

## Patronage and Photography

### *Hussein Hashim's Melancholic Journey*

Salim Tamari

The story of Wasif's life in Jerusalem and his relationship with the Husseini family is a record of Jerusalem's patrician families and their cultural milieu (fig. 4.1). His adventures, recorded in his memoirs and more vividly in his photographic albums, are also a celebration of spectacles—the changing urban landscape, the city's ceremonial activities, the musical and theatrical scene, and the greatest spectacle of all—the events leading to military collapse and the fall of the city into British hands. Wasif Jawhariyyeh, unlike his father, was at once an observer of these events—as a man of leisure, a *flâneur*—as well as a reluctant participant.

Jawhariyyeh was educated in Orthodox, missionary, and state institutions, allowing him to traverse the class boundaries between the city's elite communities and its plebeians, as well as the communitarian boundaries between its Muslims, Christians, and Jews. The background to Wasif's musical training was his involvement in the city's religious ceremonies, and the increasingly secularized public space of seasonal celebrations. He became intimately involved with visiting musical performers from Egypt, Salameh Hijazi and Badi'a Masabni in particular. He also developed his performative talents through involvement with the earliest theatrical spectacles: the magic box, the shadow theatre (*karakoz/karakuz*), and the cinematograph. As an amateur musician Jawhariyyeh commuted between a number of different groups in Palestine, interacting with locals but also Arab and foreign musicians who passed through the "Holy Land." Over a period of four decades (1910–48) he kept photographic mementos from these events which evolved into his albums (fig. 4.2).

The discussion of Jawhariyyeh's photographic albums in this section is inspired by Susan Sontag's seminal essay "Melancholy Objects," published as part of *On*



FIGURE 4.1. Mayor Hussein Hashim in his prime, Jerusalem, 1907. Photographer: Khalil Raad. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut.

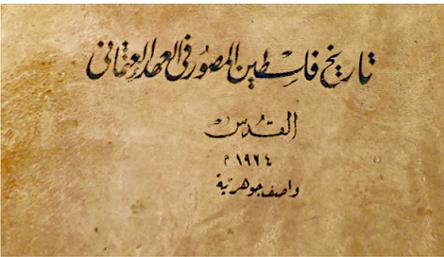


FIGURE 4.2. Cover of Volume 1 of Wasif Jawhariyyeh's photographic albums. Athens Collection.

*Photography.* In this collection of essays on the relevance of photographic images to our time, Sontag notes that photography is surreal at its core, and that specifically what is surreal “is the distance imposed, and bridged, by the photograph: the social distance and the distance in time.”<sup>1</sup> According to Sontag,

photography inevitably entails a certain patronizing of reality. From being ‘out there,’ the word comes to be ‘inside’ photographs . . . [the] contingency of photographs confirms that everything is perishable; the arbitrariness of photographic evidence indicates that reality is fundamentally unclassifiable. Reality is summed up in an array of casual fragments—an endlessly alluring, poignantly reductive way of dealing with the world.<sup>2</sup>

“The origin” of the melancholic condition is “that which is born of distance”—that is, “a separation from reality”—while such a “distance may be temporal, spatial, political or cultural.”<sup>3</sup> In Jawhariyyeh’s world this distancing comes from the

rupture created between the images he collected of Jerusalem and its people before and during the Great War (and later the 1948 expulsion) and the seeming tranquility of the urban scene that emerged during the colonial period. For him, as evidenced from his memoirs, “the real” Palestine is what existed before the war and before the *Nakba*.

Wasif Jawhariyyeh is best understood not as a collector of photographic images, ouds, and musical paraphernalia, but as a flaneur gazing on his changing world of spectacles. In this regard, he was a product of Arab modernity, replete with social contradictions, political rivalries, and class tensions and allegiances that prominently appear where comparing the differences between the visual narrative of his photography albums and the written narrative of his memoirs. Three such “spectacles” will be discussed here. The first is the ceremonial spectacle: Wasif’s ethnographic depictions of Nabi Musa, the outings of the Virgin Mary in Sheikh Jarrah, and the greatest ceremonial event of the city, the “Saturday of light” as the throngs converge on the Holy Sepulcher in the Old City to witness and partake of the light of resurrection. The second is the performative spectacle of the magic box, *Karakoz* (shadow theater), and the cinematograph. And finally we see the surrender of Jerusalem as a war spectacle, loaded with ceremony, eyewitnesses, and public panic anticipating collapse.

