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**“TOURISM AS IMPERIALIST ENDEAVOR:
BAEDEKER'S TRAVEL HANDBOOK FOR
PALESTINE AND SYRIA (1875-1912)”**

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ABSTRACT:

In the context of the Global History developments, I propose the analysis of the *Baedeker's Handbook* about Palestine and Syria written by Swiss Orientalist Albert Socin, translated to English and French and published between 1875 and 1912. The main sources of information for the writing and consecutive editions of this book were related with two scientific associations: the Palestine Exploration Fund from England and the Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas from Germany. Compared with the massive number of memoirs about traveling around the Holy Land, Baedeker's travel book was presented as more prescriptive, practical, and punctual. Nevertheless, as a product of its time, this travel book maintains a strong distance between the "Europeans" and the "Orientals", as well as a magnificent past and a chaotic present of the so-called Holy Land. In short, we propose to analyze this travel book not only by using the framework of the Cultural Orientalism of the 19th century but also under the concept of "native informant" as exposed by Spivak and the post-colonial studies, in order to understand how strong colonialist mind framework affected not only the research and understanding of the region, but also the touristic activity and the preparation of the traveler for his journey with a travel book.

ABSTRAKT:

Im Kontext der Entwicklung der Globalgeschichte, schlage ich die Analyse von *Baedeker's Handbuch über Palästina und Syrien* vor. Dieses wurde von dem Schweizer Orientalisten Albert Socin geschrieben, zwischen 1875 und 1912 ins Englische und Französische übersetzt und veröffentlicht. Die Hauptinformationsquellen für dieses Buch und seine nachfolgenden Ausgaben sind mit zwei wissenschaftlichen Vereinigungen verbunden: dem Palestine Exploration Fund aus England und dem Deutschen Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas aus Deutschland. Verglichen mit der enormen Anzahl an Memoiren über reisen um das Heilige Land, wurde Baedeker's Reiseführer als präskriptiver, zweckmäßiger und treffender als diese präsentiert. Nichtsdestotrotz behält dieser Reiseführer, als ein Produkt seiner Zeit, großen Abstand zwischen „Europäern“ und „Orientalen“, es zeigt eine prächtige Vergangenheit und eine chaotische Gegenwart des sogenannten Heiligen Landes. Kurz gesagt wird vorgeschlagen diesen Reiseführer nicht nur im Rahmen der kulturellen Orientalistik des 19th Jahrhunderts, sondern auch nach dem Konzept des „einheimischen Informanten“ oder „native informant“ wie es von Spivak und den postkolonialen Studien beleuchtet wird, zu analysieren, um verstehen zu können wie stark das kolonialistische Gedankenmodell nicht nur die Forschung und das Begreifen der Region beeinflusste, sondern auch welchen Einfluss ein Reiseführer auf die Aktivitäten und Vorbereitungen eines Reisenden hatte.

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ABBREVIATIONS

DVEP	Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas
EEF	Egyptian Expeditionary Force
IOPS	Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society
PEF	Palestine Exploration Fund
ZDVEP	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins

TOURISM AS IMPERIALIST ENDEAVOR: BAEDEKER'S TRAVEL HANDBOOK FOR PALESTINE AND SYRIA (1875- 1912)

'Go, little book, God send thee good passage,

And specially let this be thy prayre

Unto them all that thee will read or hear,

Where thou art wrong, after their help to call

Thee to correct in any part or all.'

(Chaucer, reproduced in the first page of Baedeker's travel books)

Introduction

In 1875, Baedeker published the first edition of the travel book to Syria and Palestine. By then, the editorial founded in 1832 by the publisher Karl Baedeker, originally established in Koblenz and later moved to Leipzig, had revolutionized the editorial tourism industry in German, by creating a series of travel guides about Europe in a standardized format, under the name of the editorial itself. Differently from the traditional travelers' *memoirs*, full of personal comments and impressions about the visited places, the famous red book of Baedeker aimed for a friendly yet practical and punctual description of the interesting places and the best routes, hotels, restaurants, prices and timetables. In short, these books were meant not as a memento of the past, but rather as the preparation for the future travel. Later, these famous travel guides were translated to English and French and many of them had several editions.¹ Therefore, *Baedeker's* travel handbooks had a profound impact in the understanding of traveling itself and transcended to the pop culture in German, French and English-speaking countries. For instance, *Baedeker's* travel guides were crucial for some of the Jules Verne stories, as the famous *Around the world in*

¹ According to Manfred Link, Baedeker handbooks are distinguished from other type of travel books because of their prescriptive style: "Ihr Anliege ist es nicht so sehr, von einer unternommen Reise zu berichten, als vielmehr den Leser für Reisen in das betreffende Land vorzubereiten". In Burckhart *Lauterbach*, Baedeker und andere Reiseführer. Eine Problemskizze. In: Zeitschrift für Volkskunde, 85 (1989) 211.

180 days. In the 1960's, the comic Asterix Gladiator put in the hands of a roman traveler a book that in the cover said "BAEDEKER".² Baedeker travel guides had also been mentioned in many songs and poems, all of them showing the pertinence of the analysis.



Fliegende Blätter, "Nach Baedeker".³

² Peter Günther, *Indien in Baedeker-Reiseführern* (unpublished Master thesis University of Vienna/2008) 6-8.

³ Already in 1863 the "Fliegende Blätter" presented a small comic with the title "Nach Baedeker". Two travelers find two women. One says to the other: "Sehen Sie doch mal; da sitzen zwei wunderhübsche Mädchen". The other one answers by looking at his Baedekder's travel book: "Hat sie Baedeker besternt? Sonst sehe ich sie nicht an". Reproduced in *Lauterbach*, Baedeker 221. The original: "Nach Baedeker". In: *Fliegende Blätter*, 39, 956 (1863) 140.

At the same time, during the 19th century, Middle East became a renewed pilgrimage and exploration spot. Pilgrims, scientists, theologians, archaeologists and historians decided to visit the “Holy Land” in order to write its “true history”, they were attracted not only by the new ways of the transportation -ship and later by train- but also by the, at the time unknown to the West, “biblical” region. As a result, studies and surveys were published, mostly conceived and reserved for intellectuals. Nevertheless, written and edited by a group of Orientalists, *Baedeker’s Handbook for Palestine and Syria* was an opportunity to reach the general public and promoting the tourism in the zone. In the elaboration of this book were involved many European experts on Middle East, but the main authors were two men: the Swiss Albert Socin and the German Immanuel Benzinger, both Orientalists at the University of Leipzig. Between the first German edition in 1875 and the last one in 1910, Palestine and Syria suffered dramatical changes because of the European presence in the zone. Baedeker’s handbooks are a good testimony of how life in the zone changed in almost forty years and they are also a sample of the correlations between Western interests and the vision of what the Holy Land was and should be. Moreover, through the authors we can also revisit the different ideas regarding the Jewish settlements in Palestine, a central process at the end of the 19th century.

Hence, it is crucial to understand that the liaison between Germany and Palestine at the time was profound and implicated many levels of impact. Only four years before the first *Baedeker’s Handbook for Palestine and Syria*, the German Empire had been officially founded. Bismarck and Wilhelm I -and later Wilhelm II- would show particular interests in the Middle East, not only political and economic, but also religious, responding to the problems inside the Empire particularly between Protestants and Catholics as well as to the international context that included other Western powers acting in the region, like France and England. In sum, German intellectuals, scientists, businessmen, bankers, Protestants and Jews visited or even settled in the zone, affecting the physiognomy and the development of Palestine and specifically of Jerusalem. The context of the Global Imperialism and the many ways of comprehending Colonization -not only in Germany but also in other places like England and France-, intervened in the way of thinking, describing and measuring Middle East and ultimately, the way the region was understood and represented by Orientalists like Socin and Benzinger. In this context, a guidebook like the one published by Baedeker invites to a deeper analysis since, after its publication, it became the guideline for people with many different intentions of travelling.

Therefore, the purpose of the thesis is to understand the cultural and political context of the *Baedeker’s* guidebook, to analyze the point of view of the observer and the observed, as well as the limitations and achievements of this particular type of books. While the 21st century and

the arrival of Internet have made guide-books obsolete, and the frequency and the purpose of travelling have changed, we should not forget that travel books used to really guide the traveler, helping him to navigate through unknown regions but also preparing him for his unavoidable contact with the locals. Although it is not possible to know how deep the comments of the guidebook about people and their habits affected the conduct of the travellers, we can picture what type of travel and traveler are intended in the guide-book and we can also measure the number of editions and translations. All of this can give us an idea of how far the ideas of the *Baedeker's Handbook* were spread and how were used not only for travellers, but also for colonizers and moreover, for people with different purpose, for instance: military occupation. In the vast complexity of Imperialism, the cultural realm is still one of the most important yet more difficult to analyze. Its subtlety does not correspond with its real impact into the colonizing process: "... Culture is a sort of theater where various political and ideological causes engage one another...culture can even be a battleground on which causes expose themselves to the light of day and contend with one another".⁴ As Tourism became a regular activity of the 19th century, it is necessary to understand the linkages between this bourgeois activity and the global Imperialist frame where it was born. Hence, the title of the thesis and the intention of reading a touristic travel book as a part of the Imperialist endeavor.

In 1957 Roland Barthes published a short text in his book *Mythologies*, with the title of "Le guide bleu", a French version of the *Baedeker's handbooks*. Back then, Barthes criticized how travel books were embedded in their own bourgeois ideas and interests in specific regions, prioritizing past over present and monuments over people, both being described, catalogued, measured as mere objects: "Le spectacle est ainsi sans cesse en voie d'anéantissement, et le Guide deviant par une opération commune à toute mystification, le contraire même de son affiche, un instrument d'aveuglement".⁵ His comments still resonate as one of the main flaws of these type of works. Travel books delimit, define, and simplify not only territories but most important cultures, having a true social and economic impact on the life of populations. Therefore, it is important to analyze their historical context, the vision of tourism and tourist himself that lies behind the writing. Moreover, it is necessary to comprehend the particularities of each case, the author and also the real context of the place to visit. We analyze this Handbook as a historiographical source and therefore, the questions to answer are: What is considered worth to visit? Which are the sources of the authors? What information is considered important for the

⁴ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York 1994) xiii.

⁵ [The scenario is then continuously vanished and the Guide becomes through an operation shared by all mystifications, the contrary of its own advertisement, an instrument of blindness] Roland Barthes, *Le Guide Bleu*. In: *Mythologies* (1957) 115.

author to give to the tourists, why some events are ignored while others have more attention? What aspects of the context of Imperialism are reflected in this travel book? In short, how a travel book can shape the way a region is comprehended, visited, interpreted and even inhabited?

In the specific case of the *Baedeker's Handbook for Palestine and Syria*, the fact that not only regular travelers, but rather Orientalists wrote it, poses us specific problems. First of all, it is necessary to understand the conception of Science and even of History behind the book, as this is a decisive factor to select the touristic attractions and the "worthy" places. This also helps us to understand how is conceived the relation between West and East, "Europe" and the "Levante".

Second of all, as part of the Orientalist research itself, this book contains a considerable amount of information regarding society, culture and most important, religious practices in Palestine and Syria, expressing also an influence of Ethnology. For this specific topic, we will use the concept of "Native informant" as presented by Spivak as a tool to understand the specific view of the Orientalist who travels and even lives for some time in the region and how his conceptions are exposed to the readers as the "true Palestine and Syria".

Thirdly, written and edited in the context of the second Imperial expansion of Europe, *Baedeker's Handbook* is also a window to the presumptions about the favorable impact of the Western technology, industry and science on the life of Eastern societies. This context had a profound impact on the way modern travel books are born and developed at least until the beginning of the Great War, all of this represented in *Baedeker's Handbook*. As Dennison Nash has already established:

"If productivity is the key to tourism, then any analysis of touristic development without reference to productive centers that generate tourist needs and tourists is bound to be incomplete. Such metropolitan centers have varying degrees of control over the nature of tourism and its development, but they exercise it... in alien regions. It is this power over touristic and related developments abroad that makes a metropolitan center imperialistic and tourism a form of imperialism".⁶

Finally, time and place positioned Baedeker's authors, Socin and Benzinger, in the center of the naissance and development of Jewish Nationalism and Zionists movements, also influenced by the increasing dominium of Germany, Russia but mostly England in Palestine. This process will also culminate with the beginning of the Great War and the establishment in 1918 of the British Mandate for Palestine.

⁶ Dennison Nash, *Tourism as a Form of Imperialism*. In: Valene L. Smith (ed.), *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (Pennsylvania 1989) 39.

The justification of this text in the context of a Global History study regards at least three points. First of all, because *Baedeker's Handbook* refers to a region of particular interest in the context of the Imperialism of the 19th Century, it represents a testimony of the dramatical changes of Palestine at the time. Second of all, because, as a historiographical source itself, *Baedeker's Handbook* involved voices from intellectuals, cartographers, orientalists whose interest for the region was intended to be as objective and accurate as possible. Finally, because this source had a specific cultural impact in the way people thought about and travel through this region. If we agree with Edward Said that Imperialism was not only a political and economic, but also a global cultural experience, *Baedeker's Handbook* constitutes an insight to this process and therefore can be analyzed since the historiographical point of view.

Specifically, *Palestine and Syria. Baedeker's Handbook for Travellers* was structured not only as a route through the region, but it also included a large introduction about the particularities of the society, their houses and even their social rules. This is the section where we concentrate most of the analysis, we have also compared the introduction in every German and English edition, because in some of them were many corrections.⁷ Nevertheless, regarding the proposed tours and routes, as well as the description of the cities, we have decided to concentrate only in the development of the city of Jerusalem in general, leaving the description of the rest of Palestine and Syria and other important regions for future researches, since they involved a different and complex context.

We consider that *Baedeker's handbooks* are finally a window to the dramatic changes in Palestine at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. Many of the current problems in Israel and Palestine originated at this time. To those problems not only government and diplomats contributed, but also the wave of settlers, pilgrims, Orientalists and Tourists who gave to the world the news about a region that for almost four hundred years had been closed to Europe. The reforms of the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century favorized the new discovery of the zone, but by then also began the massive arrival of Jewish population, especially to Palestine and mostly from Eastern Europe. About this particular case, Albert Socin expressed his opinions which were also reflected in *Baedeker's Handbook*.

As hypothesis, we consider that, while scientific papers and articles were mostly addressed to intellectuals and scientific people, travel handbooks had the purpose of preparing the new wave of tourists to understand the region. Yet, as in *Baedeker's Handbook* case, the guidebook itself was written by Orientalists who had the intention of presenting an objective

⁷ For this thesis, we analyzed the German editions of 1875, 1880, 1891, 1900, 1904 and 1910 as well as the English editions of 1876, 1906 and 1912.

description of the zone. However, in both cases, most of the conceptions about the Middle East were embedded in a context of strong Imperialism from the British and German Empires. The re-discovery of Palestine in the 19th Century, the surveys and maps elaborated, resulted also in an instrumentalization of the territory by European forces. The description of people, culture, landscape is symptomatic of the changes of the zone, but it is also a catalysator of the events that culminated in the British Mandate of Palestine at the end of the Great War.⁸ Finally, the gradual change in the conception of Judaism – from the emphasis on the different nationalities to the emphasis on the religion and finally as a Nation itself- prefigured a world where slowly the Arabic and Muslim populations of the zone -which at the beginning of the 19th Century was the majority- began to be treated as peripheric to the main social and political events.

To develop the topic, this thesis is divided in three main sections. In the first chapter we provide a context about the *Baedeker's Handbook*, not only regarding the editorial itself and the format that made it famous in whole Europe, but also about the political powers that contributed to open Palestine and Syria to the European tourism and that, ultimately, provided the context for the necessity of elaborating touristic guide-books. We also contextualize the importance of European scientific associations which main concern was the exploration of Palestine as well as the analysis of the Bible.

In the second section, we develop the main characteristics of the guidebook written by Albert Socin, the context of Orientalism and the main assumptions regarding Society, Culture and Religion. We observe this topics under the lens of the concept of Orientalism as developed by Edward Said but we also appealed to the Postcolonial critical studies, namely the concept of Native Informant of Spivak in order to understand the different “voices” represented in the guide-book as well as the context of enunciation of each one of them.

Finally, in the third section, we turn to the editions of Socin's student, Immanuel Benzinger, who lived in Jerusalem and was also responsible for the third and subsequent editions of *Baedeker's Handbook*. Therefore, we also analyze specifically the dramatical changes suffered in Jerusalem during the last part of the 19th century and until 1910 when the last German edition of *Baedeker's* was published. We also refer in this part to the so-called “Jewish problem” and the different positions from the point of view of the West and also from *Baedeker's Handbook* which

⁸ As Sebastian Conrad explains, the representation of the “otherness” was crucial to make understandable the Imperialist Project: “... representations and discursive patterns played a central role in permitting large groups of people to assimilate complex issues of the globalizing world and to relate global structures to local problems. The integration of the world was accompanied by, and accessible through, an emergent global consciousness” Sebastian *Conrad*, Transnational Germany. In: Imperial Germany 1871-1918 (Oxford 2008) 225.

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registered the rise of the Jewish population in the region and has been even a source for academic studies regarding Jerusalem at the end of the 19th century.

This last point provides us with a small epilogue where we use as an example one of the many guides that referred to Baedeker's description of Palestine and Syria, yet used it for different purposes, namely the Guide-Book for Palestine, edited by the Palestine News, for the use of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force that occupied Palestine and Syria and contributed to the establishment of the British Mandate. We have decided to keep the *Baedeker's Handbook* quotes in the original language -German- while, in cases of differences, the translation in the English edition will be referred in the corresponding footnotes. The translation from French quotes have been made by this author. Finally, as we have revised many editions of *Baedeker's Handbook* in German and English, we decided to refer the year of publication in every footnote.

Chapter 1.- Orientalism and travel books in 19th century

1.1 Baedeker's editorial

When Karl Baedeker founded his editorial, he took his inspiration from the style and topics that other editorials had been already successfully published. For instance, his first interest in travel books was born when he bought an old editorial that had published some similar books for travelers. Therefore, one of his first publication was a *Traveller's Manual of Conversation* in English, French, German and Italian.⁹ Later on, he also decided to publish a travel book consisted in the summary of notes written by himself, as traveling around Germany and Europe.¹⁰ This was in fact an erratic beginning where Baedeker intended to make the most profit from his newly founded editorial with no particular publication's program.

However, it was until the publication of *Murray's Handbook for Germany*, that Baedeker conceived what will be his final and most successful editorial format: a red book where places were rated by stars, according to their quality, price and service. Yet, Baedeker soon realized that the format of Murray's book -a description of a specific travel and the observations- differed from the necessities of the Germans. Therefore, he decided to use again his travel notes but present them in a more concise and practical way, adding some helpful information for planning and organizing a trip. In the Introduction of his travel book to Germany and Austria, Baedeker specifies that his text was made for what he considered, were the necessities of the German speaking people:

"Sein Haupt-Augenmerk [Baedeker] war auf den praktischen Bedarf gerichtet. Er wollte dem Reisenden die stets kostspielige und nicht selten lästige Begleitung des Lohnbedienten so viel als möglich ersparen, er wollte ihm kurz und übersichtlich mit möglichst geringem Zeit- und Geldaufwande dasjenige geben, was seine besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdient, ohne ihn mit

⁹ Susanne Müller, *Die Welt des Baedeker: Eine Medienkulturgeschichte des Reiseführers 1830-1945* (Frankfurt 2012) 30.

¹⁰ Luis Lavaur, *El Baedeker y su siglo (1839-1939)*. In: *Estudios Turísticos*, 26 (1970) 22.

jenem Wüste unbedeutender Einzelheiten zu überhäufen, welche den Reisenden, wie er aus eigener Erfahrung weiss, mehr verwirren, als zurecht weisen".¹¹

Moreover, Baedeker's editorial policy was not to sell publicity or to advertise any hotel or restaurant. The earnings of the *Handbook* had to be made by travelers' purchases. Therefore, his travel handbooks were made thinking on the economy of the tourists and recommending the places that were more valuable and with a fair price. Due to his success, he decided to hire authors, authentic Specialists who, by following the same format, will help him to enlarge the collection. For instance, Karl Baedeker hired Theodore Mommsen to include some notes about Roman Settlements in different parts of Europe.¹² When Baedeker died in 1859, his sons kept the business and made some important changes. The first novelty was to publish French and later English translations of the guides, posing a direct confrontation with Murray who had been a friend and colleague of their father.¹³ Then, the editorial was moved to a bigger city, Leipzig, leaving the original settlement, Coblenz. Another important change was to include many maps as accurate as possible and finally, the third son, Fritz Baedeker was the one who decided to publish a new and bigger collection including America, Middle East, and South Asia. This series of books was in fact conceived in a big format, not exactly a pocketbook; in the case of Palestine and Syria the book contained between 500-600 pages. To solve the inconvenience, Fritz Baedeker decided also to bind the red Handbook in a way that the traveler could separate the parts that he did not longer need and, by the end of the travel, he should have only a thin handbook. Similarly, the maps and plans were removable and their centrality made *Baedeker's* travel books not only effective for the average traveler, but also for businessmen and trade companies, playing a fundamental role for armed expeditions since they were even used during the Great War, particularly because of their maps.¹⁴

Specifically, *Palestine and Syria. Baedeker's Handbook for travellers* was written by the Swiss Orientalist Albert Socin and from the third edition by his former student, Dr. Immanuel Benzinger. It was also revised and edited by other Orientalists like the American Dr. Rev. John P. Peppers who lead excavations in the Middle East and discovered the site of Nippur,¹⁵ as well as Paul Rohrbach and Franz Heinrich Weissbach. The first edition was published in 1875 and later was edited seven times in German, five in English and four in French. The average number of

¹¹ Karl *Baedeker*, *Handbuch für Reisende durch Deutschland und den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat* (Coblenz 1842) IV-V.

¹² Edward *Mendelson*, *Baedeker's Universe*. In: *Yale Review*, 75 (1985) 386-403.

¹³ *Müller*, *Die Welt*, 37.

¹⁴ *Lavaur*, *Baedeker*, 22.

¹⁵ Rev. J. P. Petters dies from a heart attack In: *The New York Times* (11 Nov. 1921) 13.

printed books per edition was around 1300-1500 pieces, the regular number for Baedeker's publications.¹⁶ In short, people involved in the elaboration of the guide were all experts in the zone, had visited it many times with a scientific purpose and they spoke Arabic, sometimes also Hebrew. Baedeker's travel book is then the result of a thorough research and not only the comments of an inexperienced visitor.

