

First "Organized" Bible Work in 19th Century Jerusalem (1816-1831)

Part II: Christoph Burckhardt in Jerusalem, 1818

By Kai Kjær-Hansen



In the first article in this series the year "1816" was questioned as the year for the "Beginning of organised Bible work in Israel." The assumption that Henry Lindsay, Chaplain to the British Embassy at Constantinople, visited Jerusalem in 1816 on behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), cannot be substantiated.¹

Henry Lindsay can thus be left out of consideration, which leaves us with two candidates, namely Christoph Burckhardt and James Connor. Both visited Jerusalem, and there is no doubt about the sequence. First Burckhardt, in 1818, then Connor, in 1820. That means that Burckhardt (at least until otherwise proved) must be regarded as *the first Protestant Bible-man in Jerusalem*. This, however, does not substantiate that he was also the first one to organize a Bible work in Jerusalem.

Burckhardt's Arrival at Malta

Christoph Burckhardt² was a Swiss Clergyman, who came to Malta from Geneva, January 5, 1818. He had not been sent out by a missionary society but was supported by Henry Drummond.³ In the minds of the contemporary public, Burckhardt's brief career as a missionary – it was to be less than eight months – was linked with the work being done by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the Bible Society.

Burckhardt's task in the Levant had been defined *prior* to his arrival at Malta. Under the date of January 5, 1818, William Jowett, CMS' representative in Malta, writes the following words in his journal about Burckhardt's planned "Bible Mission": "He is to visit Egypt, Jerusalem,

1 See *Mishkan*, no. 41 (2004), 21-30.

2 In English sources "Christopher"; not to be confused with the famous Swiss traveler John Lewis (= Johann Ludwig) Burckhardt, who died 33 years old in Cairo in 1817.

3 Cf. *Missionary Register* (1818), 286. Henry Drummond (1776-1860) was a wealthy English banker and politician, who was deeply concerned with Bible work as well as with Jewish mission (and many other things); together with John Bayford Drummond was also patron for the renowned Jewish missionary Joseph Wolff, when the latter began his work in 1821. The formation of the Malta Bible Society in 1817 was "very much due to the zeal" of Drummond, who visited Malta that same year; cf. *Missionary Register* (1817), 352.

Asia Minor, and Greece; and wherever he goes, he is to aim at forming Bible Societies."⁴

The task which Burckhardt has been set was clearly very ambitious and accompanied by great expectations, for at this time there was only one Bible Society, the Malta Bible Society, in the Levant. The following quotation from Jowett's Journal, also under the date of January 5, 1818, gives an impression of these expectations:

Mr. Drummond's and his [Burckhardt's] idea of a Bible society is very simple. It is, two or three people sitting down together, signing a set of Rules, and then saying, 'We are the Bible Society of __,' and immediately acting as such. The only objection to this system is its want of APPEARANCE, in the eyes of its neighbours: this, however, is, in some degree, its security. The more I reflect on the miserable state of these countries, the more am I persuaded that Mr. Drummond has hit the mark. – Be something. Do something. Call yourself something. A single individual, in any of the principal cities of Syria, for instance, who should say, 'I AM THE BIBLE MAN,' or two, who should say, 'WE ARE THE BIBLE SOCIETY,' would be worth their weight in gold; and Mr. Burckhardt is going the right way to find them, or make them.

The following days, January 6-9, Jowett assists Burckhardt in his plans.

January 17, 1818, Burckhardt departed for Alexandria with 755 copies of the Scriptures (Bibles and New Testaments) in thirteen languages, provided by the Malta Bible Society. During his journey he corresponded primarily with Dr. Cleardo Naudi, one of the three secretaries for the Malta Bible Society.

Burckhardt's Activities Before and After Jerusalem

Due to lack of space I cannot give a detailed description of Burckhardt's activities in Egypt and Lebanon/Syria – the former prior to, the latter after, his visit to Jerusalem. In order to assess the significance of his stay in Jerusalem a few remarks are necessary.