As a chronicler and collector, Jawhariyyeh attempted in his albums to create an order out these disparate images through temporal and thematic cataloguing. Although the bulk of his photographic collection is preoccupied with an inventory of the city’s leading notables and grandees, as well as the ceremonial events that marked the tempo of religious and seasonal celebrations of the city (Nabi Musa, Sitna Mariam, Nabi Ayyub, Ramadan, Simon the Just), there is also a considerable focus on the quotidian that distinguishes him from other observers of the city at the turn of the century. Several features of this quotidian interest appear in the collection. One is the minute detail given to popular professions: builders, lawyers, entertainers, stonemasons, policemen, and so on. Another are the spectacles of street life—theatrical musicians, performers, dancers, dramatic performances, and the cinematograph. As the city became an arena of military operations during World War I, the albums devote considerable space to the military, not only with portraits of officers and generals, but also battle scenes, workers digging trenches, enemy (British) prisoners, and the hanging of deserters. The album also displays the iconic images of the surrender of Jerusalem by commander Zaki Bey and Mayor Husseini—Wasif’s patron and friend—together with a detailed listing of the local people involved that appears nowhere in the historical record except in Jawhariyyeh’s album.

Both Jawhariyyeh’s memoirs and his photographic collection challenge the long-held notion that Jerusalem was divided into ethnic and religious quarters (Armenian, Jewish, Christian, and Muslim *harat*). His social relations with the Husseini family, coupled with his cultural enterprises as a musician, meant that he

can portray a city with a distinct Jerusalemite communal identity that grew and competed with other identities at the time. It is the visual narrative of Jawhariyyeh's photographs that give dimension to this dynamic, changing social life that abruptly ended in 1948.

Women are strikingly absent from much of Wasif's photographic narrative. In a sequence of photographs of the national movement he did catalogue five images of a "women's demonstration" from 1929 following the Buraq incidents. Five of the women are identified.<sup>4</sup> Although his world is full of female entertainers, such as the singer and dancer Badi'a Masabni—and his narrative about his family life, and the domestic life of the city's aristocracy and middle classes, is also populated by women—they rarely appear in the photographic collection. His diary is replete with references to mistresses and concubines of the Husseinis, the Khalidis, the Nashashibis, and other members of the city's elite, and to female singers, oud players, and sex workers, yet nowhere do we have an image of those women. The only exception is Um Kalthum, during her occasional tours of the city, and Masabni, by whose performance he was mesmerized. It is as if he was protecting his own sisters and daughters from exposure, as well as the reader from being scandalized by his narrative. Only in the private section of the Athens collection do we gain access to some of these women.

One of the major challenges in unraveling Wasif's visual discourse is to establish the correspondence between the Jawhariyyeh diary/memoir and the photographic albums. This correspondence can be easily established when Wasif is discussing the profiles of his colleagues and contemporary acquaintances and political figures. The albums are profusely annotated for these personalities. The author was keen at providing captions, as well as detailed commentaries on places and events. This is true for major political and military figures in the Ottoman period, as well as for musical colleagues and entertainers who visited or worked with Wasif, such as Sheikh 'Umar al-Batsh, Muhammad Abd al-Wahab, and Badi'a Masabni. Similarly, the albums are replete in documenting his relationship with the Husseinis—Haj Salim and his son Hussein in particular. A number of images identify the houses and farms of Khirbat 'Amr, in which Wasif's father was the Husseinis' bailiff. The Husseinis mansions in Jerusalem (in the Old City, in Sheikh Jarrah, and in Bab al-Sahirah) are also documented. But again, we do not have a portrait of the mistress/concubine Persephone, despite the substantive material on her history—nor on any of the wives, daughters, or female companions of the Jerusalem aristocracy.

