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The Biblical Roots of American Egyptology 1880-1930

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Introduction

Many families enjoy a stroll through the Smithsonian's Natural History Museum on a Friday afternoon. On the second floor, next to a photography exhibit and the bathrooms is a short corridor that houses a small exhibition on man's early history. The exhibition houses a handful of Ancient Egyptian artifacts. Most museums are filled with nineteenth century souvenirs. Many of the well to do American businessmen traveled to Egypt and brought back an array of artifacts they found on the market in Egypt for their personal collections. They would then donate these historical artifacts to different institutions in their will. Most of the Smithsonian's Ancient Egyptian artifacts are nineteenth century souvenirs. While Egyptology began to develop as a discipline in Europe shortly after 1798, it was not until almost a century later that the United States would open its first chair of Egyptology in a university.

There are many aspects to the development of Egyptology in the United States. Very few books address the development of American Egyptology. However, its development is a strong break with the market purchases, which characterizes the Smithsonian collection. Few historians delve into this past and even fewer into its specific aspects. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the extent to which Christianity influenced the development of early American Egyptology. The second half of the paper discusses the reason for the silence in the historiography of the field and its possible implications.

Religion and the Bible formed a very concrete part in the development of Egyptology in the United States. The academic tradition that existed in the late 1880s into the 1930s was strongly influenced by Darwin's theory of evolution and a growing trend

towards secularism. Egyptology and Near Eastern Studies in general remained more strongly tied to religion and the Bible than most other fields. Archeology of the Near East was on the forefront of popular debates on the historical accuracy of biblical books like Exodus. The Hebrew exodus, the point in the history of Israel that God fulfills his covenant and delivers Israel out of slavery in Egypt, was one of the major points of contention for Egyptologists, because many people sought to prove the story through archeology. As a result, Egyptologists begin to distance themselves from the Bible and the debates about the historical accuracy of its books. They still used the Bible as a historical text to create historical timelines and to place different historical events. However, the distance they sought to create meant that they wrote the history of Egyptology without including the religious and biblical influences.

This paper will begin with a brief overview of western understanding and its relationship with Ancient Egypt's past. From there it delves into the three different types of historiography about Egyptology, the chronicle, Orientalist interpretation, and religious interpretations of Egyptology. This work is indebted to these different interpretations and it is to these works and interpretations that this paper seeks to dialogue.

In order to answer the basic question of the extent that Christianity influenced early American Egyptologists I will delve into the life and work of James Henry Breasted the first American Egyptologist. George Andrew Reisner and James Henry Breasted are considered the founders of American Egyptology, but I focus my work on Breasted. Most of Reisner's work is outside the historical timeframe of the Bible, and so he does not engage in the biblical debates. Breasted on the other hand does very vehemently engage

in the academic debates about the Bible. His personal life also provides an insight into the personal changes that academics underwent as they moved through the world of academia.

The next section introduces another academic William Foxwell Albright who emerged fifteen years after Breasted and Reisner. Some cite him as an Assyriologist, by others as a Biblical Archeologist, and by others more broadly as a Near Eastern Archeologist. His inclusion into the study is important because he was the last stand made by men who were religiously inclined to include Biblical Scholarship in archeology in a comprehensive way. His version of biblical archeology no longer exists, but by understanding his view of the relationship between archeology and religion it will give a better understanding of the world Reisner and Breasted emerged from. Additionally, the secondary sources that discuss Albright and his monumental achievements can serve as an example as to how Egyptologists can approach men like Breasted.

The final discussion will delve into the broader implications of the conclusions being drawn. If the chronicle, the Orientalist, and the religious perspective on the past of Egyptology merge and become one narrative of the past instead of three separate ones what will emerge? The scope of this study is limited only to the founding fathers of the field in the United States, but it opens up the question into the broader history and emergence of the field.

A Western History and the Ancient Egyptian Past

When Napoleon mounted his invasion of Egypt his motive was to cut the British off from their trade routes in south Asia. When he eventually landed on the Nile delta in 1798 he included a large group of savants who opened the way for modern Near Eastern

studies. One of the first fruits of the 1798 Napoleonic expedition was not cutting the British trade routes it was the publication of *Description de l’Egypte* which introduced the western world to Egypt and its ancient monuments along the Nile. Before 1798, Western Europe and America had very vague ideas about Ancient Egypt.¹ Most of the European knowledge of Ancient Egypt before Champollion’s decipherment of the hieroglyphs in 1822 was from Greco-Roman travel accounts, like that of Herodotus or from the Bible.² Any post-classical travel accounts would mostly be concerned with shedding light on Biblical history.³

Some of the many practical reasons included very few westerners had any knowledge of Arabic meaning travel would be difficult and few people traveled to Egypt.⁴ The few Europeans who did travel through Egypt were either pilgrims or merchants. Since none of the first European travelers had ever heard of the Pyramids or seen them, they attributed them to the granaries of the Biblical Joseph⁵ demonstrating the extent to which the bible shaped people’s understanding of Ancient Egypt. The few Europeans who did travel to Egypt only knew a small northern part of the Nile valley. By the eighteenth century there were only 27 travel accounts, all written by friars. Until the 1660s, these friars had not gone further than Cairo and it was not until the eighteenth century that they traveled into Upper Egypt.⁶

¹ Ibid. p. 28

² Ibid. p. 22

³ Weeks. p. 8

⁴ Kent Weeks, "Archaeology and Egyptology " in *Egyptology Today*, ed. Richard H. Wilkinson (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008). p. 8

⁵ Donald M. Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? : Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). p. 24

⁶ Ibid. p. 27

While European knowledge of Egypt was limited before the 1798 expedition there was a long history of knowledge about Ancient Egypt. The United States also had vague notions about the history Ancient Egypt tied to race and religion. Early in US history, there was a belief that Indians were descendants of the Ancient Egyptians and these ideas formed a tangential part of the race debates. In the nineteenth century George R. Gliddon argued in his lecture series that the Ancient Egyptians were a “Caucasian race” citing biblical sources.⁷ Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon Church, believed that the lost tribe of Israel that settled in America brought over many traces of the Ancient Egyptian culture.⁸

It was not until Champollion deciphered the Rosetta stone in 1822 that Egyptology as a field began to take shape. Champollion’s work also stands with important works in the field like, *Description de l’Egypte*, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten*, and *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* which all influenced Egyptology’s development. These major works were all written in the Imperial nations, France, Great Britain, and Germany.

