

Ch. 3: Deissmann the philologist

*Greek philologists, enslaved to the prejudice that only the so-called classical Greek is beautiful, have long treated the texts of the later period with the greatest contempt. A good deal of their false judgments about late Greek is the simple consequence of their complete ignorance of it.*¹

3.1. *Philologie* and the NT in late 19th century Germany

Before Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) laid the foundations for modern linguistics a century ago the term ‘philology’ or ‘classical philology’ tended to refer mostly to the diachronic study of pre-modern languages. The English term and its German counterpart *Philologie* had different connotations – especially during the 19th and early 20th century – for, although both could be applied to the same academic research, their conceptual character differed. While in Great Britain, for instance, ‘philology’ was normally understood to mean comparative studies in ancient languages, in the United States the same label was more broadly applied to classical language studies. The first philological *Seminar* was founded in Germany in 1738 by Johannes Matthias Gesner (1691-1761) at Göttingen.² But two divergent views emerged in 1833, when a literary wrangle ensued over the publication of an edition of Aeschylus’ *Eumenides* by Karl Otfried Müller (1797-1840),³ who included art and archaeology to support and illuminate his philological work.⁴ On one side was Gottfried Hermann (1772-1848), whose rigorous grammatico-critical *Wortphilologie* emphasised language competence, textual reconstruction and source criticism. On the other was August Boeckh (1785-

¹ *Philology*, 56.

² Wilamowitz, *Geschichte der Philologie*, Leipzig, 1959³ (1921), 42, 45.

³ According to Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Müller’s *Eumenides* embodied ‘the notion, already propounded by Welcker [Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker (1784-1868)], that art and archaeology should contribute to the understanding even of a work of literature’. H. Lloyd-Jones, ‘Introduction’, in U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *History of classical scholarship*, A. Harris, transl., H. Lloyd-Jones, ed., London, 1982 (1921), x.

⁴ Lloyd-Jones, ‘Introduction’ to Wilamowitz, *History of classical scholarship*, x.

1867) who considered the work of Müller – his favourite student⁵ – as significant, for his own *Realphilologie* also drew upon ancient history, literature and art. Thus, ‘from a fusion between the school of Boeckh and the school of Welcker and Karl Otfried Müller came the concept of *Altertumswissenschaft*’.⁶ However, this meant that German philology students of the Boeckh School were being educated in *Realphilologie*, while for those under Hermann’s influence it was *Wortphilologie*.

A new philological perspective began to arise during the 1870s with Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), and despite its bad press it should not be ignored. This classical philologist-turned-philosopher defined *Philologie* as,

jene ehrwürdige Kunst, welche von ihrem Verehrer vor Allem Eins heißt, bei Seite gehn, sich Zeit lassen, still werden, langsam werden –, als eine Goldschmiedekunst und -kennerschaft des Wortes, die lauter feine vorsichtige Arbeit abzuthun hat und Nichts erreicht, wenn sie es nicht *lento* erreicht.⁷

This semi-mystical analogy appears to equate philology with reading slowly (*lento*). Nonetheless, his methodology was not too different from prevailing 19th century hermeneutical text criticism, although he saw philology no longer as a tool to discover how things were in the past, but rather how things came to be the way they are.

Nietzsche was educated at Schulpforta (1858-64), one of Germany’s then most distinguished *Gymnasiums*, after which he studied classical philology at Bonn, but in 1865 followed his teacher, Friedrich Wilhelm Ritschl (1806-76), to Leipzig, where the philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860) began to fascinate him. Seven years later Nietzsche published *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik*, a bifurcated conception of a slave and master morality, with the implicit corollary that classical studies were misleading and unable to supply relevant paradigms for modern society. The book was widely perceived as a calculated departure from *Altertumswissenschaft*⁸ and outraged most of his colleagues,⁹ above all the somewhat explosive Wilamowitz, whose caustic reaction in an open pamphlet became the principal cause for Nietzsche’s switch from philology to philosophy.

⁵ Wilamowitz, *Geschichte der Philologie*, 57.

⁶ Lloyd-Jones, ‘Introduction’, xi.

⁷ F. Nietzsche, *Morgenröthe. Nachgelassene Fragmente, Anfang 1880 bis Frühjahr 1881*, 1, Berlin, 1971, 9.

⁸ This term was first coined by the German philologist Friedrich August Wolf (1759-1842); see R. Pfeiffer, *History of classical scholarship from 1300 to 1850*, Oxford, 1976, 175-6.

⁹ Although his close friend, Erwin Rohde (see ch. 2, n. 44), was stalwart in his defence, even he eventually dissociated himself when Nietzsche wrote *Beyond Good and Evil* in 1886.

Four years his junior, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's education began very similarly to Nietzsche's. He, too, attended Schulpforta and graduated to study philology at the University of Bonn; but this is where the parallels ended. By age 27 he became professor ordinarius at Greifswald, where he taught for seven years before moving to Göttingen (1883) and later to Berlin (1897). Few scholars had as profound an influence on classical scholarship as Wilamowitz with his dominant conception of what *Philologie* actually meant. He wrote over seventy books, innumerable articles and reviews and was the central figure in Germany's philological triumvirate, with his father-in-law Theodor Mommsen (1817-1903) on the one side, and Eduard Schwartz – his Greifswald student and lifelong friend – on the other.

Wilamowitz stood quite opposed to Nietzsche and Hermann; thus, while ignoring the former in his *Geschichte der Philologie*, he wrote sardonically of the latter: 'so hat er denn überaus segensreich gewirkt, ohne die Wissenschaft positiv zu fördern'.¹⁰ His own argument was that pure *Philologie* was more than an academic discipline.

Weil das Leben, um dessen Verständnis wir ringen, eine Einheit ist, ist unsere Wissenschaft [Philologie] eine Einheit. Die Sonderung der Disziplinen Philologie, Archäologie, Alte Geschichte, Epigraphik, Numismatik, neuerdings auch Papyrologie, hat lediglich in der Beschränktheit des menschlichen Könnens ihre Berechtigung, und darf auch in dem Spezialisten das Bewußtsein des Ganzen nicht ersticken.¹¹

Thus, he conceived *Philologie* in a holistic sense that depended on productive multi-disciplinary research into ancient cultures, with each discipline merely a sub-branch of true *Philologie*, separated from one another only because of the limitations of the human mind. He ended his *tour de force* by concluding:

Was Philologie ist und sein soll, hat sich aus ihrer Geschichte ergeben. Lehrte uns die lange Reihe von Namen, die an uns vorübergezogen ist, auch was der Philologe sein soll? Verzeichnet sind sie alle, weil sie die Wissenschaft gefördert haben; aber sie waren an Geisteskraft und Charakter sehr verschieden, verschieden in der Richtung ihrer Neigungen und Fähigkeiten. Da wird die bescheidens:e Definition wohl die beste bleiben. Treiben mag der Philologe sehr viel Verschiedenes, mag's auch auf verschiedene Weise treiben, aber eins muß er sein, wenn er etwas Bleibendes leisten will: vir bonus, discendi peritus.¹²

¹⁰ Wilamowitz. *Geschichte der Philologie*, 50.

¹¹ Ibid., 1.

¹² Ibid., 80. 'Die lange Reihe von Namen' is a pivotal phrase, referring to the more than 300 scholars from various disciplinary backgrounds whom Wilamowitz included in his *Geschichte*, and which he based on John Edwin Sandys' *History of Classical Scholarship*, 1-3, Cambridge, 1903-8.

To Wilamowitz *bona fide* philologists were those who advanced the collective understanding of the ancient world, not those who merely studied or statically taught the discipline itself. In contrast, however, the formal epithet *Philologe* was normally conferred on scholars in Germany as a result of training and not ‘production’; thus, a ‘philologically productive’ individual from a different discipline would not be accepted as a *Philologe*, regardless of competence or academic contributions.

Biblical researchers were a case in point. Even though the language and sociolinguistic history of the NT were an integral and legitimate part of the ancient world, their research was traditionally left to theologians, and few 19th century philologists concerned themselves with it.¹³ Ever since the Purist controversies of the 17th century, when scholars unsuccessfully attempted to prove that the Greek of the NT was as ‘pure’ as literary Attic, this language was held in a kind of linguistic limbo between religious dogmatism on the one hand and dogmatic philology on the other. While the former attempted to make a case for a ‘sacred tongue’, or ‘biblical’ Greek, the latter turned to catchwords, such as ‘classical’, ‘vulgar’ or ‘common’ Greek – neither doing justice to the historical development of the language.¹⁴ But by the end of the 18th century it was the Hebraists who won the struggle, through their focus on ostensible ‘Hebraisms’ in the NT texts. This became the prevailing consensus for a full century, until the tide began to shift with the appearance of Deissmann’s *Bibelstudien*, Kennedy’s¹⁵ *Sources of the New Testament Greek*, or James Moulton’s *Introduction to the study of NT Greek* – all published in 1895.

3.2. Deissmann’s philological background

During Deissmann’s *Gymnasialjahre* in Wiesbaden (1879-85) he became deeply impressed by the director’s¹⁶ readings of Horace and Sophocles, which so stirred the young man’s imagination that he ‘... dem Wunsche meines Vaters zuwider Philologie studieren wollte’.¹⁷ To Jacob Ernst Friedrich Adolf Deissmann (1832-1900), who was *Pfarrer* in Erbach and himself son of a Lutheran *Pfarrer*, this was not an appropriate

¹³ e.g. Friedrich Blass (see ch. 1.3), Johann Theodor Paul Wendland (1864-1915) and Eduard Schwartz.

¹⁴ GAD, ‘Hellenistisches Griechisch’, *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 7, Leipzig, 1899, 627. See also Horsley, ‘The fiction of “Jewish Greek”’, *New Documents*, 5, 37-40.

¹⁵ Harry Angus Alexander Kennedy (1866-1934), a British NT theologian.

¹⁶ GAD only gave his name as ‘Direktor Pähler’ (*SE*, 4); identification has eluded me so far.

¹⁷ *SD*, 5.

option.¹⁸ Despite the young man's ambition the paternal authority prevailed and in spring 1885 he was enrolled as a theology student at Tübingen's 400-year old University. Later Deissmann wrote wryly that he had managed to secure a youthful compromise with his father, '... daß ich ... als Theologe immatrikuliert wurde, aber doch auf der Visitenkarte mich stud. theol. et phil. nannte'.¹⁹ In fact, he had little say in regard to his theological education, since his father was obligated to sign a guarantee, 'daß ich demselben [Deissmann] sämtliche Geld-Mittel zu seinem Studium und Lebensunterhalt gewähre, auch etwaige Schulden desselben zahlen werde'.²⁰ But although the calling card seemed to offer a palliative, it did not change the fact that he was enrolled only in theological subjects.²¹

The decisive change came at Marburg during the second half of 1891, while Deissmann was studying for his Licentiate under Georg Heinrici. Despite the latter's able supervision of Deissmann's 'new' philological project (see ch. 1.3), it was, in his own words, 'in der Hauptsache autodidaktisch ...[und] ist von großem Einfluß auf meine gesamte theologisch-philologische Ausbildung geworden'.²² But there were other less obvious influences, which also helped to foster his philological education at Marburg, for here he befriended the philologists Georg Wissowa (1859-1931), Wilhelm Schulze and Albrecht Dieterich,²³ and participated in a daily *Tischrunde* 'von glücklichster Zusammensetzung' of philologists, librarians and theologians.

Uralte schnöde Bonner und Göttinger Philologenwitze über die Theologen wurden abgewehrt durch lächelnde Bescheltung gräulicher Philologenlaster, und der fröhliche Zank der Fakultäten hakte sich schließlich in endlosen Aussprachen über ernsthafte, beiden Forschergruppen gleich wichtige Probleme erfreulich fest.²⁴

¹⁸ Although GAD later wrote: 'It was the impressions of my early youth in my Rhineland home which first drew my attention to the monuments of the Roman Empire. Through my father I was first introduced to those Roman antiquities of my homeland. Then as a pupil of the classical State-school at Wiesbaden, through the monuments which are there in the Museums like the Mithra-stone of Hedderheim, and through the excellent personal influence of teachers, I was filled with lasting love for antiquity.' *Haskell Lectures*, 8.

¹⁹ *SD*, 5.

²⁰ Erklärung, by GAD's father, 22.4.1885. Intriguingly he also wrote: 'Behufs der Immatrikulation meines Sohnes Adolf Deissmann der Stud: theol: & philol: an der Universität zu Tübingen ...', but see Appendix 1, b, where GAD only referred to 'Theologie'.

²¹ For GAD's subject enrolments see Appendix 3 (I-VI); also Appendix 1, b.

²² *SD*, 9.

²³ 'Georg Wissowa und Wilhelm Schulze verdanke ich reichliche literar- und sprachgeschichtliche Belehrung, und Albrecht Dieterich, der wie ein princeps juventutis unter uns weilte ...'. *SD*, 9.

²⁴ *SD*, 9.

Heinrici had given Deissmann's *ἐν Χριστῷ* a distinctly philological appraisal,²⁵ for the young man's predilection for philology had obviously not waned through his theological studies. Instead, his *Habilitationsschrift* became the catalyst through which he was able to crystallise his vocation in NT philology at Heidelberg, where three years later he published the first of his two fundamentally philological *Bibelstudien* (see ch. 1.4).

