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The Concept Of Palestine: The Conception Of Palestine From The Late Bronze Age To The Modern Period

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Abstract

The *Concept of Palestine* is deeply rooted in the collective consciousness of the indigenous people of Palestine and the multicultural ancient past. The name Palestine is the most commonly used from the Late Bronze Age (from 1300 BCE) onwards. The name *Palestine* is evident in countless histories, inscriptions, maps and coins from antiquity, medieval and modern Palestine. From the Late Bronze Age onwards the names used for the region, such as *Djahi*, *Retenu* and *Cana'an,* all gave way to the name Palestine. Throughout Classical Antiquity the name Palestine remained the most common and during the Roman, Byzantine and Islamic periods the concept and political geography of Palestine acquired official administrative status. This article sets out to explain the historical origins of the concept of Palestine and the evolving political geography of the country. It will seek to demonstrate how the name 'Palestine' (rather than the term 'Cana'an') was most commonly and formally used in ancient history. It argues that the legend of the 'Israelites' conquest of Cana'an' and other master narratives of the Bible evolved across many centuries; they are myth-narratives, not evidence-based accurate history. It further argues that academic and school history curricula should be based on historical facts/empirical evidence/archaeological discoveries – not on master narratives or Old Testament sacred-history and religio-ideological constructs.

Keywords: Ancient Palestine, Canaan, Toponymy, Peleset, Philistines, Old Testament, Herodotus, Aristotle, Archaeology, Palestinians, Jerusalem, Ramle, Islam

I. Introduction:

I.1 Palestine *as a Name Commonly Used Throughout Ancient History*

The celebrated English historian Edward Gibbon, writing in 1776, noted that 'Phoenicia and Palestine will forever live in the [collective] memory of mankind'. Gibbon also astutely observed that the Romans, Persians and Arabs wanted Palestine for the extraordinary fertility of its soil, the opulence and beauty of its cities and purity of its air (1838: 40).

Palestine is the collective *watan* (homeland) of the Palestinian people – the indigenous people of historic Palestine. The Palestinian people have a multi-religious and multicultural ancient heritage and a multi-layered identity deeply rooted in ancient history (Farsoun 1997).

Palestinians often speak of *Biladuna*[1] *Filastin*: 'Our Country, Palestine'[2] (colloquially: *Bladna Falastin*). The *country of Palestine* as a distinct political geography – with its own distinct and diverse traditions and a melange of styles – is deeply rooted in the indigenous psyche and consciousness; the toponym (place-name) of Palestine is deeply rooted in the ancient past from the Late Bronze Age onwards. The name is found in numerous and diverse sources for the Ancient Near East throughout the last 3300 years. The name *Palestine* was used by the ancient Egyptians and Assyrians, classical Greek writers, Romans, Byzantines and Medieval Arabs. The toponym is also evident in countless ancient inscriptions, histories, maps, coins and encyclopaedias from antiquity, medieval and modern Palestine. For a millennium and a half of Classical Antiquity and Byzantine Christianity as well as under Islam in the Middle Ages the term Palestine also acquired official administrative status.

This article sets out to explain the historical origins and ancient roots of the name '*Palestine*' within the multicultural setting of the country. It also presents a list of major ancient and medieval sources for and references to the name Palestine and to its cognates in various Semitic and European languages – such as *Peleset, Palashtu*, *Pilistu*, *Παλαιστίνη*, *Palaistinē, Palaestina, Philistia*, *Filastin*/فلسطين, פְּלִשְׁתִּים/*Plishtim* – throughout the ancient and medieval history of the region. Different Assyrian spellings are *Pilishti*, *Palashtu, Pilishtu*, *Pilistu*, *Pilisti*, *Pilistin* and Greek, Persian and Roman forms are: *Palaistine*, *Palaestina*, *Palestina*. The English name 'Palestine' comes from Old French name *Philistin*, which comes from

1 Arabic: sing. *balad*; plural *bilad*.

2 *Biladuna Filastin* is also an 11 volume work of reference on the historical geography of Palestine by Palestinian author Mustafa Murad al-Dabbagh (1965 and 1972–86). This important encyclopaedia of Palestine is arranged by region and surveys the cities, towns and villages of Palestine from geographical, historical, archaeological, botanical and economic perspectives.

the Classical Latin *Philistinus* (*Palaestina*) which in turn comes from the late Classical Greek *Philistinoi*. Interestingly, the pronunciation of the medieval-modern Arabic toponyms *Filastin* (standard Arabic) and *Falastin* (colloquial) are close to the Old French pronunciation, *Philistin* and classical Greek term *Philistinoi*.

The article will also seek to demonstrate how the name 'Palestine' (rather than the term 'Cana'an') was most commonly and formally used in ancient history, in a wide range of sources including material evidence, toponymy, maps, coins, famous texts and inscriptions from the Levant and the wider Mediterranean region. The article further argues that academic and school history curricula should be based on historical facts/empirical evidence/archaeological discoveries and evidence-based historical research – not on religious belief or Old Testament sacred-narratives and religio-ideological constructs (*e.g.,*'Israelites' conquest of Canaan') (Numbers 13: 1–16; Joshua 1:1–18; 2:1–5:15; 2:1–24; 3:1–17; 4:1–5:1; 6:1–12:24; 9:1–27; 10:1–43; 11:1–23).

In his seminal work *The Invention of Ancient Israel: The Silencing of Palestinian History* (1996), Keith Whitelam shows how the term 'ancient Israel' was invented as a religio-ideological construct. He links the problems of the modern Biblical discipline to the Palestine question and examines the political implications of the terminology of Biblical scholarship chosen to represent this area. Whitelam shows how the naming of the land implied control and possession; how the religious term 'the land of Israel' has been invested with secular political meaning in both Western and Israeli scholarship. He also argues that in Western Biblical and Israeli scholarship the term Palestine has no intrinsic meaning of its own, no history of its own; but provides a background for the history of Israel. Commensurate with this lack of history is also the absence of the indigenous Palestinian inhabitants of the land. The history of Palestine and its inhabitants in general is subsumed and silenced by the concern with, and the search for, 'ancient Israel' (Whitelam 1996: 40–45).

Inspired by the works of Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (1978) and *The Question of Palestine* (1980), Whitelam concludes that Biblical studies have been part of and an extension of the hegemonic Orientalist discourse and representation in the West, which has been written without any 'Oriental' subject in view. For both Said and Whitelam, in this Orientalist-Biblical discourse the indigenous cultures of Palestine and Palestinians were presented as incapable of unified action or collective memory. Whitelam develops Said's arguments further, showing that the history of ancient Palestine has been ignored and silenced by the discourse of Biblical studies, which has its own agenda: 'Western scholarship has invented ancient Israel and silenced Palestinian history' (Whitelam 1996: 1, 3)

Ancient Palestine, Whitelam insists, has a history of its own, and needs to be freed from the grasp of Biblical studies:

> The problem of Palestinian history has remained unspoken within biblical studies, silenced by the invention of ancient Israel in the image of the European nation state. Only after we have exposed the implications of this invention will Palestinian history be freed from the constraints of biblical studies and the discourse that has shaped it (Whitelam 1996: 36).

I.2 Polytheistic Palestine and the Overwhelming Archaeological Evidence from Ancient Palestine and Egypt

Witting in the fifth century BCE Herodotus (as well shall see below) reported that Palestine was deeply polytheistic. Today the findings of archaeology, which are central to the ways in which the ancient history and heritage of Palestine are understood and taught in Western universities and schools, confirm Herodotus' account of polytheistic Palestine and contradict the mega-narratives of the Old Testament. Strict monotheism evolved in Palestine centuries after Herodotus.

The story of Moses leading the 'Israelite tribes' from Egypt to 'Cana'an' is part of the master narrative (mega-narrative) of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Old Testament; there is also a distinct story of Moses (Arabic: Musa) in Egypt in the Quran (sura 19, Maryam, ayat 51–53). Generally speaking Abrahamic traditions (Islam, Christianity, Samaritanism and Judaism) have shared as well as distinct traditions. Crucially the empirical archaeological and diverse historical evidence is different from elite 'sacred texts' or elite 'sacred collective memory' which produces 'one story from many' and allows a prosopography (group narrative) of power elites to emerge. In the last two centuries ancient Egypt has been scientifically and systematically excavated (perhaps more than any other country on earth) and no empirical or archaeological evidence was uncovered to substantiate or validate this Biblical story of Egypt. This does not mean that there was no Moses; it simply means there is no empirical historical evidence or facts to corroborate positively the Biblical Exodus text. Moreover these Biblical elite narratives are interpreted today by theologians and Biblical scholars using a variety of methods and the texts are read more as theology rather than accurate history. Therefore the collective 'sacred literature' is more likely to be taught today in academic departments or programmes of theology and Biblical Studies.

Also crucially, after more than 150 years of extensive Biblical excavations in and around the Old City of Jerusalem, there is still no archaeological or empirical evidence for the 'Kingdom of David' from 1000 BCE. The reason for the lack of any material or empirical evidence for the 'United Kingdom of David and Solomon' and other

mega-narratives of the Old Testament is simple: these are invented traditions (Masalha 2007; 2013). This lack of material or empirical evidence is almost universally recognised by archaeologists in the West and even by some leading Israeli archaeologists. Broadly-speaking the collapse of the historicity of the events described in the Old Testament about the 'United Kingdom of David and Solomon' – Iron Age I (around 1000 BCE) – over the last four decades has been the result of two interrelated factors: empirical archaeological evidence, and critical textual and literary criticism (Masalha 2007: Sturgis 2001; Thompson 1992, 1999, 2003).

The archaeological revolution (or paradigm shift) of recent decades centres on the ancient history of Palestine (Masalha 2007: 241–262) and the new ways in which this history should be read independent of Biblical stories by scholars and history students alike. Zeev Herzog (Professor of Archaeology at Tel Aviv University, and the Director of its Institute of Archaeology from 2005 to 2010), in an article in the weekly magazine of *Haaretz*, entitled 'Deconstructing the walls of Jericho', in October 1999, wrote:

> Following 70 years of intensive excavations in the Land of Israel, archaeologists have found out: The patriarchs' acts are legendary, the Israelites did not sojourn in Egypt or make an exodus, they did not conquer the land. Neither is there any mention of the empire of David and Solomon, nor of the source of belief in the God of Israel. These facts have been known for years, but Israel is a stubborn people and nobody wants to hear about it. (Herzog 1999: 6–8)

Herzog went on to explain that the empirical and critical archaeology of modern Palestine has shown that the Biblical narratives of 'Exodus' and 'Joshua's conquest of Cana'an' could not have happened:

> This is what archaeologists have learned from their excavations in the Land of Israel: the Israelites were never in Egypt, did not wander in the desert, did not conquer the land in a military campaign and did not pass it on to the 12 tribes of Israel. Perhaps even harder to swallow is the fact that the united monarchy of David and Solomon, which is described by the Bible as a regional power, was at most a small tribal kingdom. And it will come as an unpleasant shock to many that the God of Israel, Jehovah [Yahweh], had a female consort [see below] and that the early Israelite religion adopted monotheism only in the waning period of the monarchy and not at Mount Sinai. Most of those who are engaged in scientific work in the interlocking spheres of the Bible, archaeology and the history of the Jewish people–and who once went into the field looking for proof to corroborate the Bible story – now agree that the historic events relating to the stages of the Jewish people's emergence are radically different from what that story tells. (Herzog 1999: 6–8)[3]

3 See also Matthew Sturgis, *It Ain't Necessarily So: Investigating the Truth of the Biblical Past* (2001).

The Old Testament is not history but theology, Herzog argues; the archaeology of the Holy Land has completed a process that amounts to a scientific revolution in its field; archaeology – which has become an independent professional discipline with its own conclusions and its own observations – presents us with a picture of a reality of ancient Palestine completely different from the one which is described in the Old Testament. Palestine archaeology is no longer using the Hebrew Bible as a reference point or an historical source; the old biblical archaeology is no longer the ruling paradigm in Palestine archaeology. For the critical archaeologists the Bible is read as literature which may or may not contain some historical information (Herzog 2001: 72–93; 1999: 6–8).

Although academic departments of theology will continue to teach and explore these distinct narratives of Moses and David in the Bible and the Quran – today, as a result of more than 150 years of critical Biblical scholarship and critical archaeological excavations, there are very few archaeologists or historians in the West who treats these stories literally or as actual 'historical facts' (Masalha 2007; 2013).

While evangelical Christian fundamentalists (mostly in the US and some in Europe) continue to read these Biblical stories literally, today mainstream academics who teach Old Testament and Biblical Studies in the West tend to treat these stories metaphorically and allegorically or as 'sacred literature' or 'sacred texts', while historians and archaeologists treat them as literature and social memory which evolved across many centuries – rather than actual accurate history.

Evidence-based scholarly histories – unlike elite 'sacred history' or group sacred literature – requires scientific approach, critical thinking, empirical evidence and accurate facts. Scholarly approaches to history require proven evidence, 'facts' or refutation. Scholarly historical research should not be conflated or equated automatically with 'sacred literature' or with specific religious beliefs and traditions. Religious traditions often evolved from social memory and across many generations or even centuries. The Old Testament mega-narratives, in particular, were often derived from continuously evolving oral traditions and from the repackaging of Near Eastern epics such as Gilgamesh rather than being accurate historical events of the past. While the beliefs and religious sensitivities of Muslims, Christians and Jews should be respected and people are entitled to their beliefs and religious traditions, critical scholarship and academic and school history curricula and textbooks should be grounded in scientific research, critical methodology, historical facts and evidence-based historical and archaeological research on ancient Palestine – not on meta-narratives or religious-ideological orientations.

Furthermore it can be shown empirically that the name 'Palestine' is continuously and uninterruptedly found in ancient, medieval and modern

histories and historical sources, including: (a) ancient Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions and texts (Assyrian: *Palashtu* or *Pilistu*); (b) classical Greek texts and literature (*Παλαιστίνη*); (c) Roman and Byzantine administrative divisions of the region and sources (*Palaestina)*; (d) Medieval Arabic and Islamic Arabic sources (Arabic: *Filastin*. فلسطين); (e) modern Hebrew (*Peleshtina)'* (f) and all modern European languages and sources.

The ancient history and heritage of Palestine are the study of the past in the region of Palestine generally defined as a geographic region in Western Asia between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. The name *Palestine* is the most commonly used from the Late Bronze Age (from 1300 BCE onwards) to the modern period to describe this geographic region between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River and various adjoining lands.

This article applies synchronic and diachronic approaches to the evolving historical conception of Palestine. Thirteen points are central to its arguments:

1. Before the Late Bronze period (before 1300 BCE) we have names of towns, but none for the particular (Palestine) region as a whole, although the name 'Cana'an' (*ka-na-na, kinahhu*) does occur earlier, in the Late Bronze Age in New Kingdom inscriptions (1400s) and in the Amarna letters.
2. (1350s–1330s BCE). In these inscriptions, however, the name, *Cana'an* refers primarily to the northern coastal regions of Lebanon, much as it is used in 5th century Greek texts and later. In the Late Bronze age, the normal name for the region of Palestine in Egyptian texts is not *Cana'an*, but *Djahi*, which is used to designate the southern part of the greater region of *Tehenu*
3. It is true that the name *Peleset* first occurs in the 13th century BCE and is not witnessed in any historical source earlier. So it would be historically inaccurate to use the name Palestine for the region before the 13th century. However to be historically accurate one should point out that the name of the region of Palestine prior to the Late Bronze Age is simply unknown;
4. From the Late Bronze Age onwards the names used for the region of the southern Levant, such of *Djahi* and *Retenu* or *Cana'an* ALL gave way to the name Palestine, the name which thereafter is the most commonly used throughout ancient history and Classical Antiquity,[4] as well as during Byzantine Christianity and later.