More important, *Baedeker's Handbook* responded to the necessities of the context. Since the beginning of the 19th century, Syria and Palestine were rediscovered as pilgrimage and exploration centers, as they had been during Middle Ages, but with a revitalized purpose. Poets and artists were attracted by the exoticism of Orient and wrote their memories, some of them were largely famous because of the name of their authors, such as Gustave Flaubert or François-René de Chateaubriand.¹⁷ Their importance in the intellectual history of Orientalism had already been largely described by Edward Said pointing out that these memoirs, although referred to specific travels made by different writers, are usually based on previous texts, which sometimes are even extendedly copied. In any case, these travel memoirs had the purpose of documenting a travel already made, being only in second place for the purpose of a future travel. "In the system of knowledge about the Orient, the Orient is less a place than a *topos*, a set of references, a congeries of characteristics that seems to have its origin in a quotation, or a fragment of a text, or a citation from someone's work on the Orient...Direct observation or circumstantial description of the Orient are the fictions presented by writing on the Orient...".¹⁸

To this first wave of Orientalism, anecdotic and in some way bohemian, were added some other versions of interests in this zone. For some explorers and intellectuals, the Holy Land represented a space known only from the point of view of the Bible and therefore it needed to be revisited and confronted with the scriptures: "The Bible is thus the hypotext on which scientific observation is conducted, and science is the means used to prove the truth of the Biblical text".¹⁹ In this sense, it is possible to find writings where the Bible is used as a source that can be complemented -rather than disapproved- with other findings since the point of view of the Archaeology, Geology and History. To this type of explorers correspond for instance Charles Doughty and his *Arabia Deserta* and as we will see, the writings of the Palestine Exploration Fund's

¹⁶ Müller, *Die Welt*, 38.

¹⁷ For instance, the *Bibliotheca Cisorientalia*: An annotated checklist of early English travel books on the Near and Middle East, compiled and edited by Richard Bevis documents more than 130 books published during the 19th Century, showing the frequency of this practice as well as the existence of a big number of readers interested in this topic.

¹⁸ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York 1979) 177.

¹⁹ Catherine Delmas, Charles Doughty's Quest and Crusade in Arabia Deserta. In: *Science and Empire in the Nineteenth Century: A Journey of Imperial Conquest* (Cambridge 2010) 7.

founders. The strong religious references have as a consequence the conception of a scientific Crusade that also implied a sort of intellectual possession of the Middle East.

Finally, as the division of the Social Sciences and Humanities increased, a new type of study was born: Oriental Studies. Universities in Europe and later in the United States created the Orientalist Section and formed students with the specific purpose of researching the “Orient”. The studies included Language, Culture, Religion, History, Archaeology, all around a big concept denominated Orient, an umbrella that included Asia in general, from which an important part was the Middle East. Therefore, the new wave of visitors pretended to achieve a knowledge of the zone less anecdotic and more prescriptive. Their notes about the zone were projected as scientifically accurate and established many of the parameters for the political relation with the Middle East at the end of 19th Century and during The Great War. Again, Edward Said guide us in the critic to the limits and dangers of this approach: “It remains the professional Orientalist’s job to piece together a portrait, a restored picture as it were, of the Orient or the Oriental”.²⁰ A picture that however simplified many of the features of the East.

Particularly, *Baedeker’s Handbook* cannot be understood without taking on account the importance of the Orientalism at the University of Leipzig. Although Orientalism had been studied in Leipzig since the end of 18th century, it would be during the 19th century when the University would become a stronghold of the Oriental Studies. Under the guidance of Dr. Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, an autodidact in Arabic and Hebrew, the University published the Comments of the *Koran* written by Baidawi and more important, from 1836 until 1888, Fleischer formed a whole new generation of students interested in Arabic and the Middle East in a way that some people referred to Leipzig as the “Mecca” of the Arabic Studies in Europe at the time.²¹ Fleischer also participated in the creation of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft in 1845, the first German scientific association in Palestine.²²

After Fleischer’s death, the Swiss Albert Socin was the new Chairman of Levant Languages. Socin brought to the Chair a renovated perspective. Different to Fleischer, who developed his Arabic Studies in France and then in Leipzig, Socin complemented his research with frequent visits to the Middle East, which also raised a new interest in Arabic dialects and the specific regions.²³ Following Fleischer ideas, he also participated in the creation of a scientific research association, the Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas as we will see in the next chapter. Finally,

²⁰ Said, *Orientalism* 151.

²¹ Holder Preissler, Daniel Kinitz, Arabistik. In: Franz Häuser (ed.), *Geschichte der Universität Leipzig*, 1409-2009, Band 4, Leipzig (2009) 422.

²² Preissler, Arabistik 424.

²³ Preissler, Arabistik 426.

Immanuel Benzinger and Franz Heinrich Weissbach, also involved in the different editions of *Baedeker's Handbook*, were pupils of Socin and worked at the University of Leipzig.

In any case, while the travel memoirs of artists and the scientific papers produced by intellectuals had been already thoroughly studied in the context of the interest in Orient, the travel books tend to be minimized or less analyzed since the historiographical point of view because its punctual, concise style, in opposition to travelers' memoirs where the subjectivity of the author is more evident. Its practical, almost prescriptive style lacks the charm of the extended narration. The reason is because travel books as those published by Baedeker were used as an authentic guide for people who planned a travel to the region and wanted to prepare in advance not only with some ideas about the societies, but also more practical questions like budget, restaurants, train or ship timetables. But this was also the reason why travel guide-books were successful.

Hence, Baedeker editorial was not the only one trying to profit from the trend of traveling to Syria and Palestine. In fact, Baedeker's book about these places was again in many ways inspired by the John Murray's *A Handbook for Travellers in Syria and Palestine* published in 1858. One year after Baedeker's publication, Thomas Cook editorial published also its *Cook's Tourist's Handbook for Palestine and Syria*. These three handbooks present important similarities as they tried to present an "objective" travel program and included maps and routes. Both Baedeker's and Cook's were mostly written with the help of the reports of a scientific association, the Palestine Exploration Fund. Yet, *Baedeker's Handbook* was in some ways different. Firstly, Fritz Baedeker hired Albert Socin, an Orientalist to write the guide. Secondly, Baedeker included timetables and prices for the traveler. It also included recommendations of where to or not to eat and places to sleep. In sum, as his original guidebooks about Europe, *Baedeker's handbooks* were more practical and convenient for the planning of the travel itself, while the Thomas Cook handbooks had the main purpose of promoting the hiring of the Travel Agency services and were full of paid advertisements. Moreover, Baedeker took advantage of the changing context of the Middle East, reediting and updating the guide seven times forcing its clients to actualize and buy the handbook repeatedly.

Therefore, as part of its historical frame, traveler handbooks are a window to the recently industrialized world of the nineteenth century, when travel became a possibility for a wider public, shortening distances and generating the necessity of having control regarding schedules, transports and prices. In 1815, the first tour agency was opened in Paris but with the 19th Century also came the bourgeois possibility of traveling alone -at least to men- and not necessarily accompanied by servants.²⁴ *Baedeker's* travel guides were created to satisfy those necessities

²⁴ Mendelson, Baedeker's Universe, 386-403.

and then, in the search for objectivity, were also edited by Orientalists, academics, cartographers and botanists, with the goal of giving punctual information about the society and daily life. The combination of new faster transports and the publication of travel books established an important moment in the history of Tourism, by making it a popular activity, rather than one reserved only for adventurous people.

Nevertheless, this industrialized context made a remarkable contrast, because it showed more than ever the differences with places with few or no industry and where transports were not yet motorized. For instance, in 1875 the first *Palästina und Syrien. Baedeker's Handbuch für Reisende* began: "Ein vor Antritt der Reise entworfener Reiseplan lässt sich im Orient nicht so genau durchführen als die Verkehrsverhältnisse in den meisten europäischen Ländern gestatten".²⁵ This idea was translated and "corrected" in the English edition one year later, as follows: "In most European countries travellers are enabled by the modern facilities for locomotion, and with the aid of time-tables, to mete out their time to the best possible advantage... but the traveller in the still semi-*barbarous* East must be content with framing a more general plan for his tour, and must leave the minuter details to be filled in according to circumstances and he proceeds on his way".²⁶ If the industrialized world created the necessity of the travel book, it also pointed out the "lack" of development and organization of the places to visit. In this sense, the guide had a political context much more complex and less innocent than we could assume at first sight.

1.2 Palestine and Germany in the 19th Century.

Right until the passage through Palestine by Napoleon in 1799, the zone known as The Levant had been practically unknown by modern Europeans, specifically since the formation of the Ottoman Empire and due to its strict rules regarding the protection of Muslim religious places.²⁷ Later, the occupation of this zone by the Egyptian Sultan Muhammad Ali Pasha started a process of aperture that attired the attraction of European powers. The British and Austrian offensive in 1840 played a significant role in the separation of Palestine and Syria from the Egyptian hegemony -after 9 years of occupation- only to be later reincorporated to the Ottoman Empire. The discourse in order to justify this intervention was embedded by Christian references about the necessity of protecting the zone and contributing to its future autonomy, which, in reality, was conceived like a commercial aperture to the Western market and a future

²⁵ Karl *Baedeker*, *Reisehandbuch Palästina und Syrien* (Leipzig 1875) 1.

²⁶ Karl *Baedeker*, *Palestine and Syria. Handbook for travelers* (London 1876) 1. The cursives are mine.

²⁷ Dominique *Trimbur*, *Apercu historique du Levant 1840-1948*. In: Dominique *Trimbur*, *Europäer in der Levante Zwischen Politik, Wissenschaft und Religion (19.-20. Jahrhundert)* (München 2004) 18.

colonization.²⁸ In any case, the support against the Sultan of Egypt had resulted on a series of reforms (tanzimats) in 1846 that allowed countries like France, Austria, Great Britain, Russia and Prussia to have liberty in the region, not only for commercial purposes but also to buy land and organize some settlements.²⁹ Moreover, Crimean War would only precipitate the military intervention of France and Great Britain as well as their control in the zone, making it a remarkable trade spot and weakening the Ottoman Empire, an event from which other Western powers also took advantage.

In the context of the Imperialism of 19th century, both England and Prussia had however more openly colonial ambitions. For instance, this was the idea of Prussian general Helmuth Graf von Moltke who in his article of 1841 “Germany and Palestine” specifically proposed the establishment of a Christian Protectorate under German control.³⁰ This proposal added to the political projects inside and outside Europe in order to create the International presence of German Power, which, thanks to the French-Prussian War, would be real in January 1871.

In this context, the inauguration of the Suez Canal on November 17th, 1869 also facilitated the navigation to the region raising the trade with European countries. The event was also the excuse for the visit of the Crown Prussian Prince Wilhelm who decided to go to Jerusalem where he received from the Ottoman sultan Abdülaziz a piece of land; eventually a church was built there. As we know, only two years later, Wilhelm was crowned as Emperor of Germany. His death in 1888 did not allow him to visit again the region but Wilhelm II with his wife made a long travel along Palestine with the high point of the inauguration of one Catholic and one Protestant church (Erlöserkirche) in 1898. During the inauguration, the Kaiser expressed: “From Jerusalem came the light in splendor from which the German nation became great and glorious; and what the Germanic people have become, they became under the banner of the cross, the emblem of self-sacrificing charity. As was done nearly 2000 years ago so today shall. I ring out the cry voicing my ardent hope to all, ‘Peace on earth’ “. ³¹

Only twelve years later, in 1910, his son Prince Eitel Friedrich with his wife the Duchess Sophia Charlotte of Oldenburg went to Jerusalem to inaugurate the German complex called Augusta Victoria that included a hospice and a Protestant church, which terrain had been

²⁸ Socin referred to this British offensive in his book, although he described it as “etwas lahm geleitete Intervention” in order to help the Ottoman Empire to recover control over the region. *Baedeker, Palästina* (1875) 76.

²⁹ In 1875 *Baedeker's Handbook* refers already the existence of seven Consulates in Jerusalem: American, Austrian, British, French, German, Italian, and Russian. *Baedeker, Palästina* (1875) 150.

³⁰ Markus *Kirchhoff*, *Deutsche Palästinaforschung im letzten Viertel des 19. Jahrhunderts : Die Anfänge und Programmatik des Deutschen Vereins zur Erforschung Palästinas*. In: Dominique Trimbur, *Europäer in der Levante* (München 2004) 36.

³¹ “Sultan’s Gift to the Kaiser”. In: *San Francisco Call*, 84, 155 (2 November 1898) 9.

purchased by the Empress herself.³² All these royal visits intended to strength the relations with the Ottoman Empire but also to display the German political force to both West and East. We can suppose that those visits also promoted the German tourism to the zone, a circumstance from which Baedeker's editorial took advantage. Not only tourists, but at the end of the 19th century, bankers, traders and in general businessmen arrived in Palestine and made profit from the Ottoman economic aperture.

As imperial visits were common at the time, the British royalty also made itself present. In 1862 Prince Albert Edward, Queen Victoria's son, visited Jerusalem. Twenty years later, his children, Prince Albert Victor and his brother George (later George V) made a world tour on his ship *Bacchante*, and they also visited the Ottoman Empire. Their trip was in fact organized by Thomas Cook, a sample of the importance acquired by this man as a tourist guide, agency and as brand. That England was interested in the region was not a secret, the construction of the Suez Canal and the arrival of English explorers to Palestine were already clear examples.

Another international power vital for the events of Palestine and Syria during the 19th century was France, which was experiencing a revival of religiosity -after an extreme liberal 18th century-. Not only French pilgrims started to visit regularly Jerusalem, but when in 1860 Drusen peasant rebels attacked and kill Catholics in Syria, France decided to send an expedition that was the basis for the further colonization, a fact that the same Albert Socin consigns in his *Chronology of Syria and Palestine*.³³

The last international power with strong interests in Palestine was Russia, which began in 1847 -with the foundation of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Jerusalem-³⁴ and increased after the encounter of the Crimean War. The Russian Empire decided then to change its Policy towards Middle East and by political and religious means (through its connection with the Orthodox Church) started to recover churches, own hospices and buy directly land in Jerusalem. This last measure was seen with distrust by Western powers that pretended to have a more subtle strategy in Middle East, namely by promoting the private settlement and buy of land by their citizens or religious communities.

Hence, to the extreme political context that surrounded *Baedeker's Handbook*, we also need to add the religious one which was used as an excuse of the Western powers in order to arrange settlements in the zone. In 1841, just one year after the European intervention in

³² Kobi Peled, *Germany in Jerusalem*: The Inauguration of the Augusta Victoria Church and Hospice on the Mount of Olives in 1910. In: *Israel Studies* 21, 3 (Fall 2016) 72.

³³ *Baedeker*, Palästina (1875) 86.

³⁴ Elena Astafieva. *The Russian Empire in Palestine, 1847-1917: A Look Back at the Origins of Russia's Near Eastern Policy*. In: *HAL* (2016) 2.

Palestine, the Prussian King planned to found the Protestant Bishopric in Jerusalem, since the other Christian religions had already a representation in the city. Moreover, using the argument as a political strategy, Frederick William IV invited England to join this project.

The representation of Protestantism in Palestine soon had social effects, causing the arrival and settlement from different countries. In 1866 a group of forty American families established a religious colony in Palestine and two years later were founded the first German colonies in Palestine, led by the group known as "Templary"; in total, seven colonies were created by this Christian association, which made preparations for the Apocalypse which should happen in the year 2000.³⁵ Their migration also responded to their difficult position in Germany where the confrontation with both Catholic and liberal groups started to increase, especially after the foundation of the German Empire.³⁶

Consequently, colonizers also occupied land which meant the expel of the population - mostly Arab- that used to live there. The settlements also brought changes in agricultural techniques and trade, both of them were rapidly interpreted and spread in the Templar's publication *Die Warte*, as a symbol of progress brought to Middle East by Europeans. As the settlements increased in number and land, the confrontation with the locals also augmented, leading to true conflicts that justified the already current idea of the necessity of a new Crusade.³⁷

In any case, it is clear that German settlements were also supported by Kaiser Wilhelm II, who saw them as an opportunity of increasing control in the region without displaying military force. Discursively, his emphasis on the Christian nature of Europe was also a way of dealing with the internal religious disputes inside his Empire -both Catholics and Protestants-, whilst showing the superiority of Germany recalling the role of the Empire during the Crusades and the conquest of Jerusalem. This particular political move was also seen as suspicious by the British government that had similar plans and was definitely a competing power. As consequence, the join Bishopric was dissolved in 1887, each country forming its own religious representation in Palestine.

But if the Templar colonies were crucial to understand and develop the relation with the Ottoman Empire, the German Catholic representatives were not less important. Specifically, the German Lazarists played a role in this situation, not only by generating a relation with the locals

³⁵ The colonies were established in Haifa, Jaffa, Sarona, Jerusalem, Wilhelma, Galilean Bethlehem and Waldheim. Mahmoud *Yazbak*, Templars as Proto-Zionists? The "German Colony" in late Ottoman Haifa. In: *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 28, 4 (Summer 1999) 40.

³⁶ As Christopher Clark sustains: "The increasing radicalism of anti-Church measures also prompted misgivings among many Protestants on the 'clerical' wing of German conservatism. The view gained ground that the real victim of the Kulturkampf was not the Catholic Church or Catholic politics as such, but religion itself". Christopher *Clark*, Religion and confesional conflict. In: James Retallack (ed.), *Imperial Germany 1871-1918* (Oxford 2008) 89

³⁷ *Yazbak*, Templars, 45.

but also by promoting pilgrimages to the region. The German Lazarists -opposite to the French ones- spoke all of them Arabic even before departing to Jerusalem. As the Jewish presence in Palestine increased, they also started to learn and speak Hebrew. The Lazarists did not only preach, but also oversaw a school where other Christians were admitted. Moreover, they founded a hospice for all the German Pilgrims in Jerusalem, in disregard of their confession.³⁸ The hospice played not only a role for those with religious intentions, but in general was used by German travelers because of the facility of speaking German. Even *Baedeker's Handbook* in English would recommend it because it is "plainly but well fitted up; clean bed and good food".³⁹ The Lazarists were also part of the Palestine Association of the German Catholics, founded in 1885 and finally, they surveilled the piece of land that Wilhelm II received during his visit in 1898. All of this despite the fact that the Lazarists, theoretically, depended on a French Superior, since this Order had been founded by Vincent de Paul in 1625 in Paris.⁴⁰ The opinion of Wilhelm Schmidt, the Superior of the German Lazarists, gives us an idea of the perception regarding the new religious settlements in Palestine: "Je regarde la Palestine comme une terre commune dans laquelle tous les catholiques ont le droit d'avoir un pied de terre".⁴¹ Not without conflict, of course.

As a matter of fact, pilgrimages were an important part of the Tourism developed in the zone. More important, the new wave of pilgrims had the novelty of including Christians Evangelists and not only Catholics, who decided to visit and discover the Holy Land since the point of view of the Biblical scriptures whilst at the same time, they were also trying to know the current state of the so-called Holy Places. This wave of Religious Tourism also provoked its own type of guidebooks that emphasized the sanctity of the visited places, namely in Jerusalem, and based their assessments on the biblical narratives.⁴²

Finally, an increasing number of Jews coming from different European countries were slowly settling in Jerusalem. Many of them were also from Germany and in the first decades were supported financially by different German associations, a topic that we will develop in the last chapter. In short, although Germany officially only owned a small piece of land, Palestine became a region where many purposes and ways of its Imperialism converged: "Foreign relations,

³⁸ Jérôme *Bocquet*, *Missionnaires Français et Allemands au Levant : Les Lazaristes Français de Damas et l'Allemagne, du voyage de Guillaume II à l'instauration du mandat*. In: *Europäer in der Levante. Zwischen Politik, Wissenschaft und Religion (19.-20. Jahrhundert)* (München 2004). 59.

³⁹ *Baedeker*, *Palestine* (1894) 19.

⁴⁰ *Bocquet*, *Missionnaires*, 60.

⁴¹ [I see Palestine as a common land where every Catholic has the right of having a second home] Letter from Father Schmidt to his Superior, (1892). In: *Bocquet*, *Missionnaires*, 62.

⁴² We can find some good examples in the text written by Issam *Nassar*, *In Their Image: Jerusalem in Nineteenth-Century English Travel Narratives*. In: *Historical Features*, Issue 19 (2003) 6. (The Institute for Palestine Studies). Available on: <https://oldwebsite.palestine-studies.org>. Consulted on 10.11.2020.

international forms of cooperation, transatlantic migration, the expansion of the world market, and cultural exchange all contributed to a re-territorialization of the nation”.⁴³

Therefore, *Baedeker's Handbook* is not only a practical guide for the traveler, but also a type of “documentary” to those who, from home, want to know more about a zone of common discussion at the time specially in Germany, but also in England. In 1912, the fifth English edition specifically explained:

“Thanks to improved communications Syria and more especially Palestine, once visited by few save pilgrims and explorers, now attract an increasing number of tourists every year...the chief attraction of a visit to Palestine and Syria lies in their historical associations... the main object of this Handbook is to bear faithful and accurate witness to these on the spot itself. At the same time it endeavours to give, as far as is possible withing the limits of a guide-book, a comprehensive and accurate account of the present state of the exploration of Palestine”.⁴⁴

In any case, if settlements and pilgrimages concerned religious matters, the exploration of Palestine was promoted by Orientalists and in general, intellectuals who wanted to rediscover objectively the Middle East. While their interests were scientific, they also contributed to the involvement of Germany and England in Palestine, because in order to have access to the region and develop their research and guarantee their safety, authorizations and political relations were needed upfront.⁴⁵ Specifically, regarding *Baedeker's Handbook*, its authors were involved in the research and information obtained by two European scientific organizations, the British Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) and the German Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas (DVEP). Moreover, the transnational scientific networks by them established also had an impact in the proposal and conformation of colonizing projects.⁴⁶

1.3 The Exploration Fund and the Deutscher Verein: Between Science and Politics

The Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) was founded in 1865 by archeologist George Grove and Dean Arthur Penrhyn Stanly of Westminster with the purpose of developing archaeological and historical research in Palestine. In the context of the Victorian era, the association had a profound Christian meaning since its purpose was to make expeditions in order to find out the

⁴³ *Conrad*, Transnational, 221-222.

