

Gustaf Adolf Deissmann (1866-1937): trailblazer in biblical studies, in the archaeology of Ephesus, and in international reconciliation

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Abstract: Whether in philology, lexicography, archaeology, or international reconciliation, the German theologian Gustav Adolf Deissmann was an intellectual force to be reckoned with. As New Testament Professor at Heidelberg (1897-1908) – where he produced most of his Greek linguistic works – he became the ‘Father of New Testament Philology’ and was the first one to prove the Greek Bible’s vernacular Koine, by comparing its language with that in the papyri and inscriptions. He is best known for his most frequently quoted book *Light from the Ancient East*. As New Testament Professor at Berlin (1908-35), he produced the internationally influential semi-political communiqués *Protestant Weekly Letter* (1914-17) and *Evangelischer Wochenbrief* (1914-21), which indirectly led to his successful rescue operation for the then rapidly vanishing ancient city of Ephesus, and also helped to establish him as a leading member of the post WW1 ecumenical and international reconciliation movement. Deissmann was the recipient of eight honorary doctorates – Marburg, Aberdeen, St Andrews, Manchester, Wooster, Oxford, Uppsala and Athens – and was twice nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Biographical background

The name Adolf Deissmann scarcely registers recognition in his native Germany today; how much less so in other parts of the world. This regrettable obscurity is mainly due to the absence of any scholarly evaluation of the life and works of this once internationally acclaimed and versatile intellectual – a major shortcoming in the history of scholarship that is beginning to be redressed only now. His international eminence may be gauged in part from the award of eight honorary doctorates from universities in Germany, Scotland, England, USA, Sweden and Greece; and in both 1929 and 1930 he was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

The son of a liberal protestant pastor, Gustav Adolf Deissmann (figure 1) was born on 7 November 1866, in Langenscheid, a small village in the German state of Hessen. On his father’s insistence, he studied theology and was educated at Tübingen, Berlin, Herborn and finally Marburg, where in 1891 he habilitated with a philological dissertation entitled *Die neutestamentliche Formel ‘In Christo Jesu’ untersucht* (The New Testament formula “in Christ Jesus” examined). Following a brief stint as *Privatdozent* (lecturer), he worked for two and half years as *Pfarrer* (minister/pastor) for provincial Herborn and its surrounding farming districts, while concurrently teaching at the local Theological Seminary. In 1897 he became Professor of New Testament at the University of Heidelberg, and there taught for eleven years, before accepting a similar position at Berlin, where he remained until his retirement in 1935, two years before his death. Deissmann married Henriette



Figure 1: Gustav Adolf Deissmann (Photo held privately).

Elisabeth Behn (1873-1955) on 18 April 1897 (figure 2), a union that resulted in five children, of whom Dr. Phil. Gerhard Deissmann (Bremen), who celebrated his 94th birthday in May 2005, is the sole surviving member.

Trailblazer in biblical studies

Before 1895, when Deissmann published his groundbreaking book, *Bibelstudien* (Bible Studies), the language of the New Testament was routinely isolated from classical Greek literature, as ‘biblical’, ‘Jewish’, ‘Christian’, ‘Hebraistic’, or even ‘Holy Ghost’ Greek, and was widely but erroneously believed to be heavily indebted to the Jewish translation of the Old Testament into Greek, commonly known as ‘Septuagint’.

It would, of course, be very wrong to think that Deissmann was some lone voice amidst a world of opposing scholars. Throughout the 19th century academic consensus – particularly amongst philologists, socio-linguistic historians and theologians – had slowly been shifting away from these misguided linguistic isolation theories. But despite the growing international awareness that things were not what they seemed with the language of the New Testament, no one had thus far been able to come up with a tangible methodology that could systematically demonstrate how this language really was to be understood.

No one, that is, until Deissmann produced his *Bibelstudien*. It is the first of three interconnected volumes on the linguistic history of the Greek New Testament and the principal work that began to change all this. It was quickly followed by *Neue Bibelstudien* (both appeared in English later as a single-volume, entitled *Bible Studies*) and finally, in 1908, by *Licht vom Osten* (English version: *Light from the Ancient East*). Despite spanning more than a decade, the author wrote them intentionally as a triad on Hellenistic Greek as it relates to the New Testament, and the three works are best understood under the banners of Discovery, Consolidation and Popularisation.

Unless one reads the lengthy subtitles of both *Bibelstudien* books carefully, their popular names are very misleading, for they are anything but Bible studies *per se*. Instead they present a revolutionary and philologically technical exposition on the Greek of the New Testament, based not on sacred literature, but on scraps of ancient non-literary texts preserved on papyri and inscriptions. With this unorthodox approach, Deissmann had discovered and developed an innovative and highly effective philological methodology through which he compared the language of these common writings with that of the New Testament. The British grammarian James Hope Moulton (1863-1917) expressed it this way:

Deissmann is the first to seize upon the new material ... and [to] use it in a way which gives us a wholly new and indispensable tool for the study of the Greek Bible ... But the use of the papyri is the most characteristic feature of [Bibelstudien].¹



Figure 2: Henriette Elizabeth Behn (Photo held privately).

Bibelstudien entails learned philological commentaries of 75 Greek words, idioms and phrases in the Septuagint, most of which also occur in the New Testament, but were universally considered as exclusively ‘biblical’. The author, however, demonstrates from the newly found sources that each of these examples had been in common use at the time of their writing. His work was not restricted to papyri, but also included various inscriptions and ostraca.

When *Neue Bibelstudien* was published two years later, it strongly consolidated his original thesis, by demonstrating that his first book had merely drawn attention to the tip of a linguistic iceberg. For he added more than 90 fresh case studies of Greek words, which classical scholars still categorized as ‘biblical’ or ‘Hebraistic’ peculiarities.

Deissmann’s best-known and masterly book *Licht vom Osten* completes the triad. Much wider in scope, it expands still further on the two earlier but far more technical works. His writing style is no longer esoteric, but glows with passionate enthusiasm; all foreign texts or words are translated and the book also features 58 high-quality and fully explained photographic reproductions of various texts on papyri, inscriptions and ostraka. Some of these latter ended up in Sydney just five months before Deissmann’s death. In early November 1936 the Nicholson Museum was able to finalize the purchase of 87 ostraca from Deissmann’s private collection (Deissmann-Angus Collection),² which:

... formed part of the material upon which he based his investigations into the nature of the Greek

of the New Testament and he included much of it in his great work entitled Light from the Ancient East. (Lawler 1997: M.420,1-3)

These three books ought to be much better appreciated. For it is through them that the language of the New Testament was finally able to be put into its rightful historical setting and begun to be understood correctly (Horsley 1989:5-40).

Revolutionary New Testament Lexicon

Deissmann's exceptional philological insight caused him deep frustration with the fundamentally flawed methodology all then available New Testament lexicons were based on. Lee recently described this situation in an outstanding survey (2003). One elementary problem was the common practice of trawling words *en bloc* from predominantly classical literature, which resulted in a sharply lopsided picture of the socio-linguistic reality of ancient Christianity. Compounding this methodological defect was an across-the-board intentionally calculated deficiency in school lexicons of basic 'expected-to-be known' words! Instead, their focus was first and foremost on the vocabularies of the more obscure classical writers, which created an ingrained presumptive knowledge base that underpinned Greek scholars, particularly theologians. But there was yet another obstacle for them: Hermann Cremer's *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der neutestamentlichen Gräzität*, first published in 1866 and so popular that the author had revised it ten times by the time he died in 1903. An English translation appeared in 1878, entitled: 'Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek'. Its success was largely due to the Greek definitions being rendered into German, instead of the then-customary Latin, but also because of Cremer's underlying belief that the 'unique' language of the New Testament, and *ipso facto* early Christianity, had self-generated through divine empowerment.

