

# The Augusta Victoria Hospice on the Mount of Olives and Kaiser Wilhelm II's Peaceful Crusade

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*This paper deals with the architectural design and decoration of the Augusta Victoria Hospice on the Mount of Olives as a reflection of Kaiser Wilhelm II's concept of Jerusalem, his religious views and political aspirations. Wilhelm II described his pilgrimage to Jerusalem as „a new and wonderful Crusade under the signs of Peace and Love that reconcile enemies.“ However, in the second half of the nineteenth century, at the pinnacle of imperialism and colonial expansion, this expression conveyed not only Christian faith and a romantic concept of the medieval Crusades, but also important political issues. The program and scenery of the Kaiser's Peaceful Crusade, his public appearances and declarations, and last but not the least important, the monuments he erected in Jerusalem, clearly hint at these complex and many layered purposes. The Crusader imagery in the Augusta Victoria compound, perhaps more than any other Wilhelmine monument here, discloses a vision of Jerusalem rebuilt as a Christian realm under the patronage of the German Kaiser who conquered it in a Peaceful Crusade. The imagery also exposes the Kaiser's reinterpretation of the history of Jerusalem as an attempt to become part of it.*

## Introduction

In 1898, on the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his ascension to the throne, Wilhelm II, Kaiser of Germany and King of Prussia, made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land accompanied by his wife, Augusta Victoria, and a large entourage. The journey was extended to visits to Istanbul and Damascus as a guest of the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II<sup>1</sup>. During his visit to Jerusalem, the Kaiser left his mark on three important monuments: he consecrated the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer in the Muristan, presented the area on Mount Zion to the German Catholic congregation to build the Dormition Church and abbey, and decided to erect the Augusta Victoria Hospice on the Mount of Olives, at the request of the German Protestant community. The Augusta Victoria complex, the Dormition Church, and another German institution, the Hospice of Saint Paul, were inaugurated in April 1910, in an all-German national festival attended by the Kaiser's son Eitel Friedrich and his consort, a retinue of German princes and churchmen, and representatives of the local German community<sup>2</sup>.

Officially, Wilhelm II's journey to the Holy Land was motivated by a deep religious belief and the wish to fulfill the mission that his ancestors had undertaken, by inaugurating the Redeemer's Church, the first German Lutheran church in Jerusalem<sup>3</sup>. Nevertheless, the placement, architectural design and decoration of the Augusta Victoria compound also hint at significant political aims<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> RICHTER 1997. A previous visit to Istanbul took place in 1889, on the heels of new German economic inroads in Turkey and seizing the opportunity of his sister's wedding in Athens. See NALTCHAYAN 1989, 52.

<sup>2</sup> MIRBACH c.1912, 1-2, 16 ff. We should notice that the building of the Augusta Victoria Hospice was not finished yet, and was completed only on July 1914.

<sup>3</sup> EISLER 1997, 10-17; HÄNSEL 2003, esp. 19-24; SCHÜTZ 1988, esp. 42, 138; SCHÜTZ 1998, 492 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, Wilhelm II's political use of imperial architecture and architectural decoration is scarcely documented. Most probably, he did not want to expose his aims to public discussion. See KLAHR 2002, 2.

## 1. The Augusta Victoria Hospice: an expression of national and dynastic power

The Augusta Victoria Hospice (fig. 1) was built as a German guesthouse and a place to celebrate Christian and German national holidays, and included a church commemorating – at the Kaiserin's request – Christ's Ascension to Heaven at the site<sup>5</sup>. The complex, under the patronage of the Augusta Victoria Foundation, was planned by the Berliner Architect Robert Leibnitz and built by local workers under expert German supervision<sup>6</sup>.



Fig. 1: Augusta Victoria Hospice, west façade

Historical documents state that the location of the compound on the Mount of Olives was chosen because of the holiness of the site and its topographical advantage: the highest mount range in Jerusalem, overlooking the Holy Places, the impressive Judean desert, the Dead Sea and the Moab mountains<sup>7</sup>. The location complied with the imperial couple's request that „...the building be perceived and recognized as a German monument from almost every location in and around Jerusalem“<sup>8</sup>. Undoubtedly, these criteria correspond more to visual and political prominence than to the social purposes of the compound. Wilhelm wished to enhance his status both in the Holy Land and in Europe, by adopting the image of patron of the Holy

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<sup>5</sup> In 1907 the Augusta Victoria Foundation decided that the Hospice would also provide for the education and training of young girls in housekeeping. See MIRBACH c.1912, 127, 142; WAWRZYN 2005, 10-11 (to be published. I am grateful to Heidemarie Wawrzyn for letting me consult part of her work).

<sup>6</sup> TRENSKY 1990, 11 ff.; WAWRZYN 2005, 2-3, 6-8. Robert Leibnitz worked at the G. and C. Gause firm in Berlin, renowned for its royal and governmental buildings.

<sup>7</sup> The peak rises about 80 meters above the Temple Mount, 1200 meters above the Dead Sea, and 810 meters above sea-level.

<sup>8</sup> LEIBNITZ 1912, 92. In November 1903 Consul Schmidt purchased 81.000 m<sup>2</sup>, and in 1905 the site reached a total of 98.466 m<sup>2</sup>, a bigger area than the Christian quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem. The bell tower of the church rises to 65 m. On the „German identity“ of the buildings, see below.

City, drawing a parallel to the Crusaders and through them to Constantine the Great, the founder of Christian Jerusalem<sup>9</sup>.

Not by chance the Kaiser built his first church in Jerusalem, the Redeemer's Church, in the Crusader compound in the Muristan, next to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The German church was perceived both as a parallel and a continuation of Constantine's Church of the Resurrection, which was redesigned by the Crusaders<sup>10</sup>. In Bethlehem he built the Lutheran Church of Christmas Night, echoing the church that Constantine built above the Grotto of the Nativity, restored and lavishly decorated by the Crusaders<sup>11</sup>. The Ascension Church in the Augusta Victoria complex followed both the Crusader and the Byzantine churches, dedicated to the same event, which stood nearby the Constantinian Church of the Eleona<sup>12</sup>. Also only the wish to create a parallel can explain the name of the Ascension Church, and the Augusta Victoria Hospice „on the Mount of Olives“, since the site actually is not the Mount of Olives but Mount Scopus: the desired dedication of the church „demanded“ the manipulation of geography<sup>13</sup>. Significantly, in his aim to become part of the history of the Holy Land, the Kaiser read and quoted Eusebius of Caesarea's biography of Constantine the Great, the *Vita Constantini*, during his pilgrimage<sup>14</sup>.

The mosaic decoration of the church at the Augusta Victoria complex is part of this context as well<sup>15</sup>. The choice of the Ascension of Christ for the decoration of the apse half-dome is a function of the *locus sanctus*, and the Adoration of the Child and the Crucifixion, on the bema walls, are theologically related: the former represents the first epiphany of Jesus, his coming to the world and universal recognition as King and Savior, and the latter – the end of his mission on earth by his redeeming sacrifice. The choice of the two scenes on the gallery walls, adjacent to the bema, is not as common and clear, primarily because the proximity and same format, a lunette, suggest a thematic relation between all the scenes. The gallery mosaics depict Jesus' visit to Mary and Martha in Bethany, and his prophesy of the destruction of Jerusalem, scenes that could also be related to Jesus' mission: Jesus praises Mary, who listens to him (Lk. 10:38-42), and prophesies the destruction brought about by those who disregarded God's word, and demanded Christ's sacrifice. In a politically oriented scheme, the four scenes represent the Holy Places where Wilhelm chose to build his monuments<sup>16</sup>.

