

Germany and Germans in Nineteenth-Century Palestine: A Reappraisal

Haim Goren

In the subtitle of her book *Bible and Sword*, Barbara Tuchman asks 'how the British came to Palestine'.¹ Making use of her expression, I would like to ask 'how the Germans came to Palestine', to try and establish the reasons that attracted them during the nineteenth century, 'the century of changes' in the country's modern history, and to discuss what brought these Germans to take an active and highly significant role in its development. The questions that should be asked, in addition to providing the reasons and background, also concern the means and methods of activity, the identification of the activists, and the role played by governments, private organizations, and individuals. The last issue to be considered is an evaluation of the impact of their presence and activity on the country, its inhabitants, its cultural landscape, its technological development, and general issues involving the quick transformation of the country from the Middle Ages to modernity.

The last fifty years have witnessed an intensive study of the activity and involvement of people and organisations from the different German countries, and, following the 1871 unification, of the Second Reich, in Palestine, 'Eretz Israel', 'the Holy Land'.² This started as early as the 1830s, 'the Egyptian Period' in the country's (and in Near Eastern) history. About seventy years later it reached its peak, with '*die deutsche Festtage zu Jerusalem*', the inauguration of three monumental buildings and the 'capture' of the city's horizon.³ But, and in this Germany's role is different from other active powers (Britain, Russia, France),⁴ this process should be divided into three groups: Protestants, Catholics, and Templers, differencing from each other in the background of their involvement, the means used, the ways their involvement was conducted and the history of its development, and the participants, outcomes and influence in and on Palestine. Also of great interest are

¹ Barbara W. Tuchman, *Bible and Sword: How the British Came to Palestine*, London 1984.

² Many of the studies published in the last decades concerning German activity include a relatively vast bibliography. A thematic bibliography concerning 'Germany and Germans and Palestine in the nineteenth century' is still missing.

³ Ernst von Mirbach, *Die deutschen Festtage im April 1910 in Jerusalem: Die Einweihung der Kaiserin Auguste Viktoria Stiftung mit der Himmelfahrtkirche auf dem Ölberge und der Kirche Mariä Heimgang auf dem Zion*, Potsdam 1911.

⁴ See, e.g., Alex Carmel, 'The Activities of the European Powers in Palestine', *Asian and African Studies* 19 (1985), 43-91.

the influences of processes in the mother country, as well as in the Near East, and the relations or competition with other forces, on the development of their activity in Palestine.

In a way, this huge amount of information might be the reason for the lack of a comprehensive study that covers the work of all German elements, comparing between Protestants, Catholics and Templers, entering into their inter-relations, and re-evaluating their roles in nineteenth-century Palestine, also in comparison to other players.

Certainly, this paper does not intend to close this gap. It will not deal with all of the issues and aspects of this German involvement. There is, I argue, no way to deal with the issue in an academic manner within the limited scope of a paper. What I intend to do, is a general description of the phenomenon, touching on some of its main issues, checking the background and motivations through works of previous, some nineteenth-century and some contemporary, scholars, describing some aspects of the German activity and its influence, and trying to evaluate its impact in the long run, as well.

After more than twenty five years of study, I will also carefully argue here, that the role played by Germans – individuals, groups, organizations, and governments – in Palestine's development during the above mentioned period, certainly overshadows that of people of any other nationality.

Titus Tobler (1806-1877), “the father of German Palestine research”, certainly one of the outstanding and influential nineteenth-century Palestine researchers, published more than sixty contributions, including the first and highly important bibliography of what he termed “Palestine literature”.⁵ In his “Letters from the South and the East”, printed in the popular *Allgemeine Zeitung* following his fourth and last visit to Palestine in 1865, he described what he perceived as the greatest change that he had confronted:

Thirty years ago, an American missionary, an Italian physician who was employed by Muhammed 'Ali, a German gardener and a French orchestra conductor stayed with me in Jerusalem. And now, so many Franks, what a wealth of spiritual activity! The peaceful crusade has begun. Jerusalem must be ours.⁶

