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## Introduction I

# Intersections: Remarks on European-Palestinian History in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

*Translation: William D. Godsey*

The title of the present volume requires some explanation given that there is “no innocence of concepts, especially of geographical ones.”<sup>1</sup> Both the term “Palestine” and the expression “Holy Land” contain a multiplicity of connotations. Furthermore, Palestine as it existed under the British mandate long constituted no geographical-political unity. That the editors of this volume decided on the title “Europe and Palestine 1799–1948” for the period between the Napoleonic campaign in Syria and the establishment of the state of Israel is nevertheless based on the necessity of having a general frame of reference and the fact that “Palestine” remains the most common broader term.

In nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Palestine, many forces were at work; it was not clear, however, which of them would be historically determinative. With reference to European-Palestinian history, a number of paths have to be accounted for that ultimately proved to be dead ends. Endowed with the label “unsuccessful,” they have found little attention from historians. Characteristic for this situation is that in a recent general survey of the Ottoman state, the only paragraph concerning Palestine is exclusively devoted to Jewish immigration and the rise of Zionism.<sup>2</sup>

The history of Palestine has often been “perceived only from the vantage point of the Jewish-Arab conflict.” From this perspective, the year 1882 – to which the beginnings of modern Jewish immigration there is usually dated – appears as the decisive caesura. As Gudrun Krämer has shown, 1881/82 was in fact an important date in the larger regional context (Tunisia, Egypt). For Palestine, however, “1882 can only be regarded as a break if one searches for

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<sup>1</sup> Gudrun KRÄMER, *Geschichte Palästinas. Von der osmanischen Eroberung bis zur Gründung des Staates Israel* (München 2002) 11.

<sup>2</sup> See Klaus KREISER, *Der osmanische Staat 1300–1922* (Oldenbourg Grundriß der Geschichte 30, München 2001) 46.

the beginnings of the Zionist build-up and thus also of the state of Israel and writes history using this as a starting point.” For a historical examination of the territory in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this makes little sense. It should also be kept in mind that Jerusalem remained a special case.<sup>3</sup>

As Markus Kirchoff shows in his contribution, Palestine has attracted the widest popular, scholarly, and political interest in Great Britain – which was decisive because of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate –, comparatively speaking. At the same time, though, only the constellation of the First World War and Palestine’s involvement in the imperialistic strategy of England – according to Alexander Schölch in 1981 – allowed the “Zionist movement to triumph over rival European aspirations in Palestine [...]. And only the First World War’s outcome and the exploitation of Zionism made it possible for the British government to achieve exclusive control over Palestine.”<sup>4</sup>

Not only did European culture encounter Oriental culture in Palestine (and the other way around), but the small region in the Near East became a European meeting point in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. What has constituted “Europe” over time<sup>5</sup> and what the tasks of European history-writing should be have become much-discussed historical topics in the last few years.<sup>6</sup> Only through a complex and multilayered comparison at the global level – according to Dominic Sachsenmaier in his plea for more cooperation between European and non-European contemporary history – can “European similarities and thus singularities” be defined.<sup>7</sup> In our context, the states of France, Russia, Great Britain, Prussia and the German Empire, Austria(-Hun-

<sup>3</sup> KRÄMER, *Geschichte Palästinas* 122.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander SCHÖLCH, *Europa und Palästina 1838–1917*, in: Helmut MEJCHER, Alexander SCHÖLCH (eds.), *Die Palästina-Frage 1917–1948. Historische Ursprünge und internationale Dimensionen eines Nationenkonflikts* (Sammlung Schöningh zur Geschichte und Gegenwart, Paderborn 1981) 11–46, here 46.

<sup>5</sup> For the category “Europe” in the nineteenth century, see Jürgen OSTERHAMMEL, *Die Verwandlung der Welt. Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (München 2009) 144–148. See also Dominic SACHSENMAIER, *Die Globalisierung Europas. Zum Verhältnis von europäischer und außereuropäischer Geschichte*, in: *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History*, Online-Ausgabe, 1 (2004), H. 3, URL: <[HTTP://WWW.ZEITHISTORISCHE-FORSCHUNGEN.DE/16126041-SACHSENMAIER-3-2004](http://www.zeithistorische-forschungen.de/16126041-SACHSENMAIER-3-2004)>, 2 (12. 1. 2009).

<sup>6</sup> See for example Gerald STOURZH in cooperation with Barbara HAIDER and Ulrike HARMAT (eds.), *Annäherungen an eine europäische Geschichtsschreibung* (Archiv für österreichische Geschichte 137, Wien 2002); Heinz-Gerhard HAUPT, *Erfahrungen mit Europa. Ansätze zu einer Geschichte Europas im langen 19. Jahrhundert*, in: Heinz DUCHHARDT, Andreas KUNZ (eds.), „Europäische Geschichte“ als historiographisches Problem (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz Abteilung Universalgeschichte Beiheft 42, Mainz 1997) 87–103.

