



**Universiteit
Leiden**
The Netherlands

The Sichem Committee: a case study of Dutch private sponsorship of Near Eastern Archaeology

Berntsen, S.R.L.; Gertzen, T.L.; Matthes, O.

Citation

Berntsen, S. R. L. (2024). The Sichem Committee: a case study of Dutch private sponsorship of Near Eastern Archaeology. In T. L. Gertzen & O. Matthes (Eds.), *Investigatio Orientis. Beiträge zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Orientalistik* (pp. 87-103). Münster: Zaphon. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3970604>

Version: Publisher's Version
License: [Creative Commons CC BY-SA 4.0 license](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/)
Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3970604>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Oriental Societies and Societal Self-Assertion

Associations, Funds and Societies for the Archaeological Exploration of the 'Ancient Near East'



Edited by Thomas L. Gertzen and Olaf Matthes

Oriental Societies and Societal Self-Assertion

Associations, Funds and Societies
for the Archaeological Exploration
of the 'Ancient Near East'

Edited by Thomas L. Gertzen and Olaf Matthes

Investigatio Orientis

Beiträge zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Orientalistik

Band 10

Herausgegeben von
Thomas L. Gertzen,
Peter Heine,
Ludger Hiepel und
Hans Neumann

Oriental Societies and Societal Self-Assertion

Associations, Funds and Societies
for the Archaeological Exploration
of the ‘Ancient Near East’

Edited by Thomas L. Gertzen and Olaf Matthes

Zaphon
Münster
2024

This publication was financed in part by the open access fund for monographs and edited volumes of the Freie Universität Berlin.

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 (BY-SA) which means that the text may be used for commercial use, distribution and duplication in all media.

For details go to: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en>.

Creative Commons license terms for re-use do not apply to any content (such as graphs, figures, photos, excerpts, etc.) not original to the Open Access publication and further permission may be required from the rights holder. The obligation to research and clear permission lies solely with the party re-using the material.

Oriental Societies and Societal Self-Assertion: Associations, Funds and Societies for the Archaeological Exploration of the ‘Ancient Near East’

Edited by Thomas L. Gertzen and Olaf Matthes

Investigatio Orientis 10

© 2024 Zaphon, Enkingweg 36, Münster (www.zaphon.de)

Printed in Germany. Printed on acid-free paper.

ISBN 978-3-96327-248-6 (Buch)

ISBN 978-3-96327-249-3 (E-Book)

ISSN 2698-1904

Cover illustration: Medal of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft (German Oriental Society), issued on the occasion of the silver wedding anniversary of the Imperial couple, February 27th, 1906, vs. Wilhelm II and Auguste Victoria in portrait, rec. logo of the German Oriental Society, bronze. Image files are licensed as Public Domain Mark 1.0, Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, 18266627. Photograph taken by Olaf M. Teßmer. Medalist: Georges Morin.

Table of Contents

Editor's Foreword.....	7
Europe and the Orient: Bourgeois Scholarship and Imperial Sense of Mission in the Long 19 th Century <i>Christoph Jahr</i>	15
Part I: Early Encounters	
The Rise and Fall of the <i>Società Asiatica Italiana</i> <i>Marco Bonechi</i>	35
The Motivations of the Palestine Exploration Fund: Hidden and not-so Hidden Agendas at Work in a Learned Society in the Late 19 th Century <i>Felicity Cobbing</i>	55
The “Assyrian Society” and the Early Exploration of Ancient Mesopotamia <i>Stefania Ermidoro</i>	73
Part II: Imperial Self-Reflections	
The Sichem Committee: A Case Study of Dutch Private Sponsorship of Near Eastern Archaeology <i>Sebastiaan R.L. Berntsen</i>	87
Oriental Societies and Hittite Studies in Victorian England: Tracing the History of an Entangled Relationship <i>Silvia Alaura</i>	105
Babylon Society, a Private Japanese Association in the Early Years of the 20 th Century <i>Reiko Maejima</i>	123
Part III: Egyptian Stakeholders	
The Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth in Belgium and the Creation of National and Transnational Egyptological Research Infrastructures in the 1920s–1940s <i>Marleen De Meyer, Jean-Michel Bruffaerts and Jan Vandersmissen</i>	141
Fundraising for Amarna: Evidence from the EES Archive <i>Stephanie L. Boonstra</i>	167

Jews excavating in Egypt? An Archaeological Endeavour of the <i>Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens</i> <i>Thomas L. Gertzen</i>	187
Part IV: Absences and Adaptions	
Hungarian Archaeological Presence and Absence in Egypt and the Orient at the End of the Long 19 th Century and during the Interwar Period <i>Katalin A. Kóthay</i>	203
Bohemian Absences: The Academy of Sciences in Prague and the Network of European Institutions Involved in Archaeological Research in Egypt in the 1900s <i>Hana Navratilova</i>	225
From Wish to Reality: The Foundation and Early Years of the Netherlands Institute for the Near East (NINO) <i>Willemijn Waal</i>	249
The Ancient Near East and Egypt in the Netherlands: Overview of Dutch Societies and Initiatives in the 19 th and 20 th Century <i>Carolien H. van Zoest</i>	269
Financing Babylon: The German Oriental Society and its Funding System <i>Olaf Matthes</i>	305
Illustration Credits	315
Index	317

The Sichem Committee

A Case Study of Dutch Private Sponsorship of Near Eastern Archaeology

Sebastiaan R.L. Berntsen *

At the end of the nineteenth century, the developing science of archaeological excavation had become a promising tool in the biblical sciences. This case study looks at a Dutch initiative: the *Sichem-comité* (“Sichem Committee”) and the role it played in gaining involvement and financial participation of a Dutch private audience in Near Eastern archaeology.¹

Frans Böhl and new directions in Bible studies



Fig. 1: Frans Marius Theodor Böhl (1882–1976) in 1925.

The main figure in this case study is Frans (de Liagre) Böhl.² His father was an Austrian protestant minister and theologian, his mother a Dutch baroness. As a

* The Netherlands Institute for the Near East, Leiden.

¹ This paper is based on information found in unpublished and as yet un-catalogued documents left to the NINO archive by F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl. I would like to thank C.H. van Zoest for her assistance in editing the present text.

