Photographic and Prophetic Truth: Daguerreotypes, the Holy Land, and the Bible according to Reverend Alexander Keith
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In 1859, Reverend Dr Alexander Keith published the thirty-seventh edition of his *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion Derived from the Literal Fulfilment of Prophecy; Particularly as Illustrated by the History of the Jews and by the Discoveries of Recent Travellers*. Included in the illustrations were eighteen engravings from daguerreotypes, presenting the landscape of Palestine and Syria in order to demonstrate the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies regarding its desolation. In this article, Keith's use of photographic reference is presented as it relates to the illustration of specific biblical texts and to his evangelical characterisation of the camera's empirical point of view. Keith's notion of photographic truth, while grounded in the mid-nineteenth-century's conceptualisation of the medium's indexical science, is revealed through his theology of the literary landscape, his telescoped teleology, and the 'more than human' capacity of the lens. The author argues that with the interdisciplinary engagement of biblical studies a deeper critical understanding of such an explicitly confessional position attributes greater complexity and specificity to the role of religious ideology in shaping early Holy Land photography.

Keywords: *Reverend Alexander Keith (1792–1880), Bible, prophets, religion, Palestine, Jerusalem, Zion, Holy Land, daguerreotype, truth, evidence, theology, hermeneutic.*

Revd Alexander Keith was a minister in the Church of Scotland, establishing himself as a clergyman at St Cyrus, a village parish fifty miles north of St Andrews, from 1816 to 1840. At the time of the Disruption of 1843, he left the established church together with four hundred and fifty other ministers to form the Free Church of Scotland. This watershed moment in church history became significant for photography, famously commemorated in a painting for which photographer Robert Adamson's help was enlisted by David Octavius Hill: *The First General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland; signing the Act of Separation and Deed of Demission at Tanfield, Edinburgh, May 1843* (1866, oil on canvas, permanently displayed at the offices of the Free Church of Scotland, Edinburgh). Keith appears in a prominent position supporting a large book displaying a map of Palestine, the focus of a discussion group at the lower right of the painting. There are two known calotype portraits of Keith modelling for this pose, both in the Edinburgh Libraries Collection. Though not a photographer himself, Keith's two sons, Dr George Skene Keith and Dr Thomas Keith, became members of the Photographic Society of Scotland when it was founded in 1856. It was the elder Keith's relationship with his younger son George that was to foster a unique partnership in creating what is believed to be the first publication to be supported with engravings from daguerreotypes in the UK. This was the thirty-sixth edition of *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion Derived from the Literal Fulfilment of Prophecy; Particularly as Illustrated by the History of the Jews, and by the Discoveries of Recent Travellers,* published in 1848 with eighteen such engravings.[1]

Following the Disruption, Keith visited the Holy Land with George in 1844, whom he employed to produce daguerreotypes of sites on their tour. Earlier in 1839, the senior Keith had first ventured to Palestine with three other ministers on a 'Mission of Inquiry' to the Jews, resulting in the publication of *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland*.[2] 'Perhaps the most influential missionary journey of the nineteenth century' according to Crawford Gribben,[3] this trip had also entailed Keith's failed attempts at calotyping the landscape, knowledge of which may have reached Keith through his friendship with the Brewsters.[4] Both photographic efforts emerged out of, and were prompted by, a lifelong publishing preoccupation first seen in 1823, which was concerned with the proof of Old Testament prophecies being fulfilled, particularly with regard to the Jewish return to Palestine and Syria.[5] Versions of *Evidence* proved to be extremely popular throughout the nineteenth century, running into over fifty editions. Keith is believed to be the source of the Zionist phrase 'a land without a people for a people without a land' from his 1843 book *The Land of Israel*.[6] It was this publication above all which focused on the restoration of the Jews to the land promised in covenant in the Old Testament, and Keith's church position can take its identification more from this specific evangelical Christian mission than from expressly local denominational allegiance. Later publications focused on more general prophecies regarding other nations and the end times, confirming what was a deeply felt eschatological rather than ecclesiastical commitment.

However, it is the thirty-seventh edition of Keith's research, with its eighteen plates of engravings copied from daguerreotypes, to which we shall give our attention: an edition which included a *Refutation of the Rev. A. P. Stanley's Poetical Interpretations*.[7] Here Keith finds in photographs of the Holy Land a means to present the incontrovertible truth of the Bible's prophetic claims. In contrast to the hoped-for people/landscape relationship of *The Land of Israel,* an evidential Bible/landscape relationship is pursued in *Evidence.* For Keith, this is where the photographic medium comes into its own, relying for its efficacy on scientific indexical objectivity. Such are the bearings of photography criticism today that the social situatedness and linguistic interrelatedness of image, texts and viewers/readers render any autonomous notion of the truthful photograph culturally circumscribed: it has been variously described as 'a bourgeois folklore, […] an established myth', 'a contingent ideology', 'an Edenic fiction', or 'an imperialistic mode'.[8] As Clive Scott has suggested, the politics of photography's indexical nature has long been wrested from the religion of such a nature.[9] However, in the reframing of Keith here, such a dualistic approach will not serve his mid nineteenth-century's conceptualisation of photography's indexical science, and in particular the religion, or biblically informed understanding, of this science.

Beyond an examination of Keith's purpose as a religious agenda, or even 'geopiety',[10] which is the looser phrase employed by Kathleen Stewart Howe, it will be enlightening here to describe it as a biblical apologetic. For apologetics is that branch of theology which is concerned with defending the Christian faith through rational argument and persuasion, and a biblical apologetic does so on behalf of the text itself. It is no mere exposition, but incorporates compelling argument based on a Christian purposing of interpretation, or put another way, 'it is not so much a set of answers or responses as a way of seeing (as well as being and living) consistent with a biblical world-view'.[11] Keith's apologetic, as we shall see, conformed to norms of interpretation that were not just about linguistic meaning and literalness, but also about the text being alive to being practised and imagined. And while Keith was intent on delineating a narrowly defined interpretation of particular prophetic texts as visually verifiable, this is nevertheless uniquely and surprisingly indicative of an early interpretation of photography's openness to spiritual expression.

To describe the assumptions and tone of Keith's visual apologetic, I will consider his scholarly treatment of the prophetic writings, as well as critical and contextual commentary on early photography in Palestine. From two specific perspectives, biblical studies may enlighten Keith's approach: firstly, the contemporary scene in the mid-nineteenth century of historical criticism's burgeoning attention to the facticity of the Bible (in which more empirical and naturalistic explanations of textual references – such as people, places, and events – were granted authoritative interpretation over traditional ones); and secondly, the circumspection of more recent literary and reader-response criticism in which textual effect and interpretative mandate is explored through the Bible's linguistic style and rhetoric. These two perspectives, without invoking the full freight of their theological impulses, may be fruitfully applied to discern affective biblical meaning found at the level of Keith's photo-biblical engagement. Drawing out their overlapping hermeneutical concerns with regard to the references and language of the Prophets, I explore how Keith's equation of prophetic imagery with photographic imagery characterises his concept of the truth. The aim is to sharpen understanding of biblical reference in photography, attributing religious and linguistic specificity to something more commonly received as thematic reduction. It is also to sharpen the critique of early photographic claims of objectivity, which in Keith receives an integrated Christian ideology. Throughout, I remain primarily at the level of the eighteen specific examples he includes in *Evidence*, and will consider three aspects here. These are: firstly, Keith's basis for the literary nature of the landscapes; secondly, his telescopic visualisation of the text's overarching purpose; and thirdly, his conflation of the natural and the supernatural in both image and text.