<sup>7</sup> SACHSENMAIER, *Die Globalisierung Europas* 4.

gary), and later also Italy constitute the focus.<sup>8</sup> The European powers “struggled for influence in the area, particularly over the Holy Places, and [...] left their impact on the local society.”<sup>9</sup>

Although not explicitly mentioned in the title of this collection of articles, the Ottoman Empire remains a constant background factor to be kept in mind. Deeper knowledge of its history and structures are – it will be argued here – indispensable for writing about European ambitions in the Holy Land. Only the increasing European presence in Palestine made the area of increasingly greater interest to the Porte. For the present volume, the Ottoman specialist Marlene Kurz agreed to analyze the early Tanzimat period, a crucial starting point for later developments. She also takes into account all populations in Palestine.

A neglect of the Ottoman Empire has invariably led to outdated images being carried forward. The “decline” of the “sick man on the Bosphorus” was long dramatized. The fact is, however, that the Ottoman Empire dissolved only after the First World War, not earlier.<sup>10</sup> In the meantime, the field of Ottoman studies has led the way in refuting “the over-simplified notion that the Ottoman Empire rose, declined, and fell – and that is all we need to know about it.”<sup>11</sup> The recent, comparative approach to empires in historical research can make a valuable contribution here.

In the Tanzimat period,<sup>12</sup> the Ottoman Empire took on an intermediary role between a society strongly influenced by Islam and European modernity. This led to an alternation between two poles: on the one side, the European powers made the grant of legal equality to non-Muslims, of whom they looked upon themselves as protectors, a touchstone of whether the Ottoman Empire was to be regarded as “civilized.”<sup>13</sup> In this regard, it is very important to remember that before the large losses of territories in the Balkans after 1878 about 40 percent of the population of the officially Muslim Ottoman Empire was non-Muslim.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>8</sup> An important desideratum of historical research in our context remains Spain. See the works cited in Daniela FABRIZIO, *Disputes between the Custody of the Holy Land and the Latin Patriarchate in the early 1920s*, in this volume, footnote 9.

<sup>9</sup> Moshe MA'UZ, Foreword, in: Moshe MA'UZ (ed.), *Studies on Palestine during the Ottoman Period* (Jerusalem 1975) XI f., here XI.

<sup>10</sup> OSTERHAMMEL, *Die Verwandlung der Welt* 148, 606.

<sup>11</sup> Caroline FINKEL, *Osman's Dream. The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300–1923* (New York 2007) XI.

<sup>12</sup> For an understanding of the Tanzimat period, the following linguistic-historical study is now indispensable: Heidemarie DOGANALP-VOTZI, Claudia RÖMER, *Herrschaft und Staat: Politische Terminologie des Osmanischen Reiches der Tanzimatzeit* (Schriften der Balkan-Kommission 49, Wien 2008).

<sup>13</sup> See Gudrun KRÄMER, *Geschichte des Islam* (München 2007) 275.

<sup>14</sup> See OSTERHAMMEL, *Die Verwandlung der Welt* 626, according to Halil İNALCIK, Donald

On the other side, the Tanzimat reforms went “too far in the direction of westernization” for a large majority of the population of the Ottoman Empire “even though the sultan more than ever emphasized his role as defender of the Muslims – all Muslims of the world – and his rank as caliph in the context of Ottomanism and ‘Islamism’.”<sup>15</sup>

The coordinates of religion, politics, and society (the latter including the question of mentalities) circumscribe this volume’s range. The editors are convinced that the subject cannot be adequately treated in a smaller frame of reference.

From 1516/17 to 1917/18, Palestine belonged to the Ottoman Empire. Beginning in the nineteenth century, especially after 1840, the territory became an issue for world politics. This ascertainment goes far beyond the best-known example, the Crimean War. The maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire constituted one of the guidelines of the European powers. This did not hinder any of them, however, from taking part in a competition for influence in Palestine. The establishment of consular posts was a central prerequisite for the European penetration of Palestine, which was fed by religious and biblical-archaeological interest in the Holy Land. The exchange between Europe and Palestine – material and intellectual – intensified. More and more travellers and pilgrims went to the Holy Land; more associations with confessional, scholarly, and political goals were founded; and an ever greater number of relevant publications appeared.<sup>16</sup> “Missionaries, pilgrims, and ‘Palestine researchers’ produced a vast amount of literature such that [...] the European public was more convinced of its ‘right of possession’ of the Holy Land than of any other non-European territory.”<sup>17</sup> This also suggests the significance of

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QUATAERT (eds.), *Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge 1994), vol. 2, 782.

