

CrossRoads

European Cultural Diplomacy and
Arab Christians in Palestine 1918-1948

A connected history

27-29 March 2019



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands



MISSIONS CHRÉTIENNES ET SOCIÉTÉS
AU MOYEN-ORIENT

Maps and Conference Information



Image credit:
Frank Scholten
The editor of "La Palestine",
Palestine Illustrated 1931

MAP OF LEIDEN

Leiden is a small city and very easy to get around for those who may not have visited previously. It is an easy city to navigate on foot and most venues are within a few minutes walk of one another.

Leiden Central Station is marked with a blue star. It is easy to access from Schiphol Airport and only takes about 20 minutes.

Guests will be staying at De Doelen Hotel, marked with the green icon. It is approximately a 10-minute walk from the station.

The conference will primarily be held in the Vossius Room on level 2 of the Leiden University Library. There will also be an afternoon session Thursday 28th, March at the Rijksmuseum Oudheden (National Antiquities Museum) in Rapenburg. Both venues are marked with a red star.

We will also be having a number of meals at various restaurants. Each of these venues is marked with a yellow icon. A full list of venue addresses are below.

Accommodation: (Green logo)

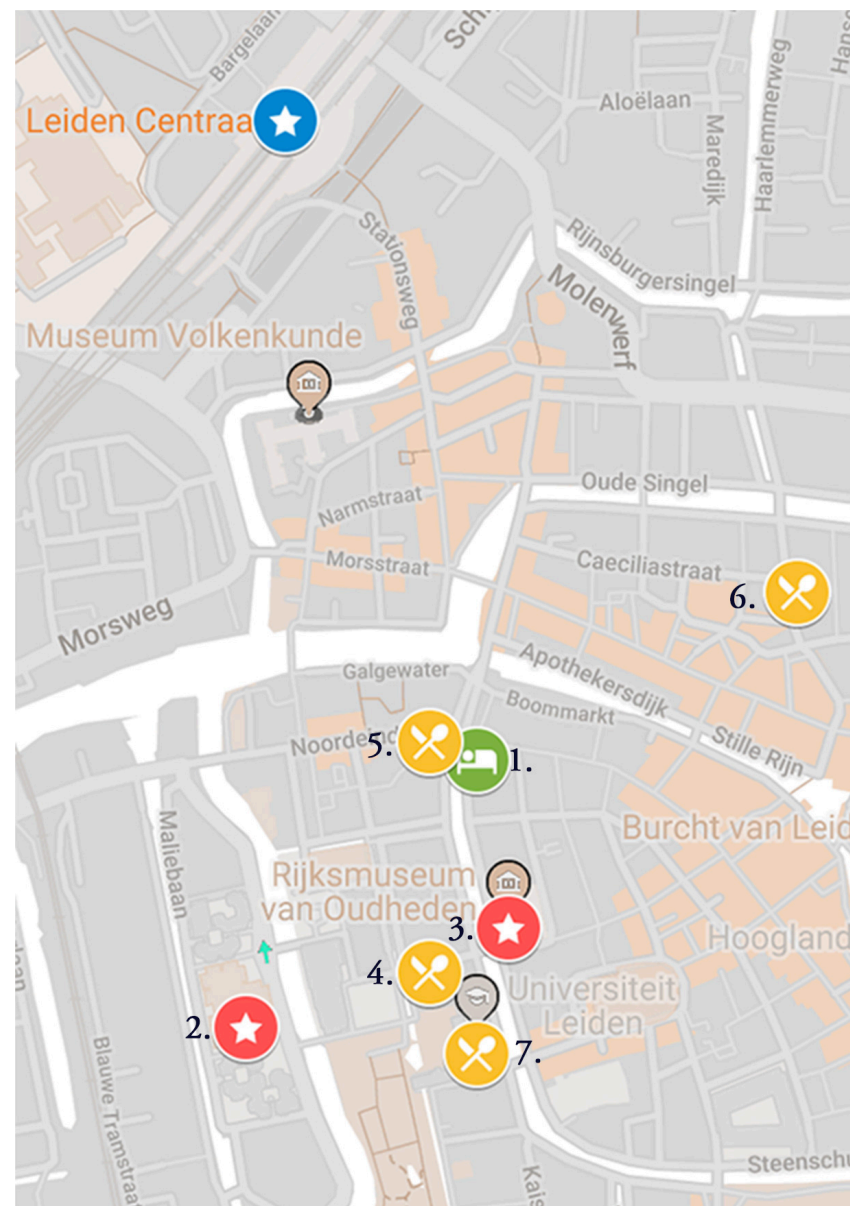
1. De Doelen Hotel
Rapenburg 2, 2311 EV Leiden
Ph 071 512 0527

Conference Venues (Red logo)

2. Leiden University Library
Witte Singel 27, 2311 BG Leiden

Afternoon, Thursday 28th March

3. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (RMO, National Antiquities Museum)
Rapenburg 28, 2311 EW Leiden
We will also have lunch at this venue on 29th March



MAP OF VENUES IN LEIDEN UNIVERSITY'S VICINITY

Meals (Yellow logo)

Wednesday 27th March

4. Lunch
Pakhuis
Doelensteeg 8, 2311 VL Leiden
Ph 071 513 6666

5. Dinner
Sura Karta
Noordeinde 51-53, 2311 CB Leiden
Ph 071 512 3524

Thursday 28th March

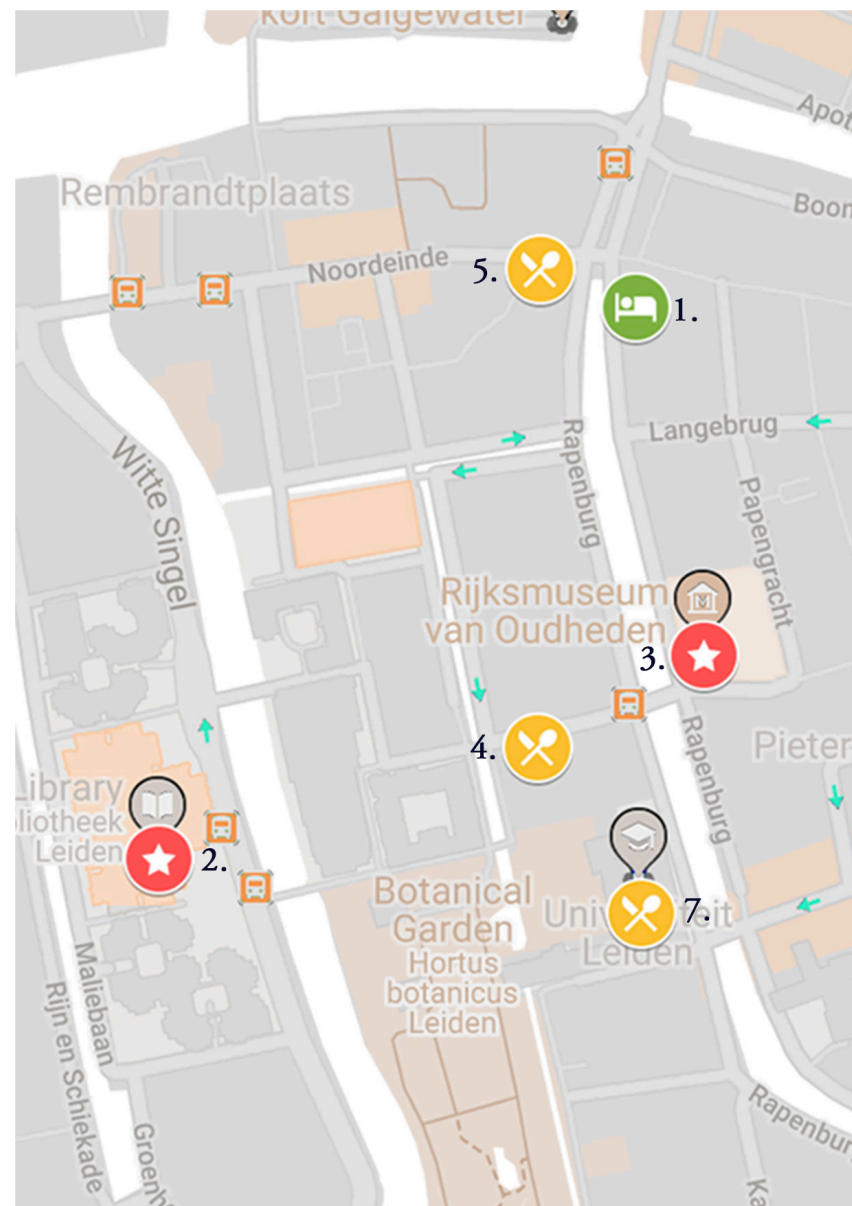
3. Lunch
Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (RMO, National Antiquities Museum)
Rapenburg 28, 2311 EW Leiden
Ph 071 516 3163

Dinner

6. De Koekop Lange Mare 60
Lange Mare 60, 2312 GS Leiden
Ph 071 514 1937

Friday 29th March

7. Lunch
Faculty Club,
Academic Building Leiden University
Rapenburg 73, 2311 SL Leiden
Ph 071 527 1210



Conference Details



Image:

Fanfare of St Anne's Melkite Seminary, Jerusalem (1908)

Image courtesy of École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem

CROSSROADS TEAM

Karène Sanchez Summerer

Associate Professor

K.Sanchez@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Charbel Nassif

Postdoctoral Researcher

c.nassif@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Konstantinos Papastathis

Postdoctoral Researcher

Assistant Professor, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

k.papastathis@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Sary Zananiri

Postdoctoral Researcher

s.e.s.zananiri@hum.leidenuniv.nl

For any emergencies, please call Sary on +31 610 010 398
or WhatsApp +61 402 034 824, or Lara on +316 18741310

Day 1 **Wednesday 27th March 2019 (Vossius room, U. Library)**

9.00 Coffee, registration

9.15 *CrossRoads* Introduction

9.45 Keynote: Anthony O'Mahony, '*Discerning the religious and political Contours of Christianity in the modern history of Jerusalem, Palestine and the Holy land*'

10.45 **BREAK**

Panel: European Private and Governmental Actors
 Discussant: Heather Sharkey

11.15 Roberto Mazza
A Coherent Inconsistency: Italian Cultural Diplomacy in Palestine 1918-1936

12.00 Idir Ouahes
Secularist networks, Cultural Institutions and Cultural Diplomacy in the Levantine Mandates

12.45 **Discussant's reply**

13.15 **LUNCH: Het Pakhuis**
Doelensteeg 8, 2311 VL Leiden (see map)
Ph 071 513 6666

15 :00 **Ecclesiastical actors and cultural diplomacy**
Discussant: Heather Sharkey

15.00 Paolo Maggiolini
The International Center for the Protection of Catholic Interests in Palestine and the Latin Patriarchate's Cultural Diplomacy in the British Mandate period.

