

## Chapter One

# George Grove and the Establishment of the Palestine Exploration Fund

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### Abstract

This article surveys the growing thirst for factual evidence relating to the world of the Bible in mid-19th century Britain and early tentative efforts to address this demand. It was against this background that the polymath George Grove sought to establish a secular institution devoted to the multidisciplinary study of the southern Levant based on scientific principles. Evidence is marshalled to show that it was Grove's exceptional combination of talents—his organizational and networking skills, natural intelligence, and wide interests, including a profound knowledge of the geography of the Bible—that enabled him to recruit some of the most illustrious figures of Victorian Britain to help him realize this ambition in 1865, with the establishment of the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF).

**Keywords:** James Fergusson; George Grove; history of Levantine studies; Palestine Exploration Fund; Arthur Penrhyn Stanley

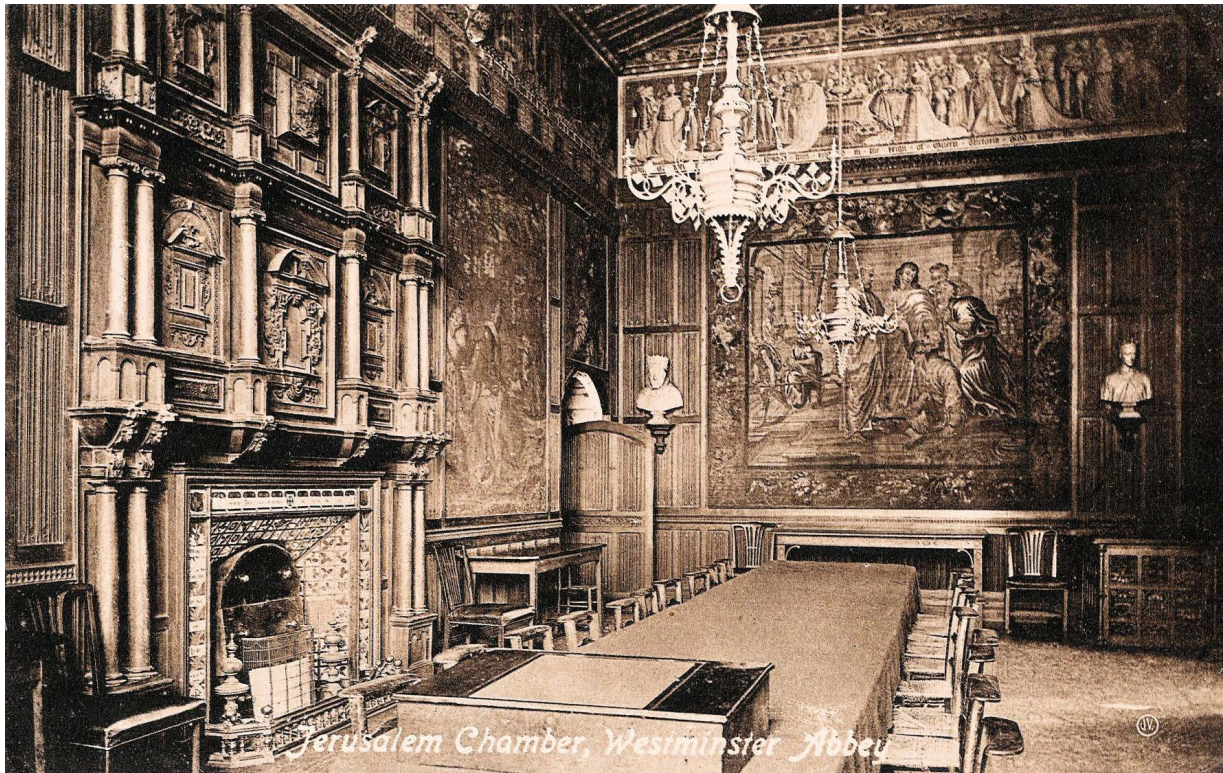
### Introduction

In 1865 George Grove (1820–1900), the secretary of the Crystal Palace, sent out formal invitations to selected public figures, asking them to attend the preliminary meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) at the Jerusalem Chamber,<sup>1</sup> Westminster Abbey, at 5 pm, Friday, 12 May (Conder and Kitchener 1881: 3–4; details are also recorded in the manuscript *PEF Minute Book*, Vol. 1: 1–3). The choice of venue (Figure 1.1) for this preliminary meeting calls for comment, because it fell under the jurisdiction of the Dean of Westminster, who at that time was Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815–1880), and one would normally have expected such an invitation to have been issued by him. However, while Dean Stanley (as he was generally known) was willing to offer his support, he declined to lead the

undertaking, and it was Grove who took on the role of PEF Honorary Secretary (Lipman 1988: 47).

Twenty-four eminent figures of Victorian society attended the meeting (Lipman 1988: 47–9), which was chaired by the Archbishop of York, William Thomson (1819–1890), a church disciplinarian who had also distinguished himself as a logician, earning him election as a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1863 (Carlyle and Matthew 2010). As one might expect, the participants were all male, and distinguished men of science were particularly well represented. A brief survey of just five attendees testifies to the group's extraordinary range of talents and accomplishments:

*Joseph Dalton Hooker (1817–1911; Figure 1.2):* One of the greatest 19th-century botanists (Endersby



**Figure 1.1.** The interior of the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey, arranged as a meeting room, 1914. Source: Valentine Series (commercial) postcard (Wikimedia Commons file: Jerusalem Chamber. jpg).

2008a; 2008b). His father, Sir William Jackson Hooker, had formerly been Regius Professor of Botany at Glasgow University before becoming director of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew, and Joseph was co-director. He travelled the world, identifying and collecting new plant species, and visited Palestine and Syria in 1860. Hooker also had an early interest in palaeobotany: he was a strong proponent of evolutionary theory, and one of Charles Darwin's closest friends. In 1865 he succeeded his father as director at Kew and held the position for the next 20 years.

*Richard Owen (1804–1892; Figure 1.3):* An outstanding naturalist and palaeontologist, with a special talent for interpreting fossils (Rupke 1994; Gruber 2006)—and the *bête noire* of Hooker (Lipman 1988:

49). It is he who coined the word “dinosaur” from the Greek *deinos*, “terrible”, and *sauros*, “lizard”. Owen also made important contributions to biology and comparative anatomy. He was instrumental in the establishment of the Natural History Museum in London for the public display of botanical, zoological, and fossil specimens, and he was appointed its first director. However, although progressive in some respects, he generally supported the positions of orthodox religion and was a fervent opponent of Charles Darwin and his theory of evolution by natural selection.

*Roderick Impey Murchison (1792–1871):* The geologist who first described and investigated the Silurian geological system, which extended



**Figure 1.2.** Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker. Photo: Henry Joseph Whitlock, 1860s, NPG Ax18346. Albumen carte-de-visite (© National Portrait Gallery, London).



