

→ context: the Green War

European powers for influence in the declining Ottoman Empire.¹²⁸ The contest between the European powers also explains their readiness to fight each other in favor of a Muslim Empire: this was the outcome of the various powers' curious choice implicit in their political actions, to continuously reshuffle coalitions that aimed at rescuing the Sultanate, rather than allowing it to fall. Although the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire might have provided an opportunity for the European powers to take advantage of the political vacuum to reestablish Christian rule over Jerusalem, mutual distrust caused them to relinquish this opportunity, as each power feared its rivals would secure a better position in the Holy City.¹²⁹ This attitude was reflected, for example, in the strong opposition of Chancellor Metternich to various European proposals to detach the Holy Land or certain parts of it from the Ottoman Empire, and to establish in Jerusalem and its surroundings a type of extraterritorial theocratic state under Christian protection.¹³⁰ Metternich feared that the French plan would naturally place the Holy City under French influence, in the same manner that the Russian, British and Prussian plans would result in greater influence of the respective monarchy.

The results of this state of affairs left no-one indifferent. For example, following the Crimean War, James Finn, the Consul of England in Jerusalem (1846-1863), noted in his memoirs, *Stirring Times, Or Records from Jerusalem Consular Chronicles of 1853 to 1856*, to what extent alliances had changed since the days of the medieval Crusades:

The acclamation "God Will's It", which impelled the First Crusade bore against the Moslem holders of the Holy Sepulchre, but the shouts of war we are now considering were directed by representatives of

¹²⁸ In 1847 the silver star marking the place of the birth of Jesus, placed there by the Roman church in 1717 and bearing a Latin inscription, disappeared; the Greeks blamed the Latins. The dispute lasted for six years, the Greeks supported by Russia and the Latins especially by the French. The Crimean war points to the real cause, the contest between the European powers over control of the Holy Places, which resulted in a series of reversed decisions by the Ottomans. France's show of force, combined with aggressive diplomacy and money, induced Sultan Abdulmejid I to confirm France and the Roman Catholic Church as the supreme Christian authority in the Holy Land, with control over the Christian holy places and possession of the keys to the Church of the Nativity previously held by the Greek Orthodox Church, under protection of Russia. Russia demanded the same rights of intervention in the affairs of the Orthodox religion. Using the Sultan's failure to resolve the issue of the Holy Places as a pretext, Russia declared war, despite the fact that the star had already been restored to its place by the Ottoman authorities. Heacock, 2001, 37-39.

¹²⁹ Vereté, 1978, 13 ff.; Siberry, 2000, esp. ch. 4; Libertun de Duren, 2004, esp. 11 ff.; Shepherd, 1987, 107 ff.

¹³⁰ Ben Artzi/Goren, 1996, esp. 12-15, with a brief note on European initiatives to place Jerusalem under European administration in p. 14; Wahnout, 1996, 25-27; Hansel, 2003, esp. 17-18, for Prussian interests; Vereté, 1978, 13-31 for French interests, and Riley-Smith, 1987, 2nd ed. 2005, 301 f., for the general phenomenon. See also below, Hillary's proposition to place Jerusalem under the administration of the Order of St. John.

the same nations, who fought in that First Crusade; but now they are fighting in defence of the Moslem holders of that treasure, against a power [Russia] which has only become fully Christian since the Crusades and which equally covets possession of the Holy Sepulchre.¹³¹

One particularly outspoken reaction appeared far way in the American press, in an article in *The New York Times* of July 30, 1858:¹³²

The symptoms of the sick man, upon whose dying moments the Czar Nicholas was prepared to wait, have become really serious. The invalid is seized with convulsions [...] Add to this infirmity a hopeless exhaustion of the Ottoman treasury, and we certainly have a congeries of symptoms which can scarcely prove other than fatal [...] The consultation over the sick bed brings all mankind together, each with his prescription, each with his private end to serve, an end to be best served by the end of the Ottoman sway in Europe [our emphasis].