15.45 Inger Marie Okkenhaug

A "significant Swedish outpost". The Swedish School and Arab Christians in Jerusalem, 1920-1930

16.30 **BREAK**

17.00 Lora Gerd
Russia and Orthodoxy in Palestine (1843-1930's): Diplomacy, Institutions, Personalities

17.45 Discussant's reply

18.15 **End of first day**

19.30 **DINNER:** Sura Karta
Noordeinde 51-53, 2311 CB Leiden (see map)
Ph 071 512 3524

Exhibition, Hensius Room, University Library (in front of Vossius room)

Photographs from :
EBAF Ecole biblique et archéologique de Jérusalem, *Portraits d'Orient*
and Franck Scholten, *An Invaluable Dutch Vision of the 'Holy Land'*

Day 2	Thursday 28th March 2019		
Panel	Cultural Associations and Endeavours (Vossius room, UL) Discussant: Idir Ouahes		<i>In-between diplomacy and science: British Mandate Palestine and its international network of archaeological organizations (1918-1938)</i>
9.00	Norig Neveu <i>Orthodox clubs and associations: Cultural, educational and religious networks between Palestine and Jordan 1925-1970</i>	15.15	Sarah Irving <i>Palestinian Christians in the Mandate Department of Antiquities: historical and archaeological narratives in a colonial space</i>
9.45	Mayaan Hillel (skype) <i>Cultural Diplomacy in Mandatory Haifa: The Role of Christian Communities in the Cultural Transformation in the City</i>	16.00	Discussant's reply
		16.15	Coffee and exhibition presentation
10.30	BREAK	17.00	End of day two
11.00	Sadia Agsous <i>Palestinian Translators and Intellectuals during Ottoman and Mandatory Palestine: Russian language in the Experiences of Baydas and Sidqi</i>	19.00	DINNER: De Koekop Lange Mare 60, 2312 GS Leiden (see map) Ph 071 514 1937
11.45	Maria Chiara Rioli & Riccardo Castagnetti (skype) <i>Sound Power: Musical Diplomacy within the Franciscan Custody in Mandate Jerusalem</i>		
12.30	Discussant's reply		
12.45	LUNCH : Rijksmuseum Oudeheden (RMO, National Antiquities Museum) Rapenburg 28, 2311 EW Leiden (see map) Ph 071 516 3163		
Panel	Cultural diplomacy and Archaeology during the British Mandate (Rijksmuseum Oudheden) Discussant : Lucas Petit, RMO		
14.00	Karène Sanchez Summerer and Sary Zananiri <i>Frank Scholten and Ecole biblique et archéologique photographic collections</i>		
14.30	Mathilde Sigalas		

Abstracts and biographies

Day 3	Friday 29 th March (Vossius room, UL)
Panel	Transnational cultural diplomacies Discussant: Philippe Bourmaud
9.00	Nisa Ari <i>The First National Arab Fair in Jerusalem: Culture, Industry, and Christian-Muslim Collaboration in 1930s Palestine</i>
9.45	Marcela A. García Probert <i>Dr. Tanfiq Canaan, the Palestine Oriental Society and the development of the study of Palestine</i>
10.30	BREAK
11.00	Barbara Haider-Wilson Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften <i>Continuities and Discontinuities in the Austrian Catholic Orient Mission to Palestine, 1915–1938</i>
11.45	Discussant's reply
12.15	LUNCH – Faculty Club, Academic Building Leiden University Rapenburg 73, 2311 SL Leiden (see map) Ph 071 527 1210
13.30	Karène Sanchez, Charbel Nassif, Konstantinos Papastathis and Sary Zananiri <i>CrossRoads panel</i>
15.15	Epilogue Tamara van Kessel, Heleen Murre-van den Berg, Anthony O'Mahony, Giles Scott-Smith
16.45	Conference concludes



Image:

A Melkite priest with his family outside St Anne's Seminary, Jerusalem (1926)

Image courtesy of École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem

Alphabetical order

Sadia Agsous

École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales msbien@free.fr

Palestinian Translators and Intellectuals during Ottoman and Mandatory Palestine: Russian language in the Experiences of Baydas and Sidqi

Keywords: Language, Arabic, Hebrew, Translation, Nahda

Arabic, English and Hebrew were the official languages of Mandatory Palestine, despite the fact that the language spoken by the vast majority of the population was Arabic. This superficial equality of languages reflected the colonial perspective of the British rulers with English and the influence of the Zionist leadership in Palestine on the British mandate authority, particularly after the Balfour Declaration of 1917, with Hebrew. In this paper, we compare the translations from various languages into Hebrew and Arabic, by comparing the social and political context in which these translations were made. Notably, by comparing national versus transnational intent of both Jews and Palestinian Arabs. On the one hand, the Jewish settlements in Palestine had engaged, through poets and writers such as Lea Goldberg or Yossef Haim Brenner, in the translation of literature from European languages into Hebrew with the perspective of creating a Modern Hebrew language and literature for the future state. On the other hand, Palestinian Arab translators weren't building a national culture since they were already part of the Arabic Nahda of the 19th century. Instead, translators such as Khalil Baydas, were translating a variety of literary works from Russian, English and French literature with a transnational perspective and as part of the modernist wave brought into Arabic literature.

Biography

Sadia Agsous is a postdoctoral fellow at the Centre européen de sociologie et de science politique (CESSP-EHESS – France) and a research associate at the French research center in Jerusalem (CRFJ). Her research is focused on the cultural production of Palestinians in Israel (literature, cinema and media) and its encounter with the Israeli-Hebrew culture. Her doctoral dissertation *Languages and Identities: The Fictional Writing in Hebrew by Palestinians from Israel (1966-2013)* questions the issues of languages and identities in novels written in Hebrew by Palestinians in Israel and highlights the process initiated by minor writers in the deconstruction, reconfiguration and correction of the representation of the Palestinian character in Hebrew literature. Her current project “Intertwined cultures in translation: Israeli-Jewish literature in the hands of Arab and Palestinian translators”, examines the literary translation from Hebrew into Arabic in Israel, West Bank, Lebanon and Egypt from 1948 and focuses

on translators, predominantly members of the Palestinian minority in Israel, as social agents. Her book *La littérature palestinienne en hébreu: minorité, bilinguisme et identité palestinienne à l'épreuve*, is under contract with Classiques Garnier (2019).

Nisa Ari

MIT Massachusetts Institute of Technology nisa@mit.edu

The First National Arab Fair in Jerusalem: Culture, Industry, and Christian-Muslim Collaboration in 1930s Palestine

Keywords: Trade Fairs, Levant Fair, First National Arab Fair, Nationalist agendas, pan-Arabism, Zulfa al-Saadi

On the eve of Palestine's violent ethno-national clashes of the 1930s, two simultaneous, competing industrial and craft fairs were mounted in Palestine: the Levant Fair in Tel Aviv (1932) organized by the Zionist trade organization *Mischar w'Taasia*, and the First National Arab Fair in Jerusalem (1933) sponsored by a joint council of Arab Christian and Muslim businessmen. The Levant Fair invited participants from countries ranging from France to Egypt and the USSR, in order to brand itself as the first—and only—international fair in the Levant. Contesting the internationalist aspirations of the Levant Fair, seen as epitomizing the economic and cultural colonization of Palestine by Zionist organizations, the leaders of the Arab Fair summoned a powerful inter-nationalism of a different sort: pan-Arabism. Advertisements and press were distributed solely in Arabic and only countries with largely Arab populations were invited to exhibit.

The organizers of the Levant Fair and the Arab Fair adopted the format of the international industrial and craft fair, a hallmark of European cultural diplomacy during the age of colonial expansion, to promote their concurrent, conflicting bids for political agency in Palestine. This paper traces the history of the industrial and craft fair during the British Mandate in Palestine, as it manifested both at home and abroad, and specifically addresses how the fair evolved to become a unique site for Christian and Muslim anti-imperial and anti-Zionist unity by the early 1930s. The director of the Arab Fair, Issa al-Issa (the Christian founder of the newspaper *Falastin*) and the president of the Arab Fair Committee, Ahmad Hilmi Pasha (the previous general director of the Muslim *awqaf* in Palestine and founder of the Arab National Bank) were the enterprising beacons of the Arab Fair and belonged to a larger group of Arab businessmen who believed in economic development as being at the core of political development. By including exhibitions of art, industry, and agriculture at the Arab Fair, they embraced a European institutional type not only to counter Zionism in Palestine, but also to advance neighboring Arab industry, the welfare of Arab Palestinians, and

ultimately, the Christian-Muslim collaboration integral to furthering the Arab national movement in Palestine.

