

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

RELIGION, SCIENCE AND POWER IN THE MAKING OF
THE SURVEY OF WESTERN PALESTINE

by
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A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
to the Department of History and Archeology
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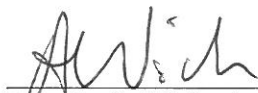
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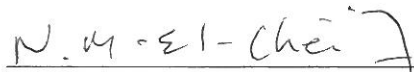
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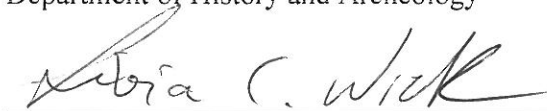
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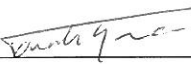
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This thesis is dedicated to my father, an unfailing mentor, and to the memory of my mother.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Cyma Sami Farah for Master of Arts
Major: History

Title: Religion, Science and Power in the Making of the *Survey of Western Palestine*

This thesis is dedicated to understanding the motives and consequences of a project led and funded by the Palestine Exploration Fund. The undertaking took place between the years 1871-1876 and came to be known as *The Survey of Western Palestine*. For years, the crew of the PEF wandered the territories of an undefined 'Holy Land' with the aim to elucidate everything and anything about it. In completing their research, the PEF assembled a *Survey* into nine volumes and a map scaled at one inch to the mile. The first three volumes formed a memoir on the topography, orography, hydrography and archeology of Palestine as divided into three geographical entities (1.) Galilee, (2.) Samaria and (3.) Judea. The rest of the volumes were categorized as (4.) Special papers on topography, archeology, manners and customs; (5.) Jerusalem; (6.) Fauna and Flora; (7.) Geology; (8.) Arabic and English name lists and (9.) a complete general index.

In this thesis I argue that institutional and political infrastructures that predated the establishment of the PEF such as the British consulate, the Tanzimat and the Eastern question formed optimal conditions for the activities of the PEF in Palestine. I maintain that such processes forged important patterns of relationships, what I call *structures*, between the British and the ruling Ottoman Empire and its local inhabitants. These *structures* attested to Britain's power over Ottoman Palestine and, in turn, were reasserted by the *Survey*. This line of reasoning helps me integrate the *Survey* within the historiography of colonization. The PEF's project in Palestine was not purely scientific and void of ideological motives. Contrary to its alleged mission of objectively studying the Holy Land, I argue that in their final form, the tomes of the *Survey* effectively reinforced structures of imperial dominion. In the final analysis I attempt to demonstrate that the *Survey*, indeed, was instrumental for Britain's administration of Palestine between the years 1918- 1936 and managed to shape the modern view and existence of Palestine.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Survey of Western Palestine, compiled between the years 1871-1878, was commissioned by the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF), a private organization, with the original aim to illustrate the Bible using the latest scientific methods of the era. As we shall see, many other interests converged to shape the final version of the *Survey* (in the form of a map scaled at one inch to the mile and nine monumental volumes comprising the topography, orography, hydrography, archaeology and ethnography of the Holy Land and its inhabitants).

By the early 1800s a new trend in academic research had emerged: historical geography. This scholarly inclination grew out of a general concern to illustrate the Bible. The founding of the Palestine Exploration Fund (or PEF) in 1865, with queen Victoria as its patron was aimed at this goal. For years the many claims to Palestine resonated within the European public, yet the geographical entity itself was never clearly delineated, neither administratively nor ideologically. Therefore its cartography became all the more enticing, especially to the analytical scholars of the time. Along with many Christian missionary societies, nineteenth century Palestine witnessed an increased interest by travellers and explorers alike. Its historical geography, it was thought, ought to confirm their religious and intellectual beliefs. To substantiate their finds, explorers made use of the latest scientific methods to survey the Holy Land. Indeed, Cartography, geology, archeology and explorations, all

apparently objective sciences, would finally elucidate everything and anything there was to know about Palestine.

In reading the *Survey* and its related literature (historical geography and Biblical literature), one is struck by the density and sobriety of the account. Perhaps therein lied the grandiose and legitimating feature that prompted its many plaudits in Victorian England. Its apparent rigidity and resistance to criticism, judgment and misinterpretation gained the trust of its readers. Although the individual motives to explore the Holy Land were religiously driven, the PEF insisted that, as an organization, its methods and principles were secular and scientific in nature.

To liberate themselves from potential criticisms and controversies, the authors of the *Survey* listed the following criteria:

1. That whatever was undertaken should be carried out on scientific principles.
2. That the society should, as a body, abstain from controversy.
3. That it should not be started, nor should it be conducted as a religious society.¹

With such guiding principles, the document at hand seemed a perfect tool to utilize in deciphering Palestine's origins. Hence, the PEF explorers armed with a spade and measuring tape in one hand and the Bible in the other, entered the Holy Land and worked tirelessly to authenticate the Bible.

¹ Charles Watson, *Fifty Years Work in the Holy Land: A Record and Summary*. (London: PEF, 1915), 18.

1.1 Bodies of Literature Surrounding the *Survey of Western Palestine*

There are three main bodies of literature that have used the *Survey of Western Palestine* as a source and/ or subject of research: archeology, pilgrim travelogues and history.

For scholars of archeology, the *Survey* represents the first comprehensive attempt at biblical archeology in the Holy Land and therefore current archeologists retrace much of their field's origins to this mighty nine-volume document. Notably, Israeli archeologists have tended to focus on many of the archeological sites that were first uncovered by the PEF in attempts to authenticate and solidify Israeli nationalism.

The cultural impact of the *Survey* is most clearly found in the narrative of nineteenth century pilgrims to the Holy Land. This body of literature is significant in the reconstruction of the era's intellectual and spiritual atmosphere. Interestingly, many scientists of this period who took part in the PEF explorations, such as Claude Reignier Conder, also wrote travelogues conveying their thoughts on the field.

The last and most significant corpus of sources to us resides in the writings of historians. This field of inquiry, for decades now, has focused on the political impact of the *Survey* in official state policies, namely that of nineteenth century Britain and leading up to the mandate period. In this sense, the *Survey* has almost exclusively been incorporated in the historiography of British interests in the Holy Land from the defeat of Napoleon at Acre in 1799 to the British invasion of Palestine in 1917. While my thesis integrates several sources from the fields of archeology and pilgrim travelogues, it will more amply comment on the current position of the *Survey* in the historiography of modern Palestine. Specifically, I will discuss how the *Survey* fits within the narrative of the Tanzimat, (i.e. the Ottoman Empire's attempt at state centralization) and the narrative of British colonization of

Palestine, rather than solely within the limited scope of the Eastern Question (i.e. competing European influences in Ottoman Palestine). Moreover, I will look at particular incidents of peasant aggression against the crewmembers of the PEF and reevaluate the historical narrative that this violence prompted. By making observations on a broader scale rather than narrowly detailed interests, I aim to locate patterns of social relationships; what I call structures. These patterns (or structures) are broad and ultimately they reinforce the idea of historical continuity. They also include a role for the local population of Palestine and encourage the sense that History does not only form a sequence of aligned events. In fact, my arguments seek to demonstrate that historical developments are fluid and persist well into the present.

1.2 Outline

This thesis starts with a brief review of the literature discussing the *Survey* (and with it the PEF) in relation to specific British politico-economic interests which help to understand the daily circumstances and practical issues of the PEF's groundwork. In particular, the several attacks by the local population on the PEF crew during their explorations were highly publicized in their day and make up much of the content of these historians' texts.

I follow this review with another corpus of secondary literature. More conceptual in nature and drawing on the colonial experience, I extract from it a specific social discourse. Despite the fact that the period under question in my thesis is pre-colonial, I glean from these authors a conceptual perspective that has yet to enter the literature surrounding the *Survey*.

Chapter 3 is a historical narration of the events surrounding the *Survey*. This part gives the reader an idea of the dominant historical narrative on the *Survey*. These

texts discuss the historical setting that enabled and called for such an enterprise as the *Survey* including the shaping of British interests in Palestine. This chapter will also explain the founding of the PEF and retrace its scientific precedents (in particular Edward Robinson ‘the father of Biblical geography’).

In chapter 4, I will give a conceptual interpretation of specific incidents that took place during the *Survey*. This part also constitutes my original contribution to the topic at hand. These incidents portray the aggressive interactions between the inhabitants of Palestine and the foreign surveying team of the PEF. Far from being a melancholic description of violent attacks between the natives and the PEF team, my interpretation seeks to empower the indigenous population of Palestine (past and present) despite persistently disadvantaged socio-political conditions.

In chapter 5 I seek to incorporate different British actions in Palestine (including the Bishopric, the consulate and of course the *Survey*) into one comprehensive narrative. Rather than addressing these British undertakings in Palestine on a differential basis, I seek to contextualize these endeavors into one theme, namely modernization and colonization. The argument I make is two-fold. Firstly I take a look at the pre-existing conditions in Palestine that pushed for such an endeavor as the *Survey*. These conditions range from structural processes such the renegotiation of the capitulations and the launching of the Tanzimat to institutional organizations like the bishopric, the consulate and the missionary movements in Palestine. Secondly, I argue that the *Survey* enabled and reinforced structural landmarks of imperial dominion especially in the context of the British colonial administration of Palestine.

Chapter 6 offers an in-depth analysis of the contents of the *Survey*. In order to systematize my investigation, (amongst the flood of information supplied by the

various tomes of the *Survey*), I decided to go through the PEF's "14 special sites of importance" and elaborate on the *Survey* as a commentary, more informative of its own authors than the people and land it claimed to describe. I will delve into the cultural prejudice of the PEF and their surveying team and pay attention to the ideological motives that informed the *Survey*. The several controversies about sacred places and locations will also be discussed in concordance with what I argue to be archeological bias.

Chapter 8 of the thesis is an attempt at re-creating the intellectual atmosphere in which the *Survey* was written. It looks specifically at orientalist elements that I interpret as guiding the thoughts and words of the PEF authorship. I essentially help myself to the travel literature of the time (including the travel literature issued by the PEF) to reconstruct the intellectual dynamics of the era. In line with the view that no text can be clearly understood in isolation, I aim at integrating the *Survey* within the literature of pilgrims but also look at its individual imprint.

CHAPTER 2

PROBLEMS OF HISTORIOGRAPHY: MODERNIZATION THEORY AND ITS CRITICS

As previously noted this chapter will review the information available on the *Survey* in modern scholarship. The first observation one makes while collecting and reading the books involving PEF material is the different disciplines interested in its documentation: archeology and history. While the former is of less importance to us (since this is a work of history not archeology), for the sake of completeness it is interesting to take a brief look at it. Moreover, by looking at the way archeologists approach and contextualize the *Survey* we can contrast it to the way historians make use of the same document. Hopefully, this exercise can bring us closer to understanding the place of the *Survey* within the historical record. In locating the *Survey* within the respective field records (of archeology and history), we notice that in a broad sense, both disciplines have attempted to write down what has been termed the “rediscovery (sometimes oddly called the discovery) of Palestine”.² From here on divergent narratives emerge. On the one hand, for archeologists the ‘rediscovery of Palestine’, in which nineteenth century Western scholars investigated the Holy Land to illustrate the Bible, mark the incipient stages of Archeology. Their starting point, as they attempt to define the origins of their field, most often coincides with Edward Robinson (more famously known as the ‘father of biblical geography’)’s *Biblical*

² Frederick Jones Bliss, *The Development of Palestine Exploration* (New York: Chales Scribner’s Sons, 1906). William Foxwell Albright, *The Archeology of Palestine* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1949). John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem: The Palestine Exploration Fund and British Interests in the Holy Land* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000). Yehoshua Ben Arie, *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1979). A.L.Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

Researches in Palestine and Adjacent Countries (a compilation of his explorations in the Holy Land during the year 1838)³. To archeologists, Robinson's achievements and methods were the steppingstone for systematic archeological groundwork. In turn these methods were adopted and applied by the PEF in parallel with excavations conducted in the aim to firmly validate Robinson's results in what would be published in 1881 as *The Survey of Western Palestine*.

On the other hand, in their 'rediscovery of Palestine' historical narratives usually go further back to 1799 when Napoleon crossed from Egypt to the Holy Land and, armed with soldiers and scholars, was able to draw a partial map of Palestine published in Jacotin's Atlas⁴.

Trying to identify why these scholars all start their study of Ottoman Palestine at the defeat of Napoleon at the gates of Acre in 1799 is one way to understand the overreaching motives of historians in chronicling the results and performance of the PEF in Palestine. Napoleon's expedition to the Levant in 1798 is chiefly remembered for its anthology of Egypt with the publication of *Description de l'Egypte*. And it was in the same effort to map Egypt that Jacotin, one of Napoleon's savants, extended his work into Palestine. The next time Palestine was to witness such a combination of soldiers and scholars, on a public mission to scientifically enquire its lands, would be with the arrival of the PEF's Royal Engineers and a small circle of archeologists who set to finish what Jacotin never completed himself: a cartography of the Holy Land. Although interesting to note and often mentioned by historians, the analogy between the PEF's *Survey* and Napoleon's documentation of the Levant seems ancillary to the general impulse there is to begin historical narratives in 1799. The turning point of the

³ Edward Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine* (London: John Muray, 1856).

⁴ See Jacotin, *Carte topographique de l'Egypte et de plusieurs parties des pays limitrophes* (Le Caire: Belbeis, 1826).

year 1799 in the history of Palestine is most often explained by its political significance rather than the intellectual publications it witnessed.

Yehoshua Ben Arie, a prolific author on Palestine's historical geography writes in the preface to his book: "The following account of the rediscovery of Palestine is divided into five sections, reflecting contemporary political developments. The last chapter is an exception in that it centers on the activities of the Palestine Exploration Fund rather than on any focal political event."⁵ We here see that while the PEF was not considered a political institution, its close affiliation with the war office and the British consulate has rendered its historical narration a part and parcel of British state politics in the Holy Land. Hence, the framework around which the PEF usually rotates (and as clearly outlined by Ben Arie's chapters) within the historical literature is the workings of British political *interests* in Palestine. Ben Arie's explicit outline becomes a template for the general line of narration that all five authors (previously enumerated) seemingly follow (up until 1878 with the completion of the *Survey*), notwithstanding a certain margin of variation. Accordingly, his timeline abides by specific *political* landmarks (rather than any other kind of marker) which introduce each of the chapters: Napoleon's defeat at Acre (1799), Mohammad Ali's invasion of Syria (1831), the defeat of Mohammad Ali's rule and the establishment of the British consul (1840), the Crimean War (1856) and finally the founding of the PEF (1865). Specifically, these milestones reflect events and dates most usually associated by Western intellectuals as the circumstances that pressed modernity unto the Holy Land. And certainly these milestones were always brought about by foreign intervention in the area (e.g. Napoleon's invasion, Mohammad Ali's invasion, the establishment of the consulates and of course the PEF

⁵ Yehoshua Ben Arie, *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1979), 5.

activities in Palestine). I view this perspective of foreign modernity (as it was brought about by interventions starting with Napoleon's) as the paradigm that prompted these secondary source authors to start at 1799.

The Israeli scholar Neil Asher Silberman is the one of the first intellectuals to have written extensively on the PEF and its *Survey* in a historical perspective rather than an archeological one in his *Digging for God and Country: Exploration in the Holy Land 1799-1917*. As he notes, "this book is only indirectly concerned with buried artifacts and ancient cultures"⁶. He aims to "trace the historical background and delineate the cultural environment of the Western exploration of the Land of the Bible"⁷. It is interesting to record that the historical background he refers to here is used synonymously to *political* background. Given its time of publication (1982) it is only natural to find such a tight association between the terms *historical* and *political*. Indeed, we notice that political concerns, up until recently dominated scholars' historical productions. As a reviewer indicates on the back cover of the book, "his conception of digging for God [as evidenced in the title] reflects the genuine religious impetus to explore ancient sacred sites; digging for country [see title] denotes the intense national rivalries, especially among Germany, France and England"⁸. Suitably, the text integrates enough cultural history to explain the exploration of the Holy Land; nonetheless political factors, again and accurately so, guide the narrative.

The respective books published by John James Moscrop and Abdel Latif Al Tibawi reveal in their very titles the use of the political sequence in Palestine to

⁶ Neil Asher Silberman, preface to *Digging for God and Country: Exploration in the Holy Land, 1799- 1917* (New York: Knopf, 1982).

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Neil Silberman, back cover of *Digging for God and Country: Exploration in the Holy Land, 1799-1917* (New York: Knopf, 1982).

explain its rediscovery⁹. Moscrop's exhaustive recent book *Measuring Jerusalem: The Palestine Exploration Fund and British Interests in the Holy Land* follows Ben Arieh (whom he cites frequently) in adopting a strictly political sequence for his narrative. While his introduction is a discursive attempt at explaining the correlation between Britain's religious call to survey the Holy Land and its general effort to justify a politically led 'global empire', the following sections focus specifically on British interests in Palestine. Chapter 1 "Remembering Jerusalem: 1799-1839" elaborates on Napoleon's defeat (1799), the Egyptian invasion and subsequent 'liberalization' of Syria (1839). Chapter 2 "The Coming of the Nations: 1839-1865" expands from the establishment of the British consulate and the Bishopric, the Crimean war, to the founding of the PEF. Moreover, throughout the entire account, Moscrop makes very clear the interconnection between the members of the PEF (committee and/or exploration team) and British intelligence, specifically dwelling on such members as Charles Conder (the main author of the *Survey*), Lord Kitchener (Conder's partner in the last phases of the *Survey*) and, later on, T.E Lawrence (who actively gathered intelligence under the cover of a scientific expedition led by the PEF). And surely, T.E. Lawrence's *Wilderness of the Zin* (although not within our scope of inquiry) more than any other publication by the PEF points to the political influence of British state policy towards cultural institutions like the PEF.

