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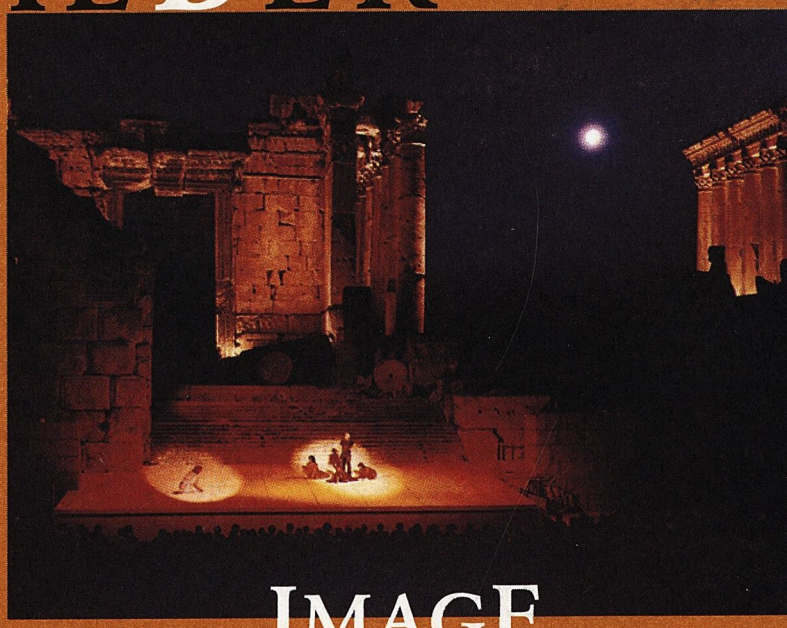
BAALBEK



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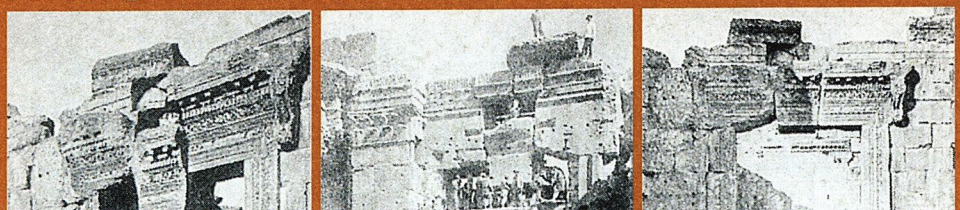

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The series *Beiruter Texte und Studien* (BTS, "Texts and Studies from Beirut") places its thematical and regional focus on the Levant. It is considered as a platform for interdisciplinary debates pursued by cultural studies and social sciences with the historical background.

Two centenaries linking the history of modern Lebanon, and of Baalbek in particular, to the history of modern Germany will be celebrated in 1998: (i) the visit of the German Emperor Wilhelm II to Baalbek (November 10-11, 1898) and (ii) the beginning of the German archaeological excavations in the temple ruins of that site on December 27, 1898. Both events were intimately linked: the experience of the Roman remains left so strong an impression on the Emperor that he decided, nearly on the spot, to see to it that the ruins be excavated by German experts.

The German Orient Institute, Beirut, in cooperation with the German Archaeological Institute, Berlin, and a number of Lebanese scholars, participates in the celebration of these events with the publication of the present volume. The purpose of the book is twofold: (i) to explore the historical background and the Zeitgeist that made the German Emperor and his contemporaries interested in visiting, exploring and preserving the ruins of Baalbek, and (ii) to review the state of the scientific exploration of the site that started with the German archaeological missions.

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EDITED BY

HÉLÈNE SADER, THOMAS SCHEFFLER
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

Dr. Peter WITTIG (German Ambassador to Lebanon): Through the Ruins of Baalbek VII
Dr. Margarete VAN ESS (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin): Baalbek – An Example of German-Lebanese Cooperation IX
Prof. Dr. Angelika NEUWIRTH (Orient-Institut Beirut): Baalbek: Image and Monument, 1898-1998 – and the Orient Institute XI

INTRODUCTION

Hélène SADER and Thomas SCHEFFLER (Beirut): Baalbek: An Imperial Visit and its Consequences 1

PART I
THE EMPEROR'S JOURNEY: SYMBOLS, IMAGES, PERCEPTIONS

Thomas SCHEFFLER (Beirut): The Kaiser in Baalbek: Tourism, Archaeology, and the Politics of Imagination 13
Wolf-Dieter LEMKE (Beirut): The Kaiser in Lebanon: a Collage 51
Jürgen KRÜGER (Bochum): William II's Perception of Sacrality 89
May DAVIE (Tours/Beirut): Beyrouth au temps de la visite de Guillaume II en 1898 97
Abdel-Raouf SINNO (Beirut): The Emperor's Visit to the East as Reflected in Contemporary Arabic Journalism 115

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PART II
AN EAST-WEST ENCOUNTER

Ussama MAKDISI (Houston): The "Rediscovery" of Baalbek: A Metaphor for Empire in the Nineteenth-Century 137
Jens HANSSEN (Oxford/Beirut): Imperial Discourses and an Ottoman Excavation in Lebanon 157
A German Archaeologist in Baalbek: Sketches by Walter ANDRAE (1898/99) 173
Annegret NIPPA (Dresden): Curious Self-Representations: Baalbek and its Visitors 183
Hinrich R. REINSTROM (Beirut): Baalbek: The Visitor's Book of the Hotel Palmyra and German Visitors, 1888-1918 199
Annie TOHME (Beirut): Le Festival de Baalbek au carrefour des paradoxes libanais d'avant guerre 221
Hans Christian LANKES (†): The Tablets of Baalbek 235

PART III
BAALBEK: MONUMENT AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Hélène SADER (Beirut) and Margarete VAN ESS (Berlin): Looking for Pre-Hellenistic Baalbek 247
Ernst Axel KNAUF (Bern): The Ituraeans: Another Bedouin State 269
Adolf HOFFMANN (Cottbus): Terrace und Temple: Remarks on the Architectural History of the Temple of Jupiter in Baalbek 279
Heinz GAUBE (Tübingen): Islamic Baalbek: The Qal'ah, the Mosques and Other Buildings 305
Erwin M. RUPRECHTSBERGER (Linz): Archaeological and Geodetical Research in Baalbek 333
Suzy HAKIMIAN et Toufic RIFAÏ (Beirut): Baalbek: 50 ans d'activité archéologique libanaise 341

About the authors 349

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THROUGH THE RUINS OF BAALBEK

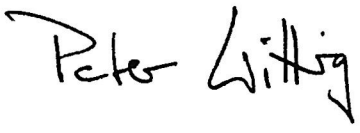
While the historical record of the German emperor William II is a controversial issue among historians, his interest in the study of archaeology and the Old World cannot but be acknowledged: the famous Baalbek temples uncovered and restored upon his initiative, bear witness to his love for ancient ruins.

The journey of the German Emperor William II to the Holy Land in 1898 was a sensational and momentous event at the time – both politically and culturally. His visit to Baalbek turned out to be a blessing for the ancient city where the most monumental temples of the entire Roman Empire tower over the surrounding plain. The Baalbek sanctuaries are one of the best preserved sacred places of Antiquity, the pride of Lebanon's cultural heritage and a major tourist attraction. To know that the ruins we admire today have been first and foremost uncovered by German archaeologists makes us rightly proud.

It is more than fitting that the *Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* commemorates the visit of the German Emperor and the "rediscovery" of Baalbek with this superbly edited book. It offers fascinating insights into this peculiar world where politics and scholarly learning, imperial symbolism and passion for the Old World were closely, and sometimes curiously intertwined. I commend both editors and contributors for this fine and interesting work of scholarship.

The book accompanies another important event: the permanent exhibition in Baalbek on the journey of William II and the results of the German archaeological missions in ancient Heliopolis. This exhibition is jointly organized by the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* in Berlin and the Lebanese Directorate of Antiquities and partly funded by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This museum will be housed *in situ* – in the Roman galleries under the Great Court of the Jupiter Temple and in the Mamluk tower. It will certainly add to the attraction of the ruins and will offer substantial and scientific information on Baalbek's history and monuments to all interested visitors, Lebanese and foreigners alike.

For all of them, this book will certainly be a good companion for an in-depth "Baalbek experience".



Dr. Peter Wittig
Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany

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BAALBEK – AN EXAMPLE OF GERMAN-LEBANESE COOPERATION

William II, German Emperor and King of Prussia, undertook exactly one hundred years ago a journey to the Holy Land which lasted several weeks. One item on the agenda of his journey was the visit of the ruins of Baalbek. There a commemorative plaque, a present of the Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid II, was inaugurated on November 11, 1898, in the presence of the Emperor and his wife, Auguste Victoria.

There are several good reasons why this centenary is celebrated in Lebanon with German participation. The Emperor's visit did not only trigger the first funded archaeological investigation in Baalbek, it also led to the first archaeological project undertaken by German scholars in Lebanon. Although these excavations lasted only four years, they did lay the foundations of our knowledge of Roman Baalbek which are still valid today. German interest in Lebanese archaeology continued over the years as attested by a variety of selective and highly promising scientific projects. The Kamid el Loz excavations, to name but one example, were undertaken in the 1960's and the 1970's by the University of Saarbrücken under the direction of Rolf Hachmann. After several years of interruption, the University of Freiburg under the direction of Marlies Heinz recently resumed excavations there. To try and revive this tradition after the civil war and to begin a new chapter of German research activities in Baalbek and its surroundings, is one of the goals of the centenary celebrations.

Upon the suggestion of the Lebanese Directorate of Antiquities and in close cooperation with the German Archaeological Institute, a permanent exhibition will also be inaugurated in the ruins of Baalbek on November 7. It will present to the public the results of the investigation of the sanctuary and of its surroundings. The Baalbek temples are the largest sacred monuments of the Roman period. Despite the fact that alterations made in early Christian and Islamic medieval times changed their external shape, the Roman buildings are still visible and can be easily and fully reconstructed. Their decoration, however, was lost with time. All the excavations made in Baalbek were mainly concerned with architecture. The emphasis on this particular aspect of the investigation largely determined the nature and the presentation of the exhibition.

The present volume of the *Beiruter Texte und Studien* series accompanies the jubilee celebrations. The German Oriental Society solicited scholars in various fields to contribute to the topic Baalbek and to present in this essay volume the various aspects of the "Image and Monument"

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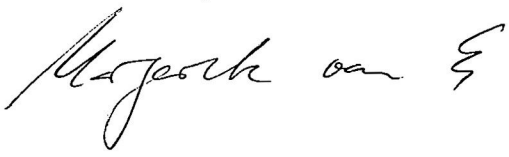
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000017

phenomenon. When confronted to ancient ruins and artefacts, people are often lost, but sometimes they also stand naive and curious before them. In places where they are a predominant feature of man's direct environment, ancient ruins end up becoming an inherent part of man's world. In a country like Lebanon, so rich with its innumerable ancient sites, and especially in a post civil war period, it becomes a necessity for intellectuals to reformulate people's relations to their cultural heritage and to offer them for discussion. In this respect, this volume is an important complement to the exhibition where ancient times are first and foremost visually presented.

The German Archaeological Institute is therefore deeply grateful to the Director of the Orient Institute of the German Oriental Society, Angelika Neuwirth, and to the editors of this special volume, Hélène Sader, American University of Beirut, and Thomas Scheffler, Orient Institute.

We hope this successful cooperation to be another link in the chain of scientific cooperation between both institutes which was stipulated in writing in 1951 between the German Oriental Society and the German Archaeological Institute and already implemented on several occasions in the past.



Dr. Margarete van Ess
Scientific Director
German Archaeological Institute

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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BAALBEK: IMAGE AND MONUMENT, 1898-1998 – AND THE ORIENT INSTITUTE

The idea to edit a volume of studies on Baalbek was born during a discussion among friends and cooperators of the Institute in 1996. It was then agreed that three specific aspects of Baalbek might be challenging topics for scholarly research: the attraction it had on western visitors as documented, for instance, in the Guest Book of the Palmyra Hotel at Baalbek, its characteristics as a monument, and the background of its discovery by archaeologists at the turn of the century. What had begun as a challenging interplay of archival studies, archaeology, Islamic studies and modern western history, gained a new dimension and relevance when the German Archaeological Institute and the Lebanese Directorate General of Antiquities invited the Orient Institute to cooperate in the framework of their joint Baalbek exhibition project. This cultural activity was planned to celebrate the 100th anniversary of William II's visit to the site, which – as is well known – initiated German archaeological activities in the area. Thus the endeavour took a new shape and focused on the Emperor's stay in Lebanon, with special emphasis on his Baalbek visit.

Why such an interdisciplinary venture at the Orient Institute? The Baalbek project appeared, for several reasons, to be a most valuable gain to the Institute. It fitted easily into the context of one of its long-term research projects, "Levant as a paradigm", which had been in preparation for the last years. This project is concerned with the diversity of cultural expressions in the area, with the groups representing them, as well as with their interaction throughout history and up to modern times. It also focuses on Lebanon first as an area deeply marked by the most diverse traditions among which the Hellenistic heritage was by no means the least important, and second, as the traditional place of passage of various ethnic and religious groups which has preserved, up to the present day, its striking diversity. The historical, socio-historical and urban studies included in this volume are therefore a welcome contribution to the Levant project of the Institute.

It is not only Baalbek, as a particularly famous Lebanese place, with its historical significance and its modern active role as the site of a celebrated international festival of arts, nor is its larger Lebanese context, which occupies the undivided attention in this volume. William II, the European protagonist of the short encounter between East and West himself is also submitted to analytical investigation. Moving the perspective into his direction means to deal with various questions related to the awareness of

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'the alien and the own' in 19th-century Germany. What induces an emperor at the end of the 19th century, to embark on a journey to the Near East, which by far exceeds the limits of a politically opportune visit to a friendly ruler? Imperial journeys to the Near East are not new: Napoleon I's expedition to Egypt, the journey of a number of European Majesties (including William II's own father – still crown prince at the time) to the same country, seventy years later, on the occasion of the opening of the Suez canal, as well as other ventures could have served as models for the journey of the Emperor. But his motives can hardly have been restricted to the need of perpetrating an established tradition; they reach much deeper into his perception of the past. What particular image of the Orient, but also what image of the self, may have induced the Emperor to embark on his journey? As Thomas Scheffler's multifaceted contribution demonstrates, these issues can be duly approached only by keeping in mind not just the contemporary history of the Near East but also a host of complex, scientific, intellectual and political debates in contemporary Europe. Oriental studies and studies in modern European history have to complement each other here.

There is, at least, one major aspect in the Emperor's image of the Orient and in his image of the self – though perhaps evolving more clearly in the earlier stages of the journey – that is closely related to another focus of interest cherished by the Orient Institute: the phenomenon of the 'mythification of history', a problem pursued by the Institute in a long-term research project entitled "Communal life – shared/divided memory – Lebanon as a laboratory of the Mediterranean". The relation is in fact complementary: while the "memory" project concentrates on Lebanon's recent history and investigates processes of mythical appropriations of history performed by Near Eastern actors, the case of the Emperor's journey is more complex. Indeed, though taking place in the Near East, the process of mythification of history is stage-managed by a western visitor, the last German Emperor, who for his scenario, combines features of local as well as of his own western history. – It becomes perhaps most obvious from his particular self-stylization, from his peculiar costume, and even his style of self-expression as reflected in the report on his journey – reproduced vividly in Wolf-Dieter Lemke's illustrated contribution – that the German Emperor does not approach the Near East in its contemporary reality but rather evokes a historical context deliberately chosen by himself, namely that of the medieval Crusaders. This context is – as Jürgen Krüger's contribution demonstrates – of extreme importance for his self-image. Under close scrutiny, it appears to be a mythical rather than a historical context, generated by the subjective desire to evoke a past imagined

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rather than real. Etienne François and Hagen Schulze ("Das emotionale Fundament der Nationen", in: Monika Flacke, ed., *Mythen der Nationen: Ein europäisches Panorama*, Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum 1998, 17-32) have lately drawn attention to some central features re-occurring in the various emergence processes of European nations during the 19th century. Some of them can be retraced in the context of the Emperor's journey as well. Thus, and as is the case in historistic art in general, the self-representations of William II – mainly his portrait as a peaceful Crusader-pilgrim surrounded by Crusader kings in the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem – betray an intense interest in authenticity, intended as a means to integrate the beholder into the presented scene, to carry him away into a remote, imagined past. This attitude should not be rashly dismissed as a mere curiosity. Indeed, history put on stage in the course of the journey or in later representations commemorating the journey, is meant to transcend personal dimensions. It is closely related to the concept of the nation, whose meaningfulness it contributes to enhance. The relation to the past as manifested here, is – to use Hagen Schulze's expression – "substantially imprinted with the idea of commemoration". An invented time, constructed from selected elements of historical recollection intrudes on reality: When the Emperor paid his respects to Saladin, the historical foe of the Crusaders, and funded the restoration of the burial chamber which houses the marble tomb erected by Abdülhamid II over Saladin's grave in Damascus, he acted as the descendant of the medieval German rulers, thus integrating himself and his nation into a reinvented Crusader history. The Emperor's performance may be considered as a personal testimony to that "highly emotional collective enthusiasm for the past of the nation" that Hagen Schulze proved to be vital for the emergence of a nation and which, in his view, explains the process of the "invention of tradition" in the sense established by the British historian Eric Hobsbawm. In view of the highly theatrical performance, one might also subscribe to Schulze's own terms describing "the mythical appropriation of history as a comprehensive work of art", a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, re-using a concept coined by Richard Wagner who was one of the most influential older contemporaries of the Emperor. – The latter's journey thus offers a welcome opportunity to shed light on one of the crucial topics of Oriental research, the often distorted relation between history and myth. This issue which is currently debated in Near Eastern intellectual circles finds a good parallel in the case of a western protagonist.

The ancient Near Eastern past served as the ideal scenario for the Emperor to stage his cult of history which he enacted in various forms during his journey. In the case of Baalbek, the monumental Roman ruins moti-

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vated his visit and the attraction they exercised on him can be easily explained. Indeed, in 19th-century Germany, Antiquity was considered to be of high educational value. As already stressed by Schulze, "Germany was then a country devoted to pedagogy and had raised education to a mythical rank chosing classical Antiquity and its culture to be the cornerstones of its curricula". On the other hand, archaeological findings, as upheld by the Emperor himself, were considered to have high epistemological value. Thus, the decision to start archaeological excavations in Baalbek was taken immediately, perhaps on November 11, 1998, while the Emperor was still on site. With this decision, myth and cult of history ended up again in reality, in exact scientific work. The excavations marked the beginning of a new and fruitful German-Lebanese encounter. To present their achievements anew, one century after they began, is a further and in no way marginal aim of the volume. This volume presents short insights into various discourses explaining the development of Baalbek, such as archaeology, history and urban studies. It places them in their own context and within the larger frame of the contemporary political, social and intellectual history of a European country. In no way does it attempt to convey a complete picture of Baalbek's development during the last hundred years. What it might achieve, however, is to draw attention to the multiplicity and complexity of the discourses involved in the history of Baalbek and to inspire more systematic scholarly work on a number of problems that have not received proper attention until now.

The Orient Institute is honored to accept the invitation of the Lebanese Directorate General of Antiquities to figure at the festive event of the exhibition, side by side with the German Archaeological Institute whose generosity made the publication of the volume possible. We are indebted to our partner institute, and we wish to thank in particular the directors of its Near East Department, Margarete van Ess, for her untiring scholarly and personal commitment, and Ricardo Eichmann for his generous support of the book's publication. We would like our jointly produced volume on *Baalbek: Image and Monument, 1898-1998*, to be received as a friendly gesture towards our gracious hosts in Lebanon.

Angelika Neuwirth

Prof. Dr. Angelika Neuwirth
Director
Orient Institute, Beirut

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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INTRODUCTION

BAALBEK: AN IMPERIAL VISIT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

HÉLÈNE SADER AND THOMAS SCHEFFLER

Two centenaries linking the history of modern Lebanon and of Baalbek in particular to the history of modern Germany will be celebrated in 1998: (i) the visit of the German Emperor Wilhelm II to Baalbek (November 10-11, 1898) and the beginning of the German archaeological excavations in the temple ruins of that site on December 27, 1898.

Both events were intimately linked: the experience of the Roman remains left so strong an impression on the Emperor that he decided, nearly on the spot, to see to it that the ruins be excavated by German experts. The purpose was to get a clear idea about the original shape of the buildings ("um volle Klarheit über die einstige Gestalt der Bauten zu gewinnen"[1]).

Not only did the German excavations (1898-1905) achieve scientific results, they also permanently changed the physiognomy of the ruins. The breath-taking spatial experience of the gigantic temple compound – so familiar today to tourists and visitors of the International Baalbek Festival – owes much to German excavation and preservation works which were done at the turn of the century. The view of the sanctuary and its proportions are indeed no longer hampered by huge heaps of rubble as was the case before. Worth mentioning[2] are also the discovery of the splendid staircase leading to the (so-called) Bacchus temple, the restoration of the latter's huge portal, especially the lifting, in September 1901, of the large keystone which was displaced during the earthquake of 1759; and finally the construction of a new staircase to the *propylaea* which restored the ancient axis of the Roman sanctuary.

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1 Ambassador Marschall von Bieberstein to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Pera, November 18, 1898, Bundesarchiv Berlin [BAB], R 09.01, 37693, 16.

2 Cf. Walter Andrae, *Babylon: Die versunkene Weltstadt und ihr Ausgräber Robert Koldewey*, Berlin: de Gruyter 1952, 110-11.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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In Lebanon, both centenaries are celebrated on different levels: both the programme and the catalogue of the XXI Festival International de Baalbeck (*mihrajānāt Baʿalabakk al-dauliyyah*, July 23 - August 29, 1998) had a strong German focus.[3] In November 1998, a permanent exhibition, jointly organized by the *Direction Générale des Antiquités du Liban* and the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*, Berlin, will be opened in the ruins of Baalbek.

The *Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* in Beirut, in cooperation with the German Archaeological Institute and a number of Lebanese scholars, participated in these celebrations with the publication of the present volume. The purpose of the book is twofold: (i) to explore the historical background and the *Zeitgeist* that made the German Emperor and his contemporaries interested in visiting, exploring and preserving the ruins of Baalbek, and (ii) to review the state of the scientific exploration of the site that started with the German archaeological missions.

I

A survey of the literature related to Wilhelm II's second oriental journey clearly shows that four major aspects of his visit were never properly dealt with: (i) Although the journey is frequently mentioned in all history books on Wilhelminian Germany,[4] detailed information was usually restricted to Wilhelm II's stays in Jerusalem (October 29 - November 4, 1898) and Damascus (November 7-10, 1898). The "Lebanese" part of his journey, however – his visits to Beirut (November 5-7 and 11-12) and Baalbek (November 10-11), and his stop-overs at Aley (November 7) and Muallaka/Zahle (November 7, 10, 11) – are rarely mentioned. (ii) While the economic and political circumstances of the Emperor's journey have frequently been discussed, its symbolic, aesthetic and scientific dimensions never received the attention they deserved, in spite of the well-known fact

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3 See the catalogue of the XXI Festival International de Baalbeck (Beirut: Festival International de Baalbeck 1998) with contributions by Thomas Scheffler (23-31), Hinrich R. Reinstrom (66-73), Margarete van Ess (76-79), Abdel-Raouf Sinno (82-89) and, above all, a magnificent collection of ancient photographs of Baalbek taken by the German photographer Hermann Burchardt (1857-1909) before, during, and after the Kaiser's visit (on Burchardt see the contribution of A. Nippa in this volume). – The artistic programme of the Festival was opened by three concerts of the Radio Symphony Orchestra Stuttgart and the choirs of the Foundation "Podium Junger Musiker" (July 23-25, 1998).

4 For a survey of the literature, see Jan Stefan Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898: Eine Studie zur Außenpolitik an der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Hamburg: Dr. Kovač 1997, 9-16.

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that traveling and an "historicist aestheticization" of politics were important parts of Wilhelminian policy.[5] (iii) The local – Arab and Ottoman – reactions to the German Emperor's journey[6] have also widely escaped scholarly attention although the semi-official imperial travelogue[7] abounds with comments on the cheering of local crowds. (iv) Finally, although the whole journey had been staged as an extraordinary *media event*, it is rarely acknowledged that much of its visual covering was done by Ottoman and local Lebanese photographers (e.g. A. Sami, G. Krikorian, A. Guiragossian) whose material remained largely unpublished.[8]

Wilhelm II was neither the first nor the last European to visit the ruins of Baalbek. Yet, his visit had a bearing more special and lasting than that of generations of visitors who preceded[9] and followed him[10] there. This is mainly due to the key role he played in the systematic and thorough excavation and preservation of the ruins.

Michel Alouf, a learned Baalbeki who accompanied Wilhelm II during his visit of the Baalbek ruins, reported the Emperor's clear determination that "the honor of throwing light upon the history of this celebrated town, of leaving to future generations the plans of these monuments, both in the original and in their present state, and of protecting them from the wear and tear of time should, if possible, be reserved to the savants and archaeological scholars of his own country".[11]

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5 See the contribution of Thomas Scheffler in this volume.

6 See the contribution of Abdel-Raouf Sinno in this volume.

7 *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar im Heiligen Lande im Herbst 1898. Mit Allerhöchster Ermächtigung Seiner Majestät des Kaisers und Königs bearbeitet nach authentischen Berichten und Akten, Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler 1899.*

8 See the contribution of Wolf-Dieter Lemke in this volume.

9 For Muslim travelers to Baalbek cf. the contribution of Heinz Gaube in this volume. For European travelers see the contribution of Ussama Makdisi. – The first recorded European traveler seems to haven been the German knight Martin Baumgarten of Kufstein who visited the town in 1508 (travelogue published posthumously in 1594). The first printed account, however, was published by the French Pierre Belon in 1553 and 1554. Proto-archaeological interests in the ruins may be traced back to Louis XIV's minister Colbert (1619-1683). Preservation works began around 1870 when the British Consul General in Damascus, Richard Burton (1821-1890), removed some Arab remains at the portal of the smaller temple and ordered the construction of some masonry to prevent the keystone of the temple's great portal from falling down. Cf. Hermann Winnefeld, "Einleitung. Die bisherigen Publikationen und Berichte und die Arbeit der deutschen Baalbekexpedition", in: Theodor Wiegand, *Baalbek*, vol. 1 (fn. 21), 1.

10 See esp. the contributions of Hinrich R. Reinstrom and Annie Tohme in this volume.

11 Michel Alouf, *History of Baalbek*, 12th rev. ed., Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique 1914, IV-V.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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Although Europeans had lived amidst ruins throughout late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, ancient monuments did not become an object of philosophical, aesthetical and political curiosity before the Renaissance.[12] Reading ruins as a strong visual symbol of the *Past* (as different from the *Present* and the *Future*) presupposes a basic awareness of *history* as both a process and a progress and, thus, an awareness of modernity.[13] The rapid acceleration of societal change in 18th- and 19th-century Europe, induced by the industrial, national, and democratic revolutions of the time, made the "past" (and its remains) a scarce but much pursued means of nation- and state-building. According to the specific purposes involved, connotations of the past were oscillating between nostalgia and symbolic self-aggrandizement: To Emperor Wilhelm II, the monumental ruins of Baalbek, remains of the Roman Empire, were a striking visual proof of what *imperial monarchies* could achieve.[14] To others, they proved how rich and civilized the Fertile Crescent was in Greek and Roman times and how poor and miserable it became under Mongol and Turkish rule.[15] To the Ottoman authorities of the *Tanẓīmāt* era, the discovery, exhibition and preservation of archaeological finds were a symbol of modernity.[16]

II

The German excavations in Baalbek lasted, with some interruptions, from 1898 until 1905. They were followed by smaller additional explorations in 1912 (Heinrich Kohl and Hermann Winnefeld) and in 1917 (K. Wulzinger and Theodor Wiegand). The first German expedition to Baalbek (December 27, 1898 - January 16, 1899) consisted of the archaeologist Robert Koldewey, the architect Walter Andrae and the German director of the Khedival library in Cairo, Bernhard Moritz. The second and main expedition (September 10, 1900 - November 3, 1905) was directed by the

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12 Moshe Barasch, "Die Ruine – ein historisches Emblem", in: Klaus E. Müller and Jörn Rüsen, eds., *Historische Sinnbildung: Problemstellungen, Zeitkonzepte, Wahrnehmungshorizonte, Darstellungsstrategien*, Reinbek b. Hamburg: Rowohlt 1997, 529-34.

13 Cf. Barasch, 519-35 (esp. 521-23).

14 See the contribution of Thomas Scheffler in this volume.

15 Cf. *inter alia*: Friedrich Naumann, *„Asia". Eine Orientreise über Athen, Konstantinopel, Baalbek, Nazareth, Jerusalem, Kairo, Neapel* [1899], 8th ed., Berlin-Schöneberg: Buchverlag der „Hilfe" 1911, 38, 123-27; [Georg] Beer, art. "Heliopolis", in: *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 15 (8/2), Stuttgart: Druckenmüller 1912, 49.

16 See the contributions of Ussama Makdisi and Jens Hanssen in this volume.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000026

archaeologist Otto Puchstein and the architect Bruno Schulz. They were assisted by a staff of talented and meticulous collaborators, among them the architects Heinrich Kohl, Daniel Krencker, Theodor von Lüpke and Gottlieb Schumacher, the Semitist Moritz Sobernheim, and the photographer Dr. Meydenbauer.

A survey of the city allowed German scholars to spot the Roman fortification walls, gates, cemeteries and other ancient structures which were scattered around the sacred enclosure. They first removed the medieval remains of the Islamic *qalʿah* which partly covered the Roman monuments. They carefully recorded and documented these structures before removing them. The Arab citadel together with its houses, mosques and water system was thoroughly investigated. The excavation of the impressive Roman temples followed. The German architects concentrated their efforts in uncovering and recording the three sacred buildings known since as the Jupiter, Bacchus and Venus temples. In order to better understand the ruins of Baalbek, they undertook several exploration trips in the northern and southern Bekaa, in the Lebanon, Antilebanon and Hermon mountains to look for other examples of Roman sacred architecture.

The preliminary scientific results of the 1898-1905 excavations were published between 1902 and 1906 in a few articles,[17] in Puchstein's "Guide through the Ruins of Baalbek",[18] and in a collection of photographs.[19] Some of the results were dealt with in the contemporary Arab press.[20] The publication of the final report, however, was delayed due to the untimely death of Puchstein (1911), Kohl (1914) and Winnefeld (1918) as well as to the hardships of World War I. They did not see the light before 1921, 1923, and 1925 respectively.[21] The results of the Baalbek ex-

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17 Otto Puchstein, "Erster Jahresbericht über die Ausgrabungen in Baalbek", *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 16 (1901), 133-60; Otto Puchstein, Daniel Krencker, Bruno Schulz, Heinrich Kohl, "Zweiter Jahresbericht über die Ausgrabungen in Baalbek", ibid. 17 (1902), 87-123; O. Puchstein, "Die Architekturproben aus Baalbek in den königl. Museen zu Berlin", *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 21 (1906) 3, 225-40.

18 O. Puchstein, *Führer durch die Ruinen von Baʿalbek*, Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1905.

19 O. Puchstein and Th. v. Luepke, *Baʿalbek. 30 Ansichten der deutschen Ausgrabungen*, Berlin: Georg Reimer 1905.

20 Mīkhāʾīl Afandī Mūsā Alūf, "Qalʿat Baʿalabakk wa-ḥafriyyāt al-almān fīhā", *al-Mashriq* 7 (February 1, 1904) 3, 97-104, ibid. 7 (February 15, 1904) 4, 145-62 (we are indebted to Jens Hanssen for having drawn our attention to this article).

21 Theodor Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905*, 3 vols. [vol. 1: Berlin and Leipzig: Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger 1921; vol. 2: Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter 1923, vol. 3: Walter de Gruyter 1925].

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000027

pedition's comparative stock-taking of other Roman temples in the area – undertaken in 1901, 1902 and 1903 – were not published before 1938.[22] Some of Puchstein's notes remained unpublished even then.[23]

Work, however, did not stop in Baalbek after the departure of the Germans. In the 1930's, French archaeologists resumed work on the site. They cleared the remaining medieval and Byzantine structures in the Great Court of the Jupiter temple and discovered a second altar.[24] While German research concentrated on the architectural history and characteristics of the three major temples, French scholars thoroughly investigated the various aspects of the Baalbek cult.[25] The work of Collart and Coupel on the altars of the Great Court, Seyrig's analysis of Heliopolitan religion as well as various studies on the iconography of the sacred monuments shed new light on Baalbek's contribution to the religious history of the area.[26]

After Lebanon's independence, the Lebanese Directorate General of Antiquities continued to show a strong interest in these ruins.[27] Large scale excavations and important restoration works were undertaken which have always been coupled with Haroutune Kalayan's name. Impressive remains were uncovered in Bustan al-Khan and around the Venus temple.[28] Soundings were made in the Great Court to understand the settlement his-

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22 Daniel Krencker and Willy Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel in Syrien. Nach Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen von Mitgliedern der deutschen Baalbekexpedition 1901-1904*, Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter 1938 [Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches, Denkmäler antiker Architektur; 5], repr. Berlin: de Gruyter 1978. – The volume remains to this day the only comprehensive study of Roman temples in Lebanon.

23 Cf. Krencker and Zschietzmann, "Vorwort", in: ibid. (fn. 22), IX.

24 Pierre Coupel, "Travaux de restauration à Baalbek en 1933 et 1934", *Syria* 17 (1936), 330 ff.; Pierre Collart and Paul Coupel, *L'autel monumental de Baalbek*, Paris: Geuthner 1951 [Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique; 52]; Pierre Collart, Paul Coupel, Haroutune Kalayan, *Le petit autel de Baalbek*, Paris: Geuthner 1977 [Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique; 98].

25 Henri Seyrig devoted several studies to the analysis of the Baalbek cult. See mainly "La triade héliopolitaine et les temples de Baalbek", *Syria* 10 (1929), 314-56; "Antiquités syriennes", *Syria* 36 (1959), 38-89; *Syria* 49 (1972), 108-09; "Le culte du soleil en Syrie à l'époque romaine", *Syria* 48 (1971), 331-73. See also U. Hajjar, *La Triade d'Héliopolis – Baalbek*, Leiden: Brill 1977 [Etudes Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain; 57].

26 See Mathilde Gelin, "La contribution française à la conservation et à l'étude de Baalbek entre les deux guerres", *Antike Welt* (forthcoming special issue on Baalbek with all the relevant bibliography).

27 See the contribution of Suzy Hakimian and Toufic Rifaï in this volume.

28 Haroutune Kalayan, "Baalbek: un ensemble récemment découvert", *Les Dossiers de l'Archéologie* 12 (1975), 28-35.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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tory of the site[29] and archaeologists of the Antiquities Department surveyed the area around Baalbek and found new inscriptions and Roman milestones. But the results of these last fifty years of work in Baalbek remain unfortunately unpublished and little can be added to the information provided by the German publications and the French contributions.

How was this scientific information made accessible to the thousands of visitors who came to see these ruins? And, more particularly, how did it reach the Lebanese public? It is interesting to note that except for the Ministry of Tourism thin leaflets on Baalbek, and Alouf's and Harriz' guide books,[30] nothing was ever published in Arabic on the site and its monuments. The excellent documentation collected by the Germans which enlightened the prestigious past of Baalbek and explained its major monuments in detail, remained totally unknown and inaccessible to the Lebanese because of the language barrier. Although written in a language of widespread use in Lebanon, the French documentation was exclusively published and scattered in several scientific journals familiar only to the specialist. Nina Jidéjian's *Baalbek-Heliopolis, City of the Sun*,[31] is the only popular book on Baalbek's history and monuments which was written in English in the early 1970's and recently translated into French. Finally, the architect Friedrich Ragette took interest in the Baalbek monuments and published a very useful study and plans on the religious complex.[32]

Correct scientific information having been made available only to a narrow circle of specialists, many legends concerning the origin of the temples reported by the guide books continued to spread and are still echoed by many Lebanese. The most popular of these legends involve Biblical characters (Cain, Enoch, Salomon...) in the building of the Baalbek temples. Several works of science fiction were based on these legends which ascribe the building of the temples to giants. "The natural conclusion that there were giants in the land who shifted the huge blocks of stone is reflected in many a tale, down to that of 'a well known English traveller' who opined that the gigantic materials employed 'must have been transported by the mastodons which existed in the time of Cain'."[33]

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29 Maurice Chéhab, "Chronique", *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 18 (1965), 111 and 20 (1967), 155-57.

30 Michel Alouf, *History of Baalbek* (fn. 11); Michel Harriz, *Baalbek, A Miracle in Stone*, 7th rev. ed., Baalbek: Harriz 1956.

31 Nina Jidéjian, *Baalbek-Heliopolis, City of the Sun*, Beirut: Dar el Mashreq 1975.

32 Friedrich Ragette, *Baalbek*, London: Chatto & Windus 1980.

33 Charis Waddy, *Baalbek Caravans*, Beirut: Librairie du Liban 1967, 23-24.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000029

Although carefully recorded in the third volume of the German Baalbek report, the city's *medieval* history and monuments were practically ignored by subsequent studies and publications for they have always been kept in the shadow of the impressive Roman temples. Very few Lebanese know that it is to this period that the denomination *al-qalaʿah* goes back as well as several features in the ruins.

Last but not least, Baalbek did not escape the discussion on the origin of its "civilization" and monuments! The opinion claiming an exclusive Roman character of the temples having been challenged and the role of local traditions emphasized,[34] controversy arose about the origin of the temples and of the cults: were they to be ascribed to Phoenician or to Arab culture and tradition? The rule of the Ituraean Arabs in Baalbek during the Hellenistic period was "rediscovered" and revived the debate about the roots of Lebanese culture. Most of this discussion remained, however, restricted to a purely political and ideological level denoting a truncated and incorrect knowledge of the ancient history of the Bekaa valley.

III

When, in 1996, the idea of a publication commemorating the 100th anniversary of the German excavations in Baalbek arose, it became clear that one of its main objectives should be to provide the Lebanese readers with a collection of contributions dealing with various aspects of Baalbek's modern and ancient history. The choice of either French or English was based on the fact that both are languages of widespread use in Lebanon, and imposed by the prevailing education system. The contributions themselves aimed first and foremost at reassessing and presenting the archaeological remains uncovered through the years and at making scientific research and information accessible to the largest number possible of readers in order to help correct some of the widespread misconceptions about the origins and meaning of the monuments. Since the volume is addressing an audience beyond the narrow circle of specialists, Arab and Ottoman names have been usually rendered in simplified versions frequently used in the international press and in current archaeological literature, e.g. "Abdülhamid" instead of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, "Baalbek" instead of *Baʿlabakk*, "Bekaa" instead of *al-Biqāʿ*, "Aley" instead of ʿĀlayh, "Kamid el Loz" instead of *Kāmid al-Lawz*, "Tell el Ghassil" instead of *Tall al-Ghasīl*, etc.

Based on the available textual and archaeological evidence, the pre-Hellenistic history of Baalbek addresses the problem of the settlement's

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34 See the contribution of Adolf Hoffmann in this volume.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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origin and the role the city played before the classical period.[35] The contribution on the Ituraeans[36] clears the nature of the role played by Arab tribes in the political and religious history of the Bekaa in general and of Baalbek in particular. The architectural history of the major monument of Roman Baalbek, [37] the impressive Jupiter temple, is thoroughly analyzed and used as a case study to show the effects of the symbiosis between local and imported religious and building traditions on the final temple architecture. For the first time after Sobernheim's preliminary study, the Islamic *qalʿah* and monuments of Baalbek are comprehensively dealt with and presented.[38]

We do hope that this joint German-Lebanese scholarly venture will provide the readers with some new insights into the circumstances that surrounded the rediscovery of the celebrated Baalbek monuments and will throw some new light on this site's long history.

35 See the contribution of Hélène Sader and Margarete van Ess in this volume.

36 See the contribution of Ernst Axel Knauf.

37 See the contribution of Adolf Hoffmann.

38 See the contribution of Heinz Gaube.

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PART I

THE EMPEROR'S JOURNEY: SYMBOLS, IMAGES, PERCEPTIONS

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THE KAISER IN BAALBEK: TOURISM, ARCHAEOLOGY, AND THE POLITICS OF IMAGINATION

THOMAS SCHEFFLER[1]

> "Guillaume II a le sens de la représentation. Il voit, dans les actes de sa fonction impériale auxquels il donne une solennité laborieusement calculée, l'expression d'un symbolisme à la fois mystique et brutal, propre à enthusiasmer non seulement ses sujets, mais les historiens et les philosophes."[2]

1. Introduction

On October 11, 1898, the German Emperor Wilhelm II left his residence in Potsdam for a six-weeks journey that was to lead him to Constantinople, Jerusalem, Beirut, Damascus, and Baalbek. Contemporary observers were impressed by the size and splendor displayed by the Imperial travel party. On its way from Haifa to Jerusalem, 230 tents, 100 coaches, 12 large baggage wagons, 1300 horses and mules, 100 coachmen, 600 drovers, 6 chief cooks, 6 assistant cooks, 60 waiters, 10 guides, and 12 dragomans were barely enough for the needs of the Kaiser's court (Turkish hosts and guards *not* included). 30 additional carriages and 95 horses had to be provided by the Sultan. Together with the Ottoman dignitaries and thousands of Turkish troops that accompanied the procession, the length of the Imperial caravan on its way to Jerusalem was said to have reached that of a mobilized division.[3]

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1 The author is indebted to Margarete van Ess, Ernst Haiger and Gerhard Höpp for valuable comments and research assistance.

2 Denis Guibert, "De Berlin à Jérusalem", *Le Figaro*, August 24, 1898.

3 Cf. *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar im Heiligen Lande im Herbst 1898. Mit Allerhöchster Ermächtigung Seiner Majestät des Kaisers und Königs bearbeitet nach authentischen Berichten und Akten*, Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler 1899, 99.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000035

A puzzling blend of contradictory impressions was conveyed to the public:

Although the whole event was designed to emphasize the national presence of Germany in the Middle East, most of the Kaiser's itinerary in Palestine, Lebanon and Syria had been organized by the Thomas Cook travel agency in London. The official reason of the journey was the Kaiser's desire to attend the solemn consecration of the Evangelical Church of the Redeemer in Jerusalem. Yet, of the 46 days between his departure and his return to Potsdam (October 11 - November 26, 1898) only seven (October 29 - November 4) were devoted to the Holy City and its surroundings, and the Imperial travel schedule barely left time for quiet contemplation and humble prayers. Travel costumes, means of transportation and public speeches during the journey invoked medieval pilgrimages and crusades. Yet, the most modern technology was used to present them to the mass media: every day, reports of the Kaiser's whereabouts were cabled to Germany's leading news agency, *Wolff's Telegraphisches Bureau*, for circulation in the German press. De facto, the Emperor had been traveling as a peaceful political tourist. Yet, when he returned to Germany, his entrance into Berlin on December 1, 1898, was staged as a triumphal procession worthy of the return of a victorious general from a military campaign.

On the one hand, foreign observers felt fascinated by the spectacular expedition of "that most sensational and most volatile figure in European politics, the German Emperor".[4] According to one of them, "[p]erhaps no higher Christian monarch and mightier historical personage than the present Kaiser of Germany has ever set his foot in the Holy Land since the days of Richard I. of England and Philip Augustus of France."[5] And how much had changed since those days! As a contemporary French commentator remarked, it would have been hard to imagine the president of the Third French Republic, Félix Faure,[6] "partant pour la Syrie, traversant le désert à la tête d'une escorte d'hommes armés et campant sous les tentes aux portes de Jérusalem."[7] On the other hand, there was not much trust in the religious symbolism of the Imperial journey either. The British *Spectator* was convinced that the Kaiser's "desire to visit the holy places [was]

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4 "The German Emperor and his Visit to Palestine", *The Spectator*, August 20, 1898, 233.

5 "The Kaiser, The Caliph, and the Khedive", *Pall Mall Gazette*, August 31, 1898.

6 Félix Faure (1841-99), 1895-99 President of the Third French Republic.

7 Hervé de Kerohant, "Guillaume II à Jérusalem", *Le Soleil*, June 9, 1898.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000036

not the *causa causans* of his expedition."[8] In fact, up to this very day Wilhelm II's second[9] Oriental journey, one of the most spectacular episodes of political tourism in the 19th century, is primarily seen as part of the international tug-of-war for the "Baghdad railway". There is no doubt that advancing Germany's *pénétration pacifique* of the Middle East was an important aim of the Imperial agenda.[10] However, reducing the Emperor's journey to a mere cloak of "economic imperialism", would mean missing many of its domestic and symbolic dimensions.

2. The "Traveler Emperor"

It is said that since the days of Hadrian no monarch has ever been seen as constantly and indefatigably traveling as Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany.[11] Between his accession to the throne in 1888 and the beginning of World War I, the Emperor used to leave his residences in Berlin and Potsdam for 6-8 months per year.[12] His subjects nicknamed him the "*Reisekaiser*" ("Traveler Emperor") and translated his official signature "Wilhelm, I.R." (Wilhelm, *Imperator Rex*") as "Wilhelm, *Immer Reisefertig*" ("William always-ready-to-travel").[13]

The Kaiser's critics deplored his long absences from the capital and explained his constant changes of place and scene by his erratic and desultory temper.[14] In fact, there seemed to be an enigmatic contradiction in his

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8 The Spectator, August 20, 1898 (fn. 4), 233.

9 The Emperor already had visited Constantinople in 1889, and during a Mediterranean cruise in 1905 he disembarked for a few hours in Tanger, Morocco.

10 Cf. *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette 1871-1914: Sammlung der Akten des Auswärtigen Amtes*, vol. 12/II, Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte 1923, 578-80; Jan Stefan Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II. 1898: Eine Studie zur deutschen Außenpolitik an der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Hamburg: Kovač 1997. For a general assessment of Wilhelminian Middle East policy see Wilhelm van Kampen, *Studien zur deutschen Türkeipolitik in der Zeit Wilhelms II.*, phil. Diss., Kiel: Christian-Albrechts-Universität 1968; Gregor Schöllgen, *Imperialismus und Gleichgewicht: Deutschland, England und die orientalische Frage 1871-1914*, München: Oldenbourg 1979; Thomas Scheffler, "The Burden of Geography: Germany and the Middle East, 1871-1945", *Journal of Arab Affairs* 12 (1993) 2, 125-34.

11 Adolf Grabowsky, "Der Kaiser", *Zeitschrift für Politik* 9 (1962) 3, 267.

12 Nicolaus Sombart, *Wilhelm II. Sündenbock und Herr der Mitte*, Berlin: Volk & Welt 1996, 122.

13 Birgit Marschall, *Reisen und Regieren. Die Nordlandfahrten Wilhelms II.*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter 1991, 22.

14 Grabowsky, "Der Kaiser" (fn. 11), 267.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000037

restless behavior: precisely the most outspoken proponent of "personal government" (*persönliches Regiment*) in Germany seemed to undermine one of the basic preconditions of autocracy, namely the presence of the ruler at the decision-making center.

For Wilhelm II and his advisors, however, traveling was one of the most important devices to focus public attention on the person of the ruler: on the level of domestic politics, traveling was an act of political representation, aiming at visualizing the presence of the Kaiser in all parts of the *Reich* and to foster the personal and symbolic bonds between him and his citizens. Traveling abroad, especially to exotic historical sites that were out of reach for most of his subjects, meant placing the Emperor above the profane normality of everyday life, thus emphasizing his exceptional status and investing him with an aura of romantic momentum and with historical reminiscences reaching back to the roots of European civilization.

Mobile monarchs are not a rare occurrence in history. The new thing about Wilhelm II, however, was the extraordinary amount of time he devoted to peaceful travels *beyond* the boundaries of his Empire.[15] In a not too recent past, the movements of monarchs across the boundaries of their polities had mainly been linked to military campaigns or to political flight. Many of Wilhelm II's ancestors had gone to other countries at the head of their armies. After the successful wars for national unification, however, the Second German Empire, at least according to its first Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, claimed to be a "saturated" power. Between 1871 and 1914, in an era of peace that lacked the thrills of battle and victory, travels to foreign countries thus assumed many features of a continuation of war by other means. Political tourism became a kind of symbolic conquest of a world that had already been distributed among other powers. The Kaiser's tour in Palestine and Syria and above all his triumphalist entry into Berlin on December 1, 1898, conveyed this symbolic connection between *tourism and war* to a broader public. Discussing the Emperor's Oriental Journey in the German Parliament, the Liberal deputy Eugen Richter (1838-1906) on December 12, 1898, polemized against "a certain *Byzantinism* among some circles that would like

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15 Wilhelm II's travels to foreign countries included 26 cruises to Scandinavia (*Nordlandfahrten*), 2 cruises around the Mediterranean (1904, 1905), visits to Italy (1893, 1894, 1896), the Ottoman Empire (1889, 1898), and Korfu (1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1914) as well as numerous trips to England, Austria, and Russia. Cf. Marschall, *Reisen und Regieren* (fn. 13), 25.

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to present the [Emperor's] happy return from this journey almost as a return from a successful military campaign."[16]

Imperial travels and the representation of imperial power were thus densely interwoven.[17] Looked at from a comparative point of view, they were part of a broad range of public rituals that were to legitimize monarchy against the looming specters of democracy, nationalism, and socialism all over 19th century Europe.[18]

2.1. Modernizing monarchy: the politics of imagination

> "To state the matter shortly, royalty is a government in which the attention of the nation is concentrated on one person doing interesting things."[19]

Since the French Revolution, monarchy in Europe was an institution at risk. Yet, the "long century" between 1789 and 1914 witnessed not only an inflationary proliferation of "Kingdoms" and "Empires",[20] but also an unprecedented "cult of monarchy".[21] Haunted and inspired by the example of Napoleon I, new and old monarchies alike began to develop new modes of public communication and representation that often blurred the line between populist Caesarism and royal authority, fusing the cult of monar-

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16 [Eugen] Richter, *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstags*, vol. 165, December 12, 1898, 25. For a similar comment on the same event see: Bernhard Fürst von Bülow, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. 1, Berlin: Ullstein 1930, 269.

17 Cf. Marschall, *Reisen und Regieren* (fn. 13), passim; Sombart, *Sündenbock* (fn. 12), 122-30.

18 Cf. David E. Barclay, *Anarchie und guter Wille: Friedrich Wilhelm IV. und die preußische Monarchie*, Berlin: Siedler 1995, 32-34.

19 Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution* [1867], London and Glasgow: Collins-Fontana 1963, 86.

20 Bavaria, Saxonia, Württemberg, and Hanover became "Kingdoms" in 1806, the Netherlands in 1815, Belgium in 1831, Greece in 1832, Italy in 1861, Rumania in 1881, Serbia in 1882, Norway in 1905, Bulgaria in 1908, Montenegro in 1910. France became an "Empire" from 1804-15 and from 1852-70, Germany from 1871-1918. Queen Victoria of England was crowned as "Empress" of India in 1876. Members of the Portuguese House of Braganca ruled as "Emperors" of Brazil (1822-89) and the unfortunate Habsburg prince Maximilian became "Emperor" of Mexico (1864-67).

21 Cf. Barclay, *Anarchie* (fn. 18), 23-40; see also Werner K. Blessing, "The Cult of Monarchy, Political Loyalty and the Workers' Movement in Imperial Germany", *Journal of Contemporary History* 13 (1978), 357-75.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000039

chy with the cult of the nation:[22] Splendid monuments, parades, public speeches, travels, coronation ceremonies, celebrations of all kinds, and the display of considerable pomp were used to adapt monarchy to the rising power of public opinion and mass communication.

At the end of the 19th century, monarchy seemed to be a success story in many parts of Europe again. Looking at the popularity of Wilhelm II's grandmother, Queen Victoria of England (r. 1837-1901), the British journalist Walter Bagehot (1826-77) even had argued that the power of Monarchy was *strengthened* by the rise of modern society. Although royalty had lost much of its ancient powers and prerogatives to publicly elected bodies, it seemed to have acquired new functions that grew out of the difficulties of the new elites to secure for them majority support in an age of extended suffrage. Monarchy, or so Bagehot argued, had become a symbolic device to reduce the complexity of modern society while at the same time concealing its power structures and, thus, winning implicit allegiance to the real rulers:

> "The best reason why Monarchy is a strong government is that it is an intelligible government. ... It is often said that men are ruled by their imaginations; but it would be truer to say they are governed by the weakness of their imaginations. The nature of a constitution, the action of an assembly, the play of parties, the unseen formation of a guiding opinion, are complex facts, difficult to know and easy to mistake. But the action of a single will, the fiat of a single mind, are easy ideas: anybody can make them out, and no one can ever forget them."[23]
>
> "To state the matter shortly, royalty is a government in which the attention of the nation is concentrated on one person doing interesting things. A Republic is a government in which that attention is divided between many, who are all doing uninteresting actions. Accordingly, so long as the human heart is strong and the human reason weak, royalty will be strong because it appeals to diffused feelings, and Republics weak because they appeal to the understanding."[24]

For Bagehot, the real rulers of modern England – a "select few" of middle class bureaucrats, businessmen, and politicians – were "... the last people in the world to whom, if they were drawn up in a row, an immense nation

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22 George L. Mosse, *Die Nationalisierung der Massen: Politische Symbolik und Massenbewegungen in Deutschland von dem Napoleonischen Krieg bis zum Dritten Reich* [1975], Frankfurt/M. et al.: Ullstein 1976.

23 Bagehot, *The English Constitution* (fn. 19), 82.

24 Ibid., 86.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000040

would ever give an exclusive preference."[25] Their appearance and their modes of acting were barely suitable to capture public imagination and to make the "numerous unwiser part" of the population wish "to be ruled by the less numerous wiser part."[26] Monarchy and the ostentatious splendor of the Royal Court, however, were imbuing the majority with a sense of inferiority and thus rendering it "deferential" towards the *élite*.

> "In fact, the mass of the English people yield a deference rather to something else than to their rulers. They defer to what we may call the *theatrical show* of society. A certain state passes before them; a certain pomp of great men; a certain spectacle of beautiful women; a wonderful scene of wealth and enjoyment is displayed, and they are coerced by it. Their imagination is bowed down; they feel they are not equal to the life which is revealed to them. Courts and aristocracies have the great quality which rules the multitude, though philosophers can see nothing in it - visibility. Courtiers can do what others cannot. ... The higher world, as it looks from without, is a stage on which the actors walk their part much better than the spectators can."[27]
>
> "The apparent rulers of the English nation are like the most imposing personages of a splendid procession: it is by them the mob are influenced; it is they whom the spectators cheer. The real rulers are secreted in second-rate carriages; no one cares for them or asks about them, but they are obeyed implicitly and unconsciously by reason of the splendour of those who eclipsed and preceded them."[28]

Being the most vocal proponent of "personal government" in Germany, Wilhelm II surely would have found it difficult to relate Bagehot's distinction between "apparent" and "real" rulers to his *Reich*. The Kaiser's own policy rather used the methods of a "*theatrical show*" to render himself the apparent *and* the real ruler of his Empire. His critics made fun of the fact that he changed his uniforms up to six times a day.[29] However, ridiculing the Wilhelminian era as an age of operetta politics or blaming the Kaiser for having confused the realm of politics with a nostalgic fancy-dress ball means overlooking the very modernity of theatrical politics. While Germany's foremost sociologist, Max Weber (1864-1920), devoted his academic life to study the "disenchantment" (*Entzauberung*) of the

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25 Ibid., 248.

26 Ibid., 247.

27 Ibid., 248.

28 Ibid., 249.

29 Cf. Friedrich Hartau, *Wilhelm II.* [1978], Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt 1997, 99.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000041

modern world, Wilhelm II (1859-1941) became one of the main actors to stage its re-enchantment. And this because of many reasons:

2.2. Germany: The precarious Empire

The Second German Empire[30] was far more in need of symbolic forms of political integration than Victorian England. Founded only recently, in 1871, the unity of the new nation state was incomplete and riven by many fissures. Notwithstanding the booming pathos of German nationalism, the *Reich* was far from being a monolith. On the level of public law, it was an alliance of 25 states which represented different constitutions and historical trajectories, comprising 4 kingdoms, 6 grand duchies, 5 duchies, 7 principalities and 3 city republics.

The *Reich*'s regional particularisms were accompanied and intensified by tensions between Catholics and Protestants and by the rise of the workers' movement. In the pluralist world of the "First Empire" and its petty territorial states, the tensions between Catholics and Protestants had been contained by the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio* (1555). In the unified national state of the Second Empire, however, these tensions escalated in the so-called *Kulturkampf* (1872-87) that opposed the German governments and the "indirect power" of the Catholic Church over a broad range of "cultural" issues like civil marriage, public education, political loyalty, governmental approbation of religious officials etc. Even more threatening were the consequences of industrialization and of universal suffrage, namely the rise of social democracy that even Bismarck's anti-socialist law (*Sozialistengesetz*, 1878-90) proved unable to bring to a halt.

The political unity of the Second Empire had been welded "from above" by a series of bloody wars (1864, 1866, 1870/71) and was bolstered by the memory of victorious battles and by the boom years that followed the foundation of the *Reich*. However, even Bismarck was aware that the enthusiasm of 1870 was doomed to wane with time, and economic prosperity soon became eroded by the "Great Depression" (1873-96)[31].

The political system that was to deal with all these challenges, was a complicated stalemate between contradictory principles: between monarchy and democracy, confederation and federal state, dynastic and national

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30 The "first" German Empire had been the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" (*Sacrum Imperium Romanum Nationis Germanicae*, 962-1806).

31 Cf. Hans Rosenberg, *Große Depression und Bismarckzeit: Wirtschaftsablauf, Gesellschaft und Politik in Mitteleuropa*, Frankfurt/M. et al.: Ullstein 1976.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000042

legitimacy, absolutism and constitutionalism, military and civil rule.[32] Far from possessing a clear-cut hierarchical structure, it sometimes rather resembled a "polycracy" of cross-cutting authorities: the Emperor, the Chancellor, the dynastic kings and princes, the Parliament, the Federal Council, the General Staff, and others.[33]

The status of imperial monarchy[34] in Germany remained rather fuzzy and open to debate. The constitution of April 16, 1871 provided that the title of "German Emperor" (*Deutscher Kaiser*, not: "Emperor of Germany"!) be conferred to the King of Prussia only in his quality as president of the "Federal Council" (*Bundesrat*) of the 25 German states, thus implicitly indicating the latter's will to retain as much as possible of their sovereignty.

In addition, the consolidation of imperial monarchy was hampered by contradictory foundational myths. Although the Second Empire had been established as an imperial monarchy, the German public considered the "Iron Chancellor", Otto von Bismarck (1815-98), as the real founding father of German unity. The Empire's first Kaiser, Wilhelm I (r. 1871-88) had always remained in the shadow of Bismarck's fame, and the reign of his son, Kaiser Friedrich III (1888) had lasted only 99 days, too short to leave a decisive mark on his people's memory. The official celebration of Wilhelm I as "Wilhelm der Große" (William the Great) basically remained a cult "from above"[35] while the veneration of Bismarck bore many popular features as a cult of the middle classes and the local aristocracy.[36]

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32 Cf. Carl Schmitt, *Staatsgefüge und Zusammenbruch des zweiten Reiches*, Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt 1934; idem, *Verfassungslehre* [1928], 8th ed., Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 1993, 53-57, 64-65.

33 Cf. the discussion in: Gregor Schöllgen, "Wer machte im Kaiserreich Politik? Zwischen 'persönlichem Regiment' und 'polykratischem Chaos'", *Neue Politische Literatur* 25 (1980), 79-97.

34 Cf. Elisabeth Fehrenbach, *Wandlungen des deutschen Kaisergedankens 1871-1918*, München-Wien: Oldenbourg 1969; Dirk von Pezold, *Cäsaromanie und Byzantinismus bei Wilhelm II.*, Dissertation thesis, Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Fakultät der Universität zu Köln 1971, 50-68.

35 Cf. Thomas Nipperdey, "Nationalidee und Nationaldenkmal in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert" [1968], in: idem, *Gesellschaft, Kultur, Theorie: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur neueren Geschichte*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1976, 166-69.

36 "The German Empire did not succeed in its efforts to turn the Emperor William I into a popularly accepted founding father of a united Germany, nor in turning his birthday into a genuine national anniversary. ... Official encouragement did secure the building of 327 monuments to him by 1902, but within *one* year of Bismarck's death in 1898, 470 municipalities had decided to erect 'Bismarck columns'." (Eric Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914", in: Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press 1983, 264).

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000043

In terms of historical continuity, the Second Empire constituted a rupture. For the first time in German history, a *Protestant* family – the Prussian House of *Hohenzollern* – had become the Imperial dynasty of Germany, thus breaking with the tradition of the (Catholic) "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" that had ceased to exist in 1806. Compared to other royal houses, the Hohenzollern were newcomers. They had not been raised to the status of royalty before 1701. Their kingdom was a mosaic of scattered territories that had been acquired rather recently by wars and diplomatic marriages.[37] Unlike the medieval monarchies of France and England, they were not supported by any magic aura of "sacred kingship".[38]

2.3. Wilhelminism and the search for sacred kingship

> "I am the sole master of Germany and my country must follow me wherever I go."[39]

Wilhelm II (1859-1941, r. 1888-1918) was barely 29 years old when he ascended the throne. Challenged by the tide of constitutionalism and parliamentarism and haunted by the fame of Bismarck as well as by the specter of socialism, the young Kaiser began to invest his rule with an unprecedented cult of "kingship by divine grace" (*Königtum von Gottes Gnaden*).[40] Time and again, he claimed to owe his royal and imperial authority to *divine grace* and, hence, to be accountable only to God, not to ministers or parliaments, nor even to the people.

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37 In a conversation with the Austrian chancellor Clemens von Metternich in1842, even King Friedrich-Wilhelm IV of Prussia (r. 1840-1861) admitted that his kingdom were a "thing" without "historical foundation" [*Dieses Ding hat keine historische Basis*] and consisted of an "agglomeration of countries that once did have such a foundation and then lost them". Cf. Barclay, *Anarchie* (fn. 18), 87.

38 Cf. Barclay, *Anarchie* (fn. 18), 91. On sacred kingship in Europe see Marc Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges. Etude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre*, Strasbourg: Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg 1924; Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1955.

39 Wilhelm II in a conversation with the Prince of Wales in 1899, quoted in Pezold, *Cäsaromanie* (fn. 34), 218.

40 Cf. Fehrenbach, *Wandlungen* (fn. 34), 116-24; Pezold, *Cäsaromanie* (fn. 34), 87-92; John C.G. Röhl, *Wilhelm II.: Die Jugend des Kaisers 1859-1888*, München: Beck 1993, 289-93.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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In the Prussian tradition that had been formed by kings like Friedrich Wilhelm I (r. 1713-40) and Friedrich II (r. 1740-86), the source of royal authority rested in the *institution* of kingship, not in the *person* of the monarch. Friedrich II used to present himself as the "first servant" of his state. Wilhelm II, however, cultivated a concept of charismatic imperial authority that rather focused on a mystical relationship between the person of the monarch and divine providence, thus combining features of ancient theocracies with romantic individualism.[41] In a semi-public statement on the *Babel-Bibel-Streit* (the heated controversy on the Babylonian origins of the Old Testament that had been triggered off by the Assyriologist Friedrich Delitzsch in 1902)[42], Wilhelm II argued in 1903 that God had time and again revealed himself in chosen persons, be it sages, priests or kings in order to guide their peoples and mankind as a whole: "Hammurabi was one of them, Moses, Abraham, Homer, Charlemagne, Luther, Shakespeare, Goethe, Kant, Kaiser Wilhelm the Great."[43]

This concept of imperial authority deviated from the traditions of the Holy Roman Empire of German Nation as well as from the enlightenment tradition of Prussian kingship. Hence, Wilhelm II had to look for other precedents. His extraordinary interest in history and archaeology was not the least nourished by his desire to collect proofs and symbols of divine kingship and imperial grandeur in antiquity. Throughout his life, he remained interested in studying forms of ancient Oriental monarchy. In 1898, a three-weeks journey of the Kaiser to the sites of Pharaonic Egypt was canceled only at the last minute.[44] He became one of the main sponsors of the "German Orient-Society" (*Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft*), founded in 1898, and in 1901 became its official protector.[45] In 1908, he personally supervised the production of a theatrical performance on the

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41 Cf. Fehrenbach, *Wandlungen* (fn. 34), 117-18.

42 Friedrich Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel. Ein Vortrag*, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung 1902. On the debate see: Klaus Johanning, *Der Bibel-Babel-Streit. Eine forschungsgeschichtliche Studie*, Frankfurt/M. et al.: Lang 1988; Reinhard G. Lehmann, *Friedrich Delitzsch und der Babel-Bibel-Streit*, Freiburg, CH/ Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/ Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1994.

43 Wilhelm II to Admiral Hollmann, February 15, 1903, in: Kaiser Wilhelm II., *Ereignisse und Gestalten aus den Jahren 1878-1918*, Leipzig and Berlin: Koehler 1922, 184.

44 Cf. Richter, *Orientreise* (fn. 10), 30-37.

45 Cf. Christian Simon, "Kaiser Wilhelm II. und die deutsche Wissenschaft", in: John C.G. Röhl, ed., *Der Ort Kaiser Wilhelms II. in der deutschen Geschichte*, München: Oldenbourg 1991, 97. See also Wilhelm II., *Ereignisse und Gestalten* (fn. 43), 303.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000045

Assyrian king Assurbanipal.[46] In 1936, he edited a chronological compendium on the early history of the Near East, Egypt, and the Mediterranean world.[47] In 1938, he published a book on sacred kingship in ancient Mesopotamia.[48] His treatise on yin-yang symbolism and the cult of the sun (1934)[49] or his booklet on the canopy as a celestial symbol (1939)[50] betray a lasting cross-cultural, yet somehow eclectic interest in the connections between cosmological symbolism and political rule.

The political pendant to Wilhelm II's cult of monarchy was the policy of "personal government" (*persönliches Regiment*)[51] that was designed to concentrate – at least in theory – the effective powers of decision-making in the hands of the Emperor. On the one hand, "personal government" meant the replacement of independent minded ministers by more compliant ones. On the other hand, it was connected to an ambitious foreign policy on a world-wide scale (*Weltpolitik*). Since the realm of foreign policy still was comparatively unrestrained by parliamentary control, it was an ideal platform to present the Emperor as a powerful figure acting on a world-scale and ranking high above domestic parties and quarrels.[52] Imperial travels were an important part of this strategy. "Personal government", "world policy", and the cult of monarchy, were thus intimately intertwined. In their purest form they were connected to the appointment of Bernhard von Bülow (1849-1929) as Foreign Secretary (1897) and as Chancellor (1900-1909).[53]

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46 Cf. Kay Kohlmeyer, "Faszination des Orients", in: *Wiedererstehendes Babylon: Eine antike Weltstadt im Blick der Forschung*, Berlin: Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 1991, 13-18.

47 Kaiser Wilhelm II., ed., *Vergleichende Zeittafeln der Vor- und Frühgeschichte Vorderasiens, Ägyptens und der Mittelmeerländer*, Leipzig: K.F. Koehler 1936.

48 Wilhelm II., *Das Königtum im alten Mesopotamien*, Berlin: de Gruyter 1938.

49 Kaiser Wilhelm II., *Die chinesische Monade, ihre Geschichte und ihre Deutung*. Leipzig: K.F. Koehler 1934.

50 Wilhelm II., *Ursprung und Anwendung des Baldachins*, Amsterdam: Allert de Lange 1939.

51 Cf. Isabel V. Hull, "'Persönliches Regiment'", in: Röhl, ed., *Der Ort Kaiser Wilhelms II.* (fn. 45), 3-23.

52 Cf. Wolfgang Mommsen, *Großmachtstellung und Weltpolitik. Die Außenpolitik des Deutschen Reiches 1870-1914*, Frankfurt/M.-Berlin: Ullstein 1993, 139.

53 Cf. Peter Winzen, "Zur Genesis von Weltmachtkonzept und Weltpolitik", in: Röhl, ed., *Der Ort Kaiser Wilhelms II.* (fn. 45), 189-222.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000046

3. Visiting the Ottoman Empire: Theocracy and Pilgrimage

Wilhelm II's second Oriental journey (October 11 - November 26, 1898) was not only part of Germany's newly emerging *Weltpolitik*, it was also the Kaiser's first great foreign journey after Bismarck's death on July 30, 1898. In a way, his famous speech in Damascus on November 8, 1898, implicitly marked the final symbolic emancipation from Bismarck's time-honored Middle East policy: according to Bismarck's much cited formula of 1876, there was "no interest" for Germany in the Orient "which would be worth the sound bones of even a single Pomeranian musketeer."[54] Wilhelm II in his Damascus speech, however, publicly challenged Russia, France, and Great Britain by assuring the Sultan and the Muslim world of his everlasting friendship.

There was a feeling of affinity between Wilhelm II and the Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid II (1842-1918, r. 1876-1909) who in 1877 had dismissed his Wezir Midhat Pasha (1822-84), and in 1878 had dissolved the Parliament and suspended the constitution of 1876. According to Bülow who accompanied the Kaiser during his journey, Wilhelm II felt particularly attracted by the unrestrained domestic power of the Sultan.[55] After his return to Potsdam, the Emperor even declared "that Turkey with the unconditional obedience of its inhabitants towards the Sultan whom they are venerating not only as their sovereign but also as their Caliph, i.e. as the governor of God, could be a model for other countries."[56] The Sultan, on the other hand, expressed his admiration for the Kaiser's "religious sensitivity" and his "deep understanding of Religion" and emphasized "how much he shared His Royal and Imperial Majesty's conviction that only Religion were the foundation of obedience and, thus, of peoples' happiness."[57]

Devoting so long a journey to the Ottoman Empire, was not necessarily popular in Germany in 1898. Many Christians abhorred the massacres of hundreds of thousands of Armenians in 1895/96. Besides, for many Liberals, the Ottoman Empire still was the epitome of backward despotism. The view that the "Sick Man of Europe" was doomed to demise was widely shared.

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54 Otto v. Bismarck, *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags*, vol. 14, December 5, 1876, 585. On the background of Bismarck's declaration see Scheffler, "The Burden of Geography" (fn. 10).

55 Bülow, *Denkwürdigkeiten* (fn. 16), vol. 1, 242.

56 Ibid., 268-69.

57 Ambassador Freiherr von Marschall to Chancellor Fürst von Hohenlohe, Pera, November 20, 1897 [report on a conversation with the Sultan on November 19, 1897], in: *Die Grosse Politik*, vol. 12/II (fn. 10), 558.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000047

The Kaiser's wish to attend the consecration of the Evangelical Church of the Redeemer in Jerusalem on October 31, 1898, thus became the symbolic pivot to legitimize the whole undertaking. To build a church for the German Protestant community had been a long-term project of his ancestors.[58] By executing their will,[59] the Kaiser was emphasizing Germany's new role as a protecting power of Protestant Christians in the Muslim world. In addition, by presenting on the same day the recently acquired site of the *Dormitio Sanctae Mariae Virginis* on Mount Zion to the Catholic "German Society of the Holy Land" (*Deutscher Verein vom Heiligen Lande*, founded in 1895), the Kaiser tried to reconcile the German Catholics with Protestant-Prussian hegemony at home while challenging, at the same time, France's claim to be the sole protecting power of Catholics in the Ottoman Empire.[60]

Besides, presenting the journey as a pious pilgrimage to the Holy Land also served the purposes to celebrate the Emperor as the foremost defendant of religion in Europe and to divert political distrust on the side of foreign observers. In a letter to Czar Nicholas II of Russia, Wilhelm II complained about

> "the amount of bash and blarney that is being ventilated in the newspapers of Europe about my visit to Jerusalem! It is most discouraging to note that the sentiment of real faith, which propels a Christian to seek the Country in which our Saviour lived and suffered, is nearly quite extinct in the so called better classes of the XIXth Century, so they must explain the Pilgrimage forcibly by Political motives! What is right for thousands even of your lowest peasants is right for me too!"[61]

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58 In 1841, his great-uncle, King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia, had co-founded the Anglo-Prussian Protestant bishopric of Jerusalem (dissolved in 1886), and on November 7, 1869, his father, crownprince Friedrich Wilhelm, had solemnly taken possession of the site where the church was to be built. On the history of the Anglo-Prussian project cf. Abdel-Raouf Sinno, *Deutsche Interessen in Syrien und Palästina 1841-1898: Aktivitäten religiöser Institutionen, wirtschaftliche und politische Einflüsse*, Berlin: Baalbek Verlag 1982, 16-44; Barclay, *Anarchie* (fn. 18), 128-32; Jürgen Krüger, *Rom und Jerusalem: Kirchenbauvorstellungen der Hohenzollern im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag 1995, 57-59. On the architectural history of the Redeemer's Church see esp. Krüger, 74-85, 93-97.

59 Cf. Wilhelm II's speech in: *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstags*, vol. 165, December 6, 1898, 3.

60 Cf. the correspondence in: *Die Grosse Politik*, vol. 12/II (fn. 10), 589-638. See also Richter, *Orientreise* (fn. 10), 155-86.

61 Wilhelm II to Czar Nicholas II, August 18, 1898, in: Walter Goetz, ed., *Briefe Wilhelms II. an den Zaren 1894-1914*, Berlin: Ullstein 1920, 312.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000048

Yet, measured in days, the Emperor's pilgrimage to the Holy Land (October 25 - November 4) barely amounted to half of his stay in the Ottoman Empire (October 18 - November 12). More than half of the stay were devoted to other places. Considering that the journey in its entirety (October 11 - November 26) included numerous stop overs in European and German towns on the way to and back from the Ottoman Empire,[62] one cannot escape the conclusion that the journey was overgrown by a multitude of secondary purposes.

4. The Kaiser in Baalbek: an episode and its filiations

On Thursday, November 10, 1898, shortly before sunset, Wilhelm II, and his wife, Auguste Victoria, coming from Damascus, arrived in Baalbek after a four hours carriage ride from the Muʿallaqah railway station at Zahleh.[63] A tent camp had been pitched up for them and their retinue in the great court of the temple district. At nightfall, lanterns and a fireworks illuminated the ruins.

Even before coming to Baalbek, the Kaiser had had an idea of the site: In November 1869, his father, crownprince Friedrich Wilhelm (1831-88), had passed through the town on his way to the opening of the Suez Canal.[64] In March 1883, a cousin of his father, prince Friedrich Karl (1828-85), one of Prussia's leading generals in the 1870-71 war, had spent his birthday in Baalbek.[65]

Rising very early on November 11, 1898 (temperature had dropped to 2° C during night-time), the Kaiser watched the famous sunrise of Baalbek and then inaugurated a gift of the Sultan: a richly decorated marble tablet with inscriptions both in German and Ottoman Turkish commemorating

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62 Originally, the Emperor had planned to sail home from Beirut via Rhodos, Malta, Cagliari, Port Mahon, Cartagena, Cadix, Vigo, Dover, Brunsbüttel. Cf. Bülow, telegram to Auswärtiges Amt, Beirut, November 6, 1898, in: *Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts*, Bonn [PAAA], R 3734, A 12851. In his autobiography, Bülow attributed the choice of the long sea route to the Emperor's dislike of returning to the boring bureaucratic routines of government in Berlin (Bülow, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. 1 [fn. 16], 265-66).

63 Al-Muʿallaqah was divided from Zahleh (Zaḥlah) only by a narrow lane. Zahleh, however, belonged to Mount Lebanon, while Muʿallaqah was in the vilayet of Syria (A.C. Inchbold, *Under the Syrian Sun: The Lebanon, Baalbek, Galilee, and Judæa*, vol. 1, London: Hutchinson 1906, 129). – For a description of the Kaiser's stay in Baalbek see *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar* (fn. 3), 370-76.

64 Cf. ibid., 376.

65 Theodor Fontane, *Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg: Fünf Schlösser* [1888], Berlin: Aufbau Verlag 1990, 420.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000049

the visit of the Kaiser and his wife. Already at 8:00 a.m., the majesties mounted their coaches again and headed back to Muʿallaqah and from there to Beirut. On Saturday, November 12, 6:00 a.m., the Imperial yacht left the port of Beirut. On November 26, the Emperor was back in Potsdam.

Measured in hours, the Emperor's stay in Baalbek was only a minor episode, or so it seems. From the 422 pages of the official travelogue, barely seven dealt with his visit to Baalbek as compared to 198 for Jerusalem, 25 for Constantinople, 15 for Damascus, and 7 for Beirut.[66] Yet, placing it at the end of the Kaiser's itinerary invested the visit with a special symbolic status, and, above all, it yielded a result with lasting consequences for Baalbek, namely the first systematic excavations of the temple district by two German archaeological expeditions (1898-99, 1900-05).

The hours in Baalbek left so deep an impression on the Kaiser that nearly on the spot, on November 11, he decided to fund and promote the archaeological exploration of the site by German scholars.[67] The Emperor's enthusiasm is reflected by the rapidity of his subordinates in fulfilling the Most High wishes: leaving Beirut on November 12, 1898,[68] the Imperial Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Adolf Freiherr Marschall von Bieberstein (1842-1912), hastened back to Constantinople to obtain the necessary excavation permits. On November 18 – the Emperor on his long way home just had reached Messina, Sicily – Marschall got the consent of the Sultan[69] and on November 20, he obtained the permission of Hamdi Edhem Bey (1842-1910), the influential director of the Ottoman Museums.[70] On November 20, in a telegram from Messina, Bülow already

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66 Cf. *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar* (fn. 3), 56-80 (Constantinople), 115-313 (Jerusalem and surroundings), 341-46, 378-79 (Beirut), 355-70 (Damascus), 370-76 (Baalbek).

67 Theodor Wiegand, [Preface of January 27, 1921], in: idem, ed., *Baalbek: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905*, vol. 1, Berlin and Leipzig: Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1921. – Hermann Winnefeld, "Einleitung. Die bisherigen Publikationen und Berichte und die Arbeit der deutschen Baalbekexpedition", in: ibid., 1-14 (p. 9), erroneously contends that the Kaiser had ordered the first preparatory steps of the expedition "immediately after his return to Germany" (*gleich nach der Ankunft in Deutschland*). In fact, the diplomatic preparations for the excavation campaign started already during the Kaiser's return journey (see below).

68 Cf. *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar* (fn. 3), 378.

69 Marschall, telegram to Auswärtiges Amt, Pera, November 18, 1898, *Bundesarchiv Berlin* (BAB), R 09.01, 37693, 16; [Undersecretary of state] Richthofen, telegram to Bülow, Berlin, November 19, 1898, BAB, R 09.01, 37693, 19.

70 Marschall, telegram to Auswärtiges Amt, Pera, November 20, 1898, BAB, R 09.01, 37693, 20; Richthofen to Bülow, Berlin, November 21, 1898, BAB, R 09.01, 37693, 26.

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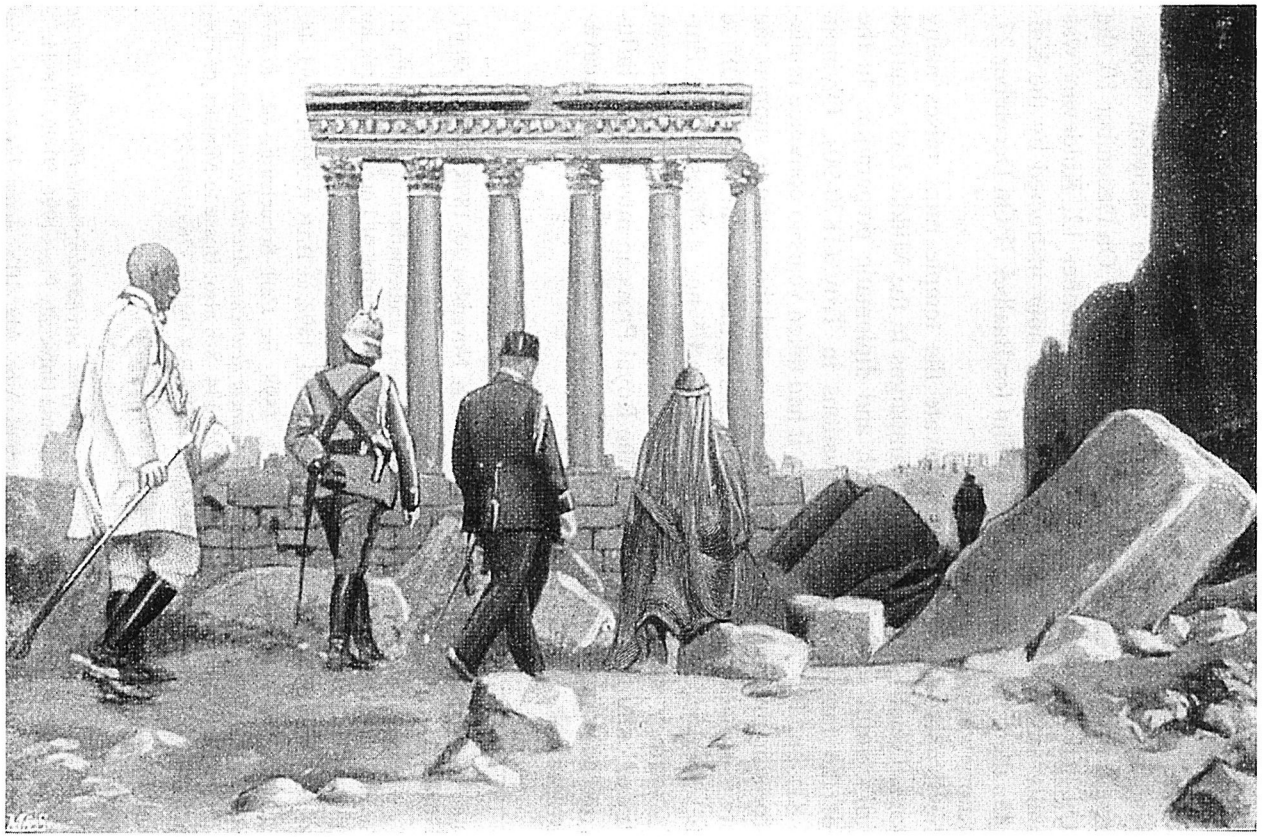

Kaiser Wilhelm II visits the ruins of Baalbek (Photo O. Anschütz, in: *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar im Heiligen Lande im Herbst 1898,* Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler 1899, 372-73).

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000051

asked the ambassador on behalf of His Majesty to work towards an arrangement with the Porte that would leave the "originals" or at least casts of the expected finds to the German side.[71] On December 3, the Prussian ministry of culture, in a memorandum to Wilhelm II, proposed to entrust the designed head of the German excavations in Babylon, Robert Koldewey, with a preliminary survey of the ruins.[72] On December 10, the ministry had the Kaiser's approval.[73] On December 12, Koldewey was personally received in Potsdam and for one hour instructed by the Kaiser.[74] On the same evening he left Berlin for Baalbek.[75] On December 27, exploratory work in Baalbek began.[76]

The Emperor's decision to excavate the temple ruins raises many questions. Usually, archaeological campaigns in the Middle East required years of careful scientific, financial, and diplomatic preparation. In the case of the famous German excavations in Troy (1870-90), Olympia (1875-81), and Pergamum (1878-86), it had taken years to convince ministries, foreign governments, private sponsors, and the public to support the projects.[77] However, neither the documents of the German Foreign Office on the scientific exploration of the Near East[78] nor its files on the Emperor's journey to the Orient[79] provide any evidence that the Prussian ministry of culture, the direction of the Royal Prussian museums or influential archaeological lobbies had worked on the Kaiser in favor of excavations at Baalbek.

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71 Bülow, telegram to Auswärtiges Amt, Messina, November 20, 1898, BAB, R 09.01, 37693, 22.

72 v. Weyrauch (acting for minister Robert Bosse), Immediatbericht to Wilhelm II, Berlin, December 3, 1898, U IV. 4378 (copy to Ministry of Foreign Affairs), in: BAB, R 09.01, 37693, 36-37.

73 Bosse to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 11, 1898, in: BAB, R 09.01, 37693, 44.

74 Koldewey to Puchstein, December 12, 1898, in: Carl Schuchardt, ed., *Robert Koldewey: Heitere und ernste Briefe aus einem deutschen Archäologenleben*, Berlin: G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung 1925, 134. See also: Bosse to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin, December 11, 1898, in: BAB R 09.01, 37693, 44-45.

75 Koldewey to Puchstein, December 12, 1898, 134.

76 Winnefeld, "Einleitung" (fn. 67), 9.

77 Cf. Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1996, 80-96, 118-24.

78 *Bundesarchiv Berlin* (BAB): Auswärtiges Amt, Abt. IIIb, *Acten betreffend: Die wissenschaftliche Erforschung von Klein-Asien*, R 09.01, 37688-717.

79 *Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts*, Bonn (PAAA): Auswärtiges Amt, Abt. A, *Acten betreffend: Reisen seiner Majestät des Kaisers nach dem Orient (Athen, Konstantinopel, Palästina, Egypten pp.)*, esp. R 3729-39.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000052

They do, however, contain plenty of evidence that the then archaeological establishment had been busy lobbying for large-scale German excavations in *Mesopotamia*.[80] In Winter 1897/98, an expedition under Eduard Sachau (1845-1930) and Robert Koldewey (1855-1925) had explored possible sites for excavations in ancient Babylonia and Assyria.[81] On January 24, 1898, the "German Orient-Society" (*Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft*) had been founded.[82] Comprising high-ranking officials, aristocrats, scholars and businessmen, the society was designed to support excavations in the Near East (particularly in Mesopotamia) and to sponsor the acquirement of the finds for German museums. In summer 1898, the Assyriologist Friedrich Delitzsch (1850-1922) in his *Ex Oriente Lux* reminded the German public of the international competition between French, British, American, and German archaeologists, and declared the promotion of German excavations in Mesopotamia a national duty.[83] In a memorandum to Wilhelm II on October 7, 1898, the Prussian minister of culture[84], Robert Bosse (1832-1901), argued that excavations in Mesopotamia might correct the old view that considered the Greeks as the creators of European art and science, the Romans as the creators of European law and the Jews as the creators of "our Religion". To a certain degree, or so Bosse argued, Jews, Greeks, and Romans might now rather be seen as transmitting and developing instances (*Überlieferer und Fortbildner*) of a far older Near Eastern and Egyptian culture. Hinting to the ongoing competition with French and British museums, Bosse asked the Kaiser to use his imminent visit to Constantinople to promote German excavations in Babylonia.[85]

Compared to the high expectations that accompanied the German plans to excavate ancient Babylon or Assur, the exploration of temple structures that dated back "only" to the late Roman period was not necessarily a top priority. It is, thus, the Emperor's personal links to his visit to Baalbek that we have to explore.

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80 Cf. Richter, *Orientreise* (fn. 10), 199-201.

81 BAB, R 09.01, R 37692, 41-44.

82 Kohlmeyer, "Faszination des Orients" (fn. 46), 11-12.

83 Friedrich Delitzsch, *Ex Oriente Lux! Ein Wort zur Förderung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung 1898. On June 16, 1998, a copy of Delitzsch's booklet was sent by the Foreign Office to Chancellor Fürst von Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst (cf. BAB, R 09.01, 37692, 78).

84 Official title: "Minister for religious, educational and medical affairs" (*Minister der geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medizinalangelegenheiten*).

85 Bosse to Wilhelm II, October 7, 1898, BAB, R 09.01, 37692, 35-40.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000053

4.1. Baalbek and the Kaiser's itinerary

Originally, the Kaiser's stay in Baalbek had been part of a far more ambitious tourist program. As late as August 1898, the Emperor had planned to round off his pilgrimage to Palestine not only by a trip to Syria and Lebanon but also by an additional three-week excursion to Egypt (November 17 – December 9, 1898) that was supposed to lead him up to Assuan.[86] Carried out as planned, the journey would have lost much of its "Christian" patina: The Kaiser would have traveled from Saladin's tomb in Damascus to the temples of the Roman Emperors in Baalbek, and from there first to Alexandria, the city of Alexander the Great, and then up to the Pyramids, temples and tombs of the Egyptian Pharaohs. Carried out in its original proportions, thus, a much greater part of the Emperor's stay would have been devoted to sites of non-Christian sacred rulership. All in all, it would have become a journey back in time to the historic roots of sacred kingship.

It was not before early October, 1898, that his visit to Egypt was canceled:[87] There had been rumors that Italian anarchists had infiltrated into Egypt to assassinate the Kaiser. In addition, the latter's advisors were worried that too long an absence of the Emperor from Berlin might unduly delay the opening of the newly elected parliament and deprive the *Reich* of its leadership at a moment when in the wake of the Dreyfus- and Fashoda-crises French politics might take an unexpected turn. On October 8, 1898, *Wolff's Telegraphisches Bureau* reported that the Kaiser had waived his trip to Egypt.[88] As a result of this decision, *Baalbek* became the final chord of his Oriental journey.

4.2. From Damascus to Baalbek

All the available evidence suggests that the Kaiser arrived at Baalbek in a mood of utmost enthusiasm. Sure, the official purpose of the whole journey had been the consecration of the Evangelical Redeemer's Church in Jerusalem. Yet, like many contemporary travelers to the Holy Land, the Emperor had been rather disappointed by what he saw in Palestine. Ac-

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86 *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar* (fn. 3), 376. For the draft schedule of Wilhelm's journey to Egypt (as planned in August 1898) see PAAA, R 3730, A 9700.

87 For the reasons cf. Richter, *Orientreise* (fn. 10), 30-43.

88 Wolff's Telegraphisches Bureau, no. 4449, Berlin, October 8, 1898, in: PAAA, R 3731.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000054

cording to a letter he wrote to the Russian Czar from Damascus on November 9, 1898, the Kaiser had found the Holy Land "simply terrible in its arid dryness and utter want of trees and water". The cult at the Christian sanctuaries reminded him of "Fetish adoration" and he deeply resented the inter-Christian quarrels of the local clergies "who have a pleasure in intrigues and political designs fostering hatred instead of love, and leading to free fights and battles in the churches instead of Psalms and friendly intercourse."[89]

> "My personal feeling in leaving the holy city", he admitted, was "that I felt profoundly ashamed before the Moslems and that if I had come there without any Religion at all I certainly would have turned Mahometan!... I return home with feelings of great disillusion and with the firm conviction that our Saviour's grave quite certainly *is not beneath* that Church of the Saint Sepulchre, which in its appearance and decoration compares very badly with the Mosque of Omar in its simple and inspiring grandeur!"[90]

Compared to his visit to the Holy Land, his trip from Beirut to Damascus and back to Beirut via Baalbek (November 5-12, 1898) was a *crescendo* of elevating impressions. The Emperor was impressed by the "lovely villas, gardens and glades" of Beirut and, above all, by the "Magic" of Damascus where "[t]he great river Barader gives life and coolness and fosters vegetation of the finest description".[91]

The cheers of the Beirutis, too, had been more impressive than the ones by which he had been welcomed in the Holy Land – a fact that the official travelogue connected to the suggestion that a considerable part of the Beirutis had adopted the vivacious and noisy manners of "South Europeans" and that "the Muslims with their measured composure" were not as numerous in Beirut as they had been in Palestine.[92]

However, his triumphal entrance into Damascus on November 7, 1898, outshone even the cheers of Beirut. "Our reception here is simply astounding", the Kaiser noted in Damascus, "never has a Christian – Giaur – Mon-

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89 Wilhelm II to Czar Nicholas II, Damascus, November 9, 1898, in: Goetz, ed., *Briefe*, (fn. 61), 316-17.

90 Ibid., 316.

91 Ibid., 316-17.

92 *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar* (fn. 3), 343. According to Bülow, the enthusiasm of the Beirutis was "the more remarkable" as Beirut had hitherto been considered as "the center of French influence" (Bülow, telegram to Auswärtiges Amt, Beirut, November 6, 1898, PAAA, R 3734, A 12853). On the Kaiser's reception by the local population see also Richter, *Orientreise* (fn. 10), 77-86.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000055

arch been so fêted and received with such unbounded enthusiasm."[93] German newspapers spread his remark "I really would like my Berliners to see how they are receiving a ruler here" (*Ich möchte doch, daß meine Berliner mal sähen, wie hier ein Herrscher empfangen wird*).[94]

Overwhelmed by the enthusiastic welcome, the Emperor had been carried away on November 8 into publicly assuring "his Majesty, the Sultan, and the 300 million Muslims who – living dispersed in the world – are venerating him as their Caliph" of his everlasting friendship[95] – all this much to the dismay of his more cautious Foreign Secretary, Bernhard von Bülow, who in vain had tried to publish a mitigated version of this speech which – in the Kaiser's original phrasing – was likely to provoke anger and distrust on the side of France, Russia, and Great Britain.[96]

By adding in the same speech an eulogy on "one of the most chivalrous rulers of all times, the great Sultan Saladin" (1137-93) and by laying a wreath on Saladin's tomb on November 9, 1898, Wilhelm II projected his vision of Muslim-German friendship on a Muslim ruler whose generous behavior towards the vanquished crusaders, particularly after the reconquest of Jerusalem, had made him a figure of respect and later on also a model of interreligious tolerance in European literature[97].

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93 Wilhelm II to Czar Nicholas II, Damascus, November 9, 1898, in: Goetz, ed., *Briefe* (fn. 61), 317.

94 Quoted in: Wilhelm Schröder, ed., *Das persönliche Regiment. Reden und sonstige öffentliche Aeußerungen Wilhelms II.*, München: Birk 1907, 127.

95 "Möge Seine Majestät der Sultan und mögen die dreihundert Millionen Mohammedaner, welche, auf der Erde zerstreut lebend, in ihm ihren Khalifen verehren, dessen versichert sein, daß zu allen Zeiten der deutsche Kaiser ihr Freund sein wird." (Bülow, telegram no. 116 to Auswärtiges Amt, Damascus, November 9, 1898, PAAA, R 3734, A 12953 [orthography corrected, TS]).

96 In a first telegram on November 8, 1898, Bülow had dispatched a mitigated version to Berlin that did not imply open support for the Pan-islamist claims of the Ottoman Caliphate: "Möge seine Majestät der Sultan und mögen alle Mohammedaner überzeugt sein, daß der Deutsche Kaiser stets ihr Freund sein wird" (Bülow, telegram no. 114 to Auswärtiges Amt, Damascus, November 8, 1898, PAAA R 3734, A 12939 [orthography corrected, TS]). On request of the Kaiser, the press release of the first telegram was halted and a second telegram [no. 116, see above, fn. 95] was dispatched on the morning of November 9, 1898, containing the authentic text of the speech (cf. Bülow, telegram no. 117 to Auswärtiges Amt, November 9, 1898, ibid., A 12951). – In his *Denkwürdigkeiten* (vol. 1 [fn. 16], 258), Bülow later claimed that he had tried to stop the press release of the authentic speech, but that the text had already been cabled to Germany on request of the Imperial Ambassador at the Sublime Porte, Freiherr von Marschall.

97 See e.g. Saladin's portrait in Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* (Nathan the Wise, 1779). The symbolic pivot of Lessing's "dramatic poem" was the parable of the "three rings" symbolizing the three monotheistic religions.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000056

All in all: whilst the Kaiser's travel to Palestine had been staged as a symbolic blend of pilgrimage and peaceful crusade, his tour in Lebanon and Syria rather invoked the *imaginaire* of a mighty and self-confident monarch being above the confessional fault-lines of his times. In this respect, the Emperor's visit to Baalbek was a symbolic peak. As the official travelogue put it:

> "The last and final point of the great journey to the Orient had been reached here, in ancient Heliopolis: amidst the ruins of the largest temple buildings bequeathed to us by antiquity, the Imperial couple reposed during its last night on Syrian soil. During the previous rides and rests [of the journey], memories of the Saviour's mortal life, of ... pilgrims and crusaders had moved the soul ... – Those hours in the ruins of Baalbek, however, added to all these impressions the memory of the splendour and power of classical culture which the era of the Roman emperors once had extended to these regions."[98]

4.3. Wilhelm II and the Roman Emperors

Rehabilitating the memory of the Roman emperors had been one of Wilhelm II's favorite projects in the 1890s.[99] For him, popularizing the concept of imperial monarchy in Germany meant changing the politics of memory, too. Anybody who was looking for historical models to revive the spirit of sacred kingship in 19th century Europe had to face the uncomfortable fact that large parts of the West's so-called "classical" Greco-Roman heritage were not particularly supportive of monarchy. At least the *textual* heritage of antique historians, philosophers and orators was more or less indebted to the norms and problems of the Greek *polis* and the Roman *Republic*. Especially since the French Revolution and the Philhellenist euphoria of the Greek liberation war (1821-30), enthusiasm for Greco-Roman antiquity in Europe had often been allied to political liberalism.[100]

Wilhelm II not only distrusted the subversive components of Europe's Greco-Roman heritage – he also had been traumatized by the pedantic Greek lessons of his school days and ever since maintained a critical dis-

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98 *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar* (fn. 3), 371 (my translation).

99 Bülow, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. 1 (fn. 16), 171-72.

100 Cf. Regine Quack-Eustathiades, *Der deutsche Philhellenismus während des griechischen Freiheitskampfes 1821-1827*, München: Oldenbourg 1984; Christoph Hauser, *Anfänge bürgerlicher Organisation: Philhellenismus und Frühliberalismus in Südwestdeutschland*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1990.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000057

tance towards classical philology[101]. In 1890, he exhorted the German secondary schools to educate their pupils into "young German patriots and not into young Greeks and Romans"[102] and in 1897, he deplored that history classes in German schools were devoting too much time on Athens and the Roman republic at the expense of more important events in the Roman Imperial monarchy.[103]

Late Roman temple structures like the ones of Baalbek – the ancient Heliopolis – conveyed a striking *visual* impression that no classical textbook collection could provide: They demonstrated that even a declining imperial monarchy had been capable to create monuments of a size unparalleled by Athens' Acropolis or the temples of the Roman republic.

The Protestant theologian, politician and writer Friedrich Naumann (1860-1919) who visited Baalbek in October 1898, a short time before Wilhelm II, noted in his diary-travelogue *„Asia"* that exposing the Kaiser to the sheer monumentality of the temple ruins might appeal to his desire for greatness and, hence, turn out costly for the German taxpayers:

> "What will be the impression of these stones on Wilhelm II whose very nature is already inclined to such majestic structures! ... If we had no modern public administration with no parliamentary control of the budget, that night in Baalbek might easily turn out to be expensive, for a princely fantasy will surely be enormously inspired by witnessing such remains of ancient rulers' greatness."[104]

As it seems, Wilhelm II was particularly fascinated by the Roman emperor *Antoninus Pius* (r. 138-61 AD) on whose orders – according to a 6th cen-

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101 Cf. Simon, "Kaiser Wilhelm II. und die deutsche Wissenschaft" (fn. 45), 98-99. See also Marchand, *Down from Olympus* (fn. 77), 79, 135-36.

102 Elisabeth Erdmann, *Die Römerzeit im Selbstverständnis der Franzosen und Deutschen: Lehrpläne und Schulbücher aus der Zeit zwischen 1850 und 1918*, Bochum: Brockmeyer 1992, 79.

103 Cf. Gerhard Schneider, "Der Geschichtsunterricht in der Ära Wilhelms II.", in: Klaus Bergmann and Gerhard Schneider, eds., *Gesellschaft, Staat, Geschichtsunterricht: Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Geschichtsdidaktik und des Geschichtsunterrichts von 1500-1980*, Düsseldorf: Schwann 1982, 153. – Although not all of the Kaiser's dreams concerning a revision of German school curricula became true, it was not the least at his instigation that the new Prussian curricula of 1901 provided for a more extensive coverage of the Roman emperors – *nota bene* at a time when the overall proportion of ancient history in Prussian school curricula was significantly reduced. Cf. Erdmann, *Römerzeit* (fn. 102), 80-82, Schneider, "Geschichtsunterricht", 155.

104 Friedrich Naumann, *„Asia": Eine Orientreise über Athen, Konstantinopel, Baalbek, Nazareth, Jerusalem, Kairo, Neapel* [1899], 8th ed., Berlin-Schöneberg: Buchverlag der "Hilfe" 1911, 38 (my translation).

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000058

tury AD chronicle of Ioannes Malalas – the temple of Jupiter in Baalbek had been built. Being the adopted son of Hadrian (r. 117-38) and adoptive father of Marcus Aurelius (r. 161-80), the divinized Antoninus Pius was considered as one of the most peaceful and popular rulers of the Roman Empire.

Already in the 1870s, Wilhelm and his father had participated in the excavations of the *Saalburg* near Bad Homburg in the Taunus region, a Roman castle that had been ascribed to the reign of Antoninus Pius.[105] In 1897, he had promised to sponsor the restoration of the Saalburg.[106] In March 1900, he even commissioned a bronze statue of Antoninus Pius. Designed by the sculptor Johannes Götz,[107] the statue was placed at the southern gate of the Saalburg in autumn 1900 – i.e. roughly about the time when the Imperial archaeological expedition under Otto Puchstein started its excavations in Baalbek (see below). The statue's inscription – IMPERATORI ROMANORUM TITO AELIO HADRIANO ANTONINO AUGUSTO PIO GUILELMUS II IMPERATOR GERMANORUM[108] ("To the Emperor of the Romans, Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Wilhelm II, Emperor of the Germans") – indicated that Wilhelm II considered himself as a counterpart of his Roman colleague across time and space, probably as the emperor of an up-coming German world empire the glory of which was to match the fame of Rome. Celebrating the beginning of restoration works at the Saalburg *principia* on October 11, 1900, the Kaiser declared that Germany's youth might learn in the emerging museum, "what a world empire means". The Germans, he continued, should become as powerful, united and influential as the Roman world empire had once been – so that in future days the words "I am a German citizen!" (*Ich bin ein deutscher Bürger*) might come up to the ancient "*civis Romanus sum*".[109]

The excavation-restoration of the Saalburg (to which he remained committed throughout his lifetime[110]) indicated how much the Emperor's interest in archaeology was intertwined with educational aims. The remnants of ancient worlds were excavated in order to reconstruct them *idealiter* as images or *realiter* as haptic "remakes" that could be used for con-

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105 Cf. Bülow, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. 1 (fn. 16), 171; Martin Stather, *Die Kunstpolitik Wilhelms II.*, Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre 1994, 78.