Wishing for the Augusta Victoria Hospice to become a symbol of Protestantism and *Deutschtum* in Jerusalem, the Kaiser asked Architect Leibnitz to design and decorate it as a medieval fortress with „the best Romanesque art from the time of the Crusaders and his an-

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<sup>9</sup> For a different opinion see NEUBERT-PREINE 2003, 27-28. He thinks that there was no programmatic choice of the site. For a review of the Crusaders' efforts to enhance their power by drawing a parallel to Constantine, in our context, see ARAD 2005, 11.

<sup>10</sup> KRÜGER 1995, 94; NEUBERT-PREINE 2003, 32. For the Crusader compound: FOLDA 1995, esp. 37 ff. 114-115, 119.

<sup>11</sup> On the Christmas Night Church, built in 1893 by August Orth under the patronage of Augusta Victoria: KRÜGER 1995, 91 f. 189 f. 197-198, 227, 231 f. 254, and also below.

<sup>12</sup> The Eleona Church was built above the grotto where Jesus taught his disciples. It also commemorated Jesus' Ascension until the erection of a distinct memorial church higher on the mount, c. 380. On its ruins the Crusaders built a new church. See VINCENT 1957, 48-71.

<sup>13</sup> See below, and also WAWRZYN 2005, introduction.

<sup>14</sup> KRÜGER 1995, 227.

<sup>15</sup> The mosaics were designed by H. Schaper and E. Pfannschmidt, and the Berlin firm Puhl & Wagner made them in Germany and installed them in the Ascension Church. See TREECK/VAASEN 1990, 61 ff.

<sup>16</sup> The scenes of the Adoration and the Crucifixion are a copy of the mosaics that Pfannschmidt designed for the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church (Gedächtniskirche) in Berlin (1891-1895), built by Wilhelm II in honor of his grandfather Wilhelm I. The reproduction of the scenes serves as a symbolical link between Jerusalem and Germany. See below.

cestors from the Hohenstaufen House<sup>17</sup>. Leibnitz built a massive gate house and a three-story structure around an open court at the center of the complex, with a church and a powerful bell tower which served also as an observation point<sup>18</sup>. He referred to medieval German fortresses, castles and churches as his source of inspiration<sup>19</sup>. Common to all – the Romanesque and the Wilhelmine Neo-Romanesque buildings – are the massive and severe look, the typical German, tiled, pointed roof with cuckoo windows, and the heavy towers<sup>20</sup>. The historicist style design prevailed at the time across Europe and its colonial architecture<sup>21</sup>. It featured an eclectic combination of visual elements and metaphors from both past and present, creating a visual and symbolical link between the historical monuments and the contemporary ones. Wilhelm's innovation, in all its significance, was the identification of the Romanesque and the Crusader styles as a German style, expressing national and dynastic identity, albeit lacking the basis for such identification.

## 2. The appropriation of the art and history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

The association of the Augusta Victoria Hospice with Crusader Jerusalem was achieved already in the ground plan, drawing inspiration from the Crusader complex known today as the Muristan, which comprised a monastery, churches, a hospice and a hospital that belonged to the Order of the Hospitallers of St. John. Although the complex was built before the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, the ever growing flow of pilgrims required extensive development on part of the Crusaders<sup>22</sup>. The similarity between the Mount of Olives' and the Muristan complexes stands out especially when comparing the German Hospice to the portion of the Crusader quarter that became property of the Prussian Crown in 1869<sup>23</sup>, and housed the first Lutheran church in the Holy City, the Redeemer's Church<sup>24</sup>. Wilhelm also intentionally

<sup>17</sup> LEIBNITZ 1912, 92. SEIDEL 1907, 80, states that Wilhelm called the Romanesque „the Old German style“, and opposed initiatives to build Lutheran churches in other styles. He relented only in the case of the Berlin Cathedral, in whose design his predecessors had been involved. On the symbolism of the Neo-Romanesque style in Wilhelmine architecture: BRINGMANN 1977, esp. 584, 587, 594; JEFFERIES 1995, esp. ch. 1.

<sup>18</sup> The main building comprised a large reception hall, a dining room and a library, sixty to seventy rooms comprising the residential quarter of the Order's headmaster, the quarter of the Diaconessian nuns in care of the Hospice, servants and thirty to forty guests. An independent house served as the gardener's residence. See LEIBNITZ 1912, 90-92, and WAWRZYN 2005, introduction.

<sup>19</sup> Specifically the abbey church of St. Michael at Hildesheim (1010-1033), the Imperial Palace in Goslar (mid 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries), and the Cathedral of Bamberg (consecrated in 1237). LEIBNITZ 1912, 92. Most significant is the remarkable likeness to the Wartburg medieval castle in Eisenach, in whose 20<sup>th</sup> century decoration Wilhelm was involved. See SCHMIDT 1997, 103-128, and below.

<sup>20</sup> Wilhelm chose the Neo-Romanesque style for his buildings in Germany too, such as the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church, the churches dedicated to the Redeemer in Bad-Homburg (1893-1898), Mirbach (1902-1903), and Gerolstein (1911-1913), and the Imperial Palace in Posen (c. 1910). BRINGMANN 1977, passim; TAYLOR 1998; TAYLOR 1985.

<sup>21</sup> Although historical styles had been revived before, the 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed an unprecedented turnover of past forms. Most frequently, architects did not closely follow one historical style but combined elements from different sources, past and present. The result was an eclectic hybrid of historicist details. See TAYLOR 1998, 6-7; KROYANKER 1993, 102-182; KROYANKER 1991, passim.

<sup>22</sup> The name „Muristan“ derives from „Miristan“, the Kurdish word for hospital. For the Crusader compound see FOLDA 1995, esp. 274-280, and PRAWER 1963, 389-392.

<sup>23</sup> The interest of the Prussian Crown in the Muristan compound already aroused in 1851, when King Friedrich Wilhelm IV, Wilhelm II's granduncle, asked to build a German Protestant church in Jerusalem. Because of various difficulties, only in 1869 Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, who became Kaiser Friedrich III in 1888, took possession of the site on behalf of his father Wilhelm I. See NEUBERT-PREINE 2003, 30 ff.

<sup>24</sup> In the Muristan, as well as in the Wilhelmine compounds there and in the Mount of Olives, the buildings are arranged around an open court surrounded by a colonnade, but the Ascension Church is oriented to the south,

restricted the plan of the Redeemer's Church to achieve a closer parallel to the part of the Crusader complex in his possession<sup>25</sup>, and redesigned the bell tower of the church in the Romanesque style, declining Architect Adler's Neo-Gothic design<sup>26</sup>. His aim was to convey an image of continuity from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem to his own Kingdom.

The Kaiser's objective stands out in another deliberate step: the handing over of the German institutions in the Muristan and on the Mount of Olives, of all, to the Johanniter Order. This Prussian-Protestant order that flourished in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, headed by a royal prince, considered itself the successor to the Crusader Order of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, in charge, among others, of the complex in the Muristan. The headmaster of the Johanniters at the time was Eitel-Friedrich, second son of Wilhelm and Augusta Victoria, a fact lending the political-historical link a personal note<sup>27</sup>.