The Literary Landscape

Each of Keith's eighteen plates, evenly spread between five hundred pages and sixteen chapters, are accompanied by a title and a biblical quote directly below the photograph,[12] with five exceptions which nevertheless are situated in close connection to biblical references in the text. There is additional pictorial material in four engravings copied from artist prints, and a map, two of which also receive biblical quotation. These quotations form a selection from what Jewish and Christian tradition understands as the writings of the Prophets or *nevi'im* (Hebrew). In biblical books, they include the Former Prophets (Joshua, Judges, 1 & 2 Samuel, 1 & 2 Kings), and the Latter Prophets, consisting of the Major Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel) and the Twelve Minor Prophets (Hosea–Malachi). The Latter Prophets range dramatically in book length, as suggested by the group designations, and date from ca. 750BC to ca. 450BC. Keith's pictured quotations come from six of these: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Micah, Zephaniah, and Zechariah.[13]

Keith's approach to both the biblical texts and the photographs may be described as very black and white. He states that he is singularly interested in those aspects of the prophecies which 'are as descriptive as history itself',[14] detailing the foretold physical demise of cities in ancient Palestine. He prizes the realistic language of certain texts over more poetic expression, for the purposes of what is 'an investigation of the evidence'[15] of prophecy fulfilled, and therefore the truth of the Christian religion. Similarly, he describes photography as 'a mode of demonstration that could neither be questioned nor surpassed' and an unmediated natural testimony of 'what the prophets saw',[16] where the facts of the landscape are unembellished, clear, and self-evident. 'The predictions correspond […] with the express and literal reality',[17] and photography provides a link, as with the equation: 'prophecy = photography = reality'. Hence, to refer to our first example, and the frontispiece of the

thirty-seventh edition, 'Zion shall be ploughed like a field' (Jeremiah 26:18 and Micah 3:12) is shown to have occurred with a photograph of the cultivated hillside outside Jerusalem (figure 1).

Figure 1. *Zion,* engraving from daguerreotype, in Keith, *Evidence,* frontispiece.

Before pointing out the characteristics of this particular biblical interpretation, it is important to recognise that Keith reflects an ideology about scientific enquiry which emerged with the practice of experimentation and investigation in the Enlightenment age. This was no less an influential discourse for his biblical approach as it was for his use of photography. Keith demonstrates familiarity with the work of Isaac Newton and John Locke, and spends significant time considering the work of David Hume, as we shall see in the third section's discussion of miracles. On a more general level, his scholarly report is shaped by a verbal narrative of verifiable observation. Statistics and descriptive eyewitness language are systematically empirical rather than romantic – for example, in detailed passages relaying the topography, infrastructure, ecology, or economics of the land. Equally here, the photographs are part of a visual language of corroboration. They assume a survey-like style, and although tied to their biblical textual anchors, their inclusion is primarily ordered by a mundane consideration of geography. This is in marked contrast to the high directorial and commercial considerations of geography as employed by other photographers at the time. Keith's photographs do not resonate with the 'educational fervour and colonial aggrandisement'[18] of Frédéric Goupil-Fesquet's inclusions in N. M. P. Lerebours's *Les Excursions Daguerriennes* (1842–44). Nor do they seek to illuminate the symbolic and aesthetic appeal of the landscape as captured through the wet-plate processes of photographers such as Francis Frith and Francis Bedford. Rather, they seek to bring physical proof to the argument of testimony – both Keith's and that of the prophets.

Integrated with the landscape tour of the Near East in Keith's work is a programmatic accounting of the biblical grand narrative. His tour begins with a visit to Jerusalem (which spreads across chapters

on Christ, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the history of the Jews), proceeds to consider 'The Land of Israel', followed by several chapters considering the cities and nations traditionally hostile to God (such as Nineveh, Babylon, and Egypt), and ends with the seven churches of Asia Minor. The progression signifies more than a chronological jaunt from Old Testament Canaan to New Testament Gentile churches. Implicit in the account is the Christian interpretative framework around God's covenantal creation promise, humankind's collective failure, and reconciliatory return as a result of redemption in Jesus Christ. We shall have more to observe of Keith's teleology in the following section, however for the present focus, such a deliberate purposing of what Roy Stryker would call a 'script' for photography has in Keith an explicitly biblical conjunction. The opening scene of Jerusalem in figure 1 is particularly apt for correlating the beginning of a physical and spiritual journey through the landscape with the clear demarcation of a plough's lines, read as the mark of the text's unfolding truth. A survey's more normative collation of discrete material and close-up detail, such as was to follow in the extensive Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem in 1864 and the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1865,[19] is here pressed into the legibility of the literary landscape, itself part of a continuum of the living Word. Other Palestine landscape guides, such as that produced by Irish Presbyterian minister Josias Leslie Porter after his visit in 1858, would be heavily influenced by Keith's approach, though neither photography nor the Bible would be held so determinatively together.

The characteristics of this and other views in Keith's photographs can be seen to uphold a particularly *readable* landscape. As photo-historian Michael Bartram has pointed out, the predilection for high horizons, distant scene, and striated clarity across features both near and far, was part of photography's acceptance of (and gift to) conventional landscape depictions. In photographs of the Holy Land, he argues, 'the traditional British susceptibility to landscape was combined with Protestant devotion to the Bible to view the topography of Palestine as synonymous with the Word of God: to tamper with it was sacrilege'.[20] Such synonymity, I further suggest, is aided by the visual compatibility of compositions which not only depicted minimal human involvement (if not removed entirely), but also emphasised the framing of what is more a flattened picture plane than an illusory viewing platform. In this, the engraving-from-daguerreotype is complicit, since it renders tonal gradations with line, visibly enacting its transcription across the surface. If one requires a photograph of the Holy Land to declare that its subject belongs to the Bible more than to anyone else,[21] one might flatten it like a book, trace its outlines, and make the landscape more conducive to linear scanning. Seen in this light, Keith's *Zion* has to play off the evidence of 'tampering' in the worked landscape (as confirmed the prophecy's fulfilment), with its presentation as 'untampered' truth of the Bible. As such, Jerusalem's position and outlying infrastructure is markedly downplayed the better to suggest the surface plane of the tree-lined landscape alone.

Noticing the prevalence of such sharply delineated, unoccupied, distant-yet-raised-up landscapes in all of Keith's photographs, we might imagine the unconscious beginnings of modern pictorial abstraction. But this would be to mislay such photographs' indexical grip on and transparency to the Bible. Even more acutely, what I have called the literary quality of Keith's landscapes is not merely to imply a postmodern readerly coincidence between image and text (though some might enjoy this suggestion), but is Keith's direct inference made from *these* texts. His literary landscapes are focused through the prophetic style of writing (rather than, say, the gospel descriptions of Palestine) and with his own lens of literal interpretation. It is the combination of these two camera-like apparatus that yield such defiant expressions of what can be seen and read in the real world.

For Keith, the face-value claims of biblical prophecy are paramount: the claim that the text is (the transcript of) an oral, real-life, direct announcement by the prophet, of God's word to a certain group. Commonly, the prophetic books begin with a declaration and attribution of authorship, such as Micah 1:1-2a: 'The word of the Lord that came to Micah the Morasthite in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, which he saw concerning Samaria and Jerusalem. Hear, all ye people; hearken'.[22] Typically, the word from Yahweh which the prophet receives is converted into highly descriptive, extremely accomplished rhetoric within the communication of judgement, salvation or the need for repentance. Despite what Klaus Koch has noted in the scarcity of the actual words 'judgement' or 'salvation',[23] the great elaboration and monumental vision of much prophetic writing does not disguise an emphasis on dramatic, foreseen consequences – even if it is often unclear whether these consequences are already set in stone.

Keith's interpretation of these texts practises an immediate and ideologically transparent identification with their world, such as another contemporary minister expressed on a visit to Palestine: 'We confess to our having been startled when we read those ancient prophetic words and saw with what minuteness they had photographed the living picture that lay before us'.[24] Keith's cue for the priority of sight, confirmed by and confirming the visual acuity sharpened through travel in the Holy Land, is given through the word 'prophet' itself: as well as the nominative *nabi,* the Hebrew term *hozeh* is used, translating as 'seer'. The very identity of the prophets hinges on their ability to see clearly, and their declarations follow this ocular prompt, often into a 'deliberate synesthesia' that mixes seeing and showing with hearing and telling.[25] This is most dramatic of course, in the call narrative of Isaiah, whose 'unclean lips' and eyes that 'have seen the King, the Lord of hosts' are turned towards unhearing and unseeing people (Isaiah 6).

Continuing to unpick the contents of prophetic speech, Herbert Marks notes that the visual is at once diversely dynamic (owing to the thrust of oral communication, in which the power of invocation and evocation are relied on for communicative effect) and also limited to a particular range of themes or referents.[26] Such imagery includes battles, the vineyard, apocalyptic natural events (around 'the day of the Lord'), marriage, birth, and royalty. That several of these are commonly related to description or symbolism of the land can be seen to be reflective, more broadly, of Israel's history across the Old Testament. Famously a journeying people, the Israelites' inheritance and ongoing security in the Promised Land (to which circumstance the prophets are speaking) is intricately bound to their covenantal relationship with God. Indeed in Old Testament thought, the land is comprehensively metaphorical *and* literal with regard to this relationship. Its foundation for Israel's identity as God's people is a symbolic reality, remaining no less a key concern for the geopolitics of Keith's day.