Biography

Nisa Ari is a PhD candidate in the History, Theory, and Criticism of Art and Architecture program at MIT. She studies late-19th and 20th century visual practices, with a focus on artwork from the Middle East. Her research explores the relationships between cultural politics and the development of art institutions, specifically in Palestine and in Turkey. Her dissertation, titled "Cultural Mandates, Artistic Missions, and 'The Welfare of Palestine,'" explores how radical political transformations from the last decades of Ottoman rule until the establishment of the State of Israel (1876-1948) changed the nature of artistic production in Palestine. She recently curated exhibitions at the Qalandiya International Art Biennial (Jerusalem/Ramallah) and the Keller Gallery at MIT. She is co-editor of *Thresholds 44: Workspace* and her recent publications include essays in *Third Text*, *Arab Studies Journal*, and *Thresholds*. Her research has been supported by fellowships from the Mellon Foundation/American Council of Learned Societies (2018-19), the Palestinian American Research Center (PARC, 2016-17), Darat al Funun (2017-18), and the Terra Foundation for American Art (2017-18). Nisa received a B.A. with honours in art history from Stanford University and served as Associate Director of the Studio Program at the Elizabeth Foundation for the Arts in New York City before starting her doctoral degree

Philippe Bourmaud

University of Lyon 3- Jean Moulin philippe.bourmaud@univ-lyon3.fr

Philippe Bourmaud is an assistant professor in Modern and Contemporary history at the Université Jean Moulin-Lyon 3. His research focuses on the history of health professions in the late Ottoman and Mandatory Middle East, with a focus on Palestine; the history of expertise in the Middle Eastern mandates, and the history of alcohol in the Modern Middle East. His publications include :

'La invención de los indicadores internacionales. Salud, problemas sociales y cuantificación en el Cercano Oriente bajo mandato (1919-1939)' in Camila Pastor, Gilberto Conde & Marta Tawil (eds.), *Mundos arabes en movimiento. Historia del presente, coll. Investigación e ideas, Mexico*, CIDE, 2016; 'Turf wars at the League of Nations: International Anti-Cannabis Policies and Oversight in Syria and Lebanon, 1919-1939', in Magaly Rodrigues Garcia, Davide Rodogno & Liat Kozma (eds.), *The League of Nations' Work on Social Issues. Visions, Endeavours and Experiments*, Geneva, United Nations, 2016 ; 'Pipe-line, colonialisme et ligne claire : Tintin et la question des

mandats du Proche-Orient', in Philippe Delisle (ed.), *La BD francophone et le tournant postcolonial, special issue of Outre-mers. Revue d'histoire*, n°392-393, 2016/2.

CrossRoads members

Charbel Nassif - Ph.D. in History of Art from University Paris IV–Sorbonne (2017) and in Theology from the Catholic Institute of Paris (2017). His first thesis envisaged the work of Youssef Al-Musawwer, a Melkite painter from the 17th c., and the second one with the evolution of the Euchologion in the Greek Melkite Catholic Patriarchate since the review of Bishop Malatios Karmé († 1635) until today. His research interests are focused on liturgical and iconographical heritage of the Melkite Church; correspondences between the Melkite Church and Rome; comparative history of Byzantine Churches in the modern period. Since September 2018, he is a Postdoctoral Fellow at Leiden University on the NWO funded project *CrossRoads: European Cultural Diplomacy and Arab Christians in Palestine 1918-1948*, working on the Melkite community of Palestine.

Dr. Konstantinos Papastathis is an assistant professor at the department of Political Science of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (AUTH). He also collaborates on the research project CrossRoads: European cultural diplomacy and Arab Christians in Palestine at Leiden University. He has studied theology, philosophy and political science at AUTH and K.U. Leuven. His main research interests involve politics and religion, church history, as well as Middle Eastern studies. He currently works on the so-called Jerusalem Question. He has published articles in peer-reviewed journals (*Religion, State and Society*, *Politics, Religion and Ideology*, *Middle Eastern Studies*, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, *Jerusalem Quarterly*, *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*), as well as in collective volumes.

Karène Sanchez Summerer is Associate Professor at Leiden University. She obtained her PhDs from Leiden University and EPHE Paris Sorbonne (section des Sciences religieuses). Her research considers the European linguistic and cultural policies and Arab communities (1860-1948) in Palestine. From 2012 until 2017, she was researching the role of language among the Palestinian Catholic communities in Palestine within the NWO project with H. Murre-van den Berg 'Arabic and its alternatives. Religion and Language Change in the Formative Years of the Modern Middle East (1920-1950)'; forthcoming monograph, *Language and religion in the Holy Land- Catholics, Nationalism and Language challenges in Palestine (1918-1948)*; forthcoming volume with Heleen Murre-van den Berg and T. Baarda, *Arabic and its alternatives: Religious minorities and their languages in the emerging nation states of the Middle East (1920-1950)*, Brill. She is also interested by

missionaries in the Middle East; forthcoming volume with Inger Marie Okkenhaug, Brill LUCIS series, *Mission and Humanitarianism in the Middle East 1860-1970- Ideologies, Rhetoric and Praxis*, 2019. Within the NWO Van Morsel and Rijnerse research project, she is looking at missionary photographic archives in Ottoman and British Mandate Palestine. Since 2017, she is one of the coordinators of the MisSMO research program about Christian missions in the Middle East since the late 19th century (2017-2021), <https://misismo.hypotheses.org/>; forthcoming special issue *Social Sciences and missions, Brill with Philippe Bourmaud Missions/ Powers/ Arabization*, June 2019. She is the co-editor of the series *Languages and Culture in History* with W. Frijhoff, Amsterdam University Press.

Sary Zananiri is an Australian-Palestinian artist and cultural historian. He completed a PhD in Fine Arts at Monash University in 2014 looking at the bibliified Western imaging of the Palestinian landscape and how this intersected with Zionist narrative after 1948. His research interests sit at the intersection of landscape, colonialism, indigeneity and religious narrative with a focus on photography and visual culture. More recently he has been researching the imaging of masculinity and transgression in the Middle East to trace lineages of solidarity movements through visual culture. He is also working on the role of Russia in shaping the culture of the Greek Orthodox community in Palestine.

Marcela A. García Probert

Leiden University m.a.garcia.probert@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Dr. Tawfiq Canaan, the Palestine Oriental Society and the development of the study of Palestine.

Keywords: Tawfiq Canaan, Palestine Oriental Society, Scholarly networks

Tawfiq Canaan (Beit Jala, 1882 - Jerusalem, 1964) was one of the most prominent and prolific Palestinian scholars during the first half of the 20th century. His medical research was very well known since he was one of the first physicians who specialised on endemic diseases and worked intensively to reduce cases that were affecting the local population. Besides his medical career, Canaan carried out ethnographic research of the best quality on Palestinian folklore, which seems to have influenced much of other European ethnographers' work. He published many articles and monographs throughout his life. From early writings very much immersed in Biblical studies, to later publications critical towards the political situation, it is possible to see a transformation in his way of thinking and phases in the formation of his identity; from a Lutheran Christian scholar to a Palestinian scholar.

The main publishing outlet of Canaan's work on Palestinian folklore was the Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society (JPOS); a periodical founded to spread the research that was being done in Palestine and that included scholars from different nationalities and backgrounds. The Palestine Oriental Society (POS) through its journal aimed to open a space for academic engagement, to reach scholars abroad and to bring into the academic scene the latest research on Palestine and the Orient from Palestine. This paper revolves around the role of research societies and associations in the formation of attitudes towards the study of Palestine, but also on how periodicals of these associations can be a tool to trace changing loyalties and identity formation. It focuses on the Palestine Oriental Society as a byproduct of the interactions between European and Christian Palestinian scholars, and explores the role of Tawfiq Canaan who was fundamental in its development and in the foundation of its Journal. Through the POS history and publications, this paper explores the emergence of a cultural identity among scholars based on the idea of being located in Palestine (as a temporary or permanent resident, traveler, or local inhabitant).

Biography

Marcela A. García Probert is an external PhD candidate at LIAS working on material culture and the formation of ethnographic collections in Palestine. The working title of her dissertation is: *From medical remedy to Palestinian amulet. Changing attitudes towards material culture in Palestine, from late Ottoman to contemporary Palestine*. Based on the Tawfiq Canaan Collection. She works under the supervision of Petra Sijpesteijn and Salim Tamari. She has done extensive fieldwork in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Marcela holds a MA in Middle East Studies by El Colegio de Mexico and an undergraduate degree in Art History and the Study of Religion.

Lora Gerd

The Institute of History Loragerd@gmail.com

Russia and Orthodoxy in Palestine (1843-1930's): Diplomacy, Institutions, Personalities

Keywords: Russian Orthodoxy, Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society, Arab Orthodox

During his first visit to Syria and Palestine in 1843 Archimandrite Porphyrii Uspenskii paid special attention at the state of the Arab Christian population, their churches and schools. With the foundation of the Holy Cross school in Jerusalem in 1853 he insisted on teaching Arab boys; an Arab typography was started then as well. Visiting the Holy Land and Alexandria in 1859, Antonin Kapustin, the future head of the Russian mission in Jerusalem, stressed that the foundation of an Arab Orthodox church in

Egypt was of primary importance to preserve and increase the Orthodox population of the Patriarchate of Alexandria.

Supporting Arab Orthodox Christians became one of the main directions of Russian activities in Syria and Palestine after 1856. First the Russian mission in Jerusalem, after the Palestine Committee, and since 1882 the Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society invested money in supporting Arab churches and clergy, and especially in organising schools and seminaries for the Arabic population. At the beginning of the 20th-century the Society maintained about 100 schools in Palestine, Lebanon and Syria, where more than 11.100 children (both girls and boys) studied. For a long time, all Russian activities among the Arabs were a matter of private donations, and only in 1912 the schools received financial support from the state budget.