⁴⁴ *Baedeker*, Palestine (1912) V.

⁴⁵ *Conrad*, Transnational, 224.

⁴⁶ For instance, the Publications of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas used to quote and discuss each other. Special attention deserved not only archaeological and historical findings, but also settlement or occupation proposals. An example of this topic will be developed in the next chapter.

historical “truth” of the Biblical texts. Therefore, the expeditions were also meant as “pilgrimages”, travels with religious fundaments and scientific goals guided the visit of the Holy Land. The organization started with the publication of its first *Survey* made for the city of Jerusalem, which became one of the main sources for Jerusalem’s cartography.

Georg Grove also participated in the edition of the *Murray’s Handbook of Palestine* from 1856 on, but without doubt, his main apport to the PEF was his connections with the Royal Engineers, specifically with Captain Charles Wilson who, by joining the PEF, also recruited civil engineers and cartographers. In short, it was an association composed by cartographers, archeologists, historians but mostly theologians. The PEF also took from Palestine all sort of archaeological and ethnographical pieces that until our days conformed its vast collection located in England.⁴⁷

Even though the expeditions were not military *per se*, the fact that members of the Royal Engineers participated in them, made the expeditions military, religious and scientific altogether. Moreover, by the time the expeditions were made, the Royal Engineers and their expenses were supported by the War Office, which shows the specific interests in the military aspect of the expeditions, which biggest achievement was the map of Palestine based on the Ordnance Survey’s methodology used earlier in Wales and England.⁴⁸

While the first expedition to Jerusalem was described as peaceful⁴⁹, the longer the PEF researched, the more the combination of military and religious was not exactly clear for the locals who started to rejected it and frankly attacked it, as it happened in 1875, because they were seen as colonizing expeditions. However, it is also clear that the scientific purpose was always accompanied by some more pragmatcal goals; for instance, the *Survey of Jerusalem* not only created a volume of maps and 87 photos but also was made in order to investigate and purpose solutions to the problem of water supply that had affected the city for centuries and that was, in fact, partially resolved by the PEF.⁵⁰

The PEF published its results in the magazine called *Quarterly Statement* until the end of 1872, a source which Socin refers as necessary for the knowledge of the region.⁵¹ Both the English and German editions of *Baedeker’s* referred to the results of the PEF, specially concerning the maps, the archeological sites, the population and History. Moreover, the travel guide published in

⁴⁷ Felicity Cobbing, “The Palestine Exploration Fund: The Collections of an Historic Learned Society in London” In: *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies*, 5 (2017) 77.

⁴⁸ Stéphanie Prévost, ‘A Perfect Map of Palestine’ (1872-1880): Biblical Geography, Intelligence and Prophecy. In: Catherine Delmas, *Science and Empire in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge 2010) 14.

⁴⁹ Charles Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem* (London 1865) 11.

⁵⁰ Prévost, *A perfect Map*, 15.

⁵¹ *Baedeker*, *Palästina* (1875) 130.

1876 -in English- was corrected by British officer Lieutenant Claude Reignier Conder, who by the time was in charge of the expedition organized in order to do the Survey of Palestine. Conder was without doubt the most prolific author of the PEF at the time; he did not only write about the results of the expeditions but also his memoirs about their problems and challenges. Moreover, he also wrote some books of historical content, the most famous: *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*.

Hence, one of the main points to understand the importance of the PEF is its analysis and writings about the Crusades. While alternating Archaeological and Historical methods, the PEF put particular emphasis on the beneficial impact of the Crusaders settlements in Palestine from the 13th Century. With his *Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Conder not only gave a perspective of the History of Palestine, but also presented arguments supporting the new European settlements considered as positive for the development of the economy and culture of the inhabitants.

1.3.1 The Palestine Exploration Fund: Rewriting Medieval History

When Lieutenant Claude Reignier Conder published the *Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* in 1897, he was not only gathering old chronicles about the Crusades and Crusaders, but also making use of the recent advances in the research and exploration of Palestine. For instance, the main corpus he used for his book was a collection made by the English association called Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, founded in 1884, a corpus that by 1896 was donated to the PEF. Moreover, the maps contained in his book were also the result of the exploration made by the PEF.

Hence, the book was not only a historical work, but mostly a symbolical statement about the research in Palestine seen as a new Crusade, where West and East established again an unequal relation: "The object of this volume is, however, not so much to relate the history of Crusades, as to present a picture of the curious social conditions which resulted from the establishment of a feudal society amid Oriental surroundings, and to trace the growth of civilization and prosperity during the two centuries of Latin rule".⁵²

The picture Conder delivers us includes an organized Christian Kingdom where different cultures live together freely and peacefully: "They were tolerant rulers, whose policy was the true policy of justice and equal law: who built up strong states in the conquered lands, and stood above the prejudices and hatred of their age".⁵³ After the fall of the Kingdom, Europeans went back and brought all the knowledge obtained in the East, therefore Conder sustains: "the foundation of the Renaissance was laid through the conquest of Syria; and the Reformation was hastened by

⁵² Claude Reignier Conder, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (London 1897) vi.

⁵³ Conder, *Kingdom*, 415.

knowledge gained in the Holy Land”.⁵⁴ In sum, the conquest of the Holy Land had positive results for the development of each culture involved.

According to Conder, after the departure of the Europeans, knowledge in the East was lost and it is until his time that it was coming back through the intervention of the Western Powers in the region: “No new Bible, not even a new Korân, was produced by the Arab race; and knowledge was despised by the Turk. In our own times we see perhaps the first signs of a new awakening; and the tide sets once more from Europe to the shores of Acre and to the Nile”.⁵⁵

The reference to the Latin Kingdom was then symbolically important in at least three senses. First of all, it set a precedent about the possibility of coexistence of Europeans and Orientals, and more importantly, Christians and Muslims and even some Jews, a situation that it was slowly been repeated in Jerusalem: “Syria was the centre towards which the populations of Europe and Asia seemed to turn their faces, where Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian peoples came together in peaceful intercourse”.⁵⁶ Second of all, it also justified the current exploration as necessary to understand that part of the past and to write its accurate History, establishing a scientific Historiography, in the context of the 19th Century and the development of the Historical Sciences. Finally, it showed the cultural and social advantages of the encounter between West and East, making the apology for the events of Conder’s time, as it is proved by his final words: “The kingdom of Jerusalem was the model of just and moderate rule, such as we boast to have given to India, under somewhat similar conditions; but the benefits of these two stirring centuries have as yet been mainly enjoyed in the West, and a debt due by the Frank has still to be paid in the East”.⁵⁷

This emphasis in the Crusades as a direct referent for the Europeans in Syria and Palestine at the end of the 19th Century is also visible in *Baedeker’s Handbook*, since even the Synthesis of the History of Palestine that Socin writes, refers only to two special timeframes: the first one is in the origin of the Jews and until the Roman Empire and later during the Crusades. Moreover, this particular conception of the Universal History embedded also the German Policy and shape the German settlements in the zone. As we already mentioned, the German Templers settlement referred its name directly to the Crusaders, but moreover, the church and hospice Augusta Victoria, built by Kaiser Wilhelm II and inaugurated by his son in 1910 was also decorated with

⁵⁴ Conder, Kingdom, 423.

⁵⁵ Conder, Kingdom, 427.

⁵⁶ Conder, Kingdom, 249.

⁵⁷ Conder, Kingdom, 428.

motives that referred to the Crusades and Medieval Times, specifically to Friedrich II, who recovered Jerusalem in 1225.⁵⁸

Another important work of the PEF that supported this particular interpretation of the History of Palestine was the collection of the expeditions reports with the interesting title of *The Recovery of Jerusalem* of 1871, which Socin himself quoted as an important source for the region. In the introduction of *The Recovery*, the editor Walter Morrison explained the selection of the title: "...The adoption for its title of the old Crusading watchword... will be thought germane to the general object of the Society under whose auspices it was put forth. That old cry pointed to the Land as well as to the City, and may fairly be used for the purpose of the new Crusade".⁵⁹ However, we can also realize that the use of the concept Recovery implied also the expel of the "others", which could mean Ottomans, Arabs or Muslims. This idea would be crucial when the massive arrival of Jews to the region raised the question about the future of Palestine.

1.3.2. Baedeker and the Deutscher Verein

The Second Association of particular interest for *Baedeker's Handbook* was the Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas (DVEP), from which Karl Baedeker Junior and his brother Fritz Baedeker were members, as well as Dr. Albert Socin and Dr. Immanuel Benzinger. If the PEF is the antecedent of Baedeker's travel book, the DVEP was in many ways synchronic to it. Some of the research for the DVEP was added to the different editions of the Baedeker's handbook, to update the literature about Palestine or even to locate discovered old monuments. The DVEP was founded two years after the first Baedeker's publication, in 1877 in Leipzig, with the intention of exploring and knowing Palestine since historical, theological, and archaeological points of view, mostly inspired by the model of the PEF. Nowadays, the DVEP is located in Bonn.

As the PEF, the DVEP also had a periodic publication, through Baedeker's editorial, called *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins* (ZDVEP). According to its own status, the journal should include the following topics:

- a) Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen über topographische, ethnographische, naturwissenschaftliche, historische und archäologische Fragen aus dem Gebiet der Erforschung Palästina's und der angrenzenden Länder, soweit sie für die Förderung der Bibeldkunde in Betracht kommen;
- b) Übersichten und Kritiken über die gesamte einschlagende Literatur des In- und Auslands;

⁵⁸ Peled, Germany, 84.

⁵⁹ Walter Morrison, *The Recovery of Jerusalem* (New York 1871) vii.

- c) Statistische und politische Mittheilungen über die jeweiligen Zustände des modernen Palästinas.⁶⁰

As we can see, the DVEP had not only historical interests in the zone, but also a clear political interest that could help to improve the relations between the German and the Ottoman Empire. Symbolically the DEVP also included both Emperor Wilhelm I and II as official members. However, the DVEP did not have any strong support from the German Empire and differently to the PEF, it never had connections with the Army to explore or research the region. During its first decades, the only contribution from the Empire was a small amount of money given by the Kultusministerium.⁶¹ The situation changed at the beginning of the 20th century when the government decided that a cartographic knowledge of the East Jordan was crucial and decided to fund the DVEP but even then there was no military support for the expedition.

The geographical exploration by the DVEP was small but consistent. In 1884, Dr. Gottlieb Samuel Schumacher, who was living in Haifa as a member of the Templar Colony, undertook the survey of the Golan Heights which resulted in the publication of a map in 1896, followed by the one of Bashan one year later.⁶² According to Immanuel Benzinger:

“...by utilizing all other accessible material, the German Palestine Society was enabled to have a map prepared which, diverging widely from former representations, for the first time offered a true picture of this region. The numerous lava fields of varying size and form, the broad and flat top of the mountain range in great measure volcanic, and the long level valleys of old Bashan are the characteristic features of this region, so extraordinarily interesting as regards geography and especially geology”.⁶³

In any case, most of the research made by the DVEP was related with biblical text analysis, History and Arabic language because many members were Orientalists from Leipzig, such as the first editor of the Zeitschrift, Hermann Guthe, Albert Socin and Immanuel Benzinger and therefore they were less concerned about the practical exploration of the region and more about the linkage between the biblical and medieval references with its latest linguistic and cultural developments.

⁶⁰ Statuten des Deutschen Vereins zur Erforschung Palästina's. In: Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestine-Vereins, Band 1 (1878) 1-2.

⁶¹ Another funding was given to the specific excavations conducted by Hermann Guthe, founding member of the DVEP. Vide *Kirchhoff*, *Deutsche*, 48. Guthe explored the location of the wall in Jerusalem as well as the inscriptions found in the Pool of Siloam. Immanuel *Benzinger*, *Researches in Palestine*. In: H.V. Hilprecht (ed.), *Exploration in Bible Lands during the 19th Century* (Philadelphia 1903) 602, 613.

⁶² *Benzinger*, *Researches*, 595.

⁶³ *Benzinger*, *Researches*, 595.

The knowledge of Arabic was in fact one of the main characteristics of the DVEP and one point that made its members criticized other scientific associations like the PEF where many did not speak any Arabic and recurred to interpreters during their explorations. Another important difference was that, while the PEF had from the beginning a strong interest on the historical research concerning the Middle Age, the Crusades and the former European settlements in Palestine -establishing a link with the English settlements and influence in their present- the DVEP had more concern about Ancient History, Archaeology and Cartography. This situation would change at the beginning of the 20th century, when a new generation of Orientalists in the DVEP started to analyze medieval sources. Finally, as the increase of Jewish population in the region began to modify the urban and social situations, more members of the DVEP decided to research the contemporary Palestine.

The DVEP maintained however a strong interlocution with the PEF, as well as other French and German scientific associations, like the Alliance israélite universelle (Paris), the Deutscher Verein in Jafa, the Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund (Berlin), the Jüdischer Lesezirkel (Fürth) and the Lesegesellschaft der Loge zur aufgehende Morgenröthe in Frankfurt.⁶⁴

In order to achieve its goals, the DVEP established from the beginning a strong relation with the Templar colony in Jerusalem, taking advantage from the fact that many of the settlers had also scientific interests and were even part of the PEF.⁶⁵ However, the DVEP did not have a specific religious confession and therefore people with different religions were accepted, which is observable in the fact that some of the founders like Socin were Catholics, while others like Benzinger were Lutherans. Despite its laicity, it is also true that some members showed a strong religious influence in the purpose of research as well as in the publications. As Socin himself criticized in 1885: "Religiöse und politische Interessen sind im Orient, wie die Lage der Dinge nun einmal besteht, nie ganz zu trennen, und es liegt in der Natur der Sache, dass die übergrosse Mehrheit der Bücher, Brochuren und Artikel, welche über das Heilige Land erscheinen, kirchlichen Bedürfnissen entgegenkommt...".⁶⁶ However, by the end of the 19th Century the majority of the members of the DVEP were Jews as the result of the massive Jewish migration to Palestine and the development of Zionism.⁶⁷

Moreover, with the beginning of the 20th Century many members of the DVEP visited regularly and even decided to move to Palestine -the most important for the Baedeker's handbook

⁶⁴ Verzeichniss sämmtlicher Mitglieder des Deutschen Vereins zur Erforschung Palästina's. In: Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Band XV (Leipzig 1892) XV.

⁶⁵ For instance Conrad Schick and the ingenieur Gottlieb Schumacher. *Kirchhoff*, Deutsche, 38.

⁶⁶ Socin, Bericht über neue Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der Palästinaliteratur 1884. In: Kirchhoff, Deutsche, 40.

⁶⁷ *Kirchhoff*, Deutsche, 38.

would be Immanuel Benzinger- and their research was immersed in a wider project of active participation in the cultural development of the region. For instance, one of the first projects of the DVEP was to establish a library in Jerusalem, where the writings of the PEF and DVEP as well as other fundamental works could be divulged. The DVEP asked to his members to send books, maps, journals and even brochures that could be useful to improve the library,⁶⁸ which was established in the “local” of the DVEP, at the Hotel Lloyd in Jerusalem.⁶⁹

Although the DVEP never had more than 500 members,⁷⁰ -a sixth part of the members achieved by the until today existing PEF- Baedeker’s handbook was reedited seven times, spreading the results of their researches and expeditions through a wider public which only with the *Zeitschrift* was very difficult to reach. This also shows us that the guide was not only addressed to secular tourists, but in general, to people interested in the topic. Even if they did not travel to the area, it was also a possibility to understand how Syria and Palestine were transformed. *Baedeker’s* guidebook communicated specifically the results of the research about language, literature, settlements, maps and plans of the region.

In any case, both the PEF and DVEP were part of an Orientalist trend in the second half of the nineteenth century that had the purpose of recognizing and studying modern Palestine under the lens of the biblical texts, but also of understanding a territory which importance was increasing because of its strategic location between Europe and the East.⁷¹ Their intervention also had an impact by transforming the landscape while excavating and discovering archaeological and historical traces, mapping the region and registering languages and traditions. For instance, in 1898, after the visit of Wilhelm II to Jerusalem, the President of the United Evangelical Churches in Germany, Dr. Alexander von Schneider, proposed the foundation of an Archaeological Institute in Jerusalem, which was officially founded in 1900 and began operations three years later.⁷²

Finally, the influence of these scientific associations spread outside the Levant. Regarding the political interest of Russia, the Archimandrite in Jerusalem proposed to create a scientific association similar to the PEF but mostly to the DVEP. As a result, in 1882 it was founded an Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society (IOPS) in charge of the research in this region and the

⁶⁸ Aufruf zur Gründung einer Palästina-Bibliothek. In: *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, Band 1 (1878) 238-239.

⁶⁹ *Baedeker*, Palästina (1904) 19.

⁷⁰ 424 members were achieved in 1910. *Kirchhoff*, Deutsche, 34.

⁷¹ Ulrich *Hübner*, Der Deutsche Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas: seine Vorgeschichte, Gründung und Entwicklung bis in die Weimarer Zeit. In: *Palaestina exploranda* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 34, Wiesbaden 2006) 3.

⁷² Benzinger, *Researches*, 622. The official name nowadays is “Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes”.

organization of massive pilgrimages to the Holy Land.⁷³ A year earlier, a part of the Tsarist family also had visited Jerusalem, a practice that denounced both political and religious interests, similarly to Germany and England. The Russian association also made important excavations in Jerusalem, but its technique was different to the one used by the other scientific associations. While the PEF depended on the permits given by the Ottoman Empire in order to research, the IOPS bought the land around the holy places and then started its excavations. The plan was not only to avoid the control of the Ottoman Empire but also to find some of the most sacred relics of the Christianity, as a symbol of the greatness of the Russian Empire and establish them as nodal points for the Russian pilgrims and settlers.

In sum, British, French, English and Russian interests attracted thousands of people to Palestine and Syria. While many had scientific purposes, some were pilgrims and others were only travelers with passion for History and Archaeology. For the last ones, it was necessary to create guidebooks that help them to navigate through unknown regions. Fritz Baedeker identified this necessity and decided to create the appropriate literature for it.

⁷³ At the end of the 19th century, it was documented that Russia sent more than 7000 pilgrims to the Holy Land, compared to the around 1000 catholic ones. *Astafieva*, Russian Empire, 6.

Chapter 2.- Syria and Palestine in a book: Socin's sight

With a Doctorate in Basel and Professor in Leipzig, Albert Socin was an expert in Oriental languages, specifically Arabic and its variants.⁷⁴ Socin was also editor of some anthologies of Arabic poetry, tales and songs.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, his most extensive and published work was the guidebook written for Baedeker, been translated to English and French, just one and two years after the first edition. The English translation was also revised by Fritz Baedeker and some English-speaking authors, while the French version seems to have been only a translation from the English edition without further revision. From 1906 on, the English edition was also published in New York, which gives us an idea of the success of the guidebook in English speaking areas.

The handbook was in general divided in two parts. The first one with a long Introduction of General Information about the region. The second one with the description of the travel itself, divided by small routes and with an accurate description of what the traveler should visit, where to eat, sleep and also what to avoid. While the second part was continuously modified, adding more cities like Mesopotamia and even the whole Cyprus and with changing possibilities of routes, the first part with the sections written by Socin was conceived almost exactly in all the editions. In this part, Socin describes thoroughly practical matters like coin use, travel options -camel, train- and society. He also included a short History of the region, fauna and flora as well as recommendation for the best bibliography to read before the travel. As his topic of expertise was language, Socin also wrote a small table with pronunciation of Arabic characters and a small summary of useful words to call a waiter, say good morning, goodbye, etcetera, something already made by *Murray's Handbook* in 1858 and by Baedeker in his small travel vocabularies.

⁷⁴ In Basel, Socin visited Jakob Burckhardt's Seminars and Conferences. Socin also visited Göttingen, Berlin and went to Leipzig for the Arabic Studies. Emil Kautzsch, A. Socin. In: Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Band 22, (Leipzig 1899) 1-17.

⁷⁵ Socin published for instance the *Arabische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*, as well as *Arabische Grammatik*.

2.1 Albert Socin: Observing the Alterity

From the beginning, it is possible to see that the Socin presents two opposite views: one of the observer who is also the narrator and one of the observed, in this case called by Socin himself, the “Orientals”. This opposition is established sometimes in a subtle way, whilst sometimes it is clearly expressed. In any case, the observer plays the active role not only in the visit and study of the region and the people, but also in the daily life of Palestine.

The tone of the book however was chosen by Socin specifically because it was more objective than other guidebooks of his time where the author shared his memoirs or related with the religious beliefs of the reader. We can see this, for instance, when in 1878 Socin reviewed the literature about Palestine for the DVEP and published it in the *Zeitschrift*. He referred to other travel books like the written by the French Frère Lievin de Hamme *Guide indicateur des Sanctuaires et lieux historiques de la Terre Sainte* and *Palästina und Syrien* from the German Carl Stangen. In both cases, Socin wrote a bad review and decided not to recommend their lecture. The first one because of its openly catholic perspective, the second because of the lack of scientific basis in his writing.⁷⁶ These comments show us that Socin was against both religious and commercial perspective in the literature of travel of his time and therefore, he intended to write a book with objective observations about the locals that could be helpful for the travelers. In other words, his handbook was thought primarily for the secular traveler or for those with scientific interest in the zone. Socin did not consider his book as a pilgrim's guide and therefore he included sacred places from all the religions in Palestine and Syria as art rather than temples.

That the accuracy and objectivity were both Socin's concerns was applauded by his colleagues in the *Zeitschrift* of the DVEP. For instance, in 1878 the Swiss Theologist Konrad Furrer reviewed the second edition of *Baedeker's Handbook*. His impression was that: “In Form eines Reiseführers bietet es uns seine äußerst reichhaltige Beschreibung von Palästina und Syrien auf der Höhe gegenwärtiger Wissenschaft. Ein riesiges Material ist darin mit staunenswertem Fleiße klar und gründlich bearbeitet, und zwar weit über die Bedürfnisse eines gewöhnlichen Reiseführers hinaus.”⁷⁷ Both Furrer and Socin's shared a common interest for the collected documents and the scientific authenticity in the context of the development of the Humanities and Social Sciences specially in Germany. Specifically, we cannot dismiss the importance of the

⁷⁶ “Die Touristenhandbücher von STANGEN, COOK, und ein französischer Pilgerführer, dagegen entbehren jeder wissenschaftlichen Bedeutung”. Albert Socin, Bericht über neue Erscheinungen auf den Gebieten der Palästinaliteratur. In: Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins Band I (Leipzig 1878) 33.