When historians discuss the history of Ancient Egypt there are three tracks. The first is the chronicle, which discusses the development of the academic field as a series of methodological developments. These developments are described in a vacuum without providing a historical context so that each advance emerged like Athena did from the head of Zeus. The second is the Orientalist interpretation based on Edward Said’s critique of western scholarship on the Middle East that placed it always in the place of the inferior

⁷ Kent R. Weeks, "The American Contribution to an Understanding of Prehistoric Egypt," in *The American Discovery of Ancient Egypt: Essays* ed. Nancy Thomas (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Museum of Art, 1996). p. 13-14

⁸ Ibid. p.13

“other.” In this form the historians are mainly concerned with placing the work of Egyptologists within the framework of Said’s Orientalist argument. Finally, the religious interpretation re-established the role religion played in the development of Egyptology. In all cases there are very few books or articles written.

Egyptologists are the chief authors of the chronicle history of their field. The most recent examples are in anthologies and trace the development of the field either through a particular period like the Middle Kingdom or specialization like archeology. They are concerned with distinguishing the Egyptologist from the stereotypical “gentleman’s pastime or the realm of the lone adventurer” like Indiana Jones. The essential Hollywood stereotype is their main enemy and they illuminate the development of the field in order to show “what Egyptology actually is as a modern discipline, what it does, what it knows, and where it is going or trying to go.”⁹ They emphasize the roles of men like Marriette, Maspero, and of course Petrie. There is also an emphasis that Egyptology is a discipline different from classical studies. If you walk into many bookstores, like a Borders or a Barnes and Noble today, any ancient history is listed under “Classical Studies.” While Egyptology is indebted to classicists and its literature it is a field that is only 200 years old unlike the study of classical history which dates back to the scholastics of medieval Europe and beyond. These are the general categorizations that the chronicle history of the field of Egyptology is trying to argue against.¹⁰

⁹ Richard H. Wilkinson, "The Past in the Present: Egyptology Today " in *Egyptology Today*, ed. Richard H. Wilkinson (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008). p. 2

¹⁰ Donald B. Redford, "History and Egyptology," in *Egyptology Today*, ed. Richard H. Wilkinson (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008). p. 24

The second kind of history written about Egyptology and Egyptologists are the Orientalist arguments articulated even by Said himself. In *Culture and Imperialism*¹¹ he wrote a chapter about the role of Egyptology, Imperialism and Orientalism in the creation of the opera Aida. While sometimes Egyptologists use the Orientalist critique on their own field it is not limited to their authorship. When Egyptologists write in relation to Orientalism and Imperialism as a part of the past of Egyptology it is in order to move the field forward. It is an attempt to tackle a past criticized by figures from other fields like Africanists or archeologists from other areas. These histories look at the role of men like Maspero and Mariette as Frenchmen first and Egyptologists second.

The final category takes religion into account. One point to emphasize is that neither book is written from the perspective of an Egyptologist. The first is an article by Cambridge professor David Gange historian of British cultural history and the second Bruce Kiklick, an Americanist. In Gange's article "Religion and Science" his central thesis is that the scientific techniques developed by British Egyptologists like Petrie were driven by spiritual objectives rather than any other ideology. In fact it was not racism or imperialism that drove archeologists it was a religious imperative. Gange's argument is based on an in depth look at the EEF founded by Amalia Edwards who sought to defend the historicity of the Bible. Gange uses the term Biblical Egyptologist to define those defending the bible and they are the individuals who provide the strongest evidence for

¹¹ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 1st ed. (New York: Knopf : Distributed by Random House, 1993).

the degree to which Near Eastern archeology “was still defined by its practitioners attitudes to the Bible.”¹²

This final argument is rather novel in the discussion of the field’s development. For instance, in a discussion of the development of the EEF by one of the chronicles, they mention the impact the creation the EEF had on the field but there is no mention about Christianity or religion and its role. In fact some believe that religion is somewhat of an obstacle for today’s study of the field.

...when parts of that history impinge on the Bible and the Judeo-Christian confession: Then devotees display a vital interest in the most “recherché” aspects of that history, an interest that all too often descends into apologetics and ends up on the loony fringe.”¹³

In Bruce Kuklick book, *Puritans in Babylon*, he argues against the basic assumption that by the late nineteenth century all academia was progressively secularizing. His argument focuses on Near Eastern studies because “the deep Christian commitment of many Near Eastern explorers was striking.”¹⁴ The book traces the evolution of the university systems in the United States through the Near Eastern departments. Within his discussion he begins at the very beginning with American interest in India that then shifted to Palestine, Mesopotamia and finally Egypt. This book is a broader historical framework than this study. He discusses the work of Breasted, Reisner and Albright in broad terms always seeking to situate them within a wider Near Eastern and academic framework. The purpose of this paper is the exact opposite, it seeks

¹² David Gange, "Religion and Science in Late Nineteenth-Century British Egyptology " *The Historical Journal* 49, no. 4 (2006). p. 1101

¹³ Redford. p. 33

¹⁴ Bruce Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon* (Princeton University Press, 1996). p. 7

to fit the wider framework into the specific work of Breasted, Reisner, and Albright and trace when and how it was lost over time.

This paper extends the study and interpretation of the religious historical argument by stating that Christianity influenced the men who shaped the field of Egyptology in a personal sense but more importantly is made up a huge part of the academic discourse during their time. The debates and their desire to distance Egyptology as a field from the biblical debates led to them eliminating the bible from the first histories of the field, which were chronicles. These paved the road for the way most modern Egyptologists continued to write about Egyptology's development. All the studies of the field's history are done in order to move forward and so this paper is an attempt to move forward by understanding the past.

American Egyptology 1880s-1930s

The personal life of James Henry Breasted is a fascinating journey that personifies the wider debates and struggles of his time. His life begins in a religiously conservative family and he enters the seminary from where he embarks on his journey to become an Egyptologist. His work is always affected by the tensions between his past and where the future was pushing. Kuklick argues that Near Eastern Studies demonstrates a struggle between the secular and the religious. Breasted illustrates how this struggle could also be very personal. The reason it becomes a struggle within the field is because first it was the struggle within individuals. James Breasted personifies the shifts within academia in his own life. He begins his career believing in the divinity of biblical revelation and concludes in forfeiting that belief in favor of man's own moral evolution.