The religious policy and the shared Orthodox faith with the Christians of the Near East were regarded by the Russian government an important lever of influence in the region, and a way to counteract the Catholic and Protestant proselytism. Constantly supporting the Arab clergy, in 1898 the Russian diplomats managed to raise an Arab Patriarch on the See of Antioch; since 1908 he received an annual sum of 30.000 rubles from the Russian Tsar. The diplomatic support and educational institutions for the Arab Orthodox Christians were a sufficient element of the “Russian presence” in Syria and Palestine till the First World War.

The Russian archives contain rich materials on the activities in the Near East during the late Ottoman period. Most documents concern the period before 1917. Nevertheless, there are some which bring light on the state of the Palestine Society after the revolution. The fund of the Society, preserved in the Institute of Oriental manuscripts in Petersburg, contain reports and correspondence between 1918 and the beginning of the 1930-s. The Society completely changed its profile: from an active political organisation it became a purely scientific one, concentrated on research in the history of Palestine. It was suffering from the lack of financing, and little by little lost contacts with its members abroad. The new Soviet government showed no interest in supporting the numerous proposals for preserving the real estates in Palestine. By the mid-1930-s most of the old members of the Society had either passed, or became victims of the political repressions.

Along with old publications, made before 1917, the documents of the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign affairs in Moscow are actively published during the last two decades; several important publications are made from St. Petersburg archives as well. The Open Jerusalem project aimed at making a database of all sources concerning Jerusalem since 1840.

Biography

Born in St.-Petersburg (Leningrad) in 1970. Finished an English school in 1987, graduated from St. Petersburg State university in 1992 (Classical Philology). Post-

graduate at St.-Petersburg Institute of History (Russian Academy of Sciences). In 1994 defended a PhD “Questions of Canon Law in the Tacticon of Nikon of Black Mount (XI-th Century)”. Since 1995 researcher at St. Petersburg institute of history. In 2006 defended a Doctoral thesis “Constantinople and Petersburg: Russian ecclesiastical policy in the Orthodox East (1878-1898)”.

Lecturer at St.-Petersburg State university (Greek authors, Greek palaeography, Modern Greek history (1854-1821, 1821-1923). Since 2010 lecturer at St.-Petersburg Theological Academy (Russia and the Orthodox East, Historiography of church history).

Author of a number of books and articles on Russian policy in the Ottoman Empire and Greek-Russian relations in the 19-th and early 20-th century (church policy, history of Byzantine studies, confessional and cultural relations), also on Greek manuscripts. Many primary archive sources have been edited by her as well (the correspondence of G. Begleri, 1878-1898, the Journals and reports of Antonin Kapustin, 1850-1865). Regular participant in international conferences, invited for lectures in EHESS (Paris), Cyprus university (Nicosia), Lund university (Sweden).

During the last years is working on projects concerning the history of Mt. Athos, the Patriarchate of Alexandria and the history of Byzantine studies. Participant in the international project “Opening Jerusalem archives”.

Barbara Haider-Wilson

Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Barbara.haider@oeaw.ac.at

Continuities and Discontinuities in the Austrian Catholic Orient Mission to Palestine, 1915–1938

Keywords: Austria, Habsburg Dynasty, Catholicism

The Austrian dimension of the Orient Mission to Palestine from the 1910's to the 1930's was shaped by completely different political entities: the Habsburg Monarchy, the First Austrian Republic, and finally the authoritarian *Ständestaat*. Through these decades of political disturbance, people did not lose their Catholic faith, though.

I will start my presentation by discussing the interests of the late Catholic Habsburg Monarchy in and concerning the Holy Land. These were always connected to the question of prestige, which came from being a Catholic protector power. In the years leading up to and during World War I, this issue gained in terms of scope and dynamic due to Austria-Hungary's struggle to maintain its status as a great power. International developments forced considerations concerning the expansion of the religious protectorate and they led to an allied partnership with the German Empire, ultimately including the Ottoman Empire.

This international and also transnational cooperation between Austria-Hungary and Germany was marked by major rivalries in the area of military-cultural activities in Palestine. They contributed to the failure of ambitiously invested initiatives like the *Orientaktion*, which started in 1915. The high point as well as the end of this can be seen in the undercover *Orientmission* of the year 1917. It was not by chance that a young Habsburg archduke led this mission. At his side stood Alois Musil, a dazzling personality. This undertaking can be deciphered like a code standing for Austro-Hungarian ambitions concerning Palestine in the second decade of the twentieth century. It displays just what sort of value cultivating the image of Austria-Hungary in the region had. Jewish institutions again came increasingly into the center of Viennese interests, too.

Up until the end, the cultural activities of the Habsburg Monarchy in Palestine were concentrated on the medical mission, while participation in the educational system was hardly discussed. Among other things, this was owed to the Austrian ecclesiastic protagonists who were active in the region. The Arab population is rarely visible in the Austrian sources, while the importance of the “inner” mission within the Habsburg Monarchy is more than evident.

The end of the Austro-Hungarian consulate in Jerusalem – crucial for all cultural activities in the region – in the year 1917 and the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918 closed an era, since an old imperial Catholic player left the international struggle for influence in Palestine.

The new Austrian Republic was not only seen as *ce qui reste*, but also suddenly lost the big economic sphere of the Habsburg Monarchy. One of the core results of the World War was that its population suffered from famine. Those who identified themselves as Catholic were represented by the strong Christian Social Party. Zionism and the struggle for a Jewish national home in Palestine were reoccurring topics in the Catholic press of the 1920's and 1930's.

However, the State had no funds for cultural activities abroad. It even took some time to establish a new consulate in Jerusalem. Nevertheless, a few Catholic institutions which had been founded in the nineteenth century survived during the Mandate period, primarily the Austrian Hospice in Jerusalem. My presentation will also discuss how the activities of the Vienna General Commissioner's Office for the Holy Land, one of the main ecclesiastical actors of Austrian Catholic enterprise in Palestine, had developed until the *Anschluss* of Austria by National Socialist Germany in 1938.

The paper will show that the Austrian Republic was only able to pursue some lines of continuity and that the old historical tradition regarding Austrian Catholic interests in Palestine rooted deeply in the age of empires.

Biography

Barbara Haider-Wilson graduated from the University of Vienna where she also completed the sixtieth class of the Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung (1992–1995). From the year 1994, she has been a research associate at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, first in the Historical Commission and from 2013, in the Institute for Modern and Contemporary Historical Research. In the years 2000-01 she had a fellowship at the Institute for European History in Mainz. She is co-organizer of the Viennese workshop series called “International History”. Her research interests are international history; Europe and Palestine; the history of relations between Orient and Occident; and the Habsburg Monarchy in the 19th century. Selected publications: together with William D. Godsey and Wolfgang Mueller (eds.), *Internationale Geschichte in Theorie und Praxis / International History in Theory and Practice* (Wien 2017); together with Maximilian Graf (eds.), *Orient & Okzident. Begegnungen und Wahrnehmungen aus fünf Jahrhunderten* (Wien 2016); together with Dominique Trimbur (eds.), *Europa und Palästina 1799–1948: Religion – Politik – Gesellschaft / Europe and Palestine 1799–1948: Religion – Politics – Society* (Wien 2010); in collaboration with Mordechai Eliav (eds.), *Österreich und das Heilige Land. Ausgewählte Konsulatsdokumente aus Jerusalem 1849–1917* (Wien 2000).

Maayan Hillel

Tel Aviv University Maayan.Hillel@ul.ie

Cultural Diplomacy in Mandatory Haifa: The Role of Christian Communities in the Cultural Transformation in the City

Keywords: Culture, Leisure, Christians, Haifa, European agents, Nationalism, Mandatory Palestine.

During the Mandate period the Arab-Palestinian society in Haifa underwent a profound cultural transformation, which was manifested, inter alia, in the rapid growth of multiple cultural products, public institutions of recreation, and commercial entertainment sites. Leisure businesses such as cafés, bars, restaurants, nightclubs, hotels, cinemas and privets beaches flourished alongside communal cultural establishments like theater troupes, cultural associations, sports teams and scouts. This novel setting spurred modern life styles and gave rise to the appearance of new daily practices. Leisure has become a central and important component in the lives of various social groups within the Palestinian society (such as women, children, workers, villagers) which developed new patterns of recreation. The Christian community in the city played a major role in these processes taking active steps to revive and foster local culture. For instance, of the forty-five cultural clubs operated in the city during the

Mandate, amongst the most popular the majority were Christians. At the same time, Haifa saw an intensive activity of different European cultural agents such as monasteries, missionary schools, consuls and organizations as the British Council, who sought to 'cultivate friendships and cultural ties' with the local population. This paper will examine if and the extent European presence contributed to the growing of the Christian community as a chief actor in the cultural scene of the city, and what were the ways in which these cultural networks operated in practice.

During the Mandate years, the rise of Palestinian nationalism as a basis for collective identity became a powerful category of identity. Leisure spaces had been politicised and served as a vital domain for forming a Palestinian culture and invigorating the identity of the national community. Cultural activities such as sports competitions, cultural clubs, scouts, theater shows, periodicals and newspapers publishing, lectures and trips have become an essential avenue in the nation building process. Against this background, Christians' intensive engagement with cultural development strengthened significantly their social status and functioned as a channel for their mobilisation among the Palestinian society. Relying on a variety of primary sources such as local archives, Palestinian press, memoirs, oral interviews and ephemera collections, the paper will look into these processes and will shed light on the advantages that European presence held for local Christians.

Biography

Dr. Maayan Hilel is a Temporary Lecturer at the Department of History in Limerick University, Ireland. She is a historian of the modern Middle East specializing in the cultural and social history of Palestine. Her dissertation project explored the cultural transformation in Palestinian society in Haifa during the British Mandate, focusing on aspects of leisure, recreation and everyday life. In her current research she looks at the history children and childhood in Palestine from the late Ottoman into the Mandate period.

