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Beatrice St. Laurent

Bridgewater State University, bstlaurent@bridgew.edu

Himmet Taskömür

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The Imperial Museum of Antiquities in Jerusalem, 1890-1930: An Alternate Narrative

Beatrice St. Laurent with
Himmat Taşkömür¹

Figure 1: Ottoman Ma'muniyya High School and Museum. Photo sent by Conrad Schick, c. 1890. Source: *Palestine Exploration Fund*.

The creation of the first Museum of Antiquities in Jerusalem during the late Ottoman period is a fascinating story of archaeological pursuits in the region by both Ottoman government officialdom in Istanbul and foreign archaeologists working in Palestine for the British Palestine Exploration Fund. The Ottoman Museum called the *Müze-i Hümayun* in Turkish or Imperial Museum (1901-1917) and its collection is continuous with the British Palestine Museum of Antiquities (1921-1930) and the Palestine Archaeological Museum. The construction of the last began in 1930 and was completed in 1935, but the museum, now known as the Rockefeller Museum, did not open until 1938. Between 1922 and 1935 the British encouraged the creation of a museum for Islamic Art (1922) and one for Jewish Art. The history of the museum from the Ottoman Period through the British Mandate Period (1917-1948) is well documented in sources

located in the Ottoman National Archives in Istanbul, the Mandate Period Archives of the Department of Antiquities housed in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem, the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) archives in London, and the *Sijillat al-Mahkama al-Shar'iyya* (Religious Court Registers) of Jerusalem.²

Historical Context

The Jerusalem museum first needs to be examined within the broader context of institutional modernization in the Ottoman Empire as well as within the framework of European expansionism in the Middle East. The creation of the museum can be viewed as a microcosm of the larger political setting of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the Western powers greatly expanded their interest into the affairs of the Ottoman Empire while the Ottoman Empire explored European institutional development as a model for their own modernization projects. For the purposes of this article, the focus will be on the creation of educational institutions and museums, which are inextricably linked in the Ottoman Empire.

The period of secular reform in the Ottoman Empire began in the *Tanzimat* Period (1839-1861) during the reigns of Abdülmecid I (1839-61) and Abdülaziz (1861-76), which was a time characterized by neo-Ottomanization and modernization. Abdülhamid II (1876-1909) continued institutional modernization but with a distinct emphasis on the Islamization of the Empire. The Young Turks [*Jön Türkler* in Turkish] (1908-1914) emphasized the Ottomanization of the Empire and continued the institutional endeavors of the previous Imperial rulers.³

Abdülhamid's reign in particular was a period of increased interest on the part of the European powers to partition the Ottoman Empire. The Berlin Congress of 1878 is an actual and symbolic landmark demonstrating this interest. The Congress was called to discuss the issue of "The Eastern Question." The powers represented were the Russians, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Germans and the British. The intention was to partition the Empire amongst them, a process, which began with World War I with British incursions in Jerusalem and its region.

One of Abdülhamid's responses to European pressure was to initiate a project of monumental construction throughout the Empire. One could say that he embarked on a campaign to demonstrate that he could sustain and maintain the Empire. Among the institutional reforms of this time was the modernizing and secularization of education – based on a European model. The sultan ordered mandatory education in even the most remote regions of the Empire and the construction of primary and secondary schools, well documented in photographs, journals and newspapers of the period, as part of his propaganda demonstrating equality with Europe.⁴

These modernizing monuments appear in the Abdülhamid albums commissioned between 1880 and 1893 by the sultan, employing photographers in the region, including Sébah & Joaillier, Abdullah Frères, Phébus, 'Ali Riza Paşa and photographers from the Imperial School of Engineering. They were also documented in Ottoman journals of

the period such as *Servet-i Fünün* and *Ma'lumat* beginning publication in 1893, and in regional or *vilayet Salnames* or Yearbooks.⁵ These publications truly comprise a huge publicity campaign to demonstrate that the Empire was not the “Sick Man of Europe.” In fact, what occurred was almost a competition of sorts for power that is reflected in the monumental building campaigns of both the European powers and the Ottomans, resulting in a period of great experimentation and change in the institutions and architecture of the Empire.⁶ This article will focus on the introduction of museums to the Empire, notably in Jerusalem.

Museums and the Ottoman Empire⁷

The collection of antiquities and accompanying awareness of the past was not a new phenomenon in the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic world in general. Parts of ruins had always been recognized as valuable and *spolia* from earlier ruins were prominently placed in new construction. For example, the Byzantine columns placed in the entry foyer of the fifteenth-century Yeşil Cami or the Green Mosque in Bursa. These columns demonstrated both a respect for the past and reminded in a subtle way those who entered the mosque of the conquest of Byzantium. The Ottomans also constructed significant monuments on the ruins of sites sacred to previous cultures, such as the mosque that was carefully situated in the Parthenon in Athens.⁸

The first Ottoman “museum” so designated to house an imperial collection appeared in 1846 with the creation of the arms depot in Hagia Irene, the Byzantine church near Topkapı Palace and Hagia Sophia in Istanbul. Added to the arms collection was a selection of objects of significance from classical antiquity. This was the first museological attempt to display collections in a European fashion.⁹ The concept of the modern museum came later in the Ottoman Empire of the nineteenth century. By the 1860s, the Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümayun*) in Istanbul established the Ottoman tradition of the collection and display of ancient classical artifacts in their museum.

In 1880, the museum moved to the Çinili Köşk (the Tiled Pavilion, built in 1472 as part of Topkapı Palace), which had been remodeled after 1873 to accommodate the imperial antiquities collection.¹⁰ The selection of the Çinili Köşk was not arbitrary but a choice based on the desire to link the Ottoman past with the modern concept of “museum.”¹¹ After the death of the German director Dr. Philip Anton Dethier in 1881, the Ottoman administration made a conscious choice of selecting an Ottoman director for the museum rather than seeking a European replacement: Osman Hamdi Bey (director 1881-1910), the son of vizier Ibrahim Edhem Paşa. Osman Hamdi had worked previously with Ahmet Vefik Paşa on the volume produced for the Vienna Exposition of 1873, *Usul-i Mimar-i Osmani* [L'Architecture Ottomane], which defined a “Neo-Ottoman” style based on earlier Ottoman architectural tradition applying a “modern” European methodology.¹² Thus, the choice of Osman Hamdi was a conscious move to integrate the Ottoman past as a defining determinant of the direction of museum policy.¹³ The new legislative policy and Hamdi Bey's arrangement of the imperial collections in the Çinili Köşk was decidedly different

from European counterparts displaying colonial conquest in their museum acquisitions and subsequent displays. Hamdi Bey was no doubt speaking “verbally in the language of heritage and history but also physically in the language of conquest and history” and reflecting ownership of the imperial region. On the death of Hamdi Bey in 1910, Halil Edhem Eldem (1861-1938), his brother, who had previously served as assistant director from 1889, replaced him as director of the imperial museums until 1931. While Hamdi had focused on the Greco-Roman collections from Ottoman lands, Halil specialized in the Ottoman and Islamic legacy of the Empire. He also founded two museums in Istanbul, the Evkaf Müzesi (Museum of Pious Endowments) and the first Museum of Islamic Art, Türk ve İslam Müzesi, both founded on 22 April 1914, just before the beginning of World War I.¹⁴

New archaeological discoveries in Anatolia prompted the creation and construction of a new neo-classically inspired, two-story Sarcophagus Museum (*Lahitler Müzesi*), designed by Alexandre Vallaury, which opened on 13 June 1891. While Wendy Shaw suggests that the choice of European architect and style indicates the desire to demonstrate links with Europe, I would like to posit an alternative reason for these choices. The employment of a neo-classical style for the Sarcophagus Museum is more directly related to the origin of the material displayed from the Greco-Roman legacy of the Empire. The choice of a French architect for such a structure simply reflects the need for an architect well trained in the neo-classical tradition – not available in the Empire at the time. Two new wings opened respectively in 1903 and 1908 (under the Young Turks), the first to house Hittite and Byzantine holdings, the second the sculpture previously housed in the Tiled Pavilion. It was not until 1908, with plans to enlarge the museum, that the Islamic Collection was moved from the wing of the Imperial Museum to the Tiled Pavilion. If one examines the plan of the entire complex, it is clear that the Tiled Pavilion, a structure with Ottoman and Islamic identity, was integrated to reflect the scope of the Empire’s collections in the imperial capital of Istanbul.¹⁵

The connection of museums with education came very early on in Istanbul. In 1869, Safvet Paşa, the minister of education, established the first Ottoman royal museum, open only to the sultan and his guests. Also significant was his declaration, in 1875, by Safvet Paşa of the Public Education Regulation (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*), which created the need for new modernized educational structures. The museum was an educative tool instrumentally engaged in the construction and illustration of history, culture and the identity of the Ottoman world. The role of archaeology “as a marker of cultural capital,” first realized by Sultan Abdülaziz’s 1867 visit to Europe, linked archaeology inextricably to the history of the museum in the Empire. Shaw also asserted that

... archaeology and the museum alike emerged ... in resistance to the territorial imperialism implicit in European archaeological collection in Ottoman territories ... from which a European discourse of the past often became conflated with a territorial claim in the present.¹⁶

The methodology was decidedly European but the message focused on the projection of

a modernist, Hamidian-Islamist, Ottoman identity to the local population and the broader Ottoman world to compete with encroaching European claims to Ottoman lands. Museums were the responsibility of the Ministry of Education throughout this entire period. Those who served as ministers of education – and they often served multiple brief terms – were from the circle of Hamdi Bey and Ibrahim Edhem Paşa, notably Ahmet Vefik Paşa during the reign of Abdülhamid and Safvet Paşa who seemed to alternate periods of service.¹⁷

Regulating the Collection of Antiquities in the Empire

In 1869 Safvet Paşa issued the first edict regulating the collection of antiquities in the Empire, advocating the collection of antiquities through Ottoman governmental administrative channels. Provincial governors were urged to gather “any old works, otherwise known as antiquities, by any means necessary, including direct purchase.” Safvet Paşa suggested that the person preparing to send an object to the capital should note its condition, discovery site, and local value. Then the item should be purchased, properly packaged and sent to the museum in Istanbul.¹⁸ Safvet Paşa appointed Edward (Goold) Gould, a teacher at Galatasaray Lycée, originally from England and possibly Irish, as the director of the Imperial Museum. As director, Gould organized and catalogued the collections.¹⁹

With the appointment of a new administration in 1871, the new Grand Vizier Midhat Paşa appointed Ahmet Vefik Efendi (Ahmet Vefik Paşa) as the new minister of education.²⁰ He appointed the German Anton Philip Dethier as museum director who proposed revisions to the 1869 antiquities code that resulted in the new Antiquities Law of 1874, *Asar-i Atika Nizamnamesi*.²¹ Unlike the 1869 code, which was directed primarily to Ottoman provincial administrators, this new law was directed more toward foreign excavators, and was published both in Turkish and French.²² The purpose was to maintain control of the large number of antiquities foreign excavations were uncovering in the Empire. The new legislation assisted in controlling the number of antiquities removed from imperial territories but failed to control the areas of land excavated.²³

The Ministry of Education again revised the Antiquities Law of 1874, resulting in the Antiquities Law of 1884, which was itself revised in 1907.²⁴ The new legislation sought to control land-taking for excavation by foreign excavators and attempted to control the flow of antiquities out of the Empire. Due to political machinations of the time, either Hamidian inspired or from Hamdi Bey’s museological and political interests, this law also failed to control the flow of antiquities to European collections.²⁵

Modernization and Expansion of Northeast Jerusalem

For the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there are multiple narrative approaches to the writing of history, all dependent on the quest to position particular groups in the struggle for control of Jerusalem and its signification. Issam Nassar has duly noted that the narratives of Jerusalem’s history are in constant competition.²⁶ Much



Figure 2: Bab Hutta neighborhood. Source: *Baedeker, Palestine and Syria (1876)*.

has been written about the Jewish and Israeli development of the city and far less of the Palestinian perceptions of the city, though that has changed in recent years. Most scholars have largely ignored the period of World War I until the last decade.²⁷

In Jerusalem, both the multi-ethnic residents, Europeans and Ottomans, lavished much attention on the city. The European powers, notably France, Germany, Austria, and Russia, lobbied for more rights for pilgrims to visit the Holy Land and for control of their monuments and the construction of their own institutions in Jerusalem. Notably this is reflected in the competition to replace the old open dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher with a closed dome. The Russians won, obtaining permission in 1810 to construct a new closed dome over the site of the anastasis, a feat that no one had achieved since the construction of the Dome of the Rock, whose dome rivaled that of the Sepulcher except that it was closed. None had been allowed to transgress the law and change the Sepulcher throughout the centuries.