106 Erdmann, *Römerzeit* (fn. 102), 269; Stather, *Kunstpolitik* (fn. 105), 78-79.

107 Stather, *Kunstpolitik*, 80-81.

108 Erdmann, *Römerzeit* (fn. 102), 272. The author of the inscription was the Historian Theodor Mommsen (1817-1903).

109 Quoted in: Erdmann, *Römerzeit* (fn. 102), 270.

110 Cf. ibid., 267-73.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000059

temporary purposes. In an age of mass education, archaeology (and especially the archaeology of large architectural ensembles) thus helped to capture the public imagination of large national collectives in search of "ideals", "roots" and "origins" by discovering, preserving, restoring, and exhibiting visual, monumental proofs of ancient greatness.

Wilhelm II was not the only one to think that way. The rise of archaeology in the Second Empire corresponded to a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction with textualist classical philology.[111] "What has the grammar of Greek particles to do with the meaning of life?", Friedrich Nietzsche had desperately sighed in 1874.[112] A victim of its own successes in past centuries, classical philology which had been since the Renaissance the main key to higher education and to civilizational identity in Western Europe, was now considered to have become too overspecialized, too dry, too pedantic and boring, and out of touch with reality to provide intellectual and emotional guidance in an age of national mass education.[113] More and more critical voices asked to complement the textual knowledge of antiquity by the persuasive power of visual education, *enseignement par les yeux*, i.e. by images, monuments, works of art, photographs, museums, exhibitions etc.[114] Among the historical disciplines, archaeology was the best suited to this task of discovering, restoring, or even recreating persuasive, haptic, seemingly authentic images of the distant past.

For many reasons, archaeological excavations in the Near East enjoyed a special position in the late 19th century:[115] Due to the rise of nationalism in Italy and Greece, it had become increasingly difficult for German museums to acquire new important finds from the primary centers of Greco-Roman culture. In contrast to Greece and Italy, the archaeological discovery of the Ottoman Empire had begun only recently and obstacles to export

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111 Cf. Marchand, *Down from Olympus* (fn. 77), 142-51.

112 "Was hat die griechische Partikellehre mit dem Sinn des Lebens zu tun?" Friedrich Nietzsche, "Wir Philologen" [1874-75], in: idem, *Werke in drei Bänden*, ed. Karl Schlechta, vol. 3, München: Hanser 1956, 326.

113 Cf. Marchand, *Down from Olympus* (fn. 77), 37, 124-33, 135, 142-51, 222.

114 Cf. Marchand, *Down from Olympus* (fn. 77), 142-51; Erdmann, *Römerzeit* (fn. 102), 253-76. – In one of the best sold German books of the 1890's, *Rembrandt als Erzieher. Von einem Deutschen* [1890], 42nd [!] ed., Leipzig: Hirschfeld 1893, the nationalist writer Julius Langbehn (1851-1907), invoking the "struggle between image and letter" (p. 8), demanded "deliverance from the paper age" (p. 3) and pleaded for a national turn from "science" to "the arts" (pp. 2, 8), praising *architecture* as the pivot of the visual arts, comparable to the role of philosophy in scientific thinking (p. 1).

115 Cf. Marchand, *Down from Olympus* (fn. 77), 188-227.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000060

large parts of the finds were much easier to overcome than in Europe. Besides, many of the newly excavated sites in the Near East impressed modern observers by a size that favorably appealed to the taste for "monumentality" which accompanied the rise of nationalism in Europe. Above all, due to the revolutionary augmentation of historical knowledge that followed the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphs and Mesopotamian cuneiform characters and the discovery of the Indo-German language family, the paradigms of European self-perception were changing.[116] No longer could Europe's historical "origins" be traced back to Greece, Rome, and ancient Israel alone. More and more, it had become fashionable to think of Asia as the "Cradle of Civilization". "Au siècle de Louis XIV on était helléniste, maintenant on est orientaliste", had Victor Hugo already written in 1829.[117]

4.4. Phoenician roots of Baalbek?

Like many of his contemporaries, Wilhelm II, too, was fascinated by the idea to discover ancient links between "Oriental" and "Western" civilizations.[118] Already in his youth, he had admired Heinrich Schliemann[119] (1822-90), the famous German amateur archaeologist whose excavations in Troy had reinvigorated not only the remembrance of Greece's heroic, pre-democratic past but had also focused public attention on the importance of Asia for Greek civilization.

Baalbek-Heliopolis seemed to be a particularly rewarding case. The name of the city seemed to indicate Phoenician or even pre-Phoenician origins.[120] The Imperial travelogue assumed that Baalbek had been the site of an ancient sanctuary of the sun god Baal and that the local cult of the

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116 Cf. Thomas Scheffler, "Exotismus und Orientalismus", in: *kultuRRevolution*, no. 32/33 (1995), 105-11. See also Hans G. Kippenberg, *Die Entdeckung* der *Religionsgeschichte: Religionswissenschaft und Moderne*, München: Beck 1997, 45-51.

117 Victor Hugo, [1. foreword to] *Les Orientales* [1829], ed. Elisabeth Barineau, Paris: Didier 1952, 11.

118 Kaiser Wilhelm II, *Ereignisse und Gestalten* (fn. 43), 168; idem, *Erinnerungen an Korfu*, Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter 1924, 143-44.

119 Cf. Christian Simon, "Kaiser Wilhelm II. und die deutsche Wissenschaft", in: Röhl, ed., *Der Ort Kaiser Wilhelms II.* (fn. 45), 97-98.

120 Cf. e.g. Michel M. Alouf, *Histoire de Baalbek par un de ses habitants* [1890], 3rd ed., Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique 1910, 28-42; [Georg] Beer, art. "Heliopolis", in: *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 15 (8/2), Stuttgart: Druckenmüller 1912, 47-49.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000061

sun far preceded the later Roman temple structures.[121] The first local guide book, Michel Alouf's *Histoire de Baalbek*, counted the city among the oldest in the world.[122]

Robert Koldewey who directed in 1898/99 the first German archaeological survey in Baalbek fathered the Kaiser's decision to excavate the ruins essentially on the German Orientalist Professor Bernhard Moritz[123] (1859-1939), since 1896 director of the Khedival library in Cairo, who had shown the Kaiser around in Baalbek[124]. According to Koldewey, Moritz had caught the Emperor's curiosity with unfounded speculations on the enigmatic (perhaps Phoenician?) origins of the sanctuary.[125]

Having explored the site for some days, Koldewey could not find anything enigmatic at all about it: "Ancient – for instance Phoenician – things ... are out of the question. Everything plain Greek-Roman",[126] he wrote to his friend Otto Puchstein in early January 1899. The results of the Puchstein expedition (1900-1905), too, did not yield any evidence of Phoenician origins. Yet, as late as 1925, Theodor Wiegand (1864-1936), while editing the third and last volume of the Baalbek expedition's final report, had to defend the authors against critics blaming them for not having traced the once expected remnants of pre-Roman Baal veneration. Wiegand succinctly replied that in the great temple, excavations had been undertaken down to the natural rock without, however, producing the expected result.[127]

We may safely doubt whether the Kaiser would had waived the Baalbek excavations had he foreseen their meager results concerning the Phoenician heritage. Even Otto Puchstein, the head of the main excavation

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121 Cf. *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar* (fn. 3), 372-73.

122 Alouf, *Histoire de Baalbek* (fn. 120), 29.

123 On Bernhard Moritz see Johann Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig: Harrassowitz 1955, 316.

124 Cf. Winnefeld, "Einleitung" (fn. 67), 9. See also the contribution of Annegret Nippa in this volume.

125 Robert Koldewey to Otto Puchstein, Baalbek, January 5 or 6, 1899, in: Schuchardt, ed., *Robert Koldewey* (fn. 74), 135.

126 "Von alten – etwa phönikischen – Sachen ist allerdings nicht im mindesten die Rede. Alles gut römisch-griechisch." (Koldewey to Puchstein, January 5 or 6, 1899 [fn. 125], 136).

127 Theodor Wiegand, [Preface of June 15, 1925], in: idem, ed., *Baalbek*, vol. 3, Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter 1925, [IV]: "... so ist zu erwidern, daß im Inneren des großen Tempels Nachgrabungen bis auf den gewachsenen Felsen angestellt worden sind, daß sie aber das erwartete Ergebnis nicht zeitigten."

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000062

campaign, notwithstanding his own results, continued to believe that the history of Baalbek reached back to the Phoenicians.[128] For Wilhelm II who considered himself the *spiritus rector* of the German war fleet, incessantly preached the nexus between *Weltpolitik* and maritime power, and personally used to spend many months on his yacht, the seafaring Phoenicians must have been a fascinating historical subject of lasting interest – as was the cult of the Sun[129] which obviously had been so splendidly celebrated in Baalbek-Heliopolis.

The Kaiser's interest in the Phoenicians was even to grow during the later years of his life. In an evaluation of his own amateur excavations in Corfu (1911-14), published in 1924, Wilhelm II discussed at length the influence of the Phoenicians as a cultural "maritime bridge" between Asia and Europe and suggested a *Phoenician* link between ancient South Arabian cults of the Sun and the veneration of deities like Gorgo and Artemis in the Greek islands.[130] The famous snake hair of the Gorgo, he argued, might be traced back to the stylized sunrays ornating the head of an ancient Phoenician-Arabian sun goddess.[131]

5. Rapid decision – difficult implementation

In 1898, the Kaiser's sudden enthusiasm to excavate Baalbek found Germany's archaeological establishment rather unprepared. No masterplan existed, no previous fact-finding-mission had explored the site, no experts had been selected, let alone trained for this task. In contrast to many other archaeological projects at the time, the Baalbek excavations had not been prepared by years of careful lobbying on the part of museums, ministries, and master archaeologists. The leading German archaeologists and their counterparts in the Prussian bureaucracy had

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128 Cf. Otto Puchstein, *Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek*, Berlin: Georg Reimer 1905, 3-4. – On the hitherto futile search for a pre-Hellenistic Baalbek see the contribution of Hélène Sader and Margarete van Ess in this volume.

129 For the Kaiser's lasting interest in the symbolism of the Sun, see his *Die chinesische Monade* (fn. 49).

130 Cf. Kaiser Wilhelm II., *Erinnerungen an Korfu* (fn. 118), esp. 109-28. The excavations were assisted by the archaeologist Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1853-1940), Schliemann's former assistant. On the Corfu excavations see also: Wilhelm II., *Ereignisse und Gestalten* (fn. 43), 169-71. See also: Wilhelm II., *Studien zur Gorgo*, Berlin: de Gruyter 1936.

131 Wilhelm II., *Erinnerungen an Korfu* (fn. 118), 109-11.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000063

rather focused their efforts on promoting large-scale excavations in Mesopotamia.

Yet, as unprepared as they were, they quickly seized the opportunity to enlarge their range of action in the Ottoman Empire and to engage the most high political authority in Germany in a long-term archaeological project.

In the absence of genuine experts for Baalbek as well as of a reliable survey of the costs and tasks of an in-depth exploration of the ruins, the Prussian Ministry of Culture and the General administration of the Royal Prussian Museums approached the architect and archaeologist Robert Koldewey.[132] Koldewey, at the time preparing his departure as head of the German excavation campaign in Babylon, was urged to go to Baalbek first, for an on-site evaluation of the whole project, to be undertaken in cooperation with Prof. Bernhard Moritz (Cairo) whom Koldewey was to pick up in Alexandria for that purpose.[133]

This is not to say that the Kaiser's sudden interest in Baalbek put the Babylon project at risk.[134] It did, however, mean that Koldewey and his assistant, Walter Andrae (1875-1956), had to speed up their departure[135]

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132 Cf. Immediatbericht to Wilhelm II, Berlin, December 3, 1898 (fn. 72), 35-37; Koldewey to Puchstein, December 12, 1898 (fn. 74), 133.

133 Cf. Immediatbericht to Wilhelm II, Berlin, December 3, 1898 (fn. 72), 36-37.

134 Against: Richter, *Orientreise* (fn. 10), 202. – Since the planned Babylon expedition was supposed to reach Mesopotamia via Triest-Alexandria-Beirut-Alexandrette-Bagdad, the Ministry of Culture rather considered it as a "particularly happy coincidence" (*eine besonders günstige Gelegenheit*) to have such a highly experienced specialist as Koldewey passing through Syria anyhow. Entrusting Koldewey with the pre-exploration of Baalbek meant saving the costs for a special expedition and having to pay only the additional travel costs Beirut-Baalbek-Beirut and a ca. three-weeks stay in Baalbek. Cf. Immediatbericht to Wilhelm II, Berlin, December 3, 1898 (fn. 72), 36-37; Bosse to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 11, 1898 (fn. 73), 44. – According to Koldewey, Moritz left Baalbek already after 8 days (cf. Koldewey to Puchstein, January 5 or 6, 1899, in: Schuchardt, ed., *Robert Koldewey* (fn. 74), 135).

135 Originally, the Babylon expedition was supposed to set out for Mesopotamia only after the official Ottoman excavation permit had been issued. The Baalbek project changed these plans: Koldewey and Andrae were supposed to leave Germany earlier, without the Babylon *Firman* of the Porte. The rest of the Babylon expedition would follow them as soon as the Ottoman *Firman* was issued and meet them at Beirut or Alexandrette. Cf. Immediatbericht to Wilhelm II, December 3, 1898 (fn. 72), 36-37. – Koldewey's and Andrae's departure from Germany seems to have taken a rather hectic course: On 11 December, it was still not sure whether they would reach the Triest-Alexandria steamer on 14th or on 21st of December or whether they would have to travel via Neapel. Cf. Bosse to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 11, 1898 (fn. 73), 44.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000064

and that their work in Baalbek (from December 27, 1898, to January 16, 1899) had to take place under rather rough and winterly weather conditions ("bei Schnee und Kälte").[136]

As it seems, Koldewey, in the beginning, had even not been overly convinced of the archaeological value of the whole undertaking. He blamed Moritz – whom he did not consider as an expert – for having "stirred up the whole Baalbek story".[137] It was only in Baalbek that Koldewey became really interested in the Kaiser's project: "The ruin is interesting, much more as one hitherto should have thought", he wrote to Otto Puchstein in early January, 1899.[138]

After Koldewey's departure to Babylon, it still took about one and a half year to set up the final research programme of the main expedition, to arrange a team of qualified experts and to obtain the necessary Ottoman excavation permits[139]. On June 6, 1900, Wilhelm II, in the presence of the Ottoman ambassador, received the General Director of the Royal Museums, Richard Schöne, and the designed members of the Baalbek expedition in Potsdam to discuss the project.[140] On June 20, the German Imperial embassy in Constantinople submitted the official request for an excavation permit in Baalbek to the Porte.[141] On August 8, the members of the expedition arrived in Baalbek.[142]

On September 10, 1900, the main excavations finally started.[143] Funded by Wilhelm II's private disposition fund and directed by

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136 Winnefeld, "Einleitung" (fn. 67), 9.

137 Koldewey to Puchstein, January 5 or 6, 1899 (fn. 125), 134: "Moritz, der eigentlich die ganze Balbeker Geschichte angestiftet hat".

138 Koldewey to Puchstein, January 5 or 6, 1899 (fn. 125), 134: "Die Ruine ist interessant, viel mehr als man früher hätte denken sollen."

139 According to the German embassy in Constantinople, the Ottoman ministry of educational affairs had been reluctant to accept the second expedition as a simple continuation of the first and as a personal project of the German Emperor. Cf. Wangenheim to Chancellor Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, Therapia, July 29, 1900, in: BAB, R 09.01, 37696, 59.

140 Cf. Winnefeld, "Einleitung" (fn. 67), 9. See also: Ministry of Cultural Affairs to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, U IV 2332, Berlin, December 18, 1900, in: BAB, R. 09.01, 37696, 4-5.

141 Wangenheim to Chancellor Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, Therapia, July 29, 1900 (fn. 139).

142 Winnefeld, "Einleitung" (fn. 67), 9.

143 Ibid., 10.

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Koldewey's friend Otto Puchstein[144] (1856-1911), they lasted until March 1904.[145] In order to gain comparative material from other examples of Syro-Roman architecture in the region, the Baalbek excavations were accompanied by a fact-finding-mission (Summer 1902) to Palmyra, Apamea, Jerash, Amman, Bostra and the Hauran.[146]

Corresponding to the *excavation-restoration* impetus of Wilhelminian archaeology (see above), the Baalbek excavations were then followed by the construction of a new stairway to the *propylaea*, the ancient entrance hall of the temple compound. Built under the direction of the German engineer Dr Gottlieb Schumacher,[147] the new staircase was designed to restore the old central axis of the sanctuary, thus enabling future visitors to enter it the same way as ancient worshippers had done.

In summer 1905, the activities of the Imperial Baalbek expedition were officially concluded. In a solemn ceremony on June 29, 1905, Dr Schumacher presented the keys to the site's new main gate and to the museum that had been established inside the temple compound to the *vali* of Damascus, Nazim Pasha. Speeches by the German consul general in Beirut, Dr Paul Schröder, by the *vali*, two local religious dignitaries (the Mufti and the Melkite bishop) and by a local schoolteacher, afterwards a common walk through the ruins, a visit to the new museum, and finally a dinner in the house of Said Pasha Haidar, head of Baalbek's municipality, concluded the day which had abounded in mutual thanks and good wishes for Emperor Wilhelm II and Sultan Abdülhamid II, their empires and their peoples.[148] On November 3, 1905, 57 crates with architectural samples of the

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144 On Puchstein's biography see A. Jolles, "Otto Puchstein", *Jahresberichte über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften* 164 (1913), 192-211.

145 Winnefeld, "Einleitung" (fn. 67), 12.

146 Cf. Puchstein's research proposal, "Über die Fortsetzung der archäologischen in Syrien im Sommer 1902 begonnenen Untersuchungen", Freiburg i.Br., January 11, 1903, in: BAB, R 09.01, 37702, 65-68; Schöne to Prussian Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Berlin, April 7, 1903, in: ibid., 63-64; Prussian Ministry of Cultural Affairs to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, May 11, 1903, in: ibid., 62; Daniel Krencker and Willy Zschietzmann, *Römische Tempel in Syrien nach Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen der Deutschen Baalbekexpedition 1901-1904*, Berlin: de Gruyter 1938.

147 Winnefeld, "Einleitung" (fn. 67), 12.

148 See the report by the German Imperial Consul General in Beirut, Paul Schröder, to Chancellor Fürst von Bülow, Beirut, June 3, 1905, in: BAB, R 09.01, 37111, 34-35. – Resuming previous proposals by Puchstein and Schumacher, Schröder proposed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to decorate four locals for their merits for the Baalbek project: the Shiite notable Assad Bey Haidar, the Christian notable Elias Bey Mutran, the dragoman of the Syrian vilayet-government, Nicola Effendi Adami, and the tenant of the ruins ("Ruinenpächter") Michel Aluf. Aluf, he argued, "is in a way our

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finds left Beirut to be shipped to Hamburg.[149] The bulk of the samples went to the Royal Museums in Berlin, the rest to the University of Freiburg (Puchstein's home university), and to the Technical University of Hannover where Bruno Schulz (1865-1932), technical director of the Baalbek expedition, had been appointed as professor.[150]

6. The Imperial tablet: the Baalbek ruins as palimpsest

However, there were not only positive responses to the Emperor's visit to Baalbek and to their long-term consequences for the ruins. In a polemical reevaluation of the Emperor's journey, the French daily *Le Gaulois* accused the Kaiser to revel in Wagnerian romantic historic scenarios, while, at the same time, inconsiderately disfiguring historic monuments – citing as one of the proofs the marble tablet that commemorated his visit to Baalbek:

> "[C]'est à Baalbek, que Guillaume II a osé son plus insigne péché d'orgueil. Dans le temple de Jupiter, le mieux conservé de toute l'Héliopolis antique, à la place d'honneur, entre deux pilastres corinthiens d'une beauté somptueuse et grave, l'empereur d'Allemagne a fait sceller sous ses yeux une atroce plaque de marbre pour perpétuer sa visite au sanctuaire du roi des dieux! ... Il a choisi la place, fait défoncer le mur que tant de siècles avaient épargné, cimenter l'inscription lapidaire dont la banalité hurle dans les ruines profanées; mais son monument sacrilège appelle déjà les destructions prochaines. Déjà des touristes exaspérés ont mutilé la plaque à coups de pierre; il a fallu la protéger par un grillage; un amorcellement d'ordures l'assiège. Elle sera réduite en débris avant la muraille millénaire qui l'enchâsse."[151]

The ostensibly purist impetus of this accusation did, however, ignore that the tablet – a gift of Sultan Abdülhamid II – was part of an ancient tradition,

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confidant [*unser Vertrauensmann*] in Baalbekk [sic]; in a short while, he will be appointed as official of the Turkish Museum Administration with a fixed salary, and in future, it will be his duty to watch over the ruins." Schröder proposed to award Adami, Haidar, and Mutran the Red Eagle Order ("Roter Adler-Orden"), 4th class, and Aluf the Royal Crown Order ("Königlicher Kronen-Orden"), 4th class (ibid., 35, my translation).

149 Cf. Winnefeld, "Einleitung" (fn. 67), 12; and Schmidt, Prussian Ministry of Culture, to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin, January 10, 1906, BAB, R 09.01, 37711, 64.

150 Cf. Winnefeld, "Einleitung" (fn. 67), 12.

151 P.-B. Gheusi, "Lohengrin en Palestine", *Le Gaulois*, July 7, 1899.

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too. Since the days of the Pharaohs, leaving one's mark on other people's monuments, erasing the marks of others, or using their monuments for new purposes has been part of the perennial interplay of generations. In fact, the subsequent superimposition of primary, secondary, tertiary etc. layers of meanings constitutes to a large extent the *historicity* of monuments. The importance of a monument in and for history is not the least indicated by its evolution into a *palimpsest*, i.e. by its change from a mere remnant of generations past into a site of later memories, contemporary visions, restorations, new functions... In this respect, archaeology, too, may be considered as a palimpsest-generating agency. It is by its very activity leaving its traces on the objects of its exploration, "recreating" only selected historic strata of ancient sites while omitting others or even destroying them.[152]

Even before the arrival of the German archaeological expeditions, the palimpsest-like character of the Baalbek ruins could hardly have got lost on anybody. In fact, it made up much of the "enigma" of the site that had provoked the Kaiser's curiosity, too. Speculations on Phoenician or pre-Phoenician foundations, inscriptions by several Roman Emperors, remnants of a Byzantine basilica and of an Arab fortress, and numerous graffiti by tourists and locals made it difficult to consider the site as a "pure" Roman creation.

The German archaeological expeditions, too, were aware of the already existing multilayerdness of the site. In fact, it was part of their research program to find out whether the Roman buildings of 2nd century AD had been preceded by older structures and how their transformation in a Byzantine and later on in an Arab fortress had taken place.[153] Puchstein's team employed among others a specialist – the Orientalist Moritz Sobernheim (1872-1933) – to study the Arab inscriptions in Baalbek.[154]

As it seems, Puchstein and his colleagues did not feel particularly offended by the presence of the Imperial tablet. On the contrary, it was on

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152 Archaeologists leaving their own *inscriptions* on ancient monuments are part of this logic. The Prussian Egyptologist Richard Lepsius (1810-84) e.g. proudly had hoisted the Prussian flag on the Pyramid of Cheops in 1842 and left behind "a commemorative inscription in hieroglyphs carved directly into the Egyptian tomb" (Marchand, *Down from Olympus* [fn. 77], 63).

153 Cf. the memorandum "Ziel und Umfang des Unternehmens", Berlin, April 20, 1900, BAB, R 09.01, 37696, 69.

154 M. Sobernheim, "Die arabischen Inschriften", in: Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek*, vol. 3 (fn. 127), 12-40.

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Puchstein's instigation that the General Administration of the Royal Museums in 1904 proposed to relocate the tablet to a more central place in order to improve its visibility in the ruins:[155]

After the Kaiser's departure, the tablet had been fixed inside the smaller temple, between two Corinthian columns at the second level of the intercolumnial decoration of the Northern wall,[156] thus protecting the marble against bad weather from Northern and Western directions. As the temple had been full of rubble then, it had been easy to read the inscription without mounting a ladder. As a result of the excavations, however, the temple's ground floor had been lowered down to the Roman floor, i.e. ca. 3 meters below the level of 1898, thus making it nearly impossible for new visitors to decipher the inscription with the naked eye. Puchstein added that by shifting the entry of the whole compound "to its old location", the main axis of the ancient temple district would soon be restored, thus depriving the smaller temple of its former centrality[157]. As in Roman times, future visitors again would enter the compound through the *propylaea* and the two forecourts of the greater temple. Puchstein therefore proposed to remove the Imperial tablet from the smaller temple and to refix it amidst the remnants of the main apse of the Byzantine Basilica which had been built under Emperor Theodosius (379-95 AD), i.e. in the main axis of the *greater* sanctuary. To protect it against bad weather there, a special niche should be constructed. Thus, future visitors would be remembered at a central, yet not too conspicuous location to whom they owed the opportunity to study the ruins and to enjoy their beauty.

The proposal did not mention that the excavations had not only changed the legibility and spatial centrality of the Imperial tablet but also its symbolic framework: At the time of the Kaiser's visit, the smaller temple had generally been taken for the famous *Temple of Jupiter* said to have been built by Antoninus Pius.[158] It was only as a result of the German

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155 Cf. General Administration of the Royal Museums (Richard Schöne) to Prussian Ministry of Culture, Berlin, February 16, 1904, BAB, R 09.01, 37705, 87-88.

156 According to the official travelogue, the Kaiser originally had chosen "the Western wall of the Jupiter's Temple behind the great, well-preserved row of columns" (*Das deutsche Kaiserpaar* [fn. 3], 375).

157 Before the end of the German excavations, visitors had to enter the temple area through a vaulted subterranean passage beneath the southern wall of the Arab fortifications and emerged into the ruins near the smaller temple (cf. *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar* [fn. 3], 371).

158 The 1880 *Baedeker* traveler's hand-book for Syria and Palestine e.g. assumes that the larger temple had been devoted to all deities of Heliopolis, while the smaller one had been the sanctuary of Baʿal or Jupiter respectively. Cf. [Albert Socin], *Palästina und*

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excavations, that the smaller temple had been attributed to *Bacchus*, a view (first advanced by Otto Puchstein[159]) that is widely accepted today, though final evidence is lacking. In any case, Puchstein's reclassement implied that the memory of the German Protestant Emperor was recalled ... not under the auspices of the ancient king of gods but in a former sanctuary of Dionysian orgies and excesses.

Moving the tablet to the main apse of the Byzantine basilica, as Puchstein had proposed, would have changed the symbolic framework of the tablet again: The apse lies on the former stairway to the larger temple[160] which Puchstein himself now classed as the real Temple of Jupiter. The *genius loci* of the proposed memorial niche, thus, would have combined the dignity of Jupiter and the aura of the first Christian Emperors of the Roman Empire

Though Puchstein's proposal was supported by the General Administration of the Royal Museums and by the Prussian Ministry of Culture,[161] nothing came out of these plans, nor did Puchstein succeed with his proposal to dedicate a second inscription (on the backside of the memorial niche) to the work of the German archaeological mission in Baalbek[162]. The Imperial tablet remained in the "Temple of Bacchus" till the end of

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Syrien: Handbuch für Reisende, ed. by K. Baedeker, Leipzig: Karl Baedeker 1880, 395. – *Friedrich Lübkers Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums für Gymnasien*, 7th ed. Leipzig: Teubner 1891, 514 (art. "Heliopolis") mentions "the great temple of the Sun and the smaller Temple of Jupiter". – Max Freiherr von Oppenheim (1860-1946) who passed through Baalbek in 1893 presented the smaller temple as the Temple of Jupiter. Cf. his *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf. Durch den Ḥaurān, die syrische Wüste und Mesopotamien*, vol. 1, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer 1899, 44-46, and plate after p. 46. As late as 1906, the British traveler and writer A.C. Inchbold, too, depicted the smaller temple as the Temple of Jupiter (Inchbold, *Under the Syrian Sun*, vol. 1 [fn. 63], 145, 174-79, and plates facing pp. 144 and 178).

159 O. Puchstein, *Führer durch die Ruinen von Baʿalbek*, Berlin: Georg Reimer 1905, 29-30. See also Daniel Krencker, "Bemerkungen zur Benennung des Tempels, zur allgemeinen Lage, zu den baulichen Schicksalen und zur Ausgrabung", in: Th. Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek,* vol. 2, Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter 1923, 86-89 (p. 86); Friedrich Ragette, *Baalbek*, London: Chatto & Windus 1980, 43.

160 The remains of the Basilica were removed during the French excavations in the inter-war-period (communication Margarete van Ess).

161 General Administration of the Royal Museums to Prussian Ministry of Culture, Berlin, February 16, 1904, BAB, R 09.01, 37705, 87-88; Prussian Ministry of Culture to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin, April 16, 1904, BAB, R 09.01, 37705, 117-18.

162 Cf. General Administration of the Royal Museums (Richard Schöne) to Prussian Ministry of Culture, Berlin, February 16, 1904, BAB, R 09.01, 37705, 88.

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World War I when it was pulled off by the victors and the names of the Kaiser and his wife were erased.[163]

It was not before the mid-1970s, at the instigation of the late Hans Christian Lankes, then German ambassador to Lebanon, that the names of the Kaiser and his wife were reingraved and the tablet put up again in the "Bacchus Temple" (this time, however, without the richly decorated marble arch that had framed it in 1898)[164] – thus continuing and enriching its proper evolution as a small palimpsest which is nothing but part of a much larger one.

163 See the contribution by Hans Christian Lankes in this volume.

164 Cf. ibid.

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The Kaiser in Lebanon

a collage

based on the official report
and
embellished by many splendid
photographs and postcards,
partly unpublished

assembled and designed by
Wolf-Dieter Lemke

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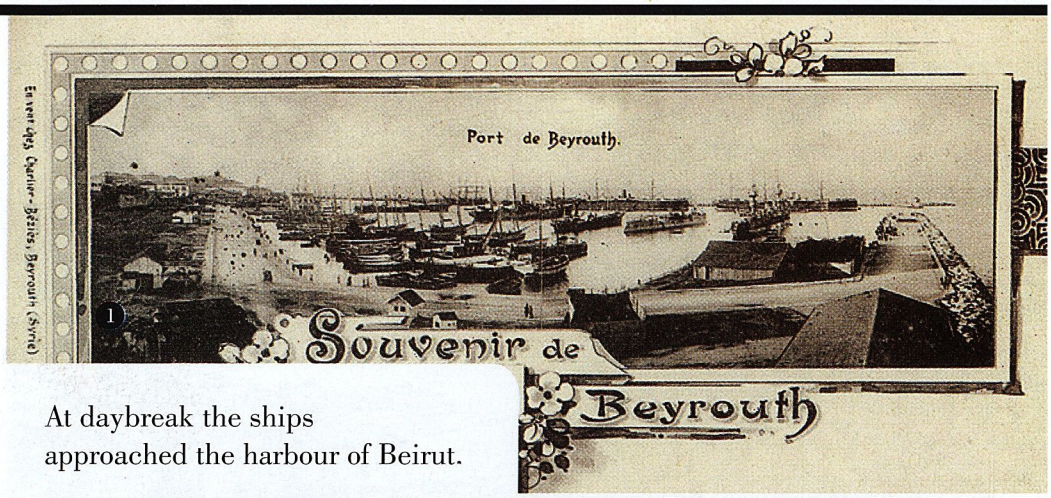
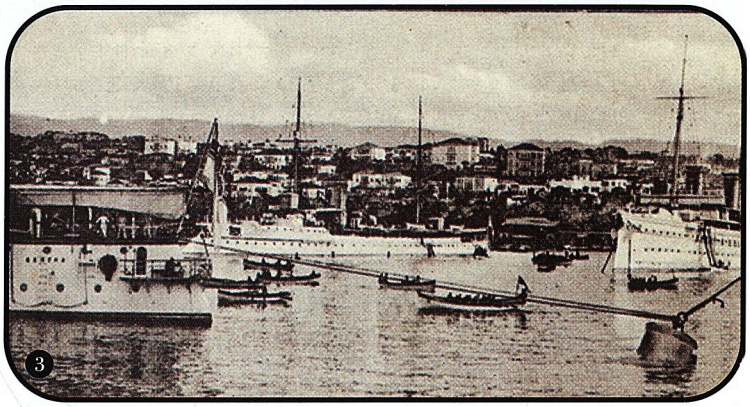


At daybreak the ships approached the harbour of Beirut.

Above the wonderfully situated city, which covered a long hill, the bright morning sun shone down on the stately, mostly detached white houses with red tiled roofs.

In picturesque groups and lines, the mighty peaks of Mount Lebanon converged on the wide bay, as the high, beautifully sculptured ridge of Jebel Sannin towered over them.

The "Hohenzollern" entered the small new harbour flanked by two long moles, which also accommodated the "Hertha", "Hela", and "Loreley".



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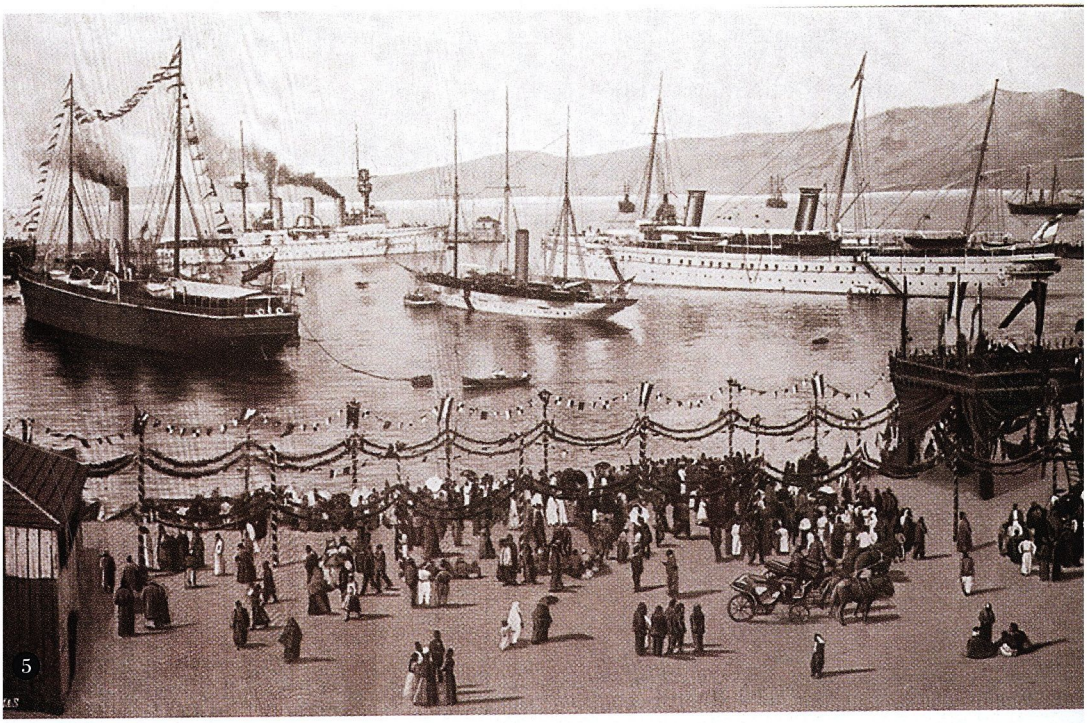
The overcrowded harbour, the troops ranged along the moles, the cheering population, and the children grouped and lined up according to their schools, presented a colourful, highly delightful sight.

On the beach, which was decorated with flagpoles and garlands, there was a splendidly prepared landing. Officials had gathered in front of a magnificent tent to welcome their Majesties.

The heat in the narrow harbour, in which there was no breeze, was indescribable.



The Emperor and Empress therefore stayed on board the ship throughout the day and received the delegations from the city and the authorities there.

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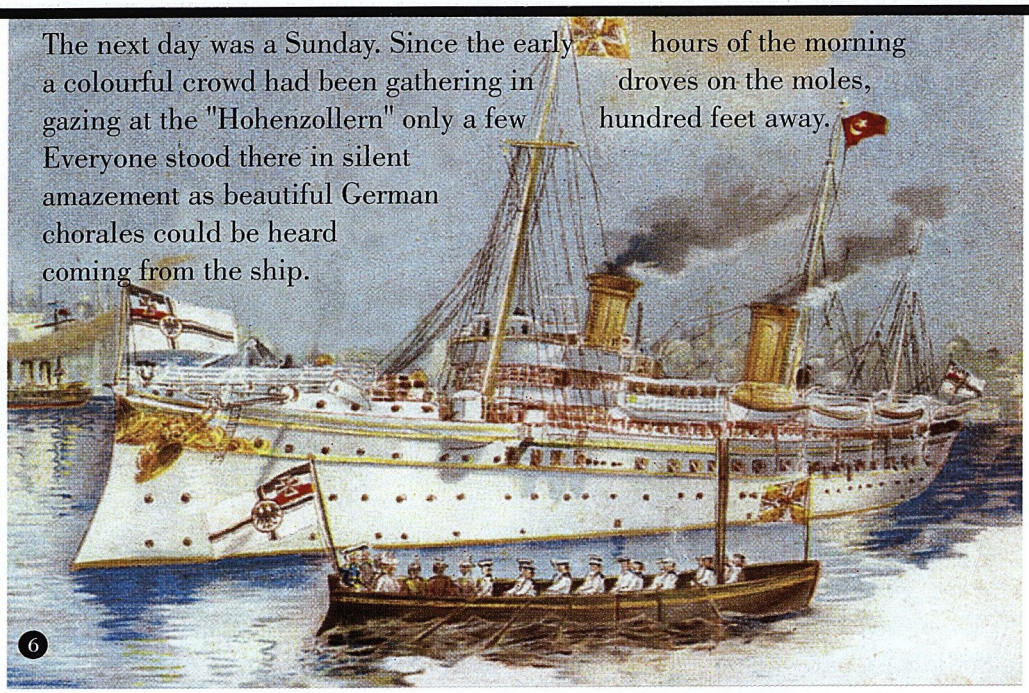
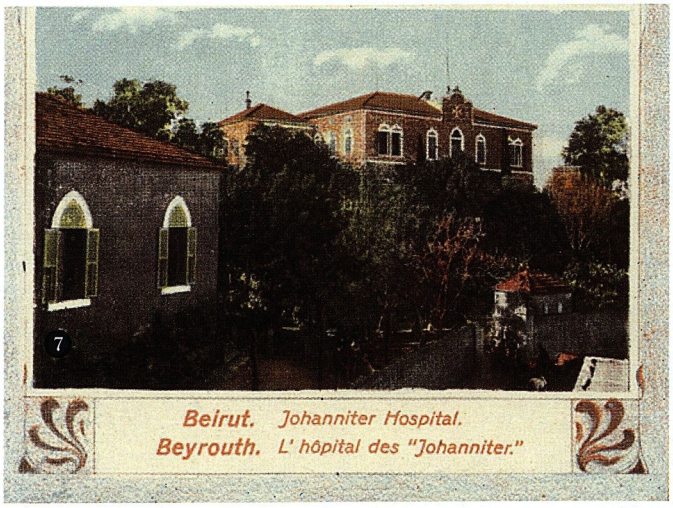


At three o'clock their Majesties were taken to the landing in a rowboat. Never-ending cheers and loud applause rang out from the shore. Top-ranking officials formally greeted the imperial couple in the dazzling tent.

Accompanied by a strong cavalry detachment, their Majesties drove through the merry crowd.

Halfway up the hill they reached the large hospital of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which was surrounded by a shady park.



Deaconesses from Kaiserswerth led their Majesties into marvellous halls with high ceilings and a stupendous view of the sea.

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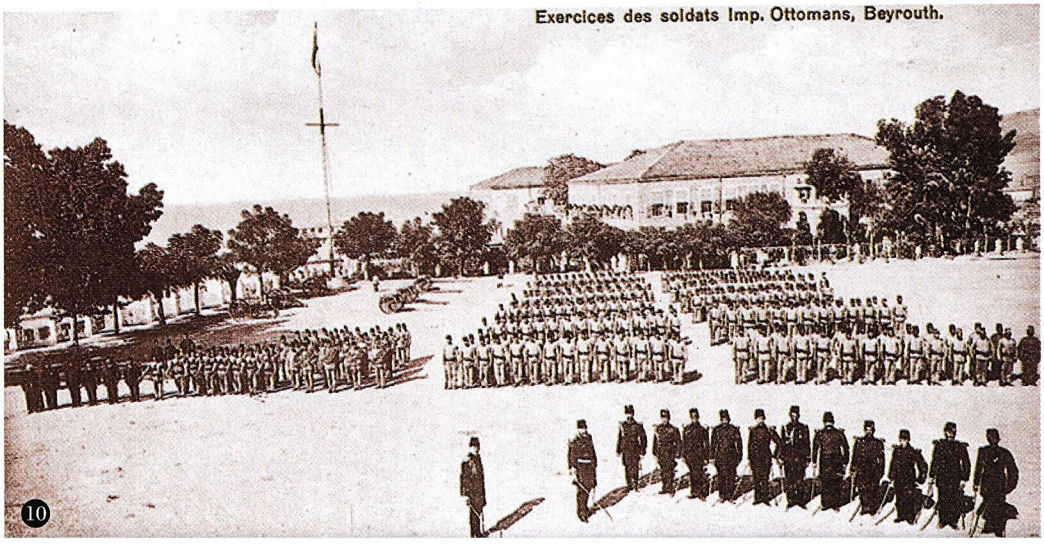
From here the Emperor moved on to the military barracks located on a high terrace

overlooking the city. The regiment was lined up on a square that looked out on the sea.



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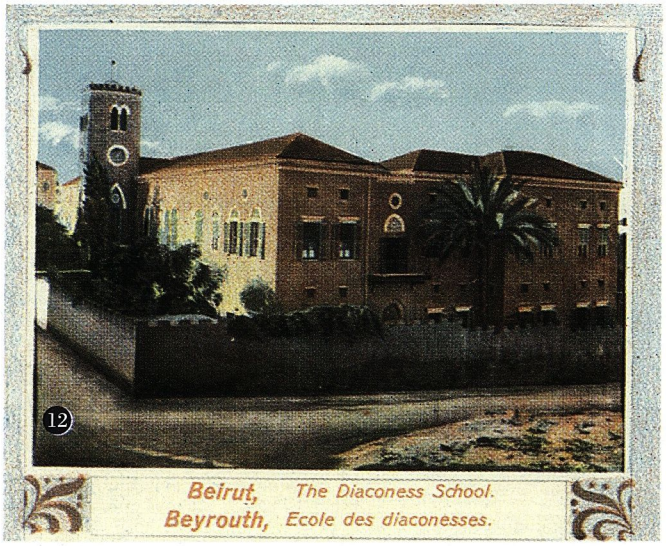
While refreshments were served, His Majesty feasted his eyes on the beautiful view of the city, the harbour, and the deep blue sea. In the other direction, he looked across a densely wooded plain up to the heights of Mount Lebanon.

In the meantime the Empress visited the school with the Zoar orphanage, a model institution administered by the German deaconesses. The grandiose building had bright



airy rooms with high ceilings and a large garden. The whole building was beautifully decorated. Teachers and children welcomed the Empress in the garden with song and poetry.

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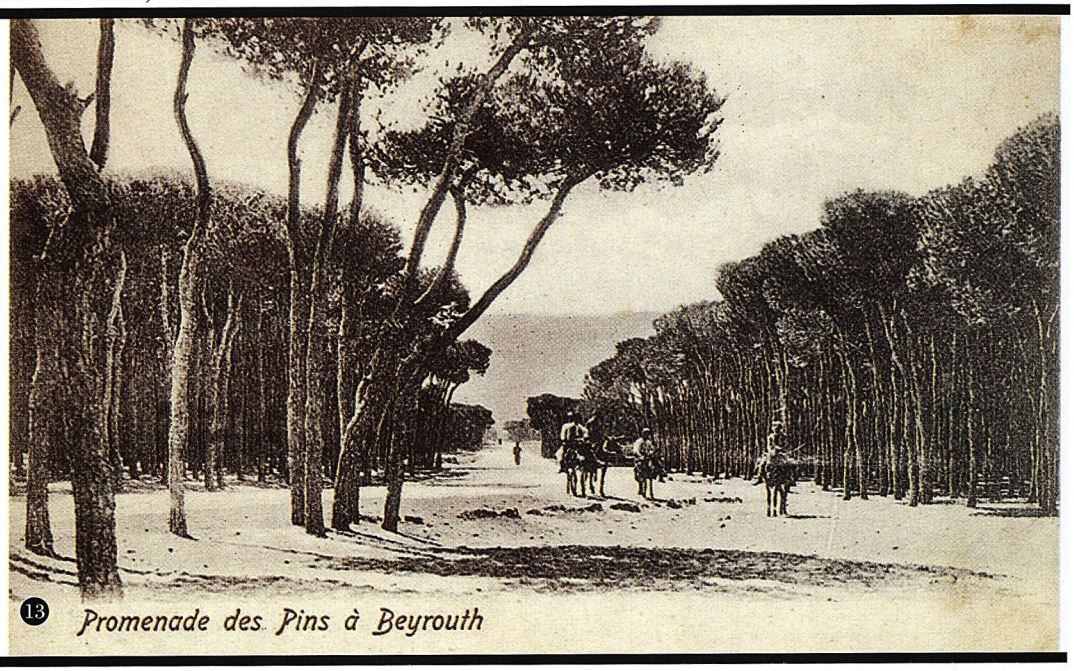
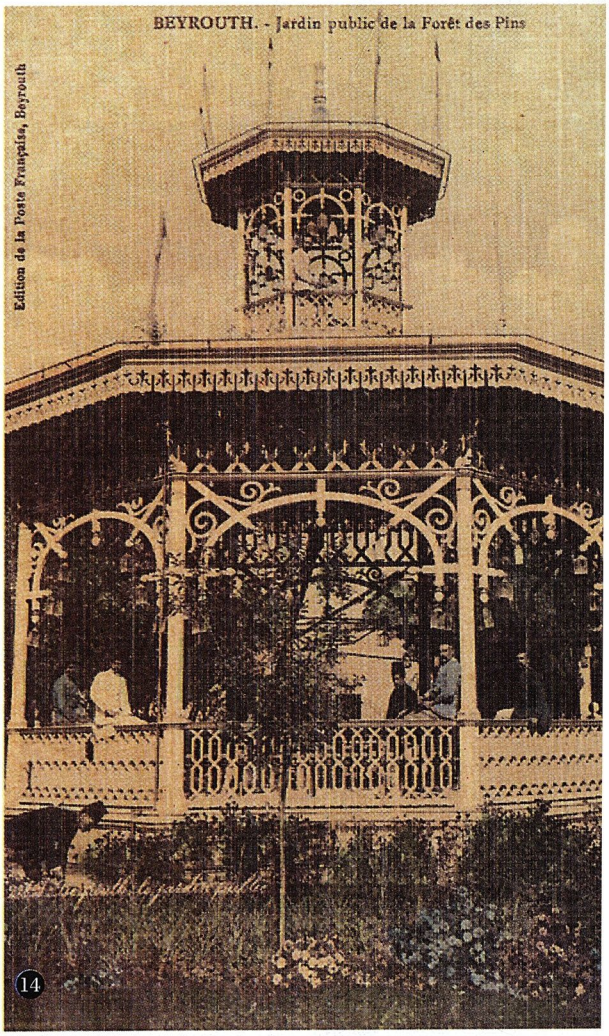


13 *Promenade des Pins à Beyrouth*

Then their Majesties met in a large pine forest well outside the city, where the officers of the garrison owned a small pleasure ground with a pavilion, flower beds and a fountain. They were now gathered there to greet their Majesties.



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It was impossible not to notice the deep impression that coming into contact with a mighty ruler, himself a soldier through and through, and with the Empress, who spoke so kindly to them, had on the officers, who were wholly unaccustomed such an experience.

The return trip resembled a triumphal procession. The route was flanked by countless people, all cheering endlessly. Night had already set in as the procession continued through the brightly illuminated city, across the cannon square with its decorative public garden, and down to the harbour. Everywhere the streets, windows, and balconies were lined with people, who were outdoing each other in expressing their joy.

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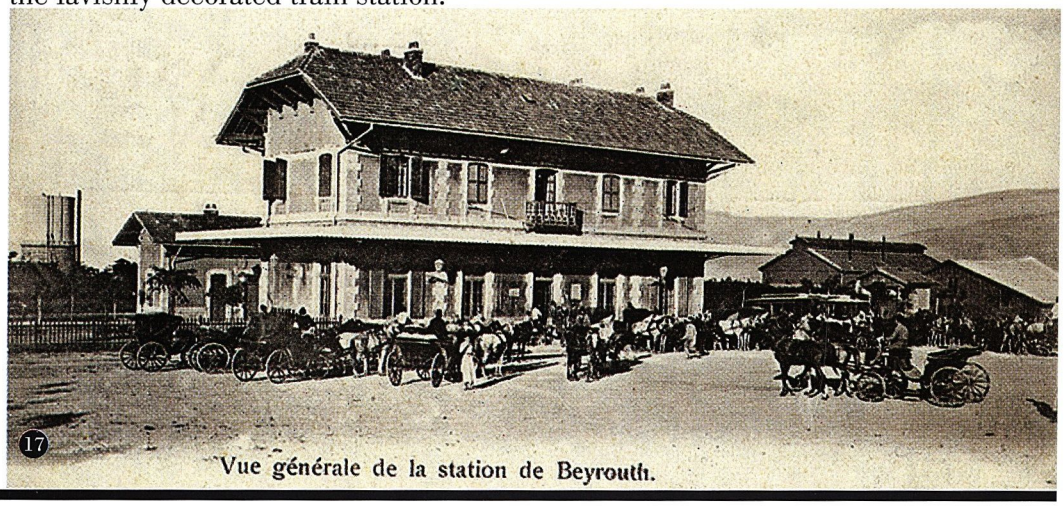
In brilliant sunshine the Emperor and Empress left the ship the next morning at eight o'clock. Shouts of jubilation swelled with every step as their Majesties, who were accompanied by a large cavalry escort, slowly drove across the entire city to the lavishly decorated train station.



The train passed through a vast, richly cultivated plain before gradually ascending into the foothills, where it soon began a steep climb up into Mount Lebanon.

Country houses, shaded by trees, and lovely villages were spread over the rocky slopes all the way up to the bare mountain peaks.

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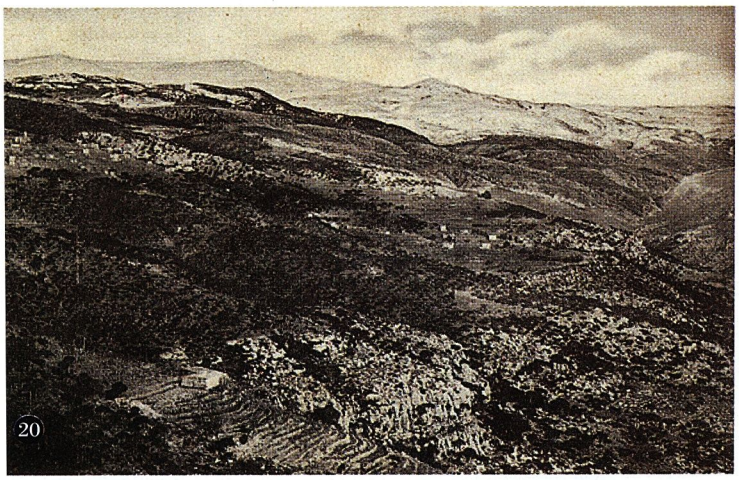
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The higher the train climbed, the more majestic the view became, as the travellers gazed up the mountains with their opalescent rocky peaks, then down into the deep, winding valleys,

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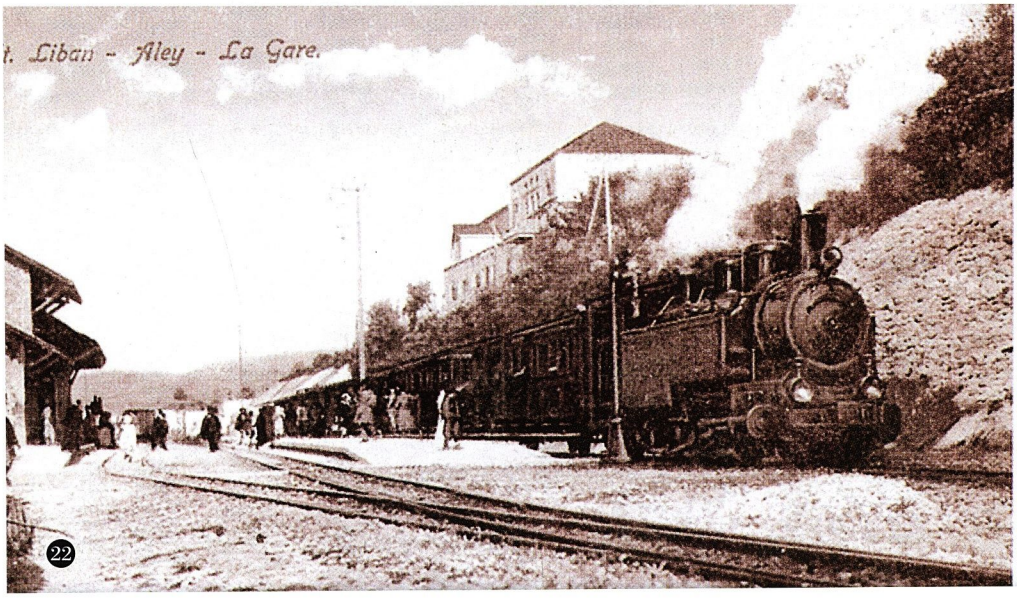
and back to the fertile, densely wooded plain behind them, where Beirut stood out in solitary splendour next to its harbour, which was teeming with white German warships and other vessels.

At the station in Aleih, a popular Beiruti summer resort situated high in the mountains, there was a longer stop.



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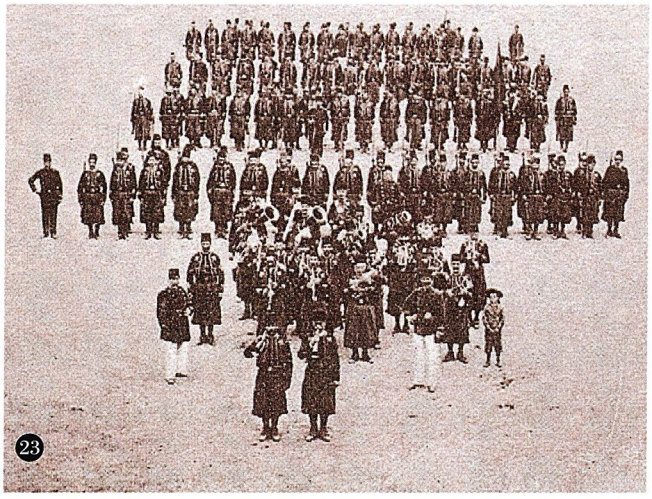
The people from the surrounding villages were gathered on the heights and cliffs; troops in the attractive uniforms of the Lebanese militia lined the railway tracks.



A band played Prussian marches, and for once, they did this exceptionally well.

NAOM PAŞA

Cebelilübnan (Lübnan sancağı) mutasarrıfı

Governor-General Naoum Pasha, his wife, and an impressive entourage received their Majesties. Refreshments were served in a splendidly decorated tent with a magnificent view.

The natives entertained the group with fencing matches.

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The train climbed higher and higher. Looking back through the clear blue air, a traveller could let his eyes wander over hundreds of mountains and valleys. Although there was a great deal of rock debris scattered about, the area was still

being cultivated intensively. The train passed prosperous villages. Everywhere there were crowds of men beautifully dressed to suit the occasion, accompanied by yodelling women and children.

The railway line now led through two tunnels and then began a steep descent down the eastern side of the mountain range.

Below, the travellers beheld the Al Biqa plateau, covered with fields and meadows.

Accompanied by numerous swift horsemen, the train arrived in the small town of Muallaka at one o'clock. The heat was oppressive.

Muallaka means "attached".

This pleasant town with its cube-shaped houses, one built above the other, and its colourful villas actually appeared to cling to the mountain, which rose up from the plateau.

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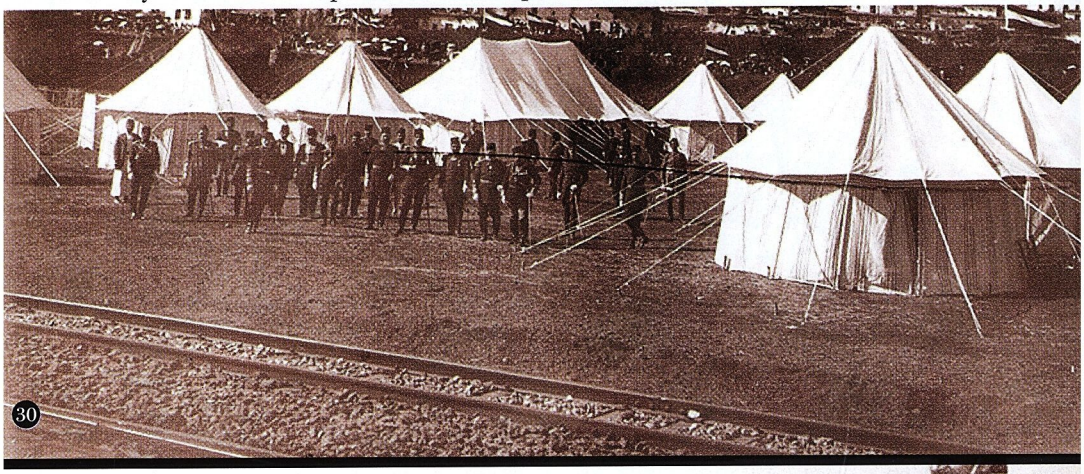
A homely breakfast camp had been set up.



30

Nazim Pasha,
Wali of Damascus,

31

whom His Majesty had already met in Jerusalem, the commanding general, Hakki Pasha, with his fine escorts, and topranking officials were there to welcome their Majesties.

An excited, enthusiastic crowd of people, which had gathered from afar, was cheering continuously.

32

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The Anti-Lebanon mountain range looked at the travellers rather sternly. From the south, the mighty Mount Hermon greeted them. Behind them, the jagged Mountains of Lebanon radiated in enchanting colours.

These were indeed magical sights to behold, full of life and colour, in a wondrous landscape of the kind one had never seen before and would probably never see again.

2me Dérivation du Barada à la sortie de Damas

Upon leaving Muallaka, the imperial train passed through a fertile plain and then wound its way through a wildly jagged ravine up the Anti-Lebanon range. Suddenly the travellers came upon a lush oasis, through which the Baradâ River flowed, carrying plenty of water. In the Baradâ valley the imperial train began its descent, winding its way down to Damascus, where it arrived at five o'clock in the afternoon.

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The imperial couple stayed in Damascus for two days.

36

The departure was as impressive as the arrival had been. After their Majesties had bidden everyone farewell in the most cordial and grateful way, the imperial train crossed the Anti-Lebanon range to Muallaka.

37

grand reception.

Here there was another

38

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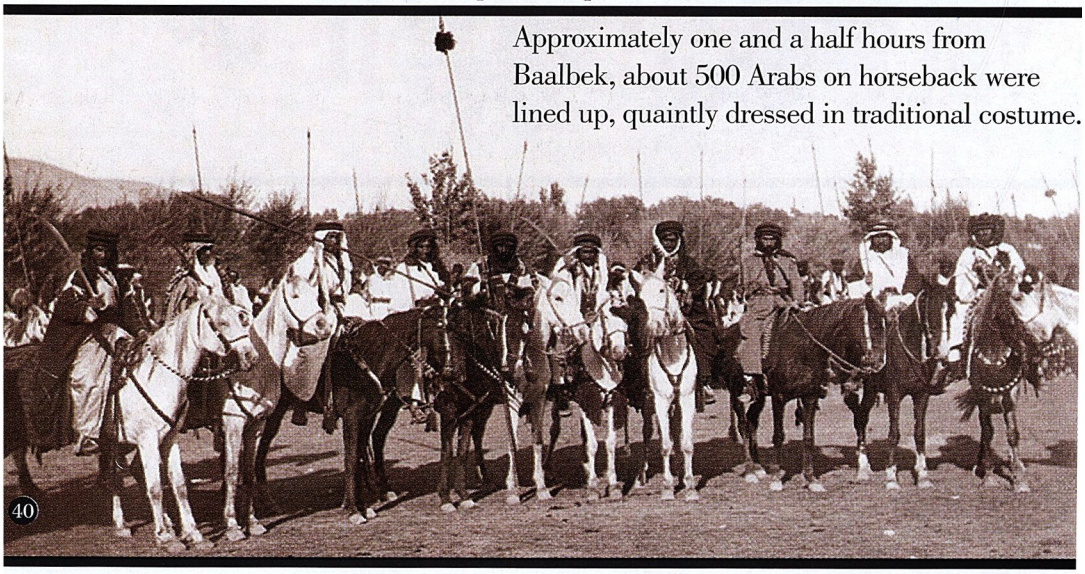
The travellers got into their carriages, and the long procession was again escorted by cavalrymen and Saptiés, which trotted and

39

galloped for four hours despite the heat. The road led north across the fertile plateau, parts of which, however, were now arid.



40

Approximately one and a half hours from Baalbek, about 500 Arabs on horseback were lined up, quaintly dressed in traditional costume.

In addition, rows of camels with colourful saddles stood in a parade formation. The men and women seated on them shouted joyful greetings.

41

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This lively and cheerful commotion continued amidst clouds of dust all the way up to the famous temples of Baalbek, which were surrounded by green trees. The final

42

destination of a long journey to the Orient, the ancient city of Heliopolis, had been reached: Among the ruins of the largest temples antiquity has left to us, the imperial couple stopped to rest on their last night.

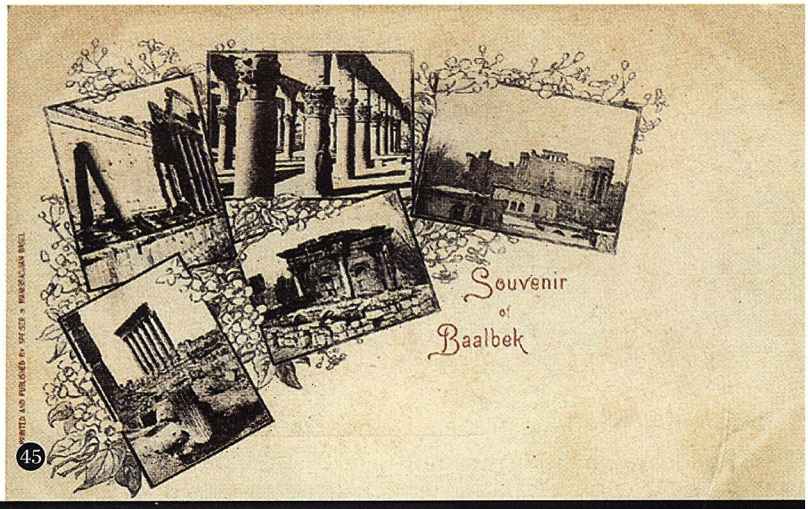
During the previous marches and at the stops along the way, reminders of the Saviour's life on earth and the marches of the pilgrims and crusaders had already deeply moved the soul;

43

then the colourful life of the Orient as well the sovereign's attentive hospitality had surrounded the travellers with an abundance of pleasing, ever-changing sights every day; and now these hours in the ruins of Baalbek added to all these impressions

44

a reminder of the power and glory of ancient cultures.



45

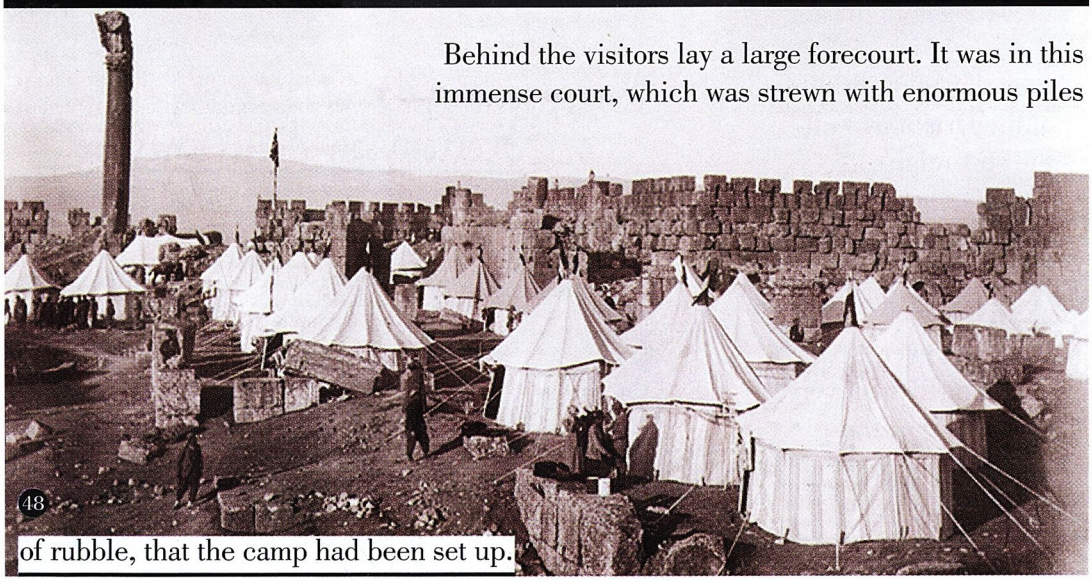
The imperial couple and its entourage strode through a dark corridor formed by enormous square blocks of stone. Once a visitor stepped out into daylight again, to his right he beheld the large temple, its six columns reaching out to the heavens.

46

To his left, and even closer, a temple with numerous columns towered over him.

47

Behind the visitors lay a large forecourt. It was in this immense court, which was strewn with enormous piles


48

of rubble, that the camp had been set up.

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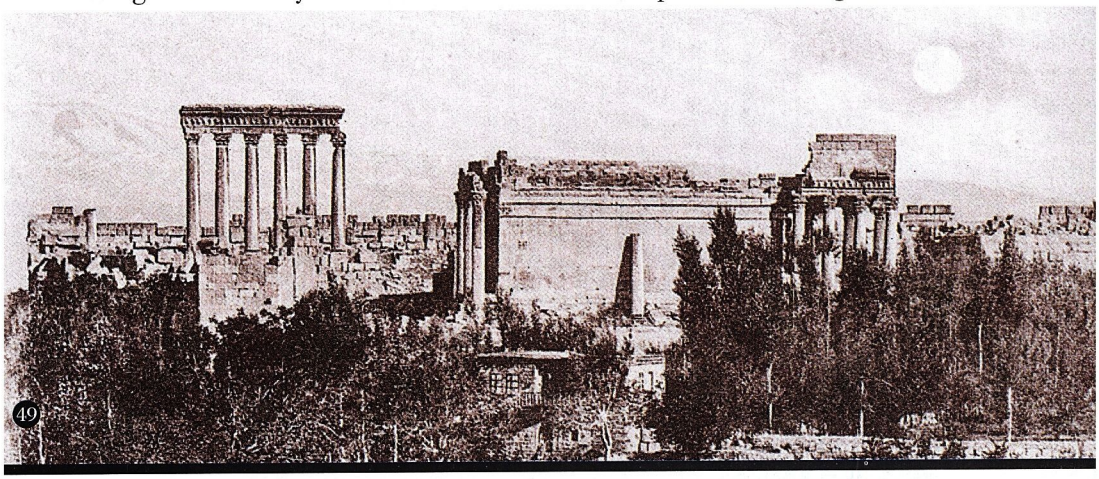
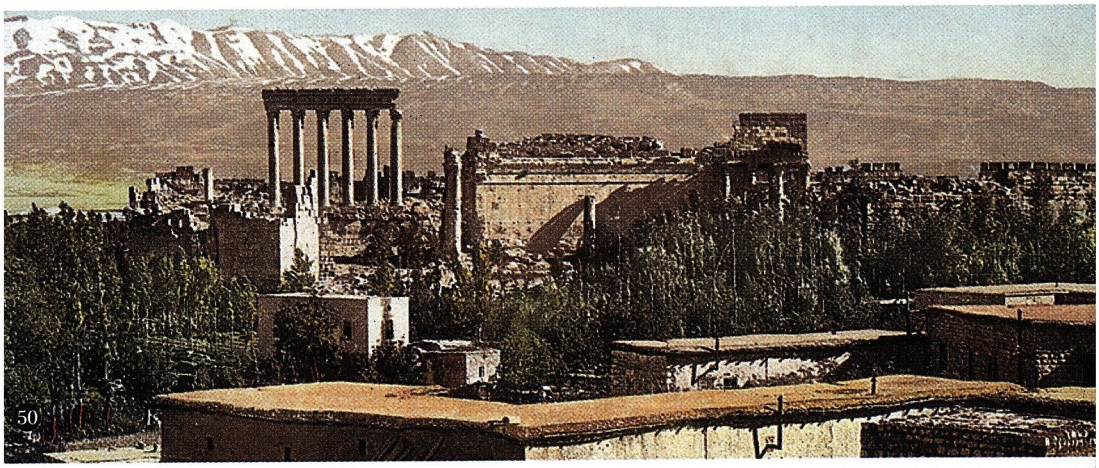
Soon night laid its icy hand on the devastated temple of the sun god.



49

Most of the travellers rose early to see the dark Mountains of Lebanon, which still lay slumbering under the deep blue vault of heaven, awaken in the first light of dawn.

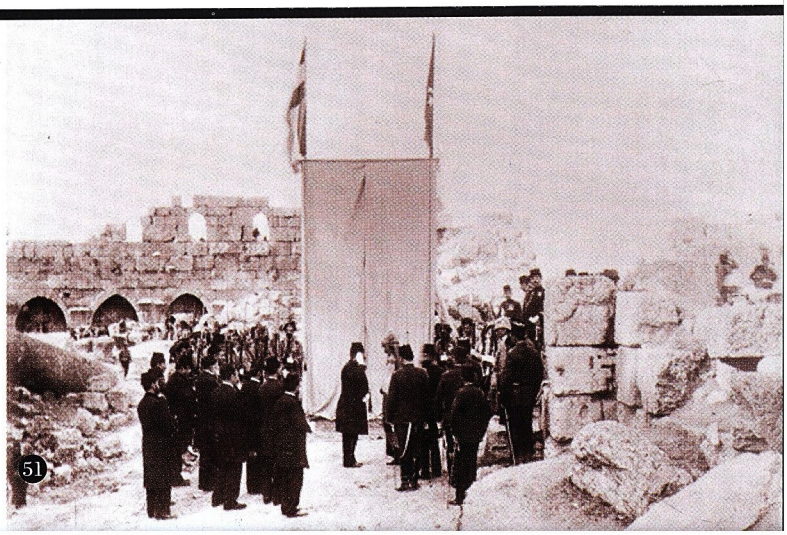


50

How wise and appropriate of the Roman emperors to choose this cool, elevated spot, blessed with plenty of water and abounding in scenic beauty, as a place of sacrifice for the gods and a place of rest for themselves.

A most charming ceremony devised by the Sultan had all those present gather at an early hour.

The occasion was the unveiling of a memorial in honour of the imperial visit.



51

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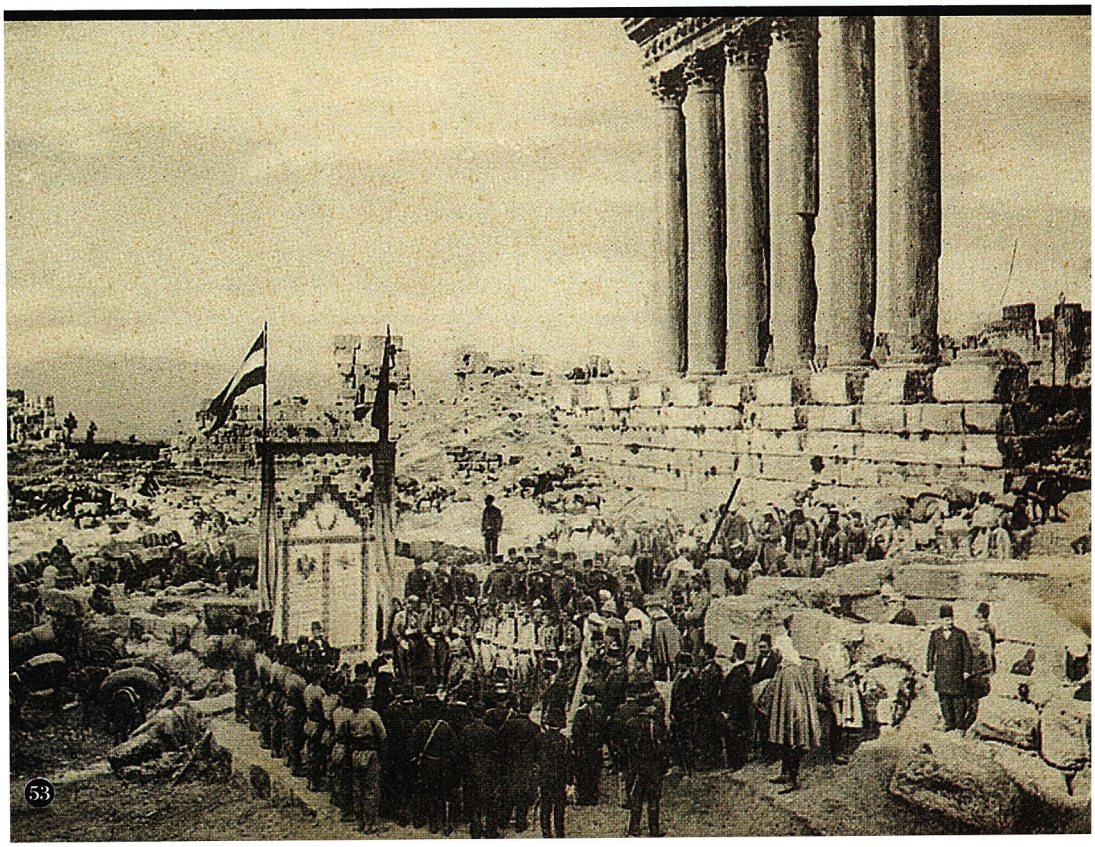
52

After the Governor of Damascus addressed the guests, the guard of honour was ordered to present arms as a very high marble plate was unveiled.



53

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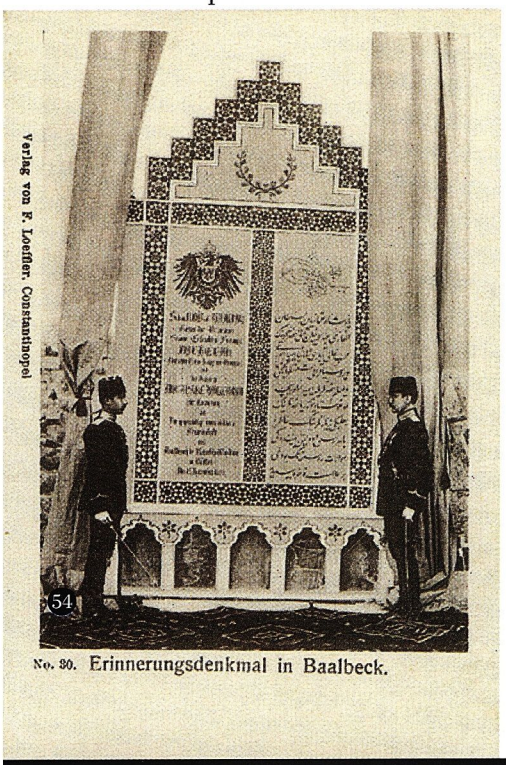
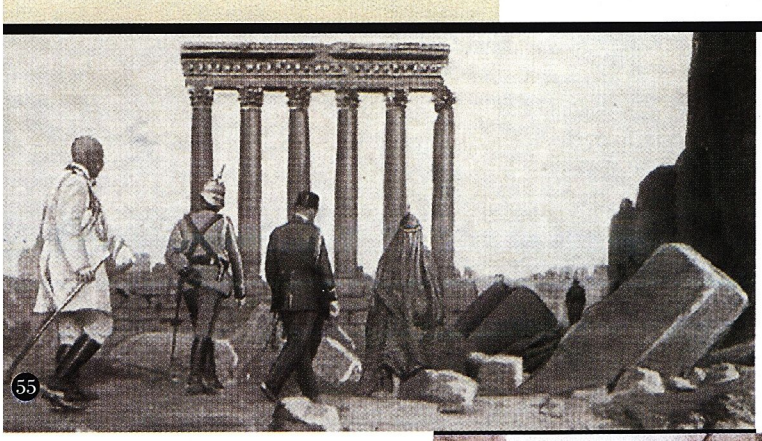
The inscription on it read:



From Sultan Abd al-Hamid II, Emperor of the Ottomans, to His noble friend William II, German Emperor and King of Prussia, and Empress Auguste Victoria, as a reminder of their mutual, unwavering friendship and the visit of their Imperial Majesties in Baalbek on November 15, 1898. *



After the unveiling ceremony their Majesties took one last walk among the ruins.

* Because their Majesties had arrived ahead of schedule, the date had to be corrected to read November 11.

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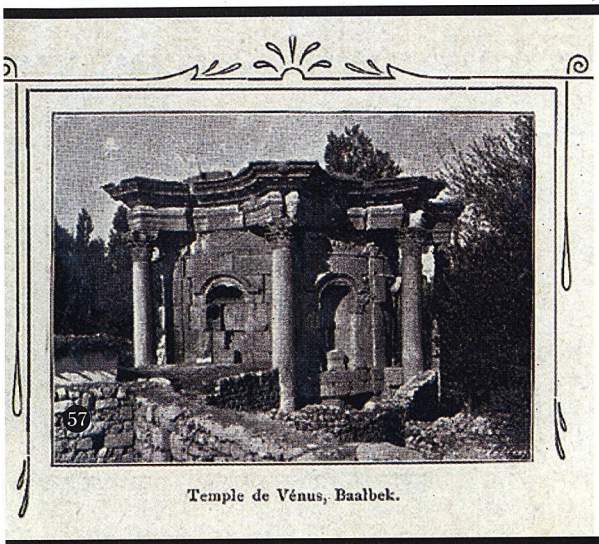

Temple de Vénus, Baalbek.

At the end of their tour they visited the small, delicate round temple said to have been dedicated to Venus.

Around eight o'clock, amidst clouds of dust and through the incredible heat, their Majesties drove to Muallaka along the same route on which they had come.

After a brief pause for breakfast in Muallaka and a dazzling farewell reception hosted by the highest civilian and military authorities of Damascus, the special train left at two fifteen, amid loud, never-ending cheers of the local population.

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The train slowly climbed the slopes of Mount Lebanon. The Emperor sat by the window, but he was busy working almost continuously with State Minister von Bülow. Between rocky slopes, the train reached the tunnel on the ridge of Mount Lebanon.

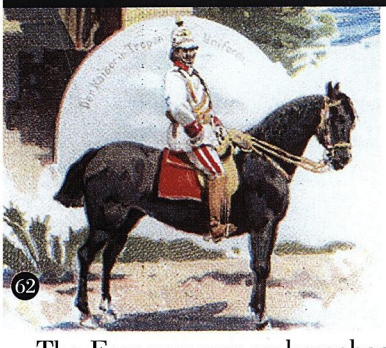
60

Spread out at one's feet lay the innumerable proud mountains of the Lebanon mountain range, bathed in the golden rays of the evening sun, and deep, purple valleys and ravines, through which the ocean shimmered from a great distance like a silver ribbon.

At the Aleih station, the Governor and his wife bade the imperial couple cordial farewells. At the station in Arâyah, where the German deaconesses

61

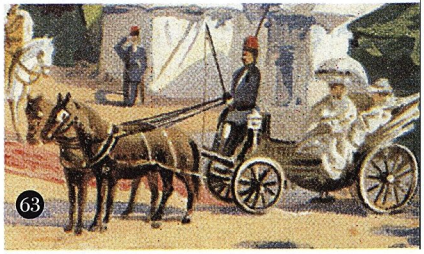
in Beirut had a summer house, Arab children, accompanied by two deaconesses, stood waiting and sang "Heil Dir im Siegerkranz" in German, with considerable effort.



62

The Emperor was on horseback,

The imperial couple slowly passed through the brightly lit city of Beirut.



63

the Empress in a carriage.

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As they proceeded, the cheers, cries of joy, and grateful farewells surpassed any thing previously imaginable. With gratefulness and joy in their hearts, their Majesties returned to the "Hohenzollern", where that very evening a great feast

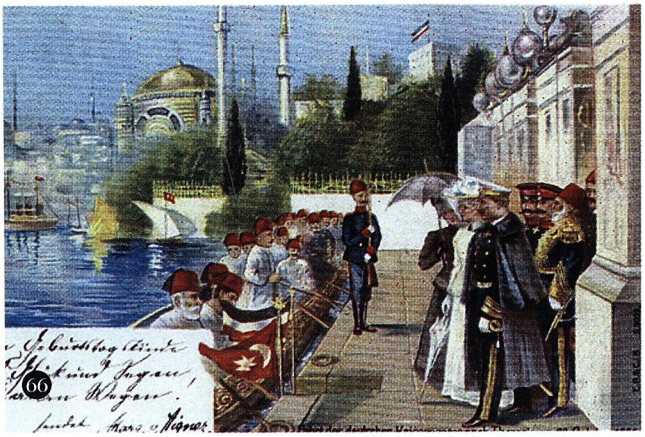
64

took place in honour of the Turkish dignitaries, officials, and the personal escorts assigned to their Majesties. Again Beirut and its surroundings were magnificently illuminated. Although it was a clear, starlit night, it was still very hot.

On November 12, the "Hohenzollern" weighed anchor at the crack of dawn and steamed out of the harbour amid salutes from Turkish troops and warships.

65

The Emperor had already risen.


66

Before his departure he thanked the Sultan in a long dispatch for the receptions held for him and the Empress from the day

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they set foot on Turkish soil to the day they left it. He declared that all would remain unforgettable to him and would forever strengthen the

friendship he felt for the Sultan. The Sultan thanked him in the warmest way, assuring the Emperor that he shared these sentiments, and wished the German imperial couple a pleasant journey and a safe voyage home.

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TEXT

The text is taken from the officially approved report *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar im Heiligen Lande im Herbst 1898*, Berlin: Mittler 1899. There are no additions but much had to be left out to fit the text into the space available. The translation is by Monika Guerino, Köln.

PICTURES

All pictures are contemporary. Many of them were taken during the visit of the Kaiser, others are to illustrate places visited and described. My deep gratitude goes to Fouad Debbas, Beirut-Paris (marked by FD), who not only provided me with pictures from his own collection but also made available an unpublished series of photographs by Garabed Krikorian, now in the collection of Pierre de Gigord, Paris (PG). Other people were helpful in some items. They include Patricia Acra-Raad (PA), Jens Hanssen (who also provided the translation of the postscript), Hinrich Reinstrom and Maha Yahya, all Beirut. Only a few photos are reproduced from books. The majority of the pictures is from my own collection (WDL).

Front cover: German postcard. Publisher unknown (FD).

1 Postcard (detail). Published by Charlier-Béziès, Beyrouth (WDL).
2 Postcard. Published by Dimitri Tarazi & Fils, Beyrouth (WDL).
3 Postcard (detail). Published by Habib Naamann, Poste autrichienne Beyrouth, Nr. 1846 (FD).
4 Photo by Bonfils (detail). In: *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar*, 344. [The photographer was A. Guiragossian. It was also published as a postcard.].
5 Photo by Bonfils (detail). In: *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar*, 342. [The photographer was A. Guiragossian.].
6 Postcard (detail). Publisher unknown (WDL).
7 Postcard (detail). Published by Sarrafian Bros., Beirut (WDL).
8 Map. Reproduced from *Das Mittelmeer und seine Küstenstädte* (Meyers Reisebücher), 2nd ed., Leipzig and Wien: Bibliographisches Institut 1904, after 192.
9 Postcard (detail). Published by Dimitri Tarazi & Fils, Beyrouth, Damas, Jerusalem, Nr. 3 (WDL).
10 Postcard (detail). Published by Sarrafian Bros., Beirut, Nr. 283 (WDL).
11 Postcard. Published by Sarrafian Bros., Beirut (FD).
12 Postcard (detail). Published by Sarrafian Bros., Beirut (WDL).
13 Postcard. Published by Dimitri Tarazi & Fils, Nr. 81 (WDL).
14 Postcard. Published by Edition de la Poste Française, Beyrouth (WDL).
15 Photo by I. M. die Kaiserin [the Empress]. In: *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar*, facing 370. [It is more likely that the photographer was Garabed Krikorian, as the same photo can be found among his photographic series (PG).].
16 Photo. Photographer unknown. Ircica Foto Arşivi [Istanbul], Yıldız Collection, 90771/3. [The photo is said to have been taken during the visit of the Kaiser.].
17 Postcard. Publisher unknown (WDL).
18 Postcard (detail). Published by Sarrafian Bros., Beirut (PA).
19 Postcard (detail). Published by Sarrafian Bros., Beirut, Nr. 329 (PA).
20 Postcard (detail). Published by Dimitri Tarazi & Fils, Nr. 67 (WDL).
21 Postcard (detail). Published by Sarrafian Bros., Beirut, Nr. 206 (WDL).
22 Postcard. Publisher unknown (PA).
23 Postcard (detail). Published by Sarrafian Bros., Beirut, Nr. 149 (WDL).
24 Photo. In: *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Devlet Kitapları 1968-1984.
25 Postcard (detail). Published by Sarrafian Bros., Beirut, Nr. 289 (PA).
26 Postcard (detail). Published by Sarrafian Bros., Beirut, Nr. 169 (WDL).
27 Postcard (detail). Publisher unknown (WDL).
28 Photo (detail) by Güssow, Potsdam. In: *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar*, facing 350.
29 Photo (detail) by G. Krikorian (PG).
30 Photo (detail) by G. Krikorian (PG).
31 Photo (detail) by Ali Sami. In: Engin Çizgen, *Photographer/Fotografçı Ali Sami 1866-1936*. Istanbul: Haşet, 1989, 128.
32 Photo (detail) by G. Krikorian (PG).
33 Photo (detail) by G. Krikorian (PG).

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34 Postcard (detail). Published by Moïse J. Zagha, Damas, Série A, 1 (WDL).
35 Postcard. Published by Dimitri Tarazi & Fils, Nr. 66 (WDL).
36 Postcard (detail). Published by M.J.C. [Istanbul] Nr. 30. [The photographer was Ali Sami. See: Çizgen, *Ali Sami*, 131] (WDL).
37 Photo (Fotochrome). Photographer unknown. *Bildarchiv preussischer Kulturbesitz*, F 11700 b.
38 Photo (Fotochrome). Photographer unknown. *Bildarchiv preussischer Kulturbesitz*, F 11699 d.
39 Photo by Hermann Burchardt. Berlin: *Museum für Völkerkunde*, coll. Hermann Burchardt, K 1729.
40 Photo (detail) by G. Krikorian (PG).
41 Photo (detail) by G. Krikorian (PG). [Photos 40 and 41 bear no identification. They could as well refer to a scene in Damascus, a day before].
42 Postcard (detail). Publisher unknown (WDL).
43 Postcard (detail). Painting by F. Perlberg. Publisher unknown (WDL).
44 Promotional Photocard. Bruno Hentschel, Kunstverlag, Leipzig (WDL).
45 Postcard. Published by Speiser & Manissadjian, Basel (WDL).
46 Postcard. Published by Mohamed El Ardati, Beyrouth, Nr. 1 (WDL).
47 Postcard (detail). Published by Dimitri Tarazi & Fils, Nr. 93 (WDL).
48 Photo by G. Krikorian (PG).
49 Postcard (detail). Published by Hermann Seibt (Kretzschma & Schatz), Meissen. Alex. Piltz, Beyrouth (WDL).
50 Postcard (detail). Published by Edition Photoglob, Zürich, Nr. 3648 (WDL).
51 Photo by G. Krikorian (PG).
52 Photo by G. Krikorian (PG).
53 Postcard (detail). Publisher unknown (WDL).
54 Postcard. Published by Verlag von F. Loeffler. Constantinopel, Nr. 30 [The photographer was Ali Sami. See: Çizgen, *Ali Sami*, 119] (WDL).
55 Photo by O. Anschütz, Berlin. In: *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar*, facing 372.
56 Photo (detail) by Ali Sami. In: Çizgen, *Ali Sami*, 121.
57 Postcard (detail). Publisher unknown (WDL).
58 Postcard. Published by Hermann Seibt, Meissen, Nr. 1372 (WDL).
59 Photo by G. Krikorian (PG).
60 Postcard (detail). Published by Sarrafian Bros., Beirut, Nr. 168 (WDL).
61 Postcard (detail). Published by André Terziz & Fils, Beyrouth, Jerusalem, Nr. 10 46277 (WDL).
62 Postcard (detail). Publisher unknown (WDL).
63 Postcard (detail). Painted by F. Perlberg. Published by Schön & Maison, München, Nr. 6 (WDL).
64 German postcard. Publisher unknown (FD).
65 Photo by I. M. die Kaiserin [the Empress]. In: *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar*, facing 80.
66 German lithographic postcard. Publisher unknown (WDL).
67 German lithographic postcard. Publisher unknown (WDL).
Back cover: Postcard. Published by Dimitri Tarazi & Fils, Nr. 88 (WDL).

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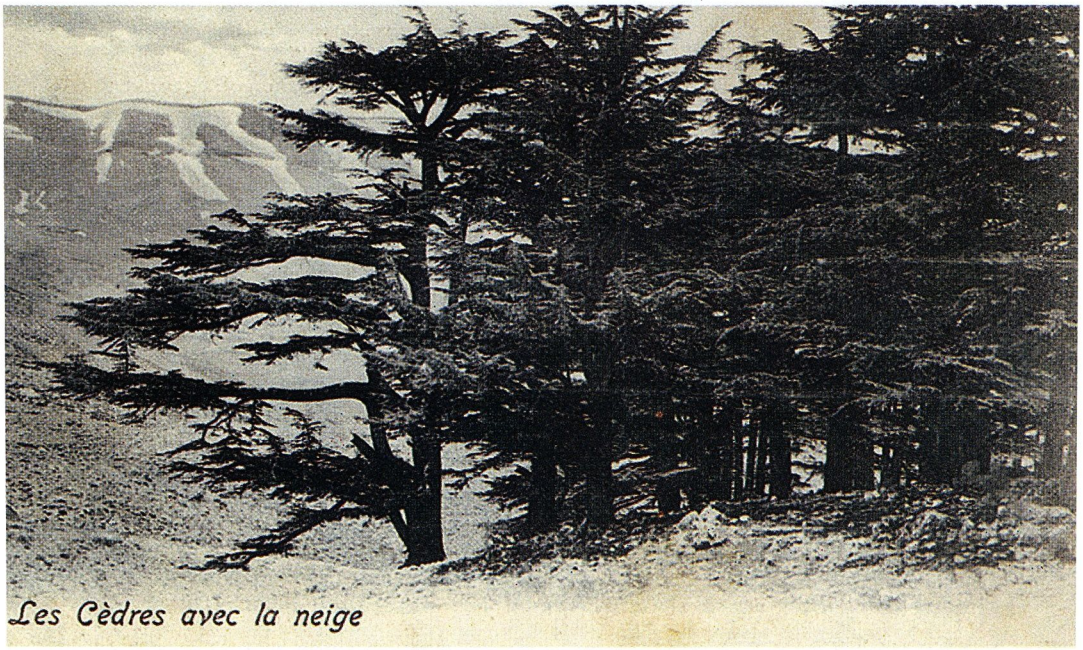

Where are, it was often asked, Lebanon's famed cedars? They once covered the now bare slopes of the mountain range. Today there is a cedar grove south-east of Tripoli, with 397 boles.

Das Deutsche Kaiserpaar
im Heiligen Lande, p. 347

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POSTSCRIPT: THE EMPEROR'S AND THE SULTAN'S IMAGES

1. The Emperor's journey was meant to impress and to this end images were needed: for the travel accounts and for propagandist uses. As a consequence, a remarkable production of images was set in motion – designed in great variety by the Germans, resourcefully accompanied by their Turkish hosts and commercially exploited by European and Oriental publishing houses and photographic studios. In addition, traditional media were used: historical painting glorified highlights of imperial self-orchestration, drawings documented stages and scenes of the journey.

Photography was used most elaborately. Having been invented fifty years previously it was a medium to dominate the future visual experience of reality through reproduction and interpretation. The pleasure to take photos, the desire to be photographed, had already become integral part of an oriental journey, so that it could draw ridicule and sarcasm. When Wedekind's poem on "historic places" discerned "it multiplies their yearning painfully, the desire to be photographed gainfully", the author was sent to prison. In contrast, the French satirical journal *Le Rire* could freely jest that the German Emperor work as secret correspondent for the *Kölnische Zeitung* and serve in his capacity as Emperor for adequate coverage. But even to this imagined ruler full of imagination the insatiable journalists and omnipresent photographers were at times a nuisance: "Ces êtres se trouvent partout ... je ne peux pas faire trois mêtres sans être photographié, cinématographié dans toutes les positions."[1]

La marchaison de l'Empereur
cartoon in: *Le Rire*, Nr. 212 (26.11.1898)

1 *Le Rire* [Paris] 5 (1898) Nr. 212 (26.11.1898).

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000101

2. Who were the photographers and for whom did they work? What was photographed and for what purpose? Where and by what media were their works published and distributed?

The illustrations of the officious travel account[2] which provides the textual basis of the preceding collage, enables a first overview.

Apart from a few reproductions of paintings and drawings there are some seventy authored photographs by professional and amateur photographers, a court photographer of the Sultan, European photo-agencies and Ottoman studios in Istanbul, Beirut and Jerusalem.

From amongst the German professional photographers, only Ottomar Anschütz, Berlin (1846-1907) is well known, not so much as an Oriental photographer but as a pioneer of motion photography.[3] He had studied the movement of horses and the trajectory of projectiles for the Prussian army, which might have recommended him to accompany the Emperor. The travel account contains mainly landscape motives, including Lebanon.

Mention should also be made of Bruno Hentschel, Leipzig. Apart from the imperial travel group he took photos of landscapes and monuments. Clearly he used the journey to enlarge his photographic stock, since he owned an artistic publishing house which distributed photographs (Collage Nr. 42 = C 42). (Photoglob, Zürich, a similarly famous photo-agency was also involved in the travel account). The other two photographers, Jürgensen, Kiel, and Güssow, Potsdam, could not be traced, but in all likelihood the latter was the Emperor's personal gendarme Güssow who belonged to "the entourage of His Majesty the Emperor and King"[4].

Alongside the personal gendarme, the book alludes to another, incomparably more famous amateur: Her Majesty, the Empress. Evidence that she took photos on this journey is provided by a picture which shows her taking photographs on Jebel Qassioun (in private hands in Damascus).[5] However, some of the photos attributed to her proved to be the work of Turkish photographers (C15; Garabed Krikorian).

Indeed, not only Germans documented the journey. The Sultan had commissioned court- and military photographers to accompany his guests with their cameras. Moreover, local photo studios sought to cash in on the sensational visit. Although not all studios were allowed to participate in

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2 *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar im Heiligen Lande im Herbst 1898*, Berlin: Mittler 1899.

3 M. Eder, *Geschichte der Photographie*, 4th ed., Halle: Knapp 1932, 717-20. – *International Center of Photography Encyclopedia of Photography,* New York: A Pound Press Book, Crown Publishers 1984, 32.

4 *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar*, 411.

5 Information provided by Fouad Debbas, Paris/Beirut.

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the travel account's illustrations, the account contained such prominent photo studios as Abdullah Frères[6] and Sébah & Joaillier[7] in Istanbul, Bonfils [Photographer Abraham Guiragossian][8] in Beirut and Khalil Raad[9] in Jerusalem.

Yet, much more revealing because much more continuous, are the pictures of two unmentioned photographers, Ali Sami [Aközer] (1866-1936) and Garabed Krikorian (1847-1920)[10]. The estate of Ali Sami – a collection of glass negatives – is housed in the Getty Museum, Los Angeles; Engin Çizgen (Özendes) has published a selection of his work and a study about it.[11] Pierre de Gigord, Paris, possesses a series of Krikorian photos. Pictures of both photographers must have been available shortly after the journey, as they were used – without reference – for book illustration and for postcards. It can be assumed that even German and Ottoman magazines were illustrated by them, but this matter was not further pursued. The present collage uses four photos by Ali Sami and ten, mostly unpublished photos by Garabed Krikorian (procured by Fouad Debbas).

Likewise, the estate of a third, this time German photographer, consists mainly of glass negatives (kept in the *Museum für Völkerkunde*, Berlin). Hermann Burchardt (1857-1909) took photos of the Emperor's visit to the Bekaa and Baalbek (C39). Annegret Nippa has studied his photos.[12]

3. It emerges, then, that the Imperial travel group could not complain about a lack of photographic attention.[13] Were there, however, differences

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6 For their work see: Engin Çizgen (Özendes), *Abdullah Frères: Osmanlı Sarayının Fotoğrafçılar,* Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık 1998.

7 See: Roswitha Buchner, *Das Bild Istanbuls im 19. Jahrhundert. Die Photographenfirma Sébah & Joaillier*, Istanbul: Orient-Institut der DMG, Abteilung Istanbul, 1997. – Engin Çizgen (Özendes), *Photography in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1919*, Istanbul: Haşet 1987, 78-89.

8 See: Yeshayahu Nir, *The Bible and the Image: The History of Photography in the Holy Land 1839-1899*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1985. – Nissan N. Perez, *Focus East: Early Photography in the Near East (1839-1885),* New York: Abrams 1988, 141. – *Romantic Lebanon: The European View 1700-1900*, London: The British Lebanese Association 1986, 81-85. – Louis Vaczeck, Gail Buckland, *Travelers in Ancient Lands: A Portrait of the Middle East, 1839-1919*, Boston 1981, 132-33, 191, 194.

9 Nir, *The Bible and the Image*, 237-41.

10 Ibid., 122-26. – Perez, *Focus East,* 186-89.

11 Engin Çizgen (Özendes), *Photographer / Fotoğrafçı Ali Sami*, Istanbul: Haşet 1989.

12 Annegret Nippa, *Lesen in alten Photographien aus Baalbek,* Zürich: Völkerkundemuseum der Universität Zürich [1996]. – See also her article in this volume.

13 Photographic records of the visit can be found in many books dealing with the history of photography in the Middle East, e.g. Fouad Debbas, *Beirut: Our Memory. A*

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000103

between the official Ottoman and the official German photography? And if there were, did they affect the choice of photographic motives and compositions? And what distinguished the amateur and commercial photography?

It is striking that the travel account does not contain any photos of the Sultan, whether as an individual portrait or in a group. This is not coincidental, but at first notice appears strange, as the Sultan was highly interested in photography, had learned photography himself and accumulated a comprehensive photocollection. The point here is that he did not consider photography as a means of self-representation. Only very few images of Abdülhamid exist.

Photography was an instrument of power and legitimacy. As he did not travel, he did not know his vast empire from personal impressions. Instead he had to visualize it among other ways through photos. The most important cities and provinces were registered in a sort of photographic survey, the peoples of the empire catalogued and even portraits of higher civil and military officials could be collected and centrally kept.[14]

In this framework, the target of the photos was not so much the imagined, constructed, picturesque Orient. While monuments were captured, the value of the photos lay in that they document the empire-wide project of modernization. This project was demonstrated a. o. through the new buildings of the administration, schools, hospitals and infrastructure.[15]

A modern state was epitomized by a modern army. It seems to have been an obsession of Ottoman photography to popularize this token of modernity through original photos or military postcards. Numerous such pictures have survived, many of them have been published (amongst them works of Ali Sami, the military photographer of the Sultan): of parades, marching up troop formations, of military exercises and gymnastic performances. The display of soldiers' discipline appears to have been of principal concern. The actors often seem frozen and are arranged in geometric patterns (C10, C23).[16]

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guided tour illustrated with postcards from the collection of Fouad Debbas, Beirut: Naufal 1986, 212-13. – Jacob M. Landau, *Abdul-Hamid's Palestine: Rare century-old photographs from the private collection of the Ottoman sultan now published for the first time*, London: Deutsch 1979, 54-57.

14 See: Gilbert Beaugé and Engin Çizgen (Özendes), *Images d'Empire: Aux origines de la photographie en Turquie. Türkiye'de fotoğrafın öncüleri. Collection Pierre de Gigord*, Istanbul: Institut d'Etudes Françaises d'Istanbul 1993.

