

# 'Imaging and Imagining Palestine'

Photography and Social History in British  
Mandate Palestine (1918-1948)

16-18 October 2019, Leiden University Library, Vossius room



**Front Cover :**

*Fantasie in Ramleh* c.1921-23

Frank Scholten

Image courtesy of NINO



CrossRoads  
EUROPEAN CULTURAL DIPLOMACY  
& ARAB CHRISTIANITY IN PALESTINE  
1918-1948



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands



## Maps and Conference Information



*Devant le garage (Naplouse) c.1921-23*

Frank Scholten

Image courtesy of NINO

## MAP OF VENUES IN LEIDEN UNIVERSITY'S VICINITY

Leiden is an easy city to navigate on foot and most venues are within a few minutes walk of one another.

Leiden Central 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 be held in the university library, 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.

### Accommodation: (Green logo)

1. De Doelen Hotel, Rapenburg 2, 2311 EV Leiden  
Ph 071 512 0527
2. Volkenkunde, Steenstraat 1, 2312 BS Leiden  
Ph 088 0042 830

### Conference Venue (Red logo)

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

### Meals (Yellow logo)

Wednesday 16<sup>th</sup> October

4. Dinner at Burgerzaken, Breestraat 123, 2311 CM Leiden  
Ph 071 566 1122

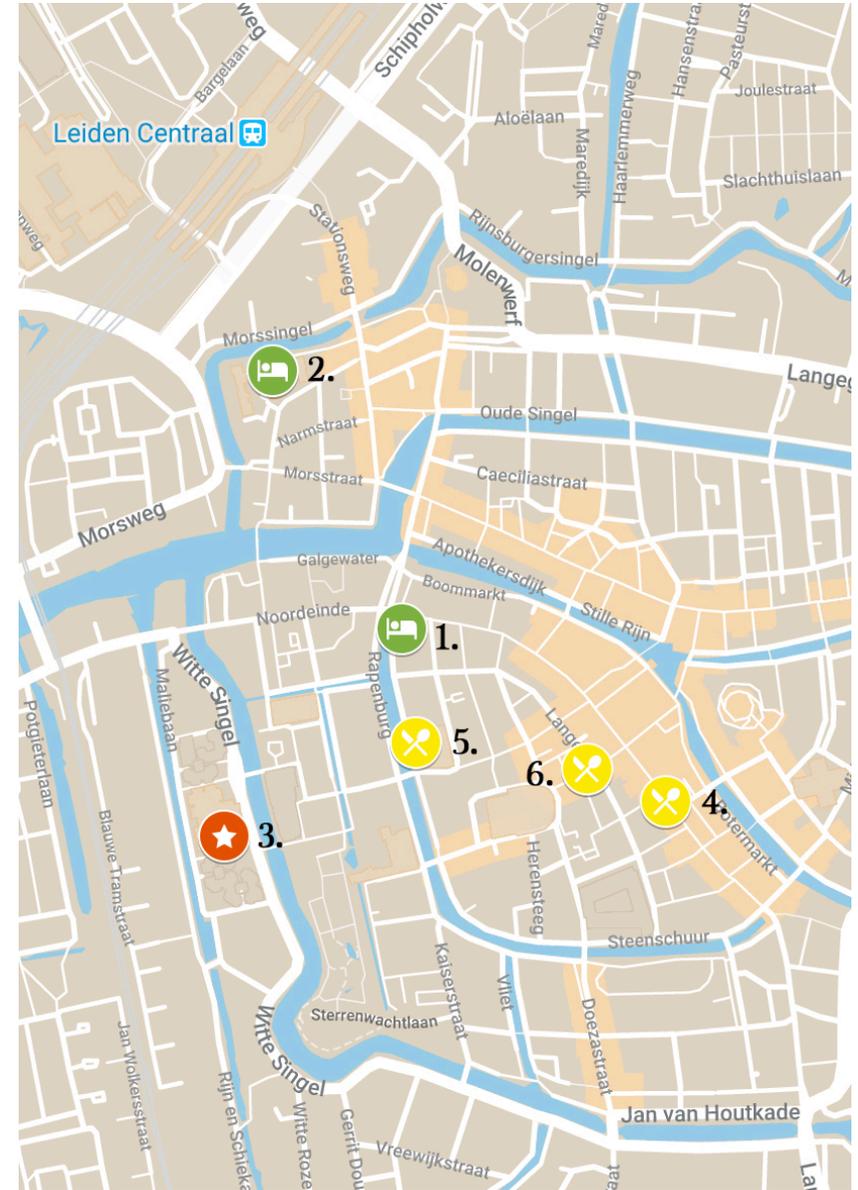
Thursday 17<sup>th</sup> October

5. Lunch at Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (RMO, National Antiquities Museum)  
Rapenburg 28, 2311 EW Leiden  
Ph 071 5163 163

6. Dinner at Puur, Pieterskerk-Choorsteeg 9, 2311 TR Leiden  
Ph 071 512 0998

Friday 18<sup>th</sup> October

7. Lunch at Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (RMO, National Antiquities Museum)  
Rapenburg 28, 2311 EW Leiden  
Ph 071 5163 163