<sup>15</sup> KRÄMER, *Geschichte des Islam* 276.

<sup>16</sup> The seven-volume comprehensive bibliography of Palestine literature by Peter Thomsen appeared from 1908 to 1972. The Palestine literature from the half-century between 1895 and 1945 encompasses 3,692 pages, of which a large part is devoted to so-called Palestine scholarship. *Systematische Bibliographie der Palästina-Literatur*. Auf Veranlassung des Deutschen Vereins zur Erforschung Palästinas bearbeitet v. Peter THOMSEN, vol. 1: 1895–1904 (Leipzig–New York 1908); Peter THOMSEN (ed.), *Die Palästina-Literatur. Eine internationale Bibliographie in systematischer Ordnung mit Autoren- und Sachregister*, vol. 2: *Die Literatur der Jahre 1905–1909* (Leipzig 1911); vol. 3: *Die Literatur der Jahre 1910–1914* (Leipzig 1916); vol. 4: *Die Literatur der Jahre 1915–1924* (Leipzig 1927); vol. 5: *Die Literatur der Jahre 1925–1934* (Leipzig 1938); vol. 6: *Die Literatur der Jahre 1935–1939* (Berlin 1956); vol. 7: *Die Literatur der Jahre 1940–1945* (Berlin 1972).

<sup>17</sup> See Alexander SCHÖLCH, *Palästina im Umbruch 1856–1882. Untersuchungen zur wirtschaft-*

the religious factor in the societies of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which in this way even acquired a certain influence on (foreign) policy.<sup>18</sup>

It should be emphasized that, although the Palestinian majority under Ottoman and British rule was Arabic, we know least about this group, which was composed of Muslims and Christians. In this context, the question of evidence and thus of feasibility deserves consideration. The basis of historical research remains the sources, “the capital of the historian.”<sup>19</sup> The literature on Jerusalem and Palestine is generally characterized by tunnel vision – the perspective is rigidly limited to one’s own group or to that group in which one is interested. The accessible contemporary literature was produced predominantly by the pens of western European authors and observers, which accounts for a certain distortion. For example, hardly any reports exist from Muslim travellers, diplomats, or bureaucrats in which they direct their attention to the Muslim presence in the Holy Land.<sup>20</sup> Under these circumstances, it is advantageous that several authors in the present volume deal in different ways and “coming from the other side” with the Arab population.

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The encounter of Occident and Orient is one of *the* major topics of our time. There are manifold reasons why renewed attention has recently been focused on Anton Prokesch von Osten, a nineteenth-century Austrian diplomat and Near Eastern specialist who advocated the equality of the two cultural worlds and tried for decades to dispel European prejudices toward the Orient.<sup>21</sup> Pro-

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lichen und sozio-politischen Entwicklung (Berliner Islamstudien 4, Stuttgart 1986) 58f., citation 59.

<sup>18</sup> Often cited in this context is the example of the Third French Republic, which was domestically very anticlerical but remained well-disposed to French Catholic institutions abroad.

<sup>19</sup> Grete KLINGENSTEIN, Vorwort, in: Grete KLINGENSTEIN, Fritz FELLNER, Hans Peter HYE (eds.), Umgang mit Quellen heute. Zur Problematik neuzeitlicher Quelleneditionen vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart (Fontes rerum Austriacarum, 2. Abt., vol. 92, Wien 2003) 11–15, here 11. See also the contribution of Fritz FELLNER, Die historische Quelle – Instrument der Geschichtsforschung und Baustein des Geschichtsbewußtseins oder Baustein der Geschichtsforschung und Instrument des Geschichtsbewußtseins?, *ibid.* 19–33.

<sup>20</sup> See Gudrun KRÄMER, Juden, Christen und Muslime in der „Heiligen Stadt“, in: Helmut HUBEL, Tilman SEIDENSTICKER (eds.), Jerusalem im Widerstreit politischer und religiöser Interessen. Die *Heilige Stadt* aus interdisziplinärer Sicht (Frankfurt am Main 2004) 41–58, here 52.

<sup>21</sup> See Daniel BERTSCH, Anton Prokesch von Osten (1795–1876). Ein Diplomat Österreichs in Athen und an der Hohen Pforte. Beiträge zur Wahrnehmung des Orients im Europa des 19. Jahrhunderts (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 123, München 2005), *passim* and 624. Pro-

kesch von Osten connects us to an age in which knowledge of the “other” existed and the process of making the Orient merely something “exotic” had not yet fully set in.<sup>22</sup>