Based on the where he was born and where he started his career James Henry Breasted would strike any as an unlikely candidate for the job of the first Egyptologist in the United States. He was born in Rockford, Illinois on August 27, 1865 to Charles and Harriet Breasted. The family was part of the American westward migration that had recently begun to settle around what would later become Chicago. Along with his parent James grew up firmly attached to family friends John and Theodocia Backus who were childless.

Breasted did not even begin his studies with history, classics, or Semitics. He first studied to be a pharmacist earning a Bachelor of the Arts from Northwestern College in the field. He worked for a while in Omaha, but fell ill and had to return home. Besides his health his family was happy to have him home because his boss asked him to work on the Sabbath, which was considered a bit too radical for the conservative family. His aunt Theodocia urged him to consider a career as a preacher. She was a deeply religious woman. She and her husband had sacrificed their fortune on the Seventh Day Adventism, but she later became a Congregationalist and a member of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. The Breasted's were also Congregationalists.

In 1887 James entered the Congregational Institute (Chicago Theological Seminary) and began studying the language and literature of ancient Israel. He worked so that he could quote and give contextual and historical background about the Old Testament. At the end of his time as the seminary he performed so well on his Semitic exams that Dr. Curtiss one of his examiners encouraged him to continue his studies. Then began the second part of his life, a road that would lead to the study of ancient Egypt. In a letter to his parents he expressed his desire to continue studying by saying

I could never be satisfied to preach on the basis of texts I know to be full of mistranslations. It's my nature to seek the sources of everything I study.

The Hebrew writers fascinate me, I shall never be satisfied until I know their entire history and what forces created them.”¹⁵

In this quote a few points emerge about Breasted's early interest. First, he was driven by a passion for philology and the mistranslations of the Old Testament were what first led him to question the Bible. Second he wanted more historical context to understand the books of the Old Testament.

The significance of this brief early history is to open a window into the personal life that led to a brilliant academic career. It is evident that his early studies were led by religious motivation. He came from a religious and conservative family, he studied at the seminary, and continued onto Oriental Studies. His early fascination with the ancient orient was born out of a desire to know more about the Bible and the world that created the early Hebrews. Later on in life he would make the conclusion that the concepts and ideas of the Old Testament were in fact made by older cultures that surrounded the early Hebrew tribes.¹⁶

In 1890 James continued his studies at Yale under William Rainey Harper, who would go on and found the University of Chicago. He worked on Assyrian and other Semitic languages while at New Haven, but he became an Egyptologist only when he embarked on his studies in Germany. Urged by Harper James studied under one of the

¹⁵ Charles Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past: The Story of James Henry Breasted* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943). p. 22

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 29

greatest German Egyptologists, Adolf Erman at the University of Berlin. Breasted was the first to receive a PhD in Egyptology.

By the time Breasted began his studies in Berlin, he had left behind the seminarian and become the academic. Before leaving Berlin, he published *Some Egyptian Names in Genesis-A New Inscription of the Oldest Period* in 1893. This article provides a framework by establishing the nature of Orientalist discourse and Breasted's own position within the discourse. In his early work in the field of Egyptology he discussed the Egyptian names in Genesis.¹⁷ It is a bridge work between his work on the Old Testament at the Seminary and his work with Egypt in Berlin. The article was published in the journal "The Biblical World" and its purpose was to explain the meaning of the Egyptian names in Genesis and through those names he could date Genesis. Many Egyptian names were popular only during certain periods of the empire and so by analyzing the names in Genesis they were able to place it within a historical framework. Ancient Egyptian names are similar to modern Arabic names, who have a meaning implied based on a three letter root. Therefore, Breasted presents the possible meanings of each name in addition to placing the name within the historical timeline of Ancient Egypt. While the first name he presents he states that it could not "indicate a monotheistic feeling,"¹⁸ the other names do not present such a direct problem in meaning and context within Genesis. Nevertheless, he continues to place the second and third Egyptian names in the later period of the empire, around 930 BC. However the biblical stories of Joseph and Moses are also used as markers in time around which to base the occurrence of all

¹⁷ James Henry Breasted, "Some Egyptian Names in Genesis- a New Inscription of the Oldest Period, Etc " *The Biblical World* 2, no. 4 (1893).

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 285

three names. The article continues into a detailed discussion of a few place names occurring in the Bible and their possible Egyptian origin. Breasted emphasizes the importance of understanding the ancient grammar and language to improve the fields of “philology, history, and archeology.”¹⁹ He already began expressing this point of view when he wrote to his parents telling them why he wanted to continue studying. The bad translations that sought to place Genesis within a specific timeframe “cost the study of Egyptology its proper recognition as a science.”²⁰ As an early work, this article has a lot to say about the field he is embarking on. First, that it is common practice for Egyptology to have a dialogue with Old Testament history as his work evidently does. Second, Breasted is challenging assumptions made by other scholars and pushing for a more rigorous critique of the Old Testament. His own comments show a desire to set Egyptology apart as a “science.”

What exactly did Breasted mean when he said science? Breasted’s article shows that Egyptology is not yet a “science” it is still something they are striving towards. Breasted himself understood scientific to mean keeping

An exhaustive record of everything stationary or moveable found on the spot is the supremely important thing, including especially all inscriptions, relief, decoration and the like, in facsimile. The search for fine museum pieces is mere commercial treasure-hunting.²¹

The definition of scientific is based on archeology, the scientific and methodological excavation of antiquities that provides a historical context. However, while this is the

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 288

²⁰ Ibid. p. 288

²¹ Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past: The Story of James Henry Breasted* p. 177

scientific most secondary sources refer to and Breasted himself conceptualizes scientific in the realm of archeology, but he also transfers the idea of scientific to philology. Scientific is “an exhaustive record of everything,” so that the written record has become something whose context is as important as the actual words and message. The best example would be Breasted’s treatment of the Egyptian names of Genesis. He describes the meaning and historical place of the names, providing a context, regardless of the implications it had on the current understanding of the Old Testament, thereby putting his job as a philologist first. In the discussion of Egyptology’s evolution modern Egyptologists define it as the great change is from a “pot-hunting past toward a more intellectually disciplined future.”²² Thus, men like George Reisner, Breasted’s contemporary, placed “a heavy emphasis on thorough record-keeping” categorize scientific progress.²³ The great shift is the subtle change that strata, shards, and location that help to write the historical narrative. It slowly shifts from antique hunting to a precise science.