They also embarked on campaigns to construct new imposing monuments inside and outside the walled city. New hospices for pilgrims appeared in the Old City as well as hospitals, post offices, schools, as well as services providing water to their own institutions. In the 1840s, the Russians obtained permission to build a huge compound (constructed 1860-64), which included a large church and other structures on the hill just northwest of the city.²⁸ The French also constructed the Hospice of Notre Dame (constructed 1884-1904) nearby and closer to the Old City. New Gate was opened in the north city wall in 1889 by Abdülhamid, thereby linking these two major complexes to the Christian Quarter of the old City. German interests in the city also flourished during the nineteenth century. The building of the Church of the Redeemer, and the establishment of the German Colony southwest of the walled city by the middle of the nineteenth century was followed by



Figure 3: Conrad Schick's plan of Bab Hutta. *Source:* Palestine Exploration Quarterly, 1896.

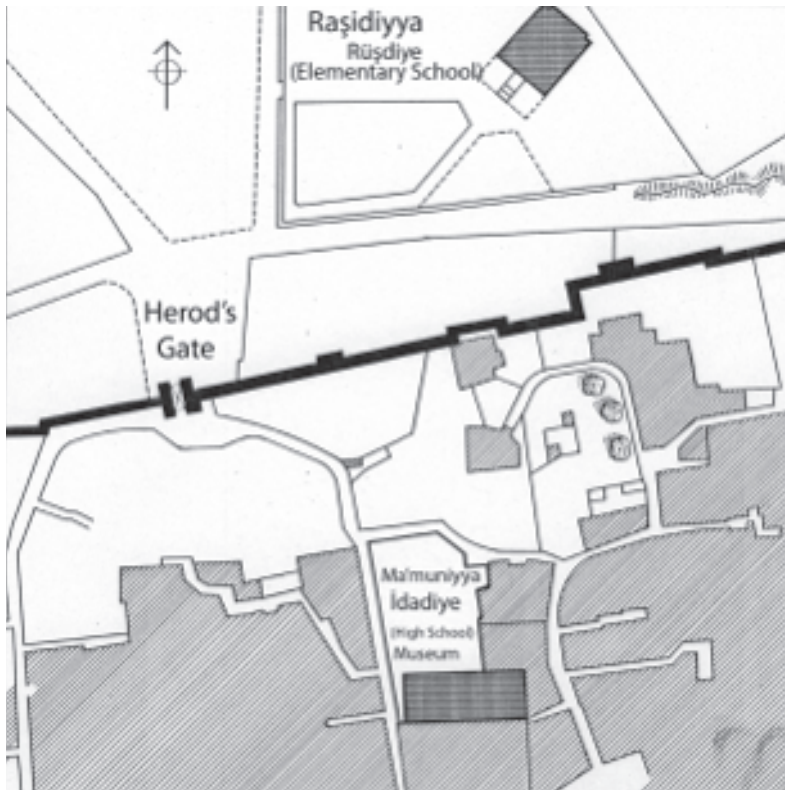


Figure 4: Plan of north section of Bab Hutta neighborhood. *Source:* Handan Türkoğlu, 1993.



Figure 5: Dedication Ceremony for the Jerusalem *idadiye*. Source: *Servet-I Fünun* (1309/1893).

the German Kaiser's visit to Jerusalem in 1897. Grand preparations were made for the Kaiser's visit. The sultan fostered this relationship because he required financial support for his construction of the Hijaz railway from Damascus to Mecca and Madinah to facilitate transport for the Muslim pilgrimage. This resulted in a major modification of Jaffa Gate and the subsequent compensatory addition by 1901 of a clock tower and *sebil* or fountain to the Jaffa Gate.²⁹

For his own more specifically Ottoman purposes, Abdülhamid developed the northeast quadrant of the city, the Muslim Quarter, notably the neighborhood of Bab Hutta just inside Herod's Gate. Part of the process was to improve both Damascus and Herod's Gate. When Conrad Schick (1822-1901) moved to the city in 1846, he found this quarter "lonely" with few small houses, small shops on the main street and many areas of "waste."³⁰ St. Anne's Church and compound were in ruins as was the Church and Convent of St. Mary Magdalene (Figure 2). At that time, a Muslim family was using the ruined convent as a brick manufactory. In 1865, Charles Wilson reports that the ruins of the church remained, as did the pottery, which used clay from Al-Jib, a village north of Jerusalem.³¹

In 1896, when Schick again reports on the neighborhood, the area had changed completely. There were new paved roads and a new sewer system (Figure 3).

There are besides many new houses built by Moslems, some covered by tile roofs, in the main street, where many shops have been made and the whole quarter has now a large population... The waste and empty places have had their rubbish removed, been surrounded with walls, and had new houses built upon them. The streets are leveled and paved, and drainage made... and the whole quarter is kept clean.³²

After 1856, the custodianship of St. Anne's had been given to the French Pères Blancs and by 1878 restoration of that church had commenced. The church was restored, and



Figure 6: Rashidiyya School with Turkish and German prisoners in December 1917. *Source: Library of Congress.*



Figure 7: Rashidiyya School from the city wall looking north. *Source: B. St. Laurent, 1993.*



Figure 8: Ma'muniyya, a girls' school today. Source: B. St. Laurent, 2009.

large new buildings constructed for the “Algerian Brethren” which was a large school, well attended by Muslims. The ruins of St. Mary Magdalene were entirely removed and a large new building intended to be a school called the Ma'muniyya (Mamouniyeh) built in its place.³³ The school was dedicated and opened in 1891 (Figures 1, 4 and 5).³⁴

This conforms with Abdülhamid's plans for institutional modernization of the Empire by adding many new and modern monuments to important cities. Continuing the Tanzimat educational reform program of the secularization of education, he added new schools to the city, an *idadiye* (high school), the Ma'muniyya, mentioned above, and the new *ruşdiyye* (elementary school) or the Rashidiyya just outside of Herod's Gate.³⁵ Thus, the improved gates and the construction of one school inside Herod's gate and one outside effectively linked the Old City to the area outside the city walls. This was similar to the opening of New Gate and Russian and French additions from 1840 to 1889, and the schools were located on the same northern perimeter of the city.³⁶ The *ruşdiyye* (Rashidiyyah School) remains a school for boys today and is on Sultan Suleiman Street next door to the Rockefeller/Palestine Museum just outside Herod's Gate (Figures 6 and 7). The *idadiye* or high school is still a school for girls today [*al-Madrasah al-Qadisiyyah lil-Banat*] (Figure 8).³⁷ Both buildings are of the “golden” stone of Jerusalem and similar in style to the many schools that were built throughout the Empire during this time, which is employing a European-inspired neo-classical prototype both in plan and decoration. The goal was to impose new secular institutions on a monumental scale in the urban-scape to advertise the modernity and strength of the Empire.

Provincial Museums: the Ottoman Museum 1901-1917

Part of the modernization scheme of Abdülhamid included the addition of regional museums of antiquities to his Empire. The Jerusalem Museum figured prominently in that quest for illustrating in a modern way the linkages of the Ottomans to their past in classical antiquity.

The Ottomans and other much earlier Roman, Jewish, Christian and Muslim ruling groups in the region had always demonstrated in their monumental construction an interest in displaying the regional past, often re-sacralizing a site holy to a previous culture. Antiquities and accompanying awareness of the past was a phenomenon in Jerusalem long before it occurred in the Ottoman world. The reuse of stones served practical, aesthetic and symbolic functions: practical purposes, in that already cut marble panels and stones, readily available on or near a site facilitated construction. The reused materials were often aesthetically pleasing and strategically placed. Symbolically, the reuse reflected the successive conquering powers' dominance over the previous culture and regime as well as to show respect for that past. The legacy of the past thus enters into dialogue with the contemporary imposition of both a different political regime as well as a different religion.

In Jerusalem one of the earliest examples is in the reuse of a piece of decorated marble Roman/Byzantine *spolia* as an indicator of the *mihrab* in the 640-660 CE Mosque of Mu'awiya on the Haram al-Sharif.³⁸ Other examples on the Haram al-Sharif appear in the Dome of the Rock (completed in 691 CE) in the conscious reuse of classical and Byzantine *spolia* prominently situated in the building, as in the classical columns in the interior of the ambulatory arcade construction. Also, vestiges of Roman/Byzantine *spolia* appear in the exterior marble revetment of the northeast façade of the octagon. In the space under the eighth-century Aqsa Mosque there is a large column of Romano-Byzantine origin preserved in the south wall near the Double Gate, which most certainly also dates from the Umayyad reconstruction of this area of the complex. Thus, in the oldest surviving Islamic monuments of Jerusalem from the seventh-century Umayyad period, we find the earliest examples of the inclusion of physical documents of the past indicating that there was awareness of the significance of history, its preservation and its obvious display in the early years of Islam.

From the beginning in 1869 with the creation of the first museum in Istanbul, Savfet Paşa encouraged the collection of antiquities from the provinces. It was not until the 1870s that the provinces heeded the message and began actively sending antiquities to the capital.³⁹ It took a while for the provincial regions to begin sending contributions to the museum. One of the earliest references found thus far indicates that, in 1884 or 1885, Raouf Paşa, Governor or *wali* of Jerusalem sent to the museum in Istanbul an inscription of the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik. It is significant that the object chosen by a provincial leader was from the early Islamic period and not from classical or earlier antiquity.⁴⁰ This suggests that the early Islamic legacy of the region figured prominently in the selection by a local administrator. It was not until 1891 that discussions began concerning the creation of a museum to house antiquities in Jerusalem.



Figure 9: Bursa branch of the Imperial Museum. *Source:* Hüdavendgar Vilayet-i Salnamesi.

The Jerusalem Museum is, in fact, the first of four proposed Imperial provincial museums (*Müze Humayunler*), outside of Istanbul; the others are in Bursa, Konya and Bergama in Anatolia.⁴¹ In fact, these early provincial museums were no doubt the prototypes that set the standard for provincial museums. Both the Jerusalem museum opened by 1901 and the Bursa Museum in 1904 were directly tied to the newly instituted *idadiye* (high) schools. The Bursa museum was actually a separate building in the courtyard of the Bursa *idadiye* (Figure 9). The reasons for the selection of these three cities are of interest. Bursa was the first capital of the Ottomans and declared the “model Ottoman city” in the mid-nineteenth century, and the museum opened on the anniversary of Abdülhamid’s accession to the throne.⁴² Konya was the most religious city in Anatolia, and was proposed by Abdülhamid as a possible new capital. Jerusalem would have been significant in his assumption of the title of Caliph of the central Islamic world and his attempt to “monopolize the sacred.”⁴³ The fact that the Jerusalem Museum was the first to be created suggests that monopolizing the sacred sites of Islam was his priority.

For Jerusalem there was another reason, the pressure exerted by biblical archaeologists with a strong interest in controlling the finds from excavations for eventual expropriation to European collections led the Ottomans to consult with the representative of the Palestine Exploration Fund in Jerusalem, Frederick J. Bliss.⁴⁴ Archaeologists active in Jerusalem and its region were primarily British and working for the Palestine Exploration Fund. This was a British organization active in Jerusalem, founded in 1865, which published first

its survey of Jerusalem in that year, and of Palestine in the 1870s. Bliss was excavating in the region and was the PEF representative in Jerusalem.

The planning for the museum occurred between 1891 and 1900 and the museum opened to the public in 1901 as the the Jerusalem Government Museum, so specified by Bliss.⁴⁵ The Ottomans mostly referred to the museum as the *Müze-i Hümayun* and occasionally as the *Müzehane*.⁴⁶ The three major figures involved in the creation of the museum were Osman Hamdi Bey, Ismail Bey, and Frederick J. Bliss. Osman Hamdi Bey was the Director of the Imperial Archaeological Museum in Istanbul and thus was responsible for antiquities throughout the Empire, the creation of laws to protect them and institutions to house them. Since antiquities and museums were the responsibility of the Ministry of Education in Istanbul, Ismail Bey, as the Director of Public Instruction in Jerusalem, was Hamdi Bey's local representative in the establishment of the new museum and acted essentially as director. Also, the museum was to be housed in the new high school *idadiye* known then as the Ma'muniyya.

