

Cities of God

The history of archaeology is generally told as the making of a secular discipline. In nineteenth-century Britain, however, archaeology was entangled with questions of biblical authority and so with religious as well as narrowly scholarly concerns. In unearthing the cities of the Mediterranean and Near East, travellers, archaeologists and their popularisers transformed thinking on the truth of Christianity and its place in modern cities. This happened at a time when anxieties over the unprecedented rate of urbanisation in Britain coincided with critical challenges to biblical truth. In this context, cities from Jerusalem to Rome became contested models for the adaptation of Christianity to modern urban life. Using sites from across the biblical world, this book evokes the appeal of the ancient city to diverse groups of British Protestants in their arguments with one another and with their secular and Catholic rivals about the vitality of their faith in urban Britain.

DAVID GANGE is Lecturer in History at the University of Birmingham. He is author of *Dialogues with the Dead: Egyptology in British Culture and Religion* (2013).

MICHAEL LEDGER-LOMAS is Lecturer in the History of Christianity at King's College London. He is editor, with Scott Mandelbrote, of *Dissent and the Bible in Britain, c. 1650–1950* (2013).

Cities of God

The Bible and Archaeology in Nineteenth-Century Britain

DAVID GANGE
AND
MICHAEL LEDGER-LOMAS



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781316625651

© Cambridge University Press 2013

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2013

First paperback edition 2016

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Cities of God : the Bible and archaeology in nineteenth-century Britain / edited by David Gange, Michael Ledger-Lomas.

pages cm

ISBN 978-1-107-00424-5 (Hardback)

1. Bible – Antiquities 2. Middle East – Antiquities. 3. Archaeology – Great Britain – History – 19th century. I. Gange, David, author, editor of compilation. II. Ledger-Lomas, Michael, author, editor of compilation.

BS620.C53 2013

220.9'3094109034–dc23

2013013363

ISBN 978-1-107-00424-5 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-316-62565-1 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

Illustrations [page vi]

Notes on contributors [xi]

Acknowledgments [xii]

Introduction [1]

MICHAEL LEDGER-LOMAS AND DAVID GANGE

1. Troy [39]

DAVID GANGE AND RACHEL BRYANT DAVIES

2. Jerusalem [71]

SIMON GOLDHILL

3. Nineveh [111]

TIMOTHY LARSEN

4. Pithom [136]

DAVID GANGE

5. Babylon [164]

MICHAEL SEYMOUR

6. Sodom [197]

ASTRID SWENSON

7. Bethlehem [228]

EITAN BAR-YOSEF

8. Ephesus [254]

MICHAEL LEDGER-LOMAS

9. Rome [285]

JANE GARNETT AND ANNE BUSH

Bibliography [315]

Index [355]

Illustrations

Troy

- 1.1 Heinrich Schliemann, *The Double Scaean Gate* [page 54]
 Source: Heinrich Schliemann, *Troy and its Remains* (London, 1875), facing p. 303.
- 1.2 *Schliemann's Excavations at Mycenae* [66]
 Source: *Illustrated London News* (3 February 1877), p. 1.

Jerusalem

- 2.1 James Fergusson, *Perspective View of Herod's Temple as Restored* [83]
 Source: James Fergusson, *The Temples of the Jews and the Other Buildings in the Haram Area at Jerusalem* (London, 1878), frontispiece.
- 2.2 View of Capharnaum, photograph [89]
 Source: Yeshayahu Nir, *The Bible and the Image: The History of Photography in the Holy Land, 1839–1899* (Philadelphia, PA, 1985), p. 104.
- 2.3 *Ruth and Boaz*, photograph [90]
 Source: Nir, *Bible and the Image*, pp. 144–5.
- 2.4 Palestinian scene, photograph [92]
 Source: American Colony, Jerusalem.
- 2.5 C. R. Ashbee, Sketch for the Redevelopment of Jerusalem [96]
 Source: King's College, Cambridge, Modern Archives Centre.
- 2.6 *From a Drawing by Major General C. J. Gordon* [99]
 Source: Charles Wilson, *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre* (London, 1906), p. 206.

Nineveh

- 3.1 *Lowering the Great Winged Bull* [112]
 Source: Austen Henry Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains: With an Account of a Visit to the Chaldaean Christians of Kurdistan, and the*

Yezidis, or Devil-Worshippers; and an Enquiry into the Manner and Arts of the Ancient Assyrians (2 vols., London, 1849), I, frontispiece.

3.2 Sculpted relief [119]

Source: Joseph Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces: The Discoveries of Botta and Layard, Applied to the Elucidation of Holy Writ* (London, 1852), p. 1.

