzsch, “genau wie sie hier niedergeschrieben war” (1905b, p. 34). The explanation for the differences of the biblical account, for example, the leading role of the sea that was neglected – what make it scientifically a less plausible natural phenomenon for him – are the result of topographical differences between Canaan and Babylon (Delitzsch 1905b, pp. 32–35).

Several depictions of the overcome of *ordo ab chao*, which is the origin of all things in the Universe, also attracted the attention of the Assyriologist (**Fig. 52**). He interpreted battles such as the ones between the gods Marduk and Tiamat – sometimes depicted as a dragon or a serpent – to be the sources for the OT texts of Gen 1, Ps 74:13-, 89:11, Isa 51:9 and Job 26:12; the theme for the NT’s battle between Michael and the dragon in Rev 12:7-10 and the legend of St. George killing the dragon (Delitzsch 1905b, p. 71).

Delitzsch presents other Mesopotamian sources, depicting common subjects with the Bible, such as the so-called Adam and Eve Seal (**Fig. 53**), a cylinder seal depicting a female and a male¹⁹ figure, a tree in the middle and a serpent behind them, dating back to 22-21 BCE. He also discusses Babylonian descriptions of life after death and the Paradise through the presentation of Sarcophagi inscriptions. He argues that several other biblical concepts, such as angels and cherubins, devil and demons, were inspired by Babylonian

¹⁹ The male figure is interpreted by Delitzsch as man with horns symbolizing strength or sacred blood. According to the catalogue of the British Museum, it represents a god.

traditions, for example the human-headed winged bull colossi found in several different sites in Mesopotamia.

To summarize, with all his devotion to the broader Near East, Delitzsch fulfilled his professional duties as the chair of the most important department of Assyriology in Germany (Berlin) at the turn to the 20th century, while emphasizing the importance of the investment in German excavations in Mesopotamia – a very promising enterprise at the time.

Indeed the DOG projects in Mesopotamia resulted in many important discoveries, which were broadly acknowledged. For Delitzsch, a very remarkable one of them is the “Dragon from Babel” (**Fig. 54**) displayed on the walls of the Processional Way that led to the Ishtar Gate in Nebuchadnezzar’s II Babylon. The snake with the front legs of a panther, rear legs ending in bird’s claws, horns on the head and a scorpion’s stinger at the end of the tail, materialized for him the fabulous and familiar animal from religious classes. He interpreted it as another depiction of Tiamat, to add to his argument of the battle with Marduk as he showed in his first lecture (**Fig. 52**) For him, such a find could only be seen as a *present* from the DOG to biblical scholarship, and for this, he was personally very thankful (Delitzsch 1903, p. 11).

1.2.4.2. Babel-Bibel-Streit

Even though Delitzsch had already planned to present his ideas in three different lectures, after the repercussion of the first one he used the second and the third *Babel und Bibel* lectures to defend himself, as several disputes emerged after the first one – disputes known as the Babel-Bibel-Streit.

The Babel-Bibel-Streit can generally be described as a reaction against the novelties that were brought by Ancient Near Eastern scholars to the knowledge of the ancient world at the time, as research on the subject increased in the 19th century. It was mainly a conservative response to the growing tendency of considering the Hebrew Bible and Judaism as heirs to ancient Assyria. According to Lehmann (1994, p. 3), it was once defined as a battle between “Panbalyonists contra Old Testament Scholars; Science contra Theology”.

The mechanism of presenting biblical parallels with other ancient cultures, however, strongly appealed to the general public. The Kaiser himself showed great interest

for Delitzsch's ideas. He supported the Assyriologist in many ways, including invitations to discuss the lecture, or to repeat it at the Palace for his guests, and even by ordering reports and encouraging the publications of his works (Lehmann 1994, p. 105). According to Lehmann, Kaiser Wilhelm II, a great supporter of the scientific enterprise, saw the contents of *Babel und Bibel* as an opportunity to bridge the gap between the scientific theological studies at the university and the community of devotees (Lehmann 1994, pp. 106–107).

After its publication in March 1902, *Babel und Bibel I* became a *best-seller*, its fifth edition being published in 1905. The publication of the second lecture held in Berlin one year later, in 12 January 1903, had already appeared in four editions in 1904. The reactions also resulted in countless writings. Immediately after his first lecture, Delitzsch started to answer to numerous letters, some of them particularly critical to his ideas (Lehmann 1994, p. 52). There were also critics to the German Kaiser for his involvement in the matter and his personal proximity to Delitzsch. Wilhelm II received several letters from abroad from people who were complaining about his religious opinions and condemning him for supporting *the wrong Christian belief* (BArch R 901/37900).

So much was written in the context of the Babel-Bibel-Streit, by theologians, Ancient Near Eastern scholars, members of the DOG, and seculars, that both in technical newspapers and in the broader media, the dispute was called the “paper World War of the 20th century” (Rosenberg 1904) (**Figs. 55-56**).

At the time of Delitzsch's third lecture, the popularity of the subject had considerably decreased. Over the years, he had been changing his agenda from emphasizing the importance of the research on the Near East (Delitzsch 1898, 1905b, 1903) to a condemnation of theological studies and religious practices in Germany (see Lehmann 1994, 8; Delitzsch 1903, 1905a, 1908). For this reason, Kaiser Wilhelm II had to publicly reject some of Delitzsch's ideas in an official letter to the DOG, dating from 15 February 1903.

As *summus episcopus* of the Prussian Church, the Kaiser saw the need for modifications in the cult. He believed in “Freiheit für das Denken, Freiheit in der Weiterbildung der Religion und Freiheit für unsere wissenschaftliche Forschung, das ist die Freiheit, die Ich dem deutschen Volke wünsche und ihm erkämpfen möchte, aber nicht die Freiheit, sich nach Belieben schlecht zu regieren” (Wilhelm II 1906, p. 140). This was for him a new era, ruled by scientific research, and accordingly, the German Protestant Church was

supposed to change in order to adapt to the era. As others before him, Delitzsch could act as a new Luther, leading the path to a new Reformation. However, following the recent unification process and the need to transform the inhabitants of the German Empire into the Deutsches Volk, the development of a state policy that confronted the orthodoxy and challenged people's most personal beliefs seemed a risky maneuver for the Kaiser. In order to soften the religious reaction against the developments of scientific enterprise in the Near East, he publicly suggested that heretic ideas, such as Delitzsch's, be kept inside the university, out of the media and separate from the DOG's interests, because "Wir graben aus und lesen was wir finden, und geben das heraus zum Wohl der Wissenschaft und Geschichte, aber nicht um Religions-Hypothesen Eines unter vielen Gelehrten begründen oder verfechten zu helfen" (BArch R 901/37900, fol. 81). To conclude his letter, he remarks: "Nie war Religion ein Ergebnis der Wissenschaft, sondern ein Ausfluß des Herzens und Seins des Menschen aus seinem Verkehr mit Gott" (BArch R 901/37900, fol. 82).

Although the revolution expected by Delitzsch in the religious system of Germany did not occur, the legacy of his statements and his contributions to the spread of the ideas of Panbabylonism were crucial for the development of German archaeology in the Near East at the time. The avalanche of resources transformed Oriental Studies and especially Assyriology from a positivistic theoretical discipline to a diffusionist *furor orientalis*. According to the testimony of important members of the DOG, such as its most important Maecenas James Simon, the society did not stray from its path to suit the Church (e.g. Simon's letter to Delitzsch, 2/22/1903, quoted in Lehmann 1994, p. 319).

Besides Wellhausen and Delitzsch, many other young scholars contributed to boost Near Eastern studies and to build its new identity. Another important name is Hugo Winckler (1863-1913), who is known by his research on the Hittites (Marchand 2009, pp. 238–239). In 1906, he began to excavate in the Anatolian town of Boğazköy, ancient Hattuša, the capital of the Hittite Empire. From 1907 until 1912, the excavations were carried out by the DOG (Haas 1998). Winckler's earlier publications (e.g. Winckler 1889, 1892, 1896, 1906) contributed a great deal to the Panbabylonism project of "understanding the ancient near eastern world as a whole, without linguistic barriers and philhellenic (or orthodox Jewish and Christian) prejudices" (Marchand 2009, p. 239). In fact, this represented the *Zeitgeist* – science should lead the path to knowledge. The diffusionist

agenda of these scholars, who claim that the Ancient Near East represented the origins of all things, was, however, their main weakness.

1.2.5. *Biblical Realia: Archaeology in favor of the Bible*

In addition to the *Zeitgeist*, religious orthodoxy still played an important role in politics and society. Many results of the excavations in Assyria and Babylon were condemned by the most conservative circles among Jews, Catholics and Protestants. A lecture by the theologian Karl Budde (1850-1935) on the debates between *The Old Testament and the Excavations*, published in 1902, summarizes the conservative reaction. The author justifies possible connections between the biblical text and other Near Eastern documents, dating them to the periods of foreign political control over Canaan. In its defense, he claims that biblical scholarship was a mature discipline, which “have learned through honest labor to study our sources and to understand them”. In this sense,

We can account for the pride and joyful exuberance with which the younger sisters of our Old Testament science look down upon it, because they deal with monuments and with documents, while we must content ourselves with a literature that has passed through innumerable hands. It is not strange that as an unavoidable transition there should be manifested a boundless skepticism toward the Old Testament. We can understand the Proteus-like transformations in which a modern haggada, based upon real or imaginary insight received from the monuments, attempts to lord it over or instruct the Old Testament tradition. But we are not confounded by it. Babylonian literature may swell up into infinity, but it will have nothing to equal our prophets, nor even the historical portions of our oldest sources. Grateful as we, the representatives of Old Testament science, are to the excavations, for each new ray of light and every enlargement of the scope of ancient history, we do not yet feel that the time has come to let our beautiful village be swallowed up over night, so to speak, by the metropolis of Babylon; much less are we inclined to ask for this incorporation ourselves. To march separately and, where opportunity offers, to join hands -that shall be our motto also in the future. (Budde 1902, p. 708)

Yet, this was not the only view among German theologians of the time, for some of them also acknowledged the importance of archaeology for the biblical interpretation. Particularly interesting for this discussion is the name of Ernst Sellin (1867-1946). Sellin was the first German scholar to conduct systematic archaeological excavations in Palestinian territory. He was though a *theologian* and he did these excavations on behalf of the *Austrian* Government, at a time when he was a professor of Old Testament Exegesis and biblical archaeology at the Evangelical Faculty of Theology of the University of Vienna.

Since the beginning of his career, Sellin had shown particular interest for the topic of the development of religion in ancient Israel – a common research point with

Wellhausen. However, the young scholar's approach would later confront the higher criticism "school"²⁰, due to a different methodological perspective, which emphasized an inner aprioristic logic over the positivistic study of the sources (Kraetzschmar 1896, p. 490; Siegfried 1896; Palmer 2012, p. 13). He would not deny, however, that there was a world to which the biblical text belonged that should be explored.

This section explores how Sellin interpreted archaeology according to the biblical narrative. One can already guess that he followed the same methodological logic as for the textual interpretation itself: there is first a biblical truth, only then comes the evidence, which should fit to it.

1.2.5.1. Sellin's interest for Archaeology

When Sellin became a professor in Austria, he was a promising young scholar, considered very competent for the way he could motivate students and conduct his research (Palmer 2012, p. 100). Although he was coming from a conservative school, he presented himself as open to new ideas, since he had already plans to engage in the archaeological research of the biblical lands. In fact, Sellin was so convinced of his interpretations of the history of the religion of Israel that he saw archaeology as a trendy tool to prove his interpretations. "Lassen wir die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen selbst uns behelern", he would suggest in his self-confident approach (Sellin 1905a, p. 8).

In 1899 he travelled to Palestine for the first time, "mich an einigen bestimmten Punkten des Westjordanlandes über Möglichkeit und Methode von Ausgrabungen zu orientieren" (Sellin 1899, p. 97). After this reconnaissance, he came back to Vienna with everything settled in his mind for a season of excavation at Tell Ta'anek. Apparently, the decision for this specific site came rather spontaneous, almost like an inspiration. In his words:

Am 11. April 1899 stand ich zum ersten Male auf dem Tell Ta'anek. Ich war, von Jerusalem kommend, auf einem Ritte von Dschennin zum Tell el-Mutesellim begriffen. [...] Als ich etwa eine halbe Stunde Weges hinter mir hatte, fiel mir schon von weitem durch seine Formation, die offenbar keine natürliche war, ein grüner Hügel auf. Auf die Frage, ob dies der Tell el-Mutesellim sei, erhielt ich zur Antwort: nein, der Tell Ta'anek. In den Reisehandbüchern und landläufigen geographischen Werken wird derselbe nur sehr flüchtig erwähnt. Ich staunte

²⁰ Sellin himself argued in the introduction of his book the following: „Es wird sich nämlich herausstellen, dass wir bei der Erörterung jenes uns auf Schritt und Tritt auseinanderzusetzen haben mit der Darstellung der altisraelitischen Religion, wie sie von der in Kuenen und Wellhausen ihre Väter habenden Richtung alttestamentlicher Gelehrter fast übereinstimmend entworfen wird“ (Sellin 1896a, pp. 9–10).

daher über seine Größe, und als ich ihn nach weiteren Ritte von einer Stunde erreicht hatte, beschloß ich, ihn einer näheren Prüfung zu unterziehen. [...] Es war klar, daß ich auf einem weitausgedehnten uralten Trümmerfelde stand, und der Name des Hügels konnte keinen Augenblick darüber in Zweifel lassen. Daß es sich um das alte biblische Taanach handle. (Sellin 1904, p. 1)

More than a sentimental experience, Sellin states clearly that he stopped at Ta'anek on his way to Megiddo. First of all, he was aware that the DPV was interested in excavating there, but more important than that, he was planning to study a site in the North, in ancient Israel, since British researchers were concentrating on Judah (Sellin 1902a).

1.2.5.2. The excavations at Tell Ta'anek (Taanach)

Tell Ta'anek is a large mount – around 40 meters high, 320 meters long and 150 meters wide, with a higher plateau of nearly 10km²²¹, located on the east of the modern Palestinian city of Tī'inik, in northern West Bank (**Fig. 57-58**). The position of the tell on the southern border of the Jezreel valley, nearly 8km southeast of Megiddo, places it strategically on the way from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan Valley and, from North to South, on one of the crossroads of the famous *Via Maris* in the region of the Mount Carmel – an alternative to the more traditional road through Megiddo.

In ancient times, the site was mentioned in biblical and extra-biblical sources. In the Old Testament, Taanach is mentioned in the Book of Judges (1:27 and 5:19) and Joshua (12:21 and 17:12), in the context of the disputes between the Canaanites and the Israelites, and especially as the scenario of the battle prophesied by Deborah, when “the kings of Canaan fought in Taanach, by the waters of Megiddo” (5:19). Eventually biblical Taanach becomes more important as an administrative center of King Solomon, during the 10th century BCE (1Kg 4:12). Moreover, the city is also mentioned in Jos 21:25, and 1Ch 7:29.

In addition to the biblical narrative, the place is mentioned in Egyptian sources such as, the documents of military Campaigns of the pharaohs Thutmose III in 1468 BCE and Shoshenq I in 918 BCE. The place appears also later in historiography, for example in Eusebius's *Onomasticon* and in modern travelers' writings.

There is no doubt that Sellin was looking for a place with religious importance to carry out his excavations. It is not clear, however, if Taanach's long Canaanite occupation

²¹ According to Schumacher's measurements (Sellin 1902a, p. 13).

intrigued him the most, or if the site's location in modern times played the decisive role. Sellin might have had no experience at that time, but he could already appreciate the site's proximity to Haifa and the German colony there which made the organization of his project practical (Sellin 1904, p. 2).

Sellin needed less than one year to arrange funding for the project. He collected 50.000 K, from the Austrian *Kultusministerium*, the *Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaft* and from private sponsors. The next bureaucratic step was the applications for the *Ferman* to the Ottoman Empire, which consumed much of his time and energy, as usual at the time (TT I, pp.2-3).

The first season of excavations at Tell Ta'annek began on March 10, 1902 (**Fig. 59**). Sellin planned a 5-month expedition, but as soon as the traditional difficulties started to appear – such as disputes with the local Fellaheen, or insistent rains in March (TT I, pp. 4-5) – the need for another season began emerge (Sellin 1902a, p. 13). In fact, during his first analysis of the finds in Vienna, Sellin decided that a second expedition to the tell was needed to do more testing and measurements and, on the other hand, to make sure “ob nicht doch vielleicht ein glücklicher Zufall mir in dem vielen noch liegen gelassenen Erdreich eine Inschrift erhalten hätte”²² (Sellin 1904, p. 7). Thus, they went back to the tell one year later, in March 1903. After that, there was also a third season of excavations in 1904 (**Fig. 60**) the first season, though, the second and the third ones were shorter and more intensive.intensive.intensive.

Sellin was the main director of the fieldwork and he conducted the work with the assistance of other scholars. In the first season, he had Dr. Münsterberg, a classical archaeologist and assistant curator of the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in Vienna, accompanying him in the first month of excavations. Moreover, Sellin had the assistance of Dr. Schumacher as his engineer/architect and Bez, a mechanic of the German colony, who he assigned to supervise the workers. Schumacher was already working for the DPV and PEF as surveyor; besides, both were very familiar with the language and customs of the local Arabs. It is true, however, that Sellin was at times the only scholar in the field (Sellin 1902b, p. 19). This scenario repeated itself particularly in the second season, because Schumacher was preparing to start excavations in Megiddo. During the last season, Sellin

²² During the second season, they found cuneiform inscriptions (discussed in the sequence). It is important to note, however, that Sellin wrote this after the second season was over. He knew, therefore, what they had already found at the tell (Cf. Sellin 1902c, p. 35).

came to Taanach, accompanied by Dr. Friedrich Hrozný, the cuneiform expert responsible for the study of the tablets found in 1903. This is an important element that characterizes the excavations at Ta'anek and will be discussed further on in this work.

The staff was composed as well by a administrator, a cook, a servant and five supervisors, distributed over the excavated areas. The supervisors were mainly Christian Arabs coming from Haifa. The workers were mostly from the villages close to the tell; there were also 10 Egyptians who stayed in Palestine after the construction of the railway Haifa-Besan (Sellin 1902a, p. 16).

The number of workers varied throughout the first season, especially during the harvest. Sellin worked with no more than 160 workers at the same time, usually 1/3 men and 2/3 women (TT I, p.5). In the second season, because a cholera epidemic had swept the region and many of the fellaheen were in special need of work, as they stayed for many months unemployed, Sellin hired 200 workers straight from the beginning (Sellin 1903, p. 2).

1.2.5.2.1. The excavation process

The tell was excavated in different areas, through large trenches and test pits (**Figs. 59-60**). First of all, because of the topography of the site, Sellin planned to excavate two diagonal trenches cutting the tell from its Northern and Northeastern edges until they become one big cut, meeting in the center. In doing so, they would necessarily reach the city wall, if there was ever one, surrounding the city. The trenches were initially 5m wide, but were expanded or re-directed according to the finds on their way. However, exactly because of the architectural finds, the first idea of connecting the trenches in the middle was suspended and they were expanded, following the different walls found on both sides (TT I, pp. 12-13). This led Sellin to the conclusion that not only there was no city wall, but also that there were different fortified buildings²³ over the tell (Nordburg, Nordostburg).

Then, a third trench was dug on the Western edge of the tell, in the direction of the highest area of the plateau, resulting in a similar fortification, called Westburg (= western castle) (TT I, p. 13). In the central area, although he would have preferred a complete

²³ Sellin applied the German word "Burg" to describe these fortified buildings. As Kreuzer (2006, p. 20) remarks, although he did not give a specific definition for the term, he does acknowledged its disputable applications. For example, when talking about the "Nordostburg" he considers its possible functions as a *shrine*, a *storage room*, a *large private house*, or a *fortress* strictly speaking (TT I, p. 29). He repeats this procedure when discussing the Arab fortress, that could rather be called a palace (TT I, p. 57), or the "Burg Ishtarwaschur" (TT II, p. 34).

exposition of the architectural remains, Sellin focused on two specific points: on one side, they dug a 78m long North-South trench, following an ancient path, in the never-fulfilled hope that it would lead them to a gate (TT I, pp. 13-14). On the other side, Sellin identified an “arabische Stadt und Burg”, which was largely exposed and later excavated through three 10m² squares that should evidence earlier layers of occupation all the way until the bedrock (TT I, p. 13). Besides these five larger excavation areas, when time and money became scarce, they opened some test pits as an attempt to get the last amount of information they could (TT I, p. 14).

During the second season, due to the restricted time they had, Sellin decided to concentrate on the expansion of already excavated areas. In 1903, one of the test pits opened on the eastern side was expanded through a 38m long and 4m wide cut to meet the excavation in the central area of the plateau. This resulted in the exposure of “Geräten des täglichen Lebens [...] ein kleines Privathaus neben dem andern, die offenbar alle gleichzeitig bei einer großen Katastrophe zerstört waren“ (TT I, p. 14).

More areas in the center were expanded and so was the northeastern trench, which resulted in the most acclaimed finds of the season: the cuneiform inscriptions. In his words,

... Mittels eine 42m langen und 4m breiten Grabens durchschnitt ich jetzt das ganze Nordplateau von Nordosten nach Südwesten. Und hierbei fand ich eine größere Bauanlage, halb über-, halb unterirdisch. War schon die Anlage an sich wichtig, so wurde sie dadurch noch wertvoller, daß ich in ihr den einzigen größeren inschriftlichen Fund machte, vier Tontafeln mit Keilinschrift. Erst durch sie wurde alles bisher in den ältesten Schichten Gefundene auf eine wissenschaftliche sicher verbürgte Basis gestellt. (Sellin 1904, p. 15)

Following the decipherment of these cuneiform texts by Dr. Friedrich Hrozný, on the belief that other tablets could have been missed, especially because “ich wegen mangelnder Zeit nicht imstande gewesen wäre, die Umgebung der Burg sowie die zu ihr gehörigen Höhlen ganz auszuräumen” . The search for other inscriptions became then the main focus of the new expedition. While the main plan was to uncover the Burg of Ishtarwaschur, the ruler mentioned in the texts, and the area immediate around it in its entirety, Sellin’s first maneuver was to check the dumps to make sure that no single piece of inscription was thrown away in the previous season. The effort was considerable:::

...Doch stellte ich sogleich unter den beiden besten Aufsehern bei jenem Haufen etwa 20 Weiber an, die, nachdem ihnen die Photographien der früher gefundenen Tafeln gezeigt waren, auf sem Schutte kniend die ganze Erde mit

ihrem Fingern durchsieben mußten, bevor dieselbe abgetragen wurde. So konnte tatsächlich kaum etwas entgehen. (TT II, p. 5)

The results were indeed satisfactory, since not only more cuneiform texts were found, but also no other large building in the area around the fortification was uncovered, an important answer for the understanding of the history of the occupation of the tell.

Due to the expectations of exposing large areas and removing a large amount of earth, men and women were working side by side: while men were properly excavating, women were collecting and transporting the earth to the dumps. During the evenings, when there was no work on the field, the finds were cleaned, sorted and classified (TT I, p. 6), later to be analyzed in Vienna. All finds from the first season went to Europe, but this changed in the next year, following the change in the Law of the Ottoman Empire regarding the antiquities.

1.2.5.2.2. Results

Already at Sellin's time, his finds draw more attention to Taanach than the biblical account once did, since they exposed the complexity of the history of its occupation (Kreuzer 2006, p. 24). The theologian gained a deep knowledge of the archaeological literature and declared to be a follower of Flinders Petrie, meaning that he was aware of the importance of pottery to the understanding of the stratigraphy of the tell (TT I, p. 89). Based on Petrie's and Bliss' typology, Sellin sorted out among pots, jars, bowls, plates and lamps, the ones, "die so charakterisistische Verschiedenheiten darbieten, daß man mit voller Sicherheit an ihnen verschiedene Kulturschichten orientieren kann" (TT I, p. 90). Accordingly, he identified four main occupational phases at Tell Ta'anek (**Table 3**)

The comparison of Sellin's discoveries with the English excavations in the Shephelah, produced an important contribution, namely the acknowledgement of the similarities between North and South. Sellin concluded therefore that inhabitants from the very same culture settled both in northern and southern Palestine (TT I, p. 90). Of course, the comparison also gave evidence about, what he interpreted as, some northern particularities such as the absence of a specific type of jug called *Bilbil* and of stamp impressions with Hebrew letters on jar handles, often found on the south. More significantly, Sellin mentions the clear delimitation of the late Israelite occupation (3b), which ended in a well-marked destruction layer. Last, he illustrates the more recent occupation during the time of the Crusaders, a characteristic of northern sites (TT I, p. 92).

Whereas Sellin agrees that the pottery artifacts and sherds are the decisive tools to reveal the story of the tell, the Cuneiform Tablets were considered the highlight of his finds. In the end of the third season, there was a group of 14 cuneiform tablets (12 + 2 smaller fragments) and a cylinder inscribed with a cuneiform text (Taanach 13). This comprised the very first collection of cuneiform texts to be found in Palestine, and one of the first finds of this kind concerning ancient Canaan. Around this period, the Taanach texts represented 75% of the known corpus of cuneiform inscriptions found in Ottoman Palestine (Horowitz, Oshima 2006, p. 78). As mentioned before, the Taanach tablets were transliterated, translated, commented, photographed and drawn shortly after the end of the excavations by the assyriologist Dr. Friedrich Hrozný (TT I, Anhang pp. 245-254). He also sorted the tablets, establishing a numbering system that is still in use today. Most of the artifacts (Taanach 1-11) are currently allocated in the Filistine collection of the Istanbul Archeological Museum; though Taanach 4a and 12 are missing (Horowitz, Oshima 2006, p. 77).

Hrozný and Sellin dated the archive to the 1b/late Canaanite layer. In more contemporary terms, a scholar would say that they belong to the Late Bronze Age²⁴. There are nine letters and five administrative documents (complete or in fragments), including lists with personal names (TT 3 = Fi 3 EŞ 2790²⁵; TT 4 = Fi 4 EŞ 2787; TT 4a; TT 7 = Fi 7 EŞ 2800; TT 12). Although the function of these lists are still unclear, they represented “das bisher [2006] umfangreichste Corpus an Personennamen, das in Palästina entdeckt worden ist (Pruzsinszky 2006, p. 101)²⁶. More than the content in itself, the fact that the texts were written in Babylonian cuneiform was more remarkable. This showed that this language was used, not only as a *lingua franca* in the context of the international relationship – as, for example, in the Amarna letters –, but also for local and regional use (Horowitz, Oshima 2004; Horowitz, Oshima 2006). Sellin goes further suggesting that “Vielmehr, wenn diese Stadtfürsten ihre Angelegenheiten unter einander sich in babylonischer Schrift mitteilen, so haben sie überhaupt keine andere gekannt, es ist wirklich die ihrige gewesen“ (TT I, p. 99).

²⁴ For a discussion of the dating of the Taanach archive, see Horowitz e Oshima (2006) and Rainey (1999).

²⁵ Registration Number of the Cuneiform tablets from Taanach in the Filistin (Fi.) collection of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum according to Horowitz, Oshima 2006.

²⁶ This is true for all the cuneiform tablets, containing lists of personal names discovered at Ta’anek, by Sellin and Lapp.

Besides the cuneiform texts, there is another set of remarkable finds that shaped Sellin's interpretation of the history of Taanach (Sellin 1902a, p. 16). Particularly important for the understanding of the religious practices at the tell are the *Felsaltar* and *Opfersäule*, the large amount of cultic figurines – especially of the goddess Astarte –, the *Räucheraltar*, made of ceramic and the amulets are important (TT I, p. 103).

The *Felsaltar* [rock altar], carved in the rock of the Nordostgraben (**Fig. 61**), was classified by Sellin as the oldest cultic find, which belongs to the early Canaanite occupation (1a), of his excavations, but which might still have been used later on. According to him, the altar was used in rituals with libations and blood, but not for sacrifices involving the burning of victims, as the ones described in the OT. He dates the altar according to the pottery sherds found in its surroundings, but he also seems to base his argument in a biblical passage, for, besides being carved in the natural rock, he also mentions that this altar had steps, which was forbidden to the Israelites according to Ex. 20:25-26 (TT I, p. 103). In the area around the altar, Sellin found many child skeletons on the ground (Sellin 1902a, p. 14). For him, it was impossible not to connect this children cemetery with the altar. He concluded then, that “die alte Bewohner des Hügels Kinder bis zu einem gewissen Alter – etwa 2 Jahren – noch nicht in den Familiengräbern, sondern unter oder bei ihren Häusern oder auch auf einem eigens dazu bestimmten Platze beisetzen“ (TT I, p. 36; Sellin 1908a). Moreover, if the children were offered as sacrifice in the same way as the animal victims that were slaughtered, left aside to bleed to death or buried alive, it is natural that they were rather very young, babies or newborns. Later, their parents would fall in love with their children and protect them “gegen die furchtbare Sitte, bis schließlich die Religion auch hier ihr grausiges Recht forderte“ (TT I, p. 37).

In the 78m trench that was dug along the N-S street, the excavators uncovered two *masseboth* (**Fig. 62**). The first one was 1,40m tall, 0,60m wide and 0,40m thick and the second one was 1m tall by 0,5 wide; both slightly wider towards the bottom and carved on the top (first) and in the middle (second) (TT I, p. 68). Sellin compared them to other standing stones found in Cyprus and Crete and thus identified them to be cultic stones that a god would inhabit through the sacrifice of a victim (TT I, p. 104). They were built during the late Canaanite period (2a) and used by the Israelites of the 2b, from the pottery around it. Having settled this issue, he attributed the so called colonnaded street below the Nordburg – a line of five standing stones parallel to another line with three (**Fig. 63**) (TT I,

p. 18) – to the *classic* Israelite phase (2b) and interpreted it as cultic stones as the ones Moses, Joshua, Jacob, Elias and others used to paint with blood and oil (TT I, p. 104). In Sellin's opinion, since no practical use for the stones were found, their religious meaning was confirmed through a discovery by Macalister at Gezer of 8 stones standing in one line, obviously composing a temple. While the Taanach stones formed no temple, they were a *Bamah*, as it appears in Ezekiel 20:29 (TT I, pp. 104-105).

Sellin created a broad category called "images of gods". His analysis of those images led him to trace periods of influence of foreign empires and its intensity, especially Egypt and Babylon. For example, a figure of Bes (**Fig. 64**) – a deity adopted by the Egyptian to protect the household and the childbirth – found in the 2b layer is a proof of the Egyptian influence during the *classic* Israelite period for him. Another example would be the god Nergal represented in a Cylinder seal (TT 13 **Fig. 65**) found on the oldest layers (1b) of the Nordostburg (=northeastern castle) excavations (TT I, p. 27). The seal depicts two images that Sellin interpreted as two gods or one god and a priest, Egyptian symbols and legend in cuneiform (TT I, pp. 27-28). As Sellin stresses, because the seal was found in a house of a Canaanite, this does not necessarily imply that this person worshipped Nergal,

vielmehr kann die Sache gerade so liegen wie bei der Nennung dieses Gottes in dem Briefe des Königs aus Alašia (Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek V. Nr. 25,13) und bei cypriotischen Sigeln, daß der Träger dabei an einen heimischen Gott gedacht, aber auf dem Sigel die babylonische Darstellung und die babylonische Schreibung übernommen hat.

Significantly, however, this represents for him „schon einen Schluß auf den religiösen Synkretismus der Zeit zwischen 2000 und 1500, der durch die überlegene babylonische Kultur herbeigeführt wurde und mit dieser zugleich babylonisch-mythologische und religiöse Elemente in Palästina einbürgerte“ (TT I, p. 105).

From the excavations, Sellin also concludes that the deity of the tell was the goddess Astarte. He defends the point that there was a specific type of representation of Astarte, exclusive to Taanach (**Fig. 66**), which follows that "jede Stadt ihren eigenen Typus hatte, den sie besonders heilig hielt und durch die Jahrhunderte hindurch bewahrte (TT I, p. 106).

Another interesting religious artifact found at Tell Ta'annek is the *Räucheraltar* ("incense altar") (**Figs. 67-69**) from the southern trench. It is made of ceramic, intensively decorated, 0,90m tall with a base of 0,45m and a wall 0,025 to 0,05m thick (TT I, pp. 76-78). The way it was broken in 40 pieces (Sellin 1905c, p. 35) made Sellin believe that it was intentionally destroyed, and because it was an altar, the ones that destroyed it did not

dare to touch it, but threw some sling stones – he found around 20 of it in the same area – on it instead (TT I, p. 78). Sellin attribute the altar to the late Israelite period (3a), the time the tell was fully inhabited and the point when it was massively destroyed, probably when the altar fell.

It is interesting to observe that, although Sellin agrees that the date of the destruction is very disputable, he believes that the altar was built in accordance with the prescription of the Mosaic law in Exodus 30:2, and he attributes the slightest differences to the fact that “freilich kann man bis auf weitere Funde nicht wissen, ob nicht überhaupt eine uralte weitverbreitete heilige Sitte in diesen Längenmaßen des jüdischen Gesetzes kodifiziert ist” (TT I, p. 110). More significantly is the fact that this could have been an authentic Israelite altar, which follows the principle of an oven. Therefore,

Wenn also z.B. der König Mescha von Moab berichtet er habe einen Ar’el, d.i. einen Gottesherd, aus Israel fortgetragen (vgl. Inschrift Z.12 und 17), so wissen wir jetzt, wie ungefähr wir uns einen solchen vorzustellen haben. Gerade die Zusammenstellung des in diesem enthaltenen Stammwortes חק mit ,חקת dem Ofen Jes. 31,9 bestätigt uns, daß wir uns einen Ar’el ähnlich wie den gefundenen Altar vorzustellen haben. Und noch etwas anderes wird uns durch den Fund klar. Der Erzähler von Gen. 15,17 läßt sich Gott dem Abraham bei der Bundschließung in Form eines brennenden wandernden Ofens manifestieren, eine ganz singuläre Vorstellung, die nur darin ihre Wurzel haben kann, daß es beweglichen Öfen gab, die die Nähe eines Gottes vermittelten. (TT I, p. 110)

With regard to the iconography – as the altar was decorated with horns, lions, cherubins and a probable representation of the „Tree of Life“ and the battle with the snake (Sellin 1905c, p. 35) –, Sellin also remarks that the altar brings a “handgreiflichen Beweis dafür, daß mythologischen Darstellungen und damit auch die Mythen selbst von anderen Völkern nach Palästina gewandert sind (TT I, p. 110).

In the group of smaller finds, Sellin’s excavations produced some scarabs. One of them is particularly important: it is a scarab depicting a walking lion, which Sellin interpreted as the oldest of the scarabs he found, and which belongs to the time of the late Canaanite occupation (1b). He describes it as Egyptian and although he believes both Canaanites and Israelites had worn scarabs as amulets, the fact that he did not find a large amount of them, compared to the English excavations on the Shephelah, is a sign that the Egyptian influence was much stronger in the south than in the region around Megiddo. This would also explain, according to him, why the OT does not make any special mention of them (TT I, p. 111).

1.2.5.2.3. Sellin's Taanach

For these reasons, Sellin concluded his excavations at Tell Ta'annek convinced that the results shed new light on the development of cultural and religious life in ancient Palestine (Sellin 1905c, p. 37).

He believed his historical reconstruction of the events at Taanach confirmed the biblical narrative. In his explanation of the site's stratigraphy, Sellin describes how the first Canaanite inhabitants (1a) – the same cultural group that occupied the entire Palestine between 2500 and 2000 BCE – experienced an upturn (1b) under the influence of Babylon, Egypt and the Phoenician surge – “teils originell phönizische, teils ägäische Kulturzeugnisse” (TT I, p. 101). This is represented by the construction of the Westburg, where the scarab inscribed with a walking lion was found, and the cuneiform tablets, mentioning the ruler of the city, namely *Ištar-wa-šur* – interpreted as a Canaanite King with a Mesopotamian name²⁷ –, as subject to the Pharaoh (TT I, p. 102).