There was considerable foreign initiative that led to discussions with the Ottoman administration of museums in Istanbul. Foreign interest in the museum focused on the biblical period finds of foreign archaeologists excavating in the region, notably those working with the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF).⁴⁷ Among those who first excavated for the PEF was Flinders Petrie at Tell el-Hesi in the Shephelah Plain in 1890, followed by his student, the aforementioned Frederick Jones Bliss, an American born in Lebanon. Bliss was later, between 1890 and 1898, assisted by R. A. S. Macalister (1870-1950) of the PEF at four sites: Tell al-Safi, Tell Zakariyah, Tell al-Judeideh, and Tell Sandahanna (Mareshah), all four in the Shephelah Foothills. One of the reasons that so many sites were excavated at once was that the Ottoman Antiquities Law granted permits not based on site but on a four-mile square area.⁴⁸ It is these archaeologists, seeking for ways to collect, display, and export – notably to the PEF – objects from excavations that sparked the initial foreign interest, in the 1890s, in the creation of a museum in Jerusalem.

Frederick Jones Bliss (1859-1937) was born just outside Beirut and was the son of Daniel J. Bliss, of the Presbyterian Mission, who founded the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut in 1866, which became the American University Beirut in 1920. Bliss was excavating in the region for the PEF between 1891 and 1900 and, it was during this time that he became involved in the formation of the Jerusalem Museum. One of Bliss's main interests was to see to it that the yields of the excavations were safely stored and exhibited. Since the Department of Antiquities of the Ottoman Empire was responsible for all objects uncovered in the excavations – regardless of foreign powers' execution of the excavations – the PEF and its archaeologists were answerable to Osman Hamdi Bey through his local administrator Ismail Bey. Bliss's correspondence with the PEF clearly indicates that he focused his energy on the creation of the museum under Ottoman sponsorship and was committed to adherence to Ottoman legislation concerning antiquities. Thus, all finds were placed in the school building designated as housing the museum.

By 1 September 1899, 465 objects had been placed in the Ottoman Museum.⁴⁹ As far as concerned Ottoman officialdom, Bliss's main involvements were to see to the safe delivery of objects to Istanbul and to their proper display by the Ottoman authorities in

the Jerusalem Museum. Bliss sent to the Istanbul Archaeological Museum 382 of the more significant objects from excavations supervised by him between 1891 and 1900. The lesser pieces remained in the Jerusalem Museum. The PEF also charged him to see to the export of duplicates or triplicates to the PEF in England.⁵⁰

Bliss also prepared a brief handwritten catalogue of the collection of 594 objects indicating that he spent three days at the new museum in October of 1900, examining and cataloguing the collection. The catalogue was divided into periods and broken down by object types and numbers of objects. The letter accompanying the report indicated that the objects would be placed in cases but that an insufficient number of those were at that time available. A copy of the catalogue was included in Bliss's report to the PEF on 5 November 1900. Bliss also indicates that a copy was left with Ismail Bey, who expressed his intention of printing the catalogue in Turkish and English.⁵¹ At least two copies of that catalogue exist today, one in the PEF Archives and one at the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem, which suggests that the latter copy remained with Ismail Bey in 1900 and became part of the archival material inherited by the British Mandate government.⁵²

Bliss supported his views even when faced with opposition from the PEF, which ultimately led to his resignation on 25 April 1900 on the suggestion of the PEF Executive Committee.⁵³ With respect to the PEF's forbidding him to continue to work with Ismail Bey, Bliss states:

... it is of great importance that the objects should be preserved in cases ... and it is of equal importance to keep friendly with the Turks and do nothing to shake their confidence. I have consulted the Consul, Mr. Dickson. He feels I am bound by my promise to help arrange the objects, that they are to have the things in any case ...⁵⁴

After Bliss's departure in November of 1900, R. A. S. Macalister, who had been his assistant, replaced him as the PEF representative in Jerusalem.

Bliss continued to work with Ismail Bey and the collection was installed in the museum in July 1901 with the objects housed in cases "in a well-kept, large room."⁵⁵ Bliss describes the museum as follows:

Case No. 1 contains 101 examples of Pre-Israelite pottery, including specimens from Tell el-Hesy. It was gratification to find that these had been preserved by the authorities for over ten years. In Case No. 2 we have 116 examples of Jewish pottery, including a series of stamped jar-handles. Case No. 3 contains 184 specimens of Seleucidan ware. In the lower shelf of each case may be found the duplicates (un-numbered), which in the case of the Seleucidan period are very numerous. Case No. 4 is marked 'Miscellaneous', and besides examples of pottery figurines, human and animal, contains various objects of bronze, iron, bone and stone. In Cases 5 and 6 are exhibited the scarabs, gems, tablets, coins, and glass objects. The majority of the coins, as well as the greater proportion of the objects in the

beautiful glass collection, were placed in the museum by Ismail Bey ... the unique character of the small museum is obvious. It contains the only full collection from which the history of Palestinian pottery may be studied from pre-Israelite to Roman times. Ismail Bey hopes that he will soon receive authority to appoint a guardian, print the catalogue, and throw open the museum for a small fee. The position will be convenient for travellers, as the museum can be visited after the inspection of the Church of St. Anne and the Pool of Bethesda by making a small detour from the main road going north from St. Stephan's Gate.⁵⁶

In mentioning that the Ottomans had preserved the antiquities, he no doubt implies that they were stored in the school building or *idadiye*. Bliss makes no comments as to his role in the installation of the objects but he no doubt played a significant role in organizing the material for installation. Clearly, Ismail Bey had had the objects installed in cases by staff working in the museum and had installed part of the collection himself. Ismail Bey was also conscious of his lack of expertise and saw the need to hire an expert in the field.

Bliss saw the value of exploiting the tourist enterprise to include a visit to the museum, with entry into the Old City through the eastern Lion Gate. As mentioned above, the Ottomans had modernized the entire Bab Hutta neighborhood and the French had restored St. Anne's Crusader Church and developed tourism to the site as one of the first stops on a pilgrim's treading the Via Dolorosa and stopping at the Stations of the Cross. The museum was a short diversion northward in their path up the Via Dolorosa.

For the PEF, Bliss's role was to obtain duplicates of antiquities, which could be shipped from Jerusalem to Istanbul, Beirut and then to London. In a letter dated October 1900, he indicates that he had requested 66 duplicate objects from the collection of 465 from Hamdi Bey that could be sent to London.⁵⁷ It was also reported by Bliss that the way to export these antiquities out of Jerusalem was to negotiate with Ismail Bey, who would indicate that these objects were imported from elsewhere and therefore exportable, providing a way to evade the Antiquities Law.⁵⁸ That he was not successful in shipping originals is clear in that most of the objects from the relevant excavations located in the PEF collection are casts of originals made by Bliss, Macalister and a local aide named Yusif. The originals were sent to Istanbul while duplicates remained in the Jerusalem Museum.⁵⁹ "Thirty-eight packets of casts and moulds (64 in all) of objects found in the excavations ... Mr. Macalister has 80 (eighty) sheets of drawings."⁶⁰ This suggests that Ottoman officials on site were clearly aware of foreign interest in moving antiquities out of the Empire and into European collections, and foiled the plans of Bliss and his colleagues to evade the Ottoman antiquities regulations.

While the Ottomans, supported and assisted by Bliss, worked to establish the museum inside Herod's Gate, between 1895 and 1899 the PEF shifted their focus toward the creation of a specifically biblically focused museum. They did not support Bliss's continued participation in the creation of the Ottoman Museum project and, seemingly under pressure, he resigned from the PEF in 1900. He continued to work with the creation of the Ottoman museum and saw to the movement of the objects from PEF-sponsored

excavations to that museum. This quest of the PEF can surely be viewed in the context of the European aim of establishing competitive institutions in Jerusalem that were independent of Ottoman governance, a process begun earlier in the century by the French and the Russians. In fact, the PEF was attempting to establish an institution that countered one already established by the Ottomans who were currently governing the region.

As to the PEF museum, they already had a multi-purpose room available in their Jerusalem offices opposite the “Tower of David” or the Jerusalem Citadel in which antiques and maps on loan from private individuals were displayed and books sold. In October of 1899 the PEF proposed building a new museum but indicated that they would not fund such a project. By 1902, the collection was moved to a room in the Bishop’s Rooms of the of St. George’s College, where the collection was open to the public until 1915.⁶¹

By 1902, Macalister was complaining vociferously about the administration of the Ottoman museum and of the difficulty of access to the collections, that the catalogues had not been printed, and that dealers in the city were selling parts of the collection.⁶² Macalister clearly did not abide Bliss’s view of the project, nor did he agree with his views of the Ottomans. It was clear that he saw British expertise as superior.

There is little mention of the Government Museum between 1902 and 1909. After 1900, Bliss continued to support the value of the Ottoman Antiquities Law, indicating that foreigners desired to function with no accountability to Ottoman authorities in the region. According to Bliss writing in 1903, foreigners had little understanding of the laws, customs, or peoples of the region that they excavated. On the other hand, he also critically evaluates Ottoman culpability in their inability to effectively implement the laws in a timely fashion. He saw his role as one committed to assisting in the arrangement of the objects in the museum.⁶³

In 1909, during the period of the Young Turks, Macalister, who harbored strong negative opinions of the region and the museum, had this to say:

I went with Surraya Effendi the other day to the Government Museum, and had a look through it. You will remember that I have complained before of the waste of time involved in handing over the antiquities to the ignorant effendis who run this museum, how everything is counted over and over and how I have to give them a lecture on everything.⁶⁴

He suggests again that antiquities are being sold to dealers in the city and reports that there is no room in the cases to store objects from current excavations, that many of the packing cases from previous seasons’ excavations remained unopened in the museum, and alternately proposes shipping cases from the Gezer excavations directly to Istanbul so that they can be properly displayed there in the Imperial Museum.⁶⁵ All of this suggests that Macalister believed that the British could handle it better than the Ottomans.

Contrary to Macalister’s and the PEF’s negative evaluation of Ottoman engagement with the museum, Ottoman museum officialdom was not inactive during the late Ottoman period – the period of Abdülhamid II and after 1908, the Young Turks. The collection

grew substantially to include over six thousand objects by 1910.⁶⁶ It seems clear that the size of the collection outgrew the single room in the high school that had been designated as the museum.

Supporting growth of the museum collections is a 1909 communiqué from Rıza ‘Ali, the Director of the Office of Education for the province or *sancak* of Jerusalem and the one charged with the responsibility of the museum. On 12 April 1909 (26 Mayıs 1325), he sent a memorandum to the minister of education in Istanbul indicating that the museum and the preservation of antiquities (*aşar-i atika*) was the responsibility of the director of the school (*idadi*), which is an honorary position (with no pay) and that he was hesitant to accept responsibility for the antiquities. No records have been kept of the antiquities, which will result in their loss. Thus a museum officer (*memur*) was recently appointed, and there needs to be a Museum Committee (*bir komisyon-i mahsus*) to supervise the museum officer and hold him responsible for the antiquities.⁶⁷ It was followed on 19 June 1909 (6 Haziran 1325) by another memorandum requesting that the case be forwarded to the office of Osman Hamdi Bey, the General Director of the Istanbul Museum of Antiquities.⁶⁸ Subsequently on 19 June an order was issued by Osman Hamdi in Istanbul to the Jerusalem Officer of Education Tahir Bey to form the committee and to create a *defter* or register in two copies listing every object in the museum. One copy of the *defter* should be sent to Istanbul and the second should remain with the collection in the hands of the Museum Director İbrahim Efendi.⁶⁹

That 1910 handwritten list referred to in the documents as the *Defter* or Register and referred to henceforth as the Ottoman Catalogue was successfully completed by 9 January 1911 (27 Kanun-i Evvel 1326) and survives in the library of the Rockefeller Museum where it is called the *Pre-War catalogue of the Palestine Archaeological Museum* (Figure 10).⁷⁰ Similar to Bliss’s list of 1900, the first thirteen pages of the Catalogue consist of numbered entries divided into categories, with numerous entries consisting of multiple items or pieces (*aded*). The collection consisted of 667 entries including 4,402 objects with an additional ten entries listing at least seventeen items. On pages 13-16 of the *Defter* or Catalogue is the only mention of sites: Tell al-Jandar (items 500-505 and 506-665 in a *dolap* or cupboard), Jabal Khalil [Hebron] (Items 566-577 and 578-582 in a cupboard), Bir al-Saba [Beersheva] (659 and includes 160 pieces), al-Ariha [Jericho] (660-667 in two cupboards) received 9 July 1910 (26 Haziran 1326), and that the Provincial Governor (*Kaimakam*) of Jaffa (*Yafa*) sent a copper figural sculpture numbered 170 to the Jerusalem Officer of Education in Jerusalem.