## Conference Details

### CROSSROADS TEAM

**Karène Sanchez Summerer**

Associate Professor

K.Sanchez@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

**Sarah Irving**

Postdoctoral Researcher

sarahirvingwork@gmail.com

**Charbel Nassif**

Postdoctoral Researcher

c.nassif@hum.leidenuniv.nl



*Fantasie in Ramleh* c.1921-23

Frank Scholten

Image courtesy of NINO

**Wednesday 16<sup>th</sup> October 2019 (Vossius room. U. Library)**

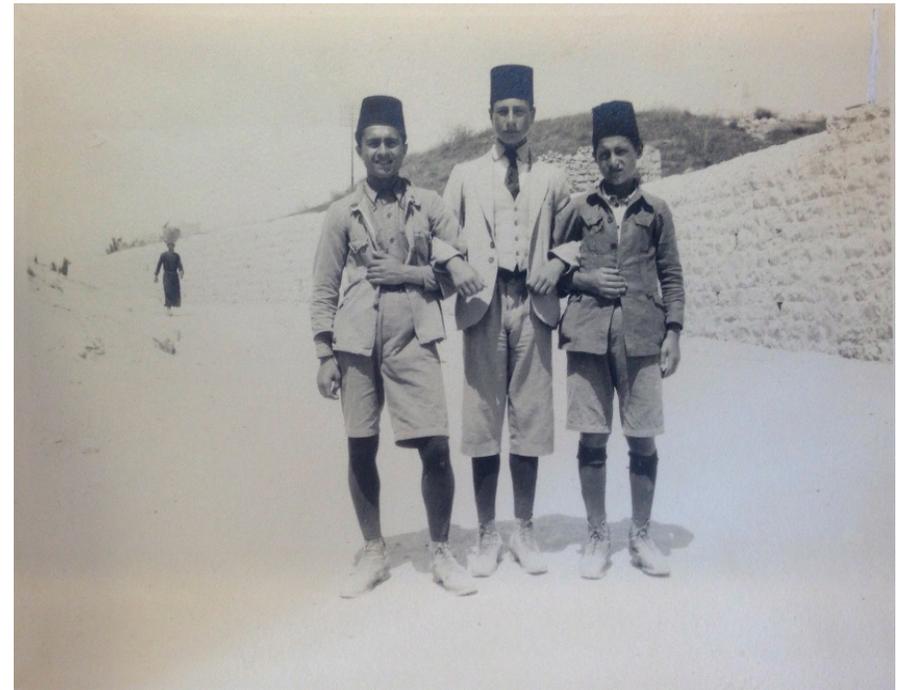
- 18.00**     **Salim Tamari**  
*Flaneurism, Spectacle and Modernity in the Photographic Albums of Wasif Jawharyyeh*
- Sarah Irving**  
*Orienting the Tour. 'Writing back' in Palestinian travel guides*
- 20.00**     **DINNER:** Burgerzaken  
Breestraat 123, 2311 CM Leiden (see map)  
Ph 071 566 1122

**Day 1**     **Thursday 17<sup>th</sup> October 2019 (Grotius room. U. Library)**

- 9.00**     Coffee, registration
- 9.15**     Introduction
- Panel discussant : Salim Tamari
- 9.30**     **Issam Nassar**  
*Bearers of Memory: Photo Albums as Sources of Historical Study in Palestine*
- 10.30**     **Abigail Jacobson**  
*'Little Orphans of Jerusalem': The American Colony's Christian Herald Orphanage in Pictures and Negatives*
- 11.30**     **BREAK**  
Panel discussant : Norig Neveu
- 12.00**     **Yazan Kopty**  
*Edward Keith-Roach's Favorite Things: Indigenizing National Geographic's Images of Mandatory Palestine*
- 13.00**     **LUNCH:** RMO, Museum of Antiquities  
Rapenburg 28, 2311 EW Leiden (see map)  
Ph 071 5163 163
- 14.30**     **Vossius room, University Library**  
**Rona Sela**  
*Chalil Raad and the Response to Colonialism: From Bible Imagery to Archaeological and Ethnographical Photography in Palestine, 1891-1948*
- 15.30**     **Rachel Lev**  
*Open Roads: John D. Whiting "Diaries in Photos," 1934-1939*
- 17.30**     **Public lecture**  
This transnational paradise (LUCIS event), Vossius room
- 20.00**     **DINNER:** Puur  
Pieterskerk-Choorsteeg 9, 2311 TR Leiden (see map)  
Ph 071 512 0998

- Day 2**      **Friday 18th October 2019 (Vossius, U. Library)**  
Panel discussant: Stephen Sheehi
- 09.00**      **Nadi Abusaada**  
*Urban Encounters: Imaging the City in Mandate Palestine*
- 10.00**      **Sary Zananiri**  
*Documenting the Social: the Frank Scholten Collection and Undermining Taxonomy in British Mandate Palestine*
- 11.00**      **Exhibition, Hensius room, University Library**  
Photographs from: Frank Scholten Collection
- 12.30**      **LUNCH:** RMO, Museum of Antiquities  
Rapenburg 28, 2311 EW Leiden (see map)  
Ph 071 5163 163
- Panel discussant: Issam Nassar
- 14.00**      **Grotius room, University Library**  
**Inger Marie Okkenhaug**  
*Swedish Imagines of Jerusalem: Local Photography and Social History in Palestine, 1926-1939*
- 15.00**      **BREAK**
- 15.30**      **Norig Neveu and Karène Sanchez Summerer**  
*The Dominican photographic-library of Jerusalem: Beyond a Catholic perception of the Holy Land?*
- 16.30**      **Stephen Sheehi**  
*Decolonizing the Photography of Palestine: Searching for a Method in a Plate of Hummus*
- 17.30**      **Round table**  
Panel discussant: Özge Calafato & Aude Aylin de Tapia
- 18.30**      **Conference concludes**

## Abstracts and biographies



*Muslim school boys c.1921-23*  
Frank Scholten  
Image courtesy of NINO

## Alphabetical order

### Nadi Abusaada

Cambridge University na442@cam.ac.uk

*Urban Encounters: Imaging the City in Mandate Palestine*

In the first half of the twentieth century, Palestine witnessed remarkable transformations in its urban built environment. These changes, while originating in the late Ottoman era, were exacerbated under the British Mandate with the introduction of new urban infrastructures and statutory planning policies that controlled urban expansion and the construction of new settlements. Remarkably, this history of urban change in Palestine paralleled the rise of photographic production as a principal method for documenting and representing the built environment.