² Franz Marius Theodor Böhl went by the German version of his first name, “Franz”, in German-speaking environments. Upon moving to the Netherlands in 1912 he started habitually using the Dutch version, “Frans”. He added “de Liagre” to his family name in 1949. For more on his life, see the recent biography by his son H. de Liagre Böhl (2021)

young boy living in Vienna, he became interested in archaeology after visiting the Roman excavations of Carnuntum. Böhl studied theology and oriental languages at the universities of Vienna, Leipzig, and Berlin. When a student, Böhl was influenced by Friedrich Delitzsch and his *Babel und Bibel* theory. Delitzsch taught that the Jewish religion and the Old Testament had their origins in Babylonia. His ideas caused a great debate on the uniqueness and originality of the Bible, and the newly developing archaeological science became a promising and interesting feature of this discussion. During his studies, Böhl also became acquainted with Ernst Sellin, the first excavator of Sichem.

At age 30, Böhl was appointed professor at the University of Groningen in the Netherlands, teaching Hebrew and Israelite Antiquities. In 1927, he became Professor of Assyriology at Leiden, where he co-founded the Netherlands Institute for the Near East in 1939.³ Böhl was a talented public speaker and writer, influential in popularizing his work among non-academic audiences.⁴ Years later, in 1967, Martien Beek, who was one of his pupils, wrote to him:

I always did admire you, because of the way you functioned as a scholar in the culture of our country: No one in your field has ever done this in a similar manner and I regret that, because I think we should be willing to descend from the lectern with our specialisms, reaching out to a broader audience of interested people. (...) To this day, I regularly encounter people, be they factory owners in Twente [a rural region in the eastern part of the Netherlands] or office clerks in Amsterdam, who have been captivated by your talks, and as a result developed a lasting interest in ancient civilisations, excavations and the Bible.⁵

As we shall see below (p. 97ff.), Böhl's talent for successfully addressing a broad audience is relevant for the present story.

Ernst Sellin, first excavator of Sichem

Around 1900, when the developing science of archaeology meshed with European colonialism and competition between the western powers, German scholar Hermann Thiersch (1874–1939) identified the archaeological site of Tell Balata (near Nablus in Palestine) with the biblical town of Sichem or Shechem. He kept his discovery quiet as he wished future archaeological exploration of Sichem to be a German project.

and the review on it by Raulwing and Van den Hout (2022).

³ See Van Zoest and Berntsen 2014, and Waal in this volume.

⁴ Burggraaff 2006: 168.

⁵ Unpublished letter from M.A. Beek to Böhl, original Dutch text cited in De Liagre Böhl 2021: 329.

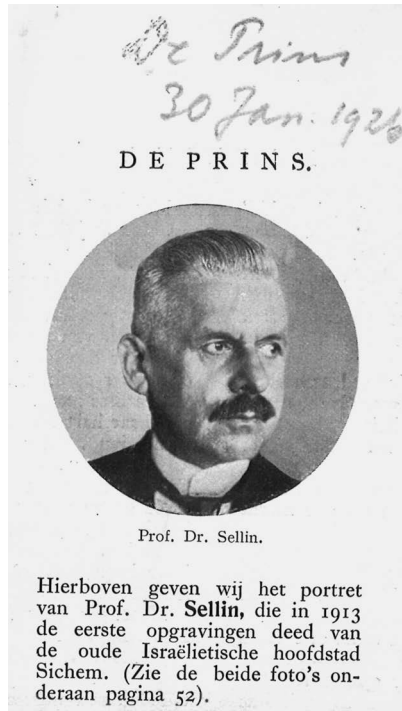


Fig. 2: Ernst Sellin (1867–1946), magazine clipping from 1926.

The person taking up the project was Professor Ernst Sellin, a theologian and Old Testament scholar who became a biblical archaeology pioneer. He had made a name for himself as the excavator of the sites of Tell Ta'anach and Jericho. Sellin's excavations at Sichem which started in 1913 were interrupted by the First World War. Germany was able to keep the monopoly on the site and by 1925, Sellin returned to Tell Balata. Meanwhile, local inhabitants had become aware of the developing and profitable archaeological souvenir market serving growing Holy Land tourism, so archaeological research at the site was not to be postponed much longer.

Sellin planned to excavate at Tell Balata for several months in the spring and summer of 1926. For the project, he needed 75,000 Reichsmark – a small fortune. The relatively large budget was due to local landowners having become sharp negotiators concerning the rent. Moreover, Sellin wanted to employ a paid work force of no less than 200 local villagers at the site. He managed to secure

- 5,000 Mark from the German Protestant Church
- 5,000 Mark from the German foreign office
- 15,000 Mark from German scientific funds
- 25,000 Mark through the efforts of the American Methodist bishop DuBose

This left him with a deficit of 25,000 Mark. At this point, he turned to Frans Böhl in the Netherlands for cooperation.

Sellin was a friend of the Böhl family and one of Böhl's teachers at university. Both were also connected with father and son Delitzsch. In 1925, when Böhl was rector of Groningen University, he had visited the Holy Land for the first time, as a member of the Dutch delegation attending the inauguration of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Afterwards he toured the country, and he met with Sellin at Tell Balata, where he was impressed by its visible remains. The importance of the ancient city is clear from the words of Biblical scholar Albrecht Alt who famously described Sichem as the “uncrowned queen of Israel”⁶. Founded on a suitable location in the middle of ancient Israel's sphere of influence, Sichem played an important role before Jerusalem gained supremacy.

Establishment of the Sichem Committee

After his return to the Netherlands, Böhl began formally organising his own participation, along with that of his country, in Sellin's project. In October 1925, a first meeting was held in the offices of the Dutch National Bank in Amsterdam. The attendees were

- G.J. Thierry (Assyriologist)
- C.H.J. van Haeften, Esq. (lawyer, as ‘Maecenas’)
- F.W. von Bissing (Egyptologist, collector)
- Chr. Van Eeghen (banker)
- J. Six, Esq. (art historian)
- U.Ph. de Boissevain (historian)
- C. van Gelderen (theologian)
- F.M.Th. Böhl

Preserved correspondence between Böhl and Sellin from late 1925 and early 1926 gives us a detailed insight into how these gentlemen came to the final arrangement for official Dutch participation in the Sichem excavations. The Sichem Committee, through Böhl, would have to raise the remaining sum, set in Dutch currency at ca. *f* 25,000⁷, before 1 March 1926. Sellin and Böhl agreed upon the following terms:

1. Sponsors donating at least *f* 150 (ca. € 1,218 today⁸) would receive the final publication free of charge and also, *nach Kräfte* (“to the best of our ability”),

⁶ “Sichem-Näblus ist in der Tat die ungekrönte Königin von Palästina.” Alt 1925: 5.