These two volumes established Deissmann as a leading philological researcher of the Greek in the NT, and during the next seven or eight years he kept publishing numerous smaller philological contributions.²⁶ Then, in 1905 he made a request to his colleague Friedrich von Duhn that he would allow him to take part in a forthcoming study tour of Greece and Asia Minor (see ch. 4.1). What is relevant here is that this journey was intended specifically for philologists and promoted as 'Studienreise badischer Philologen'. Although Deissmann was formally employed as professor of theology, the Ministry not only granted his extraordinary request and gave him the necessary time off, but also approved a travelling stipend of M. 500 – amounting to one third of the overall cost²⁷ – and with it implicitly conceded his growing philological profile.

Thus, when Nestle reviewed *Licht vom Osten* three years later, it comes as no surprise that he gave the following assessment:

Das Buch ist ... für Philologen wie Theologen gleich geeignet, wenigstens für die theologisch und religiös interessierten unter den Philologen und die philologisch d. h. historisch gerichteten unter den Theologen.²⁸

He criticised the author for transgressing occasionally against one of the fundamental tenets of the 'philological Decalogue' – 'Überschätze deinen Codex nicht' – but readily conceded that the errors were small, and 'im Grunde ist das freilich bei jedem Bahnbrecher unvermeidlich'. Furthermore, he emphasised that Deissmann had made much useful progress for theologians and philologists alike and backed his assertion that while some 'theologische Fanatiker' had badly erred regarding the ancient world, philologists had shared this blame by displaying a 'Gleichgültigkeit gegen das gewaltigste Buch der Kaiserzeit'.²⁹

²⁵ e.g. 'philologischer Unterbau', 'philologischer Zweck', 'Philologie'; see Appendix 1, d.

²⁶ See 'Chronological list of Deissmann's published material'.

²⁷ Kultusministerium, letter to Heidelberg Theological Faculty, 21.12.1905.

²⁸ Nestle, 'LvO', *BPW*, 1524.

²⁹ Nestle, 'LvO', *BPW*, 1525. The quotation is from *LvO*, 282.

An even stronger testimonial to Deissmann's philological aptitude came from the professor of classical philology at Breslau, Paul Wendland (see above, n. 13), who emphasised that while some few scholars might be derisive of *Licht vom Osten* the vast majority

... werden die philologische Gelehrsamkeit aufs höchste preisen und das Material zu fleißigster Benutzung empfehlen ... unter Hervorhebung der philologischen Autorität ...

He reasoned that since Deissmann had habilitated as a theologian, yet continued to demonstrate his philological abilities through his 'Forschungen', some of his theological colleagues would 'mit liebenswürdigster Nachsicht über seine theologischen Defekte hinweggehen, wenn er nur Philologe wäre – *expertus scio* – ...' as no one would then expect him to write Christian literature. But since his academic writings were primarily of a philological nature, he would be indelibly stigmatised by such critics as someone '[der] seinen Beruf verfehlt hat'.³⁰

Until his transfer to Berlin, Deissmann's routine as professor of NT theology at Heidelberg had allowed him to be intellectually productive in Greek philology and lexicography. His work on the language of the NT demonstrated far more than purely lexicographical proficiency, for his arguments – both individual and cumulative – that a considerable part of postclassical Greek linguistic history was in urgent need of being rewritten also highlighted his philological erudition.

When *Bibelstudien* appeared in 1895 there was for the first time a definitive philological solution advanced to the question of the linguistic continuum – and by implication, cultural development – between literary Greek of the classical period and the 1st/2nd century Hellenic world. Deissmann provided a credible philological advance by developing a new methodology, and supplying solid evidence for his conclusion that the Greek of the NT was based on the common vernacular of the time. As we have seen in chapter 1, previous assumptions about the history of this stage of the language – made by philologists, linguists and theologians alike – were seriously brought into question, which paved the way for a renewed historico-linguistic approach to early Christianity. Of equal importance, however, was his systematic work applying the linguistic features of documentary papyri to philological questions in respect to the NT. Not least, he may also have smoothed some of the path for the indologist and Greek philologist, Albert

³⁰ Wendland, *DLZ*, 3148-9.

Thumb (1865-1915), who in 1901 produced his influential book, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, in which he explained the true character of *koine* from a Modern Greek perspective,³¹ and stated: ‘Meine Ausführungen berühren sich eng mit denen Deissmanns’.³²

One of the principal characteristics of a ‘true’ philologist, according to Wilamowitz, was that he should advance the existing academic understanding of past societies (see ch. 3.1). This was a distinguishing feature in many of Deissmann’s books, papers, essays and book reviews during his Heidelberg years.³³ A brief evaluation of the significance of some of these contributions follows here to demonstrate his continuing philological development between his two *Bibelstudien* volumes and *Licht vom Osten*.³⁴

3.3. *Die sprachliche Erforschung der griechischen Bibel (1889)*

As already mentioned in chapter 1, Deissmann presented a paper with this title at the Giessen theological conference on 17 June 1897. In it he asserted that the gulf between theology and philology was not only regrettable, but ‘ganz unberechtigt’.³⁵ As controversial as his challenge might have appeared, it was not without strong foundation. One example he gave was how, in exactly the same field of NT Greek grammar, the work of the theologian Paul Schmiedel contained less philological failings than the theological errors of judgment committed by the philologist Blass.³⁶ Deissmann assessed Schmiedel’s work without any apparent collegial partiality, but was especially critical of Blass, because his grammar ‘bears the name of a famed

³¹ See ch. 1, n. 2. The book’s six chapters argue for a linear historical development of the Greek language through natural linguistic evolution and emphasises the value of Modern Greek for the study of classical or koine texts. Significantly, Thumb based the koine directly on Attic Greek, and although he proposed five different koine dialects he rejected the idea that the NT represented a ‘Jewish Greek’, and on the question of NT ‘Hebraisms’ wrote: ‘doch scheint mir Deissmanns vorläufiges Urteil berechtigt zu sein’. 122.

³² Thumb, 9, also 20, 120-30.

³³ e.g. *Spr. Erforschung* (1898); *Makk. 4* (1900); *Ein Original-Dokument aus der Diocletischen Christenverfolgung, (Papyrus 713 des Britischen Museum)* (1902); *Septuaginta-Papyri* (1905); *Philology* (1908). Wilamowitz and GAD appeared to have had a collegial, although somewhat distant, relationship. On the former’s 60th birthday (22.12.1908), GAD, together with William Ramsay, visited him privately, and some years later GAD asked his advice on a philological matter, on behalf of Moulton, which Wilamowitz promptly answered. GAD, letters to Moulton, 8.2.1912, and 12.2.1912 (the latter quotes Wilamowitz’ reply – no longer extant -- to GAD).

³⁴ While GAD published more than 30 Greek language related contributions during that decade, exegetical ones are virtually non-existent.

³⁵ *Spr. Erforschung*, 21.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

philologist',³⁷ yet was still influenced by the erroneous assumption that a distinct Biblical Greek existed.³⁸

Deissmann urged that recently developed historico-linguistic methodology (i.e. his own) be more widely embraced by scholars, and emphasised that

... die griechische Philologie gegenwärtig im Zeichen einer vielverheißenden Renaissance [steht] und fordert von der sprachlichen Erforschung der griechischen Bibel, daß sie in engste Fühlung trete mit der historischen Erforschung der griechischen Sprache.³⁹

His primary concern was a linguistic-historical correction for the Greek of the NT, rather than advancing biblical theology; thus he asserted that the 'Inspirationstheorie' stood in the way of understanding the historical reality behind the language of the NT. Already two years earlier he had argued that the 'Inspirationsgedanke' should be eradicated if the Greek of the Bible was to be understood in its proper historical context.⁴⁰

He demonstrated his familiarity with the latest *Fachprojekten* and academic trends, contended that the NT was a neglected but fertile witness to Greek linguistic history, and made the salient point that, in respect to its language, he considered 'eine Trennung zwischen Philologie and Theologie für ganz unberechtigt und den hier und da aufflackernden Streit der Fakultäten für bedauerlich'. At this point he also expressed his linguistic standpoint for the first time with the term 'neutestamentliche Philologie'.⁴¹ Quite obviously, these were not the words of a conventional theologian, nor did they fit in well with the other conference papers;⁴² but it is a seminal document, since it reflects Deissmann's penchant for NT philology at an early stage in his life.

3.4. *Die Septuaginta-Papyri und andere altchristliche Texte (1905)*⁴³

In 1897 the University of Heidelberg had the opportunity to purchase numerous Greek, Coptic, Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, Latin, Persian, hieratic and demotic texts, written on

³⁷ *Spr. Erforschung*, 22.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴⁰ *Bst.*, 57, 76. GAD first referred to the 'Theorie von der Inspiration' in a small booklet entitled, *Johann Kepler und die Bibel, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Schriftautorität*, Marburg, 1894, 12.

⁴¹ *Spr. Erforschung*, 21.

⁴² See also Appendix 1, g.

⁴³ Abbreviated here as *Septuaginta-Papyri*. See also Gerber, 'Gustav Adolf Deißmann. die Heidelberger Papyri und ein Durchbruch in griechischer Philologie'.

papyrus, parchment and wooden tablets. Their original provenance was given as the Fayum, Ashmuncin, Achmin and Gebelein, but they were bought privately from the first dragoman of the Prussian consul in Cairo, Karl Reinhardt (1849-1923).⁴⁴ This purchase became the foundation for the Heidelberg Papyrus collection, which today encompasses approximately 10,000 items, the majority of which can be accessed via the Internet.⁴⁵

On 27 November 1900 Reinhardt wrote a letter to the Heidelberg University and suggested that if they were interested, he could show them a number of hitherto unknown Septuagint papyrus-codex fragments. Subsequently, their authenticity and intrinsic value were carefully assessed by various scholars, including Deissmann and Ulrich Wilcken, but it was particularly Deissmann who urged their purchase.⁴⁶ These were the fragments which the latter now edited,⁴⁷ with the formal backing of Baden's *Kultusministerium*, who funded the expensive process of reproducing the sixty high quality collotypes in his book. It betokens the considerable esteem in which Deissmann was already held at that time that it was he who was accorded the task of publishing the first volume of the Heidelberg papyrus collection – the first volume anywhere largely devoted to Septuagint papyri.

Although the coptologist Carl Schmidt published the second volume of this series a year ahead of Deissmann's first, the former's larger book went almost unnoticed because its

⁴⁴ R. Seider, 'Aus der Arbeit der Universitätsinstitute: Die Universitäts-Papyrussammlung', *Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 8, 1964, 142. In 1836 Reinhardt had succeeded Tycho Mommsen as director of the Frankfurt Gelehrtenschule.

⁴⁵ Prof. D. Hagedorn, then of the Institut für Papyrologie, Heidelberg, informed me by email (15.7.2003) that the collection is made up of the following parts (as at 2003): 5000 Greek papyri and parchments; 3200 Arabic papyri and rag papers; 1370 Coptic papyri and parchments; 815 demotic papyri; 66 Central Persian papyri; 33 Hebrew papyri, parchments and rag papers; 24 hieratic papyri; 20 Latin papyri; 5 Aramaic papyri; 5 Syriac papyri, and 760 ostraca.

⁴⁶ Seider relates: 'Neben Prof. [Karl] Zangenmeister [1837-1902] setzte sich besonders Prof. Deissmann für die Erwerbung der Handschrift ein ... Deissmann war in jenen Dezembertagen 1900 nur noch mit dem ... Papyrus beschäftigt. „Ich [i.e. GAD] habe sehr interessante Tatsachen über den Papyrus ermittelt. Das Stück müssen wir erwerben.“ ... Zangenmeister und Deissmann reisten sofort nach Karlsruhe und trugen Minister Kock, mit dem Reinhardt schon verhandelt hatte, ihr Anliegen persönlich vor.' Seider's citation of GAD is from a letter to Zangenmeister (4.12.1900), Seider, 148, 150. For a history of these papyri and subsequent work that was done on them, see R. Seider, 'Universitäts-Papyrussammlung: Aus der Arbeit der Universitätsinstitute. Die Universitäts-Papyrussammlung', *Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 8, 1964, 142-203.

⁴⁷ In his later years GAD privately acquired a papyrus fragment of Ex. 4. It was published by Horsley in 1993, 'An unpublished Septuaginta papyrus from the Nachlass of Adolf Deissmann', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 39, 1993, 35-8. For its history, see Horsley, 'Four early biblical codex fragments in Australia: putting the pieces together', *Buried History: Occasional Papers No. 1*, P. Crocker/ G. Jenkins, eds., Melbourne, 1994, 10-14.

text, *Acta Pauli*, was written in Coptic.⁴⁸ Deissmann's *Septuaginta-Papyri*, on the other hand, created substantial interest among scholars, since these were texts of the Bible not only written in Greek, but also edited in an easy to read and attractive manner. The Austrian papyrologist Carl Wessely (1860-1931) was not one to give compliments lightly,⁴⁹ yet he commended Deissmann's edition as a 'prächtige, mit Lichtdrucken reich ausgestattete Publikation', and paid tribute to the author's careful transcription of the texts and 'genaue kritische Würdigung'. Finally he commended his ability to edit successfully the 4th century Christian letter included in these papyri, although it was 'verstümmelt und wegen seiner vulgären Ausdrucksweise schwer verständlich'.⁵⁰

Wessely's commendation of the philological aptitude Deissmann had shown with these papyri was by no means an exception, for he received similar recognition from others as well, including Eberhard Nestle, Erich Klostermann (1870-1963) and Lajos Blau (1861-1936).