It is amidst an overwhelming environment of such erroneous linguistic presumptions that Deissmann began his push for a more accurate and scientific New Testament lexicon. The first time when he specifically states that he was planning to compile one is in his foreword to *Neue Bibelstudien*, when he was not yet 31 years old. A few weeks after its publication he presented a paper on this topic at a theological conference in Giessen in 1897, where he boldly argued that:

*the next big task is to create a new lexicon for the New Testament ... As excellent, generally speaking, as Wilibald Grimm's revision of Wilken's [lexicon] was ... and as much as Cremer's lexicon has gained ascendancy over the years, both works – not to speak of all the others – are today no longer adequately serving their purpose.*³

Deissmann planned his lexicon to be fully comprehensive and squarely based on his groundbreaking philological methodology. Although it was meant to be a New

Testament tool, its makeup was to be radically different to any of its predecessors. For he intentionally 'secularised' – that is, put in its historical Greek context – the 'sacred' language of the New Testament, by presenting compelling parallels from contemporary Greek vernacular.

Deissmann's mounting sense of urgency was certainly justified, but he was also beginning to feel frustrated with the State Ministry. He had long ago proven that his innovative lexicographical work would set the study of New Testament Greek on a new level of understanding; yet he received scant governmental cooperation. He was also conscious of the large network of helpful volunteers who assisted with the collection and evaluation of useful material. Moreover, scholars on both sides of the North Sea were eagerly expecting the long-promised lexicon, and many influential academics had made highly optimistic references to it in print. The value Deissmann himself laid on this lexicon can be gauged by his willingness to exchange his prestigious professorial position with pastoring in a small town, to gain more time for his work. With two primary school children and a seven months old baby to support, this was clearly no hasty decision.

Deissmann used to keep all his lexical work in a number of lockable boxes, but this was far more than a mere compilation of dictionary illustrations. They contained, in fact, the loose-leaved makings of a radically new lexicographical manuscript that drew heavily on the then-recently discovered masses of papyrological and inscriptional non-literary and non-sacred Greek texts. His own faculty members in Heidelberg were quite familiar with his unique project, and as early as November 1907 wrote a petition to the State Ministry in Baden, in which they showed their unanimous confidence that Deissmann's lexicon could soon be ready for publication, if the author were given better (governmental) support.

Deissmann clearly expected this lexicon to become his *opus vitae*. Yet despite his tireless efforts, he increasingly came to realise that, as long as he remained in his present position as Professor of Theology, the lexicon would take impossibly long to complete and if he wanted to succeed, he would have to make some major changes. Nevertheless, his perspicacious proposal at Heidelberg to set up the world's first chair for New Testament Philology was rejected by the State Government in 1907, resulting in a flurry of activities at the University, whose Senate wrote to the Ministry that they feared:

*[we] could lose such an indubitably outstanding force as Deissmann, who is not able in the long run to remain in his present oppressed position, but is even now considering to take up a pastorate in some lower paid place, so that he may find the necessary spare time to complete his lifework.*⁴

Despite the Senate's entreaty, the Ministry reacted with thinly disguised disinclination and, in effect, became instrumental in bringing about an end to Deissmann's very

productive Heidelberg career. For it was at about that time that he received an invitation from the aged Berlin theology professor, Bernhard Weiss (1827-1918), to come and meet him, on the pretext of some book dedication. Once there, however, Deissmann was enticed with many alluring promises, including the perhaps decisive one, of which he wrote to his Swedish friend, Nathan Söderblom (1866-1931) ‘... that my own lexicon would be strongly fostered here in Berlin and [I] hope that in the not too distant future, the printing can begin.’⁵ Indeed, the Prussian Ministry showed its eagerness to have Deissmann in Berlin, in that they more than doubled his Heidelberg salary. For while he had thus far grossed 7,100 marks, the ‘Mother of all Universities’ assured him the princely sum of 16,200! It seemed to be an exceptional opportunity in every way, and four months later the Deissmanns had made their move to Berlin.

Although the lexicon was paramount to Deissmann, it failed to come to fruition; for besides unexpected work pressures, the looming First World War was about to change the course of his life completely. This is not to say that his lexicographical interests came to an end, or that his pioneering work did not leave its mark on classical scholarship. For he had closely collaborated with Moulton and with the latter’s co-editor and later successor, George Milligan (1860-1934), by exchanging technical information and providing copious assistance. Indeed, their well-known work *The vocabulary of the Greek Testament, illustrated from the papyri and other non-literary sources* (London, 1914-29) is indebted in no small degree to Deissmann’s ever-ready input. Nevertheless, after having concerned himself over the course of his life for nearly five decades with the language of the Greek Bible, the obvious question arises as to what became of his priceless collection of lexicographical data.

After Deissmann’s sudden death of a heart embolism on 5th April 1937, his wife, Henriette, continued to live in their home in Wünsdorf, 40 km south of Berlin. The lexicon boxes were still there and had remained untouched in his study until April 1945. During that month, a Russian pincer attack on Berlin took control of the entire Wünsdorf region, from where they later commanded the Soviet occupied zone of Berlin. For one of their administrative headquarters, they requisitioned the Deissmann residence – and the boxes, along with most other private possessions fell victim to ignorance and war and perished forever.

During his lifetime, theologians and philologists alike have saluted Deissmann as a man who, through his innovative approach to the language of the Greek Bible, has made possible significant advances for the scholarly understanding of early Christianity within the context of the wider ancient world. Unfortunately, very few people recognize him today as the philological pioneer he really was, and that it was his innovative method of comparing ancient non-literary textual fragments with the Greek of the New Testament that has made all this possible.

Notwithstanding the thwarting of his attempt at Heidelberg to establish a formal branch for this new science, and the fact that some classical philologists had also worked in this field, scholars such as Friedrich Blass (1843-1907), Albrecht Dieterich (1866-1908), Eduard Schwartz (1858-1940), or Johann Theodor Paul Wendland (1864-1915), yet none of these accomplished philologists provided a solid framework for NT philological study. Adolf Deissmann was clearly the ‘founding father’ of modern New Testament Philology. To my knowledge, only one person has ever held a post with that title: Dr. Lars Rydbeck, Dozent in New Testament Philology at the University of Lund in Sweden.

Rescuer of ancient Ephesus

Towards the end of 1905 Deissmann heard that his colleague at Heidelberg, the archaeologist Friedrich von Duhn (1851-1930), was going to lead a small group of men on a study tour to Greece and the Middle East. The entire venture was to be subsidized by the State of Baden, but restricted to classical philologists. However, both Deissmann and von Duhn were members of the same exclusive intellectual club, named ‘Eranos’ (founded in 1903 by Deissmann and the Professor of Classical Philology, Albrecht Dieterich); it is at one of its monthly meetings that Deissmann asked the tour organizer to allow him to join the tour. When von Duhn agreed, Deissmann immediately sought written permission from the State Ministry, which, despite initial reluctance, consented and even financed a third of his total cost. The fact that Deissmann had published the well-received first volume of the Heidelberg Papyri only a few months earlier had almost certainly helped in their decision.