The increasingly popular pilgrimage to Jerusalem brought cultural contacts to the Muslim population as well, and constituted at the same time a national demonstration and was intended to energize the pilgrim’s own home environment. The theme “Europe and Palestine” is thus not a one-way, but a two-way street connecting European and non-European history. Thanks to its geographical position, “Palestine was from early times a transit land and thus – willingly or unwillingly – simultaneously a place of cultural encounter and cultural exchange.”<sup>23</sup> As an interface of several Eurasian world regions, through which a lively transfer of long-distance trade goods, people, and (cultural) knowledge took place,<sup>24</sup> it would serve as a shining example for modern historical science, when considering that the globalization debates “in many parts of the world have caused it to leave its close connection to the national state and its strong monocultural orientation.”<sup>25</sup>

The special attraction of Palestine was a result of the fact that it was anchored in Europe’s collective memory as the “Holy Land.” Medieval historians know “which role Jerusalem and the Holy Land played in the process of building western identity, as well as how since the thirteenth century a consciousness of superiority towards all other cultures emerged as a consequence of the claims to Jerusalem and the Holy Land.”<sup>26</sup> The nineteenth century picked up – under different conditions – where the Crusades had left off. It can be regarded as a period in which the usual religious interest in the land of the Bible and Christian history was combined with a much larger cultural, political, and

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kesch’s texts on the Ottoman Empire and its society are impressively presented and analyzed in this volume. See also Muhammad as-Sayyid OMAR, Anton Prokesch-Osten. Ein österreichischer Diplomat im Orient (Studien zur Geschichte Südosteuropas 11, Frankfurt am Main 1993).

<sup>22</sup> One is reminded of the works of Baron Joseph Hammer-Purgstall. One also wonders if Goethe could have written his “West-östlichen Divan” in the second half of the nineteenth century.

<sup>23</sup> KRÄMER, *Geschichte Palästinas* 11.

<sup>24</sup> See the broad account by Ronald FINDLAY, Kevin H. O’ROURKE, *Power and Plenty. Trade, War, and the World Economy in the Second Millennium* (Princeton University Press 2007).

<sup>25</sup> SACHSENMAIER, *Die Globalisierung Europas* 2.

<sup>26</sup> Helmut G. WALTHER, *Jerusalem und die Kreuzfahrer*, in: Helmut HUBEL, Tilman SEIDENSTICKER (eds.), *Jerusalem im Widerstreit politischer und religiöser Interessen. Die Heilige Stadt aus interdisziplinärer Sicht* (Frankfurt am Main 2004) 9–39, here 38. Concerning the rise of the European feeling of superiority in the nineteenth century, symbolically expressed in the discourse of Europe’s universal “civilization,” see OSTERHAMMEL, *Die Verwandlung der Welt* 1186.

economic discourse led not only by western churches but also by European societies generally.<sup>27</sup> As early as 1961, Abdul L. Tibawi understood his work on the British interests in Palestine not as general political history: “it is primarily a cultural history in which relevant political factors are not overlooked.”<sup>28</sup>

In an article in the “Zeit” a few years ago, Andreas Eckert pointed to the neglect of non-European history despite the oft-discussed processes of globalization – a finding characteristic not just of the writing of history in Germany. According to Eckert, Europe has become what it is “in the altercation with other societies beyond its borders” and European modernity is “hardly conceivable without colonialism and imperialism.”<sup>29</sup> The terms Near and Middle East are products of the “dictionary of imperialism.”<sup>30</sup> They are self-evidently anchored in European languages and are found in all relevant texts.

The European interest in Palestine must be understood within the framework of European expansion.<sup>31</sup> Jürgen Osterhammel pointed out that the history of the latter is “often dealt with as if it had nothing to do with Europe.”<sup>32</sup> Colonial ways of thinking were not necessarily connected to the existence of real colonies and pervaded all European societies.

Missions and missionary work, whose significance was characteristic for nineteenth- and early twentieth-century religious history, had enormous reper-

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<sup>27</sup> See Heleen MURRE-VAN DEN BERG, Introduction, in: Heleen MURRE-VAN DEN BERG (ed.), *New Faith in Ancient Lands. Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Studies in Christian Mission 32, Leiden–Boston 2006) 1–17, here 1.

<sup>28</sup> A[bdul] L. TIBAWI, *British Interests in Palestine 1800–1901. A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise* (Oxford University Press 1961) VII; see also A[bdul] L. TIBAWI, *American Interests in Syria 1800–1901. A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work* (Oxford 1966).

<sup>29</sup> Andreas ECKERT, *Gefangen in der Alten Welt. Die deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft ist hoffnungslos provinziell: Themen jenseits der europäischen Grenzen interessieren die Historiker kaum. Eine Polemik*, in: *Die Zeit*, 26. September 2002, 40.

<sup>30</sup> OSTERHAMMEL, *Die Verwandlung der Welt* 139.

<sup>31</sup> It seems typical that the special case of the European expansion towards Palestine has been subsumed by this, without, at least to our knowledge, a corresponding discussion about finding a special definition having taken place.