Sarah Irving

Linnaeus University sarah.irving@lnu.se

Palestinian Christians in the Mandate Department of Antiquities: historical and archaeological narratives in a colonial space

Keywords Palestine, Christian, Antiquities, Mandate, history, culture, archaeology, legitimacy

The British Mandate Administration's Department of Antiquities regulated the protection of pre-eighteenth century architectural and archaeological remains in

Palestine, conducted and licensed excavations on Palestinian territory, and shaped a particular way of presenting the area's history through its exhibitions and publications. The most senior officials of the department were exclusively British, but many of its employees, from security guards and manual labourers up to the level of Inspector of Antiquities, were also drawn from the Arab and Jewish communities of Mandate Palestine. As a result, members of two communities seen as in competition not only for the land and rule of Palestine, but also for the legitimacy conferred by historical presence in that land, worked side-by-side in the British colonial administration governing the protection and portrayal of that history.

This paper draws the careers and writings of two of those Christian staff. The first, Na'im Shehah Makhoul, was the first Palestinian Arab member of staff to occupy a senior position, having joined the department at its inception in 1920 after studying at the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem immediately after WWI. Originating from the majority Greek Orthodox village of Kufr Yasif, he was appointed Inspector of Antiquities for the northern region and wrote, with the archaeologist C.N. Johns, a widely-cited guide to the remains of the city of Akka (Acre). The second, Stephan Hanna Stephan, was from Beit Jala's Syrian Orthodox community and spent most of his career as an assistant in the library of the department and later the Palestine Archaeological Museum. Despite his substantial publications record over almost three decades, he was only promoted in the very last years of the Mandate administration. In examining the publications of these two men, the positions they occupied within the Department of Antiquities, and what can be deciphered of their working lives and dynamics, I seek to illuminate discussions of the ways in which Palestinian Christians might function in relation to the Mandate administration and its public narratives of Palestinian history and culture, and how they at times found ways to appropriate and operate within these colonial structures and narratives to assert more diverse visions and versions.

Biography

Sarah Irving is (as of September 2018) a postdoctoral research fellow at Linnaeus University. She was awarded her PhD from the University of Edinburgh at the beginning of 2018 and has taught at King's College London and Edge Hill University. She is the author of a number of scholarly articles on the uses and operation of history and archaeology in Late Ottoman and Mandate Palestine and on contemporary Arabic literature, and prior to her return to academia also authored a number of books on Palestine.

Tamara van Kessel

Amsterdam University T.M.C.vanKessel@uva.nl

Tamara van Kessel is an Assistant Professor, lecturing on cultural diplomacy and on heritage studies, and coordinator of the master's program Heritage and Memory Studies in the department of Arts and Culture at the University of Amsterdam (Netherlands). She is working on comparative studies in the field of foreign cultural policy, especially in the interbellum, and on the tensions between internationalism and national promotion, as well as on postwar cultural reconstruction. Her most recent publication is *Italian and British Foreign Cultural Policy in the Interbellum. The Italian Dante Alighieri Society and the British Council Contesting the Mediterranean* (Amsterdam University Press 2016).

Norig Neveu

Institut Français du Proche-Orient norigneveu@hotmail.fr

Orthodox clubs and associations: Cultural, educational and religious networks between Palestine and Jordan 1925-1970

Keywords: Orthodox associations, networks, Palestine, Jordan, 1925-1970, connected history

After the fall of the Ottoman Empire, opposition to the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the need to Arabise the Greek Orthodox church became one of the stakes of Arab Nationalists. The Arab members of the church requested the abolition of the Ottoman rule of 1875, which made the election of the Patriarch of Jerusalem an almost exclusive affair for the Greek clerical hierarchy of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre. In the meantime, since the late 19th century, the Greek Orthodox laymen started organising themselves into associations. Starting in the main cities of Palestine the dynamic quickly spread to Transjordan. The Orthodox Philanthropic Foundation was funded in Jaffa in 1879 and encouraged the opening of several clubs and associations. An Orthodox Fraternity (jamâ'iyyat al-ikhâ al-urthûduksiyya) was created with local committees in most parishes. In July 1923, the first Arab Orthodox Congress met in Haifa: all the local committees of Palestine and Transjordan sent delegates. In 1924, the first Orthodox club was founded in Jaffa followed by the opening of others in Jerusalem and Acre.

In Amman, the association for the Orthodox Nahda was funded in 1925 by local notables to promote the religious, educational and cultural activities of the community. The first Orthodox church of the new capital of the Emirate of Transjordan, was built by this association, thanks to private funding. Few years later, another building was dedicated to cultural activities for youth and welcomed the Sunday school. After 1948, some Palestinian refugees in exile in Amman joined the new Orthodox Association for

Culture and Education. The latter opened a secondary school in Amman which quickly became very popular. Moreover, an Orthodox club was created with the support of the leaders of Jaffa's club to promote sports and culture.

This paper considers the history of the Jordan Orthodox associations from 1925 to 1970 in order to reveal the influence of regional networks and connections in the structuration of a religious, social and intellectual life in Amman and more generally Jordan. It aims to highlight the networks and relations established between the Palestinian and Jordanian by the Greek Orthodox notables from the late 19th century. How deeply intertwined the social dynamics in Amman and Jordan are into regional networks? How did the circulation and transfer of models from Palestine to Jordan influenced sports and cultural activities, especially in the frame of the Orthodox club? How did these associations shape the social space in the country and especially its capital? Based on archival documents from the Jordanian Orthodox associations, this article proposes a connected history of the Orthodox associations in Jordan and Palestine during the Mandate and after the settlement of Palestinian refugees in Jordan.

Biography

Norig Neveu is a research fellow at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS) based in IREMAM (Aix-en-Provence, France). As a specialist of Modern history, she has been conducting research for the last ten years in the Middle East, especially in Jordan and Palestine. Her present research focuses on sacred topographies, religious politics and authorities in Jordan, Palestine and Iraq between the 19th and 21st centuries. Thanks to this long-term approach she observes the evolution of tribal and kinship networks and the reconfiguration of the sources of religious authorities in the region. She has published several articles on local pilgrimages, sacred topographies, religious tourism and its impact on local societies. Since 2017 she is one of the coordinators of the MisSMO research program about Christian missions in the Middle East since the late 19th century (<https://missmo.hypotheses.org/>).

Paolo Maggiolini

Catholic University of Milan paolomaria.maggiolini@unicatt.it

The International Center for the Protection of Catholic Interests in Palestine and the Latin Patriarchate's Cultural Diplomacy in the British Mandate period

Keywords: Latin Patriarchate, Catholic cultural diplomacy, Catholic interests

The paper reconsiders the development of the Latin Patriarchate's view of the condition of Catholicism within Mandate Palestine, focusing on its efforts in the field

of cultural diplomacy. In this regard, cultural diplomacy is employed as an analytical tool for reconsidering cultural exchanges promoted by the Latin Patriarchate, or its project for devising specific instruments and strategy in this field. The paper focuses on an initiative specifically dedicated to establishing a solid relationship between local and international Catholic dimensions, contextualizing them within the dimension of the Latin Patriarchate's commitment to the development and defence of the Catholic community's presence in Palestine. The paper develops its analysis according to two precise perspectives. On the one hand, it looks at the Latin Patriarch's efforts in promoting the defence of Catholic interests in Palestine (or the Holy Land) with a Western audience as a project aimed at strengthening socio-cultural cooperation. On the other, it focuses on the role of the Latin Patriarchate in this field as the manifestation of its will to convey a precise image of the "culture" and "identity" of people living in Palestine, and specifically of Catholics dwelling in this territory. With this in mind, the paper analyses a very unique initiative that the Latin Patriarch Barlassina promoted in 1930: the foundation of the *International Center for the Protection of Catholic Interests in Palestine*, officially established in 1933 in Brussels but with its central or operative "office" located in Jerusalem under the direct control of the Patriarch. Although it existed for only a few years, being active from 1933 till 1935 (or most probably concluding its work in 1937, the year of the last communication on this topic preserved in the local archives of the Patriarchate) this project won interest in Rome and was considered by the pope, the Vatican's Secretariat of State and that of the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs to be a useful initiative for campaigning for the interests of Catholicism in Palestine. The *Center* was conceived as an instrument of dissemination, for fostering awareness, mobilization and pressure, but also as a resource for the exchange of ideas. In this regard, it was a unique and peculiar experiment through which a part of the local Catholic Church sought to design a strategy in the field of cultural diplomacy directly from the land of Palestine, connecting the West with the Orient in the interest of Catholicism.

Main archival resources: The Archive of de Propaganda Fide, of the Congregation for the Eastern Churches, of the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem, of the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs and the Vatican Secret Archive.

Biography

¹ Organization for the coordination of volunteering services; <http://www.cosv.org/> accessed 09/05/18

² Nir Arielli, *Fascist Italy and the Middle East 1933-40*, Palgrave Macmillan: London, 2010; Daniela Fabrizio, *Identita' Nazionali e Identita' Religiose*, Studium: Rome, 2004; Arturo Marzano, *Onde*

Paolo Maria Leo Cesare Maggiolini is a Research Fellow and Lecturer in History of Islamic Asia at the Catholic University of Milan and Associate Research Fellow at ISPI. His research is mainly focused on religion and politics in the Middle East and Mediterranean context, with particular concentration on Israel, Iraq, Jordan and Palestine, Arab Christianity in the Middle East, the relationship between religion, national identity and nationalism, and Euro-Mediterranean relations.

He published articles in journals such as *Middle Eastern Studies*, *Digest of Middle East Studies*, *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*, *Chronos*. Among his recent works: Maggiolini P., Demichelis M. (eds.), *The Struggle to Define a Nation. Rethinking Nationalism in the Contemporary Islamic World* (Gorgias Press LLC, 2017) and *Il Regno di Giordania: Frontiere e Confini nella Storia e nelle Istituzioni della Monarchia Hashemita* (Ananke, forthcoming 2017).