**Figure 1.3.** Sir Richard Owen, 1860s. Photo: Henry Joseph Whitlock, NPG Ax18374. Albumen carte-de-visite (© National Portrait Gallery, London).

from 445 to 420 million years ago (Bonney and Stafford 2009). In 1855 Murchison was appointed director-general of the British Geological Survey and director of the Royal School of Mines; he also founded a chair of geology and mineralogy at the University of Edinburgh.<sup>2</sup>

*William Spottiswoode (1825–1883):* A mathematician and physicist of distinction, he later served as president of the Royal Society, from 1878 until his death (Crilly 2006). One of his mathematical interests was algebra, particularly the theory of determinants, while another was the application of analysis to geometry and mechanics. In physics, he undertook research on light polarization and electrical discharge in rarefied gases.<sup>3</sup>

*George Gilbert Scott (1811–1878; Figure 1.4):* A leading architect of the Gothic Revival in Britain (Stamp 2004; 2015), whose works include important ecclesiastical and many other public buildings and monuments. Best known among these to Londoners are the Albert Memorial in Hyde Park (built 1864–1872) and the Midland Grand Hotel, a fairy-tale extravaganza attached to St Pancras Railway Station (built c. 1865–1873).

Also present at this first meeting was someone less celebrated, but influential nonetheless, and an important catalyst for the establishment of the PEF: George Williams (1814–1878), a Fellow of King’s College, Cambridge, who had accompanied Michael Alexander, the first Anglican bishop of Jerusalem, as chaplain, and resided in Jerusalem from 1841 to 1843 (Courtney and Adams 2006).



**Figure 1.4.** Sir George Gilbert Scott, 1860s. Photo: John & Charles Watkins. Albumen carte-de-visite, published by Mason & Co (Robert Hindry Mason), NPG x45088 (© National Portrait Gallery, London).

During his stay, he acquainted himself with the religious monuments and topography of Jerusalem and its environs, and on his return he published *The Holy City* (Williams 1845), with engravings from sketches by William F. Witts. The second edition (Williams 1849) expanded the work into two volumes and included as Chapter 3 of Volume 2 “The Architectural History of the Holy Sepulchre” by Robert Willis. The work gained Williams significant public notice and was influential in the debates then raging over the location of various sacred sites.

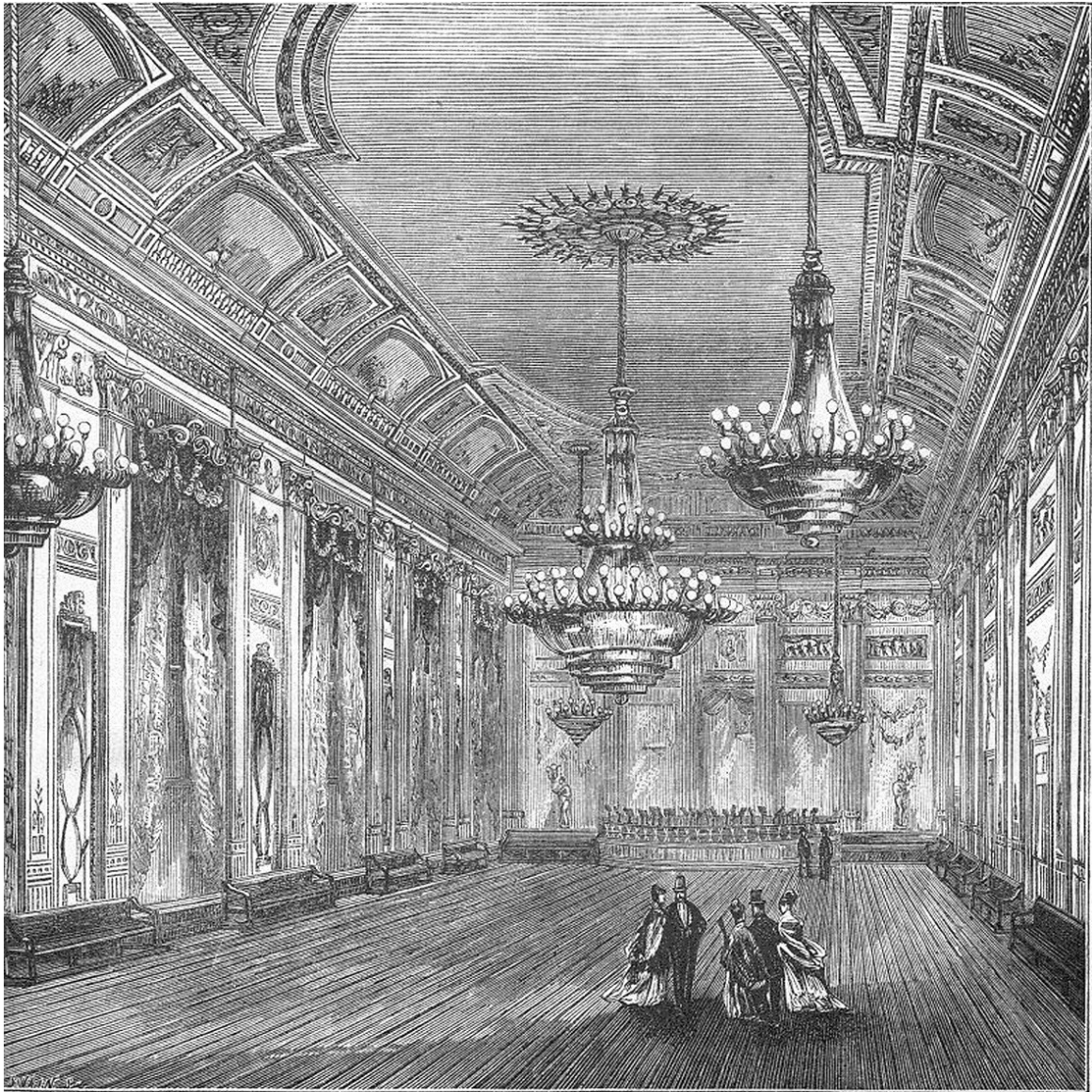
The participants shared the conviction, in some cases—including Stanley, Grove, Williams, and Archbishop Thomson—prompted by visits that they had themselves made to the Levant, that “the state of our knowledge of Palestine was very far from what it ought to be and that... [piecemeal]

individual effort must give way to such scientific exploration as can only be obtained by organised expeditions conducted by specially-trained and qualified explorers” (Conder and Kitchener 1881: 2; cf. Palestine Exploration Fund [Besant] 1886: 8–9). To this end, the PEF was formally constituted at this meeting “for the purpose of investigating the Archaeology, Geography, Geology, and Natural History of the Holy Land” (quoted in Conder and Kitchener 1881: 4; see also *PEF Minute Book*, Vol. 1: 2), and the scientific ethos of this new organization established. The attendees and a further 22 eminent men formed a committee; these included Major General Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson (1810–1895), widely recognized as the father of Assyriology.<sup>4</sup> A sub-committee was appointed, comprising Archbishop Thomson, Dean Stanley, and Professor Owen, to draw up a statement defining the general purposes of the PEF, and it was agreed to hold a general public meeting as soon as possible to launch an appeal for funding this new venture.