I will cite in detail only one sample entry from a mentioned site on page 16 of the Catalogue, which will illustrate the format of the rest of the Catalogue entries. “The item numbered 659 is in 160 pieces, sent by the Kaimakamlık of Bir al-Saba on 7 March 1910 (22 Şubat 1324)” accompanied by a memorandum that the 160 pieces are coins kept in a bag (*torba*) with 48 pieces broken and the rest intact. So the numbered entries do not reflect a single object. This was an entry by Museum Officer Mustafa Hulusi “I received these coins from Museum Officer Şevket Efendi.”

The final pages (15 and 16) of the Catalogue list Museum Committee members indicating that the objects numbered from 1 to 667 have been entrusted to İbrahim Efendi

| تاریخ | مبلغ | موضوع | ملاحظات |
|-------|------|---------------------|------------------|
| ۱۳۰۰ | ۱۰۰ | مجلسه اول | در روز شنبه ۱۳۰۰ |
| ۱۳۰۱ | ۲۰۰ | مجلسه دوم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۰۱ |
| ۱۳۰۲ | ۳۰۰ | مجلسه سوم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۰۲ |
| ۱۳۰۳ | ۴۰۰ | مجلسه چهارم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۰۳ |
| ۱۳۰۴ | ۵۰۰ | مجلسه پنجم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۰۴ |
| ۱۳۰۵ | ۶۰۰ | مجلسه ششم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۰۵ |
| ۱۳۰۶ | ۷۰۰ | مجلسه هفتم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۰۶ |
| ۱۳۰۷ | ۸۰۰ | مجلسه هشتم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۰۷ |
| ۱۳۰۸ | ۹۰۰ | مجلسه نهم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۰۸ |
| ۱۳۰۹ | ۱۰۰۰ | مجلسه دهم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۰۹ |
| ۱۳۱۰ | ۱۱۰۰ | مجلسه یازدهم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۱۰ |
| ۱۳۱۱ | ۱۲۰۰ | مجلسه چهاردهم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۱۱ |
| ۱۳۱۲ | ۱۳۰۰ | مجلسه پانزدهم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۱۲ |
| ۱۳۱۳ | ۱۴۰۰ | مجلسه شانزدهم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۱۳ |
| ۱۳۱۴ | ۱۵۰۰ | مجلسه هجدهم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۱۴ |
| ۱۳۱۵ | ۱۶۰۰ | مجلسه نوزدهم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۱۵ |
| ۱۳۱۶ | ۱۷۰۰ | مجلسه بیستم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۱۶ |
| ۱۳۱۷ | ۱۸۰۰ | مجلسه بیست و یکم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۱۷ |
| ۱۳۱۸ | ۱۹۰۰ | مجلسه بیست و دوم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۱۸ |
| ۱۳۱۹ | ۲۰۰۰ | مجلسه بیست و سوم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۱۹ |
| ۱۳۲۰ | ۲۱۰۰ | مجلسه بیست و چهارم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۲۰ |
| ۱۳۲۱ | ۲۲۰۰ | مجلسه بیست و پنجم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۲۱ |
| ۱۳۲۲ | ۲۳۰۰ | مجلسه بیست و ششم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۲۲ |
| ۱۳۲۳ | ۲۴۰۰ | مجلسه بیست و هفتم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۲۳ |
| ۱۳۲۴ | ۲۵۰۰ | مجلسه بیست و هشتم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۲۴ |
| ۱۳۲۵ | ۲۶۰۰ | مجلسه بیست و نهم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۲۵ |
| ۱۳۲۶ | ۲۷۰۰ | مجلسه بیست و دهم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۲۶ |
| ۱۳۲۷ | ۲۸۰۰ | مجلسه بیست و یازدهم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۲۷ |
| ۱۳۲۸ | ۲۹۰۰ | مجلسه بیست و دهم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۲۸ |
| ۱۳۲۹ | ۳۰۰۰ | مجلسه بیست و یازدهم | در روز شنبه ۱۳۲۹ |

Figure 10: First page from the Ottoman Defter. Source: Rockefeller Museum Library.

by the Commission and that until they [these must be objects not already in display cases] are arranged and classified (*tanzim*) by an expert (*mütehassıs*) and put in glass display cases or showcases (*camekan*) they should remain in sealed crates (*sanduk*). It further indicates that the antiquities (*asar*) in the ten crates had been registered and given numbers. It is also mentioned by the Director of Education for Jerusalem (*Kuds-I Şerif Maarif Müdüriü*) on 7 September 1910 (10 Şaban 1326) that “The content of this *defter* is the same as the one in the possession of the Museum Officer (*Müze Memuru*).” Thus, at that time, there were two copies of the *Defter/ Catalogue* in existence in Jerusalem.

The Committee members are as follows: Ibrahim Khalil (former Museum Officer and Mustafa Hulusi (Museum Officer – *müze memuru*), Abdullah Rushdi (Member – *a’aza*), Musa-al-Budayri (Member and Preparatory School teacher from Jerusalem), Muhammad Kamil (Member), ‘Ali (Member), Huseyin Avni (Member and Director of the high school *idadi müdürü* from Jerusalem). The date April 1910 appears after the list of committee members. Elsewhere in the same document it is indicated that these antiquities were placed in ten sealed crates.⁷¹ The antiquities referred to must be the ones that Macalister referred to as not being displayed or crated and obviously not the entire collection. Thus the Ottomans quickly and efficiently (for the time period) directly addressed the issues and problems posed by Macalister.

In communications between the Jerusalem Office of Education during 1910 and 1911 there is evidence of continued problems with the administration of the Museum. Ibrahim Bey is cited as not doing his job properly and that he should not have been hired in the first place because he was an elementary school teacher and did not possess the expertise for his job. Hasan Muhsin the petitioner and previous director indicated that he, with fifteen years of museum experience, should have remained Museum Director.

Another complainant was Şevket Khalidi from Jerusalem who had been removed from his position as excavation *komiser* or director and museum officer *memur* and replaced by another – a favorite of the Director of the Office of Education. In this case it is hard to know if the problem was due to his not measuring up to the job or to the decline in favor of the Khalidi family of notables in the eyes of the Young Turks administration in Istanbul and their appointees in Jerusalem.⁷² Halil Edhem the General Director of Museums in Istanbul, appointed at the death of his brother Osman Hamdi Bey, directly responded to all queries.⁷³

The Ottomans were themselves acutely aware of the need to expand from the confines of the Government Museum, which had been housed in a room of the high school *idadiye* or Mamuniye. The facility no longer could contain the collections, which had expanded considerably with multiple seasons of continued excavations in the region. Among them were the PEF’s expeditions at Tell Gezer and ‘Ain Shems; other sites excavated were Tell Ta’anach, Tell el-Mutesellim (Megiddo), Tell es-Sultan (Jericho) and Samaria, and obviously those mentioned above in the Museum Catalogue.⁷⁴

On 19 August and 11 September 1911, Halil Edhem, General Director of Museums in Istanbul indicated that in the 1911 budget of the Ottoman Directorate of Imperial Museums, a sum of 50,000 *guruş* had been allocated for a new museum to be installed in the Citadel of Jerusalem. The funds were contingent on the military’s ability to evacuate



Figure 11. Citadel of Jerusalem, 1898-1914. *Source: Library of Congress.*

the Citadel.⁷⁵ By 3 October 1911 the Ministry of War informed the Directorate that the military use of the space allocated could not be relocated for a couple of years. The Directorate diverted the funds along with another 10,000 *guruş* meant for improvements and repairs to the Bursa Museum, to add galleries to the Academy of Fine Arts (*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*) in Istanbul, founded earlier by Hamdi Bey. The documents are dated August through October 1911 and discuss funds allocated earlier.⁷⁶ The 1327 fiscal year began in March 1911, which means the budget, including the plans for the new museum, must have been drawn up in the fall of 1910, the same year as the catalogue.⁷⁷

A plan prepared by the Ottomans dating prior to 1898 clearly indicates Ottoman usage and concern for the Citadel at the time and refers to it as the *kışla humayun-i dahiliye meydani* or the Plaza of the Department of the Imperial Barracks (Figure 11).⁷⁸ Wendy Shaw states that, prompted by the changes in the Ottoman Antiquities Law in 1907, the Ottoman Government first formulated a plan for the Jerusalem Museum and that this was part of grander scheme after 1908 for the establishment of three other Anatolian regional museums.⁷⁹ Clearly, this was not the case. In fact, the 1911 plan was to move the museum to the Citadel, which could better accommodate the quickly expanding collection. Theodor Mackridi known as Makridi Bey (b. Istanbul 1872 d. Istanbul 1940), as Commissioner of the Ottoman Council on Antiquities (and later, 1931-40, founder and

director of the Benaki Museum in Athens) suggested the Citadel as the museum for its proximity to tourist sites and the path of pilgrims to the city. He further suggested that the three towers be renovated for the museum to conform with the original character of the older structure. The local Jerusalem administration was to assume jurisdictional responsibility for the museum with the expectation of funding derived from tourism.⁸⁰

By the time the military was to relinquish the space in the Citadel, Ottoman plans for a new museum were overtaken by the outbreak in 1914 of the World War. For the time period of the World War (1914-1918), the last years of Ottoman rule in Jerusalem, there is no documentation located thus far for the Government Museum's status and condition. By 1917, more antiquities from excavations between 1910 and 1917 would have accumulated and no doubt been packed in crates for storage.

Evidence is once again available for the early years of British control over the city, the period of the British Mandate Military Administration (1918-1920) and thence forward to the British Mandate Civil Administration (1920-1948). On 10 November 1918 Ronald Storrs, the military governor of Jerusalem, indicated that he was about "to set aside certain rooms of the Citadel for Museum purposes and the safe-guarding of antiquities; and I am inviting the Palestine Survey Committee to place its existing collections, now packed in cases, and in danger of being lost in this Museum,"⁸¹ and that there were 120 cases filled with antiquities that had "remained hidden in the city during the war" that had been recovered by Storrs by 1919.⁸² Thus, the Ottomans had packed all of the antiquities from the Ottoman Museum, or Government Museum, as it was also called by the British, and stored them in various places throughout the city, no doubt to preserve them during wartime. It is not clear whether the intention was to ship them to Istanbul or to place them in the newly planned Ottoman Museum in the Citadel.⁸³

The Palestine Museum of Antiquities 1919-1930

On 8 April 1918 Colonel Ronald Storrs was appointed Military Governor of Jerusalem.⁸⁴ Storrs viewed his role in Jerusalem as part of the grander civilizing mission of returning the Holy Land to the rule of Christians with the British now "in direct control of the whole of Southern Palestine: an area, I believe, exactly coterminous with that administered by Pontius Pilate."⁸⁵ Concrete proof of this is in the names he gave to streets in the "new city" outside the walls, some of which directly point to a Crusader vision, for example Coeur de Lion Street (later called Museum Road).⁸⁶

Amongst the countries supporting the British mission were Americans who had interests in Jerusalem and the region. On 27 November 1918 James Montgomery, Chairman of the Managing Committee of the American School of Oriental Research, comments on Allenby's capture of Jerusalem as follows:

The fair land is, to all human foresight, irrevocably free of Turkish misrule. It now enters under the control of a civilization which will regenerate it politically and economically, and which should have a sympathetic interest

