

# ***Freunde Jerusalems:* Germanophone Archival Sources on Palestine, 1841– 1945<sup>1</sup>**

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On the following pages, I would like to offer a brief overview of germanophone sources on Palestine, or the coastal strip between Saida, the Sinai Peninsula, and the Jordan River, from the period 1841–1945. Aside of descriptions of the items, detailed information on the institutions and persons that produced them is provided. This will, hopefully, stimulate more interest in the germanophone presence in Palestine and prompt more interdisciplinary research.

I divide the material into eight fields: diplomacy and politics; Protestant churches; Pietist communities; the Catholic Church; Templer settlements; scholarly interest; Zionism and Jewish colonization; and the World Wars. Naturally, not all sources fit perfectly into these categories, but a systematic organization of material justifies certain adjustments. Within these collections, individual entries were arranged in chronological order. This method severs synchronous trans-institutional and interpersonal links, but renders the text more comprehensible and easier to employ as a reference article.

There are two major problems to my approach. First of all, the sources described here represent a wide spectrum of interests and activities. An attempt to summarize such an immense field in a single text would equal sheer madness if not uttermost genius, and my contribution inevitably leans to generality rather than comprehensiveness. This does not necessarily constitute a weakness, as I am introducing some collections that have until now not been used in research, especially in anglophone and Arabic scholarship, or have not been utilized to the highest degree possible. Consequently, my general approach does not offer a detailed survey of all sources, but it might serve as a starting

point for further investigation.

Not only the scale of my subject, but also the diverse quality and character of the sources might call for legitimate critique. However, I decided to present this interdisciplinary collection of materials in order to sketch a general overview of various germanophone initiatives in Palestine, thus at least hinting at the complex network of interdependence between the political, the religious, and the scholarly. In this chaos there is meaning, and the interested reader is invited to follow up further literature provided in the footnotes to help them draw their own picture of the subject.

There is one last comment to add. Throughout the article, I use the term *germanophone* to denote the language of a source or the institution it was produced by. On the other hand, the word *German* is utilized as an adjective referring to any of the united German states which existed since the foundation of the German Empire in 1871, or to a citizen of one of these states. This distinction allows us to avoid lengthy discussions of Central European history and to include germanophone citizens of other countries in the survey.

If germanophone materials on Palestine from the period 1841–1945 are to shed light on Palestinian history, they have to be read in a hermeneutic circle of reinterpretation which complements a local perspective with Ottoman, German national, European, Zionist and other perspectives. As far as the latter three are concerned, historians have – not least because of their knowledge of German – widely researched and analyzed many of the sources listed below. However, a body of systematic research of these, read against a background of local Ottoman and Palestinian sources, is still lacking, with only a few prominent exceptions.<sup>2</sup> This brief report will hopefully prove a helpful tool in pursuing this task.

## **Diplomacy and Politics**

The growing interest of European countries in Palestine in the nineteenth century is mirrored in their intensified diplomatic activity. Prussia was the first germanophone state to establish a consulate in Jerusalem in 1842.<sup>3</sup> It soon expanded its activities and opened vice-consulates in Acre (moved to Haifa in the 1870s) and Jaffa. Original documents from these institutions are held in the Israeli State Archive in Jerusalem, as are the files of the Austrian consulate in Jerusalem (1903–1938),<sup>4</sup> as well as documents regarding the Templer colonies and the local National Socialist German Workers' party (NSDAP or Nazi party) cells.<sup>5</sup> There are about 2,700 files in the archive, comprising up to several hundred pages each.<sup>6</sup>

The original documents held by the Israeli State Archive were copied by German authorities after World War II and distributed amongst German state archives, including the Political Archive of the Office of Exterior in Berlin<sup>7</sup> and numerous regional branches of the Federal Archives.<sup>8</sup> These also hold other documents relating to Palestine, which were produced for internal use and handled by the Office of Exterior.