15 Ibid., 200-11.

16 Ibid., 230-40.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000104

While the single objects photographed proved effective progress, the actual line of argument came through a selection that deliberately marginalized 'the picturesque'. The world was to be impressed through an orchestration of images which suggested a successfully modernizing country. A particular case in point was the 1893/1894 donation of 51 photo albums to the *Library of Congress* and the *British Museum*.[17] In these albums the person of the ruler was not directly glorified, but rather his sphere of activity was illustrated. The modern medium served the graphic evidence of the empire's modernity. The public presence of the Sultan or that of his image was not necessary.

To what extent can these general observations be applied to the Emperor's journey? It is well known that the documentation of the state visit was not an isolated case (a. o. the visit of the Persian ruler, Muẓaffer-ud-Dīn Shāh in 1901, was likewise photographed by Ali Sami[18]). What is unusual with the Emperor's visit however, is the width of the photographic documentation which did not exhaust itself in the works of the official photographers, the Istanbul military photographer Ali Sami and the Jerusalem professional photographer Garabed Krikorian.

Yet, their works are revealing in that they did not only document the whole itinerary of the journey, but in that they represented at the same time civil and military aspects of official photography. The fact that both photographers concentrated on public appearances lay in the nature of their task. On Lebanese soil it was above all the reception by the Ottoman authorities in Muallaka and the ceremony in Baalbek. The geometrically arranged picture of the railway station reflects the official Ottoman penchant for symmetry and order[19]: in the foreground the rails, behind it the round tents and above them the hill with the rectangular houses (C29, C30 [one photo]). A similar narrative can be observed in a later shot of the same place or with the photo of the imperial camp in Baalbek (C48). The comparison is with the perky muddle on two German amateur photos which were also taken in Muallaka (C37, C38). Even Bedouins on horse- or camelback are seen with the Ottoman photographers' ordering eyes (C40, C41). In their frozen composition they resemble a military formation. *Scènes-et-types*-photos by comparison appear more relaxed.

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17 Carney E.S. Gavin and The Harvard Semitic Museum, *Imperial Self-Portrait: The Ottoman Empire as revealed in the Sultan Abdul Hamid II's photographic albums presented to the Library of Congress (1893) and the British Museum (1894). A pictorial selection with catalogue, concordance, indices, and brief essays,* Cambridge, MA, 1988 [= *Journal of Turkish Studies* 12 (1988)].

18 Engin Çizgen, *Ali Sami* (fn. 11), 147-48.

19 Beaugé, Çizgen, *Images d'Empire* (fn. 14), 212-21.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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Even more revealingly committed to the perspective of Ottoman military photography are the photos from Baalbek on the occasion of the unveiling of the commemorative plate in Baalbek. This applies in particular to the symmetrically arranged photo which has in its center the plate and a soldier with a drawn sword on either side (C54). The fact that this photo was soon going to be sold in Istanbul as a postcard only underlines its conformity and the acceptance of this particular perspective, for there were also other, much more informal photos of the unveiling ceremony (C51, C52).

A second photo – also sold as a postcard – emphasizes the different intentions between the official German and Ottoman photography. It presents a frequently photographed scene: Ottoman soldiers form a corridor leading up to the commemorative plate. At the center is the Emperor (C53). The form of assemblage is decisive: The Sultan does not appear on the picture *in persona*, yet he is present in the "charming ceremony devised by the Sultan"[20], is represented physically by the governor of Damascus and in name by the commemorative plate donated by him. The official Ottoman photography heralds the effect of the ruler who is himself both present and absent.

In stark contrast, the Emperor had himself photographed repeatedly. The power of his empire is being demonstrated through splendid, broadly published appearances. The personality of the Emperor embodies a central propagandistic role. As it was with other historic places of the Orient – if not with the visited Orient at large – Baalbek changes to settings of an orchestration of power and the self. To this end, even costumes were specially designed (C15, C36, C42, C62). The antique temple terrain transforms itself into a stage on which the Emperor and his entourage perform as acting cast while the absent Sultan conducts and directs. Indeed, it was quite adequate for this act of theatrical imagination amidst this antique setting to employ the technically most advanced means of recording which rendered documentation and propaganda highly effective.

The illustration of the imperial personality, preferably during an official appearance presented the central aspiration. A reglementation of the photographic perspective cannot be discerned. The reproductions of festive ceremonies fulfilled their purpose just like snapshots which show the Emperor's back when walking through the ruins (C5). The officious travel account is the most revealing evidence of official German photography. Several photos document official acts, but they also show private scenes like the Emperor leaning on the railing of his yacht (C65).

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20 *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar* (fn. 2), 375.

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Such "intimate" snapshots were made possible through photo-technical innovations. In the 1880s there emerged industrially produced gelatine dryplates and since the mid-90s the first filmroles appeared on the market.[21] They were easier to handle than the unwieldy, fragile glass plates, which were apparently still used during the Emperor's journey. Moreover, they were highly sensitive to light. The two amateur shots in Muallaka have already been mentioned. Some of the photos attributed to the Empress have probably also been done in this way. The photos of Ottoman officers leisurely leaning against pillars and of spectators in Muallaka show that even in official Ottoman photography such snapshot-like photos could creep in (Ali Sami, C56; Garabed Krikorian, C32, C33).

Both photographers have still worked with larger glass plates. Engin Çizgen measures the largest size of the glass negatives at 33,2 x 27,2 cm.[22] The rapidly taking off amateur photography[23] no longer had to rely on these cumbersome devices. Photography became simpler and cheaper. Subsequent tourists of the Orient could do without professional photographers.

4. As yet, professional photography was dominant. How did these photos reach the public? And how were they used?

Abdülhamid is known to have put together photoalbums, both for himself and as gifts. Certainly this is what happened with the photographic documentations of Ali Sami and Garabed Krikorian. While it cannot be ascertained whether or when the imperial couple received such albums, some photos were already incorporated into the body of illustrations of the travel account the year following the Emperor's visit. Of course, it is quite plausible that they had been collected during the journey – an hypothesis that is equally convincing in the context of local photo studios. Very soon afterwards copies were available in Istanbul. Here as in Germany they served as models for picture postcards.

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21 Burkhard Brinker, "Photographische Verfahren zu Beginn der Reisephotographie", in: *Die ethnographische Linse: Photographien aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde*, ed. Markus Schindlbeck, Berlin 1989, 29-31. – Eder, *Geschichte der Photographie* (fn. 3), 589-610, 673-84. – [Museum Folkwang Essen] *Verfahren der Fotografie: Bilder der Fotografischen Sammlung im Museum Folkwang Essen, 7. Mai bis 16. Juli 1989*, 84-86.

22 Engin Çizgen, *Ali Sami* (fn. 11), 146-48.

23 Timm Starl, "Ihrer kaiserlichen und königlichen Hoheit ... Ein Erinnerungsalbum und die Anfänge der amateurphotographischen Bewegung in den deutschsprachigen Ländern", in: *Alles Wahrheit! Alles Lüge! Photographie und Wirklichkeit im 19. Jahrhundert. Die Sammlung Robert Lebeck*, Bodo von Drewitz and Roland Scotti, eds., Köln 1997, 107-12.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000107

As such they were used as a medium which today holds nostalgic appeal but at the time was considered highly modern and was sure to attract great attention. Since the mid-1890s picture postcards had increasingly come into use – originally in extravagantly lithographed form of the type "Gruß aus...", "Souvenir de..." and later increasingly as prints of older or up-to-date photos. In addition, a mixed type was frequently being used. It included a single or several photos in the original or in edited form, combined them creatively and added painted or drawn motives.[24]

All three types were used for the popularization and propagation of the Emperor's journey. Amongst them we find extravagantly designed lithographic series (Palestine-Splendor Card, Kunstverlag H. Vogel, Leipzig), but also insufficiently reproduced photo series. The postcards were mostly produced in Germany which possessed a quasi-monopoly over high-quality printing techniques for postcards, but also in Istanbul (Ebüzziya-Printing Press). They were then published in Germany, Istanbul, Beirut and Jerusalem. D. Pearlman, London, has composed a list of 16 publishing houses which printed single postcards or series. Added to this list should be publishing houses which used pictures of the journey but did not refer to it.

The mixed form was particularly effective for propaganda purposes. It combined the creative liberties of painting with the photography's claim to authentic reproduction of reality. Through the creative connection of image and text explicit and implicit messages could be transmitted.

Striking is the occasional addition "According to Latest Photographs". It signals a transitional situation in the history of printing and media. For one, it is a relic from the early period of photography, in a time when photos with large a circulation could only be reproduced by means of established printing procedures. At the same time, the by then antiquated addition supplies the images of the distant Oriental worlds with a greater degree of credibility and the additional appeal of topicality. The truth of photography was still taken for granted and subliminally testified the visual and verbal message.

Multiple combinations are especially prevalent in postcards of Palestine. Thus on a horizontally partitioned postcard, the Church of the Redeemer is inserted to feature prominently in a panorama of Jerusalem. The

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24 Giovanni Fanelli and Ezio Godoli, *Art nouveau Postcards*, New York: Rizzoli 1987, 10-18. – Horst Hille, *Postkarte genügt: Ein kulturhistorisch-philatelistischer Streifzug*, Heidelberg: Decker 1988, 31-41. – Wilhelm Stöckle, *Das deutsche Kaiserreich: Ansichtskarten und Texte aus der wilhelminischen Zeit 1888-1918*, Stuttgart: Klett 1985. – Martin Willoughby, *A History of Postcards. A pictorial record from the turn of the century to the present day,* London: Studio Editions 1992, 44-61.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000108

lower part of the card features an image of the flag-decked German Templer colony. In addition, an image of the head-and-shoulders portrait of the Emperor, framed by a golden crescent, palm leaves and the imperial coat of arms, decorates the picture. Place names explain the display, the note "According to Latest Photographs" substantiates it and all is: Palestine-Splendor Card No. 5, Emperor's journey, 1898 (not printed in the collage).[25] Significantly more political is a postcard from Constantinople on which both rulers are juxtaposed and where there is enough room to include the imperial coach in front of the German school and for the imperial yacht against the impressive Bosphorus landscape (C67).

F. Perlberg's "Emperor William's entry to Jerusalem" (C42) demonstrates the transformation from photography into historical painting in postcard format. A panorama postcard of Beirut shows the varied usages of photos in edited and unedited versions. It is a card (C 2) which – without mentioning it – reproduces an older photo (Bonfils, No. 488)[26] into a lithographic view. Oversized German ships, the leaf-framed imperial couple and the textline "In memory of the presence of the German imperial couple in Beirut" enter the picture (C 64).

Sumptuously lithographed postcards rapidly became popular collectors' items – an aspect which imparted on them added propaganda value. It was an advantage, that the postcards of the imperial journey could be produced on schedule, i. e. just before its beginning. There exist cards (collection of the author) which were posted in German post offices in November 1898, i. e. during the journey. Others bear Turkish stamps and postmarks from Jaffa and Jerusalem. They obviously served as souvenirs.

Postcards depicting the journey's itinerary readily appeared on the market, but – to be sure – could only recount in hindsight. Where they were published as a series they formed a kind of photo documentary. In this aspect, they resembled the illustrations of the officious travel account which in parts used the same photos. Its day-by-day chronological structure, its detailed descriptions, reflections and historical excursuses, all tended to target the educated classes through a travel reportage.

The account had used pictures of local photo studios. Especially the illustration of the topography and the local colorites were qualities which official Ottoman photography could not provide. Particularly popular amongst tourists, this illustrative material was supplied by local profes-

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25 Collection Wolf-Dieter Lemke, Beirut-Istanbul.

26 Reproduced in: [Harvard Semitic Museum], *Legacy of light: Beirut & Lebanon. Photographs from the last century. Presented by the Harvard Semitic Museum,* [Beirut ca. 1983], illustration nr. 6.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000109

sional photographers. European picture services competed with them. An advertisement card from the "Collection Hentschel" (C42) delineates the areas of interest: the picturesque Orient (consular servant in uniform), religion (Dome of the Rock), antiquity (Baalbek).

In a meaningful act of twisting the subject-object relations, the pictures of the Emperor's visit were soon afterwards going to be assimilated into the local scenery. The imperial fleet in Beirut's harbor turns into "Vue de Beyrouth et du port" (C3). The photo of the moved audience at the Emperor's spectacular landing experiences the same transformation: "Beyrouth. Le quai. The quay." (C4). The troop parade in Damascus which clearly shows German officers in their specially designed uniforms becomes "Turkish Troups Manœuvre, Damascus".[27]

5. These postcards are the echo of a journey which took place during a transitional period in the history of media and for the reproduction of which most of the current conventional techniques of imagery were used: time honored painting and graphics but also older and newer methods of photography and as most modern device the picture postcard. When *Le Rire* has the imperial secret correspondent complain that he was incessantly photographed and filmed, then this was utopically exaggerated, but at the same time realistic and prophetic.

Cameras and film cameras were to become steady companions of rulers of the 20th century. On Christmas 1895, the first films were publicly shown, some of them already "documentaries" ("L'arrivée d'un train en gare").[28] Emperor William is known to have acquired a lively interest in the new medium.[29] Later journeys were already covered by films.

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27 Published by Sarrafian Bros., Beirut, Nr. 17.

28 Art. "Grand Café", in: Roger Boussinot, *L'Encyclopédie du cinéma*, Paris: Bordas 1995.

29 Art. "Lumière", in: ibid.

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WILLIAM II'S PERCEPTION OF SACRALITY

JÜRGEN KRÜGER

The journey of Emperor William II to the Orient is primarily seen nowadays as being related to power politics or economic policy especially since today's interpretation of this monarch is still very much one-dimensional. However, the most important goals pursued in this journey were connected with his cultural and ecclesiastical policies. Of these, only one aspect, his perception of sacrality, will be briefly treated here.[1]

William II was very fond of traveling. Apart from journeys motivated by his official duties, he went every year on one extensive and several smaller trips, for the most part cruises. Their destinations were always very much alike: along the coast of Norway, round Italy or in the Greek and Ottoman area. These destinations reveal primarily his keen sense of history: Rome was important as the capital of the medieval Holy Roman Empire, Sicily for tracing the tracks of the Normans and Puglia to follow those of Frederick II Hohenstaufen, Constantinople as the ancient Byzantine Imperial city, Venice as the heir to Constantinople and Norway, because it had been the home of the Vikings.[2]

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1 I would like to thank Günter Schwabe, Rome, for the translation of this manuscript. This paper is based on my research concerning the church building activity of the Hohenzollern dynasty: Jürgen Krüger, *Rom und Jerusalem: Kirchenbauvorstellungen der Hohenzollern im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag 1995, with detailed literature. In the present paper only the most significant sources are cited. For references about the journey cf. the recent publication by Jan Stefan Richter, *Die Orientreise Kaiser Wilhelms II.: Eine Studie zur deutschen Außenpolitik an der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač 1997 (Ph.D. thesis, Kiel 1996). One of the most relevant earlier publications is: Horst Gründer, "Die Kaiserfahrt Wilhelms II. ins Heilige Land 1898. Aspekte deutscher Palästinapolitik im Zeitalter des Imperialismus", in: *Weltpolitik, Europagedanke, Regionalismus: Festschrift für Heinz Gollwitzer zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Heinz Dollinger, Horst Gründer, and Alwin Hanschmidt, Münster: Aschendorff 1982, 363-88.

2 On the whole, the travels of William have not been properly dealt with: there exists only a Germanistic exploration of his "Nordland" passages, i.e. Birgit Marschall, *Reisen und Regieren: Die Nordlandfahrten Kaiser Wilhelms II.*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter 1991. – The Kaiser came to Rome to meet the Pope; his first great journey after having acceeded to the throne must be understood as an imitation of the journeys medieval German Emperors undertook to be crowned by the Pontiff. The men

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The journey to the Holy Land was made only once. It represented the culminating point of his entire traveling activities. On the other hand it followed a family tradition since members of the Hohenzollern family, not to mention the ancestors from the Middle Ages, had been in the Near East before him and would follow him there afterwards.[3] A journey to the Holy Land was a symbol of status and a thing of pride for every European princely house.[4] Consequently, his journey is to be seen as the culmination of the cultural and ecclesiastical policy of the entire dynasty of the Hohenzollern, all the more since it was the only journey of a reigning Emperor.

The Emperor's tour meant a great deal to the region he visited as well since for the first time in centuries a sovereign sojourned here again. From this point of view, it easily becomes comprehensible as to why the region intended to appear in the best of all possible ways. To present a pleasant appearance some measures were taken that promptly encountered severe criticism abroad.[5]

The key to the understanding of the journey lies in its principal objective, the solemn dedication of the Church of the Redeemer in Jerusalem,

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of the North, Vikings and Normans, were seen in his historical view as the pathmakers of Europe while the dynasty of Hohenstaufen had preceded him in the office of Emperor. – William II often was a pioneer of modern traveling. The Norway cruises follow his example and so does the *Kieler Woche*, a regatta attended by sail yachts from all over the world.

3 As early as 1860 Katharina von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen had been in Jerusalem; in 1869 Crown Prince Frederick William (the future Emperor Frederick III) had undertaken an extensive journey to the Near East on the occasion of the inauguration of the Suez canal. A member of the imperial family was supposed to preside over the laying of the corner-stone of the Church of the Redeemer but this plan had to be given up due to political complications. In April 1910, Prince Eitel Friedrich attended the inauguration of the Auguste Victoria Hospice, named after his mother, the Empress. The journey of his father, Frederick William, seems to have been of particular importance for William II's Orient journey: the travel diary refers to it on several occasions and says how William II intentionally returned to places visited by his father (for example also Damascus). This aspect has not yet been dealt with but it appears to be of importance although, officially at least, the influence of Frederick III on William II was rather minimal. This can be inferred, for example, from the small number of monuments built by William II in memory of Frederick III as opposed to the large number of those commemorating his grandfather William I.

4 F. Geisheim, *Die Hohenzollern am Heiligen Grabe zu Jerusalem*, Berlin: Duncker 1858.

5 For example, the Jaffa Gate in Jerusalem was torn down to enable the entrance of the Emperor on horseback; but this had not been a wish expressed by the Emperor himself. Measures taken for embellishment and amelioration also concerned the repair of streets, etc. ... But procedures such as these can be observed at any time.

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which took place on October 31, 1898. It also allows us a better understanding of the other stages of the tour. On the other hand several layers of significance concealed in the Church of the Redeemer need to be clarified.

The church in question is a neo-Romanesque building, relatively simple and crowned with a mighty clock-tower in the immediate neighborhood of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. With the exception of the clock-tower it represents a relatively faithful copy of the medieval church, St. Mary la Latine (*S. Maria Latina*), on this very same site, which lies buried 2 meters beneath the new church.[6] This was one of the three churches within the enormous hospital complex erected there by the Order of St. John in the 12th century, during the time of the Crusades. The grounds of the hospital, known as the *Mūristān* – the Persian word for hospital – fell into oblivion in the centuries that followed and by the 19th century represented the largest area of ruins within the old part of the city of Jerusalem.

Several ideas took an active part in the reconstruction of the church. Among these first came the conception of the Prussian King, Frederick William IV, that the Protestant church ought to be present with a bishopric in Jerusalem, the place of origin of Christianity. An alliance with the Anglican Church was to restore the apostolic tradition and its legitimacy.[7] This joint bishopric was indeed founded but over the years, proved to hinder more than it encouraged the development of a German speaking congregation in Jerusalem. Therefore the bishopric agreement with England was canceled in 1886. It was to this bishopric tradition that the Church of the Redeemer owes its quality as a provostry.

The second leading idea concerns the Order of St. John. The medieval Order of the Knights of St. John, also known as the Order of St. John, had been one of the three great orders of knights whose principal tasks were to care for pilgrims and to nurse the sick. When the Crusaders had to leave Jerusalem in 1187 and Palestine in 1291, the Order withdrew to its European possessions and changed its name to Knights of Rhodes or Knights of Malta, according to the seat of its headquarters. The Reformation brought the separation of the Order into a Catholic branch (Maltese Knights, nowadays in Rome) and a Protestant branch which developed in Brandenburg. In the late 18th century, the latter had degenerated into a merely decorative Prussian order which was finally dissolved in 1810. It was Fre-

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6 The elevation was made necessary in order to adjust to the actual street level.

7 Christiane Schütz, *Preussen in Jerusalem (1860-1861): Karl Friedrich Schinkels Entwurf der Grabeskirche und die Jerusalempläne Friedrich Wilhelms IV.*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann 1988.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000113

derick William IV with his predilection for early Christian and medieval art and culture who re-established the Order of St. John in 1852 with its old charitable duties of nursing.[8] Shortly afterwards, the reborn knights of St. John were present in Jerusalem with a small ward. Since the Jerusalem bishopric was not functioning properly at that time, the idea arose to provide the knights with a church building destined to look after German national interests.[9] And what could be a more perfect choice, especially in the 19th century, than the original site, now in ruins? A partial acquisition of the area of the old *Mūristān* succeeded only in 1869 after having met with some difficulties.[10] After the end of the Franco-German War, the leading German building historian, Friedrich Adler, was sent to Jerusalem to examine the ruins and plan their reconstruction. The projects were developed in the following years, but were then put aside and remained closed in a drawer until they were brought back to light by William II, twenty years later.

When William II acceded to the throne in 1888, he initially pursued other goals. First of all there was the programmatic reconstruction of the *Schlosskirche* in Wittenberg, the resting place of Martin Luther. It was there that the father of the Reformation was supposed to have affixed his 95 theses to its entrance door on October 31, 1517. William II had the *Schlosskirche* rebuilt and decorated as a commemorative church to the Reformation. But he aimed beyond a purely external restoration. The church was seen as a sign of Protestant unity. This purpose was reached by two means. First, stalls following the type of medieval ones, were set up in the choir. All Protestant princes who participated in the re-dedication ceremony sat on them and spoke the "Wittenberg Confession", a declaration of faith which underlined their responsibility for the unity of the faith and for their peoples.[11] Secondly, the date of October 31 was officially introduced as the Reformation Day – an obligatory holiday to be observed in all of Germany. After having dedicated the church in Wittenberg, Wil-

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8 The Catholic branch as well as the Maltese Order were refounded. Today, both orders collaborate closely and they were exemplary in founding of the Red Cross.

9 It had become a tradition in 19th century Jerusalem for European nations to want to be present in the city with their respective national churches. France arrived first in 1860 and got the medieval church of St. Anna.

10 Regarding the acquisition of the *Mūristān*, cf. the recent work of Thorsten Preine which will be published in 1998 in the studies celebrating "100 years Redeemer Church".

11 The (unnamed) addressee of this confession of faith was not the Catholic Church but rather were the socialist workmen.

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liam II gave orders to complete the church in Jerusalem.[12] The dedication day was set from the beginning for October 31; the question remained of which year, and this obviously depended on the pace of the construction work. Thus the Jerusalem church was also considered a monument to Protestant unity and its demonstration in a very central place. The contents of the speeches delivered on the occasion of the laying of the corner-stone and of the dedication of the church are the obvious proof of this.[13] Therefore, the participation of Protestant Germany in this journey was great.

Besides, the church was of other symbolic importance. The 19th century was also a century of the Humanity of Jesus research. The question of as to where the holy places were to be identified had concerned many scholars ever since Edward Robinson had expressed serious doubts regarding the credibility of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The state of the research was at that time – and still is today – a particularly intricate one. It is nowadays located right in the center of the old city of Jerusalem. In order to show that the place of judgment on Golgotha had been credibly identified, it had to be proved that at the time of Jesus, it had been situated outside the city. Therefore the city wall of that time, the so-called second wall, had to be found, a task which proved to be particularly difficult.[14] Ever since excavations in the city of Jerusalem had begun in the 1860's, archaeologists had been searching for it. Now while excavating for the foundations of the Church of the Redeemer, a huge wall was unearthed and it was concluded that it could only be the long-sought city wall. The wall was thus treated as a relic at the laying of the corner-stone of the Church of the Redeemer on Reformation Day 1893. It was no longer just church of the Order of St. John. Instead, it now had won a new meaning by being directly linked to Christ; hence the name Church of the Redeemer.

Finally, William II intended to make the Church of the Redeemer part of his entire construction program in the area. He had already built a Protestant Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and the Church of the Re-

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12 As a matter of fact, the architects team was the same. Adler had made the plans for the restoration of the *Schlosskirche* in Wittenberg. The construction supervisor was in both cases the architect Groth who moved to Jerusalem in 1893 directly from Wittenberg.

13 Most speeches and reports related to the journey are published in the semi-official travel diary, *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar im Heiligen Lande im Herbst 1898. Mit allerhöchster Ermächtigung Seiner Majestät des Kaisers und Königs bearbeitet nach authentischen Berichten und Akten*, Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler 1899.

14 Until the present day, almost nothing of this part of the city wall has been excavated.

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deemer was to be followed by the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, dedicated in 1910. All three structures represent important moments of the life and passion of Jesus Christ and they are located in the same places where the first Christian Emperor, Constantine the Great, had built churches![15] Now there was William II as the new Constantine intending to play a role similar to that of the example he had chosen: Defender and Benefactor of the faith as well as one in need of a strong church to rely on and itself a supporter of his reign. The Constantine aspect is in return represented in the main apse in the Church of the Redeemer: a mosaic medallion is set in the apse half dome and thus reminds of the apse mosaic of Christ in the Lateran Basilica in Rome which originally had also been a church dedicated to the Saviour, i.e. the Redeemer. It had been constructed by Constantine and subsequently been presented to the bishop of Rome.

The Church of the Redeemer thereupon hints at various aspects of the reign of William II. The Emperor came to Jerusalem as a Grand Master of the Order of St. John in a "peaceful crusade" to personally carry out the dedication of their church,[16] but also as a *summus episcopus*, head of the Prussian Protestant church, to swear to the unity and strength of the Protestant church in this place so central and significant for all Christians. And last but by no means least, he arrived as a *novus Constantinus* to demonstrate his role as a sovereign of Christendom. These aspects of commanding behaviour also shed new light on the other stages of his journey to the Orient.

The final destination of his tour was Damascus where William II paid a visit to the tomb of Saladin and to the Great Mosque. In the address he delivered in Damascus[17] his intentions for visiting the city were made clear: he regarded Saladin as a man who exemplified chivalry during the age of the Crusades, a not uncommon view in the 19th century. However, William also saw him as the Sultan, the secular head of the Muslims, and thus a man on the same level as himself. As the historic equivalent to Fre-

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15 These three places testify to the terrestrial existence of Christ according to the *Credo* of Nicea (Born, Suffered and Died, Ascended).

16 Most photographs taken during the journey show him wearing the Order of St. John pinned on his chest.

17 Cf. *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar* (fn. 13), 366.

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derick II on his own side,[18] it could be only Saladin to whom William II could pay his respects.[19]

No edifice except the Great Mosque in Damascus is better suited to represent the ideas of Islam. Damascus was the first seat of the caliphs, and the Great Mosque was the first to be built outside the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina, both of which were prohibited to Christians. And William II explicitly greeted in the person of the Sultan the caliph respected by three hundred million Muslims. Thus the Emperor considered Abdul Hamid II to be the secular sovereign and the *summus episcopus* at the same time, in conformity with the very same roles in which he himself was acting,[20] both heirs of the old Roman and medieval emperors.

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18 Thus it is represented in the Ascension Church in Jerusalem.

19 It is often claimed that William II donated a second marble cenotaph which was placed near the tomb of Saladin, but this had happened before and the cenotaph contained the remains of a Grand Vizir, cf. *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar* (fn. 13), 361. As a matter of fact, William II donated instead a lamp and a bronze oak wreath. The latter was taken away by Lawrence of Arabia during World War I and is to be found today in the Imperial War Museum in London.

20 The Ottoman sultans continued to claim the Caliphate throughout the 19th century.

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BEYROUTH AU TEMPS DE LA VISITE DE GUILLAUME II EN 1898

MAY DAVIE

Escorté de trois bâtiments de guerre, le yacht impérial *Hohenzollern* accosta, le samedi 5 novembre 1898, au port de Beyrouth. A son bord, se trouvaient l'Empereur Guillaume II et son épouse, en visite en Orient pour concrétiser la politique de rapprochement qui liait, depuis quelques décennies, l'Allemagne à l'Empire ottoman.

Somptueusement décoré, le nouveau port de Beyrouth s'est alors offert à leur vue, avec, en arrière-plan, un paysage urbain qui n'avait plus rien de commun avec celui qui avait existé cinquante ans auparavant. En un demi-siècle, la vieille ville s'était effectivement transformée de l'intérieur, tandis que les espaces laissés libres à l'extérieur avaient été aménagés. Les vergers de la banlieue avaient cédé leur place à des jardins verdoyants occupés par de nouvelles habitations.

Ces transformations ont débuté vers le milieu des années 1850 et sont le résultat d'une série d'inductions parmi lesquelles les exigences du commerce international en Méditerranée orientale ainsi que la restauration et les réformes ottomanes ont joué un rôle important.

Après 1856, un programme de réformes, appelé *Tanẓīmāt,* était effectivement entré en action et affichait, entre autres finalités, la "modernisation" des villes et de leur administration. Premier relais entre l'Europe et la Syrie, Beyrouth a largement bénéficié de ces mesures, qui se sont concrétisées dans trois domaines, à savoir: l'extension des espaces publics, l'amélioration des voies de communication et l'établissement de services publics. Au même moment, l'action des particuliers a entraîné la rénovation des *sūq* et l'urbanisation des espaces ruraux environnants.

La ville allait dès lors s'enorgueillir d'une foule de travaux, notamment d'opérations sur le tissu urbain dont le but était d'incorporer la ville aux mouvements des échanges transméditerranéens et de réfléchir l'image de marque de l'Empire et l'autorité de la Sublime Porte. Le Kaiser et son épouse allaient en être les témoins.

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Les missions protestantes allemandes

Dans la matinée du 6 novembre, le couple impérial débarqua pour une tournée officielle dans la ville de Beyrouth.[1] Il visita en premier deux établissements des missionnaires allemands: l'hôpital Saint-Jean et l'école des diaconesses du Kaiserswerth,[2] tous deux situés dans les faubourgs de Dār al-Mraysah et de Mīnat al-Ḥusn, à l'ouest de la vieille ville *intra muros*.

Escorté par la cavalerie ottomane, le convoi impérial quitta le débarcadère et remonta la rue Bāb Idrīs, une voie nouvelle, large et droite, départ de la route de Beyrouth à Damas. Partant du port, elle suivait ensuite le tracé de l'ancienne muraille. Arrivé au niveau de Sāḥat al-Samak (la place des Poissonniers), le convoi tourna à droite et s'engagea dans Ṭarīq Brūsiā (la rue de la Prusse)[3], qui traversait les deux faubourgs occidentaux avant de rejoindre la localité de Rās Bayrūt. Les missions prussiennes étaient parmi les premiers établissements à venir s'installer le long de cette rue, qui prit le nom de leur pays[4] et qu'elles marquaient en retour par leur architecture caractéristique et par les grandes surfaces qu'elles occupaient. La présence des deux missions allemandes a également ajouté au caractère cosmopolite de ce secteur qu'avait déjà marqué l'installation des missions américaines à Rās Bayrūt.

Guillaume II et son épouse choisirent de visiter tout d'abord l'hôpital Saint-Jean, en compagnie des diaconesses[5] du Kaiserswerth qui en avaient la charge depuis sa fondation.

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1 Nous sommes redevable à Thomas Scheffler de nous avoir communiqué la traduction de la section du *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar im Heiligen Lande im Herbst 1898*, Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler 1899, se rapportant à l'itinéraire du Kaiser à travers la ville de Beyrouth.

2 Sur l'idéologie et les stratégies d'implantation des missions protestantes, on lira Joseph Hajjar, *L'Europe et les destinées du Proche-Orient (1815-1848)*, Tournai: Bloud & Gay 1970.

3 Aujourd'hui la rue Georges-Picot.

4 En plus de ces deux institutions, la communauté allemande allait disposer, à partir de 1908, de l'établissement catholique des sœurs de Saint-Charles Borromée, comprenant une école supérieure pour filles et un hôpital. La communauté disposait, par ailleurs, d'un cimetière situé à Rās al-Nabiʿ.

5 Ce sont les dames de charité de la communauté protestante.

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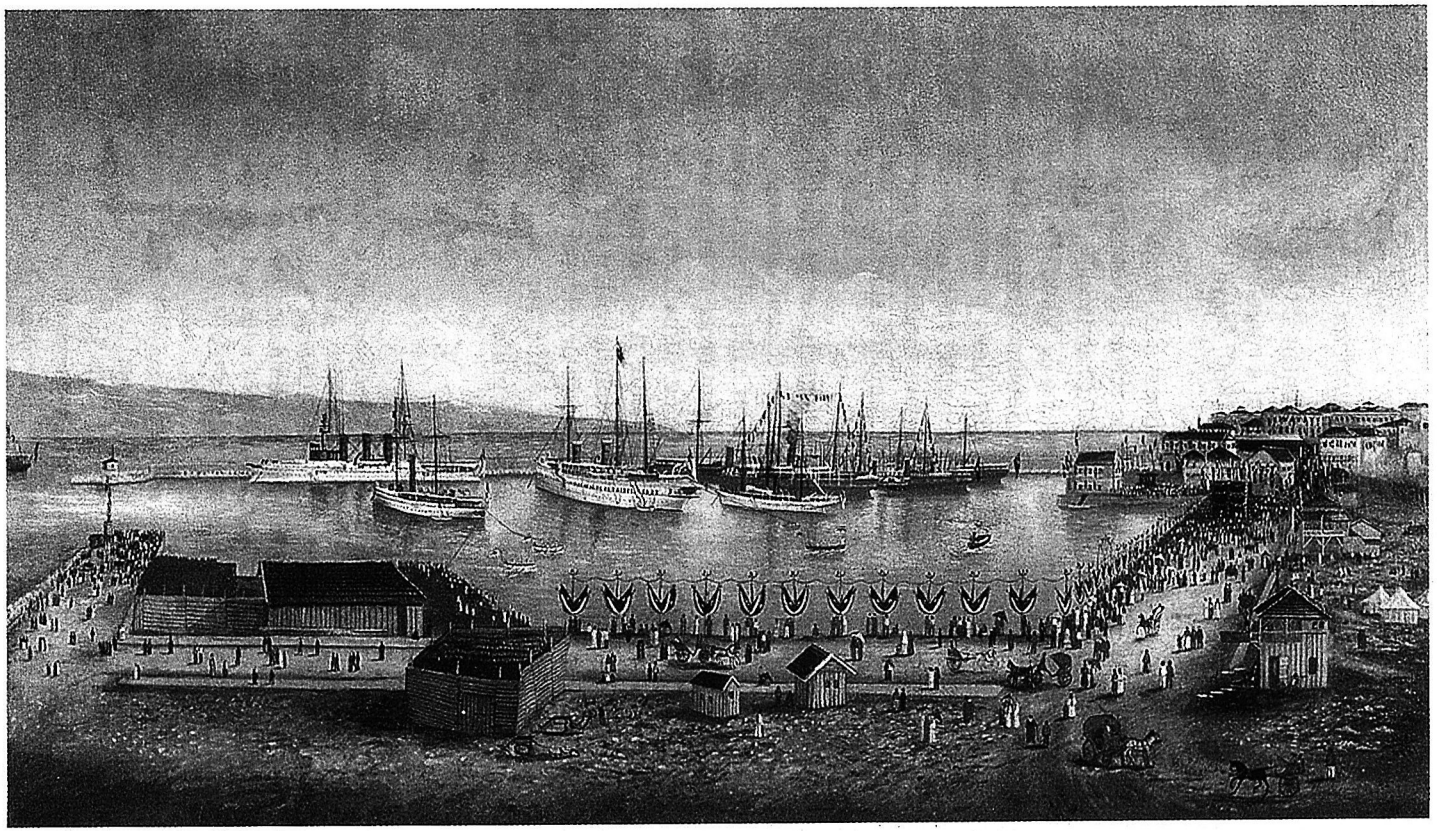

Le yacht impérial *Hohenzollern*, accompagné des trois navires *Hertha, Hela* et *Loreley*,
dans le port de Beyrouth, novembre 1898.

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L'hôpital Saint-Jean

La fondation de l'hôpital Saint-Jean remontait à 1862.[6] Le commanditaire de cet établissement destiné à recueillir et à soigner les victimes rescapées de la guerre civile du Mont Liban de 1860[7], était l'ordre hospitalier de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem.[8]

Les bâtiments, tels qu'ils se présentaient à la fin du XIXème siècle, furent construits entre 1866 et 1867 sur le rebord d'un escarpement qui surplombait la mer et qui était encore vide d'habitations. Le terrain avait été concédé en 1862 aux Chevaliers prussiens de Saint-Jean par Fu'ād Bāshā, ministre des Affaires Étrangères de la Sublime Porte et envoyé spécial du Sultan en Syrie. A la demande des Chevaliers prussiens, l'établissement était géré, depuis le début, par les diaconesses du Kaiserswerth. Mais cette institution prussienne avait aussi un certain caractère cosmopolite puisque des collaborateurs protestants français, anglais, suisses, américains et syriens y travaillaient.

L'hôpital comptait quelque quatre-vingts lits et gérait deux services: la médecine interne et la chirurgie générale. Il était constitué par un grand bâtiment central à deux étages auquel on avait adjoint des annexes agrémentées d'un parc aménagé. La façade était ornée d'un pignon donnant sur la rue de la Prusse et de fenêtres allongées, surhaussées d'arcs brisés. A la fin de 1898, la fondation s'agrandit encore d'un presbytère grâce à une collecte communautaire et à un don substantiel offert par le Kaiser lors de sa visite. Ce qui permit à l'institution de se développer rapidement. Garni de fenêtres ogivales, le presbytère fut édifié sur un terrain attenant à l'hôpital mais indépendant et clos par une grille.[9]

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6 L'emplacement de l'hôpital est aujourd'hui occupé par le site de l'ambassade de France, à la rue Clémenceau. Pour de nombreux détails concernant cette section, nous sommes redevables à Wilfried Masson, *La politique de la France à l'égard des missions catholiques et protestantes allemandes à Beyrouth 1918-1929*, Mémoire de maîtrise, Lyon: Université de Lyon II (1995). On lira également Jean Bianquis, *Les nouveaux devoirs du protestantisme français en Syrie*, Paris: Fédération Protestante de France 1926.

7 Sur cette guerre, on lira Leila Fawaz, *An Occasion for War, Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860*, London and New York: Centre of Lebanese Studies & IB Taurus 1994.

8 Cet ordre remontait aux Croisades et avait sa maison centrale à Berlin.

9 Pour une observation des bâtiments des établissements prussiens et de leur quartier, on consultera Fouad Debbas, *Beyrouth notre mémoire*, Paris: Editions Henri Berger 1994.

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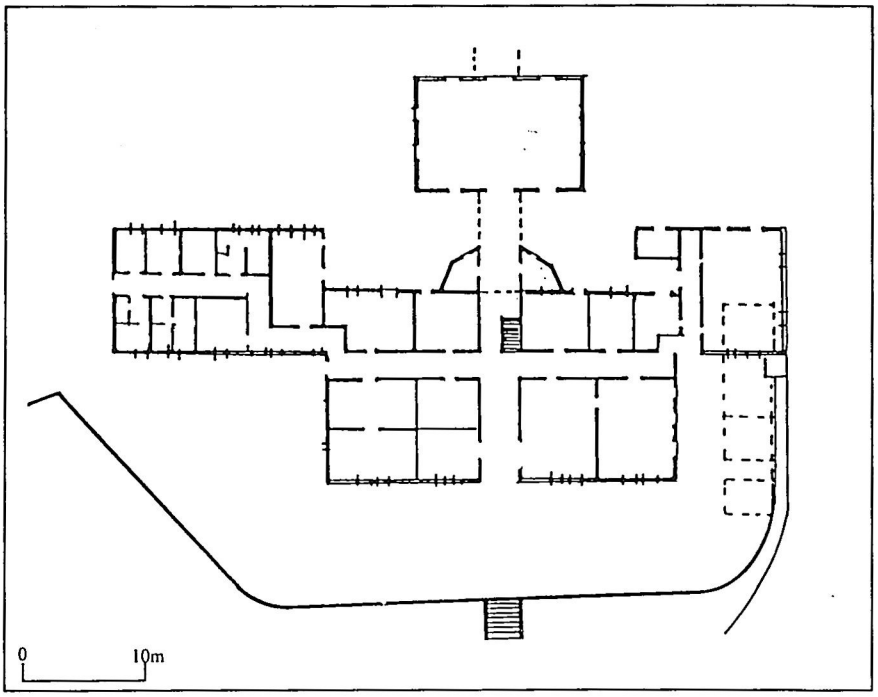

Fig. 1: Le plan du bâtiment principal de l'hôpital Saint-Jean
(Extrait de Masson 1995, modifié).

La visite de l'hôpital terminée, l'impératrice allait poursuivre seule la visite auprès des missions allemandes de Beyrouth. Rebroussant chemin, elle se dirigea vers l'école des diaconesses, pendant que le Kaiser, revenant sur Bāb Idrīs, remonta vers la caserne du 7ème régiment de l'armée ottomane stationnée à Beyrouth. Il se rendit par la suite à la forêt des Pins où une réception avait été organisée en son honneur par les officiers de cette armée.

L'établissement des diaconesses du Kaiserswerth

L'établissement des diaconesses du Kaiserswerth de Beyrouth était plus ancien que l'hôpital Saint-Jean. Il datait de 1860, date à laquelle le pasteur Fliedner, neuf ans après son arrivée en Terre Sainte, avait fondé sous le nom de Tsoar un orphelinat destiné à recueillir les enfants des victimes de la guerre civile qui avait frappé Damas et le Mont Liban. Une école fut par la suite adjointe à cet orphelinat. Deux institutions composaient donc la maison des diaconesses: la première était un orphe-

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linat qui pouvait abriter quelque 150 enfants, petites et jeunes filles, orphelines ou issues de parents pauvres. A l'origine, les enfants venaient, pour l'essentiel, des diverses communautés chrétiennes de la montagne, mais suite à des difficultés soulevées par les prêtres de ces communautés et après les grands massacres d'Adana en 1876 et 1898, l'asile fut réservé aux orphelins arméniens. Cet établissement comprenait encore une école ménagère qui fournissait des domestiques aux familles nanties de la ville et de la montagne.

La seconde partie de l'institution était réservée à un pensionnat associé à une école secondaire de jeunes filles et dirigé par une dizaine de diaconesses allemandes aidées de quelques sœurs syriennes qu'elles avaient formées. L'école accueillait 150 enfants internes et externes, issus pour la plupart de la bonne société européenne et des meilleures familles syriennes de Beyrouth.

L'établissement des diaconesses était construit sur une parcelle en "L", entourée d'un mur crénelé. Il comportait un bâtiment principal à deux étages, une grande cour centrale et des jardins où était disposée une série de pavillons secondaires vraisemblablement occupés par l'école.

La façade du bâtiment principal, réservé sans doute à l'orphelinat, donnait sur la rue de la Prusse. Longue d'une cinquantaine de mètres, elle était creusée d'œils-de-bœuf et d'une suite de grandes fenêtres, agrémentées d'arcs en plein cintre. Elle aurait semblé monotone si elle n'avait été parée d'une tour octogonale insolite, haute et crénelée, voulant sans doute symboliser l'ardeur de l'implantation et la détermination de la mission.

Le côté septentrional, qui donnait sur la cour et sur la mer, était encore plus surprenant, la façade entièrement crénelée et ouverte de fenêtres alignées et de larges baies en arcs brisés mariant des éléments du décor européen à des formes architecturales locales de l'art arabe.[10]

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10 Les institutions catholiques, tels l'Université Saint-Joseph et le collège de Notre-Dame-de-Nazareth avec leurs murailles crénelées, épaisses et hautes, avaient l'air de forteresses inexpugnables.

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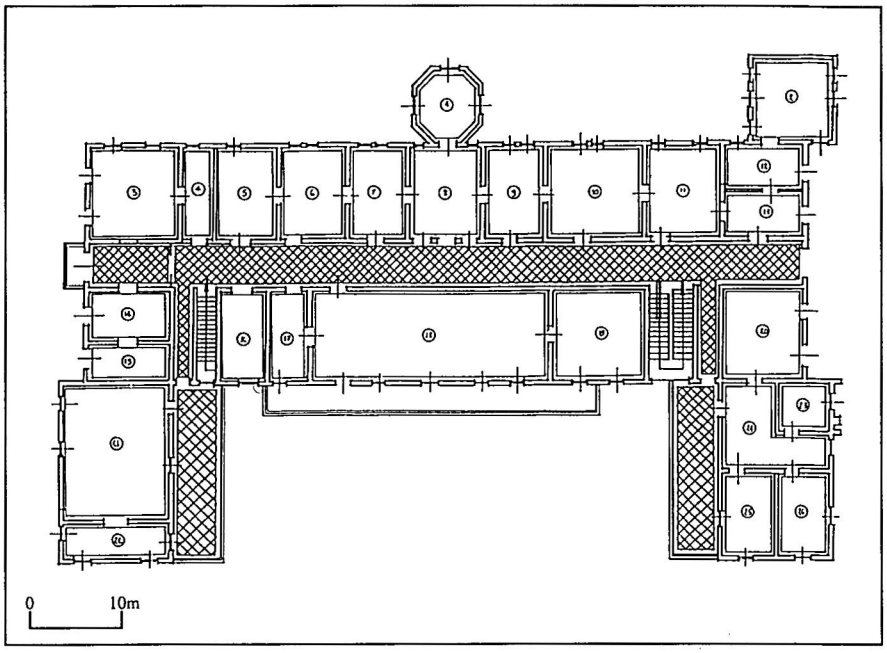

Fig. 2: Le plan du bâtiment principal du pensionnat des diaconesses du Kaiserswerth (Extrait de Masson 1995, modifié).

La caserne du 7ème régiment ottoman et le panorama de Beyrouth

La caserne du 7ème régiment de l'armée ottomane, la *Qishlat Bayrūt*[11] que le Kaiser visitait dans cet intervalle, était un autre bâtiment curieux de l'agglomération urbaine. Elle avait été construite en 1853, une décennie après la restauration du pouvoir ottoman qui avait mis fin à l'occupation égyptienne en 1841, pour montrer l'importance que l'Empire accordait à Beyrouth.

La caserne fut érigée à Qubbat al-Qanṭārī, un éperon qui dominait la ville d'un côté et la mer de l'autre. Par son style, sa taille, ses couleurs et le site élevé qu'elle occupait, cette vaste construction tranchait avec le paysage beyrouthin traditionnel qui s'étalait à ses pieds et qui était encore composé d'habitations basses et enchevêtrées. Premier édifice public d'une telle monumentalité, cette caserne impressionnante incarnait l'amorce, à Beyrouth, d'une nouvelle ère urbanistique. En 1861, on lui adjoignit le

11 L'actuel Grand Sérail.

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bâtiment non moins imposant de l'hôpital militaire, al-Khastak Khānat. Plus tard encore, les entours laissés vides devaient céder la place à un jardin ordonnancé et embelli d'une tour stylée portant la première horloge publique de Beyrouth.[12]

Faisant le tour du jan le Kaiser pouvait contempler le panorama de la ville qui s'étendait à ses pieds: le port d'un côté, les faubourgs environnants de l'autre, et la silhouette du Mont Liban en toile de fond. De ce site, on pouvait encore nettement discerner la route de Damas, le *darb* ou le *ṭarīq al-Shām*, qui ceinturait l'agglomération en lieu et place de l'ancienne muraille. Cette route séparait l'espace *intra muros* caractérisé par son irrégularité et son architecture pittoresque des espaces géométriques récemment aménagés sur les entours, notamment les places al-Sūr (de la muraille) et al-Burj (de la Tour).

La construction de la route de Damas, commencée en 1858, avait effectivement été, après celle de la caserne, la deuxième opération d'envergure de cette période urbanistique inaugurale. Liaison contemporaine entre la ville de Damas et le port de Beyrouth, cette route aboutissait à la place de la Tour, puis elle longeait la muraille tout le long de la place al-Sūr, pour contourner la vieille ville et rejoindre le débarcadère par l'ouest. L'ouverture de cette voie, amena à son tour une réorganisation urbaine. En effet, avec ce nouvel aménagement, les places al-Sūr et al-Burj, qui étaient des espaces géographiquement marginaux, allaient dorénavant occuper une position centrale.[13]

Le rythme important des passagers qui empruntaient désormais cette voie avait engendré, hors les murs, l'installation d'une série d'activités et la construction, autour des places de la Tour et al-Sūr, de *khān*, de cafés, de magasins et de bâtiments de rapport, entamant un processus de métamorphose qui allait donner à ces deux places la forme que nous leur connaissons aujourd'hui. Par l'effet du développement de ces activités économiques et du dynamisme démographique, l'urbanisation avait ainsi commencé à s'emparer des lieux, tout comme une vie collective organisée. On a assisté, en conséquence, à l'installation, entre 1870 et 1900, d'une

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12 Au sujet de cette tour, voir Louis Cheikho, "Manārat al-sāʿah al-ʿarabiyyah fī Bayrūt", *Al-Mashriq* 17 (1899), 769-74.

13 Pour une histoire des transformations urbaines du centre-ville de Beyrouth, lire May Davie, *Beyrouth et ses faubourgs (1840-1940), une intégration inachevée*, Beyrouth: CERMOC 1996.

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PLAN DE BEYROUTH

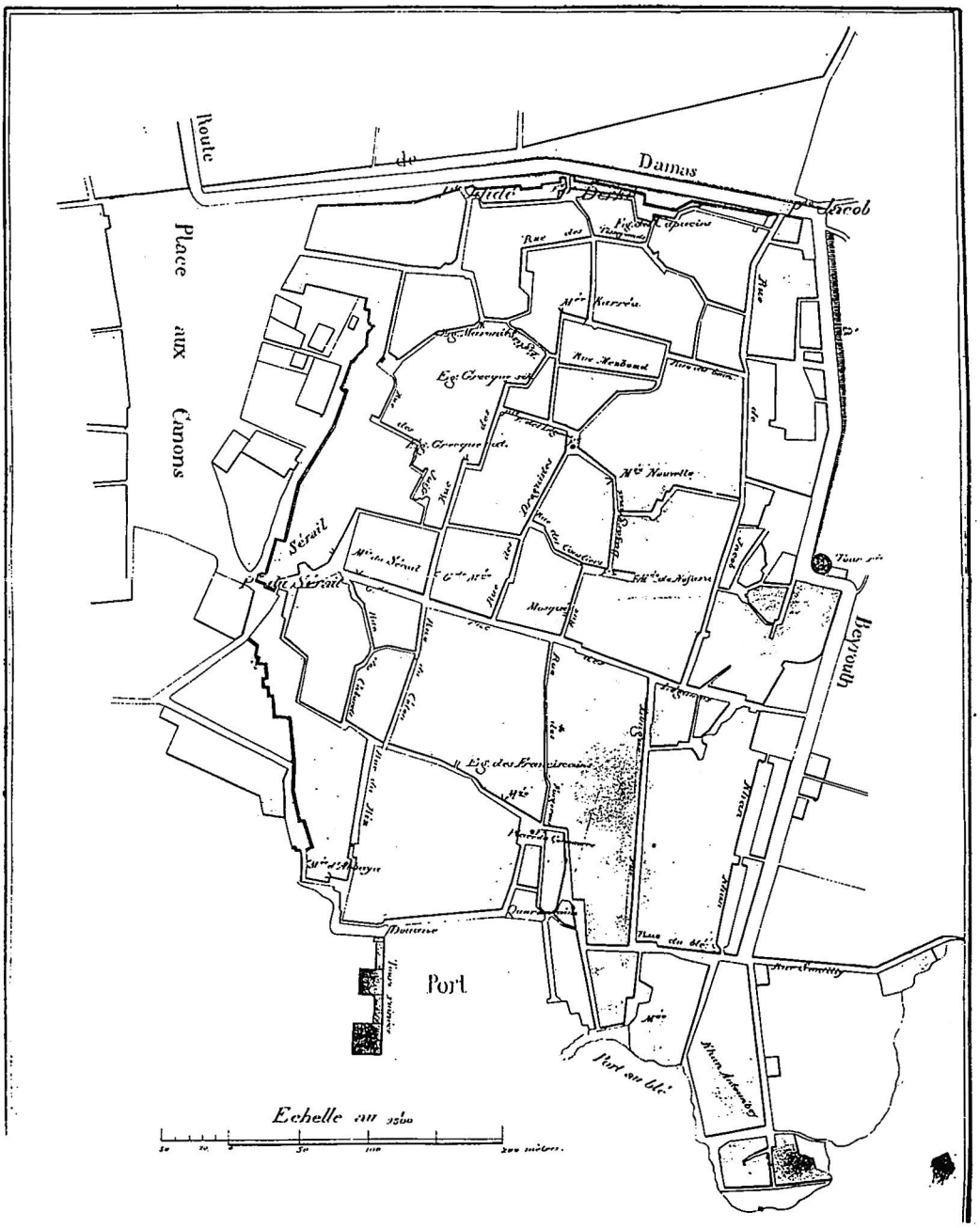

Fig. 3: L'avancée urbaine vers la place de la Tour, illustrée par la carte de Béguin de 1861 (Source: Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, Vincennes).

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série de nouvelles constructions et d'équipements sociaux et publics qui n'avaient plus de place à l'intérieur de la vieille cité encombrée.[14]

Voulant se rendre à la forêt des Pins où il devait retrouver l'impératrice, Guillaume II réemprunta la route de Damas. Redescendant de la caserne, il traversa la place al-Sūr et atteignit le côté sud de la place de la Tour avant de couper à travers les faubourgs méridionaux, en route pour la forêt des Pins.

La place de la Tour

Appelée à être la place principale de Beyrouth, ainsi que son centre, la place de la Tour avait focalisé, depuis le début des années 1870, toute l'attention des autorités publiques, dans le cadre d'une politique urbaine[15] qui allait être mise progressivement en exécution entre 1879 et 1916[16].

Le projet d'aménager cette place, devenue entretemps le principal *muntazah* (lieu de promenade) de la cité, fut voté par la municipalité en 1878.[17] En mars 1879, le Conseil municipal, sous la présidence de Fakhrī Bey, obtint du *wālī* de Damas l'autorisation de procéder au *iṣlāḥ* (aménagement) de la place et à son embellissement, à l'instar de ce qui se faisait en Europe et ailleurs en Orient, à Istanbul, Damas et Le Caire. L'ingénieur de la *wilāyah*, Bishārah Afandī, avait dessiné les plans de cette composition urbaine, dans le modèle des places publiques bourgeoises d'Occident, et suivant les nouveaux règlements ottomans sur le bâti et l'aménagement urbain.[18]

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14 Cette période vit encore l'apparition de plusieurs *sūq* nouveaux, construits par des particuliers, sur les côtés du vieux noyau urbain et qui ont contribué à son développement. Hormis le *sūq al-Nuzhah* (le futur *sūq Sursuq*), qui occupa l'emplacement du vieux sérail à l'intérieur de la ville ancienne, un ensemble de ruelles commerçantes, les *sūq al-Ṭawīlah*, *al-Sayyid*, *al-Jamīl*, *Bustrus*, *Sayyūr*, au nord ouest, et le *sūq al-Ḥamīdiyyah* (le futur *sūq* des Joailliers), à l'est, est apparu entre 1865 et 1892.

15 Nous avons puisé la plupart des informations concernant cette section dans le quotidien beyrouthin *Lisān al-Ḥāl*.

16 Le projet prévoyait d'abord l'aménagement d'un nouveau centre administratif à Sāḥat al-Burj, puis la construction d'un port moderne et enfin le percement de deux voies droites qui devaient se croiser au milieu de la vieille ville, pour relier le port au nouvel espace central et à la route de Damas. Il était en même temps question d'aérer la vieille ville et de l'embellir, par l'ouverture de places et de placettes, de jardins et de chemins de promenade.

17 La municipalité de Beyrouth fut organisée en 1863 par Qabbūlī Bāshā, le *wālī* de Sayda.

18 Amīn ʿAbd al-Nūr, *Tarjamat wa-sharḥ Qānūn al-abniyah wa-qarār al-istimlāk*, Beyrouth: al-Maṭbaʿah al-Adabiyyah 1896.

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Un *muntazah ʿumūmī*, un jardin public, devait occuper le centre de cette place rectangulaire, dont le côté serait réservé à un nouveau sérail, en remplacement de l'ancien de Bāb al-Ṣarāyā. Tout autour de la place, les parcelles édifiables devaient être alignées et loties avec des dimensions plus grandes que celles de la vieille ville, les rues latérales étant assez larges pour faciliter la circulation, en calèche notamment. Pour financer le tout, une souscription publique fut lancée (Annexe).

La première étape, un jardin arboré de lilas de perse, avec fontaine, bassins et allées latérales pour la promenade, fut terminée en 1881. Il fallait ensuite clôturer ce jardin et l'éclairer. Les édifices riverains neufs furent dressés en ligne, en conformité avec les nouvelles règles urbanistiques, qui tenaient compte désormais de l'esthétique géométrique et de la perspective.

Pendant ce temps, le *wālī* avait également obtenu de la Sublime Porte la *irādah* (autorisation) pour la construction du nouveau sérail, dont on posa la première pierre en juin 1882. Dessiné aussi par Bishārah Afandī, cet édifice monumental fut érigé, comme prévu, sur le côté nord du jardin, avec vue sur la mer. Quant au jardin, on construisit en son milieu un kiosque à musique et un café.

En mai 1884, le parc fut enfin inauguré, en grande pompe et en présence des notables de la cité. Quelques mois plus tard, en décembre, le sérail fut à son tour ouvert, de manière tout aussi solennelle, en présence du *wālī* de Damas, Ḥamdī Bāshā. Ces deux opérations exprimaient en réalité le rôle primordial de cet espace public dans la nouvelle organisation urbaine du Beyrouth agrandi, dont le centre de gravité fut de fait déplacé vers l'est.

La position du sérail, en perspective vis-à-vis de la place, et son architecture classique typique des monuments civils ottomans du XIXème siècle, rehaussée cependant de détails pris aux forteresses médiévales, lui conféraient la tâche de spécifier, par son image, le caractère officiel du lieu. De fait, ce sérail allait donner le ton aux bâtiments qui allaient être édifiés dans ce centre administratif neuf, celui de la cité agrandie. Les bâtiments furent construits dans des styles architecturaux originaux, adaptant les modèles étrangers aux données locales. A deux étages et couverts d'un toit de tuiles rouges, certains furent conçus dans l'élégant style local de la fin du XIXème siècle, avec façades creusées d'arcs brisés. D'autres, tels la Banque Impériale Ottomane et l'hôtel de Marseille, figuraient les styles européens, classique ou baroque, adoptés à Istanbul ou en Égypte et réexportés vers les provinces. Ce nouvel aménagement dota Sāḥat al-Burj d'un visage spécifique, soulignant son rôle prééminent par rapport aux autres espaces urbains.

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Une place publique primatiale

C'est un véritable espace planifié qui s'offrit effectivement aux yeux du Kaiser, une composition urbaine basée sur les théories de l'équilibre et de la régularité. Sur le pourtour nord du nouvel espace public, s'installèrent les administrations publiques et les grandes compagnies: à l'ouest du Sérail occupé par le siège du Gouvernement et de la Municipalité, la *Qishlat al-Sawārī* (la gendarmerie), la Direction de la Compagnie du Port, celles du Chemin de Fer, du Gaz et du Tabac, et à l'est, le siège de la Banque Ottomane. Il avait été question d'édifier, dans le terrain libre, à l'ouest du sérail, un siège propre à la Municipalité, qui serait assorti d'une horloge et d'une fontaine. Mais le projet échoua. On y aménagea alors un petit jardin, dans lequel un nouveau marché, *sūq al-Baladiyyah*, s'installa.

Quant à la partie sud de la place, elle fut envahie par ces nouvelles "portes urbaines" que sont les hôtels, avec tous les espaces publics qui les caractérisaient, cafés, salons, restaurants, casinos, salles de musique et, bien entendu, les maisons closes. Les hôtels de Marseille, de Paris, d'Angleterre et le Grand Hôtel de Russie ont successivement vu le jour, de même que le célèbre *Kawkab al-Sharq*, l'Astre de l'Orient, qui fut assorti d'un club de lecture, la *Qirā'at Khānat*, fondé par le gouverneur et le directeur de la Banque Ottomane.

De nouveaux commerces, gérés par les familles Fayyāḍ, Dāʿūq, Thābit, Ṭrād, ʿArdātī, Tyān, Rizq, Rūmī, etc. avaient, dans l'intervalle, occupé le rez-de-chaussée de toutes les nouvelles constructions: librairies, pharmacies, horlogeries et détaillants en tous genres de produits et d'appareils. Le nouveau *khān* Hānī et Raʿd, avec son théâtre et sa salle de fête, et le *sūq al-Ḥamīdiyyah* avec son allée centrale, ont contribué à diversifier encore plus les fonctions "nobles" de cet espace public et à accentuer son caractère central.

Au même moment, des stations de diligences desservant les quartiers de la ville ou les villages de la montagne, ont investi les côtés est et sud de la place. Plus tard, le tramway, installé en 1906, acheva de donner à cet espace un rôle tout aussi vital, celui d'être le point nodal des transports de l'agglomération. L'essentiel des voies de communication récemment percées ou encore en projet, partait de cette place et y menait, le *ṭarīq al-Shām*, le *darb Ṭrāblūs* et le *shāriʿ al-Jadīd*, dont deux jonctions, prévues en 1885 (les futurs rues Allenby et Foch), devaient relier la place de la Tour au port de Beyrouth.

Ainsi, la place de la Tour fut non seulement un centre administratif, culturel et économique, mais aussi un carrefour routier. Ornée d'établissements prestigieux, elle fut également l'espace public principal, le lieu d'expression du pouvoir, celui des manifestations officielles,

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comme les fêtes et des grands rassemblements populaires. De fait, ce fut un espace collectif à fonction multiple, la façade continentale du centre-ville agrandi, surtout pour les voyageurs venant de l'*hinterland* qui débouchaient là après avoir traversé le Mont Liban et la forêt des Pins.

La route de Beyrouth à Damas et la forêt des Pins

Partant du centre-ville, la route de Beyrouth à Damas passait d'abord entre les quartiers résidentiels méridionaux de Ghalghūl et Mār Marūn. Elle longeait ensuite Qirāṭ, puis les cimetières, à l'est, et Rās al-Nabiʿ, à l'ouest. Après deux kilomètres de parcours, elle atteignait Sahlat al-Hursh, la forêt des Pins, après quoi elle grimpait les premières pentes du Mont Liban.

Après avoir été témoin de l'impact de cette route sur la morphologie du centre-ville, l'Empereur pouvait maintenant constater son importance dans l'urbanisation des zones méridionales qu'elle traversait et surtout la forêt qu'elle transforma d'un espace périphérique réservé aux activités militaires et aux transports routiers, en un espace public très prisé tant par les Beyrouthins que par les autorités.

L'histoire de la route a commencé en 1856, quand le comte Edmond de Perthuis, ancien officier de marine français retraité à Beyrouth, demanda à la Sublime Porte la concession, pour cinquante ans, du droit de construire et d'exploiter une route carrossable entre le port de Beyrouth et la ville de Damas. En 1857, quand le comte obtint le firman de la concession demandée, il posa les bases d'une société anonyme, la "Compagnie Impériale Ottomane de la Route de Beyrouth à Damas". Les travaux pouvaient alors commencer.[19] Ils furent inaugurés le 3 janvier 1859, lors d'une cérémonie officielle organisée par le comte et à laquelle le *wālī* de Sayda, Khurshīd Bāshā, les notables urbains et les consuls étrangers étaient tous conviés. Recevant une truelle des mains du comte, le *wālī* posa la première pierre de cette entreprise. En moins d'une année, la section de la route entre la ville et la forêt fut terminée. En octobre, un service d'omnibus était instauré.

Dès lors, la forêt se transforma en une promenade très fréquentée par les citadins et en un lieu de réjouissances lors des fêtes, celles du

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19 Les informations contenues dans cette section proviennent pour l'essentiel du bimensuel *Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār*. Voir également Eléuthère Eleftériades, *Les chemins de fer en Syrie et au Liban*, Beyrouth: Études financières et économiques 1943, et Jean Ducruet, *Les capitaux européens au Proche-Orient*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France 1964.

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Ramaḍān notamment, et vers lequel on avait déplacé les traditionnels jeux de la balançoire qui occupaient auparavant la place al-Sūr. De même, les autorités urbaines y élirent domicile lors des réceptions officielles, pour accueillir le *wālī* revenant de Sayda, un nouveau consul ou d'autres personnalités étrangères. On y avait proclamé le protocole du Mont Liban en 1861 et fêté même l'unité italienne, selon un cérémonial protocolaire strict: un accueil solennel au son de la musique militaire, suivi de discours et de coups de canon qui ouvraient la voie à une promenade et à des causeries privées, agrémentées de boissons fraîches, de gâteaux et de sucreries. Plus tard, un jardin et un kiosque à musique furent aménagés dans la forêt et les visites officielles ont continué à s'y dérouler. C'est sans doute à ce type de cérémonial que le couple impérial allemand avait été convié. A la suite de quoi, au crépuscule, retraversant la ville toute illuminée, ce dernier allait enfin réintégrer son vaisseau amarré dans le port de Beyrouth.

Le nouveau port de Beyrouth

Connaissant le rôle du comte de Perthuis dans le projet du nouveau port de Beyrouth et la part que sa compagnie détenait dans son capital financier, nous pouvons encore apprécier l'impact de la route de Damas sur le visage maritime de la cité, qui allait être aussi rénové pour répondre au développement des affaires commerciales de la cité.

La prépondérance de Beyrouth sur la côte syrienne, l'accroissement des affaires et l'insuffisance des installations portuaires avaient très tôt imposé une actualisation des pratiques et des dispositifs de la fonction portuaire. Le vieux port, qui existait sur le rivage septentrional de la cité, était en effet minuscule et encombré. Il était inadapté non seulement aux nécessités croissantes des échanges, mais également aux méthodes contemporaines du commerce transitaire, qui cherchaient à réduire le temps et le coût du passage portuaire, pour rendre le trafic plus fluide et rentable. A Beyrouth, les bâtiments mouillaient en rade et les opérations se faisaient, depuis toujours, par caïques et mahonnes.

> "L'entrée du port, ou du moins de ce que l'on appelle ici le port, est impraticable 10 jours au moins sur 20; rien ne l'abrite du large et une barre de bas-fonds y fait, par le moindre souffle, briser les lames avec tant de fureur, que les embarcations qui tentent d'aborder sont culbutées à coup sûr",

rapporte F. de Saulcy à son arrivée à Beyrouth, en 1850.[20] D'où la quasi-impossibilité de décharger les navires à quai, ce qui obligeait à de multi-

20 Frédérique de Saulcy, *Voyage autour de la mer Morte et des terres bibliques*, Paris: Gide et Baudry éditeurs 1853.

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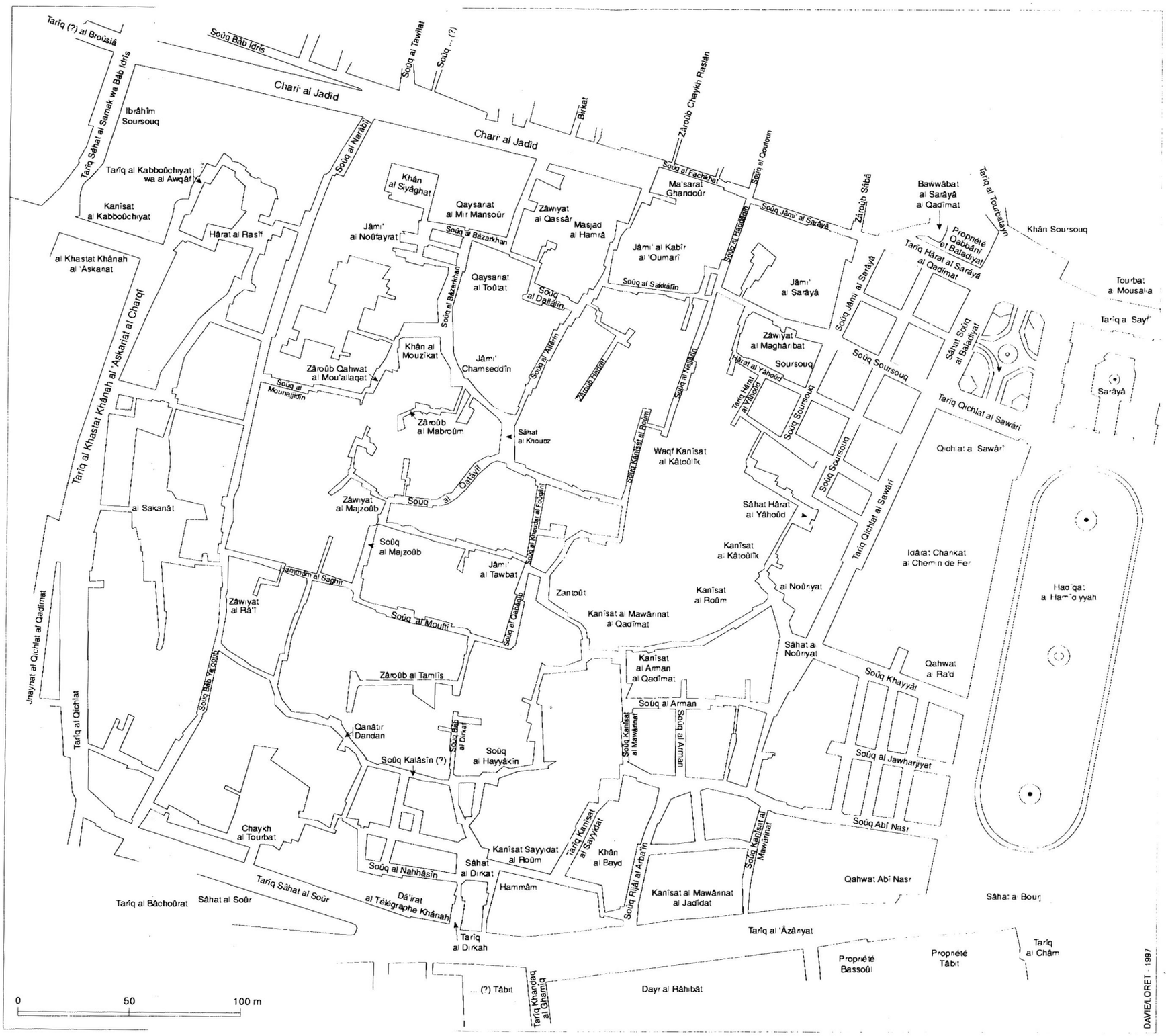

Fig. 4: A l'ouest, un vieux tissu urbain enchevêtré contrastant, à l'est, avec le tracé ordonnancé de la place al-Burj.

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ples ruptures de charge et compliquait les manipulations de transbordement de la marchandise.

Après de longues tractations, la concession de la construction et de l'exploitation d'un port moderne dans la rade de Beyrouth fut accordée par la Sublime Porte, en 1887, à Joseph Muṭrān et à ses associés.[21] En 1888, une société fut fondée, recevant la dénomination de Compagnie Impériale Ottomane du Port, des Quais et des Entrepôts de Beyrouth. Après signature d'une convention avec la Direction Générale des Douanes, l'œuvre commença enfin. En 1893, sur une section du chantier achevée, le nouveau port se mit à fonctionner. Il faut néanmoins attendre 1895, c'est-à-dire trois ans avant le visite du Kaiser à Beyrouth, pour que la réception proprement dite de la totalité des équipements par le gouvernement ait lieu.[22]

L'appareil portuaire réalisé est extérieur. Il fut donc conquis sur la mer et comprenait des dispositifs impressionnants, comparés à la situation antérieure: une grande jetée de 800 mètres, parallèle au rivage et surmontée d'un phare; une traverse de 350 mètres; un éperon et des terre-pleins bordés de quais et étalés sur 1000 mètres. Sur des parcelles spécialement affectées, sont ensuite construits les nouveaux bâtiments des douanes et de la police, des entrepôts, ainsi qu'une gare.

De cette série d'interventions à grande échelle, issues de matériaux et de procédés de mise en œuvre modernes, est né un espace urbain "européanisé", un nouveau centre d'activité dont l'essor allait être complété par la régénération de l'espace urbain avoisinant.

Tout le long de la future rue de la Marseillaise et celle du Commerce, des *khān* virent le jour, de même que des immeubles modernes abritant de nouvelles fonctions: banques, hôtels, agences, bureaux, cafés et restaurants. Parmi eux, se distinguaient un nouveau bâtiment de la Banque Ottomane et celui des magasins Orosdi Bak, qui alignaient étages et fenêtres agrémentés de bas-reliefs et de moulures au goût baroque de la fin du

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21 En l'occurrence, la Banque Impériale Ottomane, le Compagnie Ottomane de la route de Beyrouth à Damas, le Comptoir d'Escompte de Paris, la Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas et la Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes.

22 Cf. Jacques Thobie, *Les intérêts économiques, financiers et politiques français dans la partie asiatique de l'Empire ottoman, de 1895 à 1914*, Thèse de doctorat d'État, Paris: Université de Paris I (1973). Cf. également Jacques Monicault, *Le port de Beyrouth et l'économie des pays du Levant sous le Mandat français*, Paris: Librairie Technique et Économique 1936, et *Recueil des textes concernant le port de Beyrouth depuis 1887 par ordre chronologique*, Beyrouth: s. éd. 1973.

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XIXème siècle. La façade maritime de la ville prit une allure occidentale, qui contrastait avec les vieux quartiers où le transport continuait à se faire encore à dos de dromadaires et de mulets.

Ce lieu public récent conjuguait en outre vie urbaine et activités portuaires. La jetée fut un lieu de promenade privilégié et les quais, eux-mêmes, servaient souvent de lieu de rassemblement, qui s'animaient avec faste lors des parades militaires ou à l'arrivée d'un vaisseau important, comme celui de l'Empereur d'Allemagne en 1898.

Conclusion

La visite du Kaiser à Beyrouth s'était achevée avec la journée du 6 novembre. Le lendemain, il devait se rendre par train à Damas, ne revenant à Beyrouth que pour embarquer et quitter définitivement la Syrie. Pour l'occasion, la ville lui offrit, comme il était de règle, un au-revoir aussi animé que le fut l'accueil. Alors que la place de la Tour et les rues importantes étaient toutes illuminées au gaz, les ruelles et les dédales des vieux *sūq* furent, comme d'habitude, éclairés aux bougies et aux feux de bois allumés aux carrefours, à même la rue, donnant à la vieille ville un aspect aussi pittoresque que féerique. Au port même, de grands feux brûlaient non loin du *sūq al-Khashab* (le marché du bois) et éclairaient encore les quais comme au grand jour, permettant au Kaiser de jeter un dernier regard sur Beyrouth et d'apprécier les innovations dont elle avait été dotée depuis quelques décennies. Dans le cadre d'un programme urbanistique original, Beyrouth s'était enrichie de lieux spécifiques quant à leurs formes, leurs structures et leurs fonctions.

En l'espace d'un demi siècle, la ville de Beyrouth avait en effet acquis des infrastructures urbaines et des services publics qui avaient radicalement changé son aspect physique. Résultat d'un urbanisme volontaire, qui contrastait avec l'urbanisme spontané qui caractérisait la vieille ville *intra muros*, la ville s'était développée selon les règles géométriques "modernes", dictées par le zonage, le découpage parcellaire, l'alignement et la perspective, ainsi que par des normes esthétiques venues d'Outre-Méditerranée. Par la dimension des surfaces urbaines concernées, par la taille des investissements et tout spécialement par les procédés de construction, elles ont introduit une politique et des procédures de travaux publics différentes des modes traditionnels de production urbaine, fondés essentiellement sur la logique des *waqf*.

Ces compositions urbaines récentes de la périphérie se distinguaient nettement des formes héritées du passé, celles de Bayrūt al-Qadīmah, qui

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figuraient toujours un ensemble ramassé abritant les éléments traditionnels de la ville arabe classique, spécialement les *sūq* et la Grande Mosquée, tout comme les *khān*, les *ḥammām* et la multitude de lieux de culte des minorités.[23] C'est ce charmant contraste que Guillaume II avait vraisemblablement constaté lors de sa tournée dans le jardin de la caserne de Beyrouth, du haut de la butte al-Qanṭārī, dans le courant de la journée mémorable du 6 novembre 1898.

23 Pour une étude du tissu urbain de Bayrūt al-Qadīmah, cf. Michael F. Davie, "Trois cartes inédites de Beyrouth. Éléments cartographiques pour une histoire urbaine de la ville", *Annales de Géographie de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 5 (1984), 37-82.

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Annexe: Liste des premières souscriptions au projet d'aménagement de la place de la Tour
(Source : *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, 27 mars 1879, 10 et 14 mai 1879)

Nom	**Titre**	**Fonction**	**Piastres**
Fakhrī Bey	ʿIzzetlū		300
Municipalité			300
Municipalité et Fakhrī Bey			41000
Niqūlā Sursuq et Frères	Khawājāt		1500
Jirjis Tuaynī	Khawājah		1750
Mūsa Frayj	Khawājah		227
Ḥannā Shakkūr Ṭrād	Khawājah		113
Levik	Khawājah		227
Comte de Perthuis			227
Consul d'Italie			500
Bishārah al-Khūrī	Afandī		500
Iliās Ṣabbāghah	Muʿallim	Miʿmarbāshī	500
Saʿīd Jawīsh	Afandī		100
ʿUmar Ramaḍān	Sayyid		200
Jirjis Mitrī Sursuq	Afandī		200
Raʿd et Hānī	Khawājah		2000
Asʿad Malḥama	Khawājah		2000
Muḥammad Badrān	Afandī		100
Aḥmad Ramaḍān	Afandī	Mufattish	100
Salīm Thābit	Afandī		1000
Yuakīm al-Najjār	Khawājah		200
ʿAbdulraḥīm Badrān	Afandī	Prés. Chambre du Commerce	500
Sallūm Bassūl	Khawājah		500
Niqūlā Qumāṭī	Khawājah		200
Salīm Shihāb	Amīr		200
Ayyās Frères	Sādat		2500
Yūsif al-Jday	Khawājah		200
Iliās Quṭayṭ	Khawājah		200
Khristoforos al-Rūmī	Khawājah		250
Aubin	Khawājah		227
Khalīl Sarkīs	Khawājah		227

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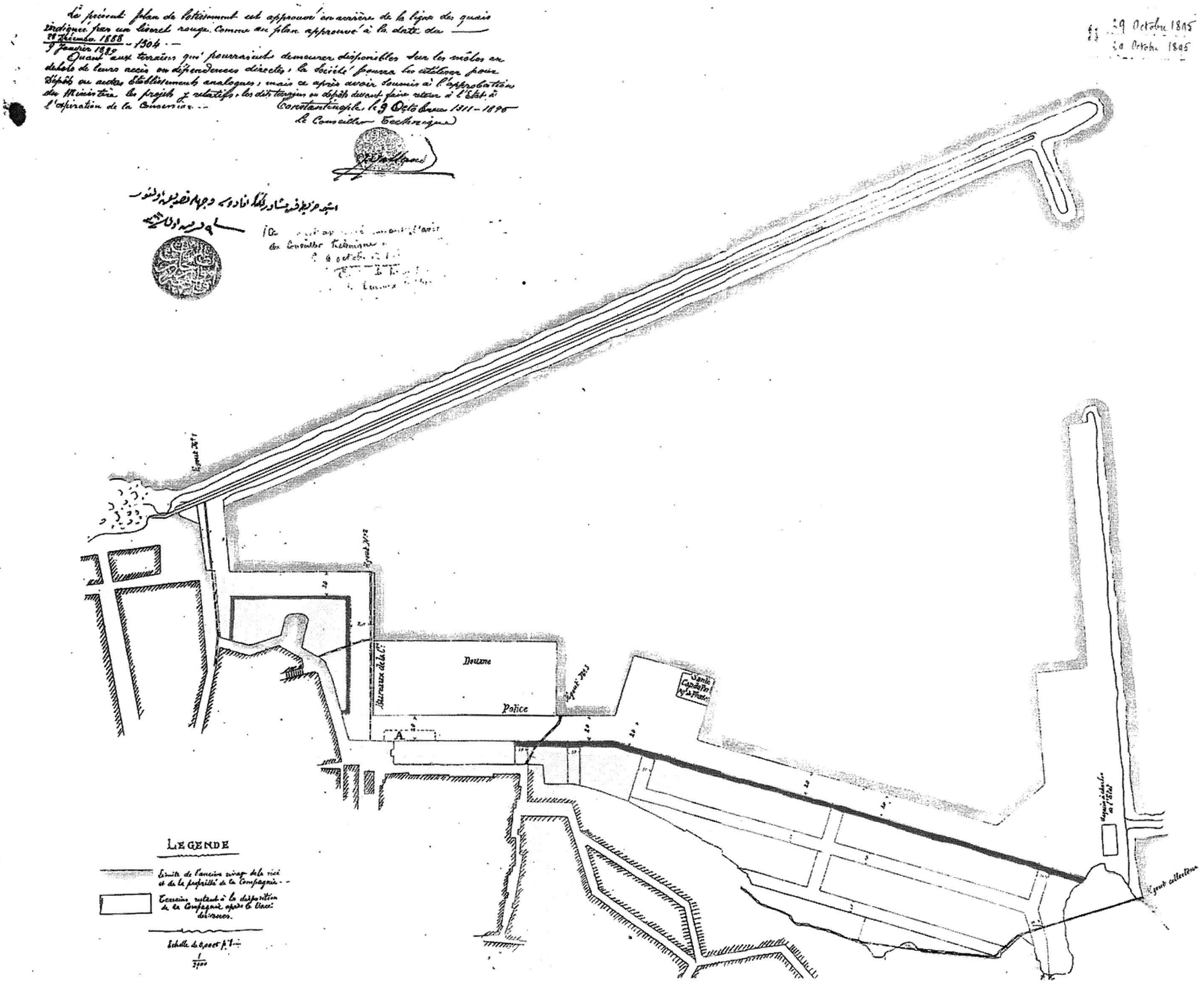

Fig. 5: Le projet du port en 1887. (Source: Archives de la Compagnie du Port).

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THE EMPEROR'S VISIT TO THE EAST AS REFLECTED IN CONTEMPORARY ARABIC JOURNALISM

ABDEL-RAOUF SINNO

One of the significant events of late nineteenth-century German-Ottoman relations was the second journey of Emperor William II to the Ottoman Empire in 1898[1] which this time included a visit of the major cities of Greater Syria (*Bilād al-Shām*). The importance of this event was not only due to the proclamation of the monarch's goals, namely, to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and to inaugurate German establishments in Palestine; the visit also reflected the new course of the Emperor's world-politics (*Weltpolitik*) to secure for his country a "*Platz an der Sonne*".[2]

On the eve of the Emperor's journey, Germany's commercial, economic and cultural penetration into the Ottoman Empire had strongly increased; Ottoman soldiers had been trained by German officers and arm supplies had largely been brought from Germany. By pursuing such a *pénétration pacifique* on the one hand, and by avoiding direct colonial policy towards the Sultan's possessions on the other, Germany was able to build up its political influence in Istanbul which surpassed the positions of other powers in the Ottoman capital.[3]

Even before William II started his journey, the event was eagerly discussed by the international press. Regarding Arabic newspapers, special attention was paid to the purpose and consequences of the journey, for it was taking place shortly after Germany's silence on the Armenian massa-

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1 For further informations on the first journey of William II to the Ottoman Empire in 1889 see C.A. v. Engelbrechten, *Kaiser Wilhelms Orientreise und deren Bedeutung für den deutschen Handel. Neue Bahnen und Wege für den deutschen Ausfuhrhandel*, Berlin 1890.

2 Fritz Fischer, *Griff nach der Weltmacht. Die Kriegszielpolitik des kaiserlichen Deutschland 1914/18* [1961], 4th ed., Düsseldorf: Droste 1971, 16 ff.

3 For more details on this subject see chapters X and XI in: Abdel-Raouf Sinno, *Deutsche Interessen in Syrien und Palästina 1841-1898: Aktivitäten religiöser Institutionen, wirtschaftliche und politische Einflüsse*, Berlin: Baalbek Verlag 1982, 253-99.

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cres (1895) and after the Ottomans' victory over the Greeks (1897), which they had won thanks to German instructions and weapons.[4]

This article will focus on the reports of the Arabic press concerning the journey of William II, as they were published and without investigating their accuracy as this would need another study. Because journalism was more and better developed in Egypt and Syria than in any other Arab region, newspapers from these two countries have been used as the main source for this article. Through the analysis of the newspaper information one notices that the Egyptian press (in particular *al-Ahrām* and *al-Muqaṭṭam*) sharply differed from the Syrian one. On the whole, Egypt's press was very critical of Germany's political and colonial ambitions in the Ottoman Empire, of the Ottoman Administration and, last but not least, of the Sultan himself who was held responsible for the enormous expenditures of the journey.[5] Only *al-Mu'ayyad* did not take a critical position. The Syrian press, on the other hand, being under direct Ottoman rule and subject to censorship or self-control, reflected the official standpoint of the Ottoman Government.

Goals of the journey: Pilgrimage, friendship or colonial purpose?

Notwithstanding Egyptian criticism, the journey of Emperor William II to the East was welcomed by the majority of Arabic newspapers. They called for a warm reception of the Emperor whose visit would give voice to the cordial relations between the German and the Ottoman nations. Most newspapers underlined the immediate purpose of the journey as being the pilgrimage to the Holy Land and the consecration of the Redeemer's Church in Jerusalem. The Lebanese newspaper *Lisān al-Ḥāl* stated that it was Jerusalem, the cradle of Christianity, that attracted the German Emperor, and that German monarchs who visited the Holy City before him were all seeking blessing.[6]

Furthermore, Arabic papers focused on the Emperor's personality and on his dynasty. He was characterized as "one of the greatest monarchs of the world"[7] who was "the descendant of the Hohenzollern dynasty filled

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4 William Miller, *The Ottoman Empire and its Successors* [1913], new imp., London: Frank Cass 1966, 431; Jehudā L. Wallach, *Anatomie einer Militärhilfe*, Düsseldorf: Droste 1976, 104-06, 114.

5 For critics on Abdülhamid's extravagance regarding the journey, see both articles of *al-Muqaṭṭam*: "Naḥḥāb Waḥḥāb", no. 2832, July 20, 1898, 1-2; "Mādhā yaqūlu al-Imbarāṭūr fīnā", no. 2924, November 5, 1898.

6 *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, nos. 2954, October 29, 1898, 3; 2968, November 16, 1898, 1.

7 *al-Ahrām*, no. 6257, October 21, 1898, 1.

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with widespread glory and sublime and luminous honour".[8] The Emperor was further described as "a great Protestant emperor famous for his boldness and courage",[9] and from his people "a living nation", one could only expect a brilliant future.[10]

German-Ottoman friendship was another important subject discussed and commented by the press. William II was presented as "the best friend of the great Sultan" and "the most sincere and loyal monarch in his friendship towards the Sublime and Imperial Majesty"[11] in both "word and deeds".[12] Some newspapers considered the enthusiastic reception of the Emperor as evidence for the obedience of the Ottoman nation to the desires of the Sultan – this nation which returns "gratitude with more gratitude."[13] "If he [i.e., the Sultan] liked something, it [i.e., the nation] would also like it, if he had a distaste for something, it would also have it."[14]

Comments on the journey in the Arabic press apparently exaggerated the political consequences of this event. Some papers considered it a sign of political understanding and alliance between the German and the Ottoman nations.[15] These positive mutual relations became even stronger during the journey and were described as "a filled glass pouring out love, friendship and loyalty."[16]

The Egyptian newspaper *al-Mu'ayyad* regarded the journey as "an alliance" between William II, "the greatest ruler of the West and the dean of Europe", and Abdülhamid, "the prince of all believers and the dean of all Muslims."[17] For the Lebanese paper *Thamarāt al-Funūn,* the warm reception of the German Emperor in Palestine and Syria showed the people's consent to Germany's friendly policy towards the Ottoman Sultan.[18] This

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8 "Zīyārat mulūk Hohenzollern li-l-arāḍī al-muqaddasah", *al-Mashriq* 22 (1898), 1050-51.

9 *al-Ahrām*, no. 6208, August 25, 1898, 1.

10 "Al-Almān fī miḍmār al-Ḥayāt", *al-Mausūʿāt*, 3 (1898), 91.

11 *al-Miṣbāḥ*, nos. 1269, August 27, 1898, 1; 1276, October 15, 1898, 1; 1278, November 5, 1898, 1.

12 *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, no. 2968, November 16, 1898, 2.

13 *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, no. 1206, November 14, 1898, 1.

14 *al-Ahrām*, no. 6257, October 21, 1898, 1.

15 *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, no. 2949, October 24, 1898, 1.

16 Ibid., no. 2968, November 16, 1898, 1.

17 *al-Mu'ayyad*, September 24, 1898, 2. Because of the damaged condition of this newspaper collection, which is deposited in the *Dār al-Kutub al-Qaumiyyah* in Cairo, it is sometimes impossible to quote the number of the issue.

18 *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, no. 1206, November 14, 1898, 1-4.

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policy took place at a time when European Powers were working on the dismemberment of Ottoman territories, so the comment of *al-Mu'ayyad*.[19]

Just before William II started his journey to the East, the same newspaper had published an article by an Ottoman author stating that the military and industrial progress of Germany on the one hand, and the European colonial ambitions regarding Ottoman possessions on the other, were the main reasons behind bringing closer Ottoman-German relations. Referring to this Ottoman policy, the author of the article called on Germany to win over Ottoman sympathies for the promotion of German trade and the use of the Ottoman Empire as an ally in any future European conflict. Finally, he concluded that mutual assistance matters most of all for both countries.[20]

The welcoming of "political friendship" between Germany and the Ottoman Empire was heavily opposed by the Egyptian papers *al-Ahrām* and *al-Muqaṭṭam*. Both criticized German policy towards the "Egyptian question" (i.e., the British occupation) as well as German attempts to usurp Ottoman territories in Asia Minor and on the Syrian coast. Germany was also accused of planning to settle German peasants on Ottoman land, to place Ottoman trade under its control, to gain economic concessions, and to absorb the wealth of the country. *Al-Ahrām* interpreted the journey as a purely political and economic enterprise and refused to regard it as a kind of alliance between two states. Since Germany was only working for its own interests, such an alliance was nothing but an "illusion". The newspaper went on stating that Germany's moral support to the Ottoman Empire regarding the upheaval in Crete was not efficient, and did not force the Ottomans to withdraw their troops from Thessaly in Central Greece.[21] At the end of the article, *al-Ahrām* rejected again "German friendship" by saying: "We hate to be like the fish eating the bait in the hook which will shortly after muzzle us, or like the bird sowing the seed over the trap set up for us."[22]

As for *al-Muqaṭṭam*, it focused on the German attitude towards the Egyptian question and stressed the covert (ulterior) political and economic ambitions of the journey. These included the protection of German Catholics in the East, thereby undermining the French position in the region, and the control of the Syrian coast. The newspaper called in question "our new

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19 *al-Mu'ayyad*, no. 2614, November 7, 1898, 1.

20 *al-Mu'ayyad*, September 24, 1898, 1-2.

21 *al-Ahrām*, nos. 6163, July 4, 1898, 1; 6155, June 24, 1898, 1; 6261, October 26, 1898, 1.

22 Ibid., no. 6155, June 24, 1898, 1.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000144

friend" (i.e. Germany) who concealed colonial motives behind friendship.[23]

These "warnings" against "German friendship" were accepted with caution by the Lebanese paper *al-Hudā*. It argued that even if Germany had colonial aims in the Ottoman Empire, the Great Powers, i.e., France and Russia, would never let it achieve these goals.[24] As for the Egyptian newspaper *al-Mu'ayyad*, it defended the coming together of the German and the Ottoman governments and denied rumors according to which William II was "an adherent of the Crescent" and that he encouraged Muslims after the incidents in Armenia and Crete.[25] With regard to the Egyptian question, the paper wrote that the German Emperor had not yet made his final decision. It was expected that in the near future "Germany would become one of the strongest opponents to England's presence in Egypt."[26]

Preparations for the journey

The visit of the German monarch to the East being regarded as an extraordinary event, the Ottoman government had to take special measures concerning the security, the organization of the trip, the selection of residences for the Emperor, reception delegations, welcome orations and the improvement of the infrastructure in Ottoman cities.

From the beginning, Sultan Abdülhamid had declared his willingness to bear all the expenses of the journey and to place it under Ottoman supervision, in conformity with Oriental hospitality. However, the German Emperor refused this offer and preferred to put the company Thomas Cook and Son in charge of all the journey's necessities.[27] Thus, everything (such as carpets, tents, utensils) was bought by the company on the Syrian market and local employees (interpreters, cooks, servants, mule-drivers, etc.) were engaged. The firm had also to cover the financial needs of the Emperor during his tour.[28] Shortly before he started the journey, horses and vehicles had been transported from Berlin to Palestine.[29]

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23 *al-Muqaṭṭam*, nos. 2918, October 29, 1898, 1; 2929, November 11, 1898, 1; 2937, November 21, 1898, 1; 2945, November 30, 1898, 1.

24 *al-Hudā*, 35 (October 18, 1898), 12-13.

25 *al-Mu'ayyad*, no. 2614, November 7, 1898, 1.

26 Ibid., October 4, 1898, 1.

27 *al-Muqaṭṭam*, no. 2856, August 18, 1898, 1.

28 *al-Miṣbāḥ*, nos. 1269, August 27, 1898, 1-2; 1280, November 19, 1898, 1; *al-Ahrām*, no. 6212, August 30, 1898, 1.

29 *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, no. 2932, October 4, 1898, 1.

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After the announcement of the journey, Sultan Abdülhamid prepared a suitable place for his guest inside the Yıldız Köşk, which was furnished with the most beautiful Oriental fittings. The place was situated not far from the one the Emperor occupied during his first visit to Istanbul in 1889.[30]

Furthermore, the Sultan charged Munīr Pasha, the chief of the Protocol, with the preparations for the Emperor's visit to Istanbul, the first station of the guest in the Ottoman Empire.[31] Subsequently, a delegation of high Ottoman officials including several ministers in charge of receiving the Emperor upon his arrival at the Dardanelles, was formed.[32] Another delegation led by Shākir Pasha, chief of the military staff, had to accompany the Emperor during his tour through Greater Syria.[33] In order to be always in touch with the latest news, the Sultan ordered the journalist Aḥmad Rāsim Bey to participate in the Emperor's round-trip.[34] At the same time, fifteen foreign and Arab journalists came to the main cities of *Bilād al-Shām* to cover the Emperor's visit.[35]

In the provinces of Syria and Beirut and in the district (*Mutaṣarrifiyyah*) of Mount Lebanon three committees were formed by the respective political rulers, Nāẓim Pasha, Rashīd Pasha and Naʿūm Pasha,[36] in order to prepare for the arrival of the Emperor. Afterwards, these committees nominated for the reception delegations composed of high military and civil officials as well as of some local notables.[37]

Some ships of the Ottoman navy were prepared for the reception of the Emperor's yacht in the Dardanelles, others provided to accompany his sea convoy to Haifa and Beirut, with an Ottoman delegation on board. Many warships were renewed and repainted.[38] Ottoman forces also started training programs for the reception, others for parades in Istanbul, Beirut and Damascus. A cavalry regiment landed in Haifa to welcome the

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30 *al-Ahrām*, no. 6262, October 27, 1898, 1.

31 *al-Miṣbāḥ*, no. 1269, August 27, 1898, 1.

32 *al-Ahrām*, no. 6258, October 23, 1898, 2; *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, no. 1204, October 31, 1898, 1.

33 *al-Miṣbāḥ*, no. 1278, November 5, 1898, 1-2.

34 *Miṣbāḥ al-Sharq*, November 2, 1898, 2.

35 *al-Bashīr*, no. 1357, October 31, 1898, 2.

36 *al-Miṣbāḥ*, no. 1269, August 27, 1898, 2.

37 *al-Ahrām*, no. 6261, October 26, 1898, 1; *al-Miṣbāḥ*, nos. 1275, October 8, 1898, 1; 1278, November 5, 1898, 2; *al-Muqaṭṭam*, no. 2934, November 17, 1898, 2.

38 *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, no. 1204, October 31, 1898, 1; *Ṭarāblus*, no. 279, October 13, 1898, 1.

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German guest and then to escort him to Jaffa and Jerusalem.[39] According to Arabic reports, the Ottoman soldiers, 15.000 to 30.000 troops, were clothed with new uniforms for the occasion.[40]

Shortly before the journey, the Austrian Empress was assassinated by an Italian anarchist and rumors spread that the German Emperor might be the next victim during his trip through Egypt[41] and Palestine. A special guard of 500 soldiers was therefore provided for his personal protection.[42] Another 4.000 soldiers were stationed on the road from Beirut to Damascus to safeguard the guest and his suite. In Jerusalem, the Emperor who spent some nights outside the city, had given out for himself every night a secret password before entering the camp, which was watched by 25 patrols.[43] In addition, a large number of secret policemen was drawn up in the Syrian cities and ports.[44] On October 16, 1898, *al-Ahrām* reported the arrival of 12 German secret detectives at Jaffa and Jerusalem.[45] Suspected foreigners, mainly Italians, were arrested in the Ottoman capital and in major Syrian cities. Italian and Greek sailors were not allowed to leave their ships in Syrian ports.[46] As a measure of precaution, also members of the Young Turks were put under arrest in Istanbul.[47]

All of these preparations for the Emperor's visit to Syria were meticulously reported by the Arabic press. From Haifa to Jaffa and Jerusalem,

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39 *al-Ahrām*, nos. 6258, October 23, 1898, 2; 6261, October 26, 1898, 1.

40 *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, no. 2944, October 18, 1898, 1; *al-Muqaṭṭam*, no. 2928, November 10, 1898, 2.

41 In the beginning, it was scheduled that William II would visit Egypt after Syria. However, the plan was canceled in the last minute, thereby causing many comments in the Arab press. Some papers speculated on an assassination attempt of the Emperor in Egypt; according to others, for example *al-Hudā* (vol. 1, no. 35, October 18, 1898, 12-13), the Emperor feared that his visit to Egypt could be interpreted as a recognition of the sovereignty of the Khedive and the British, and would irritate the Ottoman Sultan. *Al-Mu'ayyad* (November 15, 1898, 1) commented the cancellation of the visit as having a political reason, i.e., "not letting Britain exploit it for the consolidation of her influence in Egypt". Moreover, the paper regarded the German policy "as a proof that British rule over Egypt did not correspond with German interests."

42 *al-Ahrām*, no. 6258, October 23, 1898, 2.

43 Ibid., no. 6280, November 17, 1898, 1; no. 6274, November 10, 1898, 2.

44 *al-Muqaṭṭam*, no. 2923, November 14, 1898, 1-2; *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, nos. 2941, November 14, 1898, 1; 2956, November 2, 1898, 1.

45 *al-Ahrām*, no. 6261, October 26, 1898, 1.

46 *al-Muqaṭṭam*, nos. 2903, October 12, 1898, 1; 2920, November 1, 1898, 1; *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, no. 2956, November 2, 1898, 1; *al-Ahrām*, no. 6257, October 21, 1898, 1.

47 *al-Muqaṭṭam*, no. 2903, October 12, 1898, 1.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000147

and from Beirut to Damascus and Baalbek, all sorts of decoration were to be seen. German and Ottoman flags with the crown of the eagle and the tughra, triumphal arches and banners of salute in honor of the guest and the host (i.e., the German Emperor and the Ottoman Sultan) were raised.[48] In Damascus, the public was called to hold a celebration for three days. The number of flags raised in this city amounted to 28.000.[49] In Beirut, the Gas Company illuminated the port where the yacht of the Emperor was to come to anchor. A great cupola was erected in the center of the pier. Similar measures were also carried out in Mount Lebanon. From the Shūf district to the Ṣannīn mountain, every location was illuminated. The governor ordered the inhabitants of villages facing the Mediterranean sea to hold celebrations by the display of fireworks.[50] Also Jaffa and Sarona were magnificently illuminated and decorated. The same held true for Jerusalem.[51]

With regard to accommodation, the Emperor was expected to take up quarters either on his yacht, or in military palaces, or in camps. Consequently, measures were taken to prepare the military serail in Damascus by furnishing it with the most beautiful fittings.[52] In ʿĀlayh and Muʿallaqat-Zaḥlah, camps were set up for the Emperor's rest during his train trip from Beirut to Damascus. The camp at ʿĀlayh was surrounded by cedars, pines and other trees which had been especially cut for this purpose.[53] In Jerusalem, a camp of 75 tents was erected on an area of 10 feddan outside the city-walls; the tent of the Emperor was decorated with the imperial crown and mound on its top.[54] The tents for the Emperor and his wife as well as some others were sent to Jerusalem by order of the Sultan.[55] As for Baalbek, where the Emperor was to spend one night, the citadel was cleaned and prepared for setting up tents inside its walls.[56]

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48 *al-Ahrām*, nos. 6161, October 26, 1898, 1; 6273, November 9, 1898, 1.

49 *al-Ahrām*, no. 6281, November 18, 1898, 1.

50 *al-Miṣbāḥ*, no. 1278, November 5, 1898, 2; *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, no. 2954 [sic], October 31, 1898, 2; *al-Bashīr*, no. 1358, November 7, 1898, 2; *al-Ahrām*, no. 6275, November 11, 1898, 1.

51 *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, no. 2958, November 4, 1898, 1.

52 *al-Bashīr*, no. 1359, November 12, 1898, 2.