⁷⁷ Konrad Furrer, Bücheranzeige. Palästina und Syrien. In: Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Band III (Leipzig 1880) 244.

Positivist perspective that combined not only the quest for accuracy and objectivity but also the obsession for classifying and hierarchizing nations and societies.

Unfortunately, this perspective of the meaning of knowledge suffered also from an unequal perspective where the world was divided between the observer and scientific Western civilization and the many observed Eastern nations that were, from this perspective, less developed. Although it is difficult not to see in this a trace of the German Imperial interests -which are only in part involved- we also need to identify the legacy of the Social Sciences itself and the endeavor for objectivity and accuracy that embedded the research of Orient. As a third aspect of the process, we cannot dismiss the German internal situation, specifically the public discussion about Catholic and Protestant (Lutheran and Calvinist) parts of the newly formed Empire, which affected the way religion itself was understood not only in Germany but also in places with German settlers, like Palestine. This led to a perspective where Christianity was conceived as an elevated form of religion and an intrinsic part of Europe. As Suzanne Marchand prevents us, regarding the scientific praxis of these Orientalists: "... their scholarly practices need to be understood neither as pure fact-finding nor as pure power-seeking, but as the product of their attempts to define what it meant -in the post-Napoleonic world- to be the Europeans whose job it was to understand the Orient".⁷⁸

Socin's experience with the Orient was however not only based in his vast knowledge of Oriental languages, but also on the two trips he made to Palestine and Syria. The first one took him over two years between 1868 and 1870 and the second one just few months in 1873, paid already by Baedeker's editorial with the purpose of writing the guidebook. Socin himself wrote the memoirs of his first travel, although he did not publish them. One of his colleagues and friend, the German Orientalist Emil Kautzsch is the one who provides us with the information about the existing manuscript and the experience of Socin through Palestine and Syria. Albert Socin was originally accompanied during a year by another friend and colleague Eugen Prym, from Basel to France and to Damascus. In December 1869, Socin decided to continue his trip by himself but with the help of two Bedouins. In Bagdad Socin hired a Persian teacher and collected more than 80 manuscripts. After Bagdad unfortunately some problems started, and this second part of his trip was suddenly all but pleasant. Socin had problems with a Sheik in Kurna which lead to an attack to his life. Socin escaped miraculously to Bagdad.⁷⁹ Socin's experience in Middle East would shape not only his scientific research but also his conception about the population itself, considering the necessity of being cautious in the interaction with the locals.

⁷⁸ Suzanne Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship*, Publications of the German Historical Institute (Cambridge 2009) 75.

⁷⁹ Kautzsch, Socin, 8.

Hence, the first section of *Baedeker's Handbook* to analyze is the one called "Regel für den Umgang mit Orientalen", which was later modified in the English version⁸⁰ as "Intercourse with Orientals". This section presents some advices in the hypothetical situation of visiting a private house in Palestine or Syria, which it seems already a difficult task for a common traveler. Socin begins explaining how the "Orientals" assume that Europeans or "Franks" make all "verkehrt" or "the wrong way", as they write from left to right, they don't cover their heads or the fact that they keep their shoes whilst entering a house. Therefore, he prescribes a series of steps to make a good impression. Among these rules, he recommends to always accept the offered coffee and not to rush into it. It is also important to wait until the right moment in order to talk about topics like money or business. The problem, according to Socin is: "Ein Geschäft nimmt im Orient stets eine unverhältnismäßig lange Zeit in Anspruch, den dem Orientalen ist die Zeit nichts werth, was den Fremden zur Verzweiflung bringen kann, bevor er das nöthige Phlegma gewinnt".⁸¹

Socin also recommends avoiding completely the interaction with women, even asking about them will be considered disrespectful.⁸² Finally, he adds, "Im Ganzen soll der Fremde dem Eingebornen nicht zu viel Misstrauen entgegenbringen; es verbittert ihm die Reise. Man hat nie zu vergessen, dass man es mit Leuten zu thun hat, die in vielen Beziehungen Kinder sind".⁸³ In this short but powerful sentences, Socin establishes two completely different ways of seeing the world, opposed almost naturally, both make everything "verkehrt" to each other. The childishness attributed to Orientals also shows us an unequal relation with the European. This also reflects some of the conceptions originated during the Enlightenment about the non-Europeans and their necessity of being educated by the Europeans. The travel book also serves as a double mirror: by reading it, the traveler not only knows how the "Orientals" are, but also how the "Orientals" think about the "Europeans" and a dialogue is only possible by presuming this opposition.

The translation supervised one year later by Fritz Baedeker, added what was a more plain yet intended comprehensive view of the permanent childhood of the Orientals: "[The traveller] should bear in mind that many of the natives with whom he comes in contact are mere children, whose waywardness should excited compassion rather than anger, and who often display a touching simplicity and kindness of disposition".⁸⁴ Nevertheless, there is also a long comment that was not in the German editions, which could have been written by either Fritz Baedeker or

⁸⁰ The first English version maintained the title "Rules", while from 1906 it was changed to "Intercourse with the Orientals".

⁸¹ *Baedeker*, Palästina (1875) 50.

⁸² *Baedeker*, Palästina (1875) 39-40.

⁸³ *Baedeker*, Palästina (1875) 41.

⁸⁴ *Baedeker*, Palestine (1876) 37.

the other editor of the book, Lieutenant Claude Reignier Conder from the Palestine Exploration Fund:

"On the other hand the most ordinary observer cannot fail to be struck with the fact that the degraded ruffianism so common in the most civilized countries is quite unknown in Syria, and it will probably occur to him that the modern expression 'street Arabs' is a misnomer and an insult to the people whom it is inappropriately derived. The people of the country, even of the poorest and entirely uneducated class, often possess a native dignity, self-respect, and gracefulness of manner, of which the traveller will grieve to admit, his own countrymen of a far higher status in society are far from the most utterly destitute".⁸⁵

The paragraph reproduced in the English edition, although we cannot know the exact author, can be analyzed as a comment that was necessary to include for the British public to whom was in first place destined the translation. In the context of the Victorian times, it was important to underline moral values and confront them with their own society. However, both mistrust in the German Edition and admiration of the values in the British one, are made from the same position, the one made by the observer who has the tools to compare and measure people, as he has made with terrain, fauna and flora.

Yet, the scenario described by Socin, a visit of a home, seems an exception more than a rule. Therefore, this is not the most common situation where a "European" has contact with an "Oriental". The most common encounter is therefore during the travel itself, with the crucial figure of the "dragoman".

2.2 The Concept of Native Informant in Baedeker

In order to understand the concept of native informant, we need to recur to Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. For her, this figure is not only a witness who explains his culture to the colonizer, but most important, he represents the detachment from any informant when he assumes the authority of speaking about a culture even if he does not belong to it. Hence, the native informant is not a person, but rather a posture towards the analysis and the presentation of the colonized societies, "... a certain postcolonial subject had... been recoding the colonial subject and appropriating the Native Informant's position".⁸⁶ Although the concept had been

⁸⁵ Baedeker, Palestine (1876) 37.

⁸⁶ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, A Critique of Postcolonial reason. Toward a History of the Vanishing Present (Cambridge/London 1999) ix.

discussed by many as an extreme position of mistrust and authority,⁸⁷ we consider it useful to understand the agency of a witness and informant and most important, the conception of truth in it.

In sum, this concept helps to understand *Baedeker's Handbook* because it contains the description of Palestine and Syria since the point of view of somebody who knows well the region and yet is completely independent of it. Based on his knowledge, Socin explains to his readers how the Orientals are and do think and also how the Europeans should act and react in order to avoid problems with them. The fact that the section "Intercourse with Orientals" is presented in the first part, next to the currency section and ships and trains timetables give us already an idea about its goal from a pragmatological perspective. People are instrumentalized and knowing them is only a mean to have access to the worthy places. Moreover, European's knowledge is placed as more reliable than the one that could come from the natives themselves. A good example is given in the first English edition. In the Introduction, Fritz Baedeker remarks the changes he has made to the original by Socin. One of the main tasks is the correction of the maps and routes presented in the edition of 1876. The reason, according to Fritz Baedeker was that: "he knows by experience how little reliance can be placed on guidance or information sought from the natives, even when the traveller is thoroughly conversant with their language".⁸⁸ In short, the truth cannot be obtained from the actual natives and therefore it is necessary to get it from the Europeans.

Nevertheless, the best example of this assumption can be found in the explanation of the figure of "Dragoman", presented by Socin in the first section of the book, with the title "Art und Weise des Reisens zu Lande", a passage that was reproduced in all the further Baedeker's editions in German, English and French.

Firstly, Socin explains the etymology of the word dragon or in Arabic *terjumân*, that comes from the Chaldean 'targem', that means "to explain", "Das arabische "terdjem" bedeutet dolmetschen; der Dragoman war also ursprünglich nur ein erklärender und dolmetschender Fremdenführer". Nevertheless, "Die Dragomane in Syrien sind eigentlich Unternehmer von Reisen und Karawanen; sie entheben den Fremden jeder Mühe der Vorbereitung und des Verkehrs mit den Landeseingebornen".⁸⁹ This dragoman would be in fact a truly native informant, but instead, it is interpreted by Socin as a facilitator for the travel. Hence, Socin transcribes the usual contract celebrated with the dragoman for the purpose of traveling with him.

⁸⁷ For instance Philip *Leonard*, 'In the Shadow of Shadows': Spivak, Misreading, the Native Informant. In: *Nationality Between Poststructuralism and Postcolonial Theory*. (London 2005) 103-126.

⁸⁸ *Baedeker*, Palestine (1876) VI.

⁸⁹ *Baedeker*, Palästina (1875) 17. In the English version: [Dragomans in Syria are more than mere interpreter; they are contractors for the management of tours and of caravans, and they relieve the traveller of all the difficulties of preparation and of intercourse with the natives].

However, since Socin had already assumed that the Arabs are untrustworthy, dragomans can only present this feature in a more extreme way. Therefore, the next pages are full of comments about not only the written contract but about the "real" implications of each clause. For instance, if the contract establishes that food will be provided, Socin explains that the traveler needs to establish exactly the type of food and the quantity that would be given: "Das Frühstück, das den Reisenden vorgesetzt wird, soll täglich aus X Gerichten nebst Kaffee bestehen..."⁹⁰ This comment was modified in the Edition of 1876. This time, there is no advice about the number of dishes but there is a long comment about the quality in general of the food in the region and the way of approaching it:

"The items of the bill of fare may be stipulated for according to taste... Fresh meat is rarely procurable except in the larger town and villages... fowls and eggs are always to be had, but are apt to pall on the taste. The bread which the dragoman proposes to take should be inspected... [The traveller] had better buy his own wine... If, as rarely happens, the dragoman is entrusted with the purchase of wine, it should be tasted before starting. An abundant supply of tobacco, which need not be of very good quality, should be taken for the purpose of keeping the muleteers, escorts, and occasional guides in good humour".⁹¹

The differences in just a small comment about the contract with the dragoman are nevertheless quite important. They established a remarkable difference about the appreciation of the capacity not only of the dragoman himself, but also of the region and the culture. While Socin prevents only of the quantity of the dishes, Fritz Baedeker established that the expectations of the traveler regarding food should be extremely low. Moreover, the dragoman cannot be trust even with the quality of wine. Finally, tobacco is a way of concealing with the locals. Following Spivak reflections, it is possible to see the instrumentalization of the dragoman and the locals in general, whose actions only served for the realization of the travel itself: "[The native informant] is a blank, though generative of a text of cultural identity that only the West (or a Western-model discipline) could inscribe".⁹²

The figure of the dragoman is also the most important link between the traveler and the visited place. Therefore, we also need to reflect about the characteristics of the traveler and more generally, the reader. As we have already mentioned Baedeker's handbook was not only made for those adventurous ready to travel, but also for those who, from home, sitting on their sofas,

⁹⁰ Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 18.

⁹¹ Baedeker, Palestine (1876) 19-20.

⁹² Spivak, A Critique, 6.

wanted to know about the Holy Land and wanted to picture an image of that place. As the dragoman is described as a cheater, the reader is positioned as a more trustworthy person, who keeps his promises. Socin goes further and not only describes the dragoman or the “Arab men”, but also makes statements about how they misconceive the Europeans. For instance, Socin writes a section with the title “Bettler. Bachschîsch” where he explains that, while begging is a regular activity in Palestine and Syria, Europeans should be careful and not to give handouts so easily, because this contributes to a misconception: “Der gewöhnliche Orientale hält jeden europäischen Reisenden für einen Crösus (und theilweise auch für einen Narren, weil ihm der Zweck und die Lust des Reisens unversändlich sind); er glaubt, dass es bei uns gar keine Armuth gebe, während sie doch in der That bei uns sich viel fühlbarer macht, als im Orient”.⁹³ In the quote, we also see the type of traveler that Socin is writing for, not an expeditioner or a pilgrim, but rather a traveler who considers his activity as leisure, although he is eager to unravel Palestine and Syria by himself. However, in the next paragraph Socin makes an exception. To give a bachschîsch to beggars is incorrect, but it is useful when it is given to the authorities, because then all the administrative procedures are faster and easier: “Bachschîsch ersetzt den Pass... verlang der Esel- und Pferdetreiber”.⁹⁴

This a remarkable difference with other handbooks made specifically for pilgrims or for scientists. Socin pictures his reader as an ordinary traveler, pragmatic and ready to follow the unwritten rules of the region in order to enjoy his travel, despite the fact that both German Catholics and Protestants pilgrims were visiting regularly Palestine, at least since 1855 when it arrived the first group coming from Cologne. More important, Socin description about the population and its habits had the effect of demystifying the Holy Land and make it just a travel place, where the most difficult challenge was to deal with the natives.⁹⁵

⁹³ Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 29.

⁹⁴ Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 29.

⁹⁵ In this regard, the guidebooks prepared by the Russian Palestine Association were exactly the opposite. These guidebooks were made to be read out loud to illiterate peasants in order to convince them of making the pilgrimage to Syria and Palestine. The guides also emphasized the sacredness of Jerusalem and insisted on the importance of the city as scenario for Christ’s last days, which demanded solemnity and piety. Elena Astafieva, How to transfer “Holy Russia” into the Holy Land? Russian Policy in Palestine in the Late Imperial Period. *Jerusalem Quarterly*, 71 (Autumn 2017) 14.

2.3 Measuring, Mapping, Inventing

While Albert Socin gave importance to the accuracy of the maps, he also did include some data about the population in Syria and Palestine. Specifically, he added a table resulted of the Beirut's Yearbook of 1874 made by Ottoman Empire's orders.⁹⁶ In this table, it was possible to find the exact number of Muslim, Jews and Christians but also additional data like the number of schools, temples, houses and even coffees, some of them useless for the regular traveler and only useful for a scholar or intellectual interested in Palestine and Syria.

Districts.	Towns with Environs.	Villages.	Houses.	Muslim Males.	Non-Muslim Males.	Mosques and Oratories.	Muslim Schools.	Number of Pupils.	Non-Muslim Schools.	Number of Pupils.	Monasteries of Dervishes.	Places of Pilgrimage.	Medresehs.	Churches.	Baths.	Cafés.
Tárâbulus Beirut Damascus	Damascus (city)	—	14,700	33,553	6741	234	99	1851	24	1320	21	194	35	25	58	172
	Damascus (environs)	139	19,727	47,932	4469	156	14	52	2	75	2	14	7	20	26	40
	Ba'albek and Environs	63	1232	7329	4617	2	2	22	2	75	—	—	12	2	1	2
	Western Bekâ'a	25	1412	7712	4713	11	4	30	3	57	—	3	—	22	—	1
	Hâsbeiyâ and Environs	18	1251	2885	1895	5	12	250	6	250	—	3	10	16	3	2
	Hâsbeiyâ and Environs	16	1476	3518	2436	—	1	50	3	150	—	2	—	7	1	2
	Beirût (city)	—	5023	5979	7188	22	10	1305	25	4562	1	6	18	27	3	77
	Saida and Environs	126	6760	13,107	2893	14	2	67	1	34	1	1	—	4	5	34
	Šâr	71	5296	10,829	1037	1	2	50	3	120	—	—	—	3	2	6
	Tarâbulus (town)	—	2847	6126	2818	18	17	652	5	405	6	6	39	15	5	18
	Tarâbulus (environs)	41	1821	7389	1796	2	2	30	1	37	2	—	—	—	—	—
	Lâdikiyeh and Environs	472	1312	4498	1176	15	5	90	2	90	6	1	10	5	5	1
	Jebeleh	? 456	595	1559	—	6	2	62	—	—	2	1	9	—	2	6
	'Akkar	? 34	4852	7741	6924	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Acre	Sâfita	365	3064	15,656	2156	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Acre (town)	—	764	1910	788	6	6	70	1	11	6	2	2	1	2	9
	Acre (environs)	34	2738	4474	1157	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Haifa and Environs	41	449	669	6610	30	4	56	8	184	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Nâsira and Environs	41	1500	3313	1847	2	3	27	2	166	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Safed and Environs	—	948	4086	937	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Tabariyeh	—	497	2724	485	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Hama (town)	—	4446	9756	1054	61	6	220	2	45	1	1	3	5	11	41
	Hama (environs)	80	4358	237	2275	8	1	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Homs and Environs	45	4117	13,982	4115	13	4	542	2	150	1	1	2	6	6	29
	Homs el-Akrâd	250	4101	10,658	6403	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
	Mzârib	—	1186	75357	764	—	4	45	2	22	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Jebel 'Ajlûn	76	963	6447	368	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Kunêtera	231	1822	6506	78	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nâbulus Haurân Hama	Jebel Drûz	45	475	1178	492	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Nâbulus (town)	—	1046	6287	338	9	6	—	2	—	—	4	1	3	8	21
	Nâbulus (environs)	164	16,961	47,662	919	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Salî and Environs	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		2835	118,639	301,059	79,479	669	205	5485	96	7793	49	293	148	163	138	463

Baedeker, Palästina (1876) 85.

From 1891 to 1904, Benzinger also used and actualized the data collected by the Ottomans although he always prevented the reader of the lack of accuracy of these almanacs.⁹⁷ If the table was updated in every edition, the original description made by Socin dividing the population in different groups was almost always the same and Benzinger only added some notes regarding the changes in the region, as we well see in the next chapter. However, the arrival of European cartographers and expeditioners resulted in more data; in 1910 that table was

⁹⁶ The Ottoman Almanacs or Yearbooks were published during the nineteenth century between 1847 and until 1918. They responded to the necessity of having an accurate knowledge of the provinces and regions ruled by the Empire in the context of the many reforms (some of them tax reforms) implemented during that century.

⁹⁷ "Für die Haupt-Wilajets giebt die umstehende Tabelle die neuesten amtlichen Zahlen, die aber nicht durchaus zuverlässig sind". Baedeker, Palästina (1904) LXXIX.

actualized by Benzinger with the information coming from the survey made by the French Orientalist, Vital Cuinet and published in a book called *Syrie, Liban et Palestine: géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée* from 1896. In any case, the presence of the table was considered necessary in order to give objective data to the reader. However, we can also suppose that the narrated description of the population was more interesting for the traveler. Tables and numbers were complemented by maps and plans that played a fundamental role for the importance of *Baedeker's Handbook* as a historiographical source but also for the possibility of the travel itself.

Regarding the first English edition of *Baedeker's Palestine and Syria* edited and translated by Fritz Baedeker, it included no less than eighteen maps and forty-three plans. Already follower of the advances of the Palestine Exploration Fund and cofounder of the *Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas*, Fritz Baedeker was convinced that the addition of accurate plans and maps was the extra value that his *Handbook* could give, compared with his competitors Murray and Thomas Cook. In any case, the information for the elaboration of the maps came from the PEF and was also edited by German and English Cartographers. By 1876 the most important source published by the PEF regarding mapping was the *Survey of Jerusalem*, from 1865.⁹⁸ Later on, the data from the *Survey of Western and Eastern Palestine* were used to update the maps. The importance given to them shows us a wider context where the cartographic advance in Middle East was crucial not only because of mere intellectual interest, but also as a part of an Imperialist frame.

For instance, if *Baedeker's Handbook* profited from the development of the cartographic research, it is also important to notice that the PEF Survey was not well received by the local population. According to the rapport published in the *Quarterly Statement*, written by Lieutenant Claude Conder -the same one who helped Fritz Baedeker to edit the first English Edition- an attack was organized by "Moslem inhabitants of Safed", which unfortunately was also accompanied by the spread of cholera. For this attack, the commanders of the expedition demanded "a very severe punishment" and wrote to the General Consult in Beirut.⁹⁹ The Safed attack was crucial for the relation of the PEF with the British Empire, after the crisis, the PEF secured the payment of the engineer's wages by the War Office. Nevertheless, the difficulties did increase. Specially in Eastern Palestine, the Expedition had many troubles, since the population there was mostly nomadic and

⁹⁸ Despite their geopolitical importance, before the surveys made by the PEF, there were only few attempts during the 19th century to make an accurate map of Syria and Palestine. Haim Goren, *Sacred, but Not Surveyed: Nineteenth-Century Surveys of Palestine*. In: *Imago Mundi*, vol. 54 (2002) 97.