Twenty years later, he was cited by Philipp Wolff (1810-1894), a country pastor in the mostly Catholic village of Rottweil in central Württemberg, orientalist and Palestine scholar. Wolff had first visited Palestine in 1847, at the invitation of Ernst Gustav Schultz

⁵ Heinrich Jakob Heim, *Dr. Titus Tobler der Palästinafahrer: Ein appenzellisches Lebensbild*, Zürich, Trogen 1879; Haim Goren, *Zieht hin und erforscht das Land': Die deutsche Palästinaforschung im 19. Jahrhundert* (Schriftenreihe des Instituts für deutsche Geschichte der Universität Tel Aviv, 23), Göttingen: Wallstein 2003, 222-243; Shimon Stern, 'Titus Tobler, '19th Century Researcher of Eretz Israel', *Cathedra* 48 (1988), 30-45; Alex Carmel, "Der friedliche Kreuzzug': Titus Tobler und 'Der Christenstaat'", Moshe Zimmermann (ed.), *Deutschland und das Land Israel: Eine Kulturbegegnung*, Jerusalem 2004, 11-32 [Heb.].

⁶ Titus Tobler, 'Briefe aus Süd und Ost', *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* 23-24.12.1865, 5806-5807, 5823-5824.

(1811-1851) who served as the first Prussian consul in Jerusalem.⁷ After returning to Germany, he began to publicize a highly original and imaginative idea put forward by the consul. Schultz offered to host a scientific conference of Orientalists, mostly Germans, in Jerusalem. In his enthusiastic speech before the Orientalist section of the philologists' conference in Basel, Wolff declared:

How astonished they would be in Constantinople, [...], if a ship full of German Orientalists, accompanied by other men of science, arrived there! And how [would it be] in Jerusalem, if a crusade of peaceful scholars passed through its gates! What contacts could be made! What influence over the Orient could develop from this! What honor could such an expedition of German scholars bring to the name of Germany! How many difficult questions, fought over in vain for many years, could find their solution all at once.⁸

Wolff became “the inexhaustible mediator for Christian settlement in the East”.⁹ During the next four decades, he did not miss a chance to publish his opinion, his confidence “in the possibility, the need, and the necessity of German Christian settlement in the land, the cradle of Christianity”. He opposed the Ottoman rulers and criticized the struggle between the European powers. Both, he claimed, would do anything they could to prevent the establishment of Christian-European communities.¹⁰

The term 'peaceful Crusade' (*friedliche Kreuzzug*) represented the concept of Christian “reconquest” of the Holy Land. The Crusade was to be achieved through the spiritual weapon, “that raises man to real life, worthy of his honor.” The modern knights of the peaceful Crusade therefore used different means than their ancestors. The Holy Land, later one of them wrote,

...should not be acquired through the loud clinking of weapons, but with the quiet ways of Christian love, with the eyes of the researcher and the fruits of peaceful work [...] Through teaching and helping, serving and suffering, they wanted to bring the Holy Land and its inhabitants under the flag of Christ.¹¹

The idea of this peaceful *reconquista* found many advocates among the Europeans, who took part in the various forms of intervention in Palestine during the last six decades of the nineteenth century. During this period, this return to Palestine broadened its scope to include almost all the means of European activity and penetration. The advocates differed in their choice of methods for achieving this reconquest, be it a spiritual or a physical one. However, they had one common motive: it had to be achieved by

⁷ Philipp Wolff, *Jerusalem: Nach eigener Anschauung und den neuesten Forschungen*, Leipzig 1857, 204-217; Goren, *Zieht hin*, 243-253.

⁸ 'Dr. Wolff's Bericht über seinen in Basel gehaltenen Vortrag', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 2 (1848), 356-359.

⁹ 'Der friedliche Kreuzzug', *Das Warte des Tempels* 31 (1875), 141.

¹⁰ Philipp Wolff, 'Die Colonisation von Palästina: Ein künftiges Wanderziel der Deutschen', *Protestantische Monatsblätter für innere Zeitgeschichte* 19 (1862), 270.