The relations between the Augusta Victoria Hospice, the German Empire, the Kaiser and the Johanniter Order are also conveyed by symbols recurring in its decoration. The Prussian royal eagle, for instance, so conspicuous in monuments in Germany, greets visitors to the church in two large statues on the stairs to the second floor entrance<sup>28</sup>, and decorates the imperial couple's throne in the paintings on the church ceiling (fig. 2); furthermore it also turns into a decorative motif in the reception halls at the guesthouse and at the quarters of the Johanniter headmaster. This royal symbol clearly points to Wilhelm II, who, as chief of staff of the German army, flaunts a golden helmet topped by an eagle<sup>29</sup>. Most important in our context, the eagle, as a heraldic symbol of the German Empire, is rooted in the Middle-Ages and associates the present dynasty to Germany's Crusader past. One relevant example is the heraldry of the Hohenstaufen Friedrich II – sovereign of the Holy Roman Empire, King of Germany, Sicily, and not the least important, Jerusalem – as in his gold coins and his fleet, including the battleships that sailed in the two Crusades that he led<sup>30</sup>. Another is the heraldic symbol of the Knights of the Teutonic Order, a German religious and military order, established in 1190 with the purpose of founding and managing a German hospice in Crusader Acre<sup>31</sup>. The Cross

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to the traditional holy place, while the Medieval Church of St. Mary Latin and the Wilhelmine Redeemer's Church built on it are canonically oriented to the east. The cornerstone of the Redeemer's Church was laid on the 31<sup>st</sup> of October 1893 and the consecration took place five years later to the day. The date, Reformation Day, carried deep religious and political meaning.

<sup>25</sup> The ruins of the Crusader church were discovered in the early 1870s, consequently Kaiser Wilhelm I requested Architect Adler to integrate the „Church of the Order of St. John“ into the German buildings. Almost twenty years later, during the preparations for the laying of the cornerstone, a strong stone wall came to light in the planned location of the main apse of the Lutheran church. This wall was considered (erroneously) to be part of Jerusalem's second city wall, and served as evidence, like a relic, of the location of the Jesus' crucifixion, entombment and resurrection. Therefore the Lutheran church was considered not only a renewal of the Crusader Church of St. Mary Latin but also of Constantine's Church of the Anastasis, and Wilhelm II decided to name it not in honor of the Order of St. John, as his grandfather intended to do, but of the Redeemer. See TIBAWY 1961, 214; KRÜGER 1995, 56, 77-83, and NEUBERT-PREINE 2003, 29-30.

<sup>26</sup> The Kaiser signed his design „Wilhelm II. R. Architekt“. See SEIDEL 1907, 78, 83, and BRINGMANN 1977, 598. Even though experts question that the Kaiser was the actual designer of the bell tower in the Neo-Romanesque style (KRÜGER 1995, 95-96, NEUBERT-PREINE 2003, 31), the fact that the design was ascribed to Wilhelm by his contemporaries is most important. We should notice that Wilhelm made changes in the architectural plan and the decoration program of other monuments. See SEIDEL 1907, 38; BRINGMANN 1977, 598; JEFFERIES 1995, 48-49.

<sup>27</sup> Another main visual evidence to the importance of the Johanniter Order in the politics of Wilhelm II is his portrait dressed up in the black cape of a Johanniter royal knight in the hall of the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church, and the decoration of the imperial box in that church with the Jerusalem Cross. FROWEIN-ZIROFF 1982, fig. 218a.

<sup>28</sup> The statues now stand at the entrance to the church forecourt.

<sup>29</sup> Paradigmatic, in our context, are the photographs of his triumphal entry into Jerusalem (fig. 10).

<sup>30</sup> KANTOROWICZ 1957, 125, 224-225.

<sup>31</sup> For example, in a Teutonic stone stamp found at Montfort. See BOAS 1999, 134, fig. 3.

of the Johanniter Order is frequent as well, quoting the symbol of the Hospitallers of the Crusader period<sup>32</sup>; it stands out both as a heraldic symbol and a decorative motif in the main entrance to the Hospice, where it appears combined with the monogram of the Kaiserin<sup>33</sup>.

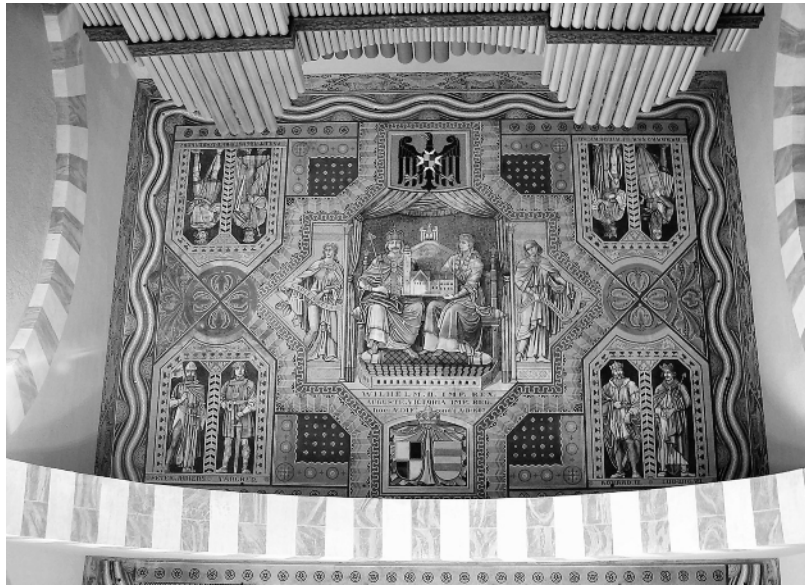


Fig. 2: Ascension Church, ceiling painting (detail)

Another significant link is achieved by the recurrence of the Jerusalem Cross in Wilhelmine monuments in Jerusalem and Germany.



Fig. 3: Augusta Victoria Hospice, main entrance

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<sup>32</sup> For a brief account on the Hospitallers, see CROSS/LIVINGSTONE 1997, s.v. „Hospitallers“.

<sup>33</sup> The Johanniter Cross recurs in the guesthouse and the Ascension Church, and in important pieces of furniture such as Prince Eitel Friedrich’s chair, originally in the reception room and now in the Church of the Redeemer.