⁷ Dutch currency in 1925 was the *guilder* (Dutch guilder), designated *f*. The Sichem Committee brochure (Fig. 6) mentions the goal of *f* 25,000 – apparently 1 Dutch guilder had about the same value as 1 German Mark.

⁸ Calculation of *f* (1925) to € (2021): Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis 2021. In 1925, *f* 1000 had the “purchasing power” of € 8,122.41 in 2021.

the preliminary reports and off-prints. Sellin estimated the cost of the final publication at *f* 20 to *f* 30 (ca. € 163 to € 245).

2. Sponsors donating at least *f* 50 (ca. € 400) were offered the option of purchasing the final publication at cost, and – if possible – they would receive published preliminary reports for free.
3. The finds of the excavation, in so far as Palestinian law did not reserve them for the Jerusalem archaeological museum, including “duplicates”, would be equally split between the Netherlands and Germany. This well-established practice of *partage* would be of high interest to Dutch museums.

The contract stipulated, among other things, that Böhl was officially second-in-charge of the expedition, and, should the excavation yield any cuneiform tablets – so dear to Böhl – he had sole rights to study and publish the texts. Thus, the Sichem Committee was legally founded in October or November 1925. Its board consisted of no less than 26 gentlemen, among them⁹

- Prof. Dr. J. Six esq.,¹⁰ chairman;
- Prof. Dr. F.M.Th. Böhl, secretary;
- Mr. J.C. Fabius¹¹, treasurer.

The Committee issued a brochure to interest prospective sponsors in raising the sum of *f* 25,000 (ca. € 203,000 today; see Fig. 6). It comprised a promotional text, a second page with the names of the twenty-six committee members, most of them prominent Dutch scholars, followed by citation of an impressive *Comité van Aanbeveling* (list of recommenders) of twenty-nine gentlemen, mainly scholars, captains of industry, nobility, and politicians. For the prospective sponsor’s convenience, the brochure came with a donation form.

Raising the required *f* 25,000 proved more difficult than initially expected. In a letter dated 30 December 1925¹², Chairman Six suggested to Secretary Böhl that working with local subcommittees would be a good option. He mentioned several unsuccessful attempts to obtain donations, but still had hopes that the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences would donate *f* 1,000. Six concluded by expressing his regret that he had so far been unable to be more useful.

⁹ For the complete list, see Fig. 3.

¹⁰ Jan Six (VI), offspring of an important Amsterdam patrician family, was a prolific art collector and famous art historian (1857–1926) who taught at Amsterdam University (1889–1926). See Haspels 1979 [2013].

¹¹ Jan Fabius was an Amsterdam stockbroker and a brother of Böhl’s deceased wife.

¹² Unpublished letter from Six to Böhl, 30 December 1925. NINO Archive, box 1033–8.

6.

P R E S E N T I E
L I J S T

vergadering inzake opgravingen te Sichem ,
gehouden aan De Nederlandsche Bank op Maandag 12 October 1925 n.m.

<u>G. J. Thierry.</u>	Leiden.
<u>C. M. van Baer</u>	den Haag
<u>F. W. v. Binnig</u>	den Haag
<u>Antoon H. van der</u>	Amsterdam
<u>J. M. J. van</u>	Amsterdam
<u>M. J. van</u>	"
<u>L. v. G.</u>	Amsterdam
<u>F. M. Th. Böhl</u>	Groningen

Fig. 3: List of persons present at the meeting regarding excavations in Sichem, held at the *Nederlandsche Bank* (Dutch National Bank) on Monday 12 October 1925 afternoon.

De opgraving van Sichem

Wij vragen Uwe belangstelling voor een gewichtige aangelegenheid. Iedereen weet hoeveel belangwekkends de oude graven en puinheuvels in Egypte en Babylonië opgeleverd hebben voor onze kennis van de oudste geschiedenis der menschheid. Maar juist in Palestina, het oude land van den Bijbel, kon een soortgelijk onderzoek op groote schaal pas beginnen, sedert ook voor dit land een nieuw tijdperk is begonnen.

In 1913 ontdekte de vermaarde Duitsche hoogleeraar en oudheidkundige Prof. Dr. Ernst Sellin in de nabijheid van het dorpje Balata bij Nabus in Palestina de overblijfselen van de oudste hoofdstad en Koningsstad der Israëlieten: Sichem. De voorloopige opgraving, in het najaar 1913 en het voorjaar 1914 begonnen, heeft mooie resultaten opgeleverd, moest echter wegens het uitbreken van den wereldoorlog gestaakt worden. In April l.l. heeft Prof. Dr. F. M. Th. Böhl uit Groningen bij gelegenheid van zijn reis naar Palestina dit opgravingsterrein bezocht en onderzocht. Voor onze kennis der Israëlietische geschiedenis in het bijbelsch tijdperk en van de bijbelsche oudheden in het algemeen is Sichem een der belangrijkste plaatsen en een stelselmatige opgraving juist van deze stad is een der dringendste eischen der bijbelsche en der oudheidkundige wetenschap. Enkele mooie wapens en andere bronzen voorwerpen, die op dit terrein door bewoners van het naburige dorp Balata gevonden zijn, bevinden zich thans reeds in het Museum Scheurleer in den Haag. Deze vondsten zijn blijkbaar afkomstig uit ongeschonden graven, zoodat het zelfs niet onmogelijk zou zijn, dat in of in de onmiddellijke nabijheid van het bedoelde terrein de grafsteden der oudste koningen van het Noordelijk Rijk Israël worden teruggevonden.