Nestle wrote that Deissmann's philological work opened the publication of the Heidelberg papyri collection in 'würdigster Weise', called attention to his orthographical exactitude and commended both the 'mit großer Sorgfalt gearbeitete' critical apparatus and his 'sehr ausführlichen Erläuterungen'.⁵¹ Klostermann reminded his readers that Deissmann's 'Beschäftigung mit fremden Papyruspublikationen ... unserer Wissenschaft bereits reiche Früchte getragen [hat]'. His new work, he wrote, was no less valuable, because it was evident that this volume with its 'liebvollen und erschöpfenden Behandlung der Texte wie mit ihren vortrefflich gelungenen Tafeln den besten an die Seite stellt'.⁵² Lajos Blau (1861-1936) was the rector of the Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest, and as a prominent Talmudic specialist particularly qualified to speak on Septuagint manuscripts. He complimented Deissmann for the 'scharfsinnige Untersuchung' of what Blau understood to comprise some extremely problematic manuscript fragments, and wrote: 'Zu bewundern ist allenfalls die Geduld und die Gelehrsamkeit, die bei ihrer Behandlung an den Tag treten'. For this reason he

⁴⁸ On Schmidt, see ch. 4, n. 32.

⁴⁹ e.g. he critiqued *LvO* with the self-pitying note: 'Schade, daß dieses Buch, das ich mit Vergnügen wiederholt gern gelesen hätte, mit mir, dem alten Papyrusforscher seit 1881, so umspringt'. C. Wessely, review of GAD, *LvO*, in *ALBl.*, 10, 17, 1909, 295. See also H. Harrauer, 'Carl Wessely (1860-1931)', in *Hermæ*, 71-5.

⁵⁰ Wessely, review of GAD, *Septuaginta-Papyri*, in *WKP*, 12, 1906, 315.

⁵¹ Nestle, review of GAD, *Septuaginta-Papyri*, in *BPW*, 25, 1905, 1305.

⁵² E. Klostermann, review of GAD, *Septuaginta-Papyri*, in *TLZ*, 4, 1906, 101.

expressed the wish that Deissmann ‘... auch die übrigen Heidelberger Papyri in ähnlichen Ausgaben vorlegen möge’.⁵³

Septuaginta-Papyri consists of 167 pages, of which 75 are devoted to 27 leaves from a 7th century Septuagint papyrus codex.⁵⁴ The surviving portion begins with Zech. 4:6 and ends at Mal. 4:5, but is in various stages of preservation. The collection also included a very defective papyrus fragment from a 3rd/4th century *onomasticon sacrum*,⁵⁵ and an equally difficult to decipher mid-4th century Christian letter.⁵⁶ Besides these Deissmann also included a number of smaller parchment fragments, each one written on both the flesh and hair sides. One is a 7th century Greek-Coptic piece, with parts of Exod. 15 and 1 Sam. 2;⁵⁷ three others are badly preserved fragments from a 6th century Gospel of Mark,⁵⁸ and a further two very small ones originated from a 5th century Acts and James tradition.⁵⁹

Deissmann dedicated the volume to the Theological Faculty at Marburg, with the phrase from Matthew’s Gospel, δύο τάλαντά μοι παρέδωκας.⁶⁰ Deissmann’s fine sense of language made it plain that he intentionally selected this phrase because of its convenient ambiguity. For, while it is possible to understand it as a reference to his Marburg education and later conferral of an honorary doctorate, it actually draws attention elegantly to his two ‘talents’ in philology and theology. For it is not to be doubted that by this volume the theologian further demonstrated his philological competence with the aim of gaining wider recognition among classical philologists as a ‘legitimate’ philologist too.

Before 1905 the provenance of only a few Septuagint manuscripts was known with any certainty, however, Deissmann – with the help of his Berlin colleague Carl Schmidt – plausibly located these codex fragments to the Fayum. They had been palaeographically dated to the 7th century by Frederic George Kenyon (1863-1952) of the British Museum, which corresponded with Wilcken’s earlier estimation of 6th or 7th

⁵³ L. Blau, review of GAD, *Septuaginta-Papyri*, in *MGWJ*, 50, 13, 1906, 755, 758.

⁵⁴ *P. Heid.*, 1.1 (van Haelst, 290).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.5 (van Haelst, 1136), single leaf, back blank.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.6 (van Haelst, 1195), single leaf, address on back; includes a quotation from Prov. 10:19.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.2 (van Haelst, 243), not an amulet as GAD thought, but for liturgical use.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.3 (van Haelst, 391), double column codex containing Mark 6:30-41.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.4 (van Haelst, 489), double column codex containing Acts 28:30-1 and Jas. 1:11.

⁶⁰ Matt. 25:22.

century.⁶¹ Accordingly, Deissmann knew that this manuscript would not be likely to present a new textual tradition, but he did believe it might shed some light on the history of the Septuagint transmission itself. He was not disappointed: a critical philological comparison of the fragments' orthography, together with palaeographic and external evidence, led to his conclusion that they were likely the residue of an Egyptian 'Dorfbibel'. Significantly, he discovered that its text was related to the Hesychian recension, an assessment with which Blau, Klostermann, Wessely and Nestle concurred. Deissmann's work helped, therefore, to add credibility to the hypothesis that this particular recension did in fact take place and that it was distinct from the better known Lucianic texts.

Deissmann's textual reconstruction of the *onomasticon sacrum* papyrus was an especially remarkable achievement, given its poor state of preservation, for it consisted of only 26 lines, of which three were illegible and two incomplete, and lists twenty Hebrew names rendered into Greek. Although in his review Klostermann thought it could possibly be a fragment from a small Christian etymological lexicon of Hebrew names, Deissmann's argument met with general acceptance that the manifestly theophoric (or Jawistic) names, and the sentence Ηλι Ηλι σαζαχθανι· θεέ μου, θεέ μου, ἐς τί με ἐνκατέλιπες,⁶² were not typical of any lexicon, but rather of an early Christian amulet or phylacterion.⁶³ The fragment's multiple folds added further weight to this, as did his observation that despite its late date it had never belonged to a codex. He considered it as a 'kostbares Blatt', because it provided a small window into the Christian biblical etymological tradition that existed some eighty years before Jerome's *Liber interpretationis*. The fragment was written approximately fifty years after Origen and was, therefore, the oldest known 'lexical' compilation. Deissmann concluded: 'endlich wissen wir, daß das Werk des Origenes eine Bearbeitung und neutestamentliche Ergänzung des »philonischen« Onomasticon gewesen ist'.⁶⁴

The *Septuaginta-Papyri* volume demonstrated Deissmann's credentials as a capable philologist because he transcribed and edited the texts and supplied an interpretative commentary in a manner that advanced knowledge of the subject and made the material easily accessible. As Nestle stated in his review:

⁶¹ *Septuaginta-Papyri*, 6-7.

⁶² A corruption of either Matt. 27:46, or Mark 15:34

⁶³ A school exercise is another proposal: see van Haelst, 1136.

⁶⁴ *Septuaginta-Papyri*, 88.

Erst wenn man versucht, mit den 60 Lichttafeln allein zu arbeiten, wird man ganz gewahr, welche Arbeit voranging, bis wir die 100 Seiten Text und Erklärung so bequem lesen.⁶⁵

3.5. *The philology of the Greek Bible: its present and future (1908)*

This easily readable book stands juxtaposed to the philologically technical *Septuaginta-Papyri*, but since Deissmann declared, ‘.. das kleine Buch ist gedacht als erste Einführung in das ganze Gebiet’,⁶⁶ it deserves some consideration here. It came about as a result of four lectures he gave at the Cambridge Summer School of Free Churches in July/August 1907. Rendel Harris⁶⁷ had invited him, and although Deissmann hesitated at first because of his concern that he lacked English fluency, he eventually accepted, as it gave him an opportunity to ‘discharge a debt of gratitude to British scholarship’.⁶⁸ Lionel Strachan translated the manuscripts into English and the four lectures were printed in *The Expositor* between October 1907 and January 1908 and, after some minor editing and updating, printed as a book.

Philology consists of four chapters,⁶⁹ in which he argued that the Septuagint should not be studied as a translation from the Hebrew but as a Greek book in its own right, and elucidated the relationship between the language of the Septuagint and that of the NT. His repeated use, in the final chapter, of the phrase ‘NT philology’⁷⁰ must have seemed a confronting *non sequitur* to specialist readers who were aware of the chasm that existed between philology and theology in Germany. Deissmann reiterated what he had said a decade earlier at Giessen (see ch. 1.6):

Now in my opinion the separation between theology and philology is altogether without justification in this field of research and the controversy that occasionally flares up is regrettable.⁷¹

Nevertheless, he acknowledged that as a result of the ‘modern philology of the New Testament’ primitive Christianity had at least been set in its rightful place within the Hellenistic world, and the language of the NT freed from philological isolation.⁷²

⁶⁵ Nestle, ‘Septuaginta-Papyri’, *BPW*, 25, 1905, 1302.

⁶⁶ *ThR*, 15, 16, 1912, 347.

⁶⁷ See ch. 1, n. 92.

⁶⁸ *Philology*, vii-viii.

⁶⁹ i.e. ‘The Greek Bible as a compact unity – the new linguistic records’: ‘The problem of “Biblical” Greek’: ‘Septuagint philology’, and ‘New Testament philology’.

⁷⁰ *Philology*, 111 (2x), 115, 127, 132, 136, 144, 146 (2x).

⁷¹ *Philology*, 117. See also ch. 1.4.

Thus, while *New light on the New Testament* began to popularise the idea that ‘secular’ papyri can and should be applied to NT exegetical studies,⁷³ *Philology* was an attempt at popularising the concept of NT philology as a respectable academic discipline in its own right. Judging by the liberty with which he was able to advance his thoughts, Deissmann must have felt he was among like-minded peers; and, indeed, half a year later he wrote to Moulton that there was more understanding for his work in England and Scotland than in Germany itself.⁷⁴

However, what exactly did he mean with his ‘biblical philology’ or ‘NT philology’? Importantly, he did not confuse the terms with ‘Bible scholarship’, which he considered a distinctive domain of theology, nor did he equate them with ‘classical philology’, or *Neuphilologie* – at least, not as the German philological faculties understood these terms, for too great a gulf existed between them and theology. On the other hand, neither did he limit ‘biblical philology’ to the recovering and reconstruction of ancient ‘religious’ texts. Instead he summarised:

Our discussion in the second lecture on methods of studying the language of the Greek Bible may be said to result in two requirements, one for specialization of the study, the other for its incorporation as a branch in the larger complex of studies dealing with late Greek.⁷⁵

This was not a proposal that theology should be merged with classical studies, but a call for the recognition of a well-defined specialisation through the creation of NT philology as a new branch of classical philology, but subordinate to the Faculty of Theology.

While much progress was being made in the field of biblical research, very few scholars of that era could be regarded as ‘true specialists’ in NT philology, and those who came closest to qualify were usually trained as classical philologists, with a personal interest in the NT.⁷⁶ The professional commitments of academics typically restricted their teaching to the province of their respective *Hauptfach*, which is the basic reason why Deissmann’s regular lectures remained primarily theological throughout his career.⁷⁷ *Philology* was never published in German; this may well be on account of the deprecating attitude German scholars generally had towards popular writing on

⁷² *Philology*, 144.

⁷³ For its connection with *LvO* see ch. 1.7.

⁷⁴ GAD’s letter, 19.2.1908; see ch. 2, n. 127.

⁷⁵ *Philology*, 69.

⁷⁶ e.g. Blass, Dieterich, Schwartz, or Wendland.

⁷⁷ For an overview of GAD’s teaching programs between 1904 and 1936, see Appendix 9, e.

academic topics, and also because he felt that his philological work was not fully appreciated by classical specialists in *Philologie* (see ch. 2.6).

3.6. Turning point

Since Deissmann viewed biblical or NT philology as a branch of classical philology, its learning would need to include specialised study of the Hellenistic language, philosophies, cultures, sociology, politics and economics. The specific goal was to gain a more sophisticated understanding – through the philological lens of Greek linguistic history – of the phenomenon of Christianity within the cultural context of the world in which it flourished. In other words, he advocated that advanced language training was needed to answer the question of how the world's most far-reaching ancient socioreligious movement evolved and perpetuated itself within its Hellenistic background.

Within four months of the Cambridge lectures Deissmann had succeeded in convincing his own Faculty and the University Senate to lodge a formal appeal to the *Kultusminister* that a special *Lehrauftrag* for NT philology should be created for him. Their unanimity rested substantially on the favourable recommendation Albrecht Dieterich wrote to Adolf Jellinek on 21 November 1907 (see ch. 2.3). Yet while a certain personal bias was inevitable because of the close friendship between Deissmann and Dieterich (extending back to the Marburg days), the essence of the latter's argument revolved not so much around his colleague but the weightier matter of an authorised *Lehrauftrag* for him. Moreover, as *Geheimer Hofrat* he knew that his considered opinion would be freely relied upon and cited – as indeed it was in Jellinek's letter to the *Kultusminister*.⁷⁸

Before WWI no place of learning existed where NT philology could be studied under teachers who were specialised in this field; the only alternatives were via theology or classical philology. The gulf between these two had to be faced if the approach to the study of ancient Greek were to become professionally holistic, and Deissmann's proposal of establishing a department for NT Philology would have been an effective way out of this dilemma.⁷⁹ How necessary such specialist training really was became

⁷⁸ Dieterich's letter, dated 26.11.1907; see Appendix 2, c.