¹¹ Hermann Guthe, 'Das Ende der friedlichen Kreuzzuges und die Zukunft des heiligen Landes', *Die Christliche Welt* 32 (1918), 119-122.

nonmilitary means, without bloodshed. The Christians would reconquer the Holy Land by proving their superiority over the local Moslem inhabitants in various aspects of life, by means of a Christian army composed of scientists, missionaries, and settlers.¹²

In the mid-1980s, Alex Carmel, one of the real pioneers of the study and appreciation of European, mainly German, involvement in nineteenth-century Palestine, had already argued that 'the gates of Eretz Israel' had been opened in the nineteenth century due to the efficient presence of thousands of European settlers in the country, much more than due to any state interests or actions:

...it was to be Germany, more than any other Christian Power, which was to make the most significant contribution to the modernization of nineteenth-century Palestine; the number of German nationals exceeded that of any of the other foreign states...¹³

The period between Napoleon's failed journey to Palestine in the last year of the eighteenth century and World War One, is renowned as a new era in the country's history, the "Century of Transformations".¹⁴ Indeed, in those years it was as if Palestine had been awakened from hundreds of years of slumber and had begun a process of transformation and development that led to its current state. The European participation played an important role in this process, mainly Britain, Russia, France, Austria and Germany (up to 1871 mainly Prussia, Bavaria and Württemberg), which demonstrated interest and involvement in the land. Nevertheless, beyond the national involvement, it was mostly private entrepreneurs of individuals, groups and organizations originating in these European nations, who led the pursuit and principally contributed to the development of Eretz Israel.

European activity was demonstrated in several areas: missionary, religious and secular organizations and groups sent their representatives to the country, acquired land and built establishments for educational, welfare, health, religious and settlement purposes. This activity indicated a deep commitment to the promotion of commerce and economy, as well, and to the introduction of technological innovation. European groups were the first to initiate and attempt the establishment of modern agricultural settlements in the land. Correspondingly, European tourism developed and researchers began discovering the land's latent treasures.

¹² See lately: Haim Goren, 'The 'Peaceful Crusade': The Crusades and Eretz Israel in the Nineteenth Century', *Cathedra* 135 (2010), 63-86 [Heb.],

¹³ Carmel, *Activities*, citation: 72.

¹⁴ See, e.g., Alexander Schölch, 'Europa und Palästina 1838-1917', Helmut Mejcher and Alexander Schölch (eds), *Die Palästina-Frage 1917-1948*, Paderborn 1981, 12-46; idem, *Palestine in Transformation 1856-1882: Studies in Social, Economic and Political Development* (trsl. William C. Young and Michael C. Gerrity), Washington D.C. 1993; Israel Bartal and Jacob Shavit, 'The Image of the Period: A Century of Change', Israel Bartal and Yehoshua Ben-Arieh (eds), *The History of Eretz Israel: The Last Phase of Ottoman Rule (1799-1917)* (The History of Eretz Israel, 8), Jerusalem 1983, 11-13.

Of course, one must take the historical background into consideration, in addition to the events and developments in the country and in the neighbouring region during the above mentioned period. Napoleon's campaign in the last year of the eighteenth century, although it did not reach Jerusalem, still had a significant impact on Near Eastern history and reestablished Palestine as a factor to be considered in the Powers' geo-political spheres of interest.¹⁵ Following that, there was a period of thirty years of direct continuation of the closure and neglect of Palestine as had existed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The beginning of the modern era in the country's history, claimed Shimon Shamir, is to be seen in the nine years of Egyptian rule (1832-1840), when Ibrahim Paşa tried to enforce his father's reforms.¹⁶ One significant aspect was the relative 'opening' of the country to active involvement, slowly taking various directions, using different means, and significantly affecting the 'Westernisation', 'Europeanisation', 'modernisation' of the country.