Again, to assert such about the visual premise and language of the prophets is to take, with Keith, the face-value claims of the text into a wholesale descriptive realism and context – what he calls his 'literal interpretation'. It may be remarked that, in so doing, Keith respects the tone of the language with which we are presented: oracular ambiguity is less a feature of Hebrew prophecy than in Delphi and Sibyl oracles, it being 'characteristic of Semitic style to express ideas absolutely and to leave the listener to fill in for himself the implicit qualifications'.[27] Nevertheless, a clear tone and a clear vision, being suited as it is to Keith's own demonstrative tone and view of the ground, become singularly monolithic and univocal in his laying down of a visual apologetic.

At the level of Keith's text, this is evident in the isolation of quotations, where a subject and predicate form a single short phrase (often followed by a parallel expression).[28] That the clear-cut identification of a physical subject such as 'Zion' can follow from its naming and description in Micah is decidedly unproblematic for Keith, not least because his concerns for the text ignore its verbal 'landscape' in verse, chapter, rhetorical, redacted, or poetic form. Similarly, the predicate 'shall be ploughed like a field', despite being authorised with the twin references from Jeremiah and Micah, is emphatically removed from its intertextual context.[29] In Keith's reading, there is only one possible literal interpretation. His literary landscape precludes its wider field in the biblical literature, remaining attentive only to certain literary 'snapshots', whose realistic motifs are extrapolated to form a much-straitened referentiality.
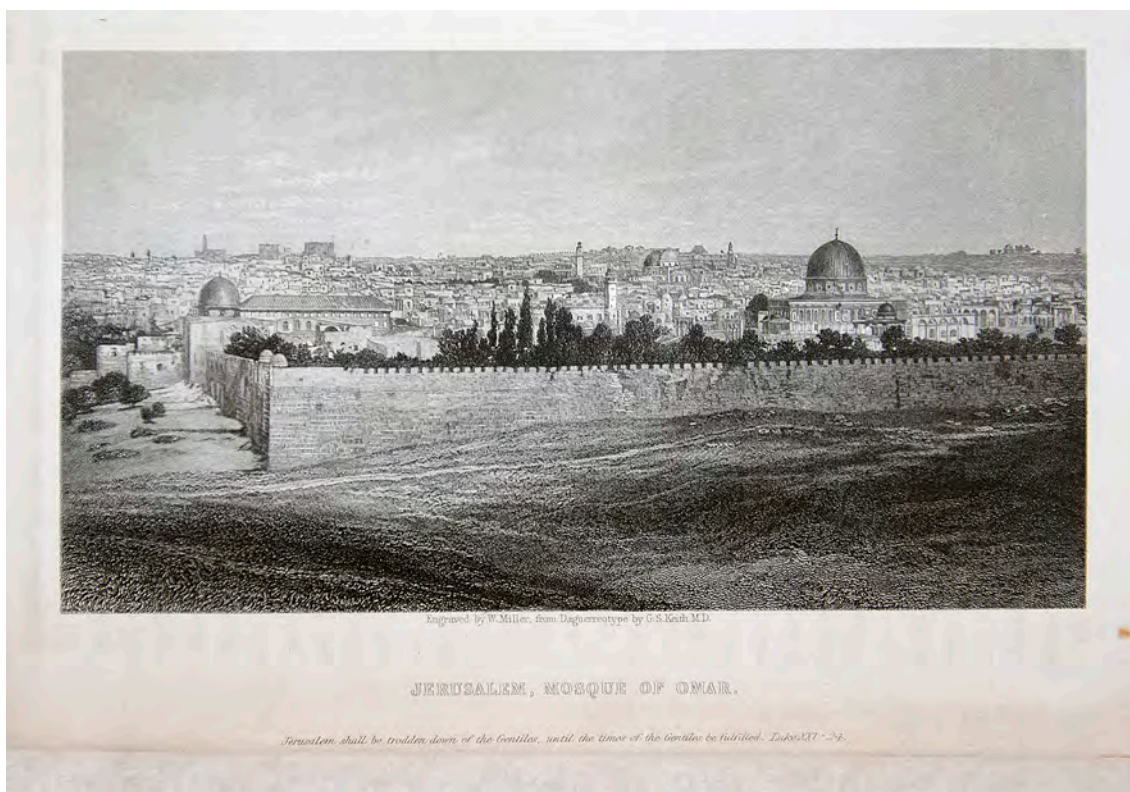

Figure 2. *Jerusalem, Mosque of Omar,* engraving from daguerreotype, in Keith, *Evidence,* 258.

In this, the photograph is complicit, as can be seen by comparing figure 1 with another photograph from a similar viewpoint (figure 2). Conceivably taken from the same spot, *Jerusalem, Mosque of Omar*, assiduously avoids the naming of Zion, and instead presents the city's effacement or containment by the prominent dome of the mosque and a line of silhouetted trees and wall. Though the image is accompanied by the words of Jesus from Luke 21:24 ('Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled'),[30] Keith also links, in the text, the same Jeremiah and Micah passages from *Zion* to this image; he sees the trees as 'the high places of a forest' which surround the site of the original temple (Jeremiah 26:18, 'high places' being a term which signifies idol worship in the Old Testament), and the mosque as yet part of a heathen interruption to a prophesied return (Micah 4:1).[31] Jerusalem's history as a city besieged by these 'false religions' across time is a marking of 'perpetual interdiction' equivalent to ploughing.[32] The landscape, though very much a visual given according to photography's indexicality, is thus also visually malleable through a verbal indexicality: words 'impress' their equivalents as much as light

does. The same city can be either Zion or Jerusalem, and they effect different visual concerns: so the unpopulated mountain evidences the political and mythological possibility of a 'return to Zion', whereas the barricaded façade evidences the current state of Jerusalem's desolation.[33]

Thus, Keith the reader and writer equates the indexicality of photography, its unbroken link, with both the precision and clarity of very specifically chosen written words: 'The prophecies are as clear as the facts are visible'.[34] Even as the images and words on paper and in the landscape have an indexical relationship, so Keith's own words perform the indexical trace evidencing the true Word. In this, we arrive at what is the expansive middle tramping ground of his hermeneutic; though the visual field of acceptable photographs is narrow, and the verbal field of acceptable biblical reference also limited, between word and image interpretation travels. The prophet as intermediary is also Keith as intermediary, and it is here that we turn next to focus on the elasticity of his realism as it relates to an elasticity in the text. As Walter Brueggemann has noted of more recent biblical studies regarding prophecy, particularly for liberation theology: 'A focus on rhetoric as generative imagination has permitted prophetic texts to be heard and reuttered as offers of reality counter to dominant reality'.[35]

The Telescoped Truth

As much as the accounts of the prophets are about clear communicative intent and purposeful speech, they are also constructed and even reconstructed texts. It is certainly in the nature of the text that its language is consistently referential, but the angles, or scope, of the mimetic qualities (or the mimetic axis, according to Paul Hernadi) of biblical text are various and complex.[36] The question of the 'obvious' evidence visible in Keith's clipped presentation of photograph and text is, of course, not as direct as it may seem. More particularly, sight in prophecy is not cleared up in his logically linear (indexical) terms of fulfilment and photography; rather, as has been said of Isaiah, 'two states, sight and blindness, are maintained in an unresolved tension'.[37] Even as this characteristic rhetoric permeates the biblical text, it also permits Keith to explore prophetic truth as a self-involved dynamic: the temporality and perspective of his position assert themselves as part of the pragmatic effect of the text (as opposed to its semantic effect).

For however much Keith's approach may seem to promote the singular correspondence between text and image, he also, at the same time, acknowledges a layering effect which telescopes truth across history. The photographed land 'sets before the eyes of every beholder, who knows the Bible and can exercise his reason, a three-fold illustration of the truth of Scripture, in respect to its past, present and yet destined state'.[38] In a photograph of the ruins of *Jerash* (figure 3), Keith presents a triple-layer of evidence for God's work in history. Firstly, benevolent abundance of provision in place (fertile land and prosperous city) did once exist, being marked on the landscape. Secondly, the dilapidated state of the ruins declare judgement. In this case, it is the marked contrast between what was and what is which reveals the prophecies' fulfilment: 'the pomp of her strength' becomes 'the land most desolate' (quoting Ezekiel 33:28 in relation to a very similar photograph). Thirdly, proof of a future blessing is adduced in the ready availability of rebuilding materials, so Keith freely jumps to another part of Isaiah in quoting 60:10, 'the sons of strangers shall build up the walls'.[39]

Figure 3. *Jerash,* engraving from daguerreotype, in Keith, *Evidence,* 128.