Sellin argues that Taanach was slowly giving in to the Israelites until the site became an Israelite city, for “ein wirklicher Einschnitt in der Kultur läßt sich nicht bemerken, vielmehr eine ganz allmähliche Weiterentwicklung” (TT I, p. 102). He attributes the fortifications on the east to the context of the United Monarchy (2b), built most likely by Solomon himself, or by the hands of his successors (TT I, p. 103). He describes how the city developed in this period, to be later destroyed *brutally* with fire and sword. For the destruction layer between 3a and 3b, Sellin suggests that an accurate reading of the biblical text should not attribute the destruction to Sennacherib's campaign in 722 BCE, for a destruction *per se* by the Assyrian King is actually described only for the city of Samaria; after that, he dethroned the rulers of other Israelite cities (TT I, p. 100). Thus, Taanach's destruction must have a later date. Although he agrees that it was impossible to come to a definite conclusion about this destruction because of the importance of this date for the understanding of the history of Taanach, he takes the opportunity to put forward his theory:

²⁷ As Pruzsinszky (2006, p. 106) remarks, Hrozný's reading of *Ištar-wa-šur* was contradicted by several scholars: in 1944 by Albright, who proposed *Re-wa-aš-á*, Egyptian for “Rê is mighty” (1944, pp. 16–17); by Landsberger 1954, p. 59 (*Ri-ya-šur*); by Mayrhofer (1965, p. 158) who follows Landsberger (*Ri-Ašur*) but considers it a hybrid Egyptian-Indoaryan name; by Glock (1983, p. 59), who discusses his reading of *Tal-wa-šur*; Görg presents a hurrian option (*Tulwišar*); *Tal-wašur* is suggested by Horowitz and Oshima 2004, p. 33; Zadok 1996, p. 106 follows Görg; Weippert 1998, p. 16 suggests *Ra-woser* (egyptian); Rainey (1999, p. 157), Hess 2003, p. 38; Horowitz, Oshima 2004, p. 33 proposes the hurrian *Tal-wi-šar* and Horowitz et al. 2002 *Tal-wa-šur*.

... es ist die Zeit des Königs Josia von Juda. Von diesem wird uns berichtet, daß er energisch die alten davidischen Ansprüche auf Samarien geltend macht, das Land kultisch reformierend durchzog, 2Reg.23, 19, und als Pharao Necho gegen Babylon rückte, sich demselben im Jahre 608 bei Megiddo entgegenstellte, wo er zu Falle kam, 23,29. Wie leicht kann im Gefolge dieser Ereignisse das benachbarte Ta'annek von den Ägyptern zerstört worden sein. Eventuell konnte auch an den Skythenzug wenige Jahre vorher, im Jahre 626, gedacht werden. (TT I, p. 101)

Moreover, he was absolutely convinced that the artifacts and features he interpreted as belonging to a cultic context were able not only to illustrate the biblical prescription of religious cult, but also to justify them, since it provides the material evidence of the practices they condemned (Cf. Sellin 1908a). For example, with the cuneiform tablets, Sellin believes to prove that “Baal, beziehungsweise Hadad, als männlicher Gott im Vordergrund steht” (TT I, p. 107); or that the Egyptian god Amon was worshipped at Ta'annek, since it is mentioned in the tablet number 4, line 6 (TT I, p. 120) and it is depicted on a scarab (TT I, p. 107). As mentioned above, Sellin found obvious parallels with the biblical text regarding the incense altar. The same goes for the altar carved on the rock, the cultic standing stones, the figurines and the child burials.

1.2.5.2.4. Repercussion

Modern scholars revisited most of Sellin's interpretations and results especially because of the renewed excavations at Tell Ta'annek sixty years later. On behalf of the Concordia Seminary St. Louis and the American Schools of Oriental Research, Paul Lapp directed three seasons of fieldwork at the tell in 1963, 1966 and 1968. His expedition had among others, the general goal to “clarify the German discoveries at the site where possible” in order to “contribute to our understanding of the history of Taanach and its times” (Lapp 1964, p. 5). Their conclusions – approved by many experts more recently – not only confirmed some of Sellin's results, but also defended his field methodology acknowledging the fact that where poor techniques were applied, they did correspond to the standardized practices of this first period of large-scale archaeological excavation in the Near East (Lapp 1964; Wright 1967; Kreuzer 2006).

In contrast, as soon as Sellin gave the first preliminary report of his expedition (during the *Hamburger Orientalistenkongress*, 1902), his work came under heavy criticism. The fact that Sellin was a theologian without any experience in archaeology, conducting an archaeological excavation most of the time as the only scholar on the field, was a point pretty much stressed by the critics (refer to Chapter B-II). More dramatic than the way he

conducted the fieldwork, however, his attitude towards the material culture of Tell Ta'anek was problematic. Indeed, he was not a theologian acting as an archaeologist, but a conservative theologian applying archaeology to his already finished picture of the development of religion in ancient Israel.

Therefore, most of the artifacts and features Sellin would consider as important are in fact related to specific events or details mainly relevant to an audience interested in the biblical story; not in general cultural and historical background of ancient Palestine. He interpreted these finds according to his knowledge from the Bible; that is, the religious text is the point of departure to the comprehension of the finds on the ground (e.g. the standing stones, the incense altar, or the dating of the destruction layer). As a result, most of the artifacts would have a religious or cultic function, already explained or predicted in the Bible (e.g. once again the standing stones, the rock-cut altar, the sacrifices, the incense altar).

1.2.5.3. Conservatism shapes Archaeology

What reveals the conservative theologian behind the field director is not only the interest in objects linked to religion. Even before starting the excavations at Taanach, in his first public contact with archaeology, Sellin had demonstrated how easily he would accept the biblical narrative as historically true, hence a reliable starting point for an interpretation of the archaeological material. In this article, Sellin discusses the importance of the discovery of the Merneptah Stele by Flinders Petrie in 1896 at Thebes for the history of the OT. The translation of the stele immediately caused immense furor, because one specific line read "the people of Ysiraal is spoiled, it hath no seed"²⁸ (Petrie 1896, p. 622). Sellin, after presenting a translation of this passage from English to German, argues against the interpretation of the British archaeologist, claiming that the passage refers very likely to the oppression of the biblical Israelites in Egypt (Sellin 1896b, p. 514), based on its inner logic and on the biblical narrative (Sellin 1896b, p. 505). Petrie (1896), in contrast, acknowledges this interpretation, but disregards it after analyzing the broader context of the inscription.

²⁸Translation by Mr. Griffith. Later, Petrie adopted the version „the people of Israel is laid waste, – their crops are not“, by Spiegelberg (Petrie 1897, p. 28).

In his expedition to Ta'anek, Sellin believes he was able to prove *materially* that the Babylonian influence – which he admits to exist in Canaanite Taanach – comes to an ultimate end after the city becomes Israelite. Therefore, he defends the idea that during the development of Israelite Taanach, there was no contact with Mesopotamian groups, or the contact has had no effect on the cultural development of Israel, particularly in the development of their religion. At this point, it is not difficult to identify the conservative theologian defending his agenda against the Higher Criticism and Panbabylonism. This is a good example of how his biblical premises determined his interpretation of the stratigraphy of the site, based on his observation of pottery. It is true that pottery typology was only the latest innovation and that the chronology based on it was still in its first drafts, but Sellin does not hesitate to identify what is Babylonian pottery, and what is indicative for Israel, and thus reaches conclusions about when Israelite occupation starts and eastern influence ends.

In his *Ertrag der Ausgrabungen in Orient für die Erkenntnis der Entwicklung der Religion Israels* (1905), Sellin devotes a chapter to the excavations in Mesopotamia. After discussing Delitzsch's *Babel und Bibel* lectures item by item, Sellin concludes:

So müssen wir den zusammenfassend sagen, daß, so viele Berührungspunkte kultureller und religiöser Art auch zwischen Babylon und Israel existieren, so dankbar wir sein müssen für die unzähligen Bereicherungen unseres Wissens, die uns die babylonischen Ausgrabungen für die Einzelgebiete des religiösen Lebens in Israel, für seinen Kult, seine Gesetze und Gebete, gebracht haben, doch für die Erkenntnis der Entstehung und Entwicklung des innersten Wesens der israelitischen Religion nichts, aber auch gar nichts gewonnen ist. Oder ich will mich entgegenkommender so ausdrücken: die babylonischen Ausgrabungen haben uns gerade in vollem Umfange bestätigt, daß Israel ein solch spezielles, ihm von Gott gegebenes und von keinem anderen Volke, auch nicht von Babylon herzuleitendes religiöses Besitztum inne hat. Und daß wir nun erst recht erkennen, worin dasselbe besteht, ist vielleicht der allerhöchste Gewinn dieser Ausgrabungen. (Sellin 1905a, p. 20)

In the same publication, Sellin takes a very particular artifact as the motto of his argument. It is a seal discovered during the German excavations at Megiddo, under the direction of G. Schumacher, in 1904. The stone seal is a scaraboid of polished jasper, 0.37cm long, 0.27cm wide, and 0.17cm thick. The sealing face has a roaring lion with opened jaws and a raised tail inscribed on it. 12 Hebrew letters complete the composition: on the upper part it reads *לשמע* (*l^eshèma'*) and, on the bottom, *עבד ירבעם* (*'èbed jārob'ām*)²⁹. Shortly after

²⁹ The description of the seal and its inscription is taken from Schumacher's and Kautzsch's reports, respectively 1908; 1904a.

it was found, the seal was analyzed and published by E. Kautzsch on the *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästinavereins* (1904a, 1904b). He translated the inscription as “[Siegel] des Schemā des Dieners Jerobeams³⁰. Schumacher also describes a depiction of a palm tree and the Egyptian hieroglyph ‘*ankh*’, incised close to the lion’s mouth and tail respectively. They were both unfinished – so that they do not appear on the photos and casts – and are probably later additions (Schumacher 1908, p. 100). The so-called *Shema*’ seal was found inside the courtyard of the *Palast* (palace) (**Fig. 70**), but although its find spot was registered by Schumacher, its stratigraphical context is controversial. Schumacher dated the seal to the fifth layer, together with the building of the *Palast*, around 900 BCE. C. Watzinger (1929, p. 64) attributed the seal to the period of its destruction, by Tiglath-Pileser III (733 BCE). This controversy had no considerable impact on the interpretation of the seal and of the archaeology of the site at the time of its discovery, and so it will not be discussed here³¹.

After Kautzsch, there were several other publications on the lion seal of Megiddo (Cook 1904; Gallig 1941; Pritchard 1954). Guthe (1905, p. 83) classifies the seal as “Der beste Einzelfund des Jahres 1904”. In accordance with the Ottoman Antiquities law, the seal was taken to Constantinople and given to the Treasury of the Sultan (Kautzsch 1904a, pp. 1–2); its present whereabouts are unknown. Nevertheless, the seal continues to be of scholarly interest and is considered Schumacher’s most famous find (Finkelstein, Ussishkin 2002, pp. 11–13).

The similarities of the drawing of the lion on the *Shema*’ seal with Mesopotamian depictions of lions did not remain unnoticed to any of the scholars discussing it. Kautzsch considers it a part of a long tradition of representations of lions coming from Assyria-Babylon, to which the lion presented by Delitzsch, on his second lecture (BBII), from the processional way of Marduk in Babylon also belongs (**Fig. 71**) (Kautzsch 1904a, p. 13). In this sense, the lion seal had an important effect in favor of Panbabylonism. No matter if it was an authentic Babylonian production, or if the seal was a local imitation, it was mainly agreed that the seal was a clear and definitive evidence of the Mesopotamian influence in Megiddo and therefore in Israel.

³⁰ In the English translation of the Megiddo report by M. Martin: “[Seal] of *Shema*’, servant of Jeroboam”.

³¹ For a recent discussion about the dating of the seal, see Ussishkin 1994.

Sellin, on the other hand, could not accept the seal to be an archaeological proof of a theory he believed to be wrong from the beginning. In defense of his own interpretation of the uniqueness of Israelite's culture and religion, he argues that not only the lion is a *local production*, but it also *represents a rupture with Babylonian culture*. For him, the seal could not be Babylonian because it belonged to a period when there was no more Babylonian influence in Israel. This *a priori* argument that the Babylonian influence in Israel stops, is clearly proved by archaeology, since archaeology has not found any evidence of Babylonian influence in Israel in this period. Moreover, the seal inscription is in Hebrew (and not Cuneiform), which also confirms the end of the Babylonian influence. In his words (1905a, pp. 27–28):

Freilich, der babylonische Einfluß hört vollständig auf. Das muß besonders auch in Hinblick auf die gegenwärtigen Kontroversen nachdrücklich betont werden. Ich wüßte aus dieser ganzen Periode keinen einzigen Fund zu nennen, der sich als ein Erzeugnis babylonischer Kultur bezeichnen ließe. Man könnte vielleicht verweisen auf den in Megiddo gefundenen Sigelstein des Schem'a, Knechtes des Jerobeam. Der Löwe auf ihm ist tatsächlich der babylonische; aber da die Legende in althebräischer Schrift geschrieben, wird man richtiger sagen, daß hier ein Motiv aus der früheren Periode vorliegt, wie die Sigelstecherei solche ja durch Jahrhunderte hindurch, oft schon ganz unverständlich, festgehalten hat. Dieser Löwe war auch sonst schon, wenschon noch nie in so schöner Ausführung, auf Siegeln aus Syrien gefunden, ebenfalls zugleich mit althebräischer Legende; es dürfte sich also wohl stets um palästinensische Arbeiten handeln.

To summarize, after his contact with archaeology, he maintains his interpretation of the biblical history as follows:

- i. The Bible presents foreign elements as formative of its people – “Abraham als Babylonier, Joseph und Mose als Ägypter, zu der späteren Zeit Hos. 2,7; 5,13; 7,11; 8,9; Jes. 2,6; Ez. 16,3,26,29, usw.” (Sellin 1905a, p. 25).
- ii. The foreign elements are confirmed or complemented by archaeology – never questioned or challenged.
- iii. There was an original Canaanite culture, as proven by archaeology.
- iv. This Canaanite culture suffered influence from Egypt and Mesopotamia, and later from Phoenicia.
- v. The Canaanite religion is important sometimes as influence, sometimes as counterexample to the Israelite religion.
- vi. There was an Israelite culture, born around 1200 BCE, proven by archaeology.
- vii. The Israelite culture suffers foreign influence, BUT NOT from Babylon.

- viii. The “exceptional religious character of the Israelites” as depicted in the Bible is born.

Consequently, the results of Sellin’s excavations would bring science closer to faith, since his argumentation and interpretation of the archaeological finds were accepted by other conservative scholars (Cook 1908; Driver 1922).

As a conservative theologian, Sellin planned the excavations to prove the veracity of the biblical narrative, especially as a response to the Higher Criticism represented by the works of Wellhausen³² and to strengthen the arguments of the Bible side in the *Babel-Bibel Streit*, which was provoked by Delitzsch. In doing so, Sellin shaped German biblical archaeology as a conservative tool against the progress of science and biblical interpretation. German biblical criticism – that did not use archaeology – is responsible for leading archaeology to be adopted by German theologians, though by the conservative ones.

³² Sellin did believe Wellhausen’s ideas could be proved wrong by archaeology. Indeed, in a later work (Sellin 1924), he states: “...the further we are removed from the period of time in which this quite brilliant scholar wrote, the clearer becomes a fact which should never have been denied – namely, that Wellhausen had to pay tribute to his time; that he had been intimately connected with certain philosophical and religio-historical conceptions and presuppositions, such as are subject to the constant changes of the years, and indeed that these influenced to a very large extent the aspect of his historical images. (p. 242)

...His historic image was, in fact, practically completed before the stones of Babylon, Assyria, Palestine, and other lands began to speak. He was never able to adapt himself to the more modern and scientific way of contemplating the ancient Orient with which we are now so familiar.”(p. 245)

II. 1918-1933: German Biblical Archaeology besides German Archaeology: the Research Societies

For a better understanding of the development of German biblical archaeology, it is essential to consider its participation within the history of archaeology in Germany. When archaeology began in German universities, there was a priority established for the sites representatives of Classical Antiquity. This is a direct heritage of the philhellenic tradition from the period of the Enlightenment and the Romanticism, from the Germany of Goethe's *Faust* and Schiller's *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschens*. Philhellenism was an "institutionally generated and preserved cultural trope" that found in archaeology a very important tool to expand and popularize its ideals (Marchand 1996a). This is the context of the opening of the first University courses in Archeology in Germany, when the first professionals got their degrees, as Classical Archaeologists³³ (Härke 2002).

Nevertheless, virtually at the same time, German archaeological excavations began in the Middle East and Palestine. As already mentioned, Germany did not figure among the very first pioneers, but this changed shortly after Kaiser Wilhelm II politics of friendship with the Ottoman Sultan. Actually, when the opportunity presented itself, Germans mostly invested their money on excavations in Mesopotamia (**Map 1**). It is though not correct to say that Palestine was set aside; the already mentioned large-scale excavations at Megiddo evidences it. Moreover, the popularity of the *Babel und Bibel* controversies is a strong indication of the general appeal of biblical archaeology. Besides, from the institutional point of view, there were Research Societies dedicated to the scientific exploration of Palestine (DPV 1877; DOG 1898; DEI 1900) as there were institutions dealing with research in classical Greece and Rome (DAI 1829; DAI Athens 1872; DAI Rome 1829).

On the other hand, it must be remembered that the directors of the main excavations in Palestine were not trained archaeologists. Guthe and Sellin were theologians, Schumacher, was an engineer. The same for the PEF excavations with Warren and Wilson in Jerusalem – both were engineers of the British Army – and Bliss, who

³³ The term *professional* archaeologist for the 19th century deserves a note. As Dyson (2006, pp. xiii–xiv) remarks, the instruments of disciplinary professionalism, such as university seminars, scholarly libraries, research institutes, and well-organized and well-funded excavations, were not a sudden creation, but developed actually at a very uneven pace. Besides, also excavations of Greek and Roman sites began by the hand of amateurs and even at the university, it took some time for archaeology to enter the traditional classical studies curricula.

attended the Theological Seminar and was excavating on the Shephelah. For the Research Societies and the Governments, their people seemed to have the needed expertise, since they were willing to invest in expeditions. This evidences the particular character of archaeology in Palestine, oriented to the reconnaissance and exploration of the land, for much more than the scientific purpose. Indeed, from a practical point of view, it seems that there were very few (classical) archaeologists in Germany interested in excavating in Palestine. Sellin, for example, registered the difficulties he had while trying to find an archaeologist willing to accompany him in his expedition to Ta'anek (Sellin 1910). Among non-archaeologists studying Palestine, though, there was also a present degree of Philhellenism, noticed on the significant number of publications on Greek and Roman ruins and inscriptions in Palestine (Refer to Chapter B-II.1).

As seen before, Sellin's excavations at tell Ta'anek were criticized because of his methodology and interpretation. However, Sellin's most vehement critics were related to the fact he was a theologian conducting an archaeological excavation, sometimes without any assistance. The most severe of his opponents was the classical archaeologist Hermann Thiersch (1874-1939). In several opportunities (e.g. Thiersch 1907, 1910), he emphasizes the need of a rigid separation between Theological and Archaeological studies, for the archaeology conducted on Palestinian territory was a branch of the Near Eastern studies and not of Theology. Although a classicist, Thiersch was politically engaged on the development of more serious and technical excavations in Palestine. Supported by the DOG, he proposed that any excavations in Palestinian territory should have the direction of a commission formed by a Theologian, an Archaeologist and an Architect (Thiersch 1910, p. 600). Under unrelenting pressure, Sellin admitted: "Die biblische Theologie kann der biblischen Archäologie auf die Dauer beim besten Willen nicht entraten, und diese muss zu einer vollwertigen Disziplin ausgebaut werden". Thus, he proposed that classes for Palestinian archaeology should be incorporated in the traditional curricula of classical archaeology (Sellin 1910, p. 362)³⁴.

However, those plans never concretized and the archaeology of Palestine remained mainly a theological subject in Germany, conducted mostly by theological departments. It might not be wrong to affirm that this situation persisted in Germany more than in other

³⁴ For more on the Sellin-Thiersch debates, see Palmer (2012, pp. 39–52).

pioneer countries³⁵. The English PEF sent Flinders Petrie, who was an Egyptologist, to excavate in Palestine after several fieldwork projects in Egypt; another example is R. A. S. Macalister, who excavated for the PEF in the Shephelah and was a trained archaeologist. For the German system, however, Egypt and Palestine were two different worlds, separated also from Anatolia and Mesopotamia. This is a strong evidence of the disregard of the German universities for the archaeology of Palestine, its resistance to break free from Philhellenism and from the idea that archaeology should deal with great monuments and large ruins³⁶.

Besides the lack of interest from the professional archaeologists, biblical archaeology was able to gain its space thanks to both government and popular interests. It was, however, the duty of the Research Societies to offer biblical archaeology the institutional support it was lacking and transform the dilettantes in the experts of the field. Names such as Sellin, Schumacher, and later Dalman, Noth and Alt are representatives of the atmosphere created by those Societies that enabled the investigations to happen and the discipline to develop, without the structure of a University curriculum. Thus, they could claim their part for a place in the sun for German archaeological investigations in Palestine.

II.1. Research Societies: A Stronghold of GBA from World War I to the Third Reich

The role of these Research Societies in the making of an identity for the discipline, which is called biblical archaeology in this study, is the main goal of this session. For this purpose, this session presents a brief history of the institutions, and discusses their importance and context in German scholarship. The focus is not on the context of their foundation; instead, on how they functioned and how they shaped the discipline. Finally,

³⁵ This is perhaps, although in a different scale, also true for the development of the discipline in the United States if one consider the affiliations of the leading scholars on the field and the proximity of their main Research Society – ASOR – to biblical studies (see Silberman 1998).

³⁶ The German Research Societies would engage trained archaeologists in their projects, either to excavate or to publish excavations reports, but this would come later and they will still not be the main contributors of the Societies.

the role of these institutions in the survival of GBA after the end of the German Empire will be particularly emphasized.

II.1.1. DPV

The most important German society for the promotion of scientific research in Palestine was the Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas, founded on September 28, 1877 in Wiesbaden. Already from 1876 on, the founders Karl Ferdinand Zimmermann (1816-1889), Albert Socin (1844-1899) and Emil Kautzsch (1841-1910) devoted a great deal of effort to the creation and viability of a society, which was capable not only of giving institutional support to fieldwork already practiced by some scholars, but also of officially organizing the German scientific activities in the lands of the Bible. After receiving the support of other scholars of the area, they presented a draft of the statute to be discussed during the annual meeting of the DMG in Wiesbaden; this meeting was concluded with the establishment of the final statute and the official foundation of the DPV (1878, pp. iv–v).

The initial executive committee of the DPV consisted of Zimmermann, Socin, Kautzsch, Hermann Guthe (1849-1936, Leipzig) and O. Kersten (Berlin). The treasurer was Karl Baedeker (Leipzig). As part of the administrative organization of the society, there was a general supporting committee – called either *weiteres Comitee*, or *großes Ausschuss* (**Table 4**). This was formed by a minimum of 18 members according to the statute, but usually consisted of 20 members (DPV Statute §7). As Hübner (2006, p. 12) analyzes, the collaboration of a biblical scholar, expert in Old Testament (Kautzsch), with an Orientalist/Semitist (Socin) and a traditionalist, representative of the devotion to the sacred text and adept in a humanistic knowledge (Zimmermann), marks the large Orientalist roots of the DPV and gives the institution its interdisciplinary character.

Paragraph 3 of the Statute established the publication of the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (ZDPV) under Guthe's responsibility. The ZDPV was an important component of the DPV, but the large financial investment was aimed at field research in Palestinian territory (Statute §3-4). Over the years, the DPV would also publish the *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina Vereins* (MNDPV, 1895-1912) and the journal *Das Land der Bibel* (1914-1927).

II.1.1.1. Members

The number of members has varied greatly over the years, determined by the political events in Germany. Members had to contribute at least 10M, though donation of larger amounts was highly encouraged (Statute §6). In the year of its foundation, the DPV brought together nearly 220 members and reached about 460 before the World War I. The economic crisis of the postwar, as well as Hitler's rise to power also caused the number to drop (**Table 5**), because of the insecurities this era brought to academic research.

In the beginning, most of the members were men; theologians and Protestants. However, among the scholars there were also Orientalists, Arabists, Semitists, some (classic) Archaeologists, Historians of Art and Antiquity, Geographers and Biologists (Hübner 2006, p. 15). Some universities, libraries and other research societies also became members of the DPV. Moreover, among the members who were not affiliated with a University were a number of religious workers – priests, pastors and some rabbis – and high school teachers (DPV 1879b, 1880, 1881, 1885; Guthe 1879b, 1880a).

Besides them, members of German and international nobility joined the DPV. Kaiser Wilhelm I, the Kronprinz Friedrich III and Wilhelm II – who became the first member of the society right after he assumed the throne and stayed as a member until his death – were strong supporters of the Society. The Kaiser Franz Joseph I of Austria, was an important sponsor, although he did not join the society as a member. Thanks to his investment, the DPV could open a separate fund to enable expeditions (Nachrichten über Angelegenheiten des Deutschen Vereins zur Erforschung Palästina's 1878, xi; Guthe 1879c, iv). More names of the initial noble list are as follows: Friedrich Franz II, the Großherzog of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who had the Marienstift Kinderhospital in Jerusalem renamed after his wife Marie Caroline of Mecklenburg; König Karl from Württemberg; Johann Georg, Herzog of Sachsen, who organized an expedition to the St. Catherine's Monastery on the Sinai; Fürst Leopold of Hohenzollern, who demonstrated curiosity about the world of archaeology and history of art; the Chairman of the Jerusalem-Verein, who was also the Ehren-Commendator and Werkmeister of the Johanniter Order, Graf Albert Julius of Zieten-Schwerin; Ernst Freiherr von Mirbach; Graf Eberhard von Mülinen; Viktor von Sandberger, the Generalsuperintendent of Stuttgart; from Jaffa, Baron d'Ustinow; the Graf Feldmarschall Helmut von Moltke, who was the member of the general Committee of the DPV (Guthe 1879c, iv; Hübner 2006, p. 15). Moreover, the former Consul in Jerusalem Geh.

Legationsrath Baron von Alten was also a member of the Committee with the de facto German Consul in Jerusalem at that time, Freiherr von Münchhausen (Das Ausland 1877).

More than important names, these last three represented a strong political influence for the DPV in Palestinian territory. Von Alten and von Münchhausen were the representatives of the German Empire in Palestine. Von Moltke, on the other hand, had a close relationship with the Ottoman government in Constantinople and knew its territory very well, since he acted as an adviser in the new Ottoman military training program, developed with the assistance of the German Government. Moreover, he was a very patriotic man and advocate of the German cause in the Oriental Question (Moltke 1892).

This wide range of experts and curious members (distinguished or not) is symptomatic of the period. The DPV was created shortly after the German unification in 1871. This was a time of overwhelming patriotism and an absolute belief in progress and science. Investment in scientific activities that would put the country at the forefront of knowledge was a priority in the government of Wilhelm II and his right hand, Friedrich Althoff, *Ministerialdirektor für Universitäten und Höhere Schulen*. During the Era Althoff (1882-1908), they transformed the traditional administration of sciences in a conscious and purposeful *Wissenschaftspolitik* (Vom Brocke 1990, p. 20). Besides, Palestine has never been so accessible to European travelers after the reforms made by the Ottoman Government (*Tanzimat*). Therefore, it was crucial for Germany to take its part in areas where there was already an established international competition, such as Palestine.

II.1.1.2. The DPV and other Institutions

The DPV was founded along the lines of the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF), the leading research institution in the region, created in 1865 in England. The general aim of the society was „die wissenschaftliche Erforschung Palästina’s nach alle Beziehungen zu fördern und die Teilnahme daran in weiteren Kreisen zu verbreiten“ (Statute §2). For the purposes of the DPV, scientific research meant the investigation of the history and culture of the region, with an emphasis on its biblical past: “denn in erster Linie sind es ja immer wieder die Zwecke der Bibelforschung, denen alle diese Bestrebungen zu Gute kommen” (Kautzsch 1878, p. 2). Besides, the DPV believed that for a better understanding of the Holy Land, it was also necessary to invest in the research of contemporary Palestine, through

“statistische und politische Mittheilungen über die jeweiligen Zustände des modernen Palästina” (Statute §4).

At home, the DPV had strong support from the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft*. The DMG was already active since 1845 with its headquarters in Leipzig. The Society dealt with a broader definition of Orient, including entire Asia, Africa, and Oceania and attempted to explore the languages, literature, history, religions, philosophy, social and economic systems, art, archaeology and ethnology of the cultures in these areas. (Oevermann 1995; Preissler 1995). If, on the one hand, the DPV distanced itself from the DMG for its *classical* Orientalist approach “Verstehen des Fremdes,” this Society had transformed Leipzig and Halle into international centers of oriental studies, where most of the future DPV’s first members would study (Goren 2003b, p. 175). It was therefore only natural that Leipzig was chosen to be the seat of the DPV.

Despite its biblical focus, the DPV did not link itself to any specific church; on the contrary, the institution preached openness to all different religious confessions. The idea was “alle Kräfte deutscher Zunge vereinigen, um die deutsche Nation als selbstständige Mitarbeiterin an der Aufgabe der Erforschung Palästinas einzuführen” (DPV 1879a). In fact, the function of the general committee was to avoid any political constraints and religious differences in the Society (Guthe 1880b, vi).

At the time of the foundation of the DPV, the PEF was already well-established in the region; this represented a considerable challenge to the German institution (Sandreczki 1874). Nevertheless, the DPV had the great advantage of being able to count on German citizens who were already living in the region and who were acquainted with the language and the habits of the fellaheen (Statute §5). The fact that Germany was the only European country to really establish colonies in Palestinian territory (e.g. *Tempelgesellschaft*, Zionist movement) made the DPV already a major actor in the game immediately after its foundation. The DPV sent a request to all members and friends of the Society in Palestine, and to the Germans planning to visit the region, to record, collect and bring directly or indirectly to the knowledge of the DPV any observation – archaeological, natural or of any other sort – that could complement research in development or give rise to new ones (Guthe 1879c, v).

Thus, the very first volumes of the ZDPV are filled with articles on the archaeological remains in Jerusalem – some recorded in drawings with measurements (e.g. Schick 1878b,

1878a, 1879b) – or on other sites (Guthe 1879a), and with reports of travels (Schaff 1878; Furrer 1879). As Guthe states in the context of international disputes, however, original research was as important as renewed investigations, for the DPV had an obligation to check the research results published by the British, particularly the ones related to the identification of biblical sites (Guthe 1880b, pp. iii–vi).

II.1.1.3. The DPV's activities in Palestine

Shortly after that, the DPV started to carry out its own projects. The Society's expedition's fund was to be used primarily for archaeological excavations, for

... während der Boden anderer Länder, welche eine denkwürdige Vergangenheit hinter sich haben, schon vielfach nach den Resten der vergangenen Culturperioden durchforscht ist, verdeckt in Palästina noch immer der alte Schutt, wenigstens zum grössten Theil von Spaten und Hacke unberührt, vielleicht sehr werthvolle Denkmäler der Völker des Alterthums und des Mittelalters. An vorsichtiger Ueberlegung wird es der Vorstand des Vereins nicht fehlen lassen, um, soviel menschliche Erkenntniss vermag, die Arbeiten an der rechten Stelle einzuleiten und so die dem Verein anvertrauten Mittel in erfolgreicher Weise zu verwerthen. (Guthe 1880b, iv)

II.1.1.3.1. Schick in Jerusalem: the Siloam Inscription

It was on behalf of the Society that Conrad Schick (1822-1901) conducted research on the famous Siloam inscription. The news of the discovery of an inscription inside the water tunnel that leads from the Gihon Spring to the Siloam Pool – later to be called Hezekiah's tunnel – in the City of David in Jerusalem on June 22, 1880 arrived in Germany shortly afterwards and was published in the third edition of the ZDPV (Socin 1880). Schick sent a first copy of the inscription with his letter, but not only was a part of it still underwater, the upper part was also covered with deposited minerals, making it difficult to identify the letters. After a first analysis, Socin and Kautzsch believed the inscription to be a “Bericht über die Bohrung des Tunnels,” from “sehr alterthümlicher Gestalt” (Socin 1880, p. 55). Considering this a very important find, the DPV offered Schick the necessary means (300M plus a credit of 500M) to secure the investigation of the inscription to the German society (Guthe 1879b).

Under the excuse that he, as *Stadtbaumeister*, had interest in understanding the ancient water system of the city, Schick received the authorization to investigate the tunnel from the local administration (Schick 1882, p. 2). After intense effort, Schick's workers were able to produce enough water flow, so that the inscription could be fully exposed.

Nevertheless, the production of a readable facsimile of the inscription would still require great effort: after several attempts of a good copy by Schick (Kautzsch 1881b, p. 105), Guthe was put in charge of the project. After cleaning the stone chemically, he succeeded in making a better copy of the text, which reads (**Figs. 74-75**):

der Durchstich. Und dies war der Hergang des Durchstichs.
 Als noch.....
 die Spitzhacke einer gegen den andern und als noch drei Ellen
 waren zu..... die Stimme des einen, der r
 tief dem andern; denn es war eine *zdh* im Felsen südlich und
 nördlich*). Und am Tage des
 Durchstichs schlugen die Steinhauer Spitzhacke auf Spitzhacke
 einander entgegen ; da floss das
 Wasser von dem Ausgangspunkt bis zum Teich tausend zwei-
 hundert Ellen weit. Und hun-
 dert Ellen betrug die Höhe des Felsens über dem Haupt der
 Steinhauer.

*) oder rechts und links?
 Translated by Socin)))

At that point, there were already other reproductions (e.g by Uzziah Shapira), including an English one with translation, published by Sayce (1881b). Sayce's translation led to disputes concerning the language and the dating of the inscription (Kautzsch 1881a). The disputes questioned even the credits of the discovery. It was well known that Schick, as well as Schumacher, used to render services to the PEF (Goren 2003b, pp. 285–286), and the PEF published a report by Schick in 1880 (Bieberstein 2006, p. 147 n.11; Schick 1880c). However, the name of the correspondent in Jerusalem who sent the first copies of the inscription to England was not revealed in their publications (Besant 1881; Sayce 1881a, p. 69). Kautzsch (1881b, p. 102) defends that the English scholars have heard from the Siloam inscription first from their article of July in the ZDPV (Socin 1880). All in all, Guthe assures in a letter to the DPV that in contrast to Sayce's information, Schick was working for the DPV when he emptied the tunnel and exposed the full extension of the inscription: „Allerdings hat Dr. Chaplin dem Baurath Schick 25 Pfund zur Verfügung gestellt. *Schick hat es aber nicht angenommen, sondern mit unserem Gelde gearbeitet, worüber ich jetzt detaillirte Rechnung in Händen habe*“ (Kautzsch 1881a, p. 272 emphasis added).

As the history of archaeological research in Palestine demonstrates, the importance of a discovery can be judged mainly by the various vicissitudes it provokes. In the case of the Siloam inscription, besides the Societies' competition and the academic disagreements recorded in the publications, it became a target of antiquity dealers, who

pretended to have found a similar inscription 2m above the one in discussion here, which was later revealed to be fake (Guthe 1890b). Moreover, the ancient inscription was removed from its original place on the wall of the tunnel and remained lost for some months, until the Ottoman authorities were able to relocate it (Guthe 1890a). Nowadays, it is exhibited in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (**Fig.74**).

Schick's investigation of the tunnel was not confined to the inscription. He coordinated proper excavations in some other areas,³⁷ which resulted in a larger excavation project by the DPV, under the supervision of H. Guthe.

II.1.1.3.2. Guthe in Jerusalem

Guthe's ultimate mission was to find the "continuation" of the city wall of ancient Jerusalem, where Schick had stopped (see n.37). Nowhere but Jerusalem should be the scenario of the first German excavations in the Holy Land. His area of investigation

³⁷ „1) Etwas nordwestlich vom Jesajasbaum. Hier kam schon nach wenigen *Tagen eine alte starke Mauer zum Vorschein. Ich liess das Loch offen, und Lic. Guthe setzte dort später die Arbeit fort.* 2) Gleich nördlich vom Jesajasbaum auf dem Damm. Nach Aussage der Silwaner sollte es dort unten hohl sein, d. h. Gewölbe sich befinden. [...] 3) Auf dem Wege nördlich von der ruinirten Mühle und südlich am Fusse eines ruinirten Thurmes liessen herausragende Steine auf ein Gewölbe schliessen, erwiesen sich aber beim Nach graben als eine Mauerfüllung mit sehr hartem Mörtel. Es wurde darum die Arbeit bald wieder aufgegeben. 4) Am südöstlichen Abhänge des über dem Abflusskanal sich erhebenden Ophelfelsens war schon längst eine Art Höhle bemerkt worden, welche die Fellachen, wenn sie beiseite zu gehen hatten, oder bei Regenschauern als Obdach benutzten. Ich liess dieselbe ausbringen und fand zu meinem Erstaunen, dass es ein in den Felsen gehauener Kanal war, ganz ähnlich demjenigen, in welchem die Inschrift ist, nur nicht so lang, da er bald ostwärts aus dem Felsen heraus unter das Erdreich tritt, wo er dann theilweise gemauert war und nun zerstört ist. Es wäre von Werth, den Lauf desselben durch Nachgrabungen fest zu stellen; ich bin fest überzeugt, dass er mit dem grossen Kanal in Verbindung stand. 5) Ungefähr 90 Meter nordwestlich vom Nordende des heutigen Teiches, auf dem Wege, der vom Mistthore kommt, wurde nach Angabe der Fellachen auch gegraben, weil ein starker Regenstrom einmal dort eine Grube eingerissen und sehr grosse schön behauene Steine blosgelegt hatte. Ich vermuthete, Reste der nach meiner Meinung hier das Tyropöonthal durchschneidenden alten Stadtmauer zu finden. Es fand sich indess blos geringes Mauerwerk; wahrscheinlich hatte der Fellach die richtige Stelle nicht mehr fixiren können. Um Sicherheit zu erhalten, hätte ich einen Graben von Süden nach Norden ziehen müssen, aber diese Kosten konnte und wollte ich jetzt nicht daranwenden. Ich werde jedoch die Sache im Auge behalten und mir weitere und sicherere Indicien sammeln, die mich dann die richtige Stelle eher treffen lassen.“ Schick 1882, pp. 4–5; emphasis added.

comprised the surroundings of the Siloam pool, south of the Ophel, out of the walls of the current Old Jerusalem (Guthe 1882b). This excavation would be the very first one in the so-called City of David.