⁹⁹ H.H. *Kitchener*, *The Safed Attack*. In: *Quarterly Statement*, 7.4 (1875) 195.

showed rejection towards Ottoman officers, tourists and British expeditioners.¹⁰⁰ In any case, the reference to the interaction with the locals during the expeditions let us observe the point of view of the PEF: "We are getting really good work out of the men; they are gradually adopting our European notions, and a spirit of emulation has sprung up among them; instead of all withing to be paid at the same rate, they now work hard to get on to the first class of pay".¹⁰¹

The mistrust regarding the true interests of the foreigners in the zone was not completely without fundament. In 1880, Lieutenant Conder reproduced in the *Quarterly Statement* an article originally published in *Jewish Chronicle*, and entitled "The Colonisation of Palestine" where the justification for a massive settlement was presented: land is cheap and can also be fertile, labor wages are minimal. Therefore, John B. Hay, Consul General of the United States in Jaffa announced: "I can corroborate from personal observation the truth of the foregoing description, and believe that a European immigration on a large scale would be a valuable means of regenerating Palestine... Farming is lucrative; and native labourers must be employed when long exposure to the direct rays of the sun is required, but Europeans can readily oversee their labourers without suffering from the summer sun".¹⁰²

The discussion however was deeper than the simple possibility of colonization. The fact that the Jewish population in Palestine was increasing posed the question of who and how should be settled. Evidently, the migration of Jews into Palestine was seen as positive for many, sometimes in the context of Zionism, while others, considered positive because, by establishing a Jewish Colony, the project won't be only seen as British, German or Russian, although all these powers had strong interests in the region. This was for instance the project presented by the British writer Laurence Oliphant and briefly described in the same article of Conder. The project consisted of promoting a settlement in Eastern Palestine with Jews from England mostly, but also to invite other European Jews as well as Muslims from Bulgaria, who would become English subjects and would occupy Jewish labor force from Western Palestine. Conder supported this project and added some notes regarding the positive characteristics of the soil, as well as warned about the necessity of expecting some problems with the nomadic tribes of Transjordan. Finally, Conder insisted on building a railway to Hafa to keep the contact with the West and promote international trade, "wishing success to a scheme which appears to be founded on sound principles, and supported by influential and able men".¹⁰³ Similar comments about a Jewish

¹⁰⁰ Felicity *Cobbing*, Tomas Cook and the Palestine Exploration Fund. In: *Public archaeology*, 11, 4 (2012) 188.

¹⁰¹ *Morrison*, *The Recovery*, 213.

¹⁰² *Conder*, *The Colonisation of Palestine*. In: *Quarterly Statement*, 12.2 (1880) 111.

¹⁰³ *Conder*, *The Colonisation*, 118.

settlement in Palestine were also made by Warren and Wilson, also members of the PEF.¹⁰⁴ Whilst the project of Oliphant was never achieved, it is an example of the type of the discussion about Palestine. Both the attack in Safed and the comments of Conder about them let us realize why the inhabitants saw with suspicion the presence of Englishmen who were measuring, counting, surveying.

Moreover, if according to the PEF the exploration itself was made only with a scientific interest, it is clear that this interest was made with preconceptions about the Arab population. This is a crucial point to understand the image presented to the travelers through the travel books, as well as the unequal relation established upfront with the population. As the PEF had the purpose of finding the exact location of the Biblical places, the expeditioners could read and speak Hebrew and they had also knowledge of Aramaic. Nevertheless, this was not the case for Arabic, which only few of them knew and wanted to learn. Mostly, the expeditioners used to have some servants who also worked as translators for the daily life. The publication in 1875 of the article "The Arabs in Palestine" written by Clermont Ganneau, commissioned by the PEF, shows how the knowledge of Arabic had been so far neglected by this Association:

"Next to the important facts which may results from future excavations, there are, in my opinion, two things required to lift Biblical archaeology out of the vicious circle in which it has a tendency to turn, and to give it new life-viz. a thorough investigation of the writings of the various Mohammedan authors in the original Arabic text, and an exhaustive study of the manners, customs, and traditions of the sedentary fellaheen of Judea. For both, a knowledge not only of literary Arabic, but also of the vulgar tongue, is absolutely necessary".¹⁰⁵

The comments of Ganneau are important because they show the separation between the conception of the Past and the Present. While the Past was conceived as valuable and needed to be researched, there was a lack of knowledge of the Present of Palestine and its Inhabitants. The *Surveys* made by the PEF are only a numerical account of the Present, but not a real understanding of the dynamics of the cultures and the region.

In any case, the research conducted by the PEF included three aspects: the reports about the excavations, photos and visual documents and finally maps and plans. The three type of documents served to specific purposes while at the same time created altogether a representation of the modern Palestine that even if referred to the past was also projected towards the political possibilities of the political and economic future in Middle East. The maps were used to purpose

¹⁰⁴ Prévost, A perfect, 20.

¹⁰⁵ Clermont Ganneau, The Arabs in Palestine. In: Quarterly Statement, 7.4 (1875) 199.

a relocation of the Euphrates Railway during the Russo-Turkish War and later, with the beginning of the Great War, the British Empire began the Palestine Campaign in 1917 using the data collected by the PEF and reproduced by *Baedeker's Handbook*.¹⁰⁶

The photographs made by the PEF for the *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem* also exposed a conception of the city. Most of the photos made by the PEF reiterated a perspective of a desertic city in ruins, covered by rubbish: "In fact, we know that it was part of the settled policy of the conquerors of the city to obliterate, as far as possible, those features upon which the strength of the upper city and the Temple mainly depended. The natural accumulation of rubbish for the last 3,000 years has further contributed to obliterate to a great extent the natural features of the ground within the city".¹⁰⁷

When the collected material did not emphasize a ruined city, it did emphasize then the vital role of the Europeans in their mission of excavation and architectural renovation of an improving city. For instance, describing the Latin Chapel: "The Chapel and part of the Convent are under the property of a Turkish effendi, who till lately kept his horses in a chamber over the Chapel; after the Crimean War, however, matters were arranged by the Latins building a new stable for the Moslem, a little further removed from the Chapel".¹⁰⁸

The work of the PEF was indeed vital for the further research and description of Palestine and Syria and therefore, *Baedeker's Handbook* did not escape of this dynamic. Even though the first section of the book presents information about the inhabitants, their religion, their culture, etcetera, this information is presented only as an instrument in order to achieve the main goal: to visit the zone without having any problem. Hence, the difference between a glorious past and a uninteresting present also appears in the travel book. The purpose of the travel itself is to visit historical monuments, the contact with diverse cultures is conceived as a necessity and not a desire. In the second edition of 1880, the Introduction of Socin was modified as follows:

"Eine Reise nach Palästina und Syrien kann nicht als Touristentour im gewöhnlichen Sinne des Wortes gelten. Die relativ spärlichen Naturschönheiten, welche das Land bietet, lohnen die mit einer solchen Reise verbundenen Beschwerden keineswegs. Der Typus des Orients, wie wir ihn uns in seinem bunten Farbenreichtum vorstellen, ist in Ägypten ausgeprägter als in Syrien. Ebenso wenig hat man große Kunstgenüsse zu erwarten... Der einzige Zweck einer Reise nach Palästina kann darin bestehen, den großartigen historischen Erinnerungen dieses Landes nachzugehen".¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ *Prévost*, A perfect, 18.

¹⁰⁷ *Wilson*, Jerusalem, 8.

¹⁰⁸ *Wilson*, Jerusalem, 51.

¹⁰⁹ *Baedeker*, Palestine (1880) XV.

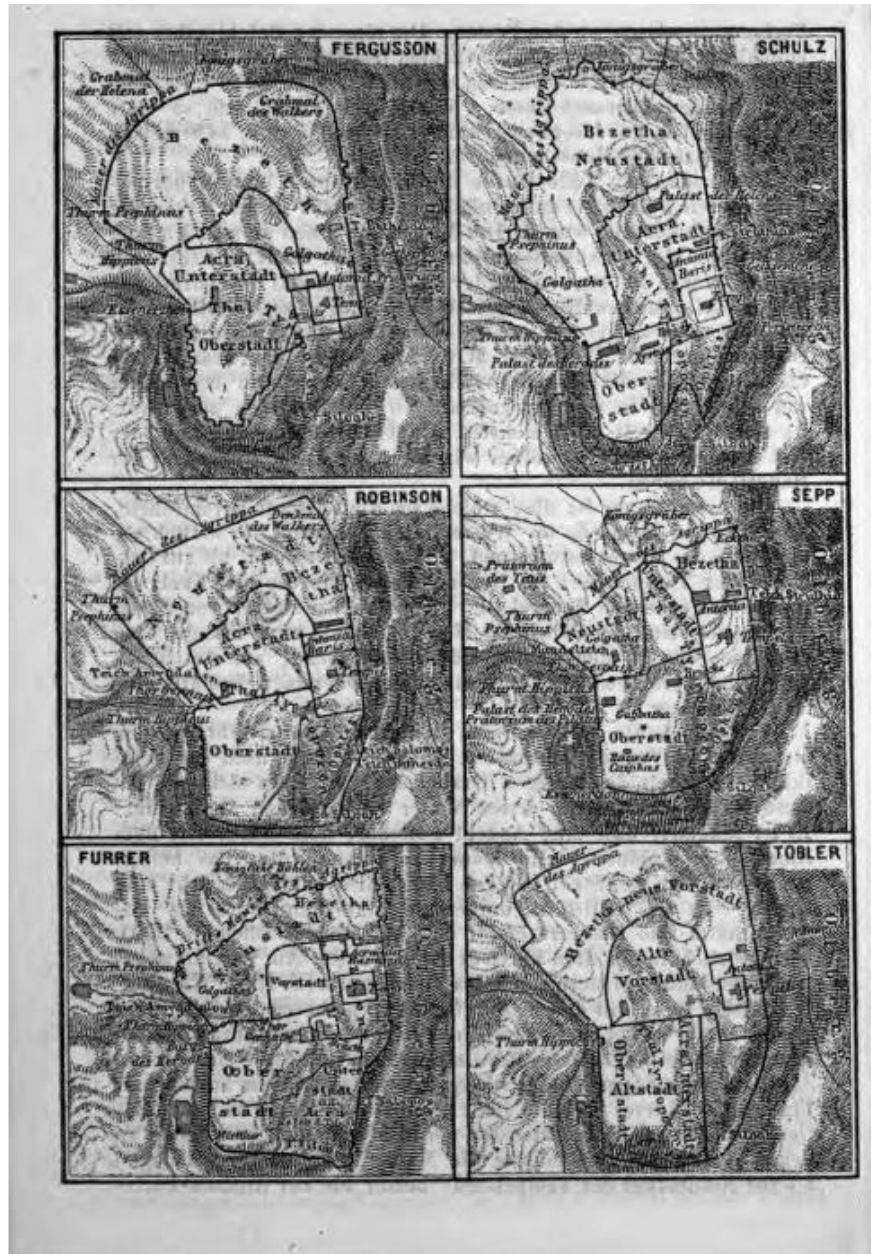
In similar way, Fritz Baedeker in 1875 had already prevented the traveler of going by himself and rather to visit Orient with some companions: “the advantages of mutual support and companionship are invaluable in a country with whose language and customs we are as yet unfamiliar, and with those inhabitants any social intercourse is difficult or impossible.”¹¹⁰ Therefore, the guidebook is made for the enjoy of the monuments and ruins and in order to avoid problems with the locals.

Regarding the cartographic research, we know that the DVEP also made improvements although never of the extension of the PEF Surveys. Immanuel Benzinger himself contributed to make a map of Jerusalem and published it in the *Zeitschrift*. This map was also added to the *Baedeker's Handbook*. Before that, in the Socin's editions, the maps were designed by the Cartographer Dr. Professor Johann Samuel Heinrich Kiepert from Berlin. Kiepert was at the time one of the most well-known cartographers of Palestine and Syria, had been himself traveled to the land in 1870 and published numerous maps. His work was considered as foundational for the cartography of the region and was the ground for the work made by the PEF and the DVEP.¹¹¹ He was also a close collaborator of the American scholar Edward Robinson and the Presbyterian missionary Eli Smith.¹¹² However, the fact that the cartography was still in development is shown by Socin in the section of Palestine where he reproduces six plans of Jerusalem, all of them made by 19th Century cartographers but also all of them different. The main point of disagreement was the location of the walls of the old city. By the end of the century, the location of all would have been located, mainly thanks to the exploration conducted by the PEF.

¹¹⁰ Baedeker, Palestine (1875) 2.

¹¹¹ Kirchhoff, Deutsche, 37.

¹¹² Haim Goren, Edward Robinson, Eli Smith and the Cartography of Berghaus and Kiepert. In: Bruno Schelhaas, Jutta Faehndrich, Haim Goren, Mapping the Holy Land: The Foundation of a Scientific Cartography of Palestine (London/New York 2017) 5.



(Plans of Jerusalem with different location of the old city's walls). *Baedeker, Palästina* (1875) 160.¹¹³

Years later, when Benzinger took over the publication of the *Handbook* he included the maps made by Wagner & Debes, who also made the majority of the maps included in the European collection of the *Baedeker's Handbooks*. The English editions also were different, since Fritz

¹¹³ *Baedeker, Palästina* (1875) 160. The cartographers were: English explorer and PEF member, Sir James Fergusson, German Orientalist Friedrich Eduard Schulz, American biblical scholar Edward Robinson, German Historian Johann Nepomucene Sepp, Swiss Cartographer and colleague of Socin in the DVEP Konrad Furrer and Swiss Orientalist Titus Tobler.

Baedeker decided to include some plans made by the PEF and he also commanded to Kiepert two more plans: one of Yafa and the other of Beirut only for the travel book.



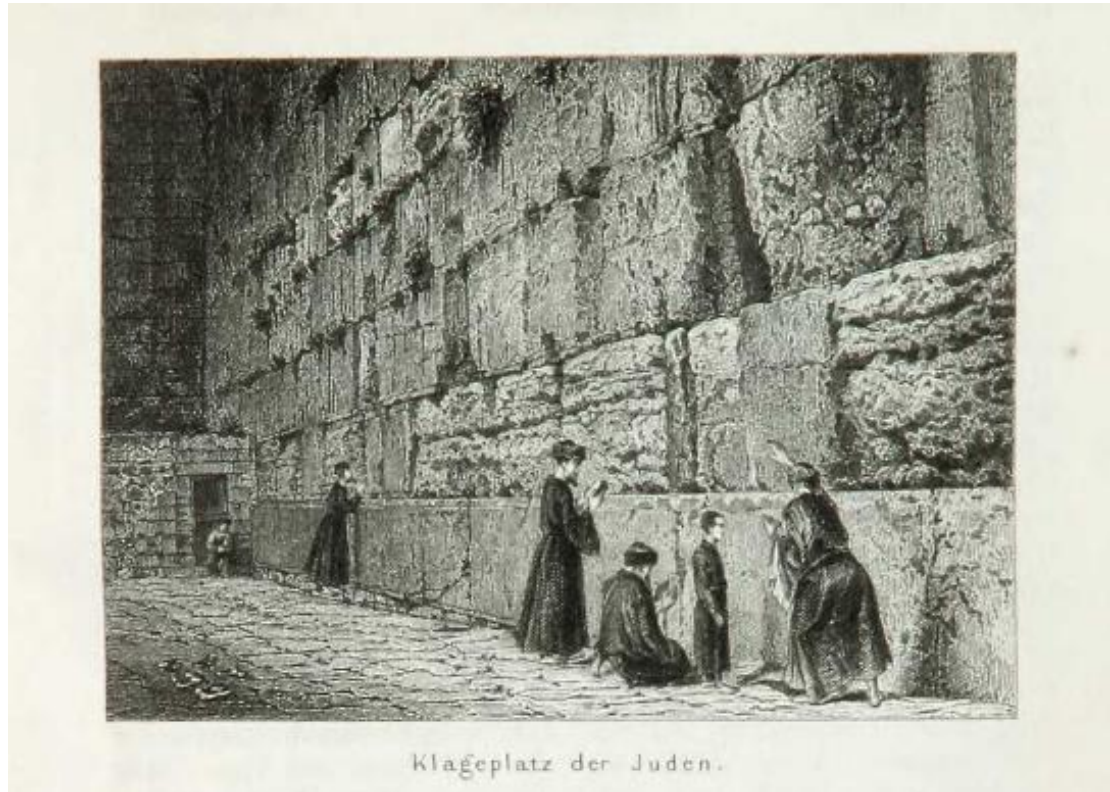
Kiepert, Routes to the Levant. Baedeker, Palästina (1875) II. The main routes were administered by Austrian, English, Italian, French, Turkish and Russian Steamship Companies.

Moreover, one important part of the reeditions of the *Baedeker's Handbook* was the inclusion of new places, in 1904 Mesopotamia and Babylonia were added and in 1910 a tour to Cyprus, all of them with maps. For the routes in Mesopotamia and Babylonia a manuscript from Dr. Paul Rohrbach and Dr. Franz Heinrich Weissbach, both Orientalists in Leipzig, was included. The description of Cyprus was made by another Orientalist from Leipzig Dr. Reinhold Freiherr von Lichtenberg.

Therefore, the number of maps and plans increased as the number of illustrations decreased. In the first Baedeker of 1875 there were 17 maps, 41 plans, 1 panorama of Jerusalem and 8 illustrations. Benzinger took out the illustrations and added more plans instead. By the last edition in 1910, the handbook contained 21 maps, 56 plans and just 1 panorama of Jerusalem.

Although *Baedeker's Handbook* never had many illustrations, those selected to represent Palestine and Syria also give us important leads about the presumptions towards Levant as they also generated some expectations to the possible travelers about what can be found in the area. For instance, in the first Edition by Socin, the illustrations show the sacred places of three different

religions: the Wailing Wall (Jews)¹¹⁴, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Christians)¹¹⁵, and the Dome of the Rock (Muslim)¹¹⁶. However, while in the Dome of the Rock there is no representation of a Muslim, in the Wailing Wall we can see some Jews praying and for the Orthodox we can see a priest inside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In an illustration of Damascus,¹¹⁷ we find a Bedouin with his camel being the only representation of an Arab in there.



Wailing Wall. *Baedeker, Palästina* (1875) 192.

¹¹⁴ *Baedeker, Palästina* (1875) 192.

¹¹⁵ *Baedeker, Palästina* (1875) 202.

¹¹⁶ *Baedeker, Palästina* (1875) 172.

¹¹⁷ *Baedeker, Palästina* (1875) 484.



Church of the Holy Sepulchre. *Baedeker, Palästina* (1875) 202.



Dome of the Rock. *Baedeker, Palästina* (1875) 172.



Damascus, on the right side we can see with a Bedouin with his camel. *Baedeker, Palästina* (1875) 484.

The only illustration that remained in all the German and English editions of Baedeker's handbook was a Panorama of Jerusalem¹¹⁸ where we can see an enclosed city that by 1910 shows us important settlements outside the walls. Nevertheless, the accuracy of the descriptions not only of cities and roads, but mostly of the historical monuments was the most important feature of the *Baedeker's Handbook*.



Panorama of Jerusalem. *Baedeker, Palästina* (1875) 228-229.

¹¹⁸ *Baedeker, Palästina* (1875) 228-229.

2.4 “Authorized voices”: Literature about Palestine and Syria.

One important common feature of both Socin and Benzinger’s editions is the list of bibliography referring to Palestine and Syria, which is also a significant historiographical review of the increase of the exploration but also about the different positions sustained by Socin and Benzinger towards the type of research made by the multiple scientific associations.

The recommended bibliography belonged to the section “Zur Literatur über Palästina und Syrien”. In 1875 Socin started emphatically: “In erster Linie ist es die Bibel, die uns bis in die ältesten Zeiten die beste und genaueste Auskunft über Palästina gibt”,¹¹⁹ a similar idea that presented Murray in his *Handbook*,¹²⁰ which corresponded to his research interests as well as the ones of the DVEP. Then, Socin also included an exhaustive list of sources mostly from the Antiquity such as “Pilgers von Bordeaux” from 333, medieval sources like the texts of John Maundeville and Ludolf de Suchen from the 14th Century and at the end he also incorporated some modern and contemporary sources, mostly from German authors. Just at the end, Socin wrote: “Es bleibt uns noch übrig, zum Schlusse die Gesellschaft des Palestine Exploration Fund zu erwähnen”.¹²¹ However, his opinion about the PEF started to change with the time.

This section of the *Baedeker’s Handbook* was in fact just a small part of Socin’s work with the DVEP, since he was also the responsible for the annual report of the literature about Palestine between 1877 and 1882. The continuous personal research as well as the constant reviews prepared for the DVEP had a strong impact on the way Socin himself started to conceive the work of the DVEP and the achievements of the PEF, and clearly a preference for the first above the second one. First of all, Socin always showed some serious concerns about the methodology used by the members of the PEF and especially about their lack of accuracy regarding the knowledge and translation of the Arabic language, his own specialty and a problem that the PEF had already identified and discussed in its *Quarterly Statement*.¹²² From his perspective, the PEF was good at collecting material but had serious problems in the interpretation: “man liefere die Ergebnisse der englischen Expeditionen zunächst möglichst genau als Materialsammlungen; dann mögen die deutschen wie die englischen Forscher, jeder in seiner Weise, wissenschaftlichen Gebrauch davon machen und Resultate daraus ziehen”.¹²³

¹¹⁹ *Baedeker*, Palästina (1875) 128.

¹²⁰ The Preface of Murray’s started as follows: “The Bible is the Best Handbook for Palestine; the present work is only intended to be a companion to it”. *Murray’s Handbook* (1858) xi.

¹²¹ *Baedeker*, Palästina (1875) 130.

¹²² See section 2.3.

¹²³ Albert Socin, Bücheranzeige. Tent work in Palestine. In: Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Band II (Leipzig 1879)180.

Not only the PEF had problems with the interpretation, since Socin's point of view, but also lacked scientific method. Five years after the first edition of his travel book, Socin conceived the work of the PEF as too inclined to the divulgation of the biblical exegesis from the religious point of view rather than scientific: "... die Ergebnisse der wissenschaftlichen Forschung zu früh und in noch unreifern Zustände popularisiert werden, sondern auch darin, dass eben jener Contact mit der wissenschaftlichen Bibelforschung, die ihrem Wesen nach stets eine esoterische ist, verloren geht. Dies mag wohl der tiefere Grund sein, warum sich englische und deutsche Palästinaforschung so wenig verstehen".¹²⁴

In the same direction reviewed Socin in 1880 the latest book written by Lieutenant Conder, *A handbook to the bible being a guide to the study of the holy scriptures*, derived from the study of ancient monuments and modern exploration: "In sprachlicher Hinsicht ist das Buch mehr als ungenügend".¹²⁵ On the contrary, Socin has a good impression about the work made by French scientific associations: "So großartig die Leistungen der Franzosen auf diesem Gebiete sind, so waltet bei ihnen doch das archäologische, ja das kunsthistorische Interesse vor, obwohl auch auf geographischen und naturwissenschaftlichen Gebiete bedeutende Erfolge bei ihnen zu verzeichnen sind".¹²⁶

Socin in fact was part of the Orientalism in development in his own country. Differently to both England and France, German Orientalists put an emphasis on the knowledge of the Oriental language in order to truly understand the cultures. As Suzanne Marchand sustains: "This was an age of specialists and one in which classicists, in particular, were able to convince the bureaucracy and the well-heeled public that focusing on the languages and cultures of the ancient world was the proper way to train the mind and enrich German cultural output".¹²⁷

Nevertheless, Socin also considered that the cartographical and topographic research was also mandatory in order to understand the region and -considering the purpose of the *Baedeker's Handbook*- to help the traveler to navigate through unknown lands. Hence his critic to the French Orientalism. However, by the time Socin developed his career, German Orientalism was methodologically transiting from the mere exegesis of biblical sources to their comparison with non-biblical ones and therefore, even though Socin claimed for the necessity of good knowledge of Arabic language and its dialects, he still considered necessary to read the Bible as a first and crucial Orientalist source.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Albert Socin, Bericht über neue Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der Palästinaliteratur 1880. In: Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Band IV (Leipzig 1881) 128.