## Protestant Churches

Of the germanophone religious institutions,<sup>9</sup> the Protestant Church was the first to commence direct activity in Palestine. In 1841, a joint British-Prussian bishopric was established. It was divided in 1889 to form the German-speaking Protestant Congregation in Jerusalem. After the separation, the congregation was supported by the Jerusalem Foundation (Jeruslamesstiftung). Today, the Central Protestant Archive in Berlin holds documents of these institutions as well as the files of the Protestant Church's Office of Exterior concerned with the Jerusalem community.<sup>10</sup>

Before the Jerusalem Foundation, the Protestant missions in Palestine were supported by the Jerusalem Society (Jerusalems-Verein), founded in 1852 in Berlin. It initially assisted existing establishments and from the 1860s onward founded its independent communities. In 1853, its *Jahresbericht des Jerusalems-Vereins* (Annual Report of the Jerusalem Society) started appearing. The issues from the years 1853–1881 can be found in the German Protestant Institute of Archeology (GPIA; Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für die Altertumswissenschaften des Heiligen Landes). In 1856–1857, the society started publishing its journal *Neueste Nachrichten aus dem Morgenlande* (Recent News from the Levant).

One of the most prominent personalities of the germanophone missionary movement was without doubt Johann Ludwig Schneller, founder of the Syrian Orphanage (Syrisches Waisenhaus). From the year 1862 on, Schneller published the *Jahresbericht des syrischen Waisenhauses in Jerusalem* (Annual Report of the Syrian Orphanage in Jerusalem). Beginning in 1886, he also released a journal with more general information on his missionary activities, called *Der Bote aus Zion* (the Messenger from Zion), later renamed *Der Schneller-Bote* (the Schneller Messenger).

The Archive of the Regional Church in Stuttgart (Landeskirchliches Archiv) contains about ten thousand pictures taken by Paul Hommel.<sup>11</sup> Hommel was a professional photographer from Stuttgart and travelled around Palestine numerous times from 1927 on. During his journeys, he took photos of Jewish and German settlements, missionary establishments, and local inhabitants. Part of the collection of pictures is being digitized and will be published on the archive's website.

Hommel's collection ended up in Stuttgart as a legacy of Hermann Schneller, manager of the Syrian Orphanage. Another part of the orphanage's collection found its way into the collection of the Ben-Zvi Institute, which now holds a few diaries and about 750 photographs. Some pictures date back as far as the turn of the century, but the bulk of them were taken in the 1920s and 1930s. They mostly capture images of daily life of the orphanage's employees.<sup>12</sup>

## Pietist Communities

Pietism was a reform movement of the Protestant Church, which founded various local communities since the seventeenth century. Some of its millenarian groups<sup>13</sup> looked to

Jerusalem as the place where Christ shall return at the end of times. Although researching the roots of Pietist thought – closely related to American Evangelical movements – sheds much light on the Christian engagement with Palestine and is a highly fascinating enterprise, I will only focus on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries for the sake of cohesion.

In 1845, Christoph Hoffmann started publishing the *Süddeutsche Warte* (South German Sentinel), which later became the official mouthpiece of the Temple Society.<sup>14</sup> It is a major source of information about the movement's history and ideology. In 1858, the society delegated a deputation to survey Palestine and Syria with future colonization in mind, which sent weekly reports to the *Sentinel*.<sup>15</sup> From the leaders' emigration to Haifa (1868) on, it has kept an up-to-date record of what happened in the colonies. In 1877, it changed its name to *Die Warte des Tempels* (the Temple's Sentinel) and again to *Jerusalemmer Warte* (the Jerusalem Sentinel) from 1912–1917. Due to difficulties stemming from the war, it was discontinued until April 1921, when it returned once again as *Die Warte des Tempels*. After another break between 1939 and 1949, it appears uninterrupted. All issues of the *Sentinel* publications are kept in the archive of the Gottlieb Schumacher Institute and the Temple Society's archive in Stuttgart. The issues of the years 1895 and 1898–1904 can also be found in the library of the GPIA.<sup>16</sup>

The Moravian Church, which developed from one of the Hussite congregations of what is now the Czech Republic, maintained a hospital for lepers in Jerusalem, called Aussätzigenasyl Jesushilfe and also known in English by its later name Hansen Hospital.<sup>17</sup> There are still several files concerned with it and Jerusalem in general in the Moravian Archives in Herrnhut (Germany),<sup>18</sup> some of them dating back as far as the nineteenth century.