In this respect, Keith assumes the seamless holistic statement of fact offered by the photographic image as a mask for an interpretative stitching exercise from different parts of the Bible. Across *Evidence*, there is indeed the suggestion that Keith means to include a wider remit of prophetic text by including extensive references to the Pentateuch and the book of Revelation. His references to these books are not illustrated, however, and they seem rather to form in Keith's thesis a framing device for the before and after stage of Israelite identity formation: an earlier age of the establishment of Mosaic law and a later age of the establishment of the Christian church. Since neither are constituted in and by the inhabitation of the Promised Land, they remain a teleological concern more than a historical one. Across the stretch of these biblical scenes, Keith's prophecy gamut inhabits a middle zone, where historical realities are most concretely identifiable with the land (and most conducive to empirically informed investigation), but also plural. Here he perhaps unconsciously taps into what G. B. Caird has identified as the 'bifocal vision' of the prophets:

> With their near sight they foresaw imminent historical events which would be brought about by familiar human causes […]. With their long sight they saw the day of the Lord; and it was in the nature of the prophetic experience that they were able to adjust their focus so as to impose the one image on the other and produce a synthetic picture. Yet they did not thereby lose the ability to distinguish between the two types of vision, any more than the writer of Psalm 23 lost the ability to distinguish between himself and a sheep.[40]

Caird makes the point, somewhat humorously, that biblical imagery may be knowingly wielded for imprecise, multiple inflection by the authors – even as, on the 'other side' as it were, Keith performs his own wielding of such imagery. Undoubtedly, Keith reveals his unilaterally literal interpretation when he all but eliminates the texts' agency (and complexity) in this regard, but it is also the case

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that his own dynamic position (folding history into his contemporary view of Palestine) owes much to the prophets' typological roles within the Bible as a whole: read both as redacted textual figures for postexilic Jewish communities and as the stage setters for Christianity's New Testament. The mandate for telescoped truth across the Bible is found above all in the Gospel writers and Paul's letters, to which Protestant teaching, such as Keith would have been steeped in, was attached like an extra zoom. In what follows I shall briefly examine this intra-biblical conversation, before considering its co-option by Keith.

The prophetic material is rather more accurately understood within the contexts of redaction and appropriation, 'the intentional reworking of material from an expanded literary context'.[41] In many ways, the Latter Prophets can be viewed as presenting in miniature the same interpretative challenges as the Bible as a whole: a heterogeneous collection of different styles and writers, from different periods, drawn together and shaped across even longer time periods. Commenting on Micah, considered as a monologue addressed to Israel, Ehud Ben Zvi comments, 'This "Israel" is a theological and transgenerational concept that includes both the likely interlocutors of the godly speaker set in the monarchic period and the intended readers of a book written, read and reread in the postmonarchic period'.[42] As such, 'the lack of precise setting in the world of the text is consistent with the actual setting of the writing and reading of the text'.[43] In this light, we might be unsurprised to find a reading such as Keith's to be licensed by the text's innate flexibility, and indeed driven by it.

Bernard C. Lategan describes that multilayered element of the biblical text which intends 'to achieve a 'seeing as'',[44] in the manner of an optical instrument which effects a perspective change. As well as the rhetoric of the prophets, to which we shall shortly return below, this aspect of biblical referentiality is carried into the New Testament. Here the notion of first-hand witness and legal testimony pervades writings dated much later than the prophets, but similarly oriented around the transcription of God's word (as spoken through Jesus) and its ongoing shaping of early church communities. Noticeably conscious of the prophetic witnessing tradition, the New Testament writers are at pains to mark their extension of God's revelation as both continuation of and radical break from this tradition. Matthew in particular begins his account of Jesus's life with no less than seven quotations from the prophets, all of which are elicited through the narrator's assertion as evidential fulfilment of prophecy.[45] Romans and Hebrews also build theological argument from the wider Old Testament traditions of covenant and priesthood. If witnessing includes instruction in the Old Testament along these lines, it includes interpretation in the New, authorised by the self-declared eyewitness status of writers such as John and Peter.[46]

The important point to note here is that referential exactitude in literary testimony, which may well be styled in various unambiguous indexical ways, is also accommodating towards flexible communicative aptitude – both by producers and receivers. In this capacity of the text, the Christian tradition confirms and assumes its generative spirituality (often from the pulpit), one which seeks 'to give people an opportunity to respond to God'.[47] Keith negotiates the terms of this response in a particularly didactic way, as we shall see in the next section. That he does so with photography is here noted as part of a co-option of biblical telescoping such that historical reference is also compounded truth. Perhaps the nub of photography's indexical attachment to prophetic truth in Keith is thus: in its relation to history. That element of what was, in the past, a causal contiguous connection is also simultaneously present by virtue of ongoing resemblance to now. If the 'facts' to which a text

refers are semantically separate to the words which describe them, the 'facts' to which a photograph refers are, in contrast, evidentially verifiable *within* it even if not without. The photograph thereby promotes the continuum of history understood as an atemporal reality, not unlike its 'power of authentication' which Roland Barthes so lucidly described in *Camera Lucida*.[48] Amongst other biblical inflections, for Barthes this capacity of the image to trump texts when it comes to 'evidential force' is also 'prophecy in reverse': a suturing of the past within its 'certificate of presence', just as biblical prophecy was a suturing of the future into the utterance of the words of the Lord.[49]

Figure 4. *Hebron,* engraving from daguerreotype, in Keith, *Evidence,* 230.

This is akin to what Keith is grasping at with his description of the 'doings' of the Lord in particular features of the landscape/text.[50] In the photograph of *Hebron* (figure 4), Keith specifically directs us to see it as a gleaning site, whereby the 'fine' olive trees in the foreground and the 'verdant' vineyards surrounding the city are witnesses of God's continuing faithfulness, reaching out to the present-day viewer. These physical 'left-overs', explicitly referring to the Mosaic laws concerning the stranger's share of the harvest (gleaning) are emphatically thus demonstrative of God acting and doing *now*: 'Here illustrate the doings, as they are the words, of the Lord, and present a combination of expressive similitudes which render it hard to *wrest* Scripture here, as they visibly exhibit the truths which they reveal'.[51] There is no gap, or imagistic distraction, in the prophecy between the time of its utterance and the time of our interpretation – we can always *see* its fulfilment in action. In the selection of particular symbolic aspects of the landscape, such 'figures of Scripture' attain a peculiar pictorial synthesis indicative of the power of the biblical word to be a real and multidimensional truth, neither merely the imaginative plaything of the writers nor dry documentary record.

Keith's photographic proofs, most emphatically then, do not aim simply to 'replace the photographic contemporary with visual evidence of biblical past', as Rachel McBride Lindsey has noted of a later American publication.[52] Keith is not being didactic about the historical truth of a *previous* landscape, as much as such theologically driven indexicality did lie behind the historical-archaeological impetus in biblical criticism. Even as the historical past of biblical texts was being mapped by Julius Wellhausen and William Robertson Smith (primarily in terms of tracing original source material, as well as, or indeed following, archaeological evidence), the ongoing vitality of such texts found visual and particularly photographic expression within the remit of moral education, and even immersive entertainment. For contemporary theologian Benjamin Jowett, that which would empower the pious reader (naturally a 'he') to interpret biblical realism correctly was a matter of visual competence. One's intelligent reading gaze would seek both 'to recover the original [interpretation]: the meaning, that is, of the words as they struck on the ears or flashed before the eyes of those who first heard and read them',[53] and 'to read Scripture like any other book, with a real interest and not merely a conventional one. He wants to be able to open his eyes and see or imagine things as they truly are'.[54]