Tibawi titles his work *British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901* and although the timeframe he offers excludes Napoleon's defeat at the hands of Sir Sydney Smith, the opening lines of his account actually describe the incident. He begins: "In 1799, following the swift conclusion of the Anglo-Ottoman alliance, a British naval

⁹ Abdul Latif Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961). John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem: The Palestine Exploration Fund and British Interests in the Holy Land* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000).

squadron took part in the defense of Acre against Napoleon who had marched triumphantly from Egypt into Palestine”¹⁰. He continues with a discussion of Britain’s increased political interests in the region following 1799 and confirmed by the establishment, later on, of its consulate. Despite the political aspect of his historical account, Tibawi clearly mentions in his preface the cultural ambiguity inherent in the ‘rediscovery of Palestine’ as a theme. He says: “This is not a general political history; it is primarily a cultural history in which relevant political factors are not overlooked”¹¹. Here we understand the way Tibawi views the *Survey* as a cultural production, yet, one that cannot be explained independently of the political circumstances of the day. This perspective indeed predominates the secondary sources that attempt to comprehensively shed light on the PEF and its *Survey*.

This is also the case of Naomi Shepherd’s *The Zealous Intruders* who dedicates a whole chapter to the PEF and launches her narrative with “The Rediscovery of Palestine, 1799-1831”. Once again, we notice that “Napoleon’s decision to attack British *interests* in the Middle East”¹² regularly inaugurates the dominant theme of historical narratives of this period: British *interests* in Palestine. However we notice in Shepherd (and the other four authors) that the French expedition and its political consequences were not as clear-cut as one would hope to chronicle. They were dramatically tied to a change in European cultural attitudes towards the Holy Land. The two accounts that expound the most on the cultural aspect of Palestine’s rediscovery (albeit quite minimally), alternating between cultural and political influence in the Holy Land, indeed are Tibawi and Shepherd. Certainly,

¹⁰ Abdul Latif Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 1.

¹¹ Abdul Latif Tibawi, preface to *British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

¹² Naomi Shepherd, *The Zealous Intruders* (London: William Collins & Co. Ltd, 1987), 15.

they were able to recognize and explain the general incentive behind the integration of such works as the *Survey* within the general political narrative of nineteenth century Palestine. Shepherd, in the opening pages of her book provides the reader with a pertinent quote that encapsulates the logic behind this association. She refers to Edward Clarke, a prolific author and long-time traveler, who in 1801 expressed: “European policies have *directed* the observation of European travelers to regions they would not otherwise have noticed [...] the harvest has begun”.¹³ Henceforth, many cultural productions, such as the *Survey* were referenced and indeed (mis)*directed* by the progress of European political *interests* in the Levant. Ultimately, it is worthy to note that much of the travel literature and historical geographies of the time were not produced by independent writers. Largely, they were either directly or indirectly associated with their national government apparatus. Such was the case of the authors of the *Survey*.

The method of mapping territories in the administration of land quickly became an instrument of control and colonization by the European powers. India’s Great Trigonometric Survey of 1802 is a foremost example of the power of maps to control populations, and of the interconnection between science and imperialism. However, after the Sepoy mutiny of 1857, there was a marked change in British foreign policies. Ideology became an important tool for justifying imperial projects and Britain tried to mold much of its empire along evangelistic line.¹⁴ Christianity and the Church of England were very important to British nationalism and since the time of the Crusades, the Holy Land had always lingered in Britain’s collective memory.

¹³ Naomi Shepherd, *The Zealous Intruders* (London: William Collins & Co. Ltd, 1987), 16.

¹⁴ John James Moscrop, introduction to *Measuring Jerusalem: The Palestine Exploration Fund and British Interests in the Holy Land* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), 1.

This partly explains the *Survey*'s historical/archeological content, and marks the basic difference between India and Palestine. While my thesis discusses the *Survey* as an imperial tool, this concept does not enter the literature that surrounds it, primarily because the *Survey* did not include property lands nor did it attempt to register them. Moreover, the censuses of the population were not systematic, making the *Survey* somewhat derivative to the conventional surveys of state administrations. As mentioned above, the *Survey* is usually written about as a political tool within the context of immediate interests and especially in light of the Eastern Question, in which topography played an important role.

The works discussed above are noted for their systematically narrow and sharp attention to political details in the context of British political interests in nineteenth century Palestine. Ultimately they give the reader a step-by-step view of the establishment of British influence in Palestine, and generally adhere to the chronological beats of modernization theory. This theory rests on the assumption that it was European contact with the East starting with Napoleon's expedition that ushered in the wheels of progress in a territory dominated by a regressive Ottoman rule. Therefore historical monographs on "modern" Palestine invariably begin in 1798-1799. In accordance, modernization theory is also set against a top-to-bottom view of Palestine with a focus "by and large on political events, personalities and administrative structures"¹⁵ effectively depriving the local population of any kind of agency. The inhabitants of Ottoman Palestine are portrayed as the mere recipients of *external* (and primarily European) forces of change.

In addition to Western intellectuals, some Arab historians, such as Tibawi, adhere to this theoretical model. The dearth of accounts from an Arab perspective on

¹⁵Beshara Doumani, "Rediscovering Ottoman Palestine: Writing Palestinians into History," *Journal of Palestine Studies* XXI, no. 2 (Winter 1992): 6

the subject of the PEF tends to conceal the problematic nature of such narratives as those expounded by the *Survey* and reinforced by Western and Israeli intellectuals. The urge to have Arab historians write about the rediscovery of Palestine spurs from the need to integrate the local population as active participants in their own history, as opposed to the conventional passive role they tend to be assigned, and which currently predominates the literature.¹⁶ Additionally, such an attempt may bring forth alternative sources of information, including Ottoman court archives and manuscripts from the local population, probably still residing in private libraries. It is notable that in their annals of nineteenth century rediscovery, the aforementioned authors rely mainly on the PEF archives at the expense of local references. This rethinking of the historiography of Palestine has not gone unnoticed. In contradistinction to the traditional periodization witnessed in the accounts of Ben Arie, Moscrop and others mentioned, another approach offers its readers a view of the increasing influence of Britain in Palestine in a more conceptual and less pragmatic light.

It will be evident to the reader in my upcoming discussions on the *Survey*, that this thesis is not as ambitious as to create an alternative periodization of history. Admittedly, it makes use of the same timeline used by proponents of modernization theory; however, it does attempt to consolidate a view of the local people on the PEF's project. This will be especially clear in the analysis of the local attacks conducted on the various crewmembers of the PEF. In addition, my narrative is somewhat limited due to the lack of accessible local primary sources. Browsing through Ottoman archives and private libraries constitute a project beyond what the thesis can offer at this point. The original contribution of this work arises mainly from its view to empower often-neglected social groups of geographic Palestine, and to

¹⁶ Ibid.

understand the historiographical framework that produced the *Survey*. To contextualize the production, the content and ultimately to comprehend the unfeasibility of an all-encompassing, static and fully objective depiction of the past, as were the alleged motives of the PEF, helps widen the range of analysis on the *Survey*. In the first place, it enables one to understand that the PEF, as portrayed by Tibawi, Ben Arie, Shepherd, Moscrop, Silberman and the dominant narrative in the literature, is virtually always included in the *Rediscovery of Nineteenth Century Palestine* as an integral part of modernization process (along with Napoleon's expedition, Mohammad Ali's invasion of Syria and the establishment of foreign consulates). In the second place, this method of looking at broad patterns becomes especially valuable when we attempt to decipher long-term consequences of the *Survey* on geographical Palestine and its native inhabitants.

By taking the same timeline characteristic of modernization theory, I argue that these institutional landmarks (like the consulate, the PEF, the debt commission) also formed the basis of another process, namely colonization. I argue that modernization processes such as map-making, centralization policies, census, and a general expansion of the bureaucratic system (introduced by the aforementioned institutions) functioned as control panels for the people who promoted them (in our case, Britain). While modernization is usually seen as an objective and universal development for societies, it can also be read as a top-to-bottom imposition of a specifically European ideology. Indeed "the *civilizing* mission" was directly tied to colonial motives. Therefore, the success of implementing "modernity" correlated to a success in the colonial project. I interpret them as two faces of the same coin.

Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, Edward Said's *Orientalism* and Timothy Mitchell's *Rule of Experts* have become a staple of academic readings,

especially in the humanities. These authors' ideas all revolve around nineteenth century colonial rule and the perception of scientific enquiry and application in regions of the world yet untouched by Europe's rationalism of the post enlightenment period. All three intellectuals expound on the use of scientific language in the Eurocentric (re)making of Eastern history.

Anderson's chapter *Census, Map, Museum* is of particular interest, not only because it deals with the emergence of nationalism (what he argues to be a social/colonial construction) but also due to his focused attention on the molding of the colonial-state in Southeast Asia. In their fervor to (literally) mark the world with their power and influence (what he terms the logo-map), Europeans made use of three essential institutions of power: the census, the map and the museum. In the case of Palestine, these institutions were a direct production of the PEF in their *Survey*. Linking all three institutions together especially in the making of the colonial state is a powerful argument. Anderson astutely demonstrates the way these methods of supposedly representing reality became techniques of discreetly altering it. Not only were these new realities produced and administratively assumed by the expanding bureaucracy of the colonial state; they gradually became adopted by the indigenous people and, all the more, by nationalist and anti-colonial movements. This view of a scientific configuration of a country in the form of maps, censuses and museums (being the recipients of archeological objects and the producers of a specific 'imagining' of the past), typified a strictly European view (or ideology) of these geographies *and* their history. The cartographic project of Europeans in foreign lands was an inherent element of a total classification and control mechanism. In Anderson's words: "They [the map-makers] were on the march to put space under the same surveillance which the census-makers were trying to impose on persons."

Triangulation by triangulation, war by war, treaty by treaty, the alignment of map and power proceeded”¹⁷

This line of reasoning will be found in my argument that the *Survey* set the paradigm for a new kind of nationalism in Palestine (namely the Israeli), and for a new ‘imaging’ of the Holy Land in accordance to a specific Judeo-Christian heritage.

It has become quite unfeasible to speak about the interconnection between nineteenth century European cultural prejudice on the Orient and its scientific endeavors on the ground without at least mentioning *Orientalism*. And so, to fully understand the methods of these scientists that came to collect fragments and figures of Ottoman Palestine (to later compile into a complete whole that would instruct the European reader of these distant lands) we must take heed of the mentality that informed them in doing so. Said exemplifies his argument by investigating two Oriental experts, Silvestre de Sacy and Ernest Renan, both of whom form essential references in the *Survey*. Silvestre de Sacy, in Said’s argument, inaugurates Orientalism as the specific and didactic way of representing the East. His several chrestomathies launched the essential Orientalist method of assembling shreds of information into a seemingly unified whole and hence a seemingly complete knowledge of the Orient. This practice sprung in part from de Sacy’s attempts at instructing his students on the Orient; hence the didactic nature of his anthologies. Sacy’s successor in leading the Orientalist ‘thought’ was Ernest Renan. The latter, was a revered philologist and used this title to further his prejudiced expertise and claims on the Orient. As Said says “Renan should be characterized, not as *speaking* about philology but rather as speaking *philologically* with all the force of an initiate

¹⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 173.

using the encoded language of a new prestigious science”¹⁸. Philology, Said argues constituted the lens through which the world (and with it religion) could be re-explained. Indeed, it is with Renan that we witness the rise of ‘secular Christianity’ and the attempt to recover the history and meaning of religion via “la science laïque” (or lay science)¹⁹. The emergence of this secular consciousness was compounded with an obsessive scholarship and paradoxically, it “retained in the new lay science the historical world-view gained from religion”.²⁰

Said notes moreover that “when we read Renan and Sacy, we readily observe the way cultural generalization had begun to acquire the armor of scientific statement and the ambience of corrective study”.²¹ We find these features in the authors of the *Survey*, and certainly the *Survey* itself exemplifies Sacy’s methods of instructing readers in the form of chrestomathies.

In his book *Rule of Experts*, Timothy Mitchell’s insightfully addresses the event of Britain’s cadastral mapping of Egypt, termed “The Great Map”, in the late nineteenth century right after the completion of *the Survey*.²² The production of this map illustrates the emergence of new forms of calculations and accuracy. However, accuracy as demonstrated by Mitchell was not the essential competence of modern cartography. Rather, it was the manipulation of the world as an object (what he calls the “object-world”) that signified the true power of the map, its figures and its images.

The last two scholars who have informed the parameters of my thesis are Roland Barthes and Nadia Abu El Hajj. In his article, “The Reality Effect”, Barthes

¹⁸ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 134.

¹⁹ Ibid, 134.

²⁰ Ibid, 135.

²¹ Ibid, 149.

²² Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-politics and Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

makes shrewd observations on the realist mode of writing.²³ Particularly, he discusses seemingly tedious narrations in which descriptive details overwhelm the general structure of an account. The puzzling aspect of this writing style resides in the functional futility of these details that are usually derivative to the unfolding story. Barthes retraces the roots of this technique to novelists who use it in the aim to give their stories an objective effect of reality. In the case of the *Survey* this textual device is evident and I argue that it definitely added to the grandeur of these memoirs, physically (as the entire *Survey* forms a imposing collection of nine volumes) and literally (as the sobriety and density of the information available is hugely intimidating, especially, to the uninformed reader).

Another work which has helped me shape my arguments about the PEF is Nadia Abu El Haj's *Facts on the Ground*²⁴. This book retraces the modern archeological practices in Israel and dedicates substantial space to the PEF practices in Palestine during their *Survey*. Incidentally, this account was the only academic work I could find that dealt with the *Survey* in an in-depth discussion of its conceptual impact, and in particular on the work of future Israeli scholars. Primarily, Abu El Haj discusses how ideologies firmly weaseled their way into scientific practice to mold the current discipline of Israeli archeology and the face of its results.

²³ Roland Barthes, "The Reality Effect," in *The Rustle of Language*, trans. Richard Howard (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1989).

²⁴ Nadia Abu El Haj, *Facts on the Ground: Archeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: BRITISH INTERESTS IN PALESTINE

In this chapter I will elaborate on the historical setting of the *Survey* and look back decades before the establishment of the PEF in order to investigate the precedent set by previous Western explorations in the Holy Land. Furthermore, we will be able to decipher the direct interests that converged with such exploration projects. It is important to note that the text presents a “summary of evidence” so to speak; therefore the writing will not be argumentative in character. The text will lay bare the narrative that dominates British interests in nineteenth century Palestine. The reason for this is that the PEF and the *Survey* were directly tied to British political ambitions in Palestine making it an inevitable component of my study. These political interests started, by and large, with the defeat of Napoleon’s troops in Acre by the English in 1799 and became part of the western ‘rediscovery of the Holy Land’. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that the timeframe I address will extend from 1799 to the late 1800s. It is quite implausible to thoroughly probe the *Survey* without understanding the political circumstances that framed it and without having a clear idea of the dominant narrative under which the PEF falls (i.e. the *Rediscovery of the Holy Land* and British interests starting 1799). In this view, the general objective of the section is to coherently present the *Survey* within the greater record of British interests in the Palestine.

3.1 Maps and Control: From Napoleon to the Tanzimat

To understand the making of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the intellectual tradition which shaped its mission we have to look back more than fifty years before its establishment. As previously mentioned, the relevant starting point for most historians of the PEF is the halt of Napoleon and his army at the Gates of Acre in 1799. It was Sir Sydney Smith leading the British naval forces and the governor of Acre Ahmad Jassar who would meet Napoleon's Armée D'Orient and make them withdraw.²⁵ Napoleon's military campaigns in Egypt and Syria are significant to these authors because they opened the doors of the Levant to Western historical investigation. Napoleon came to the region armed with not only military troops, but with scholars, cartographers and scientists. The maps of the area that were drawn under Napoleon surely lacked accuracy and much of the territories were drawn by conjecture and speculation but we notice at once, an interest in locating and viewing the region from a distance to better manipulate it on the ground.²⁶ A mapping project of this sort (i.e. involving a commissioned team of experts) had never been attempted previously in the Holy Land.²⁷ At this point, the first triangulation methods were being experimented and as a result, the maps they produced were first published in Europe. Napoleon was quick to transfer this expert skill to the East in his production of *Description de l'Egypte* and later extend it to Palestine. It was general Jacotin, a trained engineer, who drew these maps of the Levant and published them in 1815 as *Jacotin's Atlas*. Jacotin's mapping was a milestone in the cartography of the East.

²⁵ Naomi Shepherd, *The Zealous Intruders* (London: William Collins & Co. Ltd, 1987), 11.

²⁶ Y. Karmon, "An Analysis of Jacotin's Map of Palestine," *Israel Exploration Journal* 10 no. 3 (1960): 156.

²⁷ Hanna Margalit, "Some Aspects of the Cultural Landscape of Palestine During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Israel Exploration Journal* 13 no. 3 (1963): 210.

Prior to his map in 47 sheets (6 of which were of Palestine), nothing other than sketches and drawings were made of the Holy Land.²⁸ His project represents the foundation of nineteenth century cartography, from which many scholars would rely on in the production of anything more sophisticated, such as the PEF's *Survey*.²⁹

Indeed, France was a pioneer in the development of mapping skills, methods and instruments. It was Cassini de Thury who first introduced topographic mapping based on a triangulation system. The necessity of such surveys ranged from proper topographic mapping serving the armed forces in the Napoleonic Wars to serving state centralization purposes in the administration of private property, state land and engineering projects (showing the relevance of maps in state control).³⁰ In the abolishment of Tithes and the application of regular financial taxes to the central state, map making gained much importance in the control of civilian payments to the government. However, this temporary foreign venture in the Middle East was brought to a halt as Napoleon's French troops retreated back to Europe and Ottoman rule was reinstalled. In the few decades that followed, Palestine would see few Oriental experts, and the period from 1800 to 1830 becomes relatively uneventful in the historical productions of Western historians like Ben Arie, Moscrop and the such. The period 1800-1831 holds much importance in the narratives of these authors only in as much as it represents the height of the evangelical endeavor in Britain. During this time we witness the emergence of many missionary societies such as the London Jew's Society that will bring about an increased interest in the Holy Land among the British public and its intellectuals.

²⁸ Haim Goren, "Sacred but not Surveyed: Nineteenth Century Surveys of Palestine," *Imago Mundi* 54 (2002): 89.