Unlike Breasted whose work was mostly in philology and epigraphy, Reisner worked mainly in archeology, but he also used the Bible as a historical source. Reisner was one of Breasted’s contemporaries and he received his degrees at Harvard University in 1893. Shortly after completing his training in the US as an Assyriologist he received a traveling fellowship from Harvard to study in Germany. It was in Berlin that Adolf Erman, with whom Breasted also studied, Reisner switched his specialization to Egyptology. After his training in Berlin he traveled to Egypt to work on the catalogue staff of the Cairo museum. In 1899 he interested Mrs. George Hearst to fund his

²² Weeks, "Archaeology and Egyptology ". p. 12

²³ Ibid. p. 12

excavations in Egypt, but he soon returned to Harvard. Under Harvard's funding he worked in the Sudan, the Giza pyramids, and Samaria.

Most of Reisner's work and archeological finds were outside the historical timeframe of the Bible. However, he does use the Bible as a historical time frame and as a historical book during his excavation at Samaria. Harvard was interested in digging in Samaria because of the strong religious influences within its oriental studies department.²⁴ In Reisner's review, *The Harvard Expedition to Samaria Excavations of 1909*,²⁵ he methodically discusses the excavation project completed discussing details as finite as how many workmen and women, how many times they rotated and so forth. The excavation revealed an "Israelite Palace," but more certainly the Roman city Sebaste, built by Herod. In the first page he states, "we have not found a line of Hebrew inscription anywhere in the building, nor have our excavation given us the name of any of the kings of Israel."²⁶ The conclusion that the site was once the Biblical town of Samaria is based on archeology. The archeology he is referring to is the layers of sediment of the ancient town. Discovered at the site were four different layers each representing a different historical period. The earliest period he attributed to the Israelite town of Samaria. Throughout his discussion he references King Omri from the Bible and the wars that took place during Omri's reign and those that succeeded him. Finally, at the end he discusses the ancient fortress, one of the few remains from the period and states it was from there that "the Israelites conquered Moab, fought Damascus, and even for a time defies Assyria." The part that is most interesting is that there is no written record

²⁴ Kuklick. p. 102

²⁵ George Reisner, "The Harvard Expedition to Samaria Excavations of 1909," *The Harvard Theological Review* 3, no. 2 (1910).

²⁶ Ibid. p. 248

confirming that this is the city of Omri or that it was used by the Israelites for the purposes discussed in the book of 1 Kings. Thus, he uses the Bible in this discussion in order to build the chronology of the historical site. It reveals a lot about the use of the bible as a historical document. There is a shift in the field away from a biblical explanation of history, but men lauded as exemplars in the field in terms of leading it towards a more scientific future still used the Bible as a historical source. The reason is that these men were strongly influenced by the world, which surrounded them. While the Wellhausen debates raged about the historicity of the Bible, it still allowed it to be used as a historical document. In Reisner's use in this particular instance, it is an extremely valid historical source.

While most of Reisner's work is outside the Biblical timeframe, his work was included in books and series that were interested in tracing the development of Christianity. For example, he published two essays in the series *An Outline of Christianity: The story of our civilization*. He also published other works interested in explaining the conception of immortality. The basic conclusion is that Reisner was shaped and influenced by the world around him, and this included a dialogue with Christianity, the bible, and thoughts and ideas about religion.

Breasted and Reisner both studied in Berlin around the same period therefore they must have moved in similar social circles. In addition to attending class, Breasted also frequently visited different expat gatherings where he met men like Mark Twain and his future wife Frances. After he completed his dissertation and exams in 1894 he went on his honeymoon and first trip to Egypt.

Breasted used his honeymoon to continue his work and expand his contacts in the field. Breasted's first trip to Egypt also showed him the extent to which plunder and unorganized supervision of excavations were the norm. The Egyptian bureaucracy was inefficient in regards to punishing men who stole objects from the archeological sites. The English were also doing a poor job in keeping objects from being pillaged.²⁷ He also created new contacts in the field like Archibald Henry Sayce. He was considered one of the most eminent Orientalists, known for his extensive travels throughout the Middle East.

In Breasted's 1897 article *The Israel Tablet*²⁸ he argues against Sayce's conclusions on the Israel Tablet. Flinders Petrie discovered the Israel Tablet in 1896 at Thebes. Pharaoh Merneptah erected the stele commissioned a song of praise to him be engraved. Israel is among the vanquished foes that Merneptah lists. The significance of the stele is it is the first extra-biblical reference of Israel that had been found. Reverend Archibald Henry Sayce argues that the stele proved the biblical story of Exodus. More so, he uses the stele as an argument against those who criticize the Bible. Breasted vehemently argues against the assumption Sayce makes and states the opposite. In fact, "so far as the archaeology of Egypt is concerned it has very strikingly confirmed the general results of the Old Testament criticism."²⁹ The problem with Sayce's argument is that he makes reference to Exodus when the stele itself only mentioned Israel once directly, "Israel is desolated; his grain is not" and it obviously makes no reference to the

²⁷ Ibid. p. 75-76

²⁸ James Henry Breasted, "The Israel Tablet," *The Biblical World* 9, no. 1 (1897).

²⁹ Ibid. p. 67

exodus. What Breasted argues against specifically is the use of scientific work to make an argument outside of the historical realm it belongs to.

This particular article reveals a lot more about Near Eastern scholarship and the various influences and arguments prevalent. Sayce was the President of the Society of Biblical Archeology. One of his main objectives as a scholar was to argue against Wellhausen's followers. Julius Wellhausen was first an Old Testament professor in Germany who resigned and became a professor of Oriental Languages. His major work synthesized various authors and voices of "Higher Criticism," which rejected the "historicity" of the Old Testament and replaced it with the developmental model. The developmental model viewed religious thought as an evolution from animism to polytheism, and finally to monotheism.³⁰ As a result they treated the Bible as any other book whose historical truth needs explanation not its religious truth, thus eliminating the hand of the divine in the Bible.³¹ While Sayce was willing to accept some points about higher criticism he sought to prove the bible through archeology. Breasted's article therefore illuminates two important points. The first is that Near Eastern Studies was on the front lines of Old Testament defense. The second is that Breasted sided with the Wellhausen followers. This is not surprising since he was probably influenced by these ideas and arguments while he studied in Germany. However, this does not mean that he himself does not make use of the Bible as a primary source and reference point for his own work. Instead, Biblical criticism and the Wellhausen debate created a divide. The

³⁰ Thomas Davis, *The Rise and Fall of Biblical Archeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). p. 10-17

³¹ Kuklick. p. 33-35

Bible is no longer divine revelation and thus beyond criticism; instead it becomes a historical document and hence open to more critical interpretations.