In addition to these clearly identifiable symbols, the decoration of the Augusta Victoria Hospice links the German Empire to the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem using subtler associations, such as a pair of monumental statues of an angel subduing a dragon, which stand guard at the main entrance to the house (fig. 3).<sup>34</sup> Not by chance both warriors, St. Michael and St. George<sup>35</sup>, feature a Crusader coat of mail – that of the warrior standing at the right of the portal with a big Johanniter cross on the breast, and that of the warrior at the left with three small crosses. In Christian tradition, Archangel Michael subduing the Dragon (Rev. 12:7-9, 20:2) is an allegory of the Church defeating the enemy, whereas in the Middle-Ages he was also revered as patron saint of the military orders in various kingdoms, including the German<sup>36</sup>. The Crusaders have also drawn a parallel between the Archangel's victory over the Dragon and their own victory, which led to the liberation of the Holy Land from the Muslim infidels. At the same time, as a hero defeating a dragon, St. George led the soldier-saints defending the Christian nations, and as early as the First Crusade he was revered as the patron saint of the Crusaders<sup>37</sup>. The Crusader historian Raymond d'Aguilers wrote that in the 9<sup>th</sup> day of the siege on Muslim dominated Jerusalem, a knight appeared on the Mount of Olives and signaled with his shield to the Crusader army to attack the Muslims fortified in the citadel. This knight was later identified as St. George<sup>38</sup>. The miracle was visually recorded, among other sources, in a map of Crusader Jerusalem dated to c.1170, presently in Hague<sup>39</sup>. Most important, Archangel Michael and St. George held strong political influence also in Wilhelmine Germany, and the Kaiser referred to them both in speeches and in visual arts<sup>40</sup>. Therefore, their appearance as Crusader knights, in the portal of the German institution on the Mount of Olives, clearly presents the religious and political aspirations of Wilhelm II, wishing to re-establish Christian Jerusalem under the Empire's and his own personal auspices.

Thus far, the most elaborate, demonstrative, and ostentatious expression of the Kaiser's self-image as the heir to the Crusader Kings, appears in the decoration of the church ceiling<sup>41</sup>. The painting spreads, as one iconographical unit, over the three bays of the nave and the central bay of the aisles (fig. 4), the flat ceiling unifying all the architectural components. The ico-

<sup>34</sup> The portal decoration was designed by Prof. G. Riegelmann in Germany, who also worked in other Wilhelmine projects, and carried out in Jerusalem. See TRENSKY 1990, 29.

<sup>35</sup> As identified by LEIBNITZ 1912, 92. St. George is unconventionally winged. Probably for this reason he was identified as an additional image of Archangel Michael by MEYER-MARIL 1997, 55. The iconographic deviation can stem from the eclectic concepts and styles characteristic of Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Significantly, the message that the two warriors express, in the Augusta Victoria Hospice, includes the symbolism of St. George. See below.

<sup>36</sup> *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. X, New York, 1911, s.v. „St. Michael the Archangel“.

<sup>37</sup> St. George was revered as the patron of the Holy Roman Empire and as the protector of Christian soldiers, since the 7<sup>th</sup> century in Byzantium and the early 12<sup>th</sup> in the West. See G. KÜHNEL 1988, 74-75.

<sup>38</sup> HILL/HILL 1982, 149-150; HILL/HILL 1968, 127.

<sup>39</sup> The map depicts St. George in Crusader military garb, leading the knights and piercing with a long spear the back of the fleeing Muslims. See LEVY 1991, 445-449, fig. p. 446. Most probably in the same symbolical light St. George appears in the Crusader decoration of the Nativity Church at Bethlehem and the Church of the Hospitallers of St. John in Emmaus/Abu-Gosh. See KÜHNEL 1988, 74-76, 172.

<sup>40</sup> For example, in a speech on December 1897, celebrating Germany's first conquest in Eastern Asia, Wilhelm warned that „*the German Michael has planted his shield, blazoned with the Imperial eagle*, firmly in that [China] soil, ready to extend his protection... [but also] strike“ (my italics). HAMMER 1917, 141-142. Michael also prominently appears at the center of the floor in the hall of the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church, right below the image of the Pantocrator. The Memorial celebrates the German victory over the French in 1870 that led to the establishment of the Empire. Also St. George killing the dragon was represented in the Memorial Church in a contemporary context: in a monumental statue in the Römisches Forum he appears in the same axis with the Imperial Eagle. FROWEIN-ZIROFF 1982, 180, 182. The image of St. George, surmounting the north door, known as the Imperial Portal, strongly resembles Wilhelm. TAYLOR 1985, 142.

<sup>41</sup> Otto Vittali Jr. made the drawings in Germany, and they were carried out in the Ascension Church by Schmidt, a German painter living in Jerusalem. See TREECK/VAASEN 1990, 61 ff.

nographic program presents the Kingdom of Heaven and its representatives on the earth, in a composition centered on a large cross, connecting all the decorated panels. At the center of the cross, on the central bay of the nave, Christ Pantocrator reigns, surrounded by his heavenly court<sup>42</sup>. On the lower part of the cross, on the bay next to the apse, appears the Holy City of Jerusalem (*Urbs Sancta Jerusalem*), and at its sides, but surrounding the cross, stand the first four monarchs of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. On the upper part of the cross, on the northern bay of the nave, appear Kaiser Wilhelm II and his wife, enthroned and holding a model of the Augusta Victoria building. At the sides of the imperial pair, but again surrounding the cross, stand eight Crusader kings and knights. Lastly, on the arms of the cross, on the central bays of the aisles, appear King David between Isaiah and Melchizedek, and King Solomon between Jeremiah and Daniel. All the figures are identified by their names, and luxuriously outfitted according to their high political and religious rank.

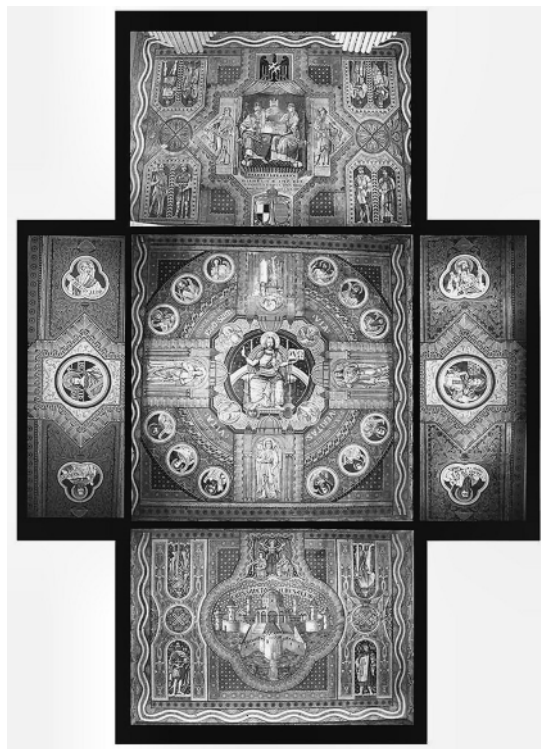


Fig. 4: Ascension Church, ceiling painting (iconographic layout)

The identity of the Crusader kings and knights requires special attention. All first four rulers of Jerusalem flank the Holy City: Gottfried of Bouillon,<sup>43</sup> Baldwin I, Baldwin II and Fulk of Anjou. The Crusader kings and knights, standing in pairs at the sides of Wilhelm and his consort, are Tancred the Norman and Pierre the Hermit from Amiens, who took part in the First Crusade, Conrad III Kaiser of Germany and Louis VII King of France, who led the Second

<sup>42</sup> The four archangels, the four evangelists, and the twelve apostles. Between the apostles runs an inscription with the opening verse of the hymn *Gloria in excelsis Deo* in the *Hymnus Angelicus*, and Jesus' words in John 14:6, *Ego sum via, veritas, vita* (I am the way, the truth and the life). See RIGHETTI 1955, 222-224, RIGHETTI 1956, 189-191, 571 ff.

<sup>43</sup> Gottfried of Bouillon refused to be crowned King of Jerusalem because of his deep love and respect for Jesus, who was crowned there with thorns. Gottfried was titled Prince of Jerusalem and Defender of the Holy Sepulcher (*Advocatus Sancti Sepulchri*). See FOLDA 1995, 34. The artist rightly depicted Gottfried wearing a helmet, not a royal crown.