4 Classical Antiquity is a term broadly applied here to a long period of history (over a millennium) during which 'Classical culture' centred on the Mediterranean region and comprised the intimate interaction of the civilisations of Ancient Greece, Ancient Rome with the 'Near East'. It is a period in which Greek and Roman cultural influences not

5. No other early toponym from the Late Bronze Age, such as (a) *Retenu* (1500s-1200s BCE); (b) *Djahi* (1500s-1200s BCE); (c) *Cana'an* (1400s/1300s) is used as the name of the region in the Iron Age and later. One or other form of the name Palestine is used from the 12th century BCE through the Roman period. This is also the most common name for this region from the end of the 18th century AD to the present, a period which includes the British Mandate period, which used the name of *Palestine* as the internationally recognised name of the country. No other historically known toponym is used. One perhaps should also point out the 'official' administrative toponym of the province, *Palaestina*, which was consolidated in Classical Antiquity and revived officially in the modern period;
6. The toponymic use of the name *Judah* dates from the 8th century and refers to the region of the southern highlands, foothills and adjacent steppe lands only during the periods of 8th-early 6th century BCE. Similarly, the name *Israel* exists first in the 9th century, BCE and is used until the 4th quarter of the 8th century, BCE, when this name gives way to the name of the Assyrian province of *Samerina*;
7. The modern history of Palestine is deeply rooted in its ancient history, culture and heritage;
8. Palestine as a country (*balad*, or *bilad*) with a distinct history and political geography, evolving boundaries and shifting capital cities existed for millennia; a country may or may not be a sovereign state; Palestine as a country (like Scotland, Wales, Catalonia, Andalusia, Kurdistan, or the Basque region, Chechnya or Kashmir) should not be automatically conflated or equated with any modern conception of the 'state of Palestine'.
9. Until the modern era and the conception of Mandatory Palestine (1918–1948) the perception of what constituted Palestine's eastern boundaries was shifting, although during the classical age and under Islam the boundaries of Palestine often extended to areas lying east of the Jordan River.
10. The classical, medieval(Arabo-Islamic) and modern conceptions of *Palestine* all went far beyond the original 'land of the *Peleset*' ('from Gaza to Tantur') of the Late Bronze Age.
11. The official conversion of the Eastern Roman Empire into Christianity in the 4th century and the massive spread of Christianity in the Near East and *Provinciae Arabia* brought about

only flourished but also wielded enormous influence throughout Southern Europe, South-Eastern Asia, the 'Near East' and North Africa.

religious, social and cultural transformation of the country and the creation of greater *Palaestina*. At its greatest extent in Antiquity, greater *Palaestina* under the Byzantines (from the 4th.to the early 7th centuries) was divided into three provinces: *Palaestina Prima, Palaestina Secunda and Palaestina Salutaris/Tertia* (First Palestine, Second Palestine and Third Palestine). In the south *Palaestina Salutaris/Tertia* encompassed the former Roman *Provinciae Arabia*. Greater *Palaestina* also included the Naqab/Negev, Nabataea (and its capital Petra) and parts of Sinai; greater Palestine also included large parts of Transjordan in the east and the Golan plateau in the north. This was also a period of great prosperity and urban expansion with Palestinian cities such as Jerusalem, Gaza, Neapolis (Nablus), Caesarea Maritima (also known as *Caesarea Palaestinae*[5]; Arabic: *Qaysaria*), Hellenised Scythopolis (Arab Beisan) and Hellenised Eleutheropolis [Arab Beit Jibrin) reaching their peak in population during Antiquity, and the diverse population of greater *Palaestina* may have reached as many as one and a half million.

12. Archaeological research shows that urbanisation and most of the Palestine towns and cities that are known in historic times existed during the Early Bronze Age in the 3rd. millennium.[6] Furthermore archaeological empirical finds and historical sources indicate that the major Palestinian cities of the Byzantine period (Hellenised Diospolis/Georgiopolis/Lydda, Hellenised Scythopolis/Beisan, Gaza, Tiberias, Hellenised Neapolis/Nablus, Jaffa, 'Amwas/Emmuas, Rafah, Akka/Acre) continued to be urban centres under Islam and kept their place-names. Interesting also the architectural forms of early urban Islamic Palestine (in Jerusalem, Jericho Hisham Palace/Khirbat al-Mafjar, Ramle and Khirbet al-Minyar, near Tiberias) all exhibit *continuities* and a melange of Islamic and Roman Byzantine styles and modes of organisations.

13. The continuities of historic Palestine are also exhibited in the medieval Arabic name *Philistin* (Palestine) which preserved the Latin *Philistina* or *Philistinus*, which, in turn, derived from the Hellenic/Roman administrative name of the province *Palaestina*, which, in turn, was based on the ancient name preserved in the Hebrew Bible and in a variety of ancient languages, the Akkadian *Palastu* and Egyptian *Parusata/Peleset*;

5 Gilman, Thurston and Colby, 'Caesarea Palestinae', *New International Encyclopedia* (1905).

6 Arnold Hugh Martin Jones, 'Palestine', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, at http://www.britannica.com/place/Palestine

The region of Palestine was among the earliest in the world to see human habitation, agricultural communities, material civilisation and urbanisation. With the beginning of the Middle Stone Age (mesolithic period) in about 12,000 BCE humans in Palestine began to raise animals and farm the land. The Neolithic period consolidated agricultural practices in Palestine, in Jericho, circa 11,000–8,800 BCE. The modern Palestinian city of Jericho is believed to be one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world, with archaeological evidence of settlement dating back to 9000 BCE, providing important information about early human habitation in the Middle East.

It is widely recognised by historians and archaeologists that Palestine had a remarkably stable population from the end of the Neolithic period, some 6000 years ago, when the Mediterranean economy was first established in the region. In the 1980s Biblical scholars Thomas Thompson (Copenhagen University), Francolino Goncalvez and Jean-Marie van Cangh (1988) completed a pilot toponymic project with two regions in Palestine: the Plain of Akka (Acre) and the Jerusalem (al-Quds) Corridor which was published in 1988 in a monograph entitled *Toponomie Palestinienne*. This study brought out the many names of hills, *wadis*, springs and wells, but only those on maps. However this project was limited in its scope and has not directly worked with the oral tradition. Thomas Thompson's works *Bronze Age Settlements of Sinai and the Negev* (1975) and *The Bronze Age Settlements of Palestine* (1979) have a very useful list of antiquity sites with the corresponding modern Arabic names (see also Ra'ad 2010).

Furthermore the *Tubingen Bible Atlas* (2001) – based on the *Tubingen Atlas of the Near East (TAVO)*–documents the ancient historical geography of Palestine in a unique way in 29 high quality maps and extensive indices. Although the question of the Arabo-Islamic heritage of Palestine in the toponymic memory of the region is one which the *Tubingen Bible Atlas* project never took up directly, many Palestine maps of the *Tuebinger Bible Atlas* and TAVO archives are important historical and geographical sources on ancient Palestine. More recently Salman Abu-Sitta's *Atlas of Palestine 1917–1966* (2010) also provides useful maps and indices on the modern Palestinian Arabic place names of the region.

Modern Palestinian collective memory and place names have evolved from the Neolithic Age into the modern period by embracing multiple traditions and preserving the shared heritage of the land. In a largely peasant society with fertile land, many Palestinian Arab toponyms were based on plant foods (such as varieties of beans, lentils), fruit trees (olive, fig, vine) and natural geographical sites (hills, meadows, springs, streams, wadis, valleys and mountains). By and large the names of Palestinian

villages and towns were very stable, but names of provinces and regions were constantly evolving.

II. The Name *Palestine* in Ancient Egyptian and Assyrian Sources

The most traditional and earliest toponyms for the area which became known in Classical Antiquity as 'Palestine' were not related to *Cana'an*. They were the toponyms of *Retenu* and *Djahi,* which might be seen as traditional names, as it is used in the 14th century BCE Egyptian story of *Sinuhe*.[7] *Retenu* was used to refer to the regions along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean and was divided into three sub-regions: *Amurru*, in the North, Lebanon (sometimes referred to as 'Upper Retenu'), which lay south of *Amurru* and north of the Litani river and *Djahi*, the southernmost part of *Retenu*, which referred to the regions, south of the Litani to Ashkelon (Arabic: '*Asqalan*) (or perhaps Gaza) and east, as far as the Rift Valley to the east.

II.1 Epigraphic Evidence for Palestine

Epigraphic evidence for our on knowledge on Palestine – carved on walls, temples, memorials, gravestones and coins – is an important scholarly source for ancient and medieval Palestine. A cognate of the name *Palestine*, '*Peleset*', is found on five inscriptions as referring to the settlement of a people along the southern Palestinian coast from the mid-12th century during the reigns of Ramesses II[8] and III of the nineteenth Egyptian dynasty. Another key inscription at the Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III at the *Medinat Habu* Temple in Luxor – one of the most completely preserved temples of Egypt – refers to the *Peleset* among those who fought against Ramesses III, who reigned from 1186 to 1155 BCE (Breasted 2001: 24). Ramesses III's war against the so-called 'Sea Peoples' (1181–1175 BCE), including the *Peleset* is placed, geographically, in the land of *Djahi;* that is, Palestine. Since the 19th century, scholars have linked the Egyptian cognate *Peleset* inscriptions with the 'Biblical Philistines'. Eighth and seventh century Assyrian inscriptions refer to this southern coastal region as '*Palashtu*' or '*Pilistu'*.

7 *The story of Sinuhe* is considered one of the finest works of fiction of Ancient Egyptian literature. Its narrative is set in the aftermath of the death of Pharaoh Amenemhat I who founded the 12th Dynasty in the early 20th Century BCE. The popularity of this story is evident from the many surviving fragments. Egyptologists argue about its composition date; here we take the conservative date of 14th century BCE. It could be earlier, but it is not known to be.

8 Ramesses II is the most famous of the Pharaohs; in popular legendary imagination he has become the 'Pharaoh of the Exodus'.

Arabic-language epigraphic evidence from Palestine east of the Jordan River is enormous, with some Arabic inscriptions dating from the Roman era and as early as 150 AD. In fact Palestine is extremely rich in Arabic inscriptions, most of which date from the early Islamic and Umayyad periods. Already in early Islam *Filastin* acquired particular religious, economic and strategic importance. The historical importance of Arab Palestine is shown in the hundreds of Palestine Arabic inscriptions which cover a huge variety of topics: architecture, religious endowments, epitaphs, construction, markets, dedication, Quranic texts, prayers and invocations. A large collection of the inscriptions is assembled in the multivolume *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae* (Sharon 1997–2013; van Berchem 1894)

III. The Late Bronze Age[9]:

III.1 The Name 'Cana'an' in the Late Bronze Period did not Refer Specifically to Palestine – but to the Coastal Region of Greater Syria

The Old Testament is based on exilic imagination and fiction not facts. Its myth-narratives are misleading. The '*Cana'anites'* are in fact identical to the Phoenicians. The alphabet of the Phoenicians of the coastal regions of Palestine and Lebanon – conventionally-known as proto-Canaanite alphabet – was given to Greek, Aramaic, Arabic and Hebrew. However the Biblical terms '*Canaanites*' and '*Israelites*' in Palestine do not necessarily refer to or describe two distinct ethnicities. Niels Peter Lemche, a Biblical scholar at the University of Copenhagen, whose interests included early Israelites and their relationship with history, the Old Testament and archaeology, has suggested that the Biblical narrative of '*Cana'an'* and 'the *Canaanites*' must be read as an ideological construct of the other (as the non-Jews) rather than as a reference to an actual historical ethnic group:

> The Canaanites [of Palestine] did not know that they were themselves Canaanites. Only when they had so to speak 'left' their original home. . . did they acknowledge that they had been Canaanites. (Lemche 1999: 152)

The fact that exilic Biblical authors imaginatively coined the term 'Canaanites' – a religio-ideological construct by these authors – does not

9 There are many sources and texts across many languages on the Late Bronze Age onwards. Important works include: N.P. Lemche, *The Canaanites and Their Land* (1991); Lukasz Niesiolowski, *Goliath's Legacy: Philistines and Hebrews in Biblical Times* (2016); Gösta W Ahlström, *The History of Ancient Palestine from the Palaeolithic Period to Alexander's Conquest* (1993); Thomas L. Thompson, *The Early History of the Israelite People From the Written and Archaeological Sources* (1992); Thomas L. Thompson, *The Bible in History: How Writers Create a Past* (1999). Gösta W. Ahlström, *The History of Ancient Palestine from the Palaeolithic Period to Alexander's Conquest* (1993)

necessity indicate that there was a conflict between historical Israelites and Canaanites in Palestine.

However the modern era (beginning with the late 19th century) European Zionist leaders appropriated the Old Testament narratives as historical accounts and used them instrumentally to justify their settler-colonial project and their conflict with the indigenous people of Palestine. Nevertheless, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a modern conflict and should not be confused with the real, historical, ancient Palestine or any subsequent religio-ideological constructs of the Biblical text.

Historically-speaking the name *Cana'an* was indeed used in the Late Bronze Age. But the name did not refer to the Cisjordan area from Gaza to the Litani River. Nor was it the only term used in connection with this area (between the Wadi Gaza to the Litani). Other names such as *Palestine,* as well as earlier names, such as *Retenu* and *Djahi* were also used for this area (including, at times, the inland regions of western Palestine and the Transjordan) during the Late Bronze Age. *Cana'an* referred to a geographical region of varying size, along the Mediterranean coast of Lebanon, Palestine and Syria (and not just Palestine). At times, this included regions inland. In the first millennium, however, the name Phoenicia was the most common name used for the northern coastal region, which had earlier been referred to as *Cana'an,* while the Assyrian-derived name of *Philistia* was most often used for the southern coast and for Palestine as a whole. The name *Cana'an* is found in ancient Near Eastern inscriptions with reference not just to the specific area of Palestine but crucially to the wider region of greater Syria (Syria, Lebanon and Palestine) from the 15th century BCE to the early 9th century BCE. The first certain reference to the name *Cana'an* is found in cuneiform on the statue of Idrimi from Alalakh in northern Syria (ca. 1500 BCE) in the form *Kinahhu***.**

The name *Cana'an* is also found on some of the Amarna tablets in the form *kn'ny* – about 30 years from the middle of the 14th century BCE. In these inscriptions, the ancient port city of Ugarit itself does not belong to *Cana'an*, but Qadesh does. The name also occurs in Egyptian inscriptions in the form *k3n'n'* from the 13th century Hattusa, Ramesses II and Merneptah inscriptions (this last, ca. 1205 BCE). On the Merneptah Stele, the town *Gaza* is referred to as 'the mouth of (that is, 'the opening to' *k3n'n'*.

III.2 The Name Palestine *Takes over and Predominates from the Late Bronze Age Onwards*

The name *Palestine* is from the Late Bronze Age and first occurs in relation to the already mentioned ancient Egyptian struggle to control the great

incursion of 'sea peoples' into the Levant, during the reigns of Ramesses II and III and of Merneptah (1276–1178 BCE).

The name *Palestine* originally derives from *Peleset*, used to refer to the people referred to as the *Peleset*, one of the so-called 'Sea Peoples', allies of the Libyans, who are mentioned in Egyptian inscriptions, including the Merneptah Stele, which celebrates the Egyptian victory over Libya. These allies of the Libyans include a number of peoples besides the *Peleset*, some of whose names are identifiable. These names include the *Shardana* (Sardinia), the *Ekwesh*, the *Teresh*, the *Tjekker*, the *Lukka*, the *Kheta* (Hatti=Hittite), the *Amor* (Amurru), the *Shasw* (Bedouin in the Sinai), including even possibly the *Asher* or *Israel* of the Merneptah Stele. Following the integration of these immigrants into the indigenous population, the name *peleset* succeeded the name Djahi as the dominant toponym for the region as a whole.

From the Late Bronze Age onwards, it should be stressed, the names used for the region of the southern Levant, such of *Djahi, Retenu* and *Cana'an,* all gave way to *Palestin*e, the name most commonly used in 8th and 7th century Assyrian inscriptions. Using a 'part for the whole' designation, *Palestin*e came to refer to the greater region (*Palashtu*, *Piliste* (or *Philistia*), literally, the 'land of the *Peleset*' (Greek: *Γη των Φυλιστιειμ*) to refer to the southern Levant. This wider conception included not only the *Philistines*' cities of Ekron, Gath[10], Ashdod[11], Ashkelon, Gaza, Timnah[12] and Tantur, but served also for the hinterland and gradually as a wider designation for the whole area from Lebanon to Egypt.

III.3 From Gaza to Tantur: The Extent of the 'Land of the Peleset*'*

Peleset is the Egyptian name for one of the so-called Sea Peoples during the reigns of Ramesses II and III. The 'land of the Peleset' is used in an inscription from the reign of Ramesses III. The Egyptian use of *peleset* refers to indefinite areas which possibly include the southern and central coast, but might also include areas inland.

The Assyrian terms (*pilishti*, *pilishtu*, *pilistu*, *pilisti*, *pilistin)* also refer to an area that runs from Gaza to Tantur, and may include much larger areas inland. The Assyrian *filisti, filistin* and *palashtu* are Assyrian spellings of this name which is used variously. Perhaps it should be distinguished from the Assyrian provinces of Tantur (Tantur to Akka), Magiddu (the Jezreel), Samerina (the central highlands) and Sennacherib's Jerusalem (including

10 The site most likely of Gath is Tell al-Safi, a Palestinian village 35 kilometres northwest of Hebron, depopulated by Israeli in 1948.