In addition to the objective of exposing the walls of the city, there was also the inevitable “Gedanke daran, dass nach Nehemia 3, 16 die Gräber Davids und seiner königlichen Nachkommen auf der Südspitze dieses Hügels sich befunden haben müssen, verlieh der Untersuchung seines Bodens einen besonderen Reiz“ (Guthe 1882a, p. 8).

The excavations took place from March 28 to August 12, 1881. As a result, Guthe believed to have identified the line of the city wall south of the Ophel and devoted considerable effort in recording it on plans (**Figs. 72-73**). He proposed explanations for the correlation of parts of walls and the water system, discussing the topic of the fortification of the water sources (Guthe 1882a, p. 319). He also discussed the topography and borders of ancient Jerusalem, as he reports in more than 300 pages and 11 Plates (Guthe 1881, 1882a). However, besides the great amount of paper he used, his descriptions are very vague and far from being helpful for a reconstruction of his excavations in contemporary standards. On the other hand, as Bieberstein remarks in his defense,

Überhaupt schien das Genus „Grabungsbericht“ noch nicht geboren zu sein, und Guthe war sichtlich bemüht, seine Leserschaft nicht allzusehr mit Details zu belasten und schob nach ein paar Seiten Baubeschreibungen zur Erholung seiner Leserschaft immer wieder Erzählungen zur Mentalität der Arbeiter, zu Spannungen mit Grundstückseigentümern, Einladungen beim *Šēh* des oberen und unteren Dorfes und Kontakten mit Antiquitätenhändlern und -fälschern oder einer Begegnung mit einer deutschkundigen Araberin ein, die mit ihrem kolonialistischen Blick mitunter stark an Abenteuer von Kara Ben Nemsî erinnern ... (Bieberstein 2006, pp. 154–155)

If Guthe’s excavation cannot be remembered today for its accurate results, it should be still acknowledged, together with his recording of the Siloam inscription as an important first step for German biblical archaeology.

II.1.1.3.3. Schumacher’s contributions

The excavations of Gottlieb Schumacher at Megiddo in 1903-1905 are the most famous archaeological project of the DPV in this first phase, before World War I (refer to Chapter B-I.1). As part of the broader agenda of the DPV, several other projects were conducted parallel to the excavations and contributed a great deal to Palestine research.

The geographical investigations resulted in a series of unprecedented maps and recordings. Schumacher's cartographic and topographic investigation of the east side of the Jordan River is considered as his most important work in Palestine (Carmel 2006, p. 170). The project began in 1884 with the mapping of the Golan Heights region (Schumacher 1886) from the Yarmuk valley northwards up to the Birket Ram (Guthe 1885, pp. ix–x). After that, Schumacher conducted a series of measurements and investigations during the following years (Schumacher 1890c, 1892, 1893a, 1893b, 1895a), until he put it all together in a final map. Schumacher's reports of the parallel investigations, which included analyses of archaeological artifacts and ruins were published from 1913 to 1917 in the ZDPV (Schumacher 1913c, 1914a, 1914b, 1914c, 1915, 1917). During the outbreak of World War I, Schumacher was on the field, finalizing the revision of some measurements and drawings (Steuernagel 1915, p. 165). He received a special request from the German Army to deliver all his material for the use of the military intelligence (Steuernagel 1921, p. 75). After that, parts of it were lost and Schumacher had to remake some of the drawings. As a result, the very final version of the maps would be available for the DPV only in 1921. As a sign of the DPV's gratitude and appreciation, the Society turned Schumacher into an honorary member (Guthe 1921). In this occasion, the director of the executive committee of the society dedicated the following words to Schumacher:

Er hat in zäher Ausdauer, mit bewundernswerten Geschick und mit sorgfältigstem Fleiß in jahrzehntelanger Arbeit ein Werk geschaffen, das die Sichere Grundlage für jede weitere Arbeit in diesem Gebiet bildet, und das seinen Namen für immer mit unauslöschlichen Lettern in die Geschichte der Palästinaforschung eingegraben hat. (Steuernagel 1921, pp. 75–76)

II.1.1.3.4. DPV's Meteorological Stations

Another important Project of the DPV that was jeopardized by the war was the meteorological stations. In 1891, during the 6th General meeting of the DPV, the society discussed and approved Kersten's proposal to establish a structure for meteorological observations that should serve at the same time for collecting botanic information, as planned by Furrer (Protokoll der sechsten Generalversammlung des Deutschen Vereins zur Erforschung Palästinas 1891, iv). Kersten organized the equipment while Max Blanckenhorn (1861-1947) – geologist and geographer – was responsible for the installation of the stations in Palestine during his geological expedition funded by the DPV. The stations were installed in the area of German colonies and some of its inhabitants were trained by Blanckenhorn to be in charge of the observations and report to the DPV in

Germany (Personalnachrichten 1894). The equipment could register, for the very first time, the temperature, humidity and precipitation in Palestinian territory. In 1895 Kersten reports in the 8th Meeting of the DPV that 3 main meteorological stations – in Jerusalem, Sarona (Jaffa), and Haifa – were already functioning, along with other smaller stations – in Gaza, Nablus, Madaba, Al-Salt, Safed – and several rain stations spread over the territory. For the observations on local fauna and flora, Blanckenhorn provided the settlers with a questionnaire (Guthe 1895, p. 89), in order to collect information on what sort of grain could be grown in the region. The information was then compiled and published by the ZDPV (Blanckenhorn 1904b; e.g. Blanckenhorn 1914, 1915, 1916, 1925c; Zacher 1907; Dück 1907).

The DPV acknowledged the importance of the stations for the development of the region and the integration of settlers with their research interests (Hübner 2006, p. 26) in such a way that the needs of the project were always met. From 1929 to 1931, the meteorological stations would be the only ongoing project of the DPV in Mandatory Palestine (Auszug aus der Rechnung für 1929 1930; Auszug aus der Rechnung für 1930 1931; Auszug aus der Rechnung für 1931 1932).

During World War I, however, most of the Germans were forced to leave their houses in Palestine and the meteorological recording was abandoned. After 1920, the DPV was able to reestablish contact with some of the stations and resume work first in Nazareth, Waldheim (Umm al-'Amad), and Haifa and in the others over the next years, although they had to abandon the stations in Jerusalem and Wilhelma (Steuernagel 1922). The Project continued until 1939, when World War II started. In the following year, Blanckenhorn's last report was published (1940).

II.1.1.3.5. Masada: DPV's last stand

Finally, the DPV joined resources with the University of Erlangen for an expedition to Masada in 1932. Under the direction of the Professor of Ancient History, Adolf Schulten (1870-1969) and the surveyor Adolf Lammerer, the theologian Wilhelm Boree – who had concluded his doctoral studies under Alt in Leipzig – and the Templers Theodor Fast and Fritz Frank, the work focused mainly on the ruins of the Roman military camps and siege system (Hübner 2006, p. 26). The results were published in the ZDPV (Schulten et al. 1933), in a 185-page report with fourteen pictures, maps, and several plans. Although the

investigation concentrated neither on the Herodian fortification nor on older remains on the plateau of Masada, this original contribution paved the way for later works on this site (Netzer 1993, p. 974), which became quite important for the development of an Israeli archaeology.

II.1.1.4. The DPV besides World War II

Besides the difficulties brought by the wars, the idea of the DPV survived. The archive, library and most of the collection of the DPV were destroyed by a bomb attack on the University of Leipzig during World War II (Alt 1945, p. 262). After 1945, the society stopped its activities in order to be formally dissolved by the lack of interest of the government in 1949 (Fitschen 2006, p. 296). Its reestablishment took place in 1952 during the twelfth Deutschen Orientalistentag, a meeting organized (again) by the DMG (Fitschen 2006, p. 302). Since then, the DPV became a worldwide recognized society, which cooperates with many international societies, such as the Palestinian Department of Antiquities in Ramallah, the Department of Antiquities of Jordan in Amman, the PEF in London, the ASOR both in Jerusalem and Amman, the British School for Archaeology and History in Jerusalem and Amman, the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, the Israel Exploration Society, and the EBAF in Jerusalem (Hübner 2006, p. 28).

II.1.2. DOG

II.1.2.1. A private initiative

In 1888, there was already a strong feeling that the Royal Museum in Berlin should invest in expeditions to Mesopotamia in order to supply the museum's collection and offer some competition to the French and English oriental collections. The initiative to create an organization to coordinate such enterprises using private money came from Adolf Erman (1854-1937), the director of the Department of Egyptology of the museum. This resulted in the creation of the *Orient-Comité* (OC), considered a precursor to the DOG (Schuler 1968, p. 7; Wilhelm 1998b, p. 13). The idea attracted enough interest to enable a first expedition in the same year to Sam'al, an ancient Aramean city situated today at Zincirli Höyük, southern Turkey. The price for the acquisition of excavated antiquities was too high though; it depleted the Museum's fund as a result of which the initiative could barely survive.

In contrast to the DPV, the OC as well as the DOG was mainly an aristocratic initiative. James Simon (1851-1932), a very successful businessman and the owner of the most important cotton company of Europe at the time (Matthes 2000, p. 22), inherited the interest for art and ancient ruins from his uncle.³⁸ As a member of the OC, he believed that a larger number of private sponsors in a closer and better organized cooperation with the Museum along with public and institutional support was the key for a successful institution (Schuler 1968; Matthes 2000, pp. 206–207).

Prinz Heinrich zu Schönaich-Carolath and the Staatssekretär Hollman organized an event for the foundation of the DOG, which was held in the colonnaded hall of the ägyptischen Abteilung des Königl. Museums, on January 24, 1898 (SMB ZA III/DOG I 2.1 Einladung). The invitation circulated among the most celebrated scholars of the time – such as Theodor Mommsen, Eduard Meyer, Otto Hirschfeld, Alexander Conze, Friedrich Delitzsch, Heinrich Kiepert, Adolf Erman, but the main advertising efforts were concentrated among the influential personalities in the economic and political elites (Schuler 1968; Matthes 2000, p. 210).

Chairman Prinz Heinrich zu Schönaich-Carolath, the treasurer Paul von Schwabach and the secretary P. Horn composed the Society's first board of directors (Schuler 1968, pp. 8–10). Kaiser Wilhelm II declared his support first through payments from the *Allerhochsten Dispositionsfond* (Wilhelm 1998b, p. 7), eventually becoming the society's patron in 1901 (Vereinsnachrichten 1901).

Already in the the first *Jahresbericht*, the number of members surpassed 500, resulting in an income of nearly 62000M for the first year (Matthes 2000, p. 210). According to Matthes (2000, p. 210), this is mostly due to the intensive publicity organized by Simon, who engaged himself in the personal invitation of friends and other businessmen, and invested in advertising the cause in newspapers. Besides, he encouraged other scholars in this task (Matthes 2000, pp. 212–213), which resulted in the publication of 3000 exemplars *Ex Oriente Lux! Ein Wort zur Förderung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* by Delitzsch. After listing a series of successful discoveries by the French and Englishmen, the publication reads:

³⁸ Louis Simon (uncle), together with Isaak Simon (father), the funders of the successful cotton Company "Gebrüder Simon", helped finance the very first expedition of the Prussian Royal Museum to Mesopotamia (see Matthes 2000, p. 201).

So könnten wir noch lange fortfahren, wollten wir alle die Thaten aufzählen, welche die fremdländischer Forscher, getragen von dem thatkräftigen Interesse ihrer Regierungen und unterstützt durch die Liberalität ihrer Landsleute, drüber auf den Trümerstätten Assyriens, Babylonien, Elams, vollbracht haben und noch vollbringen. ... und Deutschland – soll es auch noch ein zweites halbes Jahrhundert fortfahren, den Ruhmesthaten der fremden Nationen müßig und bewundernd zuzuschauen? Soll es sich noch länger in der Rolle des Poeten gefalle, bis es heißt: zu spät! Die Welt ist weggegeben! (Delitzsch 1898, p. 12)

Therefore, the main goals established for the Society were (SMB ZA III/DOG I 2.1 Entwurf der Satzungen).

Die Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft stellt sich die Aufgabe:

- a) Das Studium des Orientalischen Alterthums im Allgemeinen, im Besonderen die Erforschung der alten Kulturstätten in Assyrien, Babylonien, Mesopotamien und anderen westasiatischen Ländern sowie Ägypten zu fördern;
- b) Die auf die Erwerbung orientalischer Alterthümer, Denkmäler der Kunst und allgemeinen Kultur gerichteten Bestrebungen des Königl. Museums zu Berlin sowie anderer öffentlicher Sammlungen im Deutschen Reiche zu unterstützen;
- c) Die Kenntnis von den Ergebnissen der Forschungen über das orientalische Alterthum in geeigneter Weise zu verbreiten und das Interesse an diesem Theile ältester menschlicher Kultur zu beleben.

In other words, the DOG aimed to develop research and disseminate this knowledge by means of publications and the transport of artifacts to Berlin (Wilhelm 1998b, p. 5). Indeed, the DOG ensured that every artifact resulting from a project of the society belonged automatically to the German scientific community; therefore, they should be published as soon as possible and in the most accessible way (SMB ZA III/DOG I 2.1. §1 Zusatzbestimmung 1898). Besides, they expected from every scholar leading a DOG's project to keep a diary and a list of the finds, both to be stored by the society later (SMB ZA III/DOG I 2.1. §6 Zusatzbestimmung 1898).

II.1.2.2. The DOG's activities in the Near East

The very first excavation of the DOG was led by Robert Koldewey in Babylon in 1899. The project was carried out until March 1917 and could not be resumed because of the war. Nevertheless, it remains quantitatively the largest archaeological excavation in Babylon (Wilhelm 1998a, p. 23). After Babylon, the DOG started many other excavation projects in the Mesopotamian region (**Map 1**).

The DOG carried out also important fieldwork in Egypt (**Map 1**). The project at Tell el-Amarna, for example, brought Germany one of its most powerful artifacts, the Bust of

Queen Nefertiti, an impressive work of art from the 14 century BCE, now in exhibition at the Neues Museum in Berlin (**Fig. 81**).

II.1.2.2.1. Palestine

Only a few years after its foundation, the DOG decided to expand its area of activity towards the coast (Vereinsnachrichten 1902, p. 2). Thus, the DOG supported the excavation project of the DPV at Megiddo between 1903 and 1905 (Fritz 1998a, p. 101) with 10000M (SMB ZA III/DOG II 2.1.1 Vertrag DOG-DPV).

Matthes (2000, pp. 241–242) reports that some DOG members refused to support the research in Palestine. Particularly Friedrich Delitzsch and Eduard Sachau feared diverting the focus of the DOG from Mesopotamia to Palestine and did not agree to invest the society's money, even if in the form of indirect support. Simon, on the other hand, was a great enthusiast of the expansion of the DOG's interests and engaged himself personally in the execution of this plan. H. Thiersch and G. Hölscher were then sent to Palestine for a reconnaissance expedition, from April to August 1903 in order to

... alle bedeutenderen Plätze des Landes zu besuchen und an Ort und Stelle zu prüfen, welche Stellen für künftige Ausgrabungen in Fragen kommen könnten. Eine solche Prüfung muß von der Kenntniss der Orte ausgehen, deren einstige Bedeutung durch die geschichtliche Überlieferung, durch bereits gemachte Funde oder durch charakteristische Terrainverhältnisse zu erweisen ist... (Thiersch, Hölscher 1904, pp. 1–2)

Thus, the DOG established two working offices in Palestine, namely as the DPV's partner and carrying out its own independent projects.

It is not clear if the religiosity played an important role in Simon's interest, but after Thiersch and Hölscher's expedition, the businessman was apparently convinced of the positive cost/benefit ratio of doing research in Palestine:

Daß in P.[alestina] im ganzem billiger zu arbeiten ist, wie in Babylon, weil die Objekte nicht so gewaltig sind. Ich denke mir z.B. die Erforschung der Synagogen Galilaea's oder Sichem's nicht besonders kostspielig. (SMB ZA III/DOG I 6.93 Brief Simon an Güterbock, 25.7.1903; Matthes 2000, p. 242)

Based on the scholars' report of the poor conservation conditions of the synagogues in Palestine, Simon provided 15.000 M to an expedition to record and carry out research on the buildings and 3.000 M annually for conservation measures. In 1905, the DOG chose Heinrich Kohl and Ernst Hillers, architects and Carl Watzinger, an archeologist, to lead the project (Vereinsnachrichten 1905, p. 2). Simon expected to collect enough material for

academic and popular publications to convince both scholars and investors about the positive return of expeditions to Palestine (SMB ZA III/DOG I 4.10; Matthes 2000, p. 242).

Expedition to Galilee: The Synagogues

Between March 28 and June 17, the expedition team visited a series of synagogues dating back to the Roman Period at Semmäka (29-30 March), Talhum (5-27 April), ed-Dikke (19 April-1 May), Umm el-Ḳanâṭir (3-6 May), Umm el-'Amed (8-12 May), Irbid (13-17 May), back to Tell Ḥûm (18-27 May), Merôn (29 May-1 June), en-Nabraten (2-4 June), Kefr Bir'irn (6-13 June) and ed-Dschisch (14-17 June) (Kohl, Watzinger 1916).

The work consisted in some cases also of excavations, mainly to expose the architecture, as at Talhum (Capernaum), where the ruins had been covered with earth and stones, and trees planted on it and a wall built around it after Wilson and Kitchener's work there (Kohl, Watzinger 1916, p. 2). After a four-week excavation, the DOG sent Kohl and Watzinger for renewed efforts in 1907, but they ended up redirecting it to Keraze (4-13 October) because the local Franciscans, who owned the land where the building was, were planning to excavate the place themselves (Kohl, Watzinger 1916, p. 3).

As the report shows, the main focus of the work was the description of the building techniques and the state of conservation of the synagogues (**Fig. 76**). Its location in a broader geographical landscape was also an important issue. There is no mention of any other finds beside architectural elements. After the descriptive chapters, the authors assess the historical importance of the Galilean synagogues. Through a broader comparison with other known synagogues in Europe, they suggest the Galilean synagogues were built in a short period of time. They found it hard to come up with a more precise date, since the research on the Roman architecture in the area of Palestine and Syria were not developed enough to give them any parameters (Kohl, Watzinger 1916, p. 147). Nevertheless, they were able to conclude that

Die Heimat des besonderen Architekturstiles der Synagogen darf vielleicht noch etwas enger innerhalb der syrischen Grenzen umschrieben werden. Östlich von Galiläa und vom See Tiberias, im Gebiet der Batanaea und Trachonitis, lagen die Bauten der spätantoinischen und severischen Epoche, deren Formen immer wieder zum Vergleich mit den Synagogen einluden; diese Kunstrichtung hatte sich auch im Norden bis an die Grenzen Galiläas ausgedehnt, wofür uns der den Synagogen so nahe stehende heidnische Tempel von Kadesch ein wichtiger Zeuge ist, und hat im Süden auch in den Severerbauten in Sebaste ihre Spuren hinterlassen. Der Galiläa im Norden und Osten benachbarte Teil der Provinz Syria-Phönike darf also als die Heimat der Synagogenarchitektur und damit auch

des griechisch-römischen Architekten der Zeit des Severus und Caracalla, dem der Entwurf für die ersten Neubauten der Synagogen verdankt wird, angesehen werden. (Kohl, Watzinger 1916, p. 173) (**Fig. 77**)

Although the research on the synagogue buildings in the Galilee started already in 1852 with the American theologian Edward Robinson and remained a subject of interest during the second half of the 19th century for explorers such as Ernest Renan, C. W. Wilson, C. R. Conder und H. H. Kitchener, the expedition of the DOG represents the first time these monuments became the focus of systematic research. For Fritz (1998a, p. 102), the German expedition established a standard of research on the subject, which were not going to be surpassed many decades later and whose importance for the history of research has been recognized only recently.

Sellin at Jericho

In 1907, the DOG decided to take on E. Sellin's project to excavate at Tell es-Sultan, biblical Jericho. The theologian had carried out a trial excavation in April of that same year, on behalf of the Austrian *Unterrichtsministerium* with the contribution of private sponsors. After that, Sellin was convinced that he had located the Canaanite Jericho and that further excavations were necessary (Sellin 1907). Because the Austrian sponsors could not finance the project, Sellin applied for DOG's support, following an advice from Delitzsch (SMB ZA III/DOG II 2.6.14, Briefe Sellin an Delitzsch 06.06.1907, 28.06.1907, Telegram 05.09.1907; Fritz 1998b, p. 84).

The project was an important step for Sellin's career in biblical archaeology. Jericho, in contrast to Taanach, was the main site for the biblical narrative, in the story of the first Israelite battle in their conquest of Canaan, when Joshua led his army to march around the city, the priests to blow with the trumpets, the people to shout loud until the walls of Jericho fell down flat (Jos 6). The city is also mentioned several times in the New Testament so that it is especially important for Christians. In addition, Jericho was easily accessible, on the western side of the Jordan valley, close to where the Jordan runs into the Dead Sea (Thiersch 1913, p. 41). Besides, the tell formed an immense plateau of ca. 360m long by 160m wide, with different heights varying from 5 to 12 m from the valley (Sellin 1908b, p. 3), what would easily catch a traveler's attention (**Fig. 78**)

Before Sellin, the site had already been investigated by Warren in the 1860s; Bliss had pointed out the significance of the site in 1894; Sellin himself had mentioned Jericho

in his first travel to Palestine (Sellin 1899), and Thiersch had mentioned it to the DOG in his report of his travel in 1904 (Thiersch, Hölscher 1904, p. 40).

For these reasons, Simon believed that the success of an expedition in such an important site could contribute to the prestige of the DOG and attract attention and money in the form of new members (SMB ZA III/DOG I 6.97, Brief Simon an Delitzsch, 12.06.1907; Matthes 2000, p. 244). Therefore, he was ready to cover most of the costs (52.000 out of 60.000 M) of two seasons of excavations himself (Matthes 2000, 885). In return, he proposed that the society would control the project and nominate the staff:

Wenn wir die Sachen mit Sellin gemeinsam machen, so stellen wir den Architekten u. die Sache wird dann technisch richtig gemacht, was von größten Wichtigkeit. Erfolge in Jericho durch die Arbeit der DOG würde das Prestige unserer Gesellschaft sehr heben. Sellin kann seine Ruhe doch dann haben. (SMB ZA III/DOG I 6.97, Brief Simon an Delitzsch, 12.06.1907)

Sellin, on the other hand, tried to raise money from different sources for his project in order to secure its independence (Matthes 2000, p. 244). In the end, Sellin accepted the terms of the DOG (SMB ZA III/DOG II 2.4.1, Instruktion für die Ausgrabung in Jericho) and handed over the position of the decision-maker.

Thus, the DOG nominated the Architect F. Langenegger, who had been working at Babylon for two years and the archaeologist C. Watzinger to complete the staff. Sellin summoned his former area supervisor at Ta'anek, Nicola Datodi, five of his workers from Haifa, and engaged another 200 workers (men and women) for the first expedition, which took place from January 2 to April 8, 1908. The second expedition took place one year later (January 15 to April 2 1909) with Nöldeke as the architect and Schultze, his assistant.

The substitution of Langenegger by Nöldecke is due to the arguments between the former and Sellin. Sellin complained to the DOG about the behavior of the architect, which is also mentioned in Watzinger's correspondence with the executive committee of the Society. According to these letters, Langenegger's judgement of Sellin's work was biased, based primarily on the critics of his former work at Ta'anek (refer to Chapter B-I.2). Although Watzinger recognized the importance of the architect's work ("...Ohne Herr Lageneppers energisch Einwirkung auf den Gang der Grabung hätten wir weder die Stadtmauern von Jericho gefunden, noch ihren Verlauf in der letzten Kampagne fast vollständig festgestellt."), he recommended his substitution to the DOG for the sake of the expedition, as he considered the atmosphere to be very hostile (SMB ZA III/DOG II 2.6.21, Briefe Watzinger an Güterbock, 29/30.06.1908). Sellin was apparently also resistant to

work with Nöldecke, which angered his sponsor. In the end, Simon agreed to continue funding only after a new set of instructions for Sellin were arranged and because he believed in the importance of the expedition (SMB ZA III/DOG I 6.98, Brief Simon an Güterbock 19.02.1908).

The main goal of the expedition was to investigate the site in a long-term perspective, from its ancient oriental phase to the medieval one, through its classic occupation, while measuring, drawing and recording its ruins in pictures (SMB ZA III/DOG II 2.4.1, Instruktion für die Ausgrabung in Jericho). Naturally the parts of walls revealed during the first excavations also reveal the focus of the DOG's project during the 1908 and 1909 seasons, as the excavators planned to expose its entire extension (Sellin 1909, pp. 3–13) (**Figs. 79-80**).

The excavators carried out work in different areas of the tell simultaneously. They applied also different techniques, such as the cut of large trenches (mainly following the course of the walls), test pits and narrow trenches (**Fig.80** F3, F4; K3), but also the exposure of larger areas on the plateau (C5, C6; D5,D6; E5, E6) (Sellin, Watzinger 1913, pp. 6–12). They identified seven stratigraphical layers, described roughly as follows: 7. Byzantine; 6 and 5. Late Jewish; 4. Israelite; 3. Late Canaanite; 2. Canaanite; 1. Prehistorical (Sellin, Watzinger 1913, p. 13).

The majority of the finds of the excavation were sent to Jerusalem to be stored in a local museum, while samples of all pottery types were delivered to Berlin (SMB ZA III/DOG II 2.4.4, Inventarliste). The most celebrated discovery was naturally the doubled city walls. For the excavators, there was an obvious relationship between the fall of the fortified Jericho and the biblical account of Joshua (6). In short, their line of argumentation follows (Sellin, Watzinger 1913, pp. 181–182):

- a) there was a strongly fortified city, with massive walls nearly 8m high, which gave the city the impression of impregnability;
- b) still, the city fell;
- c) the enemy came from the east, because the fortifications were completely destroyed on this side, but its fundamentals were preserved on the northern, western and southern sides;

- d) the outer wall was set on fire, since its wooden components were turned into ash; the city was massively plundered, since the only material culture found by them was pottery and all the jewelry, weapons, bronze artifacts were taken;
- e) Archaeologically speaking, Canaanite Jericho was destroyed at the latest around 1500 BCE.

Alternatives to this Bible-oriented interpretation of Canaanite Jericho appeared some years later, especially after renewed excavations on the tell. Critics focused mainly on their presentation of the stratigraphy of the tell and the dates (Fritz 1998b, p. 84). In a later publication, Watzinger presents new dating for Jericho's strata (Watzinger 1926). The British John Garstang and Kathleen Kenyon resumed the fieldwork at Jericho for the PEF. He excavated from 1930 to 1936; she, from 1952 to 1958. Kenyon proposed a completely different interpretation for Sellin's phasing, pushing the oldest strata to the Neolithic and completely demystifying the archaeological version for Joshua's conquest (Kenyon 1960, 1965; Kenyon, Holland 1981, 1982, 1983).

Still, the final report of Sellin's excavations was highly praised by his contemporaries and later scholars. Thiersch (1914a), the most severe critic of Sellin's earlier excavations, considers it a model report. He emphasizes how they first present their finds (architecture followed by artifacts) according to stratum, and later offer their interpretations, after a background on the history of the site from sources other than archaeological ones. Sellin and Watzinger were colleagues at the University of Rostock at the time of the excavations, which allowed them to exchange their thoughts about the site while not in the field. They wrote the report together: while Watzinger was responsible for the description of the finds, Sellin focused on the historical and religious interpretation. A decade later, Albright would declare it to be "the best publication of the results of Palestinian excavation yet issued" (Albright apud Weippert, Helga 1988, p. 91).

II.1.2.3. The DOG and the World Wars

The war had a dramatic impact also for the DOG. World War I put an end to the work of the first generation, who, by defining German scientific interest in the Near East through archaeological fieldwork, the acquisition of artifacts, publicity and lectures to raise money, opened up the scope of the institutiton to alternative archaeologies other than the one practiced at Roman and Greek sites. The conditions for the work of the Research

Society changed dramatically, after the Ottoman Empire was dissolved and after the advent of the war, when scholars were sent to the battlefield – Kohl, for instance, is reported to have died fighting in the war, shortly after finalizing the manuscript on the synagogues with Watzinger (Kohl, Watzinger 1916, iii). The financial crisis of the postwar led the Society – maintained basically with private money – to appeal to public funding (Nagel 1976). Although the conditions were not as favorable as before, the society still carried some prestige. The festivities for its 25 years were held in the presence of the first German President, Friedrich Ebert in 1923 (Wilhelm 1998b, pp. 9–10).

After the establishment of the Third Reich, the DOG was still in need of public funding to survive. This cost the society too much, as they were asked to exclude all the Jewish members of the DOG in 1940. In 1943, the list of members of the last meeting of the Society counted no more than 15 people (Wilhelm 1998b, pp. 10–11). The society was dissolved only to be created again shortly after the war, in 1947.

II.1.3. DEI

The Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes was the first German research institution to be established in Palestine. It was first idealized in 1898, during the visit of the German Kaiser to Jerusalem, but it would take five years until it started its activities (Hübner 2011, p. 60).

As part of the festivities for the inauguration of the Protestant Church of the Redeemer in the Old City of Jerusalem on October 31, 1898 by Kaiser Wilhelm II, representatives of the German Evangelical Churches manifested the need of a local German institution to take over the research on the antiquities of the Holy Land. The spokesman v. Schneider, president of the *Oberkonsistorialrat* of the Bavarian Church, addressed the issue with the following words:

Allerdurchlauchtigster, grossmächtiger Kaiser und König! [...] Inmitten der Stätten geheiligter Erinnerungen an das große Erlösungswerk, welches unser Herr und Heiland vollbracht hat, stehen wir alle unmittelbarer als sonst unter dem Eindrucke dieser seligen Gottesthat und des Vorbildes, welches Jesus Christus durch sein Leben, Leiden und Sterben gegeben hat, damit wir sollen nachfolgen seiner Fußstapfen. Wo und wann könnten wir uns kräftiger angetrieben fühlen zu dem heiligen Entschlusse und Gelöbnisse, den von Euerer Majestät gezeichneten Idealen evangelischen Lebens mit allem Eifer nachzustreben?

Die evangelischen Christen aller Länder und insbesondere unseres geliebten deutschen Vaterlandes blicken heute im Geiste mit inniger Genugthuung auf das nun vollendete und geweihte Werk evangelischen Glaubens. Damit ist dem

evangelischen Gottesdienste auch in den Thoren Jerusalems eine würdige Stätte bereitet. Auch von Ihr aus werden sich von nun an die Kräfte des Evangeliums über diese Stadt und dieses Land ergießen. [...] Wir vertrauen, daß die Teilnahme, mit welcher fortan alle evangelischen Christen, das von diesem Gotteshause ausgehende Wachstum evangelischer Lehre und evangelischen Lebens begleiten werden, ihrerseits dazu dienen wird, allenthalben die Einheit des evangelischen Bewußtseins zu stärken. Aus der zündenden Kraft des evangelischen Bewußtseins ist in den hier anwesenden Vertretern der deutschen evangelischen Kirchen bei ihrer Fahrt zum heiligen Lande, der einstimmige Wunsch entstanden, neben dem heute geweihten Heiligtume der evangelischen Kirche *der Pflege evangelische-christlicher Altertumswissenschaft ein Heim in dieser Stadt zu gründen*. Wir dürften Euerer Majestät jetzt schon allerunterthänigst bitten diesem Werke in Falle seine Durchführung Allerhöchstihre huldvolle und wohlwollend Teilnahme Allernädigst zuwenden zu wollen. (Mirbach 1899, p. 252 emphasis added)

On June 19, 1900, during the meeting of the German regional Protestant Churches, which was held in Eisenach, the plan for the institute took shape (Hübner 2011, p. 59) and in the end of the following year, the government in Berlin approved its constitution. In 1902, the executive committee was formed and Gustaf Dalman (1855-1941) was appointed as the first Director of the DEI. On the January 12, 1903, the Institute was established *de facto*, in Jerusalem (Dalman 1905b, pp. 14–15; Hübner 2011, p. 61).

II.1.3.1. The Goals of the DEI

The director had the duty to organize the DEI's activities in Jerusalem and report to the committee in Berlin, maintained by the protestant Church. According to the statute, this committee had to include three members – and their representatives – elected by the Deutsche evangelische Kirchenkonferenz for a period of six years; by one member of the Board of the *Jerusalemstiftung*,³⁹ as well as by a protestant member of the DPV (Statute §2).

The major goals of the DEI were not much different from the research societies presented earlier in this work. The institute had the objective of hosting scholars and churchmen interested in doing research on „palästinische Landes- und Volkskunde, beides im Hinblick auf das biblische Altertum, sowie die Geschichte des Landes in nachbiblischer Zeit“ (Dalman 1909b, p. 31). For this purpose, the DEI would offer study courses with a duration of three months, with a three-week excursion throughout Palestine at the end of the period (Bienert et al., p. 240).

³⁹ The *Jerusalem Stiftung* is a part of the German Evangelical Church and it is created specifically for the Holy Land. It was created in 1886 after the dissolution of the common Bishopry of Germany and England.

In contrast to the DPV and the DOG – or because of them –, the DEI did not aim at archaeological excavations (Dalman 1905c, p. 9). Its activities centered on the territorial history of Palestine (Bienert, Weber 1998, p. 60) with a focus both on the ancient and contemporary Palestine in all aspects that could shed light on the ancient way of life of its people. As a consequence, it would contribute to the comprehension of the biblical narratives from the Old and New Testaments. Thus, „die Forschungen dieses Institutes werden sich mit den Grundlagen des Glaubens und der göttlichen Erscheinung beschäftigen, aber alles in Übereinstimmung mit der wahren Forschung.“ (Ben-Yehuda apud Carmel, Bloedhorn 2002, p. 11).

Naturally, the archaeological research was seen as a fundamental piece for the study of the places where biblical stories took place (Zobel 1981, p. 8). However, bound by an agreement with the DPV, both German institutions decided not to compete, but to contribute to each other's work (Guthe 1902a, p. 82). Archaeological excavations were then left to the DPV (Baumann 1913, p. 170; Fritz 1998c, p. 203; Bienert, Weber 1998, p. 59).

On the other hand, the institute carried the teaching responsibility. The holder of a DEI scholarship received the opportunity to be trained *in situ* on the biblical antiquities, before starting their careers on the church in Germany. They would first get to know the Holy Land in its entirety, that is its “history, geography, geology, languages, customs, fauna, flora, climate conditions, and antiquities from all periods” (Bienert et al., p. 240). In the first two months, the courses were intensive, with daily classes except on Saturdays, and general lectures - mandatory for the members of the study course, but open to the German community in Palestine. On Saturdays, there were usually visits to Jerusalem and its surroundings, and on the last month of the course, a three-week study tour was offered. To conclude the course, the scholarship holders had to present a paper on a topic discussed in classes (Dalman 1905c, pp. 9–10).