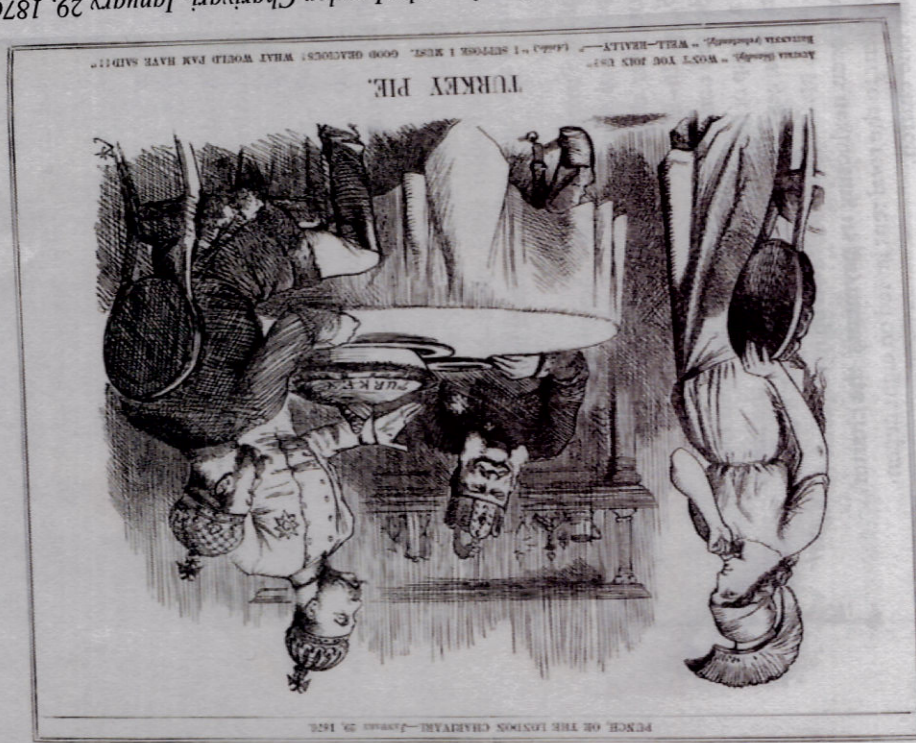


Fig. 12. J. Tenniel, "Turkey Pie", *Punch, or the London Charivari*, January 29, 1876

131 J. Fynn, 1878, preface by the author, p. xix (The full text at archive.org. Original: Harvard).
 132 The entire *New York Times* article is quoted by Libertun de Duren, 2004, 29-30.

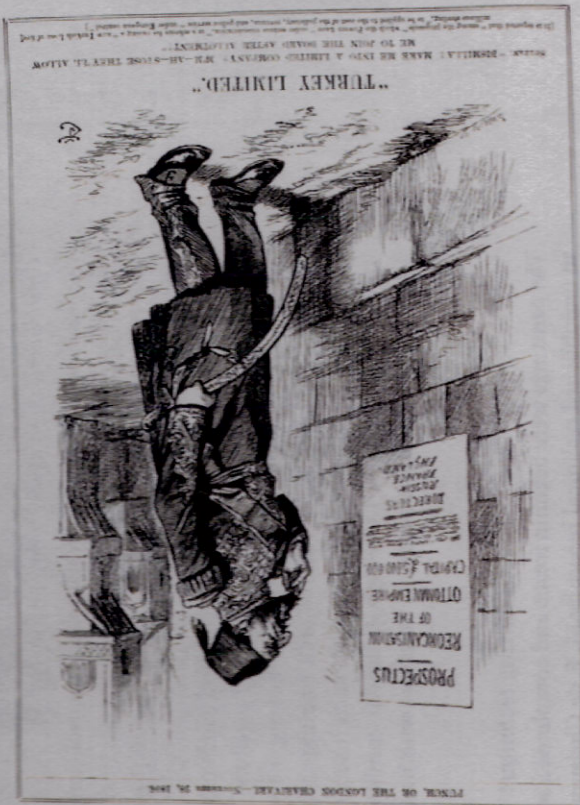


Fig. 13. J. Tenniel, "Turkey Limited", *Punch, or the London Charivari*, November 28, 1896