Prior to 1906 Deissmann’s studies and lectures were primarily based on written sources, and he had long felt disadvantaged by his lack of first-hand experience of the region or people whose language and social history he was researching. Now, however, he seized the opportunity to round out his intellectual knowledge with this comprehensively planned educational journey. For while contemporary theologians centred their cultural studies in an overly narrow manner on Palestine and Syria, Deissmann contended that the historical background of early Christianity ‘is the antique world *in its widest sense*’⁶ – a world that must be experienced from within to be accurately comprehended. This made him (not without opposition) into an early advocate of what Peter Pilhofer almost a century later terms ‘*lokalgeschichtliche Methode*’ (Pilhofer 2002:8-9, 44-45).

It was this philological 66-day study tour, followed by a similar but more theologically-oriented one in 1909 – this time organised and led by Deissmann himself – that laid the foundation for his contribution to archaeology during the latter years of his life. Yet until now very little was known of these two seminal journeys, neither has anyone made the obvious connection between them and

the significant role Deissmann later played in the revival of archaeological work at Ephesus, one of the world's most celebrated ancient sites. For it was in 1906 that he was first introduced to some of the most distinguished archaeological teams of his time at work, representing countries such as Austria, Britain, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Rumania and Turkey. During these two months, he also befriended many of their internationally recognised leaders: men like Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Arthur John Evans, Rudolf Heberdey, Maurice Holleaux, Georg Karo, Joseph Keil, Theodor Wiegand, Ulrich Wilcken or Georgios Zolotas.

The journey was scheduled to begin on Friday 30 March 1906, but before departing he wrote three brief yet

emotionally charged farewell messages, one to his wife, a shorter one to his mother, brothers and sisters, and another to his (then) only son. His misgivings were not unfounded; for besides the prospects of wild dogs, robberies and various transportation hazards, they planned to travel through parts of the tottering and increasingly volatile Ottoman Empire. There was also the constant danger of catching malaria or some other serious disease – only a few months earlier the young Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Corinth (1893-1905), Theodore Woolsey Heermance had contracted typhoid fever and died, aged 33.

Von Duhn had arranged that their first educational stop be at Vienna. Deissmann himself had visited the Austrian capital (apparently for the first time), in March 1904 and

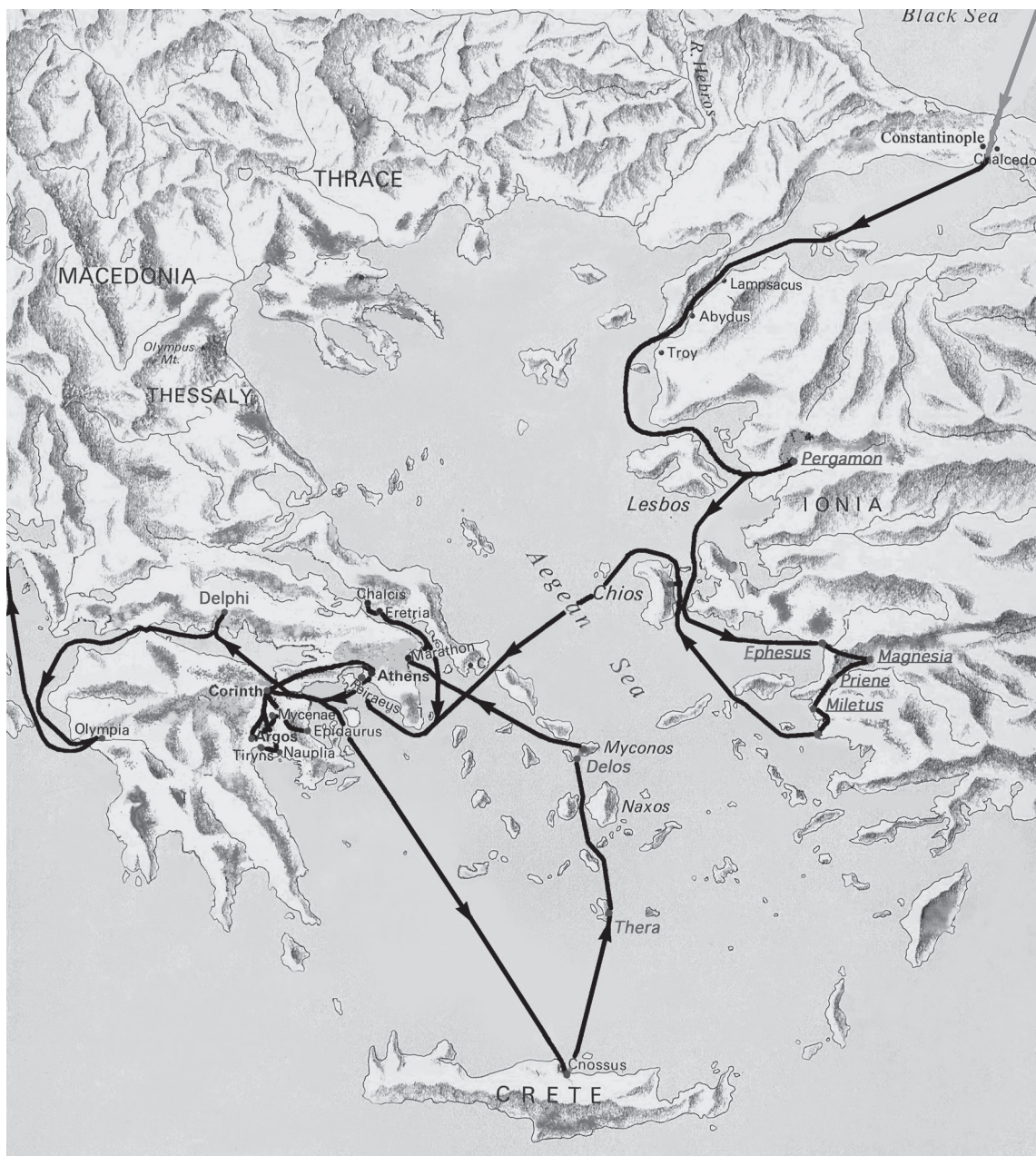


Figure 3: Map of Deissmann's 1906 journey (Based on Bury & Meiggs 1900:579).

was familiar with the remarkable work done at Ephesus by its Archaeological Institute (ÖAI). Now, however, in preparation for their imminent field studies, they spent two days at the newly opened Lower Belvedere exhibition, as well as the Theseus Temple in the public gardens, both dedicated to outstanding archaeological discoveries from Ephesus. It is possible to trace the itinerary and many details of what occurred on the trip from Deissmann's unpublished office diaries (see acknowledgements).

The journey resumed on Tuesday morning by 'Orient Express', travelling via Budapest and Bucharest to the Black Sea port Constanza, where they embarked on the steamer 'Romania' for a twenty-hour sea voyage south to Constantinople. There the men were welcomed by Theodor Wiegand (1864-1936), an old high school friend of Deissmann. The two had not seen each other for 21 years, but the uncommonly energetic Wiegand had since become Director both of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) in Constantinople, and of the Berlin Museums' antiquities division. Wiegand was a consummate and high profile archaeological campaigner, with an impressive record that included the successful excavation of Priene and Miletus with its surrounding region. His new project in 1906 was Didyma. That evening, however, he invited Deissmann to his home, where they renewed their friendship, and the following year the former became godfather to Deissmann's third child, Liselotte, who later married Wiegand's son Werner in 1928.