This paper aims to examine the historical intersection between photographic practice and urban planning in the colonial context of Mandate Palestine, from the perspective of both photographers and planners. More specifically, it traces the relation between the shifting attitude in the photographic representation of Palestine's built environment from a 'land of promise' to a 'land of progress' in this period and, in turn, the utilization of photography by colonial architects and planners to display and imagine their own projects and visions of urban development.

To do this, the paper draws on two different, yet complementary, types of photographic productions that captured the process of urban change in Mandate Palestine. First, a set of German and British aerial photographs from the Bavarian State Archives and the British National Archives – some originally intended for military purposes – taken from the start to the end of the British Mandate, and second, sets of photographs and panoramas from the collections of the American Colony and the Pro-Jerusalem Society that depicted the same process at ground level. Both photographic types were utilized by British architects and planners; the first for cartographic purposes to map and control urban expansion, and the second to study urban built forms and sketch their architectural interventions in the form of proposed demolitions or new constructions. Together, these usages display a different narrative of photography, not merely as a documentation of urban reality but as essential platforms for colonial intervention in the built landscape.

### Biography

Nadi Abusaada is a Ph.D. Candidate in Architecture at the University of Cambridge. He is a Cambridge Trust scholar and a member of the Centre for Urban Conflicts Research. His Ph.D. research focuses on urban transformation in modern Palestine (1880-1940), particularly the rise of municipalities and architectural changes in this period. More broadly, he is interested in the relationship between the built environment and sociopolitical dynamics in cities. Nadi is currently the Co-Editor in Chief for the 2019/20 issue of *Scroope: The Cambridge Architectural Journal*. Nadi holds an M.Phil. in Architecture

and Urban Studies from the University of Cambridge and an H.B.A. in Architecture from the University of Toronto.

### Özge Calafato

ozge.calafato@nyu.edu

### Biography

Özge Calafato is a PhD candidate at the Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis, the University of Amsterdam, focusing on vernacular photography and Turkish modernity. Since 2014, she has been working as the Project Manager for the Akkasah Center for Photography at the New York University Abu Dhabi. She completed her BA degree in Political Science and International Relations at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, and her MA degree in Journalism at the University of Westminster, London. Since 1999, she has worked as a journalist, editor, and translator for several newspapers and magazines focusing on photography, literature, contemporary art, film, music, and travel. Between 1999 and 2007, she worked as a writer and editor for the *Geniş Açık Photography Magazine* from Istanbul. Between 2008 and 2013, she worked as Programming Manager at the Abu Dhabi Film Festival.

### Abigail Jacobson

abigail.jacobson@gmail.com

*"Little Orphans of Jerusalem": The American Colony's Christian Herald Orphanage in Pictures and Negatives*

The American Colony Christian Herald Orphanage was established following World War I, as part of the American Colony's aid Association. Hosting around 36 girls, Christians and Muslims, between the ages 3 and 15, the orphanage served as a home for girls whose families were harshly affected from the war crisis. Some lost both parents, some lost their fathers without their mother being able to support them, and some were sent to Jerusalem by relatives from Syria and Transjordan in order to rescue them from "going to the wrong".

This paper will recover the social history of this institution by using three main sources. The first is the photography album of the Orphanage, consisting of 36 captioned prints from the Orphanage life and 46 portraits of girls. The second source is the original negatives of the photos, kept at the American Colony Archive in Jerusalem. The third source is the Record List of all girls who received support from the Orphanage. Each entry includes a newspaper clipping briefly introducing the girl, together with handwritten records about the money donated to the orphanage for supporting this girl. The paper will embark on two main missions. The first is to study the institute's short history, as part of the "politics of relief" held by the American Colony. Unlike other institutions of the Colony, the Orphanage was introduced to its Christian donors as "an opportunity to get in personal touch with a Jerusalem child and influence her entire

life.” The second would be to use the photography history that the album offers us, and compare the photographs in it to the original negatives, in order to investigate the ways the girls were displayed for different audiences and purposes.

### **Biography**

Abigail Jacobson is a historian working on social and urban history of late Ottoman and Mandatory Palestine and the Eastern Mediterranean. Her main research interest is the history of ethnically and nationally mixed spaces and communities, especially during times of war and conflict. Her first book is entitled *From Empire to Empire: Jerusalem between Ottoman and British Rule* (Syracuse University Press, 2011). Her second book, *Oriental Neighbors: Middle Eastern Jews and Arabs in Mandatory Palestine* (Brandeis/New England University Press, 2016), is co-authored with Dr. Moshe Naor. The book won the Yonatan Shapira award for the best book in Israel studies for 2017, as well as the best book award from the Center for the Relations of Muslims, Jews and Christians at the Open University in Israel (2017).

### **Yazan Kopty**

ykopty@gmail.com

*Edward Keith-Roach's Favorite Things: Indigenizing National Geographic's Images of Mandatory Palestine*

Over the past 110 years, National Geographic Magazine's coverage of Palestine has spanned more than 80 published features and over 1,500 photographs. No other publication has represented Palestine and its indigenous communities for as long or as consistently to its readership. In October 1918, the magazine welcomed the beginning of British rule in Palestine with a feature called “An Old Jewel in the Proper Setting: An Eyewitness's Account of the Reconquest of the Holy Land by Twentieth Century Crusaders” which marked the beginning of three decades of coverage that presented Palestine as a territory in the midst of exciting and positive change. Coverage during the Mandate period presented narratives that ran alongside/overlapped with British colonial and Zionist representations; in some cases becoming indistinguishable such as two features written by Major Edward Keith-Roach while he served as a high-ranking member of the British colonial administration. Behind these published features are thousands of unpublished images that were collected during the Mandate period and kept in the editorial archive of the National Geographic Society. These images and their original captions give new insights into the processes of image production, selection, and circulation, offering a candid view of how photographers/editors participated in and reinforced the power-relations between the colonized and colonizers.