Moreover, the DEI had another particular goal, namely

... auf dem Gebiet der biblischen und kirchlichen Alterthumswissenschaft die Beziehung zwischen den Stätten der heiligen Geschichte und zwischen der gelehrten Forschung und dem Interesse der christlichen Frömmigkeit in der evangelischen Kirche zu pflegen, zu beleben und zu regeln“ (Urkunde über Errichtung der deutschen evangelischen Stiftung für Altertumswissenschaft des heiligen Landes 1905, p. 1)

Thus, the Institute could unite all the evangelical churches from Germany to bridge the gap between *Vaterland* and *Heiliges Land*, between scientific knowledge and the Church, in an act of tribute to the Reformation, for

... Wenn die Reformation von der Übersetzung der Heiligen Schrift zu ihren Grundsprachen zurückführte, so entspricht es ihrem Geist, daß zur Kenntnis der Grundsprachen auch die Erforschung des Landes gefügt wird, auf dessen Boden die heilige Geschichte sich bewegte, dessen Eigenart das irdische Gewand der göttlichen Offenbarung bestimmte. Von der Bibel zu Babel führen weite Wege, die leicht zu Irrpfaden werden, Bibel und Palästina aber, sind unauflöslich verknüpft, und es kann einem evangelischen Volke nur heilsam sein, in der Heimat der Bibel selbst heimlich zu werden. Dafür soll das Institut in Jerusalem unserer deutschen evangelischen Kirchen dienen. (Dalman 1905a, p. 14)

To sum up, the DEI was a branch of the German evangelical church in Jerusalem, aimed to educate the messengers of God by offering them not only the opportunity to visit the Holy Land but also the opportunity to learn about it, scientifically (BArch R 5101/22539, 1909). They would return home with this knowledge and spread it across their religious communities (Guthe 1902a, p. 83). Nevertheless, the Institute did not close its doors to foreign protestants, who were invited to the lectures and offered free access to the library (Statutes §6).

II.1.3.2. The DEI under Dalman

In its very first years, though, the DEI did not offer any courses. Dalman's urgent task was organizing the infrastructure for the Institute. He rented a house on the Mount of Olives with a hall for public lectures, which could fit more than 70 people, a room for the library serving also for the classes, and a smaller adjacent 3-room building for the Institute's museum. The library was going to be specialized in Palestinian research and was formed mainly by donations, especially from the DMG, the German Government, and the publishing house of J.C. Hinrichs, Leipzig (Dalman 1905a, pp. 15–16). The "Royal Library" donated by the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm IV to Jerusalem in 1847 was incorporated in the DEI's library, as well Conrad Schick's personal books (Fritz 1998c, p. 203). In the end of 1905, the collection comprised already around 1770 books (Dalman 1905b, p. 15). For the museum, which was going to offer visual aids to illustrate the lectures, Dalman was able to collect nearly 800 pieces in the same year. There were artifacts made of pottery, stone, glass, and metal, from "pre-Israelite" to the "Arabic" periods, most of them found during the construction of the Church of the Redeemer. Some models of the city built by

Schick, and an assemblage of coins were also part of the collection. Besides, Dalman invested considerable effort in the creation of an ethnological collection, including local tools for agriculture and handicraft, domestic utensils, and musical instruments. Natural sciences were represented by a herbarium and samples of rocks and birds from a broader area around Jerusalem (Dalman 1905a, p. 16; Thomsen 1913; Fritz 1998c, p. 203). This collection impressed the first visitors of the museum, as Eliezer Ben-Yehuda describes for the local newspaper *Hashkafa* on November 20, 1903:

Um drei Uhr nachmittags wurde für die geladenen Gäste das Museum des Instituts eröffnet, und ich möchte sogleich sagen, dass alle Gäste erstaunt waren von dem, was sie vor sich sahen, denn es war dem Leiter des Instituts, Herrn Professor Dr. Dalman, gelungen, in so kurzer Zeit, in nur einem Jahr, so viele interessante Dinge zusammenzutragen und sie mit Wissen und Überlegungen anzuordnen. Sicher kann man dieses kleine Museum nicht mit den grossen Museen in der Welt vergleichen, aber es findet sich jedoch in diesen drei Räumen sehr viel wichtiges Material, welches uns einen Überblick über die Vergangenheit dieses Landes ermöglicht. (German version by Carmel, Bloedhorn 2002, p. 9)

It is a consensus to attribute the positive development of the Institute to its director. Before moving to Jerusalem, Dalman had taught Old Testament studies and Practical Theology in Dresden and Leipzig, at the *Institutum Judaicum* of Franz Delitzsch⁴⁰ (Zobel 1981, pp. 1–2). He learned not only Hebrew and Aramaic, but also Arabic and became familiar with the way of life of the people of Palestine during previous travels throughout the Near East (Baumann 1913, p. 169).

Very soon, with his experience and interest the DEI started rival other two research societies with seats in Jerusalem, namely the French *École Biblique et Archéologique* (1880) and the *American Schools of Oriental Research* (1900) (Fritz 1998c, p. 203). The French institution was founded by the Dominicans and offered not only a model for the DEI with questions such as how to integrate research and religious community (Hübner 2011, p. 60), but it also became a sample institution in demonstrating how to secure its religious presence in the Holy Land. According to the transcript of the proceedings of the *Eisenacher Kirchenkonferenz*, the religious competition was part of the context of the creation of the DEI:

Gegenüber der Thatsache, dass das Interesse der katholischen Kirche an Forschungen der biblischen und namentlich der kirchlichen Archäologie an Ort und Stelle durch ein von französischen Dominikanern geleitetes Institut

⁴⁰ Franz Delitzsch (1813-1890) was the father of Friedrich Delitzsch and the founder of the *Institutum Judaicum* (1886), where young theologians were trained with the mission of introducing the works and deeds of Jesus Christ to Jews (Männchen 2006, p. 227).

wahrgenommen wird, erscheint es als eine Ehrenpflicht der deutschen evangelischen Kirche, neben der interkonfessionellen Arbeit des Palästinavereins der in ihrem Schoosse erblühten, durch Nebenrücksichten nicht eingeeengten wissenschaftlichen Forschung an den heiligen Orten selbst eine Stätte zu bereiten. (Protokolle der 24. Deutschen evangelischen Kirchen-Konferenz, 1900 apud Guthe 1902a, p. 82)

The director of the DEI was going to share the teaching and administrative responsibilities with a collaborator, chosen among young theologians – they could be pastors or pastors in training, or someone studying to be a teacher of religion – for a nine-months-stay (Statutes §4). The number of scholarships was not supposed to exceed seven per year, and the students were encouraged to stay from three to five months in Jerusalem.

Dalman did not only orient other people on the research of Palestine, but he was also engaged in publishing extensively himself. Among his most important contributions are his 7-volume⁴¹ ethnographic observations of local customs and manners (*Arbeit und Sitte* 1928-1942.(Dalman 1908b). This would be the first systematic description of Petra and its surroundings (Brünnow 1909).(Dalman 1908b). This would be the first systematic description of Petra and its surroundings (Brünnow 1909).

Already in 1904, Dalman published the first works of the DEI, in the ZDPV in a section called *Studien aus dem Deutschen evangelischen Archäologischen Institut in Jerusalem* with a paper of his own (Dalman 1904) and of one of the students (Pfennigsdorf 1904). In 1905, the DEI would have its own publication – the *Palästinajahrbuch*. Nevertheless, the ZDPV would remain publishing the scientific works of the DEI, while the PJ would focus on “the perspective of the church on scientific topics for a popular readership” (Hübner 2011, p. 63).

In a critical assessment on the tenth anniversary of the Institute, Baumann notes that the system of collaborators and scholarship holders succeeded in involving all evangelic Churches from Germany. According to him, during the first ten years, 27 representatives of “traditional Prussian provinces” were sent to Jerusalem, together with representatives of eight “new” provinces, five from Württemberg, four from Saxony, three from Baden, three from Mecklenburg-Schwerin, three from Hamburg, two from Brunswick, one from Anhalt, one from Bavaria, one from Alsace-Lorraine, one from Saxony-Altenburg, one from Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, and one from Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt. There were eight collaborators (six professors, one pastor, and one schoolmaster) and 53 scholarship

⁴¹ An eighth volume was being prepared by Dalman at the time of his death (Männchen 1993, p. 206).

holders, among which 40 were pastors, nine were *Kandidat*, and four were High school teachers or theologians working at a school (Baumann 1913, pp. 171–172).

Dalman was on vacation in Germany when World War I started. Following the advice of the German Consulate in Jerusalem, he did not return to the Institute and its activities were interrupted (Fritz 1998c, p. 204). On the other hand, he decided to use his stay in Germany to participate in local conferences, make contacts and keep the flame of the DEI alive (Männchen 1993, pp. 64–65). As the political situation became more dramatic and the living conditions in Jerusalem extremely hard, Dalman could not follow an order of the DEI's committee to return to the Institute and to reestablish its teaching program. Dalman retired after this episode and accepted an offer for an OT Professorship in Greifswald (Männchen 1993, pp. 64–66).

However, this was not the end of Dalman's activities at the DEI. After the English had taken over Jerusalem, the Institute's possessions were kept by the Spanish Consulate, which took over the protection of Germans' interests in Palestine (BArch R 2/784; Cf. BArch R5101/21912, 25.09.1939). In 1921, Dalman returned to Jerusalem and organized the transportation of part of the institute's collection to Greifswald. This included part of the library, maps, photographs and some examples of the ethnographic, geological and botanical collection (Hübner 2011, p. 63). What was left behind was reorganized in another building (Fritz 1998c, p. 204). Moreover, Dalman would continue as the editor of the PJ until 1926 (PJ 22). On its first publication after he left directing the DEI, Dalman stated:

Es sind ernste Zeiten für das Institut, das in diesen Tagen sein Haus verlor und seit dem ersten Oktober keinen Vorsteher hat, und für Jerusalem, das in die Hände unserer Feinde gefallen ist. Aber das Jahrbuch, das nicht aufgegeben werden soll, will als ein Lebenszeichen betrachtet werden. (Dalman 1917)

Dalman was not allowed to stay in Jerusalem by the British authorities and had no choice other than to engage in the university life in Germany (Brief Vorstand DEI an Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung, Mai 1922 BArch R5101/22539 Bd 2). From December 1921 on, for the next seven years, the DEI's director would be Albrecht Alt (1883-1956) (Bienert, Weber 1998, p. 60). Alt was a theologian, with a degree from Erlangen and Leipzig and a PhD from Greifswald (1909). Already in 1914 he became a Professor in Basel, but, in contrast to Dalman, the war sent him to Jerusalem, where he worked for the *Deutsche Orientarmee* as a medical orderly and conducted the project of

cartographic division (UAL PA 1174, Albrecht Alt). Alt was already familiar with the region: in 1908 he had been one of Dalman's students in the DEI, and in 1912-13 he was his collaborator (Noth 1956, p. 2; Hagenow 1998, pp. 34–35).

II.1.3.3. The DEI under Alt

His first activities as the head of the institute included the removal of the collection from its old seat and its reorganization in two rooms of the Schneller Orphanage (Syrisches Waisenhaus), an opportunity offered by its director, Schneller; the organization of the library with new donations from Dalman, from the government and from the ASOR; and most importantly the reestablishment of good relationships with the Americans working at the ASOR and with the British Professor Garstang, Head of the Department of Antiquities in Mandate Jerusalem (Alt 1922/1923).

With the apparent relief that followed the end of the war and the establishment of the British Mandate in Palestine, the Institute could reestablish its study-courses from 1924 on (Alt 1924a, p. 4). Alt decided to keep the structure of the courses as in Dalman's period: classes, lectures, daily excursions and the final trip, as long as the political situation in Palestine would permit. The first course under Alt had already seven students, though only one of them was coming from Germany (Hagenow 1998, p. 36). Alt considered the opening of the Institute to foreign scholars of extreme importance. On the one hand, Germany was experiencing an acute financial crisis in the 1920s and money that foreign scholars contributed could help the institute; on the other hand, this could consolidate the Institute as the leading research institution in Palestine, capable of welcoming any visitor with a scientific interest and offering them a specialized scientific introduction to the region. The courses in particular were supposed to fill this need of expertise, since traditional guides and explanations used to be the work of local churchmen, who had no knowledge of the sites besides the general information (Alt 1924a, pp. 4–5).

A main structural change from the time before the war is that in contrast to Dalman, Alt would not stay full time in Jerusalem. He would spend only summers there, for the duration of the courses, and the rest of the year, he would be teaching in Leipzig. There was however a more important difference between the two directors, namely their interests.

Alt would consider himself a historian; a historical theologian (Bardtke 1956, p. 516). Thus, as the director of the DEI, he managed to redirect the focus of the Institute's activities, emphasizing the historical research instead of the natural and ethnographic aspects of Palestine (Zobel 1981, p. 7). Besides, he reinterpreted the goal of the institute (§1 of the Statutes, mentioned above) as follows:

... Mit aller Deutlichkeit ist in ihnen ausgesagt, daß nur ernste wissenschaftliche Arbeit hier gepflegt werden soll: als wissenschaftliche Forschung in selbständiger Mitarbeit und den vielgestaltigen Problemen, die Palästinas biblische und kirchliche Vergangenheit uns zu lösen aufgibt, und als wissenschaftliche Belehrung in lebendiger Weitergabe eigener und fremder, neuer und alter Forschungs-methoden und –resultate an den Kreis derer, denen das Institut unmittelbar oder mittelbar in Wort und Schrift zu dienen berufen ist. Diese organische Verbindung von Forschung und Lehre hat satzungsgemäß von Anfang an zu den bestimmenden Wesensmerkmalen unserer Anstalt gehört und es wäre ohne Zweifel verhängnisvoll für ihre Zukunft, wenn in ihr jemals die Forschung über der Lehre oder die Lehre über der Forschung vernachlässigt würde. (Alt 1926a, p. 5)

According to Baumann's assessment of the first ten years of the activities of the DEI, the scientific production of the Institute did not meet the objectives. In fact, three to five months was too short for the scholarship holders to be experienced in the region and its language; on the other hand, it was too long for them to be kept far away from their professional activities in Germany (Baumann 1913, p. 172). Alt decided to change this situation, but after the war, the courses became even shorter than before (Alt 1926a, p. 6). Thus, he tried to

... solche Teilnehmer, die sich nicht selbst schon ein besonderes Thema gewählt hatten, zur Untersuchung eines von ihm bezeichneten zusammenhängenden Gebietes, das für die Arbeit in kleinere Abschnitte gegliedert werden konnte, heranzuziehen. ... soviel steht wohl fest, daß sie an praktischen Beispielen einen unmittelbaren Einblick in Probleme und Methoden der Palästinaforschung gewonnen haben, der ihnen lehrreich sein mußte. (Alt 1926a, p. 7)

Therefore, Alt managed to focus on the more urgent study of the occupational history, geography and topography of Palestine (Zobel 1981, p. 8).

II.1.3.4. The DEI During the Weimar Republic

In 1928, the committee in Berlin decided to have a scholar full time in Jerusalem to conduct the works of the Institute again. They finally attributed this role to the provost of the Church of the Redeemer, but the courses – as well as the PJ – would still be among Alt's responsibilities.

Nevertheless, the dynamics of the DEI had to be adapted to the critical financial situation in Germany and the political instabilities in Palestine among Jews and Arabs. Instead of offering the traditional courses, the DEI financed research trips in 1932 and 1933. In 1934, for the first time in its history, the institute decided to support an archaeological excavation. Instead of trips, the DEI gave financial support to Sellin, who had worked as Alt's collaborator in 1926-27 and had joined the trip in 1932 in his expedition at Tel Balata, biblical Shechem. The excavations, however, could not be carried out as planned (Alt 1939a, p. 5). From 1935 to 1939, Sellin, Alt and Galling, along with Prof. Baumgartner (Basel) and Prof. Zimmerli (Zürich) carried out the last activities for the Institute before it closed its doors again, when World War II began. The PJ, however, was published until 1941.

In 1964, Martin Noth (1902-1968) reopened the DEI, with the same research interest that characterized the Institute during Alt's era. Since 1975, the DEI has a second seat in Amman, Jordan (Bienert et al., p. 242), where most of its projects –archaeological excavations in particular– are carried out.

II.1.4. Research Societies and GBA

The 19th century marked the beginning of scientific efforts in Palestine, which would later develop into biblical archaeology. However, before research societies were first founded, those efforts were sporadic, limited in scale and scope, and conducted mainly by individuals with no centralized interests or methodologies (Goren 2001, pp. 153–154). The introduction of research societies, created specifically for the scientific exploration of Palestine, shifted the status quo. Firstly, they could not only organize their own expeditions, but they were also able to offer support to individual explorers and insert them within a larger framework of research cooperation. Secondly, such institutions promoted their results through centralized publications. On one hand, centralized publications created an important forum for discussion and on the other, became a primary reference point within the field of archaeology. More importantly, in the process of institutionalizing the field, Research Societies established guidelines for its research. Put simply, for the first time in the practice of biblical archaeology in Germany, thoughts about the specific goals of the

scientific exploration of Palestine and the methodologies used to achieve them entered the discussion.

Moreover, such Research societies took form as a new piece in the puzzled relationship between the European powers and the Orient. More nationalistic than the religious missions, which were first loyal to its community, Research societies provided Europeans with the needed structure to penetrate the foreign territory, to discover not only its antiquities, but also its customs, routes, and natural resources.

Therefore, the moment that Research Societies became primary agents within the scientific exploration of Palestine could be considered a catalyst for the emergence of biblical archaeology as a discipline. Yet one should not assume that the creation of a discipline is equivalent to its professionalization. Instead, here “discipline” is defined by the establishment of regulations and norms, which formed the mechanisms of biblical archaeology that provided a common language to for its practitioners.

II.1.4.1. Early expeditions to the Near East

A quick glance at some of the first international expeditions reveals their nationalist and colonialist nature. France and England were yet to settle several disputes relating to the antiquities of Mesopotamia, triggered by the excavations of Paul Emile Botta at Khorsabad and Henry Layard at Nimrud. In the 1860s, the French theologian Ernest Renan joined a military expedition to modern Lebanon, and excavated at Byblos, Sidon and Tyre in search of museum-quality antiquities (Davis 2004, p. 13). The PEF sent Charles Wilson and Charles Warren, both officers of the Royal Engineers to explore Jerusalem. When Germany entered the dispute, German settlers became crusaders, who not only believed in scientific work, but who were also invested in the future of Palestine (Die Arbeiten des Deutschen Vereins zu Erforschung Palästina's 1897, p. 5).

Under this civilized dispute, institutions such as the PEF, the DPV, the EBAF, the ASOR, the DEI, and the DOG, guaranteed that the scientific aspect of the imperialistic race towards the Near East would be privileged first and foremost. Nevertheless, aside from the competition, the period of scientific exploration of Palestine before the World War I was romantically referred to as the “peaceful crusades”. In Guthe’s words,

...er war ganz anders gerichtet! Palästina sollte nicht mit dem lauten Geklirr der Waffen begrüßt werden, sondern mit dem stillen Zeichen der christlichen Liebe, mit dem Auge des Forschers und den Früchten friedlicher Arbeit. Die Boten des

Abendlandes sollten jetzt Verkündiger des Evangeliums, dienende Brüder und Schwestern, Lehrer und Lehrerin sein, auch Gelehrte. Durch Lehren und Helfen, durch Dienen und Dulden wollte man das heilige Land und seine Bewohner unter die Fahite Christi bringen, nicht durch Gewalt und Blutvergießen. (Guthe 1918a, p. 119)

During the *peaceful crusades*, biblical archaeology ranged from the production of maps and topographic lists correlating biblical with modern place names, to the description of ancient monuments and ruins up as they were understood during their first proper excavations.

Following Goren, it can be said that the success of the activities and publications of the Research societies “led to major changes in informed public opinion concerning European research on the area, and influenced the choice of participants, methods, theses, aims and preoccupations, as well as the research findings” (Goren 2001, p. 154). Nevertheless, the focus of this session is not on the period of the foundation of the Research Societies, but instead examines the period that immediately followed World War I.

II.1.4.2. German Peaceful Crusade

Davis (2004, p. 49) remarks the fact that before the establishment of the British Mandate in Palestine, fieldwork was still heavily focused on surface surveys for the location of biblical sites. Indeed, the predominance of surveys to the detriment of excavations deprives the discipline of that which characterizes archaeology: the material culture, excavated from the ground. Yet Davis describes a different reality during the period which came immediately after the war, when “Palestinian archaeology was in a ferment of excavation and experimentation”. According to Davis, there was a small network of archaeologists in Jerusalem who excavated nearby sites and were thus able to easily share results and methodologies. Using the example of Clarence S. Fisher (who conducted excavations in Palestine and Syria for five different institutions), Davis argues that the archaeologists who excavated one site after another subsequently acquired more field experience than ever before. Moreover, biblical archaeology in Mandate Palestine is usually described as the blossoming of the American participation in the field. The involvement would later develop into a leadership that corresponded to the hegemonic position the United States achieved in international politics between the wars.

However, if one were to think of biblical archaeology outside of the axis of British-American researches (or PEF-ASOR researches), one would see a different scenario. For German biblical archaeology, the period before the World War I, the *peaceful crusades*, was *the* period for excavating in Palestine. This was a period where Germans outnumbered any other foreign group in Palestine. A time when they built their colonies with houses, roads, schools, and cultivated the land. So invested was the German community that the then Kaiser and Kaiserin visited the region to inaugurate churches and a research institutions situated in Jerusalem (the DEI). This was the peak moment in the entire history of scientific exploration of the Near East – until very recently – for German research *in loco*.

With the coming of World War I, peace was over in Palestine as in Europe⁴². Germany lost the war, the Ottoman Empire was dissolved and Palestine fell into British hands. Most of the German settlers were forced to leave the colonies, and the DEI interrupted its works. Dalman, as well as Schumacher, became *personae non grata* in Palestine (Brief Vorstand DEI an Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung, Mai 1922 BArch R5101/22539 Bd 2; Eisler 2011).

Of course, no one, including the Germans, understood that German fieldwork projects would be interrupted while the PEF, ASOR, and the EBAF would continue in a more privileged situation, without the need to apply for a *ferman* from Constantinople. Yet while the restriction on fieldwork would limit German fieldwork, it would not be the end of German biblical archaeology.

II.1.4.3. The Development of German Research Societies During the Weimar Republic

The German Societies for Research on the Orient are a product of Wilhelmine's Germany, of the intellectual spirit of the 19th century, mixing tradition and liberalism with a national attitude. At this time, biblical archaeology defined itself in the context of international disputes over Palestine. During the Weimar Republic (1918-1933), German biblical archaeology would be kept alive by the efforts of the Research societies.

It is true that Germany was in many aspects a society in crisis during the Weimar Republic, represented through the war, revolution, financial crisis, and political instability. Nevertheless, the Weimar Republic is, for its liberal aspects, a fundamental chapter in

⁴² „... Denn die Völker die sich lange Jahre hindurch in heiligen Wetteifer – so schien es – unter seine Fahne gestellt hatten, stehen jetzt auf dem Boden Palästinas selbst mit gezücktem Schwert einander gegenüber.“ (Guthe 1918a, p. 119)

German history, and should therefore not be studied for its primary role as an intermediate period between the First and the Second World Wars. Those who lived during that period did not know they bore witness to the *rise and fall* of Democracy, of Germany's first democracy. Traditional historiography frequently focuses on the final events of this period, to better understand how democracy failed to give rise to National Socialism. However, if one considers the Weimar Republic as something more than the pre-history of the Third Reich, one is able to appreciate other developments, such as “the jettisoning of authoritarian structures in a number of social domains, the plurality of lifestyles and forms of cultural expression, the level of social modernity, and the explosion of artistic energies” (Eckel 2010, p. 45).

In fact, the Weimar Republic should not be perceived as a bridge that links the *Kaiserreich* to the Third Reich. Instead, the continuities of the GBA should be equally considered, rather than focusing on its ruptures. First, because GBA did not disappear as the privileged condition of the Germans in Palestine came to an end together with the special relationship between Kaiser and Sultan. Neither because the agenda of German archaeology would shift even more to classics and pre-history, especially under Hitler, and the Bible would reenter the scene only with Volkmar Fritz in the post-WW II period.

II.1.4.3.1. Publications during the Weimar Republic

It has been mentioned earlier in this work that biblical archaeology was not an established University career. For those who were interested in biblical archaeology, the Research Societies' periodicals continued to be their primary asset. Naturally, not all publications were intended for a broader public, and were most likely circulated in the milieu of experts. Nevertheless, by maintaining the publications, the Societies guaranteed that the main forum for discussions of GBA would remain (for more on the publication, refer to Chapter B-II.2).

In this phase, the publications did not change much of their structure. Readers received updated reports on the excavations in Palestine, especially those executed by ASOR and conducted by Albright (e.g. Guthe 1923a; Nachrichten aus Palästina 1926). A main characteristic of the periodicals after the war was a focus on the publications of fieldwork developed before the war. A quick look at the table of contents of the MDOG evidences the many publications on Assur and Babylon, excavated from 1902-1913 and

1898-1917 respectively. Moreover, the ZDPV publishes another series of Schumacher's maps of Ostjordanland (Steuernagel 1924, 1925a, 1925b, 1926b, 1926a). The DEI, with its classes interrupted, published mainly articles of its directors Dalman and Alt. In the issue of 1922/1923 they included an article from Albright of his excavations at tell el-Ful (1922/1923).

If, on the one hand, GBA was deprived of fieldwork, it developed, on the other hand, some new characteristics. The DPV made an important step into approximating GBA of the archaeological discipline, instead of letting the lack of excavations pull them apart. In 1929, the Society published the second volume of Schumacher's excavations at Megiddo (1903-1905). In contrast to the usual 'pre war' processes, the publication of the finds of Megiddo was undertaken by a trained archaeologist, Carl Watzinger (1877-1948).

Watzinger started his fieldwork career immediately after graduating in classical archaeology. He spent time in Italy and Greece where he was able to join an expedition of the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* in the acropolis of Athens. After returning to Germany, he continued to work for the DAI, and in 1903 became assistant director of the collection of sculptures of the Museums of Berlin. During that time, he studied Greek sarcophagi from the DOG expedition at Abusir, in Egypt. With this material, he obtained his *Habilitation* in 1904 (Watzinger 1905), and started to teach at the University of Rostock. Following this he dedicated himself ever closer to the Near East, first serving the DOG in the exploration of ancient Galilean Synagogues (Kohl, Watzinger 1916), and later at Jericho with Sellin in 1908 and 1909. During the war, Watzinger was invited to join the German-Turkish *Denkmalschutz-Kommando* by Theodor Wiegand, head of the operations. As a result, Watzinger developed an expertise on the archaeological monuments of the region of Turkey, Palestine, and Syria, from different periods and cultures (Bachmann et al. 1921; Watzinger et al. 1920; Wulzinger, Watzinger 1924). Therefore, when he prepared the manuscript on the finds of Megiddo, Watzinger brought to the publication a wealth of experience garnered from different sites of the ancient world, and could offer a more mature and culturally expansive interpretation of the site than the earlier publication by Schumacher.

II.1.4.3.2. Work Strategies During the Weimar Republic

Key to consider however is that some characteristics of the Research societies work remained the same. The DPV made a great effort to restart its meteorological measurements and statistics after the war. This was not for the scientific aspect alone, for the project was especially important as it represented a reestablishment of the connection with the land. Rather the project was centered on the reconnection of the unique network of German settlers and agents of investigation that had once been established. As mentioned earlier, for some years (1929-1931) the meteorological stations were the only ongoing project of the DPV.

For the DEI, the absence of its director from the headquarters in Jerusalem forced the acting area of the institute to shift to Germany. Thanks to Dalman's efforts and creativity, the spirit of the DEI was kept alive. Already in November 1914, he organized a meeting in Berlin with former participants of the DEI courses, in which he offered an updated report on the Jerusalem excavations. Dalman planned other meetings of this kind in Essen and in south Germany. These were also planned so that closer ties with his partners from the Church could be formed. Regardless, Dalman made an effort to keep publishing for the DEI (Dalman 1915), and regularly prepared himself for the Institute's developing research projects, even without his personal library (Männchen 1993, pp. 64–65).

The new German patriotic wave, together with the romantic fascination of the Wilhelmine Era, enabled German archaeology to focus on the Ancient Near East despite of its classical traditions. Yet without excavations, the flow of newly discovered cultures, with particular architecture and artifacts (which generated new polemics) (Babel-Bibel), was over. As Hauser (2004, pp. 165–166) remarks, "scholars specializing in the Ancient Near East were now [and again] fighting a losing battle against local German Prehistory and especially the Classics." Within this scenario, the construction of Museums, which was an important project of Wilhelmine Germany, continued a focus of interest during the Weimar Republic. For instance, the Pergamon Museum in Berlin was inaugurated in 1930, after 20 years of construction work.

With public curiosity decreasing, and without the academic support of university courses, the Research Societies became the only center for the production and discussion of biblical archaeology in Germany during the Weimar Republic. However although GBA

could no longer serve the German State in its foreign strategy in Palestine, the government of the Weimar Republic did invest in GBA, through the efforts of the DAI.

Both the interruption of the German plans for the Orient, as well as the frustration provoked by the loss of the war, affected intellectual life in Germany in a particular way. Hauser remarks that the return to the Classics was a strategy designed to fill in this vacuum, and to establish a new German *Vollmensch*. This would be founded on a recreation of Humanism, made of the harmonic conciliation of spirit and body, art, religion, and engineering (Hauser 2004, p. 166). Although it should be strongly criticized⁴³, while emphasizing the return to the ideal, the third humanism replaced the ANE as the center of interest, as the antagonist, the negative *Other* of western classical tradition.

II.1.4.3.3. New Agents for GBA: The DAI and the Notgemeinschaft

Therefore, beyond the internal politics of archaeologists and their associations, archaeology was still a fundamental political tool for the Weimar government, as demonstrated by the developments of the DAI during this period. In contrast to other research institutions focused on this work, the DAI is the public scientific organization in charge of archaeology in Germany. Its activities began in 1829 as a private and international enterprise with a seat in Rome, *Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica*, which was dedicated exclusively to Roman archaeology. Over time, parallel to the process of unification and formation of a German nationality, the Institute became less and less international, and was adopted by the State as *Kaiserlich Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* (1874). In the same year, the DAI expanded its classical interests, with the inauguration of a second center in Athens. Those centers were first responsible for the collection and publication of artifacts, and later began to carry out their own research on archaeological sites and already established collections, such as the Sculptures of the Museum of Rome, and its inscriptions.

⁴³ As Marchand points out (1996a, p. 340), in the attempt to return to the prerogatives of the period before the war, the creators of the third humanism sacrificed “the very principles and practices upon which humanism was based”, such as the historicist scholarship, in a strong effort to deny the *disenchantment* of a world “increasingly characterized by academic specialization, industrial production, and slow but steady destruction of aristocratic forms”. Therefore, instead of creating “new forms of self-consciousness on the basis of an ever-expanding horizon of historical and philosophical discovery”, advocates of this new humanism defended an “outdated system of educational norms and aesthetic preferences”, too much of an aristocrat proposal for a new democratic society.

At the beginning of 1927, during a meeting of the Committee of the DAI with representatives of the *Auswärtiges Amt*, agreed upon terms were established between institution and government. It was decided that the Weimar Republic would support archaeology financially and the DAI would present itself as “ein organisches Glied der deutschen Kulturpolitik” (BArch R 901/69502, fol. 23).

II.1.4.3.4. Sellin at Shechem

In this context the *Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft* financially supported the excavations of Sellin at Tell Balata, biblical Shechem, from 1926 onwards (BArch R 901/69504, fol. 199-200). The *Notgemeinschaft* was a body of the *Auswärtiges Amt*, a precursor to today's *Deutsche Forschungsgesellschaft* (DFG), founded in 1920. The DAI was responsible for intermediating the investments of the *Notgemeinschaft* in archaeology, as it was later a part of the agreement with the AA in 1927 (BArch R 901/69502, fol. 23). Therefore, the DAI was viewed as the Institution responsible for excavations during the Republic of Weimar and NS period.

Sellin's project at Shechem had begun in 1914 with three weeks of test excavations financed by the *Dispositionsfund* of the German Emperor. Interrupted by the war, the OT scholar was able to reactivate the project with a group of experts composed of Praschniker – who had joined Sellin at the 1914 survey –, Böhl (Orientalist), Gabriel Welter (Archaeologist) and Johannes (Architect). Work soon resumed with two seasons of excavations in 1926 and 1927. The excavations continued without Sellin in 1928 and 1931. In 1933, he returned as director of the project. Yet political issues once again interrupted the project in 1936. In 1939, the project was ready to be resumed, but once again, this would not happen as a result of the outbreak of World War II (Sellin 1926b, 1926a, 1927a, 1927b; Sellin, Steckeweh 1941).

During the 1928 season, a decision by the DAI to respond to revert the heavy criticism on the methodology of the excavation, Sellin was removed from office and substituted by Welter. This situation revived Sellin's dispute with Thiersch (refer to Chapter B-I.2). However, it would become apparent that Welter was no better in field methodology than Sellin, as he did not record the fieldwork properly (Wright 1956, p. 10). Once again, the results were more important than the methodology. This is further complicated by the destruction of Sellin's house in 1943 during a bombing attack of Berlin. Inside his home

were all of his fieldnotes, interpretations, and some of the finds from Shechem. Ultimately, no final report of the project was ever published, rendering such excavations of very little use for future generations (more on this, see Wright 2003/2004).

II.1.4.3.5. The DAI and the Orient

Still in 1927, Eduard Meyer drew attention to a favorable moment for Germany, in which it reestablished its connections with the Orient. Turkey was a new country, one that was also going through its own process of national identity development. As such, it too was very interested in exploring its antiquities. Besides traditional Greek sites, which had already attracted European attention (e.g. Troy, Pergamon, Miletus, Priene), the country offered up thousands of years of history yet to be explored, including the monuments of the Christian-Byzantine epoch (BArch R 901/69527, fol. 119-120).

Consequently, in 1929, for the anniversary of the 100 years of the foundation of the DAI, two new centers were opened: in Cairo (BArch R 901/69524; 69525) and in Istanbul (BArch R 901/69540, fol. 104). These represented not only an expansion of the subjects investigated by the Institute beyond classicism, but they also signified an attempt to reestablish the international character of German scientific research.

It is important to say however, that the creation of the DAI oriental centers was not the smoothest of the processes, as a document signed by several Scientific Academies and Institutions and a large number of scholars⁴⁴ in January 1929, attests. They declare that the German Government did not approve of the 60.000 M sum allocated for the planning and opening of the DAI-Istanbul, The group of scholars considered the decision to be a great threat to German scientific work in the Orient. Although the Government was willing to support the Institute, German's post-war dramatic financial situation represented a considerable obstacle.

Nevertheless, the fact that both institutes were indeed created is a sign of how important the politic of expanding the DAI's thematic and geographical scope really was.

⁴⁴ The document, which has the character of a petition, was signed by the Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Archäologische Gesellschaft zu Berlin, Gesellschaft für antike Kultur, Gesellschaft der Freunde antiker Kunst, Koldewey-Gesellschaft, DMG, DOG, Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptische Gesellschaft, Freiburger wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, Deutscher Altphilologen-Verband, Deutscher Gymnasialverein, Vereinigung der Freunde des humanistischen Gymnasiums, and more 322 scholars (BArch R 901/69527, fol. 113-117).

In this context, as requested by the *Auswärtiges Amt*, the DAI introduced the subjects of Pre-historical and Christian archaeology (BArch R 901/69502, fol. 23). Every year, one in five scholarships from the DAI would be dedicated to Christian archaeology:

(§20) Zur Bewerbung um vier der gedachten Stipendien wird der Nachweis erfordert, daß der Bewerber entweder an einer Universität des Deutschen Reichs beziehentlich an der Akademie zu Münster die *philosophische Doktorwürde* erlangt oder das Examen pro facultate docendi bestanden und in demselben für den Unterricht in den alten Sprachen in der obersten Gymnasialklasse die Befähigung nachgewiesen hat. ... Für das fünfte der jährlich zu vergebenden Stipendien, welches in erster Reihe bestimmt ist, die Erforschung der *christlichen Altertümer der römischen Kaiserzeit* zu fördern, wird erfordert, daß der Bewerber an der *theologischen Fakultät* einer Universität des Deutschen Reichs den *Kursus der protestantischen oder katholischen Theologie* absolviert ... (BArch R 901/69578 DAI-Statut, emphasis added)

Interesting to note here is that the scholar chosen for the research of Christian archaeology was a theologian, while professional archaeologists were instructed to defend other subjects, such as Classical and Pre-historical archaeologies and Architecture. Thus while the efforts of the DPV enabled professionalization of biblical archaeology, the actions of the DAI were responsible for the expansion of the notion of biblical archaeology, adding to it the monuments of Christianity in Europe.

In summary, the German Research Societies for archaeology concentrated the practice of GBA during the Weimar Republic thus being responsible for its institutionalization. With data processing and the publication of the results of previous excavations, scholars had the opportunity to rethink their practices and build a stronger field of research, conscious of its methodologies and limitations. The effort of single individuals did make a difference, such as Dalman, who started to frequent conferences while he was unable to work in Jerusalem as the leader of the DEI. In other words, GBA was able to maintain the archaeological of the field: the material culture as the center of the research.