At the most popular end of this emphasis on immediate sensory engagement was the stereoscopic photograph. In his famous account of the handheld stereoscope, Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1859 described the three-dimensional binocular effect of this optical illusion as transporting: 'I pass, in a moment, from the banks of the Charles [Boston] to the ford of the Jordan, and leave my outward frame in the arm-chair at my table, while in spirit I am looking down upon Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives'.[55] A boom in the stereoscopic market traded on their ability to extend the immediacy of photography within active, perceptive human engagement, just as other popular forms of illusory entertainment (such as the zootrope, the diorama, and the kaleidoscope) created such absorption.[56] Often surrounded by religious hyperbole, stereographs were particularly enthusiastically received by those wanting to teach or explain the Christian faith. The pictures of God's world, and especially of the Holy Land, blended together 'in the stereoscope of faith into one beautiful and harmonious whole, standing out in clear and glorious perspective'.[57] As late as 1920, the firm Underwood and Underwood was still producing stereographs in their thousands for, among other things, a 'virtual' tour of the Holy Land and for publications like Frederica Beard's *Pictures in Religious Education*.[58]

Keith's similar preoccupation with the visual experience of the land drew its past into his present, the greater to impress on the viewer/reader a direct encounter with the divine. In his interpretation, the communicated relevance of the prophetic texts now (and their dynamism as such) is anticipated and deliberately invoked by the priority of a visual referentiality. Such a referentiality, confirmed by photography, acts on the receiver to accentuate or challenge their own physical identification with the message. In this sense, they are the object of the telescoping exercise across history, much more than original Israelite hearers of the prophetic word. But in another important sense, God is also engineered as the surpassing revelation to which all such visualisation points. Here, Keith finds evidence of the supernatural in his arrayed truth, which is the subject of the next section.

Evidence of the Supernatural

If Victorian culture exhibited a fascination with spectacle and the latest phantasmagoric invention, it never quite abandoned the British tendency for careful empirical observation. Absorption in

stereoscopic photography, or even the legendary reactions of early cinematic experience, do not demonstrate a whole culture's primitive equation of the illusion with the real thing, as we well know. Jonathan Crary points out that observer awareness grew alongside scientific experiments into the nature of human perception and the subjective capacity of the eye to invent and manipulate vision (not least in the stop motion photography of Eadweard Muybridge in the 1870s).[59] Robert Romanyshyn has also examined the wider era's understanding of photographic seeing as a technological symptom of the Cartesian dream: one in which scientific elevation of the autonomy of vision promoted detachment from the body, such that the camera was seen to facilitate 'our psychological condition of distance, […] of infinite vision'.[60]

As I observed at the beginning of this article, Keith's vision and interpretation is shored up by the investigative authority of such a scientific perspective. His literary landscapes and telescoped truth, as much as they are shaped through the emphasis of a biblical apologetic, are also described and presented in the terms of detached objectivity. If it is true that the photographs accentuate the immediacy of the observed landscape, bringing the viewer there, it is also the case that the conventions of pictorial perspective describe a window which privileges a viewing from the edge. Classically, the painted picture plane arranged illusory space mathematically around a vanishing point, and in so doing neutralised movement and occupation of that space – such regulation became photography's inheritance. Further, the context for Keith's photographs in *Evidence* suggests inclusion as part of a publication resembling a typical Royal Society presentation, in which scientific discoveries were demonstrated and illustrated with proofs and logic (verbal and visual).

Crucially, both proofs and logic are held by Keith to be manifestations of the divine. If the reader/viewer thinks the evidence presented is simply the verification of a reasoned and empirical investigation, 'the effect of divine interposition cannot be disputed. It is equivalent to any miracle, and is of itself evidently miraculous'.[61] There is no discord felt here between employing photography understood as a natural testimony of 'what the prophets saw',[62] and the insistence that what it shows is precisely unnatural and beyond any human vision. Photography's sight *is* God's (fore)sight, even though it is a combination of human and mechanical sight given by scientific processes. Photography here evinces a supernatural indexicality of the facts, such that:

> If to each and all of them [facts of the history of the world], from the first to the last, an index is to be found in the prophecies, we may warrantably conclude that they could only have been revealed by the Ruler among the nations, and that they afford more than human testimony of the truth of Christianity.[63]

This 'more than human testimony' is made more visible by virtue of humanity's erasure in both the photographic process and the scene presented. So alongside four images of *Petra* (of which figure 5 is one), Keith initially praises early engravings he saw for helping the cause of a text-based argument, but then proceeds to assert that daguerreotypes trump both efforts because of their fidelity to nature, without the enhancement of the human hand. Similarly, the magnificence of the stone-hewn structures is recast by Keith, with some effort, as a gaping lack of humanity; rather than evidence of raw and enduring human achievement (which was certainly what overawed the majority of visitors to the site, and still does today), Keith sees the fissures and the clefts and the absented space as the primary feature. He speaks to a concept of apparition or unveiling with which the processes of photography are certainly more sympathetic than those of more laboured processes

such as drawing and engraving, but he does so in order to make a biblical rather than artistic point. In this he clings to the quoted text from Jeremiah 49:16–17, from which he notes the empty dwellings and the sunken remains:

> Thy terribleness hath deceived thee, and the pride of thine heart, O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, that holdest the height of the hill: though thou shouldst make thy nest as high as the eagle, I will bring thee down from thence, saith the Lord. Also Edom shall be a desolation, every one that goeth by it shall be astonished.[64]

Figure 5. *Petra (Corinthian Tomb),* engraving from daguerreotype, in Keith, *Evidence,* 328.

Seeing what is not there of course touches on something of a *via negativa* – a trying to describe the indescribable nature of God.[65] The kind of Romantic theology this evokes is given a particular take up by Keith's Protestant view. Finding the ineffable God in His world was lingua franca in the Christianised West, and in early photography the reception of its scientific processes was often

described in such revelatory terms. However, for Keith, the point about revelation seen or unseen in this way is that it is *witnessed*, and his concept of witness sits on the cusp of a biblical understanding of legal verification[66] and a reasoned understanding of scientific verification. We do well to remember that his photo-biblical apologetic is not troubled by what Geoffrey Batchen identified as the emergence of new subjectivities at this time in ideas about God and Nature, about the awareness of embodied looking and the vagaries of perception.[67] Contrary to Batchen's suggestion that this newly individual human subject was the beginning of God's demise in modern thinking, Keith's is a defiant take-up of such subjectivity in order to secure the divine as witnessed. In this way, an accredited, humanly occupied, testimony pertaining to the supernatural preoccupies his discussions, especially with regard to the work of David Hume in 'An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding' (1748).

Regarding Hume's rejection of miracles (on the basis of their unreasonable interruption of the laws of nature), Keith argues that reason confirms both the ongoing consistency of prophecies and their miraculous nature. Since previous fulfilments lead to the reasonable assumption of future fulfilments, one's 'uniform experience'[68] of prophetic fulfilment in orderly inevitable sequence (thanks in large part to Keith's telescoped evidence) is thereby inclusive of regular supernatural involvement. Undoubtedly, Keith is here also speaking to the scientific-religious debate of the day between uniformitarianism and catastrophism. Where the theories of Charles Darwin and Charles Lyell challenged the biblical worldview of creation and civilisation as emerging through a series of catastrophic events, Keith was amongst those reclaiming biblical truth in nature's slow invariance. Thus for Keith, uniform empirically consistent nature, such as photography can empirically testify to, is simultaneously evidence of supernatural revelation perceived over time. The Bible plus photography gives prophecy credibility down the ages, unlike unprophesied, unverifiable miracles, which Hume had so thoroughly rejected.