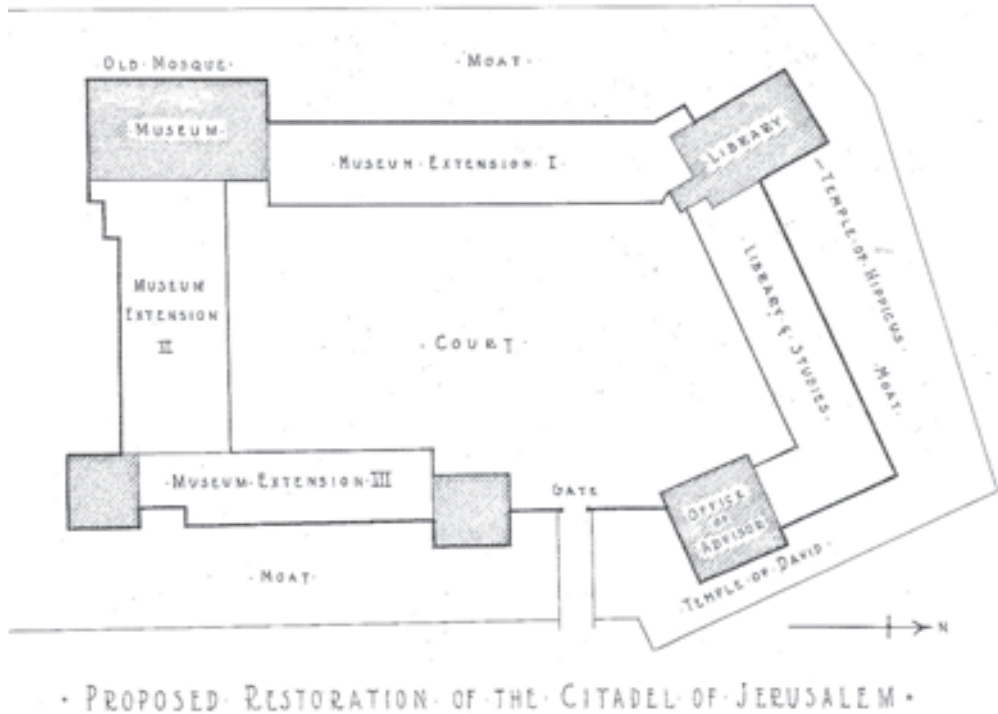


Figure 12: Plan for a museum in the Citadel, 1919. Source: *American School of Archaeology*.

in the hopes and plans of archaeology. The remarkable events of the past year have brought Palestine nearer to the mind of the West than it has been since the Crusades.⁸⁷

Thus, the British and foreign presence was viewed as rescuing Jerusalem and the Holy Land from the ruinous depredations of the Turk.

During the period of Military Administration Storrs created the Pro-Jerusalem Society that was in charge of the re-vitalization of the city's monuments, the creation of a museum, and seeing to the preservation of antiquities. He proposed the creation of a new museum in the Citadel, apparently a collaborative effort with the Americans. The plans were for the conversion of the entire Citadel into a museum.⁸⁸ In a letter dated 22 April 1919 George M. Allen, Professor of Architecture at Columbia University in New York, provided a plan for a museum in the Citadel of Jerusalem to be given first to Professor Egbert of Columbia University who was the *ex officio* President of the Archaeological Institute of America to deliver to Professor Edward A. Wicher of the San Francisco Theological Seminary (Figure 12). Wicher was, at the time, resident in Jerusalem working for the YMCA and in charge of the American School property, which was closed during the war and given over to the Red Cross.⁸⁹

Storrs embarked on a campaign to clear the Citadel and the former Ottoman barracks of debris, which, obstructing the creation of a new Ottoman Museum on the site, "Cemal



Figure 13: Palestine Museum of Antiquities, 1922: “Old Museum” in Way House. *Source: IAA Mandate Archives.*

Paşa had started to remove.”⁹⁰ Concerning the clearing of the Citadel and the re-building of the ramparts, Storrs states:

The Psalms of David and a cloud of unseen witnesses seemed to inspire our work. “Build ye the walls of Jerusalem” . . . so that it was possible to “Walk about Zion and go round about her: and tell the towers thereof: mark well her bulwarks, set up her houses.”⁹¹

The Pro-Jerusalem Society initially restored only the Hippicus Tower. The tower, which had been a hospital for spotted fever, was conserved and the interior converted into two large exhibition rooms.⁹² The creation of a museum was a stated goal of the society and by 1921, 100 pounds sterling, and by 1924, 500 pounds sterling had been set aside for that purpose.⁹³ What is evident is that the British did not adhere to the Ottoman plan of moving the Government Museum to the barracks just south of the main structure of the Citadel. In fact, the British immediately began clearing and later demolishing the Turkish barracks.⁹⁴ Thus, the initial plan for a museum to occupy the entire Citadel was abandoned.

However, the museum was established and located in a building called “Way House,” on Coeur de Lion Road also called Museum Road, which branches off Nablus Road just north of the Ecole Biblique on a property of the English College, where the East Jerusalem YMCA/Legacy Hotel is today. Prior to the establishment of the museum,

In July, 1920, Professor J. Garstang, D.Sc., Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and Professor of Archaeology at the University of Liverpool, assisted by Mr. W. J. Phythian-Adams, D. S. O., M. C., Assistant



Figure 14: Museum Gateway. *Source: Kenyon Institute Library.*



Figure 15. Palestine Museum of Antiquities, 2009. *Source: B. St. Laurent, 2009.*

Director of the School, organized the Department of Antiquities, which consists of a Director, Keeper of Museums, and an Inspecting Staff. ... An archaeological Advisory Board ... has been established ... Permits to excavate sites of interest have been given to several competent authorities.... An Ordinance has been passed of a comprehensive nature to protect the antiquities.⁹⁵

By October 1921, the British School of Archaeology was based on the ground floor at “Way House.” On 10 November 1918 Storrs stated that he was approaching the American Archaeological School to establish a joint archaeological library.⁹⁶

The building was a three-story Ottoman period stone house, on the property of the Qutayna family of Jerusalem, purchased or appropriated by the British,⁹⁷ with an impressive gate, which survives to the present day (Figures 13-15). To the top of the gate was fixed a placard indicating that this was the Department of Antiquities; to the left a sign indicating that this was the British School of Archaeology and to the right, a sign announcing the Library of the American School of Archaeological Research. To the left of the gate was a fountain. The property was contained by a low stone fence, which mostly survives to the present-day. The entrance to the museum was on the second level approached by a stone staircase from outside the building (Figure 16).

The building was used in 1948 as a Jordanian military post and was destroyed to its foundations by the Jewish Haganah, according to one source.⁹⁸ However, there exists a monument marking the place as the site where Israeli soldiers were killed in 1967 right beside the former American Consulate, currently the American Cultural Center in East Jerusalem. Also, the Palestinian pottery workshops on Nablus Road were heavily damaged



Figure 16: Courtyard and second-story entrance to the Palestine Museum of Antiquities, 1922. *Source: IAA Mandate Archives.*

in 1967, and the librarian at the Kenyon Institute (CBRL) remembers that the building was bombed in 1967. Therefore, I would suggest an alternate date for the destruction of the museum structure in 1967. Only the gate and the outbuilding to the south of the museum site remain.

By October 1921, one room of “Way House” was designated as the library of the American School of Archaeology.⁹⁹ On 10 November 1918 Storrs said that he “was inviting the Palestine Survey Committee to place its existing collections, now packed in cases” in rooms of the Citadel which had been set aside “for Museum purposes.” An extract from *The Year’s Work* (July 1920-July 1921) indicated the following:

The preservation of all movable antiquities in this country has involved the establishment of a Central museum, 120 cases of Antiquities, which had lain hidden in the city during the war were recovered last year. (Thanks to Storrs) many of these had formed the nucleus of the local collection in other days, while others seem to have been the fruits of excavations made just previous to the war, and packed ready for transport to Constantinople. There was no catalogue, and the provenance of each object had to be studiously determined by reference to publications and by comparative methods. Last winter more than 6,000 objects were catalogued and a proper inventory drawn up.¹⁰⁰

By the fall of 1921, W. J. T. Phythian-Adams (1888-1967), the Assistant Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem under John Garstang, the first Director of the British School of Archaeology (appointed in February 1919), became the first Keeper of the Museum. His first task was to unpack the cases of antiquities, which had been stored in a variety of locations throughout Jerusalem.¹⁰¹ These are the cases that the Ottoman officials of the Government Museum had packed by 1917 and stored throughout the city. The number of works corresponds quite accurately with the number listed in the 1910 Ottoman Turkish catalogue with later additions from excavations between 1911 and 1917. Thus the collection of the Ottoman Museum formed the core collection of the new British-sponsored Palestine Museum of Antiquities.¹⁰²

When Phythian-Adams unpacked the crates he indicated that there “was no catalogue, and the provenance of each object had to be studiously determined by reference to publications and by comparative methods.”¹⁰³ It is unfortunate that Phythian-Adams was unaware of the Ottoman catalogue when he unpacked the cases and embarked on his massive project of classifying each object. In fact, since the catalogue is in the Rockefeller Archives, it probably resided in the Department of Antiquities at the time of Phythian-Adams’s project. After classification was complete, he arranged the objects in glass cases in the rooms of the Museum.

For the official opening of the Museum on 31 October 1921 it is best to cite the official report from the Archives:

The Palestine Museum of Antiquities was formally opened by His Excellency, the High Commissioner, accompanied by Lady Samuel on 31st



Figure 17: Vestibule, Palestine Museum, 1922. *Source: IAA Mandate Archives.*

of October, at 4 p.m. ... Passing to the history of the Museum he pointed out how different our policy was from that of the Turks. Had it not been for the vigilance and intervention of Mr. Storrs one hundred and twenty cases of antiquities, which had been packed for transport to Turkey or Germany, might have been lost or destroyed. ... A Museum in Jerusalem was essential to us. Here, as in Athens and Rome, we breath [sic] an atmosphere of history and to us, as to them, such a collection is absolutely indispensable. ... His Excellency pointed out that the Museum might equally be said to represent history teaching by example. Jerusalem draws guidance, inspiration and warning from the achievements and errors of those who have gone before and it is the study of antiquities, which is the best means of laying the foundation of our historical knowledge.¹⁰⁴

High Commissioner Lord Herbert Samuel's address at the opening referred to the superiority of the British methods over that of the Turks. This was a "mission of salvation of the past" through the preservation of antiquities. Also the British mission went far beyond just establishing another new British institution in Jerusalem but one that was meant to rival the collections of Athens and Rome.

Concerning the Museum, Phythian-Adams stated that in Jerusalem, "objects of architectural character and larger sculptures will be grouped, if possible, within the

Citadel, where rooms in the Hippicus Tower have been prepared by the Department for Exhibition.”¹⁰⁵ Thus there were two buildings assigned to contain antiquities in Jerusalem, “Way House” and the Hippicus Tower of the Citadel, one room of which had been restored earlier by Storrs. Though Cobbing and Tubb assert that the museum was actually moved to the Citadel, this was clearly not the case.¹⁰⁶

An official report by the Civil Administration dated between 1 July 1920 and 30 June 1921 states that the museum “includes a series of vases arranged in their periods from 2000 B. C. to 300 A. D., and of bronzes, scarabs, gold jewellery, ancient beads, glass, and a fine collection of over 400 coins.”¹⁰⁷ Stones with Greek and Roman inscriptions, and one in Hebrew from a synagogue at Ophel, with some sculpture were installed in the “entrance garden” and on the porch or vestibule (Figure 17). In the main interior display area were wall cases containing pottery organized in chronological order: on the left wall, cases of pottery from the earliest found in Palestine to the last case of Byzantine pottery; on the right wall Cypriot and Philistine pottery for comparative purposes; a mosaic from Ain Duk with Hebrew characters; and a large center case with the more valuable silver and bronze objects and jewelry (Figures 18-21).¹⁰⁸ In 1924, Phythian-Adams provided a detailed description of the organization of the collection:

Yard Book Catalogue: All objects acquired are recorded forthwith in the Yard- Book catalogue, which at present consists of nine Army books No. 124. The following initial letters are in use: B. for bowls, saucers, and for any vase whose aperture is larger than its height, G. For all glass objects unless suitably described as jewelry under J. H. For all objects of horn ivory and bone, L. Lamps. M. All objects of metal which do not come under J., P. For all potsherds & objects of earthenware not already under V., S. All objects of stone, V. Vases, which are not bowls. It was intended in due course to mark in the Yard-book the location of each antiquity as being in the Ante-room (Keeper of the Museum’s office), the Sale-room, or the Show-room (Museum proper).