The first PEF General Public Meeting was duly held a month later, on 22 June 1865 (Palestine Exploration Fund 1865b; Conder and Kitchener 1881: 6; see also *PEF Minute Book*, Vol. 1: 4–6). The venue was Willis’s Rooms,<sup>5</sup> St. James’s, in London, which had an assembly room that could hold up to 1000 people (Figure 1.5).

This inaugural meeting attracted a large attendance, again including several important names:

*Charles-Jean Melchior, Marquis de Vogüé* (1829–1916): A French aristocrat, groomed for a diplomatic career under the restored Bourbon monarchy (Charay 1968). After his father, Léonce Louis Melchior de Vogüé, was arrested during the coup of 1851 which brought Louis Napoleon III to power in France, Charles-Jean Melchior had to set aside diplomacy and instead focused on studying the history and archaeology of Syria and Palestine, where he spent 1853 and 1854.



THE BALL-ROOM, WILLIS'S ROOMS.

**Figure 1.5.** Willis's Rooms, 26 King Street, St. James's. Engraving (Walford 1878: 199).

His research findings were later presented in several publications, including *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte* (Vogüé 1860), *Le Temple de Jérusalem* (Vogüé 1864), and *Syrie centrale* (Vogüé 1865–1868). In 1871, after the fall of the Second Empire, the new President of France, Adolphe Thiers, appointed him France's ambassador in Constantinople, and from 1875 to 1879 he was

ambassador in Vienna. The Marquis maintained close links with the PEF after the inaugural meeting and he was invited to contribute a chapter on the Hauran region to *The Recovery of Jerusalem* (Morrison 1871), a volume reviewing the exploration work carried out in the Holy Land over the previous decade (Gibson and Jacobson 1996: 11–12).<sup>6</sup>

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*Austen Henry Layard (1817–1894; Figure 1.6):* Widely travelled from a young age, his abilities were recognized by Sir Stratford Canning, the British ambassador in Constantinople (Layard 1903; Parry 2006). Canning encouraged Layard to explore the ancient Assyrian ruins at Nimrud on the Tigris and the great mound of Kuyunjik (ancient Nineveh) near Mosul, which had excited his interest during an earlier visit. Layard carried out excavations at those two sites from 1845 to 1847, publishing his findings in *Nineveh and its Remains* (Layard 1849). This work brought Layard recognition and fame. He returned to Constantinople as attaché to the British Embassy in 1849 and embarked on further archaeological explorations at Babylon and sites in southern Mesopotamia. His record of this second expedition, *Discoveries in the Ruins*

*of Nineveh and Babylon*, was published in 1853. Layard sent some significant sculptures and wall friezes and other ancient artefacts to England, which are now in the British Museum. He later enjoyed a distinguished political and diplomatic career, crowned by his appointment as British ambassador in Constantinople from 1877 to 1880.

*William Gifford Palgrave (1826–1888; Figure 1.7):* An Arabic scholar and ethnographer, he undertook an audacious journey, in the guise of an itinerant Syrian physician, from the Mediterranean across Arabia—then largely a *terra incognita* to the Western World—and along the Persian Gulf (Allan 1972; Thompson 2004). He described his experiences in *Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia (1862–1863)* (Palgrave 1865), which was a bestseller. Later



**Figure 1.6.** Sir Austen Henry Layard, c. 1858. Photo: Maull & Polyblank. Albumen carte-de-visite, Ax16424 (© National Portrait Gallery, London).



**Figure 1.7.** William Gifford Palgrave, 1868. Photo: Julia Margaret Cameron. Albumen print, NPG P279 (© National Portrait Gallery, London).

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he joined the British Foreign Office and was given several postings abroad, his last as consul-general to Uruguay.

*Sir Moses Montefiore (1784–1885; Figure 1.8):* Of Sephardi stock, he had been a highly successful stockbroker and financier in London (Green 2010; Alderman 2015). Having amassed a personal fortune, he retired from business in 1824 and devoted the rest of his life to philanthropic endeavours, particularly alleviating distress among Jews in Europe and the Levant, and he had a particular interest in promoting economic self-sufficiency, education, and health amongst the Jewish community in Palestine. He also built the first residential suburb outside the Old City of Jerusalem, Mishkenot Sha’ananim. Montefiore was active in Anglo-Jewish affairs,



**Figure 1.8.** Sir Moses Haim Montefiore, 1870s. Photo: Elliott & Fry. Albumen cabinet card, NPG x15841 (© National Portrait Gallery, London).

serving as President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews from 1835 to 1874. He was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1837.

The chairman, Archbishop Thomson, opened the proceedings by underlining the importance of Palestine to the Bible and “sacred history”. However, he went on to specify the principles upon which the activities of the new organization would be based, which were to be detached from religious or other subjective criteria:

[I]n order to bind together persons differing in important points of opinion, and in order to work together for one common object, we mean to lay down and vigorously adhere to this principle—that our object is strictly an inductive inquiry. We are not to be a religious society; we are not about to launch into any controversy; we are about to apply the rules of science, which are so well understood by us in other branches, to an investigation into the facts concerning the Holy Land. (quoted in Palestine Exploration Fund 1865b: 3)

This touchstone was widely endorsed by the audience, and its essence expressed by the Marquis de Vogüé, who only a few minutes earlier had been invited to address the meeting (Lipman 1988: 50):

It has been justly repeated that the best way of conducting this business [i.e. the activities of the PEF] is to put aside all exaggerated, or national, or ecclesiastical feeling—to collect facts and leave others to come to a conclusion. (quoted in Palestine Exploration Fund 1865b: 9)

An interesting appraisal of how well the PEF measured up to these principles during its first 21 years was later made by Walter Besant (Palestine Exploration Fund [Besant] 1886: 8–11).

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The meeting also passed six resolutions, recorded in the *PEF Minute Book* (Vol. 1: 4–6):

Resolution 1, Proposed by The Bishop of London; Seconded by Viscount Strangford:

That a Fund be formed for the purpose of promoting the exploration of the Holy Land and that the following Noblemen and Gentlemen [named in the Minutes of the meeting of 12 May] do constitute the Committee and Officers, with power to add to their number.

Resolution 2, Proposed by A.H. Layard Esq. MP; Seconded by Count [sic] De Vogüé:

That the exploration of Jerusalem and many other places in the Holy Land by means of excavations would probably throw much light upon the archaeology of the Jewish people.

Resolution 3, Proposed by Sir Roderick I. Murchison; Seconded by Mr Palgrave:

That in addition to the praiseworthy researches that have recently been made by Frenchmen, Englishmen, and travellers of other nations in the Holy Land, it is highly desirable to carry out such a systematic survey as will completely establish the true geological and geographical characters of that remarkable region.

Resolution 4, Proposed by Professor Owen; Seconded by Revd. H. B. Tristram:

That it is desirable that the animals, plants and minerals of the Holy Land be collected and that the facts requisite for their systematic history be noted by competent observers on the spot.

Resolution 5, Proposed by The Dean of Westminster; Seconded by The Dean of Canterbury:

That the Biblical Scholar may yet receive assistance in illustrating the sacred text from careful observers of the manner and habits of the people of the Holy Land.