*Burckhardt's Work in Egypt Prior to His Visit in Jerusalem*⁵

Burckhardt's Bible Mission in Egypt took place in the period January 26 to mid-April, 1818. He worked in Alexandria as well as in Cairo. From the pretty accurate numbers he mentions in his letters, it appears that

4 Cf. *Missionary Register* (1818), 296. In "Malta Bible Society Report 1818" the same point is expressed with the following words, although the word "forming" (Bible Societies) is not used – perhaps because this had not happened when the report was made: "His object being to travel in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece, solely to make known and promote the object of the Bible Society." Cf. *Missionary Register* (1819), 72.

5 Described in the following letters:

"Letter from Alexandria, February 19, 1818"; in *Missionary Register* (1818), 245-247.

"Letter from Alexandria, February 28, 1818"; in *Missionary Register* (1818), 247.

when he left Egypt, he had sold at least 400 copies from his stock, maybe more. He asked earnestly that further supplies of Scriptures be sent. He also established contact with church leaders. Even if he did not succeed in forming a Bible Society, he did not give up the hope that Alexandria "will become an important Bible-Depôt to many nations of Africa," as he writes in "Letter from Alexandria, February 19, 1818."

Burckhardt's work in Egypt is considered a success by Jowett, who writes this to the BFBS: "We reap now, in the successes of our admirable co-adjutor, Mr. Burckhardt, in Egypt, in the formation of the Smyrna Society, and in the pledges of co-operation given us in various parts of Asia Minor and Greece, an ample reward of our first year's pleasing toil! Can we be otherwise than greatly thankful?"⁶ When it comes to Burckhardt's visit to Jerusalem, the tone will be a different one – as we shall see.

*Burckhardt's Work After His Visit to Jerusalem*⁷

After his visit to Jerusalem Burckhardt is back in Jaffa May 20, 1818. He sets out from Jaffa for Lebanon/Syria and dies on August 14, 1818, in Aleppo. On his journey he makes contacts with church people, as he did in Egypt, and collects books and manuscripts in Arabic and Carshun (Arabic in Syriac characters), which are sent to Malta. He hands out a couple of Syriac Testaments, but in stark contrast to the description of the time in Egypt there is no information in the published material about the sale and distribution of Bibles and Testaments on this journey – presumably because there was nothing to write about. There is no earnest appeal for Scriptures to be sent, as was the case in Egypt. That he can still supply Bibles and Testaments in Syriac and Hebrew – but not Bibles in Arabic – is mentioned in his "Letter from Jaffa, May 20, 1818."

Burckhardt's Death in Aleppo

Naudi reports that Burckhardt "had scarcely arrived Aleppo, when a fatal fever, then raging in the neighbourhood, put an end to his most valuable life."⁸ This information had come from the British Vice-Consul at Aleppo,

"Letter from Alexandria, March 2, 1818"; in BFBS *Fifteenth Report* (1819), 228.

"Letter from Cairo, March 21, 1818"; in *Missionary Register* (1818), 389-390; mistakenly dated as May 21; the correct date is March 21.

"Letter from Cairo, March 25, 1818"; in BFBS *Fifteenth Report* (1819), 229.

"Letter from Jaffa, May 20, 1818"; in *Missionary Register* (1818), 73-75.

⁶ BFBS *Fifteenth Report* (1819), 209.

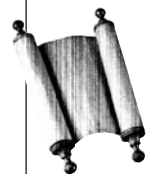
⁷ Described in the following letters:

"Letter from Tripoli, June 14 (?), 1818"; in *Missionary Register* (1818), 75-76; it is doubtful whether the date is correct; in the letter it is also said that Burckhardt departed from Beirut on June 14.

"Letter from Latachia, June 29, 1818"; in *Missionary Register* (1818), 76; here is an editorial addition: "his last Letter to his friends".