53 *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, no. 2954 [sic], October 31, 1898, 2; *al-Ahrām*, no. 6280, November 17, 1898, 1.

54 *al-Ahrām*, nos. 6267, November 2, 1898, 1; 6273, November 9, 1898, 1.

55 *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, no. 1204, October 31, 1898, 7.

56 *al-Ahrām*, no. 6257, October 21, 1898, 1.

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In all cities of Syria in which the visitor was expected, roads were repaired or reconstructed, and walls of public and private buildings as well as shops were repainted.[57] In Damascus, the street from al-Barāmikah train station to the al-Marjah quarter was repaired, and 5.000 shops and 2.000 square meters of walls were repainted.[58] In Beirut, streets from the port to the railway station in an-Nahr were covered with sand.[59] Likewise, in Palestine communications were improved and constructed; thus, for example, a new road was built between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives to enable the Emperor's coaches to pass. Many old houses were pulled down in Jerusalem, Beirut, and Baalbek, in order to widen the streets for the visitor's convoy.[60] In Haifa, a 70 meter long pier was constructed for his yacht to lie at anchor.[61] Finally, three trains were put at the disposal of William II and his entourage to go from Beirut to Damascus.[62] In Baalbek, stables for horses and large parking places for the Emperor's vehicles were set up. Even the water tank of this town was cleaned for the occasion.[63]

Stations of the journey

The first stop of the Emperor's tour through the Orient was the Ottoman capital Istanbul. From there he went by sea to Palestine to visit its main places. On his way back, he stopped in Beirut, and from there traveled by train to Damascus and Baalbek. Finally, he returned via Beirut to his home country. The whole stay in the Ottoman Empire lasted from October 16 to November 12.

Istanbul (October 16-22)

On Monday, October 16, the German Emperor William II arrived at the Dardanelles, on board of his yacht *Hohenzollern*. He was accompanied by his wife, the Empress Auguste Victoria, and by Foreign Minister Bülow and other high officials, plus his retinue. 110 musicians and singers needed

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57 *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, no. 1204, October 31, 1898, 7.

58 *al-Bashīr*, no. 1359, November 12, 1898, 1.

59 *al-Miṣbāḥ*, no. 1278, November 5, 1898, 2.

60 *al-Muqaṭṭam*, nos. 2856, August 18, 1898, 1; 2928, November 10, 1898, 2; *al-Ahrām*, no. 6257, October 21, 1898, 2.

61 *al-Miṣbāḥ*, no. 1269, August 27, 1898, 2.

62 *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, nos. 1205, November 7, 1898, 6; 1206, November 14, 1898, 2; *al-Miṣbāḥ*, no. 1276, October 15, 1898, 1.

63 *al-Ahrām*, no. 6257, October 21, 1898, 1.

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for the inauguration ceremony of the Redeemer's Church and some photographers also belonged to the Emperor's team.[64]

When the *Hohenzollern* reached the Dardanelles, the ship was welcomed by the Sultan's yacht *'Izz al-Dīn*, with an Ottoman delegation on its board. At the same time, guns from Ottoman warships and fortresses were firing to salute the German guests. Due to sudden strong winds and currents, the Emperor's yacht was forced to postpone landing for the next day.

On Tuesday morning, Sultan Abdülhamid and his court awaited the guests at the Dolmabahçe Palace. From there, the two monarchs proceeded in a great convoy through the main streets of the Ottoman capital, which was crowded with spectators and soldiers. During his stay, the Emperor met the Sultan three times.[65] His official visiting program was scheduled as follows: party dinners and receptions, sightseeing of the city (the Golden Horn, the Walls, the Great Market, the Aya Sofya Mosque, the Mosque of Sultan Aḥmad, Topkapı Serail), visits of the Hereke factory famous for carpet production and of German institutions, such as the Embassy, the Club, the School and the Hospital.[66]

The Emperor's program reached its peak when he witnessed the Sultan's going to Friday prayer in the Ḥamīdiyyah Mosque (*Selamlık*). Another extraordinary event was a great military parade in honor of the German guest who was deeply impressed by the discipline of the Ottoman soldiers.[67]

On the day of departure to Palestine, many Arabic newspapers reported on the moving and emotional farewell. *Thamarāt al-Funūn* wrote that the Sultan, the Emperor and the Empress stopped talking for a moment, while tears were falling down from the eyes of the latter. She praised the Sultan and his people for their hospitality, kindness and moral behavior.[68]

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64 "Akhbār", *al-Nashrah al-Usbū'iyyah*, no. 1702, September 10, 1898, 306.

65 *al-Mu'ayyad*, no. 2614, November 7, 1898, 1.

66 On William II's movements in Istanbul, see *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, nos. 1204, October 31, 1898, 1-2; 1205, November 7, 1898, 3-5; *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, no. 2954 [sic], October 31, 1898, 1-2.

67 For more information on the *Selamlık* and the military parade, see *al-Ahrām*, no. 6265, November 31, 1898, 1. Compare with *al-Bashīr*, no. 1358, November 7, 1898, 1; *al-Muqaṭṭam*, no. 2920, November 1, 1898, 1.

68 *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, no. 1206, November 14, 1898, 6.

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Palestine (October 25 - November 4)

On Tuesday, October 25, William II arrived at the port of Haifa on board of his yacht, where he was welcomed by the Governors of Syria, Beirut and Acre as well as by some 20.000 of the local population. The artillery of Acre was firing salute to the guest.[69] His tour through Palestine lasted 10 days including the visit of Haifa, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Bethlehem and some archaeological sites. In every place he was given a warm and friendly reception.[70]

During his sojourn in Haifa, the Emperor visited Mount Carmel, the German Consulate, the monasteries of the Catholic nuns and the religious establishments of the Protestants.[71] He received Father Biever, director of the German Catholic colony al-Ṭābighah,[72] and also met the German Templars in their establishments.[73]

On October 26, the Emperor left Haifa on horseback to go to Jaffa. He passed by ʿAtlīt and Caesarea to visit their archaeological remains and then stopped at Burj al-Khayl to spend the night there.[74] The next morning, while on his way to Jaffa, he witnessed cavalry games of the Haūjāʾ Bedouins.[75] At his arrival at Jaffa in the evening, he was cordially received by an Ottoman delegation, the city's high-ranking religious dignitaries (*ʿulamāʾ*) and the Templar colonists headed by the German consul.[76]

Having visited al-Laṭrūn on Friday, October 28, he stayed there overnight, and on the next day, the Emperor's convoy entered Jerusalem, where it was saluted by gunfiring and music from all sides. *Thamarāt al-Funūn* reported that some 200.000 people were waiting for the Emperor along the way from Jaffa to Jerusalem.[77] Throughout Saturday and Sunday, William II was busy with his program. He visited the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and heard there welcome speeches from the Latin, the Armenian and the Orthodox Patriarchs. With regard to this event, *al-*

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69 *al-Bashīr*, no. 1357, October 31, 1898, 2; *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, no. 1204, October 31, 1898, 2.

70 *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, nos. 2954 [sic], October 31, 1898, 1-2; 2958, November 4, 1898, 1-2; 2960, November 7, 1898, 1-2.

71 *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, no. 1204, October 31, 1898, 3.

72 *al-Bashīr*, no. 1359, November 12, 1898, 1.

73 *al-Muqaṭṭam*, no. 2922, November 3, 1898, 1.

74 *al-Ahrām*, no. 6267, November 2, 1898, 1.

75 *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, no. 1204, October 31, 1898, 4.

76 *al-Ahrām*, no. 6267, November 2, 1898, 1.

77 *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, no. 1204, October 31, 1898, 4.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000151

Muqaṭṭam stated that the Pope had ordered all seniors of the Catholic Church in Palestine to treat the German monarch as a "usual", i.e., non-Catholic person, as the canonical laws of the Church prohibited to do otherwise.[78] Thereafter, the Emperor paid a visit to the Lutheran Christmas Church at Bethlehem; then he inaugurated the German Evangelical Church in this town. Furthermore, he visited the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem as well as the Anglican Church of Saint George.

The consecration of the Redeemer's Church in Jerusalem on Monday morning, October 31, constituted the fulfillment of the religious purpose behind William II's journey to Palestine.[79] *Al-Nashrah al-Usbūʿiyyah* stated that the Emperor himself had chosen this date for the consecration, as it was on that same date that the Lutheran Reformation in Germany began (October 31, 1517).[80] In the afternoon of the same day, William II visited David's Tomb and received there a piece of land "*Coenaculum*"[81] which was granted to him by the Sultan. On this occasion, the Emperor promised to build on this parcel a church for his Catholic countrymen.[82] This promise was meant to express the Emperor's policy of equality towards his people, treating Protestants and Catholics in the same way. Later on, William II visited the Armenian monastery and the Orthodox Patriarchate. To conclude his program in Jerusalem, he went to see the Noble Sanctuary (*al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf*), the *Aqṣā* Mosque and the Rock, Sulayman's Fountains, the German Hospital, the Syrian Orphanage, and the tombs of the (Mamluk) Sultans.[83]

Beirut – Damascus – Baalbek (November 5-12)

After his journey through Palestine, William II returned by train to the port of Jaffa where he embarked for Beirut. On Saturday morning, November 5, he reached the Lebanese city. Its port was crowded with 50.000 people to welcome the Emperor, among them many students who had a holiday for this special event. On the following day, an Ottoman delegation headed

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78 *al-Muqaṭṭam*, no. 2919, October 31, 1898, 1.

79 The history of the German Evangelical Church in Jerusalem goes back to 1869, when the Crownprince Frederick William had received this piece of land by the Sultan. Architectural design was done from 1871 to 1874, but construction only started in 1892, see: "al-Kanīsah al-Injīliyyah fī l-Quds al-Sharīf", *al-Nashrah al-Usbūʿiyyah*, no. 1702, September 10, 1898, 304.

80 *al-Nashrah al-Usbūʿiyyah*, no. 1702, September 10, 1898, 304.

81 For more details on the *Coenaculum*, see my *Deutsche Interessen* (fn. 3), 222-24.

82 *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, no. 2960, November 7, 1898, 1.

83 *al-Ahrām*, no. 6274, November 10, 1898, 1-2.

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by Shākir Pasha and Rashīd Bey accompanied by ʿAbd al-Qādīr Qabbānī, chief of the Municipality of Beirut, paid a visit to the Emperor on his yacht and presented him with Oriental textiles inscribed with sayings in memory of his visit to Beirut.[84]

After lunch with the delegation, the Emperor went on land to visit the city. At the Prussian Hospital he met the American physicians who worked there, while his wife, the Empress, paid a visit to the Kaiserswerth school. Later on, William II turned to the military barracks to take part in a parade,[85] and then went on to the military garden at *al-Ḥurj* quarter (*al-Ḥadīqah al-Fārūqiyya*).[86]

From Beirut the journey was continued by train to Damascus on Monday, October 7. All along the way, the Emperor was welcomed by officials and local people who set up decorations in their towns and villages, as it happened everywhere during the journey. In ʿĀlayh, William II was received by the Governor Naʿūm Pasha, while the German and the Ottoman hymns were played. In Muʿallaqat-Zaḥlah, William II was awaited by some 60.000 people. One of the triumphal arches set up there was decorated with slogans in honor of the Sultan and his guest.[87]

After lunch in al-Muʿallaqah, the Emperor left for Damascus and reached the Barāmikah train station in the evening. He entered the city on horseback, while his wife rode in a wagon through the streets. Salutes of gunfiring and enthusiastic shouting of crowds of spectators could be heard from all sides. William II passed by the Tekke of Sultan Selim and then to Jisr al-Ḥadīd (*Iron Bridge*) where many students from military and civil schools applauded the visitor. Finally, he entered the military serail where he was to lodge during his stay in Damascus.[88] The newspaper *al-Muqaṭṭam* described the reception of the Emperor as very warm and cordial, stating that never before in the Orient, people have demonstrated so much joy and happiness.[89]

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84 *al-Bashīr*, no. 1358, November 7, 1898, 2; *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, no. 1205, November 7, 1898, 2; *al-Miṣbāḥ*, no. 1269, November 12, 1898, 1; *al-Ahrām*, no. 6276, November 12, 1898, 1.

85 *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, no. 2960, November 7, 1898, 2.

86 *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, no. 1206, November 14, 1898, 5; *al-Miṣbāḥ*, no. 1279, November 12, 1898, 1.

87 *al-Bashīr*, no. 1359, November 12, 1898, 1.

88 *al-Miṣbāḥ*, no. 1280, November 19, 1898, 1-2; *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, no. 1206, November 14, 1898, 2.

89 *al-Muqaṭṭam*, no. 2933, November 16, 1898, 1.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000153

William II stayed until Thursday morning, November 9, in Damascus. His visiting program comprised the Umayyah Mosque, the tomb of Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the ʿAẓm Palace as well as the houses of Jubrān Shāmiyyah,[90] Nāẓim Pasha, and Lütticke, the German vice-consul at Damascus. The Emperor also made a tour through the city, mounted Jabal Qāsyūn, and witnessed cavalry games and military parades in al-Marjah. His wife paid a visit to the town of Dummar, and on November 7, a great dinner sponsored by the city's municipality was offered in honor of the guests.[91]

Escorted by 1.000 Arab horsemen,[92] the Emperor left on November 10 Damascus for Baalbek where he arrived at sunset. Inside the citadel a night camp had been prepared for him, not far from the Temple of the Sun. The visit to Baalbek was exactly scheduled for the moment when the full moon would lighten the temple.[93] William II walked through the citadel with music and the German hymn being played.[94] One of the daughters of Ḥabīb Pasha Muṭrān[95] (Victoria) gave an address in French to welcome the Emperor's wife. She praised her by saying: "The Temple of Baalbek is looking upon you as the greatest crowned head ever seen since 1.500 years, bowing out of esteem with all its past glories in view of your present glory."[96]

On the following day (Friday, November 11), Mikhāʾīl Alūf, a learned man, presented to the Emperor his book on Baalbek.[97] Then, William II lifted the curtain from a stone plate manufactured at the order of the Sultan to commemorate the Emperor's visit to Baalbek. This stone plate consisted of white marble (4 x 2 meters), surrounded by black and white mosaic stones and divided into two equal halves topped by the Ottoman and the German emblems. Below was written in both German and Turkish: "*In memory of the solid alliance between His Majesty, the Sultan, the Con-*

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90 The Emperor's father was received in the house of Shāmiyyah, during his visit to Damascus in 1869, see *al-Ahrām*, no. 6281, November 18, 1898, 1.

91 *al-Muqaṭṭam*, nos. 2933, November 16, 1898, 1; 2934, November 17, 1898, 2; 2936, November 19, 1898, 1; *al-Bashīr*, no. 1359, November 12, 1898, 2; "Zīyārat Jalālat Imbarāṭūr Almāniyā wa-l-Imbarāṭūrah li-Filasṭīn wa-Sūriyyah", *al-Nashrah al-Usbūʿiyyah*, no. 1715, December 10, 1898, 427-29.

92 *al-Muqaṭṭam*, no. 2936, November 19, 1898, 1.

93 *Ṭarāblus*, no. 279, October 13, 1898, 1.

94 *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, no. 2966, November 14, 1898, 1.

95 Lebanese politician and one of the people of the Arab Renaissance.

96 *al-Ahrām*, no. 6283, November 21, 1898, 2.

97 Mikhāʾīl Alūf al-Baʿalbakī, *Tārīkh Baʿalbak*, 4th ed., Beirut 1926.

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queror, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Khān II, and His Majesty, Emperor William II."[98] The stone plate was first fixed in the vestibule at the entrance of the citadel, but the Emperor asked to place it opposite the famous pillars of the Temple of Jupiter. So he hit the favored location three times, using a golden pick. At this moment, the court photographer took many pictures of the Emperor who was standing in front of the stone plate. After this ceremony William II continued his visit of the ruins of Baalbek, admiring the Temple of Venus and the Phoenician wall.[99]

The Baalbek visit was the last station of the Emperor's journey. Thereafter, he left via al-Muʿallaqah and ʿĀlayh for Beirut. On Saturday, November 12, he returned from there on board of his ship to his home country. *Al-Ahrām* wrote the following: "So this great journey came to its end – a journey which will remain an everlasting memory and a grand influence."[100]

Public addresses of the Emperor

Speeches held by William II during his journey focused on three issues: the warm reception he met due to German-Ottoman friendship, the support given to German presence in the Ottoman Empire, and his loyalty towards the Muslims and their Caliph, the Sultan.

According to Arabic newspaper reports, the Emperor took every chance to demonstrate his gratitude for the welcome he received. He once compared the solicitude of the Sultan towards him during his tour to "the kindness of a father to his son."[101] He also made it clear that the friendship of his father, Frederick William, with the Sultanate was strengthened during his own journey and he described as "delicious fruits" the beneficial results of his visit. Furthermore, he stressed the fact "that the two nations which are different in terms of race and religion can hold together through loyalty and mutual support."[102] In the Emperor's eyes, these German-Ottoman cordial relations opened for him the doors to Palestine and allowed him to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Commenting on his "peaceful policy", he criticized in his speech at the Redeemer's Church the

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98 *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, no. 2966, November 14, 1898, 1; Compare with *al-Miṣbāḥ*, no. 1279, November 12, 1898, 2.

99 *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, no. 2966, November 14, 1898, 1; *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, no. 1206, November 14, 1898, 4.

100 *al-Ahrām*, no. 6283, November 21, 1898, 2.

101 *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, no. 1204, October 31, 1898, 3.

102 From the Emperor's speech at the German Embassy in Istanbul, *al-Bashīr*, no. 1357, October 31, 1898, 1; *al-Muqaṭṭam*, no. 2915, October 26, 1898, 1.

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Crusaders for having invaded Palestine with the sword, whereas he entered the Holy City in peace.[103]

On the eve of his departure from Beirut to Germany, William II asked the Ottoman delegation to tell the Sultan that he would never forget this journey and would always respect his friendship to Abdülhamid, wishing him "a long life full of progress and success."[104]

The Emperor was not only satisfied with the official measures the Ottoman government took to make his visit successful, he also was deeply touched by "the feelings and sympathies" shown by the Ottoman people. To him, the way he was honored in Beirut clearly demonstrated the people's belief in German-Ottoman friendship.[105] With regard to his reception in Damascus, William II stated that "never since his accession to the throne had he experienced during his official visits anything comparable to the warm welcome given to him by the people of Damascus."[106] Turning to the governor Nāẓim Pasha, he said: "If an emperor wants to see great respect and honor, he should come to Damascus."[107] As reported by Khalīl Sarkīs, owner of *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, the Emperor expressed his admiration for Damascus by saying: "Nothing is more beautiful on earth than Damascus."[108] These words attributed to the Emperor circulated as rumors which also ascribed to him having said that, with the exception of the day he was enthroned, he never has experienced as enthusiastic a welcome as the one he has received in the Ottoman Empire. According to another rumor he is to have said in Damascus: "Let my 40 million German people come to these lands to learn how monarchs are welcomed in the East."[109]

His speeches also pointed now and again to the successful results of his German policy towards the Orient. William II regarded the number of Ottoman students in German schools as evidence for the success of German culture, "a victory for the German element."[110] During his visit to Istanbul

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103 *al-Ahrām*, no. 6274, November 10, 1898, 1.

104 *al-Miṣbāḥ*, no. 1281, November 26, 1898, 1-2.

105 Conversation between the Emperor and the Ottoman delegation, shortly before departing to Germany, *al-Miṣbāḥ*, nos. 1279, November 12, 1898, 1; 1281, November 26, 1898, 1-2.

106 *al-Muqaṭṭam*, no. 2936, November 19, 1898, 1.

107 *al-Bashīr*, no. 1359, November 12, 1898, 2.

108 *al-Shām qabla mi'at ʿām. Riḥlat al-Imbarāṭūr Ghalyūm al-Thānī Imbarāṭūr Almāniyā wa-qarīnatihi ilā Filasṭīn wa-Sūriyyah. Sajjala waqā'iʿahā Khalīl Sarkīs*, 2nd ed., Ḥasan al-Samāḥī Sūwaydān, ed., Dimashq 1997, 5.

109 *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, no. 1206, November 14, 1898, 4.

110 *al-Muqaṭṭam*, no. 2916, October 27, 1898, 1.

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he considered his policy to be "a source of blessing" for the German residents in the Ottoman Empire,[111] who might as a result obtain "high state positions."[112] When he met the Templars of Palestine, the Emperor was pleased to learn that they had not given up their patriotism. He assured them to firmly cooperate with the Sultan to secure their future.[113] For William II, this emphasis on patriotism also implied that his policy was to treat his people equally, irrespective of their confessional belonging. The issue was clearly demonstrated in the promise made by the Emperor on David's Tomb that "as he had built a church for the German Protestants, he would also build one for the German Catholics on this parcel of land", which had been granted to him by the Sultan.[114] The Emperor stressed his readiness to protect his German Catholics[115] and called them "to always trust in his imperial protection, whenever and wherever they needed it."[116]

The two speeches the Emperor delivered on October 7 in Damascus, the first one at the tomb of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and the second one during the dinner offered by the Municipality, were regarded as the most political events of his whole journey. Both speeches attracted the local as well as the international press.[117] On Tuesday morning, November 7, the Emperor visited the Tomb of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, on top of which a garland of flowers was deposited by his wife. The garland was decorated with a banner, saying in Arabic: "William II, Emperor of Germany and King of Prussia, in memory of the hero Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī."[118] Both *al-Manār* and *al-Mu'ayyad* reported correspondingly that the Emperor remained silent and spread his hands as if he was asking mercy for the dead. Then he said that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was the great sign of his time, because of his boldness, his justice and his noble nature.[119]

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111 Conversation between the Emperor and the German community in Istanbul, *al-Ahrām*, no. 6262, October 27, 1898, 1.

112 *al-Muqaṭṭam*, no. 2916, October 27, 1898, 1.

113 *al-Muqaṭṭam*, nos. 2922, November 3, 1898, 1; 2928, November 10, 1898, 1; 2934, November 17, 1898, 2.

114 "Zīyārat Imbarāṭūr Almāniyā wa-l-Imbarāṭūrah ilā Filasṭīn wa-Sūriyyah", *al-Nashrah al-Usbūʿiyyah*, no. 1712, November 19, 1898, 400-01.

115 "Āthār ʿan Imbarāṭūr Almāniyā (fī l-Shām wa-l-Quds)", *al-Manār*, 1 (1315/16) 36, 713.

116 From the Emperor's speech in Haifa, answering Biever, director of the German Catholic Hospice at Tabigha, *al-Bashīr*, no. 1359, November 12, 1898, 1.

117 See my study on the echo of the journey in the international press (in prep.).

118 *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, no. 1206, November 14, 1898, 2.

119 "Āthār ʿan Imbarāṭūr Almāniyā", *al-Manār*, 1(1315/1316) 36, 711; *al-Mu'ayyad*, no. 2623, November 17, 1898, 1.

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This utterance of the Emperor was a well-considered and not an incidental one. The evening of the same day, at dinner, a young man called Salīm Thābit delivered a speech on Muslim-Christian coexistence in the Ottoman Empire, followed by another address from Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Kuzbarī who spoke on behalf of the people of Damascus. Al-Kuzbarī welcomed the German Emperor by pointing out the friendship between him and the Sultan and by speaking of "the white hands and the help" the Emperor gave to the Ottoman nation; for these deeds he would always have a place in the hearts of the Ottomans and the Muslims.[120]

Answering these respectful words of al-Kuzbarī, William II expressed his pleasure to be "in the city of the greatest hero of all times, the noble man whose prestige increased as he taught his enemies how heroes ought to be; the fearless fighter, the great Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī". Then he added: "May His Highness, the powerful Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Khān II, and the 300 million Muslims firmly bound by His exalted Caliphate and spread all over the earth be sure that the German Emperor will always remain their most sincere friend."[121]

This speech had a great effect on the Muslims of Bilād al-Shām.[122] First, because the Emperor praised an outstanding military and political leader who had defended *Dār al-Islām* against the Crusaders; and second, because he referred to the Islamic Caliphate represented by Abdülhamid and to the bonds of Panislamism which intensified the links between the Muslims and the Caliphate. Commenting the speech, *al-Manār* interpreted the Emperor's reason for praising Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as follows: "William II is a warrior because he is the leader of the best army of the world. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was the best warrior of his time. It is typical of man", the journal added "that somebody distinguished by something will pay respect to his equal, even if he is his enemy ... in wars, the brave feels sorry at the death of the brave enemy, even if it is his own sword that has killed him ...".[123] *Al-Muʾayyad* remarked that the honorable characteristics of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn attracted the German Emperor like a magnet so that he became like him, "although William II was propagating Christianity in the 19th century, while Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was protecting and propagating Islam in the 12th century."[124]

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120 *Lisān al-Ḥāl*, no. 2965, November 12, 1898, 2.

121 *Thamarāt al-Funūn*, no. 1207, November 21, 1898, 1-2.

122 *al-Muqaṭṭam*, no. 2936, November 19, 1898, 1.

123 "Āthār ʿan Imbarāṭūr Almāniyā", *al-Manār*, 1 (1315/16) 36, 714-15.

124 *al-Muʾayyad*, no. 2623, November 17, 1898, 1.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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Reporting on the chandeliers offered by William II and placed on the tomb of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn shortly after the outbreak of World war I, the Damascene newspaper *Abābīl* recalled the Emperor's visit to the Tomb of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 1898 and raised the question, whether this happened because the Emperor was fascinated by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's knowledge and art of warfare or "because he had understood the basis of Islamic religion and had been convinced of it as being the true method and the right path."[125]

Concerning the speech delivered by Salīm Thābit, the Emperor called for the speaker the next day to tell him: "The weight (i.e., meaning) of the speech you gave yesterday came to me in my dreams".[126] In the opinion of the journal *al-Jāmiʿah al-ʿUthmāniyyah*, the words of the Emperor had a political meaning because he wanted to express his admiration for Muslim-Christian coexistence in the Ottoman Empire. He contrasted it with the situation of the religious minorities living under colonial rule - for what he saw did not correspond with the information published by western media. The journal stated that William II was struck by Ottomanism because it safeguarded the state from the inside, and he was also impressed by Panislamism because it strengthened the spiritual bonds between the Caliphate and Muslims all over the world and this made them dreadful to their enemies. The journal further wrote that the Emperor's attitude was pretty useful for Panislamism, mainly because he did not consider it dangerous. On the other hand, the journal made it clear that the Emperor also profited from the Panislamic Movement as "it is not something small to gain the friendship of 300 millions of Muslims". The paper came to the conclusion that history will judge William II in the future: "At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, Germany was ruled by a young monarch whose greatness and justice detested to join the greedy vultures flying eagerly over the lands of the Ottoman Empire."[127]

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125 *Abābīl*, December 21, 1914, 2. This document was found in: *Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts* (Bonn), Türkei 177, Libanon, R 14032, Löytved an Wangenheim, Damaskus, December 22, 1914, A 2046. Unfortunately, I could not find any further information on this paper.

126 *al-Ahrām*, no. 6282, November 19, 1898, 1.

127 "Al-Imbarāṭūr Ghīlīyūm wa-l-Jāmiʿah al-ʿUthmāniyyah wa-l-Islāmiyyah", *al-Jāmiʿah al-ʿUthmāniyyah*, Pt. II, April 1, 1899, 18-19.

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PART II

AN EAST-WEST ENCOUNTER

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THE "REDISCOVERY" OF BAALBEK: A METAPHOR FOR EMPIRE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY[1]

USSAMA MAKDISI

Situated in the Bekaa valley and nestled between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon ranges at an altitude of 3000 meters, the columns of the Temple of Jupiter and the well-preserved temple of Bacchus of Baalbek have since the early modern era evoked the wonder of those who passed through them. In 1759, an earthquake toppled three of the nine remaining massive columns of the Temple of Jupiter, leaving behind a six-pillared edifice that has been drawn, sketched and photographed by famous travelers ever since.

Baalbek, of course, has never been simply the site of ruins nor even of the same set of ruins. Rather, it was and remains both an image and a monument, at once an enduring physical presence and at the same time a symbol for historical change. There has been a Roman Baalbek, Heliopolis or City of the Sun. There has been a Byzantine Baalbek and an Arab Baalbek. There has been, more recently, a Lebanese Nationalist Baalbek. But only in the late Ottoman period did Baalbek emerge as a metaphor for an age of modern Empire. This paper examines how various descriptions of Baalbek and its surroundings reflected changing relations of power between the Ottoman Empire and the West. I want to argue that while in the late eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century, the ruins of Baalbek provided European writers with a platform to articulate various orientalist discourses, in the late nineteenth and twentieth century they were subject to competing Ottoman imperial, and to a lesser extent, incipient Lebanese nationalist discourses. Europeans, in other words, celebrated nineteenth-century Baalbek as a powerful symbol of Ottoman decay and a poignant reminder of a self-declared civilizing mission. At the same time, the Ottoman government paradoxically commemorated it as an indication of its commitment to modernity.

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This article traces the evolution of Baalbek from image to monument across three distinct historical periods, the first of which, before 1800, was dominated by European and Enlightenment antiquarianism interested in reacquainting Europe with its "own" past. The second period was heralded by Volney's *Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie* and the rise of scientific and romantic civilizing missions. The third period begins in 1869, when Baalbek became part of an Ottoman project to present itself as a scientific modern power on an equal footing with the West.

Although the ruins of Baalbek did not provoke any sustained interest on the part of Ottoman chroniclers, nor was Baalbek used as a monument to reflect classical Ottoman imperial ideology – except insofar as columns were taken to Istanbul for the construction of imperial mosques during the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent – it was nevertheless during the age of the Ottomans that Baalbek was "rediscovered" by European explorers.[2] It was rediscovered in the sense that Europeans consciously sought out Baalbek, Palmyra and other places of antiquity to the "utmost astonishment" of the local inhabitants who, according to the eighteenth-century traveler Robert Wood "could not comprehend the meaning" of such visits.[3]

Among these travelers was Richard Pococke whose journey to the East consisted of a series of encounters with a European past in which the local inhabitants played an entirely marginal role; their function was to add a little spice and color, and not a little exoticism, to a narrative that reacquainted the European reader, by means of text, plates and engravings, with his or her ancient and sacred history. [4] In early texts such as *Description of the East and Some Other Countries*, explorers like Pococke sought to provide an image of Baalbek to the reader rather than to engage in an extensive commentary on the symbolism of the ruins. Occasionally a lament surfaces in the form of a criticism of the local neglect of the ruins, for as Pococke asserts, "it is a melancholy thing to see how the barbarous people of these countries continually destroy such magnificent buildings in order to make use of the stone."[5]

If travel to the East, including to Baalbek, served to reacquaint an educated British and French reading public (both Pococke and Wood were

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2 Friedrich Ragette, *Baalbek*, London: Chatto & Windus 1980, 82.

3 Robert Wood, *The Ruins of Balbec, Otherwise Heliopolis in Coelosyria* [1757], Westmead: Gregg International Publishers 1971, 2.

4 Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries,* vol. 2, part 1, London: W. Bowyer 1745, preface.

5 Ibid., 109-10.

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translated into French) with its "own" history, it was nonetheless undertaken in an Ottoman empire whose presence facilitated, indeed made possible, the journey. Pococke, for example, followed in the footsteps of Alexander the Great in traveling along the coast of Syria, going north from Palestine to Tyre, Sidon and then to Beirut, ancient Berytus, where he stayed in a Capuchin monastery. Throughout his voyage, he at once describes the physical geography of the land, his encounters with shaykhs and pashas, and at the same time recalls Phoenicia and the Latin kingdoms of the crusades. Hugging the coast, passing quickly through Beirut on his way to Tripoli before turning in an eastward direction towards Qannubin, and from there to Baalbek, Pococke's passage reflected the realities of an eighteenth-century Ottoman world. Sidon and Tripoli were still important centers of Ottoman administration, Beirut far less so being "under the influence of the Maronites and Druses."[6] Although he stayed with the English consul in Tripoli, he ventured inland under the protection of the Ottoman pashas. Pococke relates how, when he learned of the Pasha of Tripoli's return from Mecca, he accompanied the English consul to pay his respects. The consul was "in the Turkish dress, having on a purple ferijee, or gown of ceremony, but with a perriwig and hat" and the Pasha was seated cross-legged on cushions.[7] After an elaborate ritual of greeting carried out with the help of dragomans [translators] who translated English into Arabic and then into Turkish, sweetmeats and coffee, signs of the Pasha's privilege and hospitality, were served and then the consul was "perfumed and incensed." The dragomen of the consuls kissed the hem of the Pasha's garment when leaving, and the English consul and Pococke visited with the kethüda [private secretary] of the Pasha where the ritual was repeated.

In Baalbek, a similar scene transpired. In Pococke's rendition, the Ottoman pashas emerge as resplendent figures, who compare favorably with the inhabitants of the country. The Pasha of Baalbek "treated me in every respect as an equal, and with the utmost politeness, of which there are very few examples in these countries."[8] According to Wood, whose own quest for Baalbek took place a decade and a half after Pococke's, "no part of oriental manners shews those people in so amiable a light as their discharge of the duties of hospitality; indeed the severities of Eastern despot-

6 Ibid., 91.

7 Ibid., 102.

8 Ibid., 113.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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ism have ever been softened by this virtue, which so happily flourishes where it is most wanted."[9]

Nevertheless, Islamic Baalbek, which bridged the eighth to the eighteenth centuries, held little interest for either Wood or Pococke. For them the chief attraction of Baalbek lay in its antiquity. "When we compare the ruins of Balbec," wrote Wood, "with those of many ancient cities which we visited in Italy, Greece, Egypt, and other parts of Asia, we cannot help thinking them the remains of the boldest plan we ever saw attempted in architecture."[10] For Pococke, it was not surprising that the "fine temple is deservedly admired as one of the most beautiful pieces of antiquity...".[11] Even the ruins of Baalbek told a story that, as far as Wood was concerned, did not involve the Islamic world. Rather, as he acknowledged, they bore testimony to the rise of Christianity during the Byzantine era, for it was "in those violent contests, between expiring idolatry and prevailing Christianity, the temples suffered much; their statues were broken, and their ornaments defaced."[12]

The rediscovery of Baalbek, the history of its construction and its ruination, was disentangled from its Ottoman Islamic present, despite the fact that contact with Ottomans, indeed their protection, allowed Wood and Pococke to uncover this history in the first place. Appreciating this, Wood sketched general views of Baalbek. The first is a plan of the city showing only the "situation of the ancient buildings which remain," in which "we did not think the Turkish buildings [were] worth a place."[13] The second provided a view of Baalbek from the south, "shewing its antiquities and Turkish buildings."[14] This double representation of Baalbek, one within its Ottoman context and one without, signaled the primary importance of Baalbek within a historical context culled of its Islamic component, and at the same time acknowledged that only through an Islamic medium was Baalbek accessible. This imbalance between a narrative of history in which the local context plays no significant part – the majority of Wood's 46 plates on Baalbek, for example, represented stylized perspectives of various aspects of the ruins – and that of the travelogue which sought to capture the entirety of the eastern journey defines these eighteenth-century accounts of Baalbek.

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9 Wood, *The Ruins of Balbec* (fn. 3), 4.

10 Ibid., 6.

11 Pococke, *A Description of the East*, vol. 2, Part 1 (fn. 4), 109.

12 Wood, *The Ruins of Balbec* (fn. 3), 12.

13 Ibid., 17.

14 Ibid.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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It was with Constantin de Volney that the image of Baalbek as a monument of the past became overlaid with another even more powerful image of Baalbek as a testament to the present. Volney arrived in Syria in an era when the might of the 'Grand Turk' was not even a distant memory. Several Russo-Ottoman wars, the most recent of which had ended in the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774, had amply demonstrated the weakness of the Ottoman Empire to Europe and to itself. Volney set out to study this condition of enfeeblement of an Empire once so great and now laid so low (in the author's eyes at least). In his *Voyage en Egypt et en Syrie*, Volney dissipated the tension between a narrative of history and a voyage of European rediscovery with "their" ancient past, on the one hand, and on the other, an exploration of the contemporary Islamic Ottoman civilization. As such, his physical description of Baalbek is enmeshed with his reading of the ruins as a metaphor for Eastern rule. His account of the Ottoman world signals not just the birth of modern orientalism as suggested by Edward Said, but equally and fundamentally an expression of the universal claims of the Enlightenment.[15] Besides containing an "enumeration, in ascending order of difficulty, of the obstacles to be faced in the Orient by any French expeditionary force,"[16] the *Voyage* is also, perhaps even more profoundly, a study of despotism and its pernicious influence on society in general. Even as he depicts the Mamlukes in Egypt and the Ottomans in Syria as exemplars of the debilitating effect on the absence of law, Volney makes clear that his interest lies not just in the East but in the West, and particularly in his native France.[17]

Volney's portrayal of Baalbek is part of a wider narrative of progress and self-reflexive knowledge. He was not particularly concerned with the actual ruins of Baalbek for he refers readers to the Wood and Dawkins account. Rather than repeat what they and Pococke, Savary, Niebuhr and others have said before, Volney preferred to use the ruins to make more general observations on the manners of the Orientals, and through them, to engage in a commentary on the human condition in general. His coverage of Baalbek reflected the themes prevalent throughout his *Voyage*. The truncated physical description of Baalbek effortlessly gives way to an observation of Oriental manners, and this in turn provides for a generalization of the human condition and comparison to the West. In dismissing the local belief that Solomon was responsible for the construction of the

15 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Pantheon Books 1978, 81.

16 Ibid.

17 Albert Hourani, "Volney and the Ruin of Empires" in his *Europe and the Middle East*, Berkeley: University of California Press 1980, 85.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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temple of Baalbek, Volney laments what he perceives to be the general benightedness of the population. "It is in vain to oppose reason to ignorance and prejudice," he writes in accordance with his belief that the Orient, especially the Islamic Orient, is incapable of rational thought. But as soon as he makes this claim he expands the scope of his criticism, lest the reader content himself with the erroneous belief that all Volney is talking about is the East. "With them, as with us," he continues, "facts which happened a hundred years before, when not preserved in writing, are altered, mutilated, or forgotten. To expect information from them with respects to events in the time of David or Alexander, would be as absurd as to make enquiries of the Flemish peasants concerning Clovis or Charlemagne."[18]

What makes Volney stand out from the travelers who preceded him (and indeed many who followed him) is not simply his determination to make the Orient a stage of universal human drama and a poignant example of the necessity of social contract and reason. Rather it was his critical attitude towards the ruins themselves. By forsaking the prospects of a reacquaintance with a past with which he does not identify, Volney revealed himself to be an avatar of Enlightenment philosophy. Behind every ruin, he perceives a despotic power: the past, like the Ottoman present is, following David Lowenthal, a "foreign country."[19] The details of the ruins matter less to Volney than the 'truthful' rendition of the state and society that surround them. Baalbek was one of many ruins he visited, and his attitude towards it differed little from his perspective on the Pyramids of Egypt. They were built, he says, at terrible human cost and are testaments not to the genius of nations but to the "caprices of their monarchs."[20]

Unlike Pococke who confessed to the dilettantish nature of his work – in fact in direct contrast to earlier travelers whom Volney reproaches for their transience and their inability to communicate with natives – Volney positions his *Voyage* as an authoritative scientific study "to give my descriptions the only merit they can have, that of truth."[21] Thus he sets himself not just in opposition to the allegedly Eastern mind which he seeks to comprehend and lay bare, but also to Western explorers whose own reflections were tainted (in Volney's view) by their inability to distance

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18 C.F. Volney, *Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie*. Translated as *Travels through Syria and Egypt*, London: Pater-Noster-Row 1837, vol. 2, 243.

19 David Lowenthal, *The Past as a Foreign Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985.

20 Volney, *Voyage*, vol. 1, 283.

21 Ibid., 270.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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themselves from the subject matter. This unabashed celebration of objectivity, this desire to record the "truth" about oriental manners and customs, administration and government while remaining the canny observer on the margins of the narrative, prompted Edward Said to describe Volney's *Voyage* as "an almost oppressively impersonal document."[22]

Yet precisely because he aimed to decipher a social meaning in the ruins rather than simply admire their monumentality, Volney was a beacon to an age of civilizing missions. If upon gazing at the Pyramids of Egypt Volney was moved to articulate a colonial desire (which Napoleon would soon fulfill), in Syria he thought enlightened French rule could truly build upon the foundations of "freedom" that *already* existed. Volney's passage through Baalbek, his description of the insalubrious effects of Ottoman rule and the "wretched government" of the local Ḥarfūsh emirs, the "rubbish" strewn across the dilapidated town, and the "ill cultivated" gardens confirmed his belief that "plains are the habitation of indolence and slavery, and mountains the country of energy and freedom."[23] Egypt, the coast of Syria, Baalbek and Damascus all bore, according to Volney, the imprint of unmediated Islamic despotism. In Mount Lebanon however – clearly visible to Volney from Baalbek – the corrupting presence of Ottoman and Islamic rule was less in evidence. There in the "mountain refuge" the essence of freedom ranged, for the Maronites and the Druzes, according to Volney, possessed the manners of "ancient times."[24]

By singling out the Maronites and the Druzes as nations who possessed "republican" spirit, Volney evoked a common past that he, a transient French proponent of the Enlightenment, and not the Muslim Ottomans, who had controlled Mount Lebanon and its surrounding areas for over two and half centuries, claimed to share with the communities of Mount Lebanon. Thus he represented Maronites and Druzes as youthful repositories of a natural human liberty that had to be protected from the baneful influence of the Ottomans and nurtured by those enlightened Europeans (particularly Frenchmen) who could lead a people but in the "infancy of the social state."[25] At work in Volney's writing were three simultaneous conceptions of time. First and foremost the antiquity embodied in the ruins of Baalbek represented a metaphor for decaying empires, both past and present. Second, there was the (not quite timeless) youth of the local Mountain communities. Third, there

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22 Said, *Orientalism* (fn. 15), 81.

23 Volney, *Voyage* (fn. 18), vol. 1, 201.

24 Volney, *Voyage*, vol. 2, 83.

25 Ibid.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000169

was dynamic and progressive Enlightenment time – the modernity – of travelers such as himself. Volney's colonial ambition sought both to force an allegedly stagnant Orient to disgorge the secrets of a European past and to proclaim self-styled mandate for protecting that which was worthy of salvation. This identification with, rather than ignorance of or hostility to, the local Lebanese sects sets the stage for a century of dramatic contact between a "modern" Europe and a "moribund" Asiatic Empire. The supposedly pristine native landscape of Mount Lebanon, behind which in an easterly direction lay Baalbek, became an important venue for this encounter. Although there were many permutations to this contact, and many competing visions of modernity, Volney's basic assumption, present in his *Voyage* and elaborated in his *Les Ruines, ou Méditation sur les révolutions des Empires* published in 1817 after the French Revolution, persisted unchallenged. The active intercession of the West would "awaken" and rejuvenate the Orient by ushering in a progressive reign of European, increasingly defined as Western or Occidental, civilization.

In this ambitious undertaking – which united otherwise disparate Frenchmen, Englishmen and Americans, missionaries, consuls and traders – travel to Baalbek symbolized Western hegemony. If in the ages of Pococke, Wood and Volney travelers converged on Baalbek from several different routes at a time when foreigners were an uncommon sight, by the middle of the nineteenth century Europeans and Americans arrived in record numbers. Beirut became a staging post for expeditions eastwards. American missionaries, for example, who set off to evangelize the Levant in 1819 had, by the middle of the 1820s, decided upon Beirut as a center for their Syria mission. Jesuits arrived on their "nouvelle mission" in 1831, a decade in which Mount Lebanon itself became increasingly tied in material as well as cultural and political terms to Beirut, a process that culminated in 1861 when the *Mutaṣarrifiyyah* was established after the sectarian conflict of 1860.[26]

From being a random spot in the East whose ruins intrigued an educated European readership, nineteenth-century Baalbek became a fixture of the "Eastern tour" undertaken by many Europeans including Kinglake, Lamartine, Warburton, Urquhart, Stanhope, Burckhardt and Renan. Because of advances in steam technology, the rise of Beirut as an important entrepôt of trade between the eastern Mediterranean, France and Britain,

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26 See Engin Akarlı's *The Long Peace*, Berkeley: University of California Press 1993, for more information on the *Mutaṣarrifiyyah* and Leila Fawaz's *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Beirut*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1983.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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the availability of establishments that catered to European travelers, the establishment of European consulates in Beirut, and above all, the local adoption of Western styles of dress, Beirut had been transformed from a small town to an increasingly (although by no means entirely) westernized seat of the Ottoman *vilayet* of Sidon in 1840. Baalbek, by contrast, remained a seemingly unchanged monument to a past age. Although the town itself boasted a largely Greek Catholic population, the predominantly Shiite regions surrounding Baalbek lay under the control of the (Shiite) Ḥarfūsh family until late in the nineteenth century. Before reaching it on horseback after an arduous two day trek from Beirut, travelers to Baalbek had first to cross Mount Lebanon, which itself had become the site of a struggle between Jesuit and Protestant missionaries. In short, European claims on an "unIslamic" Mount Lebanon – which inspired Volney as well as missionaries before and after him to recommend its annexation to Western civilization – imbued the region that lay between the Mediterranean and the plain of Bekaa with the distinct imprint of rapid historical change. Not so Baalbek: the high pass of Mount Lebanon, after which the traveler descended into the expanse of the Bekaa and Baalbek, was a portal into a different world. Beyond it and below it, lay a mostly unfamiliar world "still infested," according to the French poet Lamartine in the early 1830s, "by wandering Arabs."[27]

Yet even Baalbek's location as a frontier region was mitigated by its relative proximity to Beirut, and to the routine nature of the actual expedition from Beirut to Baalbek. In Beirut, the traveler would usually acquaint himself (and, on occasion, herself) with his consul. Then he would negotiate with a dragoman the fee for a trip to Baalbek. The dragoman would make all necessary arrangements (much to the consternation of the European traveler who invariably thought himself cheated in the bargain) and the party would set off and return to Beirut in a few days. Indeed in his contempt for the common place that Baalbek had already become in the 1830s when he visited it, Kinglake irreverently declared "Come! Baalbec is over. I got rather well out of that!"[28] In 1858, a new carriage road between Beirut and Damascus was commissioned by the Ottoman government and built and operated by a French company. The Bekaa, lying just off the route of this toll road (completed in 1861), became even more ac-

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27 Alphonse de Lamartine, *Voyage en Orient*. Translated as *A Pilgrimage to the Holy Land* [1838], Delmar: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints 1978, 315.

28 "Introduction" to *Kinglake's Eothen*, London: Humphrey Milford 1919, by D.G. Hogarth, vii. Later editions of *Eothen* had these sentiments deleted at the author's insistence.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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cessible. Whereas it took Lamartine 2 full days of arduous travel to reach Baalbek in 1832, by the 1860s the distance from Beirut to Damascus could be covered in twelve to thirteen hours.[29] Old khans were taken over by the Damascus Carriage Company and converted into stations. From Beirut to the town of Shtura, the half-way station of the carriage-road, the trip took six and half hours.[30] Yet even before the carriage-road was built, travelers like Lamartine realized that Baalbek's remoteness from "civilization" was bound to come to an end. After setting out from Beirut with no less than 26 horses, ten servants and a dragoman, Lamartine noticed that the place was surrounded by potentially hostile "Arab" tribes. If a European adventurer were to take charge of the East mused Lamartine, "their tents might be driven further back into the Desert, which is their only country; and they might be gradually drawn into civilization, of which they have as yet had no examples round them."[31]

This comforting knowledge of the overwhelming power of Europe – a knowledge made so certain by Napoleon and Navarino that one such as Lamartine could contemplate the conquest of the Ottoman Empire by a single ambitious European – lay at the heart of nineteenth-century Western perceptions of Baalbek. Even amidst the solitude of the ruins, to which Lamartine and other travelers habitually made reference, there was the conviction that the Orient lay utterly prostrate before the men from "the Occident."[32] In addition, from an almost total absence in the early voyagers' accounts, the stereotypes of the "perverse" and "semi-barbarous" muleteers and the indolent rural natives emerged most powerfully in the nineteenth-century descriptions of Baalbek.[33] The best example of this working the native into a reading of Baalbek are the famous lithographs of David Roberts. Capping a series of vivid illustrations of an Eastern tour that culminated in his arrival at Baalbek, Roberts confessed that the ruins were of a "magnificence of which [it] is impossible to convey any idea, by pencil or pen."[34] Nevertheless, the ruins appeared to the reader in Europe in a number of lithographs in which natives are arranged among the ruins,

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29 William M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book. Lebanon, Damascus, and beyond Jordan* [1885], vol. 3, Hartford: S.S. Scranton Company 1910, 125.

30 *A Handbook for Travellers in Syria and Palestine*, London: John Murray 1892, 305.

31 Lamartine, *Voyage* (fn. 27), 318-19.

32 Ibid., 327.

33 C.B. Elliott, *Travels in the Three Great Empires of Austria, Russia and Turkey*, London: Richard Bentley 1838, 261.

34 *The Holy Land: Lithographs and Diaries by David Roberts*, NY: Stewart, Tabori & Chang 1996, 262.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000172

their brilliant costumes a sharp contrast to their languid poses, as if to suggest the timelessness of both native and Baalbek.

Although Volney had expressed his fervent desire for republican and enlightened colonial rule, nineteenth-century Syria saw neither republican nor direct European rule. Rather, it saw an increase in European hegemony in the economic and cultural spheres, including escalating missionary activity, the introduction of silk factories and the construction of the Damascus carriage road, while at the same time it remained an integral part of the Ottoman Empire.[35] Politically, the 1856 Treaty of Paris had "guaranteed" the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire and inducted it within a European state system, with the proviso that the Empire's Christian inhabitants be protected. Therefore, even as Baalbek's past continued to evoke wonder among European travelers, and its future appeared to them to be ineluctably tied to an unfolding European domination, its present state reflected not simply the degradation of the human condition that haunted Volney, but more oppressively, what seemed to be a capricious and entirely self-imposed restriction on the civilizing mission that allowed, Kinglake wrote, "calm tyrannies" to "expire in silence."[36] Following the 1860 massacres in Mount Lebanon and Damascus, similar yet less tempered sentiments were expressed by writers such as Charles Churchill and American Board missionaries.[37]

Baalbek, therefore, was a false frontier not simply because the increasingly routine nature of travel to it belied its "wildness," but also because its spectacular columns that beggared description (as Roberts put it) harkened back to an age of imperial greatness at the same time as they forced their European admirers to confront both shortcomings in Europe itself as well as, more importantly for our purposes, Europe's failure to live up to its own imperial errand to the world. Amidst Baalbek's ruins the dissident and the romantic could find a refuge from the contradictions of imperial realpolitik and a bracing reminder of the transience of all conditions. David Urquhart marveled at the "cyclopic" stones of Baalbek, which measured nearly 61 feet in length, seventeen feet in width and twelve feet in thickness, and which weighed an estimated 1200 tons each.

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35 Mount Lebanon, of course, became a *Mutaṣarrifiyyah* in 1861 but as Engin Akarlı has shown in his *Long Peace* (fn. 26), it nevertheless remained an Ottoman province.

36 A.W. Kinglake, *Kinglake's Eothen* (fn. 28), 267-68.

37 See Charles Churchill, *The Druzes and Maronites under the Turkish Rule* [1861], London: Garnett 1994, and Ussama Makdisi, "Reclaiming Biblical Lands: Evangelical Modernity, Colonialism and Culture", *American Historical Review*, 102 (June 1997) 3, 680-713.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000173

> "The men, who see reflected in Regent Street their faculties and tastes, their arts and civilization, cannot be expected equally to see a reflection of themselves in Baalbek. Indeed it is something else they look at when they see it; it is the Greek and Roman works that fire their imagination, employ their pencils, and exhaust their science. If passing attention is called out to the real structure, 'how wonderful!' breaks out, and all is said.
> The exclamation instead of an end, ought to have been a beginning; instead of a conclusion, it is a point of departure; instead of a thing to be looked at, it is a scaffolding upon which to stand, and from which to survey men as they have been, men as they are. If we cannot so much as comprehend the mere mechanical branch of the subject, are we at the summit of science and civilization? ... the stones themselves speak to our eyes, and the sermon these stones preach to us is, 'Ye are pigmies.' The improvement upon the text, 'Ye are insolent pigmies.'"[38]

The physicality of Baalbek remained awe-inspiring, and after the initial approach and first glance at what seemed to be rather small and disappointing ruins, the reaction of travelers was nearly always the same. "There they are; look at them!" exhorts Thomson, "– the most enormous stones that man ever quarried out of the solid rock or built into the walls of any edifice."[39] Lamartine, furthermore, casts doubt on the ability of science to explain the spectacle before his eyes. Rather than dismissing native "superstition" out of hand, Lamartine who came to the East to rekindle a spiritual faith severely tried by France's recent history, admitted that "the science of modern times cannot help us to explain it, and we cannot be surprised that it is referred to the supernatural."[40]

On the other hand, the very physicality of Baalbek also heightened a sense of moral responsibility felt by men and women acutely conscious of their moral and cultural "superiority" over the natives. Many of them (with the notable exception of Urquhart) echoed a prayer uttered by William Thomson for the "depraved" people of the region: "O Lord, how long!"[41] Against the backdrop of the Biblical Cedars (from which there was a road to Baalbek) and the ruined temples of Baalbek, which not without irony marked the triumph of Christianity over paganism, the "wretched" condition of the Christian townsfolk of Baalbek at the mercy of the "despotic" local Muslim Ḥarfūsh emirs seared the conscience of many a western ob-

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38 David Urquhart, *The Lebanon: A History and a Diary*, 2 vols., London: Thomas Cautley Newby 1860, vol. 2, 387-88.

39 Thomson, *The Land and the Book* (fn. 29), vol. 3, 328.

40 Lamartine, *Voyage* (fn. 27), 323.

41 Thomson, *The Land and the Book* (fn. 29), vol. 3, v.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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server. Lamartine, for example, pleaded for immediate European colonization to free the Christians of the region and to "raise up a new monument on these desolate territories." [42]

Lamartine's desire to "raise up a new monument" – to reinscribe Baalbek's ruins with new meaning and hence to create a new monument to the modern as opposed to an image of the past – began to take shape after 1860. In that year, following the sectarian violence, Napoleon III sent an army to restore "order" in Syria and protect its Christian inhabitants.[43] Taking advantage of the presence of the *Armée de Syrie*, the philologist Ernest Renan set out to emulate the work of the *Déscription d'Egypte* by compiling a two-volume *Mission de Phénicie*.[44] The French army was put at Renan's disposal, and its soldiers helped in the excavations that he directed. France, he noted, in her "noble" preoccupation with science has always associated "commissions scientifiques" with her military expeditions overseas.[45] Renan insisted that proper excavations required a colonial presence. Moreover, by taking a leaf out of Volney's *Voyage*, Renan believed that scientific knowledge of the past was absolutely crucial to French power: it was an indicator of its imperial greatness "au milieu de populations égarées ou abruties." Renan's interest in Baalbek however, involved not the Roman or Hellenistic ruins, but what he thought were its Phoenician foundations, notably the trilithon.[46] Moreover, Renan's attempts to resurrect Phoenicia differed significantly from the French excavations in Egypt: his energy was not directed at recovering an imagined French imperial heritage, but in unearthing and displaying a knowledge of a *race* distinct from his own, one that was inferior yet at the same time had contributed to human civilization.[47] Contrary to Flaubert's literary predilection, Renan not only gave currency to a Phoenician past, but also acknowledged the importance of the Maronite population in the success of any systematic recovery of such a past. The Muslims of the region, he wrote, were not nearly as welcoming of the French archaeological expeditions; Renan admitted to his readers that "au milieu de ces populations, à demi sauvages ou abruties" he never forgot that he was dealing with "races

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42 Lamartine, *Voyage* (fn. 27), 317-18.

43 For more information see Leila Fawaz, *An Occasion for War*, London: I.B. Tauris 1994.

44 Ernest Renan, *Mission de Phénicie,* 2 vols., Paris: Imprimerie Impériale 1864.

45 Ibid., vol. 1, 2.

46 Ragette, *Baalbek* (fn. 2), 94.

47 Martin Bernal, *Black Athena,* vol. 1: *The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press 1987, 345-46.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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inférieures, incapables de comprendre la délicatesse dont on use envers elles."[48]

The withdrawal of the French army in 1861, a compromise necessitated by the exigencies of the Eastern Question, effectively ended Renan's mission. Before he left, he collected many fragments of "ancient Phoenicia" and had them shipped to Paris. This act of taking possession of the East, declaring it an open archaeological site whose finds belonged to any civilized power that claimed them (in this case France) was not, of course, a fate unique to Baalbek. But what the *Mission de Phénicie* did accomplish through its various excavations and through the presence of the French army represented a significant evolution beyond travelogues that merely reacquainted Europe with its putative classical past. Now, in the name of scientific discovery, France physically reclaimed *all* the antiquity of Syria through colonial imposition. Although only tangentially concerned with Baalbek itself, the *Mission de Phénicie* formulated a radically new way of perceiving Syria's past that necessarily reshaped the function of Baalbek itself. First, and most obvious, was the necessity of recovering a Phoenician past of the region which could and was used to discredit its Ottoman Islamic present. Second was France's preeminent role in this operation, although British travelers had actively participated in the early "rediscovery" of Baalbek. Third came the linkage with a local population, the Maronites, to effect a collaborative reconquest of the region from Ottoman domination. Although Renan did not declare the Maronites to be Phoenicians, he laid the groundwork for them to appropriate (at a later date) a Phoenician past for their own nationalist purposes.

The aborted *Mission de Phénicie* of 1860-1861 did not end French colonial interest in Syria. It stimulated it, and in 1865 further French excavations were made. As the century drew to a close, however, it was not French but German archaeologists who initiated the first large-scale excavations of Baalbek following a visit by Kaiser Wilhelm II to Baalbek on 10-11 November 1898. Sultan Abdülhamid had a plaque erected (still visible today) inside the Temple of Bacchus commemorating the visit "of his illustrious friend."[49] A month after his visit, the German Emperor dispatched the archaeologist Koldewey to survey the ruins and the Prussian Ministry of Culture prepared to direct excavations following Koldewey's suggestions. Soon a team of German archaeologists, architects, an Arabist and a photographer arrived in Baalbek. Led by Otto Puchstein, the German

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48 Renan, *Mission de Phénicie* (fn. 44), vol. 1, 13-14.

49 Nina Jidejian, *Baalbek-Heliopolis: "City of the Sun"*, Beirut: Dar el-Machreq 1975, 11; Ragette, *Baalbek* (fn. 2), 94-95.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000176

party was accompanied by an Ottoman official, Makridi Bey.[50] The goal of the mission was to chart the ruins in their present condition and then begin the process of restoring the Roman ruins.[51] The so-called "late" additions to the Roman ruins were to be removed from the "original" Roman temples. The Arab moat, for example, was filled. As Friedrich Ragette has illustrated in his account of the excavation of the Temple of Bacchus, the excavators followed a precise method. First, the condition of the Temple as it stood before excavation was noted and recorded. Second, all the rubble was removed, and a survey of the different constructions of different periods was noted. Then "all later additions were eliminated, and a plan showing the Roman ruins in their present condition was prepared." Finally, a plan of the original Temple was drawn.[52]

As far as French scholars were concerned, the work of the "savants allemands" with the permission of Abdülhamid seemed sullied by its connection to German imperial interests.[53] The irony here should not be lost: not only the realization on the part of French scholars of the overt connection between knowledge and power, but also the unprecedented interest of an Ottoman Sultan in Baalbek at a time when the Empire was allegedly on its death-bed. While the technical expertise of the Germans was directed at preserving what they deemed worthy of preservation, i.e. pre-Arab and pre-Islamic ruins, the Ottoman government symbolically repossessed Baalbek from a European colonial discourse. From being an image of the past in the eighteenth century, to a metaphor of decay in the nineteenth century, now Baalbek figured prominently as a monument to modern scientific progress which Renan indirectly initiated, the Germans advanced and the Ottomans claimed. This collaborative venture between Germany and the Ottoman state in the last decades of the Empire reflected an Ottoman renaissance. Although Baalbek obviously served as a marker of active German involvement overseas and as establishing specifically German claims in the Levant, Baalbek also became a monument to a self-declared modern Ottoman Empire, and as the commemorative plaque of 1898 indicated, one that saw itself but was not seen as an integral part of a European family of nations.

Ottoman archaeological interest in a Phoenician and Hellenistic past reflected this transculturation and reorientation of the Empire away from a

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50 Otto Puchstein, *Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek*, Berlin: Georg Reimer 1905.

51 For more details upon which the account above is based see Ragette, *Baalbek* (fn. 2), 98-99.

52 Ibid., 98.

53 Jidejian, *Baalbek* (fn. 49), 12.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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strictly Islamic metaphorical universe. The Imperial Museum in Istanbul (*Müze-i Hümayun*) had been founded in 1869, and although the first directors were foreign, in 1881 the French-educated Osman Hamdi Bey was appointed as head of the museum. Under his guidance, various excavations of Phoenician and Hellenistic sites were conducted throughout the Empire; he was instrumental in creating an awareness of the cultural (and hence political) importance of these sites and prompted the Ottoman government to build not only a new museum in Çinili Köşk, but also to pass a law in 1884 (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*) that prohibited the export of antiquities from the Empire. An earlier law on antiquities had mandated only that antiquities discovered in archaeological digs were to be divided equally between the excavator, the owner of the land on which the excavation was made and the State.[54] In the 1884 law, however, the State made exclusive claim for the antiquities and directed important finds – the most famous of which was the 1887 discovery by Hamdi Bey of the Royal Necropolis of Sidon including the sarcophagus of Alexander – to the recently rebuilt Imperial Museum.[55] Although the museum he directed and the conservation law he oversaw were, in large measure, a reaction to European "pilfering" of (what were now seen) as Ottoman antiquities, Hamdi Bey was nevertheless acutely aware of his debt to European archaeological knowledge and solicited Renan's help in deciphering some of the Phoenician inscriptions he found at Sidon.[56] Ottoman claims to the pre-Islamic past were an integral part of a project of *imperial* renewal, and Baalbek was one of its many locations. A clear indication of this was the entry for Baalbek in the geographical dictionary *Kamus-i Alam* printed in Istanbul in 1888-9, which declared it "the most important of the ancient cities famous for its antiquities," and commended "the extraordinary skill" and scale of construction which "provoke the astonishment [of he who views them]."[57]

At a more local level, the power of the Ḥarfūsh family, whose "despotism" had been decried by many a European traveler, was curbed. The creation of tourist Baalbek, the Baalbek we know today where tickets are sold, antiquities protected, hotels built and other services provided to visitors dates from this period. An entrance ticket from 1904 warns the visitor that "under pain of punishment it is forbidden to carve names, break

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54 Mustafa Cezar, *Müzeci ve Ressam Osman Hamdi Bey*, Istanbul: Türk Kültürüne Hizmet Vakfı 1987, 21.

55 George Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, vol. 2, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1905, 389-94.

56 Ibid., 20.

57 *Kamus-i Alam*, Istanbul: 1306 [1888-1889], 1323.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000178

the ruins, or take any piece of the sculptures."[58] This sudden Ottoman claim to the ruins was not without contradictions, not least of which was that Baalbek, its hotels, and its excavations were still oriented towards European tastes and above all Europeans' conception of their own past. Ironically, this European interest in Hellenistic and Roman Baalbek, which was unOttoman and unIslamic, first prompted the Ottoman authorities to realize the symbolic and functional potential in controlling and regularizing access to the ruins of Baalbek. The plaque of 1898 was placed inside the Temple of Bacchus to remind visitors of Ottoman sovereignty over the ruins; it also intimated in no uncertain terms the desire of the Empire to be treated equally by its "friendly" European allies. The entrance tickets were printed in three languages, Ottoman Turkish, Arabic and French, the first being of course the official language of the Empire (and a source of increasing tension in the Arabic-speaking provinces, especially after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908), the second the language of the local population and the third the *lingua franca* of all foreigners. Although both foreigners and Ottoman subjects are charged the same price (1 Mecidiye per person), only the Arabic text exhorts the locals not to steal – although in fact it was a long established habit of European travelers (such as Lamartine) to help themselves to the antiquities they fancied. It is in the Ottoman Turkish portion of the ticket that another latent contradiction is embedded. It simply reads "Official Entrance Ticket for the Temple of Baalbek: Subjects of the sublime state and foreigners whoever [they] may be [and] without exception are to be admitted to the Temple of Baalbek for the official entrance fee of 1 silver Mecidiye coin."

From the beginning of the Tanzimat era in 1839 with the proclamation of the Gülhane decree, the Empire consistently produced an image of itself as a modern, bureaucratic and civilized Empire not in opposition to European states but in concert with them. Among the most important ideological underpinnings of this transformation of the Empire was the emphasis on the equality of all subjects before a theoretically faceless bureaucracy atop which figured a distant but benevolent Sultan.[59] The phrase used repeatedly in public proclamations as well as private correspondence of Tanzimat officials is "*her kim olur ise olsun bilâ istisna*" (whoever he may be without exception shall...). In the entrance ticket, of course, the phrase is used to indicate that both foreigners and Ottoman subjects are to be

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58 A ticket is reproduced on the frontpiece of Michel Alouf, *History of Baalbek*, 6th ed., Beirut 1898.

59 Selim Deringil, "The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35 (1993), 3-29.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000179

charged the same fee, echoing the Tanzimat discourse but now in the context of a material transaction that allowed every visitor to enjoy the spectacle of the ruins in return for a single silver coin. Removed in this transaction is any hint of the Ḥarfūsh emirs who throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had dominated access to the ruins. Removed as well was the ritual of hospitality that the Ottoman Pasha or the Ḥarfūsh emir always insisted upon before a traveler was given the privilege to walk among the ruins. In other words, to the extent that Baalbek had ever had a function in local society, it served indirectly to display and reinforce – through protection offered travelers and the hospitality with which they were received – rituals of power at once personal and imperial. Not only had these rituals interposed themselves between the travelers and Baalbek, which accounts for the bifurcated nature of earlier travel literature, but they reflected a cultural ethos of patronage and *intisab*.

The self-consciously "modern" post-Tanzimat Ottoman government deemed such practices inappropriate, and so for the price of a single silver coin, it abolished one tradition and replaced it by another tailored to the taste of an Empire in search of a modern centralized image. The uniformity of access and price between foreigner and local embodied the Tanzimat ideals of uniformity and equality of all subjects, with the ultimate goal of course of creating parity between the Ottoman Empire and the European powers.

Even the reference to the *tebaa-i devlet-i aliyye* (subjects of the Sublime State) was an important sign of the Ottoman effort at reinventing itself as a nation-state. Beginning with Gülhane in 1839 and culminating with the Ottoman law of nationality in 1869 that produced for the first time a juridical definition of the Ottoman subject without reference to religion, the *tebaa-i devlet-i aliyye* were the foundation of the newly defined Empire. They were not simply subjects commanded to obey the person of the Sultan, but citizens exhorted to be loyal to an abstracted Ottoman nation.

In practice, however, a tension persisted between sudden imperial interest in and control over Baalbek and local understandings of the ruins in an era of European hegemony. First published in 1890 and subsequently reprinted, Michel M. Alouf's *History of Baalbek* was available in French, English, German and Arabic but not in Ottoman Turkish; it was sold at all the local hotels, including the Grand Hôtel de Palmyre (where the German team stayed), the Hotel Victoria and the Hôtel d'Europe, and soon became a standard guide book. Alouf was a native of Baalbek whose authority was recognized in 1898 when he guided Wilhelm II through the famous temples. He represented a new form of local involvement with the past, one that tacitly acknowledged two different sets of ruins, a colonial European

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000180

Baalbek and an imperial Ottoman Baalbek, to produce the outlines of what would become a distinctly nationalist Baalbek. Alouf's work was informed both by his own association with European and American travelers, geographical societies and archaeologists from whom he learned enough to produce a guide, and by his subjecthood to an Empire not fundamentally interested in history of Baalbek but in the symbolic value of Baalbek in commemorating Ottoman progress. Alouf reacted to the fissure between European celebration and Ottoman commemoration of the ruins of Baalbek on the one hand, and on the other, a pervasive neglect of the living history of the town of Baalbek.[60] By writing his history of Baalbek in which the Arabic inscriptions, the Arab ruins and the history of the people of Baalbek were included as an integral experience of the ruins, Alouf's Baalbek emerged from a history of organic connection between the ruins (and hence antiquity) and the people who lived amongst them, a story, as he put it, of the "country of the Sun, my native land."[61] His history inaugurated a native Baalbek, one that built upon the scaffolding provided by existing (European) archaeological knowledge implicitly to subvert the "European" genealogy of that knowledge. Hitherto, local dragomans had served as intermediaries of the "Eastern" tour – they had made the ruins physically accessible to various Western travelers, but had not participated in the construction of knowledge of or about Baalbek. Alouf, to be sure, still guided tourists but now with the authority of an expert and the confidence of one who belonged to and therefore represented Baalbek.

Alouf was not, of course, writing an overt Lebanese or an Arab nationalist tract. Rather he was engaged, at least in part, in a romantic rumination inspired by European knowledge of Baalbek and its Phoenician foundations that presaged a later, more explicit nationalist construction of Baalbek. His meditations, however, without intending to, illustrated the contradiction and tenuousness of the Ottoman commemoration of Baalbek. For if the plaque and the single Mecidiye, the Ottoman Turkish on the entrance tickets and the protection of the Ottoman Department of Antiquities announced the presence of a modern Empire within which, oddly enough, a European-organized spectacle of the ruins could be enjoyed ("seyr ve temaşa için"), they also forced local inhabitants like Alouf to contemplate their place in this Empire. Alouf embraced not an abstract Ottomanism, epitomized in the commemorative plaque of 1898 in German and Ottoman-Turkish (but not, significantly, in Arabic), but a seemingly tangible Phoenician past in the shape of the trilithon and the "pregnant"

60 Alouf, "Preface to the First Edition", in: idem, *History of Baalbek* (fn. 58), v.

61 Alouf, *History of Baalbek*, iv.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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stone that drew the wonder of many travelers and archaeologists. Yet such a past had no legitimacy or space within the official nationalism of Abdülhamid's Empire. Tellingly enough, Alouf's history of Baalbek includes a lengthy description of the exploits of the Druze emir Fakhr al-Din Ma'n, who was condemned to death by an Ottoman Sultan and assigned a rebel's reputation in Ottoman chronicles. This disjunction between Ottoman imperial claims on Baalbek that aimed at controlling European knowledge and amalgamating it to an imperial nationalism on the one hand, and a local imagination that realized in Baalbek the possibility of fruitful collaboration with European mythology on the other hand illustrated a profound crisis in the late Ottoman identity, a crisis of an official nationalism ultimately unsure of its orientation. Baalbek, after all, was not commemorated because of its historical or archaeological value *per se* but because of its European association. The uncertainty stemmed from the simple fact that the imperial government could not control this association and could not prevent local subjects from linking directly with Europe, thus bypassing the Sublime State.

This is precisely what occurred during the First World War as a result of the Arab Revolt of 1916. Ironically the metaphor for which Baalbek's ruins had stood in nineteenth-century European discourse, namely the decline of empire, became a reality just as the Ottomans took their first interest in the ruins. Contrary to Kinglake's prediction that the Empire would expire "in silence," the Ottoman state did not die a natural death. Rather it was destroyed by Britain and France, whose citizens and subjects had for two centuries put so much energy into the "rediscovery" of Baalbek. With the eclipse of the Ottomans, and with them their German allies, Baalbek was once again appropriated by France and by France's charge, the newly created republic of *Grand Liban*. Further excavations and restoration work commenced; Renan's spirit lived on, but so did Alouf's – and between the two a new collaborative Lebanese Baalbek arose in its own right, with its own symbolism, and fraught with its own contradictions, a Baalbek that could not and has not been able to reconcile its Phoenician and classical heritage with its Ottoman Islamic past. Baalbek had finally become a national monument.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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IMPERIAL DISCOURSES AND AN OTTOMAN EXCAVATION IN LEBANON

JENS HANSSEN

> "The great obsession of the nineteenth century was, as we know, history."
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> M. Foucault[1]

The visit of the German emperor to Baalbek in 1898 was part and parcel of a new Ottoman-German alliance that formed at the end of the nineteenth century and lasted up until the end of the first World War. While other chapters in this volume discuss the German perspectives on archaeology in the Middle East in general and in Lebanon and Baalbek in particular, this essay sheds light on the much neglected but essential Ottoman perspective on archaeology as an instrument of imperialism for – after all – the Ottomans ruled over most of the Middle East for over 400 years. The essay explores the late Ottoman use of archaeology against the political background of nineteenth-century imperial rivalries and against the cultural and intellectual background of newly emerging historical discourses of antiquity and modernity in Istanbul.

The incorporation of the sciences of archaeology and history into European imperialism was conditioned on the professionalization of history in the nineteenth century.[2] Scientific knowledge of the ancient Orient provided European imperialism in the Middle East with a sense of moral justification. In this context, "the white man's burden" consisted of the task to recover the archaeological wealth of the Middle East in an environment which apparently was hostile not only to the European bearers of progress but also towards their own history. The nature of this

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1 Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces", *Diacritics* 16 (1986), 22.

2 On the causal link between nineteenth-century academic institutions and Orientalist thought, see Edward Said, *Orientalism*, London: Penguin 1978.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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incorporation of science into power politics was instrumental both in shaping Orientalist knowledge about a "timeless, stagnant Oriental society" and in sustaining European imperialism in 19th-century Middle East as a service to mankind.[3] This essay holds that – contrary to conventional belief – there was also a growing historical consciousness amongst certain Ottoman circles in Istanbul which was stimulated by archaeological discoveries in the Ottoman Empire, especially by the necropolis in Saida.

Archaeological knowledge of the "Orient" was also translated effectively into metropolitan planning to foster imperial self-perception in metropoles like London and Paris. The way in which Haussmann used statues and monuments from colonial booty as vanishing points of the avenues in his new grand design for Paris in turn inspired imperial town planning elsewhere, not least the erection of "Cleopatra's Needle" on London's southern embankment. The central location of the Egyptian Obelisk on the Place de la Concorde in Paris is a vivid example of the use of Oriental art in metropolitan design as a constant reminder of the global power radiating from Paris. Baring in mind Napoleon's infamous "horse theft" from Berlin's Brandenburg Gate the narrative had become one of political supremacy and of pertaining a civilatory mandate to guardianship over the colonies from where these monuments were taken. French or British hegemony in the Middle East was legitimized by insinuating the extension of former great high cultures whose ignorant descendants need to reorient themselves to the respective new centers of the "universe" that were *deuxième empire* Paris and Victorian London.

This essay will provide an insight into the Ottoman uses of archaeology and show how, especially under Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909), the Ottomans used archaeological finds in a *dis*-similar way from European imperial powers. Their use was similar in that Ottomans did use archaeology both to legitimize its power *vis-à-vis* its Arab subjects and to embellish their capital Istanbul. The use of archaeology was dissimilar to French and British imperialism, however, in that it coincided with the Ottoman discourse of architectural, cultural and political revival. It will be argued that archaeology was used to offer an imperial rational contributory to the administrative centralization under Abdülhamid's reign.

One of the most tangible effects of the Ottoman *Tanẓīmāt* – or reforms – that marked most of the nineteenth century were the proliferation of laws and regulations that were to regulate the empire's citizens' everyday life.

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3 Mogens Trolle Larsen, "Orientalism and Near Eastern Archaeology", in: *Domination and Resistance*, ed. Christopher Tilley, London: Blackwells 1989, 229-39.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000184

The introduction of systematic land, construction and property laws, the penal codes, the compulsory and legally binding registration practices and the new systems of municipal, provincial and ministerial bureaucracies were not only intended to modernize what was perceived by Ottoman politicians themselves as a decaying empire, but these reforms also fundamentally changed the relation of the subject to his government. Yet, first and foremost these regulations effectively served to tighten the Ottoman government's control over its outlying provinces.

In the context of centralization, the Ottoman Archaeology Law, passed in 1884, laid out the legal foundations and the practical procedures to ensure that archaeological finds throughout the empire were registered in, protected and brought to, the center in Istanbul. The law not only signaled the growing attention the Ottomans gave to the histories of the lands under their rule, which could conveniently be presented as ancient legacies of the modern Ottoman state. Moreover, in the Ottoman case, archaeological finds in the Orient helped formulate an antiquity-referential claim to the Ottoman state's modernity, in a way that was common in Europe since the beginning of the nineteenth century. While European biblical or pre-biblical, Middle Eastern archaeology tended to be based on Orientalist notions of the "oriental other" or the "rise and decline paradigm",[4] the Ottoman relations to their history was more innately viewed in terms of historical continuity between the architectural and cultural splendor of the empire's constructed historical forerunners and the empire's late nineteenth-century revival.

The royal necropolis at Saida, the ancient Sidon, which was unearthed in 1887 by Osman Hamdi Bey, the director of the Ottoman Imperial Museum, presented one of the most spectacular discoveries in Lebanon and for Ottoman archaeology. On the regional level the discovery coincided with dismantling of the province of Syria. Until 1887, the city and the district of Saida was still a part of the province of Syria. Yet, by the end of 1887, when after years of petitioning for a separate coastal province, Beiruti notables finally convinced the Sultan to make Beirut the capital of this province, Saida – like Haifa, Acre, Tripoli and Lataqiyya – came to be integrated into the province of Beirut.[5] On the imperial level, the sarcophagi played a pivotal role in the construction of a new

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4 On the former concept, see Said, *Orientalism* (fn. 1), on the latter, see Roger Owen, "The Middle East Economy in the period of the so-called 'decline': 1500-1800", in his *The Middle East in the World Economy, 1800-1914*, London: Methuen 1981, 1-23.

5 Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ʿAwaḍ, *al-Idārah al-ʿuthmāniyyah fī wilāyat Sūriyyah, 1864-1914*, Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif 1969.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000185

metropolitan image after their shipment to Istanbul as the main attraction of the specially built Imperial Museum of Archaeology. The display of archaeological monuments and *objets d'art* for public consumption took effect in Istanbul as in other imperial centers, albeit slightly later, as part of the global metropolitan rivalry that marked the 19th century,[6] even if in Istanbul – for reasons I shall mention below – effectful and conspicuous incorporation of historical monuments into the new urban fabric remained rudimentary.

Ancient Orient – 19th-century discourses of domination

As soon as the European state rivalries of the 18th century swept into the Middle East in 1798, scientists discovered for themselves the ancient and biblical lands. In the wake of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt that year came not just archaeologists, epigraphists and the likes, many of which owed their steep career in France to their finds in Egypt, but also scores of Orientalists and early ethnographers. These were instructed to study the Egyptian peasants so as to provide knowledge of the social order of Pharaonic times, clearly assuming immovability. Such a merging of the archaeological and Orientalist disciplines was to set the precedence for scientific explorations in the Middle East throughout the 19th century. These scholars tended to see themselves as trekking in the footsteps of biblical prophets, the Crusaders or Alexander the Great. Frequently, like in the case of H. Layard in Baghdad in the 1850s and 60s, and the former director of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, Hogarth, at the Arab Bureau in Cairo during World War I, these "scientists" were directly involved in their home country's imperial enterprise in the Middle East, either as diplomats or in military intelligence.[7]

However, the struggle for control over the "ancient Orient" was not just a conflict between the European and the Ottoman empires. Regional rivalry between the Ottoman Sultan and the Egyptian Khedives was strongly fought out over whose administration proved more modern and who dominated the geography between the two empires – that is the Arab

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6 Mark Girouard, *Cities and People*, New Haven: Yale University Press 1985, 330-33.

7 Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India (1899-1905), as quoted in Benedict Anderson: "It is ... equally our duty to dig and discover, to classify, reproduce and describe, to copy and decipher, and to cherish and conserve." In his *Imagined Communities*, 2nd ed., New York: Verso 1993, 179.

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East.[8] In the 1830s the Egyptian potentate Mehmet Ali ruled over Syria for a decade. During this time the first highly centralized administration in Palestine, Lebanon and Syria was established by the Egyptian commander-in-chief Ibrahim Pasha. When the Egyptians were ousted from the region in 1840, the Ottomans continued the drive to centralize the Arab East – that is to better control it under the banner of modernization. Meanwhile the urban fabric of both capitals, Istanbul and Cairo, were transformed into modern political centers with the imperial trappings of nineteenth-century European capitals.[9]

It was in this context of regional rivalry that in late 1870 an anonymous plan, published in an Istanbul newspaper, called for a confederation of the Arab-speaking provinces under Ottoman sovereignty in order to entice Egypt to return to Ottoman rule.[10] Midhat's successful administration of the province of Baghdad in 1869-1871 effectively played on the nexus between archaeology and regional hegemony. The Ottoman governorship of Baghdad under Midhat Pasha was accompanied by suggestive articles in Baghdad's press by his name-sake and close friend, Ahmet Midhat Efendi, in which he reinvented the image of Assyrian and Babylonian high cultures in the ancient lands of Syria and Mesopotamia.[11] The underlying message was that the ostensible *harābezār*, or "sea of ruins", of the present could be revived given an efficient government.

One of Ahmet Midhat Efendi's articles in his journal *Zevra'*, which strikingly coincided with his *vali*'s (or governor's) declaration of the protection of all archaeological sites in Iraq and their transport to Istanbul, went even further: It had become intolerable that the people of Iraq carelessly neglected the ancient monuments or even willfully destroyed them as relicts of pagan times. These monuments, he continued, would give testimony of great historical transformations, and – by implication –

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8 This notion is treated in Michael Ursinus, "Midhat Efendi und der Alte Orient", in his *Quellen zur Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches und ihre Interpretation*, Istanbul: Isis 1995, 157-64.

9 On Istanbul, see Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, Berkeley: California University Press 1986.

10 Ursinus, "Midhat" (fn. 8), 158.

11 The ideas of which were probably borrowed from Rawlinson's and Laytard's earlier Assyrian discoveries in Iraq, see Ursinus, "Midhat" (fn. 8). It is interesting to note that Midhat Pasha gathered a community of prominent émigrés and "expatriates" around him, one of which was the young Osman Hamdi Bey whose post as director for foreign affairs in the province of Baghdad was his first Ottoman administration assignment. Rudolf Lindau was later to romanticize Hamdi's experience as "Baghdad Nights". See his *Erzählungen eines Effendis*, Berlin: n. p. 1896.

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he indicated that it would be possible – if tedious – for the Ottoman rulers to return the prosperity of the old to the modern Iraqis.[12] Midhat Pasha effectfully underlined this antiquity-referential discourse of progress when he gave the vessels of the new steamship-fleet of his "little neo-Babylonian empire" names of pre-Islamic sites: "Babil", "Ninūva" or "ʿAsur".[13] Although Midhat Pasha's era in Baghdad was short-lived, his political ideology had perpetuated in Ottoman Iraq. Like in other Ottoman yearbooks at the time, the Baghdadi *Sālnāme* of 1897-8 informed the reader about the ancient history of Iraq on 25 pages of general historical introduction while omitting completely the Islamic history of the province.[14]

The new historical geography that thus emerged in the Ottoman empire effectively tied the far-flung Ottoman provinces ever closer to the center through new modes of imaginary mapping of the empire's territorial expanse. As such the rise of Ottoman imperial archaeology was also premised on – if not a logical continuation of – the administrative centralization and the ideological reinvention of the *raison d'état* of the Ottoman Empire during the *Tanẓīmāt* period. The invention of Ottomanism, which proclaimed common Ottoman citizenship and religious equality under the leadership of the Sultan, was also conditioned on a system of historical knowledge that provided an evolutionary understanding of the Ottoman nation as a social organism. The contention that there emerged in the 19th century an Ottoman version of historical thought that had brought about a transformation in European intellectual conceptualization is based on the existence of an Ottoman historiography which departed from genealogical concepts of divine predetermination.

Indeed, since the middle of the 19th century, the secular educational institutions in Istanbul and other cities of the empire produced a range of Ottoman historians who concerned themselves with pre- or non-Islamic history – and pre-Christian for that matter.[15] They had in common the idea that European superiority as it presented itself in the 19th century was not some law of nature, as it was seen by most European historians of the time, but something that can be reversed under certain conditions. At the turn of

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12 Ursinus, "Midhat" (fn. 8), 162.

13 Ibid., 163.

14 Ibid., 164. The impact of Ottoman archaeology on later decentralist and nationalist movements in Lebanon, Syria and Iraq was probably greater than has hitherto been understood.

15 For a good analysis of Ottoman historiography, see Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig: Harrassowitz 1927.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000188

the century, the historian Cevdet Pasha discerned a civilatory migration from the Orient to the Occident and Mehmet Murat dedicated seven chapters of his *Tarih-i Umūmī* (1880-82) to ancient civilizations in Egypt and Phoenicia while Namık Kemal engaged in the well-known public controversy to contest Renan's notion of the enmity towards progress in Islam.[16]

In Osman Hamdi Bey the Ottomans had the single most influential patron of arts, architecture and archaeology. And the building of the Imperial Archaeology Museum in Istanbul around the Saida monuments after 1887 was the single most important symbol of Ottoman adoption of scientific historicist ideas.

Osman Hamdi Bey

Osman Hamdi Bey's work and career greatly contributed to the shaping of a new Ottoman imperial image. Born into a distinguished family in 1842, he quickly rose in the Ottoman administration. Having already worked for the Ottoman emporium at the world exhibition in Paris in 1867, he was appointed commissary general of the Ottoman delegation to the world exhibition in Vienna six years later.[17] The Turkish Pavilion, which he had built in the style of the Sultan Ahmet III fountain (ca. 1720), was one of the main attractions of the fair, rivaled only by the sumptuous Pharaonic design of the Egyptian emporium.[18] Although his career thus far, which included a brief spell as advisor to Midhat Pasha in Baghdad, destined him for a post as *vali* or ambassador, he gladly accepted the offer to become the director of the new Imperial Museum of Archaeology. It was in this position that he made his most important contribution to the developments of the late Ottoman Empire, and this he largely owed to the archaeological discoveries in Saida in 1887.

Osman Hamdi Bey's role in shaping a new Ottoman image was ambivalent. Brought up to admire the French modernism under Napoleon III, he nevertheless "maintained a considerable critical distance."[19] While in Baghdad he also admired what to him appeared as the authentic, exotic and simple life of the "oriental". He discerned a

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16 See i. a. Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1962.

17 The following biographical details are taken from Arif Müfid Mansel, "Osman Hamdi Bey", *Belleten* 24 (1959), 291-301.

18 Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at 19th Century World's Fairs*, Oxford and Los Angeles: California University Press 1992, 63.

19 Ibid., 40.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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preservable *différence* between Oriental and other societies, without, maybe, at once submitting to the "otherness" central to European Orientalist thought. As such his life's work was marked by selective adaptation to, rather than outright imitation of, European ideas. As a way out of his dilemma he might have resorted to the "innocence" of antiquity, which might have to him appeared untainted by European hegemony.

The Ottoman Archaeology Law of 1884

Against massive protest from the foreign archeologists and excavators, Hamdi Bey devised the "Āsār-ı Atīka Nizāmnāmesi", the Archaeology Law, which was issued in 1884. This law banned the export of ancient monuments, established an empire-wide archaeological service and guaranteed that the Imperial Museum in Istanbul was the soul recipient of archaeological discoveries within the Ottoman Empire.[20] The wording of the law text was very much a reflection of Sultan Abdülhamid's centralizing policies. Article three of the law categorically stated that "The Sultan has the absolute right to all known historical monuments." In actual fact this meant that "landlords may not touch ancient monuments on their land without a permission, and they are responsible for maintaining them in the original." Even though these rules contradicted other laws of ownership, land usage and construction, the Archaeology Law had priority. In collaboration with the ministries of Public Works and Education, the Imperial Museum was in charge of collecting archaeological data, granting digging permissions and imposing punishment. As such Ottoman archaeology not only became an additional agent of the central administration of the empire, but the museum was vested with such extraordinary powers that it became a quasi "super-ministry" in its own right. The digging proposals, the lists and maps that arrived in the museum from all corners of the empire gave a new quality – or, indeed, a new historical dimension – to the territories under Ottoman rule. The new archaeological and historical knowledge thus accumulated in the museum also multiplied the geographical knowledge of the center over the provincial peripheries. Through the public display of archaeological monuments and artifacts in the museum, these new dimensions of knowledge were no longer confined to government officials but they were accessible to the population of Istanbul at large as well as to

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20 "Qānūn al-āthār al-tārīkhiyyah wa-l-qadīmah fī l-mamālik al-ʿuthmāniyyah, 21, 2, 1884", in: Yūsuf Quzmā Khūrī, ed., *Mukhtārāt min al-qawānīn al-ʿuthmāniyyah*, Beirut: Dār al-Ḥamrāʾ 1990, 135-37. At the time, this law was published in *al-Jinān* 15 (1884), 330-31, 368-79.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000190

foreign tourists who were thus given a foretaste of the historical wealth as well as the geographical expanse of the Ottoman Empire.

Hamdi Bey realized that, if his museum was to compete with other famous museums in Paris or London, he would have to make a monumental discovery and display it inside the museum. To this effect all the *valis* in the empire were briefed to immediately inform him of any finds in their provinces.[21]

The Royal Necropolis in Saida

In March 1887, all Hamdi Bey's dreams came true when the news broke that a petty landowner had accidentally discovered an underground cave on a barren field near the town of Saida in Lebanon. The discovery, transportation and exhibition of the necropolis was a showpiece of the effectiveness of Hamdi Bey's empire-wide archaeological scanning scheme:

Upon his discovery on March 2, the landowner, Mehmed Sharīf Affandī, went to report the case to the *Qā'imaqām* of Saida, as was the required by the Ottoman antiquities' regulation.[22] The next day the *Qā'imaqām* went to check Sharīf's statements whereupon he hastened to inform both the *Mutaṣarrif* in Beirut and the *vali* in Damascus. Without awaiting further instructions, the *Qā'imaqām* started digging himself for more caves and indeed found the entrances to two further funeral chambers until Nashid Pasha, the *vali* of the province of Syria, gave stern orders to stop all works until the arrival of the chief engineer of the province, Bishāra Dīb, from Beirut. On March 12, Bishāra Dīb arrived in Saida. He opened seven chambers which all contained sarcophagi and hastily composed a report dated March 24 which Nashīd Pasha sent to the Ministry of Public Education in Istanbul.[23] Osman Hamdi Bey was later full of praise for Dīb's diligence and intelligence: Not a single object was missing and none of the sarcophagi was damaged during his work.[24]

Following Dīb's report, the Sultan instructed Hamdi Bey to go to Saida himself and bring the sarcophagi to Istanbul. Having met E. Renan during

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21 Mansel, "Osman Hamdi Bey" (fn. 17), 296.

22 The details of the excavations are taken from Osman Hamdi and Théodore Reinach, *Une Nécropole Royale à Sidon*, Paris: E. Leroux 1892.

23 The report was published in *Revue Archéologique*, July-August 1887, 101-06.

24 In a report to the Quay d'Orsay, the French consul at Beirut, Petiteville, was even more adulating: "A mon avis, Beshara Efendi a merité une distinction honorifique." In: Ministère des Affaires Etrangères: Paris, *Correspondence Politique Consulaire* 30, Beirut, June 15, 1887.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000191

his stay in Paris and having read eagerly how Renan himself had accidentally found an underground necropolis on which he had based his book *Mission Archéologique de Phénicie* (1864), Hamdi Bey was convinced that the area around Saida would contain ground-breaking monuments.[25] Fitted out with the technical equipment and vested with the necessary permission from the Sultan to appropriate the land surrounding the site of discovery, he set off and arrived in Saida on April 30. Upon Hamdi Bey's first descent into the caves he was struck by the mixture of Greek, Pharaonic and Phoenician elements on the walls of the sarcophagi. All the golden decor of the tombs had been looted a long time ago, but most of the masonry had remained intact. Hamdi Bey was overwhelmed by the beauty of the sculptures and the majestic proportion of the sarcophagi, but was filled with "une tristesse profonde en pensant que l'homme avait pu être assez barbare pour porter la main sur ces chefs-d'œuvres incomparables et les briser, afin d'en retirer quelques morceaux d'or, ou peut-être rien du tout."[26]

The foreign community in Beirut was anxious to catch a glimpse of these extraordinary finds and soon joined the local crowd of spectators. Cordoned off at a secure distance, there evolved probably the first open-air museum in Lebanon. It enjoyed such popularity that Hamdi decided to close the "jardin des antiquités", as he proudly called it, during weekdays "au grand ennui des Sidonniens, qui auraient désiré jouir quelques jours de plus de la vue de leurs trésors."[27] Local soldiers had to stand by to ensure public order. Indeed, Hamdi Bey had made a point to spread the news. He consulted Renan by telegraph on deciphering some of the inscriptions on the sarcophagi and had Bishāra Dīb's report sent to the French consul, Petiteville, in Beirut. He was, however, as circumspect not to let any foreign dignitary near the monuments themselves, let alone take photos of the inscriptions, as he had been *vis-à-vis* potential local poachers.[28] Hamdi Bey was selective with intent as to who to cooperate with. He categorically

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25 Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta batıya açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Yayını 1995, 281-325.

26 Hamdi, *Une Nécropole Royale* (fn. 22), 5.

27 Ibid., 59-60.

28 Only once did two marble heads disappear from the site, one of which a friend of Hamdi Bey repurchased in Beirut a day later. See Hamdi, ibid., 67. Another marble head miraculously reappeared at a dinner table of the French ambassador's wife in Istanbul a year later. Hamdi, ibid., 71. She must have found it for him in an antiques shop in Pera. In the shops of Beirut, too, there circulated copious counterfeit stones in the aftermath of the excavations.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000192

refused to let Löytved, the Danish consul at Beirut, make prints of some inscriptions "ayant résolu, dès l'instant même de ma [sic!] découverte, d'en offrir la primeur à l'Institut de France."[29] To this effect he gave lecture notes to Petiteville's father who had also traveled to Saida to deliver to Renan on his return to Paris.[30]

When all of 18 sarcophagi were recovered, Hamdi Bey and his confidants started opening them up on the spot. Each time they unearthed a new sensation, the local onlookers clamorously appealed to their gods and saints in amazement. Their behavior had Hamdi Bey speculate, true to European Orientalist notions of the backwardness of contemporary Arabs, whether "ne pourrait-on pas reconnaître là comme un reste inconscient des cultes primitifs, un souvenir confus de la religion des dieux Lares."[31] In these lines, the Ottoman sense of scientific and technological superiority *vis-à-vis* their subjects clearly shows. To Hamdi Bey, the very act of excavating the past catapulted the Arabs into modernity.

The incredible collection in one single site of the sarcophagi of "Tabnit" (6th century BC), the "Female Andropoide" (mid-5th century BC), the "Lykians" (late-5th century BC), the "Satraps" (late-5th century BC), "Alexander" (late-4th century BC) and the "Wailing Women" (mid-4th century BC), to name but the most important, turned out to be a who-is-who of ancient high cultures in the Middle East and must have given Hamdi Bey there and then a graphic demonstration of the historical wealth of the region as well as an idea about the rise and fall of ancient empires. The most ornate sarcophagus depicted a battle scene between Alexander the Great and the Persians on one of its longitudinal sides – probably the battle of Issos (333 BC) near Alexandretta – which had opened up Assyria and Phoenicia to Alexander. On one flank of the tomb joint, and deliberately harmonious, Greco-Persian hunting scenes were chiseled while the other flank described another battle – possibly in Gaza in 312 BC. Under one of the gables a scene of a skirmish may symbolize the internecine wars following Alexander's death in Babylon in 323 AD. While the structure of this sarcophagus is clearly Greek, the ornaments on the roof had Persian elements. All these artistic and structural elements on the Alexander Sarcophagus fed into the Ottoman imperial self-perception as outlined above: The merging of east and west through Alexander the Great and the internecine scenes projected on the monument were historical images that

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29 Hamdi, ibid., 102.

30 His notes were read at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres on July 8, 1887 and published in the September and October editions of the *Revue Archéologique*.

31 Hamdi, *Une Nécropole Royale* (fn. 22), 63.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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were easily identified as representing the Ottoman situation in the late nineteenth century. The modern gateway between the Middle East and Europe was a common theme in early town planning of Istanbul while the apparent proclivity to violence as manifested on the monument would implicitly justify the centralized control over the Middle East as necessary measures to return order to a society that was "historically" in disorder.

The "Lykian Sarcophagus" was so called because of its striking similarity to Anatolian tombs of that time and combined Middle Eastern motifs with Peloponesian design. The "Tabnit Sarcophagus" is made of diorite, an unusual material for the Sidon area, and depicts a Pharaonic mummy complete with hieroglyphic and Sidonian inscriptions.[32] The "Female Andropoide Sarcophagus" is the most striking example of ancient eclecticism. It appears a hybrid consisting of an Egyptian mummy and a Greek sculpture, combining to the 19th and 20th centuries spectators the oriental-exotic with the orderly, rectilinear Greek art. The "Wailing Women Sarcophagus" appears more like a mausoleum, a miniature necropolis in itself, with its Corinthian columns framing one of the 18 grieved women each, insinuating, maybe, a *haramlık*. The concentration of Anatolian, Greek, Persian and Egyptian vestiges on Ottoman soil carried a clear message of Ottoman imperial heritage that could be exploited to the full once exhibited in Istanbul.

After 50 days of intensive work the best preserved sarcophagi were embarked aboard the specially commissioned man-of-war "'Asur".[33] Before leaving to Istanbul, Hamdi Bey visited the Ottoman officials in Saida, Beirut, Mount Lebanon and Damascus to express his gratitude for their collaboration. He also visited Baalbek and on seeing the level of defacement by visitors having their names engraved onto the monument, he closed the business of the two stone masons who had provided such services for the charge of a Mecidiye, an Ottoman gold piaster, and took conclusive administrative measures for the conservation of the temple. At the end of his trip through Syria, Hamdi Bey befell a deep romantic sense which lamented not only the disappearance of the "authentic" lifestyle of the "Oriental" but also the commodification of the valuable Islamic art:

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32 It instantly reminded Hamdi Bey of Esmunazar, king of Sidon. His guess was confirmed by Renan in a telegram sent to him in Saida on June 20, 1887. Cf. Mansel, "Osman Hamdi Bey" (fn. 17). Hamdi Bey entrusted the Tabnit corpse to the municipal doctor of Saida to prepare it for transport to Istanbul.

33 Note that this vessel bears the same name as one of Midhat Pasha's ships (see fn. 13), and is in all likelihood that same ship.

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> "Bientôt, on n'en peut douter, toutes ces maisons et ces boutiques d'architecture arabe, si originales et si bien appropriées aux exigences locales, décorées avec tant de goût et de grace, vont disparaître pour faire place à de hautes maisons-casernes, à plusiers étages bien uniformes [...] Alors, tous ces décors merveilleux où l'art islamique savait mettre en oeuvre et fondre harmonisement tant d'éléments divers, faiences et briques émaillés, écritures koufiques, incrustations d'or, d'ivoire, de nacre et d'ébéne, seront remplacés par des peintures murailles semblables à celles que des décorateurs de cafés-concerts ont déja exécutées avec succés dans les meilleures maisons de mainte ville d'Orient, à la joie de leurs propriétaires, fiers d'être logés et décorés à la Franka. J'assiste le coeur navré à ce triste spectacle de la dégénérescence du goût chez les peuples d'Orient."[34]

Yet, Hamdi Bey must have realized all the tragic, for he who had learnt to appreciate the "authentic" Arab culture while in Baghdad with Midhat Pasha was himself an agent of the same progress and modernity that he just lamented. The same simplicity he had admired earlier, he labeled as barbarian and primitive in the context of the people's lack of historical consciousness. His own, eclectic, historical consciousness was translated into the construction of the museum. After all, the architecture of the Imperial Museum was not to be *à la Damascène*, nor was it to be *à la Franca*, but a mixture of neo-baroque and neo-classical elements. Modeled on the structures of the ancient monuments inside the museum, the classicalized architecture of the museum's facade apparently transcended the paralyzing East-West, modern-traditional dichotomies, since it was, to Hamdi Bey, in antiquity that East and West had been integrated. With a return to antiquity, so his argument ran, all was not yet lost for the Ottoman Empire:

> "Toutefois, et si profonde regrettable qu'elle soit, une telle perte n'est pas absolument irréparable. [...] le Sultan, qui s'est mis avec tant de sollicitude et de ferme volonté à la tête de cette œuvre civilisatrice, crée sans cesse des institutions telles que musées, écoles spéciales, bibliothèques, etc., propres à régénérer l'art national tout en introduisant dans son pays les sciences modernes européennes."[35]

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34 Hamdi, *Une Necropole Royale* (fn. 22), 111-12.

35 Ibid., 113.

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Museum and metropolitan ZEITGEIST *in Istanbul*

The Sultan was very pleased with the result of this first dig at Saida and issued an *Irāda* (imperial decree), to the effect that Hamdi Bey was to return to Saida for more work on the monuments the following year. At the same time, the Sultan declared that a special building was to be constructed to accommodate the sarcophagi, and that Mehmed Sharīf was to be rewarded 1.500 Turkish pounds in accordance to the stipulations of the Archaeology Law. The French architect and professor at the *Ecole des Beaux Arts*, Antoine Valaury, was appointed in charge of the construction of the new buildings of the Imperial Museum. On June 13, 1891 it was opened to the public and subsequently attracted tourists and scholars from around the world, just like Hamdi Bey had envisaged. Ten years after Osman Hamdi Bey had taken over the *Çinili Köşk*, the old museum, his arts academy was already producing capable disciples – archeologists, architects, conservators and sculptors – who continued Hamdi Bey's work in his absence. One of them, Makridi Bey, was to supervise the German excavations in Baalbek between 1900 and 1902. In a final Ottoman digging project around Saida in 1913, Makridi discovered two more Phoenician sarcophagi from Roman times which similarly found their way to the Imperial Museum in Istanbul. Hamdi Bey himself seemed to have lost interest in Saida. He never returned after he had got his monumental advertisement for the museum.