Resolution 6, Proposed by The Bishop of Moray and Ross; Seconded by Dr William Smith:

That the thanks of the Meeting be given to His Grace the Archbishop of York for his conduct in the Chair.

The PEF's activities would thus encompass archaeological excavations (doubtless to the particular satisfaction of Layard, Grove, and Stanley), high-precision surveying, and studies of the natural history, geology, and ethnography of the Holy Land. Of these endeavours, it was generally agreed that a high priority must be given to the preparation of a complete and detailed survey map of Palestine.<sup>7</sup>

An appeal for funds was made and met with an immediate response. Queen Victoria sent a donation of £150 and consented to become the patron of the PEF.

### **Background to the Founding of the PEF<sup>8</sup>**

Consideration is here given to the events that led up to the founding of the PEF, and Grove's motivation in leading this initiative will be examined.

#### *Frederick Catherwood and James Fergusson*

In 1833, the first western European visitors succeeded in sidestepping the strict ban during Ottoman rule on non-Muslims entering the precincts of the Haram al-Sharif (Temple Mount) and recorded what they saw. Dressed in the garb of an Egyptian officer and bearing a document from the governor of Jerusalem purporting to accredit him as an engineer to



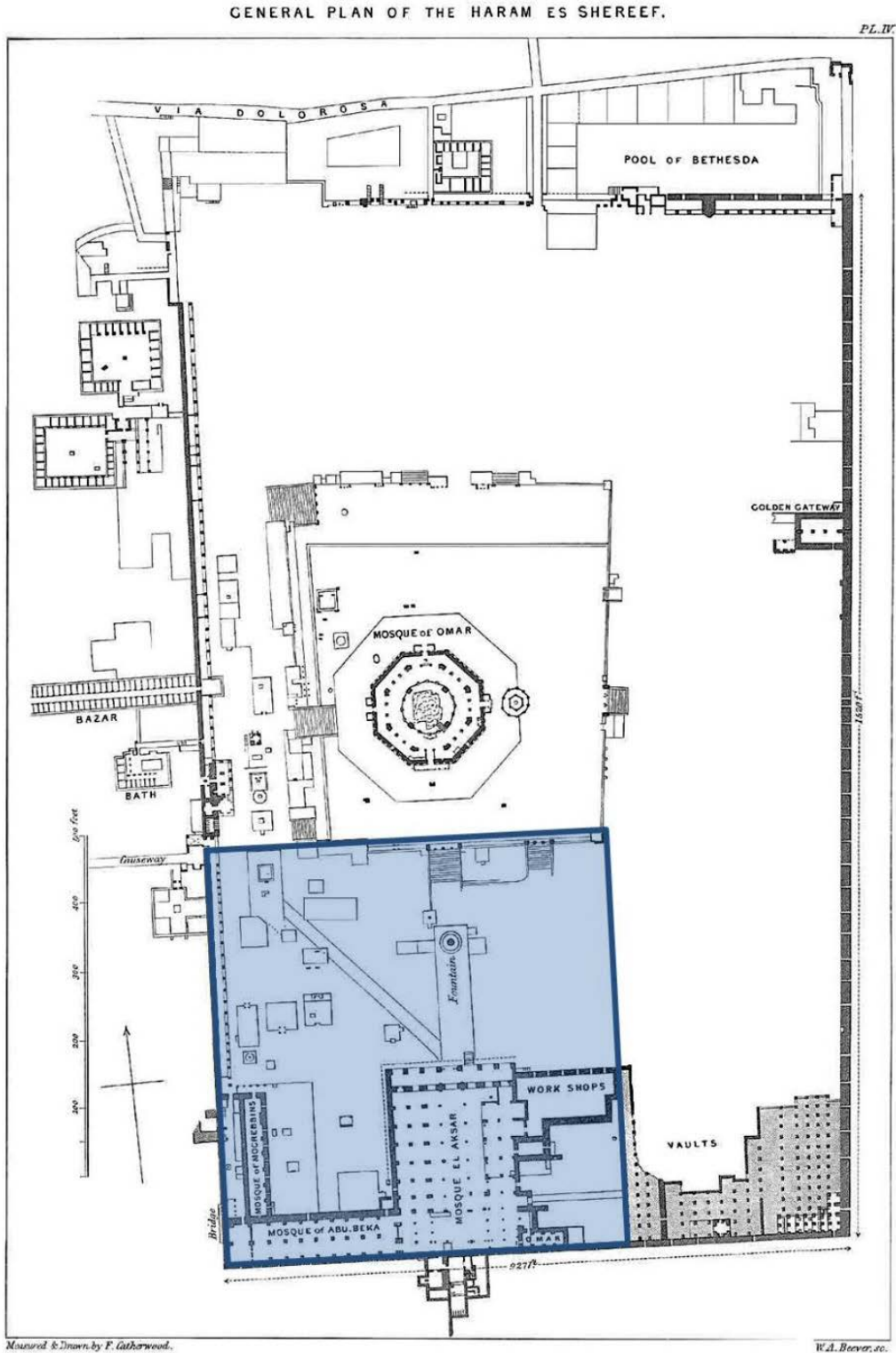


Figure 1.9. Frederick Catherwood's plan of the Haram al-Sharif / Temple Mount (Fergusson 1847: pl. IV).

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the Egyptian Pasha, Frederick Catherwood (1799–1854), an architect, artist, and explorer (Aguirre 2009), spent six weeks on the Haram al-Sharif with two companions, Francis Arundale and Joseph Bonomi. They took measurements in the precincts and sketched the interiors of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque.

Catherwood and his colleagues also managed to prepare a plan of the Haram, the first reasonably accurate one ever published (Fergusson 1847: pl. IV; see also Figure 1.9). Their descriptions and drawings were made known to the British public at large through popular works such as William Bartlett's *Walks about the City and Environs of Jerusalem* (Bartlett 1844). Several of Catherwood's plans and drawings made in Jerusalem were also enthusiastically acquired by the influential architectural historian James Fergusson (Figure 1.10).<sup>9</sup> Fergusson had recognized the Byzantine features of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque, and he rashly identified the former with the original Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre built in the fourth century CE by the Emperor Constantine, presenting his case in his *Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem* (Fergusson 1847). He theorized that the current Church of the Holy Sepulchre came about as a result of the expulsion of the Christians from the authentic Sepulchre rotunda by the Arabs after their conquest of Jerusalem, and he elaborated his claims in later publications (Fergusson 1861; 1865). He also erred in supposing that the ancient Jewish Temple was located in the southwest corner of the Haram (Fergusson 1847; 1878). This assumption was to be disproved by Charles Warren (1840–1927) and articulated by him in a published response to Fergusson (Warren 1880).

Fergusson was a highly accomplished architectural historian, which makes it all the more surprising that he got the identification of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque so wrong. From 1834 to 1845, he had measured

and recorded many of the ancient monuments of India and was knowledgeable about the Islamic architecture in that subcontinent and elsewhere, but there is no record of him ever having visited Jerusalem.