Military events, army processions, battle scenes, and the hanging of 'traitors' are also well documented. Some of these photographs are rare and unique, such as the exceptional meeting of the Red Crescent Society during the war in 1915, presided over by Hussein Hashim, and attended by leading Jewish, Muslim, and Christian Jerusalemites. The albums provide us with a very rich repertoire of ceremonial events, including Nabi Musa and Sitna Mariam celebrations. The

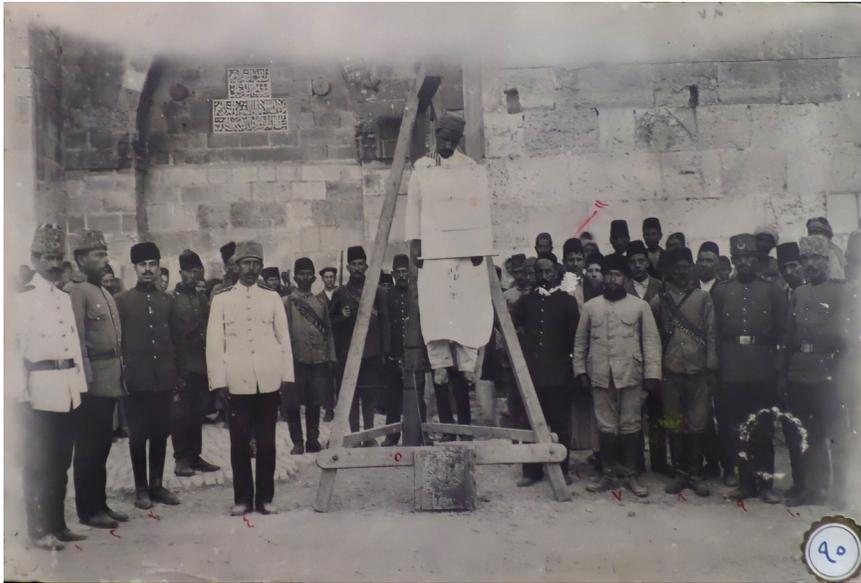


FIGURE 4.3. In this photograph from the Athens Collection, dated 1915, Jawhariyyeh marks his presence (number 11 in red) in the crowd watching the execution of a deserter. This indication of his presence at the hanging differs from the IPS Collection in Beirut. (See Figure. 2.7). Athens Collection.

albums, however, suffer from some major omissions in illustrating artistic and performative events in Jerusalem during both the Ottoman and Mandate periods. This is particularly irritating given the frequent references to and discussion of these events, which include traditional theater (*karagoz*, musical operettas), concerts, and street bands. To compensate, we have resorted to using contemporary alternate photographs, as well as the occasional sketch. (For example, I have used World War I-era photographs of local bordellos from the Albert Kahn collection, and Ottoman Turkish sketches for the *karagoz* performances.)

#### *I Am Neither a Writer Nor a Historian*

Wasif Jawhariyyeh commences his three-volume Jerusalem memoirs with his usual sense of false modesty—“I am neither a respected *littérateur*, nor a historian, nor a travel writer . . . but only a simple civil servant who was barely able to finish his initial schooling during the Great War.”<sup>5</sup> He then goes on to demonstrate why he possesses all of those skills, in addition to his primary reputation as a virtuoso musician and oud player. While he is discussing the circumstances of his birth, and his naming after Judge Wasif Bey al-’Azim, we are introduced to the beginning of his photographic collection. “My birthday was on a Wednesday morning at the beginning of January 1897 by the Julian calendar (14th Gregorian), which is the New Year for the Eastern Christians. . . . My father named me after his friend



FIGURE 4.4. Meeting of the Red Crescent Society, Jerusalem 1915. Another picture of Wasif Jawhariyyeh surreptitiously inserting himself in a public event. He is seen here in the upper right corner, marked as no. 7. Mayor Husseini is no. 5 in the center. Album 1, p. 51, Athens Collection.