Crusade, Richard Lionheart King of England and Philip August King of France, who led the Third Crusade, and two German Kaisers: Friedrich Barbarossa, who also took part in the Third Crusade, and his grandson Friedrich II, who led the Fifth and Sixth Crusades and was the last King to reign over Jerusalem. The identity of these Crusader kings points to a deliberate manipulation of the history of Jerusalem: not all the Crusades are represented. Sympathetically, one can understand why the less successful Crusades were not represented<sup>44</sup>. However, what could be the reasons for the exclusion of the Seventh and Eighth Crusades, led by Louis IX the Saint, King of France? Ultimately, Louis arrived at the Holy Land in 1250, and though he did not succeed in liberating Jerusalem in his four years' stay, his presence did strengthen Acre, the *de facto* capital of the shrinking Latin Kingdom<sup>45</sup>. Undoubtedly, the one reason was Wilhelm's wish to end the „historic account“ with the German Kings, specifically Friedrich II, who was the last King to reign over Jerusalem. By this manipulation of history, Wilhelm put forth the desired continuity between himself and the Crusader kings, presenting himself as the heir to Friedrich.

Wilhelm's appropriation of the history of Jerusalem includes Crusader fashion. The Kaiser and his consort are adorned in Crusader garments, rather than the latest royal fashion of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. For example, Wilhelm is wearing the contemporary Prussian crown yet his robe is typical of medieval monarchs, such as Crusader king Philip August, who appears above and to the left of Wilhelm in a similar robe with an embroidered border, and fastened on the shoulder with a royal fibula (fig. 2)<sup>46</sup>.

In addition, one must notice that in order to further strengthen his place in the history of Jerusalem, Wilhelm also sought to manifest his theological-political relation to the ideal biblical kings, and emphasize his being Friedrich II's heir, not only by historical but also by divine right, since according to the Scriptures the biblical kings reigned by the Grace of God<sup>47</sup>. Thus Wilhelm adopted the Crusader fashion not only for himself, but also for them, with only a wide belt, identifying Solomon as an Oriental king, distinguishing between both robes. Not by chance, the imperial pair and the biblical kings alone are portrayed inside the cross and in the same axis with Jesus with, noticeably, Wilhelm and Augusta Victoria at the head of the cross, while the medieval Crusaders appear on the sides. Moreover, the Holy City appears beneath, on the same axis with the Kaiser and his consort, with Jesus creating a bridge between them<sup>48</sup>.

Likewise significant is the characterization of the imperial pair by their virtues. The personification of *Sapientia* (Wisdom) stands at the Kaiser's side, and that of *Misericordia* (Mercy) next to the Kaiserin, both dressed in Crusader attire and identified by their names. By presenting their Virtues, the imperial pair echoes the ideal biblical kings, as well as the Crusader kings who sought the relation to them<sup>49</sup>. The image of a reigning monarch, accompanied by the ideal kings and Virtues, was a *topos* since the Middle-Ages: monarchs depicted themselves endowed with the virtues of the ideal biblical kings, whose kingdom they inherited and ruled as a Christian realm in the name of Christ. At the peak of the First Crusade, a miniature

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<sup>44</sup> One of the omitted Crusades is the Fourth, called to liberate Jerusalem from the Muslims that took the city from the Crusaders in 1187: instead, it went off course and in 1204 took Constantinople. Another is the Children's Crusade (1213/4), ending with the young boys sold into slavery to Muslims by Christian ship-owners. *The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, vol. 23, 1983, 1118.

<sup>45</sup> PRAWER 1972.

<sup>46</sup> BOUCHER 1997, 173 ff.

<sup>47</sup> The question of the authority and the status of the king as a representative of Jesus on earth became an issue already in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and engaged the mind of princes since the Middle-Ages until the First World War. See: KANTOROWICZ 1965, 65-91; KANTOROWICZ 1957.

<sup>48</sup> The prophets and Melchisedek, flanking the biblical kings, are also related to Jerusalem, Kingdom and Church. See ARAD 2005, 26-27.

<sup>49</sup> KÜHNEL 1994, 84-85, 88-91.

of *David rex et propheta*, in a Bible from Cîteaux, presented Jerusalem as the City of David and of the Crusaders, who are seen fighting above the walls like Virtues<sup>50</sup>. David is an image of Fulk, King of Jerusalem, in the ivory covers of the Psalter of Queen Melisende, created around 1136-1143 in the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher<sup>51</sup>. Intentionally, the personifications of the Virtues, subduing the Vices, are wearing coats of mail in the way of Crusader warriors. Crusader monarchs associating themselves also to King Solomon, such as Louis IX the Pious in the Arsenal Bible, created for him in Acre around 1250-1254, and in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, which he built in the eve of his depart at the head of the Seventh Crusade<sup>52</sup>. A portrayal of Solomon in the Arsenal Bible alludes to Louis by showing the biblical king sitting in a building reminiscent of the Sainte-Chapelle, which was considered an equivalent of the Ark of the Law in the Temple of Solomon<sup>53</sup>.

Lastly, the association that the kings of Crusader Jerusalem drew to David and Solomon included the appropriation and reinterpretation of earlier monuments and traditions, a means later adopted by Kaiser Wilhelm too. One example is the transformation of the Umayyad Dome of the Rock into the *Templum Domini*, the Temple of the Lord, and of the Al-Aqsa Mosque into the *Templum Salomonis*<sup>54</sup>, the first palace of the Crusader kings<sup>55</sup>. These monuments, in their new, Christian identity, played a central role in political and liturgical ceremonies in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem<sup>56</sup>. Wilhelm continued this tradition with a political aim in mind: the *Templum Domini*, in the image of the Dome of the Rock, stands out in Wilhelmine monuments, such as the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church in Berlin<sup>57</sup> and the Ascension Church on the Mount of Olives (fig. 5).

The monarchs of Crusader Jerusalem were praised as Conquerors of the Kingdom of David, and as brave soldiers and virtuous men, like the biblical king, in contemporary writing<sup>58</sup>. Anselm of Canterbury wrote to Baldwin I around 1102, congratulating him on his coronation as King of Jerusalem, and wishing him that „Jesus Christ may guide his heart and deeds, so that he may reign for ever with King David, his predecessor“<sup>59</sup>.

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<sup>50</sup> Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Bible of Stephan Harding, ms. 14, fol. 13v. David is enthroned in the fortified city, and Crusader warriors make the illustration an allegory of the liberation of Jerusalem from the Muslims. According to Kühnel, the Crusader soldiers can be seen as a personification of the Virtues. See KÜHNEL 1987, 164, 165, fig. 125, and also KÜHNEL 1991, 412-413 fig. 13.

<sup>51</sup> Presently in the British Library (cod. Egerton 1139). See KÜHNEL 1994, esp. 84 ff. figs. 71, 72.

<sup>52</sup> WEISS 1992, 15-38 and WEISS 1998, esp. 53 ff. 180 ff.

<sup>53</sup> WEISS 1992, and WEISS 1998, esp. figs. 47-48.

<sup>54</sup> SCHEIN 1991, 238 ff.

<sup>55</sup> PRAWER 1991, 32.