### *George Grove and Arthur Penrhyn Stanley*

George Grove (Figure 1.11) was one of 11 children born to a London fishmonger residing in Clapham. He regularly attended his local parish church, where from childhood he heard the music of Bach and Handel and developed a



**Figure 1.10.** James Fergusson, some time between 1859 and 1861. Photo: McLean, Melhuish, Napper & Co. Albumen carte-de-visite, NPG Ax16268 (© National Portrait Gallery, London).

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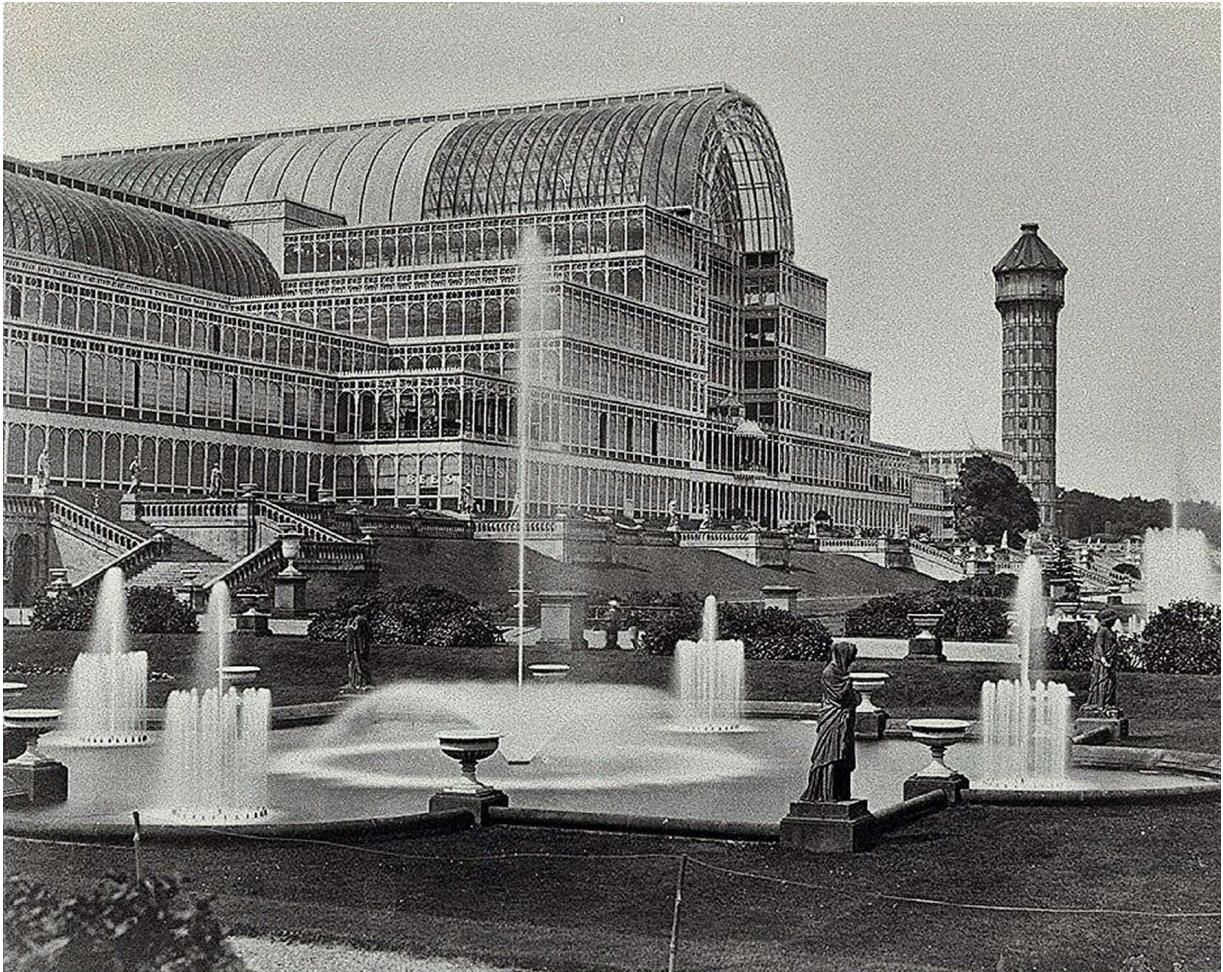
**Figure 1.11.** Sir George Grove, 1863. Photo: Robert Jefferson Bingham. Albumen carte-de-visite, NPG Ax38162 (© National Portrait Gallery, London).

passion for classical music. After leaving school he was articled for three years to Alexander Gordon, a civil engineer. He gained further practical engineering experience over the next two years in Glasgow working for Robert Napier, a famous Clyde shipbuilder, and was granted membership of the Institution of Civil Engineers in 1839. Grove's first major engineering assignment was to supervise the erection of a lighthouse (in 1841–1842) at Morant Point, on the eastern tip of Jamaica for Gordon, who was awarded the commission. It was the first of its type, built of cast iron tube and shipped from

London, and it stands 30 m high with a diameter of 1.5 m at the base and 1 m at the cap. Another major assignment on which Grove worked was the construction of the Britannia Bridge across the Menai Strait in North Wales (completed in 1849); Grove supervised the hoisting and installation of the large square iron tubes that enclosed the railway crossing that waterway. Robert Stephenson had designed the bridge and been awarded the contract for its construction in 1845.<sup>10</sup>

Recognized by his professional colleagues as an outstanding manager and organizer, in 1849 he was encouraged by them to take up the vacant position of Secretary of the Society of Arts. Three years later, he was appointed the Secretary of the Crystal Palace, the revolutionary building in glass and iron which had been relocated to Sydenham in southeast London following the Great Exhibition of 1851 (Figure 1.12). During his tenure, which lasted until 1873, Grove and August Manns, whom he appointed as the resident conductor, established the Crystal Palace as a world-class concert venue. Despite not being musically trained, Grove wrote authoritative programme notes for these concerts, which formed the basis for his *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, the first volume of which appeared in 1878 and which in later editions incorporated the author's name into the title.<sup>11</sup>

Shortly after Grove took up his appointment at the Crystal Palace, he met Fergusson, who had been called in as adviser along with Layard for the creation of the Assyrian Court, one of the thematic galleries inside the vast iron and glass exhibition hall. Fergusson went on to serve as general manager of the Crystal Palace from 1856 to 1858. Fired by a remark made by Fergusson, that no full concordance existed in English of the proper names mentioned in the Bible, Grove drew up a complete index of every occurrence of all the names mentioned in the Hebrew Bible, New Testament, and Apocrypha.



**Figure 1.12.** The Crystal Palace at Sydenham, London, c. 1855. Photo: Philip Henry Delamotte (Wikimedia Commons file: Crystal Palace centre transept & north tower from south wing.jpg).