Wasif Bey al-'Azim, who was at the time the head of the Jerusalem Cassation Court (*Isti'naf*). I still have his beautiful portrait which he presented to my father, which I later preserved in the Jawhariyyeh Collection.”<sup>6</sup>

The seven albums—annotated, captioned, and indexed during the 1950s—are organized thematically and chronologically by the author of the memoirs. They contain portraits of governors, military commanders, judges, lawyers, mayors, musicians, entertainers, police officers, and many others from his lifetime. Many of these images were dedicated to Jawhariyyeh by their subjects. They also include cityscapes, buildings, street scenes, and public events. During the war Wasif added military parades, public hangings, and war casualties from the front (fig. 4.3). He rarely included images of himself or his family; one picture does include Wasif attending a function of the Red Crescent Society when the city’s patricians were organizing a fundraising event for the Ottoman war effort (fig. 4.4). In addition to his photographic albums, the collection includes a large number of musical instruments (mostly *ouds*), mother of pearl artwork, local crafts, and religious paraphernalia. The latter included icons painted by Wasif’s father for the Rum Orthodox Church.<sup>7</sup>

#### THE *FLÂNEUR* OF JERUSALEM AND HIS SPECTACLES: A VISUAL CULTURE OF THE EARLY 1900S

The relationship of photography to the notion of spectacle and the spectacular has been influenced by Guy Debord’s *Society of the Spectacle*—which describes how capitalist modernity has degraded social life by replacing all experienced phenomena into its representation, meaning that experience loses its vitality by being reified.<sup>8</sup> The principle of commodity fetishism becomes the framing

principle; in this that “the domination of society by ‘intangible as well as tangible things’ reaches its absolute fulfillment in the spectacle, where the tangible world is replaced by a selection of images which exist above it, and which simultaneously impose themselves as the tangible par excellence.”<sup>9</sup> In an essay on “photographic spectacle,” Phil Carney modifies Debord’s idea suggesting that the incorporation of “the social practice of performance” allows the audience to be an “active receiver of spectacle” and simultaneously “engage in social practices that feed back into . . . forces of performance.”

[T]he photographic spectacle . . . is a multiplicity that produces flows of forces working in the registers of the cultural, the social, the inter-individual and the unconscious. When the word spectacle is used here, it also embraces those important festive dynamics in which the audience is both an active receiver of spectacle and, at the same time, engages in social practices that feed back into its forces of performance. That said, we cannot reduce these social practices to individual performance, even if this also undoubtedly plays its role. Nor, from a political viewpoint, should we use this model as an excuse for imagining that festivity is a micropolitical phenomenon reducible to individual, conscious, liberal agency.<sup>10</sup>

Indeed, Debord’s observations about the society of the spectacle may be anachronistic in thinking about visual culture, the entrenchment of capitalism, and social reproduction in Mandate Palestine. However, Carney’s expansion of the theory of the spectacle seems relevant, especially in his introduction of the voyeuristic element through the character of the flaneur. Here he identifies the flaneur with the modern spectator (after Benjamin), which, in our case, recalls the voyeuristic features in Wasif’s relationship to his albums. As Carney describes, “the modern spectator is a physically active, mobile figure who is part of the urban spectacle. Amid this spectacle, and contributing to its forms and forces, there arises the circulating photograph, ushering in a new image world. The urban crowd mixed in architectural space but also in the new spaces opened up by the photographic world.”<sup>11</sup>

But Wasif, as flaneur, is both a voyeur and performer. He is (was) mesmerized by watching travelling players, and he often saw himself jumping into the performance—both as a singer and instrumentalist—although we have little to inform us how the audience reacted to these intrusions. Jawhariyyeh was an avid follower of the theatrical scene in Palestine. He participated as both viewer and performer in his own musical *takht* (band), where he played the *oud*. A significant portion of his memoirs narrates the details of visiting musical performances, in particular travelling theatrical groups from Egypt. His album includes an image of a stage adorned with an Ottoman imperial flag outside Jerusalem’s Notre Dame building, where a play was performed to benefit the Ottoman Red Crescent in 1917. The same image, with similar captions, appears in the Matson Collection now housed at the Library of Congress, indicating that this is an American Colony photograph.