## The Catholic Church

The German Society of the Holy Sepulchre (Deutscher Verein vom Heiligen Grabe) was the first germanophone Catholic missionary and pilgrim society in Palestine. Founded in Cologne in 1855, it set up and managed institutions like the Tabgha Pilgrim's House, the Paulus Hospice, and the Dormition Abbey. Starting in 1857, it published *Das heilige Land: Organ des Vereins vom Heiligen Grabe* (The Holy Land: Journal of the Society of the Holy Sepulchre). In 1895, it was transformed into the German Society of the Holy Land (Deutscher Verein vom Heiligen Lande) and the title of the paper changed accordingly. Since 1927, it also released the *Nachrichtenblatt des Deutschen Vereins vom Heiligen Lande* (News Bulletin of the German Society of the Holy Land). All issues of *Das heilige Land* can be found in the Historical Archive of the Archdiocese of Cologne,<sup>19</sup> as well as in the library of the Dormition Abbey in Jerusalem.<sup>20</sup> The issues of the years 1870–1930 are available at the GPIA. The Archive in Cologne also holds all materials from the archive of the Holy Land Society in Jerusalem, including over five hundred undated negative images as well as a number of photographs dating back to the beginnings of the twentieth century. In 1926, the society began publishing *Nachrichtenblatt für die Teilnehmer und*

*Förderer des Deutschen Vereins vom Heiligen Lande* (Newssheet for the Members and Supporters of the German Society of the Holy Land).

*A Jahrbuch des Österreichisch-ungarischen Pilgerhauses zur Heiligen Familie in Jerusalem* (Annual Report of the Austro-Hungarian Pilgrim's House of the Holy Family in Jerusalem) was published from 1905. The Pilgrim's House was later transformed into the Austrian Hospice.

## Templer Settlements

In 1868, direct germanophone colonization of Palestine commenced.<sup>21</sup> This endeavor was spearheaded by the Temple Society and is richly documented in its various archives. The Archive of the Temple Society in Germany is situated in Stuttgart. In addition to a full record of the *Sentinel* publications,<sup>22</sup> it holds all works of the society's founder and spiritual leader Christoph Hoffmann and his collaborators, reports by the Templers, and a collection of all available works on the Templers' history. Moreover, it holds a genealogical collection on the members, as well as literature on and photographs of Palestine. It is being constantly expanded; however, it is neither digitized nor catalogued.

In Australia, where many Templers were interned during World War II, the Temple Society has its own archive. The private researcher Horst Blaich also owns an archive that some authors call the Albert Blaich Family Archive.<sup>23</sup> Both collections hold rich data on the Temple Society's functioning and everyday life in Palestine. They are managed by speakers of English and are thus easily accessible to researchers not acquainted with German.

An archive of materials collected in the Templers' houses can also be found in Haifa's Keller House, the seat of the Gottlieb Schumacher Institute for Research of the Christian Presence in Palestine in the Modern Era. Its collection originated mostly from the documents and private belongings of the architect Karl Ruff, the founder and correspondent of the NSDAP cell in Palestine.

An interesting contribution to our knowledge of the Templers might also be culled from a file from the German Federal Archives. The archive of the Loytved-Hardegg family dates back to the year 1838 and includes documents on Georg David Hardegg, the Temple Society's worldly leader and early mayor of the Haifa colony.<sup>24</sup>

## Scholarly Interests

A detailed description and analysis of germanophone scholarly interest in Palestine until the foundation of GPIA can be found in Haim Goren's, "*Zieht hin und erforscht das Land.*"<sup>25</sup> Beyond this, there are a number of relevant collections of visual and textual sources.

Presumably the first coherent collection of photographs from Palestine in Germany is now held by the Forum for International Photography (Forum Internationale Photographie),

part of the Reiss-Engelhorn Museums in Mannheim. As part of the collection, thirty-six unique photos of Jerusalem by Jakob Lorent from 1864 and a collection of photos from the Levant by the Reiß siblings can be found there. Most of the 220 pictures capture religious and biblical sites.