Grove was inspired to undertake further biblical research by his first meeting with Stanley (Figure 1.13), which took place at the latter's home in Canterbury, at a time (either 1853 or 1854) when the future dean of Westminster was serving as a canon at Canterbury Cathedral ([Besant] 1880, 198). Stanley, an enlightened churchman and a champion of religious tolerance and scientific enquiry, was currently completing a book on his journey to the Levant in 1852.<sup>12</sup>

In consequence of that meeting, Grove contributed an addendum on “Vocabulary of

Hebrew Topographical Words” to Stanley's book, which was published as *Sinai and Palestine in Connection with Their History* (Stanley 1856). This collaboration engendered in Grove a strong desire to teach himself Hebrew and visit the Holy Land, which he accomplished first in 1859 and again in 1861. At Stanley's recommendation, he contributed this material and more to William Smith's three-volume *Dictionary of the Bible* (1860–1863).<sup>13</sup> For this lexicon, Fergusson also contributed a number of entries, including “Temple” and “Tomb”.



**Figure 1.13.** Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, c. 1852–1860. Photo: Lewis Carroll (Charles Lutwidge Dodgson). Albumen print, NPG P35 (© National Portrait Gallery, London).

### *Ermete Pierotti*

Ermete Pierotti (1820–after 1888) was a captain in the corps in the Royal Piedmontese Army Engineers, who was convicted in absentia in 1849 of embezzlement and desertion.<sup>14</sup> That same year, he made his way to Cairo and eventually appeared in Jerusalem in 1854, where he was soon engaged as an architect and engineer to the Ottoman authorities in the city and also undertook assignments for the Franciscans. He was given unrestricted freedom to study the Temple Mount, and he was the first investigator of the Haram and its structures to appreciate the significance of the cisterns and conduits, believing they could elucidate the ancient Jewish Temple (Pierotti 1864: 90–101). Unfortunately, the information that he provided about the substructures (Figure 1.14) is based on a mixture

of direct observation and hearsay (Gibson and Jacobson 1996: 9, 11). Pierotti also considered the location of the Temple and Holy Sepulchre, and he was convinced that the traditional locations were correct, contrary to the views of Fergusson. Pierotti was encouraged to publish his book *Jerusalem Explored* by George Williams, who invited Pierotti to Cambridge and assisted him in preparing his manuscript for press in 1864. Another Cambridge scholar, Thomas G. Bonney, provided the English translation.

Grove was asked to review Pierotti's book, and he must have discussed it with Fergusson. Having nailed his colours to the mast with his own theories, Fergusson was bound to react vehemently to any investigator who presented evidence in favour of the traditional sites for the Temple and Holy Sepulchre, just as he later reacted against Warren (Jacobson 2009: 34–6, 55–7). This must have been a factor in allegations then levelled by Grove and Fergusson against Pierotti of dubious scholarship and plagiarism of maps, plans, and photographs (e.g. Grove's letter in *The Times* of 7 March 1864). Pierotti maintained that he had used photographs that he had legitimately purchased from James Graham and John Mendel Diness, but had simply omitted to give due acknowledgment; in fact, he said, he had taken Diness with him to the Haram in 1859 to take photographs (Figure 1.15). Pierotti had his defenders, though, and Williams and Bonney published vigorous rejoinders to Pierotti's detractors that year (Bonney 1864; Williams 1864). However, Grove then got hold of the 1849 conviction document and publicized it, and Pierotti was from then on largely discredited.<sup>15</sup>

The idea of founding a society devoted to the systematic exploration of the Holy Land is sometimes believed to have arisen out of this clash with Pierotti (Lipman 1988: 46), although its origins in fact lay in Fergusson's and Grove's interest in the physical remains of the ancient Temple of Jerusalem. Certainly, the appearance

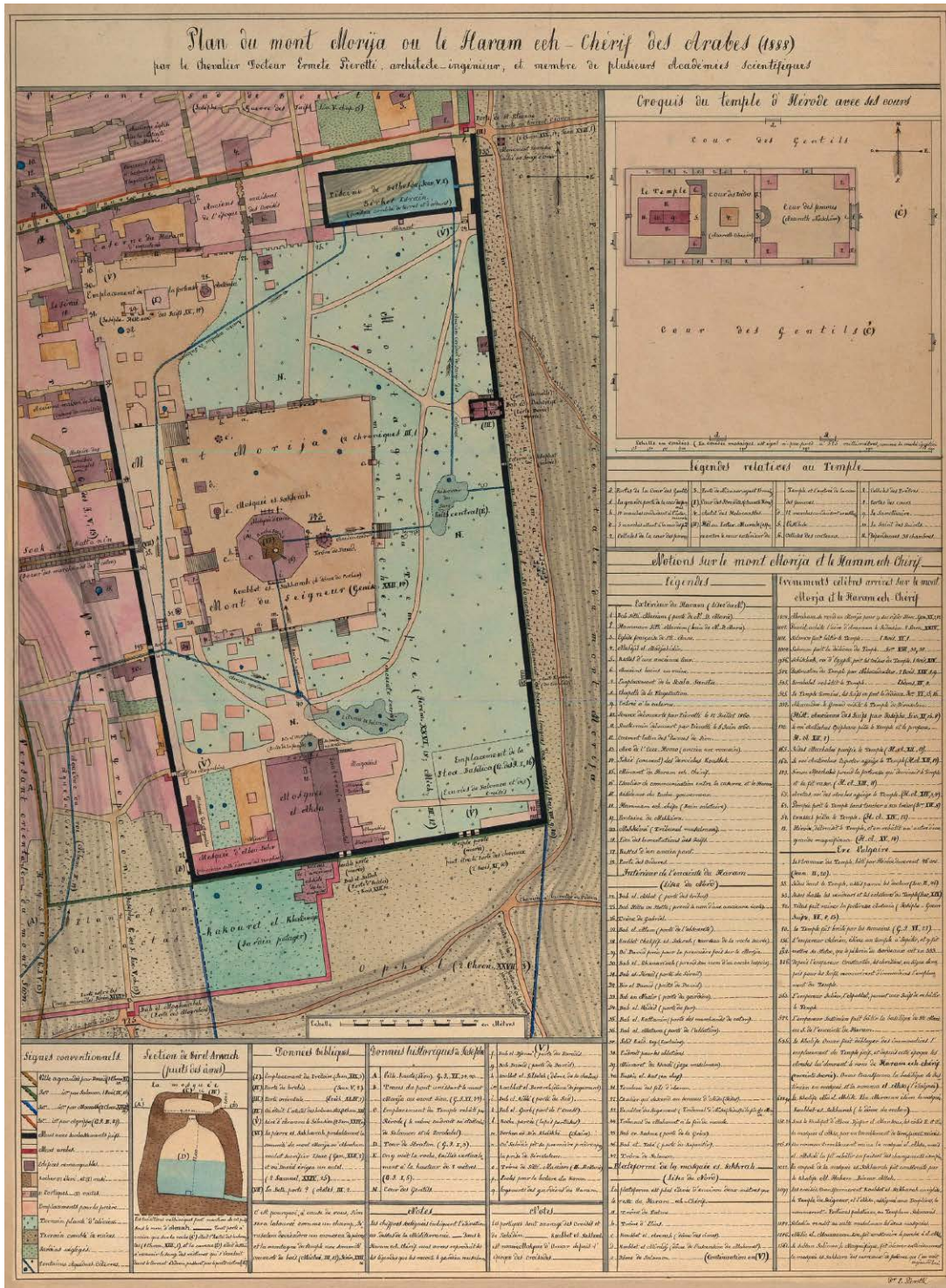
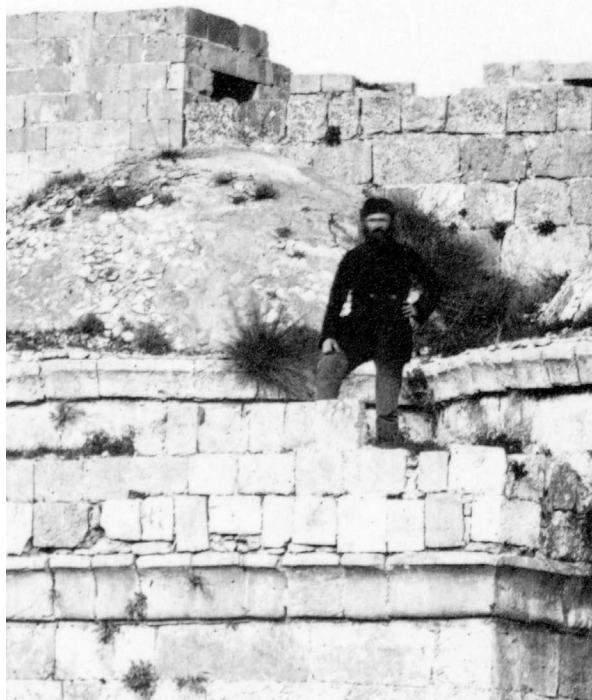