Other major sources were the famous Jerusalemite portrait photographer M. Savides, and Khalil Raad's studio photographs. From the latter Jawhariyyeh acquired many images of Ottoman war propaganda which Raad had been commissioned to produce.<sup>12</sup>

Wasif's memoirs, *al-Quds al-'Uthmaniyah*, are a virtual ethnographic tour of Jerusalem, buttressed by photographic images that attempt to capture his narrative. The focus is the modernity of the Old City at the end of the Ottoman period, and a record of his adventures during the Mandate.<sup>13</sup> The seven-volume unpublished photographic albums, which he titled *Tarikh Falastin al-Mussawar fil-'Ahd al-'Uthmani*, and their annotated index, were meant as a visual accompaniment to his memoirs. Jawhariyyeh consciously organized his writings so that the memoirs correspond to the photographic albums. The index lists the serialized images in the albums, indicating the theme and a short description of the image, either by name or event. He placed a question mark or an indication of uncertainty next to the images of forgotten faces. Parallel to the index, Wasif created an annotated log of each photograph with extensive details about the person or event, along with a listing of names, dates, and circumstances that accompanied the photograph. Jawhariyyeh annotated the images in white ink on a black background; these extensive annotations are invaluable not only for illustrating the memoirs, but also as an explanatory note for the circumstances in which the photographs were taken, although only a few include the name of the photographer. These annotations, however are not systematic, and for a large number of these events described we need to rely on secondary sources to explain their background. An example of this rich record can be gleaned from the author's comment on a photo of the launching of a speedboat meant for the Dead Sea at the Notre Dame headquarters of the Jerusalem garrison (called Manzil in Turkish), which included filming it as propaganda for the Ottoman war effort (fig. 4.5).<sup>14</sup> This image of the speedboat was part of a larger repertoire of military parades that appear in the second album, corresponding to Wasif's own involvement with the army as a "naval officer" in the Dead Sea during the same period.

Jawhariyyeh's sensuous tour of Jerusalem begins with a street mapping of the sounds and smells of the Old City food and spice shops, and the various chants and melodies of food sellers. During the great famine of 1915/1916, he wrote his famous ode to hunger, appropriately titled "*karshat*" (tripe fillings), which evokes all the absent local dishes in melodic rhyme. He sardonically describes the ditty as having become "the national anthem of Palestine" (fig. 4.6). *Karshat* was one of two compositions written by Wasif that has survived, and the only one whose music score is available.<sup>15</sup> Although it is not included in his *Musical Notebook*, we are lucky to have a live recording of the piece that was preserved from the archives of Beirut Radio in the 1950s.<sup>16</sup> In this piece we gain a singular access to Wasif's rich baritone voice and playful oud.



FIGURE 4.5. A picture of the first naval launch brought by the Ottoman army from Jaffa to the Notre Dame building, which was converted by the Turks into the Manzil Mufattishlji Headquarters for the Ottoman Army, under the leadership of Qa'im Maqam Brinci 'Ali Rushan Bey, who is seen here on top of the boat next to his assistant Nihad Bey along with other staff members of the Manzil. This launch was sent to aid [Mayor] Hussein Hashim al-Husseini, who was contracted to build a harbor on the [Eastern shores] of the Dead Sea during the tenure of the late Muhyi al-Din al-Husseini and Sheikh Jalal al-Din al-'Alami. The harbor was commissioned by Rushan Bey in order to transport grain from Transjordan via the Dead Sea under the administration of Mayor Hussein Effendi I had spent considerable time with Hussein Effendi I had spent considerable time with Rushan Bey. I have recorded several of these anecdotes in 226, 241 and 262 in my manuscript. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut. Notes from Jawhariyyeh's Album Index, 137.



FIGURE 4.6. “Karshat—”. Wasif Jawhariyyeh’s ode to the famine of 1915, which, he claimed, became the “National Anthem of Palestine.” Source: Yusra Jawhariyah ‘Arnitah, *al-Funun al-sha’ biyah fi Filastin* (1998).



FIGURE 4.7. Inauguration of Jamal Pasha Blvd. Jaffa, 1916. Athens Collection.

#### CEREMONIALS AND THE CONQUEST OF PUBLIC SPACE

The photographic albums cover two sets of public ceremonials. The first introduce the viewer to the inauguration of public buildings, gardens, boulevards, and military processions—especially during wartime. Two significant images introduce us to public responses to the Ottoman constitutional revolution of 1908, celebrated as the festival of *Hurriyat* (freedom). The first is a unique picture of Governor ‘Ali Akram Bey addressing a huge throng of demonstrators in Jaffa’s Clock Square—arguably the first image of a mass public demonstration in Palestine. The second is a portrait of Jerusalem’s notables and public officials holding Ottoman flags and CUP banners, with the slogans of “Freedom, Equality and Justice”—also from 1908. The second image is clearly a publicly organized event and lacks the spontaneity and the popular character of the Jaffa demonstration.