The international geo-political situation in the early 1840s; the situation around the eastern basin of the Mediterranean following the forced withdrawal of the Egyptian army under Ibrahim Paşa, achieved through the active intervention of European powers; the Europeans' feeling that the Ottoman Empire owed them its existence (having rescued it twice in less than a decade); the hopes and expectations developed by the *Hatt-i Şarif of Gulhane*, the acts of liberalism and the improvements instated by the Sultan, all led to a new situation with respect to European involvement in the Near East, in general, and in the Holy Land, in particular.¹⁷

The common belief in Europe was that Palestine was now, more than at any time in the previous several centuries, open to new conquest. The Christians now had a better chance than ever to recover their control over the holy places. 'Never before had the country been so close to turning into a Christian country', wrote later Hans-Wilhelm Herzberg, Probst of the German Evangelical congregation in Jerusalem, pointing at the two times within nine years that the Ottoman Empire had survived only due to diplomatic

¹⁵ Henry Laurens, *L'Expédition d'Égypte 1798-1801*, Paris 1989; Anne Godlewska, *The Napoleonic Survey of Egypt. A Masterpiece of Cartographic Compilation and Early Nineteenth-Century Fieldwork* [Vol. 25, *Cartographica Monograph*, nos. 38-39], Toronto 1988; Mordechai Gichon, *Napoleon in Eretz Israel* (ed. Efi Meltzer), Re'ut 2003 [Heb.].

¹⁶ Shimon Shamir, 'Egyptian Rule (1832-1840) and the Beginning of the Modern Period in the History of Palestine', Amnon Cohen and Gabriel Baer (eds), *Egypt and Palestine: A Millennium of Association (1868-1948)*, Jerusalem 1984, 214-231; idem, 'The Impact of Western Ideas on Traditional Society in Ottoman Palestine', Moshe Ma'oz (ed.), *Studies on Palestine during the Ottoman Period*, Jerusalem 1975, 507-514.

¹⁷ For the geo-political situation and developments in the Eastern Mediterranean during the second quarter of the nineteenth century see, e.g., Matthew Smith Anderson, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923: A Study in International Relations*, London, Melbourne, Toronto 1966, 88-109; John Arthur Ransome Marriott, *The Eastern Question: An Historical Study in European Diplomacy*, Oxford 1956, 225-249; Muhammed H. Kutluoğlu, *The Egyptian Question (1831-1841): The expansionist policy of Mehmed Ali Paşa in Syria and Asia Minor and the reaction of the Sublime Porte* (Middle eastern and Balkan Studies Series, 2), Istanbul 1998.

and military European help.¹⁸ The 1840s witnessed various plans for different forms of European control of the Holy Land, one of the more famous being Helmut von Moltke's advocacy of the establishment of a Christian principedom under a German prince (probably following the example of Otto I in Greece):

Enthusiasm for the land where the Savior was born, where he lived, taught and suffered, once made millions of devoted Christians leave their homelands and suffer great difficulties, in order to step on the holy soil of Palestine. The prime of the Western knighthood shed blood to free the holy sites from the rule of the unbelievers.¹⁹

Still, of all the existing plans, only one was fulfilled: the establishment of the joint English-Prussian Bishopric, initiated by King Friedrich Wilhelm IV and his friend and adviser, the diplomat and scholar Carl Christian Josias von Bunsen.²⁰

The medieval castle of Wartburg controls the mountainous Thuringian Forest landscape just outside the city of Eisenach. The castle is an outstanding monument of the feudal period, also known as the Martin Luther's place of exile, where he translated the New Testament into German, is connected with the life of St. Elisabeth of Hungary, also of Thuringia, who in 1221 married the Landgrave of Thuringia, Ludwig IV 'the Saint'. One of the frescoes, painted in the 'Elisabethgalerie', depicts Elisabeth escorting her husband on his way to join Friedrich II Hohenstaufen on the planned Crusade of 1227. Ludwig, as commander of the Emperor's battalions, started sailing south, but due to the Emperor's illness returned only three days later with his troops to the southern Italian harbour of Otranto, where he died shortly afterwards.²¹

One of the smaller rooms, the 'Elisabethkemenate' (fireplace room), was decorated at the beginning of the twentieth century with various colorful mosaics, most of them presenting scenes from the Saint's life. Only one mosaic is slightly different: it depicts the Emperor Friedrich II leading his troops on the way to the Holy Land. According to an inscription at the base of the picture, it was donated in 1903 by the Emperor William II to commemorate his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in late 1898.