⁷⁹ The creation of new departments was not unusual: History received its own in 1889 (although ancient history remained part of archaeology); oriental studies in 1894; economics in 1897; geography in 1899; comparative linguistics (modern) in 1909 and Egyptology in 1910.

manifest in a twist of irony some three years later, when Friedrich Pfister reviewed a recently published grammar of the Greek NT by the Viennese classical philologist Martin Ludwig Radermacher (1867-1952) and apparently without realising the paradox made the remarkable observation:

obwohl ein Philologe die Aufgabe, sie [Grammatik] zu schreiben, übernommen hat, gebührt das Verdienst, daß eine solche überhaupt in den Plan des Handbuches aufgenommen und daß sie so bearbeitet werden konnte, entschieden den Theologen, und zwar ist mit dieser Tatsache der Name Adolf Deißmanns für immer verknüpft ...⁸⁰

Dieterich, however, tried to forestall exactly this kind of danger for traditional philology, lest it slide conveniently into a kind of ‘compromised NT philology’. His letter is, therefore, most revealing, in that it unequivocally reminded the Senate that they had an exceptionally capable man right on their doorstep who would perfectly suit the demanding role of the new department.

Unsere theologische Fakultät besitzt die unbestrittene erste Autorität auf dem in Rede stehenden Gebiete. Deissmann hat es durch seine ausgezeichneten ‘epochemachenden’ Arbeiten ... durchgesetzt daß die Forderung, die Sprache der gr. Bibel aus der Sprache der griechischen Welt jener Zeit zu erklären, heute überall neuerkannt ... wird. ... Deissmann steht nicht nur für Deutschland, sondern auch für England im Mittelpunkt der philologischen Arbeit an der griech. Bibel.⁸¹

Noteworthy is Dieterich’s emphasis on Deissmann’s international profile, as this had become considerably raised since the appearance in 1901 of the English translation *Bible Studies*. It was, therefore, not difficult to convince the University Senate of Deissmann’s unique standing, and Dieterich’s enthusiastic recommendation confirmed it decisively (see ch. 2.3).

As noted earlier (ch. 2.3), if the *Kultusministerium* had provided the necessary backing at that stage, Deissmann’s philological (and lexicographical) career might not have been so disappointingly cut short. For he could arguably have had more students who would have focused on postclassical Greek and, therefore, might have carried on his work.⁸² Even though the University had introduced a series of sweeping reforms between 1848 and 1862, the Baden government continued to resist the trend towards ‘modern’ liberalism, for ‘auch in ihrer Berufungspolitik betrieb die Regierung eine Schwächung

⁸⁰ F. Pfister, review of L. Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik. Das Griechisch des Neuen Testaments im Zusammenhang mit der Volkssprache*, in *Päd. Archiv*, 11, 1911, 633.

⁸¹ Dieterich’s letter, 21.11.1907; Appendix 2, d.

⁸² See ch. 2, n. 190.

des liberalen Elementes unter den Heidelberger Professoren'.⁸³ Although this applied particularly to the 1850s and 1860s, the anti-liberal resistance had not lessened, as Deissmann discovered upon his arrival at the University in 1897 (see ch. 1.6). Thus, since he overtly attempted to 'secularise' some fundamental biblical traditions,⁸⁴ he was regarded by some as an extreme liberal theologian, which might explain the Ministry's half-hearted attempt to retain their 'star' professor.

3.7. Conclusion

In contrast to his youthful ambition, as an adult Deissmann never aspired to be a classical philologist; instead he worked to bridge the gap between philology and theology, and became internationally recognised as a pioneer in NT philology. Although some classical philologists with an interest in the NT had also been working in this field, the foregoing chapters have provided sufficient evidence to demonstrate that Deissmann may legitimately be described as the founder of NT philology. The bulk of his major publications between 1895 and 1908 testify to his leadership in this field. When *Bibelstudien* was published in 1895 its new methodology proved a surprise and, together with *Neue Bibelstudien* two years later, had the effect of bringing about a shift in thinking among researchers of postclassical Greek, and in particular with theologians. These two works underpinned his appointment to the Chair of NT theology at Heidelberg in 1897, as did *Licht vom Osten* and the *Septuaginta-Papyri* when he transferred to Berlin in 1908. His influential philological trilogy (*Bibelstudien*, *Neue Bibelstudien*, *Licht vom Osten*) changed the course of biblical studies everywhere and, perhaps more importantly, established his contention that postclassical Greek linguistic history needed to be rewritten and set firmly in its sociopolitical historical context. The proposal to set up an innovative teaching position for NT philology at Heidelberg would not only have increased his prospects of finishing the lexicon, but also have had the effect of raising a fresh generation of philologically-trained biblical specialists. Thus, to stereotype Deissmann as a 'mere' theologian is to disregard the sixteen most research-productive years of his academic life, and to overlook that it was he who spearheaded NT philology as a credible new sub-discipline. Although he was

⁸³ Classen/ Wolgast, 54. Compare ch. 1, n. 146.

⁸⁴ *SD*, 20.

not a classical philologist, he was without question ‘die unbestrittene erste Autorität’⁸⁵ in respect to postclassical Greek philology.

Now that due consideration has been given to Deissmann’s work as a philologist in NT studies, it is time to examine how he came to understand that the language question was inextricably linked with the *realia* of its period, and what he did to reflect that connection in his writing as well as in his practical activities. It is to this that we now turn in Part two.

⁸⁵ Dieterich’s letter, 21.11.1907; Appendix 2, d.

Part 2

ἡ ἱερὰ μητρόπολις τῆς Ἀσίας ... ἐτείμησεν
Ἀδολφον Δεισμανν



Figure 3
Gustav Adolf Deissmann in 1926

Ch. 4: From the study to the *realia*

The subject of my remarks is study-travel, not exploration. In other words, the purpose of the journey is first of all receptive, not productive. The journey is receptive in the sense that it enables us by personal observation to supplement and put life into all that we have learnt from the researches and exploration of others. Of course the journey should be and will be productive in the indirect sense owing to the abundance of new impressions that are absorbed and go to enrich a man's knowledge, experience, and powers when he has returned home.¹

4.1. Study tour 1906: Anatolia, Greece and Crete

At an 'Eranos' meeting towards the end of 1905 Deissmann learned that Friedrich von Duhn was to lead a state-subsidised journey to the Middle East (see ch. 2.3). It was specifically designed to provide philologists with an opportunity to gain firsthand insight into the *realia* of archaeological discoveries within their local settings, and to increase their practical experience in working with unpublished inscriptions. Although Deissmann's philological advances in the language of the NT were by now well recognised internationally, with the exception of various ostraka and papyri from the Heidelberg collection, he had thus far worked predominantly from published sources. This upcoming tour could present him, therefore, with a rare opportunity to round out his intellectual knowledge with some practical experience in the field, for which reason he asked von Duhn to include him.

When the latter agreed, Deissmann immediately sought written permission from the *Kultusministerium* (28 October 1905) and simultaneously applied for a travelling stipend. Their reply arrived four weeks later and stated that – despite the tour's specifically philological purpose and program – they would grant him leave to

¹ *ET*, 25, 11, 1914, 487.

participate, provided he would meet the estimated total cost of M. 1400-1500, equal to *c.* two-and-a-half months' salary. As to any kind of financial support, they wrote: 'Auf Ihr Gesuch um Gewährung eines Reisezuschusses können wir erst zu Anfang des nächsten Jahres Entschliessung treffen'.² However, this may have been calculated to test his personal commitment for the undertaking, since they informed him four weeks later that he would, indeed, receive a travel grant of M. 500.³ This monetary backing was undoubtedly attributable to Deissmann's successful publication of the Heidelberg Septuagint papyri earlier that year (see ch. 3.4).

It was this study tour in 1906 – supplemented by a more theologically focused one three years later (see ch. 4.2) – which laid the foundation for his contributions to archaeology during the latter stages of his life. Even though highlights of these journeys are found sporadically woven into the texts of *Paulus* and *Licht vom Osten*, no coherent reconstruction of these two decisive experiences in Deissmann's life has thus far been produced, except that of his first tour, published by this author in 2005,⁴ for which reason I shall give a somewhat abridged overview of it in the following pages.

Before setting out on his travel he wrote three brief yet emotionally charged farewell messages; one to Henriette, another (jointly) to his Mother and his siblings, and a third one to his son Ernst. While these may appear somewhat melodramatic to 21st century readers, his apprehensions were not altogether unfounded, as he explained in *Paulus*:

... die Nacht ist keines Menschen Freund, die wilden Hunde der rohen Hirten stellen sich wütend in den Weg, Räuber trachten nach dem Mantel und dem Reittier, und die Dämonen des Fiebers drohen den Erhitzten und Ermüdeten aus der kalten Nachtluft ...⁵

Only a few months earlier (29 September) the young American archaeologist Theodore Woolsey Heermance (1872-1905) had died in Athens of typhoid fever. But perhaps even more concerning was their plan of traversing through parts of the increasingly unstable Ottoman Empire.⁶ Nevertheless, Deissmann's desire for firsthand experience

² Kultusministerium, letter to GAD, 25.11.1905.

³ Kultusministerium, letter, 21.12.1905. A follow-up letter showed that the grant came from the Schüler'sche Foundation. Kultusministerium, letter to GAD, 21.2.1906.

⁴ See Gerber, 'Gustav Adolf Deissmann (1866-1937): trailblazer in biblical studies, in the archaeology of Ephesus, and in international reconciliation', 32-5.

⁵ *Paulus*, 45.

⁶ Since 1880 various liberal groups, collectively known as 'Young Turks', had pressed the last Ottoman Sultan Abd al-Hamid II (1842-1918) to re-establish his country's 1876 constitution and parliamentary democracy. This culminated in the revolution of 1908.

overruled his anxiety, and he wrote to Henriette:

Sollte ich nicht wiederkommen, so wisse für den Rest Deines Lebens, daß Du mir viele glückliche Jahre geschenkt hast und daß ich Dich im vollen dankbaren Bewusstsein Deiner treuen und zuverlässigen Liebe verlassen habe. Halte deine Hand fest und mütterlich über den Kindern, erziehe sie im evangelischen Glauben zur Arbeit und zu der Gesinnung, die ich hochgehalten habe. Mit Dir und ihnen sei Gott der Herr, in dessen Welt ich jetzt einen tiefen Blick zu werfen hoffe.⁷

The combined farewell message to his mother, two brothers and two sisters seemed more optimistic, for he could not know that his cheery hope would turn into sorrow within days:

Am Vorabend der großen Reise nach Griechenland und Asien gedenke ich auch Euer aller in treuer und dankbarer Gesinnung und hoffe auf ein glückliches Wiedersehen. Gott mit Euch allen!⁸

Emilie Deissmann was a deeply religious woman, who throughout her 73 years had placed an uncomplicated trust in God's providence, by randomly drawing Bible verses from a *Zieh-Bibel*. Now, as her son was about to leave, she gave it to him as a farewell present.⁹ Nine days into his journey Deissmann wrote his first letter to her from Istanbul, but she died the day before it arrived, and the news only reached him at Smyrna – a full day after her funeral.

It is in the letter to his six-year-old son Ernst that Deissmann provided the rationale for his eagerness to make this journey.

Ich reise in das Land, wo die Sonne aufgeht und wo ich mit meinen Studenten im Geiste oft gewesen bin. Hoffentlich kannst Du, wenn Du groß bist, auch einmal dorthin wandern. Lerne brav in Deiner Schule, mein lieber Sohn, und mache Deiner Mama immer Freude. Gott segne Dich immerdar!¹⁰

Prior to 1906 Deissmann's studies and teaching were primarily based on literary sources, various ostraka and papyri (published and unpublished), but he had long felt disadvantaged by his lack of personal experience of that region or people whose language and social history he was researching.¹¹ Now, however, he seized the opportunity to round out his intellectual knowledge through substantial travel exposure, so that the contrasts between '... modern-abendländischer Buchkultur und unliterarischer

⁷ Dated, 26.3.1906; held privately.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ *SD*, 1-2.

¹⁰ Dated, 29.3.1906; held privately.