<sup>56</sup> For instance, the coronation of the kings, the Day of the Liberation of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, liturgical processions in feasts like the Presentation of the Jesus in the Temple, the Purification of Mary, and Palm Sunday. Idem, p. 36, and also SCHEIN 1991, 239.

<sup>57</sup> FROWEIN-ZIROFF 1982, fig. 247.

<sup>58</sup> KÜHNEL 1994, 87.

<sup>59</sup> SCHMITT, p. 225, ep. 324. The Crusader historian WILLIAM OF TYRE (1943, vol. 2, 47) praised Fulk as David, and Ordericus Vitalis likewise praised Gottfried of Bouillon. See *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and tr. by M. Chibnall, Oxford 1975, vol. 5, Book IX, pp. 174-175, and Book X, 21, pp. 342-343, after KÜHNEL 1994, 87.

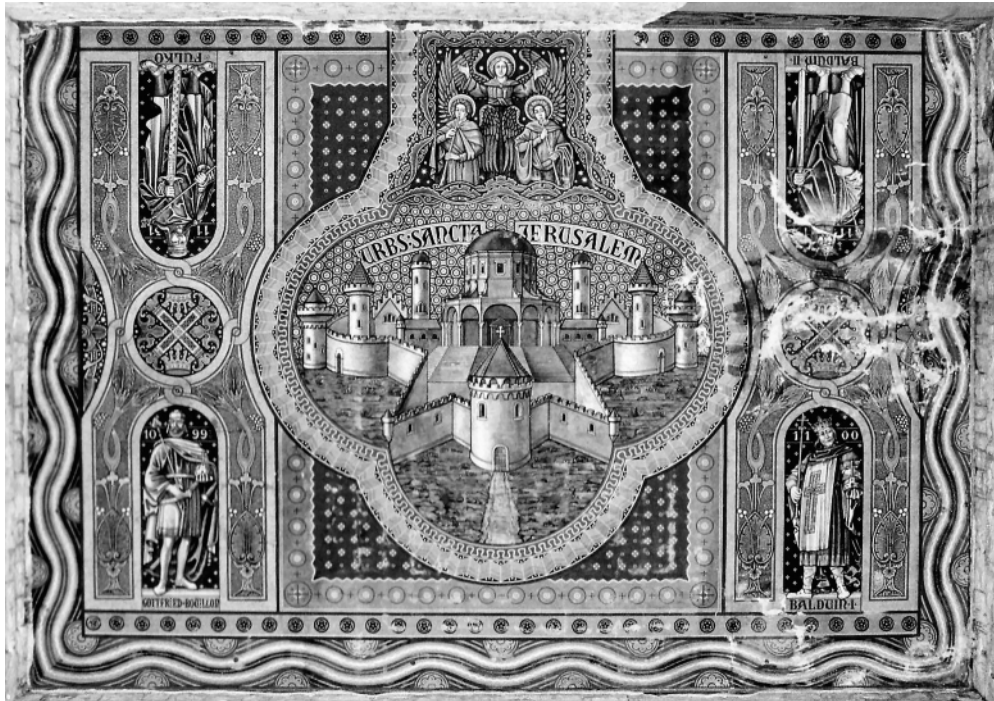


Fig. 5: Ascension Church, ceiling painting (detail)

Wilhelm's contemporaries were also aware of the association that he drew to the ideal biblical kings, to enhance his image as a monarch reigning by the Grace of God. Father Wilhelm Schmidt, representing the German Catholic community in Jerusalem, thanked the Kaiser for the area on Mount Zion to build the Dormition Church and abbey, and wished him that „...God give [him] the wisdom of Solomon and a glorious and strong kingdom like that of David.“<sup>60</sup> „We Hohenzollerns“, said Wilhelm, „derive our crowns from Heaven alone and are answerable only to Heaven for the responsibilities which they imply“<sup>61</sup>. In the same vein he stated that „...For ever and anon there is only one true emperor in the world, and that is the German Kaiser, not in relation to his person and character but solely by virtue of the right of a thousand-year tradition...“<sup>62</sup>. Thus, the portrayal of Wilhelm and Augusta Victoria, in the ceiling of their church on the Mount of Olives, presents the right to reign by the Grace of God and long tradition<sup>63</sup>.

Wilhelm's claim to divine kingship, implying absolute rights, was accepted by the German nobility, aristocracy and bourgeoisie, who saw this concept as an expression of the nation's might<sup>64</sup>. One unmistakable manifestation was the imperial pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in „a new and wonderful Crusade under the signs of Peace and Love that reconcile enemies“<sup>65</sup>, which drew a historical and political parallel to Wilhelm's admired political ancestor, Friedrich II.

<sup>60</sup> „Gott gebe Eurer Majestät die Weisheit Salomos und zu dieser eine glorreiche und kraftvolle Regierung wie diejenige König Davids.“ See: MEYER-MARIL 1984, 152. Also GOREN 1986, 172.

<sup>61</sup> BALFOUR 1972, 154-155. Prince von Bülow recorded some of the Kaiser's statements on this issue in his memoirs: Bülow 1931/32, vol. 1903-1909, 72-73, and vol. 1897-1903, 264 respectively. On Wilhelm's pronouncements on the exclusive possession of divine right by the Hohenzollerns: CECIL 1989, 53.

<sup>62</sup> FEHRENBACH 1982, 275.

<sup>63</sup> The mosaics in the hall of the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church in Berlin play the same role. BRUDE-FIRNAU 1983, 129-130.

<sup>64</sup> KOHUT 1991, esp. 146, 155 ff. 160-162, 164-169, 171-172, 176, 231-234, and FEHRENBACH 1982, passim.

<sup>65</sup> „...ein neuer wundersamer, einzigartiger Kreuzzug unter dem Zeichen des Friedens und der versöhnenden Liebe.“ See MIRBACH 1899, 11; KRÜGER 1995, 108.

As early as 1227 Friedrich recognized a unique opportunity in the political struggle between Saladin's heirs – the Sultan of Egypt and Syria who, in 1187, re-conquered large portions of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem – and astutely negotiated with each of the contenders the conditions for his support. Friedrich then took the cross in a Peaceful Crusade, obtained the Holy City and was crowned King of Jerusalem in 1229 in the Holy Sepulcher<sup>66</sup>. The associations that Wilhelm drew to Friedrich certainly indicated his wish to gain a similar status.



Fig. 6: Augusta Victoria Hospice, courtyard. Bronze statue of Wilhelm II



Fig. 7: Bronze statue of Augusta Victoria

One can draw an ingenious association between Wilhelm and Friedrich as seen in the ceiling of the Ascension Church. A subtler one is reflected in the monumental statues depicting Wilhelm and his consort in the courtyard of the Hospice (figs. 6, 7): Wilhelm is a Crusader king holding a shield inscribed with the Crusader cross and a sword, and Augusta Victoria is a medieval princess holding the model of the Hospice. The Kaiserin's statue recalls the 1470 one of St. Elizabeth, Princess of Hungary, in the church dedicated to her in Marburg<sup>67</sup>. Not by chance both hold a model of their churches, in a similar pose and attire. Elizabeth was married to Ludwig of Thuringia, the most important of the princes who joined Friedrich II in the Crusade of 1228, and was sanctified as the embodiment of *Caritas*. Like her, also Augusta Victoria performed merciful acts, and was extolled in the Ascension Church decoration as *Misericordia*. Though the medieval princess was obviously Catholic, the Lutheran Kaiserin could profit from her prestige, as the princess was perceived as a German heroine by all confessions. Quite likely, the parallel between the two royal women aimed not only at presenting an ideal image of the Kaiserin, but also of Wilhelm as a Crusader and as the Kaiser of all Ger-

<sup>66</sup> PRAWER 1991, 55-57, and also KANTOROWICZ 1957, esp. 187 ff.