In this surety, the tracing of photography's truth takes another turn, having passed through literary transcription and historical distillation. Now Keith finds that the objectivity of science and machine enable a description of truth as something 'more than human', in which the positive expression of divine intervention holds out against any negative expression of a 'less than human' mechanical eye. Indeed, the expressions are coterminous, and renders redundant any such dualism as would practise their mutual exclusion. Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison have ably described the late nineteenth-century emergence of this latter conceptualisation of mechanical objectivity through scientific use of photographs: the extent of the noninterventionist position reached the moral heights of Christian asceticism in scientists who 'demanded of themselves a sleepless vigilance against the several temptations of theorising, aestheticising, and pouring evidence into preconceived moulds'.[69]

As marked by Protestant self-discipline as such science could be, it also saw agnosticism develop the separating out of the unknowable God, which with Thomas Henry Huxley in 1869 was a far cry from Keith's own 'evidence pouring'. In Keith's logic, 'A patient and impartial inquiry alone is requisite; reason alone is appealed to, and no other faith is here necessary but that which arises as the natural and spontaneous fruit of rational conviction'.[70] In this faith-filled way, and entirely compatible with photography, a reasoning process is consciously aligned with the supernatural revelation of truth. Significantly for our consideration of the relation with the biblical text, Keith's position here militates against metaphorical or allegorical interpretation of the prophets (particularly in the fifty-page 'Refutation of Poetical Interpretations' at the beginning of the thirty-seventh edition). The self-deception of the wayward peoples whose fall is so marked in figure 5 and by Jeremiah, is also the

self-deception of interpreters 'who have hardened their hearts and closed their eyes' to the plain truth of the text.[71] In some ways, the impressive physical edifice of cities and the cultural abundance of buildings were to Keith like the florid verbal excesses given to poetical interpretations of the language. Both are in error, and both need knocking down. Given God's authoritative performance in making this judgement materially manifest, the prophetic texts are also seen to legitimate a destructive verbal rhetoric (as much as a verbal rhetoric of destruction). Just as God is clear, so the words are clear, primarily in terms of real-world equivalence (facts) rather than symbolic diversion or mystification (fiction).[72]

Ultimately for Keith, a revelation that deals in facts corrects the idea that 'concealed' facts lie behind prophetic referentiality. Keith refutes the opinions of those who hold to description of physical places and objects as merely symbolic of the Israelites' spiritual state before God. According to Revd A. P. Stanley, the prophets' preoccupation with the cityscape of the soul was the inevitable consequence of a nation founded in covenantal terms rather than in actual landscape inhabitation.[73] In truth, says Keith, it is the visually verifiable physical facts that practise revelation 'proper', for if such facts are not revealed apart from or outside human interpretation, then God himself has been mis-identified through the vagaries of an interpretative subjectivity.

Dismissive of what he sees as verbal whimsy, Keith asks, finally, 'may not *sight* lead to faith?'[74] Even as the conclusive proofs of scientific method and mechanism would secure the visual facts, such proofs also expand the agency of conversion. Impersonal remove is countered by a believing perspective on the texts' own 'visible, personal manifestations of God'.[75] Seeing prophecy fulfilled in photographs, is in the end, 'to feel that the vision is sublime, to see that the literal sense of Scripture is truly the transcendental, that the prosaic fulfilment of prophecy surpasses poetical fictions, that the King of kings will execute his word'.[76]

Conclusion

This close analysis of Keith's photo-biblical apologetic has, I have argued throughout, revealed particular qualities of his photographic truth: firstly, that it can be conceived of in a particularly literary way, as a clear and legible transcript of prophetic words (insofar as they pertain to claims on the object being photographed such as, in this case, landscape); secondly, that it permits a time-conflating representation of facts through the (Christian interpretation of the Bible's) perspective of historical teleology; and thirdly, that it evidences God's trace in logical and natural terms. In short, for Keith the photographic landscape is biblical, and the biblical text is photographic, in a relation that may be measured against a photographic and prophetic truth so constituted.

Now of course, Keith is a product of his time. To twenty-first-century eyes, his emphatically unsceptical belief in the literalness of photography and the Bible is limited and naïve at best, manipulative and erroneously dogmatic at worst. Performing our own interpretative exercise within the disciplinary assuredness of scholarly competency, Keith's perspective can be safely contextualised through both biblical criticism's and photography criticism's more enlightened purviews. We may bring this discussion of Keith to a preliminary position of such safety by briefly considering these critical angles in turn. Beyond this, the interdisciplinary reflexivity of this study also

suggests new avenues for scholarly questioning, in which the generative mode of interpretation itself opens up possible theological horizons.

Modern European biblical criticism has long explored the multifaceted shaping and interpretation of the prophetic texts, whether in terms of editorial effect, original community contexts, ideological traits, poetic form, adoption for church exposition, and others besides. The historical critical approach emerging at Keith's time moved away from what scholars would now identify as his pre-critical understanding of the face-value claims of prophecy,[77] becoming at the turn of the century more concerned with historical reference and context (the books' dates, materiality and production). Extending from this, an interest in 'the prophetic persona'[78] came to dominate a more biographical skew of the texts. The linguistic turn followed with later twentieth-century consideration of rhetorical style (especially through the lens of form criticism), and twenty-first century interest in the increased pluralism and self-awareness of multiple methodological approaches. The transparent language of prophetic truth has, through a host of perspectives such as these, come to be treated as decidedly opaque and malleable. In an increasingly devolved field of possible rather than definitive meaning, a university biblical studies department today such as that at the University of Sheffield, UK, self-consciously practises 'a refusal to legislate' along traditional doctrinal/biblical lines.[79] Instead, an interpretation such as Yvonne Sherwood's finds theological meaning in deconstructed, experiential encounter with the prophetic texts, which are alive with visceral, graphic visuality.[80] Significantly for Keith, a paradigm shift in institutional mode means a greater awareness of the historiography of biblical interpretation, through which it is possible to situate his Christian apologetic along a mid-nineteenth-century Protestant-Zionist axis of particularly evangelical fervour.

A prevalent sociocultural emphasis in photography criticism would similarly contain Keith's co-option of photographs-as-evidence within historical (and canonical) contexts. The exploding Victorian interest in photographic records – their presentation of facts, or 'absolute truth'[81] as Edgar Allan Poe described it – coincided with an already burgeoning appetite for the verifiable facts of the Bible, particularly as seen in innumerable expeditions and tours by Westerners to the Holy Land. What Keith specified as 'evidence of the truth of the Christian religion' traded on an acquisitive, colonial, and moralising impetus directed towards Palestine, which he shared with many others: from Pre-Raphaelite painters to American theologians/geographers (such as the pioneering archaeological work of Edward Robinson and Revd Eli Smith[82]). The wider historical situating of such evidential photographs, retrospectively relating them to the 'documentary' genre first accorded to Jacob A. Riis and Lewis Hine, commonly reveals their discursive construction in institutional and social practices, propelled 'within the framework of reformist or ameliorative intent'.[83] For descriptions of Keith, the tendency has been the positing of this documentary mode as clouded or 'obscured' by religious feeling, whose simplified sociocultural containment remains an underexplored aspect of photographic history.

It has been my hope to duly acknowledge the broader patterning of Keith's religious intention, mired as it was in his vociferously biblical Victorian churchmanship. The identification of his biblical apologetic goes further in situating his reading of the prophets within a discourse of scientific objectivity and photographic veracity. I argue thus for a deepening of ideological critique when it comes to the expression of religious, and particularly biblical, ideas within photography's documentary mode. A contextualising effort remaining at the level of an expanded sociological evidence base for religion (considering only its closed histories, institutions, and practices) is in

danger of remaining somewhat blinkered towards the expanding interpretative horizon offered through interdisciplinary theological engagement. The philosophical and analogical force of the photographic medium itself can be shown to receive and invoke theological questions around notions of its truth. Along with other scholars working across visual media with theological questions (such as Jonathan Anderson, David Morgan, James Elkins, and John Harvey), I identify for photography in particular a need to explore its metaphoric register in such terms, recognising in the biblical vocabulary with which many have practised and written about it, an impetus to describe its world in relation to God (or the absence of God). Slowly waking up to the 'return of religion',[84] the study of photography, I suggest, may yet recover and enrich its interpretative nerve through reciprocal exchange with biblical reception studies, in which the vocabulary and language of religious concepts find concrete expression.

Captions
(Small images included here for screen resolution)

Figure 1. W. Miller (engraver) after George Skene Keith (daguerreotypist), *Zion,* engraving, 1848. From Reverend Alexander Keith, *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion*, 37th edn, London: T. Nelson and Sons 1859, frontispiece. Private collection.

Figure 2. W. Miller (engraver) after George Skene Keith (daguerreotypist), *Jerusalem, Mosque of Omar,* engraving, 1848. From Keith, *Evidence,* 258. Private collection.

Figure 3. W. Forrest (engraver) after George Skene Keith (daguerreotypist), *Jerash,* engraving, 1848. From Keith, *Evidence,* 128.

Figure 4. W. Miller (engraver) after George Skene Keith (daguerreotypist), *Hebron,* engraving, 1848. From Keith, *Evidence,* 230. Private collection.

Figure 5. W. Forrest (engraver) after George Skene Keith (daguerreotypist), *Petra (Corinthian Tomb)*, engraving, 1848. From Keith, *Evidence,* 328. Private collection.

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1 – Revd Alexander Keith, *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion Derived from the Literal Fulfilment of Prophecy; Particularly as Illustrated by the History of the Jews and by the Discoveries of Recent Travellers*, Edinburgh: W. Whyte 1848.
2 – Revd Andrew A. Bonar and Revd Robert Murray M'Cheyne, *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839*, Edinburgh: W. Whyte 1842.