In 1903 Breasted returned to Berlin where he worked on the Egyptian Dictionary as well as his own History of Egypt. It was around this time, in early 1904, that the Egyptologists in Berlin discovered the name “Field of Abram” on a stele. Breasted published the discovery in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* entitling the article *The Earliest Occurrence of the Name Abram*.³² On a geographical list of Pharaoh Sheshonk I of the twenty-first dynasty at the great Karnak temple there are 156 Palestinian towns listed. These would be under the suzerainty of the Egyptian empire. It is a commonplace hymn found on many temple walls, but they allow for an insight to how the Ancient Egyptians scribed Palestinian cities in the year 925 B.C. Of the ones presented only about seventeen can be located on a map today and of those only sixteen are found in the Old Testament. Breasted writes, “We look in vain for Jerusalem, which according to Hebrew annals (1 Kings 14:25) was also taken and plundered by Sheshonk. It has doubtless been lost in one of the lacunae.” The importance of this sentence is that it shows a curiosity and a desire to verify the stories in the Old Testament with the corresponding Egyptian texts. At the very end of the article, Breasted presents the last place name on the list, and it is translated as “The Field of Abram.”³³ The names of Jacob and Joseph had already been found in lists of Thutmose III and so scholars were not surprised to also find Abram (Abraham). Interestingly, the list “is far older than the

³² James Henry Breasted, "The Earliest Occurrence of the Name Abram," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 21, no. 1 (1904).

³³ Breasted, "Some Egyptian Names in Genesis- a New Inscription of the Oldest Period, Etc ". p. 36

Hebrew records of Abram-Abraham”³⁴ therefore making it the earliest mention of him in written history. This article was written in 1904 and in 1911 Breasted writes another article supporting his claims. In typical scholarly form, another author attacked his translation of the name Abram, but seven years later he continues to agree with his original work in the most important point, namely the translation of Abram. What is interesting to point out here is that Breasted is working within a historical framework that is both Egyptian and Biblical. Scholars of the period tried to date the books of the Old Testament, one of the main fruits of the Wellhausen debate. A distinguishing factor that can be gleaned so far from Breasted’s work is that he did not seek to prove the Bible through Egyptology, on the contrary, it was to some degree arbitrary to him whether or not his finds proved or disproved the Bible, the importance was the truth of the written historical record. Yet, he himself also used the Bible as a historical source and reference for placing events in history and a place to correlate his finds in Egypt.

His popular works also illustrate a struggle with the place of the Bible in scholarship. One of his popular works was the book *Egypt through the Stereoscope*, published in 1905. The purpose of the book was to give non-specialists a tour of Egypt and hence shape the modern conception of Egypt. The book travels throughout Egypt, going from site to site exploring their historical significance. The first part of the book is dedicated to a general history of Ancient Egypt. Within this history, he uses the bible as a reference for places mentioned in the Bible or events that took place in Ancient Egypt. For example, when Pharaoh Ahmosis drove out the Hyksos Breasted uses the bible as a reference for the Palestinian city Sharuhen, to where the Hyksos fled. He also described

³⁴ Ibid. p. 36

the evolution of man's religious thought to the belief in one god, a belief superior according to Breasted than a belief in many. By the time his history reached the reign of Akhenaten he described the necessity to recognize the Hebrews as the invading "Beduin hordes" arriving in Palestine.³⁵ He also refers to the Hebrews as likely candidates for the slaves builders for the New Kingdom cities and he gives a possible timeframe for the Hebrew exodus. However he never uses the term exodus, instead he calls it "their escape from Egypt." All of these references show a certain necessity on the part of Breasted to use the Bible in his popular writing. Even if the Bible did not shape his understanding of Egypt anymore, it was still the case for the general audience he was addressing.

In 1905 Breasted returned to Egypt to continue his ambitious epigraphic survey of Egypt. During his second visit he met important men like Lord Cromer and other English officials. He believed that "whether or not they have any right to be here [Egypt]...these people signify law and order in Egypt."³⁶ This attitude would fit in well with the Orientalist take on the origins and history of Egyptology. Despite their law and order however, they ruffled the feathers of many archeologists when they built the Aswan Dam thereby endangering some of the ancient monuments along the Nile, including Philae. Another prominent figure Breasted met on his trip was Maspero, the head of the antiquities department in Egypt. On that first meeting Charles, his young son, accompanied him. When Charles admired a set of ancient coins, Maspero indulged the child by giving him a handful of coins to the horror and dismay of James Breasted. This is an interesting anecdote that serves as an example between the differences between the

³⁵ James H Breasted, *Egypt through the Stereoscope* (New York City: Underwood and underwood, 1905). p. 26-27

³⁶ Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past: The Story of James Henry Breasted* p. 142

prominent figures within the field. While one Egyptologist does not see anything wrong with giving away a set of ancient coins to a young boy the other thinks it completely wrong to do so.

Another advancement Breasted made in the field goes largely unnoticed today, most likely because of Reisner's further advancements. He used a new method of recording inscriptions in which he photographed the inscription and then made blueprints of the negatives that he would then collate with the originals. His work was mostly epigraphy that is transcribing and translated from the many Egyptian monuments. While the concept is not new, he noticed on his first journey to Egypt the inaccuracy of many recordings and decided to try and record most of the major monuments because many of them were disappearing. So while he could "readily be attracted to the sort of work Davis and Petrie" did he felt that what he was doing was "equally important, perhaps more-only it holds no appeal for men of means and there are too few of us doing it."³⁷ While many others had surveyed Egypt, Breasted was the first to survey the Sudan and establish the discipline of epigraphy at the University of Chicago.