This mosaic demonstrates the strong and deep connection felt by German nineteenth-century rulers to their ancestors' deeds in the East, mainly those of the so wrongly, even

¹⁸ Hans-Wilhelm Herzberg et al., *Jerusalem: Geschichte einer Gemeinde*, Kassel 1964, 6.

¹⁹ Helmut von Moltke, *Gesammelte Schriften und Denkwürdigkeiten*, II: *Vermichte Schriften*, Berlin 1892, 279-288. Cf.: Michael Gelber, 'The Question of Eretz-Israel in the Years 1840 and 1842', *Zion (Literary Organ)*, 4 (1930), 44-64; Schölch, *Europa und Palästina* (above, n. 14), 17-18.

²⁰ Of the intensive literature dedicated to the process, see e.g. Kurt Schmidt-Clausen, 'Der Beitrag Bunsens zur Gründung des Bistums Jerusalem', Erich Geldbach (ed.), *Der Gelehrte Diplomat: Zum Wirken Christian Carl Josias Bunsens* (Beihefte der Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte, XXI), Leiden 1980, 45-63; Martin Lückhoff, 'Bunsen und Jerusalem', Hans-Rudolf Ruppel, Frank Foerster and Hans Becker (eds), *Universeller Geist und guter Europäer, Christian Carl Josias von Bunsen 1791-1860: Beiträge zu Leben und Werk des 'gelehrten Diplomaten'*, Korbach 1991, pp. 155-166; idem, *Anglikaner und Protestanten im Heiligen Land: Das gemeinsame Bistum Jerusalem (1841-1886)* (Abhandlungen des deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 24), Wiesbaden 1998; Kelvin Crombie, *For the Love of Zion: Christian Witness and the Restoration of Israel*, London, Sydney, Auckland 1991.

²¹ Jürgen Krüger, *Rom und Jerusalem: Kirchenbauvorstellungen der Hohenzollern im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1995, 200-201.

hilariously perceived Crusader period. This link is also directly related to the obvious climax of German nineteenth-century involvement in Palestine. 'The appearance of their Royal Highness, the Emperor and Empress of *Ashkenaz* [...], is one of the most important events in the history of the country in the contemporary century' wrote Abraham Moshe Luncz, scholar and resident of Jerusalem, who could not be an eyewitness to these events due to his blindness.²² The Royal couple came for the inauguration ceremony of the *Erlöserkirche*, the Church of the Redeemer, with all its symbolism: A site in the closest vicinity to the Holy Sepulchre, holding the ruins of the Crusader Hospitallers center, donated by the Ottomans in 1869 to Prussian Emperor William I through Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm (later Emperor Friedrich III). On October 31st of 1898 another ceremony took place, during which Wilhelm II 'received' a small parcel from his friend Sultan Abd-el-Hamid II just outside the Sions-Gate, the site of the Dormition, and gave this parcel to his Catholic citizens. The next climax came less than twelve years later, when the German Empire could celebrate the inaugurations of three monumental buildings which had originated with the Imperial visit: The Church and Monastery of the Dormition, operated by Benedictine Clergy for the *Deutscher Verein vom Heiligen Lande*, the huge Auguste-Victoria compound on Mount Scopus with the adjacent *Himmelfahrtskirche*, and the Catholic St. Paulus hospice outside the Damascus Gate.²³

To sum up this argument, the visit expressed, among other motivations, the continuous relationship between Germany and the Holy Land from the days of Carl the Great,²⁴ through emperors and other royalty who participated in holy crusades and pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and who continued to visit the land up until the extensive German participation in the nineteenth century.²⁵

Following this royalty, German rulers showed much interest and even involvement, mainly in different ideas and innovations concerning their country's presence in the Holy

²² Abraham Moshe Luncz, 'The Emperor and Empress of Aschkenaz in Eretz-Israel and the Property of the Johannitars or the Muristan in Jerusalem', *Jerusalem: Jahrbuch zur Beförderung einer wissenschaftlich genauen Kenntniss des jetzigen und des alten Palästinas* 5 (1901), 115-139 [Heb.].