3.3 Henry Phillips, *Austen Henry Layard in Albanian Dress* [122]

Source: William Bruce, ed., *Sir A. Henry Layard, GCB, DCL, Autobiography and Letters from his Childhood until his Appointment as HM Ambassador at Madrid* (2 vols., London, 1903).

Pithom

4.1 Edward Poynter, *Israel in Egypt*, engraving [detail] [153]

Source: *Illustrated London News* (30 January 1868), pp. 84–5.

4.2 The brick store-chambers of Hebrew bondsmen [155]

Source: J. H. Breasted, *Egypt through the Stereoscope* (Washington, DC, 1904), position 32.

4.3 *A Buried City of the Exodus* [156]

Source: *Illustrated London News* (4 August 1883), p. 124.

Babylon

5.1 Plan of Babylon's ruins [168]

Source: Claudius Rich, *Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon* (London, 1815), frontispiece.

5.2 Dalziel brothers after Edward John Poynter, *By the Waters of Babylon*, woodcut [174]

Source: *Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Illustrations from the Old Testament: From Original Drawings by Sir F. Leighton* [etc.] (London, 1881), no pagination.

5.3 John Martin (1789–1854), *Belshazzar's Feast* [177]

Private Collection, photo © Christie's Images, The Bridgeman Art Library.

5.4 Edwin Long, *The Babylonian Marriage Market* (1875) [181]

Source: Royal Holloway College, The Bridgeman Art Library.

5.5 Hormuzd Rassam [185]

Source: British Museum.

5.6 The reconstructed Ishtar Gate in Berlin [192]

Source: Author's photograph.

Sodom

- 6.1 *Itinéraire du Pourtour de la Mer Morte* [204]
 Source: Louis Félicien Joseph Caignart de Saulcy, *Voyages Autour de la Mer Morte et Dans les Terres Bibliques* (2 vols., Paris, 1853), I, leaf 5.
- 6.2 *Map of the Dead Sea and Surrounds* [206]
 Source: Albert Augustus Isaacs, *The Dead Sea: Or, Notes and Observations made during a Journey to Palestine in 1856–7, on M. de Saulcy's Supposed Discovery of the Cities of the Plain* (London, 1857), facing p. 74.
- 6.3 John Martin, *The Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah* (1852) [218]
 Source: Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK, The Bridgeman Art Library.
- 6.4 William Holman Hunt, *The Scapegoat* (1854–6) [221]
 Reproduced in A. G. Temple, *Sacred Art: The Bible Story Pictured by Eminent Modern Painters* (1903), frontispiece.
- 6.5 *Looking South, on West Side of Dead Sea, from Am Jiddy (Engedi) with Jebul Usdum in the Far Distance* [223]
 Source: Jacob. E. Spafford, 'Around the Dead Sea by Motor Boat', *The Geographical Journal*, 39 (1912), 37–40.

Bethlehem

- 7.1 J. M. W. Turner, *Bethlehem* [234]
 Source: *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible . . . from Original Sketches Taken on the Spot Engraved by W. and E. Finden* (2 vols., London, 1836), II, plate 25.
- 7.2 *Bethlehem* [235]
 Source: Henry Baker Tristram, *Scenes in the East: Consisting of 12 Views of Places Mentioned in the Bible* (London, 1884), facing p. 1.
- 7.3 *The Plains of Bethlehem* [241]
 Source: Helen B. Harris, *Pictures of the East: Sketches of Biblical Scenes in Palestine and Greece* (London, 1897), facing p. 45.
- 7.4 *Mother-of-pearl Workers of Bethlehem* [250]
 Source: Charles Wilson, ed., *Picturesque Palestine, Sinai and Egypt* (2 vols., New York: D. Appleton, 1880), I, p. 133.

Ephesus

- 8.1 Thomas Allom, *Ephesus* [260]

- Source: Thamas Allom, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor* (London, 1838), facing p. 63.
- 8.2 *Ephesus*, photographic plate [261]
 Source: Alexander Svoboda, *The Seven Churches of Asia* (London, 1869), no pagination.
- 8.3 *Ephesus* [266]
 Source: Edward Falkener, *Ephesus and the Temple of Diana* (London, 1863), frontispiece.
- 8.4 *View of Excavation on the Site of the Temple, looking East, December 1871* [268]
 Source: John Turtle Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus: Including the Site and Remains of the Great Temple of Diana* (1877), first plate following p. 192.
- 8.5 *The Ephesus Room* [272]
 Source: Ada Habershon, *The Bible and the British Museum* (London, 1909), facing p. 9.
- 8.6 Gustave Doré, *St Paul at Ephesus* [279]
 Source: *The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments, According to the Authorised Version, With Illustrations by Gustave Doré* (3 vols., London, 1889–91), III, facing p. 200.