In fact, the patient was highly suspicious of the generous dosages of medicine and came to understand that the only way to survive, and to secure his rule over the Holy Land, was to maintain a certain balance between the activities of the various powers, which were contesting not only for spoils, but also for that much desired trophy. Two paradigmatic caricatures by British artist John Tenniel, published in *Punch, or the London Charivari*, mirror the atmosphere that permeated the relations between the European powers and the Sublime Porte in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. One, published on January 29, 1876, and titled "Turkey Pie" (fig. 12), pictures the veiled intentions of the Europeans; the other, published twenty years later, on January 29, 1896, is titled "Turkey Limited" (fig. 13) and shows the ineffective Ottoman Sultan, aware of

133 Carmel, 1985, 89. Caricatures published in Europe in 1896-1897 are most illustrative. See, for example, "Beim kranken Manne; Die europäischen Großmächte am Krankenlager des Osmanischen Reiches", which appeared in *Die Wespe*, 1896, no. 28.

consulting the patient.¹³³ Palestine without even vitality into the veins of assiduously injecting stood at his bedside, and other "doctors" Russian, English, German slowly dying, French, of the Bosphorus" was time that "The Sick Man in the press, during the caricaturists pointed out As many critics and was the recurring refrain. alive for the meanwhile to keep the Sublime Porte to be reached. The need not allow an agreement of conflicting interests and frequently the dynamics parceling out, and just as Empire and its subsequent fall of the Ottoman discussed the impending the European powers Time and again

his European friends' machinations and of his precarious standing.¹³⁴

Various circles directed incisive critiques not only at the depraved conduct of the Sultan, but also at the morally wrong deeds of the European courts that supported him. Nevertheless, the common wisdom maintained that now, more than ever during the past centuries, Palestine was open to a new conquest, and that the idea of a "New Crusade", which had been considered a romantic fantasy by many, had at last become a feasible project. Rhetoric rose to a peak within the influential political and religious circles of the European powers, and in these heated discussions no means to deliver the Holy City were rejected. To be sure, at the turn of the twentieth century, the future was still opaque, although it was clear that the "Eastern question" (i.e., the question of when, how and in favor of whom the Ottoman Empire would collapse) was soon coming to a head.¹³⁵ The words of Consul Finn in his Chronicle seem to sum up this issue most aptly:

It has been observed in connection with the competition of all European nations at present for influence in Jerusalem, and the decay at the same time of the Ottoman power, that all the Consulates (except the British) bear the Eagle for armorial ensigns - the Russian, the Austrian, the French, the Prussian. "For wheresoever the carcass is, there will the Eagles be gathered together".¹³⁶

4.1. "God Wills It!": The Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-century Calls for a New Crusade

The Crusades of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, as the long-awaited realization of the medieval Crusades, became a *topos* in the political-historical, religious, literary and arts discourse all along that period, well into World War I. The idea found important advocates in many European circles. Some of the circles calling for a New Crusade were motivated chiefly by deep religious feelings,

¹³⁴ The caricature in *Punch, or the London Charivari*, 29 January 1876, p. 25, titled "Turkey Pie", refers to the 1875 serious rebellion against the Sultan, in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The revolt had given Austria, Russia and Germany the opportunity to bring pressure on Abdul Hamid II to introduce long-promised but unfulfilled reforms. The 1896 caricature, "Turkey Limited", may refer to the revolt by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, stirred largely due to the inaction of the European powers regarding pogroms and massacres instigated by Sultan Abdul Hamid II. Britain reluctantly agreed to participate.

¹³⁵ Carmel, 1985, 46 f., 86 f.; Heacock, 1995, 207; Idem, 2001, 39 ff. We should note that during the period after the Crimean War and until World War I, the European powers did not fight in the Ottoman wars; they did, however, intervene in diplomatic negotiations and by providing the Sultanate with Armenian massacres and the revolt in Crete brought forth protests on the part of embarrassed European courts, but these protests actually only renewed discussions about the debt of the Ottoman Empire, which, it was argued, owed the Europeans its existence and should show gratitude by granting them rights over the Holy City.