In 1908 Breasted had to return to the University of Chicago and leave his dream of recording all the Egyptian monuments because of a lack of funds. The ability to return to Egypt for work was interrupted by World War I, but in April 1919 funds were allocated and Breasted set out on a new journey to the Middle East, more ambitious than the last. That year thanks to the funds from Mr. Rockefeller Jr. he established the Oriental Institute and set out immediately to do a reconnaissance of the Near East. Unlike his previous travels, this one would be of monumental importance and required even more

³⁷ Ibid. p. 163

coordination and branching out to different men than before. From the beginning of the institute's more important "had unavoidably been the creation and maintenance of a diplomatic sphere of action."³⁸ The men whom he encountered and spoke to in order to arrange the expedition included Lord Balfour, the author of the Balfour Declaration. This expedition is an example of how the Egyptologists, while being scholars first, also operated in the diplomatic and imperial world they were surrounded by.

He would continue his work in the US and in 1912 he delivered a lecture entitled *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* at the Union Theological Seminary of New York. It was part of the Morse Lecture series and would form the bases of a book he published in 1933 entitled *The Dawn of Conscience*. In the book's foreword his main inspiration for the book is the World War and its example as man's power to destroy one another. The book's purpose is to trace the evolution of man's ideas of conduct, right and wrong. He begins by discussing the Ten Commandments and how he discovered as a young man that the Ancient Egyptians had a similar standard of morals. In fact he argues that the Hebrews were shaped by the older civilization of Ancient Egypt and that the moral history is delivered "through the Hebrews than from them."³⁹ He argues that man's moral knowledge is from man's experiences, something he finds truly amazing. His work makes the basic assumption that the evolution of man is true and he goes forward to describe a new idea, the evolution of morality.

There is a general change in the way that Breasted approached religion, faith, and Egyptology. He arrived at the field through the seminary and through his own faith, but

³⁸ James Henry Breasted, *The Oriental Institute XII vols.*, The University of Chicago Survey, vol. XII (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1933). p. 35

³⁹ James Henry Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935). p. xv

his personal journey between a world of academia and religion led him somewhere completely different. One of the last books Breasted wrote personifies the great changes that had taken place in the man. The purpose of his book, *The Dawn of Conscience* was to show that was capable of immense destruction, he could oppose those impulses with his conscience. The conscience of man evolved, in the same way that military weaponry and technology had overtime. His audience is the new generation. Breasted was extremely struck by the destruction of the First World War. The new generation does not value the morals that have been passed down over the ages as a result he traces them in his book to allow the new generation to not fall once again in the folly of another war. This evolution shows that the Hebrews were not the sole holders of ancient wisdom. Instead they simply synthesized the wisdom and texts of the Near East and allowed them to travel through time to the present man. "Our moral heritage therefore derives from a wider *human* past enormously older than the Hebrews, and it has come to us rather through the Hebrew than from them."⁴⁰ Furthermore, the wisdom of the texts were not divinely inspired, instead they come from human experience.⁴¹ Among the examples and discussions he delves into the similarities between the Wisdom of Amenemope and the Hebrew Book of Proverbs.⁴² The contrast serves to make his point. There are many basic similarities between the two texts which demonstrate according to Breasted that human experience shaped moral development and the divine. He also discusses many Biblical events, like the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and places them within a possible

⁴⁰ Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience* p. xv

⁴¹ Ibid. p. xvi

⁴² Ibid. p. 372

historical context. Like in early texts and books, when he refers to the Hebrew exodus, he described it as “the escape of the Hebrews from Egypt.”⁴³

His book *The Dawn of Conscience* is the culmination of his personal journey. He accepts many of the major points of the Wellhausen debate, namely the rejection of a divine hand in the writing of the Bible. Nevertheless, the validity of the Bible in terms of a moral and religious book is not eliminated. Monotheism is still the end of evolution, in the sense that man has achieved his highest form of thought once man reaches monotheism. Therefore, the book is a cross section between the personal and the professional. Breasted began his career seeking the world in which the Hebrew lived, based on his personal religious experience. By the end he concluded that the Hebrews were not responsible for the moral wisdom in the Bible, instead they were simply the messengers of the greater Near Eastern thinkers. His personal journey however strongly influenced the field that he created. Egyptology in the United States began with a handful of men. Breasted’s career is filled with examples and events that show a strong Christian influence. He began Semitic studies at the seminary, but he continued his studies and became the first American Egyptologists. These men in turn were shaped by a Christian world and world view that shaped the way they approached the field.

William Foxwell Albright

Breasted personifies the debates taking place as Egyptology develops as a field. He personally shifts his beliefs and writes extensively in a pro-Wellhausen method. However, a later archeologist and Orientalists, William Foxwell Albright attempted to bridge the growing divide between secularization and the Bible. In some ways similar to

⁴³ Ibid. p. 351-352

men like Sayce, Albright signaled the end of an era. Albright begins to work about half a generation after Breasted and Reisner begin their own work.

Early on in Near Eastern studies the academics did not abandon their religious commitments instead they felt there was no room for it at the university.⁴⁴ Most of the early students of Near Eastern studies were themselves religious, but the development of “comparative religion” allowed for the development of an impartial more secular analysis of religion. Those who still felt strongly religiously inclined went into the field of Biblical archeology.⁴⁵

Albright studied at John’s Hopkins under the German Orientalist Paul Haupt. Most of his early scholarship was on Mesopotamia. Over time he became more and more concerned with using his knowledge to serve the Bible. One of the reasons for his shift may be the increased desire of other Assyriologists to secularize the field.⁴⁶ Albright defined himself best as an Orientalist because of his encyclopedic knowledge of the Near East.⁴⁷ He also refers to himself as a Biblical archeologist,⁴⁸ which gave him the same geographical range as Orientalist.

Albright is best defined as a Biblical Archeologist. The geographical area of Biblical archeology was concerned with was from “southern Russia, to Ethiopia, across

⁴⁴ Kuklick. p. 121

⁴⁵ Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience* p. 121

⁴⁶ Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "W.F. Albright & Assyriology," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 65, no. 1 (2002). P. 4-5

⁴⁷ Seymour Gitin, "The House That Albright Built," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 65, no. 1 (2002). p. 5

⁴⁸ W.F. Albright, "The Song of Deborah in the Light of Archaeology," *Bulletin fo the American Schools of Oriental Research* 62 (1936).