¹¹ *SD*, 24.

antik-anatolischer Kultur ... greifbar [werden]'.¹² Even though contemporary NT theologians centred their cultural studies very narrowly on Palestine and Syria, Deissmann contended that the historical background of early Christianity was in fact 'die antike Welt im weitesten Sinne'.¹³ He did not limit this to the regions around the Mediterranean basin, but included the entire Hellenised and Romanised domain. This world, he believed, had to be experienced as much as possible from within to be more realistically comprehended. Thus, he was an early advocate of what Peter Pilhofer almost a century later terms 'lokalgeschichtliche Methode'.¹⁴ Unsurprisingly, such views did not pass without opposition, and some years later Deissmann protested: 'Es ist mehr als sonderbar, wenn selbsthafte Autoritäten, die solche Reisen nicht gemacht haben, ihren Wert bezweifeln wollen. Man kann darüber wirklich nicht streiten.'¹⁵

The Heidelberg philologists' journey began on Friday 30 March. Besides von Duhn and Deissmann there were at least three other members: Samuel Brandt (1848-1938),¹⁶ Friedrich Pfister, and Rudolf Pagenstecher (1886-1921) who also habilitated under von Duhn in 1909.¹⁷ In preparation for their imminent field studies, they visited Vienna first, to see the recently opened Lower Belvedere exhibition and the Theseus Temple in the *Volksgarten*.¹⁸ Both these cultural centres had been dedicated to outstanding archaeological discoveries from Ephesus, made under the auspices of the ÖAI; for the Lower Belvedere had on display 'the ten most complete slabs of the Parthian Monument'.¹⁹ The journey resumed on Tuesday morning by 'Orient Express' via Budapest and Bucharest to the Black Sea port Constanza. Here they embarked on the steamer 'Romania' sailing south and through the Bosphorus to Istanbul, where they docked on Friday 6 April.

That afternoon Wiegand visited Deissmann at his hotel and subsequently invited him to

¹² *Paulus*, vi.

¹³ *LvO*, 1.

¹⁴ P. Pilhofer, *Die frühen Christen und ihre Welt*, Tübingen, 2002, 8-9, 44-5.

¹⁵ *SD*, 24, see also below, ch. 4.2.

¹⁶ *LvO*², 209, n. 6 (not mentioned in *LvO*).

¹⁷ In the English translation of *LvO* (*LAE*, 61), GAD provided these names (except for Brandt) in a subscript to a photograph taken on Delos; they are absent from all editions of *LvO*.

¹⁸ GAD had spent a week in the Austrian capital during May 1904 (apparently for the first time), and was already acquainted with the leading work that the *Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut* (ÖAI) did at Ephesus.

¹⁹ G. Wiplinger/ G. Wlach, *Ephesus, 100 years of Austrian research*, Weimar, 1996, 178. On the acquisition of this material see ch. 5.1.

his home. Since the former's appointment in 1899 as director of the Berlin Museums' antiquities division, he had set up his headquarters in Istanbul.²⁰ Then, in January 1900, when Wiegand married Marie von Siemens (1876-1960), the second daughter of Deutsche Bank's co-founder and director Georg von Siemens (1839-1901), the pair had made their home at Istanbul. Wiegand was a consummate promoter of Anatolian archaeology, with an impressive record that already included the successful excavation of Priene and Miletus.²¹ For the past 21 years he had lost contact with Deissmann, but now they renewed their fellowship, and while he entertained his old school friend (see ch. 2.3) he explained his newest undertaking: unearthing the Apollo temple at Didyma. Later Deissmann wrote to Wiegand:

... es gehört jetzt, im Rückblick auf die ganze Reise zu dem Wertvollsten, daß ich auf dem anatolischen Boden die alte Jugendfreundschaft mit Dir habe erneuern dürfen. Nun hoffe ich nur, daß wir recht bald einmal die Freude haben, Dich mit Deiner Gattin hier bei uns zu haben. ... Sonst herrscht große Freude und die erneute Erfahrung, daß ein fester Bund durch längere Trennung nur gefestigt wird.²²

The German tourists spent five days sightseeing in Istanbul, but Deissmann contracted keratitis and was confined to his hotel for two days, during which he wrote the earlier mentioned last letter to his mother (see above, ch. 4.1). Later, when they put to sea on the steamer 'Albania', Wiegand and Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1853-1940) joined their tour. The former made this relatively short leg of the journey through the Dardanelles and south to Miletus, to introduce the scholars to the archaeological fieldwork their compatriots had accomplished along the coastal regions of Western Turkey; and Dörpfeld was to act as their guide and instructor until Athens, where he was director of the DAI branch (1887-1912). Trained as an architect, he was also a highly experienced archaeologist who had worked at Olympia, Troy and Tiryns, and since 1900 was engaged in excavations at Pergamon with Alexander Conze (1831-1914). Moreover, Dörpfeld was a leading authority on Homer, which, together with his rhetorical abilities and wide archaeological expertise, made him an authoritative speaker. In addition, he also organised and directed scholarly archaeological tours, including one he had

²⁰ Wiegand, letter to his mother, 30.5.1899, in G. Wiegand, ed., *Halbmond im letzten Viertel: Briefe und Reiseberichte aus der alten Türkei von Theodor und Marie Wiegand 1895 bis 1918*, München, 1970, 36-8; also Wiegand, letter to his fiancé, 10.9.1899, in Wiegand, *Halbmond*, 39.

²¹ See A.M. Greaves, *Miletos: a history*, New York, 2002. Although Greaves states in the introduction that he hopes 'to present the reader with a concise summary of key points in the archaeology of Miletos', disappointingly little is said about Wiegand's pivotal role in its excavation.

²² GAD's letter, 4.7.1906.

conducted for Greece's King George I. Under the guidance of these two outstanding authorities von Duhn's party visited some of the best known classical archaeological sites in Western Anatolia, as the following map illustrates.

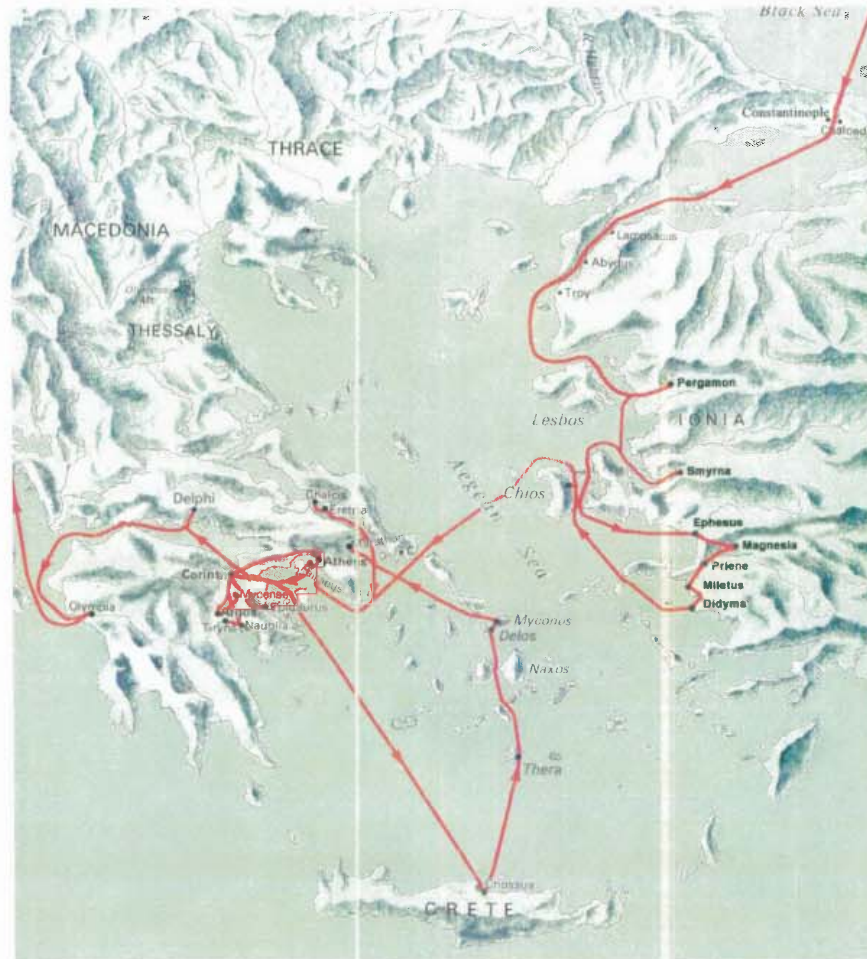


Figure 4: Map of Deissmann's 1906 journey

They visited Pergamon on Friday 13 April, and on Sunday Deissmann set eyes on Ephesus for the first time. Here, their guide was Josef Keil (1878-1963), a Czech-born archaeologist and the secretary of the ÖAI, who had worked at this site since 1904. Deissmann and Keil had apparently not met before, but their brief encounter now engendered a lasting friendship between them; and as a result of latter's guidance through the sprawling site of the ancient metropolis Deissmann began to understand clearly the significance of the work that was being done there. A few years later he wrote in *The Expository Times*:

... the view from the castle hill or from the 'prison of St. Paul', with its unforgettable wealth of impressions, first revealed ancient Ephesus to me

and enabled me at length really to study the monumental work of the Austrians on Ephesus with full profit.²³

Three days after his brief yet consequential visit of this ruined city, they sailed to Chios, from where they took the steamer 'Bulgaria' for an overnight passage to Athens, arriving there on Thursday 19 April, just as the Intermediary Olympic Games came to a close. During their three weeks' stay at the 'classics capital' von Duhn and Dörpfeld gave almost daily archaeology and history lectures, as well as conducting regular educational tours, while several other notable specialists presented topical sessions. Ulrich Wilcken, for instance, who happened to be in Athens at that time, elucidated a number of inscriptions, while Dörpfeld's representative Georg Karo (1872-1963), who had close ties to the German court,²⁴ taught on the topic of Delphi. Moreover, Rudolf Heberdey (1864-1936), the Austrian archaeologist and regular leader of the Ephesus excavation since 1898, led a one-day tour to Eleusis, and also gave some practical field talks at Athena Nike's temple on the western tip of the Acropolis, where he had recently (1904) succeeded in reconstructing parts of its fragmented poros gable and balustrade.

Deissmann's diary shows that he bought at least three codices at Athens, of which one was a gospel,²⁵ and also alludes to several private meetings with individuals who were not directly connected with the study tour.²⁶ After three weeks at Athens they studied various archaeological sites in the Peloponnese and visited Delphi, before journeying to Crete to see its Minoan heritage, including the palace ruins at Knossos, which Arthur John Evans (1851-1941) had excavated less than three years earlier. On their way back they sailed via Thera to Delos, where a large Cretan/Mycenaean settlement was being excavated by Maurice Holleaux (1861-1932). He explained various inscriptions to the tour participants, including one that Deissmann had discussed eleven years earlier in *Bibelstudien*.²⁷ Their last cruise within Greek territory took them around the top of the

²³ *ET*, 25, 11, 1914, 487.

²⁴ He was a frequent guest at the Achilleion, the Corfu summer palace of Kaiser Wilhelm II, who took a personal interest in Karo's excavations at Tiryns and Corfu. In 1910 Karo became co-director (with Dörpfeld) of the DAI, Athens.

²⁵ *AK*, 2, 9.5.1906.

²⁶ Among them: Zolotas, Karolides and Kyriakos. Zolotas probably refers to Georgios Ioannou Zolotas (1845-1906), an authority on the history of Chios; Paulos Karolides (1849-1930) was professor of history, and Anastasios Diomedes Kyriakos (1874-1951) – who had written a history of the oriental church – was professor of theology.

²⁷ *BS*, 172-5. A photograph in *LvO* (34) shows Holleaux using a cane to explain this inscription to a group of four men: GAD is in the middle.

Peloponnese to Olympia, where they stayed for three days before commencing their homeward journey via Genoa.

* * *

As mentioned at the outset of this chapter, this study tour was designed for philologists, not for theologians; yet the extent to which it impacted on Deissmann's life must not be underestimated. It provided him with a unique opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with several leading archaeologists, classicists and philologists and of forming friendly intellectual links with them. The experience also refocused his purpose for the NT lexicon (see ch. 2.3) and underpinned – indeed, was a *sine qua non* for – the book for which he became best known and well beyond the academy: *Licht vom Osten* (see ch. 1.7).

Friedrich von Duhn hatte die Fahrt organisiert und leitete sie meisterhaft. In den großen Museen, wie auch in den Zentren der internationalen Ausgrabungen hatten wir neben seiner Belehrung die größte Förderung durch die ersten archäologischen und epigraphischen Autoritäten, Österreicher, Ungarn, Rumänen, Türken, deutsche Landsleute, Griechen, Engländer, Franzosen und Italiener; ganz besonders verpflichteten uns Wilhelm Dörpfeld und mein alter Kamerad Theodor Wiegand ... In die Heimat zurückgekehrt, schickte ich mich an, die Eindrücke der Studienreise mit früheren Beobachtungen am Studiertisch zu einem Buche zu vereinigen.²⁸

As a result of this journey Deissmann's intellectual perception of the classical world had undergone a profound change. He was well aware of this, and in the introduction to *Licht vom Osten* acknowledged that the concentrated exposure to archaeological *realia* and numerous leading field authorities had so enriched him that he 'superimposed' his newly gained experience and impressions onto a series of earlier publications based solely on his 'desktop research' (see ch. 1.7). A comparative literary analysis of his initial Frankfurt lectures (1905), their English publication in *The Expository Times*, and the subsequently revised book form (*New light on the New Testament* – see ch. 1.7), together with *Licht vom Osten*, could provide some useful perspectives apropos the value of 'lokalgeschichtliche Methode'. Even a cursory comparison between the style

²⁸ *LvO*, vi.

and tone of *New Light* and *LvO* demonstrates Deissmann's transformation that had occurred as a result of this study tour. From an earlier tendency in his writing towards what Jülicher had once described as a 'gewisse Steifheit' (see ch. 1.3), to what Emil Schürer (1844-1910) referred to in his review of *Licht vom Osten* as a 'dithyrambischer Stil'.²⁹

The continual exposure to on-site archaeological work during this 66-day study tour introduced Deissmann to the latest scientific methodologies, discoveries and stages of progress (or deterioration) of more than two dozen major archaeological sites. Not least, the tour also inspired a similar second one, although this time specifically designed to benefit theologians. However, many years later it was the study tour of 1906 that he rated as one of the most transforming experiences of his academic life.