<sup>32</sup> Jürgen OSTERHAMMEL, *Internationale Geschichte, Globalisierung und die Pluralität der Kulturen*, in: Wilfried LOTH, Jürgen OSTERHAMMEL (eds.), *Internationale Geschichte. Themen – Ergebnisse – Aussichten* (Studien zur Internationalen Geschichte 10, München 2000) 387–408, here 398. Compare this to the well-known finding by the Victorian historian J. R. Seeley, formulated as criticism of the historical perception of his contemporaries, in which he stated that it seemed that the British Empire was acquired “in a fit of absence of mind.” See FINDLAY, O’ROURKE, *Power and Plenty* 229 (the exact citation of Seeley *ibid.* 230); also Anthony WEBSTER, *The Debate on the Rise of the British Empire* (Manchester University Press 2006) 36 f. The author would like to thank Hans Peter Hye for this reference.

cussions on European societies. If a religious increase occurred generally on the world stage in the nineteenth century, a less obvious point is that the Christian religions themselves were irrevocably changed by the mission experience and the propaganda wars carried on outside of Europe.<sup>33</sup>

Daniela Fabrizio's contribution on the Latin Patriarchate in Jerusalem and its controversies with the Franciscan Custody must be understood within the broader context of the boom in missions in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Against this background, the Vatican, which favored a centralistic approach, decided on the creation of apostolic vicariates and, around the middle of the century (1847), on the re-creation of the above-mentioned Latin Patriarchate. Fabrizio explains the history of the development of the *modus vivendi* arranged in 1923, following discussions above all in the Roman body of the Propaganda Fide, to regulate the conflict between the Franciscan Custody and the Latin Patriarchate. This conflict had clouded inter-Catholic relations in the Holy Land since 1847.

Yaron Perry offers, on the other hand, insight into the world of the Jewish population in late nineteenth-century Jerusalem and describes the difficult relations between two cultures: the rising Jewish population in Palestine was involved in ever more conflicts with the British-Anglican mission, which had achieved worldwide success and whose mentality was strongly influenced by the belief in the "restoration of the Jews." The "London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews," founded in 1809, may be regarded as the pioneer in European mission endeavors. Perry's contribution underlines the great importance of the "medical mission."

The Holy Land emerged in the nineteenth century as a European "(re)invention" in which European views of Palestine were determined by the Bible. Several authors in our volume concern themselves with the question of the differing images created by Europeans of the Holy Land.<sup>34</sup> Marlene Kurz examines the impressions that European travellers took away from their time in Jerusalem and passed on to those back home; these pictures usually diverged markedly from what they had imagined before the trip had begun.

Markus Kirchhoff explains how using Palestinian ethnography, one aspect of scholarship on Palestine, allows the analysis of the main features of west-

<sup>33</sup> See C. A. BAYLY, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780–1914. Global Connections and Comparisons*, 11<sup>th</sup> print (Malden, MA–Oxford–Carlton, Victoria 2007) 330 f.

<sup>34</sup> The Orientalism debate sparked by Edward SAID's book "Orientalism" (first edition New York 1978) with its lasting consequences was taken notice of only very late in the German-speaking world. Concerning Said and the repercussions to the debate on British imperialism, see WEBSTER, *The Debate on the Rise of the British Empire* 93–143.



ern, especially British, perceptions of the Near East. These fluctuated between romantic empathy for the peculiarities of the local ethnic groups and abhorrence of their refractoriness. The key word “unchanging East” made Palestine into a sort of “living Pompeii.”

Vincent Lemire also shows nineteenth-century Europeans in the search for Jerusalem at the time of the apostles. From the perspective of archaeology and topographical-cartographical geography, water pipes, systems of canalization, springs and wells offer efficient approaches in this respect. Great significance may be attributed to such elements in discourses on localizing the holy places. The topography of the new Jerusalem was thus confronted with biblical geography anchored in collective memory. Lemire even speaks of an “obsession hydraulique des Européens.”

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Research into the European colonies in the Levant has a long tradition stretching back into the nineteenth century. In his “Levantine” book, Oliver Jens Schmitt warns against the national categories usual in this tradition that have led “not seldom to a more or less open glorification of the ‘great’ Levantine past of one’s own nation (because as a rule the author works on his own nation).”<sup>35</sup>

This insight can be applied in other ways to the European presence in Palestine; confessional categories have played as great a role there as national ones. The publishers desire to highlight a further aspect of the difficulty of using the relevant sources, apart from the research trend, which of course was initiated by the authors of the sources, that the deficits much more than the successes of their own nation or confession stand in the focus of the observation: The available types of sources are broad in range – they were produced mostly by state and church and are composed of diplomatic and consular correspondence and reports, ecclesiastical (administrative) files, reports by missionaries, propaganda of all kinds, descriptions by pilgrims and travellers,<sup>36</sup> as well as the material resulting from scholarship on Palestine.