²³ Naturally the visit engendered a vast literature, contemporary descriptions as well as later studies. See, e.g., Ernst von Mirbach, *Die Reise des Kaisers und der Kaiserin nach Palästina*, Berlin 1899; Ludwig Schneller, *Die Kaiserfahrt durch's heilige Land*, Leipzig 1899; Horst Gründer, 'Die Kaiserfahrt Wilhelms II. ins Heilige Land 1898: Aspekte deutscher Palästinalpolitik im Zeitalter des Imperialismus', Heinz Dollinger, Horst Gründer and Alwin Hanschmidt (eds), *Weltpolitik, Europagedanke, Regionalismus: Festschrift für Heinz Gollwitzer zum 65. Geburtstag*, Münster 1982, 363-388; Jan Stefan Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898: Eine Studie zur deutschen Außenpolitik an der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Studien zur Geschichtsforschung der Neuzeit, 9), Hamburg 1997; Alex Carmel and Ejal Jakob Eisler (eds), *Der Kaiser reist ins Heilige Land: Die Palästina-reise Wilhelms II. 1898: Eine illustrierte Dokumentation*, Haifa, Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln 1999; Thomas Hartmut Benner, *Die Strahlen der Krone: Die religiöse Dimension des Kaisertums unter Wilhelm II. vor dem Hintergrund der Orientreise 1898*, Marburg 2001; Haim Goren, 'Echt Katholisch und gut Deutsch': *Die Katholiken Deutschlands und das Heilige Land, 1838-1910* (trsl. Markus Lemke), Göttingen 2009, 84-91, 250-271.

²⁴ 'Karl der Große und sein Wirken für das heilige Land', *Das Heilige Land* 25 (1881), 7-10; Francis William Buckler, *Harun' Rashid and Charles the Great*, Cambridge, Mass. 1931, 27-31.

²⁵ Reinhold Röhrich, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande*, Innsbruck 1900, rep. Aalen 1967, 85-307; Felix Geisheim (ed), *Die Hohenzollern am heiligen Grabe zu Jerusalem, insbesondere die Pilgerfahrt der Markgrafen Johann und Albrecht von Brandenburg im Jahre 1435*, Berlin 1858, 3-54.

Land. These were Prussian (from 1871 – German) Emperors Friedrich Wilhelm IV, Wilhelm I and Wilhelm II, and Ludwig I of Bavaria.²⁶

Considering the activity of the three different German groups, I argue, one can actually identify all of the different motivations behind the European involvement in nineteenth-century Palestine, as well as all the different and variegated ways in which it was conducted. Romanticism and pilgrimage, missionary ideas following the belief in the 'restoration of the Jews' and Millennialistic beliefs, scientific and economic interests, aspirations for agricultural settlement in the Holy Land, are again only examples of the vast range of motivations. German involvement was also deeply influenced by developments and processes in the 'Homeland'. Prussia, and later Germany, tried to follow Bismarck's 'bones of a Pommeranian Grenadier' policy of abstaining from active state involvement. German countries and their empire never showed any imperial or colonial interest in Palestine and its adjacent countries. But nevertheless, there are many examples of processes, such as the *Kulturkampf* or Wilhelm II's foreign policy, that had a significant impact on German involvement in the country.²⁷

Certainly, Germany took a significant, if not a leading role in many of the courses of action in nineteenth-century Palestine. In many of them the Germans played a major part. Most of the European settlers who made their homes in the country originated in German states. Many of these Germans, who established their residences in Eretz Israel, were among the most prominent and influential figures in the land in the 19th century. A large number of the names are well known to those dealing with the country's modern history, others are still awaiting a worthy study. The following list is only partial, as well as the given bibliography. We should mention here Christian Friedrich Spittler's missionaries, educated in his *Pilgermissions* in Basel and St. Chrischona²⁸ - Schick, Baldensperger, Schneller, Frutiger, Palmer – and their families,²⁹ Theodor Fliedner's

²⁶ In addition to the sources in note 23, see e.g. Abdel-Raouf Sinno, *Deutsche Interessen in Syrien und Palästina 1841-1898: Aktivitäten religiöser Institutionen, wirtschaftliche und politische Einflüsse* (Studien zur modernen islamischen Orient, 3), Berlin 1982; Christine Schütz, *Preussen in Jerusalem (1800-1861): Karl Friedrich Schinkels Entwurf der Grabeskirche und die Jerusalempläne Friedrich Wilhelms IV.* (Die Bauwerke und Kunstdenkmäler von Berlin, 19), Berlin 1988.