II.2. Normalizing the Practice of GBA: Publications of Research Societies

The topic of the Research Societies as regulatory bodies of the scientific activity in Palestine, which conferred biblical archaeology its legitimacy has been discussed in the previous sessions of this work (refer to Chapter B-II.1). As soon as they were created, the publications of these societies became the means of circulating the works *par excellence*. Before that, pioneer works used to be published in newspapers, general periodicals and books (Goren 2001, p. 154).

Traditionally, German settlers in the area circulated their research and impressions through the periodicals of their own religious communities such as *Die Warte des Tempels*, *Das Heilige Land*, and the *Neuesten Nachrichten aus dem Morgenlande* (Goren 2003b, p. 273). The first one was created in 1845 (as *Süddeutsche Warte*) and it is still published today by the protestant society, *Tempelgesellschaft* in Stuttgart. *Das Heilige Land* is the periodical of the *Deutscher Verein vom Heiligen Land*, a Catholic society created in 1855 to represent German Catholics in Palestine. The *Neuesten Nachrichten aus dem Morgenlande* belongs to the *Jerusalemsverein*, created in Germany in 1852 by the association of German Protestant Churches in Berlin. These three societies were religious institutions and their periodicals were to promote, first and foremost, their religious missions among believers in the region. However, according to Goren (2001, p. 158), German scientific research under the tutelage of these Societies resulted in very specific studies, which concentrated on well-determined geographic areas or subjects. Accordingly, they did not offer a broader view of Palestine, even when put together.

This chapter studies the Research Societies active in the region in light of their publications. An analysis of the main periodicals of the DOG, the DEI and the DPV from the foundation of these societies up to their dissolution due to World War II reveals their criteria of scientification of German biblical archaeology, their interests and their relations to and impact in the public.

II.2.1. MDOG

The main periodical of the DOG is the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (MDOG). Its first edition dates back to the foundation of the society in 1898;

the society still published the MDOG today. The general structure of the MDOG considers the publication of the institution's procedures (*Vereinsnachrichten*), news about its meetings (*Sitzungen*), its activities and members (*Der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft traten neuerdings bei*), yet these administrative notes occupy only a small part of the issues of the MDOG. The focus of the journal was to make the expeditions they sponsored public through the publication of field reports, letters from the researchers conducting the expeditions and articles on the finds.

A particularity of the MDOG, especially in relation to the ZDPV, is that the former publishes texts exclusively on their own research, authored usually by the professionals actively involved in the works. Unlike the ZDPV, they are not an open to experiences and opinions of "non-experts."⁴⁵

II.2.1.1. MDOG and the Excavations

In the first phase of the work of the DOG in the Near East, the society developed a series of archaeological excavations, which ended up forming the core of the MDOG issues between 1898 and 1918. During this period, nearly 60 articles (**Table 6**) were published on Babylon and Assur, 17 on the work of the DOG in Egypt (Abusir, Abusir el-Meleq and Tell el-Amarna), and six on the excavations at Hattusa and general studies on Anatolia.

The region of Palestine was mentioned in the *Vereinsnachrichten* in seven of the issues of the MDOG between 1902 and 1909. All the works of the DOG in the region (**Map 1**) were published by the periodical in the form of articles. The first one was dedicated to the excavations at Megiddo, a DPV-DOG joint project. The text that offered a general presentation of the excavations was not written by the excavator of the site (Schumacher) as usual, but by a member of the Executive Committee of the DPV, Hans Stumme (1903). In addition to Megiddo, the MDOG published the works of Thiersch and Hölscher (1904) – works, which developed into a study of several synagogues in Galilee (Kohl 1905b, 1905a), and Sellin's reports about his excavations at Jericho between 1908 and 1909 (Sellin 1908b, 1909).

⁴⁵ "Experts" in this context means a scholar involved directly in that expedition, that is, an insider. It is important to note that there is no judgement towards the authors of the publications of the ZDPV as less qualified.

When World War I broke out, the DOG was still excavating in Babylon. In fact, excavations lasted until July 3, 1917, four days before the British troops marched into Baghdad (Wilhelm 1998a, p. 23). A statistical analysis of the MDOG during the Weimar Republic, however, shows the society's efforts to keep ANE studies alive: the DOG managed to maintain the structure of the publication in such a way that it was nearly impossible to consider any disruption of the fieldwork as the table of contents reveals. The reason for this was that the majority of the published articles were still about the sites excavated before the war (**Table 6**). Even after the death of the director of the excavations in Babylon, Koldewey in 1925, the society continued to publish texts on this site, many of them signed by Walter Andrae (1926, 1927b, 1930, 1932).

According to Meyer (1923, p. 20), the DOG had plans to continue its excavations after 1914, especially at Tell el-Amarna. However, a break was scheduled after the projects of Assur and Babylon. On the one hand, the society needed to recover its finances, on the other, to process and publish the finds. An illustrative sample of the new analytical articles published in the journal is as follows: Borchardt, "Aus der Arbeit an den Funden von Tell el-Amarna" (1917); Andrae, "Farbige Keramik aus Assur" (1924); Jordan, "Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung in Warka 1912/13" (1928); Andrae "Von der Arbeit an den Altertümern aus Assur und Babylon" (1928). Moreover, the MDOG published notes concerning the transfer of the excavated artifacts from its original sites to Berlin and their exhibitions there for the first time (Schäfer 1924; Andrae 1927a, 1927b).

Nevertheless, nothing has been published about the work of the DOG in Palestine. This can be interpreted in a very simple way: As the MDOG publish almost exclusively their own projects, no fieldwork resulted in no publications. Therefore, there were no articles on Palestine because after WW I the DOG has not led more fieldwork in Palestine. On the other hand, the same logic does not apply to sites like Babylon and Assur; therefore should not necessarily be true for Palestinian sites.

II.2.1.2. MDOG and the Orient: Bridging Gaps

As discussed in the previous session, it can be argued that the DOG's primary focus was the region of Babylon and Assyria. Although James Simon had interest in expanding the area of operation of the society, for example to Palestine (refer to Chapter B-II.1), it is

clear that most of the scholars who were associated with the DOG had a stronger interest for Mesopotamia.

At the time when the DOG first started its enterprise, there was deep-rooted prejudice against the ancient empires of the Orient – a legacy from the time of the Renaissance. A characteristic example is a statement by the art historian, Jacob Burckhardt reported by Andrae (Andrae 1938, p. 1). In 1905, he said, “Die größten technischen und künstlerischen Genies vermochten an den ganz ungeschlachten Königsburgen von Ninive nichts zu ändern; die *elende Anlage* und die *knechtische Skulptur* regierten die Jahrhunderte hindurch weiter“ (Burckhardt 2009, p. 107).

For Andrae, the great achievement of the German enterprise in Mesopotamia was to present to the world a different perspective on the ancient cultures in the area. They confronted the interpretation based on categories of the classic (and therefore real/correct art) in contrast to the barbarian, despotic world (producing thus uncouth art). In Andrae’s words:

... Daß sich auch Anderes als das Ästhetische in der Kunst ausdrücken kann, will und soll, das ahnten damals nur Wenige. Heute ist uns diese Ahnung zur Gewißheit geworden. Jenseits der renommistischer Annalenbilder ad maiorem regis gloriam kam uns jetzt der gewaltige Bilder-Rhythmus kultischen Erkennen-Wollens, Einfühlens in die Geistwelt und Nachdenkens über Gott, Mensch und Natur zum Bewußtsein. Da regiert nicht das Ästhetische, sondern das Sinn-geladene. Untertänig ist man da nicht dem Despoten, sondern dem in Bildern vordenkenden, vorfühlenden geistigen Führer, sei dies der König selbst oder ein anonymer großer Mann. (Andrae 1938, p. 2).

While Layard and Botta had transported sculptures from Mesopotamia to London and Paris respectively only to present them in contrast to their classical counterparts, Robert Koldewey had forced the Germans *to see or to learn to see* (Andrae 1938, p. 4); not to judge, but to *understand*. This came as a *consequence* of the projects of the DOG in Assyria and Babylon. Their motivation was not a change of paradigm in their attempts to excavate those cultures though (Andrae 1938, p. 3).

In addition to the international dispute, the Bible played a main role in the decision to investigate the region, as Delitzsch (1905b) demonstrates. Delitzsch was an important figure in the foundation of the DOG (Nagel 1976). More than anyone, he symbolized the biblical background of the research spectrum of the Research Society. No matter for or against the apologetic interpretation, the DOG assumed the world of the Bible to be much bigger than Palestine (for more on this, refer to Chapter B-I.2).

In this context, other subjects entered the scope of the MDOG, such as the region of Anatolia. In fact, the Hittites became a hot topic in this period, since William Wright drew the connection between some un-deciphered inscriptions – found in northern Syria and Anatolia – and the people of Hittim/Hatti (Winckler 1907, p. 2), mentioned in the Bible as the children of Heth, the second son of Canaan (Gn 10:15). Wright's studies had a clear apologetic function, since he planned "to confirm the scattered references to the Hittites in sacred history" through restoring "the Empire of the Hittites to its rightful position in secular history" (Wright 1886, xxi). On the one hand, Winckler acknowledged this to be part of a general trend to immediately relate an ancient near eastern research topic to a biblical account (Winckler 1907, p. 2). On the other hand, scholarship accepted that traces of a new civilization had been indeed found –one that was known to scholars only through the biblical text.

The German expedition to Hattusa, however, had no prior intention of matching the biblical references. For Winckler, it was more urgent to understand these "Hittites" as a culture and thus to situate them in a broader geographical context, related not only to Canaan, but also to Egypt and Assyria (Winckler 1907, pp. 3–5). The results of these excavations led to a new understanding of the importance of Asia Minor in antiquity, and the deciphering the inscriptions and understanding of the "Hittite" language better opened the studies of Indo-European origins to new and unexpected paths. Hrozný's (1915) analysis of the grammatical structure of the Hittite language, reveals a series of common elements between the Hittite language and the Indo-Germanic pattern – such as the existence of a present participle and its paradigm, the declination system of six cases indicated by endings that immediately resemble the Indo-Germanic ones, or similarities of vocabulary. This caused an avalanche of investigations whether the Hittites from Anatolia were indeed the same people mentioned in the Bible and how their Indo-European language should be assessed in contrast to the Canaanite origins attributed to them by the writers of the Book of Genesis (Weber 1915; Meyer 1915; Hrozný 1915; Weidner 1917; Forrer 1921, 1924).

Under the post-war feelings of humiliation, German scholarship saw it a duty – as proposed by Meyer (1923) in his speech he delivered on the 25th anniversary of the DOG – to put an emphasis on alternative elements to traditional interpretations and thus, more importantly, to chase and stick to the tracks of European ancestry. For instance, the non-

Semitic origins of people and ideas mentioned in the biblical records were useful. This tendency to approach the world of the Bible beyond its Semitic origins would already count as an example of anti-Semitism in German scholarship.⁴⁶

II.2.1.2.1. Amarna: Art over the Bible

On the other hand, some of the DOG projects went mainly against the trend of Bible-oriented investigations. A strong example of this is the way Germany conducted research on the site of Tell el-Amarna. Today, the term *Amarna* is known less as the name of the site than for *Amarna letters*. The diplomatic correspondence that has survived in the form of cuneiform tablets of the 14th century BCE from the Egyptian Pharaoh Amenophis IV/Akhenaten were thoroughly investigated along this century. Among the nearly 400 tablets, particular attention is given to messages from Syria and Palestine, messages, which were considered to be the "preface to biblical history" (Moran 1992, ix). However, for the German investigators on the site, the letters were secondary. This is still the case today.

In 2012-2013, the Berliner *Neues Museum* held an exhibition – "Im Licht von Amarna" – to present the way of life in the ancient city of Akhetaten through its artifacts (Seyfried 2012). Its most famous representative among the 5500 finds from Amarna possession by the *Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung* is the Bust of Nefertiti. The star of the *Neues Museum's* permanent collection (ÄM 21300), the bust of the Egyptian Queen Nefertiti, the wife of Amenophis IV/Akhenaton, was uncovered in December 6, 1912 by the DOG – a discovery that was considered so sensational that it would justify a whole exhibition for its 100 anniversary.⁴⁷ Interestingly enough, more than half of the Amarna letters belong to the collection of the *Vorderasiatisches Museum* in Berlin. During this exhibition, only three (VAT 347/EA 162; VAT 1645+2709/EA 289; VAT 233+2197/EA 27) of them were presented in an attached room that could easily remain unnoticed by the visitor. Among those three, one (VAT 1645+2709) was a letter from the ruler of Jerusalem, Abdi-Hepa to the pharaoh.

⁴⁶Anti-Semitism is neither a product of Nazism, nor is it exclusive to Germany Brustein 2003. Still, the NT exegesis of Protestant Germany emphasized very much the access to biblical tradition without the Jews as intermediates Gerdmar 2009. The development of Orientalism in this country offered the knowledge of different traditions of religion Marchand 2009; this, in turn, led to an increasing refutation of the Jewish origins of monotheism and a discredit of biblical original accounts, since they had been placed in broader chronological contexts.

⁴⁷ The entire title of the exhibition was „Im Licht von Amarna: 100 Jahre fund der Nofretete“.

The Amarna archive was a highlight of the British excavations (Sayce 1888; Petrie 1894). In contrast, the interest of the first German excavation at Amarna was „die Kenntnis der Wohn- und daher zum Teil auch der Lebensverhältnisse der Ägypter in jeder sozialen Stellung zur Zeit der 18. Dynastie“ (Borchardt 1907, p. 31). After museum-quality finds started to appear, the focus shifted to the so-called “Amarnakunst”, which became a motive of pride for the German expedition and remains so until today, as the exhibition demonstrated.

II.2.1.3. MDOG After World War I

The MDOG does not register the fact that excavations at Warka (Uruk) were resumed already in 1928. The project was undertaken by the *Notgemeinschaft*, which provided the means for another eleven campaigns, until the outbreak of WW II. Therefore, the provisional results and the final report received its own series of publication, which was not provided by the DOG (Jordan 1930, 1931, 1932; Nöldeke 1932, 1934; Heinrich 1935; Nöldeke 1936, 1937, 1938, 1940). However, the Society made sure to keep its members informed about the new discoveries from Uruk during its lectures in Berlin (Nagel 1976, p. 63). In 1956, the DOG republished the results of the German expeditions to Uruk in its *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*.

In contrast, the continuation of the excavations at Bogazkhöi (Hattusa) is the highlight of the issues 70, 72-78 of the MDOG (Bittel 1932, 1933, 1935, 1936, 1937; Bittel, Otten 1938; Bittel, Naumann 1939; Meyer et al. 1940). The DOG and the DAI conducted the project from 1931 to 1939 together, thus calling it “James Simon-Grabung in Bogazköy” – in honor of the senior Maecenas. The main goal was to shift the emphasis from the inscriptions and the language to the material culture in general, and to the pottery in particular, in order to establish an stratigraphical history of the occupation of Hattusa, which was supposed to be the basis for the antiquity of the whole region of Anatolia (Bittel 1932, p. 2). Nevertheless, the first finds to gain a separate article in the MDOG are (again) the cuneiform tablets (Ehelolf 1932; see also Güterbock 1935), which revealed that inscriptions were still the highlight of the excavation.

The publication of the MDOG was interrupted in 1943 (MDOG 80) and resumed already 1949 (MDOG 81), thanks to the effort of the director, Andrae. The post-war period

was new in many ways and he saw the opportunity to re-analyze the finds of the DOG's excavations in order to expose thoughts and interpretations that have been inhibited and prevented by the war and needs of the period. Moreover, the recent experience of the war and the horrors of humankind was to change some of the world's perspective, also with regard to the ancient world. While talking about the future works of the Society, Andrae (1949, p. 2) wrote a manifesto for an intellectual study of the past without prejudice:

... Die wenigen Überlebenden, die das Erbe verwalten, denken an die Verpflichtung dem Geiste des Altertums gegenüber. ... Auch das Erbe selbst treibt sie an, das, was unsere Forschungsgebiete in Vorderasien und in Ägypten hergeschenkt haben an neuen Erkenntnissen aus den Zeiten um 3000 v. Christo, *nicht mehr nur dem Urteil der Sinne und des Verstandes zu überlassen, sondern dem der besonders ausgebildeten höheren Organe.*

... Demgegenüber dürfte man für die jüngeren und jüngsten Zeiten in allen Ländern mit mehr Recht unsere heutigen ästhetischen und ästhetisierenden Maßstäbe und Methoden anlegen. Mit ebensolchen in die vorchristlichen Jahrtausende vorzudringen verbot sich, je weiter hinauf ins Altertum um so mehr. ... Denn, was dem Forschenden dabei begegnet, kann nur auf diejenige Seele wirken, die das Organ in sich ausgebildet trägt, zu empfangen, was ihr geschenkt werden soll. Das heißt *nicht mehr und nicht weniger, als daß sie fähig gemacht hat, in der Weise der „Eingeweihten“ jener frühen Zeiten zu denken, zu fühlen und zu wollen.* (emphasis added)

During these 50 years of analysis, besides the 80 issues of the MDOG, the DOG also published 29 volumes of the *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen* (WVDOG) until WW I, and 31 more, until the temporary dissolution of the Society during WW II. A third series published by the DOG was called *Sendschrift der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (SDOG)(Table 6). Apart from the DOG's budget, these publications had the financial support of the government under Wilhelm II, from the state of Prussia and the Royal museums, and later from the *Notgemeinschaft*.

II.2.1.4. MDOG throughout Time

The publications of the DOG throughout its history offer an interesting source of analysis of the way the Society and its members conceived of their research, which can offer us a view of the general scholarship. To sum up, the first phase, corresponding to the *Kaiserreich*, is marked with the large excavation projects of the DOG and the reports show not only that the work was being carried out in conformity with the patterns of the time, but also that they revealed previously unknown information. The discovery of great monuments, decorated artifacts and inscriptions amazed the Europeans in particular at the

time. Good examples in the scope of the DOG expeditions are the architecture of Babylon – especially the processional way and the Ishtar gate built by Nebuchadnezzar II – and the Bust of Nefertiti from Tell el-Amarna.

The Society saw Palestine at a first glance as a promising region to be explored, according to information provided by Thiersch and Hölscher. However, the new obstacles posed by the British Mandate in Palestine, and the situation of the society back home, washed away any other plans of an intervention in the region. biblical interest continued in the background of the publications, however in a progressive way, free from the traditional Semitic studies. For instance, the increasing interest in the Hittites, which represents the investigation of the oriental roots of the modern European, and which was bolstered by the discovery of many cuneiform tablets (inscriptions) and the acknowledgement of a “new” ancient power – controlled by a well-developed center, with monumental architecture and connected to Egypt and Mesopotamia can be mentioned.

The publications from 1919 to 1932 also show the emphasis the Society put on an accurate analysis of the finds and data from the expeditions and to the organization of exhibitions in Berlin, as it was their duty to bring the material culture of these ancient civilizations to the public access.

The effect of Hitler’s *Machtergreifung* in German scholarship could also be felt in the publications of the DOG. First, there was an increasing emphasis on more recent phases of the occupation of the excavated sites. Babylon and Hatra, for example, were analyzed in the context of the expansion of the Persian Empire and Hellenization. Moreover, Anatolia – the Indo-European Empire of the Orient – continued to be the main project of the Society, with several issues of the MDOG dedicated to the new excavations on the site.

II.2.2. DEI – PJ

The DEI’s main publication was called *Palästina-Jahrbuch des Deutschen evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem* (PJ) between 1905 and 1941. Its post-war version was the *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes* (JbDEI), published from 1989 to 2009. The PJ had two main parts, namely the one dedicated to the formalities of the institute, such as financial accounting and the yearly procedures, and a second part

dedicated to research, which in turn was often divided into “Arbeiten aus dem Institut” and “Von unsern Reisen”.

As mentioned above (refer to Chapter B-II.1.2), the DEI was an evangelical institution with the main goal of training future church leaders in the scientific knowledge of the ancient and contemporary Holy Land. It offered study courses with a duration of three to five months in Jerusalem, ending with the composition of an essay to be published.

II.2.2.1. PJ and ZDPV: “Scientific” vs. “Popular”

As a result of an agreement with the DPV, the PJ was planned as a more popular publication at the time of the foundation of the DEI. In other words, the PJ was not going to compete with the ZDPV as the main German scientific journal on Palestine; on the contrary, it was going to contribute to the diffusion of this knowledge beyond the milieu of experts, while offering the content of the research of the DEI to the general public in a more accessible way (Hübner 2011, p. 63).

In short, all the scientific reports on the research of the DEI were going to be published in the ZDPV. The same research would be presented on the PJ in a version accessible to a broader readership, especially to the religious communities to which the members of the Institute belonged. For this purpose, from 1904 to 1936, on most of the issues of the ZDPV, there was a session entitled “Studien aus dem Deutschen evangelischen Institut für Altertumswissenschaft in Jerusalem”, in which a total of 48 articles were published. A comparison of the publications during this time helps us understand the patterns the institutions had in classifying what belonged to the ZDPV and what to the PJ (**Table 7**).

From the foundation of the DEI until 1918, the institute contributed nearly to the half (43%) of the ZDPV issues, with an average of 1,5 article per issue. In other words, with the exception of 1907, 1910, 1916 and 1917, the members of the DEI produced scientific essays that were published by the DPV on a yearly basis. Nevertheless, the director of the DEI, Gustav Dalman, wrote more than the half of those publications (52%). Dalman is also the main author on the table of contents of the PJ in the same period, having authored one third of the articles (**Table 7**).

Many of the holders of a DEI scholarship had their papers published in the ZDPV. In fact, many of the study-papers were very specific and thus too *scientific* to the purposes of

the PJ. As Baumann assesses, on the one hand, the time spent by the scholarship holders in Jerusalem was too short for a deeper development of a research topic, on the other hand, the essays were too focused, and thus often failed in the mission of presenting a church-oriented interpretation of their research for a popular readership. In his words (Baumann 1913, pp. 172–173),

... Sie bieten überwiegend Arbeiten rein wissenschaftlicher Art bei volkstümlich gefälliger Ausstattung und sind bisher trotz ihrer Gediegenheit und Reichhaltigkeit leider nicht in so umfangreiche Kreise kirchlich und religiös Interessierter gedrungen, als er die Werbeaufgabe an sich erforderte.“

Indeed, the contraposition of the ZDPV and the PJ was a topic of disagreement between Dalman and the Executive Committee of the DEI in Berlin. Männchen (2006, p. 231) notes that Dalman was especially touched by a critical review of the first issue of the PJ on the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, which compared the DEI's and the DPV's publications, concluding the PJ to be of no scientific contribution. Dalman put much emphasis on the DEI's contribution to German scholarship, but the board had to be reminded of it several times.

II.2.2.1.1. Kaiserreich

In the first 14 editions of the PJ, published from 1905 to 1918, there were usually five to six articles each. Its great majority was written by the scholarship holders and sometimes also by the collaborators of the DEI. Alt, for example, published twice in this period: once as a student in 1908 (Alt 1910) and later as a collaborator in 1913 (Alt 1914).

A glance at both the table of contents of the ZDPV and the PJ shows that the latter included articles describing obvious places in Jerusalem, religious, thus well-known for Christians – articles such as Dalman's essays on the Via dolorosa (Dalman 1906d), on the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (Dalman 1907), or on the Mount of Olives (Dalman 1916), Brückner's description of Nazareth (Brückner 1911), and Mickley's general view of Jerusalem in the time of Jesus Christ (Mickley 1911). This leads to another important observation, namely that on the PJ preference was given to topics related to the New Testament. Crucifixion and Resurrection of Jesus (Appel 1907), along with some aspects of his life or life during his time are some of the examples (Sprenger 1913; see also Dalman 1913c).

Moreover, the papers on the session “Von unsern Reisen”, offer accounts of the personal experience of the group, traveling around Palestine for studies. Following routes, “den Jesu Fuß gewandelt ist” (Baumann 1906, p. 125), they collected information on the landscape, travel conditions, the places and people they met on the way, thus making the paper not only a source of first-hand information on Palestine, but also working as publicity for the activities of the DEI and tourism in the region (**Figs. 82-83**). A few examples are as follows: Baumann’s report on the study-tour in April 1905 on the valley of the Jordan river (Baumann 1906); Graf with a general account on travelling around the Holy Land short before the war (Graf 1917); Jeremias report on the excursion to Petra through the Judean desert in 1906 (Jeremias 1907).

In addition, there were some articles on contemporary Palestine, which offered information on the customs of the local citizens, at times suggesting a predilection for the exotic. Texts by Löhr (1906), Baumann (1908), Rothstein (1910) and Kahle (1913), which discusses local hospitality in the daily life of Arabs and in special celebrations – such as weddings – are some examples. Some other papers describe religious practices and monuments of the local inhabitants of Palestine, such as Kahle (1910, 1911), Linder (1913), Dalman (1913b).

In contrast, for the ZDPV, the DEI reserved essays on some less obvious places, such as Chirbet el-jehūd (Zickermann 1906) or Kiriath-Jearim (Lauffs 1915; see also Thomä 1908). These articles present a review of the research on these places – and place names, from ancient scholars until their time. In the area of contemporary Palestine, the articles were less about people than about fauna and flora (Dalman 1913a), thus contributing to the DPV project of meteorological stations, in which observations of local animals and plants were also required (refer to Chapter B-II.1). Besides, the articles contemplate some “scientific” topics *par excellence*, such as inscriptions (Dalman 1908a, 1913d, 1914c) and more technical descriptions of monuments like the “Phoenician grave” (Dalman 1906b) as well as depictions of lions (Dalman 1906a) and bulls (Dalman 1906c). There was also a report on recently-found artifacts by Dalman (1906e) and a self-entitled archaeological article (Lohmann 1918), which resulted from the recordings of “alles..., was an Spuren aus alter Zeit in en-nebi samwīl *ohne Hacke und Spaten* zu ermitteln ist” (Lohmann 1918, p. 119 emphasis added).

II.2.2.1.2. Weimar Republic

During the Weimar Republic (1919-1932), the publications of the DEI in the ZDPV slightly decreased. The “Studien” appeared in only 12 of the 39 issues of the ZDPV with 15 articles. This is very likely due to the fact that the activities of the DEI in Jerusalem were interrupted, with no course being offered from 1915 to 1923; therefore, the number of scientific essays produced by its members was actually higher than expected. In fact, Alt took over not only the direction of the Institute, but also the tradition created by Dalman and became the main author of the DEI’s articles in the ZDPV (47%). Dalman continued being the main author of the PJ for the same period. While he authored 22% of the articles, Alt had authored 18% of them. Repeating the pattern, Martin Noth, the third director of the DEI (1964-1968), appeared with one article in the ZDPV, resulting from his course in 1925 (Noth 1927a), and one in the PJ, from his experience as a guest at the institute in 1931 (Noth 1932).

The articles of the ZDPV and PJ seem to resemble each other in this phase. Discussions on excavations and excavation finds became common to both publications at the time. Inscriptions were, of course, the highlights, being the main topic of four articles on each journal: the PJ (Alt 1919; van Berchen 1920; Dalman 1920b; Gustavs 1930) and the ZDPV (Alt 1923, 1924b, 1925b; Gustavs 1927). Gustavs, for example, writes about Cuneiform inscriptions. In the ZDPV, his article deals with the Cuneiform tablets found at Tell Ta’annek during Sellin’s excavations (1902-1904). He reports in particular on the personal names listed on the tablets, since they offer significant information on the “Ethnographie Palästinas” (Gustavs 1927, p. 1), especially on the “Schichtung der Volksmasse Nordpalästinas zur El-Amarna-Zeit” (Gustavs 1927, p. 2). In the PJ, in contrast, he reports on the cuneiform tablets found in French Mandate Syria, which are also important for the history of Palestine (Gustavs 1930, p. 5). Thus, Gustavs lists a series of finds, describing them generally, in the hope that further finds would come to shed more light on the research on Palestine (Gustavs 1930, p. 11). Meanwhile, Alt reports on a series of inscriptions without establishing any obvious connections among each other. For example, in 1923, he presented a series of Greek inscriptions dating back to Late Antiquity – when Palestine was a Roman Province (ca. 390-636 CE), as an addition to a previous publication by him (1921). In his article published in 1924, he presented ten inscriptions in Greek and Latin, collected from different contexts. One year later, he reported on two

other inscriptions comprising the biblical subject of the Ten Commandments (Alt 1925b, pp. 398–400). All these papers prove Alt's commitment to the research on Palestine: he reported and made accessible everything that came to his notice. Recordings, sketches and translations of the inscriptions accompanied his articles for the ZDPV and PJ readership, whenever possible.

Moreover, there are two other *proper* archaeological articles in the PJ, namely one of Dalman (1920a) and the second of Albright (1922/1923). The latter is a report on his excavations at Tel el-Ful during the years 1922 and 1923, about which he was invited to talk in a lecture at the DEI, marking the good relations between the institute and the American Schools of Oriental Research.

For this period, it is also interesting to note the avalanche of OT topics in the PJ, which was a remarkable change regarding the former period. 13 articles deal with OT in the PJ (Dalman 1919c, 1919b; Weidenkaff 1921; Dalman 1921; Linder 1922/1923; Alt 1924c, 1926b; Dalman 1926; Hempel 1927; Rudolph 1929; Alt 1929b; Brocksch 1930; Eißfeldt 1931) and five in the ZDPV (Alt 1925a; Gustavs 1927; Noth 1927b; Elliger 1930; Alt 1932). A tendency might be observed among these papers, namely the contrast between ethnological/anthropological and rather historical approaches. While Alt, for instance, deals with the history of Palestine according to the Amarna Archive (1924c), the history of Beit Shean (1926b), the historical (and geographical) importance of Sennacherib's campaign to Israel and Judah (1929b); Dalman discusses dietary habits in 1919b and 1921, as well as "tradition" in OT sites (1926). In the ZDPV-OT-articles on the other hand, there is a topographic/geographical emphasis that draws attention (Alt 1932; Elliger 1930).

Nevertheless, there was still several articles on contemporary Palestine with an ethnographic and/or an anthropological interest in the PJ (Dalman 1919a; Schmidt 1919; Duhm 1921, 1921; Dalman 1924a; Hertzberg 1926; Granquist 1927) and two in the ZDPV (Dalman 1923; Sachsee 1927).

It is also worth mentioning the increasing interest in topics of later historical periods, such as the time of the Roman rule over Palestine. There are two papers in the ZDPV (Alt 1928a; Jeremias 1931) and three in the PJ (Alt 1928b; Kuhl 1929; Alt 1929a) related to this topic.

II.2.2.1.3. Third Reich

Shortly after the end of the Weimar Republic, the DEI entered a period of harsh working conditions again. This first affected the institute's publication, the ZDPV, which was permanently interrupted in 1936. Therefore, there were only four *Studien* published in three issues of the ZDPV. Among them, one was written by Alt and the other three by members of the courses and collaborators. The DEI's own publication survived until its 37th edition in 1941, thanks to the efforts of Alt and Noth, who published together 26 out of 40 papers.

In this phase, a comparison between the PJ and ZDPV is less productive. According to the contents of the ZDPV-articles, there was one OT (Elliger 1934), two dealing with Roman period (Beyer 1935; Alt 1936a) and the last one was an archaeological study by Galling on a cemetery in Jerusalem. Kurt Galling was a professor in Halle and the author of most of the reports on archaeological excavations in Palestine for the DPV (Galling 1927, 1928, 1929, 1931, 1932, 1936a). In 1935, he stayed at the DEI as a collaborator and resumed Dalman's works on the necropolis of Jerusalem, which was interrupted by the WW I. Galling's work consisted of creating a typology of the tombs and establishing a relation between this and the history of the occupation of the city (Galling 1936c, p. 111). For the ZDPV, however, he focused on one specific tomb in the northern part of Jerusalem that he called "Pilaster-Grab," and especially discussed its location and façade (Galling 1936c, pp. 112–113). He published the general study in the PJ in the same year (Galling 1936b) (**Figs. 84-85**).

Moreover, the last DEI article about the OT in the ZDPV (Elliger 1934) offered a synthesis of the interdisciplinarity reached by the works of the Research Societies up to that time. In Elliger's search for the hometown of the Prophet Micah, he notes:

...Hier wird an einem Schulbeispiel die Grenze der Gewöhnlichen philologisch-historischen Kritik sichtbar und zugleich die Notwendigkeit ihrer Ergänzung von der archäologischen Seite her durch die historisch-geographische Methode ..., die nicht nur auf Grund eines mehr oder weniger deutlichen Gelichklangs der antiken mit modernen Namen und auf keinen Fall vom grünen Tische aus ihre topographischen Fixierungen vornimmt, sondern aus einer lebendigen Er-„Fahrung“ der Landschaft heraus und auf Grund einer systematisch-organischen Untersuchung ihrer natürlichen und archäologischen Gegebenheiten sowie vor allem einer Zusammenschau des in Frage stehenden Ortes mit allen übrigen derselben Landschaft in all ihren geographischen und historischen Beziehungen und die von der so gewonnenen Grundlage aus ihre Schlüsse für die Deutung des Textes zieht. (Elliger 1934, p. 82)

Topics related to the OT appear 13 times in the PJ (Rad 1933; Jeremias 1933; Rost 1933; Noth 1934; Elliger 1934; Noth 1935; Elliger 1935; Galling 1935; Alt 1935b, 1936b; Elliger 1936; Noth 1937b, 1937a). Among them, Rost draws archaeological remarks about a biblical passage and Galling expands the traditional chronological approach to include Palestine during the Persian period. Besides, Alt (1936c) explores the Roman routes and Bener (1936) goes even further in time to discuss the Crusaders' period.

PJ throughout Time

When the choice of topics in all of the publications of the Institute are compared over three different periods, it is easy to see different tendencies in the definition of the criteria of what was *scientific* and what was *popular*. In the previous chapter, this study discussed the role of the Research Societies in the creation of a criteria of scientification for biblical archaeology (refer to Chapter B-II.1) in Germany.

In the earlier period, NT subjects and sites were *popular*, hence better known among a devoted protestant readership of the PJ. OT topics, as well as inscriptions were matters for scholars, who were versed in ancient languages and technical descriptions. In the following part, two opposed examples of the same author summarize this idea:

- a. Dalman (1907) describes the Church of the Holy Sepulcher for the PJ, as if he was a tourist guide. In fact, he concludes with an "Anweisung für den Besuch," suggesting the best route inside the church. The guide is accompanied by a history of the construction of the church, as well as explanations of its importance, as historically the most important church in the world.
- b. Dalman (1913d) publishes inscriptions recorded during a study tour of the Institute in 1911 in the ZDPV. Pictures, sketches, transcriptions and the translations of 32 inscriptions make up the article (Figs. 86-89).

Not only the topics but also the approach – with (PJ) or without (ZDPV) an introduction to the topic – and the vocabulary used reveal how the societies sought to address different groups of readers.

During the Weimar Republic, when the discipline gained its contours, a shift of tendencies is recognizable in the publications of the DEI. The idea that the OT was for scholars, and NT for the general public changed, especially with the emphasis on the

historical approach. This, as mentioned before (refer to Chapter B-II.1), was the work of the new director of the Institute, Albrecht Alt. For Alt, every research developed in the DEI had to be “scientific.” In other words, they had emphasize the historical past of the Bible and of Palestine (Alt 1926a). As a consequence, *science* had to be accessible both to the ZDPV and the PJ readership, thus narrowing the gap between the journals.

For this reason, research on the OT started to be published in the PJ along with reports on inscriptions, and it remained so until the last edition of the PJ in 1941. Many of them reveal a particular historical interest. Naturally, the ethnographic interest still remains in some publications; the ones by Dalman and especially in the first years after the war demonstrate this interest clearly.

In short, after the World War I, GBA as done by the DEI, prioritized the ancient world to the detriment of the contemporary development of the biblical lands, as well as the ethnographic/anthropological sense of curiosity of the European explorers about its modern inhabitants.

II.2.3. ZDPV

The first German journal dedicated to the scientific research of Palestine was the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Verein* (ZDPV). Its first issue was published in 1878 and it survived until the end of WW II, when its 67th edition was published (1944/1945). The publication of the ZDPV was resumed in 1949 by Martin Noth.

It did not take long for the ZDPV to become the leading discussion forum for research on Palestine in Germany (Goren 2003b, p. 333). From its third year until 1945, the ZDPV started to appear on a quarterly basis – sometimes twice a year with double editions.

Paragraph 4 of the Statute of the DPV designates the ZDPV the publication of

- a. Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen über topographische, ethnographische, naturwissenschaftliche, historische und archäologische Fragen aus dem Gebiet der Erforschung Palästinas und der angrenzenden Länder, soweit sie für die Förderung der Bibelkunde in Betracht kommen;
- b. Übersichten und Kritiken über die gesamte einschlagende Literatur des In- und Auslands;

- c. Statistische und politische Mitteilungen über die jeweiligen Zustände des modernen Palästina.