After five days in Constantinople, the men sailed southwest, through the Dardanelles and into the Aegean Sea. However, the group was now augmented by two well-known personalities: the one was Theodor Wiegand, who joined this relatively short leg of the tour to introduce the scholars to the physical fieldwork Germany was doing along the coastal regions of Turkey; and the other was the Director of the DAI at Athens, Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1853-1940), who was to act as their expert guide until Athens.

Dörpfeld was both a successful architect as well as an archaeologist of international repute, who was widely known for his work at Olympia (1877-81); and because his excavations played a substantial role in the revival of the Olympic Games in 1896, he had also been a guest of honour there. Towards the close of the Olympia project in 1881, Heinrich Schliemann (1822-90) had invited him to join his controversial venture at Troy. They became a successful team until the latter's death nine years later, after which Dörpfeld continued to direct the project for another four years. He was a leading and enthusiastic authority on Homer, which, together with his rhetorical finesse and wide archaeological experience, made him a captivating speaker who had, therefore, already given countless educational tours for celebrities, including King George I of Greece.

Under the guidance of these two very experienced men, von Duhn's party visited most of the better-known classical archaeological sites in western Anatolia. Beginning with

Pergamon, Dörpfeld showed them how the friezes of its great altar were rescued by being cut into 2-3 ton slabs and carefully packaged, before teams of oxen dragged them on rough wooden sledges down to the sea, for shipment to Berlin. There the entire altar would be reconstructed, and to this day has an overwhelming effect on anyone who visits the magnificent Pergamon Museum.

It was two days later, on 15 April 1906, when Deissmann set eyes on the vast remains of Ephesus for the first time. Their guide was Joseph Keil (1878-1963), a Czech-born archaeologist who, as Secretary of the ÖAI, had been working in Ephesus since 1904. Deissmann and Keil had apparently never met before, but this day proved the beginning of a lifelong friendship. Under Keil's knowledgeable direction, the sprawling site of this once 'first and greatest Metropolis of Asia' made a deep impact on Deissmann, as he relates some years later:

I gladly confess ... that 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.⁷

Even though they were able to spend less than a day amongst these ruins, Deissmann's brief visit, reinforced by another in 1909, was to have far-reaching consequences, as we shall see later.

It was a short trip inland from Ephesus to the remains of Magnesia on the Meander, but here they could still see traditional reed-huts similar to those Herodotus described (5.101), before spending the night in nearby Söke. Early in the morning they mounted horses and made their way along a rough 15 km track to the ruined Hellenic town of Priene, where Wiegand explained the various stages of his ongoing excavations. That afternoon they saddled up again, intending to ride to Miletus – an additional and arduous 22 km – but the path led right through the mosquito-infested swamps of the Meander and they promptly lost their way. It was well after sunset when they reached their intended destination, but since Wiegand's 70 labourers had already deserted the place for the night, there was little choice but to press on into the dark for yet another 7 km on horseback, before finally arriving at their quarters in the region's oldest town, Akköy – utterly saddle-sore and exhausted. Nonetheless, since it had been too dark to see anything of Miletus, Deissmann wanted to return to it after daybreak. Wiegand was only too ready to show him 'his' highly successful diggings on which he had been working for the past 6 1/2 years. Later that day, however, the tired scholars were yet again sitting on their horses for the 20 km ride south along the ancient stone-paved Sacred Road that once linked Miletus with its cult-centre Didyma (not shown on the map). That night they slept somewhat uneasily in a house where bandits had only days before broken in and murdered a Greek occupant.

The following day they set out to sea on a steamer, crossing over to Athens via Chios and arrived coincidentally just as the Intermediary Olympic Games came to a close. During their three weeks' stay at the 'classics capital', von Duhn and Dörpfeld presented archaeology and history lectures almost daily, as well as conducting regular educational tours, while several other notable specialists presented topical sessions. The papyrologist Ulrich Wilcken (1862-1944), for instance, who happened to be in Athens at the time and of whom Deissmann wrote that he reads Greek texts scrawled on ostraca like other people read postcards, elucidated a number of inscriptions; or Georg Karo (1872-1963), Dörpfeld's Assistant Director at the DAI in Athens, who spoke on Delphi. Rudolf Heberdey (1864-1936), the Austrian archaeologist and regular leader of the excavations at Ephesus since 1896, was there too, and gave some practical field talks at Athena Nike's temple on the western tip of the Acropolis, since he had succeeded in the previous two years in reconstructing its fragmented gables and balustrade.

At the conclusion of their introduction to archaeology in Athens they moved on to Corinth, from where the tour focus shifted to archaeological locations connected with Bronze Age Minoan or Mycenaean civilizations. It began on Sunday 13 May with a short trip to the historic seaport Nauplia, on the Argolic Gulf, from where they proceeded 4 km north to the remains of Tiryns' Mycenaean citadel, with its massive walls, revealing monuments and Minoan frescoes, which Schliemann and Dörpfeld had brought to light some two decades earlier. The next morning they drove to ancient Greece's most illustrious healing centre: Epidaurus on the Saronic Gulf, sanctuary of Asklepios. Excavations on its finely preserved and acoustically superb 14 000 seat amphitheatre had originally begun in 1884, but work was still taking place on it in 1906. Here they also visited the new archaeological museum and studied local inscriptions.

Thirty-five km west of Epidaurus lay Argos, where the tour headed on Tuesday, before visiting nearby Mycenae by following some distance along the remains of a Late Bronze Age road. They took time to explore this silent citadel with its ruined walls and tholos tombs, before leaving the Peloponnese on the steamer 'Thessalia' for an overnight passage to Crete. There they stayed for two days and studied some of the island's Minoan sites, including the maze-like five acres of palace ruins at Knossos, which Arthur John Evans (1851-1941) had almost completely excavated less than three years before.

From Crete the group steamed north to Thera, the southernmost island of the Cyclades, where a German team had recently completed their excavations of the city that gave the island its name. Leaving this volcanic place, they sailed still further north to Delos. Some important remains of a Cretan/Mycenaean settlement had been discovered here, but the French archaeologist Maurice Holleaux (1861-1932) was in the process of excavating the city's

Hellenic parts with its amazing third/second century BC mosaics and multi-storied houses. He gave the Germans a guided tour and explained various inscriptions amongst the rubble, including one that Deissmann had discussed eleven years earlier in his *Bibelstudien*. A photo included in *Light from the Ancient East* (61) shows Deissmann, Holleaux, et al., examining parts of the inscription, *Licht vom Osten* includes the photo but lacks identifying details of the people in the picture.

They spent the night on the nearby island of Mykonos, then sailed northwest to the bay of Marathon, stopped briefly at Eretria, and visited one of Greece's oldest Jewish synagogues in nearby Chalkis, before returning to the Piraeus and docking for the night.

The following day they were again on board a vessel, manoeuvring through the precipitously steep-walled (up to 79 m.) new canal into the Corinthian Gulf, and steering for Itéa. After disembarking, their road led through sprawling olive groves and wound its way up to Delphi, where they stayed two full days and Deissmann took some time to study the inscriptions on the polygonal buttress of the Apollo temple, which related to the sacral manumission of slaves.