11 Isdud was a large Palestinian village depopulated by Israel in 1948.

12 In Wadi al-Surar (modern Hebrew: Nahal Sorek).

Lakhish) and possibly other regions. Over a period of 6 centuries, these names were found on a handful of Assyrian inscriptions.

The Old Testament talks about a 'land of the Plishtim'. In the Bible the Mediterranean Sea was also known as the 'Sea of the Philistines' (Exod. 23:31), named after the people occupying a large portion of the shores of the Mediterranean. The Philistines were known in the Hebrew Bible as *Plishtim* and their Mediterranean territory as *Pleshet*: *Philistia* (1 Sam. 17:36; 2 Sam. 1:20; Judg. 14:3; Amos 1:8). Most American and Israeli Biblical scholars identify this *Peleset* with a somewhat historicised, but ultimately Biblical 'land of the Philistines'; that is, the coastal region from Gaza to Tantur.

The myth-narratives of the Books of Joshua, Deuteronomy and Samuel have provided modern Zionist settler-colonialism with the muscular, militaristic and violent dimensions of the 'conquest of the land of Canaan' and elimination of its indigenous people. The Book of Judges has also given Zionism another militarist tradition: the 'holy war' stories associated with the (real or imagined) struggle against the Philistines, and the narrative of Samson (an Israelite hero) and cunning Delilah, who betrayed Samson on behalf of the Philistines of Gaza (Judg. 16). The Zionist ethnic cleansing tactics in the 1948 War against the Palestinians were evidently inspired by the narrative of Samson's 'sacred war' against the Philistines. The Philistines – a highly sophisticated people who, according to the Bible, ruled five powerful city-states (the 'Philistine Pentapolis): Gaza, Askelon, Ashdod, Ekron and Gath (Niesiołowski-Spanò 2011: 38) – have, for centuries, suffered under the weight of their relentlessly negative portrayal in the books and narratives of the Hebrew Bible. From Goliath to Delilah, they have personified the intrinsically evil Other in the burgeoning narrative myth of the nation of Israel (McDonagh 2004: 93–111). In the Hebrew Bible the Philistines were constructed as a typical ideological scapegoat (McDonagh 2004: 93–111). Modern European racism and Biblical constructs and prejudices towards and even hatred of the Philistnes has survived in the derogatory and offensive connotation of the modern Western term: 'a *philistine* is a person ignorant of, or smugly hostile to, culture' (Eban 1984: 45; Rose 2004: 17; McDonagh 2004: 93–111).

There are recent pro-Zionist sources which seem to suggest that '*p-l-s-t*' ('*Peleset*'; *Philistines*) was an area corresponding roughly to today's Gaza region. In fact – contrary to these propagandistic claims – from the Late Bronze Age onwards and the beginning of the Iron Age (about 1175 BCE), the *Peleset* and other 'sea peoples' (*Philistines*) occupied and were integrated into the indigenous population of large parts of the Mediterranean coastal region of Palestine, from Gaza in the south to Tantur in the north.

Tantur is the normal International English name for Tantura. This Palestinian village (depopulated in the Palestinian Nakba of 1948[13]) is located 8 kilometres northwest of the Israeli town of Zikhron Yaakov (founded in 1882) on the Mediterranean coast, 35 kilometres south of Haifa. Nearby Tantura (Tantur) is the ancient site, referred to as *Tel Dor* by Israeli archeologists. Tantur was the centre of the Assyrian province of Tantura and controlled the coast north to Acre (ancient and Arabic: Akka) for about a century. Around 1100 BC the Philistines expanded their inland territory eastwards to include the city of Beisan (later Hellenised Scythopolis), an important strategic city located at the junction of the Jordan River and the Plain of Esdraelon (Arabic: Marj Ibn Amer). The large extent of the coastal region of the 'land of *p-l-s-t*' (*Peleset*', '*Philistines*'), from Tantur in the north to Gaza in the south and including vast areas inland, suggests that the 'land of the *Peleset*' was fifteen to twenty times larger than the current Gaza Strip, including much of greater Tel Aviv, the Israeli metropolitan area – which includes the cities of Holon and Petah Tikva, the latter known in Zionist historiography as *Im Hamoshavot*: the 'Mother of the Colonies' – according to Avishai Margalit (of the Hebrew University) had never been the historic homeland of the Jewish people (Margalit 1991), and which constitutes Israel's largest conurbation with 3,700,000 residents, over 40% of the country's population.

Archaeology has shown that the Philistine city-states had a highly advanced culture: far more advanced in urban sophistication, commercial activities and technological development (from iron to pottery) than their contemporary local inhabitants in Palestine.

Israeli-excavated archaeological evidence for this was found outside the northern border of the modern city of Tel Aviv (the Israeli metropolis – 'mother city' – founded by East European Jewish settlers in 1909 and effectively the capital of the Zionist Yeshuv-Settler Colony in Palestine until 1948) in the remains of Tel Qasile, a Philistine town which formed a flowering harbour town through the 12th–10th centuries BCE. These archaeological discoveries were deposited in 'the Eretz Israel Museum' at the campus of Tel Aviv University, a historical and archaeological museum in the Ramat Aviv neighbourhood of Tel Aviv. The campus of Tel Aviv University itself was constructed on the ruins of an ancient Philistine town and a modern Palestinian village, Al-Shaykh Muwannis, depopulated by the Haganah in March 1948.

The Philistines mixed with the indigenous population. Pottery remains excavated in ancient cities such as Gaza, Tantur, Ekron, Ashdod, Ashkelon and Gath decorated with stylised birds provide the archaeological evidence

13 For an extensive discussion of the Palestine Nakba, see Masalha (1992; 1997; 2005, 2012); Khalidi W. (1992).

for the highly developed Philistine cities in ancient Palestine. These highly sophisticated *Peleset* (Philistines) city-states are credited with introducing iron weapons and chariots to ancient Palestine.

III.4 The Toponym Palestine in Assyrian Sources

In seven known Assyrian clay tablet inscriptions the Assyrians called the region connected with modern Palestine '*Palashtu*', '*Palastu*' or '*Pilistu*', beginning with the Kings of Assyria Adad-Nirari III (from 811 BCE to 783 BCE) in the 'Nimrud inscriptions' in 800 BCE through to Esarhaddon (who reigned 681 to 669 BCE) more than a century later (Room 2006: 285; also Smith 1875: 115). The Nimrud inscriptions were discovered in 1854 by William Loftus in his excavations at Nimrud, a major ancient Assyrian city originally known as *Kalhu*, located 30 kilometres south of the Iraqi city of Mosul Nimrud was a strategic Assyrian city between approximately 1250 BCE and 610 BCE. The inscriptions are among the best studied of the inscriptions of Adad-Nirari III, since they include a description of early Assyrian conquests of Palestine and Syria. The text was translated by Daniel Luckenbill (1881–1927), an American assyrologist and Professor at the University of Chicago, as below:

> I subdued [the territory stretching] from the bank of the Euphrates, the land of Hatti, the land of Amurru in its entirety, the land of Tyre, the land of Sidon, the land of Humri, the land of Edom, the land of Palastu, as far as the great sea of the setting sun. I imposed tax (and) tribute upon them.[14]

IV The Name *Palaestina* Throughout Classical Antiquity (500 BCE-637 AD)

For over 1200 years the name Palestine was used most commonly, consistently and continuously throughout Classical Antiquity, from the highlight of classical Athenian civilisation in 500 BCE until the end of the Byzantine period and the occupation of Palestine by the Muslim armies in 637 AD.

To substitute the vague and semi-mythical term *Cana'an* for the real historical and official toponym *Palaestina* for a spectacular classical period lasting over one millennium would be tantamount to the elimination of the actual history of this important region and would create major obstacles to an understanding of Classical Antiquity. The substitution of the vaguely defined and imprecise term *Cana'an* (known only for a limited period during the Late Bronze Age) for *Palaestina* would also eliminate the possibility of any real historical knowledge of one of the most important periods in the ancient history of the region, namely: early Christianity

14 Grayson (1996: 212); see also Luckenbill (1926); Smith (1875: 115).

and Byzantine greater *Palaestina*. Greek-speaking Byzantine Christianity in Palestine began in the reign of the Roman Emperor Constantine the Great (306–337 AD) and lasted until the beginning of Islamic rule in Palestine in 637 AD.

IV.1 The Greek Name Παλαιστίνη ('Palestine') in Classical and Foundational Greco-Hellenic Sources

The term *Palestine* was extensively used in referring to the entire area connected with modern Palestine in 5th century BCE Ancient Greece. The name *Παλαιστίνη* ('*Palestine*') was widely used by the most important ancient Greek historians, writers, philosophers and scientists, including Herodotus and Aristotle. The Greco-Roman-Byzantine name 'Palestine' is commonly found in major classical Greek texts, especially the *Histories* of Herodotus, written near the mid-fifth century BCE.

IV.2 The Conception of Παλαιστίνη *('Palestine') by the 'Founding Father of History' Herodotus*

Palestine always played a special role in the imagination, literature and historical discourses of the West (Said 1980: 9). This began with the earliest classical literature and seminal works of the Greek writers, especially Herodotus and Aristotle in the 5th and 4th centuries BC. It was in the writings of Herodotus (who lived in the 5th century BCE (c. 484–425 BCE) that the name took on its Greek form *Παλαιστίνη* (*Palaestina*) and was used as the name of southern Syria. Herodotus uses the name accordingly and Aristotle, for example, used the term in a way that includes the regions of Transjordan, or 'Eastern Palestine', beyond the Jordan Rift Valley. Herodotus' conception of *Palaistine* included the Galilee and applied to Palestine in the wider sense. It applied to the region of the 'Levant between Phoenicia and Egypt' (Jacobson 1999*:* 65–74).

This wider conception of Palestine also reflected the expansion of the province of Idumaea in the south, following the destruction of Iron Age Edom by the Babylonian Nabonidus. Idumaea's centre, first in Hebron and later centered in Lakish, in the southern foothills, created boundaries, which stretched from the Transjordan plateau to the Mediterranean. In 132 CE, under the Romans, Idumaea was joined to the provinces of Judaea and the Galilee and the name *Palaestina* was used to refer to the whole of the southern Levant.

Herodotus was a contemporary of Socrates and is widely referred to as '*The Father of History*' (Cicero, 1st century BCE). He was the first historian to treat historical subjects with a method of systematic investigation, arranging historical material into a historical narrative. His famous work: the *Histories* (Greek: *Ἱστορίαι*; also known as *The History*, 1987) is one of

the most famous historical texts on the origins of the Greco-Persian Wars, a text known to academics, historians and history students throughout the world. Herodotus' work (*Histories*) is now considered a foundational text in the Western academy. It serves as a key record of ancient oral traditions, politics, geography, and the clashes of various powers that were known in Greece, Western Asia and North Africa. When it comes to ancient Palestine and toponymic memory modern Western Christian writing relies partly on Herodotus' classic work (1987).

In this classical text (written from the 450s to the 420s BCE), Herodotus wrote about a 'district of Syria, called *Palaistinê*' and lists place-names of ancient Palestine. Herodotus himself visited Palestine in the fifth decade of the 5th century BCE. He travelled extensively through 'the part of Syria called Palestine, I myself saw'[15] and acquired first-hand knowledge of the country and its people (Jacobson 1999*:* 65–74). Herodotus refers to *Παλαιστίνη* (*Palaistine*), Syria, or simply 'Palaistine' many times, as an area comprising the region between Phoenicia and Egypt. Herodotus also mentions the city of Ascalan (Arabic: '*Asqalan*; Akkadian: *Isqalluna*; Latin: *Ascalonia;* Hebrew: Ashkelon), an ancient seaport city which dates back to the Neolithic Age. At the time of Herodotus Palestine was polytheistic and he consequently describes Ascalan as having a temple for Aphrodite Urania. The latter signifed 'celestial love' and the 'spiritual', to distinguish her from her more earthly aspect of Aphrodite Pandemos, 'Aphrodite for all the people'. The cult Aphrodite Urania was associated with body and soul and with spiritual love, beauty, fertility, procreation and pleasure and its sacred doves still flocked on the roofs of the city in Roman times (Lewin 2005: 156). The cult of Aphrodite Urania was also associated with the sea and existed in several Palestinian cities including the ancient port city of Jaffa, often of referred to in Arabic by Palestinians as '*Arus al-Bahr* (Bride of the Sea).

Classical Greek historians Herodotus and Thucydides (c. 460–c. 400 BCE), in contrast with the authors of the Old Testament, sought to separate *muthos* (myth; legend) from *logos* (reasoned argument) and histories of the gods from histories of humans. Their histories were also strongly ethnographic. Ethnography is also central to Herodotus' account of ancient Palestine and its inhabitants. He refers to the Arabs in southern Palestine, Sinai and the incense trade route – the frankincense road of Antiquity which comprised a network of major ancient land and sea trading routes linking the Mediterranean world with eastern and southern sources of incense, spices and other luxury goods. Stretching from the Mediterranean ports of Palestine and Egypt through Arabia and

15 Herodotus (1858), at: https://archive.org/stream/herodotus00herouoft/herodotus00herouoft_djvu.txt

beyond and involving the Nabataean Arabs (and Petra at its height at the beginning of the 2nd century AD), this incense land trade flourished for nearly a millennium between the 7th century BCE and the 2nd century AD. Herodotus also refers to the practice of male circumcision (originally polytheistic) in the region of Palestine from Phoenicia to Egypt – a practice, the 'Syrians called Palestinians' 'confess that they learnt the custom of the Egyptians' (Herodotus 1858, Book ii, Ch 104). Egypt had the oldest documented evidence for male circumcision dating back to 2345–2182 BCE (World Health Organisation 2007: 3). David Asheri (1925–2000) – Professor of Ancient History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Dean of the Faculty of Humanities (1972–75) – in *A Commentary on Herodotus,* Books 1–4, writes:

> the 'Syrians called Palestinians', at the time of Herodotus were a mixture of Phoenicians, Philistines, Arabs, Egyptians, and perhaps also other peoples . . . Perhaps the circumcised 'Syrians called Palestinians' are the Arabs and Egyptians of the Sinai coast; at the time of Herodotus there were few Jews in the coastal area. (2007: 402)

Herodotus, who travelled widely in Palestine and Syria and beyond the coastal region, does not mention Judea or refer to Jews. He neither mentions terms such *Canaan* or *Canaanites* or *Israelites* in Palestine nor describes monotheism in the country. First, because as archaeological evidence shows, monotheism was a much later development in Palestine and the Near East (Masalha 2007). Second, also significantly, many of the Old Testament religio-ideological constructs and monotheistic traditions evolved centuries after Herodotus.

Interestingly the ancient *Philistine* and Greek toponyms for *Palaistine Tantur* (*Tantura*) and *Ascalan* were preserved in indigenous Palestinian Arab tradition and by medieval Arab historians and travellers and 'Ascalan' became known to the Palestinians as 'Asqalan' (or 'Majdal 'Asqalan, depopulated by the Israel army in 1950: Masalha 1997). This shows how, by and large, the indigenous names of Palestinian villages and towns were fairly stable throughout the ancient, medieval and modern history of Palestine.

IV.3 The Name Palestine *in Aristotle's* Meteorology

Approximately a century after Herodotus, the celebrated Greek scientist, philosopher and historian Aristotle (Aristotélēs: 384–322 BCE) talks about 'Palestine' and does not mention the term 'Cana'an' – primarily because 'Palestine' applied to a real historical region – while the term 'Cana'an' is derived from a subsequently constructed myth-narrative, a narrative with which at the time Aristotle could not have been familiar. The work of Aristotle is foundational for ancient, medieval and modern empirical

sciences and philosophy. His work constituted the first comprehensive system of Western philosophy. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 'Aristotle was the first genuine scientist in history . . . [and] every scientist is in his debt'.

> In his famous work *Meteorology* (Greek: *Μετεωρολογικά* (340 BCE), Aristotle wrote: Again if, as is fabled, there is a lake in Palestine, such that if you bind a man or beast and throw it in it floats and does not sink, this would bear out what we have said. They say that this lake is so bitter and salt that no fish live in it and that if you soak clothes in it and shake them it cleans them.

This is widely and logically understood by scholars to be a reference to the Dead Sea (Jacobson 1999: 66–67)

Aristotelian terminology and thought profoundly influenced Arabo-Islamic, Judeo-Arabic and Christian philosophical thought during the Middle Ages. Aristotelian terminology and naming were well-known among medieval Muslim intellectuals and scientists and he was widely revered by Muslim scholars as 'The First Teacher'. Throughout the Middle Ages Muslim translators, scholars and scientists became closely acquainted with classical Greek sources, including sources in history, sciences, philosophy and geography. An Arabic compendium of Aristotle's *Meteorology*, called *al-'Athar al-'Ulwiyyah* (الآثار العلوية), was produced c. 800 CE by the Antiochene Christian-Arab scholar Yahya ibn al-Bitriq and was widely circulated among Muslim scholars over the following centuries.