²⁹ Y. Karmon, "An Analysis of Jacotin's Map of Palestine," *Israel Exploration Journal* 10 No. 3 (1960): 155.

³⁰ David Turnbull, "Cartography and Science in Early Modern Europe: Mapping the Construction of Knowledge Spaces," *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 18.

As rightly pointed out by Beshara Doumani the general narrative of nineteenth century Ottoman Palestine is usually paced by the role of external forces. Hence, it is not surprising that the period 1800-1831 is relatively untouched by writers of the *Rediscovery of Palestine*. These narratives tend to gather momentum again with the advent of Mohammad Ali's rule in Syria and Palestine in 1831. This short-lived administration (until 1839) becomes relevant because it opened the territory for scholars of Biblical history, explorers and cartographers alike.³¹ In addition, the Ottoman imperial government, in light of the Tanzimat, retained many of Ibrahim Pasha's centralization policies in Ottoman Palestine.

3.2 British Interests in Jerusalem: The Bishopric, the Consul and Missionary Work

The issue of 'authenticity' rang loud and clear within the British (and European) community. Whenever new finds were made, they were reckoned 'authentic' so as to legitimize the results. This quest for the "authentic" turned the Bible into something less abstract, less legendary, less mythical and more concrete. This so-called 'authenticity' had the power to turn subjective beliefs into something objective. It was mainly religious bodies that strove to establish facts, and it was always the strongest believers who strove to validate these views. Lord Ashley (later Earl of Shaftesbury) was one prime example of such persons. An ardent Evangelical, he was an adherent of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews (also known as the London Jews Society or LJS) and the Church Missionary Society (CMS). It was common for men of such prominence (political and otherwise) and determination to channel their activism through missionary societies. The root of the missionary

³¹ See Alexander Scholch, "Britain in Palestine 1838-1882: The Roots of the Balfour Policy," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22, (1992).

movement in England goes back to the late eighteenth century with such affluent names as William Whiston, John Wesley and George Stanley Faber. Leading the Protestant thought, these men advocated a literal interpretation of the Bible and an active movement to convert non-Christians and non-Protestant Christians to Protestantism. This was to spur a wave of radicalism and fervent campaigners. From this, a list of four influential organizations would develop. In the 1790s it was the Baptist Missionary Society; in 1795 the London Missionary Society, in 1799 the Church Missionary Society and finally in 1809 the London Jews Society³². These societies would do much to mold holy attitudes in British society in the homeland and abroad especially the Holy Land.

European interests can be discussed on two levels: on the level of politics among the European governments, and on the level of nongovernmental and social aspirations, trends and movements in the context of which nineteenth century European policy on Palestine developed. Among the latter must be counted both the notion of a “peaceful crusade”, which was widespread on the continent, and traditional Christian and Jewish interests in Palestine, especially the English Chiliastic concept of “the restoration of the Jews”. Demands for European colonization of Palestine, often connected with the aforementioned trends, were tied to efforts of European Jews even before the rise of Zionism.³³

Indeed, diplomatic circles and missionary societies often overlapped and this is most evident in the groundwork they prompted in Palestine. Lord Ashley is almost always credited with the establishment of the British consulate in Jerusalem (by academics such as Tibawi and Sokolow)³⁴, although others like Moscrop and Verete

³² John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), 13-14.

³³ Alexander Scholch, “Britain in Palestine 1838-1882: The Roots of the Balfour Policy,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22, (1992), 40.

³⁴ Abdul Latif Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961). Nahum Sokolow *A History of Zionism, 1600- 1918*, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1919).

estimate his influence more moderately.³⁵ One sure thing however, is that Ashley himself viewed the Consulate as his own making. He writes in his diary “I shall always remember that God put it into my heart to conceive the plan”.³⁶ Some sources contend that he is the one to have convinced Lord Palmerston (then Foreign Secretary) to order the application for a permit to establish the consulate at the Porte.³⁷ Nonetheless, evidence shows that discussions for such a move were already widespread within the diplomatic circles by 1838.³⁸ The Consulate was seen as a useful tool, giving Protestants their first institutional base in the Holy Land³⁹ In the end, it is noteworthy that Ashley gave the final push for this initiative as is witnessed by his correspondence with Lord Palmerston (a family member by marriage) and by Ashley’s opportunity in advising the Foreign Secretary on who ought to hold the title. The religious impetus behind the establishment of the consulate is certainly obvious. The first consul, William Young Tanner, would hold office from 1839 to 1845 and was directly suggested by Ashley as an adequate candidate from the London Jews Society.⁴⁰ In his diary Ashley writes: “the ancient city of the people of God is about to resume a place among the nations and England is the first of the gentile kingdoms to cease to tread her down”. Ashley hoped that British presence in the Holy Land would “yield largely a conformation of the Jewish records; and Palestine when dug and

³⁵ M. Verete, “Why was a British Consulate Established in Jerusalem?” *English Historical Review*, (1970): 316-45.

³⁶ John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), 27.

³⁷ Abdul Latif Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961). John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000).

³⁸ Verete demonstrates that such an initiative had been discussed in official reports since 1834.

³⁹ Alexander Scholch, “Britain in Palestine 1838-1882: The Roots of the Balfour Policy,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22, (1992), 41.

⁴⁰ For an exhaustive account of the Consulate see M. Verete “Why was a British Consulate Established in Jerusalem?” *English Historical Review* (1970): 316-45

harrowed by enterprising travellers, must exhibit the past with all the vividness of the present”⁴¹. In brief, Ashley saw the consulate as a means in conducting a Biblical mission.⁴² When it comes to political interests, the consulate was a medium to rival French and Russian presence in Palestine. Indeed, the “Eastern Question” sought to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, but also shed light on the competitive policies of the great powers to influence it. In particular, the treaty of Hunkar Iskelessi between Russia and the Ottoman Empire was unsettling to the British.⁴³ The convergence of these interests created the first instance of a long process of systematic British penetration into the Holy Land.⁴⁴

Again, the formal instructions forwarded to Young were subject to this explicitly ideological mission: “It will be part of your duty, as British vice-consul at Jerusalem, to afford the protection to the Jews generally, and you will take an early opportunity of reporting to his Lordship [Palmerston] upon the present state of the Jewish population.”⁴⁵ These instructions took on sectarian colors, but were also conducive to a political agenda: The formal protection of the Jews and Protestants of Palestine would effectively grant the British political agency at the Porte in general and Palestine in particular. Long-term politico-ideological prospects, while never explicitly cited in official documents, were also a matter of importance for both missionaries and foreign officials alike. In a report addressed to Palmerston in 1839 Young writes, “There are two parties here who will doubtless have some voice in the

⁴¹ Cited in John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), 28.

⁴² Ibid

⁴³ M. Verete, “Why was a British Consulate Established in Jerusalem?” *English Historical Review*, (1970): 330.

⁴⁴ Alexander Scholch, “Britain in Palestine 1838-1882: The Roots of the Balfour Policy,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22, (1992): 41. M. Verete, “Why was a British Consulate Established in Jerusalem?” *English Historical Review*, (1970).

⁴⁵ John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), 28.

future disposition of affairs [in Palestine] – ‘the one is the Jew- unto whom originally gave this land for a possession, and the other, the Protestant Christian, his legitimate offspring’ of both these Britain seems the natural guardian, and they are now beginning to take their positions among the other claimants.”⁴⁶ The Ottoman Sultan was weary of colonization projects by foreign officials but, pressed by the British diplomats in the wake of the Mohammad Ali’s expansionist attempts in 1838, he had granted approval for the establishment of the Consulate. Still, by 1841 the Ottoman government had repealed the proposal sent by Palmerston to concede Jewish protection to the British consulate (despite the fact that consuls often broke the law).⁴⁷

After the inception of the consulate at Jerusalem, Britain exercised other means of asserting power in the Holy Land. This translated in July 1841 in a joint Bishopric between England and Prussia. Of course, here too, politics and religious aims met: England kept a keen eye on Russia which had established a prominent society in 1837 (The Imperial Palestine Society). Moreover, it had managed to erect a building in Jerusalem in June 1841. All this was worrying to the British. Additionally, France’s mediating role at the peace of Belgrade and the presence of her client group (the Catholics) in the Holy Land put Britain at a disadvantage.⁴⁸ With an established bishopric and systematic missionary fieldwork, the English had a chance to create their own client-group. In 1850, the missionary efforts and the institutional establishment of the consulate and the Episcopate see came to fruition with the

⁴⁶ Albert M. Hyamson, *The British Consulate in Jerusalem in Relation to the Jews of Palestine 1838-1914* (London: AMS Press, 1975), 4.

⁴⁷ R. W. Greaves, “The Jerusalem Bishopric, 1841” *The English Historical Review* 64, (1949): 338.

⁴⁸ John James Moscrop *Measuring Jerusalem* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), Chp 2.

official recognition of Protestants as a religious community of the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁹ Foreign correspondence between Prussia and England point to two principal figures who, although from behind the scenes, played a significant role in passing the proposal for a joint Bishopric in parliament: Lord Shaftesbury and Chevalier de Bunsen (great friend and confidant of Frederick Wilhelm IV). These two religious enthusiasts lobbied tirelessly for the execution of this project in Jerusalem. And, despite the fact that they were able to create the Episcopal see at Jerusalem, evidence shows that they had larger visions (ultimately leading to a colonization of Palestine and a restoration of the Jews to the Holy Land). Indeed, the original agreement between Prussian and England suggested pushing the Sultan to promulgate a more suitable land law for foreigners in Palestine as a first step in the creation of a “Protestant corporation” there possibly turning the Holy Land into a Protestant colony. Bunsen wrote to Palmerson that in this way “the Gospel would be forwarded and with it ‘the intellectual and moral development of the Human race’.”⁵⁰ In August 1840, Bunsen sent an address to William Gladstone, then a minister under Peel, saying

It is impossible not to see the Finger of God in the foundation of an English church and a congregation of Christian proselytes on the sacred hill of Jerusalem. And would you do nothing to avail yourselves of political conjunctures which it is not presumptuous to term providential in their coincidence with those symptoms of Zion’s revival?⁵¹

Lord Shaftesbury too promoted this colonial idea on Palmerston ever since the formation of the consulate.⁵²

⁴⁹ Alexander Scholch, “Britain in Palestine 1838-1882: The Roots of the Balfour Policy,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22, (1992): 41.

⁵⁰ R. W. Greaves, “The Jerusalem Bishopric, 1841” *The English Historical Review* 64, (1949): 338.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 334.

⁵² *Ibid*, 330.

The first Bishop to land in Jerusalem was a Jewish convert to Christianity and another LJS recruit Michael Solomon Alexander. As affiliated to the LJS (whether by membership or personal relations), many of the political figures in Palestine had the responsibility to advance their society's aims alongside their diplomatic duties. This at times meant that the Bishopric and the Consuls ran into conflict with their superiors. Alexander arrived at a time when Palmerston's term was ending and the new Foreign Secretary was Lord Aberdeen under whose term a proper church for the Bishop (although earlier agreed upon) had been delayed and later forbidden by the Porte (However, this did not stop Dane Nicolayson –the LJS attaché in Jerusalem- from starting its construction without the appropriate firman).⁵³ For this reason, we witness from 1839 to 1845 a troubled Bishop and vice-consul at Jerusalem. William Tanner Young, the first consul at Jerusalem was often caught in the middle of demands from the LJS (who had placed him at this position of power through their contacts) and from his direct supervisors at the Porte. Indeed, the ambassadors at the Porte (namely Lord Aberdeen) wanted to restrict Jewish protection as per their diplomatic agreements with the Ottomans and the LJS pushed for Jews to receive British titular status. The London Jews Society also had its own attaché at Jerusalem Dane Nicolayson. This fervent Protestant is reminiscent of Ashley in his radical approaches. He worked with Alexander to get Christ Church completed. Notwithstanding opposition, he persisted in his idea of creating a Church at the Jaffa Gate in Jerusalem. This project started off with diplomatic support (rallied by Bishop Alexander) from the British consul-general for Syria Hugh Rose, to get permission to build Christ Church. But as the years went by and as diplomacy got more complicated, the plan was halted. The Porte strictly forbade such an endeavor and the Foreign Office

⁵³ Alexander Scholch, "Britain in Palestine 1838-1882: The Roots of the Balfour Policy," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22, (1992): 42.

warned the consul that anyone who went on with this project would have to bear the consequences on their own, breaking an already fragile bridge between the consul (Young) and the Bishop (Alexander). With much scheming Nicholayson with the help of Alexander (who did not live to see the Church) eventually opened the Church in 1849.⁵⁴

In 1845 Young ended his term as consul, and Bishop Alexander met his death. It was James Finn and Bishop Gobat (appointed by Prussian rule) who replaced them. Bishop Samuel Gobat stayed in Jerusalem for as long as he lived. His tenure ended in 1879 when he died. Gobat, as appointed by the Prussians, did not feel the pressure of responding to LJS' demands. He had his own aims in mind, which did not include the conversion of Jews. His focus was on the conversion of the Arab Christians (namely the Greek orthodox) to Protestantism.⁵⁵ He used Christ Church as a shelter for native Arab Christian converts rather than Jews. He closed down various establishments created by Alexander like the Hebrew College and the Inquirers House (a domicile for potential Jewish converts). Instead, he opened local schools for the Christian Arabs and aligned himself with the CMS (Christ Missionary Society). He was responsible too for publicizing that converts to the Church of England made good candidates for the British nationality. This sparked the fury of the Foreign Office who did everything in its power to stop this rumor as well as the fury of the LJS, who saw their projects collapsing. Accordingly, the LJS directed maximum pressure on the vice-consul at Jerusalem, James Finn. Finn was well acquainted with the LJS Moreover his second wife Elizabeth McCaul was the daughter of Alexander McCaul a prominent personality within the society and Ashley's original choice for the position of consul back in 1838. Indeed, James and Elizabeth rallied all the energy they had to promote

⁵⁴ Ibid, 42.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

the Jewish cause and millennial thought. In 1847 he founded the Jerusalem Literary Society for a blooming British cultural life in the Holy Land. The rest of his time, he spent actively trying to recruit (and possibly convert) Jews to Protestantism. Finn was a hard working consul; in all his term in office he never took a holiday. A firm believer in his role in the Holy Land, he often quarreled with anyone who did not approve of his views. In this attitude, he incurred the suspicion of Jewish leaders, the Foreign Office and of course Gobat. He had great compassion for the Jews of Palestine and always went out of his way to accommodate them as he could. He interpreted his orders as liberally as possible and sought to employ Jews in his personal businesses. Given the role of the British in the Crimean War, Finn and much of the English gentry felt at ease in their work in Palestine. Nevertheless, in 1863 Finn was recalled to England. He had many personal debts to cover (from his commercial activities in Palestine) and the Foreign Office seemed tired of his impertinence.⁵⁶ His successor was Noel Temple Moore. Suitably enough, Moore kept a lower profile than his predecessor in his duties and with this change of consul, the London Jews Society soon faded.⁵⁷

In the 1860s we witness a different kind of organizations in the Holy Land. These had a more secular nature to them. Therefore, British interference in the Holy Land took on new colors; they were humanitarian, scholarly, commercial and /or military. In accordance to their time, these organizations asserted British presence in Palestine, albeit in the form of more refined objectives. Such organizations were the

⁵⁶ Yehoshua Ben Arieh, *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1979), 163. John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), chp.2.

Also see the complete diaries of Finn in Arnold Blumberg *A View from Jerusalem, 1849-1858: The Consular Diary of James and Elizabeth Ann Finn* (Toronto: Associated University Press, 1980).

⁵⁷ Vivian Lipman, "Britian and the Holy Land: 1830-1914," in *With Eyes Toward Zion III* ed. Moshe Davis (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1991), 199.

Syrian Improvement Fund, the Improvement Committee, the Jerusalem Water Relief Fund and finally the Palestine Exploration Fund. For the purpose of our study, we shall not go through each and all of these societies. Instead, we will focus on the Jerusalem Water Relief Fund, which proved instrumental in the making of the PEF and finally, the PEF itself.

3.3 Founding the PEF

When it came to industrial interests, the production of cotton was of interest to British traders, and they sought to plant these crops in Palestine. To this end, several studies were conducted to evaluate the farm land of Palestine. Conclusions were drawn that if anything of significance was to be produced there needed to be adequate water supplies, and it was due to the lack thereof that Palestine had remained fairly desolate. The Jerusalem Water Relief Fund was created in 1864 with James Finn, Lord Shaftesbury and Alexander McCaul on its committee. Funds came in from Angela-Burdett-Coutts, the heiress of a prominent banking family with much sway within the War Office due to her contacts there. Her influence guaranteed the employment of a group of Royal Engineers under Captain Charles Wilson and the free use of instruments for the water-supply plans and a map of Jerusalem. Evidence suggests that Captain Wilson was not only working on behalf of the Water Relief Fund, but was doubling for the War Office as well. Certainly, his work was not restricted to underground water pipes. He spent much time on the map of Jerusalem and did some impressive work on Sinai (a strategic area for the War Office). This said, the Jerusalem Water Relief Fund was unaware of Wilson's cover and was merely happy to have had the manpower and the instruments to conduct such a survey almost completely free of charge. The War Office was receiving all the information

supplied to the Water-Relief Fund and certainly more. In the years following the Crimean War (1853 - 1856), the British authorities had realized the importance of intelligence and accurate map-making. Moreover the incipient opening of the Suez Canal under French patronage was frightening for Britain. Yet, there was no intelligence service in Britain outside of the topographical and statistical department and of course the Ordnance Survey. It would be Wilson himself who would later bring about the most important internal changes for (if not actually created) the British Intelligence System. The 1860s was critical in terms of British Intelligence. Wilson, for one, wrote several reports and suggested the separation of the Topographical and Statistical Department from the Ordnance Survey and the creation of separate departments. In any event, the surveys conducted in 1864, were all done and ready for publication by the year 1865.⁵⁸ Wilson drafted the following plans: Jerusalem, the Dome of the Rock, the Holy Sepulcher, the surrounding country and other buildings and places.⁵⁹

Concomitantly, a polemic was to erupt in the Holy Land. In the years following the Crimean War, Ermete Pierotti, a Sardinian army engineer appeared in Jerusalem and sought employment. He found work repairing the water system of the Haram el Sharif at the request of Jerusalem's Ottoman governor Surrayya Pasha. This gave him access to the Temple Mount and he decided to pursue archeological work while fixing the system.⁶⁰ Thence, Pierotti under French patronage published an

⁵⁸ Ibid, 53.