¹³⁶ J. Finn, 1878, note by the Consul to his preface, p. xx (The full text at archive.org. Original: Harvard).

The Orient has become closer and not a long time will pass before the Promised Land escapes from the Scepter of the Crescent. It is time to spiritually re-conquer the Land of the Bible and Jerusalem, the City of the Great King. Travelers from all corners of the world arrive in large numbers, and those who stay home wish at least to know what Christianity has done with the inheritance from the Crusaders, what is still in its hands and what remains abandoned after the fall of the Latin Kingdom - these are questions we should keep in mind at the time of the forthcoming reconquest [our emphasis].¹⁵⁴

"A matter of honor [...] and superior political order": European Institutions in Jerusalem

In view of the impossibility (or rather the inability) to agree about a take-over of Jerusalem, each European power tried to make the best of the new opportunities for establishing political, economic, legal and religious claims and rights. The multitude of "national Crusades" involved undertaking religious-humanitarian missions for the benefit of the local population, as well as assisting those who reached the Holy Land on pilgrimage, or on various assignments, or as travelers. The missionaries, clergy and other people, who viewed attending to humanitarian needs as a religious and personal challenge, were closely followed by Biblical, archaeological and scientific societies, most of them interested in rediscovering the Land of the Bible and testifying to the truth of the Christian faith.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, against the background of the European contest for hegemony and colonialist achievements, the ideal of Christianizing the Holy Land by means of religious, cultural and philanthropic penetration emerged increasingly as a political interest of the European powers. The various Christian denominations, all of which competed for influence and prestige in the Holy Land, were also part of this game.

A consequent development was the establishment of consulates, which performed diplomatic, commercial and judicial tasks, and worked in concert with the national Church.¹⁵⁶ England opened a consulate in Jerusalem as early as 1839, Prussia in 1842, and France and Sardinia in 1843. Austria opened a vice-consulate in Jerusalem in 1846 and that same year the Habsburg Court adopted a resolution to found a consulate. The nomination of Vice-Consul Joseph von Pizzamano (1809-60) was approved by Ferdinand I in 1847, but the revolutionary events of

¹⁵⁴ Haider-Wilson, 2007, 15, quoting the prospectus in his book *Jerusalem und das heilige Land oder Pilgerbuch nach Palästina, Syrien und Aegypten*, Schaffhausen 1862.
¹⁵⁵ For a general survey see Ben-Artzi, 1979, repr. 1983, 11 ff., and Idem, 1984, 1986; Carmel, 1985, 43-91; Idem, 2000, 11-23. Also, Karik, 2002, 183-207; Whiting, 2007, 237-250.
¹⁵⁶ See: Ben-Artzi/Goren, 1996, esp. 13-15, 17; Wohmut, 1996, esp. 25-27; Eliav, 1996, 43. Also, Shepherd, 1987, 108-109, 114 f., 119.

1848 caused a delay and only in 1852 was the office upgraded to a consulate. One of the most dramatic and influential achievements in this field was the initiation of Protestant activities with the foundation of the Anglo-Prussian bishopric in 1841, which prompted competing initiatives from the Catholic and the Orthodox churches aimed at preserving their own status and preventing Protestant gains.¹⁵⁷

The European powers did not compete for territorial control in Palestine but for 'influence'. The easiest way to establish influence was the policy of 'protection' of religious minorities. The Russians already had the Orthodox Christians and the French had the Catholics to 'protect'. To draw even, England and Prussia (later Germany) had to find or create their own minorities to 'protect'. From 1839 the British took the Jews under their wing, and a small Protestant community was created by way of conversion. The policy of religious-cultural penetration and of 'religious protectorates' thus made Jerusalem an arena of European rivalries.¹⁵⁸

It is possible that steps taken by Austrian Emperor Ferdinand I in 1842, such as the renewal of the collections for the Holy Sepulcher and other *Locca sancta*, and the re-establishment of the Viennese General Commission for the Holy Land in 1843, were a reaction to these events. The Viennese General Commission became responsible for the maintenance and support of Catholic institutions, for liaison to the *Custodia di Terra Santa*, which was in the hands of the Franciscan Order, and for the coordination of pilgrimages to the Holy Land.¹⁵⁹ The imperial diplomatic efforts to build a more substantial political base in Jerusalem coincided with those of the Austrian Church and illustrate common interests.