Before joining ISPI Dr Maggiolini earned his Ph.D. in Institutions and Politics at the Catholic University of Milan and he completed his post-doctoral research at the University of Geneva as FIIRD fellow and Levant foundation fellow.

Roberto Mazza

University of Limerick Roberto.Mazza@ul.ie

A Coherent Inconsistency: Italian Cultural Diplomacy in Palestine 1918-1936

Keywords: Italy, cultural diplomacy, Catholicism

A recent report of the NGO COSV (Coordinamento delle Organizzazioni per il Servizio Volontario) suggests that 'it was not until the 1995 Euro-Mediterranean Conference that Italy began to take on a prominent role in the Mediterranean region.'¹ It is possible Italy lagged behind other countries in the development of cultural diplomacy, nevertheless Italian cultural influence in the Mediterranean and in Palestine in particular, certainly predates 1995. Studies of European cultural policies in Palestine have often focused on Britain, France and occasionally Germany, however very little has been dedicated to Italy. The works of Nir Arielli, Daniela Fabrizio, Lucia Rostagno and Arturo Marzano shed light on some aspects of early Italian cultural diplomacy in Mandatory Palestine.² Yet, the literature, but more importantly the research on this topic is rather scanty and weak. The lack of sources has been certainly the driving force behind this shortage of studies. However, as the material of the Italian consulate from

Fasciste. La Propaganda Araba di Radio Bari 1934-43, Carocci: 2015; Lucia Rostagno, *Terrasanta o Palestina? La Diplomazia Italiana e il Nazionalismo Palestinese (1861-1939)*, Bardi: Rome, 1996.

its opening in the 1860s to the 1940s has been made available, it will be possible to add important contributions and finally assess Italian cultural diplomacy, its effectiveness and legacy – if any – over the local population: Arab and Jews in their multiplicity of identities and organisations.

What role did culture play in the policies of European agents – governmental and non – regarding the Arabs of Palestine? With this chapter I will try to answer this question looking at the work of Italian diplomacy in Palestine from 1918 to the mid-1930s, essentially from the establishment of British rule to the outbreak of the Arab Revolt which marked a major shift in the local and international political atmosphere. Looking at the material of the Italian consulate in Jerusalem and its subsidiaries throughout Palestine I will attempt to reconstruct Italian cultural activities particularly designed to promote linguistic and cultural agendas. Italians followed similar paths to their French rivals in the establishment of educational institutions. More importantly since the establishment of the Fascist regime, Mussolini attempted to support Arab nationalism and Zionism at the same time with the purpose to challenge British rule in Palestine and create a stronger Italian presence and influence in the region. I propose to look at consular records in order to see what educational material was spread through Italian schools. It is important to highlight the fact that schools, where Italian was offered as a subject, belonged to religious institutions. Despite the political divide over the 'Roman Question' schools benefited from Italian official support. Italian policies however cannot be understood and analysed in a vacuum, in fact, they must be contextualised within the broader cultural activities promoted by 'Italian' religious institutions. For instance, the Vatican, through the Latin Patriarchate promoted a strong process of Arabisation of the local Roman Catholic clergy, de facto competing with the Melkites. A preliminary analysis of the material available suggests a coherent inconsistency of the cultural policies implemented by both the Italian diplomatic corps and religious institutions.

While I plan to rely for the most part on the material of the Italian consulate in Jerusalem, I will look also at material coming from religious institutions including the Latin Patriarchate, the Custody of the Holy Land, and if possible material from the Melkite Church. As secondary literature is rather thin I will attempt to introduce a model for studying Italian cultural diplomacy which must take into account the general diplomatic leverage. For instance, considering that from 1919 to 1926 seven different consuls led the Italian consulate, we understand that Italian leverage was minimal. However, with the appointment of Mario Zanotti Bianchi, and later of Orazio Pedrazzi and Mariano de Angelis – the covered the period from 1926 to 1936 – Italian diplomacy became more relevant and visible. While Italian cultural activities may have become more regular, not necessarily proved to be effective. Retrospectively we know Italian influence did not break through as desired, nevertheless its influence cannot be underestimate nor neglected: it is not the outcome that matters here, but the journey.

Biography

Dr Roberto Mazza earned his PhD from SOAS University of London in 2007, where he is currently a Research Associate. He has published two books with IB Tauris, in 2009 'Jerusalem from the Ottomans to the British' and in 2011 'Jerusalem in World War I: the Palestine Diary of a European Consul'. Dr Mazza has also published several articles on the Jerusalem Quarterly and recently has published an article on First World Studies 'For God and La Patrie: Antonin Jaussen, Dominican Priest and French intelligence agent in the Middle East, 1914-1920.' Dr Mazza has worked also on urban violence and a chapter in relation to the Nebi Musa Riots that occurred in Jerusalem 1920 has been published in Urban Violence in the Middle East: Changing Cityscapes in the Transition from Empire to Nation State. Dr Mazza has recently written a chapter on the evacuation of the Jews of Jaffa in 1917. Currently Dr Mazza is working on a new large project on the urban planning of Jerusalem from 1917 to 1926

Heleen Murre-van den Berg

Radboud University hlmvandenbergh@ivoc.ru.nl

Heleen Murre-van den Berg (PhD Leiden 1995) is director of the Institute of Eastern Christian Studies and extraordinary professor of Eastern Christian Studies at Radboud University. Earlier, she held the chair of professor of World Christianity, especially in the Middle East, at Leiden University where she also served as vice-dean of the Faculty of Humanities. She published extensively on Christianity in the Middle East, especially on the Syriac/Assyrian traditions. Recent publications include (with S.R. Goldstein-Sabbah, eds), *Modernity, Minority, and the Public Sphere: Jews and Christians in the Middle East* (Brill, Leiden, 2016) and *Scribes and Scriptures: The Church of the East in the Eastern Ottoman Provinces (1500-1850)* (Louvain: Peeters, 2015). In 2017, she was elected a member of the KNAW (Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen) and she received the Hans Sigrist Prize of the University of Bern.

Anthony O'Mahony

Black Friars College Oxford anthony.omahony@bfriars.ox.ac.uk

Anthony O'Mahony, Fellow at Blackfriars, University of Oxford and Research Associate, School of Advanced Studies, University of London. He held the Sir Daniel & Countess Bernardine Murphy Donohue Chair in 2018 for Eastern Christian Theology at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome. Research Interests include modern history of Eastern Christianity; Ecumenical dialogue between Eastern

and Western churches; Christian-Muslim-Jewish relations; and the religious and political history of Jerusalem. He has published widely in these areas - recent contributions include: 'Christianity in the Wider Levant Region: Modern History and Contemporary Contexts', in: Kail Ellis OSA (ed): *Secular Nationalism and Citizenship in Muslim Countries Arab Christians in the Levant*, London, 2018; 'Catholics', in: Tadros, Mariz, Ross, Kenneth R., Johnson, Todd M., (eds.) *Christianity in North Africa and West Asia*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018; 'Eastern Christianity and Jesuit Scholarship on Arabic and Islam: Modern History and Contemporary Theological Reflections', in: Anna Abram, Michael Kirwan, Peter Gallagher, (eds.) *Philosophy, Theology and the Jesuit Tradition: 'The Eye of Love'*, London, 2017; '... again to breathe fully from two lungs': Eastern Catholic Encounters with History and Ecclesiology', in: *The Downside Review*, Vol. 134, 2016, (4), pp. 107-118; 'Louis Massignon: A Catholic Encounter with Islam and the Middle East', in *God's Mirror: Renewal and Engagement in French Catholic Intellectual Culture in the Mid Twentieth Century*, ed. by Katherine Davies and Toby Garfitt, New York, Fordham University Press, 2015.

Inger Marie Okkenhaug

University College Volda okkenhai@hivolda.no

A "significant Swedish outpost". The Swedish School and Arab Christians in Jerusalem, 1920-1930

Keywords: Swedish Jerusalem Society, Education, Gender

The Swedish Jerusalem Society (*Svenska Jerusalemföreningen*) (SJS), modelled on the Prussian *Jerusalemverein zu Berlin* and established in 1900, was an organization with strong connections to the Swedish state church.³ Through its mission hospital in Bethlehem and a school in Jerusalem, the SJS worked almost exclusively among the Arab Christian population in Palestine. While the hospital had to close down in 1925, the Swedish school under the leadership of Signe Ekblad (1894-1952) became one of the best Christian primary schools during the British Mandate. One reason for this success was Ekblad's insistence on a standard for the school in Jerusalem to be equal to primary education in Sweden. Ekblad had oak furniture and textiles sent from Sweden and when a new school building opened in 1928, it was furnished according to Swedish handcrafts and design. The famous Swedish illustrator of children's books, Elsa Beskow made the school emblem and there were copies of Carl Larsson's paintings of Swedish landscapes and homes in the classrooms. The Swedish cultural

element was amplified by Christmas celebrations modelled on Swedish traditions that took place at the school every year.

While being modelled on Swedish aesthetics and educational culture, the school had a profound local connection to the Christian Arab community. The staff consisted largely of Christian Arab teachers and the majority of the 200 Arab pupils came from Christian middle class families. In addition, Arabic was the language of instruction. This deep attachment to the local community also included free education to girls from poorer Muslim families.

Based on private and published sources from the Swedish Jerusalem Society this paper looks at how interactions with members of the Christian Arab community in Jerusalem influenced the development of the Swedish school. With a majority of the pupils being girls, how were these relations gendered? In what ways did the Swedish institution have bearing on contacts between Christian Arab and Muslim parents and pupils?