Kort geleden is Prof. Sellin zelf van een verblijf in Palestina teruggekeerd, waar hij alle stappen gedaan en alles bereikt heeft wat ter voorbereiding van een stelselmatige opgravingscampagne noodig en wenschelijk is. De schriftelijke concessie der Palestijnsche Regeering en het pachtcontract, dat hem het recht geeft op de opgraving van den puinhevel bij Balata zijn reeds in zijn bezit. De betrokken autoriteiten zijn tot medewerking en tot het verlenen van alle faciliteiten bereid gevonden. Alleen in financieel opzicht zijn de benooidge bedragen nog niet bijeen. Prof. Sellin hoopt ruim te kunnen volstaan met een bedrag van 75.000 gulden, waarvan hij ongeveer een derde uit Duitschland en een derde door bemiddeling van een Amerikaanschen Maecenas hoopt te verkrijgen. Indien de rest, dus ongeveer 25.000 gulden uit Nederland ter beschikking wordt gesteld, dan kan reeds in Maart van het volgend jaar een gemeenschappelijk werk beginnen, dat schitterende resultaten belooft en dat ook aan Nederland, de Nederlandsche Musea en de Nederlandsche Wetenschap tot eere zal strekken. Prof. Sellin heeft Prof. Böhl verzocht als plaatsvervangend leider der opgraving naast hem op te treden, zoodra de hervatting mogelijk zou blijken. De vondsten zouden (voorzoover die niet volgens de Palestijnsche Wet op de oudheden in het Museum te Jeruzalem worden geplaatst) gelijkmatig tusschen Nederland en Duitschland worden verdeeld. Voorts zou een regeling worden getroffen, dat ieder die ten minste 150 gulden bijdraagt later de groote publicatie,

Fig. 4a: Brochure titled *De opgraving van Sichem* ("The excavation of Sichem"), 1925; page 1.

At the same time, however, Böhl wrote to Sellin that he had procured half of the agreed sum.¹³ Apparently (in unpreserved correspondence) he provided some details of his efforts, as Sellin replied that he understood the Dutch psyche – probably meaning Dutch sponsors expected “quid pro quo”. Sellin subtly remarked that he amassed German funds in silence, without any need of public attention.

¹³ Unpublished letter from Sellin to Böhl, 26 December 1925: “Sehr hat mich natürlich Ihre Mitteilung gefreut, dass Sie die Hälfte der Mittel zusammen haben.” NINO Archive, box “Sichem”.

waarin de resultaten van deze opgraving zullen worden neergelegd, desgewenscht gratis zal ontvangen, terwijl degenen, wier bijdrage ten minste 50 gulden bedraagt, voor dit werk slechts den kostenden prijs zullen betalen en ook de voorloopige berichten en afbeeldingen (indien zij dit wenschen) gratis zullen ontvangen.

Met vrijmoedigheid vragen wij Uw bijdrage voor dit mooie doel. Wij verzoeken U inliggend in teekenbiljet ingevuld te zenden of Uwe bijdrage ter beschikking te stellen van den Penningmeester J. C. Fabius (i. Fa. Aders & Fabius, Kerkstraat 363, Amsterdam, Postgiro No. 120386, postbox 664) of aan het adres van den Secretaris Prof. Dr. F. M. Th. Böhl (Verlengde Heereweg 147, Groningen, Postgiro 72316),

Het Comité:

Prof. Jhr. Dr. J. SIX (Amsterdam), Voorzitter.
 Mr. G. VISSERING, President der Nederlandsche Bank, Amsterdam.
 Prof. Dr. F. M. TH. BÖHL (Groningen), Secretaris.
 J. C. FABIUS (i. Fa. Aders & Fabius), Amsterdam, Penningmeester.
 Mr. A. J. L. VAN BEECK CALKOEN, Chef van de Afdeling Hooger Onderwijs, Departement van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
 Prof. Dr. F. W. BARON VON BISSING (Utrecht).
 Prof. Dr. L. H. K. BLEEKER (Groningen).
 Prof. Dr. U. PH. BOISSEVAIN (Amsterdam).
 Prof. Dr. A. W. BIJVANCK (Leiden).
 Prof. Dr. D. COHEN (Leiden).
 Mr. CHR. P. VAN EEGHEN, Directeur der Nederlandsche Indische Handelsbank (Amsterdam).
 Prof. Dr. B. D. EERDMANS (Leiden).

Prof. Dr. C. VAN GELDEREN (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam).
 Prof. Dr. J. VAN GINNEKEN S. J. (Katholieke Universiteit, Nijmegen).
 Dr. JOH. DE GROOT, Ned. Herv. Pred. (Den Haag).
 Jhr. Mr. C. H. J. VAN HAEFFEN (Den Haag).
 Dr. W. G. J. VAN KOEYERDEN (R. K. Seminarie, Culemborg).
 Prof. Dr. A. NOORDTJIZ (Utrecht).
 Prof. Dr. H. TH. OBBINK (Utrecht).
 Prof. Dr. L. S. ORNSTEIN (Utrecht).
 Prof. Dr. J. L. PALACHE (Amsterdam).
 Prof. Dr. A. G. ROOS (Groningen).
 Dr. D. A. W. H. SLOET, Pastoor in Abcoude.
 Prof. Dr. G. J. THIERRY (Leiden).
 Dr. J. TH. DE VISSER, Oud-Minister van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Den Haag).
 Dr. W. D. VAN WIJNGAARDEN, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden).

De ondersteuning van dit plan wordt warm aanbevolen door:

Exc. H. COLIJN, Minister van Financiën (Den Haag).
 Exc. Mr. W. H. RUTGERS, Minister van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Den Haag).
 Dr. C. J. K. VAN AALST, President der Nederl. Handelsmaatschappij (Amsterdam).
 A. ASSCHER (Amsterdam).
 Mr. B. E. ASSCHER, Voorzitter van de Centrale Commissie tot de algemeene zaken van het Ned. Israëlietisch Kerkgenootschap (Amsterdam).
 S. VAN DEN BERGH JR., Lid van de Eerste Kamer der Staten-Generaal (Wassenaar).
 Mej. M. C. VAN EEGHEN (Amsterdam).
 Mr. Dr. C. C. GEERTSEMA, Oud-Commissaris der Koningin in de Prov. Groningen.
 Dr. C. P. GUNNING (Amsterdam).
 Prof. Dr. J. H. GUNNING Wzn. (Utrecht).
 Mr. A. VAN DER HOEVEN, Oud-Wethouder (Rotterdam).
 Exc. A. W. F. IDENBURG (Den Haag).
 Mr. C. FRIDA KATZ, Lid der Tweede Kamer (Amsterdam).