As already noted, Austria and France by and large worked for a common goal: the protection of the interests of the Catholic Church. Up to the end of the Crimean War, with Russia humiliated by its defeat, the Catholic European *milieux* were preoccupied not only with the Protestant missionary work in the Holy Land but also suspected that Russia might attempt to re-establish the Byzantine Empire - in effect a Roman Empire of the Orient - a consequence which would hardly be compatible with the restoration of a Latin Kingdom. Yet, in fact, Austria also competed with France for the prestige that such a commitment would entail both

¹⁵⁷ As a consequence, the Greek Patriarch moved from Constantinople to Jerusalem in 1845 and the Pope reacted by reestablishing the Latin Patriarchate in 1847. The contest may have even influenced the status of the Jewish community of Jerusalem, which was granted the right to have a chief Rabbi of its own. See Bosworth, 1986, 37-38.

¹⁵⁸ Schölich, 1989, 229-230; Carmel, 1985, 46 ff. As noted above, for a concise survey of the interests of Austria-Hungary and the Austrian Church in the Holy Land, see Haider, 2000, 55-74.

¹⁵⁹ Trade interests played a smaller role in the relations with the specific area of the Holy Land. The connection was based mainly on Austria's position as one of Europe's leading Catholic powers. Ben-Artzi/Goren, 1996, 8, 16-17.

in Jerusalem and in Europe.¹⁶⁰

In 1856, at the time when the cornerstone of the Austrian Hospice - Jerusalem's first national hospice - was laid, the efforts of the great European powers to establish a foothold in Jerusalem had utterly changed the physical, political and cultural landscape of Palestine. The city's landscape and ethnographic character were turning Jerusalem into an exciting amalgam of European and local scenes, of diverse customs, and of various lifestyles. Dynamic change and development had not been a feature of life in Palestine for a very long time. Now, any achievement on the part of one of the competing European powers would immediately activate a response from the others.

An illuminating example can be seen in a memorandum from the Russian Foreign Ministry dated 1857, only a year after the disastrous defeat in the Crimean War. This document attests to the awareness of the Russian Imperial Court for the need to adapt to the new, less favorable situation, and make the most of it. This meant in this case, making do with a religious presence instead of political prominence in Jerusalem:

We must establish our presence in the East not politically but through the Church [...] While our influence was still strong we could afford to conceal our activities and thus avoid envy, but now that our influence in the East has weakened, we, on the contrary, must try to display ourselves so that we do not sink in the estimation of the Orthodox population who still believe in us as of old [...] Jerusalem is the center of the world and our mission must be there [our emphasis].¹⁶¹

The "Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society" complied by establishing in only four years, between 1860 and 1864, a monumental self-sufficient complex on a twenty-meter high hilllock just outside Jaffa Gate. The complex comprised a hospital, hospices for thousands of pilgrims, a church, the consulate house and facilities for the provision of all needs. Significantly, it was named *Novyi Jerusalem*, "New Jerusalem".¹⁶² The site is notable for its unique scenery and environmental features, and most important, its rich historical heritage and symbolism as a prime location where, in the past, forces had mobilized during

¹⁶⁰ Trimbur, 2006, 898-899.

¹⁶¹ Hopwood, 1969, 50-51. In the mid-nineteenth-century, the great majority of Christian Arabs were Orthodox and the number of Russian pilgrims was higher than that of all the other European nations together. Russia saw itself as the natural heir to the Ottoman Sultan once his empire collapsed. This name expressed Russian religious and political aspirations, even if only symbolically at that time. For a summary of Russian activities in Jerusalem, see Carmel, 1985, 52-71. For basic information on the Russian compound, see Schiller, 1982; Kroyanker, 1994, repr. 2002, 132-135.

various attempts to conquer Jerusalem.¹⁶³ *Novyi Ierusalim*, established only a little later than the Austrian Hospice, set a new standard for the European powers' architectural projects in Jerusalem and triggered a series of reactions.