Church sources are not always (easily) accessible, however. The contributions by Giuseppe Buffon and Daniela Fabrizio rely heavily on such from Je-

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<sup>35</sup> Oliver Jens SCHMITT, *Levantine. Lebenswelten und Identitäten einer ethnokonfessionellen Gruppe im osmanischen Reich im „langen 19. Jahrhundert“* (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 122, München 2005) 35.

<sup>36</sup> For this genre, see Yehoshua BEN-ARIEH, *Jerusalem Travel Literature as Historical Source and Cultural Phenomenon*, in: Yehoshua BEN-ARIEH, Moshe DAVIS (eds.), *Jerusalem in the Mind of the Western World, 1800–1948. With Eyes toward Zion–V* (Westport 1997) 25–46.

rusalem and Rome that offer previously unknown inner-Catholic perspectives. Using sources that reflect the views of the Custodian,<sup>37</sup> Buffon fills gaps in our knowledge regarding Franciscan historiography in the Holy Land.

At the level both of the state and confession, projections of the self and imagination of the “other” played a central role and open up a broad field of inquiry for research into stereotypes. Thus, without examination of the sources produced by those countries and confessions involved in the competition for Palestine and without many changes in perspective, the images of the “other” cannot be overcome. The question is whether the “other” was really so different. The historian must take care to avoid unconsciously using images and stereotypes that were created and propagated to denigrate other groups and to mobilize one’s own.

Especially striking are the parallels between the images that Orthodox, Catholics, and Protestants composed of each other. The utilization of Russian Orthodox sources, as Elena Astafieva has done in her contribution, demonstrates the exchangeability, transferability, and exploitability of techniques of propaganda and stereotyping.<sup>38</sup> Astafieva uses key texts from the Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society from the 1880s down into the early twentieth century. If, on the one hand, the relationship of Orthodoxy to Catholicism was tenser than that to Protestantism because of the historical schism, there was nevertheless on the other hand proximity in questions of the mission in the Holy Land. Orthodox propaganda played the same notes as its Catholic counterpart; the linguistic images resemble each other remarkably. Given the current state of research on Russia<sup>39</sup> – the country from which the largest number of pilgrims (usually peasants) streamed into the Holy Land<sup>40</sup> – it is not surprising that Astafieva concentrates on a critical examination of texts.

<sup>37</sup> The Custodian headed the Franciscan Custody in the Holy Land.

<sup>38</sup> Examples here would include views about the devoutness of Catholics and Protestants as well as about the methods of their respective missionaries.

<sup>39</sup> See Dominique TRIMBUR, Ran AARONSOHN, Introduction, in: Dominique TRIMBUR, Ran AARONSOHN (eds.), *De Bonaparte à Balfour. La France, l’Europe occidentale et la Palestine 1799–1917* (CRFJ Mélanges 3, Paris 2001, 2008) 9–27, here 22. Trimbur and Aaronsohn offer here an overview of the international literature. The next volume appeared under the title: Dominique TRIMBUR, Ran AARONSOHN (eds.), *De Balfour à Ben Gourion. Les puissances européennes et la Palestine, 1917–1948* (Paris 2008). - To the state of research on Russian activities, see additionally the two-volume publication brought out by the Russian foreign ministry: P. V. STEGNIJ, N. N. LISOVOJ (eds.), *Rossija v Svjatoj Zemle. Dokumenty i materialy* [Russia in the Holy Land. Documents and materials] (Moskva 2000).

<sup>40</sup> Astafieva also points to the tradition of readings, an idea taken from Russian peasant culture. During such events, religious-spiritual, political, and national ideas were conveyed and strong emotions regarding the Holy Land kept alive.

Such powerful images give particular meaning to studies on the carriers and actors of European engagement in Palestine; indeed they make possible their identification. Barbara Haider-Wilson undertakes such an attempt with respect to the “Jerusalem-Milieu” in the Habsburg Monarchy.

In an article on Russian influence in Palestine that has attracted comparatively little notice, Alex Carmel drew attention to the problem of distorted accounts. If we can make out for the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries a weakening of the Russian status in that territory, this was hidden, according to Carmel, by the fact that most Christian Arabs in Palestine continued to be Greek Orthodox. Carmel continues: “Reality was also distorted by the tendency of Western institutions to exaggerate the scope of Russian influence in Palestine (an exaggeration that has found its way into research studies largely based on Western sources), in the hope of making their own countries more active.”<sup>41</sup> At the beginning of her contribution, Elena Astafieva calls attention to the fact that there are numerous western descriptions of Russian activities in the Holy Land – especially intensive construction work in Jerusalem – whereas Russian images of the Catholic-Protestant world in the Holy Land are much less known in Europe.