Figure 1.14. Pierotti, “Plan du Mont Morija ou le Haram ech-Chérif des Arabes (1888)”. Source: Atlas de la Palestine, par le Chevalier Docteur Ermete Pierotti, architecte-ingénieur. Manuscript atlas, Eran Laor Cartographic Collection, National Library of Israel, Jer 96/5; Laor 1100.



**Figure 1.15.** Pierotti at the Temple Mount, 1859. Photos: John Mendel Diness (courtesy of Mari Cha Collections / The Archives for Historic Documentation, Brighton, MA).

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of Pierotti's book acted as a spur, but more important was a report on Jerusalem's water supply written by an Irish civil engineer, John Irwine Whitty, published a year earlier.

### *Efforts for Improved Sanitation and the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*

The same year that witnessed the publication of Pierotti's controversial *Jerusalem Explored* also saw the founding of the Jerusalem Water Relief Fund for the purpose of providing Jerusalem with clean water. This initiative arose out of a report by John Irwine Whitty (c. 1823–1911) that had been commissioned by the Syrian Improvement Fund (founded in 1861) and which included an introduction by Stanley stating that the geology of Jerusalem and its environs was not suitable for artesian wells and that a more efficient method for the collection of rainwater and the piping of water from sources outside the city was required (Whitty 1863).<sup>16</sup> In the absence of proper topographical data, Whitty drew his conclusion from a somewhat limited investigation.<sup>17</sup> A detailed survey was now called for in order to obtain a more accurate picture of what was needed. Among the members of the committee of the Water Relief Fund were James Finn, the British consul in Jerusalem from 1846 to 1863 (Abrahams 1978–1980) and Anthony Ashley Cooper, the 7th Earl of Shaftesbury. Lord Shaftesbury was a prominent politician and social reformer (Battiscombe 1974; Finlayson 1981; Wolffe 2008), and he was to be an enthusiastic supporter of the Palestine Exploration Fund from its inception.

Angela Burdett-Coutts (1814–1906; Figure 1.16), a member of a prominent family of bankers, responded with a donation of £500,<sup>18</sup> whereupon the Water Relief Fund made a request through Stanley to the secretary of state for war, George Robinson, the Earl de Grey and Ripon, to allow a survey of Jerusalem to be made under the direction of the Ordnance Survey Department

with this funding. The project was agreed and Sir Henry James, the director of the British Ordnance Survey, duly appointed Captain Charles W. Wilson (1836–1905) with a team of six Royal Engineers to undertake the work. The survey was carried out through 1864 and 1865, and the results published in three parts, comprising the text of the Survey illustrated with sketches, etc., an album of 76 photographs, and a portfolio of five detailed maps (Wilson 1866). Grove's resolve to establish an organization dedicated to exploration in the Holy Land was given added impetus by Sir Henry, who wrote in *The Times* on 31 December 1864 about the exciting discoveries that were being made by Wilson's expedition, and expressed the hope that funds might be forthcoming to enable such work to continue.



**Figure 1.16.** Angela Georgina, Baroness Burdett-Coutts, 1867. Photo: by or after Walter Downes Bradnee. Albumen carte-de-visite. NPG x132954 (© National Portrait Gallery, London).



## Conclusion

The ebullient mood of the first two meetings of the PEF created a strong headwind for attracting the funds needed to get an exploration programme off the ground. Over £2500 was pledged at the public meeting or arose from it. In the first two years of its existence, the PEF had receipts amounting to £3403 (Conder and Kitchener 1881: 6). The momentum thus provided sped the organization of the first PEF expedition under Wilson and Lieutenant Samuel Anderson (*PEF Minute Book*, Vol. 1: 7–12), which set out at the end of October. From December 1865 to May 1866, these Royal Engineers conducted “a general survey of the country (Palestine) as would enable the promoters of the Fund to fix on particular spots for further investigation” (Palestine Exploration Fund 1866: 20; also quoted in Conder and Kitchener 1881: 11).

This reconnaissance expedition led on to more ambitious undertakings, all conducted by Royal Engineers: Lieutenant Charles Warren’s epic explorations in Jerusalem (1867–1870), and the magisterial Survey of Western Palestine piloted successively by Captain Robert Stewart, Lieutenant Claude Conder, and Lieutenant Horatio Kitchener between 1872 and 1877.<sup>19</sup>

It has been shown that by 1865, conditions in Britain were ripe for the birth of an organization devoted to the study of the southern Levant and its antiquities, and the important milestones that led up to it are summarized in Table 1.1. All that was needed to realize this objective was a personality who was well connected, widely respected, and an outstanding organizer. George Grove possessed all these qualities, combined with an enquiring mind and an expansive vision, and an abiding interest in the Holy Land and in promoting knowledge of the country and its

**Table 1.1.** Key milestones to the establishment of the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF).

Date	Milestone
1833	Exploration of the Temple Mount, Jerusalem, by Frederick Catherwood and his companions.
1847	Publication of James Fergusson’s <i>Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem</i> .
1856	Publication of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley’s <i>Sinai and Palestine in Connection with Their History</i> , containing a “Vocabulary of Hebrew Topographical Words” by George Grove.
10 January 1861	Establishment of the Syrian Improvement Fund.
1863	Publication of James Irwine Whitty’s <i>Proposed Water Supply and Sewerage for Jerusalem</i> by the Syrian Improvement Fund, with an introduction by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley.
1864	Publication of Ermete Pierotti’s <i>Jerusalem Explored</i> .
1864	Donation of £500 by Angela Georgina, Baroness Burdett-Coutts, towards the improvement of Jerusalem’s water supply.
1864–1865	Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, led by Captain Charles William Wilson.
12 May 1865	Preliminary meeting to constitute the PEF, Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey.
22 June 1865	Inaugural public meeting of the PEF, Willis’s Rooms, St. James’s, London.