In fact, the ZDPV had to be compatible with the broad interests of the Society, since it aimed to investigate the history and culture of Palestine during its biblical periods, but also in contemporary periods, as long as it contributed to a more complete understanding of the Holy Land (refer to Chapter B-II.1). For these reasons, the ZDPV was to prioritize original works on Palestine by German researchers, but also to make unpublished travel reports of earlier researchers and pilgrims accessible. The literary reviews were supposed to focus on works related to Palestine, which were either unknown or not easily accessible (Kautzsch 1878).

II.2.3.1. DPV's alternative Periodicals

From 1878 to 1895, the ZDPV was the only periodical of the DPV. This changed with the creation of the *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Verein* (MNDPV), which was issued until 1912, usually every two months. Besides the two, the DPV published a series of monographs from 1914 to 1927, called *Das Land der Bibel – Gemeinverständliche Hefte zur Palästinakunde* (LdB).

II.2.3.1.1. MNDPV

The creation of the MNDPV is justified by the difficulties of the society to combine extensive scientific articles with short and comprehensive notes and announcements, as expected by the readers (Vorstand des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 1894). Moreover, the DPV planned, on the one hand, to inform its members *more frequently* about the society and its field of works and, on the other hand, to be able to deliver to them – *much more rapidly* than was previously possible – reports about discoveries, new works and important events of the day in Palestine. The MNDPV was thus planned as the vehicle for “Neuigkeiten aus Palästina und Syrien sowie den angrenzenden Ländern, kürzere Mittheilungen und Aufsätze, wissenschaftliche Anfragen und die Vereinsnachrichten“ (Guthe, Socin 1895, xiv). These notes should focused on „i) neue Entdeckungen von alten Bauten, Anlagen, Inschriften etc.; ii) neue Beobachtungen in Betreff der Sprache, Sitten, Gewohnheiten, Gewerbe, Landwirtschaft, Viehzucht, des Gartenbaus etc.“ (Guthe, Socin 1895, xv).

More specifically, before the MNDPV, a great part of the ZDPV was dedicated to the formal announcements of the Society – such as “Verzeichnis der Mitglieder”, “Personalnachrichten”, “Geschäftliche Mittheilungen”, “Rechnenschaftsbericht”, “Auszug aus der Rechnung über Einnahme und Ausgabe der Kasse des DPV”. After 1895, all this moved to the MNDPV. Also excluded from the ZDPV were the travel reports of researchers such as Schumacher’s (e.g. 1895d; cf. 1895b) and Blanckenhorn’s (e.g. 1895; cf. 1896), or Schick’s numerous observations (e.g. 1895; cf. 1893c) among others. Therefore, the ZDPV could dedicate its pages exclusively to research.

The MNDPV had three different editors in its short history, namely Otto Seesemann (1895-1896), H. Guthe (1897-1906), and Gustav Hölscher (1907-1912). In the DPV’s annual meeting of 1911, however, the board decided to cease this publication and thus its formal contents were incorporated into the ZDPV from 1913 on. Besides, Guthe and the archaeologist Thiersch proposed an annual scientific report mainly about archaeology and epigraphy to be added to the ZDPV (Guthe, Hölscher 1911; Steuernagel 1913, p. 245).

II.2.3.1.2. LdB

Instead of the MNDPV, the DPV planned the publication of a new series, namely the LdB. Its creation was also part of Guthe’s and Thiersch’s new plans for the society in order to disseminate and popularize its works. The LdB would appear twice a year as a separate and monographic publication on scientific research on Palestine, which could be of general interest (Guthe, Hölscher 1911). The LdB was published from 1914 to 1927, and presented readers with 14 different subjects, published according to the **Table 8**.

Once again, the debate between what was scientific and what was popular thus geared for a broader readership, was evoked. Nearly half of the authors of the LdB had stayed in the DEI for the summer course. Among them, there were three priests – Schwöbel (1905), Mickley (1909), Hartmann (1906) – one scholar – Procksch (1908, as collaborator) – and a high school headmaster – Thomsen (1912). Some of them were particularly productive, publishing in the PJ, the ZDPV and the LdB⁴⁸. They could be mentioned as the

⁴⁸ For example, Schwöbel: PJ (1905, 1907), ZDPV (1904a, 1904b, 1917), LdB (1914a, 1914b); Hartmann: PJ (1916), ZDPV (1909, 1910, 1913a, 1913b, 1918, 1925, 1933), LdB (1915); Thomsen: PJ (1913), ZDPV (1903a, 1903b, 1906, 1910, 1914, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921b, 1921a, 1929a, 1929b, 1939, 1941a, 1941b, 1944), LdB (1916a).

representatives of the DEI's ideal members: religious people who were able not only to talk broadly, but also to produce scientific analysis, after a short training.

Moreover, in order to understand the ideas behind "scientific work" in a still-developing discipline such as GBA, a ranking can be established as follows:

- i) the ZDPV as the scientific journal *par excellence*,
- ii) followed by the MNDPV as a forum for bureaucracies and everymen contribution, on any observation related to Palestine,
- iii) and finally the LdB, a series presenting the reader with facts about the land, written by experts with didactic skills and who had first-hand experience of the land himself.

It is difficult to assess the outreach of these publications. The immediate reception of the ZDPV after its creation can be resumed from its repercussion on other periodicals (unclear sentence). Among Germans, *Die Warte* compliments the initiative, which was allied with the *Tempelgesellschaft*, which sought to drive Germany's attention to Palestine. The review particularly invited German Templers to contribute to the publication (Aberle 1878, p. 6). The *Globus* mentioned the international competition and saw the ZDPV as the necessary tool to challenge the French, the British and the American research organizations in Palestine (Aus allen Erdtheilen 1878). The British PEF did not show signs of intimidation or competition; on the contrary, it reported on its own journal about the foundation of the DPV and the creation of the ZDPV in a climate of cordiality as well as encouraging its members to read it regularly (The German Association for the Exploration of Palestine 1878, p. 203; Goren 2003b, p. 332).

The creation of the MNDPV reveals that much of the ZDPV papers were not suitable for a large audience in need of shorter and more direct information on the development of the DPV's research (the word research is uncountable) (see Vorstand des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 1894). It can be argued, by the proposal of Guthe and Thiersch, that the line dividing the two publications became less visible with time, as the extent of the research was increasing in number and becoming more "technical." Therefore, there was no point in keeping both.

The LdB, on the other hand, along with the proposal of archaeological reports to be published annually on the ZDPV, was created as part of Thiersch's attempts to make the GBA more professional (refer to Thiersch's arguments with Sellin on Chapter B-I.2). In other

words, trained people were going to break down the barriers of scholarship and spread qualified research to people, while an expert in archaeology would report on the archaeological excavations and finds in Palestine to the ZDPV readership, among them, the theologians.

Taking this into account, an analysis of the publications of the DPV over time demonstrates how the changes in the process of publication led the path to the consolidation of GBA as developed by the Society.

II.2.3.2. ZDPV in the *Kaiserreich*

During the *Kaiserreich*, that is, from 1878 to 1918, 41 volumes of the ZDPV were published. In this period, around 530 articles came out, in addition to the Society's administrative notes and advertisements, excluding the published correspondences, publication reviews (*Bücherbesprechung* and *Zeitschriftenschau*) and the DEI's articles already discussed. The ZDPV's first editor was Guthe (1878-1896), followed by Immanuel Benzinger (1897-1902) and Carl Steuernagel (1903-1928).

One of the strategies of the DPV in creating the ZDPV was "durch die Verbindung mit den in Palästina ansässigen Deutschen" (Statute §5). In other words, the contribution of the German citizens who were settling in Palestine was a great asset to the DPV.

In fact, Germans living in Palestine authored over a fifth of the ZDPV articles in this period⁴⁹; in the first edition (1878), in particular, they authored 50% of the articles. These authors characterize the first German research in the land. For example, articles were published by diplomats acting as researchers (von Alten), by researchers who worked as diplomats (Kersten), by missionaries (Klein), by proper settlers, such as Schick or the members of the *Tempelgesellschaft*, with Schumacher as the most prominent example.

⁴⁹ Alten 1878, 1879b, 1879a, 1880; Bauer 1898b, 1898a, 1901b, 1901a, 1901c, 1915; Cana'an 1913; Dalman 1909a; Dinsmore, Dalman 1911; Dalman 1912; Gustavs, Dalman 1913; Dalman 1914a, 1914b; Dieckmann 1914a, 1914c, 1914b; Einszler 1887, 1889; Einsler 1894a, 1894b; Einsler, Socin 1896; Einsler, Guthe 1914; Einsler 1893; Gatt 1884a, 1884b, 1885a, 1885b, 1887a, 1887b, 1888, 1902; Fast 1913; Funcke 1910; Grünhut 1908; Kersten 1879; Haddād 1917; Klein 1880, 1881, 1883; von Münchhausen 1879; Palmer 1894; Paulus 1883; Preß 1912; Reinicke 1883; Sandel 1907; Schick et al. 1879; Sandreczki et al. 1883; Sandreczky, Zinsser 1895; Schick 1878c, 1878b, 1878a, 1879a, 1879b; Marti 1880; Schick 1880a, 1880b, 1881b; Schick 1881a; Schick 1882; Schick 1884, 1885a, 1885c, 1885b; Schick, Guthe 1885; Schick 1886, 1887, 1888a, 1888b, 1889b, 1889a, 1890a, 1890b; Schick 1891, 1893c; Schick 1893a; Schick 1893b, 1894a, 1894c, 1894b, 1894d; Schick 1896, 1899a, 1899b; Schnabl 1884; Schwarz 1880; Schumacher 1885; Schumacher 1886, 1889, 1890d, 1890b, 1890a, 1891, 1892, 1893a, 1893b, 1895b, 1895c, 1895a, 1897, 1899, 1902, 1913b, 1913c, 1913a, 1914a, 1914d, 1914b, 1914c, 1915, 1917; Vollers 1890

The ZDPV also published papers of Germans living in Ottoman territories other than Palestine, such as van Kasteren in Beirut (1888; 1889, 1890a, 1890d, 1890c, 1890b, 1892, 1893) and Mordtmann in Pera (1884, 1889).

It has been mentioned before that Schick was a very active collaborator of the DPV (refer to Chapter B-II.1). He was responsible for many of these articles, which vary from notes about archaeological ruins and recent discoveries in Jerusalem (e.g. 1886), to more detailed reports on specific sites in the city (e.g. 1878a). Presentation of sites, some described literally for the first time in a German journal, was also among the topics developed by other local Germans (e.g. Dieckmann 1914a; Gatt 1884a). Some of the articles deal with cultural aspects of the life of the native inhabitants (e.g. Bauer 1898a, 1901b). Fauna and flora are also discussed (e.g. Dalman 1914a), as well as climatic observations (Kersten 1879). Concerning the research reports, Schumacher is, as expected, the author of most of them.

Surprisingly, not many of these articles focused on religious subjects. Although it is evident that viewing Palestine as the Holy Land was the main reason for immigration waves – hence most of the settlers believed in God – the theology of the land was rather the favorite topic of scholars back in Germany. Indeed, the DPV expected first-hand descriptions and an insider's experience from the people living in Palestine.

Several of these authors also published in the MNDPV. After the division, Schick and Schumacher's field reports became part of this journal, as well as Schick's short updates on Jerusalem. Other papers by van Kasteren, Kersten, Vollers, Palmer and Dalman were also directed to the MNDPV. In contrast, papers of local Germans became less common in the ZDPV.

In short, only few of the texts published by German colonists were indeed investigative papers; they were rather kinds of general notes or informed observations that motivated the creation of a second periodical of the DPV.

The second way the DPV planned to produce scientific articles was through "selbständigen Expeditionen nach Palästina im Namen und auf Kosten der Gesellschaft" (Statute §5). For this purpose, either they supported the local German colonists, putting them in charge of a project financed by the DPV – as in the cases of Schick and Schumacher –, or they sent scholars from Germany to do field work in the Palestinian territory – such

as, Guthe and Blanckenhorn. Besides, the DPV indirectly supported other forms of research, that is, by assuming their publications without funding them.

During this first phase of research at the DPV, these expeditions have published the development and results of five main projects, namely the Siloam inscription (1878), the excavations in the City of David (1881), the mapping of the lands east of the Jordan River (1884-1917), the meteorological stations (1895-1939), and the excavations at Tell Megiddo (1903-1905). Concerning these projects, the ZDPV and the MNDPV published around 50 articles each, resulting, in the first case, in nearly 10% and, in the second, in 16% of the total amount of articles published by journal. Guthe adapted some aspects of the investigations east of the Jordan River to the LdB (1918, 1919); like Blanckenhorn who did the same with his own climatic observations (1921).

The second type of research was either (with publication support by the DPV) conducted by the local Germans – as mentioned before – or they were the result of visits to Palestine by scholars in Germany, or even the dedicated work of the founding members and chairs of the society. E. Kautzsch and A. Socin – although the first died in 1910 and the second already in 1899 – published, for instance, 24 articles altogether. Guthe, who was editor of the ZDPV, the MNDPV and the director of the DPV (1911-1925), as well as being the first German sent by the society to excavate in Jerusalem, authored 77 articles among all contributions.

To classify these articles into general categories, the main areas covered by the original reports between 1878 to 1918 were topographic/geographical observations of the land, the geological formation of Palestine and its natural resources, ethnologic/anthropological studies of its inhabitants, and, of course, the history and archaeology of Palestine. There are many articles dealing with Jerusalem, especially in the beginning, but this changed due mainly to the work of settlers on the coast and northern colonies. Later, ancient Palestine was discussed more frequently, but modern Palestine was present in virtually all editions.

The *Bücherbesprechung* was a session dedicated (both on the ZDPV and MNDPV) to the reviews of other publications about Palestine, such as books by the members of the DPV, periodicals of other German Research Societies (DEI's PJ), and most interestingly, publications of foreign scholars. Together with the "Bericht über neue Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der Palästinaliteratur," this helped to keep track of what sort of research

other countries were conducting and at the same time made it possible to make this knowledge broadly accessible. Besides, the DPV engaged Peter Thomsen in the systematic organization of bibliographical references on Palestine, which first appeared in 1908 and was regularly updated until 1938 (Thomsen 1908, 1911, 1916b, 1938).

II.2.3.3. ZDPV in the Weimar Republic

After the end of WW I, the great majority of the Germans who had earlier immigrated to Palestine either had to return to serve in the war or were forced to leave the land after the British Army invaded it (Steuernagel 1918). Mostly affected were the German Templers from the colonies of Jerusalem, Wilhelma, Sarona and Jaffa, who were deported to Egypt (Hoffmann 1961).

Therefore, the obvious conclusion was that with no more Germans living in Palestine, research *in situ* diminished and this resulted in a crisis of articles for the ZDPV. Of course, there is more to it than the fact that the DPV lost its own army of investigators *in situ*; with the establishment of the British Mandate over Palestine and the French Mandate over Syria, access to the region became very restricted. Moreover, the impact of the financial crisis in Germany of the Weimar Republic had an impact on the DPV publications.

On the *Rechenschaftsbericht* of 1918, Steuernagel (1919, p. 200) formulated the intentions of the DPV for the post war period by saying,

... Das aber kann nicht entschieden genug betont werden, daß das Interesse des deutschen Volkes, seines christlichen wie seines jüdischen Teiles, am heiligen Lande nicht erlahmen kann und darf, daß auch die deutsche Wissenschaft fortfahren muß, sich mit seiner Natur, seinen Altertümern, seiner Geschichte und den Lebensverhältnissen seiner Bewohner zu beschäftigen, daß daher auch für einen Deutschen Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas die Pflicht eifrigster Arbeit bestehen bleibt. Werden ihm die Arbeitsbedingungen erschwert, so kann das für ihn nur ein Ansporn sein, seinen Eifer zu verdoppeln, um die ihm gestellten wichtigen Aufgaben trotz allen Schwierigkeiten so zu lösen, wie es seiner Vergangenheit, der Ehre deutscher Wissenschaft und den Interessen besonders der biblischen Forschung entspricht. Wenn die bisherigen Wege teilweise versperrt werden sollten, so wird es der Vorstand an Eifer dafür nicht fehlen lassen, neue Wege zu suchen, die ein erfolgreiches Forschen in Palästina ermöglichen.

The numbers show that these words were taken into account. Between 1919 and 1932, for example, 15% of all the ZDPV articles resulted from the work of German settlers – only 5% less than the publications in the first period. Among them are some publications of earlier projects, as Schumacher's final reports on the Ajloun. Besides, the society won

some new collaborators, namely German Jews who immigrated there in the 1920s. For example, Leo Picard (1900-1997), a geologist born in southern Germany, and Moshe Schwabe (1889-1956), a classicist. Both became professors at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem later.

From 1919 to 1925, financial crisis limited the issues of the ZDPV to two per year. Nevertheless, the ZDPV maintained its role as the most important forum for scientific discussion about Palestine, even when the DPV struggled to develop its own projects in the country. During this period, there were still publications related to the meteorological stations (Blanckenhorn 1920, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1926b, 1925a, 1925b, 1926a, 1927a, 1927b, 1928a, 1928c, 1928b, 1930b, 1930a, 1931). Another highlight is the series of reports of Sellin's excavations at Shechem (Sellin 1926b, 1926a, 1927a, 1927b; Böhl 1926), a project not directly organized by the society but still important, because it was the only German excavations in Mandate Palestine (refer to Chapter B-II.1).

In 1929, Martin Noth became the editor of the ZDPV. Noth would maintain this position until the last ZDPV edition during the war (1944/1945). After the war, he would be the one to reestablish the journal. Under his supervision, the ethnological reports on modern Palestine disappeared from the ZDPV. Finally, another important aspect to point out is the publication of an article about the Hittites (Jirku 1920) and a second one about the Philistines for the first time in the ZDPV (Range 1923b).

II.2.3.4. ZDPV in the Third Reich

Although Palestine was not much the focus of the Nazi government's attention – due to the emigration of German Jews and the cooperation with the Jerusalem's Mufti (Ellinger 2006, p. 93) – the DPV managed to remain active until the end of the WW II. Naturally, the interest of the society in the OT and its affinity to Semitic studies clashed with the interests of the scientific activities of the Nazi regime. Nevertheless, Noth kept the ZDPV neutral, by choosing some articles on Palestine in later periods, such as under the Romans (Alt 1936a, 1937) and the Crusaders (Beyer 1936), or about the history of cartography of Palestine and the geological reports.

Besides, the ZDPV suffered first the impact of the transit restrictions into Palestine (Alt 1935a), and the end of the contributions of the DEI (last *Studien* published in 1936, see above). During the war, the financial crisis and isolation affected, in particular, the literary

reviews, since the access to international publications was very limited. For instance, in 1942 and 1943 there are 13 reviews altogether, but only one of the analyzed books was not originally from Germany (Alt 1943).

II.2.3.5. Final Remarks on the Publications of the DPV

Finally, it has to be mentioned that the archaeological and epigraphic reports, as planned by Thiersch, appeared 13 times – more frequently under the responsibility of Galling (Thiersch 1913, 1914a, 1914b; Steuernagel 1914; Reil 1915; Galling 1927, 1928, 1929, 1931, 1932, 1936a; Bleckmann 1913, 1915). In addition to the periodicals, the DPV published some other significant works, such as the work on the Mosaic Map from Madaba (Palmer, Guthe 1906), both Megiddo's reports (Schumacher 1908; Watzinger 1929), and supported, in the 1930s, the publication of Galling's *Biblisches Reallexikon* (1937). For the first time in German literature, archaeological artifacts were added to the explanation of the biblical entries (Oelke 2006, p. 274). Considering especially the political conditions of the time, this was a remarkable contribution for the consolidation of GBA.

In contrast to the publications of other research societies studied in this work, the main pattern identified in the ZDPV by means of a comparison of its contents through time is the emphasis of the society on a miscellaneous approach on Palestine. According to this study, there was never a priority of NT over OT and vice-versa – as identified in the PJ; travel reports of ancient and medieval pilgrims and explorers are as important as the ones of modern travelers; geology, geography, topography are alternative ways of understanding the Holy Land, which was highlighted almost as much as archaeology.

Indeed, archaeology, or what used to be called “archaeological” by the ZDPV, is a constant subject since the first editions of the journal. If there is a tendency to be identified, it is that the papers emphasize more and more the artifacts and technical descriptions of fieldwork, rather than the geography and topography of the sites. The archaeological reports constitute strong evidence, as proposed by Thiersch and carried out first by himself and then by Galling. These reports describe fieldwork by means of technical vocabulary and thus provide an important source for understanding how archeology had been developed through the projects of different societies supported by different countries in Palestine.

However, several geological and meteorological investigations, for example, especially during the Weimar Republic, reveal how archaeology – despite being the main goal of the DPV – is not the only scientific work that interests the society. In this sense the DPV, as an institution that emphasizes knowledge in its wider scope, retains a humanistic character – eventually impregnated by the *Kulturprotestantismus* (Kirchhoff 2004, p. 38).

II.2.4. The role of the publications

Although it is questionable whether the publications of the Research Societies were suitable for a large audience, the fact that every members of these institutions received their publications – among them there were not only experts, but also curious supporters – and non-members could have access to them through member institutions and libraries, it is likely that a considerable number of non-expert-readers were indeed reading the publications.

Besides, within the scientific milieu these societies created, authors were encouraged to publish about biblical archaeology in Germany. The book of Paul Volz (2004) is only one example. Published already in 1914, *Die biblischen Altertümer* incorporated artifacts from excavations in the Near East to the interpretation of the Bible, in a book to be used as reference for the religious and daily life practices of the ancient inhabitants of Palestine. Moreover, experts of the field who joined the *Deutsch-Türkische Denkmalschutzkommando für Syrien und Palästina* used the opportunity to contribute to GBA. Alt wrote a report of their work in the ZDPV (Alt 1920) and on some of the inscriptions found (Alt 1921); Watzinger published several archaeological reports on the Sinai (Watzinger et al. 1920), Jordan (Bachmann et al. 1921) and Syria (Wulzinger, Watzinger 1924; Watzinger, Wulzinger 1921). The Weimar Republic also saw a publication of aerial pictures taken by the German Air Forces in 1917 and 1918 by Dalman (1925). It was the first time that pictures of Palestine from aerial perspective were compiled and made accessible.

The Weimar Republic represented a whole series of new and different things for Germany. For the scholars who survived the war and the transition from Empire to Republic, this period represented at the same time a necessity to preserve a legacy – a scientific and cultural one – and to create new paths for scholarship. In this sense, GBA

committed to the work of the early researchers and turned their work into legacy, a legacy now assessed with expertise and norms.

III.1933-1945: A tragic Epilogue to the GBA: the Nazi Regime

The nomination of Adolf Hitler as German Chancellor on 30 January 1933 within the context of the Nazi *Machtergreifung* marks the starting point of a well-known episode in the history of the contemporary world: the Nazi dictatorship in Germany. The impact of this regime has been extensively investigated throughout the humanities, social science and cultural disciplines over the past few decades. Archaeology was among the several disciplines used in the service of the Nazi Regime. Under Nazi command, this field of study was subject to an unprecedented degree of politicization.

Nevertheless, some of the ideas and beliefs, which were characteristics of this process, began to establish a foothold in Central European archaeology at the eve of the First World War. In particular the works of Gustav Kossina (1858-1932) offered theoretical support to German expansionism during the Nazi Regime (Arnold 2008). His theories of cultural diffusionism as well as his concept of *Kulturkreis* summarized a common belief in the history of archaeological thought – that material culture is an ethnic markers and thus can correlate with geographical regions – which became a powerful tool in the search for the Aryan *Lebensraum*.

As Gramsch and Sommer (2011, p. 15) remark, several German archaeologists supported the racist interpretations of prehistory actively. Many others, instead, reinforced the paradigm of collection and classification of archaeological data in the belief that they were producing objective and thus a-political knowledge.

German prehistorical archaeology was the main archaeological discipline to become political propaganda under the Nazi Regime. This was a game-changer, considering the traditional favoritism of Classical studies and even the publishing or exhibition appeal of Near Eastern archaeology. Arnold (2008) explains how this traditional lack of state funding and public recognition, which led to the perception of prehistory as a neglected academic discipline, was used by the Nazis to turn the game in favor of an ethnocentric attitude. In other words, any archaeological concept other than the Nazi prehistorian approach either had to align with the new agenda or face disfavor and possible persecution by the establishment.

According to Hauser (2004:167), the Orient was inferiorized in two particular ways: firstly by strengthening the well-known Orientalism, in which western superiority is defined

in contrast to the inferiorities of the east. Secondly, by attributing new explanations for these inferiorities: in this case, most notably racial inferiority (rather than climate-based or cultural inferiority). Nevertheless, Near Eastern archaeologists found ways to serve the Nazi agenda: instead of focusing on Mesopotamia and the ancient Empires of Assyria and Babylon, they shifted their interest to Iran. In fact, the Persians were classified as Aryans and therefore considered to be of particular interest (Hauser 2004:168).

However, there was an even stronger tension posed between the GBA and new Government interests: the Old Testament. Naturally, the Semitic interests of the GBA concerning the OT, its theology, history and archaeology contradicted the anti-Semitic agenda of the Regime. This triggered a high level of skepticism among members of the DPV concerning the future work of the society. On the first Annual Report after the *Machtergreifung* Alt noted:

... Denn wir dürfen uns nicht darüber täuschen, daß die gründliche Umgestaltung aller Verhältnisse, die wir in der jüngsten Vergangenheit erlebt haben und die auch jetzt noch nicht beendet ist, einem so rein privaten und so ganz nur der Forschung dienenden Verein wie dem unseren kaum zu einer günstigeren Stellung in der Öffentlichkeit verhelfen kann, als die er bisher einnahm. ... Die Situation bleibt also ernst und legt uns die Sorge auf, daß dem Verein erhalten bleibt, was ihn bisher durch allen Wandel der Zeiten getragen hat: die werbende Kraft seiner Leistungen und die werbende Mitarbeit derer, die verstehen und billigen, was er erstrebt. (Alt 1934, p. 77)

In addition to the topics of research, the very structure of these research societies suffered the impact of the new dictatorial regime. This can be seen first in how membership numbers were affected. Both the DOG and the DPV had several Jewish members. These Research Societies were instructed to discharge all existing Jewish members from their ranks.

The particular case of the DOG could be considered very illustrative: Andrae registered a contact from the *Wissenschafts-, Erziehungs- und Volksbildungsministerium* (Reg.Dir. Hermann) on the 21 March 1938 advising the DOG to dismiss all Jewish members still associated with the Society within 14 days, and to make it look like a decision from the DOG and not a demand from the Government. On the 25th of March, the Society sent a circular to its members, asking the Jews to resign their membership. This was an emergency measure to avoid the dissolution of the DOG, however it provoked outraged reactions and was deeply regretted by Andrae in his memoirs (Wilhelm 1998b, p. 10). It seems that he tried to gain time, but after a series of letters from the Ministerium, on January 12 1940 the ultimatum came: financial support from the Government had been cut until the DOG

managed once and for all the “Befreiung der Gesellschaft von inländischen Juden”. The DOG survived until 1943, with only 15 members registered as having attended the last general meeting (Wilhelm 1998b, pp. 10–11).

In the case of the DPV, documental evidence is scarce largely due to the bombing of the University of Leipzig during the Second World War. Nevertheless, it can be said that membership numbers also dropped considerably in this period reports correspondence between Thomsen and Alt which suggested that the DPV should follow the DOG’s procedure and ask Jewish members to resign. Considering that this attitude could lead others to do the same, especially foreigners and institutions, Thomsen stressed: “Aber es ist besser einige Glieder zu verlieren, als den ganzen Körper opfern zu müssen” (Brief Thomsen an Alt 10. 11. 1938 *apud* Oelke 2006, p. 276).

Another cause attributed to the decline in DPV member numbers at this time is due to the isolationism imposed by the government, which made international research difficult. During this period, the only fieldwork conducted by German scholars was Gallling’s investigations of the Necropolis in Jerusalem (refer to Chapter B-II.2). Therefore, the lack of fieldwork, the obstacles imposed on travelers to Palestine and even the difficulties surrounding currency exchange imposed by the Nazi Regime contributed to a declining interest amongst potential new members (Alt 1935a).

All in all, the DPV did not attract a great deal of attention from the government: neither the regime attempted to instrumentalize the Research Society as Nazi propaganda, nor did the DPV become a major target in the political razzia, as witnessed by other societies at this time. The fact that the DPV seat was not in Berlin, but in Leipzig, might have helped minimize the persecution. Alternatively, the Regime might not have considered the work of the DPV to be of considerable impact amongst the greater population.

The activities of the DEI, which had its seat in Jerusalem, were more directly affected by the political enforcements of the new Government. The study-courses and the DEI’s plans to support archaeological excavations for the first time were cancelled. Instead, the works of the Institute in Jerusalem were limited to some investigations, which were then definitively interrupted by the outbreak of World War I.

Nationalism was on the increase not only within Germany, but also in the mindset of Germans living abroad. In fact, Nazism won strong approval among German populations living in Palestine. Statistics reveal that at least 114 Germans living in Palestine were

affiliated with the Nazi Party at the end of 1933. This number had increased to 293 by January 1937 and to 330 by January 1938. This represented nearly 17% of the non-Jewish German population in Palestine (Wawrzyn 2003, pp. 97–98).

Nazi local groups were formed in the Tempel colonies in Haifa, Jerusalem and Sarona, while support points were established in Wilhelma and Bethlehem-Waldheim (Wawrzyn 2003, p. 97). Elan (1984, p. 5) explains that the Templers had, in fact, a very negative image amongst the Israeli population at the time of his inquiries. During the Nazi Regime, Templers tended to support Arabs against Jews in local issues, the Nazi flag with the Swastika would often be seen hanging throughout Palestine and the President of the *Tempelgesellschaft* (Wagner Hoffman) is said to have worn SA-Uniforms.

The representative of the Auguste Victoria Foundation in Jerusalem from 1930 to 1936, Ernst Schneller was an active participant in Nazi party politics. Pamphlets and propaganda material were printed in Schneller's own printery; he is also known to have distributed Nazi literature throughout Palestine. Wawrzyn (2003, p. 99) suggests that the AVF and the Syrian Orphanage were prepared to engage in something bigger and were ready to play a more active part in Hitler's plans, alongside the Mufti of Jerusalem: "According to the C.I.D's [Criminal Investigation Department] notes, the Syrian Orphanage tried to get guns and munitions from Germany and trained Arabs in using weapons".

Hoffman succeeded Schneller in the direction of the AVF. He intended to transform the AVF into a national meeting place for local Germans: this would transform the complex – which was indeed created to offer the German Protestants in Palestine a place to gather and exercise their national and religious identities (refer to Chapter B-I.1) – into a place for dissemination of German nationalistic agendas (2003, p. 100).

In short, Palestine was not *the* central goal of Nazi expansionism but the Germans living there were very much coordinated with the politics in the *Heimat*. Moreover, GBA was not amongst the favorite archaeological disciplines, hence not targeted by the Nazi party to be utilized for propaganda purposes. On the other hand, the intellectual scene was not very favorable for those who did not cooperate directly with the regime, and this posed enormous challenges for GBA. With a watered-down intellectual scene and enough government interference to disturb its membership, the GBA was subject to a slow process of dissolution, along with the dissolution of the Research Societies and of the publication

forums. In addition, the impact of having lost so many intellectuals either by migration or death, and the material evidence destroyed in bomb attacks (e.g. DPV in Leipzig, Sellin's house in Berlin) make this period in GBA's history one of irreparable loss.

The Nazi Government had plans to invade Palestine (BArch R 5101/21912, fol. 102, 106, 109-111, 128). Rumours circulated, that a call to the German Protestant communities to take over the holy places in Palestine had been launched in 1938 (BArch R 5101/21912, fol. 109-110; Cf BArch R 5101/21912, Vermerk, 22.10.1938; BArch R 5101/21912, fol. 103-105). Within this context, archaeology should again have represent a powerful tool for penetrating the territory. Indeed, the interruption of the works of GBA represent a small victory for archaeology - in regarding what fate the discipline may have succumbed to at the hands of a Nazi-controlled Palestine. Nevertheless, the impact of Nazi politics would determine the future fate of German archaeological research in the former territory of Palestine; the deep impact this period had on German relations to the territory and the modern State of Israel is undeniable.

Conclusions

This work set out to study German biblical archaeology. The very notion of *German* biblical Archaeological practice, in contrast to the traditional biblical archaeology practiced by the British Palestine Exploration Fund, the American Schools of Oriental Research, and their Catholic counterpart the *École Biblique et Archéologique Française*, deserved attention. The question “was there such a practice that could be called German biblical archaeology,” despite the lack of attention given to it by scholarship, led to the investigation of German interests and approaches to the Near East. This pursuit subsequently led to the identification of several particularities concerning the German scientific exploration of Palestine. Moreover, aside from the distinct characteristics of the German archaeological exploration of the land, there were several unique features concerning the interpretations and the developments of the discipline in Germany.

The initial stages of GBA date back to the *Kaiserzeit*. During this period, the early scientific investigative efforts of Germany into the lands of the Bible were undertaken. These efforts were part of a larger agenda of imperialistic expansion into the Orient, actions that created competition between the Great Powers of Europe. Archaeology proved itself to be a powerful tool in the promotion, penetration, and expansion of European interests. Through scientific exploration, these Great Powers could collect information on the land and its resources, on their inhabitants and their habits. Through the recovery of artifacts, Great Powers could express their sovereignty and create new narratives about their own past for use as imperial propaganda.

Within this national and colonialist race towards the Orient, Germany developed unique strategies. The politic of friendship between the German Kaiser Wilhelm II and the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II conferred the German Empire certain privileges, such as the contract for the construction of the Berlin-Bagdad railway. Moreover, German missionaries and members of religious communities – *Tempelgesellschaft*, Zionism – were the first Europeans to settle and colonize Palestine.

In the first Chapter of the second part (B-I.1), the triad of Imperialism/Religion/Research is explored. The German government supported religious communities as a mechanism of its imperial agenda in Palestine. Not only did the colonists

contribute infrastructure, but many of them also served as explorers of the land for the Government. Within this socio-political landscape, a German Templer (Gottlieb Schumacher) directed the first large-scale German archaeological excavations in Palestine. The DPV expedition at Megiddo may not be of great interest for scholars today, as its results were far from the standards of modern excavations. Nevertheless, it represents a first step into biblical archaeology, and is therefore an important piece of the disciplines history.

In contrast, as evidenced in Chapter B-1.2, the foundations for the concept of GBA were set out by a conservative movement within theological studies. For example, while British biblical archaeology was developing in the hands of its militaries; German scholarship excavations in Palestine were conducted and adopted by conservative theologians to prove their agenda against more critical views of the Bible.

Ernst Sellin, for instance, interpreted the results of his own excavations at Tell Ta'annek and of Schumacher's excavations at Tell el Mutesellim in favor of the biblical narrative. Sellin employed such interpretations as strong evidence against the Higher Criticism (Wellhausen) and the *Babel-Bibel* controversies (Delitzsch). The connection created by scholars like Sellin between GBA and Theology would haunt the discipline for many years. Indeed this is a reason why GBA did not develop into an independent academic discipline and instead remained a field of research.

World War I and the British Mandate over Palestine has limited access to the region. The end of the Imperial System, together with the financial crisis in Germany during the Weimar Republic and the loss of several settlements in Palestine, constituted great challenges to GBA. The survival of GBA scholarship is thanks to the efforts of the Research Societies, which were created during the *Kaiserreich* to develop scientific research in Palestine. During the Weimar Republic, these Research Societies became the only center for the production and discussion of GBA in Germany. Nevertheless, beyond sustaining the continuation of research, these Institutions were responsible for disciplining GBA as a field of research.

Biblical archaeology, as practiced by the DOG, and especially by the DPV and the DEI during the Weimar Republic, posed guidelines for its research. Such guidelines established regulations and norms that later formed the mechanisms of biblical archaeology, and provided a common language for its practitioners. During this introspective phase, there was a strong effort to define the archaeological character of the discipline. This agenda is

illustrated by the tensions between Sellin and Thiersch, and by the contrast between the first (by Schumacher) and the second (by Watzinger) volumes of the Megiddo reports, as discussed in Chapter B-II. Moreover, GBA went beyond the limits of private institutions to become the concern of the governmental institute for archaeology: the DAI.

Chapter B-II.2 offers an overview of the developments of the GBA through an analysis of the publications of the Research Societies. The Epilogue completes the historical framework, with the developments of GBA during the Nazi Regime. Rather, this segment summarizes the history of the GBA in its *longue durée*: *Kaiserzeit*, Weimar Republic and Nazi Regime.