⁵⁹ Abdul Latif Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 184. John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), Chp. 3. Yehoshua Ben Arie, *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1979), 198.

⁶⁰ Neil Asher Silberman, *Digging for God and Country: Exploration in the Holy Land 1799-1917* (New York: Knopf, 1982), 74.

account of his finds in 1865 and dedicated it to Napoleon III.⁶¹ In this account, he supported the traditional site of the Holy Sepulcher (aligning himself with reverent George Williams), and added to the French-British academic rivalry. Scholch frames this publication in the context of a French catholic colonization project.⁶² In due time, it was revealed that Pierotti's work was a fraud and many parts were plagiarized. George Grove recounts this act of plagiarism as a major instigator in his founding of the PEF.⁶³

Impressively enough Grove was able to convince a wide range of personalities. James Fergusson, George Wilson, Lord Shaftesbury, Montefiore, the Rothschild and MP Philip Pusey became members. Pusey was recorded as saying he would join on condition that "our objective is to collect and publish facts, and not to propagate theory".⁶⁴ Meaning that even among the members themselves, there were doubts as to the direction of the PEF's scholarly ambitions. In addition, Grove was able to recruit Queen Victoria to his cause, and she served as patron of the Fund, later even contributing financially to their expeditions. And so, on June 22nd, 1865 the PEF was inaugurated at a splendid ceremony in London. It is quite surprising however, that after all the efforts by Grove to draw a non-sectarian, non-religious image for the Fund, it was the Archbishop of York that would give the keynote speech and addressed the audience with an opening prayer. Sections of the speech and the overall tone are noteworthy:

⁶¹ See Ermete Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored: Plates, Volume 2* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1864).

⁶² Alexander Scholch "Britain in Palestine 1838-1882: The Roots of the Balfour Policy" *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22 (1992), 49.

⁶³ For a more comprehensive account on Pierotti and analysis of *Jerusalem Explored* See Neil Asher Silberman, *Digging for God and Country: Exploration in the Holy Land 1799-1917* (New York: Knopf, 1982), 73-78.

⁶⁴ John James Moscrop *Measuring Jerusalem* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), 58.

This country of Palestine belongs to you and me. It is essentially ours. It was given to the father of Israel in the words ‘Walk the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it, for I will give it unto thee’ [...] We mean to walk through Palestine in the length and in the breadth of it because that land has been given unto us. It is that land from which comes the news of our redemption. It is the land towards which we turn as the fountain of all our hopes [...] it is the land to which we may look with as true a patriotism as we do this dear old England, which we love so much⁶⁵

Wilson, would become the engineer in charge of the fieldwork for the PEF (and for the War Office too) up until 1866. In October 1865 Wilson went back to the Holy Land in a task to roughly survey the area and give the PEF an estimate of the work and finances needed to reach the objectives set by the Fund in the prospectus. Wilson set up some basic baselines and control points. His report outlined the work needed and an estimate cost of 1,500 Pounds. Upon his return to England, he became part of the Executive Committee and relayed his work to Charles Warren.⁶⁶ In the years from 1867 to 1870, two main surveys would be produced. The one by Charles Warren which extended Wilson’s work in Jerusalem; and the other by Wilson.

3.4 The Survey of Western Palestine

By 1871 the subcommittee of the PEF was made up of many military men, including Wilson. Upon their recommendation, the PEF appointed Royal Engineer (R.E) Captain Steward to lead the expedition for the *Survey*. Much debate had taken place in the PEF circle about the priorities of the *Survey*. It is self-evident that the people affiliated with the War Office believed surveying and reconnaissance work was the most important task at hand. Others viewed digging and archeology as the prime activity. Inevitably, the men in charge would ultimately manage their time on

⁶⁵ Report of the first meeting at Willis Rooms, p. 3 in John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), 70.

⁶⁶ Neil Asher Silberman, *Digging for God and Country: Exploration in the Holy Land 1799-1917* (New York: Knopf, 1982), Chp.9.

the field and do the work as they saw fit. And so, in July 1871 Captain Steward and his crew landed at Jaffa. Due to ill conditions, Stewart lasted only three months in the Holy Land and a replacement was brought about in July 1872. Claude Reignier Conder was instituted as the main replacement Engineer in charge of the *Survey*. In the months of intermission, the fieldwork was resumed temporarily under Sir Tyrwhitt-Drake, the PEF representative in Jerusalem. Claude Conder would stay loyal to the PEF up until his death in 1910. Although he was never a committee member, he was in close contact with the Fund. He became a prolific author in Biblical matters and wrote a memoir on his experience during the *Survey*.⁶⁷ In the 1880s he became more closely involved with matters of security and became a full time employee of Britain's Intelligence Department until his retirement in 1904.

Conder was a direct dispatch of the topographical Department and so also followed orders from the War Office. After some time in Palestine, it became clear to the PEF that Conder was concurrently sending the War Office his plans and drafts. Not much could be done. The PEF depended on the War Office and conversely, the War Office needed an intelligence structure in Palestine which, the PEF served perfectly well. In this respect, Wilson and his support group in the Executive committee pushed for mapping and ordinance work by Conder who was strictly forbidden from excavating and doing any archaeological digs. The French consul Ganneau who had engaged to contribute to the PEF's *Survey* performed the latter task. Complaints from Conder about this division of work and the way Ganneau was being favoured were frequent. Indeed Conder was closely supervised and regularly harassed by his chiefs in London for results. This became so overwhelming that Conder affirms that within a year of work with the PEF he wished he had not entered into its

⁶⁷ Claude Reignier Conder, *Tent Work In Palestine: A Record of Discovery and Adventure* (PEF: London, 1879).

employment. Conder was working with a very tight budget, which, the Fund refused to increase. He lacked proper instruments and supplies, which only later the War Office would provide. Moreover, Conder did not agree with the finds and conclusions of Ganneau. Wilson, in time, was angered with Ganneau's excavations and sites and often concluded that as a Frenchman, he was politically motivated to represent his nation's attitudes and validated them scientifically. To top it off, Ganneau often published articles in reviews outside of the PEF quarterly and without prior notice. Conder, who also wished to conduct research other than mere mapping, resented Ganneau and in his letters once said: "The PEF as far as I can judge is not very scientific".⁶⁸

3.5 Kitchener Joins the PEF

When Tyrwhitt-Drake died the search for a replacement to the survey party started. Conder recommended his old school friend Horatio Herbert Kitchener (later Lord Kitchener). The latter was indeed recruited to their team in Palestine. In 1874, by the time Kitchener had arrived to Palestine, the mapping was almost complete, with 20 sheets ready and 6 more to go. The War Office was impatient for the maps and we speculate that Kitchener reported to Wilson on all matters concerning intelligence interests (as Conder had done). Kitchener, like Conder, was interested in the Bible and was a supporter of the High Church. Tibawi points that "the work in the field proceeded satisfactorily, but like the excavations at Jerusalem, it was viewed with suspicion by the peasantry."⁶⁹ On March 13, 1875 "lieutenant Conder was

⁶⁸ John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), 104.

⁶⁹ Abdul Latif Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 199.

assaulted by a native of Tell es Safi, who was subsequently imprisoned for the offense at Hebron.”⁷⁰ Many such assaults were to follow but the crew carried on with their work.

On July 10, 1875 the surveying party was working in the neighborhood of Safad, and at sunset they settled their tents near an olive grove. The details of the story by historians do not accurately match. What is sure is that a dispute erupted between the PEF’s local Arab servants (their dragomans) and the villagers. We also know that Conder’s pistol went missing but whether or not this started the dispute or was a result of it is unsure.⁷¹ Soon enough, the local inhabitants gathered and adults and children alike assaulted the PEF team and their servants by violently throwing stones at them. In Silberman’s explanation, the village sheikh was also actively involved in the assault, however no other source mentions it. He says: “during the entire *Survey* he [Conder] had been treated respectfully by the population as the official representative of a powerful nation. But now as he approached the sheikh, the sheikh lunged for him, taking him by the throat with both hands and shaking him like a child.”⁷² Again, it is very unclear how this incident developed but when we read Silberman’s text we are given the impression that this was an isolated event. As it were, we cannot be sure that Conder and the PEF team were well respected within the local population. The PEF, in its *Survey* clearly states a dozen such incidents, always

⁷⁰ Claude Reignier Conder et al., *The Survey of Western Palestine Volume 1* (London: PEF, 1881), 28.

⁷¹ John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), 109. Neil Asher Silberman, *Digging for God and Country: Exploration in the Holy Land 1799-1917* (New York: Knopf, 1982), 120

⁷² *Ibid.*

reminding the reader that the indigenous people were suspicious of the PEF explorers.⁷³

As it were, Conder and Kitchener were severely injured during the Safad incident and finally the party decided to return to England.⁷⁴ Moscrop argues that the decision to leave Palestine was partly due to a financial crisis at the PEF as well as the violent attacks endured by the surveyors. In any case, the halt of the *Survey* made the War Office anxious; it badly needed the drafts of the upper Galilee in case of a Russo-Ottoman war. In light of these events, Conder and Kitchener were summoned to draw the map with the drafts and sheets that were already available. The War Office provided the supplies and offices where the drawing would be done and the topographical department along with the War Office checked and supervised the two engineers on a daily basis. While compiling the map, Kitchener seemed to have taken control and Conder sidelined. Increasingly, Conder's suggestions and remarks were ignored and Kitchener came to the forefront of the project. After this drafting experience, the two childhood friends would never reconcile again. In January of 1877 it was Kitchener alone who went back to Palestine to resume the final stages of the *Survey*, while Conder remained in the London offices. By this time, the War Office had effectively taken charge of the *Survey* in London with constant supervision of Conder's work and on the field alongside Kitchener. The PEF now depended on the War Office for its continued existence and activities. Simultaneously, the War Office could not do without the PEF and was increasingly apprehensive of a Russian invasion from the Upper Galilee. It was in November 1877 that the Fund recalled the

⁷³ Claude Reignier Conder et al., *The Survey of Western Palestine Volume 1* (London: PEF, 1881), 27.

⁷⁴ Claude Reignier Conder et al. *The Survey of Western Palestine Volume 1* (London: PEF, 1881), 28. Abdul Latif Tibawi. *British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 199.

survey party to London to compile the missing pieces of the map. It was mainly during this period that the PEF became nervous about their relationship with the War Office. Indeed the publication of the document that had been drafted by early 1878 was now in the hands of the War Office and the PEF was in dire need of the publication profits, fearing its demise. Eventually the document was published within a year of its drafting (at the request of the War Office for intelligence purposes) and the PEF would remain in existence. The Balkan crisis was ending and a period of peace seemed very likely. Effectively this meant that less support would gather around the PEF's prospective projects. In due time, the *Survey of Eastern Palestine* would be completed by the American Palestine Exploration Society (APES- the American version of the PEF) in close contact with the PEF but the latter's glorious days came to a close with the *Survey of Western Palestine*.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ See Neil Asher Silberman, *Digging for God and Country: Exploration in the Holy Land 1799-1917* (New York: Knopf, 1982), Chp. 12. Yehoshua Ben Arie, *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1979), Chp. 5. John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), Chp. 4. Nadia Abu El Hajj, *Facts on the Ground* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), Chp. 1.

CHAPTER 4

THE PEF AND INTERPRETATIONS OF VIOLENCE

In 1868, the Prussian Reverent Frederick Kleine stumbled upon a chance discovery. A tribe of the Jordan River in the Biblical land of Moab had found an ancient relic with inscriptions on it: the Moabite Stone. Originally kept secret from the PEF and other interested groups, Kleine directly informed the Prussian embassy. It was not long before news of this stone reached Warren, the PEF and the French via Ganneau. The Bedouins by this time had realized the value of the stone to these explorers, and shortly after lit the stone with fire and poured cold water on it in order to break it into pieces. Luckily, the French under Ganneau had retrieved a paper squeeze of the inscriptions. Disputes soon erupted as to which nation (the Prussian, the British or the French) would get to keep the remains of the stone.⁷⁶

Tibawi suggests that Britain lobbied and gave away her claims to France in a tacit agreement that Holy Land research would be absolutely theirs to conduct. Moscrop notes that France, too busy with the Franco-Prussian war, would inevitably have to relegate her work in Palestine to Britain and views this event as commendable in terms of putting national prides aside for the greater good of archeology/ history (i.e. as opposed to have the stone pieced out across Europe). Eventually, the Prussians too let go of their claim to the stone, which is now on display at the Louvre.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Abdul Latif Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 196.

⁷⁷ Neil Asher Silberman, *Digging for God and Country: Exploration in the Holy Land 1799-1917* (New York: Knopf, 1982), Chp.11. John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), 87-92.

In chronicling the proceedings of the *Survey*, historians (Moscrop, Tibawi, Ben Arie and Silberman) never miss to mention this famous event termed ‘the Moabite Stone incident’ and several other attacks by the population (Bedouins and peasants) to wreck the work of the PEF team. These events take a significant amount of place in the texts of the authors and the narrative found in one work is repeated and reproduced by the other works. This narrative views the attacks as the result of local superstitions (that artifacts collected by the PEF were some sort of magical items like the Moabite stone) or the result of a belief that the PEF team was a team of treasure hunters. These sweeping explanations are solely based on the reports of the PEF minutes.

To interpret these events I make use of Norbert Elias’ social theory as seen in his *Game Models*⁷⁸. He argues that in any given situation the constituents of a relationship *both* have a power to compel each others’ actions and decisions to a greater or lesser extent despite the fact they may be on different power levels. That is, if someone is objectively superior to the other (especially in terms of official ranks), it does not forbid the subordinate counterpart from having a power to compel (or push) his superior’s actions. In as much as the higher-ranking individual holds a stake in the relationship, ultimately both participants affect each other’s choices and behavior. Therefore, I argue that this series of attacks (there are about 10) represent the population’s last power to compel (or pressure) the actions and decisions of the PEF's work in Palestine. I interpret these attacks as unorganized and spontaneous rebellions against a project that the population viewed as threatening. In the same way the authors of the *Survey* consistently wrote about Muslim presence in the Holy Land as

⁷⁸ Norbert Elias, “Game Models,” in *Civilization, Power and Knowledge: Selected Writings*, edited by Stephen Mennell (Chicago ILL: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 113-139.

an illegitimate presence, so, the attacks by the local population expressed their own view that the PEF project was a foreign intrusion on the land of Palestine. These attacks compelled the temporary halt of the project for more than twelve months. I view this narrative of compelling forces as one that empowers the local population of Palestine (despite their objectively inferior position of power). The halt of the *Survey* for more than a year in 1875 (due to the severe damage caused by the indigenous population to the members of the PEF and their equipment at Safad) attests to this power.⁷⁹

4.1 Game Models and the Interpretation of Power

According to Elias power is polymorphous, it sees no single entry or exit. It is not merely embodied in the interests of a few but also in the structure contained by it. This argument changes the prevailing historical perspective on the Bedouin and peasant attacks helping us see the violence as a last resort tactic to assert agency. It also shows the inadequacies of locating power as a positional privilege; moreover a privilege that is constantly negotiated and renegotiated among the constituents of the upper class with no regard to what Elias calls the ‘lower class players’ who are posited to simply be the recipients of power effects as structured and instituted by the ‘upper-class players.’⁸⁰

Elias also explains that the realization (especially by the upper-constituents of society) that no one effectively controls power but simply directs it at a greater or lesser extent is what prompts the efforts of scientific expertise. Therefore we start to witness a differentiated whole, with more professionals, more experts and more

⁷⁹ Norbert Elias, “Game Models,” in *Civilization, Power and Knowledge: Selected Writings*, edited by Stephen Mennell (Chicago ILL: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 127.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

actively involved people.⁸¹ This phenomenon was explicitly demonstrated by the waves of researchers and explorers, like the PEF crews, who visited Palestine in order to condense everything and anything there was to know about it into a nine-volume encyclopedic survey. In light of Elias' argument and the tight association of the British government to the PEF project, I interpret the research of the *Survey* as an attempt by England to draw more power and control over Palestine.

4.2 The historiography of peasant and Bedouin attacks

Several violent incidents took place when the PEF was in Palestine notably the famous 'Moabite Stone incident' and other attacks of the peasantry against the PEF groundwork team in Palestine, including an attack at Safad which prompted the halt of the *Survey* for little more than an year. These events drew my attention because they make their way into all the historical narratives that seek to explain the work of the PEF in Palestine. In themselves, the events do not inform us much on the *Survey*, but they give us an idea of the historiographical trends that surround the PEF and their work.

In retelling the events of the Safad aggression and the Moabite stone, sweeping explanations such as the belief that the surveyors were treasure hunters⁸² (which admittedly in some sense they were) or that the local tribes antagonized the foreigners for being Christian and/or Western⁸³ are presented. Silberman, in his

⁸¹ Ibid, 125.

⁸² See Abdul Latif Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 199-200. See Yehoshua Ben Arie, *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1979), 210.