<sup>67</sup> The statue stands in the chapel dedicated to the saint in the nave of the church, and nearby is another, in the same scheme, made by L. Juppe in 1510/1511.

mans, Protestants and Catholics alike, whom he strove to bring together under the Hohenzolern and his idea of the nation<sup>68</sup>.



Fig. 8: St. Elizabeth Chapel at the Wartburg Castle, detail from life cycle

Another example of Wilhelm's relation to Friedrich II through St. Elizabeth is found in a chapel dedicated to the princess in the medieval fortress in Wartburg, decorated in 1903 with the cycle of her life<sup>69</sup>. In one exceptional scene, representing the sailing of Friedrich's Crusade from Brindisi in 1228 (fig. 8), Ludwig stands by Friedrich, surrounded by Crusader knights waving flags with the emblems of the German nobility. Unsurprisingly, several knights, like so many Germans in the Wilhelmine period, resemble the Kaiser with his curled moustache. Yet, one of them also holds a shield decorated with the imperial black eagle against a golden background – an eagle similar to those decorating Friedrich's tunic and the imperial shield on the side of the ship. The prominent placement of the imperial eagle on the side of the ship, at the center, and on the same axis with Friedrich's image, proves its importance in the iconography of the scene. The eagle had been used as a symbol of the German Empire as early as the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>70</sup>, however since its design changed from time to time, the great similarity between the eagles in the depiction of Friedrich's Crusade and in the Wilhelmine church in Jerusalem (fig. 2), is most significant, and points to Wilhelm as the heir to the German Crusader King. The identification of the knight in the Wartburg scene as an allusion to Wilhelm, in his self-assumed role as Crusader king, can be supported by historical facts. Primarily, it was Wilhelm who donated the mosaics in St. Elizabeth's Chapel, in celebration of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1898<sup>71</sup>. Moreover, on the Jerusalem Cross below the sailing scene can be seen the date „October 31<sup>st</sup>, 1898“. One would expect the date to be that of Friedrich's sailing,

<sup>68</sup> The elections in the spring of 1898 resulted in the noticeable strengthening of both the left and the Catholics, a political reality that forced Wilhelm's government to adopt a friendlier attitude towards Catholics. In Jerusalem, the Kaiser gave to his Catholic subjects the area for the Dormition Church, and demanded the protectorate over them. See BENNER 2001, 156-157; GOREN 1986, 161 ff. 171, 174 ff. 208.

<sup>69</sup> NOTH 1983; SCHMIDT 1997, 103-128.

<sup>70</sup> The German imperial eagle is rooted in the Roman imperial heraldry, and became the heraldic symbol of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, including Friedrich II. See: KANTOROWICZ 1967, 125, 224-225.

<sup>71</sup> SCHMIDT 1997, MEYER-MARIL 1997, 61 and also GOREN 2003, xii.

or of the consecration of the St. Elizabeth Chapel, and yet the date is that of the consecration of the Church of the Redeemer in Jerusalem, on Reformation Day, by the Kaiser.

### 3. The Kaiser's pilgrimage to Jerusalem

Wilhelm presented himself as the successor of Friedrich II, German Emperor and last King to reign over Jerusalem, in order to increase his prestige and influence in both the Holy Land and in Europe. Yet, in order to achieve real political gains in Jerusalem, he turned to strategies similar to those that proved successful in Friedrich's bid to gain the Holy City. Like Friedrich in his Peaceful Crusade, also Wilhelm strengthened the political relations with the Muslim monarch, and provided him political and military support in exchange for privileges in the area. The itinerary of his journey is revealing: within two weeks Wilhelm had visited Sultan Abdul Hamid in Istanbul, revered Jesus in the Holy Sepulcher, and paid respects to Saladin at his tomb in Damascus. He thanked his hosts in Damascus wishing that „his Majesty the Sultan, and the three hundred million Mohammedans who venerate the Khalif [spiritual leader] in him, be assured that the German Kaiser will always be their loyal friend...!“<sup>72</sup>. Wilhelm expressed his exhilaration at stepping on the same soil as Saladin had, called him „one of the most chivalrous monarchs in history“, and laid a satin flag and bronze gilt wreath on his tomb, with the inscription „From one great emperor to another“<sup>73</sup>. Wilhelm considered that by his deeds he would gain the gratitude of the Muslim world, and substantial profits for Germany and himself. As early as 1889, only one year after ascending to the throne, Wilhelm had stated that „the East is waiting for the [right] man“<sup>74</sup>, clearly suggesting he was that man.

The triumphal entry of the Kaiser into Jerusalem, on October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1898, was the most debated media event at the time. During the preparations for the visit, about a year beforehand, the Kaiser had asked to enter to the Old City ceremoniously, riding his horse. The European press immediately expressed critical views. In the Prague *Humoristische Listy*, a cartoon showed Wilhelm's arrival riding on a donkey and holding palm branches<sup>75</sup>. The Dutch *Weekblad voor Nederland* depicted him as a Crusader knight, dressed in coat of mail and a long surcoat with the heraldic Crusader cross on his chest, proudly looking at himself in a mirror and curling his moustache. „Well, Auguste,“ he asks his consort, who hands him a Crusader helmet, „does it suit me? Wilhelm the Crusader, that wouldn't sound bad...“ (fig. 9)<sup>76</sup>.

As for the Ottomans, the Kaiser's request to ride a horse through the gate of the Old City, in the imperial tradition, presented a dilemma: according to Muslim tradition, this prerogative is reserved for conquerors only. As an honorable compromise, the Ottomans breached the city wall nearby the Jaffa Gate, so that the Kaiser could enter to the Old City mounted on his horse, yet not in a triumphal entry through the actual city gate<sup>77</sup>.

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<sup>72</sup> November 8<sup>th</sup>, 1898, at the City Hall. British Documents on the Origins of the War 1898-1914, vol. III, p. 436. Also in BALFOUR 1972, 217, HAMMER 1917, 144 and NALTCHAYAN 1989, 52-53.

<sup>73</sup> SIBERRY 2000, 67. The Kaiser also provided money for the restoration of Saladin's mausoleum and a modern marble tomb, which still remains by the twelfth century tomb.

<sup>74</sup> CARMEL 1973, 113.

<sup>75</sup> Photograph courtesy of the Augusta Victoria Foundation on the Mount of Olives.

<sup>76</sup> Idem.

<sup>77</sup> BLYTH 1927, 339; BEN-ARIEH 1986, 339; CARMEL and EISLER 1999 (Hebrew introduction, p. b), and KARK 1998, 4, stress that the breaching of the wall was the Ottoman's initiative, and Carmel adds that the Kaiser thought it was a barbaric act. Nevertheless, this didn't prevent him from entering the city in triumph by this breach.