The Museum Ludwig in Cologne offers a similar collection containing old photographs from Palestine. There is an album of pictures taken in the 1850s by an employee of the Prussian consulate, Wilhelm von Herford, and one by Auguste Salzmann called *Jérusalem* from the year 1855, in addition to Francis Firth collection from 1860 under the title *Sinai and Palestine*.

In the Friedrich Schiller University of Jena, one finds the Alphons Stübel Collection of Early Photographs of the Orient (Alphons-Stübel-Sammlung früher Orientfotografien). It comprises about 550 pictures from before 1904, mostly mid- and late nineteenth century, taken in the Levant. A small part of the collection is accessible online,<sup>26</sup> of which sixty-one photos are recognized as being from Palestine. Most were taken by the Bonfils studio.

In 1877, a German scholarly institution was founded under the name of the German Society for the Exploration of Palestine (Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas), alternatively called the German Palestine Society (Deutscher Palästinaverein). It originated from the field of biblical studies and aimed at including physical and natural sciences of modern Palestine in its research. Consequently, it took up geological, archeological, ethnographic, and textual studies and started publishing the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (Journal of the German Palestine Society) in 1878 in Leipzig. It later became the official journal of the GPIA. All its issues are available in the institute's library and in the Historical Archive of the Archdiocese of Cologne.

Soon afterwards, in 1881, the second scholarly journal on Palestine emerged, called *Jerusalem: Jahrbuch zur Beförderung einer wissenschaftlich genauen Kenntnis des jetzigen und des alten Palästinas* (Jerusalem: An Annual Paper for the Promotion of Scientifically Accurate Knowledge of Palestine Today and in the Past). It appeared in Jerusalem until 1913 and the issues of 1881 and 1886–1891 are available at the GPIA.

In terms of the material and intellectual legacy of researchers of Palestine, that left by the theologian Gustaf Dalman ranks very high. He already nurtured a passion for Palestinian ethnology when he became the first director of the GPIA from 1902 to 1917. Clearly, his focus on modern life in Palestine was driven in large part by his interest in the historical conditions of the biblical times – an approach which, to say the least, is not the most accurate way of capturing the Palestinian society of the early twentieth century. This focus notwithstanding, Dalman left a tremendous amount of material from research trips he undertook between 1903 and 1913. The main body of this, about fifteen thousand items (mostly photographs), is held by the Gustaf Dalman Institute of the Ernst Moritz University in Greifswald, where Dalman taught after returning to Germany. A significant part of the collection (some two thousand pictures) is accessible online with an advanced search engine, and a full digitization is in process.<sup>27</sup>

The rest of the Dalman research collection, about three hundred pictures, remains in glass negatives at the GPIA on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem. In addition, the institute holds a rich library, mostly in German, on the physical and historical conditions

of Palestine.<sup>28</sup> Its cartographical collection also deserves attention, as it contains historical maps of Palestine from the seventeenth century on and military maps used by the British and German armies in 1917 and 1918.<sup>29</sup>

Many of Dalman's pictures were printed in his impressive eight-volume opus *Work and Customs in Palestine*, which is currently being translated into English. Both parts of the first volume have already appeared.<sup>30</sup> The detailed description of economy, agriculture and culture of Palestine, often connected with biblical analysis or accents, is an irreplaceable source of knowledge on the local inhabitants in the beginnings of the twentieth century.

The GPIA published its *Palästinajahrbuch des Deutschen Evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaften des Heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem* (Annual Review on Palestine of the German Protestant Institute for Archeology of the Holy Land in Jerusalem) from 1905 to 1941. The paper appeared in Berlin, was first published by Dalman, and is concerned with archeological as well as ethnographic information. All its issues can be found at the GPIA.