⁸³ Conder and Kitchener in their mediatized correspondence with England on the Safed incident use such rhetorical arguments. See John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), 109. Neil Asher Silberman, *Digging for God and Country: Exploration in the Holy Land 1799-1917* (New York:

account of the Moabite Stone affirms that the Bedouins destroyed the stone hoping to find gold in it rather than just out of spite for the 'Franks'.⁸⁴ Besant, then secretary of the PEF recounts the events of the Moabite stone (and its destruction) as 'the Arabs thinking that it was a magical stone since so many Europeans wanted to get it, broke it to pieces'.⁸⁵

Tibawi and Ben Arieih recount this specific attack at Safad and mention other such occurrences endured by the surveying party somewhat contextualizing this anger. Ben Arieih writes:

The local people took little interest in the visitors whose purpose they did not comprehend. Students of geography and Bible, roaming archeologists, naturalists, or map-makers appeared strange to people sunk into illiteracy and superstition. Only imperial letters of protection assured the visitors against attack and abuse. In the eyes of the Muslim inhabitants, this was surely a strange phenomenon: strangers- and Christians at that- go about freely in the country-side, while believing Muslims are prohibited, on pain of stringent punishment, to rob and annoy them, are obliged to fulfill their every wish and to serve them, and are reduced to begging for "bakhshesh"! ⁸⁶

It is difficult to assess Ben Arieih's narration given that it fails to offer proper footnotes, but the overall tone is reminiscent of the general narration of contemporary secondary sources. One can only assume that for lack of evidence in evaluating these events (the Moabite Stone and Safad attacks) one can only resort to the surveying party (i.e. the PEF) who was left to speculate and elaborate on the causes of such incidents. From there, the same tone of narration is re-produced over and again.

Knopf, 1982), 110-112. Moscrop in his account fails to discuss the causes of the events from a local point of view instead he focuses his argument on the propagandist nature of the PEF and the War Office's responses to the attack.

⁸⁴ Neil Asher Silberman, *Digging for God and Country: Exploration in the Holy Land 1799-1917* (New York: Knopf, 1982), 107.

⁸⁵ Walter Besant, *Autobiography of Sir Walter Besant* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1902), 160.

⁸⁶ Yehoshua Ben Arieih, *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1979), 153.

The Ottoman Empire conducted a trial and punished the inhabitants of Safad, but for all practical purposes scholars narrate these events based on the archives of the PEF minutes. One wonders if evidence of the trial is available in Ottoman archives, and if so, do they voice in one-way or another the narrative of the local population?

As Doumani states:

In the paucity of bottom-up as opposed to top-down studies, the native population has tended to be excluded from the historical narrative: the major lacuna in the historiography of Palestine during the Ottoman period is the absence of a live portrait of the Palestinian people, especially the historically "silent" majority of peasants, workers, artisans, women, merchants, and Bedouins.⁸⁷

To fully understand the local compulsion there was to wreck the PEF's ambitions⁸⁸; one must look at the deeper causes that prompted such behavior. Furthermore, in admitting that the attacks were the result of compelling forces, one not only draws more control and responsibility towards the PEF, one also effectively points to the fact that such events do not happen as isolated occurrences; they are the expression of a violation which if left unresolved will continue to stir mayhem (as it did and continues to, centuries later). Indeed:

It was with [...] the survey of the country of Western Palestine that sustained processes of discipline building and territorial refashioning commenced and, moreover converged, and it was on the basis of the fund's early work of historical-geographic recovery that the subsequent work of Jewish archeology [and by extension nationalism] would build⁸⁹.

In assuming that the people of the land of Palestine were simple objects of study rather than fully functional players of their society, the British authorities and the PEF only considered the Ottoman ruling party (and quite minimally at that). Elias states

⁸⁷ Beshara Doumani, "Rediscovering Ottoman Palestine: Writing Palestinians into History," *Journal of Palestine Studies* XXI, no 2 (Winter 1992): 6.

⁸⁸ The PEF makes note of several serious attacks by the native fellahins on the PEF crew and their native servants. See Claude Reignier Conder et al. *The Survey of Western Palestine Volume 1* (London: PEF, 1881), 24-25.

⁸⁹ Nadia Abu El Haj, *Facts on the Ground: Archeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 22.

that above and beyond one's pragmatic control of a less powerful entity, one finds oneself increasingly able to "inscribe the final results of the game". In this sense, the degree to which one is able to compel the others' moves is positively correlated to influencing what he calls the 'game process' (i.e. the situation as a whole). And ultimately, it is in view of this influence (the power to control the entire 'game' -or instituting an all-encompassing worldview) that players organize their actions. As demonstrated in the access to excavate the field, the Capitulations, the Eastern question, the bishopric and the consulate to mention a few examples, Britain found itself increasingly able to compel the (diplomatic) moves of the Ottoman ruling party but this was certainly not an end in and of itself. As immediate interests pile up, and as one's power to compel increases, one gradually finds that different structures are put into place. The use and effects of the *Survey* asserted and reinforced certain structural changes which enabled the British colonization of Palestine and with it, their imposition of a specific Judeo-Christian worldview as it was first inscribed in the tomes of the *Survey*.

The PEF is often credited with establishing the link between Zionism and (biblical) archeology and to this day, the work of the *Survey* remains a template for Israeli political rhetoric. It is noteworthy that at the Annual Herzliya Conference of 2010, "Israel's foremost global policy annual gathering [...] under academic auspices,"⁹⁰ Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu discussed the impact of the PEF's work in molding Zionist thought and nationalism. Unfolding the preparations for "The Heritage Plan"(in which several of the PEF sites would be renovated and glorified to make Israel's past visible), Netanyahu unraveled the anecdotes of two of Zionism's leading personalities: Theodore Herzl, and Edmond James de Rothchild who made

⁹⁰ Herzliya Conference "The Annual Herzliya Conference Series"
<http://www.herzliyaconference.org/eng/?CategoryID=426> (accessed May 4, 2014).

use of the *Survey*'s maps and sites to visit the Holy Land, and without which, their Zionist aspirations might not have materialized.

CHAPTER 5

LAND LAWS, MAPS AND DISPOSSESSION

Many of the principal sources dealing (very meticulously) with the PEF and its projects explain it in specific terms: terms that tie the PEF with British interests in the region and Palestine. Accordingly they take into account the compelling forces of political discourse. In this sense, the players in the “game of politics” (i.e. primarily diplomats and politicians) are not portrayed as fully-free decision-makers. Their actions, plans and aims are explained by reason of their inter-dependence, their bi-lateral/ or multilateral function to each other. And as previously mentioned, this method entails tedious skills that range from analyzing formal governmental documents to probing personal diaries and journals. However, such accounts often leave conceptual questions unanswered. One such question would be whether these power relations (the ultimate explanatory value we attach to historical events and their subsequent narration) are guided by structure or by interests? For more decades than can be recalled, political interests have dominated the minds of historians. History as a professional field of inquiry (and demonstrated by its line of intellectual production) has long ago asserted that interests are the denominational factors that guide History. As earlier discussed, this view is confirmed by the text of historians writing on the PEF and the *Survey*. Thus, at the risk of deviating from the historiographical norm, in this section, I will attempt to further address the long-term causes and effects of the *Survey*. This means that I will address the institutional infrastructure of nineteenth century Palestine as well as the foreign interests that helped put them in place. The expansion of bureaucracy and the centralizing endeavors of the Tanzimat started a

well-known process of modernization. Here I contend that modernity as witnessed in these reforms and changes of the nineteenth century were not simply technical, but also ideological. The need to monitor and manipulate the world with such tight precision as the triangulation networks of the PEF do not reflect a general improvement of government but rather a shift in the vision of society and governance. This is reflected in the PEF's endeavors, as the *Survey* was part of a project to subject people to a "network of small complicated rules that cover the surface of life" as Alexis De Tocqueville noted⁹¹. The map that was issued by the PEF would later be used in the British administration of this newfound nation namely in the registration of land.

We have seen in a previous chapter the way the consulate and the Episcopal See at Jerusalem were firmly grounded in colonial visions of the Holy Land and singularly based on the idea of "the Restoration of the Jews". In this chapter, I wish to look at three issues, the Tanzimat, the capitulations and the Eastern Question, that together pressed for the creation of a map of Palestine and thus made way for the execution of the *Survey*. In addition, I will demonstrate how the Tanzimat, together with the map of the *Survey* facilitated the colonization of Palestine.

The local population did not greet the introduction of the Tanzimat in Ottoman Palestine positively. It should be understood that the Tanzimat, contrary to its name, was not an innocuous *reorganization* of the Empire. At its root was the goal to gather more efficiency to the central Ottoman administration, and by extension these reforms disrupted the communal harmony of the Ottoman provinces. In particular, I would like to look at the introduction of the 1858 Ottoman land law and its effects on the

⁹¹ Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America- Volume II* (Washington: Washington Square Press, 1899), 810.

social fabric of Ottoman Palestine. Ultimately, the imperial government promulgated the law in the aim to increase profits from agriculture and to assert “direct control over the actual cultivator ... [as a means of extracting] the maximum in revenue”⁹².

The land code (and the tanzimat in general) meant that all landowners should register their holdings and that they were now all directly accountable to the imperial central government. This code along with the other reforms brought about by the Tanzimat was effectively changing the traditional line of dependencies (which relied on local notables) and raised the suspicion of the local population. In this view, the application of this law proved to be poor. People were reluctant to change the traditional mode of patronage and often registered their lands under other names. Moreover the financial strain of the Tanzimat led the Ottoman Empire to take out a series of loans from Britain. By virtue of the financial loans and the heavy interests they imposed on the Ottoman Empire, Roger Owen explains that, by 1874 sixty percent of the Empire’s total expenditures went to administering British loans)⁹³. Therefore, the effects of the Tanzimat, as (specifically) seen in (1.) the burdensome task of repaying debts and (2.) the Ottoman Land Code of 1858, which in the last analysis counter-effectively enhanced the position of the landowning notables (and in which the famous “politics of the notables” bypassed state centralization in favor of commercial interests)⁹⁴ made place for a thriving of British economic interests (soon to be translated and reinforced by structural frameworks such as (1.) the Ottoman Debt Administration, and (2.) the economic integration of Syria into the European-

⁹² Donna Robinson Divine, *Politics and Society in Ottoman Palestine: The Arab Struggle for Survival and Power* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1994), 91.

⁹³ Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy 1800- 1914* (London: Methun, 1981), 109.

⁹⁴ Albert Hourani, “Ottoman Reform in the Politics of the Notables” in *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East: the nineteenth century*, edited by William Polk & Richard Chambers (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1968), 41-68.

dominated international market)⁹⁵. Indeed, the land law Code resulted in the purchase of large tracts of fields by the urban notables which put them to commercial use (with Europe) and effectively integrated the economy of these provinces (namely greater Syria) into the international European-dominated economy. Indeed, while the land law attempted to curb the influence and power of the notables; these patrons were able to subvert it and, incidentally, further entrenched the Empire under the grip of Europeans. It is very indicative that in 1878, after the bankruptcy of the Ottoman Empire, Warren had recommended the founding of a company (in the likes of the British East India Company), in the Holy Land for twenty years, to guarantee the financial recovery of British loans and to settle Jews in Palestine, in order to gradually bring the country under their control.⁹⁶ This idea would not materialize. Instead, in 1881 the Ottoman Public Debt Administration was set up.

The resulting political framework (as especially seen in the Ottoman debt commission) and Britain's growing power would soon make place for an extensive use of the *Survey*, inasmuch as the latter would help sustain these newfound structures of power, especially in the view of colonial administration and ideology.

Learning from Harvey's mighty volumes on the power of maps, cartography is indispensable for state centralization and territorial security in the coming of nation-states.⁹⁷ The Eastern question was shaped by the problematic of Ottoman territorial security/integrity as intermeshed with the great powers' sustained interests in the region. Evidence makes clear that the pragmatic use of the cartographic project was

⁹⁵ See Alexander Scholch, "European Penetration and Economic Development of Palestine: 1856-82" in *Studies in the Economic and Social History of Palestine in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. Ed. Roger Owen (London: Macmillan Press, 1982).

⁹⁶ Alexander Scholch "Britain in Palestine 1838-1882: The Roots of the Balfour Policy" *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22 (1992), 47.

⁹⁷ John Brian Harley, *The New Nature of Maps* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

fully engrossed by the Eastern Question (and particularly the Eastern crisis of 1875-78). Indeed, in view of a potential Russia invasion from the Galilee, the British War Office fully sponsored the completion of the *Survey*. It is noteworthy that General Allenby in 1917, right before his invasion of Palestine consulted Thomson's *The Land and the Book* which essentially relies on the *Survey* to describe the topography of the land, and he used the map of the *Survey* to guide his troops. Moreover, as diplomatic discourse ensued in nineteenth century Palestine, the Capitulations represented one of Britain's major power to compel the Ottoman Empire in granting it firmans for the systematic excavation and research of Palestine. In more than one instance however these administrative procedures were not respected by the PEF and groundwork often took the shape of illegal excavations. Firmans would eventually be applied for and issued at a later stage, but at once one sees the confidence of Britain's power over the Ottoman administration.⁹⁸

This may well be a case in point, for the increasingly ineffective bureaucracy of the Empire allowed this project (i.e. the *Survey*) but also saw a direct interest in its completion. In this period of Tanzimat and the realization that the central authorities lacked both in knowledge and power over their territories (as seen for instance in the separatist movements that emerged), the *Survey* offered the prospect of a better-centralized state and managerial skills of the Empire.⁹⁹ As mentioned earlier, the systematic recording of land properties and taxation became directly associated with state centralization. This view of course was shaped by the modern formation of European nation-states of the eighteenth century and supported by the rank of Europeanized Ottoman officers, the so-called 'French Knowers'. At any rate, the

⁹⁸ John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), 100.

⁹⁹ Nadia Abu El Hajj, *Facts on the Ground* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 23.

Survey did not comprise a cadastral map of the territories per se. Certainly, the qualitative values of maps are shaped by their purposes and the PEF's cartographic goals were primarily ideological and military (inasmuch as this project involved the War Office). The *Survey* consisted of nine exceptionally large volumes assorted as follows: Memoirs on the topography, orography, hydrography and archaeology of (1.) Galilee, (2.) Samaria and (3.) Judea; (4.) Special Papers on topography, archaeology, manners and customs; (5.) Jerusalem; (6.) Fauna and Flora; (7.) Geology; (8.) Arabic and English Name Lists and (9.) a complete General Index.¹⁰⁰

Therefore, the *Survey* by virtue of the triangulation network it set up, and the close survey of Palestine's land (flora, fauna, hydrography, orography, topography) was more than a substantial start for a systematic survey of land property, reclamation, tax and resources.

The Tanzimat Era marked the start of a process of Westernization and modernization of the Empire. This attempt was quickly translated into a series of agrarian reforms aiming to tighten governmental grip on land tithes and the exploitation of resources. At last, we witness the Land Code law of 1858, which made land registration compulsory for everyone. This enabled the creation of the official system of *Land Books and Records* that aimed at registering all properties and recording taxes. However, a major set back to this initiative was that it advanced the concept of land registration without having the proper reference of a statutory map at hand. Therefore, while it registered land properties it utterly failed to locate these same lands on any sort of official cartographic data. All deeds were attached to maps but these consisted little more than hand-drawn sketches each proportionately

¹⁰⁰ The Palestine Exploration Fund "the Survey of Western Palestine"
<http://www.pef.org.uk/monographs/the-survey-of-western-palestine-1871-1877>
(accessed January 1, 2013).

different from the other and lacking in topographic information. As would happen, the British administration of Palestine in 1920 found it strenuously difficult to relocate the stipulated lands of the Ottoman Books of Land and Record, effectively rendering it null.¹⁰¹

It is noteworthy that the Ottoman Empire had protectionist laws, which forbade foreigners from owning land. However, as of 1867 under pressure from the great powers, it amended its restrictions to some individuals and societies with governmental backing. Nevertheless, Jewish settlers and American and German Templers did not benefit from these exceptions and resorted to other means to appropriate land. To evade property laws, settlers were able to register their lands (soon to become colonies) under fictitious characters. Ironically, in their attempt to eradicate corruption, the Land laws due to their poor application became an enabler of subterfuge activities. Another complication of the 1858 land law was that much land remained unregistered because “the books were based on registration of deeds and not on any preliminary systematic land survey”¹⁰². Given these developments it became imperative for the Ottoman authorities to start the proper cadastral survey of the territories. Yet, it took them more than two decades after the publication of the *Survey* to take action. By 1913 an official order was given, unfortunately, the outbreak of WWI effectively stymied the project. Once again, it would be the British authorities that would initiate the first cadastral survey of Palestine in 1921. As a basis for the project, Britain made use of the *Survey*, but moreover, it compiled the unofficial land registries of (sometimes-illegal) settler colonies.¹⁰³ Sir Ernest Dowson, head of the

¹⁰¹ Ruth Kark et al. “The Cadastral Mapping of Palestine 1858-1928” *The Geographical Journal* 159 (1993), 78.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 71.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, 78.

Survey of Egypt, was the expert who was to propose the appropriate cadastral reforms.

He advised:

The Third Piece of immediately and permanently useful work consist in taking over the Land Registers of various Colonies, for the most part Jewish, who have long complained with considerable justification that their own Land Registers though reliable and comprehensible are legally invalid, while the Government's Registers though legally valid are unreliable and incomprehensible.¹⁰⁴

Disturbances in Palestine prohibited the completion of the cadastral survey. It is interesting to note that in their quest to survey 'safe' areas (as opposed to the troublesome regions), the Jewish settlers of the plains and Valleys of Galilee recognizing the direct benefit of their land being surveyed and registered always welcomed the British administration. The Mandate government was only able to survey about twenty percent of the land. It is also noteworthy that the repercussions of these badly implemented registration laws still persist into the present. In the Negev region of what is now Israel, Bedouin tribes make up thirty percent of the region's population despite living on only two percent of the land in what Israel calls "unrecognized villages" due to the failure of the population to register their land in 1858 and 1921.¹⁰⁵

What is sure is that the British authorities used the *Survey* as a prime reference from 1918 to 1936 (during the British administration of Palestine). Although the Survey did not constitute a cadaster of Palestine (which represents the effective power of governance in any given territory), the internal administration of Palestine relied on the *Survey* inasmuch as it constituted the only reliable source of territorial knowledge and power, and reasonably offered the starting point for any cadaster to be created.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Aljazeera, "Israel's Bedouin Battle Displacement"
<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2013/08/2013828125945288209.html>
(accessed May 4, 2014).