Museum (Showroom) Catalogue: This catalogue gives the numbers of every object in the Show-rooms of the Museum together with its location therein, for e.g. In the Courtyard, the Vestibule, or the Hall, and as regards these the Case where it is to be found and the label-number which bears in that case. These label-numbers are those employed in the *Guide-Book* to the Museum. It was further intended to produce a *Card Index Catalogue*, which would be handier and neater than the hastily produced Yard-book catalogue. This would start with the objects already on show and finally embrace all antiquities stored on the premises. The chief advantage of this system is that as each object has its card, the card can be used to record the absence of the object from its Case when removed, for e.g. for purposes of repair. This is especially important if an outside repairer is employed by the Museum.¹⁰⁹

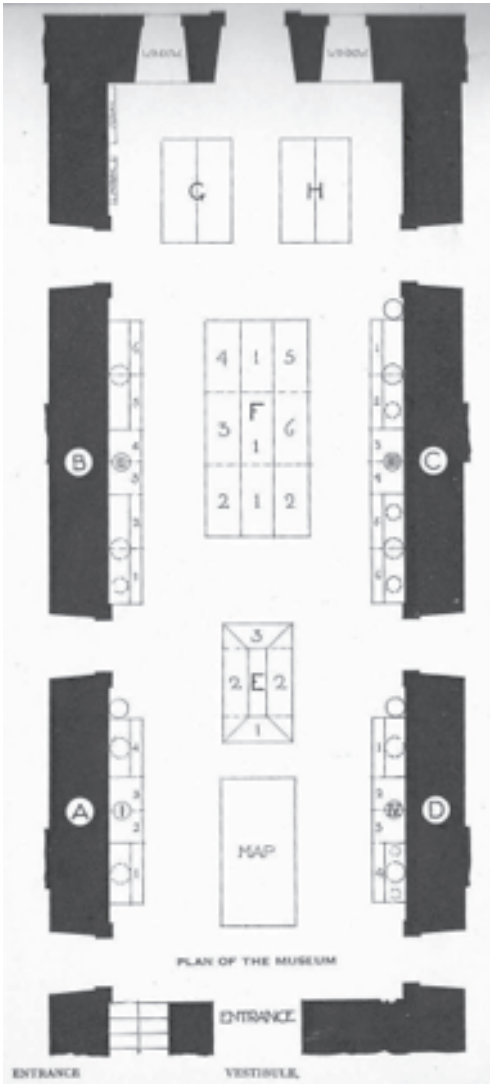


Figure 18: Plan of the Palestine Museum main showroom. *Source: Phythian-Adams, Guide Book of the Palestine Museum of Antiquities.*



Figure 19: Palestine Museum of Antiquities, “Old Museum” Lower Hall. *Source: IAA Mandate Archives.*



Figure 20: Palestine Museum of Antiquities, Lower Hall, 1922. *Source: IAA Mandate Archives.*



Figure 21: Palestine Museum of Antiquities, “Old Museum” Lower Hall, central cases, 1922. *Source: IAA Mandate Archives.*



Figure 22: Palestine Museum of Antiquities, Storehouse, 1922. *Source: IAA Mandate Archives.*



Figure 23: Aerial view of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, 1931. *Source: Library of Congress.*

There was a Museum Office, a Catalogue Room and a second-level display room, along with the hallways used for storage.¹¹⁰

In 1924, Phythian-Adams and Garstang published the catalogue of the collection, which included a plan of the main display hall (Figure 18).¹¹¹ Phythian-Adams first defines the geographical region as “the connecting link between Egypt and Northern Syria” with north Palestine extending “from Mt. Carmel to Mt. Gilboa.” According to him, the civilization of early Palestine is a blend of Native Canaanite, Egyptian, North Syrian including Babylonian, Hittite and Assyrian cultures. The Museum restricted its displays to objects demonstrating the above-mentioned cultural features and displayed them in cases by the following dated categories Case A: Before 2000 BC The Early Bronze Age; Case B: 2000-1200 BC Middle & Late Bronze Age (Figure 19); Case C: 1200-600BC The Early Iron Age; Case D: 600 BC-600 AD The Graeco-Roman Age (Figure 20); Case E: Seals and Jewels; Case F: Glass, Metal and Small Terracotta objects; Cases G & H: Jewish and Roman coins (Figure 21). There is further detailed discussion of the objects contained in the cases referenced by site. At the entrance to the gallery there was a site map (not shown in the photograph), which was located in the Lower Hall entrance.¹¹²

The museum rapidly filled up and eventually a storehouse was built to contain overflow (Figure 22).¹¹³

Soon after the opening of the museum, discussions began for moving it to a new location. The first site discussed was the Citadel. The office of Austen St. Barbe Harrison, Director of the Department of Public Works of Jerusalem, drew up a plan. The plan included the entire area of the Citadel including both the Hippicus and David Towers, connecting halls and the mosque, but not the old Ottoman barracks most of which still required major restoration. There were many problems voiced concerning the use of the site as a museum, some citing the inadvisability of converting the Citadel into a museum.¹¹⁴ In a letter to Lord Samuel of 20 July 1923, John Garstang, the Director of the Department of Antiquities, voiced many concerns “from both technical and administrative points of view;” he had problems seeing it “as the kernel of the permanent museum” with a view to “future expansion.”¹¹⁵

This led to considering the purchase of land outside of Herod’s Gate next to the Ottoman period Rashidiyyah School, the land on which stands the eighteenth-century Qasr al-Shaykh al-Khalili, which still survives as part of the “new” museum (now housing museum offices).¹¹⁶ The museum was re-named the Palestine Archaeological Museum, known today also as the Rockefeller Museum. Discussions concerning the purchase of the site appear in correspondence beginning in 1925. The plan was by Architect Auguste St. Barbe Harrison. Construction began in 1930 largely funded by the two million dollars donated by John D. Rockefeller, leading ultimately to the moving of the collections and the opening of the museum in 1938 (Figure 23).¹¹⁷

The Citadel, Bezalel, and Islamic Museums

Lord Samuel’s opening-day statement in 1921 points out that the present museum, the Palestine Museum of Antiquities, was intended only for smaller objects and that rooms [not yet restored] were reserved in the Citadel for Arab and Jewish Art. There were also new museums projected for Acre, Ithit, Askalon and Ceasarea, which would remain under the supervision of the Keeper of Museums, Phythian-Adams.¹¹⁸ During 1921 and 1922, the Pro-Jerusalem Society did hold three exhibitions in the one room of the Hippicus Tower that had been restored. The exhibit of 1921 focused partly on town planning and on celebrating the revival of local crafts by the society. The two exhibits of 1922 dealt respectively with local crafts industries of Palestine followed by another emphasizing local crafts as they related to agriculture.¹¹⁹

To my knowledge there were no exhibits of Arab or Jewish art at this time. In fact, by 1923, there had been little clearance of the site.¹²⁰ In a letter to a donor in April of 1922, Phythian-Adams wrote that there was no museum for Jewish art in Jerusalem but there was hope for a future section of the museum for that purpose.¹²¹ Another letter from the same time, from Phythian Adams to Eliezer Ben-Yahuda (1858-December 1922) voiced concerns that that the Citadel would be a long time in preparation, and expressed his doubts concerning its suitability as a museum. He advised that the collections from

Tiberias should be sent to the Bezalel Museum in Jerusalem.¹²² A Committee for the Jewish Department in the Citadel also was created during the early 1920s. The members were Dr. Eliezer Ben-Yahuda, Dr. Pick of the Zionist Commission, Prof. Slousch as Conservator, and Mr. Yellin.¹²³ The collections of Jewish art were temporarily located in the Museum of Bezalel Academy of Art with the intention of opening a museum for Jewish art, designated for the Citadel, which opened as a museum in 1935.¹²⁴

Another solution was found for the display of “Arab Art” or Islamic art. In December 1921, Lord Samuel established the Supreme Muslim Council, which consisted of members representing Jerusalem, Nablus and Acre. It was comprised of members of the notable families and had a budget of fifty thousand pounds sterling. On 9 January 1922 members were elected to the Council: Hajj Amin al-Husayni, Muhammad Efendi Murad, ‘Abd al-Latif Bey Salah, Sa‘id al-Shawa, and ‘Abd al-Latif Dajani.¹²⁵ In 1922, the Supreme Muslim Council founded the Islamic Museum, which was to house the collection of Islamic Art of Jerusalem. It was first located in the Ribat al-Mansuri, near the Bab al-Nazir (Bab al-Majlis today) entrance to the Haram al-Sharif and in 1929 moved to its present location in the southwest corner of the Haram al-Sharif.¹²⁶ The Council appointed Adel Jabr the Director of the Library and Museum. When the museum moved in 1929, Shaykh Ya‘qoub al-Bukhari was supervising both for some time.¹²⁷

Conclusion

The history of the creation of the Ottoman Museum largely denigrates the role played by the Ottomans. The local contribution from Jerusalem’s Palestinian notables is essentially completely ignored. Previous scholarship suggests that there is little continuity with the Ottoman museum and its collection with that of the British Palestine Museum of Antiquities and its collection. The intent of this article is to present an alternate narrative to those put forward by British, other foreign, Palestinian and Israeli scholars who view the multiple incarnations of a museum of antiquities as having been independently created out of whole cloth. The museum was viewed as an asset adorning multiple narratives focused on imperial, national and biblical considerations and claims to ownership. The narratives written up to now rely on the resources of the Palestine Exploration Fund archives and secondary sources in English. When more evidence from multiple perspectives is examined an entirely different view emerges. Merely scratching the surface of sources in Ottoman and modern Turkish, “excavating” a bit in the Mandate Period Archives of Jerusalem, and a minor foray into sources in Arabic in the Abu Dis Archive result in the emergence of a very different narrative. Further, integrating evidence from already written multiple narratives provides a more holistic view of the collection of antiquities in the region and their housing in a museum in Jerusalem.

This narrative, seen through a re-focused lens, clearly indicates a continuum of the Ottoman Museum (1901-1917) in Jerusalem and its collections, with the British Palestine Museum of Antiquities (1921-1930) and the subsequent Palestine Archaeological Museum (1930-1935) to its opening in 1938. Though the British concentrated on the collections

from biblical sites in Palestine in their new museums, they saw to the establishment of the Islamic Museum (1922) on the Haram al-Sharif to house the Islamic collection of Jerusalem. They also engaged in the process of creating a museum for the collection of Jewish art.

Pursuit of further research in additional archives such as the British Public Records Office (PRO) Archives in Britain, Başbakanlık Arşivi, the IRCICA Library (Research Centre for Islamic History and Art) at Yıldız Palace in Istanbul, sources in Hebrew (which I have not examined), and the archives housed in Abu Dis would greatly enrich and enhance the current narrative concerning all of the museums of Jerusalem that focus on the collection of antiquities. The story emerging from this research would further enhance the continuity of these museums rather than their uniqueness supporting imperial or national identity.

Beatrice St. Laurent holds a Ph.D. in Islamic Art and Architecture from Harvard University and is Professor of Art History in the Art Department at Bridgewater State University in Massachusetts. Since 1990, her research has focused on the Dome of the Rock and the monuments of the Haram-al-Sharif.

Himmet Taşkömür is Preceptor in Ottoman and Modern Turkish, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University.