V. The Official Administrative Concept *of Palestine* during the Roman Period

The name 'Palestine' was particularly popularised in Latin and Greek which were the two *lingua francas* of the Roman Empire and Eastern Mediterranean. These two languages affected trade, administration, education, religion, architecture, diplomacy, coinage and key place-names throughout the Eastern Mediterranean.

V.1 The Official Administrative Province of Syria-Palaestina, *135–390 AD*[16]

In 135 CE, the Roman Emperor Hadrian officially combined the province of Iudaea (comprising Samaria and Judaea proper) with Galilee and Idumaea to form a new province of *Syria-Palestina*. Interestingly

16 Clayton Miles Lehmann (1998) 'Palestine: History: 135–337: Syria Palaestina and the Tetrarchy', *The On-line Encyclopedia of the Roman Provinces* (Summer), University of South Dakota.

Hadrian chose the 1000 year old name of *Philistia* and combined it with that of the neighbouring country of Syria.

The official administrative name of *Syria-Palaestina* continued to be used by writers, geographers, historians and imperial administrators to refer to the area between the Mediterranean Sea and River Jordan for many years. The Romans promoted urbanisation in Palestine and the province of *Syria-Palaestina* itself had a well-organised road network and an efficient traffic system as basic elements of proper imperial administration. The Romans invested great resources in Roman *Palaestina*, in labour and technological skill in road building. In this Roman province of *Palaestina*, the network's node was clearly Jerusalem, renamed by Hadrian Aelia Capitolina. Because of its traditional centrality, Jerusalem served as a starting-point for no less than seven highways. The seven highways were later broadly reflected in the 16th century Ottoman wall and gates of the Old City of Jerusalem.

V.2 From Syria-Palaestina to Palaestina: *Hellenic Judaism and the Designation of Palestine by Classical Jewish Scholars*

In the course of time, and especially from Vespasian (emperor 69 to 79 AD) onwards, the term *Palaestina* officially superseded the longer Roman name '*Syria-Palaestina'* or 'Palestinian Syria'. The bounds of *Palaestina* in the time of the Romans embraced the coastal region of Palestine, Idumaea, Judaea, Samaria, Perasa (northern modern Jordan) and Hellenised Trachonitis (modern Arabic Lajat), southeast of Damascus. Following Herodotus and classical literature this Roman conception of Palestine applied to the *Palaestina* in the wider sense: to the area of the southern Levant between modern Lebanon and Egypt. The same wider territorial concept of Palestine was embraced by classical Jewish writers, especially Josephus[17] (37–c. 100 AD); born in Jerusalem to a priestly family, and Philo of Alexandria[18] (c. 25 BCE–c. 50 CE), the Jewish philosopher and a contemporary of Jesus who lived in the Roman province of Egypt and became the most important representative of Hellenistic Judaism. Philo (whose father had apparently played a prominent role in Palestine before moving to Alexandria[19]), wrote in *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit*[20] that 'four thousand' Essenes[21] – a Jewish sect that flourished from the 2nd century BCE to the 1st century AD and who

17 Hebrew: Yosef ben Matityahu.

18 Hebrew: *Yedidia HaCohen*; also called Philo Judaeus.

19 'Philo Judaeus', in *Encycoplaedia Britanica* at: http://www.britannica.com/biography/Philo-Judaeus

20 'Every Good Man is Free' XII.75.

21 In comparison the total population of Pharisees, the forerunners of modern Rabbinic Judaism, were estimated by Josephus at 6,000 (*Antiquties of the Jews*, 2004)

gained fame in modern times as a result of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls – lived in 'Palestine and Syria'.[22]

Hellenic Judaism and Jewish authors such as Philo and Josephus wrote in standard Greek for educated Jewish classes in the region and for Roman and Greek audiences. Like Greek and Roman writers, both Josephus and Philo understood and applied the term Palestine to 'greater Palestine' extending from modern Lebanon to Egypt (Robinson 1865:15; Jacobson 1999: 65–74) – and not just to the coastal regional of Palestine, or the former 'land of the Philistines' from Gaza to Tantur.

The official Roman designation of the province as *Syria-Palaestina* existed long before the Jewish revolt of 66–69 AD. However Vespasian – the patron of Josephus – who was personally involved in subduing the revolt in Judaea, formally widened the territorial boundaries of *Palaestina* and officially designated the whole country as 'Palestine' and this is evident from Roman coins of the period. In any case, however, it would be wrong to assume that Roman *Palaestina* replaced *Judaea*. The latter simply became one of the regions in Roman *Palaestina*. *Judaea* was always seen as representing only a specific and small component of this greater whole, while *Palaestina* was viewed by classical Greek and Jewish writers and Roman politicians as representative of the whole country from Phoenicia/modern Lebanon to Egypt.

Writing in the late first century, Josephus embraced the Roman patron-protégé system and himself would later write his history works *Antiquities of the Jews*, *The Jewish War* and *Against Apion* in Greek and in these works of history Vespasian is positively remembered by Josephus. Josephus made a clear distinction between Syria and Palestine and endorsed Herodotus' account of Palestine from the 5th century BCE. Although occasionally Josephus would refer to the name *Palaestina* in connection with the 'land of the Philistines', he, by and large, accepted the wider Roman conception of *Palaestina* and used the name within the wider context of the official Roman designation and toponymic representation of the country (Josephus 1981; 2004; 2013).

V3. The Rise of Caesarea Maritima (Caesarea Palaestinae)

Originally a small Palestinian (Phoenician) city on the Mediterranean coast, Caesarea Maritima (Greek: Parálios Kaisáreia; Παράλιος Καισάρεια), became one of four Roman settlements *(coloniae)* for demobilised veterans in the province of *Syria-Palaestina* (Butcher 2003: 230), named in honour of Augustus Caesar. The Roman city and its major harbour were spectacularly expanded by Herod the Great about

22 'Early Jewish Writings', at: http://www.earlyjewishwritings.com/text/philo/book33.html

25–13 BCE. The city became the seat of a Roman prefect – head of an administrative area – beginning in 6 AD.

To distinguish Caesarea Maritima from Caesarea Philippi (or Caesarea Panes)–a name which mutated into modern Arab Banyas in the Golan Heights–and Caesarea Cappadocia (modern Turkey), Caesarea Maritima became famously known throughout the Mediterranean region as Caesarea Palaestinae. Its reputation soared throughout the 3–6th centuries as it effectively replaced Alexandria as the most important learning centre in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Caesarea Maritima was described in detail by the 1st century Roman Jewish historian Josephus in his work *The Jewish War (*1981). As the headquarters of the Roman government in Palestine, Caesarea became the largest and most important city in the country and the economic and political hub of Palaestine. Its predominance was elevated further after the Jewish Bar Kochba revolt and war, waged during the later years of the Roman emperor Hadrian (132–136 AD). The city and its big harbour were extensively rebuilt by Hadrian and at its height the city covered an urban area of nearly a thousand acres – almost five times the size of Jerusalem. Praise for the splendour and physical attributes of Caesarea Palaestinae are common in Roman sources. Ammianus Marcellinus, a 4th century Roman soldier and major historian (born in Syria or Phoenicia), writes in *History*:

> [Palestine] has some splendid cities, none of which yields to any of the others, but they rival one another, as it were, by plumb-line. There are Caesarea, which Herod built in honour of the emperor Octavianus, Eleutheropolis [modern Arab Beit Jibrin[23]] and Neapolis, along with Ascalon and Gaza, built in a former age. (cited in Johnson 2000: 36)

From the early 3rd century *Caesarea Palaestinae* became the civil metropolis of Palestine, and later, when Palestine was divided into three provinces (see below), it remained the capital of Palaestina Prima. In the 3rd and 4th centuries the diverse population of this pluralistic Mediterranean city included Greco-Roman citizens worshipping Greco-Roman deities, Samaritans, Greek and Aramaic-speaking Jews (Donaldson 2000), Greek-speaking and Palestinian Aramaic-speaking Christian Arabs.

V.4 The Geography of Palaestina *by Strabo, Pliny the Elder and Pomponius Mela*

Historical and geographical knowledge and power are inextricably linked and the expansion and consolidation of the Roman Empire brought about the rise of encyclopaedic multi-volume works. In the 1st century AD there are three well-known geographical accounts of Palestine by:

23 Depopulated and destroyed by Israel in 1948.

(a) Greco-Roman geographer and historian Strabo (64–63 BCE–c. 24 AD), in his multi-volume work *Geographika*[24] – this encyclopaedic knowledge was based on his extensive travels throughout the Mediterranean region and Near East; (b) Pliny the Elder (23–79 AD), in his encyclopaedic work *Naturalis Historia* (C. 78 AD);[25] (c) Pomponius Mela who was the first Roman geographer and who wrote the only ancient treatise on geography in classical Latin, 'De Situ Orbis' ('A Description of the World'), written around 43 AD. The accounts of Strabo, Pliny the Elder and Mela all treat the country of Palestine in the wider sense, in the same way as the name applied by the classical Greek writers to the whole country.

Although inferior by the standard of the works of Strabo and Pliny the Elder as well as by modern technical standards, the work of Mela remained influential until the early modern period. This work was influenced by classical Greek sources and, like Herodotus, Pomponius describes *Palaestina* in the wider sense: from Phoenicia in the north to Egypt in the south. Unlike Herodotus, however, Pomponius mentions Judaea but he views it as a small part of the country he calls *Palaestina*. He describes *Syria and Palaestina* as follows:

> Syria holds a broad expanse of the littoral, as well as lands that extend rather broadly into the interior, and it is designated by different names in different places. For example, it is called Coele, Mesopotamia, Judea, Commagene, and Sophene.
>
> It is Palestine at the point where Syria abuts the Arabs, then Phoenicia, and then – where it reaches Cilicia – Antiochia, which was powerful long ago and for a long time, but which was most powerful by far when Semiramis held it under her royal sway. Her works certainly have many distinctive characteristics. Two in particular stand out: Babylon was built as a city of amazing size, and the Euphrates and Tigris were diverted into once dry regions.
>
> In Palestine, however, is Gaza, a mighty and very well fortified city. This is why the Persians call it their treasury: when Cambyses headed for Egypt under arms, he had brought here both riches and the money for war. Ascalon is no less important a city. Iope [Jaffa] was founded, as they tell it, before the flood. Iope is where the locals claim that Cepheus was king, based on the proof that particular old altars – altars with the greatest taboo – continue to bear an inscription of that man and his brother Phineus. What is more, they even point out the huge bones of the sea-monster as a clear reminder of the event celebrated in song and legend, and as a clear reminder of Andromeda, who was saved by Perseus. (Mela 1998: 52–53; also Romer 1998: 53)[26]

24 *The Geography of Strabo (1917).*

25 Pliny the Elder, Natural History, *Volume 1, Book V*: Chapter 13, at: http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Pliny_the_Elder/home.html

26 See also Pomponius Mela, De Chorographia Liber Primus, at http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/pomponius1.html

V.5 Numismatic Knowledge on Palestine and Coins Minted 'in Palestine'

Numismatic evidence is an important source of knowledge on the economy and degree of political autonomy of Roman, Byzantine and medieval Islamic Palestine. Numismatic evidence of Arabo-Byzantine coinage of *Jund Filastin (*Arabic: جند فلسطين), (the military/administrative province of Palestine in early Islam) in the 7th century (Goodwin 2004: 1–12) shows the continuities of *Filastin* and the mélange of styles and traditions evolving in the country.

The Byzantine solidus, originally a relatively pure gold coin, influenced the Umayyad gold dinar which was first issued by Caliph Abdel Malik Ibn Marwan around 696 AD. The Arabic name itself is derived from denarius, a Roman coin. However, under Islam, especially from the early 8th century onwards, Palestine began to develop its own distinct Arabo-Islamic traditions of weights, measures and coinage; crucially coins were produced in several Palestinian cities with the mint formula 'struck in Filastin' (Gil 1992: 257).[27] The earliest numismatic evidence for the official designation of the country as *Palaestina* on Roman coins comes from the period of Vespasian (Roman emperor from AD 69 to AD 79) and subsequently for the name *Syria-Palaestina* from the period of Marcus Aurelius who was Roman Emperor from 161 to 180 AD. In the 1st century the Roman Empire also granted many of Palestinian cities the right to mint bronze coins. Sir George Francis Hill, the Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum (1931–1936), produced the British Museum Catalogue of Palestine coins showing 16 Palestinian cities minting their own coins (Hill 1914).

This tradition of economic autonomy and Palestine city-coins came to an end in the 3rd century AD when the (Western) Roman Empire disintegrated, but it was renewed and expanded in Islamic Palestine in the Middle Ages to include the minting of coins in silver and gold in the *Filastin* cities of Ilya[28] (al-Quds, Jerusalem), Ramle, Tabariyya (Tiberias), Asqalan and others. This autonomous bronze coinage of Palestine cities under the Romans and Byzantines and silver and gold under Islam by suggests the development of a considerable degree of regional Palestinian autonomy and of distinct local traditions, away from rigid imperial control:

> The finds of coins indicate that there was an intensive production of coins in Palestine in the following places: Jerusalem, Bet Guvrin [Beit Jibrin] Ramla, Ascalon, 'Ammān, Gaza, Lod [Ludda], Yavne [Yubna], Tiberias, Bet Shean

27 'Coin/Archives' at: http://www.coinarchives.com/w/results.php?search=fals+and+islamic

28 Aelia Capitolina was the official Roman and Byzantine name of Jerusalem until 638 AD when the Arabs occupied the city and initially kept the first part of the name as 'Ilya'.

> (Beisan], Sipphoris [Safuryya] and Tyre. Some of these mints were already in existence already during the Byzantine era, and it appears that they were again in use during the days of the Damascene caliphs after 'Abdel Malik. The inscriptions on the coins were Ilyā Filastin [al-Quds Filastin], 'Asqalān Filastin, and the like. From the mint of Bet Shean [Beisan], coins were found with Greek inscriptions, but appeared to have been gradually replaced by Arabic. There were among those coins from Bet Shean some with the Greek inscription 'Skythopolis' together with the Arabic, 'Baysān' or 'Baysan'. (Gil 1992: 110)

VI. The Provinces of Greater *Palaestina* during the early Christian and Byzantine Periods, 4th-7th Centuries AD

The Christian Byzantines transformed Palestine. When the Byzantines took the position of the Romans, the country *(Palaestina***)** and many of its famous cities – Caesarea Maritima (Caesarea Palaestinae), Jerusalem, Gaza, Neapolis (Nablus), Scythopolis (Beisan), Tiberias and Beit Jibrin (Hellenised Eleutheropolis) – reached their greatest growth and prosperity in Antiquity. Throughout the early Christian and Byzantine period, that is, from the fourth through the seventh centuries AD, the name *Palaestina* remained the dominant and universally applied name for this region. The former Roman provinces of *Syria-Palaestina* were split by the Christian Byzantines who also redrew the administrative regions of the country. *Palaestina* was reorganised into three subdivisions. The spread of Greek- and Aramaic-speaking Christianity in the Eastern Mediterranean, Near East and Roman Arabia[29] and the creation of greater *Palaestina* in the 4th century AD expanded further the early Roman concept of Palestine and the designation employed by classical Greek writers such as Herodotus from the mid-5th century BCE onwards. This greater *Palaestina* consisted of *Palaestina Prima* (in the centre of the country) *Palaestina Secunda* (much of the Galilee) and *Palaestina Tertia* (*Palaestina Salutaris*) (in the south).

The Christian Byzantines came up with a major reconfiguration of Palestine. The Byzantium (later Constantinople and Istanbul)-based Eastern Roman Empire came to be known as the Byzantine Empire after 476. The creation of greater *Palaestina* and the official administrative reorganisation of expanded Palestine by Eastern Roman Empire around

29 *Provincia Arabia* produced Marcus Julius Philippus, also known by his nickname *Philippus Arabs*, who was Roman Emperor from 244 to 249 AD. Among early Christian historians such as historian Eusebius, *Philippus Arabs* had the reputation of being sympathetic to the Christian faith.