One of the theologians that visited the GPIA was Hugo Greßmann, who travelled around Palestine in 1906. He brought back with him a collection of some 1,500 glass negatives, mainly bought from the American Colony photographers, which is now held by the Humboldt University in Berlin. The collection's focus lies on Palestine's inhabitants, its agriculture, and its economy. It is being digitized and will be published online in the future.<sup>31</sup>

## Zionism and Jewish Colonization

Clearly, a full overview of Zionist sources in German cannot be given in such a short piece. I chose, rather, to concentrate on the newspapers I have found which might be of interest for researchers of Palestine as a whole and not of Zionism per se. All of them can be accessed online on the Compact Memory project's site.<sup>32</sup>

From 1897 to 1914, the weekly *Die Welt* (the World) was published in Vienna and Cologne. It was one of many Jewish journals with reports on Jewish colonies in Palestine. The complete stenographs of the debates of the Zionist Congresses (*Stenographische Protokolle der Verhandlungen der Zionisten-Kongresse*) from 1897 to 1937 serve as a fascinating witness to the history of Zionism in this period. This is in no terms a new source for researchers of Palestine, however its comprehensiveness, as well as easy access on the Internet, might render it useful for research not centered on Zionism as such.

One of the biggest Jewish journals in Germany, *Jüdische Rundschau* (Jewish Review) was the official voice of the Zionist Union of Germany and was published weekly from 1902 to 1938. It provided information about the situation of Jews in Germany and offered potential settlers information on the conditions in Palestine. The Nazi apparatus in Germany banned the journal in 1938. However, it was restored as *Jüdische Welt-Rundschau* (Jewish World Review) in Jerusalem and Paris. It appeared weekly from March 1939 to May 1940 and combined a coverage of European news with a perspective on colonizing Palestine.

In the period 1902–1938, a bi-monthly *Palästina* appeared in Berlin, Munich, and Vienna. It was the mouthpiece of the Jewish Movement for Colonization of the Orient and gave detailed information helpful for colonization, including details about the climate, geography, agriculture, trade, infrastructure, and administration in Palestine.

In the years 1904–1906, the monthly *Altneuland* (Old-New Land) was released in Berlin. Its title, being the same as that of an earlier utopian novel by Theodor Herzl, points to its interest. It disseminated studies and practical articles concentrating on fulfilling the Zionist project. The *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden* (Journal for Demographics and Statistics of Jews) appeared monthly between 1905 and 1931 in Berlin and included information on Jews in Palestine. In 1919, and only in this year, a weekly paper called *Volk und Land* (People and Land) appeared. It was published by Davis Trietsch and offered information on economy and agriculture, as well as data on existing Jewish settlements. The period 1926–1938 saw the appearance of *Zion: Monatsblätter für Lehre, Volk und Land* (Zion: A Monthly Paper on Education, People, and Land). It reported on the state of colonization in Palestine.

The years 1934–1936 saw the turbulent life of another Jewish paper on colonization, *Palästina Nachrichten* (Palestine News). It appeared irregularly in dangerous times for German Jews, just after the NSDAP's coming to power, and offered detailed economic information as well as news from Palestine that would be beneficial for potential colonizers.

## The World Wars

German states had no significant military presence in or around Palestine except for the period of World War I. However, this short span of time rewards us as researchers with a treasure of rich historical materials both written and visual. Many of the German episodes are known to scholars of Palestinian history through their Ottoman connection,<sup>33</sup> and thus I only concentrated on the points which have not been widely known previously.

The Federal Archives in Berlin, aside from owning copies of the consular documents from Palestine, hold a collection of some one hundred photographs from Palestine from the First World War, in addition to individual pictures from a later period.<sup>34</sup> Several personal collections of officers and soldiers of the German army offer not only further photos, memoirs, and correspondence, but also operational maps of war activities, flight logbooks, and similar material of military nature.

In 1916, the famous Swedish globetrotter and explorer Sven Hedin was allowed by his acquaintance, the military governor of Syria Cemal Pasha, to visit the Palestinian front in 1916. This journey left eighty-three negatives in the Ethnographic Museum in Stockholm, as well as a travelogue in German called *Jerusalem*, published in Leipzig in 1918.