Finally, Carmel points up the problem of focussing attention only on one state and its interests in the Holy Land: “When attention is focused solely on Russian activities in Palestine, they certainly seem impressive. Yet it would seem that a correct evaluation of Russia’s achievements is possible only within an overall view that takes into consideration the activities of all the great powers in the country during the period under discussion. Within this broader view, Russia did well – but without a doubt her three main competitors [France, Great Britain, and Germany] did better.”<sup>42</sup> Thus: only a comparative approach brings certainty. But this would require that all findings be on the table.<sup>43</sup>

To give one example: Dominique Trimbur has described a completely unknown facet of the French representation in the Holy Land. Whereas France

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<sup>41</sup> Alex CARMEL, *Russian Activity in Palestine in the Nineteenth Century*, in: Richard I. COHEN (ed.), *Vision and Conflict in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem 1985) 45–77, here 53. One oft-propagated image concerned the large amounts of money available to Russia and the Orthodox, in contrast to other nations or confessions.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* 73 f.

<sup>43</sup> See also Haïm GOREN, *Du “conflit des drapeaux” à la “contestation des hospices”: l’Allemagne et la France catholiques en Palestine à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in: Dominique TRIMBUR, Ran AARONSOHN (eds.), *De Bonaparte à Balfour. La France, l’Europe occidentale et la Palestine 1799–1917* (CRFJ Mélanges 3, Paris 2001, 2008) 325–344, here 325.

has traditionally been seen exclusively in its role as the chief Catholic protecting power, Trimbur's contribution demonstrates the increasingly secular character of the French presence in Palestine beginning in the late 1920s. This was an attempt at innovation and adaptation to changing circumstances. The "Centre de Culture Française" was opened in 1935 in the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem. Later, more attention was devoted to the Arab population within an "ecumenical" Jewish-Arab experiment. Given that the Mandate period was shaped by national confrontation, the generally dramatic development of events was opposed to this attempt.

Thus, one can come to the conclusion that the time for a synopsis at a more theoretical level has not yet arrived. One of the intentions of the present volume is nonetheless to offer building blocks on the way to such. The index of persons opens up the entire spectrum of historical actors involved: from representatives of the Ottoman administration to members of the Arab and Jewish populations to European consuls, religious representatives, and Mandate officials etc.

Despite the above considerations, it does not seem likely that historians of our subject will be able to free themselves completely from national and confessional categories. Dominic Sachsenmaier is even of the opinion that Europe as a whole will remain mostly intangible and that it will only be possible "to imbed certain aspects of the European past under the category 'Europe' within a trans-cultural context. Given such important and novel problems as the repercussions of colonialism on European societies, only individual states and not Europe as a whole will remain in the foreground."<sup>44</sup>

A further aspect, in connection with Oliver Jens Schmitt's words of warning, is that national subdivisions in ecclesiastical institutions such as the Franciscan Custody dissolved to a certain extent. As a matter of fact, national tendencies affected even the Custody, as the contribution by Giuseppe Buffon points out.

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A review of the literature shows that scholarly interest in European influence in Palestine had its beginnings in Israel. Most important in this regard was the work of Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, who belonged to the field of historical geography, and Alex Carmel, a pioneer in the Christian-European history of Palestine. Their principal interest was the European contribution to Palestinian history in connection with now outdated notions of the "modernization," "rea-

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<sup>44</sup> SACHSENMAIER, Die Globalisierung Europas 2.

wakening” or “awakening” of Palestine. In his contribution, Haim Goren offers a survey of the development of Israeli research since 1970 und discusses its reception in Europe.

On the European continent, interest in the subject differs from country to country.<sup>45</sup> It is greatest in Germany and France. “The best way to know a tree,” according to Peer Vries in reference to a well-known Bible quotation, “is by looking at its fruits.”<sup>46</sup> The colourful mosaic of European-Palestinian history of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries appears today as the logical interface of fields of research that have been very active in recent years and decades. Key words in this context would be international history, which is also cultural history, and the new focus on the history of churches and religion. There is no room within the broader subject “Europe and Palestine” for the reservations that traditionally govern relations between so-called general history and church history, which belongs to the department of theology. The problem of specialization so characteristic of the scholarly world is also apparent here.

Under the influence of the debate on “Orientalism” and of post-colonial studies, interest has shifted in recent years from the European contribution to the history of Palestine to the repercussions of European interests in Palestine on the old continent itself. This has been fed by the recognition that such an analysis has much to say about Europe itself. Roland Löffler and Barbara Haider-Wilson accordingly inquire into mentalities, including those of particular social groups. As one of the few who has chosen a theoretical approach and thus tried to fill an important gap, Löffler impressively points up the connection between the theory of milieus and mentalities and the German-Protestant Palestine mission. A comparison shows that the Catholic “Jerusalem-Milieu” was far more homogenous than the Protestant one.