284–305 AD produced three Palestinian provinces which lasted from the 4th to the early 7th centuries:

- *Palaestina Prima* (*Παλεστινα Πριμα*) (combining Philistia, Judaea and Samaria) extending from Rafah in the south to the bay of Haifa in the north – with *Caesarea Maritima* for its capital. In the 630s AD when the Arab Muslim armies took control of Palestine they initially kept Caesarea as the administrative centre of *Jund Filastin* (the official administrative centre of Palestine). The capital was temporarily moved to Lydda and in the early 8th century the Umayyad governor and future caliph Suleiman ibn Abd al-Malik permanently transferred the capital of Palestine to the newly built inland city of Ramle.
- *Palaestina Secunda* (*Παλεστινα Δευτέρα*) (included most of the Galilee and the Golan Heights, parts of *Peraea*[30] and some of the cities of the former Roman Decapolis of eastern Palestine[31]) – with Hellenised Scythopolis (Beisan) for its capital.
- *Palaestina Tertia* (*Παλεστινα* τρίτο) (or *Palaestina Salutaris*) included the former Roman *Provinciae Arabia* (Ward 2008), Idumaea, the Naqab/Negev, parts of Sinai, south-west of Transjordan south of the Dead Sea and *Arabia Petraea* whose Nabataean capital at the beginning of the 2nd century AD was Petra. It was split from *Arabia Petraea* in the 6th century AD (Shahin 2005: 8). Petra became the capital of *Palaestina III*.

Of the three Palestine provinces *Palaestina Prima* was the largest and most powerful. Its governor bore the high rank of proconsul in the Eastern Roman Empire from 382 to 385 and in the Byzantine Empire from 535 onwards. A *Dux Palaestinae* ('military commander of Palestine') commanded the garrison of all Byzantine Palestine in the 5th and 6th centuries.[32]

Palæstinae Prima lasted from 390 AD until the 7th century. In 614, both *Palaestina Prima and Palaestinae Secunda* were conquered by the Persian Sassanids. The Byzantines lost control of the three *Palaestina* provinces again and irreversibly in 636–637 AD during the Muslim conquest of

30 *Peraea* or *Perea* (Greek: Περαία, 'the country beyond'), occupied the eastern side of the Jordan River valley. Subsequently the term was replaced by the Latin *Transjordan*.

31 The Romans promoted a regime of autonomous city-states in Palestine. A league of 10 (or 11) Hellenized cities in eastern Palestine and Syria was formed after the Roman conquest in 63 BCE; apart from Scythopolis (modern Beisan) all lay east of the Jordan River. The league survived until the 2nd century AD.

32 Arnold Hugh Martin Jones, 'Palestine', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, at http://www.britannica.com/place/Palestine; Shahid (1995: 192–193).

Syria and Palestine. *Palæstina Prima* became known as *Jund Filastin* (the province of Palestine) under Islam.

VI.1 Caesarea Palaestinae*, Mediterranean Capital of Culture: The Importance* Caesarea Maritima *and its Library in Early Christianity and Byzantine Palestine*

The Christian era of Byzantine *Palaestina* (which refers to this geographic region between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River and various adjoining lands in Transjordan, Nabatea and former *Provinciae Arabia*), with its coastal capital and metropolitan city Caesarea Maritima (*Caesarea Palaestinae*) was an extraordinary era of cultural flourishing and one of great expansion and prosperity in late Antiquity. New areas were brought under cultivation, urban development increased and the cities of greater *Palaestina* including Gaza, Hellenised Neapolis (modern Nablus), Jerusalem, Hellenised Scythopolis (modern Beisan) and Caesaraia Maratima,[33] grew considerably in population and the diverse population of greater *Palaestina* may have reached as many as one and a half million.[34] Also monasteries proliferated throughout the country; in fact the earliest monasteries in Christianity outside of Egypt were built in Palaestina during the Byzantine era, notably that of the St. Hilarion Monastery, one of Palestine's oldest Christian monuments, today located in the Gaza Strip.[35] At the heart of greater *Palaestina* was the province of *Palaestina Prima*. Caesarea Maritima was the administrative capital of both *Palaestina Prima* and greater Palestine. The country consisted of a mixed Greek and Aramaic-speaking population, minorities of Samaritans, Jews, Christian Arabs (Ghassanids) and Nabataean Arabs were present as well.

Caesarea Palaestinae[36] was the home of early Christian missionaries, martyrs and Founding Fathers of the Church. The city, which became the Byzantine capital of Palaestina Prima and the most important city in greater Palestine, became a major centre of learning and scholarship in the Eastern Mediterranean and home to outstanding scholars, theologians, historians and philosophers of Antiquity, including Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea and Procopios of Caesarea. It also became for many years the home of the Church Father Origen (185–254 AD), a leading theologian and philosopher of history who had been born in Alexandria

33 Modern Palestinian Qaisaria; depopulated and destroyed by Israel in 1948.

34 In comparison the total population of Palestine west of the River Jordan at the height of the Roman period did not exceed 1 million (Pastor 1997: 6)

35 Located on coastal dunes 10 kilometres south of Gaza city; the archaeological remains of what is known in Arabic as Tell Umm Al-Amr; built by St. Hilarion (born in southern Gaza in 329 AD), the monk after whom it was named.

36 'Caesarea Palaestina', New Advent (Catholic Encyclopaedia), at: http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03134b.htm

and had taken refuge in the city. Origen founded a Christian academy in Caesarea, which included an ecclesiastical library (the 'Library of Caesarea') of 30,000 manuscripts (Carriker 2003). He also became known for composing seminal works on Christian Neoplatonism, including his famous treatise *On First Principles* (1966) – a work which had a huge influence on Christian thought and Renaissance humanism. Origen wrote *Hexapla*[37] and other exegetical and theological works while living in *Caesarea Palaestinae*.

After Origen's death, the theological library of *Caesarea Palaestinae* was managed and expanded by St Pamphilus of Caesarea (latter half of the 3rd century–309), who was chief among biblical scholars of his generation and a friend and teacher of the church historian and Bishop of Caesaria Maritima, Eusebius (263–339 AD). Eusebius – the 'Father of Church History' – himself was born in Caesarea and lived most of his adult life in the city. The Library of Caesarea in Palestine, one of the richest in Antiquity, attracted church historians and theologians from all over the Roman Empire. St. Basil the Great (329–379), Gregory of Nazianzus, a 4th century Archbishop of Contantinople, and St. Jerome (c. 347–420). The war a 'Father of the Church' who is best known for his translation of the Bible into Latin. All these famous scholars came to study in *Caesarea Palaestinae*. Moreover the text-type of *Caesarea Palaestinae* is widely recognised by scholars as one of the earliest types of reading the four Gospels (Streeter 1926).

On the Martyrs of Palestine (*De martyribus Palaestinae*)[38] by Eusebius relates to the persecution of early Christians in Caesarea Maritima and the country at large in the early 4th Century AD. This account by may have been originally composed in Palestinian Aramaic, the language of Jesus and a language with which Eusebius was well acquainted, as being at the time the vernacular speech of the country and *Caesarea Palaestinae*.[39]

Procopios of Caesarea (c. 500–c.554 AD), an illustrious scholar from *Palaestina Prima* and the principal historian of the 6th century Byzantine empire, in his multi-volume work, *The Wars of Justinian* (560, 2014), wrote: the boundaries of Palaestina extend towards the east to the sea which is called the Red Sea'. Prokopios added that 'Chosroes' (Khosrow I (501–579), King of Persia, had a great desire to make himself ruler of Palaestina on account of its extraordinary fertility, its opulence, and the great number of its inhabitants (cited in Gibbon: 1838: 40; also

37 The term for an edition of the Old Testament in six versions, an immense word-for-word comparison of the Greek Septuagint with Greek translations.

38 'Caesarea Palaestina', New Advent (Catholic Encyclopaedia), at: http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03134b.htm

39 http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/eusebius_martyrs.htm. St Albina of Caesarea, who died in the 3rd century, is also listed in the Roman Catholic Martyrology.

Prokopios 560, 2014). Commenting on Prokopios' observation about the fertility of the country, the English historian Edward Gibbon, in his most important work, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, published in six volumes between 1776 and 1788, wrote that Roman historian Tacitus described Palaestina as follows: 'the inhabitants are healthy and robust; the rains moderate; the soil fertile' (Gibbon 1838: 40). Gibbon added that the Arabs 'thought the same, and were afraid that Omar, when he went to Jerusalem, and charmed with the fertility of the soil and purity of the air, would never return to Medina' (Gibbon: 1838: 40).

It was during this early Christian period, particularly from the fourth century onwards, that the Latin term *Terra Sancta* (Holy Land) became synonymous in Christian texts with the extensive use of the term Palaestina by Christian pilgrims and local historians. *On the Martyrs of Palestine*[40] (311 AD), written by the church historian and Bishop of Caesarea Maritima, Eusebius (AD 263–339), 'Father of Church History' – who composed in the city his monumental work *Historia Ecclesiastica* and his *Onomasticon (on the Place Names in the Holy Scripture* (1971), a comprehensive geographical-historical study of Palestine – uses the name Palaestina given to the whole country extending from Phoenicia to Egypt and this administrative and official use influenced later generations of Christian and European writers.

The metropolitan *See of Caesarea* Palaestinae is still preserved by the Orthodox Palestinians of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The Louvre Museum exhibits a masterpiece bronze bowl created in the 4th century AD to commemorate the founding of *Caesarea Palaestinae*.[41]

VI.2 Material Evidence for the historical-geographical name '*Παλαιστινης*' *('***Palaestina***') from the Christian Byzantine Era:* **the Madaba Map**

The most famous and among the oldest surviving material evidence for the official use of the name *Palaestina* in post-Classical Antiquity is the *Madaba Map*. Dated 565–560 AD, this Map (also known as the *Madaba Mosaic Map*) is part of the mosaic floor in the early Byzantine church of St George, Madaba (30 km to the south of Amman, modern Jordan). At the time Madaba, part of the official Byzantine province of *Palaestina*, was the seat of a Christian Bishop. The Map is a representational map of the Middle East. Part of it contains the oldest surviving original cartographical depiction of Palestine and especially Jerusalem. The mosaic floor Map, with Jerusalem at its centre, dates from the mid-6th century AD. The Map

40 http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/eusebius_martyrs.htm

41 'Bowl from Caesarea Palaestinae' at: http://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/bowl-caesarea-palaestinae and http://www.louvre.fr/oeuvre-notices/la-coupe-de-cesaree-de-palestine

was created by local Christian artists and was aimed at Christian pilgrims and travellers.

The Madaba Map has a famous extract showing 'οροι *Αιγυπτου και Παλαιστινης*' (the 'border of Egypt and Palestine'). There is no mention of the term 'Cana'an' in this historic Christian Map of late Antiquity. The Map (with the 'border of Egypt and Palestine') is another indication of the fact that the name *Palaestina* was the official name of this region during early Christianity and late Antiquity.

The Madaba Map is one of the most significant archaeological discoveries in the study of Byzantine *Palaestina*. The mosaic floor was rediscovered in 1884 during the construction of a new Greek Orthodox church on the site of its ancient predecessor. In December 1964 the Volkswagen Foundation provided funding to the *Deutscher Verein für die Erforschung Palästinas* ('German Society for the Exploration of Palestine') to work on saving the Madaba Map.

VII. Continuities and Gradual Transformation of *Filastin* under Islam: *Jund Filastin* in the Middle Ages

VII.1 Palestinian Aramaic and Palestinian Arabic

Late Bronze Age *Peleset* and Hellenic/Roman/Byzantine *Palaestina* were adapted by the Arabs and became *Filastin* under Islam from 637 AD onwards. In the mid-7th century the population of Palestine was predominantly Christian, mostly Palestinian Aramaic-speaking Christian peasants who continued to speak the language of Jesus under Islam. However long before Islam Arabic inscriptions in Palestine go back to the Roman period and for several centuries the Arabs were closely familiar with the three Byzantine provinces of *Palaestina*; in fact under the Byzantines *Provinciae Arabia* itself became *Palaestinina Tertia* – with its capital located in Petra, the old capital of the Nabatean Arabs. Also after the Arabs took over Palestine in the 7th century many place-names in Palestine that were used by the Greek- speaking Byzantine administration continued to be used by the Arab administration; hence the emergence of the three Arabic forms of Byzantine Παλαιστινη: *Falastin, Filastin* and *Filistin* (Schiller 2009: 85; Sharon 2003:194–234).

The Arab presence in Palestine was noted by Herodotus in the 5th century BC and Arabic inscriptions in Palestine were discovered from the Roman era. Closely related to Palestinian Arabic is Palestinian Aramaic which was part of the northwest Semitic group of languages and was the language of ordinary people in the country. Palestinian Aramaic continued to flourish at a non-official popular level in Roman and Byzantine Palestine and in early Islamic Palestine and became closely related to the modern Palestinian Arabic colloquial language. Palestinian Aramaic was

also spoken by Palestinian Jews during the Roman and Byzantine period (Sokoloff 2003). Today a significant number of Palestinian Aramaic words are found in both standard Arabic and in the vernacular language of many Palestinian villages. Also interestingly the European Zionist inventors of modern Hebrew, in pursuit of indigenising and antiquating strategies, borrowed heavily from Palestinian Aramaic and ancient Greek vocabulary.

VII.2 The Transformation of Palestine under Islam

Filastin became part of the Arabo-Islamic empire following the Battle of Yarmuk (636 AD) during the Muslim conquest of Syria and Palestine. Although the Islamic military conquest of Palestine was in 637 AD, the practical Islamisation of Palestine was a gradual but radical process which went on for several generations. However the powerful Arabo-Islamic impact on *Filastin* has continued to the present time for nearly 1400 years. The profound religious, social, cultural and linguistic transformation of the country under Islam is evident throughout the land. The Muslim Arabs ushered in religious toleration and religious and cultural autonomy for Christian and Jewish communities in Palestine and permitted the previous administrative organisation to continue (The Encyclopaedia of Islam 1965, Vol.II: 911). The Islamic empires, like the Roman and Byzantine empires, also applied a patron-protégé system in Palestine and this patronage system allowed the emergence of a degree of local autonomy and powerful local elites in thc urban centres of the country.

The administrative reconfiguration of Palestine during early Islam meant that Byzantine greater *Palaestina* became a combination of a relatively large *Filastin* provincve and a very small *al-Urdun* (Jordan) province. With the consolidation of Islamic rule in Palestine and the Levant in the mid-7th century, the region was divided into *Filastin*, *al-Urdun* and *Dimashq* (Damascus) and the Arabs (like the Romans) opted for decentralised administration. During Umayyad times (661–750 AD) *Bilad al-Sham*, 'the countries of the Syria', were divided into *junds* or military/administrative provinces. *Jund Filastin* was organised soon after the Muslim conquest of Palestine in the 630s. The Umayyads continued many of the Roman and Christian Byzantine toponymic and administrative traditions in the form of *Jund Filastin* which encompassed most of *Palaestina Prima* and *Palaestina Tertia* (Ani 2014: 27). Tiny *Jund al-Urdun* جند الأردن: ('the Military/Administrative Province of Jordan' – replaced *Palaestina Secunad* (Blankinship 1994: 84; Avni 2014: 27) – was formed with its capital in the Palestinian city of Tabariyya/Tiberias). Like *Palaestina Secunda* it included most of the Galilee and some territories in Transjordan. Its overall size was about one-third of modern Mandatory Palestine.

The medieval Arabs were familiar with the Hebrew Bible. But they opted for the real historical and official administrative name of the country: Palestine (*Filastin*) – rather than for the semi-mythical and vague Biblical term 'Cana'an' – and they embraced and cherished the diverse heritage of Palestine and the shared heritage of the Levant. The medieval Arabic toponymy of *Filastin* was identical to the Old French term, *Philistin*, which came from Latin *Philistina* or *Philistinus or Palaestina* which, in turn, derived from the Roman name of the province, *Palaestina*, which was based on the ancient name with its memory preserved in the Hebrew Bible and a variety of ancient languages, the Akkadian *Palashtu* and Egyptian *Parusata*.

The Umayyads, like the Romans, promoted urbanisation in Palestine. They also respected the multicultural heritage of the country and continued many of the Byzantines' administrative traditions and architectural styles. For the Muslim Arabs, as for the Byzantine Christians, Palestine (*Holy Land*: Arabic: *Al-Arḍ Al-Muqaddasah;* Hebrew: *Eretz HaKodesh*) and Jerusalem were a special, sacred space. The sanctity of Jerusalem is enshrined in its very Arabic name: *Bayt al-Maqdis* or *al-Quds* ('the holy'). The Umayyad caliphs loved and honoured Jerusalem (in Arabic: (*Bayt al-Maqdis, al-Quds*) and Mu'awiyah (602–680 AD), founder of the Umayyad dynasty, was reported to have had himself proclaimed caliph in Jerusalem (*The Encyclopaedia of* Islam 1965, Vo.II: 911) The Umayyads devoted a great deal of effort to its expansion and the prosperity of Jerusalem and other Palestinian cities. The Umayyads even considered relocating their capital from Damascus to Jerusalem and built their large palaces adjacent to the al-Aqsa Mosque. Their monumental building programmes in Jerusalem included the Dome of the Rock (691 AD) and Al-Aqsa Mosque (completed in 705 AD). The Umayyad public building programmes in Jerusalem and Ramle and their large palaces in Jerusalem and near Jericho and Tiberias show the extent to which Palestine had became central to the Ummayad state and early Islam.