We owe another private collection from the Palestinian front to Rudolf Kroll, a German Imperial radio operator. His photos show soldiers as well as local inhabitants. Around forty items can be seen in high quality and downloaded from the website of the German Photographic Library project.<sup>35</sup>

The by far largest and most comprehensive group of photographs taken by Germans during World War I is to be found digitalized on the website of the Military Archive of the Bavarian Main State Archive.<sup>36</sup> This collection of nearly three thousand pictures taken by the 304th Bavarian Air Squadron from November 1917 to September 1918 consists mostly of aerial photographs mapping in detail all regions of Palestine and neighboring territories, from Saida to Gaza. Palestinian localities and Jewish settlements can be distinguished and seen from different angles. Around four hundred ground photographs show religious sites, German military camps, and various other scenes. This unique and novel collection (the airplane was just being developed at this time) offers a sort of visual encyclopedia of Palestine and may be used to acquire different data for a range of research focuses. All photographs are described in detail in German, which renders the search for the right locality or angle swift.<sup>37</sup>

One hundred of these photographs were selected and provided with minute geographical descriptions by Gustaf Dalman in his 1925 book *Hundert Deutsche Fliegerbilder aus Palästina* (One Hundred German Aerial Photographs from Palestine).<sup>38</sup>

The Federal Archives in Berlin hold two files of particular interest to military history. The first one includes photographs by Franz Gürtner, a German officer who travelled across the Levant including Palestine in 1917–1918. He mostly captured buildings and landscapes. The second piece is a book called *Luftgeographische Beschreibung von Syrien-Palästina* (Aerial Description of the Geography of Syria-Palestine). It was printed in 1941 for the internal use of the German army and could represent a fascinating supplement for the aerial photographs from World War I.

## Conclusion

Researching germanophone sources on Palestine has often been considered a field for church and missionary history, regional history, genealogical studies, and similar specialized disciplines. But a global perspective including the results of detailed studies would help us understand Palestinian history – most of all its colonial part – in a more differentiated way and thus, I believe, explain it more accurately. To form such a global perspective, two approaches seem especially suitable.

First of them is considering all germanophone institutions and activities as part of a coherent discourse. This might open up the possibility to discover a network of persons and establishments overriding the traditional confines of “the scholarly” or “the religious.”<sup>39</sup> As other linguistically limited discourses, it would turn out to have its own distinctive foci, phraseology, and modes of representation. The second possibility is a comparative view of the germanophone endeavors on the background of other contemporary discourses. Such a comparison would highlight their uniqueness, but also the similarities between, for example, British and Prussian activities.<sup>40</sup>

Naturally, these two approaches are not new in historiography and were utilized in the literature mentioned here. On the other hand, no comprehensive work on the germanophone activity in Palestine has been published in English as for now.<sup>41</sup> It does

not belong to the most urgent tasks, granted, but it is sure to be a fascinating enterprise.