D. A. J. KESSLER (Den Haag).
 Jhr. Dr. M. F. VAN LENNEP (Bloemendaal).
 H. W. VAN MARLE (Amsterdam).
 PAUL MAY (Amsterdam).
 Mr. W. A. MEES (Rotterdam).
 J. L. PIERSON (Baarn).
 EDWIN VOM RATH (Amsterdam).
 Prof. Dr. J. RIDDERBOS (Theol. School, Kampen).
 Jhr. Mr. CH. J. M. RUYSS DE BEERENBROUCK, Oud-Minister (Den Haag).
 Dr. C. W. LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER (Den Haag).
 Prof. Dr. J. H. SCHRIJNEN (Katholieke Universiteit, Nijmegen).
 JAN STRUYT, Architect (Den Haag).
 MEV. H. LAMAN TRIP—DE BEAUFORT (Oosterbeek).
 J. C. VEDER (Rotterdam).
 Mr. L. E. VISSER (Den Haag).
 Dr. F. G. WALLER (Delft).
 Mr. P. J. VAN WIJNGAARDEN (Rotterdam).

Fig. 4b: Brochure *De opgraving van Sichem*; page 2.

105) mit 0005 1023, sichem donateurs? 8B

J Engelbrecht	Nordvinnin	500.	-	Selaald
Darius Lege	Amsterdam	500	-	id
Edm van Ralt	"	150	-	id
D. C. J. Kr. Dahl	"	100	-	id
A. van Lege	"	100	-	id
Jhr. H. H. Ruijs de Beukelaer	Antwerpen	25	-	
M. van Lee	N. naam	500	-	id
P. J. de Lee	"	100	-	id
J. H. Vierson	Baan	150	-	id
M. M. van Marle	Haam	200	-	id
G. van Borsum	Leiden	25	-	id.
A. van Golt	Antwerpen	50	-	
M. van Lee	N. naam	10	-	id
A. Colijn	Wassenaar	25	-	
B. van Wassenaer	Wassenaar	40	-	id
J. van Borsum	"	10	-	id
A. Bahler	"	10	-	id
M. van Lee	Groning	22	50	id
M. van Lee	Amsterdam	10	-	
D. J. H. G. van Lee	Amsterdam	50	-	
G. van Lee	Amsterdam	2	-	id
G. van Lee	Amsterdam	10	-	id
A. van Lee	Amsterdam	100	-	
J. van Lee	"	10	-	id
A. van Lee	Wassenaar	1000	-	
N. van Lee	Wassenaar	50	-	
Jhr. H. E. van Lee	"	25	-	
M. J. van Lee	Wassenaar	25	-	
A. van Lee	Wassenaar	50	-	
A. van Lee	Wassenaar	50	-	id
J. van Lee	Antwerpen	25	-	id.
		3904,50		

Fig. 5: Handwritten list of Dutch sponsors and their (pledged) donations to the Sichem excavations, 1925–1926 (first page).

The NINO archive contains a list which seems to date to early 1926, written in Böhl's own hand, of one hundred twenty-seven sponsors who donated or pledged a total of f 12,440 (ca. € 101,000; see Fig. 5).

The document shows an interesting cross-section of prominent figures in contemporary Dutch society. Altogether, twenty-one persons bear the title Doctor

or Professor, indicative of academia members (17%) while at least forty-two others are patricians or of noble descent (33%). At least eleven Jewish names are clearly distinguishable (9%), demonstrating a marked interest by (affluent) Dutch Jews in the project. Furthermore, several societies are listed as donors: the Amsterdam Zionist Society, the Society for the Advancement of Knowledge of Ancient Civilisation, and the Dutch Zionist League. Four persons are bankers; four are industrialists or companies. There are politicians and high government officials. Even though it seems there were no official donations from the Dutch government, a few important officials (formerly) in the service of the Ministries of Education, Finance, and the Interior were favourably disposed personally towards the project.

59 sponsors (47%) donated less than *f* 50 for contributions amounting to *f* 962.50 or 8% of the total sum.

42 sponsors (33%) donated *f* 50 to *f* 150 – thereby gaining the privilege of acquiring the final publication at cost. Their contributions amounted to *f* 3,035 or 24% of the total sum.

26 sponsors (20%) donated *f* 150 or more, and were to receive the final publication as a gift. Their contributions totalled *f* 8,450 or 68% of the total sum.

In the latter group, three sponsors (S. van den Bergh Jr., W.A. Mees, and H. Wintzen) donated lump sums of *f* 1,000¹⁴.

In total, 53% of the sponsors donated substantial amounts (in or above the two tiers defined in the project outline), amounting to 92% of the total donations.

Very clearly, the Sichem Committee and its activity depended heavily on Dutch higher society, at least in this first stage. An appeal to the royal family was unsuccessful: the private secretary of Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands replied in a letter to Böhl that although Her Majesty appreciated the initiative, there were many needs in the kingdom and she regretted not sponsoring the campaign.

About 10% of the donations were small sums that most people would not sorely miss in 1925. Four sponsors donated less than *f* 5 (ca. € 41). For example, on 22 December 1925 the Committee received a donation from a Mr. Oosthoek of Utrecht, of *f* 3 (ca. € 24). On the back of the receipt is written in Dutch: “*On behalf of some students of the Christian Gymnasium, a small stone for Sichem, hoping that this gift is not too small to be accepted*” (see Fig. 6). Of course, it was accepted. The biblical story of Mark 12:41, “The Widow’s Offering”, comes to mind here and could well account for Böhl retaining this touching document among his papers.

¹⁴ Van den Bergh continued to sponsor Böhl’s projects in later years, above all his important trip through Iraq and Iran in 1939; see Van Zoest in this volume. Mees and Wintzen each donated another *f* 500 to the Sichem Committee at a later moment.


<p><i>Namens eenige leerlingen van het Christelyk Gymnasium een klein steentje van Sichem</i></p> <p><i>Hopende dat de gift niet te ge- ring is om aan- genomen te wor- den</i></p>	<div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <p>KANT. & DATUM V. STORTING</p> <p>BEDRAG: 3 GLD. 1 Ct.</p> <p>NAAM & WOONPL. AFZENDER</p> <p><i>H. Oosthoek, Fredend Londewijkstraat 78 Utrecht</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>20.2.</i></p> <p>INLEGZIJDE STEPELING</p> <p>STROOK V. MEDEDEELINGEN KAN DOOR GEADRESSEERDE WORDEN BEHOUDEN</p>
---	--

Fig. 6: Receipt for f 3, donation by H. Oosthoek to the *Sichem-comité*, dated 22–12–1925.

German-Dutch excavations at Sichem

The full amount of 25,000 Reichsmark promised to Sellin was acquired before the deadline of March 1926, the start of the expedition. The first fund raising campaign for Sichem was a success, and the first major Dutch archaeological campaign was about to set off. The Netherlands had gained their place in archaeological fieldwork in the Ancient Near East. The Sichem campaign began on 1 March 1926, led by Sellin – Böhl arrived at the site in July.