This chapter will examine National Geographic's coverage of Palestine during the Mandate period, focusing specifically on how the images of Palestine and Palestinians that were published were acquired or produced (often independently of the stories that they

illustrated), and how the process of selecting and captioning these images transformed and restricted their meaning to justify and promote British imperialism and Zionist colonization. In the second part of the chapter, I will introduce *Imagining the Holy* as a project that aims to re-appropriate and re-narrate these images, giving Palestinians a chance to decolonize/indigenize images of their homeland and ancestors and place them back into the history of the Mandate period.

### **Biography**

Yazan Kopty is a writer, researcher, and oral historian. His work centers around the acts of listening and narrating, focusing especially on memory as resistance and community-sourced histories. He is currently a National Geographic Explorer and lead investigator of *Imagining the Holy*, a research project that seeks to examine and connect thousands of images of historic Palestine from the National Geographic Society archive with Palestinian community elders, cultural heritage experts, and field researchers to add new layers of indigenous knowledge and narrative to the images. He previously established and headed the oral history and intangible cultural heritage programs at Qatar Museums. His forthcoming debut novel is inspired by oral histories he conducted with his grandparents and his family archive of films, photographs, and documents.

### **Rachel Lev**

museumworks@gmail.com

*Open Roads: John D. Whiting "Diaries in Photos," 1934-1939*

The photographic album series “Diaries in Photos” was created by American Colony in Jerusalem member John D. Whiting (1882–1951). It is a poetic, personal visual account of life in Palestine and the Levant during the 1930s. The series consists of five volumes comprising some 900 photographs featuring Whiting's travels as a personal tour-guide in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey, Palestine and Sinai, between 1934 and 1939. Like written diaries, and life itself, where public and private space are intertwined, Whiting's visual diaries present in a refined yet neutral manner major historical events, people and sites, from wedding ceremonies of princes to a turtle laying her eggs to Zionist demonstrations against the White Book. The diaries constitute an unusual panorama of life in the Levant seen from a traveler's perspective during the second decade of the British Mandate in Palestine.

At the young age of 14, Whiting became a member of the American Colony Photo-Dept. and by 21 he was leading archaeological expeditions through Palestine whose landscapes and history he had mastered. From 1913 to 1939, Whiting published several articles in the National Geographic magazine, illustrated with American Colony Photo-Dept. photographs, in which he linked the local cultures he explored with the biblical ethos of the Holy Land. Whiting was also a collector, antiques dealer and curator of archaeological

collections for museums in Europe and America. He was the US deputy consul in Palestine from 1908 to 1915.

Whiting's photographic diaries were created in parallel to the escalating political situation in Palestine. A few of the notables he guided across the Levant were British diplomats and Palestinian dignitaries, but the space he created around them engendered unusual human encounters with local cultures and guests and manifested only indirectly the British influence on Palestine. Traveling with his camera, Whiting reframed the wealth of unfamiliar alternative histories of the Levant, rarely seen after 1948.

### **Biography**

Rachel Lev is an MA student in the Policy, Theory and Criticism of the Arts program and she heads the American Colony Archive in Jerusalem. She gained experience both as a curator and an exhibition designer starting as a junior curator in the fields of Prints and Drawings and Photography and later as an exhibition designer where she created many temporary and permanent displays. Her work at the American Colony Archive consists of assisting researchers and curators in accessing primary sources essential for their research. In recent she years curated two new photographic exhibitions based on American Colony Photo-Dept. work and organized the first international conference on the history of the American Colony in Jerusalem (2014)

Rachel's interest lies in the relationship between perception and presentation of content in space and the relation between dominant and alternative narratives in art and photography, specifically in the work of the American Colony Photo-Dept. (ACPD) photographers (1896–1934). Rachel recently published two articles on the subject, the first, "*Chronicles of a Surrender*" attempts to reconstruct the partially destroyed photographic series documenting the Surrender of Jerusalem taken by Hol Lars (Lewis) Larsson, ACPD photographer, in the morning of December 9, 1917; the second, "*Photography and Genius Loci: Hol Lars (Lewis) Larsson's Kaiserin Augusta Victoria Stiftung on Olivet*" (1910–1914), focuses on the photographic representation place as seen in Larsson's Augusta Victoria hand painted photograph, created soon after the monument was completed.

### **Issam Nassar**

irnassa@ilstu.edu

*Bearers of Memory: Photo Albums as Sources of Historical Study in Palestine*

The presentation will focus on the relationship between history and personal and family albums in the case of the pre-1948 Palestine. With the destruction of Palestinian society around the time Israel was created, a large number of archival materials was lost. Without a state of their own, the Palestinians were left with mostly memories of their lives before they became refugees. In the chapter, I will argue that photographic albums constitute personal archives that narrates history from a familial perspective as well as preserves visual evidence of a life lost. In this regard, the chapter will examine a number of albums

whose owners managed to take on their journey into exile when they left their homes in the western suburbs of Jerusalem in 1948, or to retrieve them in the aftermath of the war of 1967.

The albums that the study will tackle are those of musician Wasif Jawhariyyeh, George Mushabek, and Julia Lucy. The first, Jawharriyeh's, is a collection of seven albums that are divided chronologically, starting from the late Ottoman period and ending shortly before the events of 1948. His albums centered on life in the city, including the political changes that were taking place at each period. He kept a separate notebook for each of the albums in which he described every picture included. The second, Mushabek's, is an album that is devoted to the journey he took, with his four friends in 1936, to the Berlin Olympic. The third, Lucy's, could be described as a typical family album that document her family's life from the 1920s through the late 1940s. From today's standpoint, the discussed albums put together can be described as records documenting the liminal period separating between Ottoman rule in Palestine and the creation of the state of Israel. In this sense, they function as an infusion of memories from a period that predates their owners' departure from Palestine in 1940.