¹²⁵ Socin, Neue (1881) 139.

¹²⁶ Socin, Neue (1881) 129.

¹²⁷ Marchand, German (2009) 74.

¹²⁸ Marchand, German (2009) 75.

From 1882 the literature review was the job of Immanuel Benzinger, who at the same time took over the edition of the *Baedeker's Handbook*. By the time, the produced literature was overwhelming and the job of Benzinger became more difficult than the one made by Socin: "Besonders über Palästina ist die Literatur ungeheuer..."¹²⁹ Moreover, contrary to his mentor, Benzinger considered the work of the PEF as positive and from his point of view, the PEF had established the basis for the latest scientific development.¹³⁰

In any case, Benzinger referred in the *Baedeker's Handbook* a long and very concise and precise list of sources that starts with the *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae* of Reinhold Röhricht and evidently includes the *Quarterly Statement* published by the PEF as well as the *Zeitschrift* published by the DVEP. Specifically, he also recommended reading *The Survey of Western Palestine*. Then, Benzinger gave a list of sources divided in Geography, Historical Geography, Maps, History, Customs and Usages, New Travels, Language, Art History, Natural Sciences and Masterpieces. The common feature of his bibliography is that he only referred literature written in the 19th Century by French, English and German authors.¹³¹ This is just a small sample of how the study of Palestine in the last 30 years of the 19th Century changed dramatically from the, at the beginning, religious and biblical interests to a more historiographical, botanical, geographical ones in a context where both Social and Natural Sciences were being delimited by establishing specific goals and methods. Even after the exhaustive list of scientific sources that Benzinger selected and wrote down, his last note reminds us the Oriental tradition from where he came as well as the core religious discourse about Palestine and Syria that countries like Germany had in its political agenda: "Als selbstverständlich wird die Mitnahme einer Bibel vorausgesetzt".¹³²

2.5 Religion, Society and Culture.

If the previous sections explain to us the terms and rules to be in contact with the "locals", the sections about Society, History and Religion, describe the behavior and background of every group that inhabits Palestine and Syria. Both Socin and Benzinger organize, classify and delimit every culture and give to the reader some guidelines to understand the society. In this sense, *Baedeker's Handbook* presents multiple comments about the physical characteristics, intellectual

¹²⁹ *Baedeker*, Palästina (1891) CXXVII.

¹³⁰ Immanuel *Benzinger*, Bericht über neue Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der Palästinaliteratur 1890. In: *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Band XV (Leipzig 1892) 117.

¹³¹ *Baedeker*, Palästina (1891) CXXVII-CXXVIII.

¹³² *Baedeker*, Palästina (1904) XCII.

capacity, dress, religion and the conception of the world as well as the importance of the activities. Hence, Socin and Benzinger evaluates the talents and flaws of Palestine and Syria's inhabitants.

Regarding the History of Palestine and Syria, Socin emphasizes the Ancient History, many of it based on biblical sources, while the Modern and Contemporary History are barely described, especially after the Ottoman occupation in the 16th century. The historical account is complemented with a meticulous chronology that suddenly had a gap of three hundred years that is described as follows:

"1518: Selim I entreisst Syrien den Mamluken und verleibt es dem türkischen Reiche ein. 1595-1634 Fachreddin, Emir der Drusen".¹³³

And then Socin starts again in 1799 when Napoleon conquered Yafa. Four hundred years that are omitted because they are still unknown for the Orientalists, but also because it is assumed that the reader have less interest in the Turkish part of the History of the Levant.

Speaking of Society, from the beginning Socin presents us distinguished ethnical groups paired with their religions: "Die Bevölkerung Syriens zerfällt ethnographisch in Syrer, Griechen, Araber, Türken, Juden und Franken: nach Religionen in Mohammedaner, Christen, Juden und Anhänger verschiedenen anderer Religionen"¹³⁴ Socin explains that, when traveling, people get to recognize not only the physiognomy but also the religious ascription of Christians, Jews or Muslims: "In kurzer Zeit gewöhnt man sich die Einwohner Syriens nach ihrer Physiognomie zu beurtheilen und als Juden, Christen oder Muslimen zu erkennen",¹³⁵ also because of their specific clothing.¹³⁶

Later, Socin also describes their behavior. Speaking of the Beduin Arabs, he declares: "Der Krieg füllt das Leben der Männer aus; er entspinnt sich in der Regel aus Streitigkeiten um Weideplätze oder Quellen".¹³⁷ There is also an intellectual description of some groups: "Der Türke ist geistig weniger befähigt als der Araber, im Ganzen aber gutmüthig".¹³⁸ And regarding the Turkish population, Socin also reflects on the consequences of their interaction with Western culture: "Die Einführung europäischer Cultur [sic] wird von den Jungtürken selbst höchst oberflächlich betrieben und gewöhnlich am falschen Ende in Angriff genommen, manche meinen,

¹³³ Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 86.

¹³⁴ Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 86.

¹³⁵ Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 87.

¹³⁶ "Die Juden im Orient haben ihren Character ziemlich rein bewahrt, man erkennt sie augenblicklich an der Physiognomie sowohl, als an ihrer Tracht... Auch die Christen sind an ihrer Tracht kenntlich, indem sie in den Städten meistens das bloße Fez, seltener eine schwarze oder sonst dunkel gefärbte Binde darum tragen. Die Muslimen tragen meist weiße Kopfbinden mit eingewobenen Goldfäden..." Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 93.

¹³⁷ Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 87.

¹³⁸ Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 88.

Bildung liege vor allem im Tragen fränkischer Kleidung und im Trinken geistiger Getränke". The truly cultural features of the Western are not integrated and therefore, Socin also concludes: "Die türkische Race [sic] ist übrigens beinahe in der ganzen Türkei im Verfall und im Rückgang begriffen".¹³⁹

In contrast, the Arab population is described as more intellectually capable, a feature that is not visible at first sight and therefore Socin remarks: "Der oberflächliche, der Sprache unkundige Reisende, der nur mit Dragomanen oder höchstens noch Maulthiertreibern zusammenkommt, ahnt nichts von dem Vorhandensein geistigen Lebens; wir können ihn [sic] aber aus langjähriger Erfahrung versichern, dass solches auch heute noch existiert".¹⁴⁰

As we already said, Socin was an Orientalist expert in Arabic Language. Therefore, it is the section of Language the one that shows us a deeper knowledge where even some grammar is explained. The contrast with this positive overview of the Arab got imposed when Socin refers to the Arabic art, comments that Benzinger also reproduces. There, the Arabic art is described as a bastard type of art that copies other traditions: "Die Araber lehnten sich zwar in ihrem Kunstschöpfungen an die Bauten... in späterer Zeit aber artete diese aus; die Formen ihrer Kuppeln wurden schwülstig zugespitzt... Leider fehlt der arabischen Architectur [sic] der Sinn für strenge Formentwicklung, sie hält sich nicht an den Kern, das Ganze eines Baues, sondern an das Einzelne, das Decorative...".¹⁴¹ In sum, Socin tries to give an objective version of the Culture, History and Society of Palestine and Syria. However, he cannot avoid comparing the Arabic world with the parameters of the Western civilizations. Therefore, at the end he presents us a place in development but still behind of the achievements of the West. While the physical and intellectual capacities establish already a hierarchy where Arabs are in fact superior to the Turks, Socin however describes an Arabic art inferior to the Western Medieval one. Finally, Socin decides to also explain the characteristics of the religious beliefs. His explanation about each of them follows a clear line from Judaism to Islam as accumulative traditions and yet, slow, and significative differentiation of dogmas.

Unquestionably, among the religions present in Palestine and Syria, it is El-Islam the one that most of the time occupies Socin. It is clear that Socin assumes that the reader is Christian, either Catholic or Protestant because he mentions Maronites, Orthodox and Nestorians, but never

¹³⁹ Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 88.

¹⁴⁰ Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 71. [In the English translation of 1976, the whole population of Syria is referred and not only the Arabs, as in the original of 1875, as a sort of simplification: "The traveller unacquainted with the language of the country, who comes in contact with the natives through the medium of his dragoman or muleteer only, will naturally be skeptical as to the existence of intellectual aspirations among the Syrians of the present day; but we can assure him, from an experience of many years, that the native mind and imagination are much more active than is commonly believed"].

¹⁴¹ Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 126.

their specificities and also overviews the explanation of the Christian dogma. But regarding Islam, Socin shows us his Orientalist expertise and explains thoroughly its origin, its main dogmas and how these two impact the daily life of the Muslim communities, as well as their ideas about three main topics: God, the Final Judgement and Death.

After the general description of the Koran, Socin adds also his appreciation of the Islam in general: "Die neueren Untersuchungen bringen mehr und mehr ans Licht, wie wenig Originelles an allen diesen Erzählungen ist, wie Mohammed immer nur nacherzählt und entweder trübe Quellen hat (erst jüdische, später auch christliche) oder sie missversteht".¹⁴² Later on, Socin also distinguishes between Egypt where the European influence has nuanced the importance of religion, and Syria and Palestine where the "fanatism" is still strong. The same part is explained in the English edition at large as follows:

"The Muslims ... still regard themselves as possessors of the special favour of God, and as Rulers of the world, preferred by Him to all other nations. In Egypt European influence, having been encouraged at court since the beginning of the present century, has greatly mitigated the arrogance of Muslims towards strangers; but in Syria the contrasts between the different sects are still very marked. El-Islam, being conscious here of having retained its hold on the bulk of the population, displays unmasked its true fanatical spirit, and thus renders itself more interesting to the student of human nature".¹⁴³

In both editions, the use of the word fanaticism remains; Socin only uses the Word fanatic for another group, the Greek Orthodox: "sind im Ganzen als sehr fanatisch bekannt, ihr Hass trifft vor allem die Lateiner, viel weniger die Protestanten".¹⁴⁴ Although in the English edition there is also a statement about the "arrogance" of the Muslims. Regardless of it, we can find an Orientalist that debates between explaining and describing his study's subject and the person, Socin, who cannot avoid to compare the uses and habits of Muslims to the European ones, shaping and revindicating a Levantine form or religion that it is less flexible than both Western Christian (Catholic and Protestant) and Jewish ones, as for both of them he does not use the word "fanatism". This mixture gives as a result the explanation of a Muslim society as fanatic, yet, in many ways similar to the Jewish and some Christians, since they all share the same fundamental ideas. This is specially the case regarding the position of women in their societies: "Dass die Frau

¹⁴² Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 97.

¹⁴³ Baedeker, Palestine (1876) 86.

¹⁴⁴ Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 91.

wie eine Waare behandelt wird, ist uralte hergebrachte Sitte des Orients und der größte Fehler des Islâm, obwohl die Stellung der Frau bei den orientalischen Christen und Juden wenig besser ist".¹⁴⁵

The same impression appears later when Socin starts to explain the habits of the Muslim societies: "Der Reisende wird leicht die Bemerkung machen, dass die Sitten, welche er bei den Landeseinwohnern wahrnimmt, in vieler Beziehung denen gleichen, die uns im alten und neuen Testament entgegentreten".¹⁴⁶ Slowly, Socin shows also a conception of the History where Catholicism and Protestantism appear to be more evolved, since they both have corrected in praxis the problems of the old scriptures, transforming their traditions too: "Eine Frau würde sich für beschimpft halten, wenn man ihr zumuthete, mit der Freiheit aufzutreten, welche die Frauen in Europa geniessen".¹⁴⁷ While this last phrase is repeated by Benzinger in his editions, he also decides to point out the flaws of the Orthodox and Jews regarding the feminine role in their societies: "Mit der Polygamie steht die altorientalische Anschauung in Verbindung, dass die Frau ein untergeordnetes Wesen sei; daher wird wie vielfach und zwar auch bei den orientalischen Christen und Juden als Ware, als Sklavin betrachtet".¹⁴⁸ In this change, it is clear that regarding this topic, Benzinger definitely positions the West in a superior position than the East. Therefore, it rests to confront Socin's perspective with the one in general offered by his disciple, Immanuel Benzinger.

¹⁴⁵ Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 100.

¹⁴⁶ Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 105.

¹⁴⁷ Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 100.

¹⁴⁸ Baedeker, Palästina (1891) XCIX.

Chapter 3.- Immanuel Benzinger's editions

"The excessive zeal of the Turkish censorship sometimes even extends to the confiscation of guide-books. The traveller is therefore advised to place this volume in his pocket before crossing the

Turkish frontier or entering a Turkish port"

(Removable note attached to the first page of *Baedeker's Palestine and Syria*, English Edition, 1906)

When Albert Socin¹⁴⁹ retired, one of his former students, Dr. Immanuel Benzinger, at the time only 26 years old, took over the role of editor for the third edition of *Baedeker's Handbook* published in 1891. For the preparation of this edition, Benzinger travelled almost a year around the area. He was an Orientalist but also a protestant Theologian; later on, he decided to live in Jerusalem. Benzinger, like Socin, was also member of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft and at the same time, he was also responsible for the publication of the *Zeitschrift* of the DVEP from 1897 to 1902. After that, he stopped his collaboration with the journal, but continue with the edition of *Baedeker's Handbook*. His publications were not only about the Old Testament and Arabic Language but also about Protestant and also Jewish Religions, he even was a cartographer and contributed to make a Map of Jerusalem.¹⁵⁰ After living in Jerusalem (1901-1912), Benzinger moved to Toronto, Canada where he taught Old Testament and History of Palestine, then to Pennsylvania, United States; Tübingen, Germany and finally to Riga, Latvia, where he died in 1935.

In 1903 he collaborated with an American publication about the explorations in Palestine. There, he did not only make a review of the main findings of the European explorers during the 19th Century, but also, he enunciates his conception about the specific goals of such research. After establishing the special condition of Palestine conceived as "The Holy Land", and the preeminence of the biblical sources, he clarifies:

"There historical antecedents of Palestine research must be kept in view in order to understand the peculiar development of our knowledge of Palestine as a science in our

¹⁴⁹ Albert Socin died in 1899.

¹⁵⁰ Martin *Mulzer*, Immanuel Benzinger. In: Das wissenschaftliche Bibellexikon im Internet. (2010) (WiBiLex). Available on: <http://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/stichwort/45544>.

century. This development had to begin with a struggle against these overpowering traditions, and this struggle above all made manifest the need of undertaking a reliable geographical and scientific exploration of the land, and the results of which would for all time to come put an end to the making of fables”.¹⁵¹

In this sense, Benzinger, as his mentor, aimed for a scientific knowledge of Palestine and not only for a biblical exegesis. Therefore, his *Baedeker's Handbook* did not look for a pilgrimage, but rather a historical and archaeological exploration. Between 1891 and 1910 Benzinger edited five times *Baedeker's Handbook*. In general, he made small but quite relevant changes to the original introduction written originally by Socin, mostly by reorganizing the topics. Benzinger continued with the style chosen by Socin and he also showed less concern about the analysis and more about the description of the cultures, values and morals, in order to make it practical for the traveler and reader.

For instance, the section called “Intercourse with the Orientals”, was corrected and prolonged in every edition made by Benzinger. In this part, the Orientalist included some of his own observations regarding the behavior of the “Orientals”. In his 6th edition, in 1904, Benzinger made it almost a page longer than the one written by Socin in 1875. He also added some comments about the values among the “Orientals”: “Vertraulichkeit ist nirgends am Platze. Echte Freundschaft ist im Orient selten, Uneigennützigkeit gibt es kaum. Dem Europäer gegenüber halten die Leute alle zusammen... Man lasse sich daher durch die unendlichen Freundschaftsbezeugungen, mit denen man überschüttet zu werden pflegt, nicht täuschen; hinter allem lauert die Erwartung eines um so [sic] höheren Trinkgeldes”.¹⁵²

At the same time, since Benzinger was a theologian, his notes about Society and Religion are also more prolific in his editions. Again, the corrections to the Socin's original are small but remarkable. Here an example. In 1875, Socin wrote about the Beduins: “Die Beduinen sind äusserlich Muslimen; in der Regel aber beschäftigen sie sich nur mit ihren Heerden und Raubzügen und wenig mit Religion”,¹⁵³ but in 1904, Benzinger edited and modified the same part as: “Man hört sie viel singen und erzählen, auch lieben sie die Dichtkunst, die aber wenig entwickelt ist, von Religion wissen sie fast nichts”.¹⁵⁴

Regarding the Turks, Benzinger made important corrections to the Socin's comments, and erased the notes about the decay of the Turkish culture.¹⁵⁵ In sum, his perception about them was

¹⁵¹ Benzinger, *Researches*, 584.

¹⁵² Baedeker, *Palästina* (1904) xxvii.

¹⁵³ Baedeker, *Palästina* (1875) 87.

¹⁵⁴ Baedeker, *Palästina* (1906) liv.

¹⁵⁵ See Section 2.5.

as follows: "Die Türken ... zeichnen sich ... in den unteren Volkskreisen durch patriarchalische Einfachheit, Gottesfurcht, rechtlichen Sinn, Wahrhaftigkeit und Mildtätigkeit gegen Arme aus...die Korruption der Beamten ist unleugbar groß, doch fehlt es nicht an rühmlichen Ausnahmen".¹⁵⁶ In any case, Benzinger also shared with Socin the concern about the necessity of objectivity while describing the characteristics of cultures. Specifically, Benzinger was a critic towards the intromission of political agendas in the perception and description of Oriental cultures. For instance, when in 1901 he reviewed a book that described the travel to Jerusalem by the Emperor Wilhelm II, Benzinger made special remarks about the included notes written by Friedrich Graf von Mülinen called "Die Unterthanen des Sultan":

"Es scheint heutzutage in vielen Kreisen Mode zu sein, über die Türkei und deren Verhältnisse, über die Völker derselben, namentlich auch über den Islam und seine Bedeutung möglichst geringschätzig und absprechend zu urtheilen, meist mit einem Seitenhieb auf die 'türkenfreundliche' deutsche Politik. Aber wie sehr zu Unrecht dieses absprechende Urtheil über die Türken gefällt wird, das zeigt eben die vorurtheilslose Charakterisierung der selben in unserem Buch, die durch ihre nüchterne Objektivität Eindruck zu machen nicht verfehlen wird".¹⁵⁷

Benzinger also presented a different perspective about the purposes of the travel itself as well as the preconceptions needed to interact with the multiple communities of the region. In the first page, Benzinger added an epigraphy different from the one chosen by Socin (from Chaucer), as follows: "Bist du im fremden Land, so musst du dich bequemen. Der Landesart [sic], doch brauchst du sie nicht anzunehmen". In many ways, his editions were a sample of the position of the observer who stays completely independent of the influence of the visited societies and their cultures, yet, needs to learn the written and unwritten rules in order to interact with the population.

3.1 Jerusalem

Baedeker's Handbooks were in any case a detailed description of the Syria and Palestine and therefore, there were far from being small pocketbooks. The different editions had about 600 pages each and they even include sometimes more than two routes to one place, in order to give multiple options to the traveler. However, Jerusalem was always the city with the longest

¹⁵⁶ *Baedeker*, Palästina (1904) LV.

¹⁵⁷ Immanuel *Benzinger*, Bücheranzeige. Das deutsche Kaiserpaar im heiligen Land im Herbst 1898. In: Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Band 24 (Leipzig 1901) 42.

description and therefore the better example of the changes in Palestine in the time frame from the first to the last Baedeker's editions in German, from 1875 to 1910.

TABLE 1.—THE POPULATION OF JERUSALEM, 1800–1922, BY RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

Year	Muslims	Christians	Jews	Total
1800	4,000	2,750	2,000	8,750
1835	4,500	3,250	3,000	10,750
1840	4,650	3,350	5,000	13,000
1850	5,350	3,650	6,000	15,000
1860	6,000	4,000	8,000	18,000
1870	6,500	4,500	11,000	22,000
1880	8,000	6,000	17,000	31,000
1890	9,000	8,000	25,000	42,000
1900	10,000	10,000	35,000	55,000
1910	12,000	13,000	45,000	70,000
1922	13,500	14,700	34,400	62,600

Sources: Y. Ben-Arieh, "The Population of the Large Towns in Palestine during the First Eighty Years of the Nineteenth Century," *International Seminar on the History of Palestine and its Jewish Settlement* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1970); Y. Ben-Arieh, "The Growth of the Jewish Community of Jerusalem in the Nineteenth Century," *Chapters in the History of the Jewish Community in Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Yad Szhak Ben Zvi, 1973), pp. 80–121; Watson, op. cit., footnote 43; and the different editions of the Baedeker and Liévin guides, op. cit., footnotes 11 and 17.

(From Y. Ben-Arieh, *The Growth* (1975) 262. As we can read, one of the sources of Ben-Arieh are the *Baedeker's Handbooks*)

Firstly, the size of the city changed dramatically during those years. At the beginning of the century the population was about 9000, but by the end of it was almost 70000.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, the way of visiting the city also was affected by political events. Until 1856 it was forbidden to non-Muslims the visit of Muslim Holy places. But after the Ottoman reforms of that year, tourists from all over the world had finally the possibility of visiting the Mount Area with a previous authorization and only with the supervision of an Ottoman soldier. Since 1874 there were no more customs in the Ottoman Empire and therefore traveler's luggage was no more checked at the entrance of Jerusalem, although the city itself was still enclosed after sunset.¹⁵⁹

Baedeker's Handbooks included therefore the visit to Muslim areas not only as a novelty but also because of the architecture of the mosques.¹⁶⁰ Socin recommend a visit mostly limited to the Old City of Jerusalem inside the walls; the neighborhoods outside the walls were not considered worth to visit because they were new and did not correspond with the antique Jerusalem. His first comment about the city reminds us of to the ones made by the PEF in the

¹⁵⁸ Y. Ben-Arieh, *The Growth of Jerusalem in the Nineteenth Century*. In: *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, June, 65 (1975) 269.