The benefits of having a cadastral map of the lands of Palestine with an accompanying survey were many-fold. The value of accuracy, (put forward when seeking to justify mapping based on triangulation or surveys of a scientific nature) did not reside in its extension of numbers and abundance of calculations as much as it did in its *permanence*. The whole project of compiling all the necessary information in one publication and to reduce reality to the lines of a map, gave the ability to *fix*, *isolate* and ultimately *decontextualize* elements unto paper. Once this was done, it also meant that “the site of control and calculation had been transported from the field to the office”.¹⁰⁶ As Mitchell points out in his *rule of experts*, such creations as *The Survey* also created a necessary gap between reality and its abstraction (into either a map or a survey), which would soon be mended by altering, not the map but, reality itself. Indeed the modern state of Israel is predominantly based on the narrative brought unto paper in the *Survey*. Anderson in his *Imagined communities* inserts a pertinent quote while discussing the foundations of modern day Thailand.

In terms of most communication theories and common sense, a map is an abstraction of reality. A map merely represents something which already exists objectively ‘there’. In the history I have described, this relationship was reversed. A map was a model for, rather than a model of, what it purported to represent [...] it had become a real instrument to concretize projections on the earth’s surface¹⁰⁷.

At once, we understand the way in which the *Survey*, with its protestant views (especially concerning the Restoration of the Jews) was projected and effectively concretized in the formation of Israel. *Anderson’s* analysis is also directly relevant here: “Hence the appearance, late in the nineteenth century especially, of ‘historical maps,’ designed to demonstrate, in the new cartographic discourse, the antiquity of

¹⁰⁶ Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-politics and Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 114.

¹⁰⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 173.

specific, tightly bounded territorial units. [...] In turn, this narrative was adopted, if often *adapted*, by the nation-states which in the twentieth century, became the colonial states' legatees."¹⁰⁸ Indeed, by the twentieth century, the British colonial administration of Palestine singularly delegated this narrative to the founding of the Jewish state.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 175.

CHAPTER 6

THE SURVEY IN CONTENT

Before we start the assessment of the *Survey*, it is important for us to consider the explorer who inspired much of the PEF's work in Palestine. Edward Robinson "the father of biblical geography" completed his studies at the Andover Theological School Massachusetts, a college established by conservative congressionalist in 1808, before traveling to Germany to study under the mentorship of the renowned geographer Carl Ritter.¹⁰⁹ An ardent Protestant himself, in 1838 and 1852, Robinson visited the Holy Land and subsequently published *Biblical Researches* and *Later Biblical Researches*¹¹⁰ that traced the names and places of the Bible. His results relied on close reading of the Bible, but also substantially depended on a linguistic theory. The latter presupposed that the current Arabic names of places in Palestine contained within them the roots of the Hebrew names of these same locations. Therefore, armed with much creative skill, one could decipher and identify biblical places from their Arabic calling.¹¹¹ The persistence of the ancient nomenclature in the names 'Anata, il-Jib, er-Rameh, and Mukhmas for instance, is what enabled Robinson to locate Anathoth, Geba, Ramah, and Michmas.¹¹² However, many of his finds were also based on similarities (mainly topographic) between descriptions as mentioned by first century Jewish historian Josephus, fourth century church historian Eusebius, the

¹⁰⁹ Philip J. King, "BA Portrait: Edward Robinson: Biblical Scholar" *The Biblical Archeologist* 46, no. 4 (1983): 230.

¹¹⁰ Edward Robinson, *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the adjacent regions* (London: John Muray, 1856). Edward Robinson et al., *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petrea* (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1841).

¹¹¹ F.M. Abel, "Edward Robinson and the Identification of Biblical Sites" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 54, no 4 (1939): 366.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

Bible and on-the-ground observations. This is how Robinson identified the Fortress of Masada “first built by Jonathan Maccabeus and strengthened by Herod the Great as a place of refuge of himself”¹¹³. Towards the Southwestern side of the Dead Sea, Robinson noticed an isolated ruin on the plateau of a truncated rock that the Arabs called Sebbeh. He likened the physical features of the land to Josephus’ description of the fortress of Masada. In his text, Robinson includes the lengthy description provided by Josephus and concludes:

“This spot for us was for sometime a complete puzzle; we thought at first it might perhaps be the ruins of some early covenant. But subsequent research leaves little room to doubt that this was the site of the ancient and renowned fortress of Masada.”¹¹⁴ Robinson does not share the substance of this ‘subsequent research’, and his first hand observations of the ruin, via his telescope (since he never actually got to the site) are meager. He notes:

The truncated summit of the lofty isolated rock forms a small plain apparently inaccessible; and this is occupied by the ruin. We had been greatly struck by its appearance; and on examining it closely with a telescope, I could perceive what appeared to be a building on its N.W part and also traces of other buildings further east.¹¹⁵

Despite the rather speculative nature of such an approach, several of Robinson’s identifications, including Masada were later supported via archeological excavations (especially by the experts of the PEF). It was Charles Warren in the year 1867 who ascended to the Masada ruins and thereafter confirmed Robinson’s theory.¹¹⁶ This site, revered as it is by modern Jewish tradition as the *Masada Tale* grew to become a most important ideological catalyst of Jewish nationalism in the twentieth century.

¹¹³ Edward Robinson et al., *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petrea* (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1841).242.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Claude Reignier Conder et al., *The Survey of Western Palestine: Volume 3* (London: PEF, 1883), 417.

This tale of the mass suicide of 960 Jews during the siege of Jerusalem by Titus epitomized the existential question of Jewish national survival.¹¹⁷ Moreover, in choosing suicide over indignity at the hands of the enemy, the Sicarii became an icon of military courage and self-sacrifice for the nation.¹¹⁸ However, this heroic tale was not always portrayed as such. Josephus, in his account of the Jewish War describes the extremism of these ‘robbers’, who were driven out of Jerusalem by their own people, as they pillaged and slaughtered neighboring Jewish villages.¹¹⁹ Ever since the resurface of this long-lost tale (which does not appear either in the Bible nor the Talmud) by Edward Robinson and biblical archeology, Masada became a model of Zionism’s aspiring society. As Robinson chronicles it, “here occurred the last horrible act of the Great Jewish Tragedy,”¹²⁰ and thus reappeared the tale that would inspire the Jewish nation and substantiate its rhetoric.¹²¹ It was the American missionary S. W. Wolcott and English painter W. Tipping who first climbed the mountain in 1842. Since then and up to the present, Masada has witnessed a continuing flow of visitors, explorers and tourists alike.¹²² As it were, the first extensive ground excavations of Masada were conducted in 1963 by Yigal Yadin an officer of the IDF.¹²³ Despite, not being once mentioned in the Bible, the PEF made Masada one of its identifications in the *Survey*. The text confirming Robinson’s find consists of a thick description of the

¹¹⁷ Theodore Sasson et al., “From Shrine to Forum: Masada and the Politics of Jewish Extremism,” *Israel Studies* 13, no. 2 (2008): 146.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, 147.

¹¹⁹ Barry Schwartz, “Review: The Masada Myth: Memory and Mythmaking in Israel by Nachman Ben Yehuda,” *American Journal of Sociology* 102, no. 4 (1997): 1222.

¹²⁰ Edward Robinson et al., *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea* (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1841), 241.

¹²¹ For a complete account of the ‘Masada Myth’ in relation to its excavations see Nachman Ben Yehuda, *Sacrificing Truth: Archeology and the Myth of the Masada* (New York: Humanity Books, 2002).

¹²² Nachman Ben Yahuda, *The Masada Myth: Collective Memory and Mythmaking in Israel* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press: 1995), 50.

¹²³ *Ibid*, 10.

physical remnants. It includes measurements of the remaining structures and a qualifier of the materials used. A notice is made of an un-deciphered inscription with crosses painted near it, marking its distinctive Christian nature.¹²⁴ What remains of Herod's palace is also described: "Immediately *South* to the Western ascent of the plateau is another large block of ruins, consisting of heaps of fallen stones. It measures 160 feet East and West by 200 feet North and South. The position is exactly that in which Herod's palace is described by Josephus."¹²⁵ In this conclusion drawn by the PEF, Josephus is mentioned several times, yet no inter-textual analysis is included. Perhaps this was seen as unnecessary to the scientific paradigm of the day which revered numbers and measurements rather than verbal accuracy. Yet, this method of attributing profuse details (some of which are inaccurate) to a landscape is strikingly reminiscent of what Barthes termed "the reality effect". The abundance of details in this narrative alludes more to a rhetorical device than a sincere attempt at forging a tightly knit argument. In the case of Herod's palace for example, the team alleges that the ruins or the 'heaps of fallen stones' are in the *exact* position mentioned by Josephus, yet again no evidence is offered. Josephus actually writes "[Herod] built a palace there, at the Western ascent, under the rampart of the citadel, and inclining to the *North*."¹²⁶ This account is not aimed at discrediting the site of Masada, but rather to look at the methods and workings of biblical archeology and the appropriation of a molded past in order to legitimize present ideals. Placing the question of accuracy and objectivity as a central component of Biblical archeology helps us dismantle it from a purely scientific effort to reconstitute the History of

¹²⁴ Claude Reignier Conder et al., *The Survey of Western Palestine: Volume 3* (London: PEF, 1883), 417-421.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, 420.

¹²⁶ Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War* (Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1858), 517.

Palestine. More so, it detaches issues of universal truth from the collection of quantifiable data. How did these guiding principles affect the greater scheme of things and what can they tell us about the explorations? In recounting its own origin and the precedent set by previous travellers to the Holy Land, The PEF marks Robinson as a reference and model whose scientific imprint led the modern methods of exploration in illustrating the Bible. It is noted:

The first real impulse [...] toward scientific examination of the Holy Land is due to the American traveller, Dr. Robinson. He it was who first conceived of the idea of making a work on Biblical Geography, to be based, not on the accounts of others, but on his own observations and discoveries. He fitted himself for his ambitious undertaking by the special studies of fifteen years, mastering the whole literature of the subject [...] he went therefore *knowing what to look for* and what had already been found.¹²⁷

The Oxford English Dictionary defines the scientific method as “a method of procedure [...] consisting in systematic observation, measurement, and experiment, and the formulation, testing, and modification of hypotheses.”¹²⁸ The scientific endeavor of the PEF and Robinson proceeds as such on account of their recording observations and systematic measurements of the fields (as exemplified in Masada). However, their hypotheses largely go untested. The Protestant assumption behind their recordings is left intact, not for lack of supporting evidence, but more so due to neglect. While the scientific efforts were undertaken on a micro level (i.e. at each selected site), the driving force and the narrative that would result from this work was all encompassing (i.e. including *all* of Palestine’s geography and history). The *de facto* conclusion (of quantifying selected landscapes) was a confirmation of the general Protestant ethos. It is no coincidence that the researches of Robinson and the PEF exclusively discussed the periods from the late Bronze Age (the period of the

¹²⁷ Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, *Our Work In Palestine* (Toronto: Adam Stevenson & Co, 1873), 7.

¹²⁸ Oxford English Dictionary “Scientific Method” (accessed April 2, 2013).

formation of the 12-tribe league called Israel, the destruction of cities and formation of villages in the mountains of central Palestine presumed to be Israelite) up to the Byzantine Empire passing through the Iron Age and the Crusades.¹²⁹ The implication, by methods of quantifying a particular reality, was dispossessing Palestine from its Arab and Muslim historical heritage. By virtue of its informed excavations and inquiries, the PEF did not “ensure results whatever they might prove”¹³⁰, rather the results were framed to cater to specific expectations of a Judeo-Christian denomination, and the same is true of Robinson who went to Palestine ‘*knowing what to look for*’. It is the revealing that the PEF explored and surveyed the Haram Elsharif (the third holiest site in Islam) only to the extent that it attempted to test Fergusson’s theory that its location was the original site of the Holy Sepulcher and the Temple of Solomon. For his part, Robinson took a singularly Protestant stance while conducting his researches. Convinced that the current site of the Holy Sepulcher was merely a fraud, he refused to even enter the premises, let alone include it as a Biblical site. In essence, the uneven sampling of data, in order to highlight, collect and interpret, irrevocably produces bias. Indeed, the work of the PEF “did not consist of mere purposeless digging”¹³¹, it had a clear agenda that directed and characterized the quality of its work. Conder admits that a comprehensive study of the Holy Land (what he equates to purposeless digging) “would have been interesting in such a ground”¹³². Perhaps this thought occurs to him as the guilty realization that only such a method

¹²⁹ Albert E. Glock, “Cultural Bias in Archeology,” In *Archeology, History and Culture in Palestine and the Near East: Essays in Memory of Albert E. Glock*, ed. Tomis Kapitan (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 331.

¹³⁰ Quoting Walter Besant treasurer of the PEF in: Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, *Our Work In Palestine* (Toronto: Adam Stevenson & Co, 1873), 97.

¹³¹ Claude Reignier Conder et al., *Our Work in Palestine: Being an Account of the Different Expeditions Sent Out to the Holy Land* (London: PEF, 1873), 97.

¹³² *Ibid.*

(of indiscriminate site selection) would have ensured fair evidence and analysis of the land of Palestine.

In discussing the incipient stages of a scientific field, Kuhn describes the uncertainty of the scientists. “In the absence of a paradigm [...] all the facts that could possibly pertain to the development of a given science are likely to seem equally relevant. As a result, early fact-gathering is a far more random activity than the one that subsequent scientific development makes familiar.”¹³³ The result of such a process is a ‘morass’ of data that yields evidence relevant as well as irrelevant to the discipline. Nevertheless, in the initial stages, all facts are considered indiscriminately until one can eventually make sense of this overwhelming mass of information. Despite being one of the early institutions for archeology, the PEF ventured into Palestine with clear instructions and defining aims. Ultimately, their reasons for “selection and de-selection [of sites] were hidden in the implicit philosophies of archeology at work in the individual investigators” (namely Conder and Warren).¹³⁴ “What observations and records, samples or even photographs the excavator collects or does not collect reflects his or her tutored point of view regarding the nature and form of the archeological record as well as the possibilities of cultural variability under investigation”¹³⁵. When one takes a closer look at the PEF’s sites of excavations and their interpretations of what is meaningful (forthcoming), one realizes the ambition and cultural prejudice perpetrated by the PEF, and later on, adopted and expanded by Israeli archeology. The sites deemed of special importance to the PEF were listed under the rubric ‘Special Surveys’. Masada was one of these

¹³³ Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 10-11.

¹³⁴ Albert E. Glock, “Cultural Bias in Archeology,” In *Archeology, History and Culture in Palestine and the Near East: Essays in Memory of Albert E. Glock*, ed. Tomis Kapitan (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 330.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

sites. In an attempt to interpret the work of the PEF it is convenient to use this sample that enumerates the following towns and ruins: 1. Athlit 2. Caesarea 3. Arsuf 4. Beisan 5. Kawkab ek Hawa 6. Nablus 7. Samaria 8. Ascalon 9. Gaza 10. Tell Jezer 11. Masada 12. Beit Jibrin 13. Kulat esh Shukif 14. Tyre.

In many ways, the work of the PEF was a continuation of Robinson's Biblical researches. Throughout the *Survey* he is the prime reference for the identification of sites and many times Conder expands his arguments to find new places of interests. This is made clear in the discussion of the 'special sites' listed above.

6.1 Tyre

The district and city of Tyre/ Sur (the names are used interchangeably in the *Survey*) was surveyed by the PEF as one such biblical site. In the manner of Robinson, Conder retraces its name to the Hebrew Tsur the rock to confirm the identification.¹³⁶ The *Survey* also refers to Robinson's association of Kana with ancient Kanah, one of the landmarks of the boundaries of the Asher (one of the 12 tribes of Israel and a leading topic of research for Biblical and future Israeli archeology). According to Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, Eusebius and Jerome's Jonan corresponds to the village of Yanun near Nablus or "twelve roman mile East of Neapolis"¹³⁷ which the latter authors confounded with Janoah of Naphtali.¹³⁸ Despite being two different locations (one in ancient Naphtali and one in ancient Ephraim) with the same name, the *Onomasticon* considers them one and the same place.

Expanding on this thought, Conder attempts to locate the Janoah of the Naphtali at

¹³⁶ Claude Reignier Conder et al., *The Survey of Western Palestine Volume 1* (London: PEF, 1881), 51.

¹³⁷ Edward Robinson et al., *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petrea* (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1841), 297.

¹³⁸ Eusebius, *The Onomasticon of Eusebius of Caesarea*, ed. Joan E. Taylor (Jerusalem: Carta, 2003), 134.

Yanuh “on the shore south of Tyre (the district)”¹³⁹. This speculation however seems a little rash given the initial identification of the district of Tyre as a landmark of the northern boundaries of Asher (and that ancient Naphtali is generally thought to have been to the East of Asher).

In addition, Conder makes three new identifications in the district of Sur: El Ezziyah with Hosah (Joshua 19:29), Bidias with Beth Bedia of the Talmud and Ras el Ain with Palaetyrus. However, the descriptive paragraphs dedicated to the Bidias and El Ezziyah were directly taken from Guerin with no interjections from Conder as to why they were identified with their respective ancient ruins and towns.¹⁴⁰ This method of simply extracting (very lengthy) surveys from previous explorers is one used all too often by the PEF team and many times, in addition, these extensive passages remain without a translation into English to the dismay of the non-polyglot reader. This myriad of passages (often in Greek, French or Latin) have a signified object (the landscape and/or specific structures) but fail to intelligibly signify them with any comprehensive meaning.

When Conder examines the city of Sur he focuses on three antiquities: The Walls (the remains of which he tries to decipher and trace back the island of Sur before it was connected to the land by Alexander the Great), the ancient Harbour and, of course, the Crusader cathedral, now in ruins. After an assessment of the remains, Renan and De Vogue chronicle the History of Tyre in the *Survey*. It is portrayed as a prosperous place under the Phoenicians, and later the Crusades witnessing many different rulers to the land but never qualifying them as intruders, until the city sadly

¹³⁹ Claude Reignier Conder et al. *The Survey of Western Palestine Volume I* (London: PEF, 1881), 51.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 56-57.

falls prey to the “Mohammedan invaders” in 638 AD and then again in 1291.¹⁴¹

Renan says “In the next century, when sir John Maundeville visited the city, he found it almost entirely destroyed. The Place has never recovered. Even its ruins have been in great part removed.” He goes on to describe the city in the 18th century as reaching “its lowest depths of *humiliation*”. According to Renan’s modern view of Sur, “aqueducts, a Christian basilica, and a few displaced columns make up all that remains of one of the most populous cities of antiquity.”¹⁴² The general narration of equating Palestine (despite Tyre now being in Lebanon) in its present circumstances to something close to a humiliation was a ubiquitous portrayal (although mostly an implicit one) in the *Survey*. As seen earlier, Said astutely demonstrates Renan’s prejudiced thoughts, and it is here worth of our attention that the *Survey* effectively reproduces this bias.