Under Islam the two Palestinian cities of Ramle (founded by the governor of Palestine Suleiman ibn Abd al-Malik *circa* 705–715 AD, and in which he continued to reside after he became caliph in 715 AD; *The Encyclopaedia of* Islam 1965, vol.II: 911) and Jerusalem were at the heart of a distinct (Palestinian) country (*bilad*) with a multicultural cultural identity. Combining the Byzantine provinces of *Palaestina Prima* and *Palaestina Tertia*, *Jund Filastin* included most major Palestinian cities and nearly two-thirds of modern Mandatory Palestine.

Archaeological finds and place names show the continuities of historic Palestine with toponymic memory and shared culture. They indicate that the major Palestinian cities of Byzantine *Palaestina* (Lydda, Scythopolis/Beisan, Gaza, Tiberias, Neapolis/Nablus, Jaffa,

'Amwas/Emmuas, Rafah, Acre/Akka Asqalan, Ilya/al-Quds/Jerusalem, Eleutheropolis/Beit Jibrin and Caesarea/Qaysaria) continued to function as urban centres in this period and a number of new cities and towns were built, most notably Ramle – located inland away from potential Byzantine seaborn attacks and the Mediterranean battleground between Byzantines and Arabs, while new Arab naval bases and shipyards in Palestine were established (Nicolle 1996: 47) – which became the administrative and commercial centre of Umayyad and Abbasid Palestine. Jerusalem (like Gaza, Asqalan, Nablus, Caesarea and Jaffa) was a district capital (Arabic: *qada*). It was expanded by the Umayyads with new monumental Islamic architecture and the city flourished as the religious centre of the whole country as well as a Holy City for Jews and Christians. Moreover the architectural forms of urban Palestine and Islamic Jerusalem exhibited continuities and a mélange of Islamic and Byzantine styles.[42]

According to the 9th century Muslim historian al-Baladuri, the principal cities/towns of *Jund Filastin* included Ramle, al-Quds (Jerusalem), Gaza, Asqalan, Nablus, Yafa (Jaffa), Amwas, Rafah, Sabastia, Qaysaria, Tabariyya, Beit Jibrin, al-Khalil (Hebron) and Lid (Lydda) and Yubna,[43] the latter one of ten towns in *Jund Filastin* conquered by the Arab army commanded by Amr Ibn al-As in the 630s (cited in Le Strange, 1890: 20). Back in the 7th century the Arabo-I-Byzantine coinage of *Jund Filastin* was minted in Yubna, Jerusalem and Lydda (Goodwin 2004: 1–12), the temporary capital of *Jund Filastin*.

Strategic considerations and trade routes were major factors in shaping the history of Palestine before and under Islam. The new capital city of *Jund Filastin*, Ramle, was founded by the Arabs *circa* 705–715 AD and became the capital of Palestine. Al-Quds (Jerusalem) was the religious centre of Palestine and the Umayyad state. Ramle was chosen as the administrative centre of Palestine between 715 AD and 940 AD because of its important strategic location along the historic route of the Via Maris ('way of the sea' or 'way of the *Philistines*').[44] Under Islamic rule this route connected old Cairo (Fustat) with Damascus at its intersection with the

42 This mixture of Islamic and Roman Byzantine styles is also found in the 'Hisham Palace'/*Khirbat al-Mafjar*, Jericho, and in Ramle and Tiberias (*Khirbet al-Minyar)*. It is also found in the Arabo-Byzantine coinage mined in the towns of *Jund Filastin* in the 7th centruy.

43 This Palestinian town, located 15 kilometres southwest of Ramle, with a population of 5,420 in 1948, was destroyed by Israel in 1948.

44 Via Maris is the modern name for an ancient trade and strategic rout dating from the Early Bronze Age. It connected Egypt with Syria and the Fertile Crescent and followed the coast of Palestine through the ancient cities of Gaza, Asqalan, Isdud, Jaffa and Tantur before turning east through Megiddo and the Esdraelon valley until it reached Tiberias, then through the Golan Heights to Damascus.

road connecting the seaport of Jaffa with holy city of al-Quds (Jerusalem). However after the Fatimids conquered Palestine from the Abbasids (c. 1029 AD), the capital was shifted again to al-Quds; the position of al-Quds as the administrative capital of Palestine was reinforced under the Mamluks (1260–1517).

For nearly three centuries of early Islam Ramle was the largest and richest city in the country and the economic and political hub of the government of *Filastin*. The other historic cities of *Jund Filastin* under early Islam were: Al-Quds, Asqalan, Gaza, Lydda, Arsuf[45], Jaffa, Beit Jibrin, Nablus, Jericho and Qaysaria with Amman east of the River Jordan. During this period we can observe both continuities and transformation in the social, cultural, economic, administrative and geo-political identities of Palestine. This transformation was also influenced by the tendency in the Arab Middle East to conflate or equate countries, provinces or regions with capital cities; for instance *al-Sham* (Syria) was conflated with the capital city of *Dimashq* (Damascus); *Misr* or *Masr* (Egypt) with the capital city of old Cairo (*Masr al-Qadima)*; and *Filastin* equated with Ramle. Thus *Filastin* was not only the official name of the province/country but, for some medieval Arab historians, the name also became synonymous with the capital city of Ramle. Strategically, geopolitically and in trade terms located at the centre of the country and linking the holy city of Jerusalem with Jaffa, the main Mediterranean port of *Jund Filastin*, Ramle flourished as the administrative, military and trading hub of the country for more than three centuries (Foster 2016: 1–15). In the late 10th century Ramle with its famous White Mosque – whose minaret is still standing – was described by the Palestinian historian, al-Muqaddasi, often referred to by Palestinians as al-Maqdisi, ('the Jerusalemite'), as follows:

> Ar Ramlah is the capital of Palestine ... It is a fine city and well built. Its water is good and plentiful, its fruits are abundant. It combines manifold advantages, situated as it is in the midst of beautiful villages and lordly towns, near to holy places and pleasant hamlets. Commerce here is prosperous and the markers are excellent. ... There is no finer mosque in Islam than the one in the city... The chief mosque in Ar Ramlah is in the market, and it is even more beautiful and graceful than that of [the Umayyad Mosque) of Damascus. It is called Al Abyad (the White Mosque). In all Islam there is found no finer mihrab (prayer niche) than the one here, and its pulpit is the most splendid to be seen after that of Jerusalem; also it possesses a beautiful minaret. (cited in Le Strange 1890: 304–305)

45 Arsuf (Hellenised Apollonia) was about 16 kilometres north of Jaffa on the Mediterranean coast. Under the Byzantines in the 5th–6th centuries AD it was the second largest city in the coastal region of *Palaestina Prima*, second only to Caesarea. It was populated by Samaritans and Christians and had a prosperous glass industry with products exported to Mediterranean countries. Under early Islam the city continued to prosper and large pottery production was developed. Hütteroth and Abdulfattah (1977:140)

The Arabo-Islamic province of *Jund Filastin* was one of the military/administrative provinces of the Umayyad and Abbasid region of *Bilad al-Sham* (greater Syria), provinces organised soon after the Muslim conquest of the Levant in the 630s. The official name: *Jund Filastin,* was universally adopted from early Islam onwards by Arab governors, merchants, geographers, cartographers, historians, translators, engravers and coiners. They all relied on the classical heritage of Palestine and the Near East. Arab administrators, historians and geographers also translated and preserved many of the ancient place names of Palestine and much of the classical heritage of Greece and Antiquity in the Levant.

VII.3 **Jund Filastin** *as the Richest Province of Bilad al-Sham*

The Arab governors of the five *ajnad* (sing. *jund*) of Bilad al-Sham ('the Countries of Syria') – Filastin, al-Urdun, Damascus, Hims and Qinnasrin – were called *Amirs*. At its greatest extent, *Jund Filastin* extended from the Mediterranean coast to the Jordan River and beyond and from al-Arish in Sinai to Marj Ibn Amer (the Plain of Esdraelon) and Beisan in the north – with most of Galilee being part of *Jund al-Urdun* (the 'military province of Jordan'). Its predominantly Muslim towns included Gaza, Nablus, Jaffa, Lydda, Ramle, Qaysaria, 'Amwas, Yibna, Rafah, Sebastia and Beit Jibrin.

In the 9th century, during Abbasid rule, *Jund Filastin* was the most fertile of greater Syria's provinces. This is also evident from the tax figures and revenues collected during this era from the *Filastin* province both in absolute terms and even in comparison with those taxes collected from the other *ajnad* including the much smaller *Jund al-Urdun* and the much larger and massive *Jund Dimashq* (Damascus province), which included territories east of the River Jordan known as al-Balqa (Le Strange 2010: 43–48; Blankinship 1994: 47–48). 'Indeed, Filastin is accounted, by tax figures given in certain sources, to have been the richest *Jund*' during the late Umayyad period (Blankinship 1994: 48).

The works of Arab historians and historical geographers of the Arab Near East during the Middle Ages are central to our understanding of the evolving reconfiguration of Palestine and the relatively immense wealth of *Jund Filastin*. Indigenous Palestinian historians and geographers such al-Maqdisi also began to develop an embryonic sense of regional Palestinian identity. In 985 AD Al-Maqdisi, in his work *Ahsan al-Taqasim Fi Ma'rifat al-Aqalim* (*The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions*) gave us a detailed account of all the place-names, cities and towns he had visited in Palestine (al-Muqaddasi 1994). Describing in detail his native country and

the fertility of its land, Al-Maqdisi comments on Palestinian agricultural produce and products as follows:

> within the province of Palestine may be found gathered together 36 products that are not found thus united in any other land. . . . From Palestine come olives, dried figs, raisins, the carob-fruit, stuffs of mixed silk and cotton, soap and kerchiefs. From Jerusalem come cheeses, cotton, the celebrated raison of the species known as 'Ainuni and Duri, excellent apples, bananas – which same is a fruit in the form of a cucumber, but when the skin is peeled off, the interior is not unlike the water-melon – only finer flavoured and more luscious – also pine-nuts known as 'Kuraish-bite,' and their equal is not found elsewhere; further mirrors, lamp-jars and needles. From Jericho is brought excellent indigo. From Sughar and Baisan came indigo and dates [and rice], also the treacle called *Dibs*. From 'Amman – grain, lambs and honey. From Tiberias – carpet stuffs, paper, and cloth. From Kadas – clothes of the stuff called *Munayyir* and *Bal'isiyyah*, also ropes. (cited in Le Strange 2014: 18–19; also Le Strange 1890: 16–19; al-Muqaddasi 1994)[46]

> Al-Maqdisi goes on to describe the Mediterranean ports of Palestine:
> All along the sea-coast of Filastin are the Watch-stations, called *Ribat*, where the levies assemble. The war-ships and galleys of the Greeks also come into these ports, bringing aboard of them the captives taken from the Muslims; these they offer for ransom – three for the hundred Dinars. And in each of these ports there are men who know the Greek tongue, for they have missions to the Greeks, and trade with them in divers ware . . . From every Watch-station on the coast up to the capital (Ar Ramlah), there are built, at intervals, high towers, in each of which is stationed a company of men . . . Now the Watch-stations of this province of Filastin, where this ransoming of captives takes place, are these: Ghazzah, Mimas, 'Askalan, Mahuz – (the port of) Azdud, Mahuz – (the port) of Yubna, Yafah, and Arsuf. (Cited in Le Strange 2014: 23–24)

The 10th century Arab geographer and chronicler Ibn Hawqal (who travelled extensively in Asia, Europe and Africa in 943–969 AD and wrote *The Face of the Earth*), described the extent of *Jund Filastin* from Rafah in the south to Megiddo/al-Lajjun[47] the north; according to some sources

46 Le Strange commented that al-Maqdisi's 'description of Palestine, and especially of Jerusalem, his native city, is one of the best parts of the work. All that he wrote is the fruit of his own observation, and his descriptions of the manners and customs of the various countries, bear the stamp of a shrewd and observant mind, fortified by profound knowledge of both books and men' (Le Strange, 1890: 5–6).

47 The name of the medieval Palestinian town *Lajjun* derives from the Roman name *Legio* which refers to an early Roman legion camp in the *Syria-Palestinia* province. Al-Lajjun – depopulated and destroyed by Israel in 1948 – is about one kilometre south of Tel Megiddo (also called Tell al-Mutasallim), which is identified with ancient Megiddo. Under the Abbasids the town was the capital of a sub-district; during the Mamluk period it served as an important station in the commercial and postal route and during the early Ottoman period it was the capital of the district (Sanjaq) in Palestine that bore its name.

Marj ibn Amer and Beisan (former Scythopolis) were also included in *Jund Filastin* (see Gil 1992: 111). Ibn Hawqal wrote:

> Jund Filastin (Palestine) and its subdistricts. Subordinate to this district were those of the Tih [in north Sinai] and Al Jifar, both lying towards the Egyptian Frontier... Filastin is the westernmost of the provinces of Syria. In its greatest length from Rafh [Rafah] to the boundary of Al Lajjun (Legio), it would take a rider two days to travel over; and the like time to cross the breadth from Yaffa (Jaffa) to Riha (Jericho)... Filastin is watered by the rains and dew. Its trees and its ploughed lands do not need artificial irrigation; and it is only in Nabulus that you find the running waters applied to this purpose. Filastin is the most fertile of the Syrian provinces. Its capital and the largest town is Ar Ramlah, but the Holy City (of Jerusalem) comes very near this last in size. In the province of Filastin, despite its small extent, there are about twenty mosques, with pulpits for the Friday prayer. (cited in le Strange 2014: 28; also Röhricht 1890 and Gil 1992: 111)

The first (Crusader) Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem lasted from 1099 to 1187 and occupied much of Palestine. Yet the conception of *Jund Filastin* as an administrative province, the Muslim historian Ibn Shaddad (1145–1234 AD) – a biographer of Salah al-Din (Saladin) and an eye witness of the Muslim-Third Crusade battles – mentioned, survived until the Mongol invasion of Palestine in the mid-13th century. Its territory also seems to have been expanded from the 10th century onwards both towards the east in Transjordan and in the south-east (*The Encyclopaedia of Islam 1965*, Vo. II, p.911; also ibn Shaddad 1228, 2002).

VII.4 Palestinian Autonomy under Islam

Under Islam *Filastin* developed a substantial measure of economic and commericial autonomy. It produced its own coinage and developed its own distinct commercial traditions of weights and measures. Its distinct coins were minted in several Palestinian cities with the inscription 'in Palestine' – in the way the country of origin of manufacture or production is known today as the 'made-in' image which is aimed at modern consumers.

Al-Maqdisi proudly devotes an entire section of his work to these distinct traditions of his native country (Gil 1992: 257). The minting of Islamic coins (dinars and dirhams) in *Filastin* began under the Umayyads. It was initially halted by the Abbasids but was renewed in Ramle under the Tulunids who were the first independent Islamic dynasty to rule Egypt, Palestine and much of Syria from 868 until 905 AD:

> [in the 9th century Palestinian] coins began to appear with the inscription *bi-filastin* ['in Palestine']. The first of these were produced in the days of Khumarawayh and his son, Harun, from 890 until 904, and these were gold dinars with the unusual weight of 3.2 grams. These practices

> continued during the period when the Abbasids reconquered Egypt and Palestine... The Ikhshidids [ruling from 935 to 969 AD] continued to mint coins in Ramla, as previously, but unlike the inferior quality of the Palestinian coins produced under the Tulunids, Muhammad ibn Tughj, the Ikhshid, ordered the minting of dinars of a finer quality... The mint in Ramla continued working during Fatimid times as well....The mint in Tiberias was also active... After the conquest of most of Palestine by the Crusaders, the mint in Ascalon [Asqalan] was activated. (Gil 1992: 257–258; see also Album 1998)[48]

VII.5 Al-Quds, the Capital of Mamluk Palestine (1260–1517)

Writing in the early 13th century the renowned Syrian geographer Yaqut al-Hamawi, in *Kitab Mu'jam al-Buldan* (1224–1928; 1861), described the province of *Filastin* as follows:

> Filastin is the last of the provinces of Syria towards Egypt. Its capital is Jerusalem. Of the principal towns are 'Askalan, Ar Ramlah, Gazzah, Arsuf, Kaisariyyaa, Nabulus, Ariha (Jericho), 'Amman, Yafah [Jaffa] and Beit Jibrin... (cited in Le Strange 2014: 29)

Based in Egypt, the Mamluk Sultans were one of the most important Islamic dynasties in the history of medieval Palestine. The Mamluks gained fame and legitimacy and produced lasting impact for stopping the terrifying Mongol advance into the Near East at the Battle of Ain Jalut in Palestine in 1260 – which was the first time that the Mongol army had suffered a major defeat – and for eradicating the Latin Crusader presence in Palestine and elsewhere along the Lebanese and Syrian coast. The Mamluk spectacular military successes in Palestine came only two years after the Mongol capture and sacking of Baghdad, the capital of the Abbasid Caliphate.