"Letter from Antioch (?), July (?), 1818"; in a letter of November 12, 1818, Naudi claims (in BFBS *Fifteenth Report* [1819], 211, that he forwarded to Burckhardt's father in Switzerland "the last Letter that his Son wrote to us, which was from Antioch." – Or is it possible that Naudi confused Antioch with Latachia?

⁸ BFBS *Fifteenth Report* (1819), 209.



who had written that he “had the melancholy task of burying him, on the 14th of August.”⁹ That Burckhardt on his arrival in Aleppo still had a supply of Scriptures with him is attested, two years later, by Connor, who writes the following from Aleppo June 26, 1820: “I have received from the hands of the French Chancellor here, the effects of poor Burckhardt; and among other things, a Case of Bibles and Testaments. These I shall leave in Aleppo: the private effects I shall send to Malta.”¹⁰

After this brief description we shall follow Burckhardt on his journey to Jerusalem, which he had anticipated with great expectations.

Burckhardt on His Way up to Jerusalem

Some time in the middle of April, 1818 Burckhardt succeeded in finding a ship in Alexandria bound for Haifa, “not having been able to find any ship which was going direct for Jaffa. But our Captain landed us at Sour [Tyre], having for excuse the contrary wind.”¹¹

By sea Burckhardt comes to Acre “where the Chancellor of the Austrian Consul procured for me a firmân from the Pasha, which cost me nothing.” Together with the travel permit was also the right to enter the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem free of charge, “without paying the customary expenses of Pilgrims,” as Burckhardt adds. From here he sails to Jaffa, “where I rested a few days at the house of the Austrian and Russian Agent.” This is the first time it is mentioned explicitly in the written material available that Burckhardt enjoys the hospitality of a consul, something which future Bible-men and missionaries enjoyed in rich measure. In Egypt he lived under primitive conditions.

In Jaffa Burckhardt sells Bibles and New Testaments “to different Convents, and to several individuals here, and also to an inhabitant of Acre.” He also mentions sales to Jews: “there came a Rabbi, and several other Jews, who purchased copies of the Hebrew New Testament.” About the “Fathers of the Latin Convent” Burckhardt comments that they “spent almost a whole morning in reading the Spanish New Testament, to see (as they said) whether there was not some heresy in it.”

It may very well be that they did not find “heresy” in that same day, and perhaps Burckhardt never heard what happened to the Scriptures he had distributed among Roman Catholics in Jaffa. Two years later Connor knows, and writes: “All the books which Mr. Burckhardt sold or distributed in Jaffa, were collected and burnt by some Priests, who threatened with excommunication those who secreted them.”¹²

From here the journey continued to Jerusalem.

9 “Postscript to Malta Bible Society’s Report 1818”; in *Missionary Register* (1819), 73.

10 Connor in William Jowett, *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean* (London: Church Missionary Society, 2nd edition, 1822), 453.

11 Described in “Letter from Jaffa, May 20, 1818” – immediately after Burckhardt has been to Jerusalem.

12 Connor in Jowett 1822, 426. Other Bible-men were later to experience a similar book-burning – also by Jews of Hebrew New Testaments.

Burckhardt's Visit to Jerusalem – May 1818

A visit to Jerusalem had been planned even before Burckhardt's arrival at Malta. According to the itinerary that was planned at Malta it would seem that he aimed at a visit during Easter, 1818. In "Letter from Alexandria, February 19, 1818" Burckhardt had not completely given up the idea of making it to Jerusalem by Easter (even though such an idea in retrospect seems unrealistic given the means of transportation of that age). It also failed. He did however get to Jerusalem immediately before Pentecost.¹³

When in Jerusalem and for how Long?

The question of when and how long Burckhardt was in Jerusalem can be answered more precisely than e.g. Sherman Lieber does.¹⁴ For Burckhardt opens his description of his stay in Jerusalem with the following words: "From Jaffa I went in eighteen hours to Jerusalem, going during the night on horseback; and arrived on the eve of the Feast of Pentecost." According to the Gregorian calendar, Whitsunday fell on May 10.¹⁵

In other words, Burckhardt arrived in Jerusalem on Saturday night, May 9, 1818. He is back in Jaffa on May 20, although it is not said explicitly that this was the day when he returned to Jaffa from Jerusalem. This means that Burckhardt's stay in Jerusalem did not exceed ten days (including one or two days in Bethlehem).