Their last cruise within Greek territory bent around the top of the Peloponnese and to Olympia, where the French had first begun to excavate in 1829, but were succeeded by German archaeologists 45 years later. Deissmann and his colleagues spent two full days among the widely scattered ruins and inscriptions of this once foremost sanctuary, where in 776 BC the first Olympic Games were held. Here they also examined the remains of the great Doric temple that once housed a colossal 12 m. high statue of Zeus enthroned, created by Phidias and revered in antiquity as one of the seven wonders of the world, although little has survived of the sculpture itself. It would also not have escaped the scholars that the local museum was designed and built by their countryman, the architect Friedrich Adler (1827-1908), whose daughter Anne had married one of his students – none other than Wilhelm Dörpfeld.

Their study tour came to an end with a northerly course through the Ionian Sea, via Corfu, Brindisi, Taranto and Pompeii, which they had time to visit for a day and a half, before embarking on the Steamer 'Königin Luise' and sailing to Genoa, from where they took the train home to Heidelberg.

At that time nobody could possibly have foreseen that this journey designed for classical philologists would bear fruit two decades later, when one of its members – and a theologian at that – was galvanized to set in motion the complex rescue of a rapidly vanishing Ephesus.

Since Deissmann first set eyes on Ephesus' ruin-scattered landscape, he became increasingly convinced about its unique historical significance, especially in respect to early Christianity. Within a year of visiting the site for the second time in 1909, he was preparing eight lectures



Figure 4: Ephesus: Theatre at the foot of Panayır Dağ, with the modern town of Selçuk in the far distance. The square area near the theatre is the lower (market) agora; the square area near the right edge of the photo is the upper (civic) agora. The road leading from the Theatre to the left of the photo takes the ancient visitor to the harbour (photographer, date and source unknown).

on the Apostle Paul for the University of Uppsala, in which, spread throughout his text, he mentions Ephesus some 28 times. To give just one example: ‘... huge ruins of the great cities of Paul’s world [have] been brought to light again through the excavations in Asia Minor and Greece – especially impressive [is] the uncovering of Ephesus by British and Austrian investigators ...’ (1912:44). However, the First World War and ensuing collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire brought an abrupt end to this undertaking, and the only exception occurred during the short Greek occupation of western Asia Minor, when in 1921-22 an Athenian archaeological team under Georgios A. Sotiriou (1880-1965) was able to excavate part of the sixth-century basilica of St. John. Yet despite Deissmann’s fears regarding Ephesus’ bleak post-war fate, he was unable to do anything about it in view of the economic chaos in Germany that gave him a salary of 90 billion Marks, while the wages of a printer’s assistant hovered around 900 million a week! Although Deissmann had long made it a point to draw the attention of his students to Ephesus’ plight, it was not until spring 1925, when he was able to begin a resolute promotional campaign in which he targeted prospective sponsors in Europe and the United States.

At that time, Deissmann also contacted Keil with his idea; for despite the long interruptions of the war years, the ÖAI was still the only body licensed by the Turkish authorities to undertake diggings at Ephesus. Deissmann proposed, therefore, that they draw up a joint plan to recommence archaeological work in autumn 1926, for which he would

raise the necessary finance, while Keil would organise a professional team.

During the latter part of 1925, Keil had been employed by the ‘American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor’ to make a surface survey of Cilicia, from where he was also able to make his first brief inspection of Ephesus since 1913, which enabled him to send Deissmann an up-to-date report on its condition.

The site turned out to be in far greater jeopardy than they had presumed. Before the mid-1980s, when the Turkish government raised the road level between the ancient city and the Kaystros river, the ruins were subject to annual flooding, which scoured and inundated many vulnerable structures, reburying them meters-deep under enormous amounts of silt and detritus. Rampant vegetation covered everything else and did much damage to sensitive masonry, which, in turn, was severely compounded by the local residents’ habit of clearing the shrubbery by burning off. Two earthquakes had also occurred in western Anatolia during recent years: one in November 1919, the other in November 1924 – further serious structural damage could only be a matter of time. But perhaps the most pressing problem was the imminent threat of wholesale plundering.

Between December 1914 and November 1921 Deissmann produced a unique weekly paper, named *Evangelischer Wochenbrief*, of which, until 1917, an English edition, the *Protestant Weekly Letter*, was mailed to a thoughtfully

selected readership in America. One flow-on effect of these semi-political communiqués was a growing international circle of highly influential personal friends, such as Tomás Garrigue Masaryk (1850-1937), Founder and first President of Czechoslovakia, or Charles Henry Brent (1862-1929), Bishop of New York State West, who was also on the board of trustees for the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund in New York. It was through Brent that Deissmann was able to negotiate a sizeable financial donation from John Davison Rockefeller Jr (1874-1960), son of the then wealthiest man on Earth. In Germany itself Deissmann also lobbied governmental bodies successfully, and obtained the support from the Ministry for Internal Affairs, the Emergency Fund for German Scholarship⁸ and the Foreign Office.

Deissmann thus succeeded on his own accord to organise the required funding for the recommencement of archaeological work at Ephesus. Yet concern was raised within Germany that, as a theologian, he simply made use of his international connections to seek subjective archaeological authentication for the Christian cause.

Nevertheless, such allegations could only cast aspersions on the academic integrity of the ÖAI, which is why Keil was stung to remark in a private letter:

*'I wonder why they keep writing to me from abroad as if [Deissmann's] interests were purely fixed on Ephesus' Christian monuments and he intended to keep us from the antique ones, etc. It almost appears as if someone has deliberately sparked such rumours, which really run completely contrary to the truth. As far as I'm concerned, Deissmann has taken an entirely different standpoint right from the beginning....'*⁹

The first fully organized Austrian excavation team to return to Ephesus since 1913 arrived at the beginning of September 1926. Besides Josef Keil as leader, it consisted of the two Austrians Max Theuer (1878-1949) and Franz Miltner (1901-59), as well as the Turk Ahmet Aziz Ogan (1888-1956).

Keil's task of organizing an effective work party had turned out more difficult than expected and he felt compelled to write to the well-connected Wiegand for advice. In his letter he confided that his greatest misgiving for a successful undertaking was the Institute's lack of archaeologically experienced architects, since the Ephesus veteran Wilhelm Wilberg was now too old for this work. Thus far, Theuer had plainly not yet become a serious contender in Keil's mind, since more than four months later he writes in another letter to Wiegand that Hans Hörmann, his most recent prospect, appeared to be unavailable on personal grounds. Even though the latter eventually joined the team in 1927, in the end it was Theuer who was selected for the 1926 season.

Miltner was barely 25 years old, but had already shown himself a promising archaeologist with his local work

at the amphitheatre of the once-notable Roman city Petronell-Carnuntum, some 40 km east of Vienna. In 1925 he had also accompanied Keil to Cilicia (see above) for inscriptional work. As it turned out, he proved to be an excellent choice for Ephesus, since he became an integral part of every campaign there until 1931 and again later, from 1954 to his untimely death in 1959.

Aziz, on the other hand, was there as a result of negotiations between the Turkish government and the Austrian *Chargé d'Affaires* August Kral. For as late as May the widespread political uncertainties, particularly with regard to Italy's expansionist Prime Minister Benito Mussolini, had compelled Turkey to call a halt on all archaeological work or travel within western Anatolia, and it appeared that Ephesus was to suffer yet another year's critical damage. However, Kral was able to gain the government's acquiescence, by urging that the campaign should go ahead under the aegis of the Smyrna Museum, with its Director Aziz acting as formal leader, although in practice he worked in complete cooperation with the Austrian team.