Although military dynasties are never revolutionary, under the long-lasting Mamluk rulers al-Quds/Jerusalem was expanded and permanently replaced Ramle as the administrative and cultural capital of Palestine as well as the religious capital of the whole Mamluk Sultunate. Jerusalem underwent an intensive process of construction and became the focus of Muslim learning, numerous *madrasas*, architectural splendour, exquisite fountains and pilgrimage.

48 The collections of the Israeli Municipal Museum of Ramle contain a range of medieval Islamic coins including a hoard of 376 gold dinars and six gold bars discovered in 1964 in the vicinity of the White Mosque compound. See: http://en.goramla.com/category/ramla-museum-1

VIII. The Late Mamluk and Early Ottoman Periods: The term *Filastin* in Palestinian Muslim Collective Memory (17th and 18th Centuries)

The historical writing on Palestine is dominated by imperial chronologies and colonising and history 'from without' approaches. In a similar vein it has been suggested that the term Palestine had been completely forgotten by local Arabs during the late Mamluk and early Ottoman periods and that it was only brought back to them in the late Ottoman period by local Arab Christians in touch with Europe (Krämer 2001:16). In fact both the concept and political geography of Palestine were kept alive by indigenous Muslim Palestinian writers throughout the Mamluk period. Writing during the late Mamluk period, Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaymi (1456–1522), a Palestinian Muslim historian and Jerusalemite qadi, in his comprehensive work *al-Uns al-Jalil bi-Tarikh al-Quds wal-Khalil* ('The Glorious History of Jerusalem and Hebron' c. 1495) extensively refers to his native country as *Filastin*, a term he repeats 22 times. Although he also uses the term Holy Land (*al-Ard al-Muqaddasah*), no other names, such as Southern Syria, are mentioned. Mujir al-Din describes *Filastin* stretching from a point in the south near al-Arish in Sinai to Lajjun in Marj Ibn Amer (the Plain of Esdraelon) in the north. This territorial conception was therefore equivalent to the *Jund Filastin* of early Islam (Gerber 2008: 49**;** Mujir al-Din 1495; le Strange 2014; Khalidi R. 1998: 216, footnote 25).

Furthermore the archives of the Islamic Sharia court of Jerusalem in the 18th century show that the terms *Filastin* and *ard Filastin* ('land of Palestine'), with specific reference to the coastal region and cities such as Ramle, Lydda, Jaffa and Gaza, were very much alive in local Palestinian Muslim collective memory (Rood 2004).

IX Being Palestine, Becoming Palestine: The Revival and Popularisation of the Name *Palestine* in the Modern Era

IX.1 Palestine under the Ottomans (1517–1860s)

The revival and popularisation of the name *Palestine* in the modern era was derived from the common use of the name in ancient history (from the Late Bronze Age onwards) and throughout Classical Antiquity, Byzantine Christianity and Medieval Islam

Under the Ottoman Empire (1517–1917), the term *Palestine* was used both as a general term to describe the predominantly Arabo-Islamic country south of Syria, and as a social and cultural term among the indigenous people of Palestine. Although this was not an official designation and some Arabs during this period referred to

the area as 'Southern Syria' (*Suriyya al-Janubiyya*) – a term echoing the ancient Roman designation *Syria-Palaestina* – the indigenous memories of Medieval Arabo-Islamic *Filastin* and ancient *Palaestina* were kept alive throughout the Ottoman period both in Palestine and in Europe.

Modern Palestinian collective identity and territorial awareness evolved long before the 20th century and this evolution was influenced by a range of social factors including the social memory of the Medieval Arab-Islamic province of *Jund Filastin* (Gerber 2008; 1998: 563–572). Early modern social and cultural awareness of a distinct Palestinian identity can be found in the works of Khayr al-Din al-Ramli (1585–1671) a prominent 17th century Palestinian Islamic jurist, public intellectual and writer in Ottoman Palestine (Tucker 2002: 9–18).[49] Al-Ramli was a native of Ramle, for centuries the administrative capital of the *Jund Filastin* and a major garrison town in Ottoman Palestine. Modern scholars have used al-Ramli's works (Tucker 2002: 9–18) to trace the path of embryonic Palestinian social and territorial awareness. Also al-Ramli's use of the term Palestine in the 1670s suggests that the concept was very much alive in local memory both socially and culturally, if not politically, in both Mamluk and Ottoman Palestine. According to Haim Gerber, 'on several occasions Khayr al-Din al-Ramli calls the country he was living in Palestine, and unquestionably assumes that his readers do likewise. What is even more remarkable is his use of the term 'the country' and even 'our country' (*biladuna*), possibly meaning that he had in mind some sort of a loose community focused around that term' (Gerber 2008: 50; Gerber 1998: 563–572).

In Europe the term Palestine was revived and popularised at the time of the Renaissance with its conscious reference to Greek and Roman antiquity (Krämer 2001: 16); in fact in modern European collective memory the name became the most common designation of the country (see, for instance, Plett 2004: 512). The fact that the name Palestine remained the most commonly used throughout the early modern and modern eras is evident in William Shakespeare's plays. *Syntagma Musicum* (Vol. I-III) was an encyclopaedic work by German musicologist Michael Praetorius (1571–1621), one of the most versatile composers and musical academics of the 17th century. Published in Wittenberg and Wolfenbüttel in three parts between 1614–1620, it is one of the most commonly used research sources for music theory of the early modern period (Herbert 2006: 87). Typical of its period, the second volume *De Organographia* describes musical instruments and their use refers to early instruments of 'Palestine, Asia Minor and Greece' (vol. II, fol.4).

49 Al-Ramli's *fatawa* were compiled into final form in 1670, in a collection entitled *al-Fatawa al-Khayriyah*. The *fatawa* are a contemporary record of the period and give a complex view of agrarian relations in Palestine.

Two points are central to modern European mapping of and writing about Palestine:

(1) *Palestine* remained synonymous with the Christian notion of *Holy Land*.

(2) Like the Roman and Byzantine conceptualisation (but unlike the medieval Islamic idea) the conceptualisation of Palestine was always sufficiently wide to include the Galilee and Acre. Indeed throughout the early and modern periods (especially from the 17th century onwards) dozens of maps and books were printed and published in Europe (in many languages) under the designation 'Palestine' or '*Map of Palestine*' and in much of this European literature the country of Palestine included Acre and the Galilee. It was this European concept of Palestine which influenced late Ottoman re-conceptualisation and the Ottoman military handbook named *Filastin Risalesi* (see below).

IX.2 Palestinian Autonomy in the 18th Century 'from within' and 'from below'

The idea of Palestinian social autonomy under the Ottomans was masterfully explored by Beshara Doumani (1995) with special reference to the social history of 18th century Jabal Nablus and within the framework of Albert Hourani's influential concept of the 'urban notables'–political and social elites in provincial Arab cities and towns that served as intermediaries between the imperial capital in Istanbul and provincial society.

But Hourani's concept of 'urban notables' politics centres essentially on elite politics and the history of Palestine cannot be confined to elite approaches to history. Crucially Palestinian autonomy was not just the outcome of the (empire) patron-protégé system of the urban leadership – it did involve resistance to empire 'from within' and 'from below'. With the decline of the power of the Ottoman state in the mid-18th century, Palestinian Dhaher al-Umar *(*1689–1775), emerged from the Galilee countryside and 'from below'. After rebelling against the Ottomans, he became virtually the autonomous ruler of Palestine, while the country remained nominally part of the Ottoman Empire. With his local power-base in Galilee, al-Umar created an autonomous state which extended from south Lebanon to Gaza and included Jabal Ajlun in Transjordan. Although his Palestinian state was short-lived, al-Umar is a national hero among Palestinians today (Joudah 2015: 72–86; Joudah 1987; Baram 2007: 28) for resisting empire and for providing a role model in the struggle for freedom and liberation from within and from below.

IX.3 Late Ottoman Palestine: New Conceptions of Palestine, *1872–1917*

Modern European writers, cartographers and geographers had no historical, geographic or archaeological evidence or good reason to refer to this country as 'Cana'an'. They logically reproduced ancient maps of *Palaestina*, maps derived from more than a millennium and a half of Classical Antiquity and Byzantine Christianity. They also relied on the Hellenic, Roman, early Christian, Byzantine and Arabo-Islamic toponymic memory and heritage of the country.

European knowledge of ancient Palestine in the 19th century was dominated by 'Bible Studies', Scriptural Geography, Thomas Cook Holy Land Tourism and Biblical archaeology. Already in the mid 19th century Biblical archaeologist and Scriptural Geographer Edward Robinson (1794–1863), writing in the early 1860s when travel by Europeans to the Levant became widespread, notes '*Palestine*, or *Palestina*, now the most common name for the Holy Land' (Robinson 1865: 15; see also Robinson 1841; and Robinson, Smith and Others (1860), This observation is also evident from Victor Guérin's seven volumes, *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine* (1868–80 ; also Guérin 1881–83). In the 1860s, the British had set up the *Palestine Exploration Fund* (PEF), which sponsored the *Survey of Western Palestine* and mounted geographical map-making expeditions in Palestine. One of its main political motives was clear from its own publication: *Names and places in the Old and New Testament and Apocrypha: with their modern identifications* (Palestine Exploration Fund (1889). The *Palestine Exploration Fund* listed more than 1,150 place names related to the Old Testament and 162 related to the New Testament. Shortly after the British military occupation of Palestine in 1918, the British Mandatory *Palestine Government* set out to gather toponymic information from the local Palestinian inhabitants. The European pre-occupation with Jerusalem and European and American growth of 'Bible Studies' had a profound impact on both official Ottoman and early Palestinian nationalist thinking.

The shift in the conceptualisation of Palestine during the late Ottoman period (Tamari 2011: 28–38) was embodied in the administrative and territorial reorganisation of the country. The *Noble Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem* (متصرفية القدس الشريف), also known as the *Liwa* or *Sanjaq of Jerusalem,* established in 1872 with the active support of local Palestinian elites,[50] was formed as an independent entity – separate from Syria–with special administrative status subject to direct rule from Istanbul (Büsso 2011). The holy city of Jerusalem – which for many centuries had

50 Zachary Foster, 'The Origins of Modern Palestine in Ottoman Documents', at: http://blog.palestine-studies.org/2016/02/09/the-origins-of-modern-palestine-in-ottoman-documents/, accessed on 16 May 2016.

been central to Roman *Palaestina*, Byzantine *Palaestina Prima* and *Jund Filastin* – became the provincial capital of the *Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem*, a new province which was often conflated or equated with 'Palestine'. In 1911–1912 the governor of the *Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem*, Cevdet Bey, wrote a letter to the popular Jaffa-based newspaper, *Filastin*, calling himself the 'governor of Palestine'.[51]

At the same time the administrative Sanjaks of Nablus and Acre – two of Palestine's principal trade and manufacturing centres during most of the 18th and 19th centuries – were established and were initially placed under al-Quds' authority rather than that of Damascus'. A unified *Holy Land*, subject to direct rule from an Istanbul-appointed *Mutasarrif*, was commonly referred to locally and internationally as 'Palestine'.[52] Although the Sanjaqs of Acre and Nablus were soon to be attached to the wilayat of Beirut, the creation of the *Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem* (as well as the three districts: Jerusalem, Nablus and Acre) were referred to by the British consul in Jerusalem as the creation of 'Palestine into a separate Eyalet'[53] (Abu-Manneh 1999: 39. The boundaries of this distinct 'E*yalet'*, or unified *Holy Land*, were the territory which became known as *Mandatory Palestine* (1920–1948).[54]

This late Ottoman conception of Palestine consisting of three administrative Sanjaks had a major impact on British thinking after 1918. For instance in 1921 the first British High Commissioner for Palestine, Sir Herbert Samuel, established the Supreme Muslim Council which consisted of a president and four members, two of whom were to represent the former *Mutasarrifiyyah* of Jerusalem and the remaining two to represent the former Sanjaks of Nablus and Acre. These three districts corresponded to the three administrative districts of late Ottoman Palestine (Dumper 1994).

The perception throughout the late 19th century that the *Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem* together with the Sanjaqs of Nablus and Acre unified historic 'Palestine', or the Holy Land, into a distinct country was not confined to European and Palestinian authors. This conception was evident also from an important Ottoman document, *Filastin Risalesi*, a military handbook issued for limited distribution to the officers of the Eighth Army Corps in Palestine at the beginning of the First World War. A demographic and geographic survey of the Palestine province, the manual included topographic maps, statistical tables and an ethnography of Palestine. It also included a general map of the country in which the boundaries of Palestine extended far beyond the frontiers of the *Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem*.

51 Foster, 'The Origins of Modern Palestine in Ottoman Documents'.
52 Foster, 'The Origins of Modern Palestine in Ottoman Documents'.
53 The province became known as *Vilayet* in the late 1860s.
54 Foster, 'The Origins of Modern Palestine in Ottoman Documents'.

In 1872 the boundaries of this Sanjaq had echoed both the Byzantine delineation of *Palaestina Prima* and the early Arabo-Islamic delineation of *Jund Filastin*. The northern borders of this map included the Litani River and the city of Tyre. The map encompassed all of the Galilee and parts of southern Lebanon, as well as the Sanjaqs of Nablus and Acre (Tamari 2011: 28–38).

At this time the population of the three Palestinian districts was overwhelmingly Muslim and Christian Arab. The Jewish minority numbered about 25,000; the majority were deeply religious and urban-based. Until the advent of European Zionism in the late 19th century relations among the Palestinians (Muslims, Christians and Jews) were peaceful and stable, forged by centuries of coexistence and shared history (Khalidi W. 1984).

X. Palestine from Within and from With

X.1 Being Palestine, Becoming Palestine in Mahmoud Darwish's Poetry

We have on this earth what makes life worth living
the aroma of bread at dawn
a woman's opinion of men
the works of Aeschylus
the beginnings of love
grass on a stone
mothers who live on a flute's sigh
and the invaders' fear of memories
. . .
we have on this earth what makes life worth living
on this earth, the lady of earth
the mother of all beginnings
the mother of all endings
she was called Palestine
she came to be called Palestine
o lady, beause you are my lady
I am worthy of life
Mahmoud Darwish: 'On This Earth'[55]

Geography, language and living memories of historic Palestine were central to the construction of modern Palestinian national identity. The Palestinian vernacular (colloquial) was also important in the visualisation of modern Palestine. In 1909 a specific *Manual of Palestinian Arabic, for self-instruction* was published by H. H Spoer (Fellow of the American School of Archaeology and Oriental Research in Jerusalem) and E. Nasrallah

55 https://arablit.org/2013/01/15/we-have-on-this-earth-what-makes-life-worth-living/

Haddad (teacher of Arabic at the Teachers' Seminary at the Syrisches Waisenhaus in Jerusalem[56], also known as Schneller Orphanage).

The 'becoming of being' Palestinian is related in some sense to the way modern Palestinian identity was progressively uncovered, visualised and reconfigured by the Palestinian national poet Mahmoud Darwish.[57] For Darwish language, geography and history were also fundamental to the uncovering and construction of indigenous Palestinian identity. Darwish's highly evocative poetry also visualised modern Palestine as a space between the (Mediterranean) 'Sea and the (Arabian) Desert' – an idea which is deeply rooted in the medieval Arabo-Islamic conception and collective memory of *Filastin*. But for Darwish the 'Hinterland of Palestine' (*Bar Filastin*) and the 'Sea of Palestine' (*bahr Filastin*) – represented literally and metaphorically by the Mediterranean and Arabian Desert – are also spaces of inner consciousness and sub-consciousness and of consciously unveiled personal and collective identities.