The analysis proposed is that in certain respects the GBA traced a similar path to the biblical archaeology, which is traditionally covered by the historiography of the discipline. Examples of such similarities can be identified in the works on geography and on the topography of the Holy Land, published in the first issues of the PJ and the ZDPV. These works, which follow Edward Robinson's research, are taken for granted as the foundation of the discipline. With the start of *de facto* excavations begins the *true* scientific inquiry – so the traditional historiography presents – and many of the publications are now dealing with the fieldwork and the material recovered (see MDOG).

Furthermore, another aspect that brings the GBA closer to traditional BA is the chronological framework. Traditionally, the history of archeology in the Near East is told according to the chronology of the two World Wars. Since Germany was involved in both conflicts, this timeline also works for the GBA. However, while for the English, French and American biblical archaeology, the inter-war period led to an intensification of fieldwork, the same was not so for Germany. Rather, for Germany, which had restricted access to Palestine, this period initially represented a suspension of excavation plans and the adaptation to new socio-political realities.

The analysis of the GBA from a long-term perspective also revealed several conclusions regarding the development of the archaeological discipline inside Germany, particularly in relation to German scholarship and society. In this respect, GBA was primarily linked to biblical studies and Theology. Whereas archaeology collaborated with History and Classical studies, with a founding interest in Ancient Greece and Rome. Thus, GBA was mostly restricted to the realm of non-archaeologists, as some of the names mentioned in this work illustrate: Schumacher, Sellin, Guthe, Dalman, Alt, Noth. A few

distinctive attempts to mitigate this situation are illustrated by the names of Thiersch and Watzinger.

On the other hand, the German archaeological research in the Near East triggered an expansion of this idea of archaeology in Germany – limited to classical studies – especially after the discovery of great architectural and artistic works in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Some of these were taken to Germany to be exhibited. The Pergamon Museum in Berlin captured this moment with the exhibition of both the façades of the Pergamon Altar (Ancient Greece) and the Ishtar Gate (Babylon).

Moreover, the political situation in Germany has also impacted certain disciplinary trends. A primary example of political impact can be seen in the changing perspective of what was considered “scientific” – as exclusive to scholars – and what was considered “popular” and of general interest. The fluctuating role of the discipline suggested an increasing interest by discipline participants to reach people beyond the milieu of experts, and thus turn GBA into a more popular subject. Additionally, the patterns of GBA research vary in accordance to the *Zeitgeist*. There are clear evidences of an increasing interest in more recent periods during the Nazi Government (Chapter B-III). Such an adjustment might represent a survival strategy of the discipline, in which it disconnected and distanced itself from traditional Old Testament and Jewish topics.

Considering the context of GBA in its entirety, on the one hand, it is clear how the GBA developed a stake in the archaeological research scene in Palestine, and on the other, how it forged its own disciplinary paths. By highlighting this status quo, this work expands the boundaries of the traditional narrative of biblical archaeology and suggests an alternative history that considers other events, other characters, and other categories.

Considering the definition of biblical archaeology as proposed in the first part of this work (Chapter A-1), GBA should be understood in two dimensions. First, the more obvious definition: German archaeological activities in Palestine as from the turn of the 20th century, within the context of other international archaeological projects in the land. In this case, a list of their activities (preferentially in a chronological order) with a description would suffice to define the term. Secondly, and most remarkably, GBA is a particular field of research that involves more than fieldwork alone, and it is comprised by what characterizes GBA as different to British or French biblical archaeology. In other words, the especial features of the German archaeological interest in Palestine *is* what characterizes

GBA, and justifies the use of the term, and not the German archaeological interest in Palestine in and of itself.

To conclude, this work offers one example of the importance of questioning 'taken-for-granted' events and interpretations. In going back to the genealogy of GBA, this research intends to offer tools for a critical comprehension of the current state of affairs. Currently, German archaeological interest in the region of Israel and the Palestinian Authority is still closely attached to Theology and biblical studies. The disciplines primary interests remain in topics and historical periods that are connected to the Old Testament, while Christian Archeology is more commonly practiced in European sites of the Byzantine period.

This work had demonstrated how biblical studies in Germany have systematically adopted material culture into their analysis. Since the first excavations in Palestine, German scholarship has proposed reconstructions of the biblical world based on their results and conclusions. Nevertheless, because of this connection to the Bible, the archaeology of Palestine has failed to become an independent academic discipline in German Universities.

Financial support to German-Israeli joint projects is not rare, especially because German philanthropy sees it as a never-ending *Wiedergutmachung* with Israel. There are also efforts to source support for the discipline among archaeologists, as exhibited by the new curriculum at the University of Mainz, for example, which includes *Biblische Archäologie* among its archaeological disciplines. Yet, its auxiliary role still restricts its self-consciousness to the milieu of the Research Societies, while in universities, research remains in a sort of interdisciplinary vacuum: practiced by many, but taken as an independent professional discipline by none.

Furthermore, this work has evaluated that archaeology, as the *discipline of things*, exists not only through a combination of fieldwork, instruments, material culture, collections, exhibitions, but also with the aid of organizations, societies, journals, books, and degrees. There is thus now a fresh urgency for German scholarship to consider archaeology in its international context, to become aware of the developments of contemporary archaeological research in the Near East, and to contemplate seriously the history of GBA. Only then, following a critical and introspective self-assessment, can

German archaeological research in Israel, Palestine and Jordan cultivate a future for its own.

Abstract

The history of biblical archaeology and of the archaeology of the Near East has been the subject of many publications until now. Those histories usually offer the reader a detailed account of progressive facts on a long and linear chronology, in which England stares as the main character, later losing its role to the United States. Besides those totalising explanations, there are other ways to interpret the history of Western archaeological interest in the Near East. In this thesis, the emphasis lays upon Germany, which is traditionally attributed a secondary role. German's peculiar relation to the Orient, as the only western country to settle in Palestine even in the 19th century, or as the only western country to adopt a friendly position towards the Ottoman rulers, allowed German scientific exploration to develop under unique conditions. While studying the development of German archeological interest in Palestine from 1871 to 1945, I intend to present a different perspective on this scenario of western competition for the Holy Land.

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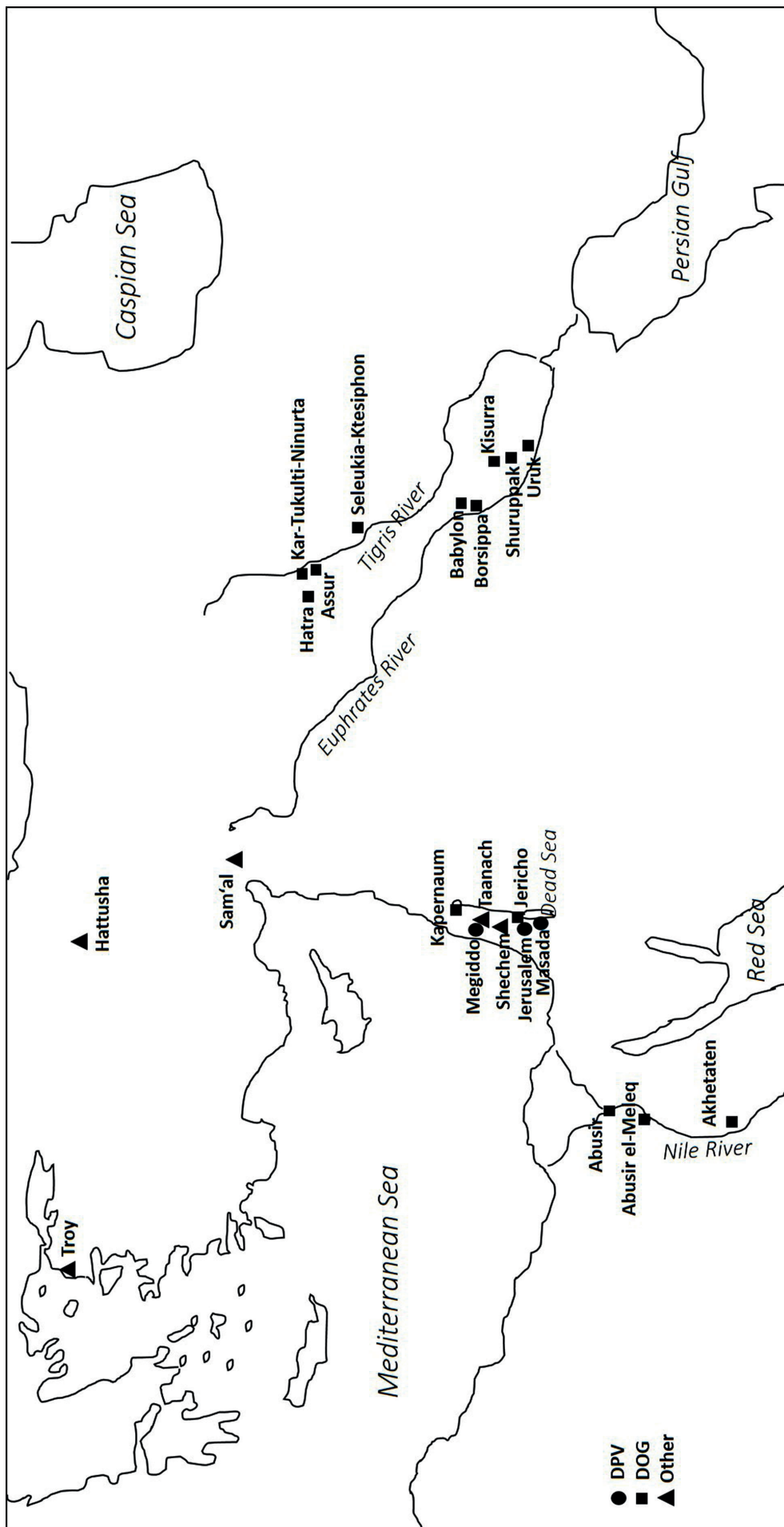
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Map 1 German excavations in the Near East until the Second World War (Drawn by the author)



Fig. 1 Church of the Redeemer under Construction, Jerusalem 1896 (Carmel Eisler 1999)



Fig. 2 Church of the Redeemer shortly before its inauguration, Jerusalem October 31 1898 (Krikorion, Jerusalem *apud* Carmel Eisler 1999)



Fig. 3 The Muristan, laying of the foundation stone of the Church of the Redeemer in the presence of (right to left on the stage): J. Schneller, J. Frutiger, unbekannt, C. Schick, unbekannt, G. Blyth, and the Chair of the Jerusalem-Stiftung. Priest C. Schlicht is giving a speech. Jerusalem October 31 1893 (Carmel Eisler 1999)

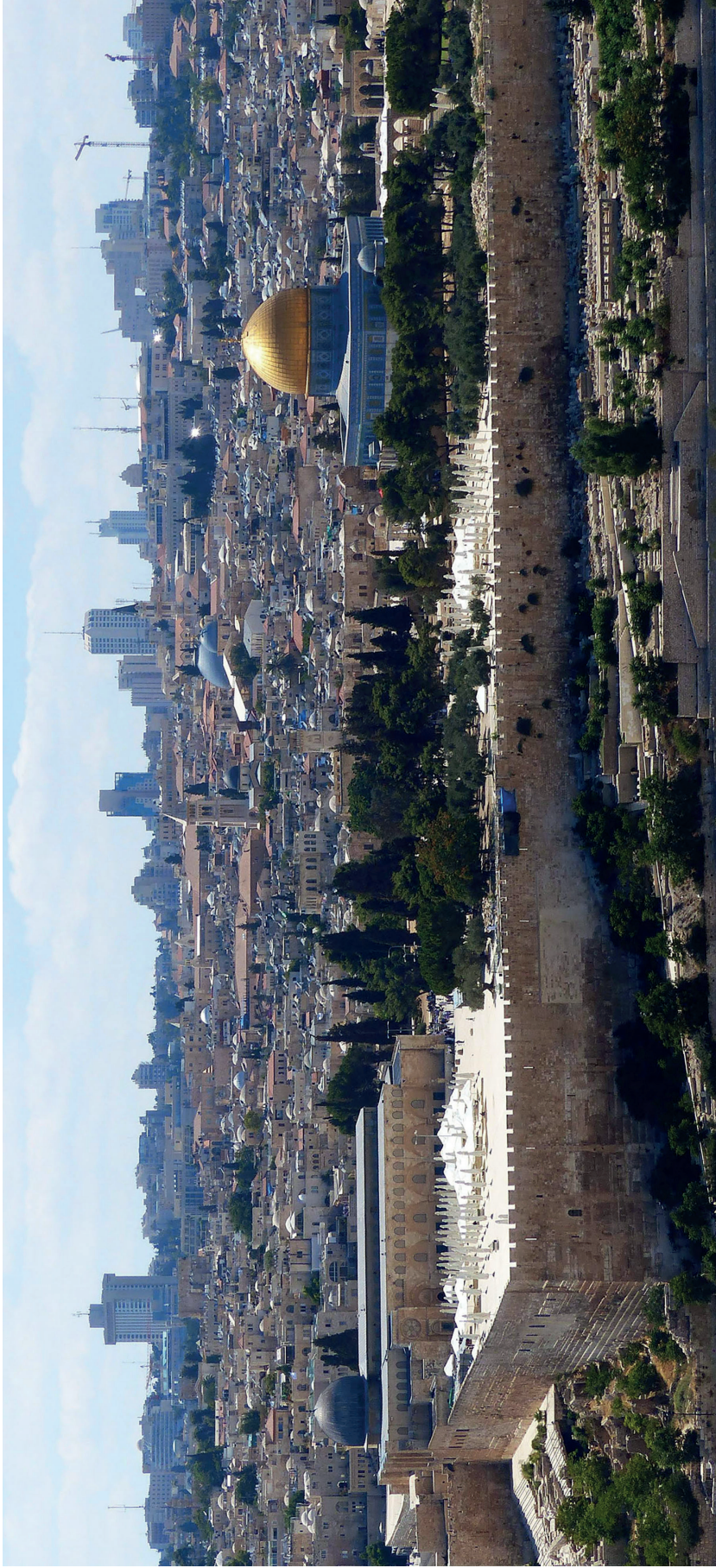


Fig. 4 Jerusalem – Current view of the Old City from the Mt. Scopus, with the Church of the Redeemer in the center (photo by L. Furlanetti)



Fig. 5 Donation of the Dormition to the Catholic Community by the Kaiser, Jerusalem October 31 1898 (Photo Raad *apud* Carmel Eisler 1999)



Fig. 6 Inauguration of the Dormition Abbey, Jerusalem April 10 1910 (Carmel Eisler 1999)



Fig. 7 Current view of the Dormition Abbey in Jerusalem (Author's photo)



Fig. 9 Kaiser Wilhelm II in his explorer-costume (Photo Tellmann, Mühlhausen *apud* Carmel Eisler 1999)



Fig. 8 The *Kaiserpaar* arrives in the Holy Land, Haifa October 25 1898 (Photo Knötzke *apud* Carmel Eisler 1999)



Fig. 10 Kaiser Wilhelm II in the Crusader's ruins at Atlit, October 26 1898 (Photo by Kaiserin Auguste Victoria *apud* Carmel Eisler 1999)



Fig. 11 Templer colony in Haifa, around 1900 (BArch RL2-II/486)



Figs. 12 (left) and 13 (right) Templer colony Wilhelma, near Jaffa 1941 (BArch RL2-II/486). Both are part of a military report from Germans in Palestine to Berlin. The area around the colony was used as a military airport during WW II



Fig. 14 Monument to the Kaiser erected by the German colonists under supervision of G. Schumacher on the Mt. Carmel, 1910 (Carmel Eisler 1999)



Fig. 15 „Kaiser-Wilhelm-Platz“ on the Mt. Carmel with the Obelisk (Fig.14), October 25 1910 (Carmel Eisler 1999)

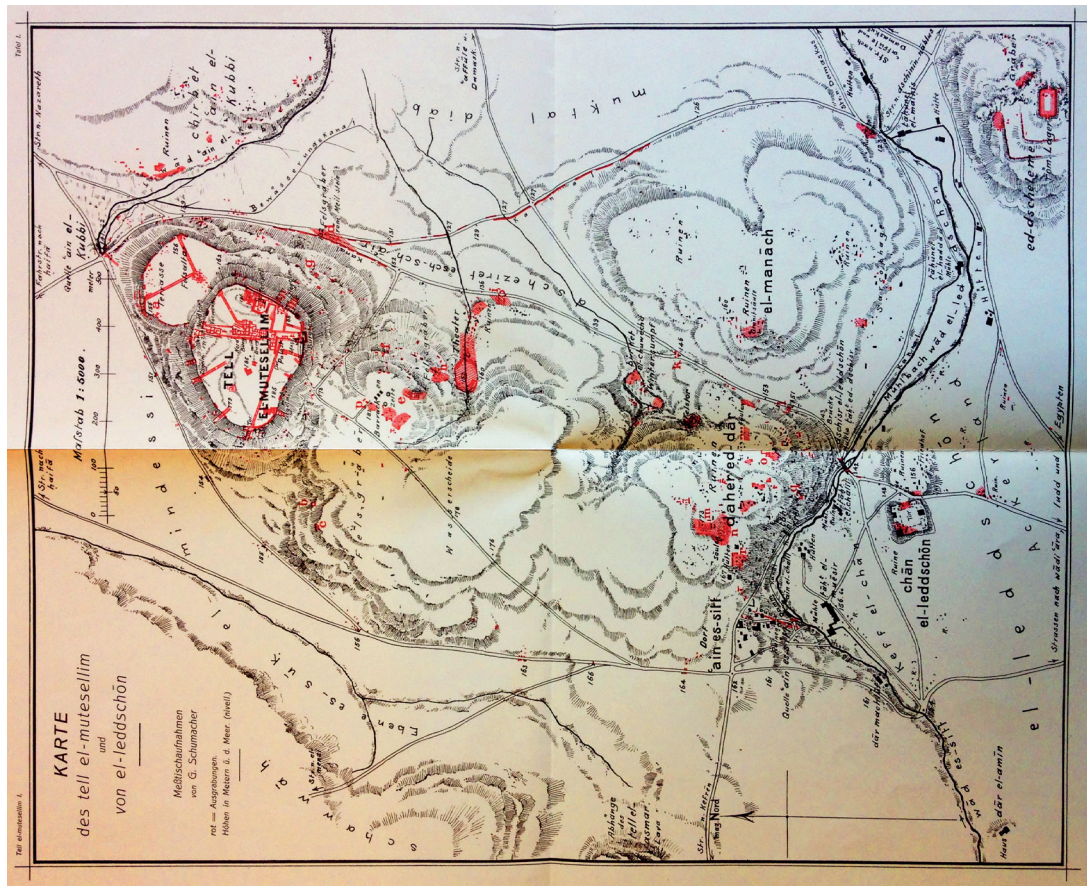


Fig. 16 Megiddo- Map of the region indicating the Tell el-Mutesellim by Schumacher (TM I B, Tafel I)

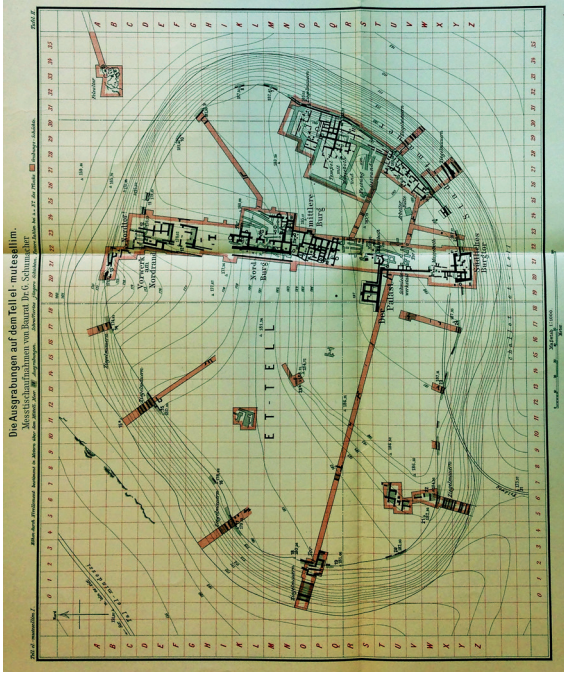


Fig. 17 Megiddo – Plan of the tell with excavated areas by Schumacher, 1904 (TM I B, Tafel II)



Fig. 18 Megiddo- Aerial View in 1918 (Courtesy of the Political Archive of the German Federal Foreign Office – PA AA NL-Holzhausen 38 Bildalbum 11)



Fig. 19 Megiddo- Aerial view in 1937 after several years of the Chicago Expeditions (by Evetts *apud* Loud 1948)

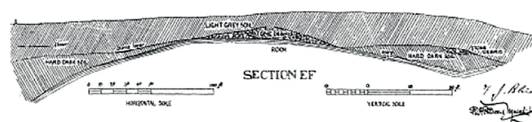


Fig. 21 Tell Zakarya- Example of section drawing by Bliss and Macalister (1902)

Considering Figs. 20 and 21, Schumacher's drawings (below) are closer to modern standards. Although he was architecture-oriented, he did not restrict the recording to layers with buildings (especially Fig. 25).

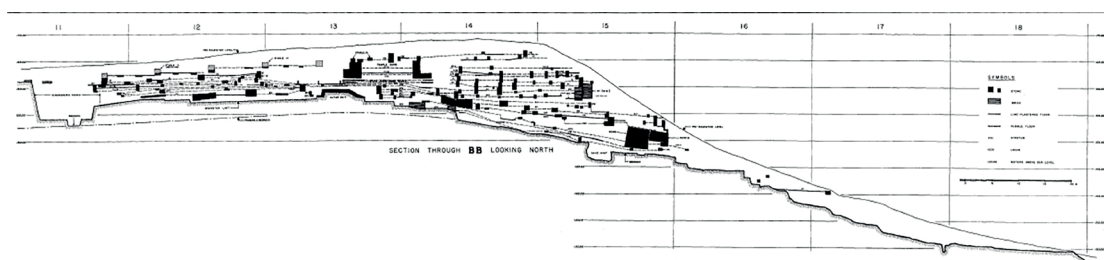


Fig. 20 Megiddo – Eastern section of Area BB after Bedrock was reached by the Chicago Expedition (Loud 1948)

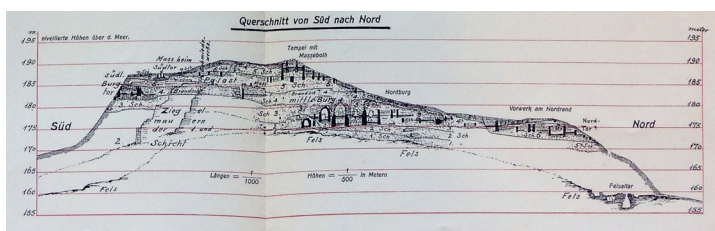


Fig. 22 Megiddo – Section South-Nort of the tell by Schumacher (TM I B, Taf. II)

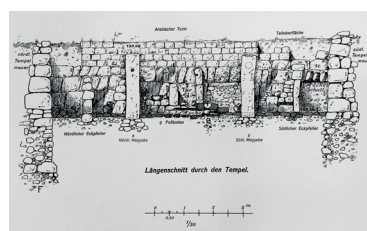


Fig. 23 Megiddo- Longitudinal section through the Temple (1:50 TM I B, Taf. XXXVI)

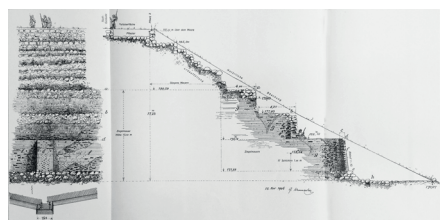


Fig. 24 Megiddo – Ring-wall (section and frontal view) at Peg 3 (1:100 TM I B, Taf. VIII)

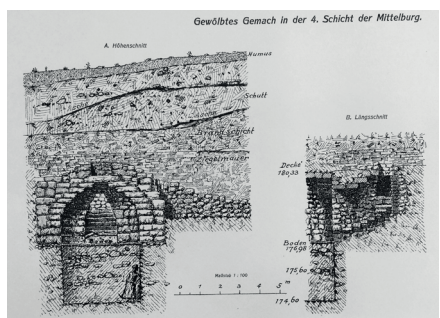


Fig. 25 Megiddo – Sections of the Vaulted Chamber of Mittelburg Stratum 4 (1:100 TM I B, Taf. XX)

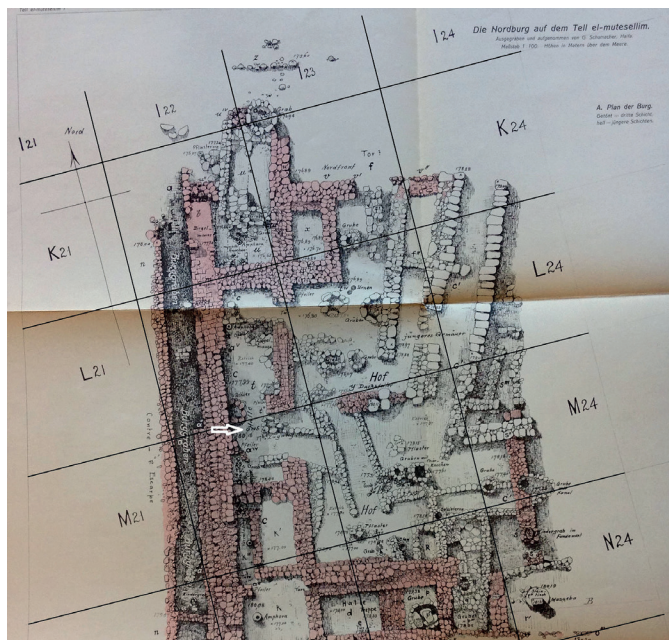


Fig. 26 Megiddo – Top plan of the Nordburg highlighting different layers. The location of Burial f is indicated with a white arrow (1:100 TM I B, Taf. XII)



Fig. 27 Megiddo – Example of *opus spicatum* in the W city wall (TM I A, Abb.30)



Fig. 28 Megiddo – Example of masonry with mixed headers and stretchers. SE room of the Palastwohnung, view from the NW (TM I A, Abb. 135)



Fig. 29 Megiddo – Example of masonry with mixed headers and stretchers. Northern part of the E courtyard wall of the Palast (TM I A, Abb. 136)

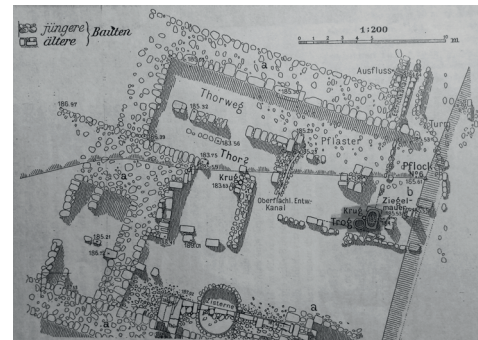


Fig. 30 Megiddo – Top plan of area around Peg 6 (1:200 MNDPV 1904/3-4, Abb.9)

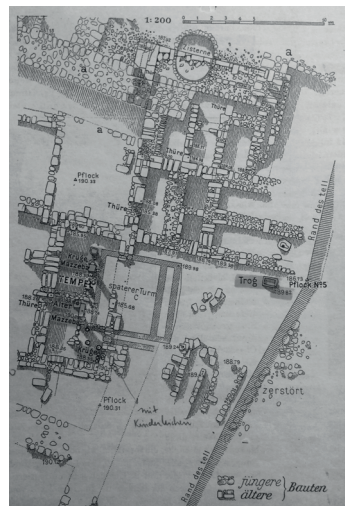


Fig. 31 Megiddo – Top plan of area around Peg 5 (1:200 MNDPV 1904/3-4, Abb.10)

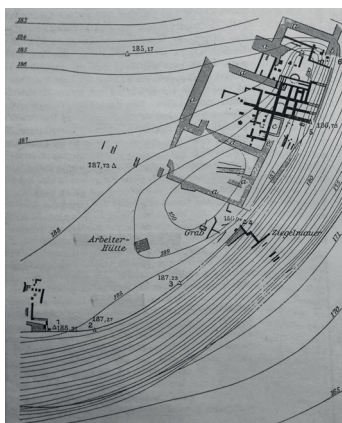


Fig. 32 Megiddo – General top plan of first excavated areas marking Pegs 2 to 6 on the E edge of the tell (MNDPV 1904/3-4, Abb.15)



Fig. 33 Megiddo – Final top plan of first excavated areas marking Sq. Q30/Q31-R30/R31 instead of Pegs, Tempelburg at E edge of the tell (1:200 TM I B, Taf. XXXV)



Fig. 34 Megiddo – First days of work at the tell (MNDPV 1904/3-4, Abb.8)



Fig. 35 Megiddo – Workforce around the Arab Tower (MNDPV 1906/3-4, Abb. 57)



Fig. 36 Megiddo – Work in the trench. This picture shows how workforce was distributed within an excavation area and how supervision and recording worked (MNDPV 1904/3-4, Abb. 21)



Fig. 37 Megiddo – Payday at the tell (MNDPV 1904/1-2, Abb. 4)



Fig. 38 Megiddo – Last payday at the tell (MNDPV 1906/5, Abb.62)



Fig. 39 Megiddo – Burial *f* of the necropolis *in situ* (TMI A, Abb. 63)

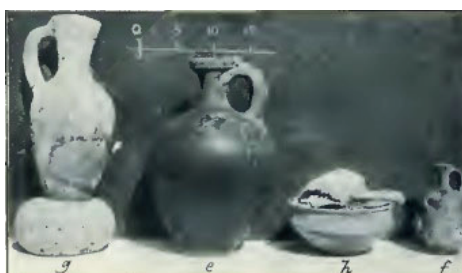


Fig. 40 Megiddo – Pottery from burial *f* of the necropolis (TMI A, Abb. 64)

„Fig. 63 [here **Fig. 39**] shows the second burial, *f*. This grave was a multiple burial, containing the skeletons of three small children who died at the age of one year or less. The bodies lay presumably one above the other, with the heads next to each other. Possibly, the limbs were separated before the interment, as pelvic bones were found lying above the heads and the arm bones to their sides. The young limbs had mostly turned to dust. It is therefore difficult to establish if the bones belong to one child only or to all of them. The head of one child rested facing towards the western wall of the grave. Another skull faced upwards. The teeth were not yet broken through and were still partially stuck in the jaw. The pottery of this infant burial is shown in Fig. 64 [here **Fig. 40**]. Near the pelvic bones stands a lovely juglet, *e*, with double handle. The vessel is covered with a bright red and shiny slip and vertically hand-smoothed—as indicated by vertical strokes. A small juglet, *f*, with double handle was found beside the skulls. It also bears a shiny red slip. A third vessel, a dipper juglet, *g*, with pointed base is squeezed into the northeastern corner of the grave. This vessel, too, is hand-smoothed and has a reddish-yellow surface colour. Finally, beside Juglet *e* lies a pretty bowl, *h*.” (TMI A, p. 57)



Fig. 41 Megiddo – Lionseal known as “Shema’-seal” original (TM I A, Abb. 147)



Fig. 42 Megiddo – Lionseal known as “Shema’-seal” plaster cast (MNDPV 1904/1-2, Abb. 1)



Fig. 43 Megiddo – “Asaph-seal” (impression). Seal of lapis lazuli from the Palast (TM I A, Abb.148)



Fig. 44 Megiddo – Seal of white limestone with animal representations from the SE edge of the tell, Stratum 6 (Drawing TM I A, Abb. 212)



Fig. 45 Megiddo – Scarabs of Grabkammer I (TM II, Abb. 12)



Fig. 46 Megiddo – Greek silver Athena-coin from Stratum 7. The obverse depicts the head of the goddess Athena with helmet and the reverse the standing owl with sprigs of laurel and fruits, as well the three first letters of the goddess’s name, ΑΘΕ. (TM I B. Taf. XLVIII)

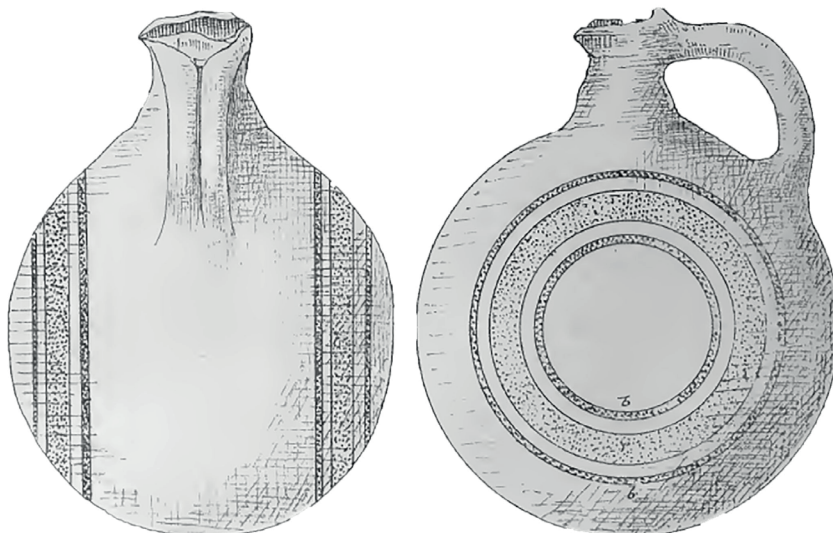


Fig. 47 Megiddo – Cypriot jug from Room *p*, N Vorwerk, Stratum 6 (TM I A, Abb.201).



Fig. 48 Megiddo – Painted incense vessel from the *masseboth*-room of Stratum 6. This picture appeared in the backcover of Schumacher's final report (TM I A).