However, the Saida monuments were going to impose their own architecture on the Imperial Museum in Istanbul. The exterior design and structure of the new buildings were modeled on the "Alexander" and the "Wailing Women" sarcophagi to give a foretaste of the inside. Decorative Corinthian columns, stucco design, and massive stone shells and miniature busts on the roof ornated the museum whose roof had a similar angle to the Alexander Sarcophagus. The whole museum must have appeared as a giant necropolis.[36] At present, it accommodates 20 rooms on the first floor; the total amount of sarcophagi Hamdi Bey and Makridi had found in Saida.

In the larger picture, the inclusion of ancient relicts into the urban planning of Istanbul was far less complete than in London or Paris. Compared to Napoleon III's almost unlimited executive power over centralized Paris in the 1860s, the Sultan had far lesser authority in the far more heterogeneous municipal area of Istanbul. Moreover, Ottoman financial resources were far more limited – in fact depending heavily on

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36 However, when two new wings were added between 1902-1908, the museum received a Louvre-like U-shape.

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French capital. Consequently, Istanbul's imperial face-lifting fell short of the comprehensiveness of Haussmann's urban revolution. The few remaining pre-Ottoman relics in Istanbul, like the *At Meydānı* (Hippodrome) and Constantine's column, remained awkwardly off center in the new regulation plans.[1] Even the construction of the Imperial Museum remained visually outside the schemes of urban homogenization in Istanbul. Instead it was located in the imperial leisure park of Gülhane next to the Topkapı Palace, the former political center of the Ottoman Empire.

The content, form and location of the museum allowed different imperial interpretations. It probably allowed conservative Ottomans to reminisce the Islamic glory of the Ottoman Empire as the museum bore the remnants of ancient civilizations which were superseded by the Islamic civilization which in turn was governed, for almost half a millennium, by the Ottoman Caliphate from the Topkapı Palace "next door" from the new museum.[38] However, Osman Hamdi's and the French architect's choosing this location, maybe unwittingly, left interpretative ambiguity. The vicinity of a "temple of the past" so close to a palace which had until only a generation ago been at the center of the universe for many millions of Ottoman subjects, might also have reflected the feeling of those progressive modernists among the Ottoman elite who wanted to draw a line between the present and a now "museumified" regime of the past which they blamed for recent "regressions" and which to them was epitomized by the opulence in the Topkapı Palace.[39]

Inferences

The sarcophagi found in Saida in 1887 are not only some of the most impressive archaeological discoveries in Lebanon. They have been and still are the biggest attraction in the Museum of Archaeology in Istanbul today. But moreover – and more importantly for this essay – their discovery stood at the heart of modern Ottoman self-presentation both *vis-à-vis* European powers and their respective metropolitan culture of colonial representation and ostentation, and *vis-à-vis* the Ottoman subjects in the Arab provinces. Through archaeological finds in the provinces,

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37 Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul* (fn. 9).

38 Sultan Abdülaziz and Abdülhamid had moved the center of Ottoman state power away from old Istanbul across the Golden Horn, to the Dolmabahçe and Yıldız.

39 It is important to note here that the Topkapı Palace had for centuries accommodated vestiges of Islamic history, such as weapons, clothes and various parts of the bodies of the prophet Muhammad and the early caliphs.

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Ottoman imperial rule discovered historical legacies that supported the new administrative centralization of the empire. This process brought about a new Ottoman historio-geographical mapping at the center in Istanbul. To apply Benedict Anderson, the exposition of archaeological monuments and their integration into the metropolitan fabric "allowed the [Ottoman] state to appear as the guardian of a generalized, but also local, Tradition."[40] As constituent parts of the physical and optical attractions of the Ottoman capital, monuments from the provinces became cultural tokens to represent not just the current political rule over these cities and provinces but also the historio-geographical continuity between the distant past and the present.

40 Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (fn. 7), 181.

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A GERMAN ARCHAEOLOGIST IN BAALBEK: SKETCHES BY WALTER ANDRAE (1898/99)[1]

Editors' note: Together with Robert Koldewey (1855-1925) and Bernhard Moritz (1859-1939), Walter Andrae (1875-1956) was member of the first German archaeological expedition that arrived in Baalbek in late 1898 for a three-weeks-stay (December 27, 1898 - January 16, 1899) in order to evaluate the dimensions and costs of a subsequent in-depth excavation of the temple compound.[2]

In 1898, Andrae was not yet the renowned archaeologist he was to become later as head of the German excavation campaign at Assur (1903-1914) and as director of the Near Eastern Department of the Berlin Museums (1928-1952). At the time of his stay at Baalbek, Andrae was a young man, 23 years old, who had just graduated from the *Technische Hochschule Dresden* and who had never before traveled outside Europe. The newly qualified architect (*Regierungsbauführer*) had been selected among 16 competitors to serve as Koldewey's assistant during the German excavation campaign in Babylon that was to start in 1899.[3] In a letter sent from Baalbek to his friend Otto Puchstein (1856-1911), Koldewey – who was 20 years older than Andrae – wrote that his new assistant needed to be

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1 All pictures in this chapter are reprinted by kind permission of the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*, Berlin, from: Ernst Walter Andrae and Rainer Michael Boehmer, *Bilder eines Ausgräbers: Die Orientbilder von Walter Andrae 1898-1919 – Sketches by an Excavator* [1989], 2nd. rev. ed., Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag 1992, plates 7-14 (fig. 1 = pl. 7; fig. 2 = pl. 8; fig. 3 = pl. 9; fig. 4 = pl. 9; fig. 5 = pl. 13; fig. 6 = pl. 10; fig. 7 = pl. 11; fig. 8 = pl. 12; fig. 9 = pl. 14).

2 Cf. [Hermann Winnefeld], "Einleitung: Die bisherigen Publikationen und Berichte und die Arbeit der deutschen Baalbekexpedition", in: Theodor Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905*, Berlin and Leipzig: Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1921, 9.

3 Walter Andrae, *Babylon: Die versunkene Weltstadt und ihr Ausgräber Robert Koldewey*, Berlin: de Gruyter 1952, 93; See also: idem, *Lebenserinnerungen eines Ausgräbers*, Berlin: de Gruyter 1961, 3-4.

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taught every stroke and measure since Andrae as a novice was not able to distinguish important from unimportant features.[4] The apprentice's talent as a painter, however, did not get lost on his master. "As a water-colorist and draftsman he is great", Koldewey added ("Aquarellieren und zeichnen tut er famos").[5]

Already at school, Andrae had had some reputation as a gifted draftsman and painter.[6] His Baalbek experience left an unforgettable visual impression on the young engineer who was to come back to the "Intermezzo Baʿalbek 1898/99" several times in his later autobiographic works.[7] In January 1899, Andrae wrote:

> "For the painter, Baalbek is a real goldmine. You would not believe how the mighty limestone columns are shining like gold against the blue sky, behind them the dazzling heights of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon which have their highest peaks here.
> At the moment, the snow in the valley is melting and the fertile Bekaa plain turns red again, intensive reddish brown and in places green. In the evening ... the Anti-Lebanon is glowing in the rose-colored light of the setting sun, the valley is hiding in blue and violet dusk, and the skies are changing minute by minute; then the shiny moon rises behind the snow-covered mountains and illuminates the nocturnal landscape so brightly that one may read and write in its light. From our room [in the Hôtel de Palmyre, TS], we can see the whole flank of the eerie ruin and behind it the white Sannin (3200 m). The air is fantastic here since we are at 1200 m above sea level."[8]

The following nine water-colors and drawings bear witness to what Andrae modestly called his "Talentchen"[9] ("tiny talent"). They were sketched during the period between the arrival of the Koldewey expedition in Beirut shortly before Christmas 1898 and its departure from Baalbek to Babylon in January 1899. Even a hundred years later they still convey the romantic atmosphere of a winter in Baalbek seen through the eyes of a young sensitive architect. – TS

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4 Koldewey to Puchstein, Baalbek, January 5 or 6, 1898, in: Robert Koldewey, *Heitere und ernste Briefe aus einem deutschen Archäologenleben,* ed. by Carl Schuchardt, Berlin: G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung 1925, 134.

5 Ibid., 134-35.

6 Andrae, *Lebenserinnerungen* (fn. 3), 11-13.

7 Andrae, *Babylon* (fn. 3), 96-111; idem, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 29-34.

8 Andrae, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 30-31 (quoting from a private letter sent "home" in January 1899). See also idem, *Babylon*, 106.

9 Andrae, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 11.

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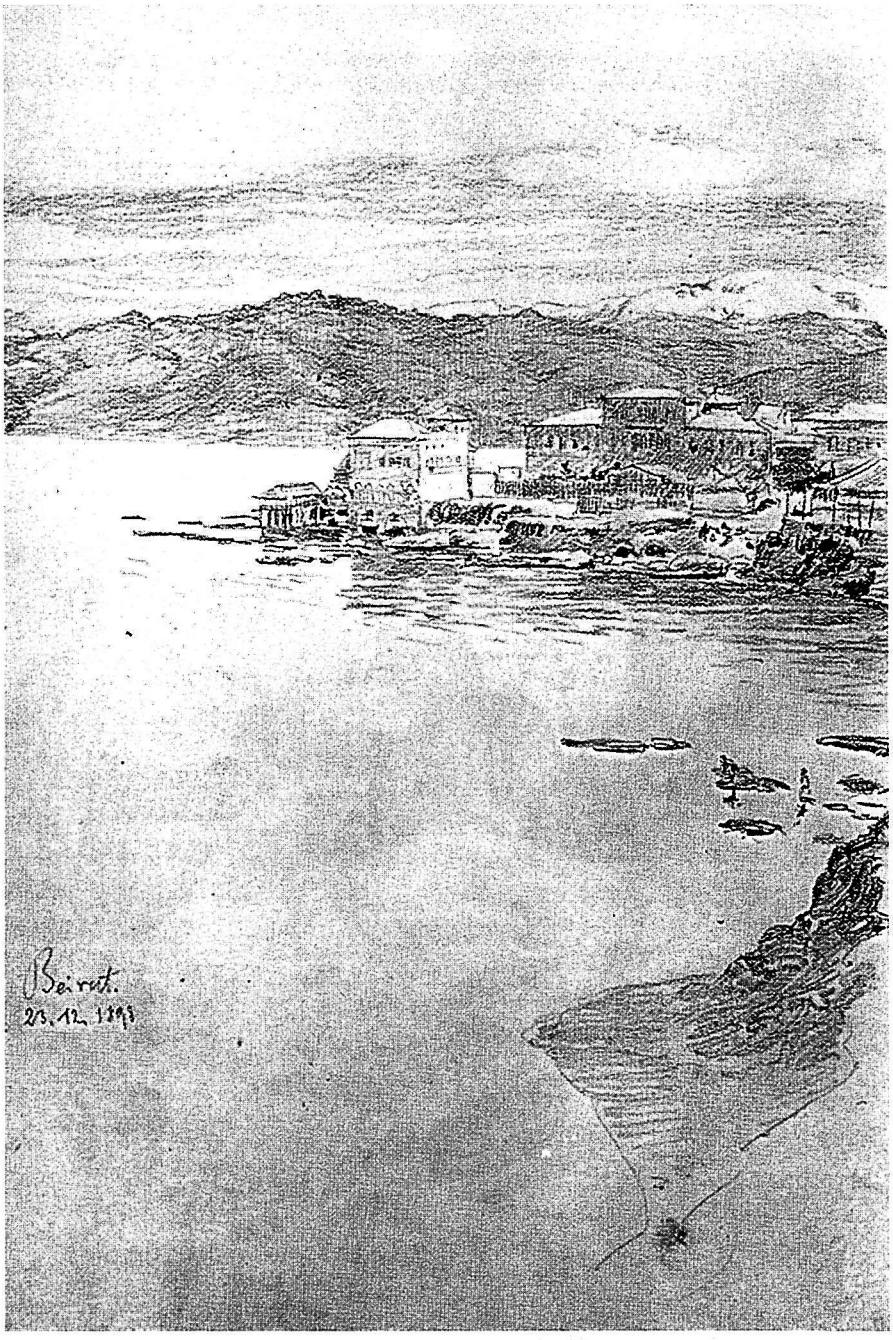

Fig. 1: Walter Andrae: View of Beirut, December 23, 1898.

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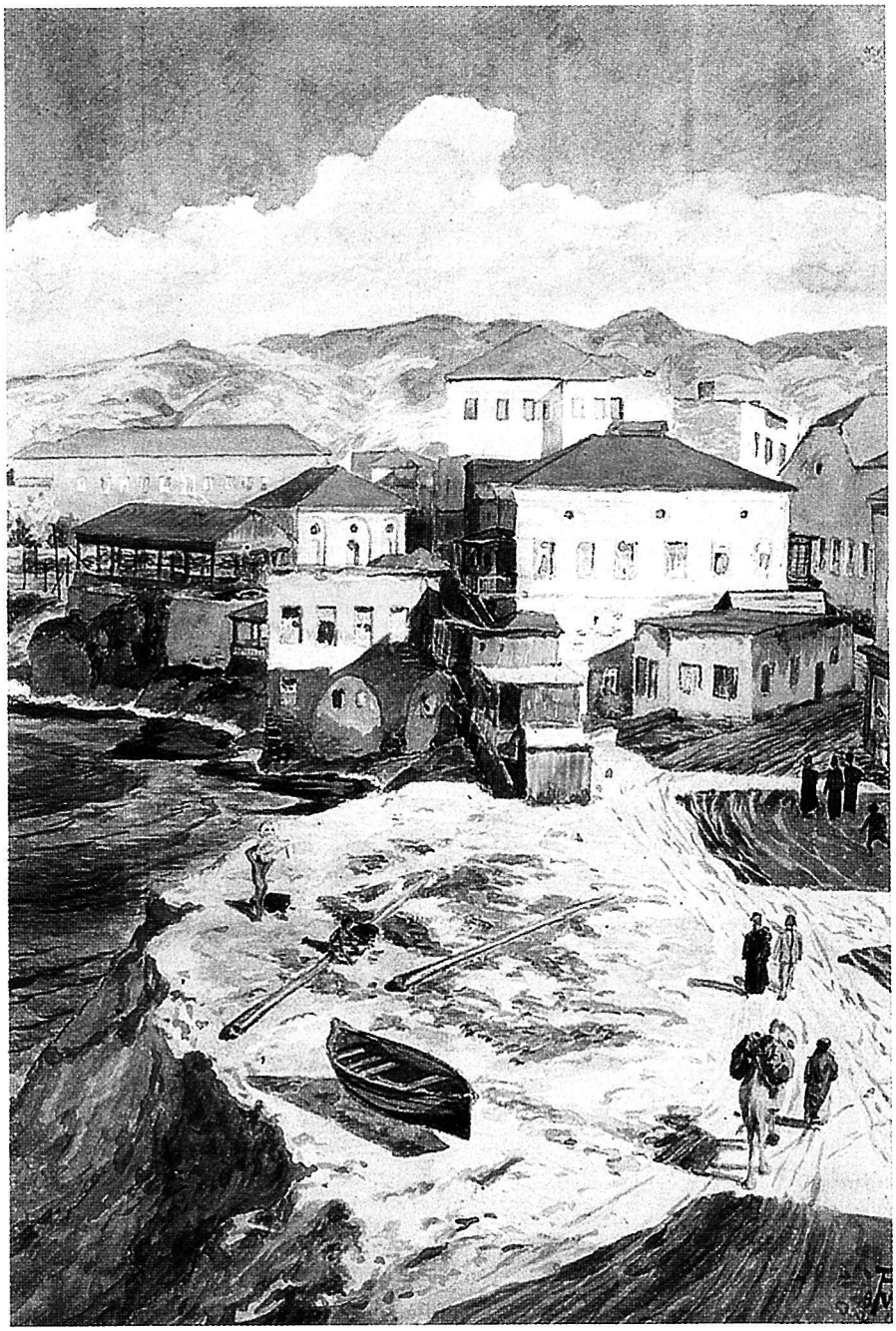

Fig. 2: Walter Andrae: View of Beirut, December 23/26, 1898.

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Fig. 3: Walter Andrae, Baalbek: View from the northeast, December 28, 1898.

Fig. 4: Walter Andrae: Dusk over Lebanon, January 2, 1899.

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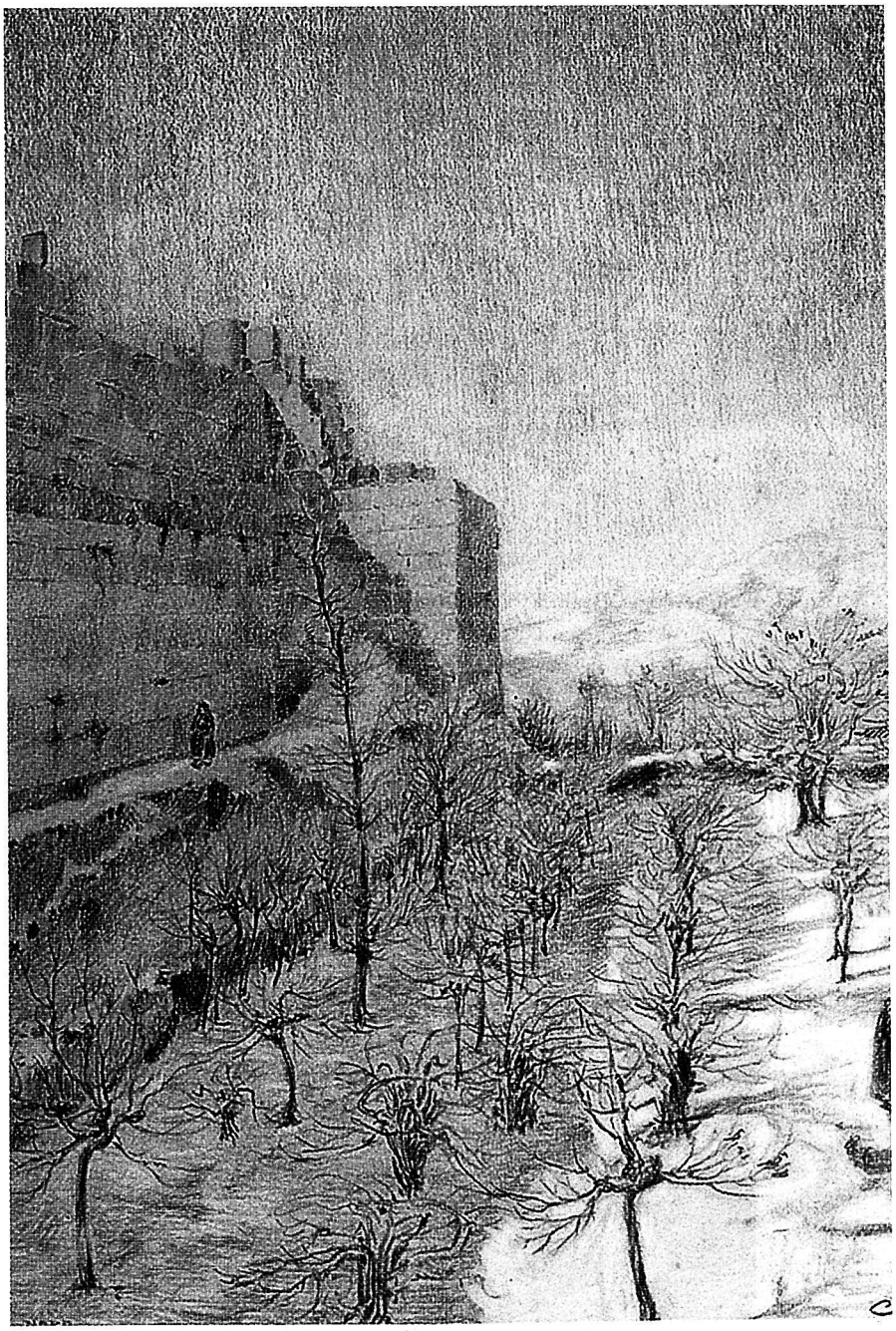

Fig. 5: Walter Andrae, Baalbek: At the Arab bastion, January 1, 1899.

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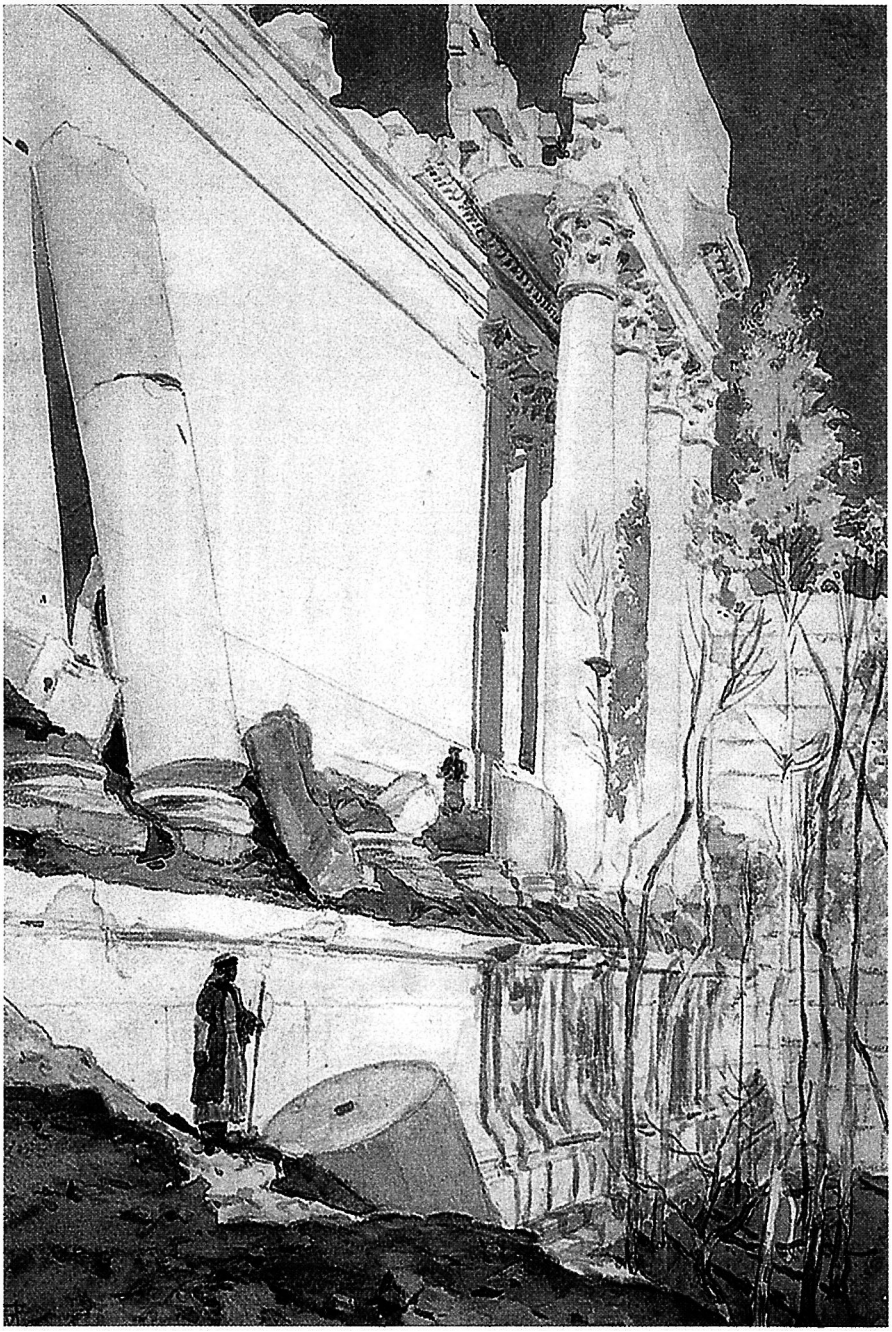

Fig. 6: Walter Andrae, Baalbek: At the temple of Bacchus, January 16, 1898.

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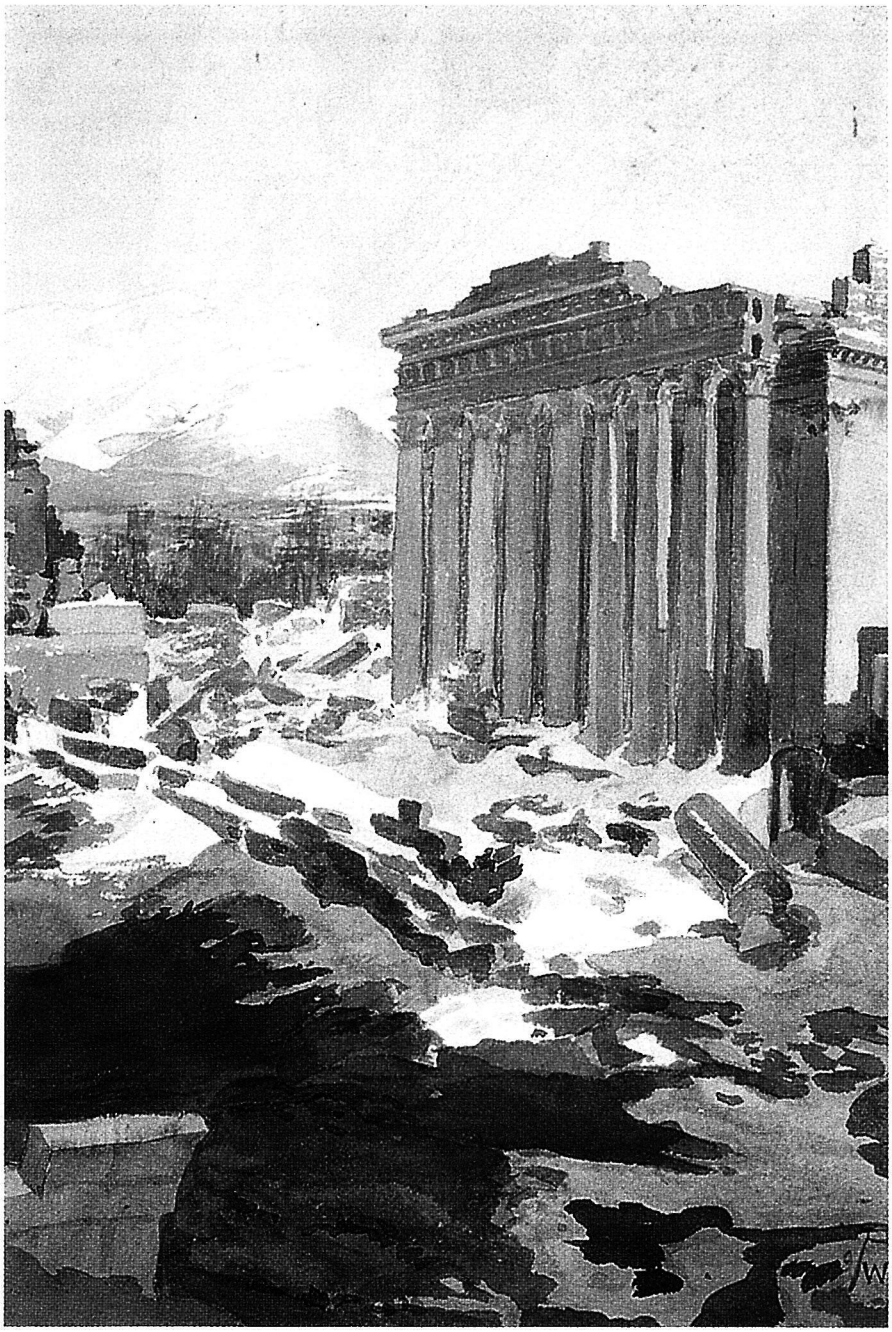

Fig. 7: Walter Andrae, Baalbek: Temple of Bacchus, January 1898.

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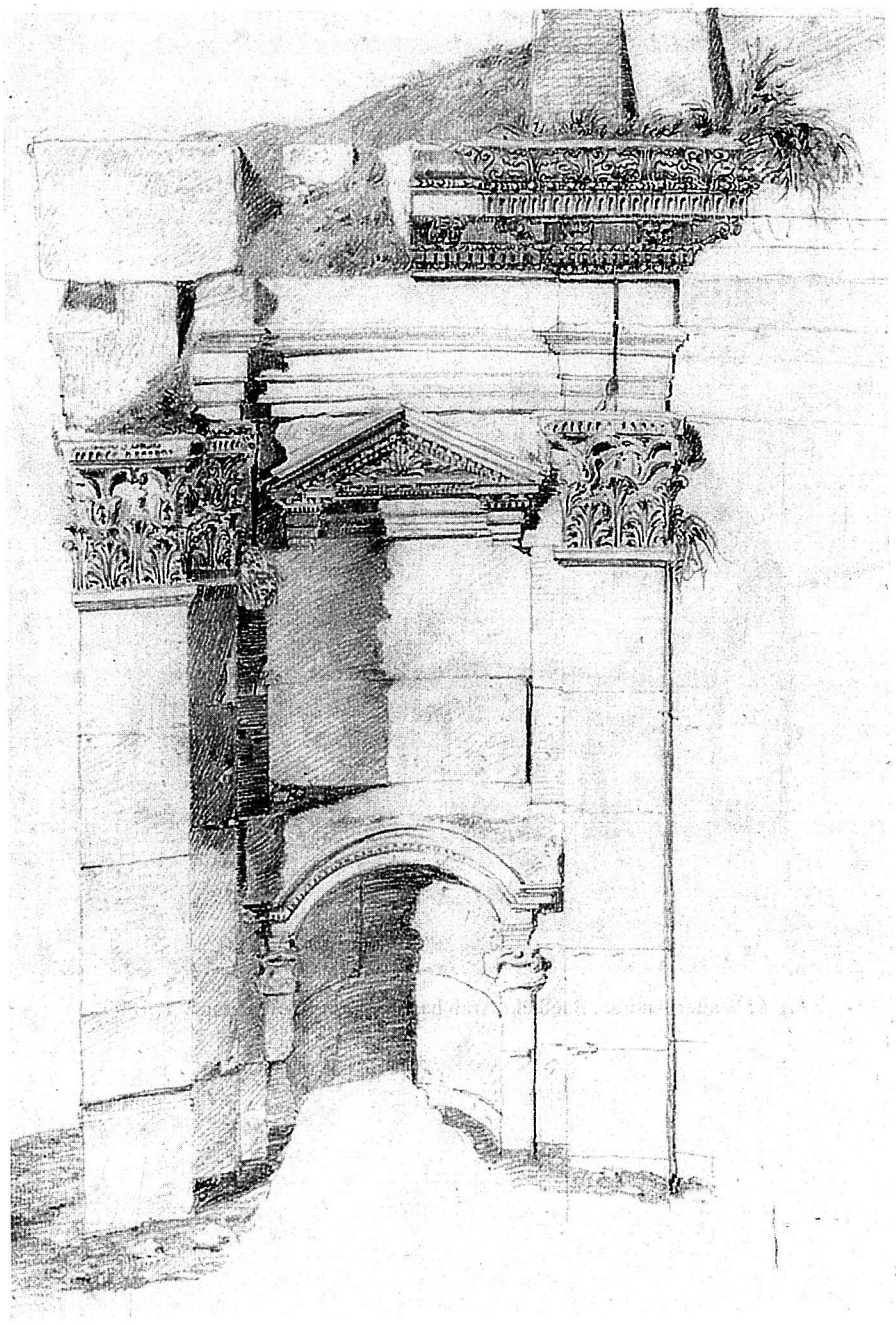

Fig. 8: Walter Andrae, Baalbek: In the forecourt of the temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, January 1899.

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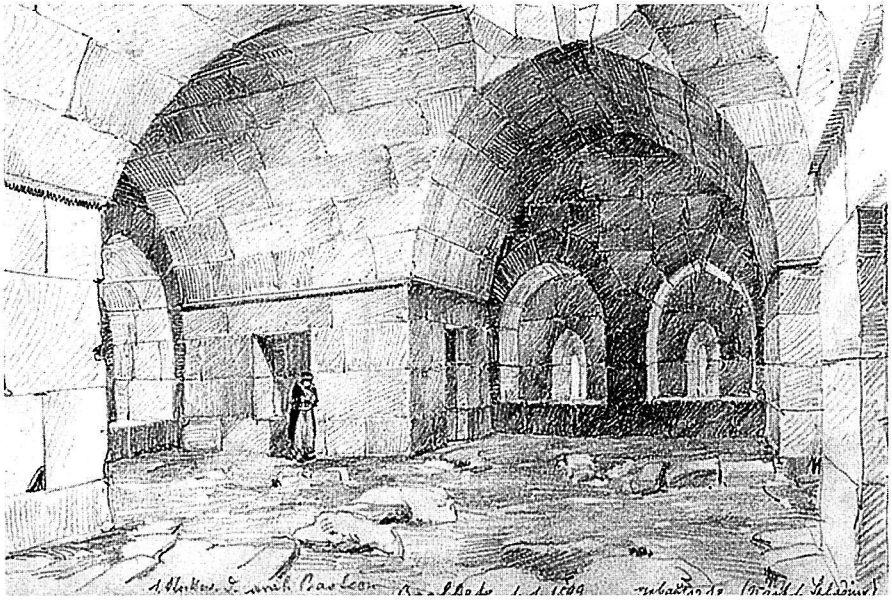

Fig. 9: Walter Andrae, Baalbek: Arab bastion, first floor, January 1, 1899.

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CURIOUS SELF-REPRESENTATIONS: BAALBEK AND ITS VISITORS[1]

ANNEGRET NIPPA

Hermann Burchardt[2], born in Berlin in 1857, initially followed in his father's footsteps to become a merchant. After his father's death, Burchardt left this pre-designated profession and, between 1891 and 1893, attended the School of Oriental Studies in Berlin. Equipped with a camera, he since then traveled through the Middle East and North Africa. In 1893, his first journey took him to the Oasis of Siwa in the Libyan desert, of which he probably was the pioneer photographer. He resided in Damascus for a number of years and frequently visited Baalbek. A focal point of his photographic research voyages, of which around 2000 glass plates are kept in the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin, was the Yemen where – owing to a case of mistaken identity – he was murdered in 1909. His photographic collection is a hitherto almost untapped source for Middle East researchers interested in the turn of the nineteenth century.

His photographs contain ethnographic information on the visually perceived world which surpass the written descriptions of travelers to the Orient in terms of brevity and objectivity. On the focal plane, the camera observes more than the contemplating eye of the beholder. The travel writer, regardless whether he is a literati or an academic, tends to choose a particular subject and explores reality for traces of this subject. Once Burchardt photographed say a bridge, in order to capture it as a photographic document, he has unwittingly included numerous other sets of information: Trees and bushes of the region and – by extension a season; the garb of passers-by which was worn in that place at that time, etc. Some historians call this 'unintentionality' of a source and enjoy the additional value of the 'involuntary objectivity' of the photo narrative. Such random communications rarely exist in written ethnography and as such photographic narratives often have denser descriptions than textual ones.

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1 Translated from the German by Jens Hanssen.

2 All photographs of Hermann Burchardt in this article are reproduced by kind permission of the *Museum für Völkerkunde*, Berlin.

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A photographer like Hermann Burchardt who is committed entirely to documentation differs significantly from the author of the photo's hidden plot. Rather, it is the portrayed society which – in its material manifestations – recounts itself, its control over nature, its social organization and its cultural specificity. Upon his first shots, Henry F. Talbot,[3] one of the early British photographers, was taken aback by this realization of the measure of photographic autonomy when taking an idyllic picture of his lakeside manor in 1844. He called such photographs "curious self-representations", referring to the ability of objects to present themselves through the rays of light on the photographic plate. I would like to extend this idea of "self-representation" onto the possibility to a total self-representation of a society.

The photographer picks a selection from the entire visually perceptible history of a given society and thus furnishes with specific meaning distinct aspects of self-representation. The personal history which perhaps Hermann Burchardt wanted to recount is left to the realms of vague conjecture. Like a rhapsodian, who carried over creatively the epic songs of a society without having actually composed the epics, so, too, does the photographer reveal as accurate as possible the existing in brief form. Like the singer, who would never recite the epic as a whole but would choose certain lyrical extracts on given occasions, so, too, does the man with the camera select the details. He is the image-rhapsodian of the portrayed society and its natural environment.

The Photographer

Burchardt was not a trained photographer. He set out on his journey to the Orient after having inherited sufficient amounts of money. At the age of 33 he attended the School of Oriental Studies in Berlin and took lessons in Ottoman-Turkish and Arabic. On his infrequent returns from his travels to Berlin, he held one or two slide-shows at his old college. He never published them with commercial interest in mind, but rather volunteered them for the publications of others who mentioned his name or failed to do so.

Considering the little literary attention he has received, Burchardt was, in all likelihood, a withdrawn person who tended not to push himself into the foreground. To formulate a synopsis of his photographic intentions: He documented what he saw in order to show it to others.

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3 Henry Fox Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature*, London 1844, Plate XV.

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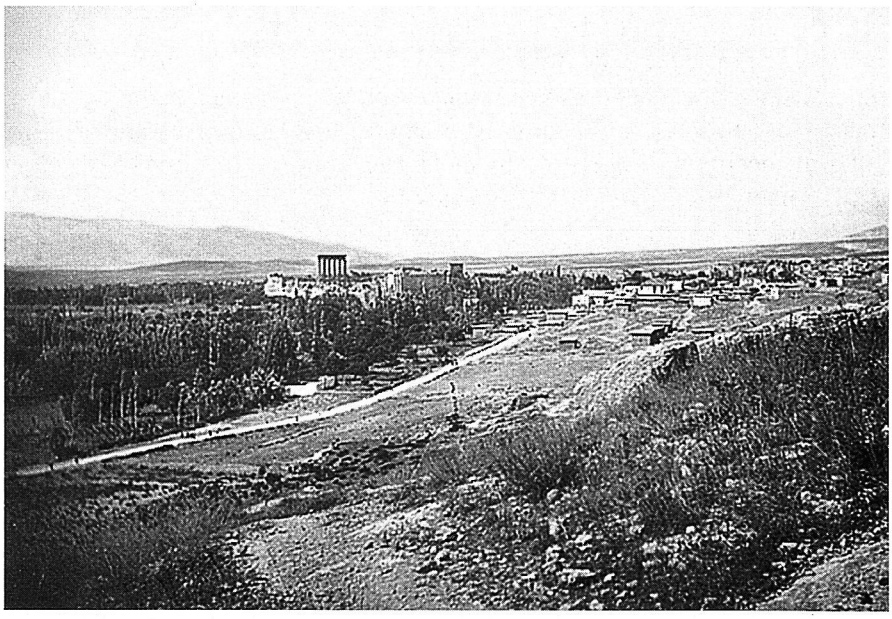

Fig. 1: The street to Baalbek and the view north into the Bekaa (Photo H. Burchardt, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, coll. Hermann Burchardt, K 1365).

Fig. 2: A small rounded temple inside Baalbek (Photo H. Burchardt, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, coll. Hermann Burchardt, K 1202).

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Fig. 3: Clear-up operations and pre-examinations on the area of the courtyard of the altar (Photo H. Burchardt, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, coll. Hermann Burchardt, K 1443).

He did not talk about himself. He took pictures of others. Eugen Mittwoch[4] who became the director of the School of Oriental Studies, was still a young man when he met Burchardt few years before the latter's death. On the occasion of the fourth German Orientalist Congress in 1926, Mittwoch composed a commemorative treatise on Burchardt's last expedition through Southern Arabia. In this unique extended appraisal of Burchardt it read, he "did not like to be exposed to the public. Those who did not know him must have thought of him as a quiet, reclusive odd ball. How ever much he has witnessed in his lifetime he could not be moved to talk about his impressions in front of a larger crowd of people, and he moreover refused to bring to paper his observations in order to make them accessible to the general public. Therefore the number of people who had the fortune to get to know his rich knowledge and his true character, his kindheartedness and his helpfulness was small."

4 Eugen Mittwoch, *Aus dem Jemen. Hermann Burchardts letzte Reise durch Südarabien.* Bearbeitet von Eugen Mittwoch, Leipzig 1926, 2.

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Mittwoch knew the Orient from his own travels and knew how difficult it sometimes was there and how difficult some Europeans were. All those who encountered Burchardt in the Orient were impressed by the ease with which he moved around abroad. "Through his composure and natural kindness he understood like few others to win over the trust of even those Orientals who initially approached the European with hostility." As an admirer of accomplished Orient photography Eugen Mittwoch was one of the first to discover the extraordinary eloquence of Burchardt's photographs.

Today we lack the enthusiasm of those who see a photo of a distant place for the first time and – without having to travel themselves – could get the first realistic picture from abroad. One's own travels and numerous photo exhibitions in the last decades have degenerated perceptions and the sensation of the never-seen-before has been lost. Yet, gradually a new kind of enthusiasm is on the rise. Spatial distances can potentially be overcome, but temporal distances cannot, never and by no-one. Memory as master of temporal distance is a volatile vehicle which in any case one can only embark alone. The delighted excitement with which one is overcome when finding a historical photo collection is also an expression of sadness over the loss of the past. Photographs offer insights. We may see what in earlier times – when only majestic monuments of the ancestors mused the people – would have been unthinkable: in photographic pictures we discover the little scenes of past realities. Engaging in the past is also a search for traces the legibility of which is not always easy and straightforward.

The history of a small but significant place of ruins around 1900, Baalbek, includes a history of its visitors too. To trace their itineraries, more or less eventless, will nonetheless lead to some insight.

Sgraffiti

Tourists – or leisure travelers as Meyer's Concise Conversation Lexicon calls them – leave their trails, Sgraffiti, everywhere. The scratching of ones' names is an old habit. Perhaps there are different reasons for this practice, but travelers of all ages and all countries have partaken in it.

Between 1160 and 1170 the Spanish Jew Benjamin of Tudela traveled to the countries of the Mediterranean Sea. When he caught the first glimpses of the temple of Baalbek which in those days was converted into a castle – he was intrigued by the monumentality and precision of the compound: "This construction could only have been built by Aschmedai (the master of evil spirits)," he said. Some time later he visited the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, where "the Jews come ... to chisel their names onto the wall," a practice Benjamin of Tudela noticed at the tomb

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of Rahel too which was situated under a dome near Bethlehem. Near ancient Babylon he visited the synagogue of the prophet Jechesqel which supposedly dated back to the time of king Jajachin (6th century BC). The name of the king and "the names of his whole entourage are chiseled onto the wall. ...This place is until this day a holy site for Jews ... even from distant lands they come here to pray"[5] and to engrave their names. It is an ancient custom.

Niches and walls in Baalbek bore hundreds of names, and in Hermann Burchardt's times the mainstay of Sgraffiti was done by Arab travelers. For the European of the nineteenth century the holy land was a cherished destination, and the large travel companies all included it in their programs. Along the pious routes laid the antique ruins of Palmyra and Baalbek.

A continuous battle on which ruin was the more impressive, that of Baalbek or that of Palmyra, drags through the travel literature. British travelers incline towards Palmyra and French towards Baalbek.

Jacob L. Burckhardt[6] traveled with British funding and wrote when reaching Baalbek on September 29, 1810, that only a few weeks ago he had seen the ruins of Tadmor (Palmyra), "a comparison between the two famous remnants from antiquity seemed self-evident," he said. "The general view of the ruins of Tadmor, if seen from a certain distance is infinitely more exhilarating than that of Baalbek, yet again inside the ruins of Tadmor no single point is as imposing as the view that the interior of the temple of Baalbek presents."

Towards the end of the nineteenth century several hotels catered for the growing number of visitors. One of the proprietors of these establishments, Papadakis, decided to conclude this ongoing debate amongst his guests which ruin is the more impressive. He used it for his own marketing purposes by naming his establishment "Hotel Palmyra".

Lawrence Oliphant[7] who came to Baalbek around 1880 has described other grotesque forms of the competition amongst the tourists: He was outraged at the people "who are mere dwarfs in comparison to the giants of the ancient art." According to him, they used guns and revolvers to shoot at these ruins which they could not finish off with their hammers. Oliphant carried out a "spontaneous survey" to learn that Americans were the best marksmen. Upon his return to Damascus, he proposed to the Ot-

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5 Benjamin of Tudela, *Sefer ha-massa'ot*, engl. edition, vide: index of place names.

6 Johann Ludwig Burckhardt, *Reisen in Syrien, Palästina und der Gegend des Berges Sinai*, Weimar 1824, 54.

7 Laurence Oliphant, *The Land of Gilead with Excursions in the Lebanon*, Edinburgh and London 1880, 444-45.

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toman governor to employ a guardian for the upkeep of the ruins. Some years later Michel Alouf, an inhabitant of the town of Baalbek, was made the first full-time guardian of the ruins. Ironically, he, too, engraved his name onto a wall of the very ruin he was supposed to protect from such misdemeanor: *Michel Alouf – 1886 – historien de BAALBEK.*

Travels

As early as the beginning of the nineteenth century many Europeans traveled to Baalbek and – following the invention of photography – their number grew annually. After the French army interfered in the civil strife between Druzes and Maronites to the benefit of the latter, one of the first development measures was the completion of the Beirut-Damascus road in 1863. Once the mountain ranges were crossed and the Bekaa was reached, it was only a few hours on horseback to get to Baalbek. This was the route the Prussian crown prince took when he interrupted his journey to the opening ceremony of the Suez canal in 1869. When 30 years later, in 1898, his son, the German Emperor Wilhelm II decided to visit Baalbek as well, he benefited from the comfort of the railway line between Beirut and Damascus which started operating in 1895. Some years on Baalbek got its own railway station.

1869 was a year of many important visitors to Baalbek. After a construction period of ten years the Suez canal was inaugurated on November 17, 1869, an occasion to which several members of the European rank and files were invited. Not only the German crown prince Friedrich Wilhelm who represented his father, king Wilhelm I of Prussia, made the detour via Baalbek, Damascus, Jerusalem and other holy places. In his comprehensive study on "Prussia's Glory in the Holy Land", Erwin Roth[8] delineates the various activities of Prussia's Oriental politics. He alludes to the close correlation between Protestant faith and political calculation which determined the German empire and which have often been insufficiently pointed out.

The crown prince wrote down his experiences in a travel diary and bequeathed it to his family. Roth summarizes that his trials and tribulations, his ecstasy and despondency became the gauge for later travels to Palestine: for his son, the Emperor Wilhelm II some 29 years later and for his grandson, prince Eitel Friedrich. In terms of judging the sites, the diary of 1869 became the *Baedeker* of the House of Hohenzollern.

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8 Erwin Roth, *Preußens Gloria im Heiligen Land: Die Deutschen und Jerusalem,* München 1973, 110.

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Fig. 4: Sgraffiti in the first niche in the south-eastern round exedra of the courtyard (Photo H. Burchardt, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, coll. Hermann Burchardt, K 1715).

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Since the crown prince had been to Baalbek, prince Karl Friedrich, one of his cousins, also visited the place. Theodor Fontane has recorded his memoirs. First the prince went to Palmyra: "A childhood dream has come true", he allegedly confided to his companions in front of the ruins. "When I was a little boy, I once received a picture book as a present which amongst other things contained images of the ruins of Palmyra. The pictures and the poetic name captured my attention to such an extent, that I was truly tormented by the desire to see with my own eyes the wonders of Palmyra." A few days later the prince spent his birthday in Baalbek. The party passed the night at the Hotel Palmyra and ended the day with "a splendid meal".

Famous and influential families of Syria and Lebanon like the Faraouns, Naggiars, Mutrans were amongst the visitors of the ruins in the 80s of the nineteenth century, too. Usually they wrote their names and the year of the visit in Arabic or Latin letters onto the wall. Some travelers also included their companions, be it a son – *wa-waladuhu* – a wife – *wa-madamtuhu* – or a whole group of people.

Similarly, probably the most famous tourist of those years left his traces on the walls of the ruin. Inside the Bacchus temple, on the northern wall, the German-Ottoman bilingue was attached which Sultan Abdülhamid had donated to Wilhelm II so as to commemorate his visit "with his wife".

The photo that shows the commemorative plate does not nearly reflect the enormous size of the majestic Sgraffito. This is only possible if we look at the imperial travel party at the moment of the plate's official unveiling on the following page. The two different photos of the same plate are based on different perspectives. I assume that the alcove photo was supposed to document the suspension of the plate while the festive photo was supposed to have captured the celebrations of the imperial ceremonial.

The Emperor Wilhelm II in Baalbek

"The annual stream of tourists, indeed, offers the best guaranties for the maintenance of order", the British traveler Gertrude Bell commented early this century.[9] When the most famous tourist of his time, Wilhelm II, came to Baalbek, peacefulness, gay excitement and – for a day – festive spirit prevailed. Owing to political events in Europe, his journey had to be shortened so that he arrived some days earlier than planned – on November 10 – in Baalbek. The official ceremony took place on the morning of November 11.

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9 Gertude Bell, *Durch die Wüsten und Kulturstätten Syriens*, Leipzig 1908.

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Fig. 5: The Emperor's Sgraffiti. Commemorative plate of Sultan Abdülhamid for the visit of Wilhelm II on November 11, 1898, suspended inside the Bacchus Temple (Photo H. Burchardt, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, coll. Hermann Burchardt, K 670).

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The imperial journey to Jerusalem was recorded by a number of companions. These reports were later analyzed and published the next year together with the Emperor's father's memoirs under the title "The German Imperial Couple in the Holy Land in Autumn 1898. With the Noblest Authorization by His Majesty, the Emperor and the King, Compiled in Accordance with Authentic Reports and Documents". From this book we take the quote which provides the only detailed textual portrait that meticulously describes what one of Hermann Burchardt's photos captures optically:

> "An apt ceremony prepared by the Sultan gathered all present in the early hours. It was dedicated to the unveiling of a monument to honor the Emperor's visit. After the address of the governor of Damascus and amidst drawn rifles of a guard of honor, a high marble plate in the fashion of a kind of double stele was unveiled; the inscription on it – German-Gothic to the left and Turkish script to the right – reads:
> *Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid II., Emperor of the Ottomans to His Illustrious Friend Wilhelm II., German Emperor, King of Prussia and Empress Auguste Victoria in Memory of the Mutually Inchangeable Friendship and the Imperial Visit in Baalbek November 15, 1898.*
> (Since the visit of the majesties came earlier, the date had to be changed to November 11.)"[10]

The Sultan asked the Emperor to determine the place himself where the commemorial plate was to be hung up. His majesty selected the western wall of the Jupiter Temple, behind the great, well-preserved row of columns.

In fact, the plate hang suspended at a different place until the end of the Ottoman Empire. It was to be the task of the German archaeologists to deal with the matter. During the winter months of 1903-4 the director of the excavations, Otto Puchstein, made frequent notes in his diary that yet again the awkward issue of the suspension of the plate had been discussed "and that one had debated it over tea as well."[11] When finally the problem was solved, Burchardt photographed the plate on its new location.

Under the French Mandate the plate was taken down and put on the floor. Between 1972 and 1975 the German ambassador in Beirut, Dr Hans Christian Lankes, saw to it that it was once again hung up.

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10 *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar im Heiligen Lande im Herbst 1898*, Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler 1899, 375.

11 Otto Puchstein's *diary* (unpublished) is in the Archives of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI), Berlin.

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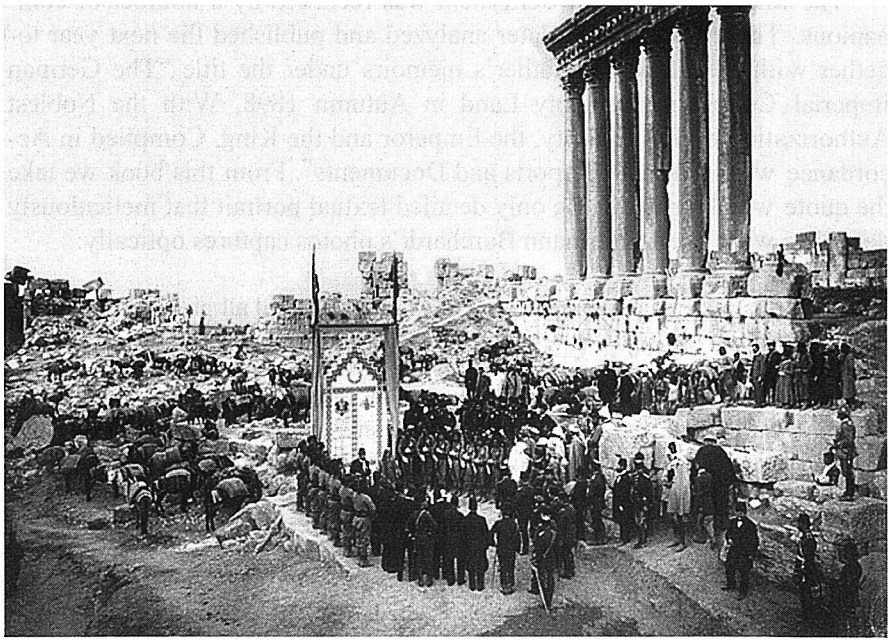

Fig. 6: William II's visit on November 11, 1898. Consecration of the commemorative plate (Photo H. Burchardt, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, coll. Hermann Burchardt, K 1730g).

Remembering

It is not handed down what the people of Baalbek thought about the lofty visit, save an anecdote related by Julius Otto Bierbaum who arrived by train a few years later: "By and large, the whole Orient, as far as His Majesty Wilhelm II has crossed it, is full of cock-and-bull stories about the enormous presents that Abdülhamid bestowed upon him, and in general it is said that (the Emperor) should have reciprocated more generously."[12] Probably the locals tell this story to the tourists from Germany to encourage them to make up the Emperor's negligence.

Back in Germany, the Emperor's journey met ample praise while outspoken critique was rarely heard, with the exception of a song by Frank

12 Julius Otto Bierbaum, *Yannkeedoodle-Fahr,* s.d., 166.

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Wedekind[13] which quickly became popular after it had first appeared in the journal "Simplicissimus":

In the Holy Land

King David rises from his grave,
reaches for the harp, closes his eyes
and praises the Lord, may he be rave',
to devote a psalm to mankind's Chris'.

Fig. 7: William II's arrival near Duris late afternoon on November 10, 1898 (Photo H. Burchardt, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, coll. Hermann Burchardt, K 1729).

13 Frank Wedekind, *Prosa, Dramen, Verse*, München 1968: "*Im Heiligen Land* – Der König David steigt aus seinem Grabe, / Greift nach der Harfe, schlägt die Augen ein / Und preist den Herrn, dass er die Ehre habe, / dem Herrn der Völker einen Psalm zu weihn. // Willkommen, Fürst, in meines Landes Grenzen, / Willkommen mit dem holden Ehgemahl. / Mit Geistlichkeit, Lakain, Exzellenzen / Und Polizeibeamten ohne Zahl. / Es freuen rings sich die histor'schen Orte / Seit vielen Wochen schon auf Deine Worte, / Und es vergrössert ihre Sehnsuchtspein / Der heisse Wunsch, photographiert zu sein" (translation: Jens Hanssen).

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Welcome, prince, in my country's borders,
Welcome with the high-bred couple,
with the clerics, lackeys and the noble orders
and countless policemen very supple.
There is great awaiting around historic places
for weeks to hear you pledge your graces,
and it multiplies their yearning painfully
the desire to be photographed gainfully.

For this song Wedekind was thrown into the dungeons where he was kept from September 21, 1899 to February 3, 1900. It was viewed as a *lèse-majesté*. In his photos Burchardt managed to create an accurate snapshot of this epoch of German history. Even the beholder of his Baalbek photos is startled by the solemnity of a ceremony which is clearly incompatible with mockery.

The two last lines of the second stanza allude to the plethora pictures of the Orient shown in Europe, which repeatedly reproduce images of famous historic sites. Burchardt stayed away from such fashions. He only followed it in Baalbek. Whether, however, his real motive were, in fact, the ruins, although he took photos of them, remains an unsolved issue.

Hermann Burchardt in Baalbek

Many travelers have written diaries, letters or publications and declared what they felt facing the ruins, why they decided to do the trip to Baalbek, or what the visit meant to them. Of Hermann Burchardt we know very little. I suppose the photos of Baalbek were indirectly linked to the Emperor's journey.

Two of the names which stand in official relation to the Emperor's visit can be retraced in Burchardt's probate records: Moritz and Luetticke. The former was director of the Khedival library in Cairo and – as expert of the political situation in the Middle East – assisted the royal delegation. He is explicitly mentioned as the one to prepare the Emperor's visit to the Orient.

Throughout his life, Burchardt maintained an amicable tutor-student relationship with Moritz. Moritz, the older and more experienced Orientalist of the two, supported Burchardt during his whole 17-year-long expedition to the Orient with tips, bibliographical references and parcels of books.

Luetticke was German consul in Damascus. Burchardt who in his early years in the Orient had his main residence in Damascus knew Luetticke personally. It appears all three were friends. In a letter of August 15, 1897

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Moritz wrote Burchardt how much he was looking forward to meeting him in Baalbek and that Mrs. Luetticke was soon expecting him.

It is possible that Moritz asked the younger Burchardt to photograph the ruins in detail: probably in preparation of the Emperor's visit. Burchardt's pictures often display rather unusual perspectives of the ruins, perspectives which rarely correspond to the customary *vistas* of the nineteenth century which tend to emphasize the monumentality of the ruins. Burchardt's own perspective bears similarities to the procedures of a chief of protocol who first inspects the strategic conditions of a location, then eliminates any unwanted symbols in order to guarantee the desired representative effect, and only then conceives of the beauty of the location, which likewise serves representative intentions. Every state visit was and is carefully planned and every moment of the official reception recorded. Not only to avoid that visitors climb over big rocks or stumble over small ones, but also to prevent that a rock fall down on the distinguished visitor. Burchardt has documented the expanse of the area and the filled up paths through the ruins as meticulously as the archways, the closed in gates, the sloping ramps or manholes, so that even those people who did not know the location from first-hand experience could appreciate what preparation work had to go into the visit. Burchardt's photos show all critical points of the Emperor's visit to the ruins. Three different sites had to be determined before his arrival: the route through the ruins, the place for the night camp and the adequate stage for the unveiling of the plate. These might have been the guidelines under which Hermann Burchardt observed the ruins.

Burchardt is never mentioned in the documents of the German Foreign Office, even when he accompanied – and took photos of – a German delegation to Morocco in 1906. His photographs support the memory and in special cases offer memory co-ordinates, as in the above case. With his pictures Burchardt prepared the protocol of a visit that was to be run orderly and was equally clearly to be remembered as such.

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Fig. 8: Area of ruins where the night camp of the imperial visit was set up (Photo H. Burchardt, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, coll. Hermann Burchardt, K 1690).

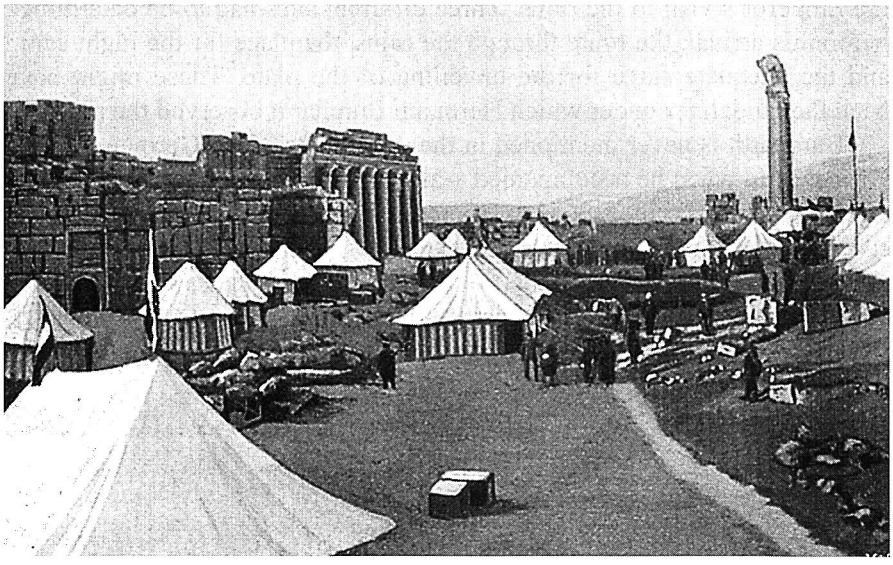

Fig. 9: The camp of the imperial party in the ruins (Photo Güssow, in: *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar im Heiligen Lande im Herbst 1898*, Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler 1899, 378).

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BAALBEK: THE VISITORS' BOOK OF THE HOTEL PALMYRA AND GERMAN VISITORS 1888-1918

HINRICH R. REINSTROM

The present essay deals with German travelers, particularly those who visited Baalbek at the turn of the century and stayed in the Hotel Palmyra.

I. Baalbek

"The small town with a small [Turkish] garrison and a Turkish telegraph office does not give an unpleasant impression, neither does it offer anything remarkable; the only interest of the site lies in the mighty ruins on the Acropolis, situated in the western part of the town. Beyond them lie lush gardens with trees and a cheerful little river. Their stones have been used to build modern Baalbek."[1]

Carl Stangen praises it in his travel guide *Palestine and Syria* (1877): "Baalbek enjoys an extremely mild and healthy climate, and many residents of Beirut and other Syrian towns of lower altitude spend the summer there. A beautiful brook, which feeds the river Leontes with its clear water, flows close to the ruins which are enclosed within a broad frame of fresh green trees: poplars, almonds, oranges, figs, etc. The eye observes in the distance a magnificent panorama, with the mountain range of the Lebanon ascending towards the sky."[2]

What could be more inviting than "a nice stroll along the brook to Ras el-Ain (spring-head), a quarter of an hour from the Hôtel de Palmyre. The brook gushes with a remarkable force from a pond bordered with stones, and rushes towards the small town where it drives 14 mills".[3] Baedeker, on the other hand, advises the visitors to climb the hill above the old

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1 *Meyers Reisebücher: Ägypten, Palästina und Syrien*, 2nd ed., Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut 1889, 478.

2 Carl Stangen, *Palästina und Syrien*, Berlin: Theobald Grieben 1877, 89-93.

3 *Meyers Reisebücher: Palästina und Syrien*, 4th ed., Leipzig and Wien: Bibliographisches Institut 1904, 241.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000225

quarries, to "enjoy a splendid view of the small town, the Acropolis, the wide and beautiful plain with its red earth (ferric oxide), the peak of Sannin...".[4]

From the late 1870's to the early 1890's, the population estimate was about 2.000, while in 1904 it drastically increased to 5.000. Estimates of the ratio of Christians to Moslems vary considerably between the Baedeker and the Meyer guide books. Baedeker notes that in 1891 there was still a Christian majority (over 50%), while Meyer states that in 1904 the Moslems formed two-thirds of the population. Stangen only mentions that there are "many Greek Orthodox" living in Baalbek. In 1913 the town is estimated to have had about 5.200 inhabitants, four-fifths of them being Moslems. Only one English school for girls is attested and it was run by the "British School Syrian Mission". In 1882 there was one Greek monastery and one English school (Meyer), but in 1891 Baedeker mentions two Greek and two Maronite monasteries. There was already a Vice-Governor, a small Turkish garrison, and also a Greek bishop in Baalbek. Starting 1882 travelers mention the existence of a Turkish Post and Telegraph Office.

Traveling to Baalbek from Beirut or Damascus, and continuing via the Cedars to Tripoli, was a fatiguing and sometimes dangerous enterprise. The situation changed at the beginning of the present century with the building in 1895 of the railway road linking Beirut to Damascus, and which reached Baalbek in 1902. Only then did it become possible for many travelers to reach these ruins which, apart from Palmyra, were the most important in the eastern Mediterranean.

In the second edition of his guide book (1893), Carl Stangen of Berlin, the first German travel agent of any importance, noted that: "Among the oriental countries, Syria and Palestine are lagging behind as far as travel conditions are concerned. Traveling in this part of the Orient is still attended by unusual difficulties". On the other hand, Stangen praises "the relatively great comfort" ("perfect tent equipment, incredibly efficient cooks") with which one can travel, especially in Palestine and Syria. His description of horse riding is particularly amusing: "The horses which the travelers might use are small, but very sure-footed and of great endurance; they carry the rider with great agility across the most difficult spots, and over slopes which to the eye seem impassable...".[5]

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4 Karl Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*, 2nd ed., Leipzig: Karl Baedeker 1875, 521.

5 Carl Stangen, *Palästina und Syrien*, 2nd ed., Berlin: Carl Stangens Reisebureau [1893], 7-8.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000226

Having pointed out that the "postal road between Beirut and Damascus was the fruit of the French expedition of 1860," (whose aim was to end the bloody confrontations of the Druses and Maronites), the *Baedeker* of 1875 gives a highly pictorial description of what it was like to travel on this road: "The road passes through one of the most barren regions of Lebanon, most of the time following the old mule-track which is still used by the Arabs because on the new road, the postal road, a turnpike-toll has to be paid. The postal service is prompt, and one drives very quickly but the seats are very uncomfortable, for one cannot stretch out one's legs and the discomfort is clearly felt towards the end of the journey. When snow has fallen, the road is often closed for weeks at a time. The mail is only carried at night, and in the night coaches there are only five seats (N.B. one seat was beside the coachman). With a good horse one can ride across the Lebanon in one and a half days."[6]

According to the timetable of the postal service, the coaches took 6 hours and 20 minutes from Beirut to Shtura (47 km), and 5 hours from Shtura to Baalbek (45 km) – including a 12 hour stop at Shtura! Incidentally, the above-mentioned "good horse" could only be rented in Beirut or Damascus, but not in Shtura! Many of the travelers who visited first Jerusalem, then Damascus, continued with the postal service to Shtura (66 km) in 6 hours and 30 minutes, and from there went to Baalbek. Alternatively, if they went there on horseback via Sergaya, it took them more than 11 hours. After 1895, travelers could take the train to Shtura from Beirut (5 hours), or from Damascus (3 hours), but until 1902, they had to take a coach (*diligence*) from Shtura to Baalbek. After 1902, the railway ran all the way to Baalbek and the journey lasted 45 minutes only!

Travelers who did not continue to Beirut or Damascus, went up to the Cedars and from there to Tripoli; some traveled from there to Beirut. There was no postal service and no railway – but what a magnificent scenery! From Baalbek to the Cedars, Baedeker reckoned 9¼ hours, and from there another 8¼ hours to Tripoli. To continue to Beirut one had to face a further 16½ hours.

II. Hotel Palmyra 1874-1918

In the 1960's or early 1970's, a letter in French, signed E.K., was sent to the editor of a Beirut newspaper (certainly *L'Orient*) referring to an article the paper had published about Hotel Bassoul being possibly the oldest hotel in Lebanon. The author of this letter described how the Greek Perikli

6 Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien* (fn. 4), 463.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000227

Mimikaki founded the Hotel Palmyra in Baalbek which, he maintained, must be the oldest one in Lebanon. Mr Mimikaki, wrote E.K., "flairant l'intérêt d'une affluence croissante [des voyageurs] quitta un beau jour Istamboul avec l'idée de fonder à Baalbek l'Hôtel Palmyra."[7] This he carried out in 1874.

Fifty years later, Perikli Mimikaki sold the hotel to Michel Alouf, a native of Baalbek who, apparently since the mid-1880's, was attached to the hotel as a guide to the famous ruins whose custodian he became in later years. In 1988, Michel Alouf's son and family gave up the hotel because of economic difficulties caused by the Lebanese war which, since its outbreak in 1975, had brought tourism to a complete halt. The Hussein Husseini family from Baalbek took over what is, beyond doubt, the oldest of all existing hotels in Lebanon.

Famous visitors, famous Visitors' Book

In the first volume of the visitors' book, you find between 1892 and 1893, a very impressive list of high-ranking or famous guests, entered as follows:

LIVRE D'OR DE L'HOTEL – Sa Majesté le Roi Milan, Leurs Altesses les Princes Albert Victor de Galles et Frédéric Charles de Prusse, Charles et Eugène de Suède et de Norvège, Louis Napoléon, Alexandra Couza de Roumanie, Le Duc d'Edinburgh, L'Archiduc François d'Autriche, Simon de Lazarew, Henri de Battenberg, Le Duc de Württemberg, François de Ratibor, Clary Aldringen, Ferdinand Radziwil, Landgraf de Hesse, Philippe Duc d'Orléans, Günther Duc de Sleswig Holestein, Adolphe Duc de Mecklenbourg Schwerin, L'Archiduc et l'Archiduchesse Charles Louis d'Autriche.

There is no doubt that there was an earlier volume of the visitors' book which disappeared before 1888, and which contained the names of as many distinguished guests as those mentioned in the above list. Moreover, in the entries of what is now Volume 1 of the Golden Book of the Hotel, several guests refer to earlier stays in Hotel Palmyra.

The visit to Baalbek of the Prussian Prince Friedrich Karl (1828-1885) who spent a night in the hotel early in 1883, is confirmed by the great German novelist Theodor Fontane in the section entitled "Five Castles" (*Fünf Schlösser*, Berlin 1888, chapter 8) in his series "Wandering in the March of Brandenbourg" (*Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg*).

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7 Typewritten copy, private archives H.R. Reinstrom.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000228

After World War I, German names become very rare in the visitors' book, which is hardly surprising; but British personalities such as the writer and traveler Gertrude Bell (1868-1926), and the writer George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) honored the hotel with their presence; and later the hotel hosted the French Generals de Gaulle (1890-1970) and Weygand (1867-1965), as well as many other important and renowned visitors.

From 1955 to 1974, celebrities from the German cultural milieu contributed to the success of the renowned Baalbek Festival – such as Herbert von Karajan (1908-1989), the conductor of the Berlin and Vienna Philharmonic Orchestras, and the great pianist Wilhelm Kempff (1895-1990). They are among the guests whom the hotel was proud to host. After the Festivals had ended, and during the Lebanese War, Volker Schlöndorff (born 1939), an internationally esteemed film director, stayed in the hotel when he came to shoot his film "The Falsification" (*Die Fälschung*) which deals with dramas during the war in Beirut.

Hotel: Comfort, food and drink

In the above-mentioned letter to *L'Orient*, the author refers to the comfort offered by the hotel since its foundation and until World War I: "Les clients actuels de l'hôtel face à ses chambres modernes, ses salles de bains privées, son équipement ... seraient bien surpris comment il se présentait à l'époque de sa fondation, comme d'ailleurs tous les hôtels de ce temps-là, ... bien surpris devant les ravissants, mais peu pratiques, broc et cuvettes d'eau dans les chambres, devant l'éclairage aux chandelles, devant la salle de bain unique desservant l'hôtel."

Of the numerous compliments in the visitors' book, we quote Hans Hanel's, dated September 9, 1889, in which he writes: "Being today once more in the Hotel Palmyra, I cannot but express again my complete satisfaction in every regard". As for Dr Wildt and his wife from Cairo, who traveled with him, they expressed themselves "very content with the way they were received by the Hotel Palmyra, and recommend the hotel reception and Mr Pericli Mimikaki in the best possible way to all our fellow-countrymen."

It may be permitted to quote a non-German voice in this context. The Reverend Haskell Smith, editor of *Murray's Travellers' Handbook for Syria* (1892), wrote in the visitors' book on the 31st of March 1891: "Well satisfied with the attention and accommodation which we have received at the Hotel Palmyra – we can especially recommend Michel Alouf as a highly intelligent and well-informed guide of the ruins of Baalbek."

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000229

Councillor of Commerce Johann Ulrich, and his wife Johanna, from Pfungstadt near Darmstadt, wrote in the Golden Book on April 4, 1895: "We have stayed here one day with Brother Mimikaki, and have been really content with the good food."

The German Orientalist, Dr Moritz Sobernheim from Berlin, who stayed in the hotel no fewer than five times between 1894 and 1908, wrote on April 12, 1908: "I am now here for the fifth time and as ever content." He had expressed the same contentment on October 31, 1900 at the end of a 12-week stay. In his first appreciation of the hotel on September 28, 1894 he praised "the excellent breakfast we have had". (A century later, a new German guide book on Lebanon, published in 1994, also praises the excellent breakfasts in the Hotel Palmyra).

Crew members of the German Imperial Navy (SMS Battleships Loreley, Victoria Louise, Lübeck and Stein) stayed in the Hotel Palmyra on several occasions. Under the date April 1-4, 1902, we find: "Never will German naval cadets forget the heavenly beds of Baalbek; having been accustomed only to hammocks, in these beds they slept like tops".

A touching entry by Louis Nordmann written on August 28, 1905 reads: "In this hotel it is really like being at home". This was certainly not Otto Bierbaum's (1865-1910) opinion. This lyric poet, writer and editor, visited Baalbek most probably between 1902 and 1904, but did not write in the visitors' book. However, in his travel report *The Yankee-doodle Trip and other travel stories*, he describes his stay in Baalbek, particularly in the hotel, in a rather satirical manner: "Perikles Mimikaki welcomed us with a sparkling eloquence, congratulating us that we had been so lucky to be chosen to stay in his Hôtel de Palmyre – 'Here you can enjoy as good a meal as in London, Paris, Berlin, Constantinople or Cairo; and when you have dined you may buy here original antiquities. And in case this is not to your liking, you will find in my reception hall the most beautiful works of local craftsmen; and if this, too, should not be what you like, you may choose among really artistic picture postcards, and...' 'Pardon, Mr Mimikaki', I interrupted, 'where is the toilet?' 'Oh,' he exclaimed, 'I have five of them, but since yesterday there is no water.' But one has to admit that the food was really not bad; and Mr Perikles could also have confessed that he was not only the waiter, house-steward and housemaid, but also the cook."

"After dinner the son of Perikles proved to be a real Greek by selling Baalbek souvenirs with much talent, and his father was happy about that. After everything had been sold, the small Christian girls, who had been pressing their noses flat against the windows, were allowed to make their sales. It was delightful how nicely they lamented in order to sell, and how merrily they laughed when they had succeeded.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000230

Fig. 1: Walter Andrae: The innkeeper Perikli Mimikaki, Baalbek, January 1, 1899 (in: E.W. Andrae and R.M. Boehmer, eds., *Bilder eines Ausgräbers*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag 1992, Tafel 16).

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000231

How hard and damp are your beds, O Perikles!
How your coffee smacks of mutton fat, O Perikles!
Since when do twelve and seven make ... twenty?!
With this hymn in our hearts we left the Hotel Palmyra."[8]

In contrast to this negative hymn there are, throughout the years before and after Bierbaum's visit, many words of appreciation and praise for the landlord and his hotel, such as the entry by the renowned architect, Egon Schmuser of Hamburg. On March 18, 1910 he wrote: "It is a real blessing in this country to enter such a house, furnished in the best possible way. Everything is excellent: rooms, beds, food; and the service is friendly and pleasant. I can recommend this hotel most warmly to everybody."

Competition: there was not only the Grand Hotel Palmyra in Baalbek ...

Another non-German voice might be quoted here to describe the competition that the hotel faced in January 1901. We can assume that this was more or less valid for all the years from the first moment that there was more than one *funduq* (inn, or hotel) until World War I. According to the author: "The landlord of the Hotel Victoria came rushing to meet us down the road, promising to take us in at his hotel for five francs, if we would only come. We refused the tempting offer and drove to the Hotel Palmyra whose landlord, when he heard of his rival's proposals, reduced his terms to five and a quarter francs. It is all the same all over Palestine and Syria, each hotel tries to outdo the others. It is really a good thing as otherwise the prices are very high..." ("Voyage to Jerusalem - by one who went". Anonymous text in the collection of Dr Hisham Khatib).

Accommodation in Baalbek, as mentioned in German guide books before 1914

In Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria*, published in 1875, no hotel was mentioned: "Proper accommodation can be found in the first houses on the right of the road. Whoever travels with a tent should have it put up on the Acropolis."[9] Two years later, in 1877, Carl Stangen's guide book informs travelers that they can find "an inn with a simple but clean sleeping place and, at most, a dish of fried chicken served with eggs, bread, cheese and a bottle of wine."[10] The Meyer guide of 1882 recommends the hotel of the

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8 Otto Julius Bierbaum, *Die Yankeedoodle-Fahrt und andere Reisegeschichten*, 8th ed., München: Georg Müller 1910, 320-24.

9 Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*, 1875, 515.

10 Stangen, *Palästina und Syrien*, 1877, 89-93.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000232

Greek Perikli Mimikaki; but it was not until 1889 that the name of the Hotel Palmyra appeared for the first time.

According to Thomas Cook's *Excursionist and Tourist Adviser* for the years 1882-1901, the Hotel Palmyra was the first hotel in Baalbek that accepted Cook's hotel coupons as payment for accommodation and meals. It was the only hotel to do so during that period.

Carl Stangen, in the 1893 edition of his guide book, *Palestine and Syria*, observes that "he who travels without tents to Baalbek... can now find several hotels there which can be recommended to Germans: Hotel Palmyra, Hotel d'Europe and Hotel Victoria; these are simple but clean, with passably good food. The cost for board and lodging varies between 9 and 15 francs according to the number of travelers...".[11] Almost every guide book advises the traveler to bargain for the price! It is interesting that usually the charge for board and lodging has the added note, "Without wine"; only very rarely, "With wine".

At the beginning of this century two new hotels were added to the list. From 1902 to 1906, the Grand New Hotel, half-way between the railway station and downtown, was under contract to Thomas Cook & Son. After that no hotel was linked to Cook's. In 1904, we find L'Hôtel Allemand, owned by the Zapf family. Apparently inspired by the German excavations, the Meyer travel guide for 1904 mentions for the first time the antiquities at the Hotel Palmyra: "In the courtyard of the hotel are the remains of an ancient structure (a temple?), excavated when the hotel was built, with a bust as the upper keystone... In the garden are some fragments of columns with Greek inscriptions."

III. Hotel guests and other travelers

For this period it is appropriate to talk of "travelers" rather than "tourists". We are justified in assuming that those who undertook such a fatiguing journey with many risks, and at considerable expense, were motivated by professional or other intellectual interests; also they must have belonged to the well-to-do classes to be able to afford such an expensive journey.

There are three special cases among the numerous German travelers to Baalbek: Karl May (1842-1912), a famous writer, whose adventure travel books fascinated generations of both children and adults, but who did not visit the various places in which his books were set. But apparently in February 1912, just a few weeks before his death, he visited Baalbek, the scene of a dramatic chapter in his book *From Baghdad to Stamboul*, which he had

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11 Stangen, *Palästina und Syrien*, 1893, 100.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000233

written many years before. His name could not be found in the hotel's visitors' book. Felix Moral wrote in the visitors' book in 1892 that he had been there twice before, in June 1885 and in June 1886. Josef Aichbichler from Wolnzach in Lower Bavaria deserves a special mention. He left Munich on March 19, 1896 (the name-day of St Joseph who is of special significance in Bavaria) on a bicycle tour which led him via Rome, Brindisi, Corfu, Athens and Beirut to Baalbek where, in May 1896 he took a rest from the first part of his "Tour de Bicyclette". He continued to Damascus, Jerusalem and Cairo, from where he returned, via Constantinople and Vienna, to Munich.

The number of German travelers to Baalbek

The famous visitors' book contains over 1000 German entries from 1888 to 1918. There is good reason to suppose that Germans also stayed in other hotels, though we do not know how many. It is also impossible to estimate the number of those who came to see the ruins and who continued their journey without spending the night at a hotel. Given these two imponderables, it seems highly likely that at least 2000 Germans visited Baalbek during this period.

The regional, social and professional background of the German travelers

The desire to see the Orient appears to have gripped all regions of Germany. Romantic, religious, intellectual and professional interests, as well as a certain longing for adventure, motivated many travelers. In view of the situation in Germany in the late 19th century, it is not surprising that the largest quota of German travelers came from Berlin, Munich and Hamburg; but all the provinces are represented in the visitors' book – Rhineland, Baden, Saxony, Thuringia, North Germany, East Prussia, Silesia, Bavaria and Swabia.

In the period between 1888 and World War I, it is striking to see how many members of the Hohenzollern dynasty, as well as of royal, princely and aristocratic families, and of families well known in German history, undertook this adventurous, troublesome and costly journey, and honored the Hotel Palmyra with their presence. This was certainly to the satisfaction of Perikli Mimikaki and Michel Alouf. Among them were Prince Friedrich Karl of Prussia, Prince Eitel Friedrich (son of the German Emperor), Duchess Elizabeth of Oldenburg, Duke and Duchess Georg of Saxony, Duke Adolph of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Duke Günther of Sleswig-Holstein.

Somewhat surprisingly the pages of the visitors' book are also full of entries by captains, officers and cadets of the Imperial battleships, such as SMS Loreley, Stein, Lübeck and Victoria Louise, particularly in the years

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000234

1902 to 1905. They also went on an excursion from Baalbek to Damascus. Apparently they very much enjoyed their stay in the hotel, but it seems that the monumental ruins made them reflect on the greatness and transience of history: "As once thousands of years ago Roman hands built these mighty temples on the site where Christians looked at the Saviour with absorbed devotion; now, like a giant dashed to pieces, the mighty structure lies in ruins, giving testimony of past glory and of what had seemed to be immortal." (November 4, 1902)

Not so surprising are frequent entries by German Consuls General, or consular staff, as well as members of other German institutions in Beirut, Jerusalem and Constantinople, such as the Post Office, Protestant churches and schools, and the German Archaeological Institute. Independent professions are represented in remarkable variety: archaeologists, architects, medical doctors, poets, writers, diplomats, explorers, priests, industrialists, jurists, farmers, merchants, artists, art collectors, museum specialists, Orientalists, photographers, editors, travel agents, publishers, scientists of various disciplines, students and pensioners! To add a special German peculiarity, there were frequent mentions "army reservist", with their rank.

From the Visitors' Book of the Hotel Palmyra

Walter Andrae (1875-1956) – archaeologist and architect, excavator in Babylon and Assur, later Director of the Middle East Museum in Berlin, Professor at the Technical University of Berlin – proved also to be an excellent draftsman and water colorist. He worked in the Baalbek ruins with Robert Koldewey (1855-1925), and stayed in the Hotel Palmyra from December 26, 1898 to January 17, 1899. Koldewey directed the excavations in Babylon from 1897 to 1917 (!). His close friend, Otto Puchstein (1856-1911), who also participated in the archaeological work at Baalbek and wrote an early guide book to the ruins, noted in the visitors' book on October 7, 1901: "After another stay of two months, I again leave with very mixed feelings". Puchstein's main work was the exploration of the temples. From 1905 until his death six years later, he was Director of the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin.

The explorer Max von Oppenheim (1860-1946) stayed in the hotel three times, in 1893, 1899 and 1927, each time in June/July. He had been traveling since 1892 in the Middle East and Africa, and had directed excavations in the Middle East. His most notable publication is *From the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf* (Berlin, 1899).

Many architects visited Baalbek around the turn of the century, in particular Egon Schmuser of Hamburg and Uvo Hölscher of Hannover. Uvo Hölscher (1878-1963) was not only an architect, but also an Egyptologist

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000235

who participated decisively in the survey of temple structures at Medinet Habu in Luxor. He was also renowned for his exploration of the medieval monuments in Lower Saxony.

As in other European countries, German artists, designers and sculptors were attracted to the Near East, including Palestine and Syria. Those who came to Baalbek, and whom we find in the Hotel Palmyra, include painters from Berlin such as Max Rabes (1868-1944), Ismael Gentz (1862-1914), Graf Ferdinand von Harrach (1832-?), Paul Meyerheim (1842-1915); also Carl Wuttke (1849-1927), Munich, and Georg Macco, Düsseldorf.

Max Rabes signed the book on April 11, 1895, in 1898 on October 22-24 (decorated with a self-portrait drawing), and again on November 11 together with the photographer and pioneer of cinematography, Ottomar Anschütz. Rabes had been officially invited to join the Imperial visit to the Holy Land and Lebanon; his paintings representing Lebanese places, including Baalbek, are known by name, but their exact location has not been identified. Rabes visited the Near East and mainly Egypt several times.

Ismael Gentz was primarily known as a portrait painter. He was the son of the Orientalist painter Wilhelm Gentz (1822-1890). Although none of Ismael Gentz's drawings or paintings is known to have been inspired by his stay in Syria and Palestine, it is difficult to imagine that there were none.

On February 27, 1897, and again in March 1901, we find the name of Hermann Götz, a painter from Baden and the well-merited Director of the Grand-Ducal School for Arts and Crafts in Karlsruhe. He published an illustrated report on his travels in 1901: *A Journey to the Orient.*[12]

Two outstanding photographers were Ottomar Anschütz (1846-1907) and Hermann Burchardt (1857-1909), both from Berlin. The former had been invited to accompany the Emperor, and he published pictures of the journey. But neither the publication nor his photographs have yet been found. Anschütz had, among other things, invented the focal-plane shutter which allowed the exposure time to be reduced to 1000th of a second; and also the tachyscope, the first high-speed projector with which he presented the first regular cinema performances from 1895 on. Hermann Burchardt learned Arabic in Berlin between 1891 and 1893, after which he traveled for over 15 years in the Near East. He certainly visited Baalbek on several occasions – the visitors' book confirms April 21-22, 1900. The present Director of the Ethnological Museum in Dresden, Dr Annegret Nippa, with an exemplary scientific approach, has demonstrated the informational

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12 *Eine Orientreise, geschildert und illustriert von Hermann Götz*, Leipzig: Seemann 1901.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000236

value of Burchardt's Baalbek photographs, of which the vast majority concentrated on the local people, their traditions and their everyday life.[13] In this connection it is interesting to learn that shortly after Annegret Nippa's appointment to Dresden, she discovered in the Museum's store rooms a Syrian wood-paneled salon which Hermann Burchardt had bought in 1898 in Damascus for the well-known art historian and collector, Karl-Ernst Osthaus (1874-1921). The latter was in Baalbek, and in the Hotel Palmyra, in the second half of November 1898 – that is, a few days after the Imperial visit. Osthaus was the founder of the influential Folkwang Museum, of which he was the Director until his death.

A special position is occupied by the eminent scientist Albrecht Meydenbauer (1834-1921), who signed the Hotel Palmyra's visitors' book on April 4, 1902, together with Theodor von Lüpke, the photographer of the Baalbek archaeological documentation, and also the important architect-engineer Friedrich-Wilhelm Schleyer (1853-1936), Hanover. During his work on the protection of monuments in the 1860's, Meydenbauer had used his engineering and architectural expertise to invent the technique of photogrammetry – a method by which monuments could be accurately photographed and comprehended. Unfortunately, his photogrammetric documents of Baalbek are still missing. Lüpke completed his photographic documentation of the antiquities with a general view of the ruins and the town in which we can identify the Hotel Palmyra – there is a very similar photograph by Hermann Burchardt, taken two years earlier in 1900, where the hotel can also be seen.

In the context of the work done on the ruins of Baalbek, we should mention another important scientist and explorer who also contributed to the documentation of the excavations, and whose signature we see several times in the visitors' book; he is the distinguished government architect Gottlieb Schumacher, whose main work is concerned with the exploration of the Hauran area in southern Syria.

Among the journalists, writers, editors and publishers whose names appear in the visitors' book, is Erwin Nägele, the representative of a publishing house in Stuttgart. He arrived on March 15, 1904, with a group from the Carl Stangen travel agency who had organized the tour with the Maria Theresia steamboat service. In his book, *Eine Orientfahrt* (An Oriental Journey), published in 1905, Nägele is full of praise: "We found good accommodation in the Hotel Palmyra. The son of the landlord, a Greek, led us immediately after our arrival to the Acropolis. The impres-

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13 Annegret Nippa, *Lesen in alten Photographien aus Baalbek*, Zürich: Völkerkundemuseum der Universität Zürich 1996.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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sion the ruins produce on the visitor is overwhelming. The entrance to the temple is allowed only on payment of 4 marks per person. At present there are four German archaeologists to direct and supervise the excavations which are executed with German funds and with the special support of the Emperor... The splendid evening afforded us a view, than which one can imagine nothing more beautiful or picturesque: at our feet were peach and cherry trees in full blossom, behind them the gigantic columns of the temple, and on the horizon the snow-covered range of the Lebanon. In addition there was the calm of the village. All this exalted and refreshed us after the stirring activities of the past days. The artist Macco from Düsseldorf, one of our travel companions, has captured this incomparable scene with his paint brush, and I believe it will be a painting of great impact also for those who do not know Baalbek."[14] Georg Macco, whose paintings of Lebanon are still much sought after, was delighted by Baalbek; we find his name again in the visitors' book in March 1905 and March 1906.

The Protestant pastor and social thinker Friedrich Naumann (1860-1919) lived from 1898 onwards as a writer in Berlin. In his book, *„Asia": an Oriental Journey via Athens, Constantinople, Baalbek, Nazareth, Jerusalem, Cairo and Naples* (which ran to its 7th edition in 1913), he called the famous six columns of the Temple of Jupiter "a guard of honour of the past". If Erwin Nägele waxed enthusiastic over the sunset in Baalbek, Friedrich Naumann directed his eloquence towards the other end of the day: "There is scarcely anything more beautiful than sunrise at the ruins of the Temple of the Sun in Baalbek. The sun comes silently from the east and laughs a little with the white rims of the bare mountains. Then it kisses the grey walls until they blush red; then swiftly it grasps the pinnacles of the ruinous sanctuary, and now it wraps himself around the columns. A touch of sun colour, and every column is a priest!"[15]

Naumann appears to have come to Baalbek in 1898, shortly before the visit of the Emperor. The visit clearly introduced critical thoughts into Naumann's mind: "What a strong impression these stones will make on Wilhelm II who already has a tendency towards majestic forms! If we did not have a state administration in which Parliament has the right to approve the budget, this night in Baalbek could become very expensive, for the fantasies of a prince must become over-excited when he sees such

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14 Erwin Nägele, *Eine Orientfahrt 1904*, Stuttgart [als Manuskript gedruckt 1905], 60-61.

15 Friedrich Naumann, *„Asia", eine Orientreise über Athen, Konstantinopel, Baalbek, Nazareth, Jerusalem, Kairo, Neapel*, 7th ed., Berlin: Georg Reimer 1913, 38.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000238

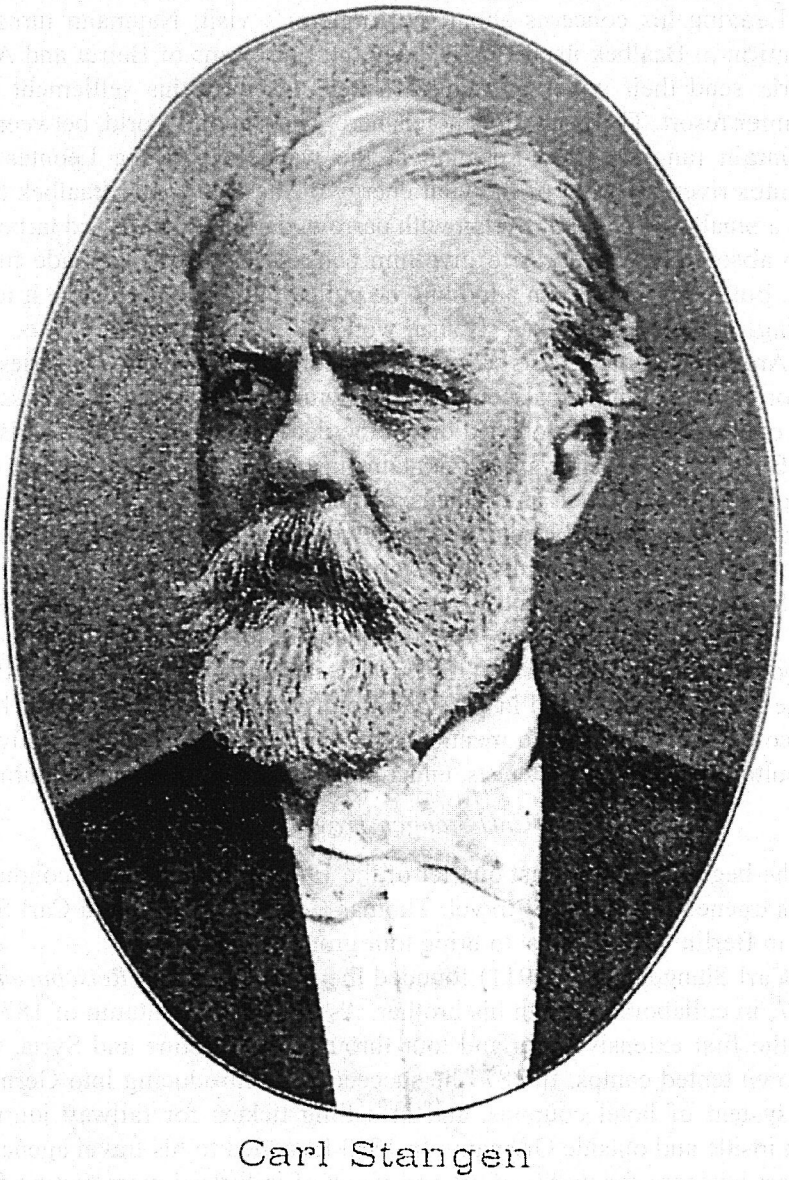

Fig. 2: Carl Stangen (1833-1911), founder of the *Carl Stangen's Reisebureau* (in: *Die Stangen'schen Reiseunternehmungen, zusammengestellt von Carl Stangen's Reisebureau zum 20. Juni 1892*, Berlin 1892).

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000239

traces of greatness of the lords of long ago. How much human labour lies broken in this small plot of earth!"

Leaving his concerns about the Emperor's visit, Naumann turns his attention to Baalbek itself: "Still today the Europeans of Beirut and Alexandria send their wives and children here to enjoy this settlement as a summer resort. There are three hotels here, far from the world, between the mountain ranges of the Lebanon at the watershed of the Leontes and Orontes rivers, a proof of the vital energy of the place.... In Baalbek there was a small and pleasant Syrian with narrow, dark eyes and a red tarboush, who absolutely wanted us to give him baksheesh. When we made fun of him, but did not give him anything, he pulled out a coin and gave it to us, saying, 'Baksheesh for you.' He had won."[16]

Among the hotel guests were many merchants, owners of breweries and factories, and commercial councilors – to mention them all is impossible. But one fact should be touched on: in the decade or more after the visit of the Emperor, the visitor's book contains the family names of leading German industrialists, such as Siemens, Stinnes and Thyssen. It was the time when the Baghdad and Hedjaz railways were being constructed, a period of political as well as economic expansion in the Near and Middle East.

Inevitably many ancient historians were attracted to Baalbek. Thus we see Wilhelm Weber (1882-1948) coming here on March 28, 1902. The Assyriologists Bruno Meißner (1868-1947) and Hugo Winckler (1863-1913) came together, and stayed in the hotel from August 22 to August 25, 1895. Space does not allow us to mention other eminent scholars who, motivated by cultural or scientific interests, undertook the hardships of such a journey.

The Carl Stangen Travel Agency

At the beginning of the last quarter of the 19th century, the first conducted tours opened a new era of travel. Thomas Cook in London and Carl Stangen in Berlin were the first to bring tour groups to Lebanon.

Carl Stangen (1833-1911) founded the *Carl Stangen's Reisebureau* in 1867, in collaboration with his brother. As early as the autumn of 1871 he did the first extensive overland tour throughout Palestine and Syria, with his own tented camps. In 1873 he succeeded in introducing into Germany the system of hotel coupons, and in selling tickets for railway journeys both inside and outside Germany. In 1883 he added to his travel agency an import business for works of art and items of industrial manufacture from abroad. In the following year, he began the publication of a journal called *The Tourist*, which was followed in 1904 by *Stangen's Illustrated Travel*

16 Ibid., 39.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000240

Fig. 3: Michel Alouf with Papal, Ottoman, Prussian, French, and Lebanese decorations (photo after World War I, private archives Hinrich R. Reinstrom).

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000241

and Traffic Journal. Carl Stangen's travel guide, *Palestine and Syria* was published in 1877 (2nd edition, 1893), and was followed in the next year by *Voyage Round the World*, and in 1882 by a guide book on Egypt. Finally in 1901, he published *From all Worlds: Travel Adventures*, which included his experiences in Baalbek.

The first tour group from the Stangen agency is found in the Hotel Palmyra visitors' book under the date April 1, 1896. There were 11 clients, led by Louis Stangen. The largest group the Stangens brought from October 22 to October 24, 1898, consisted of 36 people. They were on their way to Jerusalem to attend the inaugural ceremony of the Protestant Church of the Redeemer (*Erlöserkirche*), under the auspices of the Emperor, on October 31, 1898. For the next considerable group, in March 1899, the agency chartered the steamship Bohemia. Subsequent Stangen groups came in March 1900, November 1901, October 1902 and March 1904, with arrangements made through the Maria Theresia steamship company. In 1904, the Hamburg-America Line took over the agency, with Carl Stangen's two sons, Ernst and Louis, as directors. The last entry under Stangen's name was in November 1905. Over the period of their operations here, the Stangens increasingly attracted non-Germans onto their conducted tours.

IV. The Visit of the Emperor

The visit was apparently first planned in 1895 when the Emperor met John Mason Cook at Vesuvius. It was agreed that Thomas Cook & Son would organize the Emperor's journey to Palestine and Syria, and that the Imperial couple and their suite would spend the night in Cook's tented camp inside the ruins of Baalbek. In *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar im Heiligen Lande im Herbst 1898* (Berlin, 1899), the Imperially approved description of the journey and of the evening in the ruins (10-11 November 1898), the grandeur of these monuments is convincingly presented. It must have surprised Friedrich Naumann that the Emperor did not decide to outdo the creators of Baalbek at the expense of the German taxpayer; instead he decided to finance and patronize German archaeological work there, a decision for which he deserves world-wide gratitude.

Michel Alouf, who served as guide to the Imperial couple, and became the custodian of the Baalbek temples, seems to have greatly impressed his guests. As a result, the active German Consul General, Dr Schröder, informed him in 1905 that His Imperial Majesty had bestowed on him the Order of the Prussian Eagle, 4th class. Remarkably, in 1934 Michel Alouf received from the then exiled Emperor a photograph of himself, expressing his gratitude for the faithful devotion of the keeper of the Baalbek temples.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000242

Fig. 4: Photograph of William II sent to Michel Alouf in 1934 (private archives Hinrich R. Reinstrom). On the reverse of his portrait the exiled Kaiser had written: "My thanks for loyal remembrance. House Doorn, Oct. 1934, for the tenant of the Baalbek ruins. William" (*Meinen Dank für treues Gedenken. Haus Doorn im Okt. 1934 für den Pächter der Ruinen von Baalbek. Wilhelm*).

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000243

Friedrich Naumann would have read with pleasure a remark in the visitors' book written on July 2, 1907 by Otto Herz of Hamburg: "I am astonished that someone has spoiled these beautiful ruins with the horrible memorial tablet remembering the visit of the Emperor."

V. Conclusion

1910 seems to have been the last year before World War I during which a great number of Germans traveled to Baalbek. Prince Eitel Friedrich, son of the Emperor, included Baalbek in his return journey from Jerusalem where he had represented Wilhelm II, and his mother the Empress, at the consecration ceremony of the Ascension Church of the Augusta Victoria Foundation (April 10, 1910). The members of his high-ranking suite, with whom he descended in the Hotel Palmyra, included Duchess Elizabeth of Oldenburg and Baron Mirbach, First Steward of the Empress Auguste Viktoria. Arnold von Siemens also appears to have traveled with the Prince. All of them signed the visitors' book on April 20, 1910. Only a few days later there is another interesting entry by Maria von Alten, née Baroness von Diepenbrock-Grütter, who refers to her visit to Baalbek and to the hotel on the 15th of November 1886 – 23½ years earlier! In December 1910, Duke Georg and Duchess Marie Immaculée of Saxony bring to an end this year of prominent guests.

From 1911 onwards, relatively few Germans are attested in Baalbek or in the hotel. After the outbreak of World War I only military guests came – one or two stated that they had been there several times during the war. It should perhaps be mentioned that the German-Turkish garrison remained in Baalbek during the war, and German officers were presumably frequent guests at the hotel. The only non-military German voice in the visitors' book was that of the writer Thea von Puttkamer who visited Baalbek a few months before the retreat of the German-Turkish army from the area and the end of the war. She wrote enthusiastically: "Trois fois j'ai déjà vu les ruines: la première fois d'une hauteur de 3000 mètres. Mais j'espère que je les verrai une quatrième fois, et que vous [Michel Alouf] serez un guide dans des hauteurs plus élevés – ça veut dire dans les hauteurs spirituelles." (May 29, 1918)

The visitors' book contains well-known names from German military history: General von Falkenhayn (27 May 1917), Oberstleutnant von Falkenhausen (9 July 1917) and General Boto Kreß von Kressenstein (9 January 1918; 1930!). Finally, also on January 9, 1918, is written the name of Lieutenant-General Hans von Seeckt (1866-1936), one of the most remarkable German generals of the 20th century. A talented writer, he was in 1934-35 military adviser to Tchiang Kai-shek. What he wrote in his

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000244

private diary about his visit to Baalbek will conclude this presentation of German visitors here.