3 – Crawford Gribben, *Evangelical Millennialism in the Trans-Atlantic World, 1500–2000,* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2011, 86.

4 – From the preface to the thirty-sixth edition of *Evidence*, Keith asserts that 'he took with him some calotype paper, &c., the mode of preparing which was then secret; but on reaching Syria it was wholly useless' (n.p.). While Yeshayahu Nir has speculated on the possible exchange of knowledge of William Henry Fox Talbot's process through Dr Andrew Fyfe's early successes with calotypes in Edinburgh, I regard Keith's friendship with Revd James Brewster, elder brother of Sir David Brewster, to be a more likely connection. Yeshayahu Nir, *The Bible and the Image: The History of Photography in the Holy Land, 1839–1899,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1985, 30. Revd Brewster vociferously defended Keith's *Evidence* with a pamphlet produced in 1836 in response to criticism in *Quarterly Review*, a journal which Talbot read and contributed to with his own biblically related research. The pamphlet's second edition received Keith's own Preface which gratefully acknowledges Brewster's friendship. James Brewster, *A Letter to the Editor of the Quarterly Review, in Reply to Certain Strictures in that Publication, on the Rev. Dr Keith's 'Evidence of Prophecy',* Edinburgh: W. Whyte 1837, n.p. David Brewster's own reference to Keith as 'that excellent man' in a later letter to Talbot about the review suggests a level of familiar scholarly exchange in Scotland at the time. Sir David Brewster to William Henry Fox Talbot, 13 November 1847, Talbot Correspondence Project Document No. 6048. However Keith may have procured the photographic paper prior to the missionaries' departure at the beginning of April in 1839, it was probably received as a little understood experimental possibility and perhaps even rendered unusable before reaching the Mediterranean shore.

5 – Revd Alexander Keith, *Sketch of the Evidence from Prophecy; containing an account of those prophecies which were distinctly foretold, and which have been clearly or literally fulfilled. With an appendix, extracted from Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on the Prophecies*, Edinburgh: W. Whyte 1823.

6 – 'The Israelites *continued not in the first covenant which the Lord* made with them: therefore are they wanderers throughout the world, who have nowhere found a place on which the sole of their foot could rest – a people without a country; even as their own land, as subsequently to be shown, is in a great measure a country without a people'. Alexander Keith, *The Land of Israel According to the Covenant with Abraham, With Isaac, and With Jacob*, Edinburgh: W. Whyte 1843, 43.

7 – Revd Alexander Keith, *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion Derived from the Literal Fulfilment of Prophecy; Particularly as Illustrated by the History of the Jews, and by the Discoveries of Recent Travellers, with a Refutation of the Rev. A. P. Stanley's Poetical Interpretations,* 37th edn, London: T. Nelson and Sons 1859.

8 – Allan Sekula, 'On the Invention of Photographic Meaning', in *Thinking Photography,* ed. Victor Burgin, London: Macmillan 1984, 84 and 86; Victor Burgin, 'Photographic Practice and Art Theory', in *Thinking Photography,* ed. Burgin, 46; and Victor Burgin, 'Looking at Photographs', in *Thinking Photography,* ed. Burgin, 144; Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions and Practices,* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1991, 180.

9 – Clive Scott, *The Spoken Image: Photography and Language,* London: Reaktion Books 1999, 36.

10 – Kathleen Stewart Howe, *Revealing the Holy Land: The Photographic Exploration of Palestine*, Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art 1997, 28. The term was coined by American geographer John Kirtland Wright, and discussed in Wright, *Human Nature in Geography: Fourteen Papers, 1925–1965*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1966, 250–85.

11 – *New Dictionary of Christian Apologetics*, ed. Campbell Campbell-Jack and Gavin J. McGrath, Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press 2006, vii.

12 – For the sake of an interpretative sympathy, I refer to the engravings from daguerreotypes as photographs or photographic views since this is how Keith referred to them. Though I am well aware of the elision here of media transference (and the very relevant contexts of cultural assumptions driving mechanical reproduction of images), this is a study driven by what is Keith's explicit purposing of photographic image capture. I have thus refrained from specifically elaborating on the media differentiation except where such pictorial elements would seem overtly to confirm or problematise Keith's vision. George Keith's original daguerreotypes are not known to have survived.

13 – With an additional single reference to Luke, applied to the photograph *Jerusalem, Mosque of Omar*. Keith, *Evidence*, 258.

14 – Ibid., 7.

15 – Ibid., 1. Keith also acknowledges the value and wealth of both 'internal proofs' and 'figurative language' in supporting this 'external' evidence, but his imagined reader is the unbeliever who will only be persuaded by 'a witness without as well as a witness within'. Ibid., 4.

16 – Ibid., iii.

17 – Ibid., 459.

18 – Michael Bartram, *The Pre-Raphaelite Camera: Aspects of Victorian Photography*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson 1985, 100.

19 – Both survey teams consisted of members of the Royal Engineers, whose scientific and imperial efforts to record and survey the landscape first included eighty-seven photographs of Jerusalem (prepared with the wet plate collodion process), with many more following the wider exploration. Neither a faith-filled nor a commercial venture, the initial report was concerned to map the city's water system and drainage. The more expansive Palestine Exploration Fund was 'strictly an inductive inquiry […] to apply the rules of science […] to an investigation into the facts concerning the Holy Land', according to supporter William Thomson, archbishop of York. See V. D. Lipman, 'The Origins of the Palestine Exploration Fund', *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 120 (1988), 45.

20 – Bartram, *Pre-Raphaelite Camera,* 103.

21 – As has been noted of Western photographic approaches to Jerusalem in particular by Issam Nassar, '"Biblification" in the Service of Colonialism: Jerusalem in Nineteenth-century Photography', *Third Text*, 20: 3/4 (May–July 2006), 317–26.

22 – All biblical quotations contained herein are from the King James Version of the Bible, used exclusively by Keith himself and certainly the standard for English-speaking Protestants in his time. *The Bible: King James Version,* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 1987. Online at https://www.biblegateway.com (accessed July 2018). In the Hebrew, there is minimal punctuation.

23 – Koch notes this absence in all the eighth-century prophets. See Klaus Koch, *The Prophets, Volume One: The Assyrian Period*, London: SCM Press 1982, 102.

24 – Revd Andrew Thomson, *In the Holy Land,* London: T. Nelson and Sons 1874, 244; quoted in John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1987, 187.

25 – Herbert Marks, 'The Twelve Prophets', in *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. Robert Alter and Frank Kermode, London: Fontana Press 1989, 227.

26 – Ibid., 221-224.

27 – G. B. Caird, *The Language and Imagery of the Bible*, London: Duckworth 1980, 57; see also 103 on the Greek literature comparison.

28 – In this, Keith again borrows freely from the Hebraic literary style, which is abundant with parallelisms, though he often does so with his own imaginative license: see for example, the splicing of two different quotations to form one parallelism for the photograph *Athlite*: 'The fortress shall cease from Ephraim. Isa.XVII-3. The defenced city shall be desolate. Isa XXVII-10'. Keith, *Evidence*, 144.

29 – The phrase's appearance in Jeremiah is actually a quotation of Micah (written some hundred years earlier), in which Israelite leaders confirm that the original prophecy was not fulfilled in Micah's time because the Lord 'changed his mind' (Jeremiah 26:19). Keith's is an uncritical position when he ignores this intertextual vacillation in the language and its directive.

30 – To Keith, the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70AD, not long after Jesus's prediction, was simultaneously a unique, catastrophic completion of this prophecy, and merely the dramatic beginning of its razed state lasting into his present time some eighteen hundred years later. See Chapter 3: 'Prophecies Concerning the Destruction of Jerusalem', in Keith, *Evidence,* 49–67.

31 – Keith, *Evidence,* 257.

32 – Ibid., 258.

33 – Noting Keith's preoccupation with Jewish return to Palestine at this time, Yeshayahu Nir remarks of the *Zion* photograph that 'no other nineteenth-century photographer used this angle; no one else was interested in isolating Mount Zion from the city'. Nir, *Bible and the Image,* 37. It is yet another dimension to Keith's noticeable lack of depicted human occupation: as well as being evidence of prophesied desolation, the land was ripe for 'legitimate' return.