Fig. 49 Megiddo – Bronze tripod with female figurine playing the flute, Brandstätte of Stratum 4 (TM I B, Taf. L)



Fig. 50 Megiddo – Pottery sherds with painted warriors, Südliches Burgtor, Stratum 4 (TM I B, Taf. XXIV)



Fig. 51 Megiddo- Reddish clay brick from the Roman theater, with the stamp impression: LEGVIF [*legio sexta ferrata*] (TM I A, Abb. 261)



Fig. 52 BB- Battle between the Powers of the Light and the Powers of Darkness (BB I, Abb.39). This panel relief is currently in exhibition in the British Museum. Nimrud, acquired in 1851 (BM 124571/124572)



Fig. 53 BB- „The Adam and Eve Seal“ or „A Babylonian conception of the Fall of Man“. Cylinder seal of greenstone. (BM 89326, acquired in 1846. ©Trustees of the British Museum)



Fig. 54 BB – “Dragon from Babel”. Processional way, Babylon. Currently in exhibition in the Pergamon Museum (VA Bab 01436; Photo by Teßmer, ©Vorderasiatisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

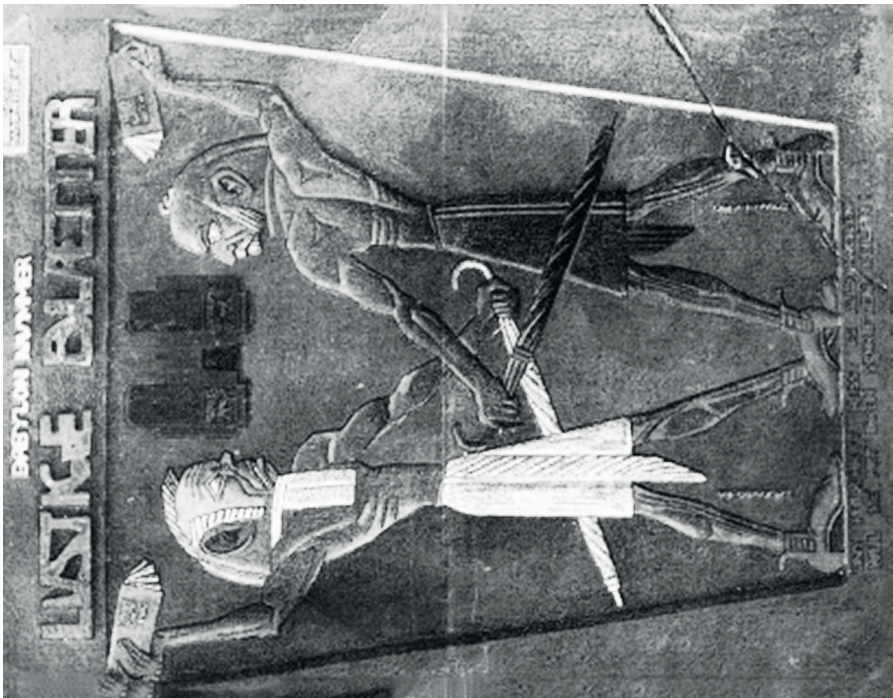


Fig. 55 Delitzsch vs Church Conservatism - FEININGER: Lustige Blätter 18: 11 (11. März 1903) 1. Titelblatt der „Babylon-Nummer“, -? 240. Farblithographie. Rechts Delitzsch mit „Broschüre“ links Adolf Stöcker (mit Beffchen) als Symbolfigur für den kirchlichen Konservatismus, mit „traktätlein“: Text unten: „Und Keilschrift heisst es alldieweilen, weil sie mit ihren Schriften keilen!“ (Lehmann 1994, Taf. 5)

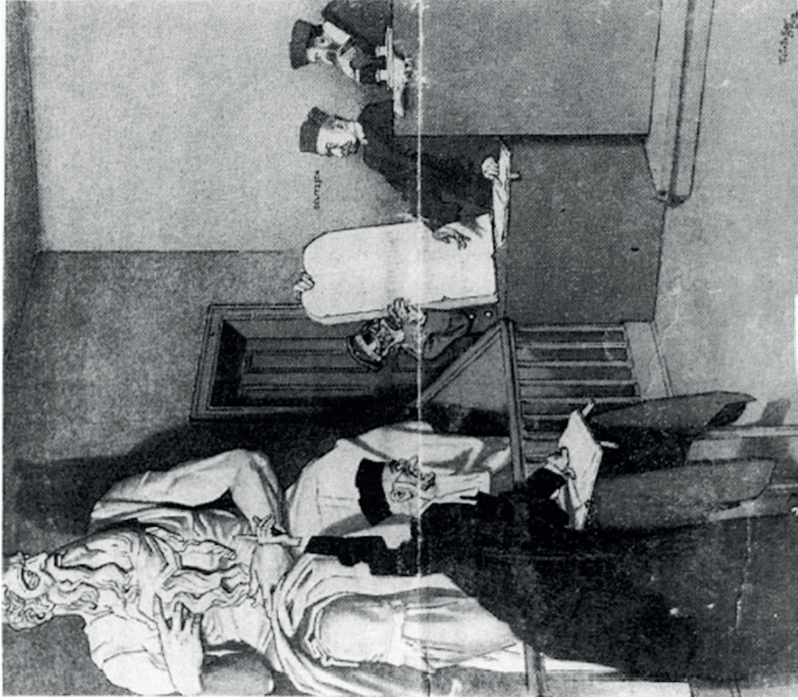


Fig. 56 Delitzsch vs Moses - FEININGER: Lustige Blätter 18:6 (4. Februar 1903): Farblithographie. Delitzsch als Staatsanwalt Moses anklagend. Text: „Der Angeklagte Moses behauptet, die hier vorliegenden Tafeln oben auf dem Berg Sinai erhalten zu haben; während ich doch unumstößlich nachgewiesen habe, daß eben diese Tafeln in der königlichen Bibliothek zu Babylon fehlen, mithin dort entwendet sind. Der Verteidiger: Ich behalte mir die Ladung eines wichtigen Entlastungszeugen vor.“ (Lehmann 1994, Taf. 6)



Fig. 57 Aerial View of Tell Ta'annek in April 1918 (Courtesy of the Political Archive of the German Federal Foreign Office – PA AA NL-Holzhausen 38 Bildalbum 11)



Fig. 58 View of Tell Ta'annek (Courtesy of the Political Archive of the German Federal Foreign Office – PA AA NL-Holzhausen 38 Bildalbum 11)

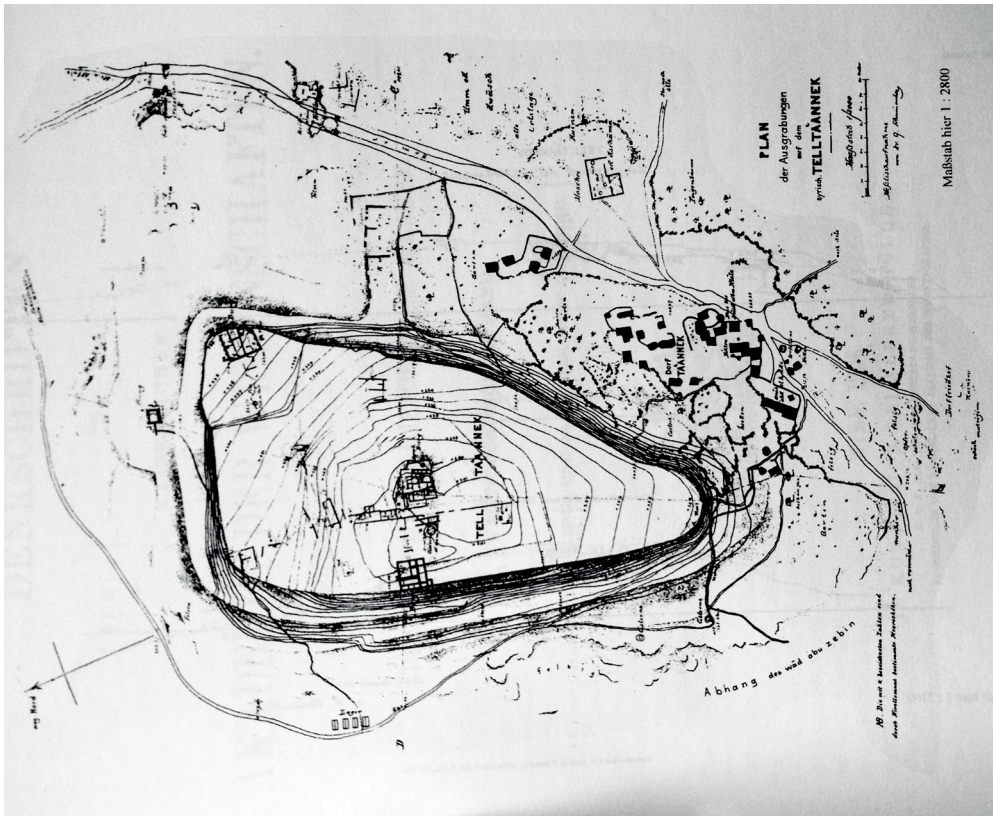


Fig. 59 Taanach - Plan of the tell with excavated areas after first season in 1902, by Schumacher (1:2800 TTI)

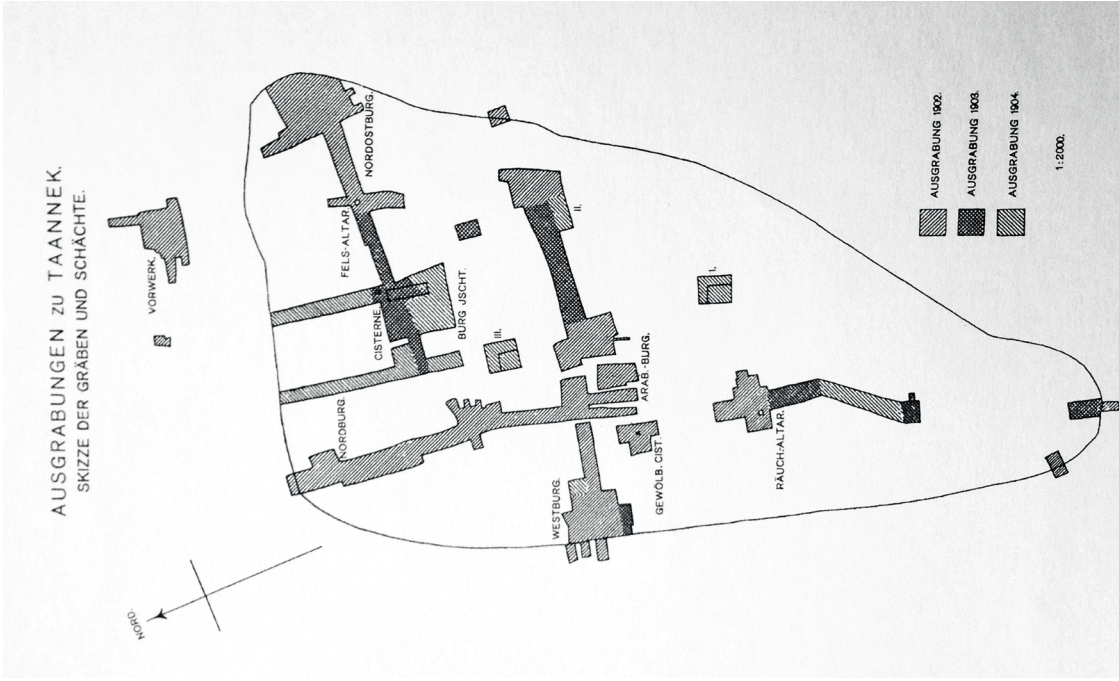


Fig. 60 Taanach - Excavated areas after the final season in 1902 (TT II)



Fig. 61 Taanach – Felsaltar in the Nordostgraben, Phase 1a. View from the E (TT I, Fig.33)



Fig. 62 Taanach – Two standing stones of the Hauptstraße, Phase 2a (TTI, Fig.87)



Fig. 63 Taanach – Colonnaded Street below the Nordostburg, Phase 2b (TTI, Fig. 10)



Fig. 64 Taanach – Figurine of Bes, Phase 2b (TT I, Fig. 99)



Fig. 65 Taanach – Cylinder seal and impression from the Nordostburg, Phase 1b. Black syenite, 3cm high (Kreuzer, 2006, Abb.2)

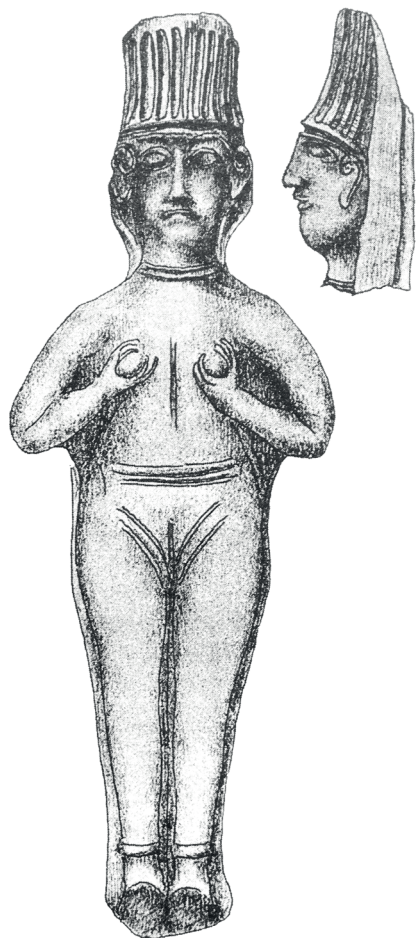
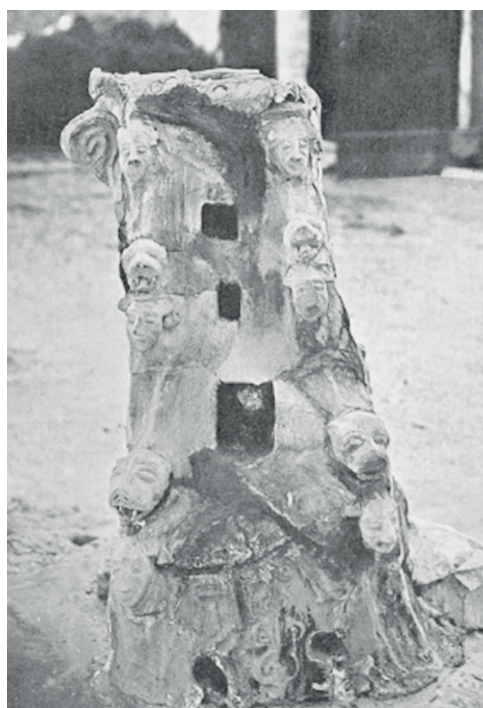


Fig. 66 Taanach – Figurine of Astarte from the Westburg. Considered by Sellin the standard type of the representation of the goddess in Taanach (TT I Fig. 47)



Taanach – “Räucheraltar”/Cult stand from Südschacht, Phase 3a. **Fig 67** (above right) is a recent picture of the front of the artifact (By oncenawhile, via Wikimedia Commons). **Figs. 68** (left) and **69** show respectively the front and the back of the artifact, shortly before reconstruction (TT I, Taf. 12-13)

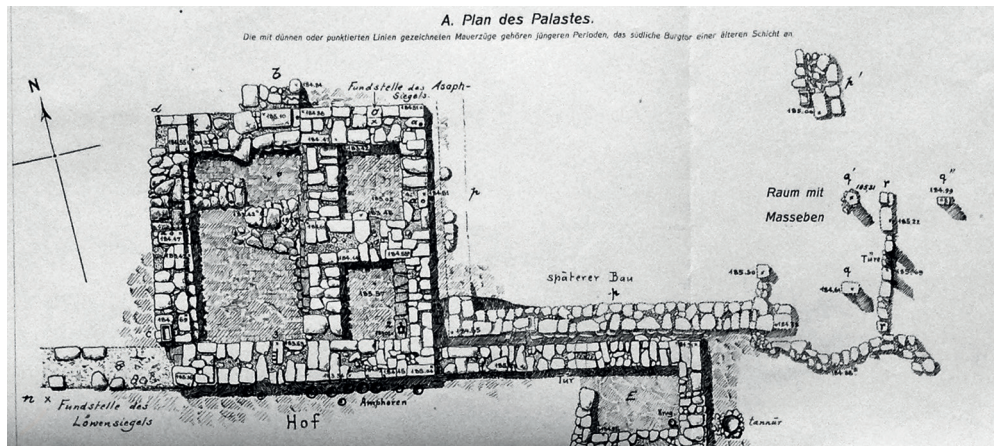
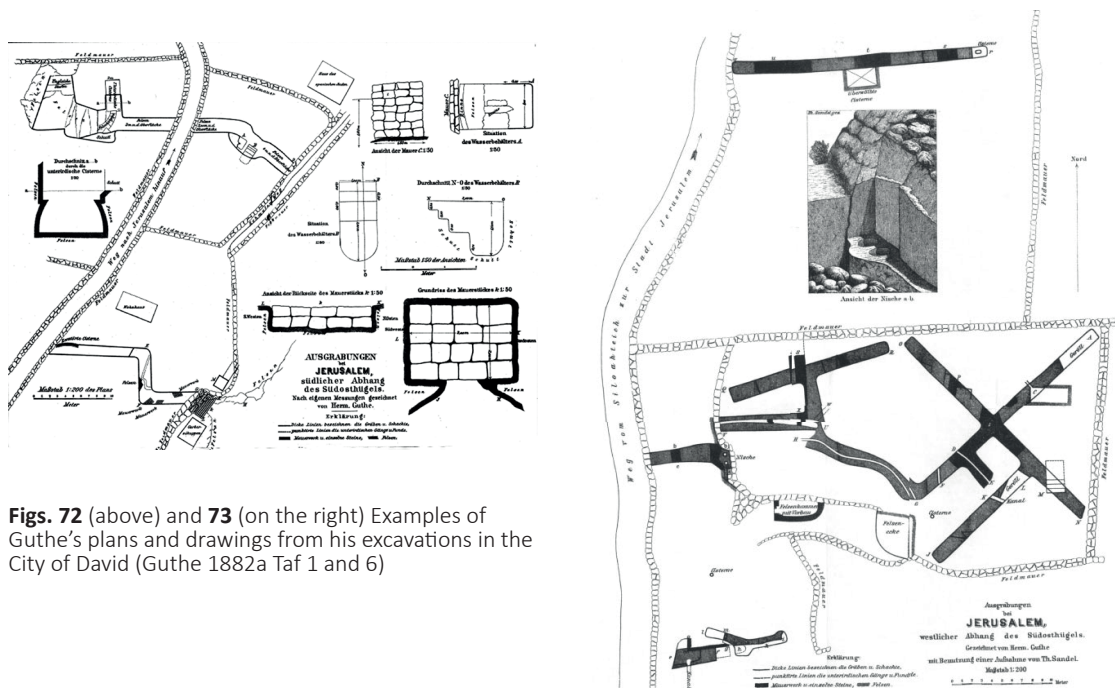


Fig. 70 Megiddo – Top plan of the Palast indicating the findspot of the Lionseal (bottom left; TM I B, Taf. XXIX)



Fig. 71 BB – Roaring lion from the Processional way, Babylon. Currently in exhibition in the Pergamon Museum (VA Bab 01381; Author's photo)



Figs. 72 (above) and 73 (on the right) Examples of Guthe's plans and drawings from his excavations in the City of David (Guthe 1882a Taf 1 and 6)



Fig. 76 Ruins of a Synagogue in Kafr Bir'im, from the DOG's expedition. View from the North (Kohl e Watzunger 1916, Abb. 187)



Fig. 77 Reconstruction of a Synagogue in Kafr Bir'im. (Kohl e Watzunger 1916, Abb. 191)



Fig. 78 Jericho – View of the Tel es-Sultan (MDOG 1908/39)



Fig. 79 Jericho – Aerial view in 1918 (Courtesy Staatliche Archive Bayerns)

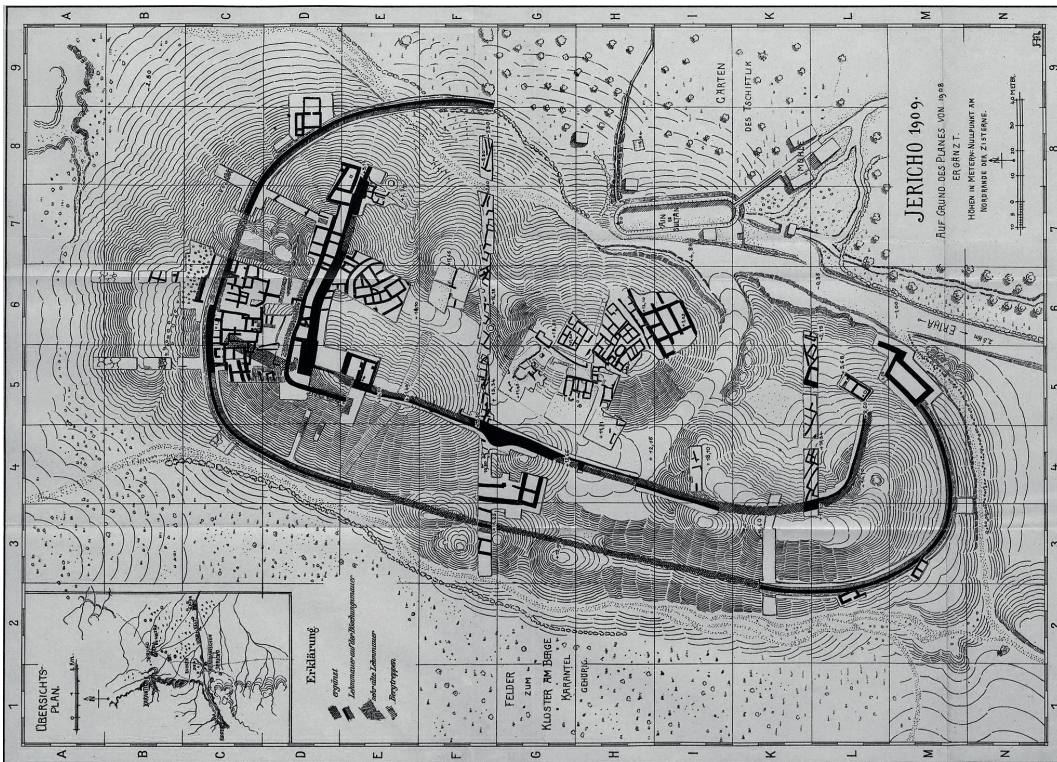


Fig. 80 Jericho – Map of the tell with excavated areas (MDOG 1909/41)



Fig. 81 Bust of Queen Nefertiti, from the DOG excavations at Tell el-Amarna. Donated by J. Simon to the Ägyptisches Museum in 1920 (AM21300 Photo by Steif ©Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Photo



Fig. 82 Route of DEI's Study Tour in 1909 by Dalman (PJ 1910/6)



Fig. 83 Members of a DEI excursion resting under the Triumphal Arch in Jerash, 1909 (PJ 1910/6)



Fig. 84 Plan of the Tombs of Jerusalem as studied by Dalman and Galling (PJ 1936/32, Abb. 22)

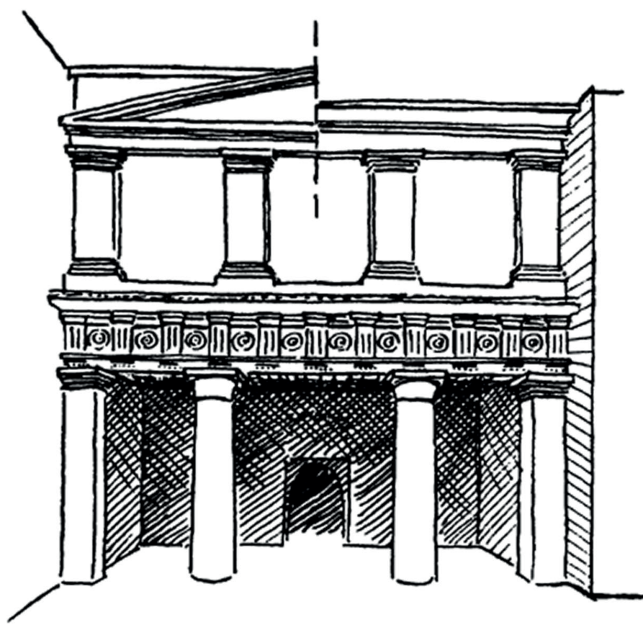


Fig. 85 Reconstruction of the Façade of the Pilaster Tomb by Galling (ZDPV 1936/59, 1-2, Abb. 5)

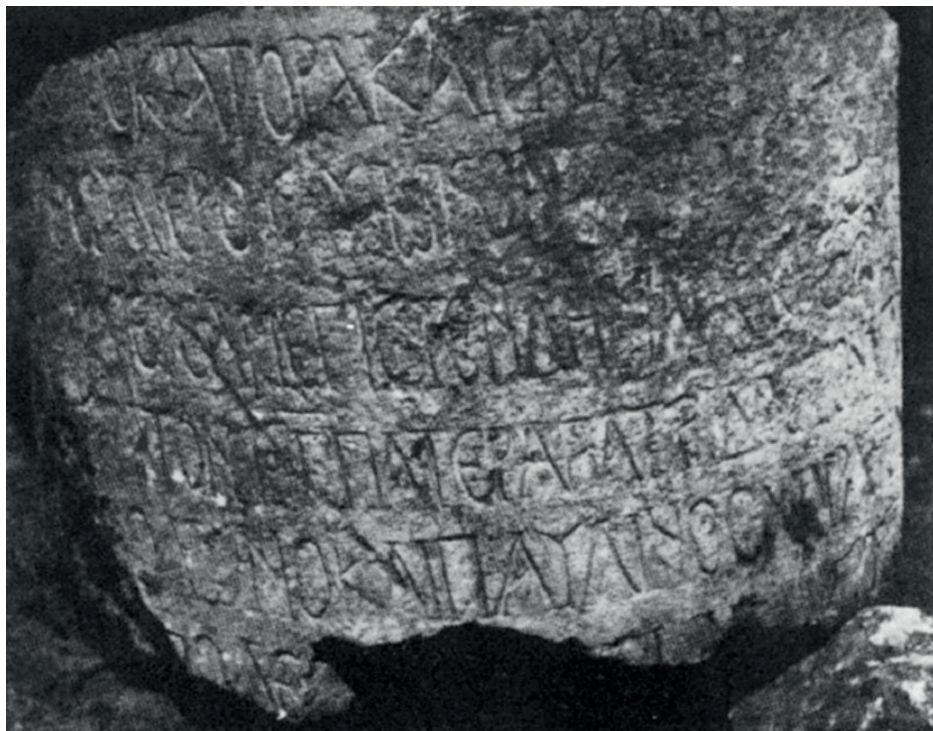


Fig. 86 Inscription on a pedestal from Jerash recorded by Dalman (ZDPV 1913/36-4, Taf. 24B)

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΑΙΣΑΡΑΘΕΟΥΤΡ ΥΙΟΝ ☿
 ΘΕΟΥΝΕΡΟΥΑΥΙΩΝΟΝΤΡ ΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ
 ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΚΗΣΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ·ΤΟΔΙ·
 ΥΠΑΤΟΝΤΟΓΠΑΤΕΡΑΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣΤΟΝΑΓΑΘΟΝΚΥΡΙΟΝ
 ΠΟΛΩΝΟΚΑΙΠΑΥΛΙΝΟΣΜΟΙΡΑΓΕΝΟΥΣ
 ΓΠΛΕ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩ ΧΡΥΣΟΡΟΑ

Fig. 87 Transcription of the pedestal inscription from Jerash by Dalman (ZDPV 1913/36-4, Taf. 24B)

*Ἀὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ | υἱὸν |
 Θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνόν Τραϊανόν Ἀδριανόν Σεβαστόν | ἀρχιερέα
 μέγιστον δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ δι' | ὑπάτον τὸ γ' πατέρα
 πατρίδος τῶν ἀγαθῶν κύριον | Ἀπόλλων ὁ καὶ Πανλῖνος
 Μοιραγένους | [πόλις] Ἀντιοχείων | τῶν πρὸς τῷ Χρυσορόα.*

Fig. 88 Reconstruction of the pedestal inscription from Jerash by Dalman (ZDPV 1913/36-4, Taf. 24B)

„Den Selbstherrlichen Caesar, des Gottes Trajanus Parthicus Sohn, des Gottes Nerva Enkel, Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, Oberpriester, in der tribunicischen Gewalt zum 14. Male. Consul zum 3. Male, Vater des Vaterlands, den guten Herrn (errichtete als Bildsäule) Apollon, der auch Paulinus heißt. Sohn des Moiragenes, von der Stadt der Antiochener am Chrysoroas.“

Fig. 89 Translation of the pedestal inscription from Jerash by Dalman (ZDPV 1913/36-4, Taf. 24B)

Megiddo STRATIGRAPHY according to Schumacher					Megiddo DATING according to Watzinger	
Report's session	Stratum	Square	Area	Representative finds	Period	Dating
H.	8 th Stratum		Islamic	Arabic tower	-	-
G.	7 th Stratum	Q21-Q22- V21-V22		Athena-coin	Babylonian /Persian	605-538-350 BCE
F.	6 th Stratum		Massebenraum bei Südtor	Painted incense vessel		733-609 BCE
			Schmiedewerkstatt	Several iron finds		
		M22-M23	Über Nord- Mittelburg	Seals and scarabs		
		B21- B22/C22- C23- D22.D23/E 21-E23- F21-F23	Nordrand	Cypriot pottery		
		U26- U28/V25- V26-W25- W26/X24	Südostrand	Cylinder seal with cuneiform inscription		
		W6	Süd- Südwestrand	Pythos		
	Brandstätte (=conflagration)		Palast		Tiglat Pileser III	733 BCE
E.	5 th Stratum	N25-N31- T25-T31	Tempelburg	Volute capital Jars with child burials		ca.900-733 BCE*
		S21-S22- T21-T22	Massebenraum bei Palast	Terracota heads and relief		ca.900-733 BCE
		T17-T21- S18-S19	Palast	Ashlar masonry Shema seal		ca.900-733 BCE**

					Asaph seal		
	Brandstätte (=conflagration)		W20-W21	Südtor	Several „valuable“ finds	Shoshenq I	926 BCE
D.	4 th Stratum		Q21	Mittelburg	Animal figurines	Early Iron Age	ca.950-926 BCE
			O22-O23	Mittelburg	Vaulted chamber		
			K23-K24- M23-M24	Nordburg			
			Y20-Z20- Z21	Südtor	Ashlar masonry Several „valuable“ finds		
C.	3 rd Stratum	3b	M24/N23	Nordburg	Cistern installation	Late Bronze Age	ca.1600-ca.1300 BCE
		3a	N21/N24/ M22-M24 /K22-L22- L24	Nordburg	Burials (e.g Grave f)		
				Mittelburg	Oil cistern		
				Mittelburg			
B.	2 nd Stratum	2b		Mittelburg		Bronze Age	Before ca.1600 BCE
			L22-M22	Nordburg	Storage jar <i>m</i>		
		2a	O21-O23- Q21-Q23	Mittelburg	Burial Chambers I-II		
			L22-M22	Nordburg			
		1 st Stratum	L22-M22	Nordburg			
A.	Ursiedlung				floor	-	-

Table 1 Megiddo – Interpretation of the strata according to Schumacher (TM I) and Watzinger (TM II)

* Tempel built in the 8th century BCE

** Palast built around 900 BCE

MEGIDDO	Payment	Tasks
Men	5-7*	Excavation with Pickaxe and Shovel
		Fill Baskets
		Carrying wheelbarrows
Women	4*	Carrying earth to the Dumps
	3	Dumping
	3	Sifting
Supervisor	12-17*	Supervision and Excavation

Table 2 Megiddo – Approximated rates paid for workers and tasks during the excavations, in piasters. (Sources: TM I A, MNDPV, SMB ZA III/DOG II 2.4.7)

* Plus 10-20% at harvest time

DEI	Publications	Editions	Articles				
			Total	by Stipendiaten/ Mitarbeiter	by Dalman	by Alt	By Noth
Kaiserreich (1904-1918)	PJ	14	78	48	25	2	0
	ZDPV	44	29	13	15	0	0
Weimar Republic (1919-1932)	PJ	13	65	25	22	12	1
	ZDPV	39	15	6	2	7	1
Third Reich (1933-1941)	PJ	9	40	19	0	18	8
	ZDPV	25	4	3	0	1	0

Table 7 DEI – Comparison of the amount of articles published in the PJ and in the ZDPV.

Phase	Historical Period	Description	Dating	Representative areas/finds
4	b	Arabic	1200- CE	
	a	Arabic	800/1000-100/1200 CE	Arab Burg
∅	Roman	<i>No occupation on the Tell</i>		
3	b	Hellenistic	400 BCE	
		DESTRUCTION	608 BCE	
	a	Late Israelite	800-500 BCE	Nordostburg
2	b	Israelite (from Solomon/or later to Ahab)	1000-800 BCE	Ostburg + Ostfort, Scarab
	a	Canaanite with Israelite influence	1300-1000 BCE	Lehmschicht
1	b	Late Canaanite	1400-1300 BCE	Burg der Ischtarwaschur + Cuneiform Tablets
	a	Amorite/Canaanite	1800-1400 BCE	Cistern + Fels-Altar Cylinder, Scarab

Table 3 Reconstruction of Tell Ta'annek's Phasing according to Sellin's reports (TT I and TT II)

*Sellin considers also the interpretation of destruction by a Scythian invasion in 626 BCE.

Name	Occupation	Residence	Vorstand	weiteres Comitee
Lic. H. Guthe	Lecturer	Leipzig	x	
Dr. E. Kautzsch	Professor	Basel	x	
Dr. O. Kersten	Geographer	Berlin	x	
Dr. A. Socin	Professor	Tübingen	x	
Dr. C. Zimmermann	Head of School	Basel	x	
Baron v. Alten	Privy Councillor	Montreaux		x
Karl Baedeker	Buchhändler	Leipzig		x
Dr. A. Berliner		Berlin		x
Dr. Ad. Brüll		Frankfurt		x
Brüning	German Consul general in Syria	Beirut		x
Dr. F. Delitzsch	Professor	Leipzig		x
Dr. O. Fraas	Professor	Stuttgart		x
C. Furrer	Priest	Zürich		x
Dr. J. Gildemeister	Professor	Bonn		x
Dr. H. Kiepert	Professor	Berlin		x
A. W. Koch	Professor	Stuttgart		x
Graf. V. Moltke	Feldmarschall	Berlin		x
Frhr. v. Münchhausen	German consul in Jerusalem	Jerusalem		x
Dr. F. W. M. Philippi	Professor	Rostock		x
Lic. Dr. Reinicke	Pastor	Jerusalem		x
Dr. C. Sandreczki	Missionary	Palestine/Passau		x
C. Schick	Württemberg Chief Architect in Jerusalem	Jerusalem		x
Dr. F. A. Strauss	Court Chaplain	Potsdam		x
Dr. Ph. Wolff	Pastor	Rottweil		x

Table 4 DPV – Board (*Vorstand* and *weiteres Comitee*) in 1878 (Source ZDPV 1878)

DPV	
Year	Members
1878	220
1914	460
1919*	425
1923	367
1933	348
1939	280
1945*	267

Table 5 DPV – Approximate number of Members per year (Source: ZDPV – “Nachrichten über Angelegenheiten des DPV”)

*During and immediately after the wars, the DPV could not know for sure the numbers of members it lost.

DOG		Kaiserreich (1898-1918)			Weimar Republic (1919-1932)			Third Reich (1933-1943)		
Subject	Publications	Editions	Articles		Editions	Articles		Editions	Articles	
			Total	%		Total	%		Total	%
Babylon ¹	MDOG	1-59	66	41	60-71	11	35	72-80	2	11
	SDOG	1;2;3;6		100	-		0	10		100
	WVDOG	15;20;32		100	40;43;45;47;48;54;55		100	-		0
Assur ²	MDOG	1-59	59	36	60-71	7	23	72-80	2	11
	SDOG	-		0	-		0	9;10		100
	WVDOG	9;10; 16;21;23;24;28		100	34;35;37;38;39;46;50;52;53		100	57;58		100
Egypt ³	MDOG	1-59	17	10	60-71	3	10	72-80	0	0
	SDOG	5		100	-		0	7		100
	WVDOG	3;6;7;8;11;12;14;18;26;27;31		100	44;49		100	-		0
Anatolya ⁴	MDOG	1-59	6	4	60-71	5	16	72-80	11	58
	SDOG	-		0	-		0	8;10		100
	WVDOG	19;30		100	41;42;46		100	-		0
Uruk	MDOG	1-59		2	60-71	1	3	72-80	0	0
	SDOG	-		0	-		0	10		100
	WVDOG	-		0	51		100	-		0
Palestine ⁵	MDOG	1-59	6	4	60-71	0	0	72-80	0	0
	SDOG	-		0	-		0	-		0
	WVDOG	22;29		100	-		0	-		0

Table 6 DOG – Publications by subject trough time

¹ “Babylon” relates to excavations at Babylon, Kisurra, Shuruppak and Borsippa

² “Assur” relates to excavations at Assur, Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, Hatra

³ “Egypt” relates to excavations at Abusir, Abusir el-Meleq, Achet-Aton

⁴ “Anatolya” relates to excavations at Hattusa, Sam’al

⁵ “Palestine” relates to projects in Megiddo, Galilee, Jericho

DPV	Land der Bibel		
Year	Volume	Author	Title
1914	1,1	Schwöbel	<i>Die Landesnatur Palästinas I</i>
1914	1,2	Procksch	<i>Die Völker Altpalästinas</i>
1914	1,3	Schwöbel	<i>Die Landesnatur Palästinas II</i>
1915	1,4	Hartmann	<i>Palästina unter den Arabern</i>
1915	1,5	Killermann	<i>Die Blumen des heiligen Landes I</i>
1915	1,6	Killermann	<i>Die Blumen des heiligen Landes II</i>
1916	2,1	Thomsen	<i>Denkmäler Palästinas aus der Zeit Jesus</i>
1917	2,2	Mickley	<i>Eines Pilgers Reise nach dem heiligen Land (um 670) I</i>
1917	2,3	Mickley	<i>Eines Pilgers Reise nach dem heiligen Land (um 670) II</i>
1917	2,4	Mickley	<i>Eines Pilgers Reise nach dem heiligen Land (um 670) III</i>
1918	2,5	Guthe	<i>Die griechisch-römischen Städte des Ostjordanlandes</i>
1919	2,6	Gregory	<i>Zu Fuss in Bibellanden</i>
1919	3,1	Guthe	<i>Gerasa I</i>
1919	3,2	Guthe	<i>Gerasa II</i>
1920	3,3	Bodenheimer	<i>Die Tierwelt Palästinas I</i>
1920	3,4	Bodenheimer	<i>Die Tierwelt Palästinas II</i>
1921	3,5	Blanckenhorn	<i>Die Steinzeit Palästina-Syriens und Nordafrikas I</i>
1921	3,6	Blanckenhorn	<i>Die Steinzeit Palästina-Syriens und Nordafrikas II</i>
1921	4,1	Blanckenhorn	<i>Die Steinzeit Palästina-Syriens und Nordafrikas III</i>
1923	4,2	Range	<i>Nazareth</i>
1923	4,3	Mickley	<i>Die Konstantin-Kirchen im heiligen Land I</i>
1923	4,4	Mickley	<i>Die Konstantin-Kirchen im heiligen Land II</i>
1927	4,5	Hermann	<i>Die geographischen Verhältnisse Syriens und Palästina nach Wilhelm von Tyrus I</i>
1927	4,6	Hermann	<i>Die geographischen Verhältnisse Syriens und Palästina nach Wilhelm von Tyrus II</i>
1927	5,1	Hermann	<i>Die geographischen Verhältnisse Syriens und Palästina nach Wilhelm von Tyrus III</i>

Table 8 DPV – Titles published on the series *Land der Bibel*