France - for whom, according to the Austrian delegate in Constantinople, the suspension of the construction of the Austrian Hospice due to high costs would have been "a situation that will bring [it] great joy" - countered the Russian (and the Austrian) challenge by erecting the magnificent "French Quarter" within the same prestigious area.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, the French compound was closer to Jaffa Gate than the Russian compound, and, of no less importance, any monumental building there would considerably block the view of the Russian complex from the Old City. Last but not least, this was the site of the first alignment of the forces of the legendary French Crusader heroes Tancred and Godfrey of Bouillon, whereas in the second alignment Tancred arrayed his forces at the site of the future Notre-Dame de France Hospice itself.¹⁶⁵ The erection of the imposing and modern Hospital of Saint-Louis began in 1879 and was soon followed by the establishment of the Notre-Dame Hospice. This building was "a grandiose monument that would heighten national prestige in the eyes of the residents and of firmly established foreign powers".¹⁶⁶ Right next to it, a monastery was built in the early 1880s, and later during that decade, also a convent.¹⁶⁷ Clearly, the goal of French Catholic circles was not only to advance the interests of the Church and of the many pilgrims, but in addition to promote the colonial expansion of the Motherland - "the French mission the world over" - which was at its height. Just as the *Novyi Ierusalim* compound was designed in eclectic architectural styles easily identifiable as Russian, the French Quarter clearly conveyed the identity of the homeland. Its vast dimensions as well as its distinct architectural and ornamental styles had symbolic and political import, as they would demonstrate

¹⁶³ The site was chosen for this function by various conquerors throughout history, for example the Assyrian garrison force in 700 BC, Roman troops mobilized by Titus in 70 CE, and the Crusaders in 1099. See: Libertun de Duren, 2004, 1, and below.

¹⁶⁴ The land was purchased by the deeply religious Count Marie-Paul Amedée de Piellat in 1876, during his second visit to Jerusalem. Trimbur, 1998; Shilony, 2001, 241 ff.

¹⁶⁵ Praver, 1991, 6 ff. with maps of the alignments. We should note that Godfrey of Bouillon was also considered a national hero of their own by the Belgians. See below, ch. 6.1.

¹⁶⁶ Trimbur, 1998, 6, quoting M. A. Chalenard, 1984, *Jérusalem - Notre-Dame de France 1882-1970, aujourd'hui Notre-Dame de Jérusalem*, Institut Pontifical, Paris, Tequi, 28. Notre-Dame de France was the largest single building constructed in Jerusalem before World War I and could house 600 pilgrims. The compound was named after a statue of the Virgin in Le Puy, which was molded out of lead melted down from the cannons of Sebastopol. It thus marks the triumph over Russia in the Crimean war, and strengthens the political symbolism of the monument and of its namesake in Jerusalem. The first wing of the Hospice was completed in 1888 and the whole building in 1905. See also below, ch. 6.2.

¹⁶⁷ The Monastery of St.-Vincent de Paul and the Convent of the Soeurs de Marie Réparate. The latter is the one facing the others across the street, next to the city wall. Additional French institutions were scattered throughout the city. The donor of the land and the buildings, the Count de Piellat, insisted on a clear French identity of the institutions. See Shilony, 2001, esp. 244 ff. We should note that also the secular Third Republic of France supported the projects because of political interests.

to the local authorities, to rival religious orders, to the local population and to the other European powers that France indeed was the foreign power in Palestine par excellence, the proud heir to the Crusader tradition and the all-powerful protector of Catholics in the Holy Land.¹⁶⁸ It was this role that Austria wished to acquire, at least in substantial part, as its own proper entitlement.