Diese Reise bildet für mich einen Markstein meines wissenschaftlichen und persönlichen Lebens ... eine große Förderung meiner religionswissenschaftlichen Studien verdanke ich ihr. Mir war 1906 jedenfalls ein so großes Erlebnis gewesen, daß ich 1909 von Berlin aus selbst ein zweite, größere Studienreise ... durchführen durfte ... sie ergänzte meine Anschauung der neutestamentlichen Welt so bedeutsam, daß ich nunmehr fast von jedem Schauplatz des Neuen Testaments einen selbsterhaltenen plastischen Eindruck habe.³⁰

4.2. Study tour 1909: the Levant and Egypt

As early as January 1908 Deissmann wrote to Wiegand from Heidelberg: 'Ich glaube auch, daß der Orient für mich von Berlin wieder besser zu erreichen ist, als von hier',³¹ and in fact, he began planning his second tour as an immediate result of his interviews at Berlin (see ch. 2.4). He was the sole driving force for its inception and bore full responsibility for its organisation, although he did so in close cooperation with two colleagues, his assistant Carl Schmidt,³² and the young classical philologist and

²⁹ *TLZ*, 20, 33, 1908, 554.

³⁰ *SD*, 24-5.

³¹ GAD's letter, 29.1.1908; Appendix 2, e.

³² Schmidt was nicknamed 'Koptenschmidt' because of his mastery of the Coptic language and culture, but was also a trained Egyptologist and authority on that country's antiquarian markets. He was made academic officer of the Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften in 1900 and four years later worked with GAD on the Heidelberg papyri (see ch. 3.3).

historian Wilhelm Weber (1882-1948).³³ Besides these three there was one other unnamed young man who accompanied them.³⁴

Despite the small number of participants, Deissmann was able to secure M. 2000 for himself and M. 1000 for Schmidt from the ‘Königliches Ministerium der geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medizinalangelegenheiten’.³⁵ That the *Auswärtiges Amt* was supportive of Deissmann’s journey is evident from their letter to the *Kultusminister*:

Die kaiserlichen Konsularbehörden in Bukarest, Constanza, Konstantinopel, Brussa, Konia, Mersina, Barnaca (Cypern), Alexandretta, Aleppo, Damaskus, Bairut, Haiffa, Jerusalem, Jaffa, Alexandrien, Port Said und Kairo sind angewiesen worden, dem Professor D. Adolf Deißmann und seinen beiden Begleitern, Professor D. Dr. Carl Schmidt und Dr. Wilhelm Weber, auf ihr Ersuchen mit Rat und Tat zur Seite zu stehen und sie erforderlichen Falles auch mit weiteren Empfehlungen zu versehen. Soweit es sich um Konsularbehörden in der Türkei handelt, sind diese ferner beauftragt worden, den Reisenden, wenn sie sich an sie wenden, bei der Beschaffung von Teskeres (türkischen Inlandspässen) behilflich zu sein.³⁶

Unfortunately, the AK entries are considerably terser for this tour than those in 1906; nonetheless, it is possible to reconstruct a satisfactory picture by drawing on various other sources.³⁷ One may easily get the impression that the two journeys combined served as a kind of twinned ‘cultural induction’ experience;³⁸ yet they differed fundamentally in that Deissmann designed the second one specifically to help himself with contextualising biblical history, sociology and geography,³⁹ for which reason it focused primarily on ‘biblical’ rather than ‘classical’ places of interest.

As in 1906, Deissmann again wrote brief farewell notes to his wife and son, although this time merely appended to his first ones, which had evidently been kept by the family. Nevertheless, he made the following informative addition for Henriette:

Etwas anderes kann ich auch jetzt nicht sagen, nur daß durch das geliebte Liselottchen alles noch viel besser geworden ist. Laß Dir von Harnack, Kahl, Elster, helfen, wenn Du Hilfe nötig hast.⁴⁰

³³ Weber completed his doctorate at Heidelberg in 1907, with the dissertation ‘Die Adoption Kaiser Hadrians’, but during 1908/9 was on a stipend from the DAL.

³⁴ *LvO*², viii; see also *ET*, 25, 11, 1914, 490.

³⁵ *LvO*², viii; see also GAD, letter to Kultusministerium, 25.1.1909.

³⁶ *Auswärtiges Amt*, letter to Kultusministerium, 5.2.1909.

³⁷ i.e. *LvO*², *LvO*⁴, *Paulus*, *ET*, correspondence, et al.

³⁸ e.g. *SD*, 24-5; *ET*, 25, 11, 1914, 486-90; *ET*, 25, 12, 1914, 535-8.

³⁹ *ET*, 25, 11, 1914, 487.

⁴⁰ This postscript is dated, 23.2.1909; held privately. Liselotte was not quite two years old.

Harnack had befriended the Deissmann family since their arrival in Berlin and occasionally enjoyed their hospitality. Wilhelm Kahl (1849-1932), a lawyer, was the University's *Rektor* for that year, and Ludwig Elster (1856-1935) the *Geheimer Oberregierungsrat* and *Vortragender Rat* in the *Kultusministerium*, with whom Deissmann had negotiated his employment the year before and who warmly supported the tour.⁴¹ The latter two were not personal friends of the family, but could evidently be counted on as useful contacts for Henriette.

* * *

The journey commenced on Wednesday 24 February 1909, one day after the winter semester concluded. This time, however, instead of travelling through Vienna, Deissmann chose the faster northerly route through Poland, via Krakow and Lemberg (Lviv) in the Western Ukraine, then diagonally across Romania to Constanza, where the men arrived on Thursday. Similar to the tour of 1906, they boarded a steamer – the ‘Regele Carol I’ – and by Friday noon docked at Istanbul, where Wilhelm Weber who was already there (see above, n. 33) greeted them, before they checked in at the Hotel Bristol and were welcomed by Theodor Wiegand.

On Saturday they looked around the Topkapı palace-complex,⁴² which had fallen into disrepair during the latter 19th century – only later (1923) was it transformed into the museum where Deissmann would be working in 1928 and 1929 (see ch. 5.7). The following day he was predominantly concerned with the closely adjacent ‘Hagia Eirene’; although this building had been turned into a military museum in 1874, it was where the second Ecumenical Council had taken place in 381. The afternoon was devoted to Istanbul’s most striking structure: the nearby ‘Hagia Sophia’.

From Istanbul they travelled by train to Ankara. Deissmann had reasoned that the Apostle Paul must have passed through this place;⁴³ but it was particularly the

⁴¹ Elster had written: ‘... daß ich die Bitte des ordentlichen Professors ... Adolf Deißmann in seinem beiliegenden Gesuch vom 12. Januar d. Js. warm befürworte’. Letter to Auswärtiges Amt, 20.1.1909.

⁴² In the AK GAD repeatedly used the narrower Persian term ‘Serail’ (‘Serai’ in *Forschungen*); it originally referred to the Topkapı’s Harem, or more precisely, living quarters for the females of their Muslim household.

⁴³ *Paulus*, 29, i.e. on his second missionary journey.

‘Monumentum Ancyranum’ for which they came, since he had briefly discussed this bilingual inscription in *Paulus*.⁴⁴

Their next goal was Konya (Iconium), where the Apostle Paul had preached on occasions;⁴⁵ in later centuries the city developed into an important provincial Christian town until its Islamic overthrow in 708.⁴⁶ Here Deissmann organised a guided tour of the city’s sizeable jail, in an attempt to investigate a possible explanation for the large number of ancient prison letters.

Ein Besuch des großen Zuchthauses in Konia (Ikonium) am 6. März 1909 zeigte mir handgreiflich deutlich den starken Verkehr der Gefangenen durch das Gittertor mit ihren zugereisten Angehörigen. [in the 2nd edition (1925) he added:] So ist es verständlich, daß wir eine ganze Anzahl antiker Gefangenenbriefe auch sonst besitzen ... Eine Sammlung der antiken Gefangenenbriefe wäre eine reizvolle Aufgabe.⁴⁷

What at first sight may appear to be a rather eccentric activity serves to illustrate his interest in the ‘lokalgeschichtliche Methode’ as a way to bridge the gap between text and *realia*, and to enliven the former by experience of the latter.

On the advice of William Ramsay,⁴⁸ Deissmann had abandoned his original plan of continuing from Konya to Tarsus via the Cilician Gates – although, as it turned out, travel conditions would have been ideal – and thus the group forfeited a visit to the provincial ‘Pauline’ towns (Acts 14:21; 16:1) of Lystra, Derbe and Pisidian Antioch.⁴⁹ Instead, they took the train to Afyon, and the following day proceeded – with brief stopovers at ancient Philadelphia and Sardis – to Smyrna, and from there to Laodicea. In this way they visited five places directly associated with the ‘seven churches’ referred to in the NT (Rev. 1-3), with two days allowed for Ephesus, although this time in the absence of Keil or Wiegand.

Neither Laodicea nor its north-easterly neighbour Hierapolis (modern Pamukkale) had

⁴⁴ *Paulus*, 29-30. GAD cautioned against the assumption that the monument’s inscription would prove that Latin was a ‘world language’ like Greek.

⁴⁵ Acts 14:1; 15:36 - 16:4; 2 Tim. 3:11.

⁴⁶ W.W. Gasque, ‘Iconium’, *ABD*, 3, 357.

⁴⁷ *Paulus*, 13, n. 2 and *Paulus*², 16, n. 4.

⁴⁸ GAD first met Ramsay at Edinburgh, probably on 24.9.1906. The latter visited GAD in Berlin two months before this tour commenced. *AK*, 24.9.1906, 22, 24.12.1908.

⁴⁹ Ramsay had written to GAD, ‘In March Konia and that region are most uninviting, and the country is often literally untraversable except where there is a railway.’ As cited by GAD, who corresponded with Ramsay about this journey, since he regarded him as ‘the leading authority on ancient Asia Minor’. *ET*, 25, 11, 1914, 489.

at that time been scientifically excavated – even though the latter had been a Roman health resort – yet the travellers were able to explore Laodicea's extensive ruins, as well as to read some of its inscriptions. However, Deissmann was not 'coldly' history-focused on this journey, for he had a distinctly romantic side (see ch. 5.2); thus, when they made the short hike from Goncali to Hierapolis the next day, he described it as taking the slow route 'per pedes apostolorum'.⁵⁰

The tour then returned to Smyrna and sailed for Mersin on the 'Korniloff', an aged Russian cruiser that was *en route* from Odessa to Palestine, and apparently overloaded with hundreds of Jewish pilgrims.⁵¹ After visiting the ruins of the nearby ancient port of Soloi-Pompeiopolis, they made two short train trips to Tarsus, for which Ramsay had provided Deissmann with written introductions.⁵² Although the latter referred to this modern city as the 'Paulusstadt',⁵³ little archaeological *realia* remained from ancient Tarsus and even the so-called 'Paulustor', mentioned briefly in *Paulus*,⁵⁴ was a later construction.

Next they headed by ship to Alexandretta (modern Iskenderun), and from there travelled to Antioch on the Orontes by car. The approach to this ancient metropolis (where the term 'Christian' is said to have originated, see Acts 11:26) so impressed Deissmann that he wrote: 'the first sight of Antioch with its sharply defined ancient walls ... is an experience most stimulating to the historic [*sic*] imagination'.⁵⁵

Since 1895 Anatolia had been affected by increasingly violent conflicts between Muslim nationalists and Armenian Christians, but their tour seemed to stay just ahead of serious political trouble and Deissmann reported:

wenige Wochen [nachher] brach in dieser schwülen cilicischen Ebene ein Fieber aus, das bis nach dem syrischen Antiochien hin, schlimmer als die ärgste Malaria die Menschen dezimiert hat, der religiöse und nationale Fanatismus aufgestachelter mohammedanischer Mordgesellen, deren Wüten Tausende von armenischen Christen zum Opfer fielen.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ *ET*, 25, 12, 1914, 535. GAD's romantic disposition is clearly visible in some of his writings, especially in connection with his two study tours; see *Paulus*, vi-vii. See also below, n. 87, and ch. 5, n. 53.

⁵¹ *Paulus*, 19, n. 1.

⁵² *ET*, 25, 12, 1914, 489.

⁵³ *Paulus*, 21, 22.

⁵⁴ *Paulus*, 22.

⁵⁵ *ET*, 25, 12, 1914, 535.

⁵⁶ *Paulus*, 21.

The four Germans returned to Alexandretta, from where they sailed south to Beirut, and then drove the 85 km. to Baalbek, which Wiegand had excavated within the past decade.⁵⁷ From there they travelled across the Syrian border and south to Damascus, a city closely associated with the Apostle Paul's conversion. Although Deissmann knew that ancient Damascus lay buried deep beneath the modern city, it again stirred his 'historical imagination'.