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physical remains (Graves 1903: 116–17). Grove managed to attract the support for this enterprise from some exceptional associates, including several people who were the most creative and accomplished intellectuals of his generation, and who shared his forward-looking outlook.<sup>20</sup> With their help, he managed to ensure that the PEF was established on a scientific, non-sectarian basis, which has served it well over the last 150 years. This legacy has enabled the organization to maintain its relevance into the present, with its flagship journal, the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (PEQ) continuing to figure as a premier publication in the field of Levantine studies.

### Notes

1. See PEF archives (PEF/1865/1/38). The Jerusalem Chamber is the principal room of the former house of the abbots of Westminster, and dates from the second half of the 14th century. It is now part of the deanery of the abbey. The origin of its name is uncertain; the adjoining anteroom is known as the Jericho Parlour. The wooden roof of this chamber is medieval, but the wooden panelling was added by Dean Stanley. Important historical events that took place here include the death of King Henry IV in 1413 (which, in Shakespeare, is presented as the fulfilment of a prophecy that he would die in Jerusalem: *King Henry IV Part 2*, 4.5.236–40), and the meetings of the committees engaged in translating and preparing the Authorized Version of the Bible in 1611 and the Revised Version in 1870 (see <http://www.westminster-abbey.org/our-history/jerusalem-chamber>).
2. The National Portrait Gallery in London holds a number of portraits of Murchison, including a photograph from 1865 taken by Henry Joseph Whitlock (Photographs Collection NPG Ax18339). <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw114503/Sir-Roderick-Impey-Murchison-1st-Bt>
3. The National Portrait Gallery in London holds a lithograph of Spottiswood by an unknown artist dating from the 1870s (Reference Collection NPG D42041). <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw207336/William-Spottiswoode>
4. On his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society, Henry Rawlinson was cited as “The Discoverer of the key to the Ancient Persian, Babylonian, and Assyrian Inscriptions in the Cuneiform character. The Author of various papers on the philology, antiquities, and Geography of Mesopotamia and Central Asia. Eminent as a Scholar” (Dalley 2015).
5. The Willis Rooms were opened in 1765 as Almack’s Assembly Rooms, one of the first such upper-class entertainment establishments to admit both men and women, and celebrated for its imposing ballroom, which could accommodate up to 1000 people. Sometime in the 19th century it became popularly known as the Willis’s Rooms after a family which later owned it.
6. Gallica, the digital library of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, holds a photographic portrait of Melchior by Eugène Pirou taken in 1883 (Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Société de Géographie, SG PORTRAIT-919). <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8449974c/>
7. The decisions taken at this meeting are enshrined in the original Prospectus, issued on 1 October (Palestine Exploration Fund 1865a; cf. Palestine Exploration Fund [Besant] 1886: 11–14, 16–21).
8. Research and exploration of the Holy Land prior to the founding of the PEF in 1865 is succinctly summarized in Palestine Exploration Fund (1873: 6–11).
9. Raised in Scotland, Fergusson (1808–1886) went to India as a young man. Here, he briefly worked for the mercantile firm of Fairlie, Fergusson & Co. in Calcutta, in which his elder brother was a partner, and then set up his own indigo business in Bengal. He made a fortune from this activity and was able to retire to London after only ten years. While travelling extensively through India

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- between 1835 and 1845, Fergusson developed an interest in Indian architecture, and painstakingly measured and recorded ancient buildings throughout the subcontinent. He established himself as a leading authority on the subject, which was little appreciated by Europeans at that time. Fergusson's first publication on the subject was on the rock-cut temples of India, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1843. His landmark *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (Fergusson 1876) is still a standard reference work on Indian architecture and remains in print. Fergusson's major achievement was to present Indian architecture to western readers on a par with "the other great styles, which have ennobled the arts of mankind", as he justly remarks in the preface (Fergusson 1876: xi). His studies led him to undertake a critical survey of world architecture, which was initially published in two volumes in 1855 under the title of *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture: Being a Concise and Popular Account of the Different Styles of Architecture Prevailing in All Ages and Countries*. This compendium was expanded a decade later in to the four-volume *History of Architecture in All Countries* (Fergusson 1865–1876). He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1863 (Haycock 2010).
- For the biography of George Grove, see Graves (1903) and Young (2011).
  - The reference work is popularly known simply as *Grove's*, and the current eighth edition is *Grove Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/page/history-of-grove-music>). Grove was also the driving force in establishing the Royal College of Music, raising the necessary funding and becoming its first director from its foundation in 1883.
  - Stanley was favourably disposed to Charles Darwin's radical ideas about evolution through natural selection. He was appointed Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford from 1856 to 1863, when he became Dean of Westminster (Hammond 2007).
  - On William Smith (1813–1893), see Clements (2005).
  - On Ermete Pierotti, see Legouas (2013).
  - See PEF archives (PER/JER/8/1).
  - On John Irwine Whitty, see Irish Architectural Archive (n.d). Whitty had visited Jerusalem in 1862 to examine Jerusalem's inadequate insanitary water supply and come up with ways of improving it, and he published his findings a year later (Whitty 1863). The Syrian Improvement Fund, which engaged him to carry out this assignment, had been founded in 1861 for the purpose of improving the economic sustainability of the southern Levant. Members of its committee included Henry Austen Layard and James Fergusson (Moscrop 2000: 49–53).
  - Whitty, with some justification, considered that he and his report provided the impetus for the establishment of the PEF (Whitty 1894).
  - Angela Burdett-Coutts inherited a vast fortune at the age of 23, after which she devoted her life to philanthropic endeavours. She and the writer Charles Dickens set up Urania Cottage, a rehabilitation home for women who had fallen into prostitution and crime. Queen Victoria made her a baroness in 1871, and at the age of 67 she married her 29-year-old secretary (Healy 2012).
  - This pioneering work was brought together under the general heading *The Survey of Western Palestine*. It included three volumes of *Memoirs* of the survey (Conder and Kitchener 1881; 1882; 1883) and a volume on Jerusalem (Warren and Conder 1884), as well as other supplementary volumes on flora and fauna (Tristram 1884), geology (Hull 1886), Arabic names (Palmer 1881), and customs and manners (Palestine Exploration Fund [Besant] 1881), along with an index, a collection of the survey maps of Palestine in 26 sheets and a key (Palestine Exploration Fund 1880), and a portfolio of 50 plates relating to Warren's excavations at Jerusalem 1867–1870 (Warren 1884). The entire collection was published by the PEF between 1880 and 1888.

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20. Grove's progressive outlook encompassed the Bible. He wrote to one friend "that speculation and free enquiry into the nature of inspiration and authority of the Bible is allowable and may be pursued without fear of penalty" (Graves 1903: 105).

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