Against this background some questions become pressing. Why was the stay so short for the *first* Bible-man who came to Jerusalem? Did something perhaps not go as well as expected?

Burckhardt's Description of His First Visit to Jerusalem as a Bible-man

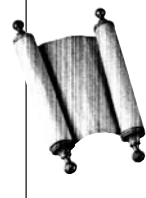
Burckhardt's activities the first five days after his arrival can be reconstructed, in outline, as follows:

Sunday, Monday, Tuesday (May 10-12): Burckhardt opens his description of his stay in Jerusalem thus: "Is [sic] was a joy to me to distribute at Jerusalem the Holy Scriptures, in twelve or thirteen languages, precisely during the three days of the Festival ..." – This distribution was presumably done to pilgrims in Jerusalem. No number is given of the distributed Bibles and New Testaments. But the distribution took place with "joy," which indicates that something did succeed.

13 Described in "Letter from Jaffa, May 20, 1818" – immediately after Burckhardt's visit to Jerusalem.

14 Sherman Lieber's only mention of Burckhardt in *Mystics and Missionaries: The Jews in Palestine 1799-1840* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992), 160, is rather unfortunate since Burckhardt died on August 14, 1818: "...the brief visit to Jerusalem in 1818-1819 [sic] of Christian [sic] Burckhardt, an agent [sic] of the British Foreign [sic] Bible Society, who died of fever near Aleppo shortly after distributing Bibles in the Holy City ..."

15 In terms of calendar 1818 was an unusual year. Easter fell on the earliest date possible, March 22, and will not do so again until 2285.



Wednesday (May 13): A number of people from Bethlehem come to Burckhardt's lodgings in Jerusalem; however, he does not say where he had taken lodgings. He says explicitly "that the men of Bethlehem were the first to receive the World of God." When people from Bethlehem contact him, it is because he, in his travels, "rendered some small services to a poor old man of that place." In Bethlehem this man announces Burckhardt's arrival in Jerusalem, which explains why people from Bethlehem go up to Jerusalem. However, he does not have much to offer them, which is brought out by the following: "But, as I have no more Arabic Bibles, having had the weakness to sell them all in Egypt and at Jaffa, to persons who instantly besought me to grant them a copy, I had nothing to give the Bethlehemites but some of the Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans and Hebrews, in Arabic" – not exactly the best conditions for success in Jerusalem and surroundings, when a Bible-man is practically unable to deliver Scriptures in Arabic to the local population.

Thursday (May 14): He sets out for Bethlehem. It is not quite clear if he returned to Jerusalem that same day. Burckhardt takes time to visit the Church of Nativity. In Bethlehem he "presented the Priests and Superiors of the Greek and Latin Convents with New Testaments, in Spanish and Greek." And Burckhardt continues in his letter to Naudi/the Malta Bible Society: "I consigned upwards of fifty Greek Testaments to the Priests of the Greek Convent, and left with them your address." We have no certain knowledge if Naudi in Malta used the address to ship more Testaments to Bethlehem, but a contact had now been made. The fact that Burckhardt consigned about "fifty Greek Testaments" indicates (perhaps) that he had given up hope of distributing them in Jerusalem; it also indicates that some Greeks in Bethlehem were more receptive to the Scriptures than the Latins. Presumably, it also reveals that Burckhardt did not manage to make contact to influential persons among the Greeks in Jerusalem.