¹⁵⁹ *Baedeker*, *Palästina* (1875) 149.

¹⁶⁰ Y. Ben-Arieh, *The Growth* (1975) 258.

Ordnance of Jerusalem: a city in ruins that can only offer vague traces of history to those who have at least an elementary historical knowledge of it: "Und je länger und öfter der Reisende in Jerusalem verweilt, desto mehr Interesse flößen ihm die alten Ruinen ein, und es wird ihm zuletzt klar, wie das düstere Bild der modernen Stadt, der physische und geistige Zerfall, so recht als Schlussstein zu der gesamten großen Geschichte, welche hier gespielt hat, passt".¹⁶¹

Second of all, it is important to take on account how the description of the space and organization of the city are crucial for the traveler to understand the city, the recommended routes establish what is or not important and who does live in this place. In this case, Socin emphasized a division of the city according to the confessions of the inhabitants. Therefore, the division is not only physical, because it is also a reflects the actual social division of the city: "Gerade das Zerrbild von Religion, wie es in Jerusalem überall zu Tage tritt, der Fanatismus und die feindselige Abgeschlossenheit der so verschieden religiösen Gemeinschaften, gibt heute dieser Stadt ihren geistigen Charakter...".¹⁶² Socin alerted the traveler that he will find a fanatic city where everything was lived and suffered under the weight of the religion. And therefore, the traveler needed to accept this unwritten rule in order to navigate through the city.

In short, from Socin's point of view, Jerusalem was divided in Muslim, Jews, Latin, Christian Greeks, Armenian and finally protestants inhabitants, which of them having their own administration and religious leaders. From all of them the Protestant were the newly arrived, since its bishopric had been founded in 1841 by Wilhelm IV of Prussia. In this sense, Socin omitted to comment that also the Catholic Church was in a sort of revival in Palestine. Only in 1847 the Pope Pius IX reestablished the Latin Patriarchate in Jerusalem. Before that, the Franciscan religious community was the only representant of the Vatican in the region since the 13th Century.¹⁶³

Socin ended this part of his description of Jerusalem with the phrase: "Jerusalem ist nicht eine Stadt, in welcher der Fremde sich belustigen kann, den hier nimmt, wie gesagt, Alles einen religiösen Anstrich an".¹⁶⁴ Therefore, the whole description of the city went around sacred places as well as the neighborhoods divided by religious confessions. The only entertaining place, according to Socin, was the library of the Literary and Scientific Society from the British Consulate where the traveler could learn more about Jerusalem.

¹⁶¹ *Baedeker, Palästina* (1875) 151.

¹⁶² *Baedeker, Palästina* (1875) 151.

¹⁶³ Bertrand *Lamure*, *Les pèlerinages français au XIXe siècle: croisade catholique et patriotique*. In: *Europäer in der Levante Zwischen Politik, Wissenschaft und Religion (19.-20. Jahrhundert)* (München 2004) 113-114. The Franciscan community had been also the representant of the Holy Roman Empire. Barbara *Haider-Wilson*, *Das Generalkommissariat des Heiligen Landes in Wien. Eine Wiederentdeckung des 19. Jahrhunderts*. In: *Europäer in der Levante Zwischen Politik, Wissenschaft und Religion (19.-20. Jahrhundert)* (München 2004) 124.

¹⁶⁴ *Baedeker, Palästina* (1875) 169.

Regarding this last point, Socin and Benzinger wrote a list of literature specifically about Jerusalem. It is also possible to see some differences between the German and the English edition where it is recommended the *Recovery of Jerusalem*,¹⁶⁵ result of the excavations made by the PEF, a work that Socin did not recommend in 1875 because he considered it inaccurate. Evidently, by 1910, the list of books about Jerusalem is extensive, a reflect of the research made in those thirty-five years.

Moreover, from the fourth edition, Benzinger did provide a very different picture of the religious activity in the city. For instance, by 1904, the paragraph written by Socin about the fanaticism of the inhabitants, is substituted by Benzinger with a list of the different churches, temples, and religious services -including English, German languages- in the city. In the list, the Protestant churches are a novelty. Yet, the perspective of a city in ruins is maintained: "Das heutige Jerusalem wird den Besucher zunächst enttäuschen. Von der glänzenden Hauptstadt des jüdischen Reichs scheint gar zu wenig übrig geblieben zu sein."¹⁶⁶

The strong separation between the "old" and the "new" Jerusalem can also be perceived in the historical summary that both Socin and Benzinger share. A long historical explanation according to the biblical references to Israel, a short explanation about the Crusades and a final moment in 1517 when Jerusalem "fiel sie in die Hände der Osmanen".¹⁶⁷ In 1925 Benzinger with his son also published a short book about the Holy Land with images and their descriptions which show us the same attitude towards the region: it is a description of monuments in the past, without a reference to the present or without real population.¹⁶⁸ However, as we will see, this "objective" description for touristic purposes was quite different from the real Benzinger who lived in Jerusalem and who was involved in the social and political events of his time. It was in any case a legacy of his formation as Orientalist and the teachings of his professors like Socin who wanted to differentiate their handbook from other ones more personal, emotive and subjective.

This ambiguity in the treatment of the city, made by Benzinger, can be confronted quite often. For instance, a Jerusalem in ruins as is referred, is in fact contrasted in other parts of the *Baedeker's Handbook* where we can read a vivid description written by Benzinger who presents us a lively city where the effect of the presence of foreigners is more and more obvious. First of all, the arrival is now made by train -and not by camel or foot- to the Jerusalem Railway Station, "Hier mündet die vom Bahnhof kommende Strasse und herrscht stets ein reger Verkehr von

¹⁶⁵ *Baedeker*, Palestine (1876) 164.

¹⁶⁶ *Baedeker*, Palästina (1904) 29.

¹⁶⁷ *Baedeker*, Palästina (1904) 27.

¹⁶⁸ Immanuel *Benzinger*, Durchs Heilige Land. Kleine Lichtbildreihen zur Belehrung und Unterhaltung aus allen Wissensgebieten mit erläuterndem Text (Stuttgart 1925).

Pilgern, Reisenden, Reittiervermietern usw.”¹⁶⁹, even a part of the wall had been demolished for the reception of the Kaiser in 1898. Then Benzinger presents an extensive list of hotels and hospices managed by Austrians, French, German, a city where is possible to find German style bread, beer and wine all of them produced and sold by the Temple colonizers. In more formal matters, by then also Spain and Greece had consulates in Jerusalem and the bishopric shared by Germany and England had been separated. That the city itself has been transformed by the effect of tourism was demonstrated not only with the mention of tourism agencies, but even with the long list of recommended dragomans in the city and the multiple languages they did speak.¹⁷⁰ Specifically in the Jaffa Suburb we find a whole new city where lived the majority of foreigners and where the buildings were brand new.

Instead of an old settlement, Benzinger describes unintendedly a re-discovered city, as many of the monuments had been recently found thanks to the archaeological expeditions,¹⁷¹ while others had been just recently renovated.¹⁷² In the English edition, there is even more information about the recent discoveries. For instance, the book refers a Wilson's Arch at David Street¹⁷³, named after the director of the PEF's Survey of Jerusalem, as well as to the excavations made under the command of Sir Charles Warren. Jerusalem is described as an effervescent city, but it owes many of its transformations to the contact with the West.

In any case, the punctual and long description of Immanuel Benzinger is not at all accidental; between 1901 and 1912, Benzinger lived in Jerusalem. That means that from his 6th edition in 1904, he added some of the information as a resident. Moreover, Benzinger also established a Travel agency in Jerusalem which, even if it had not an advertisement on the *Baedeker's Handbook*, it was at least mentioned at the beginning.¹⁷⁴ He was also a teacher for the Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden and finally, from 1906 and until 1912 Benzinger worked as a Viceconsul of Netherlands.¹⁷⁵

As a researcher and as a diplomat, Benzinger was also a witness of an important transformation in the relation between the Ottoman Empire and European powers. These personal experiences gave to his last two editions of *Baedeker's Handbook* some particularities. For instance, even if Benzinger did not recommend the visit of the settlement outside of the wall, he could not avoid writing about the benefits of the German settlements for the development of

¹⁶⁹ *Baedeker*, Palästina (1904) 29.

¹⁷⁰ *Baedeker*, Palästina (1904) 17.

¹⁷¹ For instance, the Atrium of Constantine's Basilica was discovered in 1907. *Baedeker*, Palestine (1912) 48.

¹⁷² Like the Golden Gate of the Doom which was renovated in 1892. *Baedeker*, Palestine (1912) 63.

¹⁷³ *Baedeker*, Palestine (1912) 65.

¹⁷⁴ *Baedeker*, Palästina (1904) xii.

¹⁷⁵ Martin Mulzer, Immanuel Benzinger. In: Das wissenschaftliche Bibellexikon im Internet. (2010) (WiBiLex). Permanenter Link zum Artikel: <http://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/stichwort/45544>.

Palestine: “Unter der türkischen Herrschaft ist die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Landes beständig zurückgegangen; erst in den letzten Jahrzehnten hat sie sich, besonders in Palästina, wieder gehoben, vor allem durch den Einfluss der deutschen und anderen Fremdenkolonien”.¹⁷⁶

Statistically, Benzinger presents us in 1904 a city inhabited by around 60 000 people, almost 40 000 of them being Jews and the rest Christians and Muslims. Moreover, he presents us a city with a Council where all the religions are represented, where Muslims act as a “unparteiische Polizei” at the Sepulcher’s Church, in the possible disputes of the different Christian religions.¹⁷⁷ The stability of the Muslim population -almost described as passivity- was also reflected in the urban landscape. In *Baedeker’s Handbook* the Muslim Quartier maintained almost exactly the same limits as before the 19th Century, while the Jewish and Christian neighborhoods started to grow. For instance, a sort of “Protestant Quartier” had been built around the German Protestant church.¹⁷⁸ The distance between the Muslim Quartier and the Muslim Holy places created a gap where different European countries like England, Germany and Austria decided to build churches, schools, monasteries and established their consulates, breaking the former urban unity of the Muslim world.¹⁷⁹ Finally, the massive arrival of Jewish population caused the construction of houses, schools and synagogues next to and inside of the Muslim Quartier and when the space was not enough, they started to build a new city outside the walls of the old Jerusalem. At the beginning of the Great War, there were already sixty Jewish neighborhoods in the city.¹⁸⁰ At that time, the original city described by Socin, divided in Quartiers corresponding to their religions, did not anymore exist.

Benzinger also shows us that the scientific interests in Palestine had also increased and by 1904 there were already three other Occidental scientific associations, the École Pratique d’Études Bibliques, French, founded in 1890, the American School for Oriental Study and Research created in 1900, and the Archäologisches Institut (1902) from Germany.¹⁸¹ In 1910, there will be already a long list of libraries open to the general public where even Greek texts from the 10th century could be read. It is important to recognize that Benzinger did not refer to the Russian Palestine Society as a scientific association, although it was already in Jerusalem since 1892.

Moreover, as inhabitant of Jerusalem, Benzinger could have a more personal understanding of the dynamics established among the different religious communities. From his point of view, Christians had many disputes among them although they should have set an

¹⁷⁶ *Baedeker*, Palästina (1904) xlix-l.

¹⁷⁷ *Baedeker*, Palästina (1904)31.

¹⁷⁸ *Y. Ben-Arieh*, *The Growth*, 258.

¹⁷⁹ *Y. Ben-Arieh*, *The Growth*, 259.

¹⁸⁰ *Y. Ben-Arieh*, *The Growth*, 266.

¹⁸¹ *Baedeker*, Palästina (1904) 19.

example to the other religions by forming a united front and a single community. Instead, the different variants of Christianity had fought for its own predominance, "Feindselig schliessen sich die verschiedenen Religionsparteien voneinander ab, und unter den einheimischen Christen tobt gehässiger Kampf, der häufig mit unlauteren Mitteln geführt wird und die Verachtung der gläubigen Juden und Muslimen Ihnen gegenüber wohl begreiflich macht".¹⁸² The comment was not false; by the time the Europeans reentered Jerusalem, it was clear that the Orthodox constituted the majority of the Christians in the city and they administered the most important Christian places, for instance, the Holy Sepulcher Church. With the increase of Catholic and Protestant presence, the Orthodox had to share these sacred places, which provoked animosity among them. And among the Orthodox, they were the Russian the most powerful and specifically the Russian Mission "verfolgt neben kirchlichen auch russisch-nationale Zwecke".¹⁸³ As we will see in the next section, this is not the only time Benzinger refers to the Russians as politically active rather than religious and pious settlers. Benzinger will also comment negatively about the attitude of the Russian Empire towards the Jewish population.

The tour Benzinger proposes emphasizes the visit of Christian places and churches (either Catholic, Orthodox or Oriental). In second place, Benzinger proposes to visit the Dome of the Rock and in general some Mosques, but it is clear that Benzinger had less interest than Socin for Muslim sacred places. The most interesting place is Haram-es-scherif or Temple Mount, which can only be visited with authorization of the Turk Authorities and with the company of a soldier.¹⁸⁴ Interestingly, Benzinger did not propose the visit of the Protestant Church at the Complex of Augusta Victoria.

However, in the center of the description of Jerusalem there was the topic of the evident increase of the Jewish population, the causes and most important, the effects for the former inhabitants as well as for the development of the foreign settlements and therefore, it was a subject that influence the writings and the actions of both Socin and Benzinger, being also reflected in *Baedeker's Handbook*.

3.2 The Jewish Problem

As we already said, the political and social context of Palestine can be seen in the different editions of the *Baedeker's Handbooks*. As a settler, it was Immanuel Benzinger who had more opportunities to describe how the region was changing and, in this sense, it was the arrival of Jewish population one of the most obvious changes. Moreover, as participant of the so-called

¹⁸² *Baedeker, Palästina* (1904) 29.

¹⁸³ *Baedeker, Palästina* (1904) 22.

¹⁸⁴ *Baedeker, Palästina* (1904) 45.

Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden, he intervened directly in the settlement of Jewish population in Jerusalem, as a teacher.

In 1875 Socin mentioned the following numbers about the population in Jerusalem: “Die Bevölkerung beträgt nach gewöhnlicher Schätzung gegen 24,000 Seelen; davon sind etwa 13,000 Muslimen, 7000 Christen und 4000 Juden.” According to the statistics from the Turkish government in 1871, there were 1025 Muslim households and 630 Jewish ones. About the still small population Socin referred “Die Juden leben meist von der Mildthätigkeit ihrer europäischen Brüder, die meisten erhalten ihrer chalûka, ihren Anteil. Viele Juden reisen von Europa nach der heiligen Stadt, um im Gebiete derselben begraben zu werden”.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, while describing the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, Socin pictures a big number of Jews praying next to it and explain to his reader: “Der spanische Jude unterscheidet sich durch ein gepflegteres und freieres Äußere vorteilhaft von dem schmutzigen polnischen”.¹⁸⁶ And after sharing some of the litanies told on Fridays, Socin also makes another comment: “Jedermann wird bei diesem Anblick die Zähigkeit bewundern, mit welcher dieses Volk an seinen alten Traditionen hängt und noch immer die Aufrichtung eines zweiten davidischen Reiches ersehnt und erwartet”.¹⁸⁷ Although Benzinger did not eliminate the comment about the difference in cleanness between Poles and Spaniards,¹⁸⁸ he did omit the second one about the “dream” of a new Kingdom. By 1904, the new Jewish Kingdom was already a topic of international discussion and it could not have been referred so easily without provoking political reactions.

However, the comments about the urban space occupied by the Jewish population was very negative. Regarding the Jewish Quartier, Socin had described it as follows: “Das schmutzige Judenquartier mit vielen Synagogen... Trödlerbuden, Weinschenken usw., enthält nichts Bemerkenswerthes”, a comment that Benzinger decided to maintain in his editions.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, he also remarked that the Jewish population was very poor and was only able to subsist thanks to the help of the Western Associations.¹⁹⁰ Both Socin and Benzinger explained how hospitals and hospices founded by Christians were crucial to promote the development of the Jewish Population. For instance, how Baron von Rothschild had helped the poor Jews from Eastern Europe: “...Montefiore, Rothschild und ähnliche Judenfreude haben durch großartige Schenkungen und Stiftungen versucht, das Loos ihrer Glaubensgenossen zu erleichtern”.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁵ Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 167.

¹⁸⁶ Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 193.

¹⁸⁷ Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 193.

¹⁸⁸ Baedeker, Palästina (1910) 60.

¹⁸⁹ Baedeker, Palästina (1904) 31.

¹⁹⁰ Baedeker, Palästina (1910) 23.

¹⁹¹ Baedeker, Palästina (1875) 137.

However, for Benzinger it was inevitable to discuss the obvious increase of the Jewish population in Palestine; it was in fact a topic researched and developed by other members of the DVEP. For instance, we can find the article published in 1893 by Gustaf Hermann Dalman, "Gegenwärtiger Bestand der jüdischen Colonien in Palästina" where he underlined the role of Russian associations in this process, by buying land and distributing it among Jews. At that time, Dalman counted already 43783 Jews in all Palestine.¹⁹²

In that sense, Benzinger complemented the description with updated Statistics, in 1891 the population is composed by 40000 inhabitants, 28000 Jews, 7560 Muslims and the rest different types of Christians. "Die Zahl der Juden ist in den letzten Jahren namentlich durch die Verfolgung in Rumänen und Russland sehr gewachsen... sowohl von solchen, die gern im Gebiet der heiligen Stadt begraben sein wollen, als auch von solchen, die dort von den milden Gaben der Glaubensgenossen in Europa zu leben gedenken".¹⁹³

Benzinger had given in fact an important tip about the rapid increase of the Jewish Population. To this process contributed many factors. Firstly, the reforms of 1856 opened the possibility to settle in Middle East. Technologically, the Suez Canal made possible the travel and trade themselves. Moreover, the end of the Crimean War gave to the Ottoman Empire new means of transport like a shipping line from Russia. The same war provoked the massive migration of Jews from Rumania, Poland and Russia. Finally, the birth and diffusion of the Zionism, a wide and complex ideology which main characteristic was to defend the right of the Jews to the Holy Land. The first Zionist movement coming from Russia, "Lovers of Zion" arrived to Jerusalem in 1882 which soon established relation -not always a peaceful one- with the German settlements, considering that both shared the "newly arrived" context and that their alliance could protect them against the opposition of the Palestine's inhabitants.¹⁹⁴ In 1897 it was held the World Zionist Congress, but by then many other Jewish settlers had managed to buy the land outside of the walls of the original Jerusalem. Although the other group that showed an important increase was the Protestant one -by 1891, there were already a German Evangelique Church, the Templar colony and the British Protestant Mission- it was the Jewish population the one that was in the middle of the change of the social and political landscape creating doubts about the future of the region.

Yet, it is important to emphasize that newly arrived Jewish population was distinguished mostly from each other since the context of their nationality. As we already mentioned, Lawrence

¹⁹² Hermann *Dalman*, Gegenwärtiger Bestand der jüdischen Colonien in Palästina. In: Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Band XI-XV (Leipzig 1893) 201.

¹⁹³ *Baedeker*, Palästina (1891) 36.

¹⁹⁴ *Yazbak*, Templars, 50.

Oliphant had presented a settlement project with a majority of English Jews where nevertheless, other nationalities would be invited. According to him, if the emphasis were put on the Judaism, the project would not be considered as British itself and would not be interpreted as a British colonization. His project showed that the emphasis or not in the nationality of the Jewish population was used according to the political interests.

As we already mentioned, a Jewish settlement was also discussed by the PEF not only because of its biblical references but also as a civilizing task commanded to the British Empire. These ideas were part of what had been described as Christian Zionism and had important effect on the organization of British associations oriented to helped Jews settlers in Palestine. But while some considered the comeback of the Jews to the Holy Land as a necessity for the Second Coming of Christ, some others in England considered primordial their conversion to the Christianity. This was for instance, the central purpose of the so-called and self-explanatory “London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews” whose members were also part of the PEF. The importance of the PEF and Great Britain to the increase of the Jewish population and the radical transformation of Palestine during the last decades of the 19th century should be emphasized but we cannot either dismiss the importance of Germany in this process from which *Baedeker's Handbook* would become a historical source.

Regarding the German Zionism, at the end of the 19th century there were multiple organizations that welcomed the Jews not only from Germany but also from East Europe who were persecuted by Russia. These associations helped to slowly construct a Zionism centered not only in organizing some Jewish settlements in Palestine,¹⁹⁵ but they were more focused on the necessity of a Jewish Nation in order to protect them from *progroms* and any kind of racism and persecution. In 1888 was founded the Russischerjüdischer wissenschaftlicher Verein, the first association with a strong nationalist discourse. Later, in 1894 was founded the Zionist Association for Germany (Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland). Although it was neither the big nor the oldest Zionist organization in Germany, from the beginning it took the leadership for the World Zionist Organization, making it the most important one for the Jewish migration to Palestine¹⁹⁶.

If the Jewish migration was in many ways promoted by European powers, its theorization and further development into Zionism is a far more complicated process. In any case, between 1870 and 1897 year of the first Zionist World Congress, it is possible to find a wide discussion regarding the quantity and rights of the Jews in Palestine, their purpose and mission as well as the

¹⁹⁵ For instance, the Israelitischer Verein zur Kolonisation Palästinas or Zion whose main goal was to promote the Education of the Jews. Jehuda *Reinharz*, Ideology and Structure in German Zionism, 1882-1933. In: Essential Papers on Zionism (New York 1996) 271.

¹⁹⁶ *Reinharz*, Ideology, 268.

necessity of revindicating an independent state with strong Nationalism. Finally, the discussion about Zionism also touched the political interests of the European powers; German, English and Russian associations disputed the leader role for the organization and education of the Jews in Palestine and Syria. For some of the Zionists movements it was clear that the possibility of continuing their activity rested in their capacity of conciliating a "Jewish Nationalism" with the defense of their origin Nations.¹⁹⁷

Whilst some of them claimed to have only philanthropical interests, it is clear that behind their tasks was a conception of superiority or inferiority depending the provenance of the Jewish settlers. For instance, some of the German organizations also part of the "Lovers of Zion" or Hovevei Zion considered priority to promote the migration of Eastern European Jews to Palestine, "to protect them and to rehabilitate them socially", but also in order to prevent their settlement in Western Europe, with the idea that German Jews were in general more educated than the Eastern ones.¹⁹⁸ By then, the possibility of a plan of diaspora for the German Jews was still improbable. However, in 1896 Theodor Herzl published the well-known *Judenstaat* and eventually, the idea of a Zionism centered in the construction of a Jewish Nation, independent of the European powers would be slowly imposed above all the other projects.