Wenn man in einem Seitengang des Bazars von Damaskus einen Färber mit seinen nackten blauen Armen in die Farbengrube hineinlängen sieht, erinnert man sich, dass ... vor fast zweitausend Jahren die Zunftgenossen dieses Färbers an denselben Gruben standen und mit denselben blauen Armen dasselbe Wollengarn aus der Brühe heraufzogen.⁵⁸

From Damascus they drove south to Tiberias on the western shore of lake Gennesaret, where they attended a synagogue and witnessed a traditional burial by the town's Jewish immigrants. They also investigated Tell Hum – generally accepted as biblical Capernaum – and the next day journeyed westwards via Nazareth to Jerusalem. Their arrival had been timed to coincide with the city's Easter celebrations, but they stayed for 11 nights, and during that time spent two days at Jericho and also made a side-trip to Bethlehem.

They left Jerusalem on 19 April by driving to Jaffa, Israel's biblical Joppa, where the new city Tel Aviv-Yafo was being founded that same year through the settlement of 60 nearby Jewish families.⁵⁹ Here the group embarked to sail overnight to Port Said, from where they took a train to Cairo. This Egyptian segment of the tour commenced on Thursday 22 April, with a full day at the Giza pyramid complex. During the next few days in the Egyptian capital they travelled some 30 km. upstream to Saqqara, and after relocating to Alexandria their study tour drew to an end with a visit to the Alexandria museum. On 28 April Deissmann and his colleagues boarded the steamer 'Prinz Heinrich', and by 3 May they arrived at Marseille, from where they made their way back to Heidelberg by train.

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⁵⁷ *Baalbek: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905*, 1-3, Berlin, 1921-5.

⁵⁸ *Paulus*, 36. Note GAD's empirical (i.e. lokalgeschichtlicher) approach to understanding history.

⁵⁹ At first called Ahuzat Bayit, based on Ezek. 3:15, it was renamed Tel Aviv in 1910.

From the foregoing somewhat mechanical reconstruction of Deissmann's two study tours, an obvious distinction emerges between them. Von Duhn had interacted with and benefited significantly from numerous leading experts in relation to classical philology and, besides imparting practical on-site experience, also provided opportunities for professional 'networking'. However, although the journey Deissmann organised and conducted in 1909 provided less contact with scholars or their works, his personal motive was similar to the tour he made with von Duhn.

The object of my journeys was to supplement my study of books by seeing things for myself ... Others may have no need to see things in this way; I have the need, and I know many people constituted like myself, who do not find their bearings historically until they begin to see things as a concrete image in space.⁶⁰

Deissmann had made this same point during negotiations concerning his call to Berlin, when he expressed his intention to lead a second 'ergänzende Reise' to complement the one of 1906. Although his rationale behind these journeys was evidently being misunderstood by some,⁶¹ the fact that it was viewed favourably in 1906 by his Faculty at Heidelberg and in 1909 enjoyed similar warm support in Berlin – the *Kultusministerium* showing him 'das wohlwollendste Verständnis'⁶² – reflects the high academic esteem in which he was held.

His travel motives had never revolved around exploration or discovery, but were primarily intended to supplement his and his companions' personal knowledge and understanding of the ancient world. He advised, however, that 'the prerequisite of every such journey is a thorough study of the published original records of the New Testament countries and the literature of modern research in the East', for the objective was 'study-travel, not exploration'.⁶³ This distinction was precisely what Ramsay had missed with his occasionally pernickety criticism of Deissmann's *Paul*.⁶⁴

Although both of Deissmann's journeys were memorable experiences in his life, it is the first one that he later singled out as 'einen Markstein meines wissenschaftlichen und

⁶⁰ *ET*, 25, 11, 1914, 487.

⁶¹ *ET*, 25, 11, 1914, 486-7; see Appendix 4, a.

⁶² GAD, letter to Kultusministerium, 24.10.1908.

⁶³ *ET*, 25, 11, 1914, 487.

⁶⁴ Ramsay, *The teaching of Paul*.

persönlichen Lebens'.⁶⁵ He was convinced that other scholars would – and indeed, should – benefit from similar study tours: 'Möchte recht vielen Fachgenossen die gleiche Gelegenheit gegeben werden, die Schauplätze des Evangeliums und des Urchristentums persönlich zu sehen'.⁶⁶ But he recognised that such practical 'Umwelt familiarisation' was very much in its infancy, at least amongst theologians.

As regards the organization of New Testament study-travel there is still room for considerable discussion, since much experience has yet to be gathered. Of one thing I am perfectly sure: the starting-point of the Eastern tour proper must certainly not be Egypt or Palestine.⁶⁷

Just as his first journey strongly influenced *Licht vom Osten*, so the second one helped in the formulation of *Paulus* and, not surprisingly, produced a book that departed considerably from the commonly accepted 'Paulusbild'.

4.3. *Paulus*

In the summer of 1908 Nathan Söderblom was travelling through Berlin and took the opportunity to go and hear a lecture by Deissmann, who had taken up the theology Chair as ordinarius less than three month earlier (see ch. 2.4). In March 1910 Söderblom recalled this particular lecture and said to him:

In meinen Ohren klingen ein Paar Worte, die ich vor bald zwei ... Jahren in Berlin hörte, als ich bei einem ganz zufälligen kurzen Besuch an der Universität zwischen zwei Zügen einer Ihrer [Deissmann's] Vorlesungen beiwohnte. Es handelte sich um das 8^{te} Kap. des Römerbriefs ... wir danken Ihnen für Ihre völlige Freiheit von theologischer Barbarei gröberer oder feinerer Art.⁶⁸

It is unlikely that this visit was quite as coincidental as he claimed. As a forward-looking theologian with a strong background in philology and close ties to German

⁶⁵ *SD*, 24.

⁶⁶ *LvO*², ix.

⁶⁷ *ET*, 25, 11, 1914, 487. Almost a century later Peter Pilhofer explicitly picked up GAD's line of reasoning, coined it 'lokalgeschichtliche Methode' and – referring to the latter's expressed hope in the introduction to *LvO*² – writes: 'Ein knappes Jahrhundert später ist dieser Wunsch von den "Fachgenossen" auf die Studierenden des Faches auszuweiten. Für die Lehrenden bedeutet dies, daß Exkursionen fester Bestandteil des Curriculums werden müssen. Für Palästina ist diese Forderung seitens der Alttestamentler an manchen Fakultäten schon erfüllt. Aber wie steht es mit Italien, Griechenland, der Türkei, Syrien? Welcher angehende Pfarrer, welche angehende Lehrerin hat eines dieser Länder unter kundiger Anleitung besucht ...'. Pilhofer, 7, 9, 45.

⁶⁸ Cited by Anna Söderblom in her letter of congratulation for GAD's 70th birthday (7.11.1936). She explained this citation by adding: 'Mit diesen Worten hat Nathan Söderblom Adolf Deissmann am Schluß derselben Paulus-Vorlesungen an der Olaus-Petri Stiftelsen der Universität Uppsala im Jahre 1910 gedankt.' Held privately. See further below, ch. 4.3.

theology, he was well aware of Deissmann's work and the controversy his recent appointment as *ordinarius* had stirred. A more probable scenario is, therefore, that Söderblom intentionally decided to get to know him personally, since he himself was equally opposed to the inflexible dogmatism prevailing among German theologians. Within weeks of returning to Sweden he wrote to Deissmann and invited him to present a series of eight lectures on the topic of the Apostle Paul's life, at the *Olaus-Petri-Stiftelsen* (University of Uppsala) during the Easter holidays 1910. The tenor of Deissmann's favourable reply indicates that they had met for the first time when Söderblom attended his lecture, and it is certain that the latter did not yet know Henriette,⁶⁹ nor had Deissmann ever been to Sweden before.⁷⁰

On Sunday 6 March 1910 Deissmann and his wife arrived in Uppsala on the midday train and were welcomed by Söderblom and his twelve-year-old son. The following afternoon Deissmann gave his first lecture, entitled 'Die Aufgabe; Die Quelle'. The series concluded on Tuesday 22 March, but four days later Henriette suddenly took seriously ill during the night and was admitted to hospital, where she remained for a full week before they were able to return to Berlin. The exact nature of Henriette's abrupt confinement is not conclusive, for Deissmann's diary merely records: 'Upsala Nachts 12 Uhr Ette erkrankt und abends ins Krankenhaus, Dr. Lindqvist', and for the following six days his entries repeat: 'Upsala Ette im Krankenhaus'. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to deduce that she may have suffered a miscarriage, for two weeks after returning to Berlin Söderblom wrote to Deissmann:

Es freut uns zu wissen, dass Sie nach Ihrem durch so traurige Umstände verlängertem Aufenthalt in Upsala glücklich in Ihrem Heime zurück sind. Gott wolle, dass Ihre Frau Gemahlin ... bald wieder volle Gesundheit und frische Kräfte geniessen werden!⁷¹

The 'traurige Umstände' must obviously refer to an occurrence that brought a kind of sadness to the Deissmanns that could not be fully alleviated by her release from the

⁶⁹ GAD's letter, 29.7.1908. In his reply he also asked deferentially: 'Darf ich Sie noch bitten, mir einiges über die Geschichte der Stiftung [Olaus-Petri] mitzuteilen? Weiter möchte ich mir die Anfrage gestatten, ob es erlaubt ist, meine Frau mitzubringen. Sie ist Enkelin einer Schwedin ... und sieht ziemlich schwedisch aus.'

⁷⁰ In Nov. 1909 GAD wrote: 'Sehr dankbar wäre ich Ihnen für Angabe des besten Reisewegs (wohl über Saßnitz-Trelleborg?) und der Anschlüsse nach Upsala ... Wie ist das Wetter gewöhnlich im März in Upsala.' Letter to Söderblom, 29.11.1909. Five months later he confided: 'Upsala ist mir, nachdem es vorher ein bloßer geographischer und akademischer Begriff war, jetzt eine Realität ...'. Letter to Söderblom, 10.4.1910.

⁷¹ Letter, dated 21.4.1910.

hospital, and also left her weak for some time after. Moreover, Deissmann wrote two letters of gratitude, one to the acting physician Dr. Lindqvist for treating Henriette without charge, and the other to the latter's superior, the director of the Gynaecological Clinic, Prof. Josephsen, to whom he also sent a donation with the revealing instruction: 'zu Besten unbemittelten Wöchnerinnen der Klinik gütigst verwenden zu wollen'.⁷² This act of donating money to needy women who had recently given birth seems almost vicarious, and is consistent with the sensitive empathy the loss of an expected child through miscarriage might produce.

Deissmann had finalised his Uppsala lectures during February 1910 (AK), with the study tour still fresh in his mind, which is why much of his subject matter was structured around it. On the other hand, it should be noted that Söderblom had invited him about half a year before the journey commenced, and consequently it seems fair to surmise that the specified topic would have influenced Deissmann's focus on where he wanted to go on the tour and what he wanted to see.

The original notes for the lectures seem to have been lost, but they were translated into Swedish in May 1910 by Axel Nelson (1880-1962) and produced in book form.⁷³ It was the German text of this Swedish edition that Deissmann revised and expanded before publishing it in his own country a few months later (1911) – dedicated to Adolf Harnack.⁷⁴ Deissmann's diary notes on 17 September 1911 show that he had also made arrangements for Lionel Strachan to translate *Paulus* into English,⁷⁵ and for his former student Jean Rouffiac to translate it into French. However, since the latter was killed in action in 1915 a French version did not eventuate.⁷⁶

Paulus was Deissmann's reaction against the ongoing attempts at defining a dogmatic 'system' of Pauline theology, and at intellectualising and westernising the Apostle.

⁷² Letter, dated 9.5.1910.

⁷³ *Paulus. En kultur- och religionshistorisk skiss. Olaus-Petri-föreläsningar hållna vid Uppsala Universitet*, A. Nelson, transl., Stockholm, 1910.

⁷⁴ Significantly, GAD dedicated the second edition (1925) to his fallen students: 'Dem ehrenden Gedächtnis von einhundertvierundsechzig hoffnungsvollen im Weltkrieg gefallenen Kommilitonen des neutestamentlichen Seminars und Proseminars der Universität Berlin aus dem Jahrzehnt 1908-1918. Οὐκ ἐν πλαξὶν λιθίνοις ἀλλ' ἐν πλαξὶν καρδίας'. On Harnack, see also ch. 1, n. 12.

⁷⁵ *St. Paul, a study in social and religious history*, L.R.M. Strachan, transl., London, 1912.

⁷⁶ When GAD reviewed Rouffiac's own book (see ch. 2, n. 190) he commented: 'Inhaltlich ist diese Erstlings-Arbeit ertragreich und recht geeignet, in die Art der Vorarbeiten zum Wörterbuch des N. T. einzuführen', *TLZ*, 37, 23, 1912, 711.