When Böhl returned to the Netherlands in late 1926, he was full of stories about his work and adventures in Palestine. He gave countless lectures on the first discoveries at Tell Balata/Sichem and interpretations of them – to his students, to the Committee members and affiliates, and to interested audiences of diverse backgrounds. As mentioned above (p. 88), Böhl was a gifted and inspiring speaker. With his classic academic image, his German accent, and a wealth of lantern slides made from his own photographs, he conquered the country on his mission to advance Dutch archaeology abroad. Böhl's papers in the NINO Archive contain many manuscripts and typescripts of these lectures and a large number of newspaper clippings. Several Dutch magazines and newspapers reported these events, sometimes including extended summaries of Böhl's lectures. He kept the Dutch

public aware of the Sichem project and no doubt generated new donations to the cause.



Fig. 7: Sichem expedition team leaders in 1926. Top row from left to right: F. Datodi (chief supervisor of the workmen), Frans Böhl (2nd expedition leader), Ernst Sellin (1st expedition leader), Gabriel Welter (representative of the German Archaeological Institute), Heinz Johannes (architect).

In 1927 and 1928 Böhl returned in person to the site for fieldwork, again sharing information on his activities with the Dutch audiences afterwards. He published preliminary reports and campaigned for more Dutch excavations at sites in Palestine. Around 1930 the name of the Committee was even changed to “Dutch Committee for Excavations in Palestine”.¹⁵ The nation could read all about it in the press.

Beginning in 1927, another brochure, *De opgraving van Sichem* (“The excavation of Sichem”; Fig. 4), in the same format as the earlier brochure, mentions plans for excavations of the Biblical localities Pniel, Sukkoth, and Machanaïem

¹⁵ *Nederlands Comité voor Opgravingen in Palestina*. The name change is documented by various newspaper articles (among which *Algemeen Handelsblad* 13–11–1928) and archival documents.

in the Trans-Jordan territory.¹⁶ If *f* 15,000 (ca. € 122,000) would be raised, the Sichem campaign could be concluded properly with adequate funding remaining for a preliminary survey of one of these sites. This goal was achieved – Böhl did a survey at Pniel¹⁷ – but without it resulting in any Dutch excavations at other sites in Palestine.

Financial records of the Sichem Committee from the period after the initial success of the 1926 campaign are difficult to reconstruct, as the preserved documents are far from complete. But apparently the required funds found their way to the coffers of the Committee, since the work at Tell Balata continued for several more seasons. In 1927, the German *Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft* paid for 300 meters of rail track with eight tipcarts.¹⁸ This improved efficiency in the archaeological fieldwork, requiring fewer workers and decreasing costs. The 1928 Sichem campaign was again supported by the Committee; in March, Böhl participated for the last time in the excavations. In addition to Böhl, there were several other Dutch members of the excavation team: Th.L.W. van Ravensteyn (theologian), A. van Selms (theologian), and R.C. Mauve (architect). The archaeologist and future Sichem campaign leader Gabriel Welter was of Dutch origin, and was married to a Dutch woman.¹⁹

Perhaps the Sichem Committee's finest hour was the presentation of the "Dutch" finds from Sichem to the public in February 1929 at the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden. It was the first substantial Dutch public collection of archaeological objects from Palestine. The Committee donated the finds to the state.²⁰ In his address, a representative of the Dutch ministry of Arts, Sciences, and Education, thanked the Committee and Böhl for their efforts and achievements.²¹ The event was covered in the national and local press.

¹⁶ Brochure entitled *De opgravingen in Palestina* ("The excavations in Palestine"). NINO Archive.

¹⁷ *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 29–1–1928. An incomplete typescript of Böhl's lecture, mentioned in this newspaper article, is in the NINO Archive.

¹⁸ Wright 1965: 27; letter from Sellin to Böhl, dated 16 April 1927; Sellin ordered this equipment in Berlin. NINO Archive. Jaroš 1976: 18 mentions the use on site of two tipcarts and 80 metres of rail track provided by Pastor D. Schneller, who was affiliated with the Syrian orphanage in Jerusalem. (Perhaps these were used while waiting for the arrival of the Berlin delivery.)

¹⁹ Nogarede 2012: 35.

²⁰ As part of the national archaeological collections, the Sichem objects are in the National Museum of Antiquities (RMO), Leiden. For the catalogue of the objects brought by Böhl from the Sichem campaigns in 1926, 1927 and March 1928 see Kerkhof 1969.

²¹ *De Maasbode* 8–2–1929.

End of the Sichem Committee

But problems had arisen for the Sichem project. During the 1920's, archaeological methods and practices developed and improved considerably. Ernst Sellin, however, remained more of an old school archaeologist: he worked with trenches, not squares, and he was inclined to "prove" the Bible by archaeological means. This, combined with a shady scandal,²² led in 1929 to his replacement as German excavation leader – "for reasons of old age" as it was euphemistically expressed by Welter²³. However, Sellin kept the records and part of the finds from the campaigns at his home in Berlin, and he continued working on the scientific publication. In 1934, he was even reinstated as leader of the Sichem excavation with Welter going back to his archaeological work in Greece. In the end, the Dutch top sponsors never received their printed copy of the excavation publication. Allied bombing during WW II destroyed Sellin's home in Berlin and Sellin himself died on New Year's Eve 1945.²⁴ The archaeological research of Sichem came to a halt for another decade.

As mentioned above, Böhl had been appointed Professor of Assyriology at Leiden in 1927. In the light of the setbacks in the Sichem campaign, this change must not have been unwelcome, shifting his focus to other branches of ancient Near Eastern studies and archaeology. In the early 1930's, he sought to expand Dutch archaeological work to sites in Mesopotamia. A serious candidate was Tell Djid in Iraq, near Warka (Uruk), and Abu Shahrain (Eridu).²⁵

The Committee meanwhile had plans for other excavations of Biblical sites, but they did not come to fruition due to lack of funding. A newspaper article published late in 1928 on the excavations in Sichem and the transfer of finds to the National Museum of Antiquities reported that a sum amounting to f 30,000 would be needed for an independent Dutch campaign, and that the Committee did not have sufficient funding for a proper Dutch component in a foreign-led campaign. The article concluded with an appeal to readers for donations, to enable further Dutch archaeological activity in Palestine.²⁶

Even though times were changing economically and politically, the Committee was apparently able to donate a sum to Sellin's Sichem campaign in 1934.²⁷ According to Böhl, Sellin still held hope of a renewed collaboration with

²² Niemann 2015: 523.