²⁷ Alex Carmel, 'Die deutsche Palästinapolitik 1871-1914', *Jahrbuch des Instituts für Deutsche Geschichte* [hereafter *JIDG*] 4 (1975), 205-255; Jehuda L. Wallach, 'Bismarck and the 'Eastern Question' - a Re-Assessment', idem. (ed.), *Germany and the Middle East 1835-1939* (*JIDG*, Beiheft 1), Tel-Aviv 1975, 23-30; Yair P. Hirschfeld, 'Tendenzen der preussisch-deutschen Nahostpolitik von Friedrich Wilhelm III. bis Bismarck', *JIDG* 10 (1981), 221-241; Haim Goren, 'Vom "Flaggenstreit" zum "Hospizwettstreit": das katholische Deutschland und Frankreich in Palästina am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes*, 7 (2001), pp. 35-50; idem, 'The Scholar Precedes the Diplomat: German Science in the Service of Political Involvement in Egypt and Palestine until 1870', idem (ed.), *Germany and the Middle East: Past, Present, and Future*, Jerusalem 2002, 41-60.

²⁸ Alex Carmel, *Christen als Pioniere im Heiligen Land: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Pilgermission und des Wiederaufbaus Palästinas im 19. Jahrhundert*, Basel 1981; idem, 'C.F. Spittler and the Activities of the Pilgrims Mission in Jerusalem', Gad G. Gilbar (ed.), *Ottoman Palestine 1800-1914: Studies in Economic and Social History*, Leiden 1990, 255-286; Andreas Lindt, 'Christian Friedrich Spittler und Basel', *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 7 (1981), 115-127.

²⁹ Alex Carmel, 'Der Missionar Theodor Fliedner als Pionier deutscher Palästina-Arbeit', *JIDG* 14 (1985), 191-220; E. Jakob Eisler, 'Talitha Kumi - Geschichte und Gegenwart: Charlotte Pilz und die Anfänge

Deaconess headed by Charlotte Pilz,³⁰ German missionaries serving British societies such as Gobat, Zeller, Sandreczky Sr. and Klein,³¹ the Prussian and German consuls Schultz, Rosen, Petermann, von Münchhausen,³² the Templers headed by Hoffmann and Hardegg, of whom we might also mention other families such as Lange, Schumacher, Beilharz, Struve, Imberger and Frank,³³ the Catholic clergy Schneider, Schmidt, Schmitz, Gatt, Sonnen, Dunkel, the nuns of the Borromaeus order,³⁴ physicians such as Sandreczki Jr.,³⁵ clergy of the German Protestant congregation such as Valentiner, Carl Hoffmann, Weser, scholars such as Dalman. This selected list, which certainly omits many other names worth mentioning, only demonstrates the extent and the importance of this German *Anwesenheit* in the Holy Land.

Germany has maintained a significant presence in the contemporary Israeli cultural landscape up to the present. The current Israeli map is dotted with German edifices, those built by Germans, and some of them are still in German possession. Moreover, on the maps of Jerusalem, Haifa and Jaffa 'German Colonies' still exist, while in Jerusalem, Haifa and Nazareth there are German cemeteries. 'Talitha Kumi', the small monument commemorating the German Deaconess school, is a common meeting-place in Jerusalem. The renovation and restoration of German buildings has become a big issue

Kaiserwerther Orientarbeit', Almut Nothnagle et al. (eds), *Seht, wir gehen hinauf nach Jerusalem! Festschrift zum 150 jährigen Jubiläum von Talitha Kumi und des Jerusalemvereins*, Leipzig 2001, 78-95.