North Africa and over to Iran.”⁴⁹ He redefined biblical research so that the field would be systematically analyzed and synthesized in light of archeological discoveries.⁵⁰ The goal of biblical archeology is to ground the Bible in historical reality.⁵¹ Albright believed that the Bible described real events and people.⁵² The biggest difference between Albright and the Wellhausen followers, including Breasted, was his belief that man’s religious life was guided by divine revelation.⁵³ One of his most important themes in his work was tracing the evolution of Israelite monotheism.⁵⁴ This path was in accordance with his overall Christian background and influences, where Jesus and Christian monotheism was the highest form of religious thought.

Albright’s work can be divided into three main driving forces. The first was the discovery of new data. He put great emphasis on method and accuracy in archeology. Second much of his work was a reaction to the Wellhausen debate. Finally, the overall religious climate of the nineteenth century were all motivations for his work.⁵⁵ However he is not fundamentalist, he did not seek to defend the historicity of every detail in the Bible instead he only sought to defend the general historicity of the biblical narratives.⁵⁶

Today most historians and archeologists view Albright as philosophically liberal for his era.⁵⁷ Few people view him as just an Assyriologist.⁵⁸ Most define him as the

⁴⁹ J.P. Dessel, "Reading between the Lines: W.F. Albright "In" The Field And "On" The Field " *Near Eastern Archaeology* 65, no. 1 (2002). p. 44

⁵⁰ Gitin. p. 5

⁵¹ Davis. p. 4

⁵² Gitin. p. 6

⁵³ Beaulieu. p. 15

⁵⁴ Edward Wright, "W.F. Albright's Vision of Israelite Religion," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 65, no. 1 (2002). p. 63

⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 64-65

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 66

⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 66

father of Biblical archeology, which today has changed dramatically from Albright's time to become "Syria-Palestine" archeology. Most scholars have rejected the premise on which Albright worked, but the tensions between religion, the bible, its historicity and their relationship with archeology have not been solved.⁵⁹

The field of Syria-Palestine archaeology has not been able to divorce itself from its religious past, but Egyptology has been able to. Albright is an interesting bridge between the world of Breasted and Reisner and our own secular university system. The successors of Albright in the Levant had to directly tackle the religious aspects of their origin, in part because of the obvious geographical association, even today, but also because of men like Albright. The men who helped shape the field and their successors were unavoidable religiously motivated. For modern Egyptologists the questions and implications are not so straight forward. Breasted is a stark contrast to Albright. He favored a Wellhausen interpretation of the Bible. More importantly he rejected the role of the divine in the writing of the Bible. However, he and Reisner did dialogue with the Bible and it did act as a historical document in their work. Even more poignant for Breasted is that he himself came from a Christian tradition, from a seminary, and then became an Egyptologist. His first impulses to learn about the Near East were shaped by a desire to learn more about Ancient Israel and the forces that created their monotheism. Thus, the Egyptologists and the field they created was shaped to a great extent by Christianity. Even though they did not defend the historicity of the Bible or argue against Wellhausen, there was a dialog and to some degree a reaction against men like Sayce and Albright that helped create the field.

⁵⁸ Beaulieu. p. 12

⁵⁹ Gitin. p. 9

Towards Defining Egyptology

The previous sections discussed the extent to which Christianity influenced early American Egyptology. This section will begin to answer the second important question, why it is not in the current historiography of the field. The answer to this question once again begins with the two main Egyptologists Henry Breasted and George Reisner. Christianity influenced not only the early discourse of the field, but also helped shape the way these two men conceived and defined the field of Egyptology and Near Eastern studies in the United States. The historiography of Egyptology in the United States begins with Reisner and Breasted. They were the first to define the field, its goals, and project a future path for studies. The way they projected this path was in many ways a reaction to the use of the Bible and the Wellhausen debates in the field at the time. The early path directed by these Egyptologists was followed by the succeeding generations. When the universities were being formed at the beginning of the twentieth century the universities published books and articles that discussed how the different departments were organized and came into existence. Both Breasted and Reisner wrote chapters and books that defined their departments and it is from these documents that the historiography was born.

Reisner wrote in two separate publications for Harvard brief essays that described American activities in Egypt and the Near East, which are very similar in format to what current Egyptologists write about the field. The publications *American Activities in Egypt and the Near East* and *The Development of Harvard University; Egyptology* are similar in content. Reisner described the general development of Egyptology, beginning with the Napoleonic expedition, Champollion's translation and into the recent expeditions. He was

the first professor of Egyptian language at Harvard University. Therefore, the format and method of discussion engaged by modern Egyptologists follow the same format as Reisner at the very beginning of American Egyptology.

American success and scientific fidelity are two of Reisner's major themes in the two publications. In *American Activities in Egypt and the Near East* he lays out four important developments of scientific method in archeology. Briefly, they emphasize methods in excavation, training of staff and workmen, a recording system, and publication.⁶⁰ He also emphasized, "the American Expeditions have been actuated by the principle of intellectual honesty and maintained strict adherence to the principles of scientific research."⁶¹ Thus there is an overall neglect in discussing the motivations behind the sites American institutions excavated. As already discussed, an interest in the Biblical past was a motivating factor for excavation at Samaria, but it is discussed as a matter of fact within Reisner's discourse.

Another of Reisner's publications, in *An Outline of Christianity*, he discusses the role of an archeologist that continues the themes found in the other two publications. In this publication his emphasis is on science and archeology. It is

a crime against science for an untrained archeologist to exploit the buried historical material of an ancient land for his personal amusement, his private profit, or even to fill the cases of a public museum.⁶²

⁶⁰ George Reisner, "The American Archeological Expeditions in Egypt and the near East," *Journal du Commerce et de la marine* Special Edition (1939). p. 20

⁶¹ Ibid. p. 20

⁶² George Reisner, "The Uncovering of the Buried Past," in *An Outline of Christianity: The Story of Our Civilization*, ed. Francis J. McConnell (New York: Bethlehem Publishers, 1926). p. 313

In this instance Reisner is mainly referring to the history of “archeology” which was only searching for artifacts that were aesthetically pleasing as museum pieces and not they were not interested in reconstructing history. He is also criticizing men who had no formal training in archeology who set up excavations to look for evidence to support the Bible, which was very common in the Levant. The result of this discussion is once again an emphasis on the scientific.