As the events of 1948 had acquired a special meaning within the collective Palestinian memory not only as references to the past lost, but also as a defining moment, a great juncture, in the historical narrative of the Palestinians as well. The albums at hand constitute three different types of compilation not merely due to the differences in ways of collecting, but also in the very fact that they were put together by very different kinds of individuals with different intentions. A person who saw himself as the storyteller of Jerusalem and its historian, produced the first collection of albums over a longer period of time. A playful young athlete documenting a short period of time and a specific event created the second single album of Mushabek. The third, crafted by an upper-class woman, was clearly intended to narrate—whether intentionally or not—the highlights in her life and that of her family. While Jawharriyeh collected images from professional photographers that were often given to him by friends and dignitaries, Mushabek's photographs were snapshots taken with the use of the camera of an amateur traveler. At the same time, the album of Lucy was compiled largely from studio portraits in which she or a relative of hers appeared in front of the camera in a setting that was carefully planned. Still, we find exceptions in all of the albums that do not conform to the rest of the included photographs. The albums, therefore, can be said to represent both the public and the private spheres.

My conclusion has a bearing on the study of the photographic albums as archives, as well as on the history of the Palestinian. Not only will I examine each and every image in the collections attempting to decipher its location within the familial history of the collectors, but I will also examine the albums as narrative. Because the albums come to us from Palestinians who became refugees and lost their homes and their rights to be citizens of a state, they represent us with a narrative that is mired with nostalgia and future meanings that were not intended when the albums were created.

## Biography

Issam Nassar is an historian of photography and Middle Eastern History at Illinois State University. Nassar taught at the University of California at Berkeley in 2006; Bradley University in 2003-2006 and al-Quds University in 1998-2003. He is associate editor of *Jerusalem Quarterly* (Arabic: Hawliyat al-Quds) and author of a number of books and articles, among them: *Different Snapshots: The History of Early Local Photography in Palestine*, *European Portrayals of Jerusalem: Religious Fascinations and Colonialist Imaginations*, Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2006. *Gardens of Sand*, edited with Clark Worswick and Patricia Almarcegui, TrunerPhoto Middle East, October 2010. *I Would Have Smiled: Photographing the Palestinian Refugee Experience*, co-edited with Rasha Salti (Jerusalem: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2009)

## Norig Neveu and Karène Sanchez Summerer

norigneveu@hotmail.fr

K.Sanchez@hum.leidenuniv.nl

*The Dominican photographic-library of Jerusalem: Beyond a Catholic perception of the Holy Land ?*

The photographic collection of the French biblical and archaeological school in Jerusalem is constituted by more than 25 000 glass plates, photographs and slides of Palestine since the last quarter of the XIXth century, reflecting the Catholic institutions presence in the region but also diverse realities of the social history of Palestine.

The history of this collection is intimately linked to that of the *Ecole biblique*, founded in 1890 in Jerusalem and whose programme of studies included annual trips to discover the lands of the Bible, especially Jerusalem and Palestine. With the help of the Assumptionists, the Dominicans of the *Ecole biblique* learned photography in order to reproduce archaeological sites, sites connected with Christian and Moslem holy places, the history of their own religious house as well as scenes of everyday life and portraits. These photographs were taken as 'proof', just like the rubbings, the drawings and the sketches used during lectures or published in the *Revue biblique*. The period of the British Mandate includes more photographs about everyday life scenes than archaeological sites; they reveal a proximity of the photographers with the local Arab population. The collection is also constituted by digitalized photographs of the other Catholic institutions in Palestine (Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem, Assumptionists, White Fathers, Salesians, Rosary Sisters, Sisters of Sion, St Joseph Sisters).

The article will analyse the photographer's points of view on Palestine and its society, and will bring to light not only the exchanges between these various actors but also the gendered dimension of their activity. Who photographed the sisters and how? Is Arabisation of the clergy noticeable from the photographers' point of view? How did photographs present their actions of collecting orientalist knowledge, theatre and music, education and medicine developing in these Catholic institutions? These collections will thus be decoded as « action-sources » bearers of a discourse on the history of Palestine at

the beginning of the twentieth century, in order to understand the social imprint they intended to represent.

## Biographies

Karène Sanchez Summerer is Associate Professor at Leiden University. She obtained her PhDs from Leiden University and EPHE (Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris, Sorbonne). Her research considers the European linguistic and cultural policies and the Arab communities (1860-1948) in Palestine. She is the PI of the research project (2018-2022), *CrossRoads- A connected history between Europeans' cultural diplomacy and Arab Christians in Mandate Palestine* (project funded by The Netherlands National Research Agency NWO). In 2018, she has obtained a NWO Van Morsel and Rijnerse research project, to look at missionary photographic archives in Ottoman and British Mandate Palestine.

From 2012 until 2017, she was researching the role of language among the Palestinian Catholic communities in Palestine, with a focus on French heritage in a comparative perspective, within the Netherlands National Research Agency 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 series *Christians and Jews in Muslim Societies*.

She is the co-editor of the series *Languages and Culture in History* with W. Frijhoff, Amsterdam University Press. 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/>; forthcoming special issue *Social Sciences and missions*, Brill with Philippe Bourmaud *Missions/ Powers/ Arabization*, 2019.

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/>).