6.2 Caesarea

Again, at Caesarea, the Muslim invaders are credited as the destroyers of the ancient city. On the one hand, in recording the history of Caesarea, Conder mentions Strato’s tower and the subsequent vista of glorious infrastructures created by Herod such as the temple, the theater and the amphitheater. On the other hand, the approximate 500 years of Muslim interlude is portrayed as a damaging intrusion of foreigners:

The Sultan had established himself on the roof of a church [...] Soon the Muslims sealed the ramparts, burned the gates, and entered in crowds above and below the walls. He divided the city between them and the Mamluks began at once to destroy the city. The Prince came down with a pick in his hand and worked in person at the demolition.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 76.

¹⁴² Ibid, 77.

¹⁴³ Claude Reignier Conder et al. *The Survey of Western Palestine Volume 2* (London: PEF, 1881), 14.

While briefly recounting four periods of constructions in Caesarea (the Herodian, the Byzantine, the first Mohammedan period, and the Crusading period), the *Survey* only assesses the existing ruins of the Roman town and the Crusading town.¹⁴⁴

6.3 Beisan

At Beisan, Conder gives a topographic account of the terrain by Robinson and follows with a brief history and reconstitution of the former structures dating from Antiquity and the Crusaders. The history retraces Beisan in Antiquity and ends with Saladin in 1182, “after being plundered by him and consigned to flames”. The Arab Caliphate period however is not mentioned.¹⁴⁵ Nonetheless, there is a general mention of the “large mosque” in the country solely in as much as it is thought to have previously been a Greek Church.¹⁴⁶ The *Survey* in Beisan concludes with the heroic tale of Gideon’s triumph over the Midianites. Conder states, “Perhaps the history most fully illustrated by our present survey is that of Gideon’s victory over the Midian”¹⁴⁷ The tale is also used as metaphor to associate the oppressive Midians with the modern Arabs of the country.

The nomadic hordes of the Midianites had, like the Beni Suggar and Ghazawiyeh Arabs, come up the broad fertile valley of Jezreel and their encampment lay, as the black Arab tents do now at the foot of the Valley Moreh (Neby Dahy). As on the first night of our camping [...] when six horsemen and fifteen foot of the Bedouin came down and retreated after stealing a horse and a cow, followed by the fellahin in shouts and fire, so in Gideon’s time, the settled Jewish inhabitants assembled to drive back the marauders.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 13-29.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 104.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, 105.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 113.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

Of course this chapter ends with Gideon “having cleared the Bethshan valley of the Midianites [...]; executed and their heads being carried to Gideon”.¹⁴⁹ The cultural prejudice encountered in this analogy is a brutal one, which we could only hope would not be repeated.

6.4 Athlit, Arsuf, Kawkab el Hawa and Samaria

The PEF’s surveys of Athlit, Arsuf and Kawkab el Hawa are exclusively dedicated to their respective crusader forts. The survey of Samaria includes, in addition to the Crusading Church, a thorough depiction of Herod’s colonnade.¹⁵⁰ Kawlab El Hawa was first identified by Robinson¹⁵¹ as Belvoir built by King Fulke in 1140.¹⁵² In time, Caesarea and Kawkab el Hawa would witness a complete demolition of its Arab and Muslim features, save a few monuments such as the 1880 Bosnian Muslim mosque (albeit completely defamed by becoming a restaurant to accommodate tourists in the 1980s, despite the painful protests of Caesarea’s indigenous Muslims).¹⁵³ Surely, “there is no better example of the eradication of all traces of an entire civilization from the landscape –leaving behind only crusader remains which did not interfere with the conveniently chosen historical narrative- than the restoration of Kawkab el Hawa (the Crusader Belvoir) and Caesarea.”¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 114.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, 211-216.

¹⁵¹ Edward Robinson, *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the adjacent regions* (London: John Muray, 1856), 650.

¹⁵² Clause Reignier Conder et al., *The Survey of Western Palestine Volume 2* (London: PEF, 1881), 85, 117-119.

¹⁵³ Meron Benvenisti, *Sacred Landscape: The Buried History of the Holy Land Since 1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 291.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 303.

6.5 Beit Jibrin

In the exceptional sites of Beit Jibrin (identified as Eleutheropolis and the birthplace of St Anne) and Nablus (Ancient Neapolis), it became more difficult to categorically describe structures from Antiquity and the Crusades because the succession of Christian and Muslim rulers had both contributed to the present ruins. These are perhaps one of the few sites (except for the Haram el Sharif in Jerusalem) in which we find extensive accounts of Muslim features. The mosques in Nablus are clearly listed and surveyed in as much as they represented to the explorers the relics of previous ancient Churches, Tombs and sites of biblical or crusader significance.¹⁵⁵

In Beit Jibrin, the section ends with a very brief history:

The district seems to have been occupied by the Babylonish captivity by the cave dwellers of Idumea. It was the seat of a bishopric and was *destroyed by the Moslems* (my Italics). The Knights Hospitallers built and held a fortress here. It was taken by Saladin in the year 1187, and subsequently retaken by King Richard and, and held for 50 years by the Christians.¹⁵⁶

Saladin appears almost regularly in the PEF's accounts as a wrecker and invader of the lands of Palestine. At Ascalon, he is again referred to as the probable destroyer of the walls of the city. Richard the lion-heart is characteristically praised for his contribution until "the final destruction is due to the Sultan Bibars in the year 1270"¹⁵⁷.

6.6 Belfort (Kulat esh-Shukif)

Similarly, the castle of Belfort (Kulat esh-Shukif), tells the heroic deeds of the Crusades especially Count Raynold of Sidon who became a prisoner instead of

¹⁵⁵ Claude Reignier Conder et al., *The Survey of Western Palestine Volume 2* (London: PEF, 1881), 203-210.

¹⁵⁶ Claude Reignier Conder et al., *The Survey of Western Palestine Volume 3* (London: PEF, 1881), 272.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 241.

surrendering Belfort to Saladin. The chronicle ends in 1268 when Sultan El Melek Dhahir Bibars destroyed it.¹⁵⁸

We thus witness in the historical accounts of the *Survey* an ever-recurrent association of Muslims with destruction and intrusion. And perhaps, this persistent and almost exclusive connection (since the Moslems are seldom introduced in another context) reflects the ever-so present stigma in the psyche of nineteenth century explorers.

6.7 Gaza

The *Survey* at Gaza is comparatively very succinct. It dwells on the city's prominent mosque as the reconstructed site of a twelfth century church dedicated to St John the Baptist. The PEF also collects the sights of a Byzantine Church said to have been "fourteen centuries old."¹⁵⁹

6.8 Tell Jezer

The survey of Tell Jezer (identified as ancient Gezer) is a revealing one in terms of artifacts. The principal points of interests were listed as the tell, the rock-cut tombs (which provided the explorers with evidence of Christian works at Tell Jezer), the ruins of Khurbet Yerdeh and most importantly, five stones with inscriptions within the vicinity of Tell Jezer. The PEF was able to locate four of the five stones, the fifth was ostensibly known by fearful fellahin who refused to give out its location. These stones were thought to delineate the boundaries of ancient Gezer.¹⁶⁰ As for the ruins of Yerdeh, not much attention was brought to them except for a mention of

¹⁵⁸ Claude Reignier Conder et al., *The Survey of Western Palestine Volume 1* (London: PEF, 1881), 129-133.

¹⁵⁹ Claude Reignier Conder et al., *The Survey of Western Palestine Volume 3* (London: PEF, 1881), 248-251.

¹⁶⁰ Claude Reignier Conder et al., *The Survey of Western Palestine Volume 2* (London: PEF, 1881), 428-438.

scattered foundations. The wine press and tomb that were observed were left un-studied. The paragraph recording the finds abruptly ends “but the ruins do not seem to be of great antiquity.”¹⁶¹

6.9 Observations

Repeatedly throughout the *Survey* Robinson’s own account of the sites under review are added almost in their entirety to complement the PEF’s own observations. This includes the topographic landscape, but also his method of retracing the names of locations, from their Arabic title to their Hebrew roots.

This obvious discord in terms of relying on local oral traditions to revisit the Hebrew origins of place names, all the while refuting Christian traditions became a clear Protestant stance. The irony in the methods of depending on local knowledge to reconstitute and redefine Christian knowledge in a scientific credo all the while alienating the very people who recovered this culture (i.e. the local Muslim Arabs) and categorizing them as a non-entity represents a most unsystematic and prejudiced method of making sense of History. Moreover, it points to the fact that landscape does not only reside in structures, but in the people who used and made them relevant. The people who would suffer dispossession as a result of the appropriation of the cultural narrative were the very same people who actually preserved hints and clues of this Judeo-Christian reality. Not only does this reflect the unscientific nature of the *Survey*, it also proves the value and authenticity of non-scientific knowledge. Once it was published, Robinson’s book became a best seller in the West. Not only did it appeal to its Protestant readers who had found validation of their faiths, it was also used as a textbook for students of the Holy Land in general. Indeed, Robinson’s finds

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 434.

greatly contributed to the socialization of Palestine, as it were, with relevance to the Bible in America and Britain and his methods, as seen above, became a staple of nineteenth century recovery of the Holy Land.¹⁶² Nonetheless, Robinson's principal belief that Christian tradition and topology (as instituted by Constantine and his successors) led one to stray away from authentic sites and the truthfulness of Scripture comes as a contradiction to his *modus operanti* in which local oral traditions are a central component.

Christianity became triumphant in the person of Constantine; and at his instigation aided by the presence and zeal of his mother Helena, the first great attempt was made in 326 A.D to fix and beautify the places connected with the crucifixion and resurrection of the Saviour; it then almost as a matter of course became a passion among the multitude of priests and monks, who afterwards resorted to the Holy City, to trace out and assign the site of every event, however trivial or legendary; which could be brought into connection with the scriptures or with pious tradition.¹⁶³

It was in such terms that Robinson explained the emergence of Christian tradition: nothing more than a "pious fraud". What started with Christian leaders attempting to "beautify" Christian locations resulted in a vast cultural productions which aimed at embellishing narration by means of deceitful illustrations.

The Holy Sepulcher was one such monument to endure the criticism of our scholar. He looked for the monuments described in the Old Testament rather than the New Testament and this promoted the reconnaissance of new sites of worship such as Masada and Tell Jezer which, because of their superiority in age were seen to trump the Catholic and Orthodox monuments as more *authentic* and hence superior in all the

¹⁶² Yehoshua Ben Arie, *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1979). 85-91.

¹⁶³ Edward Robinson, *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the adjacent regions* (London: John Muray, 1856), 371.

senses of the term.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, these new sites established by him rendered territories in the Holy Land fully available to potential British claims.

All told, Robinson's personal attitudes on Palestine and the Bible as well as his work all championed the Protestant cause and hence the view which espoused the restoration of the Jews to biblical Palestine. Like his fellow Protestants, Robinson saw Palestine as a standstill from the biblical era to modern times. To him, as to many Europeans, Palestine stood static against the forces of time, and in line with this view, the people of Palestine were seen as live relics of biblical society. Un-evolved and uncivilized, they were inferior to the Westerners, yet their ancient way of life was directly associated with life in the Holy Land as described and experienced in the Bible.¹⁶⁵ Robinson taught at seminaries and other educational institutions in America, and his views were openly expressed in the West. Moreover, they were used in the education of students of the Holy Land, for whom his *Biblical Researches* was a pillar of their curriculum. Robinson famously made a comparison with the modern Protestant missionaries who were like "The Hebrews of the Old, at the time of the Passover, who came to worship in this place and to consult on the best measures for promoting the great work in which they were engaged"¹⁶⁶.

Considering the prestige of Robinson's works and his outspoken attitudes, it is difficult to ignore the strong influence he had even on scientists interested in the Holy Land, including cartographers. As previously discussed, Robinson's methods were incorporated into the methods of the PEF's explorations. In order to "rediscover"

¹⁶⁴ Yehoshua Ben Arie, *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1979). 90.

¹⁶⁵ The British discriminated between the constituents of Palestinian society. For a clearer explanation on these views and how they affected the study of the local population See Nadia Abu El Hajj, *Facts on the Ground* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 35-38.

¹⁶⁶ Edward Robinson, *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the adjacent regions* (London: John Muray, 1856), 375-6.

Palestine one had to “recover” it first. Part of this procedure involved the analysis of Palestine’s “most long standing and thus indigenous population”. Like Robinson, the PEF believed that from the local dialect, one could trace back to the original Hebrew name places of Palestine to relocate ancient sites of the Old Testament. In evaluating this practice, Nadia Abu El Haj recalls Gyan Prakash’s argument about the “staging of colonial science”.

The very staging of colonial science helped to undermine the dichotomies that a priori asserted the distance between the scientific and the non-scientific, the European and the non-European, the colonizer and the colonized. The enactment of archeology in nineteenth century Palestine also initially destabilized such a priori distinctions. This work of biblical recuperation depended for its very possibility on local knowledge- the nonscientific. Existing nomenclature was essential to the project and process of recovery¹⁶⁷

Of course all things said and done, ultimately the veracity of any Judeo-Christian tradition would fall back on the work of excavators. “He [the reader] need not take captain Warren’s [who excavated sites at Jerusalem on behalf of the PEF] conclusions, but he must take his facts, because they are of a nature which cannot be disputed.”¹⁶⁸ However, this statement raises more questions than it answers. The implied assertion is that although the data in excavations is scientific, its analysis is not necessarily so. Indeed excavations relied on much speculation and creativity. It should be understood that the *Survey* included serious implications of a sectarian and religious nature; which together form the reason of its grand impact on British society (and the intellectual/ political movements of the day like ‘the restoration of the Jews’). Moreover at the time of study, (i.e. before stratification was even introduced into the discipline), it is difficult to say whether the work conducted in the *Survey*

¹⁶⁷ Nadia Abu El Hajj, *Facts on the Ground* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 32.

¹⁶⁸ Charles M. Watson, *Fifty Years Work in the Holy Land: A Record and a Summary* (London: PEF, 1915), 39.

really falls within the category of archeology or antiquarianism.¹⁶⁹ As demonstrated by its various exhibitions at the Crystal Palace and its publicity; it seems that a prime objective of the *Survey* was to socialize the Britons with this particular view of Palestine: the view that espouses the identification of “signs of [Judeo-Christian] cultural continuity and to render a historic past materially visible on maps and on the contemporary landscape”¹⁷⁰ By reason of this socialization process, it comes as no surprise that even before the *Survey* itself was published, the PEF issued a two-volume account of the *Survey* by Conder: *Tent Work in Palestine*. In its introduction Conder explains its purpose

It is evident that so great a work [i.e. the Survey of Western Palestine] requires some general resume, to bring it within the reach of the general public, who might not read the memoir, or would fail to obtain from a very vivid idea of Palestine or of the discoveries made there during the work of the Survey Party. The committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund have, therefore, further honored me with the commission to write the following account of the work carried out under its orders, and of the results which seem of most general interest. The book is intended to give as accurate a general description as possible of Palestine¹⁷¹

It is important to note that this book was published as a means of generating funds for the PEF, especially since the *Survey* was by now firmly in the hands of the War Office who would publish it only a year later for intelligence purposes. Yet, at once, we realize that the *Survey* formed part and parcel of a greater literature on Palestine; one of cultural importance, that of the Judeo-Christian cultural restoration. In this context, it is safe to say that anyone intent on reading the *Survey* and its results would have devoured Conder’s account (by fault of not having access to the *Survey* itself),

¹⁶⁹ For a cover of the epistemological values of the PEF’s methods and later archeological work in Palestine see Rupert Chapman, “British Holy-Land Archeology: Nineteenth Century Sources” in *With Eyes Toward Zion III* edited by Moshe Davis (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1991), 213-223.

¹⁷⁰ Nadia Abu El Hajj, *Facts on the Ground* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 25.

¹⁷¹ Claude Reignier Conder, *Tent Work In Palestine* (London: PEF, 1879), xx.

and it is difficult to imagine that the general public would have read and understood such a complex account as the *Survey*, in any event.

CHAPTER 7

THE SURVEY IN THE LITERATURE OF PILGRIMS

Nineteenth century Protestant ethos espoused the concept of ‘Heavenly Jerusalem’. In this sense, a pilgrimage to the Holy City was a spiritual rather than a physical journey. Reverent A. P. Stanley, once Dean of Westminster, author of numerous books on scripture and geography and ardent supporter of the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) necessarily concerned himself with such matters. In a speech before the Prince of Wales in Palestine in 1862 he advanced that “Pilgrimage is not really a Christian duty. Holy places are not really holy in the sight of God, except for the feelings that they produce. [...] It is not the earthly but the heavenly Jerusalem which is the ‘the mother of all us!’” And yet, some lines later, he brings out the benefits of traveling the Holy Land.

It is by thinking of what has been there, by making the most of the things we do see, in order to bring before our minds the things we do not see that a visit to the Holy Land becomes a really religious lesson [...] It is to bring a new force to the sound of his name [Jesus] whenever afterwards we hear it in church or read it in the Bible.¹⁷²

In his speech, A.P. Stanley redirects the Protestant approach to ‘Heavenly Jerusalem’ by insisting that pilgrimage to ‘earthly Jerusalem’ (although not a duty) brings one closer to God. This truth that resonates separately from the physical sites is also one induced by the sites themselves. And indeed, it is by ‘thinking of what has been there’ that the PEF was founded and subsequently launched the *Survey*. The

¹⁷² Arthur Penryhn Stanley, *Sermons Preached Before HRH the Prince of Wales during his tour of the East in the Spring of 1862* (London: Murray, 1863), 30-31.

institution was a “society for exploring the Holy Land for Biblical illustration”¹⁷³.