Biography

Inger Marie Okkenhaug (Ph.D. University of Bergen 1999) is a Professor of History at Volda University College, Norway. From 2000-2009 Okkenhaug was a researcher at the University of Bergen. She has published a number of chapters and articles on mission, gender, relief and welfare in the Middle East. Among her most recent publications is "Religion, Relief, and Humanitarian Work among Armenian Women Refugees in Mandatory Syria, 1927-1934", *Scandinavian Journal of History* 40/3, 2015. Okkenhaug's latest book, *En norsk filantrop*. Bodil Biørn og armenerne, 1905-1934 (2016) deals with Norwegian mission and humanitarian work among the Armenians in the years from 1905 to 1940.

Idir Ouahes

Marbella International University Centre idir.ouahes@gmail.com

Secularist networks, Cultural Institutions and Cultural Diplomacy in the Levantine Mandates

Keywords: Diplomatic History, French and British Mandates, Communalism

Cultural diplomacy is a fluidly defined, though growing, element of historical scholarship on the 20th century Middle East. Like church history, the examination of diplomatic activity "proper" emanates from a well-established tradition of European diplomatic history. However, the study of culture, cultural institutions, public spheres and other critical reflections on "modern" society is a much more recent phenomenon

³ Sweden was the only Scandinavian country that established a national presence in Palestine.

that is intrinsically related to 19th and 20th century social science and political philosophy. Middle East studies, especially Levantine studies, have only recently begun to transplant the critical cultural studies that emerged in European countries during the inter-war period; especially the new diplomatic history which has sought to widen the scope of investigation to include socio-cultural activities.

A positive development, since the 2000s, is that the approaches to cultural dynamics in the Levant, and particularly their relation to European influence via diplomatic overtures, have increased. The role of books by Elizabeth Thompson, Jennifer Dueck, Tamara Chalabi, Benjamin Thomas White, Seda Altug, Keith Watenpaugh are examples of research that picked up the threads of a “new communalism” encouraged by European diplomatic apparatuses, an apparatus which included, but was not exclusive to, the mandate states themselves since these were legally, if not practically, supposed to be commissions representing mandatory powers toward autonomous local government. Such studies on the Palestinian mandate have also been prominent over the past decades as European researchers have dug church and national archives to pick up the stories of communal experience in the mandate with the more recent Anglophone contributions being those of Laura Robson and Noah Haiduc-Dale. A tendency of this “new communalism” approach is to emphasise that these minorities were somehow “stirred up” by European diplomatic apparatuses seeking to achieve *realpolitik* goals. Yet, with some exceptions such as Tamara Chalabi’s work, there is also an inclination to treat the communities’ interactions with European powers distinctly, and with little reference to dynamics in the Mandate and broader international networks.

A second set of research, which intensified in the 1990s as new archives emerged, has instead focused on the “hard” diplomatic apparatus. Alongside the famous “new” historians of Palestine, there were also new histories of British, French and American interventions in inter-war Syria and Lebanon from a diplomatic perspective.

A feature of *cultural* diplomacy is that, unlike traditional inter-cultural pre-modern diplomacy or undiplomatic “hard” power wielded by the modern state apparatus, there is an element of dialogue involved; there is inter-relation and clientelism. In French mandate Syria, for instance, there was a clear sense of mutuality in the French approach to Syrian Christians. Cultural inter-relations, institutions and networks thus provided an avenue to circumnavigate Greater Power diplomacy. Examples include Orthodox magazine editor and nationalist Yusef Beidas in Palestine, who sought to avoid affiliation to the British or French mandatory authorities and, in Damascus, Syrian Muhammad Kurd ‘Ali, who navigated the new mandate reality to organise an Arab Academy at Damascus and oversaw a newspaper as well anti-French agitations.

In this paper, I outline how the secular international cultural institutions, such as British humanitarian groups, the French *Mission Laïque*, and various newspapers in the U.S. and Europe provided an avenue for Syrian and Palestinian Christians to contest

mandate methods and carry out a dialogue and informal diplomacy on the newly inaugurated international arena. Specific examples include the Maronite Khairallah Tannous Khairallah who wrote op-eds and books circulating in the French metropole, teachings in the *Mission Laïque* schools in Lebanon, commentaries written by Christian Palestinians and Syrians in Latin and North American newspapers and Palestinian Christians such as Daud Turki and Khalil Beidas who engaged with Russian Communist and Orthodox networks as a means of interpreting the mandate.

Overall, the examination undertaken here seeks to connect international sites, institutional affiliations and individual struggles to understand and respond to the mandate situation as a whole, not simply within the strictures of the religious or ethnic undercurrents of each cultural actor. In this sense, this contributes to wholistic, or integral, histories that build on and bring together the threads of the religious, diplomatic and more recent histories of Christians in the Levant in relation to the European

Biography

Dr Idir Ouahes obtained his Ph.D. degree in History from the University of Exeter in 2016. Previously, he studied at Exeter (MRes Middle East Studies) and at London’s School of Oriental And African Studies (BA History). Idir published his thesis in 2018 via I.B. Tauris as: “Syria and Lebanon at the Outset of the French Mandate: Workings of Cultural Imperialism”. He has published, or is in the process of publishing several peer-reviewed articles, book chapters and encyclopaedia entries. Among these are: “Agricultural Experimentation in French Mandate Syria”, in Ulrike Kirchberger & Brett Bennett, eds., *Ecological Networks in Colonial Contexts, c. 1850-1920*, (Durham NC: University of North Carolina Press, Forthcoming 2019); “Situating the Syrian State: Education & Citizenship 1914-2014” in Nicole Stokes DuPass & Ramona Fruja, (eds.), *Citizenship, Identity & Nation- States in the 21st Century*, (New York: Palgrave, 2016); *Catholic Missionary Education in early French Mandate Syria & Lebanon*, in. *Social Sciences and Missions*, 30, 3-4, (2017); *Une ceinture d'espace étatique: le contrôle des bédouins au début du Mandat Français en Syrie*, *L'Espace Politique*, 28, (2015).

Maria Chiara Rioli & Riccardo Castagnetti

University of Marne La Vallée and University of Bologna

mariachiara.rioli@gmail.com

Sound Power: Musical Diplomacy within the Franciscan Custody in Mandate Jerusalem

Keywords: Music; Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land; St Saviour schola cantorum; Terra Santa orphanage; Augustin Lama

Although often underestimated or barely quoted by historical studies, music plays a crucial role in the cultural agenda of Church institutions and missionary congregations. With the exception of the figure of Wasif Jawhariyyeh, whose cultural and musical relevance has been investigated by Salim Tamari and Issam Nassar, musicians and music in late modern Ottoman and Mandate Palestine still lack of studies. If a comprehensive history of music in modern Palestine is still to be drawn, it is certain that the role played by music within Christian communities was another tool to shape their identities and networks of influence in a time of rapid changes. Among the Catholic actors, the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land was a central one. For the Friars music connected with two of their main goals: evangelisation and education. These two tasks were strictly linked: music was a central element in the liturgies celebrated in the parishes and in the Holy Places, namely the Holy Sepulchre, and at the same time a pedagogical tool, taught in the schools ruled by the Friars. Music reveals also the complex process of encounter of Palestinian and Western patterns in modern Palestine. In this way the music sung and taught in the St Saviour also contributed to shape the soundscape of Jerusalem. In our paper we will discuss various sources: a manuscript notebook of 187 numbered pages, entitled “Cappella musicale di San Salvatore. Annotazioni 1923–1945”, written in the nineteen-twenties by Augustine Lama, at that time the director of the *schola cantorum* of St Saviour; a “Cronaca dell’orfanatrofio di T.S. in Salvatore,” keeping notes of all the musical activities involving the students; Augustin Lama’s partitions and execution of one of his compositions, “Postlude”, written in November 1948 – one of the few musical sources composed during the first Arab-Israeli war –, as well as oral memories of Lama’s sons. Combining historical and musicological methodologies we will try to formulate some answers to the following questions: how music can play a role in the cultural diplomacy pursued by an institution, and namely a religious one? How was music taught by the Friars and in which way was the belonging to the choir an element of promotion for the orphans? Which dynamics were revealed by the music performed concerning the relations – and disputes – between the Christian confessions, with Jewish and Muslim communities, as well as with governmental actors? How did music go beyond the boundaries of St Saviour compound and began a tool of international dissemination of the Custody’s cultural and political influence? And regarding Augustin Lama’s works, how are his compositions influenced by Palestinian musical styles and the Western “tradition”? In which way did this encounter contribute to create a secular popular culture? Through this analysis, we will provide a first attempt to open a path of research aiming at broadening the reflects of cultural diplomacy in the Palestinian region before 1948.

Biographies

Maria Chiara Rioli received her PhD in contemporary history at the Scuola Normale Superiore. She is a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Paris-Est Marne-la-Vallée and project manager of the ERC Open Jerusalem project. Her forthcoming book *Tribulationis Tempore: The Latin Church of Jerusalem, the First Arab–Israeli War and its Aftermath* is under contract with Brill.

Riccardo Castagnetti received his PhD in musicology at the University of Bologna where he is Teaching Fellow. His research interests concern the history of music pedagogy and music theory in the modern and contemporary age. His book *Alla scuola del maestro di cappella. Andrea Basili e la didattica della composizione in Italia nel secolo XVIII* has been published by Libreria musicale italiana (2019).

Heather Sharkey

University of Pennsylvania hsharkey@sas.upenn.edu

Heather J. Sharkey is Professor of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the University of Pennsylvania. She is the author of *Living with Colonialism: Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (University of California Press 2003) and *American Evangelicals in Egypt: Missionary Encounters in an Age of Empire* (Princeton University Press 2008). She has edited two volumes, *Cultural Conversions: Unexpected Consequences of Christian Missionary Encounters in the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia* (Syracuse University Press 2013); and, with Mehmet Ali Doğan, *American Missionaries in the Modern Middle East: Foundational Encounters* (University of Utah Press, 2011). Her newest book, *A History of Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Middle East*, appeared from Cambridge University Press in 2017.