Endnotes

- 1 This material was first researched and assembled by Beatrice St. Laurent as a paper titled "Cultural Institutions and Politics. The Palestine Museum of Antiquities 1890-1920," for the International Conference of the Social and Economic History of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, held in Aix-en-Provence, July 1-4, 1992. The current article expands the material to include the later history of the museum between 1920 and 1935. Himmet Taşkömür translated portions of the 1910 *Ottoman Catalogue* and obtained and translated documents from the Turkish National Archives [*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*] in Istanbul.
- 2 I am thankful for the assistance provided by the following: Rupert Chapman III, Director of The Palestine Exploration Fund and Shimon Gibson, Photographic Officer of the Palestine Exploration Fund in the early 1990s when I began research on this topic; Baruch Brandl, Director the Library and Archives of the Rockefeller Museum/ Israel Antiquities Authority for providing me with the 1910 *Ottoman Catalogue*, Silvia Krapiwko, Department of Archives and Maps Conservation, for much time contributed to assist my research of archival material, Arieh Rahman-Halperin, Assistant to the Director of the Archives; Jamie Lovell, former Director, Chloe Massey, former intern, and Abu Hani, Librarian; CBRL for formal affiliation of my projects at the Kenyon Institute; Khader Salameh, former Director of the al-Aqsa Library and Islamic Museum for access in 1993-1994 to the *defters* of the *Qadi Sijillat*, which were then housed in the Library and are now located in Abu Dis. For the Court Registers, see Musa Sroor, "Jerusalem's Islamic Archives: Sources for the Waqf in the Ottoman Period," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 22-23 (Fall & Winter 2005): 80-85.
- 3 For the history of the Ottoman Empire during the Tanzimat, the period of Abdülhamid II, and the period of the Young Turks see among others: Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 3rd Ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel K. Shaw, *The History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), Justin McCarthy, *The Ottoman Turks* (London: Longman, 1997), Şükrü Hanioglu,

- A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), Roderic H. Davison, *Nineteenth Century Ottoman Reforms and Diplomacy* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1999).
- 4 Selim Deringil, "The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* XXXV, 1 (January 1993): 28 and n. 94. See also his *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909* (London: I. B. Tauris Ltd., 1998) and for education reform, see Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamit Dönemi Eğitim Sistemi* (Istanbul: n.p., 1983.)
- 5 Though initially housed in the library of Istanbul University when I first examined the albums, the largest number of them reside today at Yıldız University in Istanbul. Additional collections of albums were sent as royal gifts to the Library of Congress (54 albums) and to the British Library in 1894 and today remain in those libraries. The albums in the Library of Congress are now available online.
- 6 I first dealt with this topic in Beatrice St. Laurent, *Ottomanization and Modernization. The Architecture and Urban Development of Bursa and the Genesis of Tradition 1839-1914* (Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1989), which explores the dual notions of Neo-Ottomanization and modernization in the architecture and urban plan of the city of Bursa in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, during the Tanzimat, the reign of Abdülhamid II and that of the Young Turks.
- 7 For a brief summary of museums in the Ottoman Empire, see Wendy Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). See also *Scramble for the Past*, Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik and Ethem Eldem, eds. (Istanbul: SALT/Garanti Kültür A. Ş., 2011).
- 8 Beatrice St. Laurent discussed the Byzantine columns in an unpublished seminar paper, Harvard University, 1980. Constructing monuments in important ruins was a common practice as well in the Byzantine Empire; for example, the Byzantine church constructed in the temple ruins of Sardis.
- 9 Shaw, *Possessors*, 46.
- 10 Shaw, *Possessors*, 91-94.
- 11 Shaw, *Possessors*, 96.
- 12 Shaw, *Possessors*, 96.. I also discuss this matter in Beatrice St. Laurent, "Ottoman Architectural Theory and Historicism. The Genesis of Tradition 1860-1914," College Art Association, Annual Meeting, 21-23 February 1990, Washington, DC, unpublished paper.
- 13 Shaw, *Possessors*, 96-7, indicates that Osman Hamdi's biographer, Mustafa Cezar, suggests that the choice was based on Hamidian Islamist policy to select a Muslim for the position. Based on my own previous research I concur with her view that the selection was based on the motivation to control Ottoman cultural legacy.
- 14 Shaw, *Possessors*, 107, 149-56. For a brief history of Halil Edhem Eldem, see L. A. Mayer, "In Memoriam: Halil Edhem Eldem (1861-1938)," *Ars Islamica* Vol. 6, No. 2 (1939): 198-201; this article also lists his significant publication record. For his founding of the two new museums in 1914, see "Halil Edhem on the Museum of Pious Foundations," in Bahrani et al., *Scramble for the Past*, 418-21.
- 15 Shaw, *Possessors* 156-63, 208-212.
- 16 Wendy Shaw, "From Mausoleum to Museum," in *Scramble for the Past*, respectively pp. 427 and 425.
- 17 Shaw, *Possessors*, 24. This issue is also discussed in my Ph.D. thesis, *Ottomanization and Modernization*.
- 18 Shaw, *Possessors*, 85-86. Ethem Eldem, "From Blissful Indifference to Anguished Concern: Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities, 1799-1869" in *Scramble for the Past*, 281-283, posits this edict as the "lost law." Why he states this is unclear because others, including Wendy Shaw, have discussed the contents of the edict. He does indicate that the law was published in translation.
- 19 For the alternate spelling of Gould's name, see Ferruhur Turac and Vefa Sandikcioğlu, *Galatasaray Lisesi (Mekteb-i Sultani) 1868-1968*, (S.l.: s.n., Gün Matbaası, 1974), 66. See also Sebla Şahin *Marketing Strategies for the State Museums of Turkey: The Case of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art* (Istanbul: Master's Thesis, Yditepe University, 2010), 9. Sophie Basch, "Archaeological Travels in Greece and Asia Minor: On the Good Use of Ruins in Nineteenth-Century France," in *Scramble for the Past*, 173-174, discusses Gould's catalogue of the imperial collections published in French.

- 20 For Ahmet Vefik Paşa, see Beatrice St. Laurent, “Un Amateur de théâtre: Ahmed Vefik Pasha et le remodelage de Bursa dans le dernier tiers du XIXe siècle,” in *Villes ottomanes à la fin de l’Empire*, (Paris: Harmattan, 1992), 95-113; St. Laurent, “Bir Tiyatro Aşığı: Ahmed Vefik Paşa ve XIX, Yüzyıl Sonlarında Bursa’nın Yeniden Biçimlendirilişi,” in *Bir Masaldı Bursa*, ed., Engin Yenal, (Istanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Yayınları, 1996), 105-117.
- 21 Shaw, *Possessors*, 89.
- 22 *Athar-i Atika Nizamnamesi* (Istanbul: Asir Matbaası, 1322/1874).
- 23 Shaw, *Possessors*, 90.
- 24 *Athar-i Atika Nizamnamesi* (Istanbul: Asir Matbaası, 1301/1884), is a nine-page document stating the new regulations for antiquities. A French version, published in 1324 (written in 1322) is *Règlement sur les Antiquités* (Istanbul: Imprimerie Ahmed İhsan, 1324/1907).
- 25 Shaw, *Possessors*, 110-130.
- 26 Issam Nassar, “Jerusalem in the Late Ottoman Period; Historical Writing and the Native Voice,” in *Jerusalem Idea and Reality* ed. T. Mayer and S. Ali Mourad (London: Routledge, 2008). See also his earlier “Reflections on Writing the History of Palestinian Identity” *Palestine-Israel Journal*, Vol. 8 No 4, 2001 and Vol. 9 No 1, 2002, pp. 1-10. <http://www.pij.org/details.php?id=791>. Accessed 3 October 2013.
- 27 The sources for the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century development of Jerusalem are far too numerous to cite and will be limited to a few important publications relevant to this article: Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, *Jerusalem in the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1984), Ruth Kark and Michal Oren-Nordheim, *Jerusalem and its Environs: Quarters, Neighborhoods, Villages 1800-1948* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2001). For the period of World War I, see Salim Tamari, “The Great War and the Erasure of Palestine’s Ottoman Past,” in *Transformed Landscape: Essays on Palestine and the Middle East in Honor of Walid Khalidi*, ed. C. Mansour and L. Fawwaz (Cairo: The American University Press, 2009) and his more recent *Year of the Locust: A Soldier’s Diary and the Erasure of Palestine’s Ottoman Identity* (Berkeley: University of California press, 2011). An article that nicely summarizes these issues is Roberto Mazza, “Missing Voices in Rediscovering Late Ottoman and Early British Jerusalem,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 53 (Spring 2013): 61-71; see also his *Jerusalem: From the Ottomans to the British* (London and New York: L. B. Tauris Publishers, 2009). For an early article dealing with this issue, see Beshara B. Doumani, “Rediscovering Ottoman Palestine: Writing Palestinians into History,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 21, No. 2 (Winter 1992): 5-28 and his later *Rediscovering Palestine* (London: University of California Press, 1995). Also of interest for the history of *bilad al-sham* is Hasan Kayali, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).
- 28 The site today is known as the Russian Compound.
- 29 The railroad reflects another aspect of Abdülhamid’s imperial program to modernize the empire.
- 30 Conrad Schick, “Reports from Herr Baurath von Schick,” *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly* (1896): 128.
- 31 Charles Wilson, *Ordinance Survey of Jerusalem*, (London: Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty’s Treasury, 1865), 59. At that time, the ruins consisted of the east end of the church supported by vaults with part of the main west entrance remaining. He also indicated that the two churches of St. Anne and St. Mary Magdalene were in a shallow valley, running down from the northwest (p. 30).
- 32 Schick, “Reports,” 128.
- 33 Schick, “Reports,” 128. “The new Muhammadan School built several years ago on the spot of el-Mamuniya or Convent of Mary Magdalen – the ruins of it were removed and the building erected entirely new without any ancient remains.” In PEF Schick 126/4: letter 15 March 1897; Barnabas Meistermann, *Guide to the Holy Land* (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1923), footnote, 294.
- 34 The cover of the Ottoman Journal *Servet-i Fünun* vol. 3, No. 142, vol. III (1309/1894) includes a picture of the dedication ceremony and opening of the school.
- 35 After 1846, the first plan for state education was put forward, providing primary and secondary schools under the Ministry of Education. The initial attempts of the late eighteenth century were to add Western style military training onto the traditional Ottoman system to train the army, appearing later

- to permeate the entire educational system by 1869, in the provision of free primary education for all. By 1914, there were 36,000 Ottoman schools in the empire. Wendy Shaw (*Possessors*, 24), discusses the passage of the Education Regulation.
- 36 This neighborhood development plan preceded the changes made for the visit of the Kaiser and sprang from motives other than sprucing up the area for a foreign dignitary. For the Kaiser's visit, a new improved road replaced the pre-existing one. This may indicate that the "improvements" for the Kaiser's visit may have been part of an older plan for the northern part of the city.
- 37 The school sustained damage during the events of 1948 and its pitched roof was destroyed.
- 38 Beatrice St. Laurent and Isam Awad, "The Marwani Musalla: New Findings," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 54 (Summer 2013): 12-13.
- 39 Shaw, *Possessors*, 86. On p. 87 Shaw lists the earliest contributions from the provinces listed in the 1871 catalogue of the collection. Contributions were listed by donor and not provenance. İlber Ortaylı Osman Hamdi Bey Kongresi Bidirileri (Istanbul, 1990): 129, discusses the request to send antiquities to Istanbul from the provinces.
- 40 In a letter dated September 1892 to Osman Hamdi Bey, Director of the Museum in Istanbul at the time, Charles Clermont-Ganneau requests information concerning the inscription sent by the Governor of Palestine, as well as providing the date of the transmission of the object. Charles Clermont-Ganneau in Henri Metzger, *La correspondance passive d'Osman Hamdi Bey* (Paris: Imprimerie Bontemps, 1990), 65.
- 41 Shaw, *Possessors*, 169.
- 42 Shaw, *Possessors*, 169-70. Shaw discusses the role of a local regional administrator in the successful opening of the museum in 1904. For the date of the Bursa Museum, see also *Hüdavendigar Vilayet-i Salnamesi* (Bursa: Vilayet Matbaası, 1324/1906), 120-121. The date is included in the caption under the picture.
- 43 Deringil, "Inventing Tradition," 21. For Bursa as a model Ottoman city, see St. Laurent, *Ottomanization and Modernization*.
- 44 A recent exhibition in Istanbul on the subject of the history of Ottoman archaeology resulted in the publication of an edited volume of articles that explored the topic of foreign pressure imposed on the Empire from various European countries to both excavate and export antiquities. See various articles dealing with the topic in *Scramble for the Past*.
- 45 So called by Bliss in PEF/BLISS 93/3-134 in a letter dated 5 November 1900. I am thankful to Rupert Chapman III, Director of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and Shimon Gibson, Photographic Officer of the Fund, for their assistance and access to PEF documents and photographs during my research there from 1990 to 1992. Wendy Shaw claims that the Bursa Museum was the first of the regional museums and Jerusalem was to follow all of the others substantially later (*Possessors*, 170).
- 46 *Pre-War Turkish Catalogue of the Palestine Archaeological Museum* (1910). This is a handwritten catalogue in Ottoman Turkish listing all museum holdings as of 1910. Since there is no title provided in Turkish, we have chosen to use the title provided in the library of the Palestine Archaeological Museum.
- 47 Charles Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*; Claude Reignier Condor, Horatio Herbert Kitchener, Edward Henry Palmer, and Sir Walter Besant, *The Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs of the topography, orography, hydrography, and archaeology*. (London: The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881-83). The survey was initiated in 1871 and published between 1881 and 1883.
- 48 For general information concerning the early history of foreign archaeological enterprises in the region see Abraham Negev and Shimon Gibson, *Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land* (2005), 47-48. For biographical information about Bliss, see Philip J. King, *American Archaeology in the Middle East. A History of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, (Philadelphia, 1983), 21-23, and Jeff Blakely, "Frederick Jones Bliss: Father of Palestinian Archaeology," *Biblical Archaeologist* 56 (1993): 110-115.
- 49 PEF Bliss 85A, letter dated 1 September 1899, pp. 3-4.
- 50 Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Bati'ya açılış ve Osman Hamdi* (Istanbul, n.p., 1971), 240.
- 51 PEF/BLISS132B.
- 52 The PEF copy is PEF/DA/BLISS/133 and the Rockefeller catalogue number is ENJPAM/XYG
- 53 PEF/MAC/5 Letter to Bliss; also noted by Felicity J. Cobbing and Jonathan Tubb, "Before the Rockefeller: The First Palestine