France did not miss the opportunity to publicize its achievements. Therefore, a short time after the city wall was breached in front of the recently inaugurated complex of Notre-Dame de France, in order to open a new gate that would facilitate access to the Holy Sepulcher, the *Echos de Notre-Dame de France* proclaimed: "*We have just taken Jerusalem!*" - echoing the conquest of the Holy City by the Crusaders on July 15, 1099.¹⁶⁹

As Christian denominations competed to obtain special rights and control of the Holy Places, the European powers realized that their patronage was one of the most effective means to establish an enclave in the Holy Land. In such an atmosphere of fierce contest between the European powers, international or interdenominational enterprises, important as they might have been, were beyond the point. One such enterprise was the 1865 initiative by Empress Eugénie of France to rebuild the dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, which had been rapidly deteriorating since the disastrous fire of 1808. The devoutness of the Empress, on the one hand, and her interest in historic female figures, on the other, led her to invite European empresses and queens to join the project, arguing in favor of Christian reconciliation.¹⁷⁰ Eugénie first addressed the Anglican Queen of England, the Orthodox Czarine of Russia and the Protestant Queen of Holland. Yet, rivalries between their reigns as well as between their respective Churches, did not allow for their cooperation or for the project to materialize: the Houses of the invited queens feared that the project would ultimately increase the prestige of the French Empire and, even worse, might be perceived as heresy by their respective subjects.¹⁷¹

We can only guess why Eugénie did not invite the charismatic Elizabeth of Austria to join the royal ladies at the first phase of her plan already, thus ensuring the unconditional support of the most devout Catholic Imperial House. The cooperation with the Austrian House would have lent the project, if not an

¹⁶⁸ Trimbur, 1998, 3-6, 9.

¹⁶⁹ Ibidem, 9, quoting *Echos de Notre-Dame de France* no. 5, January 1890, 3, which adds on p. 4 that the New Gate was a triumph over the "immobile Orient" and "the triumph of Catholicism over the Moslem barbarity and the invasion of the Russian schismatics". Trimbur also notes that the Assumptionists and French officials considered the founding of any French institution in Palestine a victory over the greed of their adversaries, because "Deus vult". French legitimist circles dreamed of restoring the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem under the legitimist pretender, the Duke of Bordeaux. See Heacock, 1995, 205, and Nicaul, 2001, esp. 301 ff., for the "neo-catholicism" and mass pilgrimages in the background of the "*République des Républicains*" of the 1880s.

¹⁷⁰ McQueen, 2002, esp. 34-36.

¹⁷¹ Ibidem.

interdenominational character, at least a reassuring multinational frame from the very outset. Yet, collaboration between Austria and France in the religious contest against the Protestant alliance of Prussia and Britain would have had considerably less weight than the rivalry between the two Catholic monarchies for rights of protection over Catholic communities in the Ottoman Empire. Expanded legal rights and the right of protection over Catholics and other non-Ottomans, who until then had been under the French protection, would certainly place Austria in a better position in its contest with France in the Holy Land, and also enhance its prestige in Europe. This contest is reflected in various reports by the Austrian consul, who complained about France's arrogance in its refusal to share with Austria the protection of Catholic interests, and stressed the fact that the Austrian collections for the Holy Land were twenty times larger than those of its rival.¹⁷² No doubt, religious philanthropy was firmly intertwined with political interests. National pride and colonialist interests are conspicuous in an enthusiastic depiction of Jerusalem by Dr. Titus Tobler, a Swiss physician and researcher of the Land of Israel. In 1865, the same year Empress Eugénie had launched her failed international and inter-denominational project to rebuild the dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Tobler fervently described the great changes in the city's physiognomy and the effervescent atmosphere prevailing there:

Thirty years ago, there were with me in Jerusalem an American missionary, an Italian physician who worked for Muhammad Ali - the Egyptian ruler of Syria-Palestine and South Anatolia, a man who called himself "Baron Miller", a German gardener and a French drummer. Nowadays - what a strong presence of Franks and what a rich harvest has their intellectual work yielded! The Peaceful Crusades have started. Jerusalem must be ours! [our emphatics].¹⁷³

In a different, idealistic Christian spirit, the great German architect and researcher of Palestine Conrad Schick wrote in 1897:

A strange missionary fervor permeated all these countries, leading them to purchase land, establish schools, hospitals and churches, and to send clergymen and missionaries. The process began with the English and German evangelicals and created a contest [... a]