George Grove, the founder of the PEF and contributing author to A.P. Stanley’s *Sinai and Palestine* writes:

The face of the landscape, the climate, the productions, manners, dress and modes of life of its inhabitants differ in so many material respects, from those of the Western world that without an accurate knowledge of them, it is not too much to say the outward form and complexion of the events and much of the significance of the records must remain more or less obscure. Even to a casual traveller in the Holy Land the Bible becomes in its form and therefore to some extent in its substance, a new book.¹⁷⁴

In these words inaugurating the PEF, we hear the essence of Stanley’s speech in Palestine. Momentarily putting aside the fact that Grove sees Palestine’s modern inhabitants similarly to the way he views their land (i.e. a platform for investigating and exploring the remnants of sacred history), he makes a direct link between Protestant imagination and the concrete recollection of Holy Land sites/sights. “The Bible becomes a new book” because the memory of sightseeing is only fully formed in relation to its daily functions such as Sunday Mass, reading the Bible, and perhaps, a visit to the crystal palace exhibitions¹⁷⁵. Furthermore, the pilgrimage to the Holy Land reinforces the practical experience of Christians at Home. That the Book was somehow incomplete without the tangible information about the Land became a common academic trope of nineteenth century biblical scholars. Admittedly, it was typified in the eponymous title of William Thomson’s *The Land and the Book*.

However, information regarding the Holy Land was not easily accessible even if one

¹⁷³ George Grove, “Palestine Exploration Fund” *Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record* 7 (1865): 447.

¹⁷⁴ George Grove in Claude Reignier Conder & Herbert Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs of Topography, Orography, Hydrography, and Archeology* (London: PEF, 1881), 7.

¹⁷⁵ Grove worked and later became secretary of the Crystal Palace, which similarly to the Exposition Universelle, brought together art and artifacts in a manufactured exhibition of the world. This was an experience, which, according to his biographer Charles Grates, was life altering.

did go to Palestine because the knowledge of the land (in the Protestant perspective) literally resided underground, under the debris of centuries of history (and only retrievable via thorough archeological investigations), and surely this prompted the view that “no country more urgently requires illustration”¹⁷⁶. “Making the most of what we do not see” perhaps best describes the process by which the PEF endeavored to “illustrate” Palestine. Archeology, the science of digging, was posited as the lens that would bring the Protestant view of history to the forefront and “transform this land of incomprehensible spectacle”¹⁷⁷ into a landscape that affirmed Judeo-Christian cultural continuity in the Holy Land.

Mark Twain most beautifully portrays this state of consciousness (or lack thereof): “we do not think, in the Holy places; we think afterwards, when the glare, and the noise and the confusion are gone, and in fancy we revisit alone, the solemn monuments of the past, and summon the phantom pageants of an age that has passed away.”¹⁷⁸ This confusion required the mind to envision this particular ‘fancy’ and gather the historic “pageants” necessary for its formulation. We have seen in the previous section the discomfort that haunted Western travelers (through the eyes of both Twain and Conder) at the sight of Palestine’s so called desolation. We also saw the “Phantom pageants of an age that has passed away” and the way they were summoned by a constant yet nervous reference to the Bible. This “fancy” was at once appealing yet irritating due to the precise nature of a fancy: its irrevocably imaginative character. “We read the Bible, and picture to ourselves the streets, the

¹⁷⁶George Grove, "Palestine Exploration Fund," *Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record* Vol. 7, (1865), 447.

¹⁷⁷ Matthew Edney, *Mapping an Empire: the geographical construction of British India 1765- 1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 2. Edney describes the colonization of India and the intellectual restructuring brought forth by the East India Company.

¹⁷⁸ Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad or the New Pilgrims' Progress* (New York: Modern Library, 2003), 453.

temples, the walls and the towers of Jerusalem,” said Conder. “These are present to the imagination of childhood, and remain with us till we think the city is as familiar to us as London. But it is a city of imagination- we know nothing certain about it”¹⁷⁹

In view of the scientific progress of the century (as epitomized by Darwin’s theory of evolution), creationism became the topic of much debate. This added (or more precisely removed) a dimension to the way people practiced their faith: believing *in spite* of uncertainty. Scientific truth and certainty, indeed, became pillars of the European existence. In his memoir, Walter Besant (treasurer of the PEF) concisely dwells on the scientific pretention of the *Survey*. It, he notes, should “ensure that the results of inquiry and exploration, whatever they might prove, should command to the world the same acceptance as a new fact reported from a physical laboratory”¹⁸⁰.

The *Survey* is primarily noted for advancing theories contradictory to non-Protestant Christian tradition, which it defined as mere “legends”¹⁸¹. In this sense, it advanced a particularly Protestant geographical history. This enabled the Fund to advocate a singularly Anglican narration of the biblical events. Therefore the use of science in illustrating the Bible was an opportunity to advance the Protestant faith and question the ‘Sacred Traditions’ of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches rather than ‘putting the Bible to the test’ so to say. It is misleading of Besant to say that the PEF scientific work should “ensure results ... whatever they might prove.” The *Survey* was novel in its approach. It claimed to rely on ‘science’ rather than solely relying on literary criticism and it posited tradition as indicative of Scripture rather than equally

¹⁷⁹ Claude Reignier Conder et al., *Our Work in Palestine: being an account of the different expeditions sent out to the Holy Land* (London: PEF, 1873), 78.

¹⁸⁰ Walter Besant, *Thirty Years Work in the Holy Land: a record and summary 1865-1895* (London: A.P. Watt and Son, 1895), 12-13.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

authoritative to it (contradicting a sacred Catholic and Orthodox doctrine)¹⁸² Nonetheless, it largely made use of local oral tradition.

By virtue of its informed excavations and inquiries, it surely did not “ensure results whatever they might prove”. The work of the PEF “did not consist of mere purposeless digging”¹⁸³, it had a clear agenda that directed and characterized the quality of its work. The prospectus of the PEF opened with the following thesis statement: “No country should be of so much interest to us as that in which the documents of our Faith were written, and momentous events they describe enacted. At the same time, no country more urgently requires illustration.” The PEF was inaugurated in London in 1865 with a prayer and a speech from William Thomson, Archbishop of York; the paradigm was set. The work of the *Survey* was already and literally ‘mapped out’ when the excavations began. Indeed, the gigantic volumes of the *Survey* are only comprehensible when read and informed by the map attached to it and by the narrative of the Bible.¹⁸⁴

Robinson, Fergusson, Clermont-Ganneau, Chateaubriant, Van De Velde, Wilson, Porter Tristram, Guerin, Thomson, Smith, A.P. Stanley and Renan form a concise list of the sources used in the *Survey*.¹⁸⁵ However, literary tradition perhaps more than anything, shaped the expectations of travelers and explorers alike. Here, Mark Twain in his famous travelogue of the Holy Land makes the observation:

What the pilgrims said at Cesarea Phillipi surprised me with its wisdom. I found it afterwards in Robinson. What they said when Genessaret burst upon their vision charmed me with their grace. I find it in Mr. Thomson’s ‘*Land and the Book*’[...] The Pilgrims will tell of Palestine, when they get home, not as it

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid, 97.

¹⁸⁴ Claude Reignier Conder et al., *The Survey of Western Palestine Volume 1* (London: PEF, 1881), 5.

¹⁸⁵ Claude Reignier Conder et al., preface to *The Survey of Western Palestine Volume 1* (London: PEF, 1881).

appeared to them, but as it appeared to Thomson and Robinson and Grimes – with the tints varied to suit each pilgrim’s creed.¹⁸⁶

This textual tradition became part and parcel of every travel book on Palestine. As one reviewer notes in 1852: “Let us suppose we read, say for instance, only a few of these all but daily Oriental productions. Alas! We read them all! [...] The same Arabs, camels, deserts, tombs, and jackals we journeyed with [...] only a week ago with some other traveller”. This was not an isolated opinion. Another reviewer writes: “the subject has been gone over and again until the Holy Land is better known in England than the English lakes.”¹⁸⁷

The in-text repetitions and comprehensive citations that most books offered the reader was somewhat of a mandatory process to enter the revered literary genre of Holy Land travelogues. Like the footnotes to an academic paper the citations gave authority to the text. As for the repetitive ideas, they guaranteed acceptance and reinforced the cultural norm. As the literature expanded, we come to notice that many of the scholars of the Holy Land, had written about it without even travelling there. This was the case of the Revd J. A. Wylie who published a study of scriptural geography based on travellers’ memoirs.¹⁸⁸ It is all the more striking to hear of the famous painter David Roberts and Edward Lane who set out to visit Egypt and “both of them set off declaring that their *purpose* was to correct the inaccuracies of the

¹⁸⁶ Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad or the New Pilgrims' Progress* (New York: Modern Library, 2003), 379.

¹⁸⁷ Eitan Bar-Yosef, *The Holy Land in English Culture 1799-1917* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 68. Naomi Shepherd, *The Zealous Intruders* (London: William Collins & Co. Ltd, 1987), 78.

¹⁸⁸ Eitan Bar-Yosef, *The Holy Land in English Culture 1799-1917* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 70.

*Description*¹⁸⁹ which somehow they knew to exist before even seeing the original it claimed to represent.”¹⁹⁰

This was also the case of George Grove who attempted “to produce a map of the Holy Land from the materials in existence before the Palestine Exploration Fund Survey”.¹⁹¹ The map never materialized. Of course the *Survey* also includes an exhaustive list of the studies of previous travellers and scholars to the Holy Land which drives the narrative of the text. The authors and studies mentioned are systematically verified or refuted, but more than that, the text actively engages with these authors. One of many instances appears when the PEF enumerates the three main sections of the *Survey*: 1. Geography/topography 2. Archeology 3. Manners and Customs. For the last portion (customs and manners) we are told that the surveyors modeled their study on Lane’s *Account of the of the Manners and Customs of Modern Egyptians* published in 1835. To “describe in a systematic and exhaustive order, with clear and exact minuteness, the manners, habits, rites and language of the present inhabitants with engravings intended, like his [Lane] ‘not to embellish the pages, but to explain the text’”¹⁹². This ‘minuteness is described by Timothy Mitchell as “mechanical mirrors of truth”. This method of capturing the essence of things, as seen in their details, was common of the period’s travel books on the Middle East, but also the paintings, photographs and exhibitions which offered the view of a landscape set apart from the observer: a “picture-world” as exemplified by the illustrations of David

¹⁸⁹ The *Description de l’Egypte* was a 22 volume topological, cartographical, and historical survey commissioned by the French Government during Napoleon’s occupation of Egypt. It is, in its form, very similar to the *Survey of Western Palestine*
¹⁹⁰ Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 29.

¹⁹¹ Trelawney Saunders et al., *An Introduction to the Survey of Western Palestine: Its Waterways, Plains and Highlands* (London: PEF, 1881), 5.

¹⁹² Claude Reignier Conder et al., *The Survey of Western Palestine Volume 1* (London: PEF, 1881), 8.

Roberts and Robert Kerr Porter.¹⁹³ However, the impartial eyes which claimed to see this world, were positioned. Like the control points of the PEF cartographers who set to deduce specific places and distances, the mechanical observations of the PEF archeologists and ethnographers were set to represent a specifically static world: “Many of the ancient and peculiar customs of Palestine are fast vanishing before the increasing tide of Western manners, and in that short time that exact meaning of many things which find their correspondence in the Bible would have perished.”¹⁹⁴ For the crew of the PEF the essence of the *Survey* indeed resided in the perfect picture that transpired from their reading of the Bible. The urgency of the study was derived not from a lack of accurate knowledge of Palestine, but from its ever disillusioning state of being; a state which did not match the image of the European-formed *Biblical* imagery. “Although they thought of themselves as moving from pictures to the real thing, they went on trying to grasp the real thing as a picture. How could they do otherwise, since they took reality itself to be a picture?”¹⁹⁵ Following Mitchell’s argument of this ‘reality-exhibition’ which framed the travellers’ conquests and explorations, it is telling that George Grove began his career at the Crystal Palace exhibition of 1851 and became its secretary in 1852. He often recollected on the influence the Crystal Palace had on him. It engaged him in music and more importantly to us, through the contacts he made there; it pushed him towards Bible studies. “Fergusson and I used to meet at the Assyrian court of the Crystal Palace and talk about many things, and this among them; it was in one of these talks that he lamented that he could find no such list to support his argument [that the ‘Tomb of

¹⁹³ Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 23.

¹⁹⁴ Claude Reignier Conder et al., *The Survey of Western Palestine Volume 1* (London: PEF, 1881), 8.

¹⁹⁵ Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 22.

our Lord' was located in the Haram alSharif rather than at its current location]. Well I set to work at once, my wife and I, and we made a complete index of every occurrence of every proper name in the Old Testament, New Testament and Apocrypha"¹⁹⁶. Later, this initiative prompted Grove to establish the PEF. And the *Survey* as it happened included an index of the names and places in the Bible with their corresponding 'scientific finds'. During the *Survey*, Grove demanded that potentially popular items be sent from the PEF excavators back to England for an exhibition in the summer of 1873 at the Dudley Gallery. "There, for the first time, tracings of the new map were shown and the casts of the Hamath inscriptions".¹⁹⁷ The maps were catered to the popular audience. "Three editions of the reduced map" were published separately and as part of the *Survey* illustrating 1. The modern geography 2. the Old Testament and, 3. The New Testament.¹⁹⁸ It is noteworthy that the maps were reduced because the large-scale topographic map was still being held by the War Office in preparation for an eventual invasion of Palestine. And coincidentally Allenby in his preparation for the 1917 offensive against Palestine consulted George Adam Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* which primarily relied on the *Survey*.¹⁹⁹ At any rate, it should also be remembered that it was the War Office which sponsored the *Survey*. The dual purpose of the maps published served popular consumption as well as geo-political interests (discussed at a later stage). The derived maps of the Old and New Testament served popular consumption however; their

¹⁹⁶ George Grove, "Sir George Grove's Autobiography," *The Musical Herald* (July 1900): 196.

¹⁹⁷ Claude Reignier Conder et al., *The Survey of Western Palestine Volume 1* (London: PEF, 1881), 19.

¹⁹⁸ Claude Reignier Conder et al., *The Survey of Western Palestine Volume 1* (London: PEF, 1881), 4.

¹⁹⁹ Robin Butlin, "George Adam Smith and the Historical Geography of the Holy Land: contents, contexts and connections," *Journal of Historical Geography* 14, no. 4 (1988): 383.

successful impact was precisely due to the triangulation and leveling methods used for the *present* geography of Palestine. Not because of what it represented *per se* (i.e. modern Palestine) but because it used *scientific* methods. Thus, the maps of the Old and New Testaments (derived and reduced) gained credibility from an undisclosed map.

In their discussion of the enlightenment Adorno and Horkheimer make an observation which seems relevant to our case. “To the enlightenment, that which did not reduce to numbers became illusion. Enlightenment put aside the classic requirements of thinking about thought. Mathematical procedure became, so to speak, the ritual of thinking. In spite of the axiomatic self-restriction it established itself as necessary and objective: it turned thought into a thing, an instrument”²⁰⁰ The members of the PEF were direct products of the enlightenment and their fascination with scientific and mathematical validation anticipates what Adorno later describes. In this sense, the intellectual task of conceptualizing ideas and comprehending objects or places as dynamic and multifaceted is replaced by an understanding of things merely in terms of their immediacy (what Mitchell calls the ‘mechanical truth mirror’). It seems adequate that for the members of the PEF “it was self-evident that there was only one possible answer to any question”.²⁰¹ The nature of this scientific method facilitated and legitimized the appropriation (intellectual and physical) of foreign territories. It was estimated that the reduction of an object to numbers and graphs was the process by which one retained the essence of it. The nature of this scientific method facilitated and legitimized the intellectual (and eventually the physical) appropriation of foreign territories. Indeed science became a commonplace

²⁰⁰ Max Horkheimer et al., *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (London: Allen Lane, 1973), 7.

²⁰¹ Anne Godlewska, “Map, Text and Image. The Mentality of Enlightened Conquerors: A New Look at the Description de l’Egypte,” *The Royal Geographical Society* 20 (1995): 6.

synonym for universal truth. In this line of thought, control and manipulation of the object at hand becomes the exceptional power of science.

Palestine became what was written about it. This textual tradition epitomized in the *Survey* positioned the mode in which the country was thought of. While the *Survey* did not become a popular text, nevertheless all of the literature it prompted about the country premiered a marked degree of popular success such as Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* which was substantiated and validated by the *Survey*. The tragic consequence of finding "only one answer" to the question of Palestine (as it was formulated in the PEF's Protestant driven faith) is that it inevitably erased all other possible answers: "The absence of a live portrait of the Palestinian people, especially the historically 'silent' majority of peasants, workers, artisans, women, merchants and Bedouin"²⁰² became one such consequence. The actual people of the Holy Land were thus turned into still illustrations and lifeless statistics on a map, a static reality without a living past or human future. The real players, the ones with agency, self-reflection, awareness, change and progress effectively lay outside the confines of a country which now existed as cartography.

At a time when the Eastern question was climaxing and the immediacy of war against Russia approaching, intelligence services were alert to say the least. The urgency for a map of Palestine was made loud and clear by the War Office, and definitely prompted the pace of its completion. However, the PEF as an organization was not set up for intelligence purposes, in fact it was much later in its establishment that it began to have contacts with the military, and it does so for financial and practical purposes. The PEF had plans of dominion and victory, and the *Survey* is a key figure in it, but they were not primarily of a military character. The strings of

²⁰² Beshara Doumani, "Rediscovering Ottoman Palestine: Writing Palestinians into History," *Journal of Palestine Studies* XXI, no. 2 (1992): 6.

victory for the participants of the PEF ran much deeper than on-the-ground command. It was an attempt at justifying a particular view of the world, at implanting a singular order and erasing another one. The natives' view and the assumed model of their communal society were implicitly sidelined. The modern view of Palestine (or what is left of it) is indeed a bi-product of this project.

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