In its roots, the Zionist movement was closely intertwined in numerous ways with Europe. In her contribution, Christina Späti examines the Swiss connections between 1917 and 1948 relative to the reactions of the Swiss public and Swiss politics to Zionism and the Zionist congresses held in Switzerland – the first was held in Basel in 1897. Also at the intellectual-spiritual level, connections may be found between Switzerland and the movement. Späti comes to the conclusion that (party) political and confessional affiliations determined motivations behind judgments on Zionism. In the Catholic-conservative milieu, Catholicism was the decisive factor. Of the three large

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<sup>45</sup> American researchers have also turned to the subject.

<sup>46</sup> Peer VRIES, editorial: global history, in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 20/2: Global History (2009) 5–21, here 7.

“camps” in Switzerland – the Catholic-conservatives, the Liberals, and the Social Democrats – the former were correspondingly most antipathetic to Zionism. In his contribution, Dominique Trimbur discusses the focus of French cultural policy on the Jewish-Zionist inhabitants of Jerusalem in the 1930s.

At the center of research interests today are questions of missions and of so-called Palestine scholarship. This is also apparent in the present volume. On the one hand, we find representatives of the younger generation of European scholars, from both general and church history, and on the other hand, two representatives of the Israeli scholarly community.<sup>47</sup> In this way, insight is offered into European-Israeli research facilities.<sup>48</sup> The editors of this volume hope that further bridges will be built and Haim Goren, in his contribution, also sees this as a necessity. European-Israeli networking has been furthered by meetings in Paris (2001), Vienna (2003), and Düsseldorf (2006), the last with a larger group of participants and a focus on the history of missions in the Middle East.

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The Habsburg Monarchy has until now remained a relatively neglected factor in the international discussion on European competition in the Holy Land. That a volume from Vienna has proved possible is due to the support of many people. We should like to thank the authors for their willingness to take part in this project. We are further obliged to the Secretary General of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and Chairman of the Academy’s Historical Commission/Centre for Research on Modern and Contemporary History, Professor Arnold Suppan as well as the vice-chairwoman of the Historical Commission, Professor Grete Walter-Klingenstein. Dr. Michael Portmann provided valuable support in formatting the text for publication.

Dr. William D. Godsey helped with the English-language parts of the volume. This brings us to the question of languages. The contributions have been printed in languages that are indispensable for our subject: German, English, and French.<sup>49</sup> Italian-language quotations are accompanied by translations. To

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<sup>47</sup> As Haim Goren shows, the interest of young Israeli researchers in the subject has declined in recent years. This contrasts to the trend in Europe.

<sup>48</sup> This aspect of the book is underlined by the extensive surveys of literature found in several contributions.

<sup>49</sup> The last contribution to arrive by Vincent Lemire has been left in the original French and a German-language summary provided. - Other perspectives on late Ottoman Palestine than those offered in this volume would lead to linguistic barriers for most historians, especially with respect to Turkish and Arabic. See the critical remarks of Maurus REINKOWSKI, *Filastin, Filistin und Eretz Israel. Die späte osmanische Herrschaft über Palästina in der arabischen,*

facilitate the international reception of the volume, its title and introduction have been rendered in English.

The authors in this volume were invited to present aspects of their work that they wished to see brought into discussion at the international level. What Michael Mitterauer once wrote is also relevant here: “Published collections of papers have a different purpose than monographs. They introduce a topic not systematically, but rather in the diversity of possible foci, approaches, and perspectives.”<sup>50</sup> Similarities that connect the differences are possible at various levels. The editors attached particular importance to bringing newer questions, sources, and aspects into the discussion. Admittedly, more traditional approaches may be found next to innovative ones, but this also suggests the diversity necessary for bringing about a fuller picture of “Europe and Palestine.”<sup>51</sup>

The contributions in this volume do not offer an exhaustive treatment of the subject, but the editors nevertheless hope that they will be understood – in words formulated elsewhere – as “invitations to keep the boundaries of the field moving.”<sup>52</sup>

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türkischen und israelischen Historiographie (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 186, Berlin 1995).

<sup>50</sup> Michael MITTERAUER, Einleitung. Dimensionen des Heiligen – Annäherungen eines Historikers, in: Michael MITTERAUER, Dimensionen des Heiligen. Annäherungen eines Historikers (Wien–Köln–Weimar 2000) 7–32, here 7.

<sup>51</sup> Unfortunately, the editors were unable to secure all of the planned contributions for this volume.

<sup>52</sup> Marnie HUGHES-WARRINGTON, World and global history, in: *The Historical Journal* 51 (2008) 753–761, here 761.