X.2 The Newspaper Falastin *and Modern Palestine*

It is widely recognised that the concept of Palestine evolved significantly from the late Ottoman to the British Mandatory period, from the notion of the 'Sea to the Desert' to the modern boundaries of the 'Sea to the River'. In addition resistance to Zionism from the late Ottoman period onwards played a big part in the national conceptualisation of modern Palestine. Palestinian national opposition to Zionism began to crystallise around Zionist settler-colonial activities in Palestine in the years before the First World War. In 1911, Palestinian Greek Orthodox journalists 'Issa al-'Issa and Yusul al-'Issa set up in Jaffa (Ottoman Palestine) the daily newspaper *Falastin*. Based on the indigenous Palestinian colloquialism, the choice of the vernacular Palestinian name: *Fatastin*, reproduced the medieval Arabo-Islamic designation the country *Falastin* and *Filastin*. In a leading article, which echoes memories of the *Jund Filastin* province, Yusuf al-'Issa wrote that the boundaries of his 'homeland' (*watan*) extends

> from the borders of Egypt to the Balqa[58] and from the mountains of Moab [on the eastern shores of the Dead Sea] to the Mediterranean.[59]

56 https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/05/Manual_of_Palestinean_Arabic%2C_for_self-instruction_1909.png

57 The 'becoming of self' was often described in Darwish's poetry as the 'other self'. However the term 'becoming of being' is based on the ideas Martin Heidegger developed in *Time and Being* (2010). The concept assumes that the ontological truth of being's becoming (being in the world, being becomes progressively uncovered and articulated) is mediated by human thinking and action.

58 The historic name applies to the entire area of the eastern plateau of the Jordan valley including Amman, then part of the Nablus Sanjaq.

59 *Filastin*, 31 January 1912, p.1.

Falastin became the most widely circulated and most influential Arabic daily in Palestine during the Mandate, powerfully shaping Palestinian national discourse (Jeferey 2015: 173), while its discourse after 1918 focused on the geography of Mandatory Palestine. From its beginnings in late Ottoman Palestine *Falastin* also was the country's fiercest and most consistent critic of European Zionist settler-colonialism. Another early critic of Zionism, Ruhi al-Khalidi (1863–1913) – a Palestinian intellectual, teacher, deputy head of the Ottoman parliament and a nephew of the mayor of Jerusalem (Kasmieh 1992; 123–46; Khalidi W. 1984: 74) – writing in 1913, had this to say:

> It is noteworthy that whenever the name of the country appears, it is always Palestine, never southern Syria or anything else'. (Ruhi al-Khaldi, 'Zionism or the Zionist Question', cited in Gerber 1998: 563–572)[60]

Around the same time important developments in Arab opposition to Zionism centred on Zionist land purchasing activities in the Esdraelon plain and eastern Galilee. These activities included the sale of lands of the Arab village of al-Fula in the Esdraelon plain to the Jewish National Fund in 1910. The lands of al-Fula belonged to Elias Sursuq, a Greek Orthodox banker and absentee landlord from Beirut, who in 1910 reached a deal on their sale with the Zionists. According to Neville Mandel, this was 'some of the best agricultural land in Palestine' (cited in Bracy 2011: 45). When the local Palestinian peasants refused to vacate their village and petitioned the Ottoman authorities, they were backed in their resistance by Shukri al-'Asali (1878–1916), the *qaimmaqam* (district governor) of Nazareth in Galilee and later a deputy in the Ottoman parliament, who became their key supporter in many of his articles in the Arabic press including the newspaper *Falastin*. For al-'Asali, who wrote under a pseudonym, that of the legendary Saladin who defeated the Latin Crusaders in the Battle of Hattin[61] in eastern Galilee in 1187, the Galilee was integral to *Filastin*. Entitled 'Letter of Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi to the Commander of the [Ottoman] Expedition to Hauran Sami Pasha al-Faruqi', one of his 1910 articles pleads with the Ottoman governor Hauran to stand up to Zionist plans in Palestine:

> I beg you . . . to hurry and repel the Zionist threat from Palestine, whose soil is soaked with the blood of the Prophet's companions and with the blood of my armies and for the retrieval of which I have sacrificed [the lives] of my brothers, my people and commanders.[62]

60 See also Khairieh Kasmieh, 'Ruhi al-Khalidi, 1864–1913: A Symbol of the Cultural Movement in Palestine Towards the End of Ottoman Rule' (1992).

61 Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, a chronicler and advisor to Saladin was present at the Battle of Hittin and the subsequent campaign to expel the Crusaders from the Holy Land. al-Isfahani (1888).

62 Shukri al-'Asali, 'Kitab min Salah al-Din al- Ayyubi ila qa'id al-hamla al-Hawraniyya Sami Basha al-Faruqi', *al-Muqtabas*, 5 December 1910, cited in Beška (2014: 54–67).

X.3 Modern Palestinian Institutions and Organisations

In the early days of the Mandatory period the Palestinian leadership convened the *Palestine Arab Congress* (*al-Mutamar al-Arabi al-Filastini*), a series of national congresses organised by a nationwide network of committees and local Palestinian Muslim-Christian Associations; between 1919 and 1928 seven congresses were held in Jerusalem, Haifa, Jaffa and Nablus. Subsequently the Palestinians set up the *Palestine Arab Workers Society* (*Jam'iyyat al-'Ummal al-'Arabiyya al-Filastiniyya*), the main Palestinian labour organisation, established in Haifa in 1925; the '*All-Palestine Government*' (*Hukumat 'Umum Filastin'*) in Gaza on 1 October 1948; Fateḥ (*Harakat al-Taḥrir al-Waṭani al-Filasṭini*; 'Palestinian National Liberation Movement') was founded in 1959. Its first underground magazine which began in 1959 was called *Filastinuna, Nida al-Hayat* ('Our Palestine, the Call to Life'); the *Palestine Liberation Organisation* (PLO) in 1964; the *Palestinian National Council* (PNC), the legislative body of the PLO; the *Palestinian National Charter* (*al-Mithaq al-Watani al-Filastini*) of the PLO was first adopted in May 1964; the *Palestine Liberation Movement* (Fateh) in 1965; *Filastin al-Thawra* (Palestine of the Revolution), the official organ of the PLO, Arabic-language weekly set up in Beirut in 1972; the *Palestinian National Authority* following the Oslo accords in 1993 and the *Palestinian Government* and its the institutions, governing some Palestinian territories since 1994.

XI. Palestine as an Official Administrative and Territorial Entity: The British Mandatory Government of Palestine (December 1917–May 1948)

Jerusalem was occupied by British forces in December 1917. The League of Nations formally awarded Britain a Mandate over Palestine in 1922. Under the British, Palestine was once again a distinct political and administrative entity for the first time in centuries. The sense of continuity between the ancient, medieval and modern political geography and naming traditions of *Palestine* eventually came into play in the designation of the British Mandatory *Government of Palestine* (1918–1948). This 'official' designation of the country: *Palestine* was universally accepted by the League of Nations, which came into existence in 1920, and by the United Nations which was founded in 1945.

Following the *Palestine Exploration Fund*, the British Mandatory authorities after 1918 assumed that the Palestinian Arabs (Muslims, Christians and Arab-Jews) had also preserved knowledge of the ancient place names which could help identify archaeological sites. Furthermore in the modern era and especially during the British Mandate of Palestine (1918–1948) the term 'Palestinian' was used to refer to all people residing

in Palestine, regardless of religion or ethnicity, including those European Jewish settlers granted citizenship by the British Mandatory authorities.

In 1918, almost immediately after the occupation of Jerusalem, the British Military Governor Sir Ronald Storrs took the decision to establish the 'Palestine Archaeological Museum' in Jerusalem; there was no mention of any 'Canaanite Archaeological Museum' by British archaeologists or any other Western archaeologist (or even Western Biblical scholar) working in Palestine. The cornerstone of the *Palestine Archaeological Museum* was laid on 19 June 1930. The museum opened in 1938 as a 'national' (not Biblical) museum and was modelled on modern European museums.

The *Palestine Archaeological Museum* (renamed by Israel after 1967 as the 'Rockefeller Museum') contains historical artefacts, jewels and mosaics from the Neolithic through the Byzantine periods, and through the medieval Islamic and modern periods. Together with ancient Neolithic artefacts, the Museum has remains of eighth-century wooden beams from the *Al-Aqsa Mosque,* and an elaborately carved lintel from the *Church of the Holy Sepulchre,* from the time of the Latin *Crusaders*. The Neolithic, ancient, medieval and modern heritage of Palestine is all encapsulated in this 'Palestine Archaeological Museum'.

The British *Government of Palestine* (with its capital in Jerusalem) produced *Palestine passport, currency* and '*Palestine stamps'* some of which showed ancient Palestinian holy sites such as Bethlehem. The *Palestine Pound* (Arabic *Junyah Filastini*; Hebrew: פַּלֶשְׂתִינָאִי פּוּנְט); equal in value to the Pound Sterling) was the currency of the British mandate in Palestine from 1927 to 14 May 1948. It was issued by the *Palestine Currency Board*. It was the currency of the State of Israel between 14 May 1948 and August 1948 and between 1948 and 1952 the *Palestine Pound* continued to be a legal tender in Israel. The *Palestine Pound* was also the currency of Transjordan until 1949 and remained in usage in the West Bank until 1950. In the Gaza Strip the *Palestine Pound* circulated until April 1951, when it was replaced by the Egyptian pound

The *Palestine Police Force* was set up as a colonial police service established in Palestine 1920 and operated until 1948. *Palestine Railways* was a government-owned railway company that ran all public railways in Palestine from 1920 until 1948. The *Arab Palestine Sport Federation* (*al-Ittihad al-Riadi al-'Arabi al-Filastini*) was a government body operating between 1931 and 1937 and between 1944 and 1948. It organised a variety of sports activities, including football, boxing and weight-lifting (Khalidi I. 2006: 44–58; 2014: 74–88).

The *Palestine Broadcasting Service* began radio transmissions from the new transmitter in Ramallah, with broadcasting offices in Jerusalem. Staff were

recruited for five hours of daily broadcasts in three languages, English, Arabic and Hebrew and training was given by the BBC. In 1942, the transmissions were split into two stations – for English/Arabic (Radio al Quds) and English/Hebrew (Kol Yerushalayim).

XII Palestine from Without: The Widespread Use of the Term *Palestine* in Zionism (late 19th Century until 1948)

Political Zionism – a settler-colonial movement – originated in Europe at the end of the 19th century and, therefore, it is hardly surprising that from its beginning in the late 19th century and until 1948 the Zionist institutions themselves endorsed and even generally used in their official publications the common Western designation of the country as Palestine. This is also evident from the following examples:

(a) The *Jewish Agency for Palestine,* which played a central role in the founding of the Israeli State in 1948 – the Chairman of its Executive Committee from 1935 until May 1948 was David Ben-Gurion – was founded in 1930. Only after 1948 did it change its name to the *Jewish Agency for Israel*;
(b) the 'Israel Philharmonic Orchestra' (founded in Palestine 1936) was continuously called the '*Palestine Orchestra*' until 1948;
(c) Israel's largest bank, 'Bank Leumi' ('National Bank') was originally founded in London as the '*Anglo Palestine Company'*. It was a subsidiary of the 'Jewish Colonial Trust' which was founded by the Second Zionist Congress and incorporated in London in 1899. It subsequently became officially known the '*Anglo-Palestine Bank*' and this name continued until 1948;
(d) *The Jerusalem Post* was founded in Palestine in 1932 as *The Palestine Post* and only changed its name in 1950 to *The Jerusalem Post*;
(e) the *'Jewish Palestine Exploration Society'* was founded in 1914 with its focus on ancient Palestine; renamed after 1948 into the 'Israel Exploration Society'. In 1928 the *Palestine Football Association* was established by Zionist Jewish football clubs; after 1948 it was renamed the *Israel Football Association*.

XIII. The Historic and Geographic Maps of Palestine: The *National Geographic*

The long history and geography of Palestine (ancient, medieval and modern) are deeply ingrained in the social and cultural memory of Europe and the Arab world. In 1890 German historian Gustav Reinhold Röhricht, in *Bibliotheca Geographica Palestine, from the year A.D. 333 to*

A.D. 1878 listed 3515 books issued in many languages between 333 A.D. and 1878 A.D which dealt with the geography of Palestine. Röhricht's work also contains a chronological list of maps relating to Palestine.

Formerly the *National Geographic Magazine*, the *National Geographic* is the official magazine of the National Geographic Society, based in Washington DC. The NGS is one of the largest non-profit scientific and educational institutions in the world. Its interests include geography, history, archaeology and natural sciences. *The National Geographic* has been published continuously since its first issue in 1888. The archives of the magazine shows a huge focus on the cartography, history and archaeology of historic Palestine (ancient and modern). The historic '*Palestine Maps*' (no mention of Maps of Canaan') of the *National Geographic* (not known to be a particularly pro-Palestinian) produced the following titles: 'Impressions of Palestine', 1 March 1915 ('Former British Ambassador to the U. S., James Bryce, relates his impressions of a predominantly Muslim Palestine'); 'Jerusalem's Locust Plague: Being a Description of the Recent Locust Influx into Palestine, and Comparing Same with Ancient Locust Invasions as Narrated in the Old World's History Book, the Bible', 1 December 1915 ('John D. Whiting compares the recent invasion of locusts in Palestine and Syria with the ancient locust plagues described in the Bible'); 'Among the Bethlehem Shepherds: A Visit to the Valley Which David Probably Recalled When He Wrote the Twenty-third Psalm', 1 December 1926, 'Shepherd families of Palestine live much as their ancestors did; often the youngest boy tends the sheep, with flute and staff in hand'; 'Changing Palestine', 1 April 1934 ('Improved transportation and communication give Palestine growing room as the small but strategic land continues its role as a meeting place for East and West'); . 'Bombs over Bible Lands', 1 August 1941 ('In Syria, Palestine, and Iraq, where Romans, Babylonians, and Assyrians once battled, Germany and Russia vie for control of the oil-rich nations, disrupting historic lands with bombs, planes, and tanks'; 'Palestine Today', 1 October 1946 ('Under the control of Great Britain, Palestine struggles to cope with immigration. Growing cities and farms make a strange mix in the ancient land'); 'An Archaeologist Looks at Palestine', 1 December 1947 ('The author encounters history at every turn, in an ancient land that has been a cockpit of unending conflict for many centuries'); Map of Palestine from a 1947 issue of National Geographic.

IVX. Palestine Studies and the Proliferation of Modern Research Societies and Institutions

In the past two hundred years no one has seriously considered setting up a 'Centre for Canaanite Studies'. In contrast 'Palestine Studies' as an

academic and scholarly discipline has growth phenomenally across several continents and continues to expand in recent decades – although some of the recently founded centres focus largely on modern Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Furthermore, when referring to the ancient history of this region modern European scholarship (and even early Zionist scholarly societies such as the '*Jewish Palestine Exploration Society'*, founded in 1914) universally and unanimously talk about 'Palestine', even when referring to Jewish history.

To cite some of the scholarly societies/centres/projects/museums/journals relevant to 'Palestine Studies' and the ancient history and heritage of Palestine:

- *'The Palestine Exploration Fund'*, founded in London in the 1860s with focus on ancient Palestine; it published the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*.
- *Deutscher Verein für die Erforschung Palästinas* ('German Society for the Exploration of Palestine'). The Society's annual publication, Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins (*Journal of the German Society for the Exploration of Palestine*)
- *'Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society'* (Russian: *Императорское православное палестинское общество*), founded in 1882, as a scholarly organisation for the study of Palestine. Following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 the society was renamed the 'Russian Palestine Society' (Russian: *Российское Палестинское Общество*) and was attached to the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Its original Russian name was restored in 1992.
- *'Palestine Archaeological Museum*' (al-Quds/Jerusalem); initiated in 1918; officially opened in 1938; renamed by Israel after the 1967 occupation as the 'Rockefeller Museum'.
- *'Palestine Folklore Museum'* (al-Quds/Jerusalem); *set up in al-Qala'a in the 1930s*.
- *'Jewish Palestine Exploration Society'* was founded in 1914 with focus on ancient Palestine; renamed after 1948 into 'Israel Exploration Society'.
- *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* was published in Jerusalem by the Palestine Oriental Society from 1920 to 1948 and focused on ancient history and antiquities.
- The *Institute for Palestine Studies*; founded in Beirut in 1963; publishes *Journal of Palestine Studies*.
- 'Palestine Research Centre'; founded by the PLO in Beirut in 1965; published a periodical entitled *Palestine Affairs* (*Shu'un Falastiniyah*).

- *Journal of Holy Land and Palestine Studies*; founded in 2002; published by Edinburgh University Press.
- *The European Centre for Palestine Studies, Exeter University*; established in 2009.
- *Center for Palestine Studies*, Columbia University, New York.
- *Centre for Palestine Studies* (SOAS, London) established in established in 2012.
- *The Palestine Museum* (Ramallah).

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