There is little doubt that Burckhardt returned to Jerusalem from Bethlehem. From the extant material it is not possible to reconstruct precisely what he then did. Nor can it be ruled out that he forthwith went down to Jaffa. It is certain, however, that as Bible-man in Jerusalem he visited at least one convent, even though he does not mention it himself (see below). Apart from what has already been said, Burckhardt mentions only two incidents from his work as a Bible-man in Jerusalem. First, he writes that he met a sick Ethiopian pilgrim who said that he possessed a copy of the Ethiopic Psalter. "His countrymen were all gone. I was very glad, therefore, to have left nearly all the Ethiopic Psalters at Cairo, in the hands of the English and French Consuls." (According to "Letter from Cairo, March 25, 1818" he had left "about seventy copies.") Secondly, he sold a Hebrew New Testament to a Jew who, although he was desirous of buying one, did not "venture to do so till he had shewn it to one of the Procurators" (see note 17 below). If he had sold Hebrew Testaments to others apart from that one Jew, one must assume that he would have mentioned it. It is, however, certain that he was able to deliver.

Burckhardt as Researcher in Jerusalem

Apart from informing about his work as Bible-man, Burckhardt mentions in his letters three matters, which in the published material are placed as separate subjects.¹⁶

1) *Proposed Publication for the Jews.* Burckhardt suggests that a book be published with "choice pieces of History, containing memorable actions and sufferings of the Jews since the time of Christ." The book must be written with "a compassionate heart" and with "reflections on the goodness of God – His goodness, even when crowned with thorns; and on the ingratitude of men, who know not His benefits." The author of the book "should seek to prepare the mind of the reader for the idea of an Universal Religion, in contradistinction to the National Religion of the Jews." The proposed book should "touch the heart" and might "by instructing the mind, produce great fruit in favour of that memorable race, the Jews." But he also voices his skepticism whether it will be possible to find such an author.

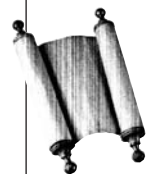
2) *State of Jews at Jerusalem.* It is briefly reported that the Jews of Jerusalem "are under Seven Chiefs, called Procurators or Deputies, who are nominated by the Jews themselves. These persons settle causes at law among their countrymen ... Their religious affairs, in general, are under the government of the Rabbis."¹⁷ Concerning the number of Jews in Jerusalem he writes: "It is said that the total number of Jews amounts to 12,000; but this varies, as many of the Jews come to Jerusalem to stay only for a limited time." Burckhardt adds that there are many "old men" among the Jews who have come to Jerusalem to die and be buried there. Although Burckhardt has made certain reservations, the information about 12,000 Jews in Jerusalem is, however, out of proportion and has no basis in reality.

3) *Remarks on Holy Places in Palestine.* In a lengthy passage Burckhardt reflects on the subject of "Holy Places." In this he says, among other things:

Of course, I did not fail to visit several Holy Places; such as, the Holy Sepulchre, and the Place of the Nativity. If you should ask me whether I felt any thing very great at the sight of them, I must answer, "No." ... All this curdling of the blood, this trinket-selling, and these holy perfumeries, seem to me not to have the value of one single truly religious thought ... I think that a good Sermon, of half-an-hour's length, on the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, is better suited to excite and keep up a lively devotion, than fixing the eye

16 Cf. *Missionary Register* (1819), 77-78.

17 What Burckhardt has in mind with the "Seven Chiefs, called Procurators" is a High Court of seven judges; see Lieber, 101.



for a whole day on the Holy Sepulchre ... We may observe, also, that we never read of Jesus Christ's having consecrated an Altar, or an Image, or any material substance: which proves to me that such things ought not to be considered as essential or necessary ... All this notwithstanding, I am in no wise disposed to depreciate the pious sentiments felt by those devout souls who kiss a hundred times the Holy Sepulchre – the greater part of them, perhaps, with a sincere love for Jesus Christ ... Suppose even that Europeans were entirely expelled from Jerusalem and the Holy Land, the loss would not be great. We may well lose the Sepulchre, without losing Jesus Christ, or the smallest essential point of his religion.