Deissmann himself was unable to leave Berlin before October 1926 and only arrived in Ephesus on Sunday 17th, but this to the hearty welcome of all four team leaders. During the past six weeks they had already done most of the necessary groundwork, such as clearing and restoring the Institute's dilapidated headquarters in nearby Selçuk; hiring an initial gang of 40 to 50 labourers (which increased to about 130 in the last month), as well as clearing the overgrown vegetation from the most important ruins. When Deissmann arrived and saw the activities on the site he had so passionately campaigned for, it was almost like a 'homecoming' experience for him, and a few days later when he wrote to Wiegand about it, he confided that:

*'it is one of the greatest delights of my life that after many disappointments we have after all finally succeeded in reopening this door [Ephesus].'*¹⁰

This was far more than prideful, or romantic pleasure in what he had achieved, for shortly after he wrote in another letter to an English friend:

*'I began this new period of my life in a new inspiration [sic], being here for many weeks and participating in the new excavation work of the Vienna Institute ...'*¹¹

Deissmann's sentiments are revealing, for he evidently envisaged himself in a future role for Ephesus, where he would continue to participate actively in scientific archaeology, rather than confine himself to fundraising and peripheral fieldwork.

His claim of actual participation in these excavations was no overstatement. Being a specialist in early Christianity and the instigator of New Testament Philology as a new sub-discipline of Biblical Studies, Deissmann had wide experience in using published inscriptions, and was therefore equipped to play an active role in all matters relating to Ephesus' Christian period. After acclimatizing

and familiarizing himself for a few days amongst the diggings, he began his work by investigating the disappearance of artefacts from the St. John's basilica. When he compared Sotiriou's four-year-old photographs with the ransacked state of the remaining edifice, Deissmann became so appalled that he later reported that 'the inhabitants of the Turkish village Seltchouk [sic] ... have plundered and are still plundering these venerable ruins in a horrible measure when they are erecting their houses and stables'.¹² With Greece's defeat by Turkey, Sotiriou had been forced to terminate his work abruptly in 1922, leaving more than half the church still buried beneath 5-6 m. of solid rubble; nevertheless, he was able to store a large amount of its smaller sculptures and architectural fragments in an unused mosque in neighbouring Ayasuluk. Unfortunately, this building was soon taken over by Muhajirs, and with the constant change of these occupants,

Sotiriou's collection (except for a few heavy blocks) all but disappeared. However, within two weeks of Deissmann's arrival he had rediscovered most of the missing items – fitted into various stone walls in the neighbourhood of the old Mosque – and with Aziz' energetic intervention via the local authorities was able to requisition the return of several wagonloads of them.

For the next month Deissmann was primarily working with Miltner at the Seven Sleepers' caves, a legend-enshrouded Christian necropolis, on the rocky eastern slopes of Panayır Dağ, behind Ephesus. Christian and Muslim traditions share the myth of how, during the Decian persecution (249-251), seven young men escaped into one of the local caves, where they were sealed in by the Emperor. The youths then fell into a deathlike sleep, but were awakened again by God some two centuries later. When the 'new' Emperor

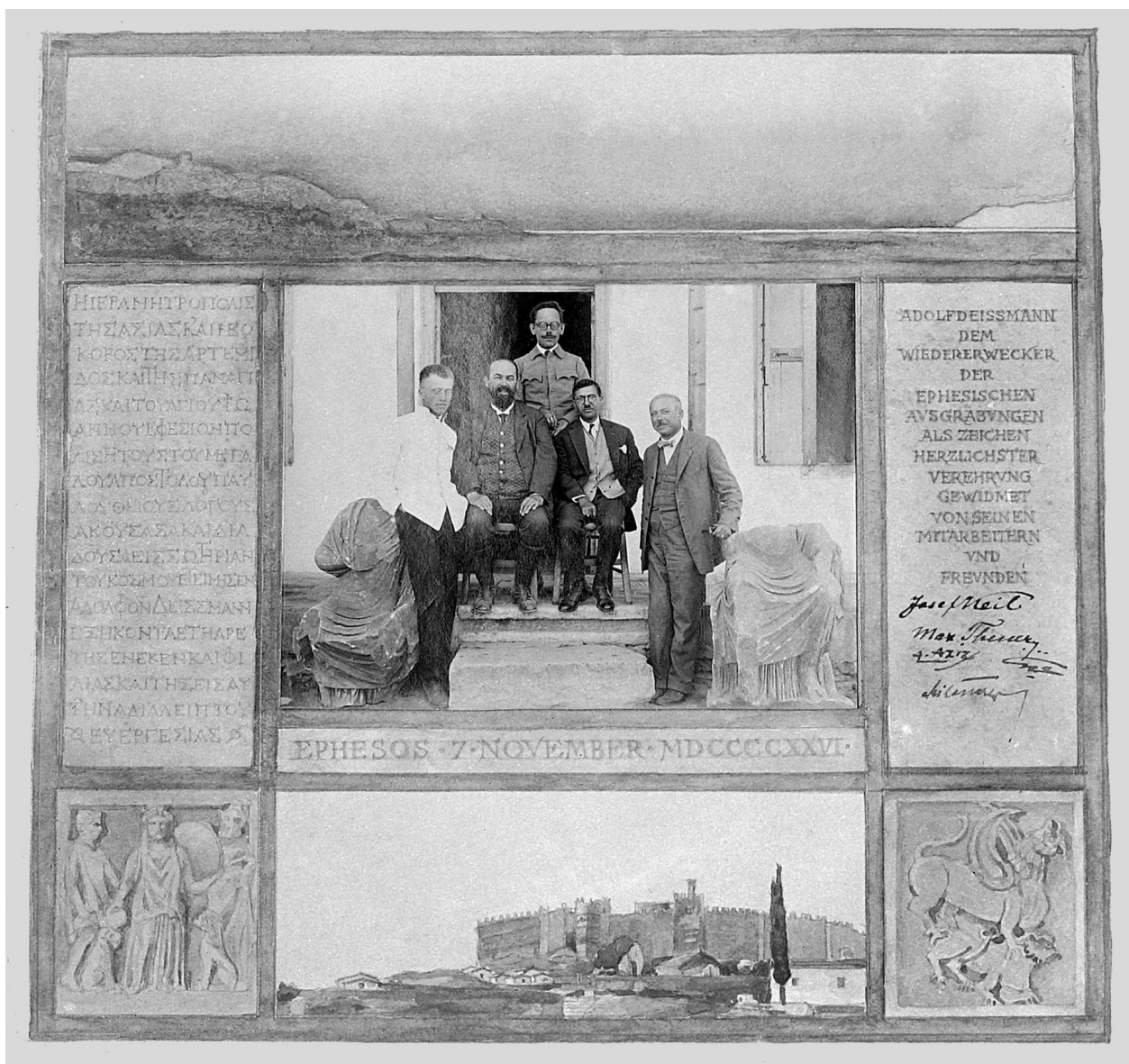


Figure 5: Diploma presented to Deissmann at Ephesus on his 60th birthday by the Austrian archaeological team. Pictured from left to right: Franz Miltner, Adolf Deissmann, Josef Keil, Ahmet Aziz Ogan, Max Theuer. (Used with permission from the Austrian Archaeological Institute, Vienna).

Theodosius II (408-450) came to see this miracle, he hailed them as living examples of the resurrection, after which they died a natural death and were buried in the same cave.