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#### Endnotes

- 1 In Templer circles, the term *Freunde Jerusalems*, “Jerusalem’s friends,” denoted people and groups involved in their settlement project in the region, primarily members of the Temple Society itself. In a more general sense, however, it might be extended to include other Germanophone activities in Palestine before 1945, most of which were centered in Jerusalem. For the original source of this phrase, see “Bericht über die Kommissionsreise zur Besichtigung Palästinas,” *Süddeutsche Warte* 37, 16 September 1858, 1.
- 2 Some of these are: Mahmoud Yazbak, “Templars as Proto-Zionists? The ‘German Colony’ in Late Ottoman Haifa,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 28, no. 4 (Summer 1999): 40–54; ‘Ali Muhafaza, *al-‘Alaqa al-Almaniyya-al-Filastiniyya, 1841–1945* [German-Palestinian Relations, 1841–1945] (Beirut: al-Mu’assasa al-‘Arabiyya li-l-dirasat wa-l-nashr, 1981); Alexander Schölch, *Palestine in Transformation 1856–1882: Studies in Social, Economic, and Political Development* (Washington: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1993).
- 3 It later came to represent the North German Confederation and the German Empire. The first consul was Dr. Gustav Ernst Schultz.
- 4 This was the Austro-Hungarian representation until the Empire’s dissolution in the aftermath of the First World War.
- 5 An extensive research on the activities of NSDAP in Palestine is already available: Ralf Balke, *Hakenkreuz im Heiligen Land: Die NSDAP-Landesgruppe Palästina* (Erfurt: Sutton, 2001).
- 6 About half of these are scanned and uploaded in very high quality. The archive’s catalogue can be accessed online at: [www.archives.gov.il/ArchiveGov/ArchiveNavigation.htm?nose\\_code=1](http://www.archives.gov.il/ArchiveGov/ArchiveNavigation.htm?nose_code=1). It might pose a difficulty for researchers that it is only available in Hebrew and the bulk of the files bear Hebrew names and descriptions, the rest being in German.
- 7 Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, online at [www.archiv.diplo.de](http://www.archiv.diplo.de).
- 8 Bundesarchiv, online at [www.bundesarchiv.de/index.html.de](http://www.bundesarchiv.de/index.html.de). A short description of the file with official consular documents can be found in the online archive ([www.argus.bundesarchiv.de](http://www.argus.bundesarchiv.de)), it bears the number R 157 III F under 2.2.2.1.1.3. I will mention other useful files from this archive later on in their proper context. For an advanced search, use the *invenio* research tool on the archive’s Web site. Several files with a detailed description of materials from the Federal Archives will appear shortly on the *Jerusalem Quarterly* Web site, [www.palestine-studies.org/jq](http://www.palestine-studies.org/jq).
- 9 A meticulous yet concise survey of early German missions in Palestine is available in English: Ruth Kark, Dietrich Denecke, and Haim Goren, “The Impact of Early German Missionary Enterprise in Palestine on Modernization and Environmental and Technological Change, 1820–1914,” in *Christian Witness between Continuity and New Beginnings: Modern Historical Missions in the Middle East*, ed. Martin Tamcke and Michael Marten (Münster: Transaction, 2006).
- 10 Its holdings can be viewed online at [kab.scopearchiv.ch/suchinfo.aspx](http://kab.scopearchiv.ch/suchinfo.aspx). The most important files seem to be: EZA 5 (Ecclesial Office of Exterior of the German Protestant Church [Department Israel/Palestine] since 1841); EZA 56 (Protestant Jerusalem Foundation since 1856); and EZA 612 (Files of Bernhard Karnatz [Jerusalem Foundation] since 1852).
- 11 The photos are found in the collection “Bildnissammlung historische Photos aus Palästina.”
- 12 Some are available online at [www.israelalbum.org.il](http://www.israelalbum.org.il).
- 13 Members of these groups and, following them, most German sources prefer the synonymous term “chiliastic.”
- 14 Tempelgesellschaft. Here, I only provide information on archives before the advent of Templer colonization. Materials on the Templer colonies appear in the section devoted to this.
- 15 Original notes from the diary kept by Joseph Bubeck, a wine grower and agricultural expert in the deputation, were recently disclosed. They were published as a supplement to the *Sentinel*: Jakob Eisler, *Die Erkundungsreise*