Such words were valued as "pious" reflections by some people at that time,¹⁸ and they were probably also meant that way, but his last remarks in the excerpt above are not easy to understand if placed in the context of a carefully planned strategy for the Bible work in Jerusalem.

Contemporary Assessments of Burckhardt's Visit to Jerusalem

None of the parties involved said that Burckhardt's visit to Jerusalem was a failure. But was it a success? Opinions about this were divided. How did Burckhardt sum up his visit? And how did Naudi and Jowett respectively – two men who had primary information at their disposal – see Burckhardt's visit?

Burckhardt's Assessment

Burckhardt keeps his cards close to his chest on the question of his own view of success or the lack thereof in Jerusalem. Two matters are mentioned in his "Letter from Jaffa, May 20, 1818." First, that he is prepared to continue his Bible Mission to Syria "if it please God, to Beyrout, and perhaps to Aleppo, with the intention of selling there Hebrew and Syriac Testaments." Second, he makes it clear that he did not succeed in forming a Bible Society in Jerusalem. He takes comfort in the reflection that he has been a sower, which can be seen in the following note to Naudi: "I beg you to communicate this Letter to Mr. Drummond. I ought to apologise to him for not writing to him direct. Although his intention is not yet realized, of seeing Bible Societies established in the Levant, they may, in time, be formed; as it is written, *One soweth, and another reapeth.*"

¹⁸ Cf. what is said in *Christian Observer*, July (1820): "His Remarks on Holy Places in Palestine will have forcibly impressed every reflecting mind." Here quoted from *Missionary Register* (1820), 371.

Naudi's Assessment

Naudi describes Burckhardt's visit to Jerusalem as an unqualified success. In a letter of November 12, 1818, written short time after he received the "distressing and melancholy news" of Burckhardt's death, he says:

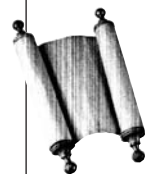
From Cairo he [Burckhardt] went to Jerusalem, where he visited all the convents and public places, and furnished them, every where, with the words of God. He there commenced, for the Bible Society, a collection of books printed at Mount Lebanon, either in Arabic, Syriac, or other tongues, but particularly manuscripts, as printed works are rare.¹⁹

Jowett's Assessment

Jowett describes Burckhardt's visit as a "small success." He partly bases this assessment on oral information given to him in the summer of 1818 from an English traveler, Dr. Richardsson. Immediately before embarking for Malta in June 1818, Richardsson had met Burckhardt in Tripoli. Burckhardt seems to have communicated more to Richardsson than he did in his letters. In any case, Jowett announces publicly his assessment of Burckhardt's visit to Jerusalem (before he heard of Burckhardt's death) in the following words: "but with small success, comparatively, owing to the Latin Fathers."²⁰ This begs the question as to how to understand these differing assessments of Burckhardt's visit in a historical perspective.

Was Burckhardt's Visit to Jerusalem a Success?

It is tempting to reduce Naudi's assessment of Burckhardt's visit to Jerusalem to the kind of language used in a "pious" obituary. Before this is done, we need to ask one question: How many copies of the Scriptures did Burckhardt distribute in Jerusalem and its surroundings? The answer is somewhere between 100 and 200 copies.²¹ Even provided it was "only" 100 copies (a little more than half of which had been distributed in Bethlehem), this would have been considered a success – if it had been the result of one week's journey in *Egypt*. In light of this, some concluding remarks about Naudi's and Jowett's assessments are in order. They seem



19 BFBS *Fifteenth Report* (1819), 210; *Missionary Register* (1820), 370. In this connection it is of minor importance that the purchase of the books mentioned did not take place in Jerusalem but in Lebanon, cf. "Letter from Tripoli, 14 (?) June, 1818."

20 *Missionary Register* (1818), 390.