"An enchanted world lies in ruins, but from the ruins rises an image of past beauty with a brightness and clarity that I have never seen in any other ruin ... Though none of the countless statues has been preserved, and none of the thousands of faces has escaped the hammer which desecrated the temple, grandeur still shines from the stones; tendrils still bloom around columns and capitals; still dresses float about the limbs of dancing girls in honour of the god Bacchus; still there are the menacing heads of lions and bulls on the cornices, and the ribbons of Tritons and cherubs twine around the fountains. The sun presided lovingly over all this beauty, colouring the stone now rose, now pale grey, and illuminating the sleek columns of porphyry which came here from Aswan to serve Baal-Jupiter, the beardless god of youth who carries in his hand not a thunderbolt but a sheaf of corn."[17]

17 Hans Meier-Welcker, *Seeckt*, Frankfurt/M.: Bruno Graefe 1967, 139.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000245

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LE FESTIVAL DE BAALBEK AU CARREFOUR DES PARADOXES LIBANAIS D'AVANT GUERRE

ANNIE TOHME

Introduction

Le Liban d'avant guerre, ou du moins l'image qu'il offrait au touriste, était celle d'un pays où il faisait bon vivre. Il faut dire que la clémence du climat, la tolérance du régime politique, la flexibilité du système économique et l'hospitalité de la population, étaient autant de facteurs contribuant au renforcement de cette impression. Par ailleurs, les multiples loisirs prévus, été comme hiver, pour divertir le visiteur de passage ou le résident entretenaient une ambiance festive quasi pérenne. Le Festival International de Baalbek était l'événement culturel le plus important et le plus célèbre. Chaque année, cette grande manifestation estivale se déroulait sur un site archéologique grandiose, animée par une pléiade d'artistes de renommée mondiale. Un public sélect du Liban et du Moyen Orient fréquentait ce haut lieu de l'expression artistique internationale.

Cependant, le Festival illustrait bien le paradoxe libanais de l'époque car il composait peu ou pas du tout avec l'environnement immédiat du site, c'est-à-dire avec la ville nouvelle de Baalbek. Tout se passait comme si les ruines étaient situées au milieu d'un océan. Océan démonté à l'époque, par les problèmes sociaux que nul ne se souciait de calmer un tant soit peu, en faisant "participer" l'habitant aux festivités... Un fossé s'était progressivement creusé entre le site archéologique et la ville, et une fois de plus, Beyrouth, la capitale tentaculaire, allait l'emporter sur les régions périphériques.

I. Le Festival International de Baalbek

a. Genèse d'un événement

Au cours d'une rencontre fortuite à Paris entre le producteur libanais Tony Azzi, le metteur en scène Jean Marchat et Francis Savel au Lido, en mars

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1955. A l'évocation de la beauté du site l'idée de monter un spectacle dans les ruines du temple de Baalbek séduisit immédiatement car le décor fastueux des ruines semblait destiné aux manifestations d'art dramatique.

En effet, quatre mois plus tard, les représentations de la compagnie Jean Marchat remportaient un très grand succès. Elles marquèrent ainsi, le coup d'envoi à ce qui deviendra, dans les années qui suivirent, le Festival International de Baalbek.[1]

L'expérience de 1955 n'était pas inédite puisque le temple avait déjà servi à deux reprises de scène de théâtre. En 1922, les autorités françaises avaient décidé d'y faire jouer une pièce de théâtre[2] sur le thème des amours d'Adonis et d'Ashtarté. Cette tentative s'alignait sur des expériences similaires faites en France, en Italie, en Grèce et en Espagne. En 1944, la représentation de la tragédie d'Eschyle: *Les Perses* traduisit la volonté des intellectuels de la jeune république indépendante de développer la culture au Liban.[3] A la différence des deux précédentes restées sans lendemain, la manifestation de 1955 fut déterminante. De fait, les organisateurs, soutenus par le Président de la République, Camille Chamoun, formèrent un comité chargé d'élaborer pour l'année suivante un programme. Ce noyau initial institua un événement annuel de renommée mondiale.

b. Mise en scène d'événement ou aménagement du site

Le Liban ayant découvert tardivement sa vocation touristique dans les années 1950, l'aménagement du site de Baalbek pour le Festival débuta sous la supervision de la Direction Générale des Antiquités en 1956.[4] Cependant, l'infrastructure du pays à plus d'un endroit défectueuse, rendait hasardeuse la mise en œuvre d'un projet touristique dans des régions débordant du cadre de la capitale et des grands centres *d'estivage*. Pour cela, la réhabilitation du réseau routier reliant Beyrouth à la ville accompagna les travaux effectués dans l'enceinte sacrée. Les axes routiers de Beyrouth-Chtaura-Baalbek et Beyrouth-Bois de Boulogne-Zahlé-Baalbek furent réparés et asphaltés. Des *cat's eyes* furent fixés le long des chaussées afin d'assurer la sécurité des spectateurs empruntant de nuit les routes sinueuses du Mont Liban.

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1 Lucien George, "Baalbek prépare avec fièvre son festival", *L'Orient,* 15 juillet 1956.

2 Ecrite pour la circonstance par le journaliste français Georges Vayssie.

3 Comité du Festival International de Baalbek, *Les riches heures du festival,* Beyrouth: Dar el Nahar 1994, 34.

4 Le Directeur Général des Antiquités l'émir Maurice Chehab et l'ingénieur Harutoyoun Kalayan.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000248

Les travaux de déblaiement des blocs de trois à trente tonnes encombrant les temples de Jupiter et de Bacchus prirent trois mois. L'entreprise était difficile à réaliser d'autant plus qu'elle se basait uniquement sur la force de cinquante ouvriers mobilisés pour la tâche. Cependant, elle contribua à la reconstitution des anciens temples. Chaque bloc fut, en effet, replacé dans la mesure du possible à sa place initiale.[5] Une fois dégagé, le site put contenir 2000 à 2500 places réparties entre les deux scènes aménagées dans les temples de Jupiter et de Bacchus. Un éclairage complet des temples pour lequel 1500 projecteurs furent installés, rehaussa leur caractère à la fois "grandiose" et "mystique". Ils devaient scintiller dans la nuit sombre de la plaine. Des flèches indicatrices et des cordes furent prévues pour guider les spectateurs jusqu'à la scène.

A l'entrée et autour du temple, des parkings de stationnement furent aménagés pour recevoir environ 400 voitures. Le parc automobile accueilli, était formé de voitures privées et de taxis effectuant des services réguliers (aller-retour) entre Beyrouth et les ruines de Baalbek.

c. Association du Festival International de Baalbek[6]

La fondation d'une association conféra au Festival International de Baalbek un caractère institutionnel et permanent. Composée au départ d'une trentaine de membres,[7] elle en comptait 125 en 1974. Elle comprenait, conformément aux statuts de toutes les associations libanaises à but non lucratif, un comité exécutif et des membres ayant pour objectif d'organiser le Festival et/ou de le soutenir financièrement.

Le comité exécutif comptait douze membres et un directeur. Les fonctions imparties à chacun d'entre eux étaient d'ordre administratif ou artistique. La direction de l'association et la gestion du Festival dans son ensemble étaient confiées à six membres: présidente, vice présidente, vice président, secrétaire générale, trésorier et administration. Les autres membres se chargeaient selon le programme annuel et leur qualification personnelle des commissions artistiques: relations publiques, son et lumière, musique et ballet, folklore international, folklore libanais, théâtre anglais, théâtre français, théâtre du festival, jazz et pop music etc.

Le mouvement de rotation des membres de l'association dans le comité exécutif était assez lent. En 18 ans, par exemple, il ne changea que trois fois de présidente: Mme Aimée Kettaneh (1956-1968), Mme Salwa Es Said (1969-1972) et Mme May Arida (depuis 1973). Par

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5 Lucien George, "Baalbek prépare avec fièvre son festival" (n. 1).

6 Voir les programmes du Festival International de Baalbek.

7 *L'Orient*, 28 Juillet 1956.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000249

ailleurs, la stabilité des responsables des différentes commissions artistiques leur permit d'acquérir un savoir-faire quasi professionnel.

Le succès du Festival International de Baalbek ne dépendait pas uniquement de la continuité du groupe et de son assiduité au travail. L'appartenance des membres de l'assemblée générale à la haute bourgeoisie beyrouthine à quelques exceptions près, y contribua beaucoup et ceci à plus d'un titre. En effet, à une époque où le Libanais moyen voyageait peu ou pas du tout, les membres de l'association eux multipliaient les voyages en Europe et aux Etats-Unis et fréquentaient les salles de théâtre ou de spectacle à l'affût des dernières nouveautés artistiques. Par ailleurs, les réceptions qu'ils donnaient ou auxquelles ils étaient invités les introduisaient dans les milieux artistiques et mondains internationaux. De même, ce mode de vie très occidentalisé mené par les membres de l'association dans un Beyrouth cosmopolite leur a permis de dépasser la diversité des appartenances identitaires particulières (origine, famille, confession ...). Il les a donc libéré des contraintes sociopolitiques traditionnelles qui paralysaient, par ailleurs, tout projet d'envergure nationale et a constitué un facteur immunitaire contre les déchirures internes de la société libanaise. L'association du Festival International de Baalbek fut ainsi préservée des mécanismes politiques libanais qui auraient pu réduire à néant son efficacité. D'ailleurs, les politiciens, à l'exception de quelques-uns comme Takieddine El Solh, Pierre Hélou, Maurice Zouein..., lui portèrent peu d'intérêt parce qu'elle se situait, sans doute, en marge des enjeux politiques.

d. Organisation du Festival International de Baalbek

L'organisation d'un Festival International à Baalbek en 1955, constitua une véritable gageure malgré le soutien apporté par le Président Camille Chamoun au projet. La splendeur du site entretenait sa notoriété auprès des Libanais et des touristes très nombreux à le visiter. Toutefois, le défi à relever fut d'attirer de nuit vers le temple des spectateurs résidant en grande partie à Beyrouth et son arrière-pays montagneux. Pour ce faire, il fallait élaborer un programme intéressant, trouver le budget nécessaire à sa réalisation et garantir la sécurité des participants à la manifestation.

Programme

La célébrité progressive du Festival International de Baalbek permit l'enrichissement du programme. La variété des représentations s'agrandit au fil des ans. Elle s'articula cependant, autour de deux composantes principales, l'une internationale et l'autre libanaise.[8]

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8 Celle-ci sera traitée dans une partie à part.

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Le volet international du Festival ne cessait de surprendre par son audace, toujours poussée un peu plus loin. Il fut constamment enrichi de nouveaux genres de représentations et on ne lésina pas sur les moyens lorsqu'il s'agissait d'inviter les vedettes de renommée mondiale.

Le théâtre fut le premier genre de spectacle à être mis à l'honneur au Festival. Le site offrait un décor idéal pour les pièces classiques. Ainsi, des pièces comme *Polyeucte*, *La Machine Infernale*, *Phèdre*, *L'émigré de Brisbane*, *Le fou d'Elsa*, *The Tragedy of Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Medea*, *Pericles Prince of Tyre*, pour n'en citer que quelques-unes, furent jouées par de grandes troupes françaises (Compagnie Jean Marchat, Compagnie Renaud-Barrault, La Comédie Française, Théâtre National de Belgique ...) ou anglo-saxonnes (Open Air Theatre Company, The London Old Vic, The Bristol Old Vic, La Mamma Experimental Theatre ...). Les performances de grands artistes comme Jean-Louis Barrault, Jeanne Moreau, Geneviève Page, Jean Piat, Valérie Sarrouf ou Ellen Stewart ... furent très applaudies par le public. Baalbek a aussi vu défiler des auteurs comme Cocteau, Schéhadé, Aragon et Boustani venus pour superviser la mise en scène de leurs œuvres.

Les concerts de musique classique reprirent les morceaux des grands musiciens classiques occidentaux. Les orchestres philharmoniques ou symphoniques de Hambourg, de Rome, de New York, de Pittsburgh, de Berlin, de Leipzig, d'URSS ... furent dirigés par les plus célèbres conducteurs tels que Herbert von Karajan, Charles Munch, Kurt Masur, Dimitri Chorafas ... Des solistes comme Rostropovitch (violoncelle), Richter (piano), Bachauer (piano) ... ne manquèrent pas de donner le meilleur de leurs performances. La musique de chambre ramena très souvent au Festival, des solistes célèbres comme le flûtiste Jean Pierre Rampal. Les pièces d'opéra furent plutôt rares. Mais peut-on oublier, par exemple, *Le Couronnement de Poppée* (Monteverdi) mis en scène par Franco Zeffirelli?

Introduit dans le programme du Festival en 1959, le ballet y occupera vite une place prestigieuse. Les plus grands danseurs étoile envoûtèrent le public. En 1964, The Royal Ballet présenta Rudolph Noureev, ayant récemment pris la fuite d'URSS,[9] accompagnant Margot Fonteyn dans plusieurs pièces de musiciens classiques. Le ballet du XXème siècle de Maurice Béjart fut invité à deux reprises à Baalbek en 1966 et en 1972. Les Ballets du Bolchoï de Moscou et The Alvin Alley City Center Dance Theatre, quant à eux, se produisirent successivement en 1971 et 1973.

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9 Voir le livret-programme de 1964.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000251

La danse folklorique n'était pas absente au Festival: Des troupes venues des quatre coins du monde (URSS, Philippines, Mexique...) y offrirent le meilleur de leurs danses traditionnelles.

Le jazz et la musique pop ne figurèrent pas au programme avant 1971. Les raisons de ce retard sont obscures. Le public libanais était peut être encore peu réceptif à la musique moderne surtout au jazz. Ou bien les organisateurs du Festival s'étaient enfermés dans un carcan classique duquel ils avaient du mal à sortir? Toujours est-il que toutes soirées consacrées à cette musique furent animées par des chanteurs et des musiciens célèbres comme Ella Fitzgerald, Dizzy Gillespie, Miles Davis, Charles Mingus ... La musique pop n'eut pas le temps de faire écouter au public les chansons pacifistes de Joan Baez en 1974, que la guerre éclata.

Les programmes de musique arabe furent très sélectifs et peu variés. L'étoile de l'Orient, Oum Koulsoum interprétera, en 1966, 1968 et 1970, ses chansons pleines "d'amour, d'absence et d'élans nostalgiques passionnés".[10] En 1974, l'ensemble Abdul Halim Noueira chantera des *muwashshaḥāt.*

Livret-programme

La parution du livret-programme était, chaque année, un événement en soi.[11] Sponsorisé par les plus grandes entreprises du pays, il se devait d'être prestigieux. Sa réalisation fut confiée à des intellectuels (Camille Aboussouan), des artistes (Sydney King, Cici Sursock, David C. Corm ...) ou des boîtes de publicité (Middle East Marketing Advertising Services et The Art Shop) et chacun y apporta sa touche particulière. Les illustrations furent réalisées par des photographes libanais de renommée tels Manoug, Sidawi, Ebeyan ... et des dessinateurs comme King, Rodde, Brenas ...

Le contenu du livret-programme varia selon les années. Il est vrai qu'il s'en tint des fois à l'annonce du programme accompagnée d'un commentaire sur la représentation et les artistes; mais le plus souvent, il présenta le patrimoine libanais. Les thèmes traités portèrent, essentiellement, sur le site de Baalbek, son archéologie[12] et sa description par les voyageurs d'Orient.[13] Ils décrivirent aussi les principaux sites archéologiques, naturels et touristiques du Liban,[14] l'évolution de l'habitat,[15] le costume[16] et la

10 Livret-programme de 1968, 39.

11 Livrets-programme de 1959 à 1976.

12 Voir, notamment, les livrets-programme de 1969, 1970 et 1972.

13 Voir à titre d'exemple les livrets-programme de 1961 et 1963.

14 Livret-programme de 1967.

15 Livret-programme de 1968.

16 Livret-programme de 1971.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000252

peinture.[17] Il faut signaler par ailleurs, que le livret-programme comportait souvent des poèmes chantant la beauté du Liban.[18]

Budget

Le financement d'un programme aussi ambitieux posait de graves problèmes au comité. Les cotisations des membres, les subventions de l'Etat et les recettes de la vente des timbres-poste imprimés pour le Festival ne couvraient pas les frais de déplacement des artistes. Le déficit était dans ce cas souvent comblé par les donations de particuliers.

Sécurité

Le Festival était tributaire de la situation politique générale prévalant dans le pays. De fait, la prospérité apparente du Liban ne dissimulait pas la fragilité de l'état de sa sécurité interne. Constamment soumis aux aléas de la conjoncture politique régionale, le pays fut plus d'une fois déstabilisé par des événements (1958, 1961, 1967, 1973 et 1975) qui faillirent porter atteinte à son intégrité. Parallèlement, la paupérisation croissante de la population et la mobilisation militaire massive des jeunes dans les partis politiques et dans les camps palestiniens à partir de 1969 accentuèrent la précarité de la situation. Ces multiples facteurs ont conditionné l'organisation du Festival International de Baalbek et parfois même son avenir.

En effet, dès la première année, les organisateurs avaient pris conscience de l'importance du facteur sécuritaire pour le bon déroulement du Festival. Avec l'aide de l'Etat, un dispositif de sécurité était mis sur pied, chaque été, pour prévenir les incidents. Les patrouilles des FSI surveillaient les routes jusqu'à trois heures du matin pour protéger un public paré de ses plus beaux atours, se déplaçant de nuit sur les routes isolées menant à Baalbek.

Entre-temps, le climat de tension latent qui prévalait au Liban, pesait sur le Festival. Ainsi, la guerre arabo-israélienne de Juin 1967 réduisit le nombre des représentations artistiques assurées par des troupes étrangères. Au nombre de 7 en 1966, elles sont passées à 2. Des flambées de violence gelèrent à deux reprises ses activités: En 1958, trois ans après sa fondation, elles furent suspendues pour la première fois à cause des événements qui mirent le pays à feu et à sang. Le déclenchement du conflit libanais en 1975 en sonna définitivement le glas.

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17 Livrets-programme de 1973 et 1974.

18 Voir à titre d'exemple le livret-progamme de 1961.

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II. Le Festival International de Baalbek et l'essor artistique libanais

Le programme du Festival de Baalbek fut conçu au départ, pour accueillir des troupes artistiques étrangères. L'idée d'y intégrer des représentations "folkloriques" libanaises surgit après coup, à l'instigation de Mme Zalfa Chamoun, femme du Président de la République. La décision ne se fondait pas sur une connaissance préétablie de la tradition, récupérable sur le plan artistique. Il fallut, donc, procéder au recensement du patrimoine folklorique et trouver des artistes capables de l'exploiter.

Patrimoine et Folklore

Le recensement du patrimoine débuta en 1956. Le chorégraphe soviétique Moïesseiev fit cette année là, une tournée d'étude dans la montagne libanaise dans le but de repérer des danses folkloriques. Il recensa cinq variations de *dabké* auxquelles il fallait ajouter les danses du poignard, du sabre et du bouclier, du *mendil*, du bâton et du costume du mariage.[19] Moïesseiev proposa que ces multiples pas soient esquissés sur une toile de fond reprenant des thèmes typiquement villageois à savoir le mariage, la moisson, l'entraide, le défi ... A la suite de cette mission, une école fut fondée par Salwa et Wadih Jarar[20] pour enseigner la danse folklorique aux jeunes libanais.[21] Le recours au folklore et à l'histoire devint ultérieurement plus fréquent et mobilisa un grand nombre d'artistes et d'intellectuels du pays.[22]

En 1957, le Comité Exécutif tenta une aventure hasardeuse en engageant les frères Rahbani pour animer les nuits libanaises du Festival. Assi et Mansour Rahbani (musiciens) et Sabri Chérif (directeur) avaient déjà monté de petits sketchs radiophoniques.[23] Ils ne s'étaient donc jamais produits sur scène. Quant à Feyrouz, personne ne connaissait encore, la teneur de ses chansons ...[24]

Bien que fort modeste, la première opérette *Ayyām al-ḥaṣād*[25] introduisit un genre de spectacle inédit. La mise en scène d'une histoire simple scandée de chants et de danses folkloriques dans un décor rappelant le

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19 *L'Orient*, 20 Juillet 1956.

20 Ils avaient tous les deux fait un stage à Moscou.

21 Comité du Festival International de Baalbek, *Les riches heures* (n. 3), 13.

22 Ibid., 136-39.

23 *Radio sharq al-adnā*.

24 Nabīl Abū Murād, *Al-akhawayn Raḥbānī*, Beyrouth: Dār Amjad 1990, 58-63.

25 Temps de la Récolte.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000254

village libanais traditionnel lui conféra un caractère particulier propre au terroir.[26] Cette action dramatique exaltant "la simplicité de la vie villageoise, l'attachement du paysan à sa terre, le courage des ancêtres"[27] constituera une constante dans les opérettes ultérieures.

Les premières soirées libanaises furent donc timides, presque incertaines. Elles eurent pourtant le mérite de lancer les spectacles folkloriques. Ces derniers devinrent, au fur et à mesure que le temps passait, de véritables événements annuels attirant une pléiade d'artistes libanais. Feyrouz, Sabah, Wadih Safi, Nasri Chamseddine, Philémon Wehbé, Abdul-Halim Caracalla chantèrent ou dansèrent sur la musique des Frères Rahbani, de Zaki Nassif, de Walid Gholmieh, de Boghos Gélalian, de Toufic Bacha, de Mohamad Mohsen ... "Se produire à Baalbek" représentait pour chacun la consécration de sa propre carrière.

Le théâtre libanais à Baalbek

Le théâtre jusque là inexistant, connut le même sort que les nuits folkloriques libanaises. Il eut, toutefois, un parcours institutionnel différent. En 1960, le Comité Exécutif du Festival de Baalbek créa l'Ecole du Théâtre Moderne destinée à former de jeunes acteurs et metteurs en scène. Il confia sa direction au jeune acteur et metteur en scène libanais, Mounir Abou Debs. Les membres du Comité décernèrent des bourses aux jeunes acteurs pour les encourager à faire carrière. Des grands noms du théâtre libanais y firent ainsi leurs débuts: Antoine et Latifé Moultaka, Raymond Gébara, Jalal Khoury, Antoine Kerbage, Reda Khoury, Mireille Maalouf, Joseph Bou Nassar ... Pour sa part, le ministère de l'éducation[28] consacra une subvention annuelle à l'Ecole. Concentrant la plupart de ses activités à Beyrouth, la troupe de l'Ecole présenta deux pièces à Baalbek: *Al-Izmil* (1964) et *Hamlet* (1967). Elle joua, par ailleurs, un rôle déterminant dans le développement de l'art dramatique au Liban.[29]

Le rayonnement artistique du Festival

Le rayonnement artistique du Festival International de Baalbek déborda largement du cadre libanais. Les représentations des troupes se multiplièrent auprès des principales colonies d'émigrés libanais (Brésil, Etats-Unis,

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26 Le village représenté par les Frères Rahbani ne s'ancrait pas dans une réalité concrète car il dépassait les diversités régionales et communautaires.

27 Ghassan Salamé, *Le théâtre politique au Liban (1968-1973)*, Beyrouth, Dar el-Machreq 1974, 111.

28 Le ministre était alors Kamal Joumblatt.

29 Comité du Festival International de Baalbek, *Les riches heures* (n. 3), 155-59.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000255

Grande Bretagne, France, Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria, ...) renforçant ainsi, les liens avec la mère patrie. Par ailleurs, les artistes consacrés à Baalbek y acquirent une renommée internationale et furent, par la suite, conviés à performer dans les cercles les plus prestigieux du monde artistique.

III. Le Festival International de Baalbek et la ville

Située au cœur d'une région périphérique pauvre, la ville de Baalbek allait accueillir chaque été à partir de 1955 le Festival International qui porte son nom. Les représentations étaient données à l'intérieur même de l'enceinte du site archéologique. Rappelons que la majesté des ruines du temple leur conférait un caractère grandiose concordant avec les grandes figures artistiques qui s'y produisaient. La manifestation correspondait donc à l'image de progrès et de civilisation du Liban que les organisateurs voulaient présenter au monde. Circonscrite ainsi dans l'espace et le temps, elle se déroulait en marge de la ville.

Le public et la ville

Le Festival, comme tout événement mondain, attirait vers Baalbek une catégorie aisée de la population libanaise. Il occasionnait un déploiement de beauté et surtout de richesse. Les habits, les bijoux de très grande valeur et les voitures étaient fièrement arborés.

Pour l'habitant, cette mise en scène de la société Beyrouthine était un divertissement éphémère. Ce dernier se terminait avant même le commencement du spectacle. Un témoin[30] de l'époque se souvient du défilé des phares scintillant au loin dans la nuit tel une rivière de diamants. Le rai lumineux signalait l'arrivée des spectateurs habillés à la dernière mode chez les grands couturiers et roulant dans des modèles de voitures dernier cri rarement vus dans la contrée. Par ailleurs, le déplacement du Président de la République à l'occasion de l'ouverture du Festival faisait la joie des enfants attroupés en masse pour l'acclamer sur son passage. Les plus nantis faisaient une pause à l'hôtel Palmyra pour s'y rafraîchir ou s'y changer. Le reste se dirigeait directement vers le site. A l'entrée, ils étaient assaillis par les colporteurs avant de disparaître derrière les remparts. A 20h précises, la ville se vidait d'un seul coup. Il n'y restait plus que les voitures abandonnées par les chauffeurs partis dîner dans les petits restaurants. De temps en temps, les effluves des parfums mêlés embaumaient l'air et l'écho de la représentation résonnait au loin.[31]

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30 Interview avec M. Assaad Bacha.

31 Interview avec M. Toufic Rifaï.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000256

A l'intérieur du site, le parterre se transformait en une seconde scène où les spectateurs se donnaient en spectacle. La comédie du jeu social à chaque fois inédite, et pourtant toujours recommencée, avait pour toile de fond l'environnement pauvre de la ville et de sa région. La présence des placeurs choisis parmi les élèves des écoles locales de préférence bilingues et les traiteurs du buffet[32] représentaient l'unique lien joignant ces deux mondes.

Autour de 23h, le signal de départ vers les restaurants et les hôtels de Zahlé, de Chtaura ou bien encore directement vers Beyrouth était donné. Baalbek s'était mis pour un moment, à l'heure de la civilisation moderne.[33]

Infrastructure touristique

La rapidité du déroulement des spectacles au temple minimisait le rôle de la ville récente. En réalité, la déficience de son infrastructure touristique peu attractive pour le public la marginalisait par rapport au Festival. Ainsi, Baalbek se contentait de prêter son site le temps d'une représentation, au courant de l'été, sans en tirer trop de bénéfices.

Comme on l'a vu plus haut, l'infrastructure touristique disponible à Baalbek lors du démarrage du Festival était modeste. Elle desservait, uniquement les familles venues pour y passer l'été et les touristes étrangers. De fait, la réputation du climat sec de la ville en fit, pendant longtemps, un centre de villégiature pour les familles de Damas et de Beyrouth. Le logement se faisait chez l'habitant, dans les pensions de familles ou bien dans les deux hôtels de la ville: Palmyra et Khawam. Ces deux derniers accueillaient, également, les touristes désireux de passer quelques jours sur les lieux. De plus, quelques petits restaurants rustiques situés à Ras el Ain servaient le fameux "mezzé" aux clients de passage.

L'organisation d'un Festival dans l'enceinte du site ne suscita aucun intérêt pour le développement du secteur touristique. Pourtant l'urgence de la mise en place d'une telle opération se faisait ressentir de plus en plus dans le domaine de l'hôtellerie. La présence des troupes artistiques sur place saturait la capacité d'accueil des hôtels et bloquait, par conséquent, l'accès aux clients potentiels et surtout aux touristes. La création de besoins nouveaux n'encouragea pas pour autant des investissements dans ce sens faute d'acteurs intéressés ...

D'autre part l'Etat, absentéiste comme toujours, ne prit aucune décision pour répondre aux besoins croissant de l'opération. Le rapport de la

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32 Préparé par une famille de Baalbek.

33 Remarque de M. Toufic Rifaï.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000257

Mission IRFED (1960-1961)[34] chargée d'étudier les conditions socio-économiques des régions libanaises, ne proposait-il pas pourtant le développement du tourisme international et de l'artisanat folklorique à Baalbek dans le but de créer des débouchés pour la main d'œuvre locale et freiner ainsi l'exode massif vers Beyrouth de la population rurale issue des villages situés autour de Baalbek? L'Etat aurait pu, par exemple, construire ou aménager un resthouse à l'instar de celui de Saida et celui de Tyr. L'absence d'une intervention du secteur public est injustifiable! Sauf par négligence.

Les acteurs locaux marquèrent, eux aussi, peu d'intérêt pour les activités relatives au secteur touristique. La municipalité ne percevait pas de taxes du Festival qui auraient pu être réinvesties dans un projet quelconque. En outre, pour les investisseurs locaux la réalisation de grands projets touristiques à rendement saisonnier constituait une entreprise à hauts risques dépassant leurs moyens financiers. Les faibles capitaux amassés étaient de préférence investis dans l'immobilier à Beyrouth. L'achat d'appartements à louer garantissait des revenus mensuels plus réguliers et sûrs.[35]

Marginalisation de la ville et de sa population

Le manque d'initiative publique et privée, l'emplacement du site archéologique en bordure de la ville, l'insécurité et l'extrême pauvreté de l'arrière pays et l'éloignement des grands axes routiers entravèrent l'intégration de Baalbek aux projets d'aménagement touristique de caractère national. La ville fut presque isolée du temple et de tout ce qui s'y passait. En conséquence, elle devint avec sa population un élément gênant dans le paysage; les maisons délabrées construites à proximité du site le défiguraient et empêchaient les travaux de fouilles; les débordements de la population pouvaient, quant à eux, menacer à tout moment la sécurité du public.

La mise en place d'un plan d'ensemble d'aménagement urbain et son application aurait intégré le site à la ville. Un nouveau réseau routier aurait par la même occasion, facilité l'accès rapide au *sūq*. Une fois ce dernier décloisonné, une opération d'adaptation partielle[36] des activités économiques au commerce touristique se basant sur la production artisanale locale et de regroupement spécialisé aurait été nécessaire. En somme, la ville

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34 IRFED, *Besoins et Possibilités de Développement au Liban*, Beyrouth: Ministère du Plan 1960-1961, 424-36.

35 Interview avec M. Toufic Rifaï.

36 La centralité de Baalbek par rapport à son arrière-pays ne devait pas être entamée.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000258

aurait constitué un ensemble touristique économiquement rentable pour ses habitants. Or il en fut tout à fait autrement. Tout porte en effet à croire que la ville récente devait absolument s'effacer devant la somptuosité des ruines. Les aménagements et les propositions de planification urbanistiques le prouvèrent.

L'unique intervention pratiquée sur le tissu urbain se limita à l'élargissement de la route à l'entrée de Baalbek en 1954. Elle donna directement accès au site archéologique. Elle s'arrêtait net devant le temple évitant par le fait même de traverser le centre commercial. La ville et ses rues sinueuses intactes restèrent presque impénétrables. D'ailleurs, qui s'en souciait?

Au cours d'une conférence de presse faite au *Cénacle Libanais* le 23 novembre 1959, Henri Pharaon, haute figure de la société nantie de Beyrouth, déplora l'extension de la ville sur le site archéologique. Il proposa, par la même occasion, un nouveau plan d'urbanisme pour Baalbek:

> "Or la petite ville actuelle de Baalbeck que les circonstances ont installée par dessus le site antique, n'est encore constituée que de petites maisons vétustes et de quelques immeubles modernes seulement l'urbanisme y est impraticable et tous les travaux qui y sont réalisés ou le seraient à l'avenir sont voués au néant et à la honte, car ils y détruisent ou menacent irrémédiablement le site antique, qui devra être dégagé tôt ou tard.
> Le déplacement immédiat de la petite ville actuelle s'impose dans son intérêt même, car à proximité il existe des terrains libres, admirablement situés sur des hauteurs pour recevoir des dispositifs d'un urbanisme moderne très avantageux".

Les propositions d'Henri Pharaon traduisent exactement les préoccupations des décideurs de l'époque qui n'avaient cure de la ville et de ses habitants. Le texte de cette conférence fut publié dans le programme du Festival en 1968. Sa réitération, neuf ans plus tard, prouve qu'aucune politique d'aménagement touristique n'avait été appliquée entre-temps. Il n'en demeure pas moins l'unique écrit portant sur la ville moderne paru dans les livrets-programme.

L'absence de politique de développement et de planification urbaine constituèrent autant de facteurs qui écartèrent la population de Baalbek du site et des manifestations artistiques. L'exclusion était d'abord relevée sur le plan économique. L'avantage économique qu'elle tirait de la proximité de l'acropole, demeura très limité. Il se réduisait à quelques maigres activités de restauration, d'hôtellerie ou de commerce. Ce dernier se pratiquait dans les rares magasins de souvenirs (les articles vendus étaient manufacturés à Damas, à Tripoli ou ailleurs ...) ou sous forme de colportage (vente

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000259

de cartes postales, de guides, de maïs grillé ou bouilli ...). Les habitants profitaient, aussi, du passage des visiteurs libanais pour vendre leurs récoltes ou encore leur viande. Ces diverses formes d'échange ne satisfaisaient pas les locaux. Leur frustration se traduisait par des actes anodins mais significatifs. Ne dégonflaient-ils pas, par exemple, les pneus des voitures des spectateurs pour avoir ensuite à les réparer?

La marginalisation de la population de Baalbek se manifestait ensuite au niveau de sa participation au Festival. Outre une petite élite cultivée, la majorité des habitants ne pouvait pas participer aux représentations étrangères. Elle était, par contre, très friande de musique arabe ou folklorique libanaise. Or, le manque de moyens matériels lui rendait ces manifestations inaccessibles. Elle pouvait, donc, pénétrer dans l'enceinte du temple à tout moment pour y assister. Craignant les effets néfastes de l'investissement des lieux par les locaux, les organisateurs prévirent de leur consacrer les avant-premières moyennant le paiement d'un droit d'entrée symbolique. Mis, ainsi, en quarantaine, ils ne menaçaient plus le bon déroulement du Festival ...

Conclusion

La comédie fantastique du Festival International de Baalbek branchait la ville sur Beyrouth et Beyrouth sur le monde entier. L'emboîtement d'univers aussi différenciés mettait en exergue la double vitesse de la société libanaise.

Cette manifestation annuelle avait lieu, en effet, sur un site archéologique important entouré d'une ville pauvre. Elle ne pouvait, dans ce cas, que mettre en relief les contradictions sociales du pays. L'élite œuvrait au développement d'une renommée internationale au Liban cherchant à lui constituer une image moderne basée sur des éléments de la culture occidentale. Et la masse se débattait pour résoudre à ses problèmes vitaux: crise de l'agriculture, exode rural et précarité du niveau de vie dans les bidonvilles ... En 1975, la guerre du Liban révélera qui avait raison sur l'autre.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000260

THE TABLETS OF BAALBEK[1]

HANS CHRISTIAN LANKES (†)

"*Sultan ABD ul-HAMID II / Kaiser der Ottomanen / Seinem Erlauchten Freunde / WILHELM II / Deutscher Kaiser, König von Preussen / und / der KAISERIN / AUGUSTA VICTORIA / Zur Erinnerung / an / Die gegenseitige unwandelbare / Freundschaft / und / Den Besuch der Kaiserlichen Majestäten / in Baalbek / November 1898*" *(Sultan Abd ul-Hamid II / Emperor of the Ottomans / to His noble friend / Wilhelm II / German Emperor / King of Prussia / and / the Empress / Augusta Victoria / In Memory / of / The mutual invariable / Friendship / and / The Visit of The Imperial Majesties / in / Baalbek / November 1898)*

This inscription was transmitted by the British Consul in Damascus on November 10, 1898, by means of a long dispatch to his ambassador in Constantinople, explaining: "I should mention that by order of the Sultan a large handsomely carved marble tablet containing a bilingual inscription in German and Turkish, a copy of the former of which I beg to forward herewith, has already been prepared and even forwarded to its destination viz., Baalbek. It is to be placed in some conspicuous position within the ruins." The consul could not know that the date was to be engraved later, mistakenly as November 1. In fact, the Imperial visit took place between November 10 and 11, 1898.

Twenty years later, in the middle of October 1918, the British general Allenby – who gave his name to the "Allenby Bridge" across the Jordan river, which has been used during the current Middle East conflict as a kind of "Checkpoint Charlie" – visited the ruins of Baalbek after his decisive victory in Palestine. He gave strict orders to remove the bilingual tablet which had been conspicuously installed in the Bacchus temple. Times had changed!

It is only at his Lebanese guide's (Michel Alouf, who had also been Emperor Wilhelm II's guide) request that Allenby refrained from destroy-

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1 The original German version of this article was published under the title "Wettlauf gegen die Zeit. Das Schicksal der Gedenktafeln anläßlich des Besuches Kaiser Wilhelms II. in Baalbek", *Antike Welt* 28 (1997) 2, 141-45. Translation: Peter Thielmann.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000261

ing the tablet completely and that he contented himself with obliterating both the titles and the names of the detested Emperor and his wife.

A good half century later, as the sole guest at the "Palmyra Hotel", I used to sit down every evening with the owners, Monsieur and Madame Moussa Alouf. After a seven-year break in the diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, which had been decided by the Arab League under the pressure of the Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, I was appointed German Ambassador to Lebanon. To flee from time to time the elegant hustle and bustle of the restless city of Beirut, I visited those marvelous ruins in the northern plain of the Bekaa several times. And I was always a guest at the *Palmyra*. On one particular evening we had a conversation about the visit of Wilhelm II in Baalbek and the scientific expedition he personally and immediately ordered to save the ruins. The expedition consisted of a team of experts, under the direction of the archaeologist Otto Puchstein. They worked there until 1905. They were assisted by a large number (about 150) of temporary Lebanese workers. In 1969, Friedrich Ragette of the American University of Beirut commented on the event by saying that "It was a short visit, but what the Emperor had seen was enough to decide on excavation and archaeological exploration of the place. This decision was the starting point for the scientific rediscovery of Baalbek."

Monsieur Alouf told me about the personal experiences of his father Michel and showed me the three-volume book where the field work results had been published. Evidence for the importance given at that time to this project decreed by the Emperor, is the fact that in 1918, that is towards the end of World War I, a member of the Puchstein team was still allowed to visit Baalbek and a plane was placed at his disposal by the German military staff in Damascus in order to make final checkings by means of aerial photographs.

Monsieur Alouf also showed me pictures of the tents pitched between the Bacchus and the Jupiter temple in the midst of the deserted ruins area. All of this only for one single night spent there by the important visitors from Germany.

I took a particular interest in a photograph of the German-Turkish retinue of the Emperor pressing around a trestle decorated with flags which was installed among the ruins. "The inauguration of the commemorative plaques", my host explained to me. I listened closely for I had nowhere seen those tablets in the temple area; I knew nothing about them and about where they came from. "Apart from the Emir Maurice Chéhab, Director General of Antiquities in Lebanon, nobody has been so far interested in those tablets", Alouf said and he ordered: "Come with me!" In an inner

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000262

back-court he pulled away a cover and there they were – left behind by Alouf senior – the two man-high plaques of the purest white marble with both the German and the Ottoman-Turkish text written in ornate styles. Nearby was the pediment joining both tablets, decorated with a laurel wreath turned upwards. I was speechless – and in consternation at the terrible mutilation of the German tablet.

Only then did I learn the whole story, above all the nonsensical action of General Allenby. As if he had waited for that moment, Monsieur Alouf agreed that something had to be done because the historical visit – apart from the political considerations of that time – had led to an important cultural achievement relevant not only for Lebanon and its Roman heritage, but for the world at large. "The commemorative plaques themselves are part of cultural history", he said. In short: we decided to bring the tablets back to the place where they were first put up after the inauguration at the Emperor's request. Of course, the German text had first to be restored. We were enthousiastic!

Monsieur Alouf had probably in mind a kind of posthumous satisfaction for his father who considered his meeting with the German Emperor as the major event of his life and who had rescued and preserved the tablets. My own motivation – of which I became immediately conscious – was a kind of commitment to "rehabilitate" Wilhelm II's memory now that an opportunity so unexpectedly presented itself. The visitors of the temple area should again be able to read the Sultan's message – as it originally was – and come to know that the last German Emperor had not only been pursuing pretentious great-power politics[2] but had also paid reverence to the classical heritage of the host country.

The decision to restore the plaques – which had been enthousiatically made – was one thing, but its implementation was quite another, for there were so many obstacles put in our way. It seemed that we could do nothing without the support of the Director General of Antiquities. And here came the first hurdle. The reason why the tablets were standing inaccessible in the back court of the *Palmyra* was that the owner of the hotel and the Director General had become enemies and had not spoken to each other for years. The former wanted to enlarge his hotel and the latter prevented him from doing so because of the planned future excavation of a Roman theater located under the hotel site. Alouf claimed that the tablets were now his

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2 "His majesty the Sultan and all the 300 million Muslim people spread throughout the world, who are attached to him in his capacity as Caliph should be sure of the fact that the German Emperor will always be their friend ... " Wilhelm II had boasted in his toast in Damascus on November 8, 1898, two days before his visit to Baalbek.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000263

property because they had been in his possession for so many years but the Emir challenged his claim. So, the ambassador acted as a go-between in the negotiations. After some discussion, the Emir – in a letter addressed to me – accepted the conditions of the hotel owner: the Director General declared himself ready to accept the plaques as a present and to restore them to their original place – and not to keep them in the National Museum of Beirut.

That was in the summer of 1974 but – notwithstanding the troubles coming from the PLO, a "state within the state", and its hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees – Lebanon still was the "paradise of the Middle East" where one could move freely. To make sure that work could begin, I had arranged to have the heavy "German" tablet picked up in Baalbek and moved to the workshop of the Director General. I was sure that everything was on the right track, so I made a long holiday trip to my homeland.

When I returned, I was sorry to learn that the Lebanese specialists had not been able to exactly re-create the Gothic characters which could be deciphered only with difficulty. One thing was not at all clear, even with the help of a magnifying glass: was "German Emperor and King of Prussia" written or "German Emperor, King of Prussia"? Looking back, I have to smile at this kind of painstaking care, because it took months to exchange information, and this delay endangered the realization of the plan. Having obtained a paper print of the inscription I was able to make *Inter Nationes* in Bonn take an interest in the problem. The director, Goetz Fehr, made a tremendous effort to clear the problem of the title with the help of a clear copy of the missing text. His inquiries went from the "Landesmuseum" in Koblenz to the "Stadtarchiv" of Neuwied. From there it was taken to the administration of the properties of the House of Hohenzollern in Hechingen, to its general administration in Bremen and, in the end, to the archives of the House in Munich. There it was authoritatively stated that both versions had existed, but that in the official titles the "und" was omitted. Exact measurements have shown also that a comma could have filled the gap. So far so good! Strange to say, nobody took offense at the fact that the name of the Empress had been misspelled. Her name was – also in written form – Auguste Viktoria, not Augusta Victoria.

While I was impatiently following up all these investigations from afar, the year 1975 had come. The internal political situation in Lebanon and life as a whole took a turn for the worse. The painful decision to cancel the "XIX. Festival International de Baalbek" – the organization of which had required a great deal of energy – was a very bad omen. Many gunfights took place in the Bekaa valley. Even in springtime there were

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000264

uprisings and bloody clashes in rapid succession. The situation deteriorated after the execution of a major group of unarmed Palestinians – men, women and children. Enmity was also growing between the Lebanese militias of every stripe and color. The army was itself divided into Christian and Muslim loyalties and could not control the situation anymore. An external threat added to the internal insecurity: Israel blamed the Beirut government for the terrorism of the PLO and made reprisals on Lebanese territory which became more and more violent. The daily office routine was affected, colleagues who did not live nearby had trouble getting safely to the office in Rue Hamra and it was often simply impossible. We were living with each passing hour and tension and nervosity marked our days and nights.

However, the communication with *Inter Nationes* worked out and in the middle of the month, I was informed that a second specialist was found in Bonn (the first one in Neuwied had failed to provide what we were looking for) who could tell us how to reconstruct those complicated characters with the help of pattern books. I promptly received the result drawn on transparent paper.

Now – we were already end of May and the Foreign Office had announced my transfer to Addis Abeba – race against time had begun. The plaque was moved through the whole city to a stonecutter whose workshop I could easily reach during my daily trips in my official armored car. I had a preliminary meeting with him concerning the restoration. He milled out the damaged five lines neatly, and then prepared a thin tablet of marble which fitted perfectly into the milled out cavity without the edges showing. At the beginning of July, I had the exact paper copy in hand to give him for this project. Although he was a tombstone engraver by profession, the man was now all on fire for this project. I visited the workshop whenever I could to watch – with admiration – the transposition on the plaque of the nearly 70 characters with all their ornamentations. It turned out to be a masterpiece.

At the same time I persuaded the Emir who was hesitant because of the situation in general, to have eight strong bolts made of stainless steel forged to fix the tablets and to set up in the Bacchus temple a scaffolding and to bring a hoist.

When Monsieur Alouf told me that everything was ready, my daring driver took the precious load through the numerous check points along the Damascus road, over the Baidar pass (1500 meters high!) and then through the troubled Bekaa valley to Baalbek. The tablets were provided with four holes each for the bolts and matching holes were drilled into the wall of the temple. There was no doubt that we had the correct original site. In-

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000265

deed, although the building had been exposed to rain and to extreme variations in temperature (I had myself experienced minus 20 degrees below zero there!), the square stones against which the then framed plaques had hung for twenty years, resting on the ledge of a niche, still showed signs of fading.

But I missed the highlight of the project. It is true that I did succeed in persuading the civil engineer in charge of the technical aspect of the operation to come to a meeting on the "building site". He was living far outside of Beirut and for safety reasons he came to the meeting by secret back roads. He arrived so late that his local workers – in my presence and that of Monsieur Alouf – only had the time to hoist the tablets on the platform of the 11 meter-high scaffolding. But the fixing had become impossible because night had already come. I had to urgently go back to the city, and the engineer put me off until later. He assured me that the project will be completed and that I could come at the earliest opportunity to check it out myself.

But there was no opportunity. The small country of Lebanon went from one crisis to the other. The absence of the ambassador, if only for a few hours was unacceptable, much less the cross-country trip to Baalbek. My circumspect Bavarian bodyguard did not understand my extravagances and declared the plain of the Bekaa "out of bounds". For him, the rehabilitation of Kaiser Wilhelm – God rest his soul! – could not account for such a huge risk ... It wasn't worth it! The Lebanese government shared the same opinion. During the last few weeks, after my family had left, I moved to a hotel near the office and my car was guarded by a jeep of the gendarmerie during the inevitable drives through town who also secured roof and windows against snipers. Because the phone lines with Baalbek had been cut, nobody from the Directorate General of Antiquities was able to inform me about the fate of the plaques. I left Lebanon having no idea about what had happened to "my tablets" after a whole year of strenuous efforts.

It was mid-September 1975, and that was, as we have learned, the beginning of the all-out civil war which was to last 15 years.

A young colleague from Beirut, who had followed my steps with sympathy, was later working in Damascus. From there he made a trip to Baalbek in 1980, and from him I learned that the civil engineer had kept his word. A letter arrived with an enclosed photograph of both tablets in shining white between the yellowish-brown columns on the wall. As to the pediment of the old plaques, Monsieur Alouf obviously had not brought himself to part with it. It might still be in the inner court of the *Palmyra* as a kind of private souvenir.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000266

Since the summer of 1997, the international "Festival de Baalbeck" has resumed its activities after a break of more than twenty years. The energy of the Lebanese people to survive commands respect! Once again, the temple of Bacchus will be, as it was before, the center of the event. Participants and spectators from all over the world will catch sight of the commemorative plaques for the first time and they will learn of the Imperial visit nearly 100 years ago. Most of them, including the Lebanese, will certainly be surprised. But only a few of them will realize what this visit had accomplished. Monsieur Alouf recalled a question the German guest had asked the flabbergasted governor of the province of Damascus "Why didn't His Majesty the Sultan give orders to do something for the conservation of this unique heritage?"

Would it be too far-fetched to suppose that had it not been for the Imperial visit of November 1898, and for Wilhelm II's immediate perception of the excellence of the ruins area and especially that of the highly attractive Smaller Temple which Puchstein attributed to Bacchus – one of the best preserved Roman temples comparable only to the Parthenon – the Festival of Baalbek might have never taken place?

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Fig. 1.1

Fig. 1.2

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Fig. 1.3

Figs. 1.1-1.3: Inauguration of the marble tablet commemorating
the visit of Kaiser Wilhelm II and his wife to Baalbek, November 11, 1898.
Photo Archives Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA), Istanbul.
Courtesy *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*, Damascus.

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Fig. 2: The Imperial tablets in the Bacchus Temple, 1998.
Photo: Barbara Grunewald, 1998.
Courtesy *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*, Berlin.

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PART III

BAALBEK:
MONUMENT AND ARCHAEOLOGY

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LOOKING FOR PRE-HELLENISTIC BAALBEK

HÉLÈNE SADER AND MARGARETE VAN ESS

The name of Baalbek has always been associated with the impressive remains of the Roman temples that made the site world famous. The outstanding features of these extraordinary monuments, uncovered and documented by German architects some hundred years ago,[1] have shadowed for decades scholarly interest for the earlier history of the site. With the exception of Kuschke's studies on the settlement history of the Bekaa,[2] no serious efforts were made to systematically investigate the available evidence related to pre-Hellenistic Baalbek. This research is needed in order to correctly assess the development process and the role played by the city before it became, in the Classical period, a prominent religious and trading center of the area. This task was and still is very difficult for a twofold reason: the ancient name of Baalbek remains unidentified and the scanty archaeological evidence from the Bronze and Iron Ages was not properly recorded and never published (see below). Our attempt to investigate the pre-Hellenistic history of Baalbek was dictated by the need to collect all the available information on that period for the permanent exhibition explaining the site to the public, now displayed in the basement of the great Jupiter temple. The present study will investigate the available textual evidence related to the area of Baalbek in an attempt to determine the city's identity and to understand the situation prevailing there in the second and first millennia BC. The historical study will be complemented by the unpublished ceramic material collected from the soundings made in Baalbek by the Lebanese Department of Antiquities in the sixties. Dr Camille

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1 Theodor Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1921*. 3 vols., Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter 1921-1925.

2 Arnulf Kuschke, "Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte der Bika'", *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* [ZDPV] 70 (1954), 104-29; "Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte der Bika'", *ZDPV* 71 (1955), 97-110; "Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte der Bika'", *ZDPV* 74 (1958), 81-120; "Die Biqa', ihre altorientalischen Siedlungen und Verkehrswege", in: *Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde*, vol. 3, Bonn: Rudolph Habelt 1966, 15-30; Arnulf Kuschke, Siegfried Mittmann and Uwe Müller, *Archäologischer Survey in der nördlichen Biqa', Herbst 1972*, Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert 1976 [Beiheft zum TAVO, Reihe B, no.11].

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000273

Asmar, General Director of the Department of Antiquities, kindly granted us permission to present it in this anniversary volume.

I. Heliopolis and Baalbek

In this search for Bronze and Iron Age Baalbek, the first question that arises is the following: when did the toponym Baalbek start to be used? Was it the site's pre-Hellenistic name? Was it first used during the Classical period side by side with Heliopolis? Or was it first introduced after the Arab conquest?

It has been established beyond serious doubt that the well-known Greek appellation, Heliopolis, City of the Sun, came into use after the Seleukid conquest[3] in 198 BC and survived until the Arab conquest in the mid-seventh century AD. Heliopolis is mentioned for the first time in 64 BC[4] and for the last time on early Umayyad coins minted at Baalbek and bearing both the Greek and the local name of the site.[5] While the origin and meaning of Heliopolis as well as the time span during which this name was in use are fairly well established, those of the modern toponym are not.

The modern name of the site, Baalbek,[6] appears for the first time in Syriac in Eusebius' *Theophany* around 411 AD (see note 6) and on the above mentioned early Umayyad coins of the seventh century written in Arabic for the first time side by side with Heliopolis. The toponym Baalbek has been differently interpreted by various scholars: Baal of the Bekaa, *Baal Bki* or Weeping Baal, and *Baal nbk* or Baal of the Spring.[7] The toponym clearly shows that the city owed its name to its main deity, a *Baal*, whose main attribute cannot be determined with certainty in the absence of a clear-cut etymology. Both Baal of the Spring and Baal of the Bekaa seem to fit the prevailing natural conditions: Baalbek enjoys an abundance of water provided by the main sources of the area, Rās al-ʿAyn and al-Jūj, and

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3 Henri Seyrig, "Le culte du Soleil en Syrie", *Syria* 48 (1971), 346-47.

4 John D. Grainger, *Hellenistic Phoenicia*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1991, 113.

5 Nina Jidéjian, *Baalbek-Heliopolis, City of the Sun*, Beirut: Dar el Mashreq 1975, 71.

6 According to an undocumented statement by Otto Eißfeldt, "Die ältesten Bezeugungen von Baalbek als Kultstätte", *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 4 (1936), 52, it appears for the first time around 400 AD. This almost certainly refers to the occurrence of the name in Syriac in Eusebius' *Theophany* mentioned by Rey-Coquais, in Louis Jalabert and René Mouterde, eds., *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*, vol. 6, Paris: Geuthner 1967, 417 and note 4.

7 Stefan Wild, *Libanesische Ortsnamen. Typologie und Deutung*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner 1973 [Beiruter Texte und Studien; 9], 219-23.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000274

it is located in the fertile Bekaa valley. However, none of them is known in ancient written sources.

The etymology of the local toponym (Baal of the Spring or Baal of the Bekaa) and the fact that the city became a prominent religious center in the Roman period led scholars to the conclusion that Baalbek must have been already an important cult place in pre-Hellenistic times. They also argue that the modern place name is nothing but the resurgence at the end of the Classical period of the older Semitic toponym.[8] This assumption finds neither archaeological nor textual support since nothing indicates the existence of such a cult place during the Bronze and Iron Ages. Eißfeldt[9] tried to trace back the religious role of Baalbek to pre-Hellenistic times by identifying the site with that of biblical Baal-Gad, an identification rejected by other scholars.[10]

The pre-Hellenistic name of the site remains completely in the dark and the later toponym Baalbek is not attested in any second or first millennium text. On the other hand, it is impossible to know whether the site was an important center for the cult of Baal-Adad during that period. The available evidence seems rather to suggest that Baalbek became an important religious site in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. According to Grainger, the promotion of the city to an important cult center was a later event that occurred after the Seleukid conquest.[11] The reasons that have dictated the choice of Baalbek as the site of such a cult are beyond the scope of this study and might be related not to the hypothetical presence of a local shrine or cult but most probably to the creation of a new network of trade routes that passed by the city. The toponym Baalbek probably came into being during this era and was used by the local population together with the official Greek name. This assumption is supported by the fact that Baalbek is attested already in 411 AD and also because both Baalbek and Heliopolis are used side by side in the early Umayyad period. The toponym Baalbek is not Arabic in origin and probably goes back to the period preceding the Arab conquest. The Arabs simply adopted the local designation and rejected the Greek appellation.

If we are correct in assuming that the place name Baalbek is a later designation born first during the Hellenistic period as a result of the radical

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8 Kuschke et al., *Archäologischer Survey* (fn. 2), 107.

9 Eißfeldt, "Die ältesten Bezeugungen von Baalbek als Kultstätte" (fn. 6), 51-52.

10 Kuschke et al., *Archäologischer Survey* (fn. 2), 107, and note 12.

11 Grainger, *Hellenistic Phoenicia* (fn. 4), 113.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000275

change in the status of the city, what was the pre-Hellenistic name of the site?

II. The textual evidence

1. Second millennium texts

The earliest mentions of the Bekaa valley and its settlements are found in the Egyptian texts of the second millennium BC[12] and in the Amarna correspondence.[13]

In the Amarna letters, the area extending roughly from Baalbek in the north to Rayak in the south,[14] is called *Amqu*,[15] meaning valley. Before adopting the equation Amqu-Northern Bekaa, Noth had earlier rejected this identification on the basis of the fact that the valley is called Biqaʿat and not Amqu in the Old Testament.[16] The Egyptian texts of the same period do not use the term Amqu to speak of the Bekaa.[17]

Since Amqu designates the area between Baalbek and Rayak, it is among the series of place names mentioned in the Amarna letters as being located in this region that one might look for ancient Baalbek. These toponyms are:

(1) Ṭubuḫi,[18] d-b-ḫú of the Egyptian texts[19] and bṭḥ or ṭbḥt of II Sam. 8,8 and I Chr. 18,8. According to El Amarna letter 179, the sender of the letter claims that Ṭubuḫi is his ancestral city and that his "brother" illegally occupied it. No further information is given as to its location. Papyrus Anastasi 19,1 mentions it together with Qadesh, modern Tell Nebi Mend. The same northern location is suggested by I Chr. 18,8 when Ṭubuḫi is mentioned in connection with Cun, classical Conna, generally located at Ras Baalbek, at the northern edge of the Bekaa, north of

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12 Wolfgang Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1962.

13 William A. Moran, *Les lettres d'El Amarna. Correspondance diplomatique du Pharaon*, Paris: Editions du Cerf 1987.

14 Kuschke, "Beiträge", *ZDPV* 74 (1958) (fn. 2), 100-01.

15 Moran, *El Amarna* (fn. 13), letters nos. 53, 140, 170, 173, 174, 175 and 363.

16 Martin Noth, "Die Wege der Pharaonenheere in Palästina und Syrien", *ZDPV* 61 (1938), 48.

17 Helck, *Beziehungen* (fn. 12), 276.

18 Moran, *El Amarna* (fn. 13), letter no. 179.

19 Helck, *Beziehungen* (fn. 12), 128.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000276

Hirmil.[20] Dussaud suggests that Ṭubuḫi might be identified with Baalbek[21] ("... comme on n'a pas encore retrouvé le nom ancien de Ba'albeck, il se pourrait que ce fût celui-là.") since it is mentioned in II Sam. 8,8 together with Berothai-Bereitan-Brîtel, a locality southwest of Baalbek. Noth[22] finally, locates it in the Anti-Lebanon. To sum up, Ṭubuḫi remains unidentified and the evidence seems to suggest a site in the northern Bekaa, maybe Khirbet Busaybis which was settled in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages.[23] An identification with Baalbek cannot be convincingly argued.

(2) Ḫasi,[24] ḫa-si-ja of the Egyptian texts,[25] ḫsswm of the Execration texts?[26] The identification with Tell Ḥizzīn,[27] 10 km southwest of Baalbek, is widely accepted. Noth[28] had identified it with Palestinian Ghazza and had placed all the cities of Amqu in Palestine. The city was the capital of a small independent kingdom and two of its rulers, Ildayyi and Mayarzana, are mentioned in the Amarna letters. Ildayyi, complains about an attack against his cities led by the ruler of Qadesh[29] while Mayarzana speaks in his two letters[30] of an Apiru attack against the towns of Maḫzibtu, Gilunu, Magdallu and Ušte which were captured by the enemy. Only Ḫasi resisted the assault. He informs Pharaoh that Amanḫatpe, the man of Tušultu, another city-state of Amqu, is an ally of the Apiru and that he gave refuge to the attackers. The archaeological evidence from Tell Ḥizzīn[31] clearly showed the importance of this site in the second millennium BC. The Lebanese Department of Antiquities undertook short archaeological operations on the site[32] which yielded important Egyptian

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20 René Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris: Geuthner 1927, 405.

21 Ibid.

22 Noth, "Wege" (fn. 16).

23 Leon Marfoe, *Kamid el-Loz. 13. The Prehistoric and Early Historic Context of the Site*, Bonn: Rudolph Habelt 1995 [Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde; 41], maps 21 and 23.

24 Moran, *El Amarna* (fn. 13), letters nos. 175, 185, 186.

25 Helck, *Beziehungen* (fn. 12), 128.

26 Kuschke, "Beiträge", *ZDPV* 74 (1958) (fn. 2), 86, 99.

27 Ibid., 99.

28 Noth, "Wege" (fn. 16), 49.

29 Moran, *El Amarna* (fn. 13), letter no. 175.

30 Ibid., 185-86.

31 Marfoe, *Kamid el-Loz* (fn. 23), 241.

32 Maurice Chéhab, "Chronique", *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 9 (1949-52), 109.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000277

finds suggesting that Tell Ḥizzīn was one of, if not the main center of Amqu.

(3) Ḫašabu,[33] ḫa-š()-bu of the Egyptian texts[34] commonly identified with Tell Ḥashbe, 16 km westsouthwest of Baalbek.[35] The survey of the site showed an uninterrupted occupation from the Epipalaeolithic to the Medieval period.[36] Ḫašabu was the center of an independent entity whose ruler, Bieri, complains, like the man of Ḫasi, about an attack by Aitakama, king of Qadesh.

(4) Tušultu,[37] tu_4-sú-l-tí of the Egyptian texts mentioned after Ḫašabu in the list of Thutmoses III.[38] It is the center of an independent entity whose "man", Amanḫatpe, appears as the enemy of Ḫasi and Egypt, since he allied himself with the Apiru and gave them refuge after they had attacked cities of Amqu belonging to Ḫasi. No identification has been proposed for Tušultu but it cannot be very far from Tell Ḥizzīn. It might be a possible candidate for ancient Baalbek.

(5) Maḫzibtu,[39] settlement near Ḫasi, first of three sites attacked and captured by the Apiru.

(6) Gilunu,[40] settlement near Ḫasi, second of the three sites attacked and captured by the Apiru.

(7)Magdallu,[41] m()-k-ta_2-l of the Egyptian texts,[42] has been identified with Tell Majdalūn, 7 km southwest of Baalbek.[43] The survey evidence, however, did not yield any Late Bronze Age material and the Middle Bronze occupation does not seem certain.[44] Without completely ruling out the possibility of such an identification, the survey evidence casts some doubt on it. However, the textual information, the location and the similarity between the old and the new toponym strongly speak in favor of Magdallu being Tell Majdalūn. The evidence from El Amarna

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33 Moran, *El Amarna* (fn. 13), letter no. 174.

34 Helck, *Beziehungen* (fn. 12), 128.

35 Kuschke, "Beiträge", *ZDPV* 70 (1954), 95 and *ZDPV* 74 (1958) (fn. 2), 93.

36 Marfoe, *Kamid el-Loz* (fn. 23), 240-41.

37 Moran, *El Amarna* (fn. 13), letters nos. 185, 186.

38 Helck, *Beziehungen* (fn. 12), 128.

39 Moran, *El Amarna* (fn. 13), letters nos. 185, 186.

40 Ibid., 185, 186.

41 Ibid.

42 Helck, *Beziehungen* (fn. 12), 222.

43 Kuschke, "Beiträge", *ZDPV* 70 (1954), 123-24 and *ZDPV* 74 (1958) (fn. 2), 93.

44 Marfoe, *Kamid el-Loz* (fn. 23), 242.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000278

letters 185-186 points out to a systematic and planned attack of the Apiru, the ultimate aim of which was the capture of Ḫasi, the main center of the area. Their strategy obviously consisted in capturing the main towns belonging to Ḫasi and located in its immediate surrounding in order to weaken the center before launching the final attack. Maḫzibtu, Gilunu, Magdallu and Ušte are mentioned in both letters in this same order and they must be located around Tell Ḥizzīn. Several Bronze and Iron Age settlements surround this site and can be good candidates for Maḫzibtu, Gilunu and Ušte. The identification of Tušultu with Baalbek might find additional support in this context since after each razzia, the Apiru took refuge in nearby Tušultu. Baalbek is indeed far from the densely settled area of Tell Ḥizzīn but close enough to serve as a *point d'appui* for repeated attacks against Ḫasi. Another alternative would be to locate rebellious Tušultu in the near-by Lebanon mountain, where the Apiru people were seeking refuge.

(8) Ušte[45] is a city belonging to Ḫasi and located in its immediate vicinity.

(9) Gudašuna,[46] ki-ta-sú-na of the Egyptian texts,[47] mentioned after Ḫasi in the list of Thutmoses III and located in the vicinity of this settlement.[48] It was an autonomous chiefdom and one of its rulers, Yumiuta, is mentioned in El Amarna letter 177. The exact location of this settlement is not known. Jdīta[49] and Jazzīn[50] have been suggested as candidates.

(10) Enišasi[51] is another independent chiefdom of Amqu. Two of its rulers are known, Šatiya and Abdi-Riša. This latter suffered an attack from Aitakama, king of Qadesh. Its exact location remains unknown but it is to be looked for in the area of Tell Ḥizzīn. Kuschke[52] suggests either Tell Ayn Sharif or Tell el-Ghassil.

(11) Šaddu[53] is a city in Amqu which was captured by a certain Arzawuya with the help of Aziru's troops. No hint as to its location.

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45 Moran, *El Amarna* (fn. 13), letter no. 185.

46 Ibid., 177.

47 Helck, *Beziehungen* (fn. 12), 128.

48 Kuschke, "Beiträge", *ZDPV* 74 (1958) (fn. 2), 101.

49 Ibid., 92.

50 François-Marie Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, 2 vols., Paris: Gabalda, 1933, vol. II, 8.

51 Moran, *El Amarna* (fn. 13), letters nos. 187, 363.

52 Kuschke, "Beiträge", *ZDPV* 74 (1958) (fn. 2), 100.

53 Moran, *El Amarna* (fn. 13), letter no. 197.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000279

(12) Taḫši,[54] ta-ḫ-sí of the Egyptian texts,[55] refers to a region or district and not to a city. According to Egyptian textual evidence, it is to be located in the area of Tell Nebi Mend.[56]

(13) Lapana,[57] la-bá-na of the Egyptian texts.[58] Helck and Kuschke[59] reject its identification with modern Labwe, 30 km north of Baalbek, since it belongs to the province of Upe. Helck locates it east of the Anti-Lebanon, at the height of Baalbek. Labwe occurs as la-bí-'u in the list of Thutmoses III.

The following toponyms, mentioned only in the Egyptian texts, are also located in the Bekaa but most of them lie north of the Baalbek area and have to be discarded in the discussion concerning the identity of ancient Baalbek:

(14) š()-b-tu-na, Šabtuna of the battle of Qadesh,[60] was identified by Helck with Rible. Kuschke[61] rejects this identification and suggests Tell Maʿyan as the site of Šabtuna.

(15) ha-r'()-l, var. ha-r-m-'()-l, ha-r-ma-na, 'á-ra-ma-na[62]: Its identification with modern Hirmil is widely accepted.

(16) la-bí-'u, modern Labwe.[63]

(17) ja-nu-mú[64]: Identified by Noth[65] with Yunīn, 10 km northeast of Baalbek and with Yammūne or Yunīn by Kuschke[66]. Both suggestions have been rejected by Helck as incompatible with the itinerary of the campaign.

(18) 'á-pá-qa[67]: Maybe Naḥle, 6 km northeast of Baalbek.[68]

(19) ra-bí-l-ta$_2$[69], Ribla.

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54 Ibid., 189.

55 Helck, *Beziehungen* (fn. 12), 275.

56 Kuschke, "Beiträge", *ZDPV* 74 (1958) (fn. 2), 102, and Helck, *Beziehungen* (fn. 12), 276.

57 Moran, *El Amarna* (fn. 13), letters nos. 53, 54.

58 Helck, *Beziehungen* (fn. 12), 128.

59 Kuschke, "Beiträge", *ZDPV* 74 (1958) (fn. 2), 103 and Helck, *Beziehungen* (fn. 12), 276.

60 Helck, *Beziehungen*, 130 and 201.

61 Kuschke, *Archäologischer Survey* (fn. 2), 113-14.

62 Helck, *Beziehungen* (fn. 12), 131.

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid., 221.

65 Noth, "Wege" (fn. 16), 65.

66 Kuschke, "Beiträge", *ZDPV* 74 (1958) (fn. 2), 103, 108.

67 Helck, *Beziehungen* (fn. 12), 221.

68 Kuschke, "Beiträge", *ZDPV* 74 (1958) (fn. 2), 109.

69 Helck, *Beziehungen* (fn. 12), 251.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000280

The evidence from the second millennium texts shows that Amqu was fragmented into several independent chiefdoms, the most important being Ḫasi, Ḫašabu, Tušultu, Gudašuna and Enišasi. Ḫasi-Tell Ḫizzīn seems to have been the main political center of the area and the survey maps[70] clearly show that most ancient sites concentrate around it. On the other hand, Baalbek seems rather isolated from the other settlements. The security of the city-states loyal to Egypt was violated by the Apiru and by Aitakama of Qadesh, an ally of the Hittites, who attacked Ḫasi, Ḫašabu and Enišasi. Kuschke thinks that the text of the three Amarna letters narrating this event and sent by the rulers of these three cities is one and the same.[71] The only chiefdom of Amqu hostile to Egypt is Tušultu where the Apiru found refuge.

To suggest an identification of Baalbek with one of the abovementioned Amqu chiefdoms remains mere conjecture. A survey of these toponyms clearly shows that Baalbek was not used as a place name during that period. Its presumed original name as Baal Bekaa or *Baal nbk* is not attested. Kuschke had correctly observed[72] that the identification of these place names with modern sites is made difficult by the fact that most of them have Arabic names and did not keep their older appellation. His observation does not however apply to Baalbek which has preserved a pre-Arabic name.[73] On the other hand, there is no mention of an important cult center or famous shrine in any of the Amqu settlements appearing in the Amarna and Egyptian texts. The Egyptian enumeration of the gods protecting the treaties which lists the most prominent cult places of the weather-god in Syria, does not mention any of these toponyms of Amqu[74] as being the site of such a religious practice.

Are we led then to the conclusion that Baalbek is simply not mentioned in second millennium texts? This is highly probable since the available archaeological evidence also shows that Baalbek has no Late Bronze Age occupation.[75] Moreover, the survey evidence indicates the absence of ancient settlements in its immediate surroundings. These facts speak against the assumption that Baalbek was a major center of the area in the Amarna Age. It indeed lies off the main route used by the Pharaohs in their

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70 Marfoe, *Kamid el-Loz* (fn. 23), map 23.

71 Kuschke, "Beiträge", *ZDPV* 74 (1954) (fn. 2), 98.

72 Kuschke, *Archäologischer Survey* (fn. 2), 112.

73 Wild, *Libanesische Ortsnamen* (fn. 7), 219 ff.

74 Helck, *Beziehungen* (fn. 12), 226 ff.

75 Marfoe, *Kamid el Loz* (fn. 23), 256, and map 23.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000281

Syrian campaigns. As the Wiegand report[76] correctly noted, "Baalbek hat nie unmittelbar eine besondere Bedeutung als Straßenpunkt gehabt ... und es liegt auch nicht an einer besonders engen Stelle der Hochebene, an der der Durchzug leichter als anderwärts zu sperren wäre." So the city never enjoyed an important strategic position and could have well played no significant role until much later.

2. First millennium texts

First millennium textual evidence from the Assyrian annals and the Old Testament does not shed more light on pre-Hellenistic Baalbek. No direct written evidence is available from the site itself and the various attempts to identify Baalbek with one of the toponyms occurring in the above-mentioned sources remains merely hypothetical.

The Old Testament calls the Bekaa valley *Bqʿt hlbnn* and does not use the Late Bronze Age designation Amqu. The sites located in the Bekaa and mentioned in the biblical text are Baal-Gad, Tibehat, Berothai, Cun and Lebo Hamath. Baal Gad (Jos. 11:17, 12:7, 13:5) has been identified by Eißfeldt with Baalbek (see above) in spite of the fact that the biblical text clearly says that it is situated at the foot of Mount Hermon. Tibehat, Berothai, and Cun are cities belonging to Hadadezer of Ṣobah, the 10th century BC Aramaean ruler and contemporary of David. Bṭḥ (II Sam. 8:8) or ṭbḥt (I Chr. 18:8) is the only toponym that has survived from the second millennium BC and it has been unanimously accepted as the Ṭubuḫi of the Amarna letter 179. It was arbitrarily identified with Baalbek by Dussaud but we have seen that a location north of Baalbek seems more appropriate (see above under Ṭubuḫi).

Berothai is also commonly identified with Bereitan,[77] Brîtel of the 1/20 000 Lebanon map. "Les noms des villes de Hadadezer dont II Sam 8,8 attribue le sac à David nous orientent plus précisément vers la région de Ba'albeq dans la Beqa': Berothai rappelle Bereitan et la grande quantité de bronze évoque la Chalcis du Liban".[78] However, the identification of Berothai with Bereitan-Brîtel seems to have relied only on a vague similarity of names without taking into account the archaeological evidence. Indeed, the systematic survey of the Bekaa did not spot any ancient settle-

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76 Bruno Schulz and Hermann Winnefeld, in Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek* (fn. 1), vol 1, 14.

77 Kuschke, "Beiträge", *ZDPV* 70 (1954) (fn. 2), 122, and note 63.

78 Paul-Emile Dion, *Les Araméens à l'Age du Fer: Histoire politique et structures sociales*, Paris: Gabalda 1997, 174.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000282

ment near this modern town[79] in spite of Dussaud's claim that ancient remains and tombs are found there[80]. This identification seems to have been initiated by Forrer in the nineteenth century and later transmitted without any critical assessment.[81] The city is said to be one of the main centers of Ṣobah and it cannot have disappeared without leaving any trace. Cun can be identified with classical Conna, a main stop on the Homs-Damascus road. This locality has been identified with Ras Baalbek, one of the main sources of the Orontes.[82]

The kingdom of Ṣobah to which these cities are said to belong is widely believed to be the Ṣupite of the Assyrian texts. While Ṣobah is known in both the biblical and the Assyrian texts, the other first millennium toponym referring to the Bekaa, Manṣuate, is mentioned only in the Assyrian records. These two toponyms refer to two different geographical districts since they are mentioned side by side in the list enumerating the Assyrian provinces created after the defeat of Aram-Damascus.[83] Ṣobah is attested since the XIth century BC in the biblical records while Manṣuate appears for the first time in the eponym entry for the year 796 BC, probably in the context of Adad-nerari III's campaign against Damascus[84]. Dion[85] suggests that Manṣuate might have been the new designation of Beth Rehob, the country of origin of Hadadezer of Ṣobah, usually located in the southern Bekaa.

Concerning the localization of Ṣobah, Forrer[86] believes that it lies in the area including the northern and central Bekaa and identifies Baalbek as its center: "Da der natürliche Mittelpunkt dieses Gebietes immer Ba'albek (Heliopolis) war, und unbekannt ist, wie diese Stadt, bevor sie den Namen Heliopolis erhielt, hieß, vermute ich, daß Ba'albek, das alte Supite (Zoba) ist". This identification remains purely conjectural and is once again based on the unproved assumption that Baalbek was the main center of the area in the first millennium by analogy with its role in the Hellenistic-Roman

79 Marfoe, *Kamid el-Loz* (fn. 23), 245-46.

80 Dussaud, *Topographie* (fn. 20), 405.

81 Kuschke, "Beiträge", *ZDPV* 74 (1958) (fn. 2), 112-13.

82 Dussaud, *Topographie* (fn. 20), 396.

83 Emil Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung 1920, 62.

84 Manfred Weippert, "Die Feldzüge Adadnararis III. nach Syrien", *ZDPV* 108 (1992), 53.

85 Dion, *Les Araméens* (fn. 78), 175.

86 Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung* (fn. 83), 62.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000283

period. Weippert[87] localizes Ṣobah in the northern Bekaa including the steppe east of the Anti-Lebanon. Dion[88] says that Ṣobah was located north of Beth Rehob and included both the valley and the Anti-Lebanon mountains. This, according to him, can be inferred from the interchangeable use of both terms, Ituraeans and Ṣobah, in a text fragment preserved in Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica.*

Manṣuate has been identified with classical Massyas[89] which extended from Tell Nabi Mend in the north to Chalcis ad Libanum, in the area of modern Anjar. The classical term Massyas is much wider than Assyrian Manṣuate since it includes the northern Bekaa valley or ancient Ṣobah. The Assyrian designation, Manṣuate, most probably referred only to the southern Bekaa. In other words, Ṣobah was the name of the northern and Manṣuate that of the southern Bekaa in the first millennium BC. Baalbek obviously belonged to Ṣobah but this does not solve the problem of the city's identity and role during that period.

The Assyrian eponym list mentions the entry *ana* ^{uru}*Baʿli* for the year 803 BC and this city which appears only here, has been interpreted by Honigmann[90] as the ancient name of Baalbek. As Weippert[91] correctly points out, all attempts to localize this city, and they are many, remain conjectural since it is not even certain that it should be looked for in the West.

To sum up, the Bekaa valley was divided in the first millennium BC into a northern and a southern district respectively known as Ṣupite and Manṣuate. This area was under Aramaean dominion. Hadadezer of Ṣobah ruled it until the secession of Rezon who founded the kingdom of Aram Damascus. This kingdom became after the tenth century BC the most significant Aramaean power and included the Bekaa, the area of Damascus, the Hauran and the Golan. Baalbek was located in the district of Ṣupite-Ṣobah but whether it was the center of the district and bore the same name remains questionable. None of the important cities of the Bekaa mentioned in the biblical narrative as belonging to Ṣobah can be identified with Baalbek and none of them is said to be the site of an important cult or shrine of the god Baal-Adad. The biblical text only refers to important quantities of bronze being taken from them.

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87 Manfred Weippert, "Menahem von Israel und seine Zeitgenossen", *ZDPV* 89 (1973), 45, and note 74.

88 Dion, *Les Araméens* (fn. 78), 174, and note 18.

89 Weippert, "Feldzüge" (fn. 84), 53.

90 Honigmann, "Baalbek", in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, vol. I, Berlin: de Gruyter 1928, 327-28.

91 Weippert, "Feldzüge" (fn. 84), 50.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000284

All this negative evidence from the second and first millennia BC seems to speak against the assumption that Baalbek was the main center of the area in that period. It rather tends to suggest that the importance of Baalbek as a main cult place was born out of a political decision taken by the Seleukid rulers. This choice might have been dictated, as suggested above, by favorable natural conditions and by the creation of new communication routes. To help increase the prestige of the previously insignificant settlement, an outstanding importance was given to the cult of the local Baal.

Since the written sources do not betray any clear-cut information about the role played by pre-Hellenistic Baalbek, does the archaeological evidence fill this gap?

III. The archaeological evidence

1. The Bekaa Surveys

The Bekaa is the only area in the Lebanon that was systematically and comprehensively surveyed. Since the early 1930's, scholars showed an interest for the ancient settlements of the valley and several archaeological surveys were undertaken there. The most complete of these investigations is the one conducted and published by Marfoe[92] which also incorporates the information collected by previous scholars.

The Bekaa was one of the main targets of prehistorians who, in the course of the years, tried to spot most of the prehistoric sites of the area.[93] The most significant surveys were those conducted by Copeland and Wescombe,[94] Hours and Besançon,[95] Schroeder[96] and Azoury[97].

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92 Marfoe, *Kamid el-Loz* (fn. 23), maps 21 and 23.

93 Gassia Artin, *Bilan critique de la préhistoire au Liban*, Mémoire de Maîtrise, Beyrouth: Université Saint Joseph 1994, 20-26.

94 Lorraine Copeland and Peter Wescombe, "Inventory of Stone Age Sites in Lebanon", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 41 (1965-66), 29-176.

95 Francis Hours and Jacques Besançon, "Quelques sites préhistoriques nouveaux dans la Beqa'a", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 44 (1968), 77-84.

96 H.B. Schroeder, "A Prehistoric Survey in the Northern Biqa' Valley", *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 23 (1970), 193-205.

97 Ingrid Azoury, "Report on a Prehistoric Survey in the Northern Biqa'", in *TAVO* Beiheft 11, Wiesbaden: Reichert 1976.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000285

Concerning the historical periods, Jirku's[98] pioneer work was followed by Kuschke's[99] systematic survey and thorough analysis of the historical sources related to the Bekaa. His work remains a basic and useful reference. In the context of the German archaeological project in Kamid el-Loz, he presented a catalogue of all pre-Hellenistic settlements known to him.[100] His 1972 joint survey of the northern Bekaa with Mittmann and Müller was another occasion for a historical and topographical study of the area.[101] Finally, Marfoe's[102] catalogue "lists all the known and located ancient sites in the Biqa' valley, whether attested by archaeological remains or textual sources. It also includes seventy-seven sites outside the survey area that are known from either published or unpublished collections". 505 archaeological sites were spotted by him with remains ranging from the Palaeolithic to the Islamic period. The density of the settlements in the Bekaa in the various periods is reported in 29 distribution maps.

2. Excavations in the Bekaa

This intensive survey work was neither accompanied nor followed by well targeted archaeological excavations in the Bekaa. Fieldwork on pre-Hellenistic settlements was limited to a very small number of sites. Bronze and Iron Age levels were uncovered in only four of the 505 known settlements: Tell Ḥizzīn, Tell el-Ghassil, Kamid el-Loz and Baalbek.

2a. Pre-Hellenistic levels in Tell Ḥizzīn

This tell has been identified with the Ḫasi of the Amarna letters (see above) and is located 10 km southwest of Baalbek. The Department of Antiquities undertook two excavation seasons on the site after a statue of the Egyptian Pharaoh, Sebekhotep IV, had been looted from the tell. Unfortunately, the results of these excavations were never published. A short note in the *Chronique* of the *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* is all what is

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98 Anton Jirku, "Durch Palästina und Syrien. Bericht über eine Forschungsreise im Frühjahr 1929", ZDPV 53 (1930), 136-66 and "Neue Forschungen in Syrien und Palästina", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 86 (1933), 170-92.

99 Kuschke, "Beiträge" (fn. 2), *ZDPV* 70 (1954), 104-29; 71 (1955), 97-110; 74 (1958), 81-120.

100 Arnulf Kuschke, "Die Biqa', ihre altorientalischen Siedlungen und Verkehrswege" (fn. 2).

101 Kuschke et al., *Archäologischer Survey* (fn. 2).

102 Marfoe, *Kamid el Loz* (fn. 23).

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000286

known from these soundings.[103] The last settlement on the tell seems to have been destroyed by a fire but the author fails to give us the date of this event: "Presqu'à la surface du sol, apparurent des traces d'incendie qui couvrent une grande partie de l'étendue du tell. Ces mêmes traces, accompagnées de la même céramique, apparaissent sur d'autres tells de la Beckaa, ravagés à la même période." Nothing, however, is said of this period and of its pottery. The excavator spotted Middle Bronze Age tombs around the tell. According to survey results,[104] the site was occupied from the Early Bronze to the Persian period.

2b. Tell el-Ghassil

This site is located 11 km northeast of Rayak inside the experimental farm belonging to the American University of Beirut. Dimitri Baramki directed there several seasons of excavations for the AUB. Three preliminary reports are available on the early campaigns[105] but, with the exception of a short report on a Middle Bronze Age tomb,[106] nothing has been published on the last five seasons (1968, 1969, 1972-74). A recent publication[107] presents the Middle Bronze Age pottery of the site. Tell el-Ghassil was occupied without interruption from the Chalcolithic to the Byzantine period.

2c. Tell Kamid el-Loz

Located in the southern Bekaa near Jubb Jannīn, this site has been excavated for some twenty years by the University of Saarbrücken under the direction of Rolf Hachmann. It is the only well documented and published excavation of the Bekaa valley. A long list of monographs published in the *Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* series accounts for the excavation results.[108] After an interruption due to the Lebanese war, archaeologi-

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103 Maurice Chéhab, "Chronique", *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 9 (1949-52), 109.

104 Marfoe, *Kamid el Loz* (fn. 23), 241, no. 232.

105 Dimitri Baramki, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Tell El Ghassil", *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 16 (1961), 87-97; "Second Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Tell el Ghassil", *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 17 (1964), 47-103; "Third Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Tell el Ghassil", *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 19 (1966), 29-49.

106 Leila Badre, "Tell el Ghassil: Tomb I", in *Archéologie au Levant. Recueil Roger Saidah*, Lyon: Maison de l'Orient 1982, 123-32.

107 Claude Doumet-Serhal, *Les Fouilles de Tell el Ghassil de 1972 à 1974. Etude du Matériel*, Bibliothèque Historique et Archéologique 146, Beyrouth: Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient 1996.

108 Marfoe, *Kamid el-Loz* (fn. 23), 196-97, no. 050.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000287

cal operations resumed on the tell in the summer of 1997. They are now conducted by the University of Freiburg under the direction of Marlies Heinz. The site has been occupied without interruption since the Late Pottery Neolithic and down to the Ottoman period. In the Amarna Age, it was the center of the province of Upe. In the first millennium it lost its importance as an urban center and reverted to village life. It is a key site for the understanding of the valley's settlement history.

2d. Baalbek

Pre-Hellenistic levels in Baalbek have been uncovered in a sounding made in the courtyard of the Jupiter temple by Joseph Hajjar for the Department of Antiquities.[109] This sounding was only briefly mentioned in the *Chronique* of the *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* and its results were never published. Three Middle Bronze Age tombs and Iron Age layers were uncovered. In her Baalbek book, Nina Jidéjian[110] exhibits plate 18, a complete Early Bronze Age amphora from Baalbek. Nothing is said, however, about the provenance and the circumstances in which this pot was found. All complete vessels and small finds were taken upon their discovery to the Beirut National Museum. The inventory of the Department of Antiquities collections will eventually bring this material to light.

In the course of the preliminary preparations for the permanent exhibition commemorating the centennial of the German excavations in Baalbek, we visited the storage located east of the courtyard of the Great Temple. In this room, we found large heaps of pottery sherds retrieved during the excavations led by Hajjar and Kawkabani in the sixties which were lying on the ground without sorting or marking. This pottery, together with a collection of stone sculptures and architectural elements, was filling the room in an indescriptible state of negligence and abandonment (Figs. 3 and 4). We sorted it according to chronological periods in the hope to find the Bronze and Iron Age material. The largest percentage of sherds was clearly Islamic and easily recognizable at the colored glazed surface. The Bronze Age material was easily spotted because of its crude orange and gritty ware. Partly restored Iron Age vessels were found in boxes. In one of the corners, human bones belonging to the burials uncovered by Hajjar south of the altars, were lying on the floor. According to the Department of Antiquities chief worker, among them was a skull pierced by an arrowhead that was taken to the Department in Beirut.

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109 Maurice Chéhab, "Chronique", *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 18 (1965), 111-12.

110 Nina Jidéjian, *Baalbek-Heliopolis* (fn. 5).

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000288

Pre-Hellenistic ceramic material was also found in another storage room located northwest of the courtyard of the great Temple. There were found piles of wooden boxes full of pottery sherds without any information concerning their origin and context.

If the above information is correct, the pre-Hellenistic ceramic material was uncovered in the Great Courtyard of the Jupiter temple. There are two possible findspots: first, a small excavation close to the northern side of the Small Altar, where foundations of several poor buildings are still visible. These walls were excavated in 1961-1962[111] and belong to only partly excavated architectural remains consisting of rectangular rooms with an orientation completely different from that of the later architecture of the sanctuary. As far as can be inferred from the evidence left on site, these walls seem to belong to profane domestic buildings. According to information provided by Kalayan, these structures are dated to the Iron Age.

Moreover, in a short notice,[112] Roger Saidah says that in 1967 and 1968, new excavations of the pre-Roman settlement took place under the direction of Ibrahim Kawkabani, during which older layers were uncovered. Foundations of houses dated to Middle Bronze Age II were discovered and even Early Bronze Age pottery sherds were found. This evidence shows beyond any serious doubt that the ancient tell of Baalbek was covered by the later Hellenistic and Roman architecture of the Great Courtyard. Unfortunately, Roger Saidah does not indicate the exact area where these Early and Middle Bronze Age remains have been unearthed. There are indeed two possibilities: either these walls were found on the same site where Iron Age remains had been excavated earlier in 1961-62 – these would have been removed and similar older structures uncovered – or the Bronze Age remains could have come from the deep sounding carried out east of the Great Altar. In the section of this sounding, several building and occupation layers can still be observed. This sounding was obviously made to investigate the foundation walls of the Great Altar, but nothing was ever published about the occupation sequence uncovered in the process. One single relevant information has been mentioned by Kalayan who does not however document his statement with either photographs or plans: "In the rectangular courtyard, to the south of the temple of Jupiter, there is a natural crevice about fifty meters (!) deep. At the bottom of this crevice there is a small rock cut altar. In all probability this crevice was the center of the

111 Chéhab, *Chronique* (fn. 109), 111.

112 Roger Saidah, "Archaeology in the Lebanon 1967-1968", *Berytus* 18 (1969), 126.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000289

first worship."[113] Since there is almost no information about the older settlement remains in this very important findspot, any conclusion will remain conjectural.

A first examination of the diagnostic sherds of the ceramic material from Baalbek clearly showed that the largest part of the pottery dates to Middle Bronze Age II, with some sherds belonging maybe to Middle Bronze Age III. Some sherds were identified as Chalcolithic and a large number presented a clear Iron Age fabric. However, in this latter Iron Age collection, typical forms are absent and this material needs a further and thorough examination. Comparison of the diagnostic sherds especially with the ceramic material from Kamed el-Loz where important Middle Bronze, Late Bronze, as well as Iron Age strata were unearthed, has shown similarities in the production techniques. Figures 1 and 2 illustrate a variety of rim types, very similar to the Middle Bronze Age pottery of Kamed el-Loz.[114]

On the other hand, there is a large amount of pottery sherds which should be dated according to their fabric to the Middle Bronze Age, but which show significant differences to the material of Kamid el-Loz, of Tell el Ghassil as well as of the more distant Tell Arqa. Located 20 km southwest of Baalbek, Tell el Ghassil was extensively settled during the Middle Bronze Age and yielded a large amount of pottery from this period, which, interestingly enough, shows nearly no similarities to the Baalbek material.

Whether this should be ascribed to some finer chronological differences or to any other reason remains unclear and the solution to this problem will have to await further work in Baalbek to control the occupation sequence there. It is also of relevance for our purpose to note that all the examined pottery belongs to very common and simple household wares and clearly shows that the pre-Hellenistic remains so far uncovered under

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113 Haroutune Kalayan, "Notes on the Heritage of Baalbeck and the Beka'a", in: *Cultural Resources in Lebanon*, Beirut: Beirut University College 1966.

114 Compare for Fig. 1,1 Ruth Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land*, Jerusalem: Masada Press 1969, Pl. 30,2 from Ras el Ain (MB II A) or Leon Marfoe, *Kamid el-Loz* (fn. 23), 119, Fig. 69,3 or Martin Metzger, *Kamid el-Loz 8. Die spätbronzezeitlichen Tempelanlagen. Die Kleinfunde*, Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, vol. 40, Bonn: Rudolph Habelt 1993, 55, Abb. 9, 11; for Fig. 1,2, ibid., Pl. 114, 25; for Fig. 1,3, Marfoe, *Kamid el-Loz*, 114, Fig. 64, No 4; for Fig. 1,4, ibid., 118, Fig. 68, No 6 or Pirhiya Beck, "MB II A Pottery at Tell Aphek", *Tel Aviv* 2 (1975), 61, Fig. 7, 20; for Fig. 1,5, Marfoe, *Kamid el-Loz*, 112, Fig. 62, Nos 3 and 7. For Fig. 2,1, compare ibid., 117, Fig. 67, No 7 or Jean-Paul Thalmann, "Tell 'Arqa (Liban Nord) Campagnes I-III (1972-1974)", *Syria* 55 (1978), 144, Fig. 50, 1; and Fig. 2,2, Marfoe, *Kamid el-Loz*, 112 Fig. 62, No 2.

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the Great Courtyard belong to simple dwellings which are by no means forerunners of the later Hellenistic and Roman religious buildings.

In the light of the above, it appears that further excavations and a comprehensive and thorough study of the rediscovered pre-Hellenistic pottery are needed before any conclusive study of the early history of Baalbek can be undertaken. All that can be said in the present state of our evidence, is that Baalbek was maybe settled as early as the Chalcolithic period, and probably without interruption throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages. The lack of scientific data does not allow an exact evaluation of the importance of the settlement in pre-Hellenistic times and the heaps of pottery found in the storage rooms do not unfortunately betray any clue about Baalbek's political and religious role in that period.

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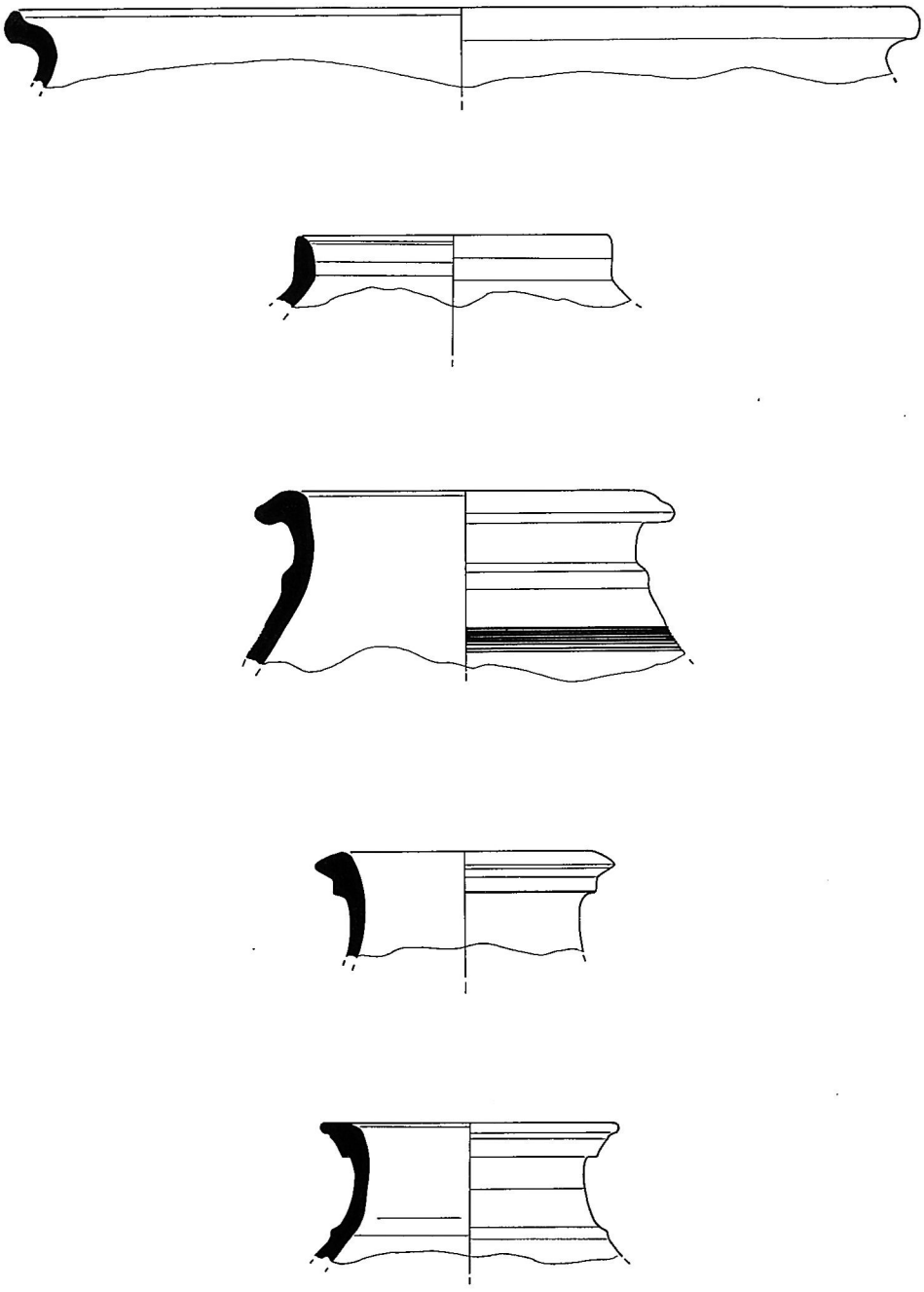

Fig. 1: A selection of Middle Bronze Age II rim types from Baalbek. Scale 1/3

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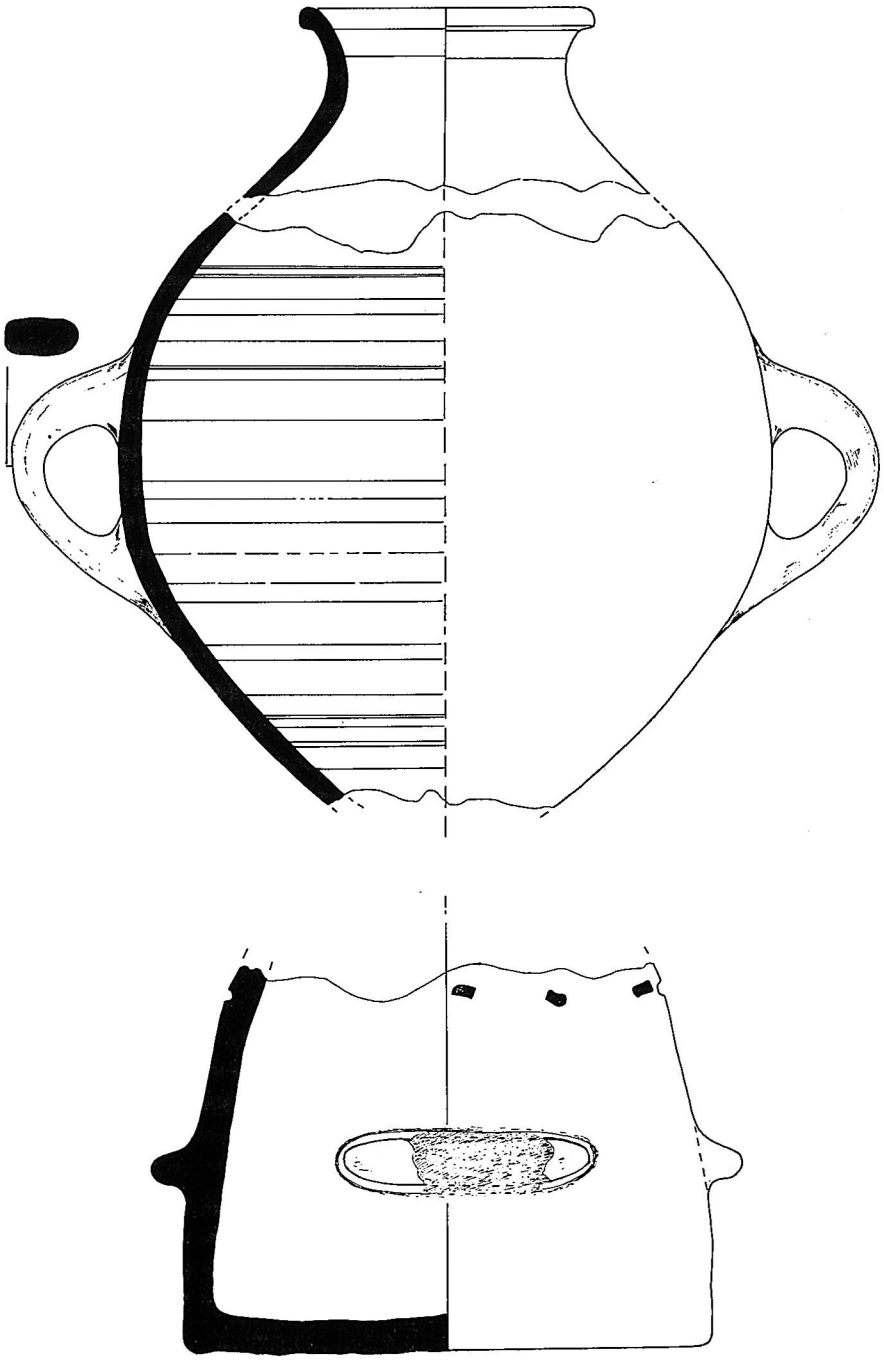

Fig. 2: Middle Bronze Age II vessels from Baalbek. Scale 1/3

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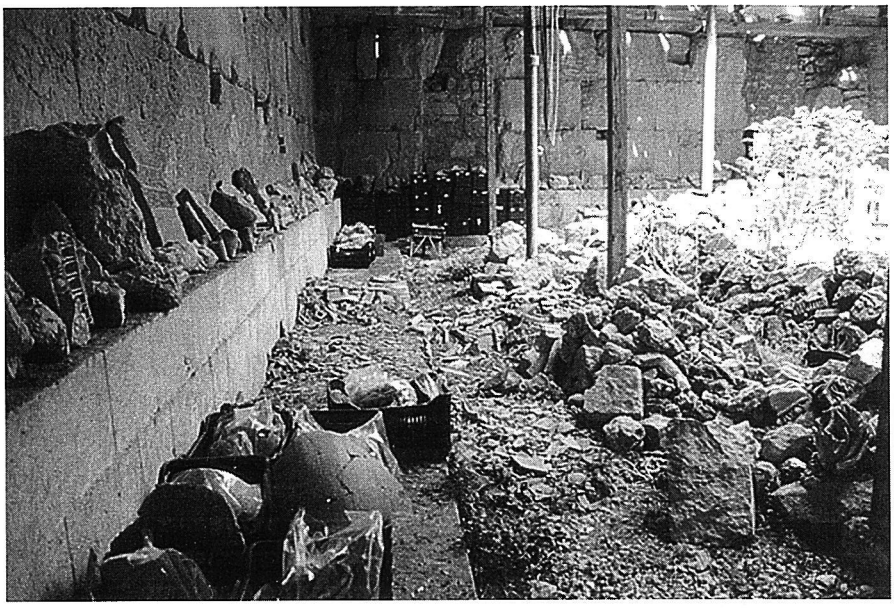

Figs. 3 & 4: The archaeological finds from the soundings
in the Great Courtyard of the Jupiter temple in Baalbek
including the pre-Hellenistic material, as they were recently found.