To facilitate the excavations two narrow-gauge steel tracks were laid into the hillside for their hand-operated tipcarts, each with a capacity of about 1 m³. By employing 130 labourers on the caves they were thus able to remove 500 such wagonloads of rubble and dirt each day, yet despite their Herculean efforts, it took two seasons (1926-1927) to excavate this large and difficult hillside completely, at the end of which they had shifted more than 10'000 m³. However, in 1926 they already succeeded in unearthing the burial chamber of the seven youths, a Christian church built over subterranean catacombs and a large mausoleum. Although the necropolis and cult centre had long ago been plundered, by 1927 they had discovered some 300 tombs, 150 inscriptions, various pilgrim graffiti, wall paintings, floor mosaics, coins, and marble plates. Perhaps most striking, though, were the large quantities of diverse earthenware lamps, totalling over 2,000. Factory imprints and symbolic decorations showed that most of the approximately 170 varieties had been locally manufactured over a considerable time span and brought here by Christians, Muslims and Jews.

Three weeks after Deissmann arrived in Ephesus his colleagues presented him with a finely crafted diploma in honour of his 60th birthday. The original is no longer extant – another casualty of the Second World War – but fortuitously a single photograph of it has survived at the ÖAI in Vienna (Figure 5).

The caption beneath the photo marks the date of Deissmann's 60th birthday. The modern imitation of an ancient Greek inscription on the left, very probably written by Joseph Keil (standing at rear), refers to the excellence of Deissmann's friendship and his unending benefaction for Ephesus.¹³ However, it is the German text on the right that seems especially significant, for it singles out Deissmann as the one who made it possible to rescue the priceless remains of the ancient city of Ephesus.

To Adolf Deissmann, the reviver of the Ephesus excavations; as a token of sincerest veneration. Dedicated by his work-colleagues and friends: Joseph Keil, Max Theuer, Ahmet Aziz, Franz Miltner.¹⁴

Deissmann remained an integral part in all four excavation campaigns until 1929, and besides the Seven Sleepers' cemetery was mainly involved with work on the St. John's basilica and the Vedius Gymnasium. However, the high demands placed on him as Rektor of the Berlin University made active fieldwork impossible for him after 1930; but this did not deter his fund-raising and promotional efforts for Ephesus, which he vigorously continued to the end of his life. Although badly falling exchange rates forced the work to be brought to a premature conclusion with the 1935 season, one of the very last letters Deissmann ever received came from Karl Griewank (1900-53) of the Emergency

Fund; it was written two days before Deissmann's death and concerns funding for Ephesus.¹⁵

Although a theologian by profession, Deissmann had already become an honorary member of the DAI in 1922 and a full member by merit in 1928.¹⁶ He was also a regular participant in the monthly meetings of the Archaeological Society from 1909 until his death in 1937. In Vienna, too, the ÖAI decided at their annual business meeting on 5 June 1930 formally to recognize his significance to Anatolian archaeology, by granting him full membership of their Institute.¹⁷ Deissmann was once aptly described as 'the Life and Soul' of the renewed Ephesus excavations,¹⁸ but although it may be pointless to speculate what this important ancient archaeological site would be like today without his timely and tireless initiatives, it can be said with absolute certainty that immeasurable historical losses were being avoided in the nick of time because of his proactive and visionary determination to preserve this city's unique heritage. Today four million visitors are drawn to Ephesus each year, resulting in a huge public exposure, which has been summed up perfectly by Dr. Wilfried Seipel, Director-General of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna: 'Ephesus has done more, in these [past] 100 years, than any other city on the west coast of Turkey to further the understanding of ancient civilization.'¹⁹

Post WW1 reconciliation

Like the vast majority of Germans at the beginning of the First World War, Deissmann was not immune to the effects of the overwhelming nationalistic fervour that swept over the Fatherland. Thus, on 4 September 1914, he signed a public declaration of Germany's blamelessness on the grounds of national self-defence, along with 28 other German intellectuals and clergy. This declaration attempted to absolve their country of any responsibility for entering the war by shifting blame on to the 'encircling' powers, Britain, France and Russia. A month later (4 October 1914) he signed a second declaration, this time with 92 of the country's leading intellectuals and addressed to the entire *Kulturwelt* (civilised world). This was translated into ten languages and widely distributed in all the neutral countries as a passionate protest against the 'lies' and 'slander' of Germany's enemies, and went so far as to deny the violation of Belgian neutrality.²⁰ Although Deissmann soon began to change his views, some commentators on German history have failed to look past this troubled juncture in his life.

Prior to the war – and besides his two comprehensive study tours of the East – Deissmann had also been to Austria, England, Italy, Scotland, Sweden and Switzerland, and presented series of lectures at Cambridge (in English) and Uppsala. His pre-war friendships were not at all limited to Germany, but spanned various cultures, social strata and religious persuasions – an inclusive *Weltanschauung* learned from his parents. So, to think of this broadminded, internationally known theologian, as a 'typical' Wilhelmine German, would do him great injustice.

When Deissmann began to publish the earlier mentioned 'Protestant Weekly Letter', he had the sincere objective of serving ... *der Verständigung unter den Völkern und der Stärkung der christlichen Solidarität* (... the understanding among nations and the strengthening of Christian solidarity);²¹ and he did this by confining the letters to the topic *Der Krieg und die Religion* (The war and religion). Whilst his motives were at first certainly influenced by patriotism, it was his almost innate ecumenical intellect that kept the letters going, even when frustrated by censorship. However, immediately after Germany's new interim government lifted these restrictions, Deissmann confesses in his 'letter' of 21 September 1918 that he had some time ago come to the painful conclusion that their invasion of Belgium did, in fact, constitute an appalling martial act that had burdened the nation with an onerous guilt.²² Yet it was this very war – or more specifically his weekly letters resulting from it – which reinforced in Deissmann the long-held conviction that since Christians worldwide shared a common faith, they also ought to be able to co-exist and work together in peaceful cooperation. How successful he was can best be seen by what the Swiss Professor of Theology Wilhelm Hadorn (1869-1929) writes in his article '*Im Dienste der Versöhnung*' (In the service of reconciliation):

*The Weekly Letters are written in such an ecumenical and truly conciliatory spirit, that they have in actual fact become a crystallising point for the endeavours for peace and mutual understanding, with which no other similar undertaking can compare.*²³

Deissmann boldly attacked what he called 'the bankruptcy of the Christian idea of reconciliation', by which he did not mean the Christian message as such, but the obdurate disjointedness of Christian communities themselves, bickering over the 'correct' interpretation of this message. That is why 'the great Protestant nations have mangled each other ...', he warned, because they have 'not taken in real earnest one of the most vital revelations of the will of God'. The will that was clearly expressed in the prayer of Christ on the cross 'as he viewed the great multitude from all nations – "That they all may be one"'.²⁴

In contrast to many of his colleagues who saw the ecumenical movement as a quasi-political vehicle for peace, Deissmann was a genuine believer in its unifying force, in both the political and sociological spheres. In his own words:

*I was in this movement from the beginning, long before the war, and then I spoke in the same spirit as I do to-day. The only difference is that now I am speaking with even greater conviction.*²⁵

In the five years leading up to the first 'Universal Conference of Christian Communion' at Stockholm in 1925, Deissmann took part in the historic 'Oud Wassenaer' conference in The Hague. This conference marked the naissence of the ecumenical movement, a

mere three months after Germany was forced to sign the Versailles Treaty. He also played an active role at the subsequent preparatory ecumenical conferences of Geneva, Copenhagen, Helsingborg and Amsterdam. At Stockholm itself he was a driving force and one of four keynote speakers to address the question of what the churches can do to promote international peace and to remove the causes of war. During this twelve-day conference – encapsulated by Deissmann in the phrase: 'Stockholm, the Nicaea of Ethics'²⁶ – the responsibilities and purpose of an ecumenical Christendom were for the first time being formulated and a visionary continuation program launched. It was Deissmann who was elected to compile the official (and very comprehensive) German report on the conference's history, proceedings and results (*Die Stockholmer Weltkirchenkonferenz*, Berlin, 1926) and two years later at the ensuing Lausanne conference, it was again Deissmann who drafted the 'Message of the church to the world', which was unanimously accepted by its members and became the confessional foundation for all participating churches – a splendid testimonial to his reconciliatory spirit.