21 I refrain from giving a detailed account of this, but the number is based on information from Burckhardt in his letters. We know that Burckhardt at his arrival in Aleppo still has a case of Scriptures. (When he left Malta he had six cases with a total of 755 Scriptures.) The uncertain factor is how many Scriptures Burckhardt sold on his journey through Lebanon and Syria. He hardly mentions any. In other words, the fewer copies sold during this journey in Syria, the more copies distributed in Jerusalem.

to be using different success criteria in their evaluation of Burckhardt's visit to Jerusalem.

Comments on Naudi's Assessment

Naudi's statement that Burckhardt "visited all the convents" in Jerusalem seems to be a more appropriate description of visits to convents in Bethlehem than in Jerusalem. How many convents in Jerusalem he did visit is, admittedly, an open question.²²

Naudi's main point, that Burckhardt "furnished" Jerusalem "every where with the word of God," is objectively and historically grossly exaggerated and gives a distorted picture of Burckhardt's success as a *Bible-man* in Jerusalem. It is couched in enthusiastic language. But Naudi seems to be using the same success criteria for Burckhardt in Jerusalem as in Egypt. Judged by the *number* of Scriptures distributed in Jerusalem and surroundings, Burckhardt's visit to Jerusalem is, according to Naudi, a success. At least one hundred copies of the Scriptures were distributed, which is cause for rejoicing!

Comments on Jowett's Assessment

Jowett, however, seems to apply a different success criterion than Naudi. Jowett only allows himself little pleasure in what Burckhardt achieved in Jerusalem. He seems somehow to have fallen prey to his own high expectations for success in Jerusalem. His dream to find one person who would say, 'I AM THE BIBLE MAN,' or two, who should say, 'WE ARE THE BIBLE SOCIETY,' was not fulfilled.

The fact that Burckhardt – as indicated in Jowett's words – met with opposition from "the Latin Fathers" is hardly the sole explanation for the lack of success. The question is rather if Burckhardt's Bible Mission to Jerusalem did not lack proper planning.

In retrospect it is tempting to say that Burckhardt's visit to Jerusalem went almost as could be expected. That he met with a certain amount of opposition from Roman Catholic quarters can hardly surprise anybody. That Jews were not standing with their arms wide open to get a Hebrew New Testament is no great surprise either. That he was only able, to a small extent, to supply the local population with Scriptures in Arabic did not provide the optimal conditions. And perhaps most important of all, Burckhardt arrived unknown and without letters of introduction to prominent church leaders in Jerusalem. Connor carried such a letter of recommendation and it engendered results (as we shall see in the next article), so that Connor could leave Jerusalem with the knowledge that now there was a highly placed church leader in Jerusalem who said: I AM THE BIBLE MAN.

²² It is a historical fact that Burckhardt at least was in touch with the Abyssinian convent in Jerusalem. This is attested to by Connor, who during a visit to the library there in 1820 found two Ethiopic Psalters, donated by Burckhardt; cf. Connor in Jowett 1822, 433.

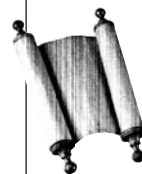
Concluding Remarks

There is no denying that Burckhardt was *the first Protestant Bible-man in Jerusalem* in the 19th century. There is no reason to depreciate his work. As a pioneer he had many odds against him. He had great expectations of his work as a Bible-man, but he seems to have learned that the sower may not see the harvest. As a Bible-man in the eastern part of the Levant he was remembered in his own day for being an undaunted fiery soul with great vision. He does not appear to have been a great mission strategist. He gave his life for the Bible cause. Others were to follow and also give their lives. Connor expresses what many friends of the Bible cause felt at Burckhardt's death. Under the date of June 26, 1820 Connor writes the following words from Aleppo:²³

I have visited the grave of Burckhardt, with mingled feelings of sorrow and gratitude – sorrow, at the loss sustained by the Church of Christ by his death – gratitude, at the reflection that I have come out uninjured from that ordeal of fatigue and privations, to which he most probably fell a victim. *Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits!* A large uninscribed stone marks the grave of our departed friend. Before I leave Aleppo, I shall cause some short memorial to be engraved thereon.

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23 Connor in Jowett 1822, 453.