²³ List of excavation campaigns under Sellin, Böhl, and Welter: Jaroš 1976: 16–19.

²⁴ Wright 1965: 30. All excavation records and finds kept by Sellin at his home in Berlin were lost; however, in 2013 negatives of Sichem excavation photographs were found in the RMO archives. See Rijksmuseum van Oudheden 2014: 32. Böhl's papers in the NINO Archive contain site photographs, pictures of finds, and one (possibly original) field drawing.

²⁵ Nöldeke *et al.* 2008: 318.

²⁶ *Algemeen Handelsblad* 13–11–1928.

²⁷ Horn 1965: 294.

the Dutch Sichem Committee in 1939²⁸. Böhl remained interested in Sichem and archaeological fieldwork in the Near East, even if he himself had no opportunity to participate in any excavations. He did not succeed in starting a new Dutch excavation project in the 1930's. But then WW II put a stop to Dutch archaeology in the Near East for about a generation.

The Sichem Committee / Dutch Committee for Excavations in Palestine was, however, revived after the war; it had a board and possessed modest financial means. The Committee later evolved into the Amsterdam-based *Nederlandse Stichting tot Opgravingen in het Nabije Oosten* ("Dutch Foundation for Excavations in the Near East"), a society that more actively sought cooperation with the Dutch government and other institutions to achieve its goals.²⁹ Böhl did not serve as a board member of this foundation, but throughout his long career he continued to be an important national figure promoting all aspects of research into the Ancient Near East. In the 1950's he assisted the team from the American Society for Overseas Research (ASOR), led by G.E. Wright,³⁰ in carrying out the last substantial excavation campaigns at Sichem, reconstructing the earlier campaigns from the surviving data.³¹ In 1975, a year before his death, Böhl republished both Sichem cuneiform texts, first published by him half a century earlier.³²

Conclusion

In the history of Dutch archaeology, the Sichem Committee stands out as a unique initiative with a strong influence on the promotion of archaeological interest and awareness in the Netherlands between WW I and II, largely because of the active role played by its founding father Frans Böhl.

The Sichem Committee's role ended shortly after the Second World War, but the story of the excavations there does not, nor does Dutch involvement in them. A fitting epilogue is provided by the UNESCO Tell Balata Archaeological Park Project. This project, completed in 2012, was a collaborate effort of the Palestinian Department of Antiquities, UNESCO, and Dutch archaeologists, led by Gerrit van der Kooij (Leiden University).

Bibliography

Newspaper articles (usually published anonymously) are cited by newspaper name plus day of publication. All are found in Delpher, the online repository of Dutch newspapers and magazines 1618–1995, maintained by the *Koninklijke Bibliotheek*.

²⁸ Böhl 1952: 178.

²⁹ Kampman 1948: 250–251.

³⁰ List of excavation campaigns 1956–1973: Jaroš 1976: 19–23.

³¹ Correspondence between Böhl and W.J. Harrelson. NINO Archive.

³² Böhl 1926 and Böhl 1975.

- Algemeen Handelsblad* 13–11–1928. ‘Opgravingen te Sichem. Palestijnsche Oudheden voor het museum in Leiden. – Een steen van Golgotha’. Newspaper article in *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 13 november 1928, Avondblad, Derde blad: 10. Online in *Delpher.nl*: <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010659632:mpeg21:a0280>. Accessed 11–8–2022.
- Alt, A. 1925. Jerusalems Aufstieg, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 79 (n.F. 4), No. 1/2: 1–19.
- Böhl, F.M.Th. 1926. ‘Anhang. Die bei den Ausgrabungen von Sichem gefundenen Keilschrifttafeln. Ein vorläufiger Bericht’. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 49: 321–327, pl. 44–46.
- 1952. ‘Oudheidkundige Verkenningen in Oosterse Landen’. *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 12: 171–183.
- Böhl, F.M.Th. de Liagre. 1975. ‘Der Keilschriftbrief aus Sichem (Tell Balâta)’. *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 7: 21–30.
- Böhl, H. de Liagre. 2021. *Bijbel en Babel: Frans de Liagre Böhl, 1882–1976*. Amsterdam: Prometheus.
- Burggraaff, W. 2006. ‘Liagre Böhl, Franz Marius Theodor de’. In *Biografisch Lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme*, Vol. 6. Kampen: Uitgeverij Kok: 168–170. Online: https://resources.huylgens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/blnp/#page=168&view=imagePane&accessor=accessor_index&source=6. Accessed 11–8–2022.
- Haspels, C.H.E. 1979 [2013]. ‘Six, jhr. Jan (1857–1926)’. In J. Charité, I. Schöffer *et al.*, *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland* 1. Den Haag: Nijhoff. Online: <http://resources.huylgens.knaw.nl/bwn1880–2000/lemmata/bwn1/six> [12–11–2013]. Accessed 11–8–2022.
- Horn, S.H. 1965. ‘Shechem. History and Excavations of a Palestinian City’. *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 18: 284–306.
- Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis. 14 June 2021. ‘Value of the Guilder versus Euro’. <https://iisg.amsterdam/en/research/projects/hpw/calculate.php>. Accessed 11–8–2022.
- Jaroš, K. 1976. *Sichem: Eine archäologische und religionsgeschichtliche Studie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Jos 24*. OBO 11. Freiburg / Göttingen: Universitätsverlag / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Kampman, A.A. 1948. ‘De wetenschappen betreffende op het Oude Nabije Oosten’. In Werkgemeenschap van wetenschappelijke organisaties in Nederland, *Geesteswetenschappelijk onderzoek in Nederland. Een overzicht van hetgeen in Nederland in de jaren van omstreeks 1933–1943 verricht is op het gebied der godgeleerdheid, der rechtswetenschappen, der taal- en letterkunde, der geschiedenis, der filosofie, psychologie and paedagogiek en der sociale wetenschappen*. Amsterdam: Hollandse Uitgevers Maatschappij: 244–251.