Mathilde Sigalas

University of Geneva Mathilde.Sigalas@unige.ch

In-between diplomacy and science: British Mandate Palestine and its international network of archaeological organizations (1918-1938)

Keywords: Archaeology, Department of Antiquities, Archaeological Institutes

Before 1914, archaeology in the Arabic provinces of Syria and Palestine was ruled by the Ottoman Empire. During World War I, Palestine was to be supervised by an international quorum of occidental countries. Archaeological research depended on the future political reorganisation of the region. Palestine was given to Great Britain as

a mandate at the end of the war. At first, archaeology was controlled by the army, as Palestine was under a martial law before the officialisation of the mandate.

The history of archaeology in the Middle East during the interwar period is most of the time focused on Western powers' national agenda. Historiography reveals a one-sided approach with the study of the archaeological field through the work of only one country. The new political order initiated after World War I with the system of the mandates offers a comparative vision of the archaeology led both by British and French administrations over Palestine and Syria. Three kinds of archaeological institutions were created in Palestine at the beginning of the 1920s.

First, a new policy was established under the supervision of the League of Nations. The reorganisation of archaeology and the regulation on antiquities were included in the mandate administration. The Department of Antiquities founded in 1920 was the head of this new system as decision-maker. Its Director collaborated with the High-Commissioner under the instructions of the League to write a new Law of Antiquities which was to be shared with the French Department in Syria. The organisation suggested a bilateral dialogue between British and French diplomats and archaeologists for the composition of the Law. The British decided to create a subdivision named the Archaeological Advisory Board, within the Department of Antiquities of Palestine, to continue the international collaboration, especially with American and Italian intellectuals, while being Allied during the war, and to include locals. The Archaeological Advisory Board was the first international institution meant to better comprehend local political and ethnographic issues.

The second institutions to be created were the Western archaeological schools established in Palestine. The American School of Oriental Research was created in 1900 and helped the British and French to set up theirs in 1919 and 1920 respectively. Each school had its own activities and schedule.

The third type of institution was learned societies. The Palestine Oriental Society was founded in 1920 and worked as a transnational corporation. It is of particular interest as it was initiated by American, British and French professors. Both institutions, the Archaeological Advisory Board and the Palestine Oriental Society had not yet been studied. Studying through a transnational approach these three categories of institutions has revealed the formation of an international intellectual network in Palestine and physically recognizable in Jerusalem.

At that time, archaeology started to become a real discipline and became increasingly intertwined with political and religious issues. Governors, directors and archaeologists collaborated to promote neutrality and harmony within the elitist spheres. Even though there were different initiatives from the western archaeological actors such as the creation of learned societies or international board, some rivalries remained.

In this article, I shall study the extent to which the regulation of archaeology during the inter-war period was influenced by political and religious tensions depending on the interest of western countries in Palestine.

Biography

PhD student in contemporary history at the Department of General History at the University of Geneva since September 2018. She is a graduate of École normale supérieure and the National School of Charters in Transnational History. Her master's thesis focused on archaeology as a diplomatic tool of the Western powers in Palestine between 1918 and 1938. Her thesis project focuses on the presence of American archaeological institutions as places of interaction of the elites in the Middle East, within the framework of the FNS project entitled "Rockefeller follows as major of globalization: the circulation of elites, knowledge, and practices of modernization (1920s-1970s)", under the direction of Ludovic Tournès.

For the publication (our colleagues who could not come, but who will hopefully/ most probably participate to the publication)

+ Angelos Dalachanis/Leyla Dakhli (CNRS)

École Française d'Athènes angelos.dalachanis@efa.gr

Philanthropy and Tea Time during Palestine's Crucial Years: The Greek Ladies' Union of Jerusalem, 1937-1950

The point of departure for this paper is an intriguing but unexploited source: the minutes of the Greek Ladies' Union covering almost 13 crucial years of Jerusalem's history: from December 1937 to October 1950. For that period in Jerusalem, women's voices are rare. In this case, these "ladies" who had created this association along ethnic and national lines back in 1924, formed a place for philanthropy, social gatherings and the exchange of views on communal and other issues. The minutes of their gatherings are bringing to us unheard voices of Jerusalem and the important Greek Orthodox community of the city in particular. An analysis of these minutes gives us the opportunity to understand the different strategies women developed to make their views known within their community, to examine their philanthropic activities within the charitable universe of the holy city and, most of all, to deal with multiple political developments at different levels during a period which is not only sensitive regarding the future of Palestine but also for the future of the Christian communities of Jerusalem.

Biography

Angelos Dalachanis is a research fellow of the French School at Athens (École française d'Athènes). He holds a PhD in history from the European University Institute, Florence, and was a postdoctoral research fellow at Aix-Marseille University (LabexMed, 2012–14), and at the Seeger Center for Hellenic Studies at Princeton University (2014–15). He has taught at Paris-Est Marne-la-Vallée University. His research interests include the Greek diaspora, migration, labor, and cross-cultural contacts in the eastern Mediterranean in the modern period. He is the author of *The Greek Exodus from Egypt: Diaspora Politics and Emigration, 1937–1962* (Berghahn, 2017) and coeditor of *Ordinary Jerusalem, 1840-1940: Opening New Archives, Revisiting a Global City* (Brill, 2018).

Jacob Norris

Sussex University J.Norris@sussex.ac.uk

Flows of influence between Latin America and Palestine, 1910-1930

Beginning in the 1870s, Palestinian Christians migrated overseas in increasingly large numbers as they sought to broaden their trading opportunities in the age of steam travel and global communications. By the onset of the British Mandate, they had established thriving communities in countries as far flung as the Philippines, France, Sudan, and above all in Latin America. Communication between Palestine and these diasporic communities constituted a major facet of life for Christian Palestinians in the late Ottoman and Mandate periods, although scholars are still in the early stages of exploring its full implications. This paper will discuss the myriad flows of information, capital, ideas and technologies between Palestine and the Latin American countries where Christian (as well as many Muslim) migrants had established themselves. It will argue we need to look far beyond a unidirectional Europe-Palestine flow of influence to appreciate the ways in which Palestinians were plugged into global circuits of culture and information in this period. The paper will draw on case studies relating to the town of Bethlehem which was at the forefront of these migratory processes. From early efforts at cinematography, to print publishing, to architectural styles, Bethlehemites were engaged in complex multidirectional exchanges between Latin America and their hometown. To grasp their historical significance, the paper will argue we need to view Palestine as an exporter and producer of global culture in this period as well as the mere passive recipient it is often portrayed to be.

Biography

⁴ I realized the inventory of these archives for the Institute. The publication of the catalogue is planned for 2019.

Jacob Norris is Senior Lecturer in Middle Eastern History at the University of Sussex in the UK. His first book, *Land of Progress: Palestine in the Age of Colonial Development, 1905-1948* was published in 2013 by Oxford University Press. He is currently working on a two-year AHRC grant titled “Merchants and Miracles: Global Circulations and the Making of Modern Bethlehem.” The project which will produce a monograph on the life of one merchant from Bethlehem and a digital archive consisting of family papers and digitised objects from across the Bethlehem diaspora.

Marie Bossaert

École Française de Rome Marie.Bossaert@gmail.com

Looking for the Oriente Cristiano: the Study of Christian Orient in Italian Orientalism (1920s-1930s).

Keywords: Orientalism, Italy, Michelangelo Guidi

Orientalism has usually been considered as the study of the Arabo-Islamic world, concentrated in a Middle East reduced to its Muslim component. However, a large part of Oriental studies, especially in Italy, focused on Christian Orient. This orientation, that originated in the religious roots of Orientalist knowledge, is still true for the first half of the 20th century, even if was generally overlooked.

My paper aims at examining Italian Oriental studies produced on the Eastern Christian communities, focusing on Palestine, in the 1920s and 1930s. To do so, I will rely on archival fonds: Michelangelo Guidi's papers, kept at the Istituto per l'Oriente in Rome⁴. Michelangelo Guidi, a major Orientalist of the 20th century, expert of the Arabic language and culture, dedicated an important part of his work to Arab Christian cultures. For instance, he wrote the articles related to this topic for the *Enciclopedia Treccani*, one of the main Italian enterprise of knowledge popularization. This aspect of his work, well represented in his archives (preparatory material and correspondence), next to the studies about the heterodox “sects” of Islam, has usually been neglected.

Through this study, I would like to examine the way Arab Christians communities are defined and described by Orientalists, in a critical period of reconfiguration of the Middle East, and question the possible role played by Orientalists in this process. The role played by Palestinian scholars themselves in the production of this knowledge will be considered as well, as part of a larger enquiry about the “Orientals” involvement in the elaboration of Orientalism. Finally, I would like to investigate the place of these studies in the intermittent filo-Arabic and filo-Muslim policies of Fascism, and the

articulation between these studies and the research about Heterodox Islam – in other terms, the attempts of defining “another Islam”.

Biography

Marie Bossaert is a post-doctoral fellow (“membre”) in history at the École française de Rome (Italy). Her work deals with the history of Oriental studies and social, political and cultural history of the Mediterranean, especially relationships between Italy and the Ottoman empire (19th-20th century). In 2017, she received an award from the Chancellerie des Universités de Paris for her PhD *Knowing the Turks and the Ottoman Empire in Italy: construction and use of knowledge on the Orient from the Unification to the Italo-Turkish war* (École pratique des Hautes Études, Paris – Istituto di Scienze Umane, Florence, 2016).

Annalaura Turiano

Ecole française de Rome annalauraturiano@gmail.com

Italian missionaries and Cultural diplomacy in the Holy Land 1918-1948

Dominique Trimbur

Affiliated to CRFJ Centre de recherche français de Jérusalem

dominiquetrimbur@hotmail.fr