Conclusion

As a trailblazer in several different intellectual fields, Adolf Deissmann was certainly no stereotypical German theologian. His scholarly contributions to the understanding of Hellenistic Greek, the language of the New Testament and the social history of early Christianity have exercised a continuing influence in modern scholarly debate, even where his name is largely forgotten. His creative initiative to ensure the preservation of ancient Ephesus has allowed literally millions of visitors and readers to become better acquainted with the architecture, art and culture of this grand ancient metropolis. His tireless conciliatory endeavours helped to reunite a world that had been torn asunder as never before in the history of mankind.

For Deissmann's 70th birthday a Swiss theologian summed up his humanitarian and intellectual achievements in the following words:

*...[I] have heard with my own ears with what gratitude Deissmann's name is voiced, not only within the realms of the German language, but in bishops' palaces of the orthodox world in the Near East, in monastery cells on the Sinai and in Palestine, in hushed and distinguished studies at Oxford or Edinburgh, in out-of-the-way manses in the middle of America's West and on the Pacific Ocean.*²⁷

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- 1925 'Adolf Deissmann', in E. Stange (ed.), *Die Religionswissenschaft der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen*, Leipzig.
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Endnotes

- 1 *The Expository Times*, vol. 12, nr. 8, May 1901, 362.
- 2 It was mediated by a former student of Deissmann, Samuel Angus (1881-1943), Professor of Theology at St. Andrew's College, Sydney University; hence the joined names in the collection.
- 3 *Sprachliche Erforschung*, 24 (transl. A.G.).
- 4 Letter from Heidelberg University Senate to Baden State Ministry, 26.11.1907, Personalakten Universitätsarchiv Heidelberg, PA 1463 (transl. A.G.).
- 5 Letter from Deissmann to Söderblom, 29.7.1908, Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, Handskrifts- och Musikavdelningen, Olaus Petri-Stiftelsen 2.
- 6 *Licht vom Osten*, 1 (transl. and emphasis A.G.).
- 7 *The Expository Times*, vol. 25, nr. 11, Aug. 1914, 487.
- 8 i.e. 'Notgemeinschaft für Deutsche Wissenschaft'; a state body established in 1920 to distribute funds equitably for academic purposes.
- 9 Keil's letter to Wiegand, 12.5.1927, DAI, NL Wieg., Kiste 5. '... wundere ich mich, daß man mir immer von auswärts so schreibt, als hätte er nur für die christlichen Monumente von Ephesos Interesse und wollte uns von den antiken abhalten usw. Es ist fast als ob jemand solche Nachrichten, die ja wirklich der Wahrheit ganz zuwider laufen, absichtlich in die Welt setzte. Mir gegenüber hat Deissmann von Anfang an einen ganz anderen Standpunkt eingenommen ...'.
- 10 23.10.1926. '... dass es nach vielen Enttäuschungen schließlich doch gelungen ist, diese Thür wieder offen zu machen, ist eine der größten Freuden meines Lebens.' DAI, NL Wieg., Kiste 2.
- 11 Deissmann to G.K.A. Bell (then Provost of Canterbury), 14.11.1926, Lambeth Palace, Bell Papers, vol. 18 (i).
- 12 Letter to Appleget, 21.2.1927, Rockefeller F.A., folder 481. In an earlier letter to the Notgemeinschaft (7.2.1927) he reported that almost all of the precious marble flooring and a large section of a tiled wall had been removed, while much of the remaining marble architecture was toppled over and smashed. Bundesarchiv Koblenz, R 73/10917.

- 13 For a fuller discussion of this diploma, see A. Gerber, 'Gustaf Adolf Deissmann (1866-1937) and the revival of archaeological excavations at Ephesus after the First World War', forthcoming.
- 14 (Transl. A.G.), photo used with permission from the ÖAI, Vienna.
- 15 3.4.1937, Bundesarchiv Koblenz, R 73/10917.
- 16 For this information I am indebted to Dr. Antje Krug of the DAI.
- 17 i.e. 'Wirkliches Mitglied im Ausland', certificate, dated 15.7.1930, ÖAI.
- 18 Letter from H. Strathmann to Schmidt-Ott, 10.7.1925. '... daß Sie oder einer der maßgebenden Herren ... Ihres Ministeriums zunächst einmal Herrn Geheimrat Deißmann als der Seele des Planes die Gelegenheit geben, den Plan noch genauer darzustellen ...', Bundesarchiv Koblenz, R 73/10917.
- 19 Wiplinger/ Wlach, vii. Yet it is a sign of the obscurity into which Deissmann's role *vis-à-vis* Ephesus has fallen that the one photo in which Deissmann features in the book (p. 35) fails to identify him.
- 20 G. Besier, *Die protestantischen Kirchen Europas im Ersten Weltkrieg. Ein Quellen - und Arbeitsbuch*, Göttingen, 1984, 40-45, 78-83.
- 21 Printed on the face of each issue after 21.2.1917.
- 22 *Evangelischer Wochenbrief*, NF, 91/92, 16.11.1918, 3-4.
- 23 In *Kirchenfreund*, 52, Nr. 19, 1.10.1918, Basel. 'Die Wochenbriefe sind in einem so ökumenischen, wahrhaft versöhnenden Geiste geschrieben, daß sie tatsächlich ein Kristallisationspunkt der Friedens- und Verständigungsbestrebungen wurden, welchem kein anderes derartiges Unternehmen an die Seite gestellt werden kann.'
- 24 From Deissmann's speech given on 25.3.1923 to the Whitefield's Men's Meeting in London; published under the title 'The cross of Christ and the reconciliation of the nations', 2-3, Evangelisches Zentralarchiv Berlin, F 5611.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 6.
- 26 From his published commemorative speech 'Die ökumenische Erweckung, ein Jahrzehnt zeitgenössischer Kirchengeschicht', Rede bei der Feier der Erinnerung an den Stifter der Berliner Universität König Friedrich Wilhelm III in der Alten Aula am 3. August 1929, 26.
- 27 Cited by H. Lietzmann, in 'Adolf Deißmann zum Gedächtnis; Rede bei der Gedenkfeier der Theologischen Fakultät zu Berlin am 18. Juni 1937', in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. 35, 1937, 106. '...[Ich habe] mit meinen eigenen Ohren gehört, mit welcher Dankbarkeit Deißmanns Name ausgesprochen wird, nicht nur im Bereich des deutschen Sprachgebietes, sondern in bischöflichen Palästen der orthodoxen Welt des Nahen Ostens, in Mönchszellen auf dem Sinai und in Palästina, in stillen, vornehmen Gelehrtenstuben von Oxford und Edinburgh, in einsamen Pfarrhäusern im mittleren Westen Amerikas und am pazifischen Ozean.'