- der Templer nach Palästina im Jahre 1858: Aus den Tagebuch-Aufzeichnungen des Weingärtners Joseph Friedrich Bubeck Der Besondere Beitrag. Beilage der Warte des Tempels*, 11 June 2004. A comparison between these notes and the reports published in 1858, as well as between the later Templar ideology, sheds new light on the atmosphere in the community before colonization.
- 16 All three institutions (the Gottlieb Schumacher Institute, the Temple Society, and the GPIA) will be discussed in greater detail below.
  - 17 For more information on the hospital, see: Roland Löffler, "Aussätzigenasyl Jesushilfe im Kontext der deutsch-englischen Spannungen innerhalb der Brüderunität und der Umstrukturierung ihrer weltweiten Mission," *Unitas Fratrum: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Gegenwartsfragen der Brüdergemeinde* 59–60 (2007): 37–89.
  - 18 The archive, called Unitätsarchiv, can be researched online at [www.archiv.ebu.de](http://www.archiv.ebu.de).
  - 19 Historisches Archiv des Erzbistums Köln, online at [www.archive.nrw.de/kirchenarchive/kath\\_kirchenarchive\\_nrw/Hist\\_A\\_d\\_ErzbistumsKoeln/wir\\_ueber\\_uns/profil/index.php](http://www.archive.nrw.de/kirchenarchive/kath_kirchenarchive_nrw/Hist_A_d_ErzbistumsKoeln/wir_ueber_uns/profil/index.php).
  - 20 Online at [www.dormitio.net/engagement/bibliothek/index.html](http://www.dormitio.net/engagement/bibliothek/index.html).
  - 21 A thorough work on the Württembergian settlements in Palestine was written in Hebrew and translated into German: Alex Carmel, *Die Siedlungen der württembergischen Templer in Palästina 1868–1918: ihre lokalpolitischen und internationalen Probleme* (Stuttgart: Kommission für Geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, 2000). However, the theoretical outlook of the author leaves much place for criticism: see, for example, Yazbak, "Templars as Proto-Zionists?"
  - 22 For further details, see the section on Pietist communities above.
  - 23 This archive seems to be still just a project, and I was unable to find any official contact information. However, its materials have been richly used by researchers, as in Helmut Genk's *From Desert Sands to Golden Oranges: The History of the German Templer Settlement of Sarona in Palestine, 1871–1947* (Bloomington, IN: Trafford, 2005), or by Israeli urban planners reinvigorating the old German colonies in Tel Aviv and other cities.
  - 24 Bundesarchiv File no. N1581. This can be found online at [www.bundesarchiv.de](http://www.bundesarchiv.de) by using the *invenio* tool mentioned in note 8 above.
  - 25 Haim Goren, "*Zieht hin und erforsch das Land*": *Die deutsche Palästinaforschung im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2003).
  - 26 Online at [www.museum-digital.de/thue/index.php?t=sammlung&instnr=3&gesusa=1](http://www.museum-digital.de/thue/index.php?t=sammlung&instnr=3&gesusa=1).
  - 27 Online at [greif.uni-greifswald.de/webgate\\_dalman/index.php](http://greif.uni-greifswald.de/webgate_dalman/index.php).
  - 28 For the library catalogue, see: [opac.dei-jerusalem.de/detail.php](http://opac.dei-jerusalem.de/detail.php).
  - 29 A full index of cartographic materials is available on the library's Web site at: [www.deiahl.de/bibliothek-102.html](http://www.deiahl.de/bibliothek-102.html) (the file named *Kartensammlung* under *Dokumente*).
  - 30 Gustaf Dalman, *Work and Customs In Palestine*, vol. 1 (2 parts), trans. Nadia Abdulhadi-Sukhtian (Ramallah: Dar al-Nasher, 2013).
  - 31 See [www.palaestinabilder.de](http://www.palaestinabilder.de).
  - 32 Online at [www.compactmemory.de](http://www.compactmemory.de).
  - 33 By this, I mean the rather popular stories of people like Friedrich Kreß von Kressenstein (1870–1948) or Otto Liman von Sanders (1855–1929), who were engaged in military cooperation with the Ottoman army and even appear as heroes of historical novels in Turkish and other languages.
  - 34 To find the photos, one has to search for specific cities like Jerusalem or Haifa, or under "Golf-Region/Israel" [*sic*] online at [www.bild.bundesarchiv.de](http://www.bild.bundesarchiv.de).
  - 35 Online at [www.deutschefotothek.de](http://www.deutschefotothek.de). This website offers also other pictures from Palestine
  - 36 Kriegesarchiv des Bayerischen Hauptstaatsarchivs, online at [www.gda.bayern.de/findmittel/ead/index.php?fb=478](http://www.gda.bayern.de/findmittel/ead/index.php?fb=478).
  - 37 The collection was recently analyzed in *Jerusalem Quarterly*: Nada Atrash, "Mapping Palestine: The Bavarian Air Force WWI Aerial Photography," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 56–57 (Winter 2013–Spring 2014): 95–106.
  - 38 Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1925.
  - 39 See, for example, the successful examination of the various relationships between German scholars in Goren, "*Zieht hin und erforsch das Land*."
  - 40 For example, Falestin Naili does this in a series of articles on the Artas agricultural settlement: "The Millenarist Settlement in Artas and Its Support Network in Britain and North America, 1845–1878," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 45 (Spring 2011): 43–56; and "Before the Templars: The Millenarist Settlement in Artas, Part II," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 50 (Summer 2012): 37–46.
  - 41 For such a study in Arabic, see Muhafaza, *al-'Alaqat*.