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THE ITURAEANS: ANOTHER BEDOUIN STATE

ERNST AXEL KNAUF

Introduction

The Ituraean principality in Lebanon represents one specimen in a series of similarly structured Arab tribal states. These were rooted in the Arab rise to prominence under Achaemenid rule, flourished in the Hellenistic era, and were finally incorporated into the Roman empire. Examples for this specific political formation originating between the desert and the sown (geographically as well as politically) reach from Hatra and Emesa in the north to the land of the Nabataeans in the south.[1] In history, the "tribal state", an *oxymoron* in terms, nevertheless a reality in the Near East, is attested as early as Zimrilim's Mari[2] and as late as the emirate of the Ibn Rashīd in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.[3] Even in the case of some contemporary Near Eastern states, the observer may note more political influence exercised by tribal groups than is usually perceived within the concept of "statehood".

The Ituraeans in the Persian World

There is no reasonable doubt that the Ituraeans (Greek Ἰτουραῖοι, Latin *Ituraei*) entered history under the tribal name of Yəṭūr, which in turn is nothing but the Aramaic form of their native Arabic self-designation, Yaṭūr.

Yəṭūr is listed as the tenth son of Ishmael in Genesis 25:15 (= 1 Chronicles 1:31). The list of the twelve "sons of Ishmael" in Genesis 25:13-15 contains a geographical document probably deriving from the 7th century BC and subsequent additions from the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods. Nebaioth, Qedar, Adbeel, Dumah, Massa, and Naphish all are

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1 Ernst Axel Knauf, *Ismael. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Palästinas und Nordarabiens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, 2nd ed., Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1989, 136-38.

2 Giorgio Buccellati, "The Kingdom and Period of Khana", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* [BASOR] 270 (1988), 43-61.

3 H. Rosenfeld, "The Social Composition of the Military in the Process of State Formation in the Arabian Desert", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 95 (1965), 174-94.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000295

mentioned as allied Arab tribes or, in the case of Dumah, as their religious and political center, in Assyrian royal inscriptions and administrative documents from the time of Tiglatpileser III to that of Ashurbanipal. Teima and Hadad may have entered the list during the reign of Nabonidus who, from 552-543 BC, took this oasis as his residence. Yəṭūr is not attested otherwise prior to the Persian period, and Mibsam as well as Mishma, tribal groups to be sought in Southern Palestine, cannot be stratified, whereas Kedemah is most probably nothing else but a personification of the "people of the east" (in Hebrew: *Bənē qedem*), the "Saracens", in order to make the number of Ishmael's offspring twelve.[4]

That Yəṭūr entered the view of Biblical tradition in the Persian period may be inferred from 1 Chronicles 5. 1 Chronicles 5:18-22 reports a war fought by the Israelite tribes of Reuben, Gad and Half-Manasseh against the Hagrites, Yəṭūr, Naphish, and Nodab (v.19), dated by 1 Chronicles 5:10 to the reign of Saul. The dating is obviously anachronistic, as the name Yəṭūr itself cannot antedate the 7th century BC (see infra). Nevertheless, the conflict mentioned between Israelites and the Arab tribes should not be regarded as purely fictitious. "Hagrites" signified, under Achaemenid rule, "North Arabia" as opposed to Makâ, i.e. South Arabia.[5] Although there was an oasis city Hagar in East Arabia, and various tribes of Hagrites are mentioned at different times and places,[6] the identity of the Hagrites in 1 Chronicles 5 does not pose a problem. The tribal list of v.19 does not mention Hagrites in addition to Yəṭūr, Naphish, and Nodab, but rather "Hagrites", i.e. Arabs, consisting of the three tribes involved.[7] Thus, it presupposes Persian period terminology. Accordingly, the conflict should be dated to the 4th or 5th century BC, when Ammon formed a subprovince of Samaria and when Israelites like the Tobiads were established east of the Jordan as was the case before and after.[8] The archaizing use of the names of Israelite tribes which had perished long before the Persian period is due to the Chroniclers' attribution of the incident to the time of Saul, i.e. into the immediate pre-history of the Chroniclers' history of Israel, which starts with David (cf. 1 Chronicles 10:1-13, the "history" of Saul, as compared to 1 Chronicles 10:14-29,30, the history of David).

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4 Knauf, *Ismael* (fn. 1), 63-81; 146-54.

5 Ibid., 144 f.

6 Ibid., 52 f.

7 Following the Septuagint of 1 Chronicles 5:20; Knauf, *Ismael*, 50, notes c and d.

8 U. Hübner, *Die Ammoniter. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion eines transjordanischen Volkes im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1992, 213-28.

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Given the fact that Chronicles was written under Ptolemaic rule in the 3rd century BC,[9] the anachronistic dating is rather accurate in thin disguise: the immediate "prehistory" of the Chroniclers' time, of those obedient to the cultic ordinances issued by David, was constituted by the Achaemenid period and its tumultuous end 336-301 BC, which must have recalled the fate of Saul.

In Safaitic, i.e. Ancient Arabic, the tribe appears as *yẓr*, to be vocalized **yaẓūr*. The rendering of Arabic /ẓ/ by Φ is regular for Official Aramaic from the 7th century BC onwards; so the Biblical authors must have learned the name of the tribe from documents in Official Aramaic. For an explanation of the name, one may compare Sabaic *ẓwr*, "rock" and "to invest, to besiege",[10] with Safaitic *ẓrt* (hence, via Aramaic, Hebrew *ṭīrā*), "corral".[11] As a non-hypocoristic imperfect name which characterizes its bearer, it may be translated either as "The one who builds corrals" or "The one who besieges". The first possibility would refer to the desert origin of the tribe, the second alternative to its reputation for belligerence.[12] In any case, the early Ituraeans came from the desert east of the Jordan river.

The Ituraeans in the Hellenistic World

In 1 Chronicles 5:19, the Septuagint does not transcribe the Hebraic Yəṭūr by Ἰετοίρ, as is the case in Genesis 25:15, but renders it as "Ituraeans", making the incident in Northern Transjordan, which took place sometime during the 4th or 5th century BC, the first appearance of the tribe in history. It seems as if the Ituraeans were still living in Northern Transjordan in the first half of the second century BC.[13] By this time however, they may have started to infiltrate Galilee and Southern Lebanon. In 104/103 BC, the Hasmonaean ruler Aristobulos conquered the Ituraean territory in Galilee and Transjordan, and forcefully converted the population to Judaism[14] as his father Hyrcan had done in the case of the Idumaeans, 129/128 BC. Both may have felt justified in their missionary zeal because Edom as

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9 Peter Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern, Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament* 42 (1973).

10 A.F.L. Beeston, M.A. Ghul, W.W. Müller, and J. Ryckmans, *Sabaic Dictionary*, Louvain-la-Neuve and Beirut: Peeters and Librairie du Liban 1982, 173.

11 Knauf, *Ismael* (fn. 1), 59 f. and 145.

12 For the Ituraeans image in the Roman world: Cicero, Phil. II 8 (19); 44 (112); XIII 8 (18).

13 Eupolmos Fragment 2 = Eus. Praep. ev. IX 30,3, where they appear together with other inhabitants of Northern as well as Southern Transjordan.

14 Jos. ant. XIII 1,3 § 318.

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well as Yəṭūr were grand-children of Abraham by his sons Ishmael and Isaac respectively. The Ituraeans succeeded, however, in maintaining their independence in the area between Lake Ḥūle and Paneas (later Caesarea Philippi, today Bānyās), to which should have belonged at least part of the Golan. Following Aristobulos' conquest, most Ituraeans from Galilee may have migrated to the Bekaa valley in Lebanon in order to escape Hasmonaean rule.

At least one of the few Safaitic inscriptions, which refer to the Ituraeans, may date to the end of the 2nd century BC. CIS V 4677 is dated *snt ḥwl 'l yẓr*, "the year, when the Ituraeans migrated". Authors from the *ʾāl yaẓūr also left CIS V 784 and 2156. Not all of these inscriptions, however, refer necessarily to the Ituraeans before or when they were establishing themselves in Lebanon. Parts of the tribe frequented the Ḥaurān and the Lejāʾ well into Roman times (cf. infra the fate of Zenodoros in 24 BC). The Safaitic inscription CIS V 2209 is dated *b-snt ḥrb yẓr*, "the year, when the Ituraeans waged war" or "the year of the Ituraean war". It is rather unlikely that the inscription refers to the war of Aristobulos in 104 BC, or that of Herod in 24 BC, or a Roman military expedition; an allusion to one of those historical events cannot be excluded, but in the vast majority of cases, Safaitic *ḥrb* refers to a Bedouin raid (a *ghazwah*) for booty against another tribe or some peasants in their vicinity.[15]

Since some Safaitic inscriptions found in the basalt desert to the east were written by Ituraeans, and since the indication of the author's tribe is an exception rather than the rule, it is by no means impossible to relate the Safaitic inscriptions found in Lebanon with the Ituraeans.[16] One should keep in mind, however, that the Ituraeans were neither the first nor the last Arabs who came to the Bekaa valley. As early as the period between 732 and 705 BC, the Assyrian letter ABL 414 mentions Arabs as frequent visitors of Shazana and Ṣupite (Biblical Zoba) in the Bekaa. The whereabouts of a person taken from there by the Ismaelite tribe of Massa remained unknown.[17] The only Assyrian reference to the tribe of Naphish, badly broken as it is, connects Naphish with Massa.[18] One may ask whether Naphish preceded in fact the Ituraeans in Lebanon. When Alexan-

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15 Knauf, *Ismael* (fn. 1), 152.

16 Chaker Ghadbān, "Un site safaïtique dans l'Antiliban", *Annual of the Department of Antiquities, Jordan* [ADAJ] 16 (1971), 77-82; G. Lancaster Harding, "Further Safaitic Texts from Lebanon", ADAJ 20 (1975), 99-102.

17 Israel Ephʿal, *The Ancient Arabs*, Jerusalem: Magnes 1982, 95-97.

18 *CT* 53, 289; Ernst Axel Knauf, "Ein keilschriftlicher Beleg für den Stamm Naphis", *Biblische Notizen* [BN] 20 (1983), 34-36.

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der laid siege to Tyre, he had to fight Arabs in his back.[19] The Ituraeans as well as the tribes linked to them by 1 Chronicles 5:19 may have summered their flocks between Mount Lebanon and the Antilibanon long before they established their rule in this area.

When the Ituraean tribal leader Ptolemaios (85-40 BC) founded a principality with its capital at Chalcis ('Anjar)[20] in the Bekaa, a rather long process of pastoral penetration of the area came to a political close. Ptolemaios adopted Greek name may have been programmatic, expressing possibly some kind of allegiance to the Ptolemaic dynasty which exercised supreme control over southern Syria in the 3rd century BC, and certainly expressing distance to, if not discord with, the Seleucids whose reign in Syria had just come to an end. Ptolemaios minted coins and acted as supreme priest of the tribe at its central sanctuary at Heliopolis-Baalbek.[21] Thus, his principality showed the dual nature which was characteristic for all those Arabo-Hellenistic entities: for his kinsmen, he was a *shaykh* and thus, a priest. For his Greek and Aramaic subjects, he was a ruler whose civilised portrait circulated among them on the money he issued. In 85 BC, after the last Seleucid ruler, Antiochos XII, had perished in battle against Alexander Jannai, another pretender to the Seleucid heritage in the south, Ptolemaios tried to gain possession of Damascus, by no means a newly conceived schedule of a tribal chief in Lebanon. Indeed, the rise to power of Rezon, a fugitive from Zoba (1 Kings 11:23-25) and perhaps also of Hazael, the most magnificent ruler who ever reigned over Damascus, are clear precedents. The Damascenes, however, preferred the more distant Nabataeans rather than the Ituraeans, uncomfortably close neighbours, as "protectors". Thus it so happened that Aretas III, the Philhellene, started in his turn to adopt the emblems of Hellenistic kingship and to coin money in his royal name.[22] Given the Ituraeans bad image that continued well into the Roman period, the Damascenes may have preferred Nabataean suzerainty because the Nabataeans seem to have gained their wealth by trading, whereas the Ituraeans preferred robbing.

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19 Arrian, *Anabasis*, II 20,4; Ernst Axel Knauf, "Zum Vordringen des Arabischen im Libanon vor dem Islam", *Die Welt des Orients* 15 (1984), 119-22.

20 For a contrary opinion see Ernest Will, "Un vieux problème de la topographie de la Beqā' antique: Chalcis du Liban", *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* [ZDPV] 99 (1983), 141-46.

21 W. Schottroff, "Die Ituräer", *ZDPV* 98 (1982), 138 f.

22 Jos. ant. XIII 15,102 § 387-393; bell. 14,7-8 § 99-103.

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The Ituraeans in the Roman Period

When Pompey came to Syria in 64 and 63 BC, he destroyed a number of Ituraean strongholds and imposed a tribute of 1000 talents (of gold) upon Ptolemaios[23] but he left his principality intact as a Roman vassal state. Similarly, he took Amman-Philadelphia away from the Nabataeans and Gadara from the Jews, without, however, trying to incorporate these territories into the empire. This had to wait, in the case of the Nabataeans, until 106 AD, when these Arabs were regarded civilized enough to become Roman subjects.

When Rome lost its oriental possessions to the Parthians in 40 BC, Ptolemaios' son and successor Lysanias (40-36 BC) pleaded allegiance to the new superpower (as did the Nabataeans and the last Hasmonaean ruler, Mattathias Antigonos) and was subsequently decapitated when the Romans regained Syria,[24] whereas the Nabataean king Malichus I kept his heads on his shoulders. This fact may indicate that the Ituraeans had once more infuriated Rome by more than just disloyalty. Marc Anthony gave the Ituraean principality together with other areas to Cleopatra as a gift, a decision reversed by Octavian/Augustus in 30 BC. Octavian invested Zenodoros, the son of Lysanias, with the southern part of the previous Ituraean realm: the Ḥule area, Paneas, and the Trachonitis (el-Lejā'). Because Zenodoros could not, or would not, pacify the predatory Bedouins in this area known as the "Safaites", some of whom may still have been Ituraean tribesmen by that time, the Trachonitis was transferred to Herod the Great in 24/23 BC.[25] When Zenodoros died in 20 BC, Herod inherited what had remained in the former's possession.[26] After Herod's death in 4 BC, Zenodoros' legacy "Ituraea and Trachonitis" became the tetrarchy of Herod's son, Philippus (4 BC-34 AD),[27] who established Paneas as his capital under the name Ceasarea Philippi.[28]

By 20 BC, the Ituraean principality of Chalcis in Lebanon had ceased to exist. As an Arabo-Hellenistic tribal state, it had basically been an affair of two generations (Ptolemaios to Lysanias). Any Chalcis mentioned in later references must be sought in Northern Syria.[29] Baalbek became a

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23 Jos. ant. XIV 3,2 § 39.

24 Jos. bell. I 13,1 § 248-49:122,3 § 440; ant. XV 4,1 § 91-92.

25 Jos. ant. XV 10,1-2 § 342-53; bell. I 20,4 § 398-99.

26 Jos. ant. XV 10,3 § 354-55; bell. I 20,4 § 400.

27 St. Luke 3:1.

28 St. Mark 8:27; St. Matthew 16:13.

29 G. Schmitt, "Zum Königreich Chalkis", *ZDPV* 98 (1982), 110-24.

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Roman colony in 15 BC, more than 120 years before Petra joined. Evidently, the Ituraeans or, at least, the majority of their subjects acculturated to Roman rule much faster than the Nabataeans on Syria's southern periphery, exposed as the Ituraeans were between Damascus and the Phoenician coast, to two core areas of Syrian urbanism and statehood since the 3rd millennium BC.

The End of the Ituraeans

The end of Ituraean statehood was by no means the end of the Ituraean tribe. It is obvious that at least parts of the tribe had not abandoned the Bedouin sport of raiding its neighbours by 24 BC. Even after the dismissal of the last Ituraean ruler Zenodoros, a subordinate of the Syrian governor Quirinius (St. Luke 2:2), Aemilius Palatinus by name, had to fight against Ituraeans in Lebanon and conquered one of their strongholds.[30]

The Romans finally pacified the belligerent Ituraeans by drafting them into the Roman army - all of them and finally, some more. Eight cohorts and one *ala* were recruited from the tribe, i.e. at least 4000 fighters.[31] The Ituraeans were notably famous for their archery (cf. already Genesis 21:20 for the Ishmaelites). The paradox that more Ituraeans became Roman soldiers than probably ever existed is to be explained by the fact that the Ituraeans had gained the reputation of elite soldiers in the course of Caesar's civil war.[32] As was the case in the 18th and 19th century AD with many regiments of "Swiss" mercenaries, the reputation went with the name of the unit, which was replenished by any experienced and able-bodied recruit coming along with no questions asked about his nationality. As part of the Roman army, the "Ituraean" elite unites preserved the name of the tribe well into the 3rd century AD.[33]

Some soldiers from the Ituraean cohorts are known by name. If those were ethnic Ituraeans, one may calculate the degree of "Aramaic" acculturation of these ancient Arabs. If one attempts to distinguish "ethnic Ituraeans" from "Ituraeans by profession" within the Roman army, one finds a ratio of 7 Arabic to 2 Aramaic names among the "ethnic Ituraeans", and

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30 CIL III 6687; Schottroff, "Die Ituräer" (fn. 21), 133 note 33.

31 P.A. Holder, *Studies in the Auxilia of the Roman Army from Augustus to Trajan*, *British Archaeological Reports, International Series* 70, Oxford: BAS 1980; Schottroff, "Die Ituräer", 148-52; F. Dabrova, "Cohortes Ituraeorum", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 63 (1986), 221-31.

32 Lukan bell. Civ. 7,239.514.

33 His. Aug. Aurelian 11,3.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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a ratio of 12 to 4 among the "professional Ituraeans".[34] It stands to reason that at least some Ituraeans had adopted an Aramaic name by the time of the Roman occupation.

The Ituraean Principality as a Bedouin State

Among the Ituraeans, Greek names remained restricted to the ruling family. Although the tribal aristocracy adopted the paraphernalia of Hellenistic statehood in the course of the first century BC, the tribe – or at least a large segment of the tribe – remained Bedouins, pasturing in the mountains and the Lejā', extorting tributes from the peasants (and the merchants) within their reach and conducting raids into neighboring territories. The majority did not only preserve their Arabic names but at least some continued even to write Arabic in the inherited Safaitic script. For the sake of raiding and of storing their plunder, they built fortresses, which simply were fortified camps or used mountain strongholds for gathering their forces.[35] Tall Ḥīra in the Bekaa may represent such a fortified Ituraean camp.[36] The architecture – a camp rather than a village – as well as the name of the place – the Arabic form of Aramaic *ḥē(ʾ)rtā*, "enclosure, Bedouin camp", – indicate well that state formation and Hellenistic acculturation did not, in the case of the Ituraeans, coincide with complete sedentarization. Like the Nabataeans until the midst of the 1st century AD, one may say that the Ituraeans did not form a state, they just owned one.[37]

The Ituraeans thus represent another example for the "Bedouin state", a specifically Arab form of the "tribal state", well attested in the history of the Near East for the last 4000 years. In times of political and economic crisis, tribes managed to gain the upper hand within the Near Eastern socio-economic system of coexisting urbanism and tribalism, and members

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34 Ernst Axel Knauf, "Die Eigennamen der Ituräer", *BN* 21 (1983), 41-47.

35 Strabo XVI 2, 18; Leon Marfoe, "The Integrative Transformation Patterns of Sociopolitical Organization in Southern Syria", *BASOR* 234 (1979), 1-42.

36 Arnulf Kuschke, Siegfried Mittmann, and Uwe Müller, *Archäologischer Survey in der nördlichen Biqāʿ, Herbst 1972, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients,* series B, vol. 11, Wiesbaden: Reichert 1976, 32-34; Ernst Axel Knauf, "Tall ḥīra – eine Ituräer-Burg", *BN* 25 (1984), 19-21.

37 Ernst Axel Knauf, "'Der sein Volk liebt'. Entwicklung des nabatäischen Handelsimperiums zwischen Stamm, Königtum und Klientel", in: *Petra. Antike Felsstadt zwischen arabischer Tradition und griechischer Norm*, eds. Thomas Weber, R. Wenning, (*Antike Welt* Sonderheft), Mainz: von Zabern 1997, 14-24. The view has been challenged, with some pertinent remarks to details but without the proper theoretical background, by M.C.A. Macdonald, "Was the Nabataean Kingdom a 'Bedouin State'?", *ZDPV* 107 (1991), 102-19.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000302

of the tribal elite acquired crowns. Well-known examples reach from the Amorite dynasties of Mari and Babylon via the Judaean tribal leader David, who became king of Jerusalem early in the 10th century BC to the Galilean tax-farmer, Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar, who carved himself a short-lived regional empire out of the decaying Ottoman rule over 18th century Palestine.[38] The phenomenon of the Ituraean principality in Late Hellenistic Lebanon is by no means an isolated one.

38 A. Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th Century. Patterns of Government and Administration*, Jerusalem: Magnes 1973, 7-19.

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TERRACE AND TEMPLE: REMARKS ON THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER IN BAALBEK[1]

ADOLF HOFFMANN

Excavation and history of the publication

Just a few weeks after his visit to Baalbek on November 10 and 11, 1898, Kaiser Wilhelm II[2] ordered that a committee of experts consisting of the renowned archaeologists Robert Koldewey and Walter Andrae explore the perspectives and possibilities of archaeological research on that site.[3] It was not by chance that Baalbek made such a strong impression on the

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1 Translation: Brigitte Finkbeiner. – All sketches in this article by the author on the basis of the excavation publication taking into account the results reached by Daniel Krencker, Armin von Gerkan, Paul Collart, Pierre Coupel, and Haroutoune Kalayan, drawn by A. Schubert.

2 In his preface to the final report on the German archaeological excavations at Baalbek (Theodor Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905*, vol. 1, Berlin and Leipzig: Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1921, V), Wiegand describes the Emperor's strong interest and personal involvement: "The visitor was not only captivated by the monumental architecture. Soon he felt the desire to obtain full knowledge about the entire complex and its former entrances, about the inner relation between the columned halls, courtyards, and temples." ("Nicht nur die gewaltigen Formen der Architektur fesselten hier den Besucher. Sehr bald regte sich in ihm der Wunsch, über die gesamte Anlage und ihre einstigen Zugänge, über die innere Einrichtung der Säulenhallen, der Höfe und Tempel volle Klarheit zu gewinnen." – For the Imperial visit at Baalbek cf. Zeine N. Zeine, "Kaiser Wilhelm II in Baalbek", in: David Corm, ed., *XIV Festival International de Baalbeck*, Beirut 1969, 57 and 60.

3 [Hermann Winnefeld], "Einleitung: Die bisherigen Publikationen und Berichte und die Arbeit der deutschen Baalbekexpedition", in: Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek*, vol. 1 (fn. 2), 9. It may be assumed that the Emperor was well informed about the previous activities of mainly French and English travelers and explorers at Baalbek and about their results and numerous publications, so that the importance of the site was not only brought home to him by his own observation. Obviously, further knowledge could only be achieved by exposing the ruins; at the same time, here was the opportunity to intrude into a field traditionally held by the English and the French, i.e. to use archaeological work as a means of international competition.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000305

German Emperor that he spontaneously resolved to have the ruins of this huge sanctuary dedicated to the three divinities of Heliopolis exposed; the surprisingly short timespan between his visit and the realization of the project may hardly be explained otherwise. No other destination of his extended journey to the Near East will have answered imperial ideas so immediately as the gigantic Roman cult site in Baalbek, extending over almost 300 meters; at the same time, Wilhelm would have been aware of the political value of such an undertaking. Archaeology as a splendid opportunity for international competition and imperial self-assertion had already proved successful at the large-scale excavations of Olympia (since 1875), Pergamon (since 1878), and Priene (since 1895), and new projects in Mesopotamia were in the making.[4]

No more than two weeks later, Koldewey and Andrae, who were on their way to Babylon,[5] stopped over at Baalbek and, as expected, gave a

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4 The rank of archaeology within German cultural politics – the latter an instrument of the German empire's foreign policy, particularly in competition with France and England (generally, see Gregor Schöllgen, *Imperialismus und Gleichgewicht: Deutschland, England und die orientalische Frage 1871-1914*, München: Oldenbourg 1979, or Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1996, 188 ff.) – is highlighted by the history of the foundation of the *Deutsche Orientgesellschaft* (DOG, "German Oriental Society"), of which Wilhelm II became the protector in 1901; see in detail Olaf Matthes, "Eduard Meyer und die Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft", *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft* [MDOG] 128 (1996), 173 ff. – The planning of excavation activities at Baalbek may certainly be seen in the same context of cultural and colonial politics as the research begun in Mesopotamia at about the same time; compared with the project of the "Orientgesellschaft", Baalbek may have given the Emperor the possibility to take the initiative thus conforming ideally with the objectives of imperial policy (cf. Matthes, „Eduard Meyer", 180 ff.). – Illustrative of the close connection between the interests of archaeology and of imperial policy are also the activities of Eduard Meyer, board member of the DOG, and the relationship of Theodor Wiegand, director of the Antiquities Department of the Berlin Museums and editor of the Baalbek publication, with the imperial house, see Carl Watzinger, *Theodor Wiegand: Ein deutscher Archäologe 1864-1936*, München: Beck 1944, who describes in detail the personal relations between Wiegand and Wilhelm II, and especially Silke Wenk, "Die Arbeit eines deutschen Archäologen an der Modernisierung des antiken Ideals: Theodor Wiegand und die Funktion der Antike vom Kaiserreich bis zum deutschen Faschismus", in: *Auf den Spuren der Antike – Theodor Wiegand, ein deutscher Archäologe*, Bendorf: Städtisches Museum Bendorf 1985, 41 ff.

5 Babylon, where under the direction of Robert Koldewey work went on from 1898 until 1917, as well as Assur (cf. Olaf Matthes, "Zur Vorgeschichte der Ausgrabungen in Assur 1898-1903/05", *MDOG* 129 (1997), 9 ff.) belonged to the large-scale archaeological projects, promoted by the Emperor, that opened to the German Reich an area formerly dominated by the English and the French.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000306

positive opinion of the project; after a further imperial order to the Royal Museums in Berlin to prepare an expedition to Baalbek and after less than a month of preparation on site, work at Baalbek was begun on September 10, 1900 under the direction of Otto Puchstein, an archaeologist from Freiburg. Bruno Schulz, architectural expert from Berlin, later Hanover, was the technical director and he was assisted by the young architect Daniel Krencker.[6] The completion of the excavations after an unimaginably short timespan – three years and five months – was due to several factors: modern methods of documentation were implemented and furthered by Albrecht Meydenbauer,[7] director of the *Königliche Meßbildanstalt* ("Royal Institute for Photogrammetry"), Berlin, energetic involvement of all collaborators, and last but not least, there were enough financial means to support the continuous presence and activity of German scholars in Baalbek.

Beside the domineering center of the sacred area with the temple of Jupiter and its various forecourts, the neighboring temple of Bacchus, the temple of Venus as well as a number of Early Christian and Islamic buildings had also been exposed or removed and documented. With Puchstein's death in 1911 and World War I, it took quite a few years until the excavation results were fully published under the fostering editorship of Theodor Wiegand and the cooperation of the archaeologist Hermann Winnefeld and of various experts. The last of the three volumes, dedicated to the Islamic buildings, appeared in 1925, whereas the first volume of 1921 had dealt with the core area of the sacred precinct, and the second volume of 1923 had taken care of the other Roman Imperial and Christian buildings.[8] As far as the state of information allowed, the history of the

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6 At first, Moritz Sobernheim from Berlin belonged to the team as interpreter and epigraphist. In 1902, Heinrich Kohl, another architect, joined the team. Details of the excavation, including the changes in personel, are described in the introduction to the first volume of the Baalbek publication (Winnefeld, "Einleitung" [fn. 3], 9 ff.). An important collaborator was Gottlieb Schumacher, an engineer constructing the Damascus-Haifa railway and therefore residing in the region for a longer period of time; he was very interested in archaeological problems and did the topographical survey of Baalbek; see his independent publications as e.g. *Northern 'Ajlûn within the Decapolis*, London: Palestine Exploration Fund 1890.

7 In 1902, photogrammetrical recordings were made under the direction of Meydenbauer with the cooperation of his assistant, Schleyer, of the photographer Theodor von Lüpke and of the archaeologist Fritz Töbelmann. Cf. Winnefeld, "Einleitung" [fn. 3], 11.

8 Bruno Schulz, Hermann Winnefeld et al., *Baalbek. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905,* vol. 1 (Th. Wiegand, ed., Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter 1921); Daniel Krencker, Theodor von Lüpke, Hermann Winnefeld et al., *Baalbek.*

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000307

settlement in general, and not only that of the cult site, had thus been documented under all its aspects, presented to a wide circle of interested readers in an exemplary way and made available to further research.

Compared to the numerous older reports about Baalbek[9], that could only be based upon what was visible above ground, this publication showed the whole complex as the result of a differentiated building process that had lasted several centuries. The most important sanctuary of the Roman Empire in the Near East had been presented in its urban context as a monumental terrace erected on artificial substructures with many architectural elements and details, the temple itself, the altar court lined with halls and exedras, the hexagonal forecourt, the *propylaea* and the accompanying buildings, and its architectural history had been appreciated. The initiator of this large-scale undertaking, Wilhelm II, however, did not reap its fruits for the glorification of his politics or his state – the magnificent results were not even dedicated to him.[10] The German Empire had perished. The political situation following World War I reduced the work in Baalbek and its results to their scientific value.

Scientific discussion and further conclusions

Even after the end of the German excavations, the original effect of the sanctuary had not been documented or reconstructed under all its aspects. The installations and alterations of the Arabic castle were largely eliminated, but the big basilica of Early Christian times that had been erected in

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Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905, vol. 2 (Th. Wiegand, ed., Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter 1923); Heinrich Kohl, Daniel Krencker, Oskar Reuther, Friedrich Sarre, and Moritz Sobernheim, *Baalbek. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905,* vol. 3 (Th. Wiegand, ed., Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter 1925).

9 See the informative compilation of reports and descriptions from the 16th to the late 19th century in Winnefeld, "Einleitung" [fn. 3]. In our context, it is of special interest that Baalbek had come to the attention of imperial politics once before, namely to that of absolutist France. By order of J.-B. Colbert, who was mainly interested in the documentation and collection of written sources and of coins, Desmonceaux made drawings of the sanctuary of Jupiter in 1668, that – conforming to contemporary ideas – were used by Jean Marot in 1680 for his misleading attempts at reconstructing the temple of Bacchus. Colbert had even considered excavations (looking for statues). Cf. ibid., 3, and. R. Middleton and D. Watkin, *Klassizismus und Historismus* I, Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt 1987, 10, fig. 8; as to the preconditions: ibid., 65 f.

10 Even in 1921, however, the editor, Theodor Wiegand, speaks in his preface of "His Majesty, Kaiser Wilhelm II" (see Wiegand [fn. 2]) – maybe a way of expressing gratitude and esteem.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000308

the altar court right in front of the temple and on its stairs (some of them much displaced), had been preserved by the German excavators.[11] As a result, and especially in the core area of the altar court, there remained open questions and despite tremendous efforts the exploration of the sanctuary was far from being completed. On the German side, no further impulse was to be expected – even if the Emperor had lost his influence as the protector of Christian religion and its traces; in the financially tight postwar situation no means for any new undertaking were to be found.[12]

But the scientific discussion of the results of the Imperial Baalbek expedition continued. Wiegand had already drawn attention to the fact that the sanctuary as an object of art history could not be treated exhaustively[13] – and this was not only due to Otto Puchstein's death in 1911, but also to the outbreak of World War I. Daniel Krencker, the most experienced architectural expert who had participated in the project from the start, and the archaeologist Willy Zschietzschmann laid the necessary foundations only in 1938 with a voluminous and carefully published study of the Roman temples of the region[14] which had however no immediate repercussions on the Baalbek discussion. After the publication of the monographs at the beginning of the 1920s, further reflections on Baalbek were concerned with questions of art history, with local cults, and with the sanctuary's architectural history, especially the complicated early phases of the building process.[15]

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11 This problem is not mentioned anywhere in the publications, but it may be assumed that the initiator, the German Emperor of Christian persuasion, was himself opposed to the demolition of the remains of the basilica.

12 Because of the general lack of funds in postwar times, the aspired publishing standard had to be considerably lowered down, see Wiegand, [preface to] idem, ed. *Baalbek*, vol. 2 (fn. 8), V.

13 See ibid.

14 Daniel Krencker and Willy Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel in Syrien. Nach Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen von Mitgliedern der deutschen Baalbekexpedition 1901-1904*, Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter 1938 [Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches, Denkmäler antiker Architektur; 5].

15 Edmund Weigand, "Baalbek. Datierung und kunstgeschichtliche Stellung seiner Bauten", *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1924/25, 77-99 and 165-208 (in continuation of his article "Baalbek und Rom, die römische Reichskunst in ihrer Entwickelung und Differenzierung", *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 29 [1914], 37-91); Daniel Krencker, "Archäologische Gesellschaft zu Berlin, Sitzung am 5. Februar 1929", *Archäologischer Anzeiger* [*AA*] 1929, 170-81 (175 ff.); idem, "Archäologische Gesellschaft zu Berlin, Sitzung am 6. Februar 1934", *AA* 1934, 266 ff.; Armin v. Gerkan, "Die Entwicklung des großen Tempels von Baalbek", in: *Corolla L. Curtius*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1937, 55 ff. (reprint in: E. Boehringer, ed., *Von antiker Architektur und Topographie. Gesammelte Aufsätze von Armin Gerkan*,

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000309

Krencker (1929 and 1934) and later Armin von Gerkan (1937) tried to analyze and evaluate the various building joints and construction details of the temple's substructure. Two problems, in particular, led to different interpretations: first, the connection between the temple and the forecourt that shows two or even three different phases, and second, the substructures of the temple that bear out differing explanations and reconstructions. Krencker believed that the first temple was dipteral with columned halls two cross-beam wide and with the outer row of columns using the famous *trilithon* as substructure and that, in a second step, it was reduced to a pseudo-dipteral temple with just the inner row of columns.[16] Von Gerkan, however, recognized in the substructures a somewhat smaller Hellenistic predecessor in the shape of a hypethral peripteral temple on a high and steep substruction,[17] that, after a change of planning, was modified in Neronian times to the pseudo-dipteral temple the remains of which are visible today. At any rate, the substructures of the temple show several concentric circles of ashlars of greatly varying quality and executed in various steps. In addition, Krencker had noticed irregularities on the eastern flanks of the inner circle, irregularities which he explained with the simultaneous construction of the eastern part and the podium.[18] Von Gerkan, on the other hand, interpreted them convincingly as the beginnings of broad wing walls leading off north and south, but only fragmentarily executed.[19] These beginning walls disappeared under the *trilithon* podium, i.e. they must have preceded it. Von Gerkan claimed the inner circle and the adjoining T-shaped terrace to the east as a Seleucid foundation, later covered by the *trilithon* podium. Krencker and von Gerkan concurred that, after the erection of the *trilithon* had indicated a wide podium enclosing the temple on three sides, the T-shaped terrace had then been replaced by the western supporting wall of a terraced court situated to the east of the temple.

Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1959, 267 ff.). The reviews of the Baalbek volumes are also important for the interpretation of the sanctuary (cf. Weigand, "Baalbek", n. 1), especially the review by Gerhard Rodenwaldt, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung für Kritik der internationalen Wissenschaft* 45 (1924), 129 ff.

16 Krencker, "Sitzung am 5. Februar 1929" (fn. 15), fig. 2.3 col. 171 f. 176 ff. Cf. the graphic perspective representation of the temple with 'trilithon' podium, seen from the west: Krencker *AA* 1934 (fn. 15), fig. 9 col. 275 f. (drawing Caspar Reiter).

17 Gerkan, "Entwicklung" (fn. 15), 269.

18 Krencker, "Sitzung am 5. Februar 1929" (fn. 15), fig. 2.5 col. 171 ff. and col. 180 note 3, and idem, "Sitzung am 6. Februar 1934" (fn. 15), 281 fig. 8.10.

19 Gerkan, "Entwicklung" (fn. 15), 267 ff. fig. 1.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000310

The building development proposed by von Gerkan rests mainly on Krencker's observations. It may claim high probability – without certainty, however, for the form of the rising walls; also, the duration of the individual phases and the building development of the temple can be determined more precisely only by future comprehensive examinations accompanied by excavations. The dating of its founding phase to Hellenistic times is disputed;[20] the building phase of the *trilithon*, i.e. the beginning of the construction of the temple as it exists now, was ascribed to Neronian times by von Gerkan,[21] but is now generally brought into connection with the founding of the Roman colony, *Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Heliopolitana.*[22]

In 1924/25 Edmund Weigand had added his reflections to the range of reconstruction proposals; he dealt in depth with the shape of the temple as such. His proposal of a peripteral temple with an extraordinarily wide cella demonstrates[23] the large possible range of interpretations and reconstructions that the substructures of the temple allow for; but all proposals remain hypothetical.[24] The remains are so badly demolished that, with the exception of the columns of the peristasis and the front pediment, no details of the construction may be recuperated; it is even to be asked to which degree the temple has been finished beyond this peristasis. One can hardly

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20 After Gerkan, "Entwicklung" (fn. 15), a Hellenistic founding phase was proposed by e.g. E. Will, "Du trilithon de Baalbek et d'autres appareils colossaux", in: *Mélanges offerts à K. Michalowski*, Warszawa: Panstowe Naukowe 1966, 728, n. 15, and Hans von Steuben, "Seleukidische Kolossaltempel", *Antike Welt* 12 (1981) 3, 3-12. It is doubted by John. B. Ward Perkins (Axel Boethius and John B. Ward Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture*, Harmondsworth: Penguin 1970, 574).

21 Gerkan, "Entwicklung" (fn. 15), 269.

22 According to Strabo, *Geography*, 16, 20, 2, Augustus founded the veterans' colonies Berytus and Heliopolis (confirmed for Heliopolis by *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* III 202.6665); cf. e.g. H. von Hesberg, "Konsolengeisa des Hellenismus und der frühen Kaiserzeit", *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Reihe*, suppl. 16 (1970), 197, or Klaus Stefan Freyberger, "Die frühkaiserzeitlichen Heiligtümer der Karawanenstationen im hellenisierten Osten", *Damaszener Forschungen* 6 (1998), 63.

23 Without detailed knowledge of the state of the foundations that were only examined by Krencker and Gerkan, Weigand, "Baalbek" (fn. 15), 182 ff. sets peristasis and cella walls on the core of the foundations and the inner colonnades of the cella on the inner reinforcement of the foundations, cf. Krencker, "Sitzung am 5. Februar 1929" (fn. 15), fig. 1.2 and Gerkan, "Entwicklung" (fn. 15), fig. 1, 2.

24 Freyberger, "Frühkaiserzeitliche Heiligtümer" (fn. 22), 64, also judged the reconstruction attempts of the architecture of cella and adyton "zwar möglich, aber keineswegs gesichert" ("possible but no way certain").

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000311

imagine that such an ambitioned building project was not completed[25] – leaving the most important task, the installation of the cult image, to a provisional solution.[26] But, on the other hand, something should have survived from the voluminous building material of the cella of a completed temple, even if a lot may have been re-used to build the church[27] and the medieval castle[28]. At least a few fragments should have remained from the extremely numerous decorated elements of the proposed reconstructions of the adyton, that followed the architecture of the well-preserved Bacchus temple close by. It is uncertain whether a cella with rich adyton architecture was built at all.

Of greater merit than the hypothetical reconstruction attempt is Weigand's acute analysis of the building decoration of the sanctuary,[29] largely valid to this day. On the one hand, Weigand aimed at assigning to the decoration its place in art history, especially by delimiting Roman and regional contributions respectively; on the other hand, he wanted to arrive at a more precise dating of the sanctuary's building phases. A wealth of basic observations considerably enhanced our knowledge of the extremely

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25 Weigand "Baalbek" (fn. 15), 178, does not rule out the possibility that the temple was not completed.

26 The cult statue assigned to the temple, that of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, is known in different variants, but not in its original form the actual existence and appearance of which cannot be proven; we owe a description of the image to Macrobius, the author of Late Antiquity (*Saturnalia* 1, 23, 10-12). For the cult image and its details see especially R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*, Leiden: Brill 1993, 266 ff. and now, resuming, Freyberger, "Frühkaiserzeitliche Heiligtümer" [fn. 22], 65 ff. – Fleischer, *Artemis*, 364, concludes that the original Baalbek cult statue that was carried along at processions was not very large; also this circumstance does not necessarily ask for the completion of a monumental temple cella that could alone have housed the cult image. Freyberger, "Zur Funktion der Ḥamānā im Kontext lokaler Heiligtümer in Syrien und Palästina", *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 9 (1996), 153, supposes that according to local tradition the Small Altar represents "das Haus einer Gottheit" ("the house of a divinity") – a possible storage place for the cult image?

27 The basilica seems to have consisted mainly of parts stemming from the demolished Big Altar; at any rate, Fritz Ragette, "The Sanctuary of the Jupiter Heliopolitan in Baalbek", in: *XV Festival International de Baalbeck* (1970), 50, who is the only one to report on the demolition of the basilica, counts 571 pieces originating from the Big Altar, whereas not a single one is mentioned as originating from the temple.

28 The construction of the medieval castle encroached radically on the substance of the sanctuary (see H. Kohl, "Die arabische Burg", in: Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek*, vol. 3 [fn. 8], 41 ff.). The exact description of the Arabic castle and of the settlement existing within its remains mentions the use of spoils only very sporadically (ibid., 60).

29 Weigand, "Baalbek und Rom" (fn. 15), 37 ff., and ibid., n. 14.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000312

difficult construction process, from the layout of the temple to the concluding execution of the *propylaea*. Of special importance are Weigand's thoughts on the understanding and the classification of the sanctuary. Prior to the excavation publication of 1921, Weigand had analyzed the building decoration and found a strong Imperial Roman influence on the layout of the sanctuary – a finding which Gerhart Rodenwaldt in his critical review of the main publication doubted decidedly.[30] But Weigand went on to maintain that the complex was, overall and in its individual parts, dominated by western "Reichskunst". Obviously the discussion suffered from the polarization of the viewpoints, from the search after the either/or, whereas a combination of both sources seems quite possible. Also from a political point of view, one should expect an attempt at balancing the interests of the new colonists with those of the indigenous population whose sanctuary and cults were adopted, maybe newly interpreted, and at any rate expanded.[31]

New results

In Baalbek itself, extensive tidying and restoring activities on behalf of the Lebanese government set in the 1920s, first under the direction of the Lebanese architect François Anus, later under that of the French architect Pierre Coupel,[32] and continued intermittently until the 1950s. When the three-aisled basilica was torn down, the remains of a second monumental altar became visible in the axis of the main temple and hardly 50 m distant from its front columns.[33] To Coupel and to the Swiss-French archaeologist Paul Collart we owe not only the 1951 publication of the new altar, but

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30 Rodenwaldt, *DLZ* 1924, n. 14.

31 For the local rather than Roman cult and for the different groups of worshippers see Freyberger, "Frühkaiserzeitliche Heiligtümer" (fn. 22), 66, who, with a new analysis of the building decoration and an evaluation of the entire sanctuary, strongly stresses its local character (cf. ibid., 70).

32 François Anus, "La protection des monuments historiques en Syrie et au Liban", *Syria* 13 (1932), 297 ff.; Pierre Coupel, "Travaux de restauration à Baalbek en 1933 et 1934", *Syria* 17 (1936), 330 ff.; H. Seyrig, "Heliopolitana", *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* [*BMB*] 1 (1937), 77; Pierre Collart and Paul Coupel, *L'autel monumental de Baalbek*, Paris: Geuthner 1951 [Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique; 52], n. 33, 2.

33 Situation and dimension of the oblong altar were first noted by Krencker who had visited Baalbek again in 1933 and who gave a very short report, Krencker, "Sitzung am 6. Februar 1934" (fn. 15), fig. 11 col. 277 f. The next representation by Gerkan, "Entwicklung" (fn. 15), fig. 1.1-2, shows the altar as square.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000313

also the extensive 1977 revision of the already known altar.[34] In addition to questions of architectural history the main focus was on a reevaluation of the cultural background of the sanctuary's origin and interpretation. Until then, the Roman elements and aspects had been stressed; now, the local roots of the cult and its installations were elaborated by the French scholars and yielded completely new insights for the understanding of the whole complex. Now the core of the complex became obvious. The two tower-shaped altars,[35] even if built at a considerable time interval, were obviously the center of the cult and sacrifice activities, around which the other buildings and even the temple were laid like a wreath. Not only the fact that the Small Altar is one of the oldest installations of the entire Roman Imperial sanctuary, but especially the cult traditions that are characteristic of the region and that were retained over time proved the altar court to be of central importance.

According to Collart-Coupel's convincing interpretation, the characteristics of the Baalbek sanctuary culminate in the two altars. Like a procession road, the hexagonal court and the *propylaeum* prepare for this sanctum, and even the temple, the divinity of which has not yet been identified beyond serious doubt,[36] may have formed a background foil – if a monumental and magnificent one. As there are no indications for the reconstruction of the cella beside the data of the foundations, details as to the form and function of the temple are not yet known.[37]

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34 Pierre Collart and Paul Coupel, *L'autel monumental de Baalbek* (fn. 32); Pierre Collart and Paul Coupel, in coll. with H. Kalayan, *Le petit autel de Baalbek*, Paris: Geuthner 1977 [Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique; 98].

35 Collart et al., *Petit autel* (fn. 34), 99 assume that the Small Altar goes back to the 1st century BC, maybe even to Seleucid times, i.e. to before Pompey's conquest, and that it was renovated towards the middle of the 2nd century AD, whereas the Big Altar was built soon after the completion of the temple, i.e., according to the inscription on the drum of a column, soon after 60 AD, in Flavian times, ibid., 96; cf. Freyberger, "Frühkaiserzeitliche Heiligtümer" (fn. 22), 153.

36 See O. Eissfeldt, *Tempel und Kulte syrischer Städte in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, Leipzig: Hinrichs 1941, 46 ff., especially 60. Probably for this reason Frank Rumscheid, "Architekturproben aus Baalbek im Archäologischen Institut der Universität Göttingen", *AA* 1991, 527-58 (530), chooses the designation "Großer Tempel", and not Jupiter temple, while Freyberger ("Frühkaiserzeitliche Heiligtümer" [fn. 22], 62 ff.) does not express any doubt.

37 The only indication as to the shape of the cella lies in the disposition of the foundation walls; they show that an installation was planned in the back part, perhaps in the manner of the inscribed architecture of Syrian temples, as it may be seen in the neighboring temple of Bacchus. But there are no building elements that might point to such a canopy in the temple of Jupiter. Nevertheless, such a solution has been presupposed in many reflections about a possible reconstruction, see e.g. already in the

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000314

The cult activities that Collart deduced from the building particularities of both altars may be completely explained by regional conditions. Both structures are in the tradition of altar towers widespread all over Syria and Palestine and which were with their high terraces, places of sacrifice.[38] While the older Small Altar was rather reserved for priests, the later Big Altar may have served in the processions and sacrificial activities of a larger number of worshippers.[39]

In the 1950s, in addition to restoration work, extensive excavations were executed at several places in the altar court; the findings are not yet completely evaluated and published, but they yielded the first informative indications related to the protohistory of the sanctuary[40] so that here, the preconditions for the origin and growth of this extraordinary site might be apprehended.[41] In this context worth noting is the fact that the older Small Altar marks a level high above the surrounding plain, a level that, judging from the building remains in the immediate neighborhood, has existed and has been used since centuries.[42] Possibly this height existed as the flat top

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excavation publication: Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek*, vol. 1 (fn. 8), pl. 14 and also Freyberger, "Frühkaiserzeitliche Heiligtümer" (fn. 22), encl. 38 c, although he had hesitated before, ibid., 64.

38 Not burnt offerings – as supposed by the excavators – were celebrated on the terraces, but, judging from certain arrangements, it is more probable that smaller animals were slaughtered, cf. Collart et al., *Petit autel* (fn. 34), 100. – On this topic see now also Freyberger, „Ḥamānā" (fn. 26), n. 25, 143 ff.

39 For the cult activities see in detail especially Collart et al., *Petit autel* (fn. 34), 100 f., now also Freyberger, "Frühkaiserzeitliche Heiligtümer" (fn. 21), n. 21, 68 f. and, more detailed as to the function, Freyberger, "Ḥamānā" (fn. 26), 153 f. and 159 ff.

40 Cf. on this topic the report in this volume about the presumably Bronze Age building remains to the west of the Small Altar (Hélène Sader and Margarete van Ess, "Looking for pre-Hellenistic Baalbek").

41 For the excavations see Collart and Coupel, *Autel monumental* (fn. 32), 1 f. – Haroutune Kalayan, "The Engraved Drawing on the *Trilithon* and the Related Problems about the Constructional History of Baalbek Temples", *BMB* 22, 1969, 152 ff., gives a short résumé without offering reasons for all his conclusions. – Also based on the results of these excavations are the intriguing but mostly speculative conjectures concerning the protohistory of the sanctuary by Ragette, "The Sanctuary of Jupiter" (fn. 27), n. 26, 12 ff. and especially 24 with figs. p. 25, that were almost *verbatim* published again in 1980, Fritz Ragette, *Baalbek*, London: Chatto and Windus 1980, 27 f. (In the following, the hints do not point to the 1970 festival report, but to the more accessible publication of 1980).

42 Despite a time interval of more than a millennium the building remains seem to be situated hardly one meter below the present-day court level, i.e. below the floor level of the Small Altar. The difference to the surrounding plain is about 12 m.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000315

of a natural rock formation.[43] As parallels show,[44] such a natural monument may well have been the starting-point and center of a cult site, but also of a settlement.

Changes of planning

As mentioned above, changes of planning are characteristic of the origin and growth of this sanctuary, even if their reasons have not yet been clarified. Certainly the successive building projects reflect a continuously growing architectural ambition, but that does not say anything about the motive of the expanding process.

The publication of 1921 already recognized that the overall complex had grown step by step. Next are Krencker and von Gerkan to whom we owe very informative insights into this process, particularly into its early phases. Without knowledge of the excavation history those preconditions that were probably decisive for the development of the area in front of the temple, for its refurbishing and for further planning, could not be taken into consideration. Due to the insufficient state of the publication, their effect on the course of planning still needs further detailed consideration.

Initial conditions, phase of the cult hill

According to the available though insufficient evidence, a *temenos* on the present site of the altar court, the details of which remain uncertain, seems to have been the starting-point of all later manifold and multiple-stage planning.[45] Even without the possibility to follow up the short hints to the excavation results in detail, it is clear that in this area there existed a very old place of settlement with a cult monument in the shape of a 50 m (?sic!)[46] deep crevice in the earth or rock. It is not clear to which degree a natural rock formation formed the core of the hill or whether the 'tell' consists mainly of the layered remains of a settlement that had expanded

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43 Kalayan, "Engraved Drawing" (fn. 41), 152.

44 Cf. below, p. 300.

45 Kalayan, "Engraved Drawing" (fn. 41), Ragette, *Baalbek* (fn. 41), 27 f., with fig. p. 28 f.

46 Kalayan, ibid.; Ragette, *Baalbek* (fn. 41), 27. At the foot of this surprisingly deep crevice – the same measurement is given several times, however – there is said to have existed an altar hewn out of the rock; this altar would have formed the core of the cult.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000316

over the generations and had risen to a hill.[47] Haroutune Kalayan's short report mentions an older *temenos*, but without indicating its character or dimensions.[48] On the basis of Kalayan's reports, Friedrich Ragette assumed that already in the late 2nd millennium BC there existed at a high altitude a walled altar *temenos* with a tower-flanked *propylaeum* to the east; he does not try to prove his assumptions[49] and does not consider the probable settlement at all. John B. Ward Perkins, the expert who may even have seen the relatively fresh results of the excavations on site, mentions at least three "substantial previous sanctuary buildings", the oldest from the 6th century BC. All were aligned in the same direction, "centered upon the area" that was later occupied by the altar.[50] But here, too, more detailed specifications and hints are missing.

Regardless of how the earlier cult installations looked like in detail and in spite of many uncertainties that may only be clarified by future examination on site, those installations did exist. The decision to keep the hill as the center of the cult and to integrate it into the new plannings as an essential element seems to have been motivated by reverence for the existing. The sacral importance of the site is stressed by the fact that all secular installations on top of the hill were obviously given up and moved to the plain.

Phase of Temple I (fig. 1)

At the beginning of this staged development the cult site was dominated to the west by a large temple with Hellenistic-Greek features[51] the huge di-

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47 Margarete van Ess interprets the probably Bronze Age building remains next to the Small Altar and only a little underneath the level of the present court, as settlement structures without any sacral context (see in this volume, Hélène Sader and Margarete van Ess, "Looking for pre-Hellenistic Baalbek").

48 Kalayan, "Engraved Drawing" (fn. 41), 152: "The present Roman period rectangular courtyard is built around an earlier courtyard, which had the small altar of sacrifice situated at its central point."

49 Ragette, *Baalbek* (fn. 41), 27 f. with fig. p. 28, mentions a "raised court ... on the site of an ancient settlement". The dating of the early settlement traces to the 2nd millennium seems to be confirmed by the latest analyses of findings, but the connection with the cult monument remains unclear. – Building remains lying axially in front of the eastern colonnade of the altar court are interpreted by Ragette as a flight of stairs flanked by towers; they are represented on the front cover of Ragette, *Baalbek*.

50 Ward Perkins, "Etruscan and Roman Architecture" (fn. 20), 419.

51 The dating of the previous building is disputed; the date cannot be more closely determined without further stratigraphical examinations. Krencker, "Sitzung am 5. Februar 1929" (fn. 15), 175 ff., and idem, "Sitzung am 6. Februar 1934" (fn. 15),

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000317

mensions of which were presumably meant to top all previous structures and enter into a pronounced competition with them. The project was not determined from the start in all its details, but, as far as may be perceived now, it proceeded in two steps. While the excavators had noticed various building joints,[52] but had not yet developed a differentiated architectural history of the sanctuary, Krencker observed the core of an earlier foundation wall as the predecessor of the existing temple[53] marking the beginning of the expansion: this foundation could have carried a monumental temple with porch and cella on an unusually high substructure, all orientated towards the east in the direction of the old cult site.[54] The fact that the existing sanctuary was respected and only supplemented by a western-style temple must be regarded as an attempt to reconcile local traditions with the demands of a new era, an attempt that can be observed at other places of the region as well.[55]

The wing walls – first noticed by Krencker – that, at the level of the projected temple porch, were to branch off from the substructure at right angles towards the north and the south were part of the planning. These walls on both sides of the podium were never executed but remained informative as far as the architectural history is concerned. Von Gerkan took up Krencker's observation, developed it and interpreted the walls as remains of an originally T-shaped terrace or a T-shaped expansion of the temple podium. Neither Krencker nor von Gerkan were in a position to

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280 f., identifies the core building as the oldest part of the temple, but doubts its independence; Gerkan, "Entwicklung" (fn. 15), 269 f.: Late Seleucid (before 64 BC); Will, Ward Perkins and von Steuben (see fn. 20); and Ragette, *Baalbek* (fn. 41), 28: Seleucid. – According to recent yet unpublished excavation results (1997) in the not too distant Decapolis town of Gadara, there too, an earlier cult site in the manner of an exposed high place may have been supplemented by a temple complex with Hellenistic features since the 2nd century BC; for the temple, by the way another podium temple, see for the time being Adolf Hoffmann, "Stadtentwicklung in der Dekapolis. Neue Forschungen in Gadara", *Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie* 12 (1995), 21-40 (28 ff.).

52 Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek*, vol. 1 (fn. 8), 50 ff.

53 Krencker, "Sitzung am 5. Februar 1929" (fn. 15), 175 ff.

54 The excavators (Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek,* vol. 1 [fn. 8], pl. 20, followed by Gerkan, "Entwicklung" [15], fig. 1, 4), give the height of the substructure as ca. 18 m.

55 This process of hellenizing local sanctuaries had been introduced centuries before and was especially fostered by the Seleucid Antiochus IV, see E.R. Bevan, *The House of Seleukos: A History of the Hellenistic Near East,* London: Routledge & Paul 1902, vol. 2, 149 ff. or H. Kyrieleis, "Ein Bildnis des Königs Antiochos IV. von Syrien", *127. Marburger Winckelmann Programm*, 1980, 132 ff. (with further literature in n. 35).

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000318

realize the further importance of the porch in its relation to the cult site adjoining to the east.

In the light of the excavation results of the 1950s, if one presupposes that to the east of the temple there existed a – perhaps partly artificial – hill with a much older cult monument, probably even with an altar *temenos*,[56] another planning idea, already considered by Ragette,[57] comes to mind: the extremely high substructure was intended to raise the temple in the first place to the level of the old cult site so that, despite the idea of a competition, an immediate dialogue with the already existing *temenos* could be taken up. Another aim would have been to upgrade the dignified old sanctuary, to monumentalize it (while preserving what already existed), to "architecturalize" it. The cult site was not built over by the new temple,[58] but remained freely accessible in front of the temple, as the real center of the overall complex. The T-shaped terrace was probably meant as the architectural connection between temple and cult site; for in modification of von Gerkan's not quite unequivocal reflections, the above-mentioned wing walls adjoining the podium indicate rather that the temple was to be enclosed by a terrace up to the level of its porch and thus immediately integrated into a cult site that was not only looked upon as worth preserving but as the inalienable nucleus and heart of the sanctuary.[59] The details of the continuation of the wing walls and of the execution of the terrace are not yet known, but the above described conditions are very probably the

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56 The only slightly differing levels and the proximity of the Bronze Age settlement remains and the Small Altar, the core of which maybe going back to Late Hellenistic times, demonstrate that this level rising high above the surrounding plain must be considered as a constant, perhaps because of the existence here of an isolated rock, which, in the deep crevice with the rock altar, did not only harbor the cult monument, but may have also become the center of the settlement.

57 Ragette, *Baalbek* (fn. 41), 28, fig. p. 29.

58 Such a process of enveloping and incorporating an older sanctuary was recently attested in the Hellenistic sanctuary of Zeus in Gerasa, see below, p. 300.

59 Gerkan, "Entwicklung" (fn. 15), 269 f. talks about wing terraces on both sides of the temple, that should "carry superstructures" ("Aufbauten tragen"), at the same time he talks about "walls supporting the fill for a court" ("Stützmauern einer Hofanschüttung"). On the other hand, Gerkan obviously presupposes that in Hellenistic times the sanctuary was "still without a forecourt" ("noch ohne Vorplatz"). Krencker, too, presupposed that a forecourt – if at all – could only have existed on the ground level of the *trilithon* and that "the construction of a 7m. raised court terrace" ("der Bau der um 7 m hochgeführten Hofterrasse") was executed later (Krencker, "Sitzung am 5. Februar 1929" [fn. 15], 178, and fig. 4; idem, "Sitzung am 6. Februar 1934" [fn. 15], 279).

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000319

reason for the raising of the temple and, finally, of the entire sanctuary.[60] Until today the complex rises high above its almost flat surroundings thereby adding to its incomparable effect. The high substructure of the temple had above all the practical purpose to place both cult site and temple on one level or to have the temple rise above the cult site. This objective had as its consequence the use of terraces – an essential element determining the characteristic appearance of the sanctuary.

Phase of the trilithon

Towards the end of the 1st century BC this new temple to the west of the existing hill was already regarded as no longer sufficient. With some plausibility it may be supposed that the subsequent measures were induced by the founding of the colony in 15/16 BC and that they have taken into account the mentioned political changes.[61] At that time the resolution for the construction of the so-called *trilithon* may have been adopted, exemplifying another tremendous rise of ambition.[62] This tremendous expansion of the podium envelops the first temple and widens the circuit to a spacious terrace isolating at the same time the new building; for the new podium abandons the wing walls, and therewith an architectural integration of the temple, which gains more autonomy in this way; the altar terrace adjoining to the east ends already at the level of the front colonnade. The beginnings of the wing walls would have disappeared under the enlarged podium had it been completed. With this solution, only the outside staircase protrudes a little bit into the forecourt so that the temple may be coordinate or perhaps subordinate to the court. With its Hellenistic-Roman stamp it demonstrated the changed relationships of a new era, and with its tremendous dimensions it will have surpassed the old cult site by far; nevertheless, the latter's priority may have been preserved. This suggestion gains more probability in case the temple was never completed.

The "architecturalization" of the existing hill with the altar court was not promoted simultaneously with the new podium, but again not much later. Similarly to the temple which was originally planned in a simpler

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60 Similarly Ragette, *Baalbek* (fn. 41), 28, concerning the building of the temple podium: "Since the sanctuary was already on top of the existing hill, an artificial podium had to be created."

61 See above fn. 22.

62 For the podium, its origin and building characteristics etc. see especially Will, "Du trilithon de Baalbek" (fn. 20), 725 ff., and J.P. Adam, "A propos du Trilithon de Baalbeck. Le transport et la mise en œuvre des mégalithes", *Syria* 54 (1977), 31 ff.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000320

way, it was also surrounded with a monumental terrace wall[63] that, in a typically Roman manner, was executed as a usable substruction, guaranteeing all along the possibility to create a new level of an enlarged court.[64] That its final layout had not yet been decided becomes obvious from the regulation of levels in front of the outer staircase of the temple which resulted in a lowering of the first level. This led to the addition of more steps at the foot of the staircase.[65]

This state of planning may originally have aimed at providing a balance between old tradition and planned renovation made necessary probably by political changes. But the ongoing development shows a strange ambivalence between the planning objectives and repeated changes in the definition of the focal points. This 'enveloping' of the first temple with a podium is certainly the peak of architectural ambition; it is manifested not only in tremendously enlarged dimensions, but also in the absolutely unnecessary, even preposterous construction technique of the *trilithon*. As opposed to the continuous expansion of the forecourt, however, this podium was left unfinished,[66] and it is hardly surprising that this megalomaniac and extremely costly prestige project was never completed. Attention was rather focused on cult installations in the courtyard, and activities continued to concentrate in that area.

With the expansion of the court terrace the old cult site was not only integrated into the newly planned projects as an essential and necessary element, but was obviously to be enhanced with architectural means. Shaped in stone, so to speak, the steeply rising terrace still suggested the now invisible hill as the core of the cult, and to future visitors it was a sign of the revered starting-point of the monumental complex.

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63 Krencker, "Sitzung am 5. Februar 1929" (fn. 15), 179 and idem 1934, 279 ff.; Gerkan "Entwicklung" (fn. 15), 269 f.

64 Cf. e.g. the sanctuary of Zeus at Gerasa (see below, fn. 86); for the terracing of temples and the installation of crypto-porticoes see recently P. Gros, *L'architecture romaine du début du III^e siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du Haut-Empire*, vol. 1, Paris: Picard 1996, 136 ff. and 113 ff.

65 Kalayan, "Engraved Drawing" (fn. 41), 152 f.

66 Krencker, "Sitzung am 5. Februar 1929" (fn. 15), 178 and idem 1934, 280 ff.; Gerkan, "Entwicklung" (fn. 15), 269 f.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000321

Phase of expansion of the courtyard (figs. 2 and 3)[67]

In the course of the 1st century AD the plan was again fundamentally revised: the halls of the new courtyard were to become especially magnificent; as a result, the existing substructures had to be supplemented in a constructively demanding way.[68] But here is not the place where a change of values, the origin of which remains in the dark, manifests itself. The new aim consisted obviously in integrating the monumental temple as a whole into the architecture of the courtyard[69] – another gigantic project that, with halls all around the temple, would have required more substructions and fills on a gigantic scale. The aim of the project becomes clear from a representation of the plan. The temple itself and not the altar court would have formed the center of the sanctuary. We may only speculate whether programmatic intentions were entailed by such a change, but the probability suggests itself. However, they would not have survived for a long time. Connections and foundations were prepared,[70] but very soon the execution came to a standstill. The program was reduced to the previous state, without known reasons. A victory of traditional ideas rather than a lack of funds may have been responsible: the altar court with its specifically regional buildings continued to be the counterpoise to the temple and the core of the overall installation; this supposition is confirmed by the succeeding architectural history.

The altar court that might have been regarded as a forecourt to the temple in the classical sense, was – as the real center – to have its own forecourt in the east; for a court in the east, planned at the same time, may be seen as a vestibule[71] of which only the flanking entrance

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67 Numerous uncertainties impair the appearance of the respective building phases in detail; e.g. the execution of the front stairs in connection with a stepped construction of the temple, that has been assumed since the excavation publication but never been proved with certainty, is not clarified. The representation on the existing plans refers back to Kalayan (fn. 41), whose views have entered into the plans presented by Ragette, *Baalbek* (fn. 41) (see e.g. the layout plan on the back cover).

68 Krencker, "Sitzung am 6. Februar 1934" (fn. 15), 282 f.; Gerkan, "Entwicklung" (fn. 15), 270.

69 Krencker, "Sitzung am 5. Februar 1929" (fn. 15), 178, and idem, "Sitzung am 6. Februar 1934" (fn. 15), 280 ff.; Gerkan, "Entwicklung" (fn. 15), 269 f.

70 Krencker, "Sitzung am 5. Februar 1929" (fn. 15), 179, and idem "Sitzung am 6. Februar 1934" (fn. 15), 282 f., Gerkan, "Entwicklung" (fn. 15), 269 f.

71 Krencker, "Sitzung am 5. Februar 1929" (fn. 15), 180 f. (the time of Caracalla); idem, "Sitzung am 6. Februar 1934" (fn. 15), 284 ff. ("rather uniformly ... planned" ["einigermaßen einheitlich ... geplant"]); Gerkan, "Entwicklung" (fn. 15), 270 (beginning of the 3rd century).

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000322

towers[72] were at first erected and later, in the early 3rd century, the hall of the *propylaea*. The addition of the hexagonal court, built towards the middle of the 3rd century, appears as an intensification of the same idea.[73] Perhaps the traditionalists had gained in the conflict of ideas. It is telling that the last step towards the completion of this process was taken in the time of the Severian emperors. They must have been especially intrigued by the sanctuary in Baalbek as the largest demonstration project of the Roman Empire in the entire region where, nevertheless, local traditions had proved to be so powerful. But again, the determination was not firm enough to complete at least the newly begun buildings.

Unfinished features

In this context another phenomenon of the Baalbek sanctuary becomes especially meaningful. In accordance with its outstanding importance for the cult, the altar court with its precious colonnades[74] and the architecturally manifold halls and exedrae next to them was not only executed in an unusually luxurious way, but also nearest to completion, even if numerous secondary details had not yet been given their final shape[75]. As far as the

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72 See Weigand, "Baalbek" (fn. 15), 178.

73 Krencker is probably right in his view of the hexagonal court as a modification of an originally simpler layout of the courts, Krencker, "Sitzung am 5. Februar 1929" (fn. 15), 178 n. 1: "certain traces suggest that, originally, a quadrangular conclusion was planned in the east" ("gewisse Spuren sprechen für einen einst im Osten beabsichtigten viereckigen Abschluß"); and idem, "Sitzung am 6. Februar 1934" (fn. 15), 284 f.; Gerkan, "Entwicklung" (fn. 15), 270 ("construction of the hexagonal court after modified design" ["Ausbau des sechseckigen Vorhofs nach abgeändertem Entwurf"]). – Weigand, "Baalbek" (fn. 15), 178, in summing up his observations supposes that the courts and the towers of the *propylaea* (i.e. without the hall, which was built later) were built "in the course of the 2nd century, mainly in its first half" ("im Lauf des 2. Jahrhunderts und zwar im wesentlichen in seiner ersten Hälfte") ("etwa um 120", ibid., 179, cf. ibid., 192). Cf. Peter H.F. Jakobs, "Bauplastik aus Baalbek", *AA* 1989, 413-41 (432 with n. 45).

74 Pink granite from Egypt and gray granite from the Troas were used for the column shafts of the colonnade and of the exedrae respectively (Ward Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* [fn. 20], 421), local limestone was used for bases, capitals, and entablatures (Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek*, vol. 1, 77); the polished granite contrasted strongly with the dull limestone. For the origin, transportation and use of marble in the region see Hazel Dodge, "Ancient Marble Studies: Recent Research", *The Journal of Roman Archaeology* 4 (1991), 28-50, esp. 38 ff.

75 According to Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek*, vol. 1 (fn. 8), the following incompletions have been observed: The "friezes of the aedicula (the arrangement of the two rectangular exedrae of the eastern hall) remain as smooth tori" ("[Die] Friese der Ädikula selbst stehn noch durchweg als glatte Wülste"), 126. – Other than the relief decoration at

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000323

temple is concerned, apart from the altogether, though perhaps not obviously incomplete state of the megalomaniac podium[76], even building elements that are rather important for the outer aspect, such as bases of the colossal columns or acroterion bases, have been left incomplete[77].

Unfinished building features are a general phenomenon in the architecture of antiquity; the Hellenistic mausoleum of Belevi[78] is a well-known example as well as numerous other monuments of Greek and Roman times, regardless of their importance in politics or in the cult.[79] But in Baalbek this phenomenon might lead to specific conclusions as to the architectural history of the entire installation, to its meaning and function. The state of incompletion is even more pronounced with the other elements of the entire installation, namely the hexagonal court and especially

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the respective places in the southern hall, the sills of the circular exedra of the northern hall are "still all ... smooth" ("noch alle ... glatt"), 126. – "Most of the pilaster capitals of the smaller architectural elements ... are only prepared as bosses" ("Die Pilasterkapitelle der Kleinarchitektur ... sind meist nur in der Bosse angelegt"), 126. – In the westernmost panel of the northern hall, the podium part of the aedicula above the door is still a boss (for a relief?), pl. 29, 85; also the neighboring pilasters have partly protected edges or are perhaps incomplete at the bases and at the shaft tops – at any rate, only raw profiles are indicated; cf. on the other hand the easternmost preserved panel of the southern hall, pl. 26, where all profiles are indicated as finished. The profile of the side of the door frame also remained incomplete, pl. 86 below. – The pilaster capitals of the groundfloor niche of the western cirrcular exedra of the northern hall are also incomplete, so is the wall above the gables of the segments, pl. 33, 86 above. – The shafts of the colossal pilasters seem to be indicated as incomplete as well. – Also left incomplete or only embossed is the termination of the second concha of the southeastern circular exedra, pl. 96, as well as of the fourth concha, pl. 94. – Incompletions are also indicated at elements of the entablatures of the rectangular exedrae, fig. 61. – Finally, the reliefs of the northern water basin are at least partly incomplete, pl. 105, 109.

76 See Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek*, vol. 1 (fn. 8), 55; further e.g. Krencker, "Sitzung am 5. Februar 1929" (fn. 15), 180, who points to the fact that the temple has remained a torso and "probably always showed a sad aspect in the west" ("auf der Westseite wohl immer ein trauriges Bild"); or idem, "Sitzung am 6. Februar 1934" (fn. 15), 284: "What remained in the west, was a torso with all the signs of oscillating building plans" ("Was übrig blieb im Westen, war ein Torso mit all den Spuren schwankender Bauvorhaben").

77 Ibid., 59, 65 fig. 38, resp. 63 f. fig. 35 f.

78 Wolfram Hoepfner, "Zum Mausoleum von Belevi", *AA* 1993, 113-23 (122), designates incomplete details as "characteristic of Hellenistic buildings" ("geradezu charakteristisch für hellenistische Bauten").

79 For incompletions generally, e.g. in pre-Hellenistic architecture, see Th.E. Kalpaxis, *Hemiteles: Akzidentelle Unfertigkeit und "Bossen-Stil" in der griechischen Baukunst*, Mainz: Zabern 1986.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000324

the *propylaea*. In the badly demolished hexagonal court the unfinished state is already demonstrated by the merely bossed stepped construction of the surrounding columned halls, which were thus not only restricted in their representational value but also in their use.[80] The rough state of the *propylaea* as such is still obvious today: most of the pilaster architecture outside as well as the niched decoration inside is bossed or even only roughly hewn. These unfinished features are mentioned in the publication[81] and have been noticed again later[82], but the reasons were seen, if at all, in quite general conditions. Winnefeld, for example, sees the reason in "a slackening of the determination to build and thereby of the means for building" ("ein Nachlassen des Bauwillens und damit der Baumittel"),[83] but does not take into consideration the fact that we are not looking at the continuous process of a possible decline, but that the building sequence shows rather a rising, then again a falling tendency. Incompletions are present in the early, then again in the latest building phases. The climax of the building activity, obviously connected with a strong determination towards completion, is found in the execution of the altar court, approximately in the middle of that development. Here we may see another indication of the central position of the altar court and of the outstanding importance of its installations in the general context of the sanctuary. This circumstance does not only become clear with both the construction and the remodeling of the altars. Also the two water basins[84] and mainly the later building of the two colonnaded monuments[85] manifest a particular

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80 Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek* , vol. 1 (fn. 8), 100 ff. Only one side of the hexagon was almost finished; incompletions have also been observed at elements of the entablature, where details are only indicated as raw profiles.

81 Ibid., 48.55; cf. listing above fn. 75.

82 See e.g. Krencker, "Sitzung am 5. Februar 1929" (fn. 15), 180; Gerkan, "Entwicklung" (fn. 15), 270; Ward Perkins, *Roman and Etruscan Architecture* (fn. 20), 419; G. Kleiner, "Baalbek und Palmyra", *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 4 (1989), 196; and recently Gros, *L'architecture romaine* (fn. 64), 173.

83 Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek*, vol. 1 (fn. 8), 55: "What has prevented the completion of the podium and – as will be shown in the following – also that of the entire installation in its construction and in its decorative elements must have been a slackening of the determination to build and thereby of the means for building." ("Was die Vollendung des Podiums und, wie die weitere Betrachtung ergeben wird, auch die Vollendung der ganzen Bauanlage sowohl im Aufbau wie in der Vollendung der Schmuckformen verhindert hat, muß wohl ein Nachlassen des Bauwillens und damit der Baumittel gewesen sein.")

84 Ibid., 93 ff.

85 Henri Seyrig, "Nouveaux monuments de Baalbeck et de la Béqaa", *BMB* 16 (1961), 118 ff. sees the erection of such columns (or pillars) in the oriental tradition (ibid.,

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concentration of the planning and a progressive perfection in this part of the sanctuary – in contrast to the hexagonal court and the *propylon*. The temple itself is so badly demolished that details of finishing activities that may have taken place all through the construction period, could not be recognized any more. At least there is no indication of building activities or work on the details going on in the late 2nd or 3rd century, the period when the altar court was completed and the hexagonal court and the *propylaea* were newly constructed, in supplementing or even consciously remodeling the original planning concept.

Comparisons – contemporaneous installations

In many respects and for the time being, the preceding reflections on the sanctuary of Jupiter remain hypothetical; decisive evidence about the important questions of the sanctuary's protohistory can be gained only from a complete evaluation of the excavation findings of the 1950s, and perhaps only from new excavations. The theories developed here may however be supported by several parallels from the temple architecture in Syria and Palestine:

A very close parallel to the development of the sanctuary from a simple natural monument to a huge architecturalized terrace installation exists in the Decapolis town of Gerasa in south Syria. Here, too, the excavation results of the last years have not yet been published in detail, but the findings are evident on site. Besides, the excavator, the French architect Jacques Seigne, has already delivered a very informative sketch of the development stages.[86] In Gerasa, the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios grew out of a

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124) and rules out that the columns should have carried anything. At a later time, imperial (?) sculptures (*images*) could have been raised on top of them. For the erection of the two different columns (the northern column consists of gray, the southern one of pink granite) a timespan between 123 and 212 AD is given (ibid.).

86 Jacques Seigne, "Jerash: Sanctuaire de Zeus", *Revue Biblique* 93 (1986), 238-47; idem, "Recherches sur le sanctuaire de Zeus à Jerash (Octobre 1982-Décembre 1983). Rapport préliminaire", in: F. Zayadine, ed., *Jerash Archaeological Project*, vol. 1, Amman: Shukayr & Akasheh 1986, 29-59; A.M. Rasson and J. Seigne, "Une citerne byzantino-ommeyade sur le sanctuaire de Zeus", *Syria* 66 (1989), 117-51 (fig. 1, p. 118); J. Seigne, "Jerash romaine et byzantine: Développement urbain d'une ville provinciale orientale", in: *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 4 (1992), 331-41; idem, "Découvertes récentes sur le sanctuaire de Zeus à Jerash (rapport préliminaire à la campagne de fouille de 1992)", *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 37 (1993), 341-58; idem, "French archaeological work in Jordan", in: S. Kerner, ed., *The Near East in Antiquity*, vol. 4, Amman: al-Kutba 1994, 7-21 (13 ff.); Freyberger, "Frühkaiserzeitliche Heiligtümer" (fn. 22), 46 ff., 127 f.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000326

cult monument situated on an isolated rock in a valley; in several steps, the monument was expanded to a shrine of ambitious design; the older installations were partly incorporated into the new buildings, and partly served as their substructures so that the level of the cult site was considerably raised. This process culminated in the construction of a spacious terrace with framing halls, that was inaugurated 27/28 AD. Similar to that of Heliopolis, the cult monument is now surrounded by a large rectangular square lined by circuits – which are here mostly closed –, and just as in Heliopolis, these circuits have been erected, in the Roman manner, over tunnel-vaulted crypto-porticoes. The sanctuary appears now to the visitor as a pedestalled monumental building above the undulating river plain of the Chrysorrhoas. At a later period of the Roman Empire, the venerable though repeatedly altered cult shrine of Zeus Olympios was supplemented by a new temple building on a higher rising mountain terrace in the immediate neighborhood so that the original cult court was almost degraded to a vestibule. The actual practice of the cult on the old terrace side by side with the new temple has not been exhaustively researched in the case of Gerasa, either. One may imagine that here, as presumably in Baalbek, the sacral actions continued to be carried out on the lower terrace beneath the temple.

The execution of monumental temple terraces on high supporting walls built carefully of large ashlars is also characteristic of the sanctuaries built by Herod the Great in Jerusalem and Samaria Sebaste at about the time of the construction of the enlarged Jupiter temple in Baalbek. Both groups of buildings rise at the highest point of the town hill, and costly substruction work was needed to surround the temples with the desired spacious courtyards. While the core of the Jerusalem sanctuary – consisting of hall-lined courtyards, the altar, and the temple as such and accessible in detail only in literary sources – was centered on the gigantic artificial platform,[87] the installation in Samaria Sebaste with its temple and the terrace in front of it[88] corresponds in its essential elements to the Baalbek sanctuary. Here, no predecessors to the temple are known; they are to be expected under the

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87 See especially Th.A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomo bis Herodes*, vol. 2, Leiden: Brill 1980, 1062 ff., and, critically summing up and evaluating the extensive literature, H.-P. Kuhnen, "Palästina in griechisch-römischer Zeit", *Handbuch der Archäologie, Vorderasien* II 2, München: Beck 1990, 172 ff.

88 George Andrew R. Reisner, Clarence Stanley Fisher, and David Gordon Lyon, eds., *Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908-1910,* vol. 1, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1924, 167 ff.; J.W. Crowfoot, K.M. Kenyon, and E.L. Sukenik, *The Buildings at Samaria*, London: Palestine Exploration Fund 1942, 123 ff.; Busink, *Tempel* (fn. 87), 1037 ff.; Kuhnen, "Palästina" (fn. 87), 178 ff.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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sacred building, in the context of the corresponding acropolis, and not, as in Baalbek, in front of the temple. The connection between temple and forecourt resembles very closely the almost contemporaneous building phase in Baalbek when the wing walls that were to connect forecourt and temple were laid out but not completely executed. The arrangement that was finally chosen and that is extant to the present day, preserves this concept of a tangential order of the temple in Baalbek.[89]

By the "architecturalization" of a striking rock, the much more modest temple of Seeia in the Hauran, south Syria, shows a certain similarity with the sanctuary of Baalbek.[90] The differentiated installation rises in several terraces and centers around a narrowing rock formation towering up at its western end – a natural monument possibly very similar to the original one in Heliopolis. Although research seems to have yielded no corresponding evidence so far, one can hardly imagine that this site was not sacred even before its monumentalization.[91] In late Hellenistic to Augustean times this rock was transformed into a courtyard temple and, through a series of forecourts, made accessible in the manner of a processional road – a sort of "stage effects"[92]. According to Klaus Stefan Freyberger's latest reflections, each one of the three successive courtyards – unlike Baalbek – had its own temple, and they were all completed in the 1st half of the 1st century AD, following a uniform design.[93] The similarity with the Jupiter sanctuary in Baalbek appears first and foremost in the planned use and in the architectural shaping of the access rising over several terraces.

Résumé

The main part of the Heliopolitan sanctuary with the linear sequence of its entrance building, its various courtyards, and, the cult building at the end, is characterized by the terracing of all building elements, which tower up

89 The arrangement of court and temple along one axis as well as the increase in height achieved by the installation of the temple podium are further corresponding characteristics. Freyberger, "Frühkaiserzeitliche Heiligtümer" (fn. 22), n. 15, 22 is right in recognizing comparable building concepts for the 'south temple' of Petra and for the big temple of Qalaat Fakra.

90 See with all details and exhaustive bibliography Freyberger, "Frühkaiserzeitliche Heiligtümer" (fn. 22), 46 ff., 127 f.

91 Freyberger, ibid., 38, draws attention to the fact that natural monuments as e.g. sources, but also exposed mountain plateaus were preferred sites for the sanctuaries of local tribes.

92 Ibid., 51.

93 Ibid., 46 ff.

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upon high substructures above the surrounding flat ground. In the opinion of Edmund Weigand especially, this installation rising step by step towards the cult center and culminating in the temple appeared to follow an ideal plan according to Roman patterns. Gerhard Rodenwaldt had already substantially argued against this interpretation; recently, Klaus Stefan Freyberger succeeded in working out in detail the "composite" or "heterogeneous" character of the architecture of the sanctuary, that combined local with (Greek-)Roman elements.[94]

The view that over and against Roman influence – which was without any doubt important – local oriental factors largely determined the planning and the final shape of the sanctuary is strengthened by the evaluation of the excavation results of the 1950s. Although not adequately published, the scanty evidence is already very informative: as the traditional nucleus of the local cult, the altar court was obviously the center around which all expanding or remodeling measures concentrated. Against this background it may even be asked whether the temple completing the installation had in fact the "primary rank" (*primäre Stellenwert*) required by Freyberger. It is not at all certain any more that the temple was completed – a fact that would enhance the importance of the altar court.

One thought seems to be behind the principle of raising and the architectural staging of a cult site at a high altitude, a principle that in Baalbek stands in the foreground and has been intensified to an impressive demonstrative architecture: on a small scale, namely with the tower-shaped altars that are characteristic of the region, as well as on a large scale, namely with the choice of high-rising places in the landscape as sites for cult activities a preference for such high places is obvious. Only in late Hellenistic and early Imperial times were these natural monuments architecturalized in colossal ways. The substructure as such is especially stressed, as is obvious in Jerusalem even more than in Baalbek. Huge supporting walls of overly large ashlars, a feature that alone must have called forth admiration, carry the platform of the Herodian temple.[95] With the construction of the *trilithon* in Baalbek the dimensions of the ashlars were topped by far, and the *sanctum* was to be simultaneously transferred to the newly planned temple following the Greek-Roman pattern. It looks however as if the altar court was able to maintain its prominent role. While the podium construction remained incomplete, the expansion of the altar court was superposed

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94 Ibid., 24, 70.

95 Cf. above fn. 87 and Will, "Du trilithon de Baalbeck" (fn. 20), 726, who, as part of a general consideration of megalithic structures, mentions further buildings by Herod as examples.

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over the original concept. The aim of the architecturalized raising of the cult site, thereby a strengthening of local traditions, may have been decisive – even if principles of Roman substruction architecture have been used[96]. A change of ideas in favor of the altar, of the court belonging to it and of its architectural setting is also manifested by the abandonment of the plan of an expanded temple enclosure at the level of the altar court, which had been in the meantime designed. On the other hand, the court was continuously developed by the installation of the lustration basins, by the construction of a second bigger altar, and, finally, by the erection of two votive (?) columns.

In addition, a lot of care was directed towards the fashioning of the access by means of which the approach to the cult site was staged in the manner of a procession: even if they came into existence through a lengthy building process only, *propylaea* and hexagonal court, with their intermittent and at the same time connecting stairs, intensified the experience of the ascent and the gradual approach to the *sanctum* culminating in the platforms of the tower altars and in the sacrificial activities performed there. Quite in contrast to the pattern of an architecture following "western Roman models"[97] and despite a number of elements influenced by the west, the sanctuary of Jupiter Heliopolitanus in Baalbek was in its basic aspect primarily determined by local traditions; the artificial terracing that gave to the original cult monument on top of an isolated rock formation a colossal architectural shape made this feature obvious to everybody.

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96 After Weigand, "Baalbek" (fn. 15), 193, had already drawn attention to the relationship with the sanctuary of Fortuna in Praeneste. Freyberger, "Frühkaiserzeitliche Heiligtümer" (fn. 22), 21, mentions also in this context the terraced sanctuaries of the late Republic in Italy: they may have provoked the pronounced stress on substruction architecture.

97 For a summary see Weigand, "Baalbek" (fn. 15), 191 ff.

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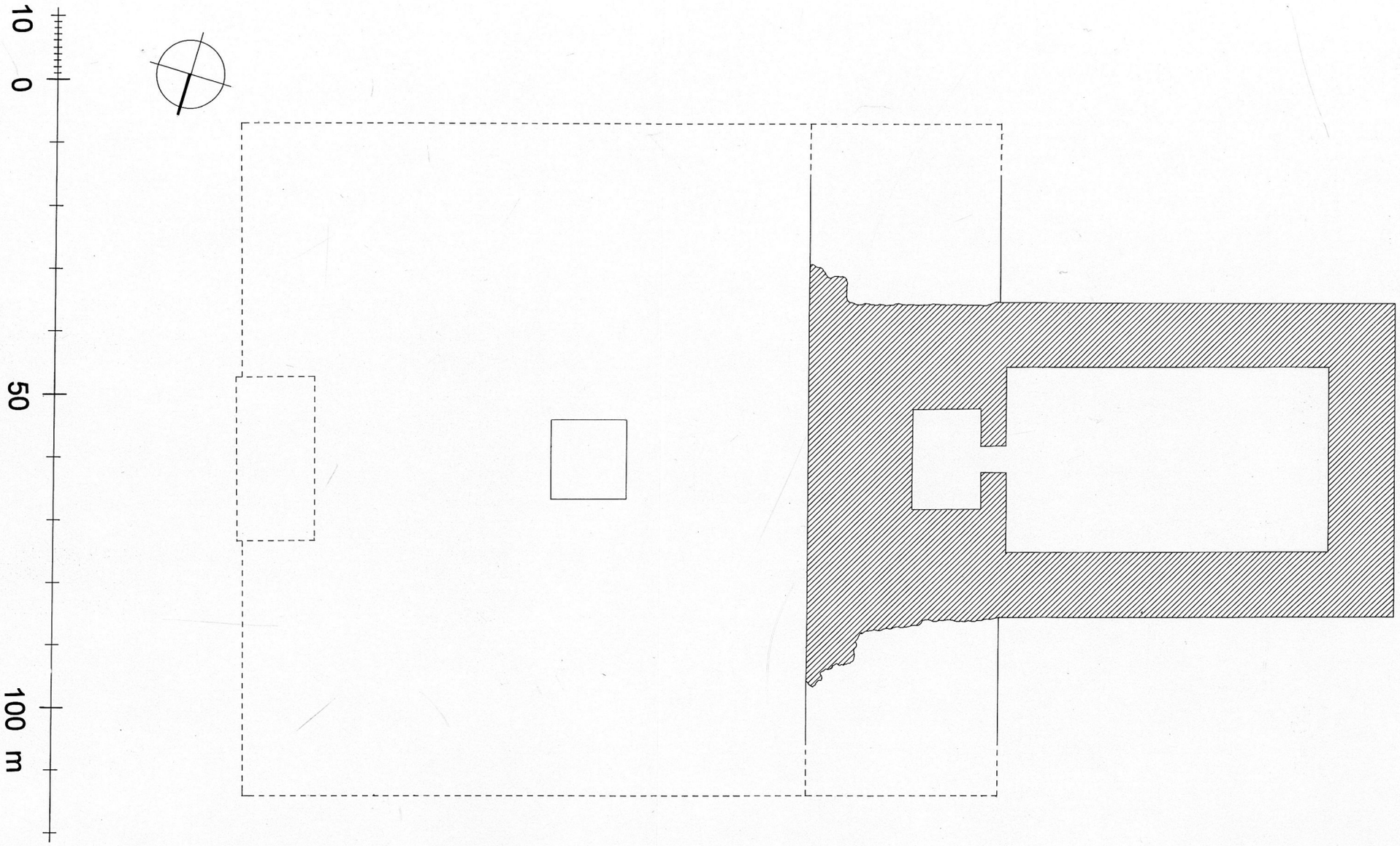

Fig. 1: Baalbek, sanctuary of Jupiter, building phase of the late Hellenistic(?) temple, layout.

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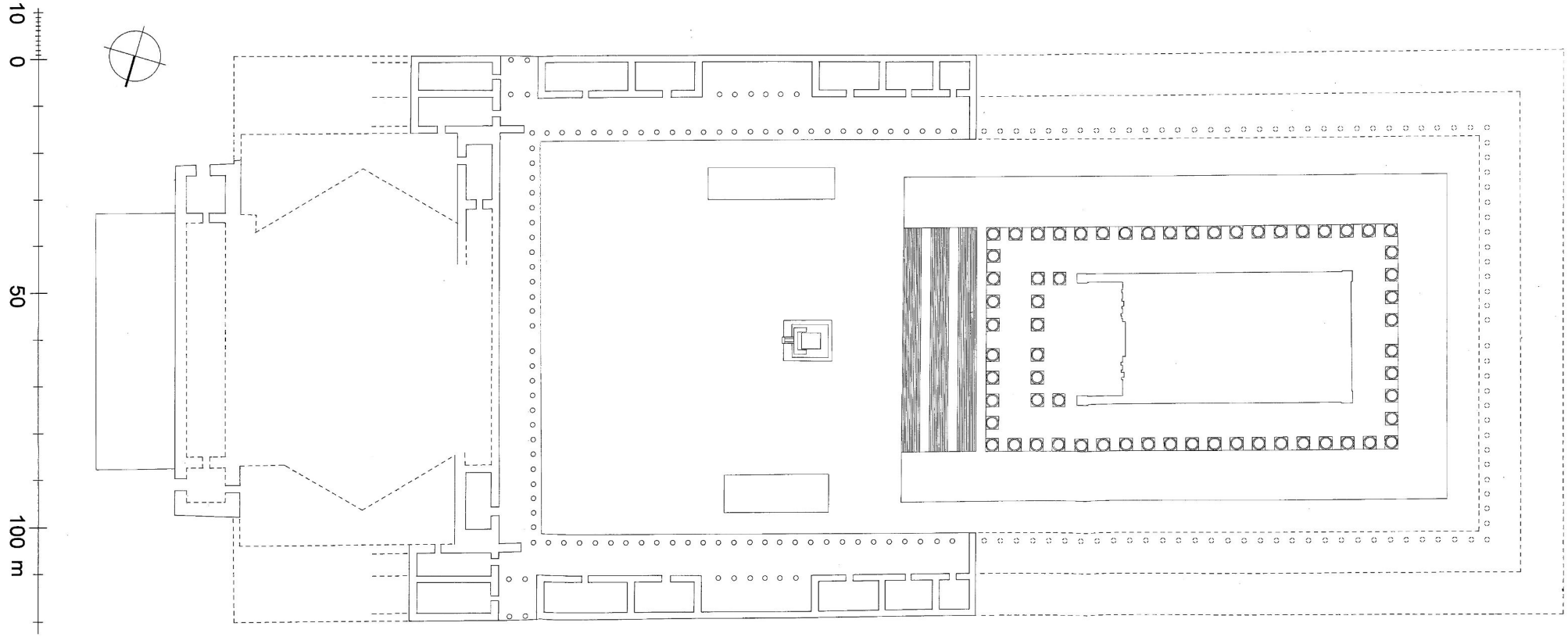

Fig. 2: Baalbek, sanctuary of Jupiter, expanding phase of early Imperial times, layout.

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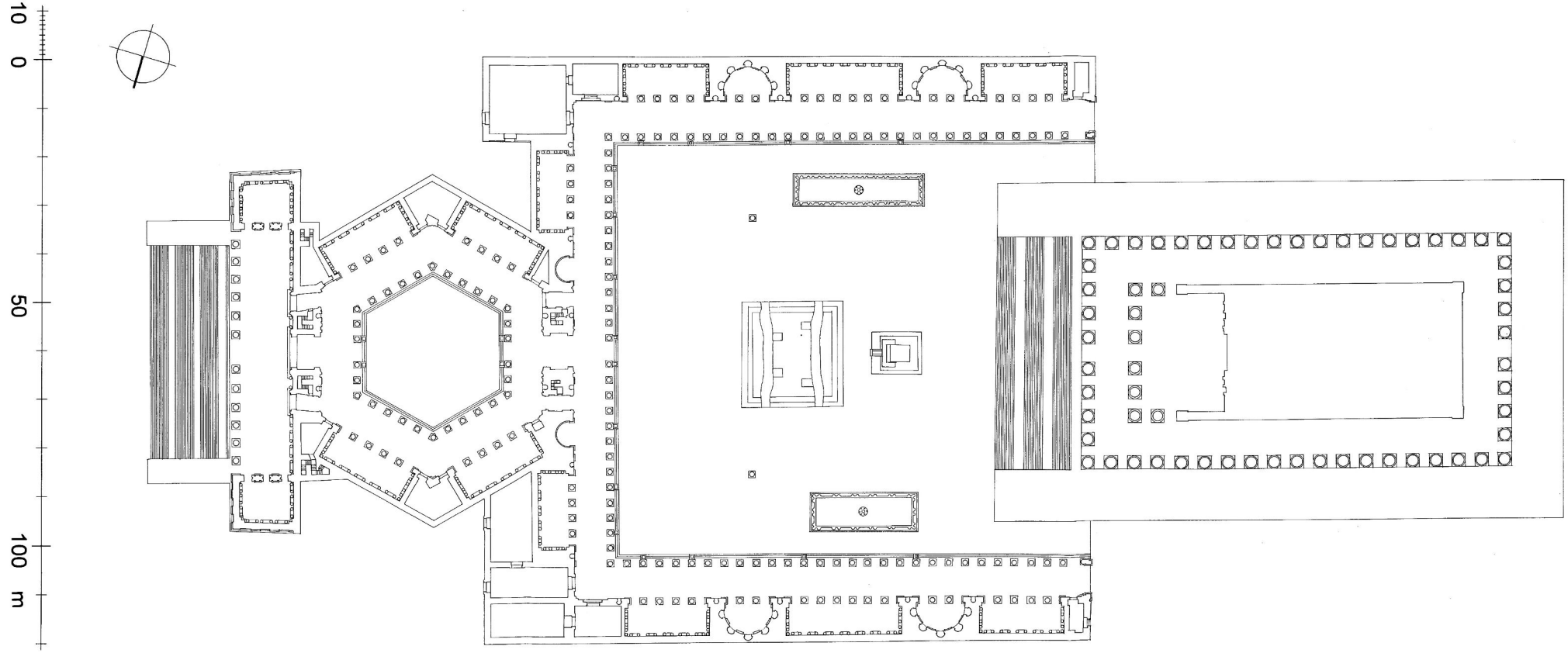

Fig. 3: Baalbek, sanctuary of Jupiter, expanding phase of late Imperial times, layout.

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ISLAMIC BAALBEK: THE QAL'AH, THE MOSQUES AND OTHER BUILDINGS

HEINZ GAUBE

1. The three centuries before Islam (4th - 7th centuries)

Work at the great temple complex of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and Bacchus was not yet completed, when Christianity began its triumphal march in the Roman empire under the reign of emperor Constantine I (324-337). After a setback under Julian, known as "the Apostate" (361-363), who tried to re-establish the old heathen religion, Christianity was firmly and finally established by Theodosius I (379-395). Thus it is not surprising that the historian Eusebius of Caesarea (260-340) writes of a "church of great size and magnificence"[1] built in Baalbek (fig. 1) in Constantine's time. Other sources mention, that Theodosius "destroyed the famous trilithon, sanctuary of Balanius ..., and turned it into a church, not without meeting a lot of resistance".[2]

Constantine's church was most probably erected outside the temple area and destroyed in the time of Julian. But Theodosius' church was built into the great court (fig. 2) in front (i.e. east) of the temple of Jupiter after the tower and the altar (or the two altars) had been removed. It was dedicated to St. Peter. The excavations brought to light two construction phases of a building with a basilical plan (central nave and two aisles). The older church measured 68 by 36 meters and had its entrance to the east. The later church measured 78 by 36 / 50 meters. An apse was added to the east and the entrance moved to the west, where a small chapel was built on each side thus widening the new facade. Most probably the older structure was the church built under Theodosius. The later building phase dates to the sixth century.[3]

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1 Eusebius of Caesarea, *Vita Constantini*, III, 56.

2 Hermann Winnefeld, "Geschichte Baalbeks bis zum Einbruch der Araber", in: Theodor Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905*, vol. 2, Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter 1923, 150.

3 Theodor von Lüpke, "Die Basilika", in: Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek*, vol. 2, 130-43; René Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale,* Paris: Geuthner 1927, 404.

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Moreover, the hexagonal court (fig. 1, A) east of the main one was covered with a wooden roof of pyramidal form.[4] I would not exclude the possibility that this covered hexagonal court served as a baptistery. If this assumption is correct, the dimensions of the building would contradict the assumed limited success christianization had in Baalbek as claimed by John of Ephesos who mentions that the nobility of the city was still adhering to its ancient heathen religion in 579.[5]

2. The first five centuries of Islamic Baalbek (7th - 11th centuries)

In the Byzantine period Baalbek had lost its paramount position as a religious center of far reaching importance. A part of the old acropolis had been transformed into a rather modest church, and the city of Heliopolis/Baalbek shrank into the unimportance of a small town. Soon the roof of the temples deteriorated and collapsed, so did those of the exedras around the court of the temple of Jupiter.

Baalbek had been fortified in Roman times. And we learn from a now lost Greek inscription[6] (ca. 440), that a functioning city wall might have existed there in the Byzantine period. This led Winnefeld to the conclusion that: "Man könnte sich Heliopolis um die Mitte des fünften Jahrhunderts als völlig christliche Stadt denken, die, worauf der Erneuerungs- oder Ausbesserungsbau der Mauer hinweise, nach den Wirren der Religionskämpfe der vergangenen Jahrhunderte sich zu einem gefestigten Dasein nun auf neuer Grundlage erhöbe."[7] Sobernheim is however of the opinion that: "Stark befestigt wurde sie [i.e. the city of Baalbek] erst, wie wir aus den Ereignissen schließen können, im 5. Jahrhundert d. H. unter den Buriden [1103-1154]."[8]

Whether Islamic Baalbek was fortified before the 5th/11th century or not will be discussed below. At the time of the Islamic conquest, however, it most probably did not possess a strong city wall. So Abū ʿUbaydah, after the conquest of Damascus in September 635 and on his way to Ḥimṣ, took Baalbek without resistance and issued the following letter of protection:

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4 Bruno Schulz, "Ausbau des Heliopolitanium-Vorhofes", in: Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek* (fn. 2), vol. 2, 129.

5 John of Ephesos, *Ecclesiastical History,* III, 27.

6 *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. A. Boeckh et al., Berlin 1828-77, 8617.

7 Winnefeld, "Geschichte Baalbeks" (fn. 2), 151.

8 Moritz Sobernheim, "Abriß der Geschichte Baalbeks im Mittelalter", in: Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek* (fn. 2), vol. 3, Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter 1925, 3.

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> "In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a statement of security to so and so, son of so and so, and to the inhabitants of Baalbek – Greeks, Persians and Arabs – for their lives, possessions, churches, and homes inside the city and outside of it and also for their mills. The Greeks are entitled to give pasture to their cattle within a space of 15 miles, yet are not to abide in any inhabited town. After Rabīʿ and Jumādā I shall have passed, they are at liberty to go where they will. Whosoever of them adopts Islam, shall have the same right as we and be bound by the same obligations; and their merchants are entitled to go whither they will in the countries that have become ours through capitulation. Those of them who do not adopt Islam are bound to pay poll-tax and *kharāj*. Allah is witness and his testimony is sufficient."[9]

If we do not consider this letter a mere invention, it gives us some information about Baalbek at the time of the Muslim conquest. First: the population was composed of Greeks, Persians and Arabs. By "Greeks" Christians, certainly also those of Aramaic stock, were meant. "Arabs" might have been Christians and non-Christians, whereas "Persians" in pre-Islamic Baalbek represent a somehow mysterious group. How did Persians get to Baalbek in pre-Islamic times? Were they Persian Christians, were they leftovers of Persian (Sassanian) campaigns in Syria or were they emigrants from Persian territories, possibly not ethnic Persians but Aramaeans from present-day Iraq? However, Persians who were deported from Baalbek to other cities are referred to by Balādhurī elsewhere in his *Futūḥ*.[10] Second: there was more than one church in Baalbek. Third: the letter refers to possessions "inside the city and outside of it". Does this indicate that there was a city wall? Four: what do the grazing rights for the "Greeks" mean? Was this a temporary or a permanent permission for "Greeks" who did not become Muslims? The fact that Muslim months are mentioned hints at the first. And finally, the above-mentioned passage deals with merchants who became Muslims and who were allowed to go to all Muslim countries. If these merchants deserved a special mention in this treaty, it may be inferred that Baalbek had some importance in long distance trade at the time of the Islamic conquest.