Neben den zum Abendländer und Scholastiker gemachten Paulus, neben den aristokratisierten, stilisierten und modernisierten Paulus, der in dem papierenen Kerker des ‘Paulinismus’ in seiner achten Gefangenschaft schmachtet, sei denn der Paulus gestellt, den ich in Tarsus, Jerusalem und Damaskus, in Antiochien, Lykaonien, Galatien, Ephesus und Korinth glaube gesehen zu haben ...⁷⁷

Paulus is therefore best understood as an attempt to wrench its subject from his ‘paper prison’ back into the ‘real’ world of his native 1st century Middle East. The book is divided into nine chapters, but the most scholarly contributions are found in the addenda. There, in keeping with his philological style in *Bibelstudien*, Deissmann made a thorough epigraphical re-edition of four previously published Delphic stone fragments.⁷⁸ This fresh analysis allowed him to fix the beginning of Iunius Gallio Annaeanus’ proconsulship of Achaia (see Acts 18:12) to midsummer 51, and extrapolate with fair confidence that after Paul’s arrival at Corinth during the first months of the year 50, he probably left the city in the summer of 51.⁷⁹ The back of the book also has a coloured foldout map of the entire Mediterranean region, entitled ‘Die Welt des Apostels Paulus’. It was designed by Deissmann himself and praised as the most readable and comprehensive map of its time, in respect to Pauline research.⁸⁰ However, Deissmann admitted to Moulton:

... in Deutschland ist das Buch übrigens eigenartig aufgenommen worden: höhnische Ablehnungen sprachen die Einen aus, enthusiastische Zustimmungen die Anderen. Sic et Non! Ich hoffe im Frühling eine Streitschrift zu veröffentlichen, in der ich die Probleme nochmals bespreche.⁸¹

The extent of this polarisation is illustrated in that, on the one hand, some claimed: ‘[Paulus] ist ohne Zweifel eines der anregendsten und interessantesten wissenschaftlichen theologischen Werke, welche die jetzige Theologengeneration hervorgebracht hat’,⁸² while another complained: ‘... dem Verfasser verschwinden [Gegensätze] gänzlich in mystischem Dampf und er tischt ernsthaft solche

⁷⁷ *Paulus*, vi-vii.

⁷⁸ The inscription is photographed in *Paulus* (iv) and discussed, 159-77. GAD gave credit (162-3) to Emile Bourguet for its discovery (1905) and Adolphe J. Reinach (1887-1914) for being the first to connect it with Pauline chronology (1907).

⁷⁹ *Paulus*, 174.

⁸⁰ So the theologian Max Meinertz (1880-1965), *ThRev.*, 3, 1912, 83. In contrast, GAD himself considered the map’s physical size (42 x 84 cm) far too small: *Paulus*, 182.

⁸¹ GAD’s letter, 27.12.1911.

⁸² H. Gebhard, *PBl.*, June 1912, 581.

Ungeheuerlichkeiten auf, wie S. 90 ...'.⁸³ No critic attacked Deissmann more acerbically over *Paulus* than Eduard Schwartz, and this resulted in a tension between the two men that lasted until they met at a conference for the *Notgemeinschaft* in Dresden, in November 1928.⁸⁴

Despite the controversy over the book Deissmann's planned 'Streitschrift' failed to come to fruition and 18 months later, in another letter to Moulton, he explained:

Sehr gern hätte ich schon jetzt der Victoria-Universität mein im letzten Jahr begonnenes Werk „Paulus-Probleme“ gewidmet; ich bin aber noch nicht fertig und hoffe im nächsten Jahre das Buch senden zu können.⁸⁵

The book was well under way, with several chapters already completed, when WWI brought its progress to a standstill and, like his lexicon, it was never finished.⁸⁶

Paulus does not rank as one of Deissmann's best academic works, for – as Schwartz correctly pointed out – it is frequently infused with romantic mysticism rather than academic objectivity.⁸⁷ Deissmann also reasserted his strained distinction between letters and epistles, first presented in *Bibelstudien*, then repeated in *Licht vom Osten*, and vacillated between discrepant social positions for Paul by initially declaring:

... deshalb darf man den Zeltmacher von Tarsus doch nicht zu Origenes, Thomas und Schleiermacher stellen; er gehört zu den Hirten von Thekoa und dem Bandwirker von Müllheim ... Sicher scheint mir da zu sein, daß Paulus von Tarsus ... aus den handarbeitenden unliterarischen Schichten gekommen und auch bei ihnen geblieben ist.⁸⁸

⁸³ E. Schwartz, review of GAD, *Paulus*, in *Sonder-Abdruck aus den Göttingischen gelehrten Anzeigen*, 1911, 661.

⁸⁴ GAD, letter to Schwartz, 7.12.1928. In a private letter to his friend Hans Lietzmann, Gerhard Loeschke wrote: 'Was hältst Du von Schwartz' anzeige von Deißmanns Paulus. Göttingen jubelt. Ich kenne Deißmanns buch nicht, es lockt mich auch nicht, denn ich mag Deißmanns art auch nicht. Trotzdem ist meine begeisterung für Schwartz' anzeige auch nicht groß. Überhaupt: ... ich habe Schwartz immer für gewalttätig gehalten, aber daß aus dieser gewalttätigkeit so viel falsches folgte wie in diesen bemerkungen, hatte ich doch nicht erwartet. Der mann beginnt gefährlich zu werden.' Letter (orthography, *sic*), dated 1.12.1911; in K. Aland, ed., *Glanz und Niedergang der deutschen Universität: 50 Jahre deutscher Wissenschaftsgeschichte in Briefen an und von Hans Lietzmann (1892-1942), mit einer einführenden Darstellung*, Berlin, 1979, 307-8. For *Notgemeinschaft* see ch. 5, n. 37.

⁸⁵ Letter, dated 1.7.1913.

⁸⁶ *Paulus*², 230-1; see Appendix 4, b.

⁸⁷ e.g. 'Mein verewigter Vater hatte Paulus verstanden. als er von dem kölnischen Glasmaler Schmitz in der evangelischen Kirche des oberen Rheingaus zu Erbach, im Weinlande, den Gekreuzigten darstellen ließ unter Verwertung der johanneischen Allegorie vom Weinstock: das Kreuz hat Wurzel geschlagen im Erdreich, zum lebendigen Weinstock geworden ist das tote Marterholz, und unter den ausgebreiteten Heilandsarmen grünen die Wunderreben mit leuchtenden Blättern und schwerer Frucht hernieder zur Abendmahlsgemeinde.' *Paulus*, 120.

⁸⁸ *Paulus*, 3-4, 35.

Yet a little later he visibly struggled with this radical swing from the contemporary view of Paul and made a somewhat lacklustre attempt at redefining his thesis.

Aber ... sein Griechisch [ist] nicht eigentlich vulgär in der Art, die auf vielen gleichzeitigen Papyri zu Worte kommt. Auf Grund der Sprache ist Paulus vielmehr einer gehobenen Schicht zuzuweisen. Es ist ja gewiß überhaupt unendlich schwierig, das Problem der antiken Schichtung zu beantworten; auch bei unserem Versuch, die soziale Schicht des Paulus zu gewinnen, sind wir uns bewußt, nur tastend vorwärts zu kommen.⁸⁹

Having said this, it is essential to remember Deissmann's rationale for the book, for he specifically stated in the preamble that *Paulus* was not intended as anything more than 'eine kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Skizze' apropos Paul, and written to stir fresh debate about the Apostle's social stratum.

[Paulus] ... ist weit mehr Beter und Zeuge, Bekenner und Prophet, als gelehrter Exeget und grübelnder Dogmatiker. Zu zeigen, daß dies so ist, betrachte ich als die Aufgabe dieser Skizze, bei der es sich nicht um eine Vertiefung in die mannigfachen Probleme der äußeren Biographie des Paulus handeln kann, und in der speziell die Besprechung der chronologischen und literarkritischen Fragen ganz zurücktreten muß hinter der Hauptaufgabe der kultur- und religions-historischen Charakteristik.⁹⁰

One might wonder whether *Paulus* was perhaps contrived to silence the accusations in the conservative press against his Berlin appointment that he was 'überhaupt kein Theologe ... und keine Beiträge zum Verständnis des N.T. gegeben habe, sondern bloß zum Missverständnis'.⁹¹ The fact that the book leans so strongly towards conservatism and accepts every Pauline epistle as genuine – with the merest wisp of a doubt for the Pastorals⁹² – could conceivably point that way. Nonetheless, circumstances tip the balance against this hypothesis. For while *Paulus* was published well over two years after his appointment to Berlin, *Licht vom Osten* had come on the market within weeks of the attacks, and although the timing was coincidental (the printing process had begun in October 1907, long before the invitation from Berlin arrived), Wendland's perspicacious observation that this particular work was Deissmann's best defence against such allegations was certainly valid.⁹³

⁸⁹ *Paulus*, 37.

⁹⁰ *Paulus*, 4.

⁹¹ See ch. 1, n. 122.

⁹² *Paulus*, 10-11.

⁹³ See ch. 2, n. 128.

Even before the turn of the century Deissmann had argued against the common trend of transforming Paul into an intangible theological construct – ‘eine der Wirklichkeit entrückte Heiligengestalt’ – and opposed the notion that the Apostle was subject to a formal eschatological or theological system.⁹⁴ Now that he had been introduced to life in the Orient, however, and gained numerous experiences from most locations germane to Pauline research, he was able to support this longstanding hypothesis with a good measure of empirical knowledge.

Deissmann was thoroughly conversant with the extensive literature relating to the Apostle Paul, yet for the purpose of his book steered intentionally away from engaging with it, lest the ‘Charakter des Ganzen als einer “Skizze” aufgegeben wäre’.⁹⁵ He would hardly make such a decision – which could quickly be interpreted as plain ignorance – had he intended to prove his ‘theological merit’ through *Paulus*. Rather, he was attracted to Paul’s humanity ever since ἐν Χριστῷ, and had already there cautioned that ‘Paulus ... nun einmal kein Systematiker ist’.⁹⁶ Later, at Herborn, while teaching on the Apostle’s prison letters, it was Deissmann who developed the now commonly accepted hypothesis that Paul had been incarcerated at Ephesus.⁹⁷ It is, therefore, improbable that *Paulus* came about because of the author’s need for professional self-justification at Berlin. Instead, the first edition, which was not in German but Swedish, was published in accordance with his usual practice of publishing his international lecture series in book form.⁹⁸

4.4. Conclusion

Deissmann’s two extensive study tours to the Middle East undoubtedly changed the way he was thinking, and formed a watershed in both his academic and personal life.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ See GAD’s review of G. Stosch, *St. Paulus, der Apostel*, in *TLZ*, 3, 1896, 87. Also E. Teichmann, ‘Die paulinische Vorstellungen von Auferstehung und Gericht’, *TLZ*, 1, 1898, 14.

⁹⁵ *Paulus*, v, viii.

⁹⁶ *En Chr.*, 93.

⁹⁷ GAD, ‘Zur ephesinischen Gefangenschaft’, 122. See also Pilhofer, 7. He also defended it as his own hypothesis in *LvO*², 171 n. 1: ‘Ich verdanke diese Hypothese übrigens nicht, wie ein Rezensent gemeint hat, dem Buche von H. Lisco *Vincula Sanctorum*, Berlin 1900, sondern habe sie bereits 1897 im Herborner Seminar den Kandidaten vorgetragen.’

⁹⁸ e.g. *Philology* (Cambridge, 1907); *Selly Oak Lectures* (Selly Oak, 1923); *Haskell Lectures* (Oberlin, 1929).

⁹⁹ *SD*, 24.

Thus, while his earlier ‘Studiertisch Beobachtungen’ had enabled him to produce *Bibelstudien*, *Neue Bibelstudien* and the *Septuaginta-Papyri*, it was difficult for him to find his ‘historical bearings’ until he was able ‘to see things as a concrete image in space’.¹⁰⁰ He had worked for fifteen years on the topic of the NT’s linguistic history without the benefit of local on-site knowledge. So, when the opportunity presented itself to rectify this he considered it ‘eine überaus wichtige Sache’, but why was this so important to him? Study tours (as distinct from explorations) were still a highly unorthodox means of expanding a theologian’s learning. Two motives can be identified which drove him to expose himself willingly to the physical dangers inherent in those two journeys: his pioneering spirit, fuelled by his romantic attachment to the ‘world of the NT’, and his intellectual need to break loose from the confines of his study to the archaeological and cultural *realia* of the regions on which his academic work was focused. While the first journey resulted in Deissmann’s *magnum opus* (*Licht von Osten*) the second engendered the much lighter *Paulus*, which, however, was written as a ‘Skizze’ – not a biography – to bring into question the growing fixation ‘an dem »Theologen« Paulus und an der »Theologie« des Paulus’.¹⁰¹ The controversy that ensued over this book’s premises indicates that this objective was achieved. Notably, it was the 1906 and 1909 study tours that first introduced him to the significance of the archaeological work at Ephesus and stirred his interest in this site. Some two decades later, when it had fallen into danger of being permanently lost to posterity, it was Deissmann who made possible the salvaging of the ancient city. The following chapter will reveal not only how this came about, but also the long-term ramifications of his energetic actions on behalf of Ephesus.

¹⁰⁰ *ET*, 25, 11, 1914, 487.

¹⁰¹ ‘Paulus ist seinem Wesen nach in erster Linie ein Heros der Frömmigkeit. Das Theologische ist das Sekundäre. Das Naive ist bei ihm stärker als das Reflektierte, das Mystische stärker als das Dogmatische; Christus bedeutet ihm mehr als die Christologie, Gott mehr als die Lehre von Gott.’ *Paulus*, 4.