³⁰ In addition to their parts in different books cited above, see as examples for a significant number of publications: Alex Carmel, 'Der Missionar Theodor Fliedner als Pionier deutscher Palästina-Arbeit', *JIDG* 14 (1985), 191-220; idem, 'Der Bankier Johannes Frutiger und seine Zietgenossen. Entstehen und Untergang der Bassler Firma C.F. Spittler in Jerusalem', *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, 11 (1985), 139-158; Haim Goren, "Undoubtedly, the best connoisseur of Jerusalem in our times": Conrad Schick as Palästina-wissenschaftler', Ulrich Hübner (ed.), *Palästina exploranda: Studien zur Erforschung Palästinas im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert anlässlich des 125 jährigen Bestehens des Deutschen Vereins zur Erforschung Palästinas* (Abhandlungen des DPV, 34), Wiesbaden 2006, pp. 105-128; E. Jakob Eisler, *Peter Martin Metzler (1824-1907: Ein christlicher missionar im Heiligen Land*, Haifa 1999; Hans Hermann Frutiger and Jakob Eisler, *Johannes Frutiger (1836-1899): Ein Schweizer Bankier in Jerusalem*, Köln, Weimar, Wien 2008.

³¹ Frank Foerster, *Mission im Heiligen Land: Der Jerusalem-Verein zu Berlin 1852-1945* (Missionswissenschaftliche Forschungen, 25), Gütersloh 1991.

³² Goren, Zieht hin (above, n. 5), 193-220; Mordechai Eliav, *Die Juden Palästinas in der deutschen Politik: Dokumente aus dem Archiv des deutschen Konsulats in Jerusalem, 1842-1914*, Tel-Aviv 1973.

³³ Friedrich Lange, *Geschichte des Tempels, Jerusalem*, Stuttgart 1899; Alex Carmel, *Die Siedlungen der württembergischen Templer in Palästina 1868-1918: Ihre lokalpolitischen und internationalen Probleme* (trsl. Pinchas Leshem, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe B Bd. 77), Stuttgart 1973; Paul Sauer, *Beilharz-Chronik: Die Geschichte eines Schwarzwälder Bauern und Handwerkergeschlechts vom 15. Jahrhunderts bis heute in Deutschland, Palästina und Australien*, Ulm/Donau 1975; idem, *Uns rief das Heilige Land: Die Tempelgesellschaft im Wandel der Zeit*, Stuttgart 1985; Yossi Ben-Artzi, *From Germany to the Holy Land: Templer Settlement in Palestine*, Jerusalem 1996 [Heb.]; idem, 'Unbekannte Pläne und Landkarten von Gottlieb Schumacher', *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 107 (1991), 176-192; Peter Lange, 'Theodor Sandel - Baumeister für Jerusalem: Porträt eines fast vergessenen Mannes', Karl-Heinz Ronecker, Jens Nieper and Torsten Neubert-Preine (eds), *Dem Erlöser der Welt zur Ehre: Festschrift zum hundertjährigen Jubiläum der Einweihung der evangelischen Erlöserkirche in Jerusalem*, Leipzig 1998, 101-115.

³⁴ See mainly Goren, *Echt Ktholisch* (above, n. 23), *passim*.

³⁵ E.g. Shemuel Nissan and Petra Martin, 'Das Marienstift-Kinderhospital in Jerusalem (1871-1899)', *Historia Hospitalium* 20 (1995-1997), 162-194.

in the last decades, and large scale projects have been and still are, conducted in Haifa and Tel-Aviv (Templer colony Saron).

The German groups active in Palestine issued periodicals, which hold invaluable information about the country and the region, and their development during the period in question. This information has not always been taken advantage of. Mention here should be made of the *Warte* of the Templers (as early as 1845), the Catholic *Das heilige Land* (1856), the *Neueste Nachrichten aus dem Morgenlande* of the Evangelical *Jerusalemsverein zu Berlin* (1857), and Schneller's *Bote aus Zion* (1885).

German activity and its presence in the Holy Land during the last century of the Ottoman regime was more extensive and more intensive than that of any of the other of the 'Powers'. More than the French, Russian and British involvement, it affected the history of the country and its modernization processes, and left its landmarks on the country's landscape. I might even argue here, that there is no way of understanding the development of and in the country during this 'century of changes', the period in which it entered 'the new era', without discussing these processes and evaluating their impact.