## Inger Marie Okkenhaug

okkenhai@hivolda.no

*Swedish Imagines of Jerusalem: Local Photography and Social History in Palestine, 1926-1939*

With the establishment of the Swedish Jerusalem Society (*Svenska Jerusalemsföreningen*, SJS), an organization with strong connections to the Swedish state church and king, Sweden became the only Scandinavian country with a national presence in Palestine in the period from 1900 to 1948. While the SJS started out as a mission to the Jews, their missionary agenda was transformed into education (the large and prestigious *Swedish school* in Jerusalem) and health- and relief work among the Arab population. The SJS' non-proselytizing, humanitarian approach found widespread support among the upper – and middle classes in Sweden. Here the lack of state welfare initiatives had inspired liberal Christians to establish welfare institutions for the poor. Adopting this model, Swedish and Arab Christian teachers provided modern education and welfare for Christian and Muslim inhabitants of Jerusalem. In order to solicit moral support and funding for their work in Jerusalem, the Swedish sent photographs back home to be published in the SJS membership journal. These photographs are today part of the SJS collection at the Uppsala University Library. Swedish born photographer, Lars Hol (Lewis) Larsson (1881-1958), head of the American Colony photo department and Swedish consul to Jerusalem, photographed many of the pictures from the Swedish institution.

This paper examines historical narratives embedded in photographs from the Swedish school in Jerusalem during the Mandate period. Larsson was known for his use of photojournalism in documenting Palestinian culture. What characterized Larson's photography intended for an audience in Sweden? What kind of knowledge can these photographs reveal of Arab and Swedish connections, contests and cooperation during a time of rapid social and political change in Palestine?

### 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. In addition to a number of published chapters and articles, she is the author of *"The Quality of Heroic Living, of High Endeavour and Adventure. "Anglican Mission, Women and Education in Palestine, 1888-1948* (2002) and the co-editor of *Gender, Religion and Change in the Middle East: Two Hundred Years of History* (2005), *Interpreting Welfare and Relief in the Middle East* (2008), *Protestant Mission and Local Encounters in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, (2011) and *Transnational and Historical Perspectives on Global Health, Welfare and Humanitarianism* (2013). 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, "Scandinavian Missionaries in Palestine: The Swedish Jerusalem Society, Medical Mission and Education in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, 1900-1948", *«Tracing the Jerusalem Code: Christian Cultures in Scandinavia*, Vol. 3., ed. Ragnhild J. Zоргati, (forthcoming) and "Orphans, Refugees and Relief in the Armenian Republic, 1922-1925", *Aid to Armenia*, eds. Joanne Laycock and Francesca Piana, (forthcoming). 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.

Okkenhaug is also a co-producer of a documentary film *War, Women and Welfare in Jerusalem*, 2009, financed by the Norwegian Research Council.

### Rona Sela

ronasela@netvision.net.il

*Chalil Raad and the Response to Colonialism: From Bible Imagery to Archaeological and Ethnographical Photography in Palestine, 1891-1948*

Chalil Raad was born in Lebanon (1869) and is considered the first Arab photographer to operate in Palestine in the years 1891-1948. He moved to Jerusalem as a child and learned the art of photography from the local Armenian photographer, Garabed Krikorian and in Basel.

The core of Raad's work was dedicated to describing the life of the Palestinian community - its urban, cultural, economic and political richness. While he documented the Near East and the local communities of the region, he gave the Palestinians a presence and visibility rarely seen in foreign photographs of Palestine in the late 19th century or in Jewish Zionist photographs of the early 20th century, which concealed and excluded them in a tendentious manner.

The essay will show how Raad's work was affected by the colonial regime of knowledge in two levels. The first, the way the local inhabitants responded to and experienced the prevailing western viewpoint forced on the region, and the complexity and duality of the relationship that was born in the wake of the colonial situation. The second, Raad's studio was destroyed in the 1948 war, and parts of it (prints) were probably looted by Israeli soldiers and passers-by. I will describe how the conqueror is confiscating and controlling the conquered knowledge and writing of history.

### Biography

Rona Sela is a curator and researcher of visual history and art. Her research focuses on the visual historiography of the Palestinian–Israeli conflict, the history of Palestinian photography and colonial Zionist/Israeli photography, colonial Zionist/Israeli archives, archives under occupation, seizure and looting of Palestinian archives and their subjugation to repressive colonial mechanisms, visual representation of conflict, war, occupation, exile, immigration, and human rights violations, and on constructing alternative postcolonial mechanisms and archives. She has also conducted research on the development of alternative contemporary visual practices connected to civil society that seek to replace the old Israeli gatekeepers. She has published many books, catalogues, and articles on these topics and curated numerous exhibitions. Her first film is entitled *Looted and Hidden—Palestinian Archives in Israel* (2017, film-essay).

### Stephen Sheehi

spsheehi@wm.edu

*Decolonizing the Photography of Palestine: Searching for a Method in a Plate of Hummus*

This talk seeks to explore a method of decolonizing photography of Palestine by discussing one particular photograph, what I call, “The Hummus Eaters” by Elia Photo Service. In this image, I hope to interrogate not the veracity or “truth-value” of an image but think through a methodology by which we can unpack the “latent” and “manifest” content of the colonial image. This unpacking of the latent and manifest content, therefore, is contextualized within the competing “visions” and “realities” of the British colonial regime, Zionist colonizers, and the indigenous Arabs of Palestine. Therefore, by closing thinking about one image, this presentation seeks a “decolonial method” to approach the photographic heritage of Palestine, in general; a heritage produced, partially, during the Mandate period. The presentation understands this heritage as appropriated surplus-value of the colonized, parallel to ways in which value and land were appropriated by settler-colonialists and their British enablers but also parallel to how this value continues to create value for those entities. In this regard, we interrogate the “visual index” of Orientalist photography of Palestine in which this heritage is rooted and understand it (ie Orientalist photography) as one more source of stolen surplus-value.