The second set of ceremonial images are centered around religious processions and saints’ holidays (known as *mawasim*) (fig. 4.7). Those images are discussed in elaborate details in the two-volume memoirs, which contain detailed ethnographic engagement with the *mawasim* and their communal hymns and celebratory dances—Nabi Musa, Bir Ayyub, Sitna Mariam, Purim—culminating in the greatest communal celebration of the holy city—*Sabt al-Nur* (the Saturday of Fire), which in the Eastern Orthodox tradition ushers in the resurrection of Jesus.



FIGURE 4.8. Theatrical performance in aid of the Ottoman Red Crescent, 1917 (Notre Dame building, Jerusalem). This was one of several images used by Jawhariyyeh from the American Colony Collection. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut.

Wasif's ceremonial ethnography is particularly valuable in demonstrating the emergence of a secularized public space from the convergence of communal religious celebrations. This can be seen in his description of "Shat'hat Sittna Maryam" (The Virgin Mary's Outing) in Sheikh Jarrah and the Mount of Olives—and the Bir Ayyub Outing (*shat-ha*) in the Silwan spring in early April. Here Jerusalemites enjoyed the odors of the blossoming of jasmine, and of lemon trees, "mixed with the aromas of the open sewers of the holy city".<sup>17</sup>

#### HAKAWATI AND SHADOW PLAY (KARAGOZ)

For all his preoccupation with the performative theatre, and his substantial writings about it, the Jawhariyyeh albums have few images on these performances. There are two or three photographs of the Manshiyah Café, and al-Ma'arif Café at Bab al-Khalil where, he claims the first shadow theatre was performed. We also have an image of "an Ottoman theater" from the Manzil at the Notre Dame building, where benefit shows for the Red Crescent were viewed (fig. 4.8). Wasif also collected a number of publicity images used by the Fourth Army for their cinematographic propaganda (fig. 4.5). We have a number of portraits of singers, dancers and musicians such as Badi'a Masabni and Sheikh 'Umar al-Batsh, his oud teacher—but not much else in terms of visuals for these performances.

Wasif was particularly fond of the operettas of Salameh Hijazi (such as *Antony and Cleopatra*) and cabaret sketches by Egyptian stars such as Masabni and Najib Rihani. The performances included local school renditions of classical Arabic love ballads (e.g. 'Antar wa 'Abla), as well as patriotic theatrical performances based on major battles from Islamic history (the conquest of Andalusia, or Salah al-Din's liberation of Jerusalem). The local censor intervened and banned performances which were seen as fermenting Arab separatist sentiments.<sup>18</sup> Besides the local theater, Wasif highlights three visual performances that dominated the visual culture at the turn of the century: *Sunduq al-'Ajab* (the Magic Box); *karakoz* (shadow puppets), and the Cinematograph.

A popular form of traditional art in Jerusalem was *al-hakawati* (the storyteller). Those were normally winter performances in the larger cafés of the Old City. The *hakawati* would be an informally trained storyteller with a repertoire of classical Arabic literature, usually recited in colloquial or mixed Arabic. He would sit on an elevated platform in the café and recite (or read) to the seated audience on straw chairs. The most popular performances, in Wasif's Jerusalem, were recitations of *Amir Amara*, 'Antar wa 'Abla, and the ballads of *Abu Zayd al-Hilali*, all of them related to chivalry in early Islamic periods.<sup>19</sup> Jawhariyyeh can be seen as a literary *hakawati* of Jerusalem's modernity, narrating the story of earlier *hakawatis*.