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9 al-Balādhurī, Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā, *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, Michael J. de Goeje, ed., Leiden: E.J. Brill 1866, 130; here I quote the translation of: Philip Kh. Hitti, *The Origins of the Islamic State,* New York: Columbia University Press 1916, 198 ff.

10 Balādhurī, *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, 117 and 148; translation 180 and 228.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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In the centuries after the Muslim conquest little attention is paid to Baalbek in the literary sources.[11] In 907 a Shiite revolt led to heavy destruction in Baalbek. In 972 the city came under Fāṭimid dominion which was interrupted by a Byzantine incursion in 974. The Mirdāsids of Aleppo gained in 1025 control of the town, which was reconquered by the Fāṭimids in 1029, and around 1075 Saljūq rule began over Syria. In this period different persons, families or factions held control over Baalbek, until 1139 when the atābeg Zangī ibn Āqsunqur took it and appointed Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, the father of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), governor of the town and the dependent territories.

With Zangī, epigraphic evidence starts to appear in Baalbek, and it allows us to follow the development of its physical aspect as well as building activities in the town. Information concerning the physical aspect of Baalbek and its buildings in the time before Zangī is rather scanty. Indeed, the Roman-Byzantine ruins and Islamic coins struck in Baalbek are the only available material evidence.[12] As far as literary sources are concerned, we find short remarks in the works of Arab geographers up to the eve of Mamluk rule.

Among the earliest writers, Ibn Khurdādhbih (wrote ca. 885) and Ibn Rustah (wrote before 913) just mention Baalbek by name in lists or itineraries, whereas Yaʿqūbī, who wrote around 891, gives the following information: "Baalbek is one of the most famous cities [*madīnah*] of Syria. There one sees an extraordinary stone building and a source of which bursts out an important river. Inside the city there are gardens and vineyards."[13]

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11 In this summary I follow: Moritz Sobernheim, "Ibn Shaddāds Darstellung der Geschichte Baalbekks im Mittelalter", in: *Centenario della nascità di Michele Amari,* vol. 2, Palermo: Pironi 1910, 152-63; and: Sobernheim, "Abriß der Geschichte Baalbeks im Mittelalter" (fn. 8), 3-11; a shorter version of this can be found in the old edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. The article on Baalbek (Baʿlabakk) in the new edition of the E.I. by Janine Sourdel-Thomine does not offer any new information, in fact, it is not worth being consulted.

12 In the collection of our institute, e.g., the following Islamic coins struck in Baalbek up to the time of Zangī can be found: 39 Umayyad *fals* with or without dates, some of these coins could be ʿAbbāsid, one ʿAbbāsid (?) *fals*, ca. 160s to 180s (776-804), some coins with the names of unidentified governors which might belong to the 3rd-4th centuries AH / 9th-10th AD, one Būrid *fals* of Fakhr al-Mulūk (= Maḥmūd, 1134-38), one *dirham* of Zangī, dated 534/1139-40. With the exception of Zangī's *dirham*, all these coins are copper coins. This shows that Baalbek never was more than a provincial center.

13 al-Yaʿqūbī, Aḥmad ibn Abī Yaʿqūb, *Kitāb al-buldān,* Michael J. de Goeje, ed., Leiden: E.J. Brill 1891, 325; for all the Arabic texts up to the early 14th century (Abū 'l-Fidā') see the translations of: Guy le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims,*

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Al-Masʿūdī (who wrote before 956), in his long section on pre-Islamic places of worship, is only concerned with the temples of Baalbek. We read: "They are two buildings, one larger than the other. In both are sculptures most marvelously cut in stone. Even cut in wood you will not find similar ones elsewhere. The height of the roofs, the dimensions of the stones, the length of the columns, the breadth of the doors are not more wonderful than the building as a whole." [14]

Further information is provided by al-Iṣṭakhrī (ca. 951) and Ibn Ḥauqal (ca. 977). They write: "Baalbek is a city [*madīnah*] lying on a hill-slope. All its buildings are of stone. In it are castles of stone built with high columns. In Syria there are no stone buildings more wonderful and larger than these."[15] And Ibn Ḥauqal adds: "It is a city with many advantages and benefits, it has fruits in abundance and boasts of fertility and low prices. It is located close to the city of Beirut." [16]

Al-Muqaddasī (ca. 985) writes (I follow version C of the edition): "Baalbek is an old, fortified city [*madīnah*]. Within the city wall are cultivated land and marvelous things [i.e. ruins]. It has many grapes."[17]

The amount of information provided by these authors is indeed minimal. Baalbek was a *madīnah* and this generally means a fortified settlement with a Friday mosque and (at least in most cases) a citadel.[18] That Baalbek at that time had a city wall is attested by al-Muqaddasī. That this wall was too large for the city at the time these authors were writing, is shown by the fact that cultivated land is mentioned within the city wall. This city wall must therefore have originally protected a much larger settlement, that of Roman Baalbek. Thus, around the year 1000, Baalbek

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London: Cambridge University Press 1890 [reprint Beirut: Khayats 1965], 295-98. A survey of the relevant texts of the Mamluk period is given by: Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks,* Paris: Geuthner 1923, 70-73.

14 al-Masʿūdī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-maʿādin al-jawāhir,* Casimir A. Barbier de Meinard and Abel Jean B. Pavet de Courteille, eds., Paris 1861-1877; the edition quoted here is by Yūsuf Asʿad Dāghir, Beirut: Dar al-Andalus, vol. 2, 250.

15 al-Iṣṭakhrī, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, Michael J. de Goeje, ed., Leiden: E.J. Brill 1870, 61.

16 Ibn Ḥauqal, Abū 'l-Qāsim Ḥasan, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ,* Johannes H. Kramers, ed., Leiden/Leipzig: E.J. Brill 1938/39, 116.

17 al-Muqaddasī, Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad, *Kitāb aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm,* Michael J. de Goeje, ed., Leiden: E.J. Brill 1906, 160.

18 Questions of terminology are dealt with by: Heinz Gaube, "Die Quellen der Karte B VII6: Die Kernländer des ʿAbbāsidenreiches und ihre Auswertung", in: Wolfgang Röllig, ed., *Von der Quelle zur Karte,* Weinheim: VCH Verlagsgesellschaft 1991, 206-14.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000341

was an almost "typical" Islamic city, where only a citadel, a *qalʿah*, it seems, was missing. Otherwise al-Muqaddasī, according to his method of describing cities, should have mentioned it.

3. Baalbek up to the end of the Mamluk period (12th - early 16th centuries): the literary sources

Only some years after the death of ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī in 1146, al-Idrīsī finished in 1154 his famous geographical work written upon the request of the Norman King, Roger of Sicily, together with his map of the world.[19] Idrīsī gives the following description of Baalbek: "It is a fertile city [*madīnah*] on the mountain flank. It is surrounded by a stone wall. Their [i.e. the stones'] width is 20 spans. Water runs through the town and enters most of the houses. On the river are water-wheels and mills [*arḥāʾ wa-maṭāḥin*]." After this he praises the wealth of its crops and fruits and gives a long description of the two temples, which he calls "theaters" (*malʿabayn*). He finishes his description by saying that: "In the town of Baalbek are all sorts of other wondrous buildings."[20]

It is hard to say what original information these lines contain. The city wall had been already referred to. New is his mention of mills and water-wheels (which brought water to the fields like the *nawāʿīr* which we still can see in Ḥamah) and, most important is the reference to a fresh water system that reached most of the houses.

Zangī's rule was not a peaceful one in Syria. The Crusaders and internal enemies caused many problems and in Baalbek, the governor Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, the father of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), also had to face many difficulties. It was Zangī's son Nūr al-Dīn (1146-1173) who finally established order in Syria. In 1155 he took Damascus which had been more or less controlled by rebels and/or the Crusaders. A short time after he had conquered Damascus he took Baalbek, drove away the rebels, and continued his father's policy of rebuilding and repairing the city.

In 1170 a heavy earthquake struck Baalbek and led to severe destruction. Not much later Nūr al-Dīn died, and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, his deputy in Egypt and son of Najm al-Dīn, gained control over Syria. In 1178 he appointed his brother Tūrānshāh, who was born in Baalbek, governor of the

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19 Konrad Miller, *Mappae Arabicae,* Heinz Gaube, ed., Wiesbaden: Reichert 1986, vol. 1, 19-49.

20 al-Idrīsī, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad, *Opus Geographicum, sive "Liber ad eorum delectationem qui terras peragrare studeant",* A. Bombaci, U. Rizzitano, R. Rubinacci, L. Veccia Vaglieri, eds., vol. 4, Napoli-Roma: Istituto Universitario Orientale 1974, 369-70.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000342

city. He was followed by other Ayyūbid governors, among them al-Malik al-Amjad Bahrāmshāh, who governed Baalbek from 1182-1230. In 1260 Baalbek suffered heavy destruction by the Mongols, who were defeated in the same year by the Mamluks and Syria became part of their state.

Yāqūt,[21] who finished his geographical dictionary in 1225, does not add anything to our knowledge. He calls Baalbek an "old city [*madīnah*] with marvelous buildings, outstanding antiquities and palaces with marble columns", discusses the name, mentions a palace of Salomon in Baalbek, and some holy places. Around 1300 al-Dimashqī in his geographical work writes in a conventional way about the ruins, ascribing them to Abraham, Moses, Salomon and the Greeks. But he is the first of the geographers who mentions the *qalʿah*, more specifically two of its imposing towers, which can only be the two Roman entrance-towers of the temple complex (fig. 2,A, right), and a well: "In the qalʿah of Baalbek are two towers, in the wall of which are three large blocks of stone, each measuring 36 paths in length, nearly 12 feet in height, and they are as thick as the wall. Inside the qalʿah there is a well called biʾr al-raḥmah."[22]

Abū 'l-Fidāʾ, an Ayyūbid prince who was the Mamluk governor of Ḥamah from 1310 to 1321, finished his geographical work before 1321 (the year of his death). He provides us with additional information: "Baalbek is an ancient city which is protected by a city wall as well as by a strong and well built citadel. There are trees, watercourses and springs, and it is filled with many good things. ... In old times Baalbek was a very beautiful city and a place of veneration of the Sabaeans. One of their temples, which was held in high honor, was here."[23]

The stabilization of the Mamluk state and its reorganization is reflected in geographical works or manuals for functionaries of the state which were composed in Cairo in the time after Abū 'l-Fidāʾ. There much more attention is paid to Baalbek, reflecting its important strategic position in early Mamluk times, when it was one of the military bases against the last strongholds of the Crusaders.

But before we turn to these works, Ibn Shaddād, a historian who was born in Aleppo in 1217, has to be mentioned. He left his native city for

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21 Yāqūt, Abū ʿAbdallāh Yaʿqūb al-Rūmī, *Muʿjam al-buldān,* Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, ed., Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus 1866-70, vol. 1, 673-75.

22 al-Dimashqī, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad, *Nukhbat al-dahr fī ʿajāʾib al-barr wa 'l-baḥr,* August F. Mehren, ed., St. Petersburg: [Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg] 1866 [reprint Leipzig: Harrassowitz 1923], 199.

23 Abū 'l-Fidāʾ, Ismāʿīl al-Ḥamawī, *Taqwīm al-buldān,* Joseph Reinaud and William de Slane, eds., Paris and Leyden: Imprimerie Royale 1840, 255.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000343

fear of the Mongol invasion in 1260 and died in Cairo in 1285. He is the author of a historical-topographical work on Greater Syria in which twelve pages of the Damascus edition are dedicated to Baalbek. The historical part of this chapter was Sobernheim's main source in sketching the history of Baalbek. Here the geographical introduction of the chapter on Baalbek:

> Baalbek "is a city [*madīnah*] in the mountains. It has a strong citadel and a city wall built of heavy stones, each 20 spans wide. In it is a spring called 'bi'r al-raḥmah'. [A wondrous story about this spring]. The water [not of this spring] comes into the city, into the citadel and into the houses. On it are waterwheels [or mills]. The 'theater' [*malʿab*] belongs to its wondrous buildings. It was a temple of Baal. ... ".[24]

But the best and longest description of Baalbek is found in the voluminous geographical work of al-ʿUmarī, who died in 1341. Here we read:

> "Baalbek is an ancient city north of Damascus. It is said to have been founded by Salomon the son of David. It has a very large citadel which is built on ground level like the citadel of Damascus. The citadel and the city are surrounded by a strong and imposing wall with strong towers. It is built of heavy and large stones. ... In the citadel are extraordinary high and large columns ... , and the remains of the Ayyūbid buildings in the citadel are impressive and royal and of rare beauty, for example the house of the family of al-Malik al-Amjad [see above] and the water basin. ... There are buildings endowed with waqfs like the Friday mosque, other mosques, hospitals, ḥadīth schools, madrasahs, ribāṭs, khānqāhs and zāwiyas. The sūqs are pleasant and contain all kinds of goods. The water is distributed into the houses, the streets and the sūqs. [Then al-ʿUmarī speaks of the products of the city and its surroundings and continues:] Near Baalbek is a strong spring which is known by the name 'az-Zīnah'... They had a small mosque next to it and built after this a Friday mosque there, which is decorated with gilded stucco shining in perfect beauty. [The water of this spring flows to the city and is diverted to the houses and the quarters.] One calls this water the water of Ra's al-ʿAyn. Farther away from Baalbek is another large spring which is called "Ayn al-Lujj' [Lajuj, Lujuj]... One branch of its water comes to the northern quarters of Baalbek. There it is canalised and conducted to the citadel. Baalbek is an agreeable and

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24 Ibn Shaddād, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Aʿlāq al-khaṭīrah,* Sāmī Dahhān, ed., Damascus: Institut Français 1962, 42 (the whole chapter on Baalbek pp. 42-54); see also above: note 11.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000344

> charming city, where richness and well-being are consistent. The prices are lower than those in Damascus..."[25]

There is one more author of the Mamluk period who is worth being quoted: al-Qalqashandī who died in 1418. He wrote a 12 (printed) volume manual for functionaries of the state which also contains a long geographical section. For this he depends almost completely on al-ʿUmarī.[26]

He discusses the name of Baalbek, gives the date of the Islamic conquest (AH 14 /AD 635), its administrative affiliation and its coordinates, mentions old buildings which go back to Salomon and calls it a small version of Damascus.

> "There one finds mosques, madrasahs, khānqāhs, ribāṭs, zāwiyahs, one hospital and good sūqs. The water comes to the houses and to the sūq, [it follow products of Baalbek]. It was the capital of an old kingdom and the net from which Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb rose. Its citadel is strong and of imposing dimensions and figures among the most important buildings of the world. It is built on ground level like the citadel of Damascus. [But the latter can not be compared with that of Baalbek.] In the citadel one finds remarkable and really royal buildings which were built by the Ayyūbid rulers who resided there. The citadel and the city are surrounded by a powerful wall built of strong and large stones."

After this he mentions the area around the city, the spring of Raʾs al-ʿAyn, whose water comes to the houses and quarters of the city, and the second spring ʿAyn al-Lujj and its connection with the citadel.[27]

4. Baalbek up to the end of the Mamluk period (12th - early 16th centuries): the inscriptions

In addition to the information provided by literary sources, the Arabic inscriptions of Baalbek form a second base to date the Islamic buildings of the city and to understand the building process. Most of the Arabic inscriptions were published by Sobernheim.[28] A few more inscriptions,

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25 al-ʿUmarī, Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Faḍlallāh, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār,* translations by: Richard Hartmann, "Politische Geographie des Mamlukenreichs", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 70 (1916), 28-29, and: Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie* (fn. 13), 72-73.

26 al-Qalqashandī, Abū 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā,* Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, ed., Cairo: ʿĀlam al-Kutub 1923-1972 (Index), vol. 4, 109-10.

27 Translation Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie* (fn. 13), 70-72.

28 Moritz Sobernheim, "Die arabischen Inschriften", in: Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek*, vol. 3 (fn. 8), 12-40; here I use the numbering system of Sobernheim.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000345

which are of no use for our purpose, were published by Wiet,[29] whereas Sauvaget added comments to some of the inscriptions.[30]

Sobernheim published the inscriptions in a chronological order. He begins with an incomplete inscription of Zangī (no. 1) which was reused as building material of the north-west tower of the citadel. Its date and an indication of its purpose are missing, and we do not know to which activity it was related. Also the second inscription (no. 2) was not in its original place. It refers to the construction of a wall (*sūr*) in the year 1168 by Zangī's son Nūr al-Dīn. Since it was not found within the citadel, but reused in the floor of a house, it could refer either to the citadel or to the city wall.

On the Shaykh ʿAbdallāh hill south-west of Raʾs al-ʿAyn, stand the remains of the Qubbat al-Amjad. As the inscription of 1200 (no. 3) tells us, it was built as a mosque by a high official of the Ayyūbid governor al-Malik al-Amjad Bahrāmshāh, hither the name. High up on the south-west tower of the citadel a building inscription of the same governor, dated 1214 (no. 4), is preserved. A similar inscription of Bahrāmshāh, dated 1225 (no. 5), can be found on the west wall of the west tower of the citadel.

A building inscription, of the Ayyūbid sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, dated 1240 (no. 6), is preserved on a minaret near the round ("Venus") temple south-east of the citadel. The same sultan, who had a rather troubled lifetime because of the turbulence towards the end of Ayyūbid rule, left an inscription in the old Friday mosque, dated 1238 (?) (no. 7). It commemorates an endowment for a now disappeared *madrasah* which had been built against the east wall of the mosque. The last inscription from the Ayyūbid period, dated 1243 (no. 8), is found outside Baalbek at the Qubbat Dūris, a strange, open octagonal structure (in the inscription it is called *maudūʿ*: "object") built out of Roman materials.

Of the remaining 31 inscriptions published by Sobernheim, 30 come from the Mamluk period and one is post Mamluk. The oldest of these, dated 1277 (no. 9), lies at the edge of the pool of Raʾs al-ʿAyn. It is the building inscription of a mosque, dedicated by the Dawādār Balabān al-Rūmī. Another inscription, dated 1278 (no. 10) mentioning the restoration of a building (the nature of which is unknown to us because the inscription

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29 Gaston Wiet, "Notes d'épigraphie syro-musulmane II: Les inscriptions de Baalbek", in: *Syria* 6 (1925), 150-73.

30 Jean Sauvaget, "Notes sur quelques inscriptions arabes de Baalbek et de Tripoli", in: *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 7-8 (1949), 7-11.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000346

is partly illegible) by sultan Barakah Khān, son of sultan Baybars. It is now put on a pedestal in the middle of the pool at Raʾs al-ʿAyn.

An inscription, dated to 1282 (no. 11), was found in the citadel inside (?) the Bacchus temple and refers to a "tower" (*qullah*), inaugurated by sultan Qalāwūn.[31] This could be the date of completion of the "donjon". Two more inscriptions of Qalāwūn, dated 1282 (nos. 12 and 13), mention renovations in (or around) the Friday mosque, which had been damaged by the Mongols in 1260. According to an inscription, dated 1291 (no. 14), on the lintel of the south gate of the citadel, this gate most probably was built under sultan Ashraf Khalīl. Near the south corner of the hexagonal court of the citadel an inscription, dated 1294 (no. 15), mentions the construction of a wall in the time of sultan Nāṣir Muḥammad.

A lost inscription, dated 1317 (no. 16), attests the restoration of the eastern city gate under sultan Muḥammad al-Nāṣir. Near the south corner of the hexagonal court of the citadel another inscription, without a date (ca. 1360, no. 17) mentions the building of a *makān* in the time of sultan Nāṣir Ḥasan. Under the same sultan a *riwāq* of the Friday mosque was restored (inscription no. 18, dated 1359). The following three inscriptions, one of which is securely dated 1394 (nos. 19-21), refer to the restoration of the moat of the citadel in the time of sultan Barqūq. Inscriptions nos. 22 and 23 belong to a fountain not yet located. One of them refers to a renovation in the year 1347. A mausoleum, the Qubbat al-Saʿādīn, near the Roman city gate in the north of Baalbek, is dated by an inscription (no. 24) to the year 1409. The remaining inscriptions, dated between 1394 and 1502 (nos. 25-38), are decrees which deal mainly with economical problems towards the end of the Mamluk period and are cut (with one exception, no. 38, which is preserved in the mosque of Raʾs al-ʿAyn) into the walls of the Friday mosque. They are of no relevance to our questions.

5. The city and its monuments – a general survey

For the medieval Arabic authors the most characteristic feature of Baalbek (fig. 1) was its ruins.[32] In addition to that, the information they provide make it possible to draw a rough picture of the medieval city. Already in the Roman period Baalbek had a *city wall*. Evidence for it are the remains

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31 Sobernheim, "Die arabischen Inschriften" (fn. 28), 21, discusses the unusual vocabulary used in this inscription.

32 Concerning the perception of ruins and antiquities by our authors see: Heinz Gaube, "Geschichte, Altertümer und Archäologie in den Kernländern des Islam", in: *Archäologie und Geschichtsbewußtsein,* Hermann Müller-Karpe, ed., München: Beck 1982, 85-103.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000347

of a gate and an adjoining section of the wall in the north as well as other wall fragments, and a Greek inscription from ca. 440 AD now lost which referred to a restoration of the wall. At the time of the Islamic conquest the population of Baalbek did not offer any resistance. This leads us to the following assumption: if there still was a functioning city wall, it must have been weak or in a state of bad repair. In the 10th century then, Baalbek had a city wall independently of its good or bad state of preservation.

The authors of this period use the word *madīnah* to epitomize the status of the city. In their terminology this means a fortified city, and al-Muqaddasī writes of areas "within the city wall", which were used for agricultural purposes. This is atypical for cities of the region (as opposed to the cities of North Africa and the Arab Peninsula)[33] and suggests that sometimes before the 10th century the city had been more densely built up. The precise alignment of this early medieval city wall cannot be detected. So we do not know whether it connected the temple area with the settlement as it did in later times (figs. 1 and 2).

In addition to a city wall, a *madīnah* had a Friday mosque, a *sūq* and, as a rule, a citadel. There is no question, that Baalbek possessed a Friday mosque since the early Islamic period. However, this mosque is not mentioned in the texts. Thus we may assume that it did not belong to the architectural treasures of the region. Most probably it stood at the place of the now ruined old Friday mosque south-east of the citadel. The *sūq*, also not mentioned in the early sources, must have been located near or around the Friday mosque. The citadel is not referred to in the texts before ca. 1300. But even before this date some serious construction activities were undertaken to transform the temple area into a citadel. That might have been in the time of Zangī (early 12th century). In 1154 a water distribution system is mentioned which provided individual houses with water. Ca. 100 years later we learn that the water also reached the citadel. And in the early 14th century al-ʿUmarī wrote, that the water also came to the sūqs. In addition to this al-ʿUmarī provides us with the following information: city and citadel were surrounded by a wall with strong towers, in the citadel were a palace of outstanding beauty built by the Ayyūbid family and a water basin which was worth being mentioned separately. Religious buildings of different kinds and hospitals (or a hospital) adorned Baalbek. ʿUmarī also mentions the Friday mosque of Ra's al-ʿAyn.

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33 Heinz Gaube, Mohammed Scharabi, and Günther Schweizer: *Taif,* Wiesbaden: Reichert 1993, 15-19.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000348

6. Individual monuments

In his contribution to the German Baalbek publication[34] Reuther observed that "if one considers the rather important role Baalbek played in Medieval Syria, with the exception of the citadel, only a few Islamic monuments are preserved."[35] For the destruction of Umayyad and Saljūq monuments he blames the earthquake of 1170, and the devastation of Ayyūbid monuments he assigns to the Mongols. Reuther thought that parts of the Friday mosque were old (before 1170). He mentions a few Ayyūbid buildings (the minaret near the "Venus" temple, a *madrasah* next to the Friday mosque, the *Qubbat al-Amjad*, the *Qubbat Dūris*), the two Mamluk mosques at Ra's al-ʿAyn, two other Mamluk buildings and the mausoleum of the Ḥarfūsh family who had its harmful sway on the Baalbek area during Ottoman times. He adds that the Mamluk buildings kept "the noble simplicity" of their Ayyūbid predecessors, and that in the Ottoman period nothing worth mentioning had been added to the stock of Muslim monuments in Baalbek.

6.1. The qalʿah (citadel)

The most important monument of Baalbek is the citadel (fig. 2).[36] In the Middle Ages, the Roman temple complex had been transformed into a fortified area. The practice to alter large antique buildings into medieval citadels is attested in other places like Bosra[37] (where the Roman theater became a citadel) or Palmyra[38] (where the Palmyrene temple of Bel became a citadel), to mention only the two other most outstanding examples.

The temple of Jupiter and the two courts in front (east) of it (fig. 2, A) were originally built on a high platform. Very simple alterations like the walling up of gates and doors were needed to change the temple complex into an easily defendable structure with walls up to a height of 19 m. These simple alterations are so obvious and logical that they might have been

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34 All drawings reproduced here come from the German Baalbek publication: Theodor Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek*, vol. 1, Berlin and Leipzig 1921 (fig. 1 = Tafel 1), and vol. 3, Berlin and Leipzig 1925 (figs. 2-12 = Tafel 1, 2, 11, 12 and Abb. 74, 75, 78, 79, 112, 115, 123 and 126).

35 Oskar Reuther, "Islamische Bauten außerhalb der Qal'a", in: Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek*, vol. 3, 99.

36 Heinrich Kohl, "Die arabische Burg", in: Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek*, vol. 3, 41-96.

37 Armand Abel, "La citadelle eyyubite de Bosra Eski Cham", in: *Les annales archéologiques de Syrie* 6 (1956), 95-138.

38 Jean Starcky and Michel Gawlikowski, *Palmyre,* Paris: Geuthner 1985.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000349

executed in the time before Zangī (d. 1146) of whom a reused inscription (no. 1) was found in the north-west tower (fig. 2, B). The next logical step was the construction of a parapet with battlements and embrasures on top of the Roman walls. It cannot be excluded that these works were executed in the time of Zangī or under the rule of his son Nūr al-Dīn. A badly worn inscription (no. 2) of the latter dated to 1168 mentioning the construction of a wall was found. The entrance of this early citadel might have been somewhere in the south-west of the large court of the Jupiter complex.

Extensive building activities took place in the Ayyūbid period. In the Jupiter complex a palace and a water basin were erected. Inscriptions confirming this are missing. But al-ʿUmarī mentions the palace and the basin, and attributes the former to al-Malik al-Amjad Bahrāmshāh. Remains of the palace were excavated on the site of the Byzantine church (fig. 2, C), and so were those of the basin south of it (fig. 2, D). It seems as if most of the Ayyūbid constructions can be connected with the governor al-Malik al-Amjad Bahrāmshāh, who ruled Baalbek for almost fifty years (1182-1230).

The citadel was enlarged at the latest under his rule and the area of the Bacchus temple was included into it. This is witnessed by inscriptions on the south-west tower (fig. 2, E; inscription no. 4, dated 1214) and on the west tower (fig. 2, F; inscription no. 5, dated 1225) which say that Bahrāmshāh ordered their construction. These two towers make sense only if the Jupiter and the Bacchus complexes were connected by a wall out of which these two towers projected. From the same period must date the tower in the south-west corner of the Bacchus temple (fig. 2, G), which protected the new entrance of the citadel, and (most probably) the north-west tower (fig. 2, B). Also at the same time the south side and the east side of the Bacchus temple must have been strengthened and the largest tower of the citadel, the south tower (fig. 2, H) was built.[39]

If the covered passage inside the entrance tower (fig. 2, G) is of the same date as the tower itself, the mosque (fig. 2, I) west of this passage could have been built simultaneously. Inscriptions are missing, and there are hardly any stylistic criteria to date this building and the large hall (fig. 2, J) north of it. Meinecke[40] thinks of an early Mamluk date for the marble encrustations of the mosque. This, however, does not exclude an earlier

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39 Kohl, "Die arabische Burg" (fn. 36), 76, places this tower on the basis of the shape of the embrasures into the later 13th century.

40 Michael Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien,* 2 vols., Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin 1992 (Abhandlungen des D.A.I. Kairo, Islamische Reihe 5), vol. 1, 53 and 56.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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date for the building as such. This is also suggested by the large hall north of the mosque. Its western wall is earlier than the west tower (fig. 2, F), which in 1225 was built in front of the older west entrance (fig. 2, K) of the citadel. As a consequence of this, the two original gate towers of the old entrance were incorporated into the tower.[41]

In 1260 the Mongols damaged the citadel. They certainly did not cause heavy destruction otherwise the above mentioned Ayyūbid structures would not have survived. This, however, might not be true for the palace east of the Jupiter temple (fig. 2, C) because the first dated Mamluk building seems to be the "donjon" (fig. 2, L). Inscription no. 11 of Sultan Qalāwūn, dated 1282, must refer to it. Kohl[42] ascribes to the "donjon" and to the south tower pure military functions. This is more than questionable, and the reconstruction he[43] offers (fig. 3) is not satisfactory. The results of the excavations can be interpreted in a different way. "Donjon" and south tower (fig. 2, H) form a perfect palatial complex. They were connected with each other by a courtyard and separated from the rest of the citadel by a moat. The fancy decorations above the entrance and in the upper floor of the south tower (figs. 6 and 7) as well as the sumptuous four *īwān* plan of the same floor (figs. 4 and 5) suggest a residential function of this structure. Since an Ayyūbid date of construction for the south tower has been suggested above and since the inscription of Qalāwūn refers to the "donjon ", some chronological problems arise. They can be solved in two ways. Either the "donjon" is of Ayyūbid origin and Qalāwūn's inscription does not refer to its construction but to a restoration, which, considering the strange vocabulary used in the inscription, is possible – or, after the destruction of the Ayyūbid palace (fig. 2, C) the Ayyūbid south tower (which must have had residential functions since the time of its construction) and the Mamluk "donjon" were united into a new Mamluk palatial complex. To me the first assumption seems more plausible.

The remaining Mamluk large scale construction activities are the outer wall between the south-west corner of the Jupiter temple and the south-west tower, the addition of the barbican in front of the Ayyūbid entrance tower in the south-west and the restoration of the moat. The first two additions are part of the early Mamluk building activities. The wall is not dated but the tower of the south gate (fig. 2, M) bears an inscription of sultan Ashraf Khalīl (no. 14, dated 1291). Three inscriptions bear witness to the restoration of the moat (inscriptions nos. 19-21) by sultan Barqūq in

41 Kohl, "Die arabische Burg" (fn. 36), 61, fig. 46.

42 Ibid., 74.

43 Ibid., Taf. 2.

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the year 1394. Another two inscriptions (no. 15, dated 1294 and no. 17, dated 1360) in the hexagonal court of the Jupiter temple concern minor Mamluk construction works.

6.2. The Friday mosque of Baalbek (fig. 8)

South-east of the citadel the ruins of a large mosque (fig. 6) are preserved. This building as well as all the other monuments dealt with here were never carefully investigated and published and we still have to rely on the old German report.[44] The mosque[45] covers an area of ca. 47 by 61 m. South of the courtyard the remains of the *ḥaram* (prayer-hall), ca. 45 by 24 m, with four east-west running aisles are preserved. The pointed arches (ca. 3 m wide) rest on pillars at the courtyard side and on antique columns and capitals in the rest of the *ḥaram*. Only in front of the *miḥrāb* (prayer niche) a ca. 6 m wide arch is carried by two pillars. The *miḥrāb* is now an artless niche, and a second *miḥrāb* stands in the middle of the courtyard facade. In the *qiblah* arcade (the arcade in front of the *miḥrāb*) two doors (south-west and south-east) gave access to the *ḥaram*, and windows in each aisle (?) provided it originally with light. In the north-west and the south-east corners of the *ḥaram* secondary walls were added.

The courtyard north of the *ḥaram*, originally ca. 32 by 27 m wide, has remnants of a fountain (ca. 6 by 6 m) in its center. Also traces of a stone pavement are preserved. In the east, west and north a one aisle *riwāq*, ca. 4,7 m deep, rimed the courtyard. Its arches, most of them less than 2,5 m wide, rested on pillars. From the east *riwāq* a door led to a now destroyed *madrasah* of which an inscription (no. 7, dated 1238) on top of the door bears witness. A square minaret with an octagonal top stands near the north-west corner of the building.

It is most probable that already in Umayyad times Baalbek had a Friday mosque. With the same probability we may assume that this mosque stood at the place of the present old Friday mosque. It is uncertain whether this mosque had the plan of the ruined building standing now. The only objective chronological criterion we possess is the inscription on the east wall of the *riwāq* which dates this wall to a time before 1238. An inscription (no. 13, dated 1282) which is not preserved at its original place, refers to the restoration of a wall by the Mamluk sultan Qalāwūn, and another inscription (no. 18, dated 1359) also not *in situ*, mentions the restoration of a *riwāq* by the Mamluk sultan Nāṣir Ḥasan. These inscriptions tell us that building activities took place in Ayyūbid times and

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44 Reuther, "Islamische Bauten außerhalb der Qal'a" (fn. 35), 99-112.

45 Ibid., 99-103.

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after the Mongol invasions. Thus we may assume that most of what we see today belongs the 13th century at the latest. Is there any piece of evidence that might suggest a date before the 13th century?

Since most of the mosque is built out of reused materials an analysis of the decoration style does not help us at all. But the plan of the building might offer some clues. It is "Syrian" meaning that the basic features of its plan are those of the Umayyad mosque of Damascus. Centuries after the construction of this mosque, many mosques in Syria and adjacent areas were still built following its model. Writing about the Ḥanābila mosque in Damascus-Ṣāliḥiyya (built in 1203), Herzfeld brings it to the point: "If we disregard some individual features, the plan of the mosque is abstracted from that of the Umayyads mosque, and of course, much reduced in scale, but no new ideas have been introduced. The court has become square... The minaret stands to the right of the north gate... The prayer hall... is covered by three gable roofs of wood... Although the direction of these three naves is east-west, the wider span of the central arch creates the effect of a vertical transept, which, together with the slightly wider south nave, forms in space an accentuated T, which is desirable for the Friday ceremonies."[46] If we disregard the three naves (which are four in Baalbek), this is more or less a description of our mosque and a definition of its place in Islamic architecture. The arch in front of the *miḥrāb* and the wider south nave (ca. 6,8 m as opposed to ca. 5,7 m of the other naves) hint at the intended T-plan, which became very common in the mosques of Northern Africa[47] and can be first seen in the Aqṣā mosque of Jerusalem.[48]

Thus, the main elements of the plan of the Friday mosque of Baalbek are Umayyad. Mosques following the example of the Umayyad mosque of Damascus were still built in the Ayyūbid period (the Ḥanābila in Damascus) and even later (e.g. the Yalbughā mosque in Damascus, dated 1346 and later)[49]. On the basis of the information we have, an Umayyad origin of the building is not to be excluded, rebuilding, as everywhere in Baalbek, might have been undertaken in the Ayyūbid period, and restorations were executed in Mamluk times.

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46 Ernst Herzfeld, "Damascus: Studies in architecture - IV", *Ars Islamica* 13-14 (1948), 122.

47 Lucien Golvin, *Essai sur l'architecture religieuse musulmane,* vol. 3, Paris: Editions Klinksieck 1974, 143; earliest examples: great mosque of Kairouan 836 and later, Zaytūna mosque in Tunis 865 and later, 133-62.

48 Robert W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1949.

49 Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur* (fn. 40), vol. 1, 109, vol. 2, 206.

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6.3. The mosque in Ra's al-ʿAyn (fig. 9)

North-west of the spring of Ra's al-ʿAyn the ruins of a mosque (fig. 7) similar to the Friday mosque of Baalbek are preserved.[50] It measures ca. 46 by 34 m on the outside, the *ḥaram* ca. 32 by 13 m, the courtyard ca. 26 by 21 m. The *ḥaram* consists of two naves. Pillars carry the arches of the arcade facing the courtyard, those of the inner arcade stand on columns. The arch in the middle of the courtyard arcade of the *ḥaram* measures ca. 3,3 m, the other arches are only ca. 2,7 m wide. Here again we find the axis leading to the (undecorated) *miḥrāb* pronounced. But, as opposed to the Friday mosque of Baalbek, the nave in front of the *qiblah* is as wide as the second nave (ca. 6,5 m). A one aisle *riwāq*, ca. 4,8 m deep, rims the courtyard in the north, east and west. The arches of the *riwāq*, ca. 3 m wide, rested (with the exception of the corners) on columns. The main entrance is in the north. A semidome covers the deep entrance niche. Elevated profiles frame the entrance tract at the outside, which was flanked by two windows. On each side of the *ḥaram* two large windows, also framed by elevated profiles, and additional smaller ones provided light to the inside. The mosque had no minaret.

One inscription found on the building is a decree of the Mamluk sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī (no. 38, dated 1502). It is considerably later than the mosque, which is already mentioned by al-ʿUmarī in the first half of the 14th century. ʿUmarī also writes of a predecessor of this mosque. Inscription no. 9 (dated 1277) which lies near the pool of Ra's al-ʿAyn might belong to this mosque, of which nothing is left. According to this inscription, the *dawādār* (secretary) Balāban al-Rūmī built a mosque. This mosque cannot be the great mosque because above the entrance where a building inscription is usually placed, we find uninscribed original masonry. This makes a construction date of the great mosque a few decades before al-ʿUmarī probable. At this hints also a striking parallel to our mosque, the mosque of the *qāḍī* Ghabriyāl ibn Saʿīd in Damascus which was finished in 1319.[51]

6.4. Qubbat al-Amjad

Almost on the top of the Shaykh ʿAbdallāh hill, 1.100 m south of the Friday mosque of Baalbek and 1.200 m west of Ra's al-ʿAyn stand the

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50 Reuther, "Islamische Bauten außerhalb der Qalʿa" (fn. 35), 103-08.

51 Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur* (fn. 40), vol. 1, 66-67 and vol. 2, 124; see also: Michael Meinecke, "Mamluk architecture. Regional architectural traditions: evolution and interrelations", *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 2 (1985), 163-75.

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ruins of a mausoleum which is locally called "Qubbat al-Amjad".[52] The building has a square plan (measurements are not given by Reuther). Above the square body rises an octagonal tambour which culminated in a now fallen dome. The entrance faces north. One window flanks it on each side. Additional light was provided to the interior by windows in the tambour. Decorations are almost completely missing. Outside only three antique columns were attached to the western wall and an elevated profile accentuates the zone between tambour and dome. Inside one layer of *muqarnas* (stalactites) decorates the same zone. The monument is almost entirely built of antique material which came from a Roman temple nearby.[53] Its date (1200) and purpose (mosque) are given by an inscription (no. 3) which mentions the patron, *isfahsalār* (general) Ṣārim al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd Khuṭlukh (Qutluq). The location of the *qubbah*, far outside the settlement, suggests that it was built in a place of popular veneration. At this hint a Muslim cemetery nearby and the following toponyms: locally the area is called *Ẓahrat al-Kuffār* (back or crest of the unbelievers), other spots around bear the names *ʿAmūd al-Rāhibah* (column of the nun) and *Tannūr al-Kuffār* (oven of the unbelievers).[54]

6.5. Qubbat Dūris

Near the village Dūris west of Baalbek on the road to Zahleh the remains of a strange building are preserved. No measurements are published. Eight octagonally placed antique columns carry two layers of heavy beams of stone which form an octagon. For structural reasons it is impossible to assume that this building was covered by a stone dome. An early traveler saw a tent-shaped roof, which, if it did exist, must have been made out of wood.[55] The purpose of Qubbat al-Dūris must have been a similar one to that of Qubbat al-Amjad. Like this building it stands near a cemetery and the inscription (no. 8, dated 1243) refers to it as a "blessed place".

6.6. Qubbat al-Saʿādīn (fig. 10)

This name (the dome of the monkeys)[56] is that of a mausoleum outside the Roman north gate of Baalbek. It was built by the later Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (1412-21) when he was governor of Damascus in the year 1409 (inscription no. 24) to commemorate two of his officers

52 Reuther, "Islamische Bauten außerhalb der Qalʿa" (fn. 35), 108-09.

53 Hermann Winnefeld, "Die innere Stadt", in: Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek*, vol. 1, 44-47.

54 Ibid., 45.

55 Reuther, "Islamische Bauten außerhalb der Qalʿa" (fn. 35), 109, note 1.

56 Ibid., 109-11.

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who were killed two years earlier in a battle near Baalbek. The building (fig. 8) measures ca. 7 by 11 m. It consists of a rectangular anteroom which was covered by a cross-vaulted roof and a square burial chamber with a *miḥrāb* which was also covered by a dome. Six large windows gave light to the burial chamber and two to the anteroom. Additional small windows were in the upper sections of the walls. With the exception of the arch above the entrance niche near the north-east corner, which is decorated in a Romanesque style, and the upper layer of the wall, which is decorated with elevated profiles, the building shows no decorations.

7. Epilogue

In 1517 Baalbek was taken by the Ottomans. Under Ottoman rule (until 1851) the town and the region around it were most of the time under the control of the local Shiite Ḥarfūsh clan. Of this family little of interest and little of virtue is reported in the historical records.[57] They were puppets in the hands of the governors of Damascus or the emirs of the Lebanon mountains. And whenever they had some breath they used their force against the people of the territory they had control of. In other words: they ruined Baalbek and as Sobernheim puts it: "Seine [Yūnus al-Ḥarfūsh's] Familie hat vom Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts in Baalbek fast unabhängig von Konstantinopel regiert und der Stadt unsäglichen Schaden zugefügt. Unter ihrer Herrschaft hat Baalbek viel von seiner Größe und Bedeutung verloren."[58] This is reflected by the building activities of the family, too. One inscription (no. 39, dated 1619) mentions restoration work in the Great Mosque of Baalbek by Yūnus al-Ḥarfūsh, who calls himself *amīr al-umarā'* (!). Yūnus al-Ḥarfūsh could be also the patron of the undated mausoleum of the Ḥarfūsh family (fig. 11) in the cemetery in the south-east of the town, ca. 1 km away from the Great mosque.[59] The building has a certain similarity with the Qubbat al-Amjad and resembles in its plain style early Ottoman buildings in Syria.

Baalbek shrank to a small village. A considerable part or most of the population lived for a long time within the walls of the citadel which had lost its original functions under Ottoman rule but the wall of which still provided protection for the squatter population.[60] As the German

57 E.g. Ṭannūs al-Shidyāq, *Akhbār al-aʿyān fī Jabal Lubnān,* Fu'ād A. al-Bustānī, ed., Beirut: Publications de l'Université Libanaise 1970, mentions the Ḥarfūshs many times but does not convey anything positive about their rule.

58 Sobernheim, "Die arabischen Inschriften" (fn. 28), 40.

59 Reuther, "Islamische Bauten außerhalb der Qal'a" (fn. 35), 111-12.

60 Heinrich Kohl, "Die spätarabische Besiedlung der Burg", in: Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek,* vol. 3 (fn. 8), 84-96.

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excavations revealed (fig. 12), the whole interior of the citadel had been densely built up with mostly rural courtyard-houses, two mosques, a *madrasah* and even a bath. The rooms of the houses were small, so were the mosques. Only the bath, built inside the Ayyūbid palace, which in turn had been built into the old Christian cathedral, and the water basin next to it stuck out in size. This might be seen as evidence for an earlier date of both monuments. As already mentioned above, the bath (as part of the palace) and the basin could be of Ayyūbid origin.

Unfortunately the small finds from the post-Mamluk settlement were not systematically collected by the German team. This leaves us with no exact information about the duration of the squatter settlement. Towards the end of the 17th century the famous scholar ʿAbdalghanī al-Nābulusī visited Baalbek twice. His earlier description (1689) of the town and the *qalʿah*[61] is long but not very informative. But there he writes of destruction committed by "Ibn Maʿn" (Fakhr al-Dīn II [1590-1635]?) and gives a description of the *qalʿah* without mentioning a settlement in it.

In 1753 a heavy earthquake hit Baalbek. This could have put an end to the settlement inside the citadel. It is hard to determine whether a settlement existed outside the citadel between the 16th and the 18th centuries and what size it had. But we may presume that there was a continuation in the occupation during the whole Ottoman period. This can be inferred from ʿAbdalghanī's descriptions too. And, as we see on fig. 1, towards the end of the 19th century, Baalbek had regained a considerable size, which, nevertheless, cannot compare with that of the Roman or Medieval city.

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61 ʿAbdalġanī al-Nābulusī, *Ḥullat al-Dhahab al-ibrīz fī riḥlat Baʿlabakk wa 'l-Biqāʿ al-ʿazīz,* in: *Zwei Beschreibungen des Libanon: ʿAbdalġanī an-Nābulusīs Reise durch die Biqāʿ und al-ʿUṭaifīs Reise nach Tripolis*, eds. Ṣalāḥaddīn al-Munaǧǧid and Stefan Wild, Beirut/Wiesbaden: Orient-Institut/Franz Steiner 1979 (Beiruter Texte und Studien, vol. 21), 76-89; the later report (1700) was edited by: Heribert Busse, *Die Reise des ʿAbd al-Ġanī an-Nābulusī durch den Libanon,* Beirut/Wiesbaden: Orient-Institut/Franz Steiner 1971 (Beiruter Texte und Studien, vol. 4), 97-105.

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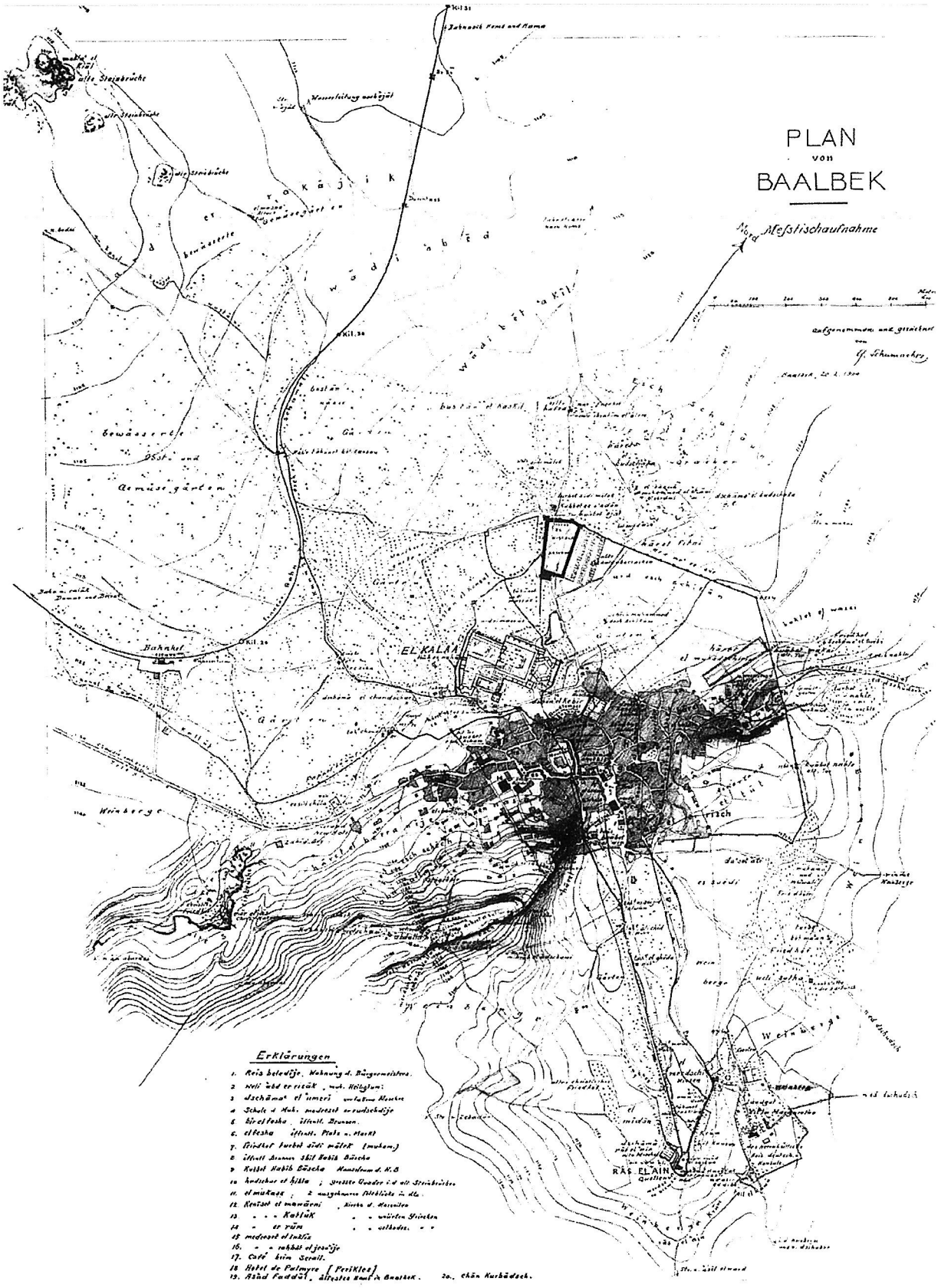

Fig. 1: Baalbek in 1904.

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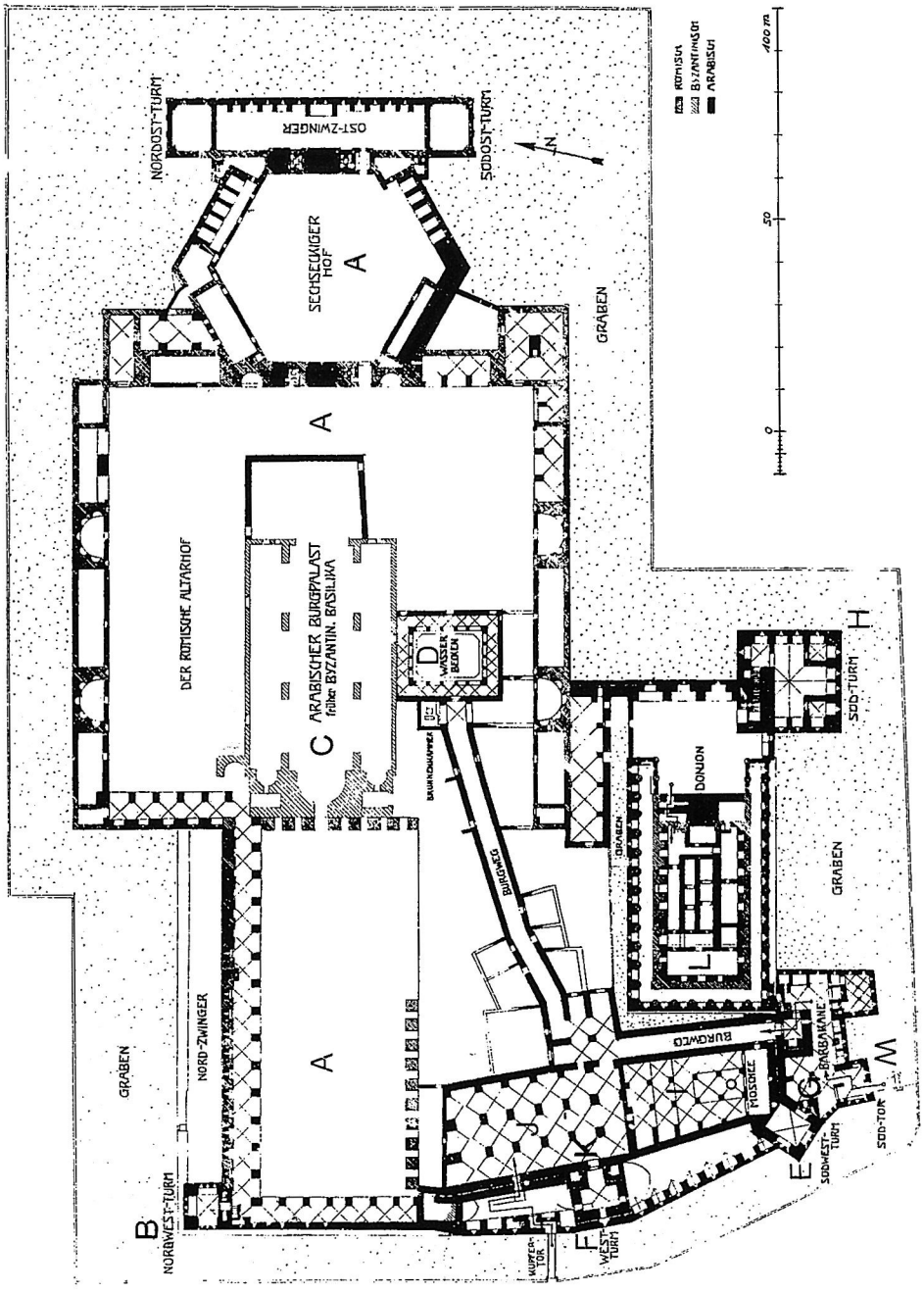

Fig. 2: The Qal'ah.

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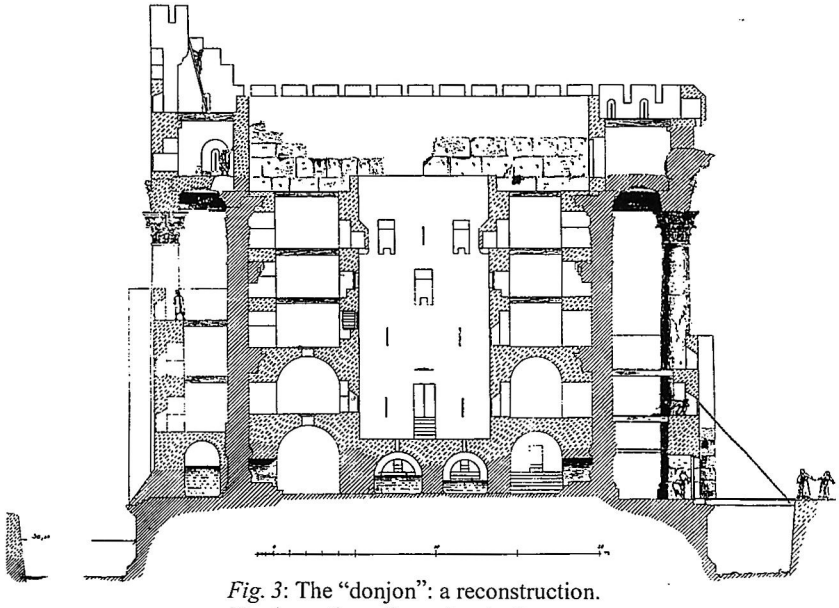

Fig. 3: The "donjon": a reconstruction.
North-south section: view to the west.

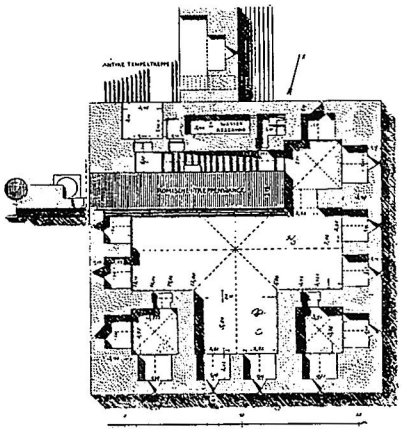

Fig. 4: South tower,
plan of the ground floor.

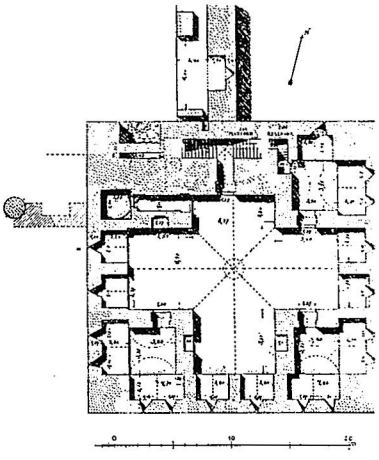

Fig. 5: South tower,
plan of the upper floor.

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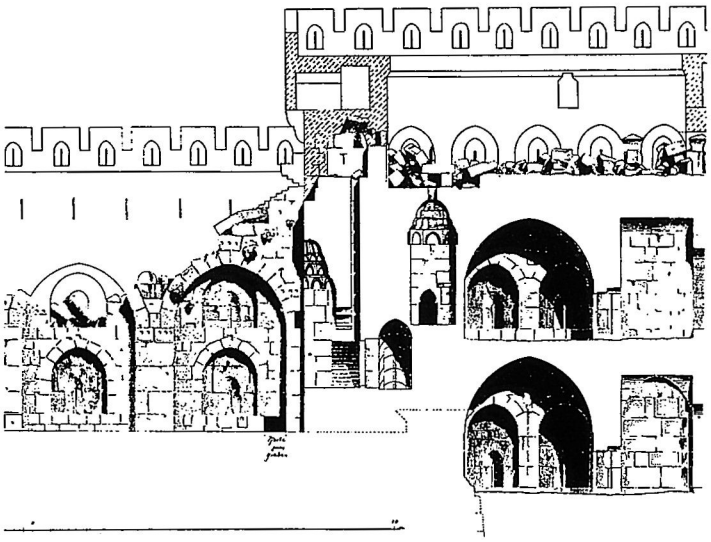

Fig. 6: South tower, north-south section:
view to the east.

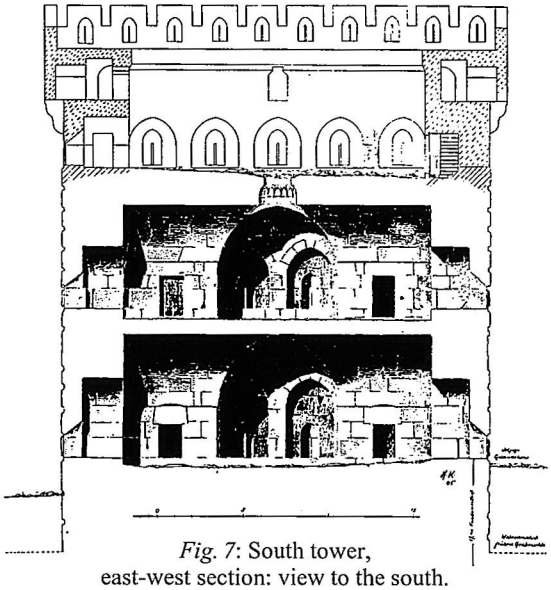

Fig. 7: South tower,
east-west section: view to the south.

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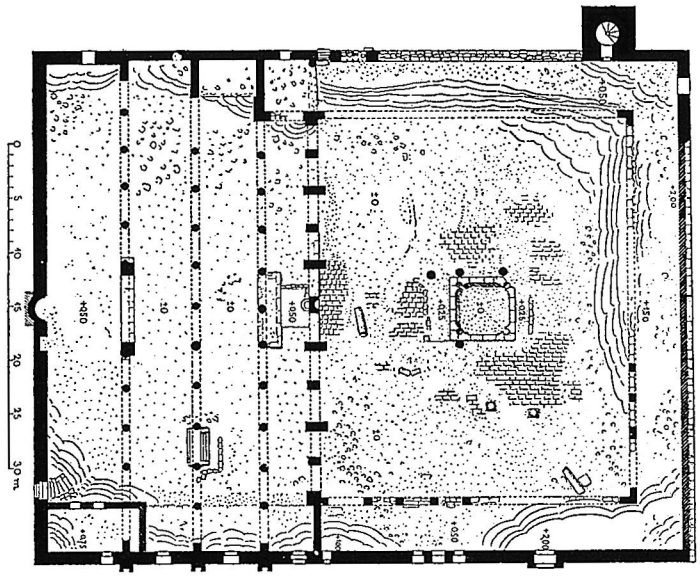

Fig. 8: Plan of the old Friday mosque of Baalbek.

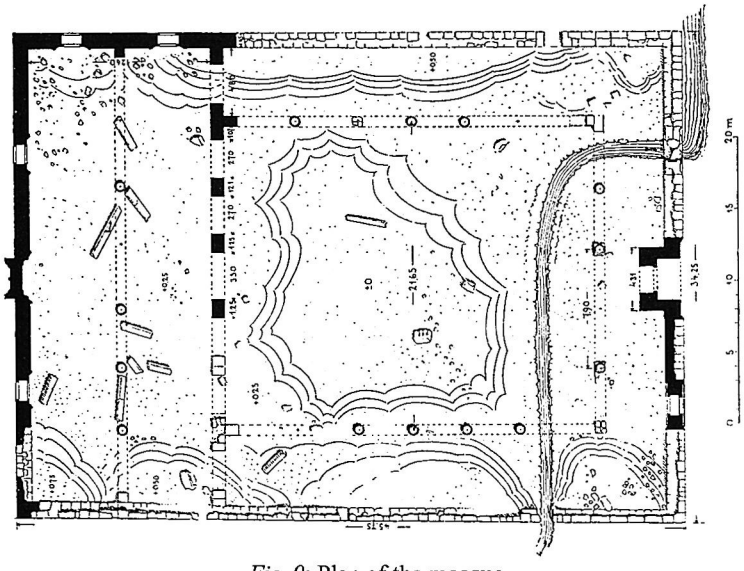

Fig. 9: Plan of the mosque of Ra's al-ʿAyn.

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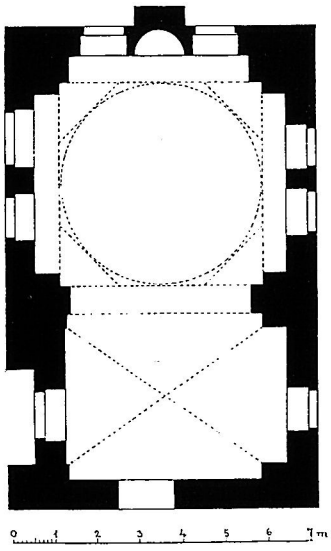

Fig. 10: Plan of
the Qubbat al-Saʿādīn.

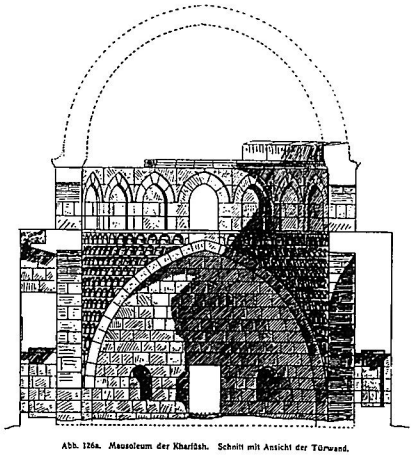
Abb. 126a. Mausoleum der Kharfūsh. Schnitt mit Ansicht der Türwand.

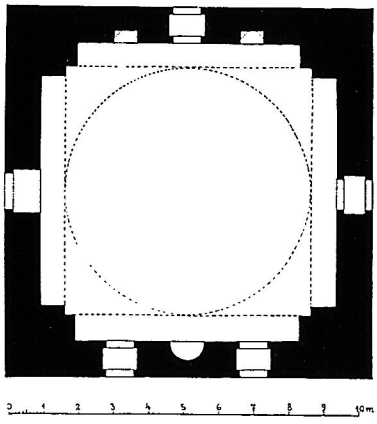

Fig. 11: Mausoleum of the
Ḥarfūsh family. East-west section:
view to the north and plan.

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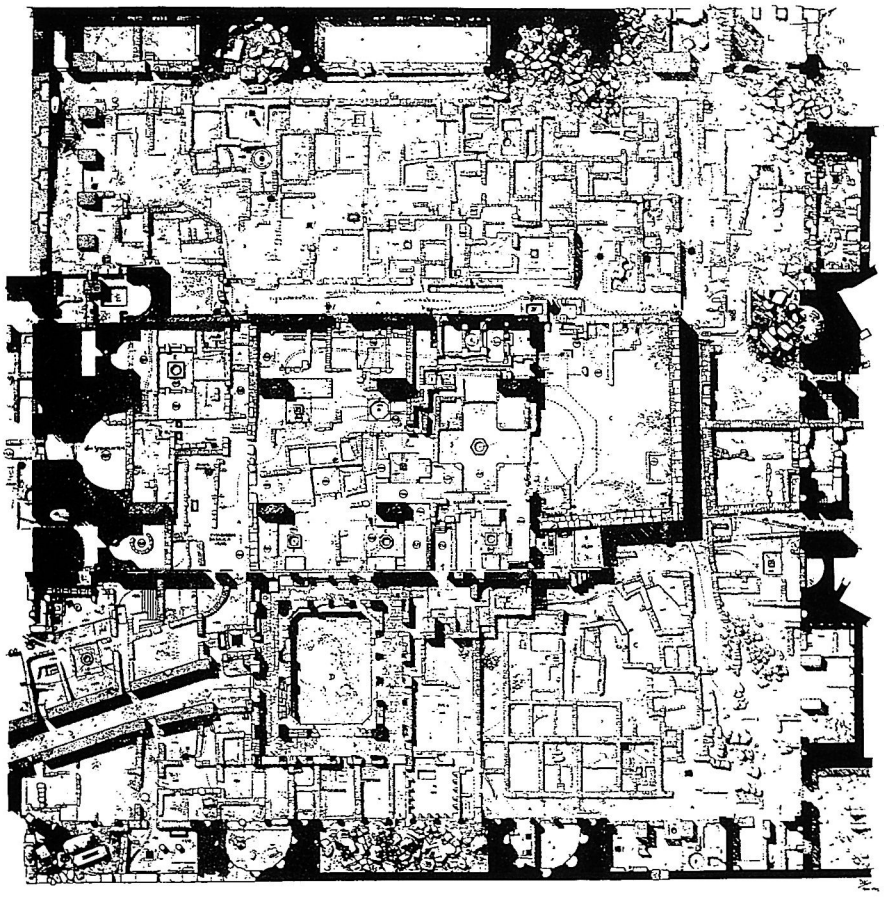

Fig. 12: The later Islamic settlement
in the western part of the courtyard of the Jupiter temple
with church (palace) bath, water-basin and houses.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND GEODETICAL RESEARCH IN BAALBEK*

ERWIN M. RUPRECHTSBERGER

Introduction

The reason for starting a project limited not only in time but also in space in the ancient city of Heliopolis (Baalbek), was the discovery, a few years ago, of a monolithic block in one of the quarries of Baalbek. The monolith is located near another huge, well known block, the so-called *Hajar el-Hibla* (*ḥajar al-ḥublā*: stone of the pregnant woman).

After an official inquiry at the Directorate General of Antiquities in Beirut, we learned that the recently discovered stone – hereafter monolith II – had not yet been studied. This monolith deserves close scrutiny and a detailed description not only because of its huge dimensions, but also because of clear signs of tooling on its surface (fig. 1).

In 1996 the Lebanese Ministry for Culture and Higher Learning and the Directorate General of Antiquities granted us permission to start a small research project on these monoliths. The City of Linz, the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Society for Austro-Arab Relations in Vienna, secured the funding.

Due to financial restrictions, the scientific research program concentrated on the following goals:

1. Geodetic works on monoliths I (*Hajar el-Hibla*) and II, including the study of all visible traces of ancient treatment based on a computer

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* This preliminary report anticipates a monograph to be published as one of the next volumes of the series *Linzer Archäologische Forschungen*, with contributions by Karl Haslinger and Rudolf Stöger. Further references are included in the text. For financial and personal support we thank the City of Linz, the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Society for Austro-Arab Relations in Vienna. For the permission to undertake archaeological research in Baalbek, we are indebted to the Lebanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Culture and Higher Learning, the Directorate General of Antiquities. For a prompt assistance in Beirut we extend our gratitude to the Austrian Embassy – The Commercial Section. Finally, we owe to the committee of editors of the Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft the possibility of publishing this brief report.

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program installed by Karl Haslinger, chief surveyor of the Austrian team, who is preparing three dimensional plans and maps in cooperation with Rudolf Stöger.

2. Comparative studies of monoliths I-II and of the so-called trilithos, the three monumental blocks of similar dimensions integrated in the western platform (podium) of the Jupiter temple. Hence a technical detail concerning the corners of the western platform is to be studied in connection with the building phases of the temple of Jupiter.
3. Finally, the location of both monoliths within the southern quarry of Baalbek will be described and placed on a map by Rudolf Stöger, topographer of the team.

Research in the southern quarry

Work begun in 1996 and focused on monoliths I and II within the southern quarry of Baalbek which is situated at the foot of the Shaykh ʿAbdallāh hill, 900 meters south of the sanctuary of Jupiter. Partly abrupt areas cut down by ancient quarrying mark the original ovoid circuit of the quarry, the eastern part of which has been surveyed. In spite of modern filling and heaping up, the natural Cretaceous limestone – as it is geologically defined – is visible. The sone was cut off parallel to its course and structure as holes and indentations clearly show. The ancient surface of the quarry can be reconstructed due to the inclination of the area. The angles of incidence of both monoliths I and II are in congruence with the structure of the natural limestone. Their position at the eastern edge of the quarry may be regarded as characteristic of an early cutting phase.

Monolith II and another massive block do illustrate the quarrying technique. The dimensions discernible on their surface reflect various sizes of ashlars which can be defined as follows: length 2,7-2,9 m; width 1,4 m; depth 1,35-1,4 m. Smaller units are discernible on roughly quarried ashlars 2,15 m long, 0,95 m wide and 0,35-0,65 deep. The distance of 0,5 m between one ashlar and the other made the handling of the quarrier with a special kind of tools (called "Schrotpicke" in German), possible. The minimal distance between the blocks ran up to 0,2-0,3 m.

Monolith I (Hajar el-Hibla)

This monumental often quoted, in pictures and photos published monolithic block, was according to common opinion destined for the construction of the Jupiter temple. But for reasons connected with the reduction of the building program, it has been abandoned. The huge dimensions support this interpretation. The monolith is 20,15-21,5 m long; 4,25 m wide; 4,07 m deep. Its weight, as defined by geologists, is 1000,12 tons.

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Among the carved names of the numerous visitors of Baalbek that can be seen on the surface of the monolith, we noticed an inscription located in the center of the block. Surrounded by a hole and other encarved names, some letters can be identified. Ductus and script of these carefully engraved letters speak for the archaic character of this Latin inscription (fig. 2):

...A... (HR?)
AVG (L?)

The remaining letters AVG belong obviously to the title of an emperor or can be related to the function or importance of someone (in a leading position?) involved in the quarrying process. An alternative suggestion is to interpret the inscription as a votive one, mentioning the name of a god(dess), whose favor the emperor enjoyed. Unfortunately, the inscription is too fragmentary to allow a satisfactory interpretation with a high degree of certainty.

The method applied by the surveyors should make a 3 dimensional reconstruction of the monolith possible and will allow to calculate how many ashlars – based on common foot measures of ancient times – the monolith would have yielded when cut.

Monolith II

One of the most significant features of this monolithic block is the well-treated basement (fig. 3), which leads us to the conclusion that the monolith belonged to the same period of quarrying postulated above for monolith I and that it was originally destined to be a structural part of the temple platform. The position of each monolithic block within the quarry can be topographically established.

The partition visible on the surface of the monolith originated from a later attempt to produce smaller blocks with the dimensions 1,6 m x 0,9 m x 0,6-0,7 m. One or two ashlar blocks were extracted off the northern edge of the monolith. The dimensions of the holes on the surface of the monolithic block are 3,7 m x 1,8 m x 0,6-0,7 m. Considering that the distance between the smaller blocks might have been 0,2 m, a maximal length of 3,3 m and a width of 1-1,2 m could be defined. Further considerations and accounts depend on the computerized data bank to be used also for various patterns of calculation.

The surface of the monolith bears an Arabic inscription of a play beloved and appreciated all over the Arabic world.

The 20 m long, 5 m broad and 4,6 m high monolith consists, like monolith I, of Cretaceous limestone. Its weight is 1242 tons.

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The western platform of the Jupiter temple

The most famous and spectacular characteristic of the temple platform are three monoliths of remarkable dimensions – known as "trilithos" since ancient times – which gave its name to the whole sanctuary of Jupiter (fig. 4). Their position within the platform of the temple is arranged in such a way, that monoliths of similar size should have been added at the northwestern as well as at the southwestern corner. But maybe the original architectural conception had to be changed for logistic reasons. Some archaeologists deem it possible that monolith I (*Hajar el-Hibla*) was meant to fill the space at the northeastern corner of the temple platform, but only measurements control might prove this opinion correct.

The aim of the 1997 campaign which focused on the western platform of the Jupiter temple was to try and clear this question the answer of which depends on intensified checking processes. At present, Rudolf Stöger is using a computer program developed by Karl Haslinger. It is not my intention to anticipate the analysis of the surveyors – but from what has been already observed, it seems that the assumption mentioned above cannot be confirmed; thus monolith I is to be eliminated as a possible candidate for the position at the northwestern corner of the temple platform. Illustrations in 3 dimensions help clarify this result proposed by Rudolf Stöger.

Further surprise might be provided by the southwestern corner of the platform: The free space there could have been filled without any problem by the recently found monolith II, which could also have been adapted to the northwestern angle (fig. 5): As observed and proven by computer simulation, the trilithos is positioned exactly in the axis of the western platform. The transport of this monolith from the quarry to the Jupiter temple over a distance of 900 meters being very expensive, the builders gave up the project of using it and the other monolithic block.

Each one of the monoliths bears witness to a megalomaniac building conception, which had to be modified at the very beginning of the construction process.

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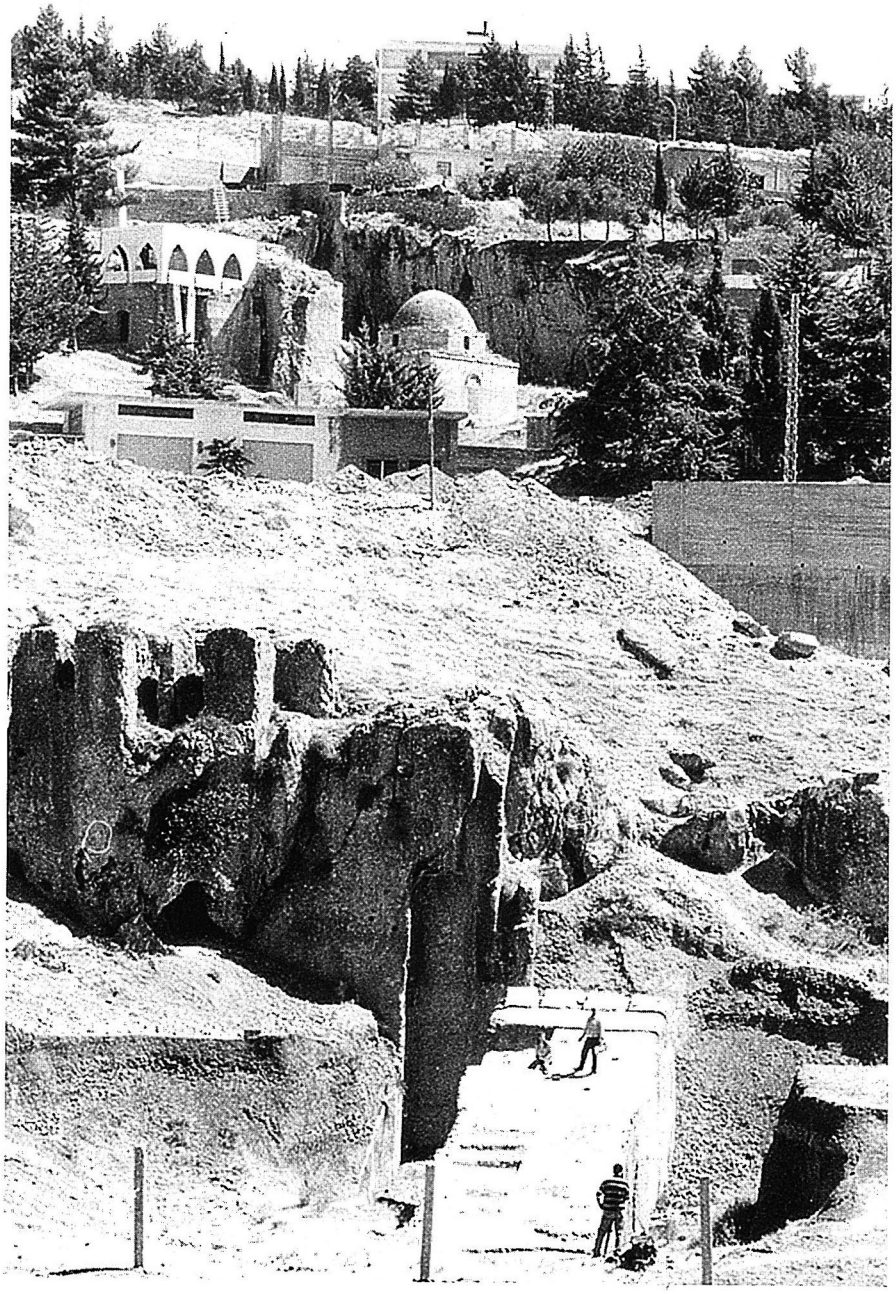

Fig. 1: The recently discovered monolith II.

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Fig. 2: Monolith II: rests of a Latin inscription.

Fig. 3: Basement of monolith II.

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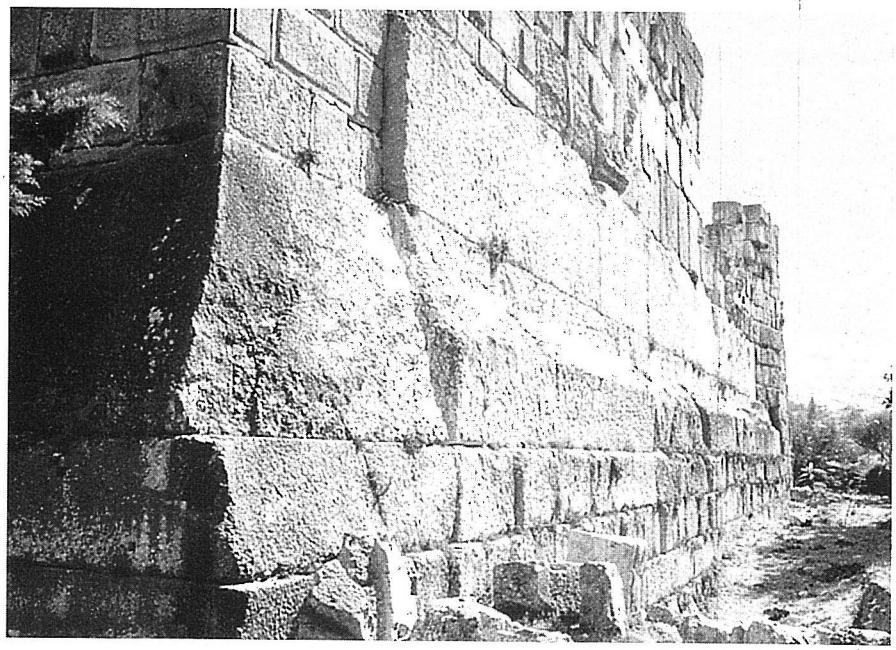

Fig. 4: The so-called "trilithos" on the western facade of the Jupiter temple.

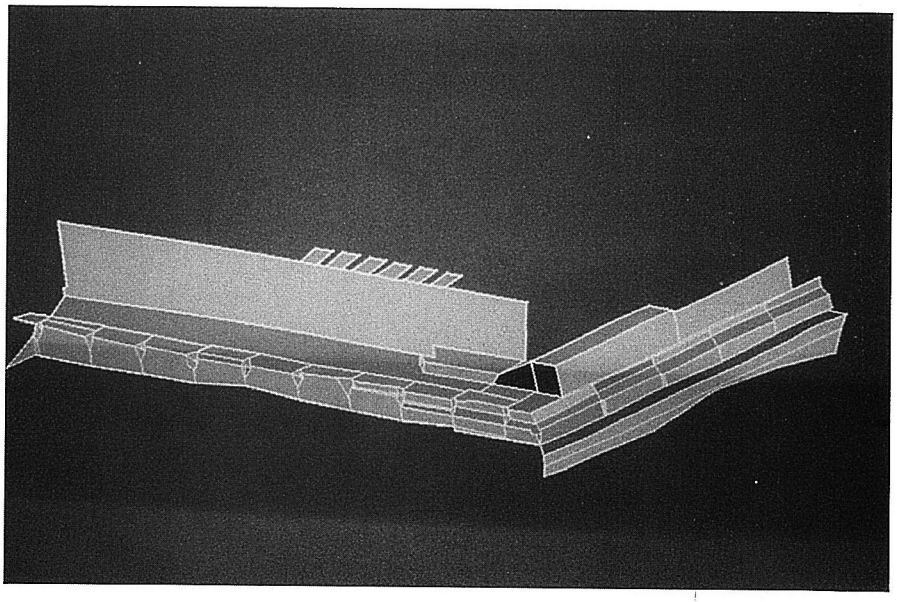

Fig. 5: Suggested reconstruction of the position of monolith II in the northwestern angle of the platform.

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BAALBEK: 50 ANS D'ACTIVITÉ ARCHÉOLOGIQUE LIBANAISE

SUZY HAKIMIAN ET TOUFIC RIFAÏ

En 1975, Maurice Chéhab résume les travaux qui ont été faits à Baalbek dans les termes suivants: "Depuis 1946, l'ingénieur de notre Direction, M. Kalayan, conduit les travaux, poursuivant les déblaiements et multipliant activement les restaurations et les fouilles à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur des Temples".[1]

Avec la fin du Mandat Français, le Service des Antiquités au Haut Commissariat qui couvrait la Syrie et le Liban avait été scindé en deux services indépendants. En 1945, le gouvernement libanais réorganisait le Service des Antiquités et nommait l'Emir Maurice Chéhab au poste de directeur. Maurice Chéhab était en fait, depuis 1937, le chef du Service des Antiquités et gérait donc dès cette époque-là les travaux du site de Baalbek.

D'autre part et depuis 1934, apparaît sur les bordereaux comptables de Baalbek un homme dont le nom sera accolé à de nombreux travaux de restauration de monuments, non seulement à Baalbek, mais partout ailleurs au Liban: il s'agit de Haroutune Kalayan.

1943-1975: 30 années de recherche archéologique à Baalbek à l'ombre de l'Emir Maurice Chéhab et de Haroutune Kalayan

Durant les premières années de l'indépendance du Liban, l'activité archéologique sur le site de Baalbek constitua en fait une continuité des plans d'aménagement qui avaient été élaborés pendant la période du Mandat Français.

La *Chronique* du *Bulletin du Musée du Beyrouth* (*BMB*) de l'année 1944-45 précise quant à elle "qu'un ensemble monumental de l'importance

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1 Maurice Chéhab, "Trente années de recherche archéologique au Liban", *Les Dossiers de l'Archéologie*, no. 12 (Septembre-Octobre 1975), 8-23 (p. 18).

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de Baalbek entraîne l'intervention constante de notre service d'architecture".[2]

L'accent est donc mis sur la restauration.

Consolidation, remontage, anastylose de colonnes, la restauration couvrira, durant plus de 20 ans, la majorité des monuments présents dans l'enceinte de l'acropole: des temples de Jupiter et de Bacchus aux exèdres dans la Cour Hexagonale, le Grand Autel, le monument dégagé par Paul Coupel, les Propylées: sous la direction de M. Chéhab, c'est un travail de titan que réalise M. Kalayan que les ouvriers finissent par appeler *force de la nature*!

Si ces travaux s'inscrivent toujours dans le cadre de la préservation des monuments, ils permettront aussi à M. Kalayan d'avancer des constatations "sur les plans de l'acropole à l'époque romaine: la cour hexagonale est une transformation d'un plan antérieur, qui munissait le temple d'une cour rectangulaire" et ainsi confirmer le "plan donné par le *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* (1929, fig. 3:171)".[3]

Le cercle des activités de restauration s'élargit cependant pour toucher les monuments qui se situent hors de l'enceinte de l'acropole: de la mosquée omeyyade dont les arcs sont consolidés et certaines salles dégagées à la mosquée mamelouke de Raʾs al-ʿAyn en passant par Qubbat al-Amjad, mausolée du XIIIème siècle attribué à Malik al-Amjad, gouverneur de la région.

Mais en même temps, les *chroniques* font état de fouilles archéologiques à Baalbek et ceci jusqu'à la veille des événements sanglants du pays. Elles seront riches en renseignements sur le passé du site.

En 1944-45, et dans l'aire du temple de Jupiter, entre l'entrée de la cour rectangulaire et l'édifice monumental découvert auparavant par Coupel, les travaux mettent au jour "des monuments de culte antérieurs à l'époque romaine", appartenant à l'époque hellénistique,[4] ce qui amènera la Direction à continuer le dégagement des ruines de la basilique byzantine.

Les résultats des fouilles des années 60 sont encore plus spectaculaires: lors des déblaiements, à l'emplacement des fondations des murs et des piliers de l'église byzantine, apparaît en 1961-62 un appareillage architectural rudimentaire antérieur lui-aussi à l'époque romaine. M. Joseph Hajjar, archéologue à la Direction, fait un sondage qui met au jour des habitations

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2 "Chronique", *Bulletin du Musée du Beyrouth* [*BMB*], 7 (1944-45), 115-16 (p. 116).

3 "Chronique", *BMB* 12 (1955), 51-52 et 53-54 (pp. 51-52).

4 "Chronique", *BMB* 7 (1944-45), 115.

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"aux murs construits en pierres de ramassage".[5] La date des découvertes est donnée par le mobilier funéraire accompagnant 3 squelettes. Ce matériel est semblable à celui découvert à Ruweissé-Kafr Jarra et date de "l'époque Hyksos". Ceci permet d'annoncer dans la *Chronique* de 1967 que "les travaux de fouilles ont permis de déterminer de façon plus précise l'emplacement du tell de la ville pré-romaine dont le centre coïncidait avec la partie médiane de la Grande Cour".[6]

Les fouilles hors de l'enceinte des temples sont facilitées entre-temps par l'acquisition des terrains autour de l'acropole.

Kalayan fait des travaux dans l'aire du temple de Vénus de 1957 à 1962 "et met au jour un temple de petite dimension situé comme le temple de Vénus à l'intérieur d'un enclos sacré délimité par un péribole avec portique extérieur et intérieur. Ce péribole est actuellement dégagé sur les côtés est et nord où se dessinent deux artères ou voies romaines".[7]

Autour de l'acropole, et près du temple de Vénus, entre 1963 et 1966, les sondages mettent aussi au jour des voies romaines et leurs dallages. Une route bordée de colonnades passe sous la route actuelle qui sépare l'acropole de l'aire du temple de Vénus.

Les travaux faits au nord de l'escalier actuel, devant les Propylées, dégagent de même le "dallage original qui a donné des indications quant à l'élévation de l'ensemble de l'acropole par rapport aux artères de la ville romaine ainsi qu'au mode d'accès au temple de Bacchus qui se présentait comme celui de Jupiter sous la forme d'un escalier monumental".[8]

Ceci est d'un intérêt certain pour Kalayan qui cherche des informations topographiques sur le plan de la ville romaine. En 1975, il pourra enfin annoncer que les recherches en cours ont fourni des données nouvelles sur le système des rues.[9] Il dégage la porte monumentale au nord de la ville et suit les rues qui mènent vers la Bekaa du sud, vers l'ouest et vers l'est, vers Raʾs al-ʿAyn.

En 1967, la *Chronique* du *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* faisait état de la découverte, dans les jardins qui font face à l'hôtel Palmyra, d'un ensemble architectural. C'est M. Kalayan qui sera chargé du dégagement des ruines: il y met au jour les restes d'un quartier aux édifices monumentaux. Bien que la fonction et la nature de ce quartier restent indéfinies, les pre-

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5 "Chronique", *BMB* 18 (1965), 111-12 et 118-19 (p. 111).

6 "Chronique", *BMB* 20 (1967), 155-58 et 174 (pp. 155-57).

7 "Chronique", *BMB* 18 (1965), 111-12.

8 "Chronique", *BMB* 20 (1967), 155.

9 Haroutoune Kalayan, "Baalbek, un ensemble récemment découvert", *Les Dossiers de l'Archéologie*, no. 12 (Septembre-Octobre 1975), 28-35.

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mières constatations permettent d'affirmer que la date d'occupation s'échelonne depuis le Haut-Empire jusqu'à la période arabe. Kalayan remonte une façade avec douze colonnes corinthiennes à laquelle fait face un mur percé de deux portes reliés par une arcade. Il dégage un bâtiment (théâtre ou auditorium) de l'époque byzantine, un bain omeyyade et constate que la cour de l'ensemble servit durant l'époque arabe de caravansérail aux caravanes, et c'est de là que le site tire son nom de *Bustān al-Khān* ou "Jardin du Khan".

Sur la colline de Cheikh Abdallah, enfin, les fouilles mettent au jour la nécropole dont Schlumberger avait déjà dit que "certaines parties sont indiscutablement antiques".[10] La *Chronique* de 1967 confirme la datation et "parle de la découverte durant des travaux de terrassement faites par l'armée de tombeaux à puits ainsi que des caveaux funéraires contenant des sarcophages d'époque romaine". Plus, on y parle de la découverte au sommet de la colline, des restes d'un temple, probablement celui de Mercure.[11]

1975-1991: les années de guerre

Durant quinze ans, les événements sanglants du Liban entraînent l'arrêt de toute activité archéologique dans le pays, à Baalbek comme à Tyr ou à Tripoli. Les routes qui relient la capitale aux différentes régions sont souvent coupées et il est difficile au personnel de la Direction Générale des Antiquités (DGA) d'être présent sur les lieux du travail.

Malgré cela et en 1977, la DGA procède, à Baalbek, au dégagement d'un énorme bloc monolithe semblable à la pierre déjà connue sous le nom de la "Pierre de la Femme Enceinte". Cette découverte permet de comprendre la manière suivant laquelle étaient taillés et apprêtés les blocs.

En 1985, l'entrée de l'acropole fut entourée d'une clôture ainsi que la mosquée omeyyade dont l'enceinte fut nettoyée.

En 1986, des travaux de restauration eurent lieu dans la tour mamelouke dont les deux étages furent recouverts d'un dallage et dotés d'une installation électrique préliminaire grâce à un financement personnel de M. Walid Joumblat alors Ministre du Tourisme, en vue d'y aménager un musée de site.

Mais si l'archéologie officielle était plutôt rentrée dans l'ombre, ce n'était pas le cas pour une *archéologie parallèle* qui se traduisit par une

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10 D. Schlumberger, "Le temple de Mercure à Baalbek-Héliopolis", *BMB* 2 (1939), 25-36 (pp. 29-31).

11 "Chronique", *BMB* 20 (1967), 157.

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prolifération des fouilles clandestines et une accélération du trafic illégal des antiquités.[12] Les nouvelles de ce fléau sont rapportées par les journaux qui appellent à l'arrêt du pillage du patrimoine du pays. Entre-temps, plus d'une filière de commerçants locaux ou étrangers achète les objets illégalement trouvés et destinés autant à une clientèle locale qu'à l'exportation.

L'archéologie-butin atteindra aussi Baalbek. Les rapports de journaux font état de la découverte dans la région, en 1983, de sarcophages en bois datant de l'époque romaine à l'entrée de la ville près de la statue de Gamal Abd al Nasser. Il est question aussi d'une sculpture représentant un aigle (elle a pu être sauvée du marché par la DGA et sera exposée dans la tour mamelouke à Baalbek).

Des fragments de corniche volés du site seront retrouvés à cette époque chez des antiquaires et qui, sur la base de la bonne foi, les rendront à la DGA.

Le correspondant du journal anglais, *The Independent*, Robert Fisk, rapporte quant à lui la découverte à Baalbek d'une statue de la *déesse de l'eau,* datant de la période gréco-romaine et qui aurait été vendue en Allemagne pour un montant de 500.000 dollars américains![13]

En 1990, la presse internationale et locale est secouée par l'affaire du *Trésor de Sevso*, composé de 14 pièces en argent plaquées d'or, datant de l'époque romaine, et qui furent proposées à la vente par la société Sotheby à New York: la provenance indiquée en était le Liban, et plus spécifiquement Baalbek. Cette affaire donna lieu à un procès dans lequel le Liban demandait l'arrêt de la vente et la restitution du matériel archéologique au pays d'origine. Le procès s'arrêta quelques années plus tard. Entre-temps, la Yougoslavie était devenue partie au procès et revendiquait elle aussi les objets. Ces derniers ne furent pas rétrocédés à aucune des parties réclamantes et nous ignorons quel a été leur sort depuis.

1991-1998: l'après-guerre

Lorsque la paix revint au Liban, le premier souci du Directeur Général des Antiquités, Camille Asmar, fut de remettre en état les sites archéologiques: la majorité d'entre eux s'étaient recouverts de végétation, la nature ayant repris ses droits, ce qui en fait contribua à différents endroits à sauvegarder les ruines du pillage en les cachant aux yeux des voleurs. Il fallait aussi

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12 Suzy Hakimian, "Une archéologie parallèle: les découvertes clandestines et fortuites au Liban", *Berytus* 35 (1987), 199-209.

13 Robert Fisk, "The Biggest Supermarket in Lebanon: A Journalist investigates the Plundering of Lebanon's Heritage", *Berytus* 39 (1991), 242-52.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91047/fragment/page=00000377

faire face à des problèmes de consolidation des vestiges. Ces derniers avaient subi les effets dévastateurs des éléments de la nature et de la pollution durant de nombreuses années.

A notre avis, Baalbek est un des sites qui a connu le moins de fouilles clandestines sur le site même de l'acropole. La *qalʿah* était trop précieuse pour les habitants de la région: les vestiges et le festival annuel qui se tenait dans l'enceinte des temples drainaient un nombre considérable de visiteurs et de touristes. Elle représentait à ce titre-là un potentiel économique et constituait le poumon de la ville de Baalbek. Peu de déprédations humaines ont été enregistrées sur les vestiges, ces derniers ayant eu surtout à souffrir de l'arrêt des travaux d'entretien et de restauration.

Après les travaux de désherbage du site, la Direction s'est attelée de nouveau à la consolidation des ruines et à la mise en valeur du site. Son importance s'était accrue en 1984 par la reconnaissance de la valeur universelle de ses ruines, date à laquelle Baalbek a été inscrit sur la liste du patrimoine mondial de l'humanité. Ceci n'a pas entraîné une opération ou campagne de sauvetage comme c'est le cas à Tyr, il n'empêche que le *Centre du Patrimoine Mondial* de l'UNESCO a envoyé des missions d'experts pour réfléchir sur certains problèmes de restauration et déterminer des points d'action prioritaires.

Au niveau de la préservation des monuments, une action a été engagée afin d'arrêter les infiltrations d'eau dans les galeries qui constituent le soubassement du temple de Jupiter ainsi que dans la tour mamelouke.

Sur le plan des fouilles, les travaux d'infrastructure ont mis au jour en 1996 un cimetière, près de Qubbet Douris, à l'entrée de la ville de Baalbek. Y furent découverts des sarcophages en pierre. L'un d'entre eux inviolé livra un squelette portant une parure funéraire en or composée de bandes couvrant le front, les yeux, le nez et la bouche du défunt ainsi qu'un nombre de petits masques, des feuilles, ainsi que des récipients en verre, une bague en or et une monnaie en bronze. Une fouille de sauvetage eut lieu à cet endroit l'année suivante conjointement avec le *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* (DAI) de Berlin.

Une autre découverte fut faite durant l'exécution de travaux de voierie, dans la région de Shraouné, près de l'ancienne muraille romaine de la ville de Baalbek et sur la route qui mène à Nahlé. 2 sarcophages furent découverts à une profondeur de 2.50 m. à 3 m. L'un d'entre eux, non violé, et décoré de têtes de bélier et de lion contenait un squelette accompagné d'un masque en or. Dans le second se trouvaient uniquement de petits fragments d'or.

En 1998, pour commémorer le centenaire de la visite de l'empereur allemand Guillaume II à Baalbek, la DGA a conçu avec l'Institut Archéo-

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logique Allemand et le Musée de Berlin, la création d'un musée sur le site de Baalbek.

Il reste qu'au delà de son aspect muséographique, le projet constitue une première étape dans la mise en valeur du site: une signalétique à base de panneaux explicatifs guidera le public assurant ainsi une meilleure compréhension du circuit de la visite et partant celle des vestiges.

Enfin, sachant que seule la documentation peut assurer une gestion efficace du matériel en vue d'une meilleure recherche scientifique, un programme d'inventaire des dépôts qui se trouvent sur le site est en train d'être mis en place. Il comprend un réaménagement des lieux de stockage et l'établissement d'un fichier informatisé des objets qui y sont entreposés depuis plusieurs décennies.

Conclusion

Plus de 50 ans de travaux au cours desquels furent lancés des points de lumière sur l'histoire pré-romaine du site de Baalbek: en effet, seule la région des sanctuaires avait été vraiment explorée au début du siècle et la période romaine y était la mieux étudiée.

Les travaux de restauration quant à eux se situaient bien dans la lignée de ceux commencés avec la mission allemande suivie par l'école française sous l'égide d'Henri Seyrig. La ténacité et le dévouement dont firent preuve les prédécesseurs et aujourd'hui leurs collègues à la DGA ont ainsi permis à Baalbek de faire partie du *Patrimoine Mondial de l'Humanité.*

A l'instar des autres sites du Liban, Baalbek souffre aujourd'hui d'une urbanisation accélérée qui s'est traduit, durant les années de guerre, par une ceinture de constructions qui malheureusement ont oblitéré la vue des ruines au visiteur qui arrive de Beyrouth. Il était d'autre part difficile d'aller plus loin dans les recherches à cause de l'urbanisme qui couvrait certains vestiges.

Enfin, le défi actuel consiste à inclure dans le plan directeur de la ville qui est en train d'être mis en place, l'intégration et la préservation des vestiges.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

DAVIE, May, Ph.D. (Paris 1993). Chercheur associée à l'Unité Multidisciplinaire de Recherche du CNRS – Université de Tours URBAMA (Urbanisation dans le Monde Arabe). Chargée de cours à l'Institut d'Urbanisme de l'Académie Libanaise des Beaux Arts (ALBA), Université de Balamand.

GAUBE, Heinz, Dr. phil. (Hamburg 1969), Dr. phil. habil. (Frankfurt/M. 1976). Professor of Iranian Studies, Orientalisches Seminar, Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, Germany.

HAKIMIAN, Suzy, Chef de la Section des Musées, Direction Générale des Antiquités du Liban.

HANSSEN, Jens, M. Phil. (Oxford 1995), cand. phil. St Antony's College, Oxford University, current scholarship at the Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Beirut.

HOFFMANN, Adolf, Dr.-Ing. (Karlsruhe 1975), Dr.-Ing. habil. (Karlsruhe 1985). Professor of Architectural History, Brandenburgische Technische Universität Cottbus, Germany.

KNAUF, Ernst Axel, Dr. theol. (Kiel 1982), Dr. theol. habil. (Heidelberg 1986). Professor of Old Testament Studies and Biblical Archaeology, Biblisches Institut, Evangelisch-Theologische Fakultät, Universität Bern, Switzerland.

KRÜGER, Jürgen, Dr. phil. (Würzburg 1983), Dr. phil. habil. (Karlsruhe 1992). Assistant Professor of History of Art, University of Karlsruhe, Germany.

LANKES, Hans Christian († December 22, 1997), 1972-1975 Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Lebanon.

LEMKE, Wolf-Dieter, Dr. phil. (Köln 1977). Librarian, Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Beirut, Lebanon.

MAKDISI, Ussama, Ph.D. (Princeton, NJ 1997). Assistant Professor of History, Rice University, Houston, Texas, USA.

NEUWIRTH, Angelika, Dr. phil. (Göttingen 1972), Dr. phil. habil. (München 1977). Director, Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Beirut, Lebanon.

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NIPPA, Annegret, Dr. phil. (Berlin 1981), Dr. phil. habil. (Bern 1991). Director, Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden, Germany.

REINSTROM, Hinrich R., former director Goethe-Institut Beirut, Lebanon.

RIFAÏ, Toufic, Chef de la Section des Fouilles, Direction Générale des Antiquités du Liban.

RUPRECHTSBERGER, Erwin M., Dr. phil. (Salzburg 1975), Dr. phil. habil. (Salzburg 1986). Vice-Director NORDICO-Museum der Stadt Linz, Professor of Ancient History, Institut für alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Universität Salzburg, Austria.

SADER, Hélène, Dr. phil. (Tübingen 1984). Associate Professor of Archaeology. Department of History and Archaeology, American University of Beirut, Lebanon.

SCHEFFLER, Thomas, Dr. phil. (Berlin 1993). Researcher and Project Manager, Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Beirut, Lebanon.

SINNO, Abdel-Raouf, Dr. phil. (Berlin 1982). Professor of Modern and Contemporary History, Université Libanaise I, Beirut, Lebanon.

TOHME, Annie, M.A., Chargée d'Enseignement, Département de Sociologie et d'Anthropologie, Université Saint-Joseph, Beirut, Lebanon.

VAN ESS, Margarete, Dr. phil. (Berlin 1996). Scientific Director, Near East Department, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI), Berlin, Germany.

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Hélène Sader

Dr. phil. (Tübingen 1984). Since 1994 Associate Professor of Archaeology, Department of History and Archaeology, American University of Beirut, Lebanon. Main research areas: Ancient Near Eastern Epigraphy and History.

Thomas Scheffler

Dr. phil. (Berlin 1993). Since 1996 Researcher and Project Manager, Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Beirut, Lebanon. Main research areas: Germany and the Middle East, History of German Orientalism, Religion and Violence in the Middle East.

Angelika Neuwirth

Dr. phil. (Göttingen 1972), Dr. phil. habil. (München 1977). Since 1991 Professor of Arabic Studies, Free University of Berlin. Since 1994 Director of the Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft in Beirut and Istanbul. Main research areas: Qur'anic Studies, Islamic Philosophy, Classical and Modern Arab Literature.

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