- Museum in Jerusalem,” *Mediterraneum* (2007): 86.
- 54 PEF/DA/BLISS/85 Communiqué from Bliss in Jerusalem to G. Armstrong dated September 1, 1899.
- 55 For the date of installation, see Cobbing and Tubb, “Before the Rockefeller,” 85. For Bliss’s comments, see PEF/BLISS 93/3-134, p. 1.
- 56 “Notes and News,” *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, vol. 1921, pp. 115-116, cited by Cobbing and Tubb, “Before the Rockefeller,” 89.
- 57 PEF/BLISS 93/131A, pp. 3-4.
- 58 PEF/BLISS 93/131A, p.3.
- 59 Cobbing and Tubb, “Before the Rockefeller,” 83.
- 60 PEF/BLISS/85B pp.1-8. The procedure for making the casts and the quality are discussed and it is indicated that all objects were given over to the Government Museum. Macalister began working with Bliss in 1898.
- 61 Cobbing and Tubb, “Before the Rockefeller,” 83. There is still a collection housed at St. George’s but I am not aware if the objects cited as part of the PEF collection on loan are part of it.
- 62 PEF DA/MAC 76B 3 June 1902. This is also mentioned by Cobbing and Tubb, “Before the Rockefeller,” 85-86.
- 63 Frederick Jones Bliss, *The Development of Palestine Exploration being The Ely Lectures for 1903* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons., 1906), 306-307; Cobbing and Tubb, “Before the Rockefeller,” 86, also discuss Bliss’s statements of the period.
- 64 PEF/MAC 295a 1 January 1909.
- 65 PEF/MAC 295a 1 January 1909.
- 66 *Pre-War Turkish Catalogue of the Palestine Archaeological Museum* (1910). The catalogue itself has no title in Turkish.
- 67 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (The Ottoman section of the Prime Minister’s Archives, Istanbul, Ottoman State Archives, hereafter BOA) BOA MF MKT 1131/6 Number, 22.
- 68 BOA MF MKT 1131/6 (number not noted).
- 69 MF MKT 1131/6 (number not noted) details the creation of the list or catalogue; *Pre-War Turkish Catalogue*, 16, also indicates that the catalogue should remain with Ibrahim Efendi. The copy sent to Istanbul perhaps still exists either in the museum or the archives in Istanbul.
- 70 Cited on p. 16 of the Catalogue. I am indebted to Baruch Brandl, Director of the Library and Archives of the Rockefeller Museum, for providing me with a copy of this catalogue.
- 71 *Pre-War Turkish Catalogue*, 16.
- 72 For the shifting allegiances of the notable families in Jerusalem, see Roberto Mazza, *Jerusalem: From the Ottomans to the British* (London and New York: Tauris, 2009), 30-45.
- 73 The series of nine documents in Istanbul are in two folders BOA MF MKT 1167/1.
- 74 Cobbing and Tubb, “Before the Rockefeller,” 87.
- 75 BOA MFKT 1175/6 4054/ 595 and 4132/673.
- 76 BOA 68/4208 /748 October 3, 1911 cited by Cezar, *Sanatta Bati’ya*, 569.
- 77 Cezar, *Sanatta Bati’ya*, 559-60.
- 78 Mahmoud Hawari, “Capturing the Castle: Archaeology, Architectural History and Political Bias at the Citadel of Jerusalem,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 55 (Summer 2013): 46-67.
- 79 Shaw, *Possessors*, 170.
- 80 Shaw, *Possessors*, 171.
- 81 Israel Antiquities Authority: Scientific Archive 1919-1948, in Folder: The Museum at Jerusalem, Document # 2274A “From Ronald Storrs, Military Governor” dated 11/10/1918, stamped 11/11/18.
- 82 Israel Antiquities Authority: Scientific Archive 1919-1948, in Folder: The Museum at Jerusalem, no number, “extract from ‘The Year’s Work,’” July 1920-July 1921.
- 83 Shimon Gibson, “British Archaeological Institutions in Mandatory Palestine 1917-1948,” *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (1999): 132. Gibson indicates that they were packed in cases in 1917 with the intention of shipping them to Istanbul.
- 84 *Jerusalem 1918-1920: Being the Records of the Pro-Jerusalem Council during the First Two Years of the Civil Administration* (London: John Murray, 1921), v.
- 85 Ronald Storrs, *Orientalions* (London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson, 1937), 464.
- 86 Storrs, *Orientalions*, 369.
- 87 AIA (American Institute of Archaeology) Archives: ASOR in Jerusalem: General 1910-1919: *Archaeological Institute of America, Extract from the Bulletin of the Institute: Seventeenth Annual Report of the Managing Committee of the American School of Oriental Research*, pp. 3-4
- 88 Archives of the American School of Oriental Research, ASOR: General, AIA box 32, includes the memo and the plan. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* No. 1 (December 1919), p. 3 says: “When, in 1914,

- Turkey entered the war, it became necessary to close the School. In 1917, when the United States declared war, the rented school building was tendered to the Red Cross, which occupied it through the remainder of the struggle.”
- 89 “Notes of Other Societies,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1918), 208-209, indicates that the Executive Committee of the American School of Oriental Studies had placed its properties at the disposal of the Red Cross with Wicher, a former student at the school, “who is going to Palestine on Y. M. C. A. work” in charge of the property.
- 90 C. R. Ashbee and K. A. C. Creswell, eds., *Jerusalem 1920-1922: being the records of the Pro-Jerusalem council during the first two years of the civil administration* (London: J. Murray for the Council of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, 1924), 30.
- 91 Storrs, *Orientalisms*, 366.
- 92 For the creation of museums in Jerusalem, see Ashbee, *Jerusalem 1918-20*, 3, 30. For the conservation and restoration of the Hippicus Tower see Ashbee, *Jerusalem 1920-1922*, 5-10. The initial goal of creating museums in Jerusalem is reiterated on p. v. For the proposed creation of museum space in the Hippicus Tower, see PEFQS, “Notes and News,” (July 1921): 115-116, quoting from the “Times,” of 1 June 1921 (also cited by Cobbing and Tubb, “Before the Rockefeller,” 88).
- 93 *Jerusalem 1918-1920*, 41, 75, indicates that the society needed 500 pounds sterling to start the museum for the its collections; *Jerusalem 1920-1922*, v, and viii.
- 94 For the clearing of debris in the Citadel see *Jerusalem 1918-1920*, 1. For demolition see Ashby, *Jerusalem 1920-1922*, vi. It is indicated that the Turkish barracks are in the process of removal with 6,000 cubic meters of buildings and stone already removed.
- 95 *Government of Palestine Report: Report on Palestine Administration July 1920 – December 1921* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1922), 129.
- 96 IAA Archives: “Museum at Jerusalem” folder 2274A. Ronald Storrs Military Governor 10 November 1918.
- 97 For the ownership of the property, I am thankful to Hussein Gheith (Abu Hani), the librarian of the Kenyon Institute (CBRL) in Jerusalem, who generously gave of his time to ascertaining ownership.
- 98 Gibson, “British Archaeological Institutions,” 131. Gibson cites Israeli archaeologist Avraham Biran as a source of this information.
- 99 Gibson, “British Archaeological Institutions,” 118.
- 100 IAA Archives: “Extract from ‘The Year’s Work’” in the folder called “Museum at Jerusalem.”
- 101 IAA Archives: “Extract... From Gibson’s article, the source of the dating in the winter of 1921 is not clear and not accurate, p. 131.
- 102 The name of the museum was officially changed to the Palestine Antiquities Museum in the 1930s after the creation of the new museum outside Herod’s Gate
- 103 Cited by Cobbing and Tubb, “Before the Rockefeller,” 118, from *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, “Notes and News” (July 1921): 115-116.
- 104 IAA Archives: in the folder “Museum at Jerusalem: ‘The Official Opening of the Palestine Museum: October 31, 1921,’” officially stamped November 1, 1921. See also *Government of Palestine Report: Report on Palestine Administration July 1920 – December 1921* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1922), 129.
- 105 Extract from *The Year’s Work*. This corresponds to Storrs’s restoration of the Tower.
- 106 Cobbing and Tubb, “Before the Rockefeller,” 79.
- 107 *Government of Palestine Report: Report on Palestine Administration July 1920 – December 1921* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1922), 129.
- 108 IAA Archives: ‘Palestine Museum of Antiquities, Notes for Guides,’ 1922.
- 109 IAA Archives: “Note on the Catalogue of the Museum, Keeper of the Museum Phythian-Adams,” April 9, 1924.
- 110 Photos exist of all of these areas in the IAA Mandate Period Archives in the Rockefeller.
- 111 William John Phythian-Adams and John Garstang, *Guide Book to the Palestine Museum of Antiquities* (Jerusalem: Department of Antiquities by the Greek Convent Press, 1924). Thanks are owed to Felicity Cobbing, Executive Secretary of the PEF, for providing me with a scan of this catalogue.
- 112 The site map does not appear in Figure 21 showing the central cases. The photos were taken in 1922 and the Guide Book plan dates from 1924. In 1922 the raised site plan is leaning against a wall in the Catalogue Room of the Museum.

- 113 Gibson, "British Archaeological Institutions," 132.
- 114 IAA Archives: "Memorandum on the possible use of the Citadel as a Government Museum," 17 July 1923, lists the multiple problems of such a venture; No.4735/ATQ/1185 dated July 20, 1923 (received July 21, 1923): this document included a photograph of a section plan.
- 115 IAA Archives: "Letter to Herbert Samuel from John Garstang," July 20, 1923.
- 116 The old olive oil press still remains in the lower building.
- 117 Extensive documentation for the Palestine Archaeological Museum exists in the IAA Archives housed in the Rockefeller.
- 118 IAA Archives: "Museum at Jerusalem: 'The Official Opening.'"
- 119 Ashbee, *Jerusalem 1920-1922*, 9, 30.
- 120 IAA Archives: "Museum at Jerusalem" 4735/ATQ/1185, Memo from P. W. D. of the Department of Public Works.
- 121 IAA Archives: "Museum at Jerusalem," 1914/ATQ/1183, Letter dated April 20, 1922.
- 122 IAA Archives: "Museum at Jerusalem," 1673/ATQ/1185.
- 123 IAA Archives: "Committee for the Jewish Department in the Citadel," no date.
- 124 IAA Archives: New Museum Correspondence, 5348.
- 125 Uri M. Kupferschmidt, *The Supreme Muslim Council: Islam Under the British Mandate for Palestine* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 1987), 66-67.
- 126 Khader Salameh, *The Qur'an Manuscripts in the Haram al-Sharif Islamic Museum, Jerusalem* (Reading, UK and Paris: Garnet Publishers/UNESCO Publishing, 2001), 3 and fn. 3. See also, Marwan Abu Khalaf, *Islamic Art Through the Ages: Masterpieces of the Islamic Museum of the Haram-al-Sharif in Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Emerezian Graphic and Printing, 1998.) Abu Khalaf states that the Islamic Museum pre-dated the Rockefeller but failed to note that the collections of the Rockefeller date to the creation of the Ottoman Museum in 1901.
- 127 Kāmil Jamīl Asalī, *Ma'āhid al-'ilm fī Bayt al-Maqdis* (Amman: n.p., 1981), 375. Asalī also mentions that the Council opened a library and museum in 1922. My thanks to Isam Awwad for this source.