What influenced these men to become “scientific” in the way they define it. Earlier while discussing Breasted’s career I delved into how Breasted and Reisner defined and discussed science and scientific in their field. Reisner’s work discussed here also shows an emphasis on science and scientific. These conceptions of science were formed in large part by positivism. Positivist philosophy emphasized the observable and rejected the metaphysical. Theology in particular was categorized as too subjective to give any real indication about the realities of everyday life. Positivist philosophy stretched from mathematics to the humanities and in all cases emphasized a scientific method in order to observe and record findings. Reisner and Breasted are very unique in Egyptology because of their strong emphasis on objectively recording the past. None of their work directly refers to positivism however their methods strongly reflect the philosophy, which was very popular during this period of academic growth and discovery.

Breasted defines his field in the book *The Oriental Institute* and its purpose was to record how the Oriental institute grew to become the most expansive field operator in the Near East and to make “the institute intelligible as a scientific agency.”⁶³ The purpose of

⁶³ Breasted, *The Oriental Institute* p. ix

the institute itself was to “recover the lost story of the rise of man.” Within this history there is a period of time that belongs to the Egyptologist to discover.

On the one hand the paleontologist with his picture of the dawn of man enveloped in clouds of archaic savagery, and on the other hand the historian with his reconstruction of the career of civilized man in Europe.

Between these two stand we Orientalists endeavoring to bridge the gap.⁶⁴

There is a jump from the physical evolution of man to the “evolution of his soul, a social and spiritual development which transcends the merely biological and divests evolution of its terrors.”⁶⁵ These are the main questions and history the Oriental Institute and in general the history of the Near East answers according to Breasted. The views he expresses in this book coincide with what he expresses and discusses in the *Dawn of Conscience*. There is an overriding interest in discovering an evolutionary history of man’s thoughts. In order to accomplish these studies Breasted divided the work of the institute into two parts. The first are the archaeologists who work to recover the lost data in different parts of the Near East. The second group of men worked from the university in the United States, these are the philologists and historians who work on “studying interpreting, and correlating that evidence.”⁶⁶ This general division has endured in many schools today.

Breasted’s definition is generally referring to all aspects of Near Eastern studies, but his personal experience is specifically in Egyptology. It is interesting to note that in all of the discussions about the field in general neither Reisner nor Breasted refer to

⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 1-2

⁶⁵ Ibid. p 2

⁶⁶ Ibid. p 2

themselves as Egyptologists, they more commonly use Orientalist, however in their academic articles and publications they do refer to themselves as Egyptologists. The definitions they discuss and ideas they put forward in the works discussed in this section are not exclusively for Egyptology, but the field of archeology and Near Eastern studies as a whole. To refer to only Egyptology as the heads of whole Near Eastern departments would not have fit within the context they were writing. Nevertheless, the general definitions do describe a path that the men tried to lead the field towards. That path was scientific led by positivist ideas. The question arises, why do they neglect a Biblical presence in the development of the field?

These definitions and interpretations of the field are a reaction to the broader discussions and debates that surrounded Reisner and Breasted. Breasted clearly states in his article *The Israel Tablet* that archeology should stay out of the arguments about the historicity of the Bible. While both men used the Bible in their work as a historical marker, they did not want the field to become involved in the minute debates involving the Wellhausen followers and dissenters. Despite the reaction against these debates Christianity did have a tremendous influence on early American Egyptology. There was a personal as well as a formal aspect to the influence. That influence and tension accounts for why it has been left out of the historiography.

Dialog with the Historiography and Conclusions

The chronicles written by most Egyptologists follow the format the Breasted and Reisner laid out in their first histories and definitions of the field. Recently, in the past month, the University of Chicago has set up an exhibition on James Breasted's expedition to the Near East between 1919 and 1920. To commemorate the event they have also

published a book entitled, *Pioneers to the Past*. The book was published with a series of letters that James Breasted wrote to his family detailing the places and people he saw and met. What emerges is new and striking for Egyptology's historiography. The historians place Breasted's work for the Oriental Institute within the broader political framework of the time. The main point of the exhibition and publications is to demonstrate that the early Egyptologist was not only an academic but also a politician that navigated through the mandated Middle East. The Oriental Institute had been unable to begin its extensive fieldwork in the Middle East because of the First World War. Afterwards, the book *Pioneers to the Past* demonstrates that there was a tangled web of bureaucracy that Breasted had to navigate in order to set up the excavations. By opening up the history of the Oriental Institute they are beginning a dialog with the past.

While the exhibition does open up new insights there is still much to be explored, analyzed, and derived from the early history and development of Egyptology. Kuklick in *Puritans in Babylon* discusses how Christianity influenced the development of Near Eastern studies in the United States. Gange plays a similar role with the development of British Egyptology. The major fault with these works in relation to Egyptology is that it ultimately remains outside the field.

As Egyptologists begin to dialog with its Orientalist past and roots within Imperialism, a reality that is unavoidable in many ways, they are able to forge a different and more fruitful future. In a conversation I had with Dr. Michael Jones at the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) he told me the imperial ties between Egyptology and Egypt no longer play a dominant role in modern relations. ARCE works with members of different Egyptian communities in order to preserve the ancient past. That does not mean

however that the research they conduct and the research of American institutions in Egypt is not affected by the contemporary political realities in Egypt just like in the days of Breasted and Reisner.

Religion and Christianity in particular is still neglected by most Egyptologists' discussion within the historiography. The field was very much influenced by Christianity in its early formation in the United States. The secondary sources about Albright are written by a vast array of Near Eastern scholars including Egyptologists and Assyriologists. They inevitably have to confront and discuss the religious past that Albright represents for Syria-Palestine archeology in particular. Kiklick discusses the broader context of this influence in his book and this paper shows in detail to what extent that influence worked to shape how the field evolved. The influence operated in many ways. Breasted demonstrates that a personal motivation and inner struggle shaped his own research questions and conclusions, like in his book *The Dawn of Conscience*. Reisner and Breasted also show how the Bible was used within the context of scientific research and analysis as a historical document. However, there were also tensions because of the arguments and debates that existed around them. These debates and questions about the compatibility of science and religion led to their decision to react against the inclusion of Christian interpretation or use of archeological evidence. The path they created for Egyptology was a reaction against religion toward science that was severe out of necessity. The early basis for the historiography has not changed almost 100 years later and most Egyptologists still do not discuss the relation between Christianity and Egyptology. The results are lingering question between the place of Christianity, religion, and faith in Egyptology.

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