34 – Keith, *Evidence,* 65.

35 – Walter Brueggemann, *The Prophetic Imagination* (1978), rev. 2nd edn, Minneapolis: Fortress Press 2001, xi.

36 – Paul Hernadi, 'Literary Theory: A Compass for Critics', *Critical Inquiry,* 3 (1976), 369–86.

37 – Martin O'Kane, *Painting the Text: The Artist as Biblical Interpreter,* Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press 2009, 22, referring to biblical scholar Jean-Pierre Sonnet writing on Isaiah.

36 – Keith, *Evidence,* 110–11.

37 – Ibid., 121 and 131.

40 – Caird, *Language and Imagery of the Bible*, 258.

41 – James Nogalski, 'The Redactional Shaping of Nahum 1 for the Book of the Twelve', in *Among the Prophets: Language, Image and Structure in the Prophetic Writings,* ed. Philip R. Davies and David J. A. Clines, Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press 1993, 196. Nogalski particularly highlights linking words between prophetic books as deliberate editorial amendation.

42 – Ehud Ben Zvi, *Micah*, Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans 2000, 77. Ben Zvi refers to the periods of kingly rule in Israel, and the nations' later history in the land as subjects of other empires, most sharply differentiated either side of the Babylonian exile of 597BC–ca. 520BC.

43 – Ibid., 82.

44 – Bernard C. Lategan and Willem S. Vorster, *Text and Reality: Aspects of Reference in Biblical Texts*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press; Atlanta: Scholars Press 1985, 81.

45 – Matthew 1:22–23, 2:5–6, 15, 17–18, 23, 3:3, 4:14–16. In addition, the episode of Jesus's temptation (4:1–11) includes four references to Deuteronomy and Psalms. While not all the references are clear, there is no mistaking the telescopic effect of the Old Testament converging in multiple forms on the person of Jesus.

46 – See John 1:14, 'We have seen his glory' and 21:24, 'This is the disciple who is testifying to these things and has written them'; and 2 Peter 1:16, 'For we did not follow cleverly devised myths when we made know to you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but we had been eyewitnesses of his majesty'.

47 – John Goldingay, *Models for Interpretation of Scripture*, Toronto: Clements Publishing 2004, 8.

48 – Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (1980), trans. Richard Howard, London: Vintage Books 2000, 89.

49 – Ibid., 87. Across his seminal oeuvre, Roland Barthes finds occasion to treat the Bible's manner of indexical picturing initially within structuralist analysis of the text, and later within his discourses on photography. See Roland Barthes, 'The Struggle with the Angel: Textual Analysis of Genesis 32:22-32', in Roland Barthes, *Image Music Text*, trans. Stephen Heath, London: Fontana Press 1977, 125–41; and in *Camera Lucida,* further evocations of photography with the resurrection (79–82), and of biblical history made real (97).

50 – Keith, *Evidence,* 213.

51 – Ibid. (emphasis in original). Even if the reference is numerical, as with Isaiah 6:13 ('Even if a tenth part remains in it / it will be burned again'), Keith connects the living 'exhibition' of a government authorised statistical report saying that the land was operating at 1/10th of its potential. Ibid., 221.

52 – Rachel McBride Lindsey, 'Haunting the Streets of Cairo: Visual Habits of the Biblical Imaginary in Nineteenth-Century Holy Land Photography', *Bulletin for the Study of Religion,* 43:2 (April 2014), 7. She refers to Revd James Lee, Bishop John H. Vincent, and Robert Edward Mather Bain's first publication of several, *Earthly Footsteps of the Man of Galilee*, St. Louis, MO: N. D. Thompson 1894, in which a 'hermeneutics of elision' perpetrates the disappearance of the landscape now.

53 – Benjamin Jowett, *The Interpretation of Scripture and Other Essays*, London: Routledge 1897, 6.

54 – Ibid., 7.

55 – Oliver Wendall Holmes, 'The Stereoscope and the Stereograph', *Soundings from the Atlantic,* Boston: Ticknor and Fields 1864, 154. Nir states the likelihood that the stereoscopic views here described are by Francis Frith. Nir, *Bible and the Image*, 76.

56 – Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century,* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press 1992, 105–20.

57 – Revd Hugh Macmillan, *Bible Teachings in Nature*, London: Macmillan & Co. 1867.

58 – Underwood and Underwood (founded in 1881 in Kansas) was the largest publisher of stereographs in the world, producing twenty-five thousand stereographs a day in 1901. Frederica Beard, 'Teaching with the Stereoscope', *Pictures in Religious Education*, New York: George H. Doran 1920, 129–44.

59 – Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, 98.

60 – Robert Romanyshyn, *Technology as Symptom and Dream*, London: Routledge 1992, 97.

61 – Keith, *Evidence,* 7.

62 – Ibid., iii.

63 – Ibid., 13.

64 – The text beneath the photograph is a shortened version of this. Nevertheless, the details of the full verses are minutely discussed in Keith's argument, especially on the evidence that the clefts depicted were once dwellings, as opposed to tombs. Ibid., 325–39.

65 – One cannot help notice that the image of cleft in the rock has an unavoidable resonance with both Moses's and Elijah's encounters, or nearly encounters, with God (Exodus 33 and 1 Kings 19 respectively). In both cases, hiddenness is the precondition to revelation.

66 – Both in Old Testament law (Deuteronomy 19:15) and in Gospel accounts, whether externally in the presentation of the author's narrative arc (as touched on previously), or internally in the Jewish and Roman court scenes during Jesus's trial.

67 – Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning With Desire: The Conception of Photography,* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press 1997, 57–68.

68 – Keith, *Evidence*, 539. Elsewhere, Keith quotes Hume's direct use of the phrase from the 'Of Probability' section in *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (Keith, *Evidence,* 294–95).

69 – Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, 'The Image of Objectivity', *Representations*, 40 (1992), 121.

69 – Keith, *Evidence,* 11.

71 – Ibid.,10. This phrase is also biblical, in Isaiah 6 (as previously encountered), and elsewhere pervading Jesus's interpretations of his parables. Running like the other (negative) side of the (positive) biblical coin, that which is so emphatically clear in the language of testament can also be persistently obtuse, incomprehensible and unseen.

72 – Ibid.*,* 10 and 11 (RPI). The 'Refutation of the Rev. A. P. Stanley's Poetical Interpretations' is a section with its own pagination within the front matter of the 37th edition, and hence the bracketed (RPI) is used to refer the reader to the page numbers within this section.

73 – Ibid., 22–31 (RPI). Keith takes Stanley to task over the biblical tracing of Israel's tents and wandering habits – it is interesting to note that Stanley's poetic interpretation here of the prophets has recourse to fall back on the 'facts' of Israelite history in the Torah and the Former Prophets.

74 – Ibid., 533.

75 – Paul Hedley Jones, *Sharing God's Passion: Prophetic Spirituality,* Milton Keynes: Paternoster 2012, 12.

76 – Keith, *Evidence,* 39.

77 – Hans Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics*, New Haven, CT: Yale University 1974, 1–50, in which the early breakdown of the 'literal-realistic' precritical perspective is summarised.

78 – Timothy Polk, *The Prophetic Persona: Jeremiah and the Language of the Self*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1984, 8-12.

79 – J. Cheryl Exum and Stephen D. Moore, 'Biblical Studies/Cultural Studies', in *Biblical Studies/Cultural Studies: The Third Sheffield Colloquium,* eds. J. Cheryl Exum and Stephen D. Moore, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1998, 35.

80 –Yvonne Sherwood, 'Prophetic Scatology: Prophecy and the Art of Sensation', *Semeia*, 82 (1998), 183–224.

81 – Edgar Allan Poe, 'The Daguerreotype, Part I', *Alexander's Weekly Messenger,* 4: 3 (January 1840), 2.

82 – The pair visited in 1838, publishing *Biblical Researches in Palestine and Adjacent Countries*, London: Boston, Crocker and Brewster 1841.

83 – Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the Dock*, 173. See also John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1993, 1–33.

84 – Sally M. Promey, 'The "Return" of Religion in the Scholarship of American Art', *Art Bulletin,* 85: 3 (September 2003), 581–603. See also W. J. T. Mitchell, 'Four Fundamental Concepts of Image Science', in *Visual Literacy,* ed. James Elkins, New York: Routledge 2008, 14–30; and *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion,* ed. Alistair Chapman, John Coffey and Brad S. Gregory, Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press 2009.