- Kerckhof, V.I. 1969. 'Catalogue of the Shechem Collection'. *Oudheidkundige mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 50: 28–109.
- Maasbode, De*, 8–2–1929. 'Wetenschap. De opgravingen te Sichem. De vondsten in het Rijksmuseum te Leiden ondergebracht. Opening van de tentoonstelling'. Newspaper article in *De Maasbode*, vrijdag 8 februari 1929, ochtendblad, eerste blad: 2. Online in *Delpher.nl*: <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB04:000197284:mpeg21:a0021>. Accessed 11–8–2022.
- Niemann, H.M. 2015. 'Ernst Sellin: Powerful in his Time. A Sketch of the Life and Work of an Old Testament Scholar and Pioneer in Biblical Archaeology from Mecklenburg'. In H.M. Niemann and M. Gerhards (eds), *History of Ancient Israel, Archaeology, and Bible: Collected Essays*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag: 499–526.
- Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 29–1–1928. 'Wetenschappelijke berichten. Koninkl. Nederl. Aardrijkskundig Genootschap. Rede professor Böhl'. Newspaper article in *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, zondag 29 januari 1928 — Ochtendblad, A: 1. Online in *Delpher.nl*: <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010029474:mpeg21:a0220>. Accessed 11–8–2022.
- Nogarede, S.J. 2012. *F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl en de archeologie van het Nabije Oosten in Nederland*. Unpublished BA thesis Leiden University; online in Leiden University Student Repository: <https://studenttheses.universiteitleid.nl/handle/1887/19543>. Accessed 11–8–2022.
- Nöldeke, A., M. van Ess and E. Weber-Nöldeke (eds). 2008. *Briefe aus Uruk-Warka 1931–1939*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.
- Raulwing, P., and Th. van den Hout. 2022. 'The Worlds of Franz M. Th. de Liagre Böhl (1882–1976)'. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* Vol. 79, no. 3/4: 251–276.
- Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. 2014. *Jaarverslag 2013*. Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. Online: <https://www.rmo.nl/onderzoek/bibliotheek-en-archief/rmo-publicaties>. Accessed 11–8–2022.
- Wright, G.E. 1965. *Shechem. The Biography of a Biblical City*. New York / Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Zoest, C.H. van, and S.R.L. Berntsen. 2014. '75 jaar NINO. Geschiedenis van het Instituut in hoofdlijnen'. In O.E. Kaper and J.G. Dercksen (eds), *Waar de geschiedenis begon. Nederlandse onderzoekers in de ban van spijkerschrift, hiërogliefen en aardewerk. Uitgave naar aanleiding van het 75-jarig bestaan van het Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1939–2014*. Leiden: The Netherlands Institute for the Near East: 3–29.

Illustration Credits

Christoph Jahr

Figs. 1–2 Public Domain.

Felicity Cobbing

- Fig. 1 PEF-P5913: PEF Archives and Collections.
Fig. 2 Photograph by Cpl. H. Phillips, 1867. PEF-P1315. PEF Archives and Collections.
Fig. 3 Photograph by Lieut. H.H. Kitchener R. E., 1874–75 PEF-P-3574. PEF Archives and Collections.
Fig. 4 Published in the Survey of Western Palestine (left), and in Underground Jerusalem.

Sebastiaan R.L. Berntsen

- Figs. 1–4; 6 NINO Archive.
Fig. 5 NINO Archive, box 1023.
Fig. 7 NINO Archive, glass slide 1056–014.

Marleen De Meyer, Jean-Michel Bruffaerts and Jan Vandersmissen

- Fig. 1 Front page of *Le Patriote Illustré* (11 March 1923).
Fig. 2 © RMAH, Library, Photo inv. EGI-2 24397.
Fig. 3 Public Domain.
Fig. 4 Private collection Jean-Michel Bruffaerts.
Fig. 5 © RMAH, Library, Photo inv. EGI-2 2070.
Fig. 6 © Archives of the RMAH, AÉRÉ-EGKE: BE/380469/2/74, folder ‘Bibliographie [égyptologique]’.

Stephanie Boonstra

- Fig. 1 Object card (EES.TA.OC.30–31.0300) and negative (EES.TA.NEG.30–31.O.107) of MMA.31.114.1 Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Fig. 2 Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 3 Negative (EES.TA.NEG.30–31.O.024b), negatives of the gold and silver (EES.TA.NEG.30–31.O.026), and object card (EES.TA.OC.30–31.489) of the ‘Hittite god’ (JE 55408). Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.
Fig. 4 (EES.TA.COR.03.b.25). Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

Thomas L. Gertzen

- Fig. 1 Jüdisches Museum Berlin, Sammlung Otto Rubensohn, 2006/227/0.

- Fig. 2 Schweizerisches Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde, Kairo: M. Liebermann, Porträt Ludwig Borchardt. Foto A. Krause © Schweizer Institut Kairo.
- Fig. 3 Public Domain: Wikimedia Commons.
- Fig. 4 Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 96, 1942, 380.
- Fig. 5 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – PK, Abteilung Handschriften und Historische Drucke: Portr. Slg./Philol. kl/Gueterbock, Bruno, Nr. 1s.
- Fig. 6 Anton Jirku (ed.), Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte und Archäologie Palästinas. Ernst Sellin zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht, Leipzig 1927, frontispiece.
- Fig. 7 Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums 76.4. July/August, frontispiece. Digitalisiert durch die Universitätsbibliothek J.C. Senckenberg Frankfurt am Main [2022]: Compact Memory (<https://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/cm/id/12661203>).

Willemijn Waal

Figs. 1–10 NINO Archive. Photographs of figs. 6–9 made by Cees de Jonge.

Carolien H. van Zoest

- Fig. 1 Stained glass window by Louis Boermeester, 1950. Photo Leiden University / Anna Loh, 2022.
- Fig. 2 Wikimedia Commons / Gvdvarst, 2009.
- Fig. 3 NINO Ahnengalerie no. 239. Photographer unknown, published in Leidsch Dagblad 22 December 1951.
- Fig. 4 NINO Ahnengalerie no. 197. Photographer unknown, 29 January 1959.
- Fig. 5 NINO Ahnengalerie no. 238. Photographer unknown, 25 September 1943.
- Fig. 6 R.J. Demarée, 2008.

Olaf Matthes

- Figs. 1, 3–5 Private collection.
- Fig. 2 Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung Nr. 16, 1912.
- Fig. 6 <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/baa7940989>.
- Fig. 7 Image files are licensed as Public Domain Mark 1.0, Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, 18266627. Photograph taken by Olaf M. Teßmer. Medalist: Georges Morin.