Rome

- 9.1 Robert Macpherson, *Portion of the Interior Wall of the Coliseum, c. 1860*, albumen print from collodian negative [288]
 Source: The Trout Gallery at Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA.
- 9.2 Unknown photographer, *Recent Excavations – Chamber of the House of Pudens of the First Century, Excavated in March 1870, in front of the Church of S. Pudentiana, West Side*, 1870, Parker catalogue no. 1733, albumen print from collodian negative [296]
 Source: Parker Collection of Historical Photographs, Oxford: Ashmolean Museum (on loan to Department of the History of Art).
- 9.3 Unknown photographer, *Excavations 1871 – View of the Ruins of the Porta Capena, with the Gardener's Cottage, to Shew the Exact Site of It*, 1871, Parker catalogue no. 2222, albumen print from collodian negative [297]
 Source: Parker Collection of Historical Photographs, Oxford: Ashmolean Museum (on loan to Department of the History of Art).

- 9.4 *Palace of the Caesars* [304]
Source: W. J. Conybeare and J. S. Howson, *The Life and Epistles of St Paul* (2 vols., London, 1856), II, p. 512.
- 9.5 *The Mamertine Prison, Rome*. Drawn by W. Linton on the spot.
Engraved by E. Finden [305]
Source: J. M. Wilson, *Landscapes of Interesting Localities Mentioned in the Holy Scriptures* (2 vols., Edinburgh, London and Dublin, 1852), II, facing p. 280.
- 9.6 Charles Smeaton, *Catacomb of S. Domitilla – Brickwork at the Entrance, c. AD 100, Taken with Magnesian Light*, c. 1864–6, Parker catalogue no. 620, albumen print from collodian negative [306]
Source: Parker Collection of Historical Photographs, Oxford: Ashmolean Museum.
- 9.7 *Interior of Colosseum* [307]
Source: Richard Deakin, *Flora of the Colosseum of Rome; or, Illustrations and Descriptions of Four Hundred and Twenty Plants Growing Spontaneously upon the Ruins of the Colosseum of Rome* (London, 1855; 1873 edn), facing p. 48.

Notes on contributors

DAVID GANGE is a lecturer in the Department of History at the University of Birmingham.

MICHAEL LEDGER-LOMAS is Lecturer in the History of Christianity at King's College, London.

RACHEL BRYANT-DAVIES recently completed a Ph.D. in Classics at the University of Cambridge.

SIMON GOLDHILL is Professor of Greek and the Director of CRASSH, University of Cambridge.

TIMOTHY LARSEN is Carolyn and Fred McManis Professor of Christian Thought, Wheaton College, Illinois.

MICHAEL SEYMOUR works at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

ASTRID SWENSON is a lecturer in the Department of Politics and History, Brunel University.

EITAN BAR-YOSEF is a senior lecturer in the Department of Foreign Literatures and Linguistics, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

ANNE BUSH is Professor and Chair of Design in the Department of Art and Art History at the University of Hawai'i.

JANE GARNETT is a fellow and tutor in History at Wadham College, Oxford.

Acknowledgments

This book is the outcome of work undertaken by the Cambridge Victorian Studies Group, which was generously funded by the Leverhulme Trust. Alongside the Trust, the editors would also like to thank King's College, Cambridge which hosted the two-day workshop at which drafts of this book's chapters were discussed. They are grateful to the directors of the Cambridge Victorian Studies Group – Mary Beard, Simon Goldhill, Peter Mandler, Clare Pettitt and James Secord – for their support during their three years as postdoctoral fellows on the project. They also owe a great deal to the contributions of their colleagues: Jos Betts, Helen Brookman, Adelene Buckland, Rachel Bryant Davies, Sadiya Qureshi, Astrid Swenson and Anna Vaninskaya. As well as the contributors to the collection and members of the Cambridge Victorian Studies Group, several other scholars made important contributions to the workshop, notably Scott Mandelbrote, Jonathan Parry, Eleanor Robson and William St Clair. Michael Sharp, Liz Hanlon and Gillian Dadd at Cambridge University Press have demonstrated superhuman patience and supportiveness in shepherding the volume into print, while the text has been much improved by the comments of anonymous readers for the Press. Ruth Long and the other members of the Imaging Department at Cambridge University Library were extremely helpful in procuring the majority of the images for this volume, as too was John Moelwyn-Hughes at the Bridgeman Art Library. Both editors would like to thank their current institutions for their support: the School of History and Cultures, University of Birmingham and the Department of Theology and Religious Studies, King's College, London, respectively.