I choose Elia Kehvedjian, whose studio Elia Photo Service is still open in Jerusalem, as an example of visual production that both collaborates with but also betrays the material realities of Palestinian work and presence in Mandate Palestine and their claim to it. This method avoids considering representation as “true or false” but rather it aims to re-think the historical contexts of the political-economy of images and how they are still predicated on a colonial sensibility (Ranciere) or, otherwise, a “coloniality.” In turn, through the “Hummus Eaters,” I begin to imagine a new method that connects a reclaimed (or re-appropriated) visual archive with the reclamation of Palestine itself.

### Biography

Stephen Sheehi is the Sultan Qaboos bin Said Chair of Middle East Studies. He holds a joint appointment as Professor of Arabic Studies in the Department of Modern Languages and Literatures and the Program of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies. Prof. Sheehi’s work meets at the intersection of cultural, visual, art, and social history of the modern Arab world, starting with the late Ottoman Empire and the Arab Renaissance (*al-nahdah al-‘arabiyyah*). His scholarly interests include photography theory, psychoanalysis, post-colonial theory, Palestine, and Islamophobia.

### Aude Aylin de Tapia

aylin.detapia@gmail.com

### Biography

Aude Aylin de Tapia is a historian, currently Postdoctoral Fellow at Aix Marseille University and Lecturer at the University of Strasbourg (France). Her research interest focuses on history and anthropology of Christian communities and interreligious relations in the Ottoman Empire and Republic of Turkey. She works on this topic by

using various kinds of written, oral, iconographic, and audiovisual sources. In 2018, she has co-organized the symposium “The First Century of Photography: Photography as History/ Historicizing Photography in (Post)-Ottoman Territories (1839-1939) in Istanbul, Turkey.

### Salim Tamari

stamari@palestine-studies.org

*Flaneurism, Spectacle and Modernity in the Photographic Albums of Wasif Jawhariyyeh*

Wasif Jawhariyyeh recomposed his memoirs in the early 1960s, when he was in his sixties, on the basis of his notebooks, and on notes and captions inscribed into his photographic collection which goes back to the beginning of the century. In few cases he used verbal recollections attributed to his father going back as far as 1845. Paradoxically this would be a case were the photographic collection, and its annotation, constituted a major source for the written memoirs, and not vice versa—as would be expected. I believe this to be the case since the written captions, and annotations for the photographic albums identify people and events with a dating reference that was either contemporary to the events (1912, 1917, 1929, 1933, and so on) or go back to the 1950s when he resumed his musical career. Another marker comes from inscriptions and dedications made on images and musical notes. Wasif’s musical notebook, which contains the notations of Jerusalem music that was performed at the turn of the century, includes an opening dedication to ‘our beloved Sultan Abdul Hamid’.

A picture of Washif taken in the late fifties shows the man on his sixtieth birthday, lying on garden lawn in a silk *abbayah* near the Beirut corniche with a mixed look of boredom and nostalgia. An aging dandy and traumatized flaneur. His flaneurism is recalled from the earlier days of his bachelorhood—before his marriage to Victoria, and before he became ‘gainfully’ employed in the Registry.

*The Ottoman era was coming to a close. Wasif was entering his adulthood, but not quite an age of reason. These were the years of bachelorhood, before he got married and settled down. He had been overwhelmed by what he called a “period of total anarchy” in his life, ushered in by the death of his patron, the mayor of Jerusalem, Hussein Effendi al-Husseini. Living like a vagabond, sleeping all day and partying all night had left him bereft, in a condition he describes as “vagabondage.” When his mother complained about him coming home late at night, if at all, he retorted with the famous line, “Man talaba al-3ula sabar al-layali” (“He who seeks glory, must toil the nights”).*

There is no standardized Arabic term for flaneur. Literary uses include المتسكع (the ‘wanderer’) and الصلوك (the vagabond). The ambivalence is related to the absence of an equivalent to what was described by Benjamin and Baudlaire in reference to a (mostly) Parisian figure that was experiencing the crisis of modernity. In our case it so happens

that Wasif and many of his associate musicians were both vagabonds and wanderers. The word ‘mutasakki’ carries both the aura of ‘aimless wondering’ and parasitism—while ‘su’look, conveys a meaning of underclass rebellion that is not part of Benjamin’s usage.

In this examination of patronage and the photographic image I will focus on Wasif’s obsession with the modernity of Jerusalem at turn of the century through a series of spectacles that he documented in his photographic albums. In a comment on Benjamin’s conception of photography and the flâneur Kirsten Seale makes captures the essential nostalgic feature of this relationship. “The flâneur’s movement”, she argues, “creates anachrony: he travels urban space, the space of modernity, but is forever looking to the past. He reverts to his memory of the city and rejects the self-enunciative authority of any technically reproduced image...yet the authority of this trajectory is challenged by photography’s product: the photograph, a material memory which is only understood by looking away from the future, by reading retrospectively.”

The spectacles I have used to describe Wasif’s use of the photographic image are focused on the transformation of the cityscape and its ceremonial processions (Nabi Musa, Sitna Mariam, the Saturday of Light Easter parade)—all of which transcended their original religious content into public syncretic celebrations. Wasif the flâneur as “su’look vagabond” was a keen observer of the traditional performative theatre (the shadow play—karagoz—and its earlier more primitive manifestations in Sunduq al ‘ajab—the wondrous ‘magic box’). The third spectacle was a spectacle of collapse—the events and savage imagery of the Great War (hangings, digging of trenches by corvée labour, and battle scenes). Paradoxically Wasif’s nostalgic gaze is directed at the events of the war years itself and not on the ceremonial processions. During the war years and its aftermath—Wasif was able to survive army discipline and savagery through his wits and performative skills as a musician. Serving the Ottoman Navy as what he calls a ‘oud officer’ we see the war itself almost as a series of joyous affairs. The famine years which devastated Syria through food shortages and locust attack were celebrated by Wasif’s bizarre musical contribution of the Karshat song—his only surviving musical composition—that became ‘the national anthem of Palestine’, as he puts it sarcastically. In one photograph of a Damascus hanging of deserting soldiers, he managed to insert himself as a spectator of a theatrical event (‘years of anarchy’ --1917-1920) following the British occupation of Palestine and before the onset of the British Mandate and the Balfour Declaration—were spectacular days of freedom, recorded both in his memoirs of the musical nights he arranged in the old city and in Musrara—and in the photographic images he preserved for those liminal moments. Unlike the recollections of the earlier ceremonial processions in the old city—those were pure nostalgia.