Fig. 9: Wilhelm II's as a Crusader knight, cartoon in the *Weekblad voor Nederland* 1897

The real event surpassed all the mocking depictions: Wilhelm rode on his horse, dressed in a satin white robe with a pilgrim's hood, worn over his ceremonial military attire and his golden helmet surmounted by the imperial eagle<sup>78</sup>. The imperial retinue went through richly decorated triumphal arches, erected by the Johanniter Order, German, Jewish and Arab residents of Jerusalem that came to greet the imperial pair waving palm branches and banners (fig. 10)<sup>79</sup>. The theatrical hint at an imperial *adventus*, and Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, was further emphasized by songs and poems hailing the Kaiser<sup>80</sup>.

The same religious and political atmosphere of an *adventus* permeated laudations at the Kaiser's return. His arrival in Jerusalem was proclaimed a great religious event, contending that no Christian sovereign had entered into the Holy City since German Emperor Friedrich II, who was the last King to reign over Jerusalem. Aiming to reinforce the sense of historical continuity, Austrian Emperor Franz Josef's pilgrimage in 1869 was ignored, just like later Louis IX's Crusade would be omitted from the Ascension Church decoration<sup>81</sup>.

Yet, there also was criticism to the Kaiser's visit and declarations. In Germany, it was harshly suppressed<sup>82</sup>. In France, Russia and Britain the declarations fostered fear for their holds in the area. Also, many of the 300 million Muslims, of whom Wilhelm declared himself a true friend, were natives of the European colonies. The criticism reflected either suspicion and apprehension, or contempt and derision<sup>83</sup>. Wilhelm was indignant with all those who read

<sup>78</sup> On the symbols of the Prussian King and German Kaiser: KURZ 1970, 50.

<sup>79</sup> CARMEL/EISLER 1999, figs. 74-77.

<sup>80</sup> The Kaiser's address at the consecration of the Church of the Redeemer also reinforces this image. See CARMEL/EISLER 1999, 146.

<sup>81</sup> ARAD 2005, 43.

<sup>82</sup> For instance, the editor, the illustrator and the caricaturist of the magazine *Simplicissimus* were charged with *lèse-majesté* and sentenced to prison. See KOHUT 1991, 147-148.

<sup>83</sup> They probably were not reassured when the Turks gave the Germans an extensive concession for building a harbor in the Bosphorus and a railway terminal, and gave notice to the Vatican that German Catholics were henceforth under German protection. However, most historians agree that the apprehension was unfounded, and that the Reich was only interested in economical gains in the Near East. See CARMEL 1973, 120-121.



political motives into the journey: „It is most discouraging to note that the sentiment of real faith which propels a Christian to visit the land in which our Savior lived and suffered is nearly quite extinct in the so-called better classes of the 19<sup>th</sup> century“<sup>84</sup>.



Fig. 10: Wilhelm II's entry into Jerusalem

#### 4. Conclusions: The political discourse and the power of architectural language

Twelve years after the Kaiser's pilgrimage to Jerusalem, responding to the national German festival at the inauguration of the Wilhelmine buildings, British and French circles once again expressed their suspicion of the Kaiser's policies. Some referred to the Augusta Victoria Hospice contending that it would undermine the position of their own countries in the Holy Land<sup>85</sup>, while others even saw military aims in the commanding building. Estelle Blyth, in her book „When we lived in Jerusalem“<sup>86</sup>, described the building emphasizing that „...a high tower was erected, with a searchlight which could be seen many miles out at sea, as well as

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Wilhelm's support for the „Red Sultan“, who massacred Armenians and Greeks, was also criticized. NALTCHAYAN, 52-53.

<sup>84</sup> BALFOUR 1972, 216, quoting the Kaiser's Letters 64-78. In the evening issue of October 19<sup>th</sup>, 1898, p. 2, the *Vossische Zeitung* bluntly countered French and Russian charges stating that „Germany demands no more in Turkey than it does in China: a place in the sun.“

<sup>85</sup> See articles in the French magazine *Echo de Paris*, and the British newspaper *Daily Graphic*, both from October 18<sup>th</sup>, 1910, quoted the day after in the German newspaper *Kreuzzeitung*. WAWRZYN 2005, 15, and CARMEL 1973, 120-121.

<sup>86</sup> *Supra*. All the quotations: pp. 136-138.



far across the other side of Jordan. We were not told why a place of rest for tired missionaries required a searchlight ... The authorities said that the walls were cracking and therefore needed strengthening," but „a rumor went out that these emplacements were intended for guns which should dominate the Holy City when the time was ripe.“ Blyth wrote that the weapons were sneaked into the compound at dark<sup>87</sup>. Though it is unlikely that the compound was originally built for military purposes<sup>88</sup>, at various times it did serve as Turkish, German, and British headquarters, proving that the fortress-like building on the mountain would easily be a natural fit to a strategic military position.

Personal accounts, articles and visual material in the press cannot be considered as full evidence of Wilhelm's supposedly concealed political aspirations. However they do shed light on the manner in which the Kaiser's policy and deeds were perceived. The suspicion was most probably prompted by similar aspirations of other European rulers. The ever worsening situation of Turkey brought forth the religious and political competition for a strong presence and influence in the Holy City, and went as far as calling for a Crusade, especially towards the jubilee of medieval Crusaders' events<sup>89</sup>.

Reigning in Jerusalem has always been a vast political asset. No other city exercised such a powerful attraction on monarchs to attain its throne, and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century there probably was no other site in which the Christian world has invested so much effort in a relatively small region<sup>90</sup>. The European powers saw their status in Jerusalem as a source of might in the competition for imperialistic expansion. Since Wilhelm's buildings in Jerusalem were designed in the context of the political discourse, they were seen by his contemporaries not only as a theatrical expression of his love of grandeur, but also as a manifest of an aggressive world policy. In order to realize his dream of a New Jerusalem under his patronage, the Kaiser had to consider the sensitivity of the Ottoman Sultan to the European powers' imperialistic policy, including his own, and the suspicion of imperialistic Britain and France, who were the two other key contestants. Consequently, his deep religious feelings, and the humanitarian purposes of the German institutions, alone could be palpable to all: his ambition to become the successor of the Crusader Kings, whom he considered his ancestors, could only be implied. The Augusta Victoria complex – in its symbolically rich location on the highest mountain in Jerusalem, overlooking the Holy City and its surroundings; in its dimensions, its architectural design and decoration as a Crusader fortress – embodies this aspiration.

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<sup>87</sup> BLYTH 1927, 138 recorded an additional British opinion, that from the outset the complex had been planned as a military stronghold or as the residence of a future German governor. Also many Jerusalem Muslims, Jews and non German Christians were of a similar opinion. See BEN-ARIEH 1986, 347-348, and WAWRZYN 2005, 15-16.

<sup>88</sup> BEN-ARIEH 1986, 348; WAWRZYN 2005, 16.

<sup>89</sup> Such as Pope Urban II's call to take the cross for the Holy Land in 1095, or the liberation of Jerusalem and establishment of the Crusader Kingdom on July 15<sup>th</sup>, 1099. SIBERRY 2000, 76 ff., 82 ff.

<sup>90</sup> CARMEL 1986, 3.

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**Figures:** Figs. 1-7: author; Fig. 8: Wartburg-Eisenach Museum; Fig. 9: ROTH 1973, 233; Fig. 10: CAR-MEL/EISLER 1999, fig. 7.