¹⁷² Elhav, 1996, 45, remarks that France nevertheless continued to claim priority, and was supported in this by the Latin Patriarchate, which was established in 1847. Consequently, Austria took sides with the rival *Custodia di Terra Santa*. On that rivalry see Carmel, 1985, 48 ff., 51. We should note that despite their efforts, the Habsburgs' only achievement regarding the protection of Catholic interests was that their voice was added to that of the French. See McEwan, 1996, esp. 61 ff.; Wohnout, 1996, 28 f.; Schwacke, 1996, 81, and Stransky, 1996, 104 ff. Also, Haider, 2000, 57-59, 61, 65-66; Haider-Wilson, 2007, esp. 196-200. In addition to the leading Catholic monarchies of Austria-Hungary and France, Italy was also engaged in defending Roman Catholicism, as were German Catholics until 1895. The peril was perceived as coming from the penetration of Protestants as well as from the efforts of Russia to maintain its status as the leading Christian power in the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁷³ Carmel, 2004, 11.

*kind of a Crusade in which the struggle was held not with arms and material means, but with the spirit and truth of the word and the strength of God.*¹⁷⁴

It can be said that in a way, the main concern of Ottoman Jerusalem authorities was "sacred life", since any conflict could easily develop into an international affair. As a result, much of their routine work involved mediating the petitions of European residents, who were vying to acquire a foothold in the Holy Places of the city. In most cases, what the parties were secretly contesting was not so much the sanctity of a site but the right of the other to be there and to gain any benefits.¹⁷⁵ When the silver star disappeared from the grotto in the heart of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, the purported reason for the Crimean War, Joseph Helouis-Jorelle, the French Consul in Istanbul during the years 1845 to 1848, naturally took up the Latin cause and defended the Catholic Church from the accusations of the Orthodox, or the "schismatics", as they were derogatively called. Disappointed by the Ottoman governor of Jerusalem, the Consul advised Paris: "What we need is a Crusade, with battleships to back up every discussion; for every day there are fresh quarrels over a carpet, a lamp or a nail."¹⁷⁶

Mirroring a widespread attitude, Father Angelus Stummer, in his chronicle of the 1898 Peoples' Pilgrimage from Tyrol, disguised the contest between the Christian denominations for the control of the Holy Places as pioussness. In his account of the liturgy in the most coveted of those sites, the Holy Sepulcher, the Tyrolean prelate wrote:

*One of the important tasks of the pilgrims' band was to support their choir [... and] if it did not discredit me I would join one of the pilgrims and say that 'our Lord will thus be able to refresh himself listening to a genuine German chant bursting forth from the heart, after a long time suffering the music of the Turks and the songs, or rather howls, of the Greeks [our emphasis].'*¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ Idem, 1998, 23-24.

¹⁷⁵ Libertun de Duren, 2004, 11-12.

¹⁷⁶ Shepherd, 1987, 117.

¹⁷⁷ Stummer, 1899, 64 f. Not least, Stummer added that "the Greek priests instinctively sensed the power of our songs and already on the first evening of our stay made a terrible noise [...] unable to stand before the harmony expanding from the Catholic heart in prayers and hymns, the procession figure of the Virgin and the banner". See also Samsinger, 2006a, 121-122. We should note that Crown Prince Rudolf had remarked in 1881 that "mystic, strange feelings of religious faith take hold of all pilgrims and bring them close to fanaticism", and that the enmity between the Christian denominations did not enhance the image and status of Christianity in the eyes of the Muslims. See Rudolf, Kronprinz von Osterreich, 1884, 121, quoted also by Haider-Wilson, 2007, 380-382. Concerning his visit to the Temple Mount, Rudolf noted that "the people here are much more fanatic than in all the Asian Muslim countries such as Egypt, and the foreigner must take care not to hurt them in the slightest"; See Böhrer, 2000c, 215, quoting the 1885 popular edition of Rudolf, Kronprinz von Osterreich, *Eine Orientreise - Illustriert nach Original-Zeichnungen von Franz von Pausinger*, Vienna, 246.