Regarding the establishment of a big Jewish settlement dependent of a European power, it was a topic of discussion that also had interested Socin. As we have already mentioned, he had a negative impression of the work developed by Lieutenant Conder from the PEF, not only because what he considered a lack of scientism but also because Conder was a strong promoter of an English colony or settlement in Palestine. The reasons argued by Conder were mostly two: first of all, the technological benefits and economic development of the region. Second of all, the necessity of the return of the Jews to their original land. On many occasions, Socin reviewed and criticized the work of Conder because it was mostly a selfish colonizing project that disregard the necessities of both Jewish and Arabic Population. Similar opinion had Socin about the proposal of Oliphante: "Wenn nun auch in größeren Bevölkerungscentren oder in Dörfern, die von Christen bewohnt wurden, bereits einige Einwirkung der Mission zu verspüren ist, so ändert sich daneben zum wenigsten bei der muslimischen Bauernbevölkerung nicht das geringste".¹⁹⁹ Socin had serious doubts about the involvement of England or any other European power in the development, because it was clear that this action not only was a clear colonizing strategy but also because it forgot the opinion and active role of the Arabic population. However, Socin also considered that, in order to develop Palestine, it was necessary that European powers intervene, mostly with their

¹⁹⁷ Reinharz, Ideology, 275.

¹⁹⁸ Reinharz, Ideology, 273.

¹⁹⁹ Socin, Bericht (1881) 136.

technology and knowledge, rather than an actual political or military occupation. But this intervention should concern the Christianity rather than Judaism. For instance, in 1896 Socin wrote: "Es steht außer Frage, dass... die Christen in Bezug auf Kultur vielfach den Muslimen überlegen sind. Besonders in den Ländern und Städten, in denen schon seit längerer Zeit europäische Missionäre wirken und Schulen blühen, ist dieser Unterschied augenfällig..."²⁰⁰

The activism of Benzinger shows us a different perspective towards the Jewish settlement in Palestine. After the foundation of the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden in Berlin in 1901,²⁰¹ this organization, which main goal was to help and support the Jewish population from Eastern Europe, decided to found also a school in Jerusalem. There, Jews from all parts of the world could have education from kindergarten to teacher's college level. Benzinger participated actively in this project and became even a professor of German Literature at college.²⁰² Nevertheless, Benzinger, opposite to Socin, he neither wrote negatively the intervention of England in the increase of Jewish population nor expressed in *Baedeker's Handbook* a positive comment about the process itself or about Zionism itself, despite his active participation in one Zionist association. The only clue we have about his position is given by his review of a travel memoir, *Palästina, Land und Leute. Reisebeschreibungen* written by Willi Bambus and published in 1898. As the title announces, the purpose of this book was to describe the state of the Jewish colonies. While in the book it is clear that Bambus has in general a positive impression about them, Benzinger warns us: "Die Zukunft muss lehren, ob diese Kolonien, die jetzt meist noch unterstützt werden, auf eigenen Füßen zu stehen und aus eigener Kraft sich gedeihlich zu entwickeln im Stande sein werden".²⁰³ In context, it is clear that Benzinger, because his active role as diplomat, businessman and teacher had a position that made difficult to express political opinions about the Jewish population but certainly had some doubts about the possibility of an independent future of the settlements. However, in both cases, it is possible to find a disarticulation between the physical space of the city Jerusalem and the role of the population which also influences the way these Orientalists imagine the future of the Jews, either as people easily manipulated by the British or as people who need the help of European powers to improve their lives conditions. In neither scenario there was an agency and independence of the Jewish Population.

²⁰⁰ Socin, "Die sozialen Zustände der Türkei und der Islam". In: Die Grenzboten, 55, Erstes Vierteljahr (Leipzig 1896) 594-595.

²⁰¹ Edmund Burkard, Überwindung von Armut durch Bildung. Die Geschichte des Schulwerks des Hilfsvereins der Deutschen Juden (1901-1938). (Unpublished doctoral thesis Universität Siegen 2016) 12.

²⁰² Burkard, Überwindung, 84.

²⁰³ Immanuel Benzinger, Bücheranzeige. Palästina, Land und Leute. Reisebeschreibungen. In: Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Band 22 (Leipzig 1899) 102.

Finally, although Benzinger mentioned the increase of the Jewish settlements and he also did collaborate with them, we cannot oversee the little importance given in *Baedeker's Handbook* to the role of Germany -as an International power- in this process, which is instead replaced by the comment about the persecution of Jews in Russia and Rumania and the intervention of Russia in political affairs in Jerusalem. Moreover, both Socin and Benzinger did refer to the problems among the different Christian faiths specially concerning the Orthodox, again with a specific reference to the Russian role in this dispute.

In this sense, *Baedeker's Handbook* gives the image of the travel itself almost as a necessity in order to protect those who are persecuted and to prevent the raise of the Russian Empire. We cannot forget two important facts of the historical context. First of all, by the time Benzinger wrote his last version of *Baedeker's Handbook*, Germany and the Ottoman Empire had already established an alliance complemented by the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. Secondly, some of the ideas about German Nationalism and Pan Germanism promoted by some right political groups had a strong impact into the consolidation of Zionism promoting its Western origins and the necessity of the establishment of Jews in Jerusalem to assure the spread of the German values.

In this development, the previous research of Palestine made by the PEF and the DVEP were also symbolically important. As we already mentioned, one of the achievements of the members of both associations had been the research and recovery of the Hebrew names of the places named in Arabic under the Ottoman Empire. The new Zionist authors, like Theodor Herzl, specifically used this information to promote the use of Hebrew as a symbolical sign for the recovery of the Holy Land. Moreover, Herzl developed a Zionist Research Society in Palestine based on the model of the DPEV and the PEF. Herzl also considered necessary to republish their journals especially the information that could be useful to the understanding of the Jewish importance for the History of Palestine and for the new Zionist movement.²⁰⁴

This point takes us then to comprehend the place of the *Baedeker's Handbook* itself in its cultural context and some of the unattended consequences of it. We cannot forget that Germany at the time was living social and political problems on religious basis, which was only complemented with the development of the discussion about Zionism and the place of the Jewish community in the National project. *Baedeker's Handbook* is a witness but also a chronic for Germans who wanted to know the state and development of the migration to Jerusalem, where the line between German and Jewish settlements was becoming stronger every day.

²⁰⁴ Kirchhoff, Deutsche, 54.

Epilogue: the Egyptian Expeditionary Force and its Guide-Book to Palestine: Based upon the well-known enemy publication Baedeker's Palestine and Syria.

Baedeker's Handbook's format was copied multiple times by other editorials, which even used the name Baedeker itself on their covers, the red cover, and the star grading.²⁰⁵ While there is no evidence that Baedeker's editorial proceeded legally against them, this fact itself shows us the importance of the name Baedeker and the economic profit of it, as well as its cultural importance in the world of tourism. The Great War interrupted however the almost forty years of successful editions, reeditions and translations of *Baedeker's Handbook*. Palestine itself changed dramatically during those years which also affected the validity of the guide for a regular touristic travel. Nevertheless, the validity of the *Baedeker's Handbook* for the knowledge of the region lasts longer. Here, we only show one last example.

During the Great War, Great Britain displayed the Egyptian Expeditionary Force (EEF) in all the region, capturing Palestine in December 1917 and contributing to the end of the Ottoman Empire in 1922. After this period, Great Britain and France -as allies in the Entente- gained the control on the Levant, a situation that only changed after the end of the Second World War and with the foundation of the State of Israel. Among the different tasks of the EEF, there was the publication of a journal entitled *The Palestine News*. In 1918, with the same editorial resources, the EEF published the Palestine Pocket Guide Books, dividing the visit of Palestine in Central, South and North. On the cover, these guidebooks precised: "Based upon the well-known enemy publication Baedeker's Palestine and Syria". The fact that the guide-book is referred on the cover and yet presented as "an enemy publication of considerable value", because of its German origins shows us the importance of the book and the well-known accuracy regarding the knowledge of the terrain, which "is properly used for the convenience of the British Army".²⁰⁶

The guide made by the EEF is also a tread of the changes of the region during the four years of armed confrontation. While Baedeker's sons were proud of the lack of advertising in their handbooks, the guidebook published by the EEF is a repertoire of well-established English

²⁰⁵ Müller, *Die Welt*, 44-45.

²⁰⁶ *The Palestine News*, A Guide-Book to Central Palestine (1918) 5.

Epilogue: the Egyptian Expeditionary Force and its Guide-Book to Palestine: Based upon the well-known enemy publication Baedeker's Palestine and Syria.

businesses and stores in Palestine and Egypt: breweries, travel agencies, banks and insurance companies. Later, the preface let us know that the information comes not only from *Baedeker's handbook* but also from the experiences of the EEF and its cartographic research. The guide is made for the members of the EEF "who are anxious to find out something about the places in Palestine which are familiar to them, or are likely to become so".²⁰⁷ His editor, Lieutenant Colonel Pirie-Gordon also mentioned to be inspired by Coronel Claude Raignier Conder publications, *Murray's Handbook* and E.H. Palmers writings. But most important, the guide also included places of historical interests, specifically related to "the former campaigns of King Richard and our forefathers", continuing with the tradition of relating the British presence in the 20th Century with the Crusades and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.²⁰⁸

However, it is clear that the differences are fundamental, since the central interest is in maps and routes, as a touristic but also military tool. The Guide-Book of the EEF is a complete result of military intervention and its public is not a traveler or a curious reader, but rather a soldier who needs to recognize the region as the British Empire owns it. It is also, as we have already said, a marketing tool for the new English business and enterprises settled already in the region.

The format is also smaller than *Baedeker's Handbook*, about 150 pages each region of Palestine. There is a historical account of the places, and also archaeological data. In this, the Bible comes back as a source and the emphasis is put on the Ancient History. Yet this guide, as a specific antithesis of the *Baedeker's Handbook* is similar in some respects, showing the legacy of its purposes and structure.

For instance, the measurement and description of the place is more important than its inhabitants. When there is a comment about them, it is used for the practical and unavoidable interaction. For instance, regarding the people living in Samaria, the *EEF Guide-book*, announces: "The natives, who are reputed to be fanatical, offer coins and other relics for sale".²⁰⁹

The irony in the *EEF Guide-book* is finally well exemplified when the German colony in Haifa is referred: "The German Colony to the N.W. of the town built in the European style, presents a pleasing contrast to the dirty houses of the old town. The Templars possess a meeting house and a school; the Protestant Germans in the colony also have a church and a school. Vineyards have been planted by the colonists on Mt. Carmel; the wine is excellent. The German cemetery contains the grave of Mrs. Laurence Oliphant".²¹⁰ The European enemy is in any case superior to the Oriental. In sum, the necessity of reassuring the improvements via the European influences

²⁰⁷ *The Palestine News*, A Guide-Book, 5.

²⁰⁸ *The Palestine News*, A Guide-Book, 5.

²⁰⁹ *The Palestine News*, A Guide-Book, 19.

²¹⁰ *The Palestine News*, A Guide-Book, 28.

come from a similar point of view as the one of *Baedeker's Handbook* where there is only observers and objects and where the contact with the locals is only seen as necessary and not desirable, both sharing a frame of a strong Imperialism.

Conclusions

Right until the beginning of the 19th Century, it was a common practice that adventurous travelers wrote and published their memoirs to share with the Western World their emotional and subjective impressions about landscapes, cultures, religions. By the end of the same Century, a renovated editorial industry had almost replaced this form of travel literature by another one, completely different: the travel book. In contrast with the memoirs, travel handbooks intended to give specific recommendations for the traveler, in order to facilitate his journey, making it, in short, less adventurous. To this process contributed the development of mechanized transports but also political events like the reforms and consequent aperture of the Ottoman Empire, whereof Europe and the United States took advantage until 1914, when the Great War changed dramatically the political situation, being Palestine and Syria just two of the many affected regions.

Baedeker's Handbook was one of the successful travel books that share a similar format both physical -the red book with detachable sections- and narrative. The description of landscapes inspired the same Jules Verne, but it was its routes, maps and plans that convinced a wide audience that included avid readers, scientific explorers, religious missionaries, and even military expeditioners. The qualification by using a star system gave an extra to these handbooks and eventually became their particular mark. The fact that Karl Baedeker and his sons hired specialists to write the handbooks was also key to the success of the editorial and its acknowledgement as useful and accurate books.

In the specific case of the travel book for Palestine and Syria, Fritz Baedeker showed a bigger interest by hiring two Orientalists, financing their travels, editing the English edition himself, being member of the *Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas* and publishing its annual journal. All this definitely had an impact in the way the Middle East was described in the *Handbook* but also in the update and recurrency of impressions and editions in German, English and French from 1875 until 1912.

However, despite the number of editions, to measure the complexity of the impact of this *Baedeker's Handbook* among the readers is rather a difficult task. For instance, we cannot find the real travelers who, accompanied by the *Baedeker's*, went to the zone. We can neither assume that

they were really thinking about the lack of real friendship or the childness of the adults living in Palestine and Syria. Hence, the reception can only be proved partially.

We can however trace and identify the type of reader conceived by the Orientalists Albert Socin and Immanuel Benzinger and their main goal while writing this *Handbook* by following the structure, the explicit purposes, and the planned routes. It is clear that both wrote for a German reader who wanted to find the glorious old days of Palestine and Syria through their monuments, archaeological and sacred places. It is also a traveler who needed practical information to save money but also time and therefore, he demanded well-traced routes with the worthiest attractions and specific comments about what to avoid visiting. The reader also wanted some punctual and practical information about the flora, fauna, weather, population, and current religious and social situations but not much about Politics or Economy. Although the reader could have a religious affiliation, his travel was not conceived as pilgrimage and therefore, he would visit Jewish, Muslim, and Christian sacred places and contemplate them as artistically and historically significant. Finally, the most important feature is that the reader could or could not in fact visit the Levant, because the purpose of objectivity made from *Baedeker's Handbook* a source and a report rather than a travel guidebook.

However, the search for objectivity and accuracy implied in fact the position of an active observer and a passive observed subject without voice in the final conception of his life, his language, and his way of interacting with other subjects. The lack of voice is reflected not only in the way the researcher talks about him, but also in the fact that even his own testimony is considered as unscientific and therefore should be ignored. While these presumptions were the center of the development of Humanities and Social Sciences during the 19th century, their consequences in a travel book are also dramatic. The Scientist is replaced by the Traveler who assumes to know the inhabitants of the visited region and for whom the interact with the "Orientals" is conceived as necessary only in order to achieve his purpose of seeing and enjoying the visited places.

In this regard, two concepts had been useful to understand the intellectual frame of *Baedeker's Handbook* writers. The first one is Cultural Imperialism, as developed by Edward Said, as the point of depart of the development of Orientalism, namely German one; the conceptions about a world divided between a colonizing endeavor and a colonized predisposition also influenced the way scientists conceived their analysis of Oriental cultures, despite their scientific methodology and objective goals. Second of all, the concept of native informant of Chakravorty Spivak according to which the scientist takes over and occupy the role of "native informant" assuming that his observations and assumptions do reflect the reality of the social and cultural

Conclusions

frame of the colonized. This position spread, occupying not only scientific reports but also artistic and cultural objects, like the handbook here analyzed, travelling itself becoming a sort of practice embedded in the presumptions of the late 19th Century Imperialism. Tourism is conceived as positive for the European -because he will get to know a part of Ancient History- but also for the Levantines who can learn from him.

Hence, our perspective has been to analyze how the *Baedeker's Handbook* reflects some of the European conceptions about Middle East and more importantly, about the so-called Holy Land, which are also contextualized by few years of recent and particular contacts with the region. The arrival of the scientific associations, the religious colonies -like the German Templars- and the European political enterprises established a series of parameters about the relationship with Middle East that can help us to explain also the events occurred during the Great War. Although Benzinger and Socin sometimes showed some admiration for the language or even some moral values of the population, there is a subjacent assumption of certain inferiority of the Levantine Civilizations and there is also a presupposed necessity, for the inhabitants of the Middle East, to learn and adopt the European "ways": techniques, knowledge, technology and even social habits in order to improve in a historical perspective of ascending development of nations. Moreover, it persists in the necessity of an intellectual rediscovery of Palestine and Syria thanks to the search and exploration of the Europeans. They present a relation between West and East that can only be positive in this frame.

As we can see, the travel guides, despite its meticulous description and objectivity, contained also ways of seeing the world, of perceiving themselves in the space occupied originally by other cultures, of showing the differences between "us" and "them". Particularly, the travel book written by Albert Socin for Baedeker is also result of the relation established between Western European Powers and the Ottoman Empire in Palestine at the end of 19th Century. The guide becomes a manual to establish a relation with the "other", but as Edward Said already explained, this is from the beginning an inequal relation with the preconception of the inferiority of the oriental, as it shows the use of the word "barbarous" or "fanatic" to refer to the Orient, exemplifying Orientalism as the "Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient".²¹¹ The fact that *Baedeker's Handbook* does not document a particular travel made by the Orientalist Albert Socin -who visited the region many times-, but instead, prepares the traveler for the "unknown" made this Orientalism even clearer, since the personal point of view disappears but instead is replaced by an impersonal narrator that makes simplifications about People, Society, Religion and Culture.

²¹¹ Said, *Orientalism*, 3.

While the voices presented in the *Handbook* are important, the silences are also vital to understand the perception of the Middle East but also of the research itself. Socin and Benzinger mention constantly the research made by the PEF -sometimes to criticize- and also by their German colleagues. There is also some few recommendation of the research made by French intellectuals. However, there is an omission of the research made by the Russian associations. This shows us the lack of interest or even acknowledgement of their advances in Palestine and Syria. In this sense, we can see a process of legitimation -or not- of the exploration, surveys and cartography made by their peers. *Baedeker's Handbook* was in fact an important part of this process while making accessible to the general public all the improvements and advances in the research of the region. However, the scientific interests of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas also shaped *Baedeker's handbook* by giving preponderance to the Architecture, the Archaeology, the biblical references, and the Ancient History. In this sense, it is necessary to remark that, despite the search for a scientific approach and objectivity, neither Socin nor Benzinger eliminated the Bible as historical and indispensable source for the knowledge of Palestine and Syria, which is an example of its symbolical power in a mental frame delimited by the association of the Christianity and Western European values.

However, *Baedeker's Handbook* is a good testimony of the fast development of the research about Palestine. In the almost forty years of publication, this text documented the multiplication of bibliography and its division on different scientific areas, that included not only biblical exegesis but also Geography, Geology, History, Literature, etc. The same happens with the development of the DVEP and its *Zeitschrift* where we can observe the change in interests and the documentation of the social and urban situation at that time in Palestine. On the contrary, in *Baedeker's Handbook* there is no recommendation of other non-European sources or about the Russian research. Regarding topics, inside the routes there is only few descriptions of landscapes -conceived as uninteresting- and practically no description of cultural aspects like typical food - which is also described as bad-. In this case, food prepared by European settlers is more recommended. We cannot find either local traditions or habits independent of the religious ones. When there is a comment about them, like the case of the social position of women, it is in general negative.

In the specific case of Jerusalem, Socin organized the space culturally and religiously for the traveler, giving order to an otherwise disorganized city. According to him, the inhabitants can be physically recognizable but also intellectually and even morally classified. With the Benzinger's editions this order's attempt is however exceeded by the description of the chaos of a growing city where the modern transports share the space with camels and donkeys, where the old walls

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are suddenly replaced by new European settlements and where even the streets old names are replaced by the names of European explorers.

Socially, Palestine was radically transformed by the arrival of a massive Jewish population which particular goals and intentions were framed by the events in West and Eastern Europe but also within the development of the Zionism. To this discussion contributed of course Politicians, as well as Intellectuals, religious Communities and Orientalists, all of them having a particular conception of what did mean to be a Muslim, a Christian, a Jew, but also a German, a French, an European, etcetera. At the beginning of the 20th Century, the majority of Jews in Jerusalem was already a signal of how the future will be. As we can see, it was in this regard that Socin and Benzinger had more dissimilarities and reflected the rapid evolution of Zionism. Socin saw with suspicion the establishment of Jewish settlements because it was evident that political nationalist European interests influenced the projects -like the ones presented by Oliphant and Conder- but also because the Arab population was inexistent to the eyes of many of the Zionist projects, despite being a dramatical change for the daily life of the population in Palestine. By the time Benzinger edited the Baedeker's, Zionism was already taking the direction of a project regarding an independent Jewish Nation. Benzinger himself showed his doubt about the possibility of an independent Zionist nation, which is congruent with the fact that he was actively involved as a teacher in Jerusalem inside of the philanthropic Hilfsvereins der Deutschen Juden. However, Benzinger did criticize the role of Russia in two occasions. The first one regarding the persecution of Jews in its territories; the second, because Russia used the power of the Orthodox Church in Jerusalem with the specific purpose of intervening in Politics.

In short, *Baedeker's Handbook* has been also a historical source regarding the situation of Jerusalem at the end of the 19th Century as we saw in the table made by Israeli Geographer Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, which is also an acknowledgement of the intensive research made by its authors. Moreover, by tracing the repetition of the statements made by Socin, Benzinger and Fritz Baedeker in other guide books, as the one analyzed in the Epilogue, it is possible to see the resonance of the guide in a less cultural camp, but with stronger impact: the armed occupation. Both Socin and Benzinger put effort on reproducing the best cartographical material developed in Germany and England, showing not only the state of the research but also making of *Baedeker's Handbook* a practical guide for the exploration of Syria, Palestine, Iraq and Cyprus, a knowledge that could be used for other purposes.

For instance, the Egyptian Expeditionary Force had a clear purpose of occupying and colonizing the region and the fact that the members of the EEF used *Baedeker's Handbook* as basis for their books, helps us to understand the impact of a travel book that for forty years and through

seven editions in German, five in English and four in French, described the Middle East to the Europeans, resting importance to the originality of the Islam, gave great importance to the European intervention in the zone, mapped the region, counted the inhabitants and in sum, presented the living population of Palestine and Syria as accessory of the travel, contributing to making of Tourism a part of the Imperialist endeavor.

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