### **Biography**

Professor of Sociology (Emeritus), Birzeit University; Research Associate, Institute for Palestine Studies; Editor, The Jerusalem Quarterly.

Recent Publications: *Mountain Against the Sea: A Conflicted Modernity; The Storyteller of Jerusalem: The Life and Times of Wasif Jambariyyeh* (with Issam Nassar); *Year of the Locust: Erasure of the Ottoman Era in Palestine; The Great War and the Remaking of Palestine* (2018: UC Press); *Landed Property and Public Endowments in Jerusalem* (with Munir Fakhr Ed Din, 2018). *Camera Palestina: Photography and the Sensual Impulse* (UC Press; forthcoming 2019)

## Sary Zananiri

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

*Documenting the Social: the Frank Scholten Collection and Undermining Taxonomy in British Mandate Palestine*

In 1920 Dutchman and amateur photographer Frank Scholten left the Netherlands on a pilgrimage of sorts to Palestine, stopping in Italy and Greece en route. He arrived in 1921 leaving at the end of 1923 – a period of great flux with the establishment of the British Mandate after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

Armed with a camera and library of 6,000 books, he planned to produce a definitive illustrated bible totalling twelve-volumes though only two would be published. His collection was donated to the Netherlands Institute for the Near East (NINO), including approximately 25,000 photographs mostly from Palestine and copious working notes referencing texts against images.

This chapter seeks to consider the complex and amorphous nature of the society which Scholten imaged in his travels. Scholten shows us a Palestine that differs greatly from other European photographers – a multi-communal world in the throes of transition in which he clearly moved through multiple cultural spheres. We can postulate that his Dutch background – and the context of pillarisation – informed this sensitivity to ethnographic taxonomy is unique among Western photographers. A brief inventory of communities he documented includes Greek-Orthodox, Catholic, Melkite, Protestant, Muslim and Jewish Palestinians; German, Russian, Hungarian, Romanian, Moroccan, Iranian and other Arab Jewish communities; British, French, German, Greek and Italian Europeans, as well as Americans, not to mention Egyptians, Sudanese, Indians and Nepalese reflective of the incoming colonial administration. Scholten also attends to class divides within these designations, lending further gravity to an already strong study.

Scholten imaged people in the context of their daily lives, both at work and leisure, rather than in studio settings making his work particularly valuable in reassessing social histories of the British Mandate. His corpus gives us a vision of another world which undermines and problematises the dominant taxonomies introduced by the British administration that inform the ongoing paradigms of the region to this day.

## Biography

Sary Zananiri is an 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.

He was co-director of the Palestinian Film Festival Australia from 2014-16 and Associate Lecturer at the Monash Fine Art department from 2014-2018. He is currently a Postdoctoral Fellow on the NWO funded project *CrossRoads: European Cultural Diplomacy and Arab Christians in Palestine 1918-1948* at Leiden University.

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

## Raymond H. Kevorkian

rhkevorkian@wanadoo.fr

*From a monastery to an Armenian neighborhood: St. James and the challenges of 1915 Armenian refugees in Jerusalem*

Based on two photographic collections, the one kept in the archives of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, mainly concerning the daily life of a monastic establishment and the religious ceremonies punctuating the year, and that conserved in Paris (UGAB Nubar Library) and in Cairo (Archives of the Executive Direction of the UGAB), which more specifically illustrate the activity of the Araradian and Vaspuragan orphanages in the 1920s, we propose to examine how and why the Monastery of Saints-Jacques, seat of the Patriarchate Armenian Jerusalem, is gradually turning into an Armenian neighborhood. The photographic documents presented will illustrate a major social and urban transformation that affects the Armenian district of Intramural Jerusalem since 1917 and extends into the inter-war period, with the massive arrival of 1915 survivors discovered in the Deraa and in Sinai. We will discuss the structures created for the occasion, such as collective kitchens and, above all, the two large orphanages that support 860 orphans; the collective events that punctuate the life of this society integrated in an environment hitherto exclusively reserved for religious.

## Biography

Doctor in History, HDR; Director of Research Emeritus, French Institute of Geopolitics (University Paris VIII, Saint-Denis); Chairman of the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute Foundation, Yerevan.

Curator of exhibitions: Armenia, between East and West (National Library of France, 1996); Ani, capital of Armenia in the year one thousand (Paris-Museums, 2001); Rebuilding the Nation, Armenian Refugees in the Middle East and France, 1917-1939 (National City of Immigration History, 2007-2008); Armenia 1915 (Hotel-de-Ville of Paris, 2015).

Museum curator: Armenian Orphans Museum (Byblos, 2015); Armenian Museum of Jerusalem (2018).

Selected publications: *The Armenians, 1917-1939, the search for a refuge*, Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2007 (with L. Nordiguian and V. Tachjian), *The Genocide of the Armenians*, Paris: Odile Jacob, 2006 (English, London, 2011, Turkish, Istanbul, 2015, Russian, Moscow, 2015, Arabic, Cairo, 2016), *Understanding the Armenian Genocide*, Paris:

Tallandier, 2015 (with H. Bozarslan and V. Duclert), *Collective and State Violence, Homogenization and Construction of National Identity in Turkey* (edited by Stephan H. Astourian), New York: Berghahn, 2019 (in press).