Haj Jawdat bin Musa al-Halabi was one of the better-known performers in Jerusalem. He used to perform in Café Abd al-Latif in Bab Hutta. He was very popular and people would attend his performances from as far as Upper Baqa, weathering the cold and the rain. He used to impersonate the heroes of his tales, completely identifying with them. He used to perform episodes from *Antara* and from *Amir Amara* in installments, to keep his audiences coming every night until the story was finished by the end of the month. The themes of his stories were honor, dignity, resistance to oppression, and revenge against aggressors.<sup>20</sup>

The main competition to the *hakawatis* were the shadow play performances, known in Arabic as *khayal al-dhil*, or *karakoz*, a local slanting of the Persian-Turkish *Karakoz* (fig. 4.9). Those were mainly Ramadan events, although there is evidence that they were performed in other seasons. *Karakoz* performances invariably involve a contestation of wit between the educated Uwaz and his simpleton companion Karakoz. Throughout the Ottoman Sultanate Uwaz (aka Hacivat) represented the literati, while Karakoz was the simple peasant, speaking the local dialect. In many of the regional provinces, such as the Greek and Balkan regions, Hacivat became the Ottoman bureaucrat, while Karakoz would take on the character of a local peasant. Within the Arab world Ibn Danyal popularized the genre in Mameluke Cairo in his play *Tayf al-Khayal*.<sup>21</sup> Over the centuries of performance, the characters and the themes of the play went through several transformations, subject often to local contingencies and local dialects. In the late nineteenth century, and possibly before, the plays contained a substantial degree of libidinous class con-



FIGURE 4.9. Ma'arif Café, located outside the Citadel of Jerusalem, 1900. This was the earliest theatre in Jerusalem, where musical and shadow play (*karakoz*) were performed. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut.

flict, but with the rise of ethnic tensions in the Empire, local performances (especially in the Balkans) began to contain contestations between national groups.

Shadow theatre was extremely licentious in the presentation of its plots, breaking all taboos on sexuality, pederasty, and bawdy situations, which may explain why only men attended these shows.<sup>22</sup> Although the censor began to interfere and regulate these performances after the introduction of press laws in 1876, and again after the constitutional reforms of 1908, much of their daring flavor remain evident in existing texts from both Anatolia and the Arab provinces.<sup>23</sup> Karagoz performances were still common in Palestine in the early twentieth century. 'Ali Hasan al-Bawab lists a number of these plays at the Nabi Rubin festival south of Jaffa, which continued to attract audiences until the summer of 1946.<sup>24</sup> In the Jerusalem performances Uwaz speaks with an eloquent classical Arabic, with an occasional dose of Turkish, while Karakoz speaks in the peasant dialect. At the end of each episode the popular wit of the peasant, though impulsive, prevails against the level-headed, but pompous, Uwaz.<sup>25</sup>

Jawhariyyeh preserved extended excerpts from several *karakoz* plays from the Great War period: "The Beggars," "The Butcher," "The Drunkard," and the *Fat'h al-Bakht* ("Reading the Future").<sup>26</sup> In his memoirs Jawhariyyeh also provided long excerpts from two popular shadow play performances: "The Frankish Poodle" (a satire on European domestic animals), and "the Samman" (the Ghee seller).<sup>27</sup>

A shadow play involved wooden puppets manipulated by the master storyteller against a screen; the figures would have been illuminated by candle or kerosene lamp. The master pantomime performer was called *karakozati* in Arabic.<sup>28</sup> During Ramadan in Jerusalem five performances took place one hour after the breaking of the fast. The first three ‘acts’ were for children, while the last two were for adult audiences.<sup>29</sup> Wasif lists the major cafés where these performances took place: Khalil Nijam Café, Bab Hutta Café, Wad Café (opposite the Austrian Hospice), and Khan al-Zeit Café. All early performances were for children. The major play for adults was performed in ‘Ali Izhiman Café (also in the Wad neighborhood), and was attended by literary figures such as Sheikh Muhammad al-Salih (director of al-Ma’aref school), Ustaz Nakhlah Zureik (Zurayq), Sheikh ‘Ali Rimawi (editor of the Ottoman Gazette, *al-Quds al-Sharif*), Khalil Sakakini (founder of al-Dusturiyah College), and the poet Is’af al-Nashashibi. The most famous shadow player in that period was the Tripolitanian poet Haj Mahmud al-Karakozati and his fellow performers.

The Karkoz ‘tent’ in Izhiman’s café was a large sheet of white linen behind which Haj Mahmud manipulated the puppets with the assistance of his helper, a man known as Abd al-Salam al-Aqra (‘the bold’) who played the *riqa* and launched the play with a *muwashshah* ‘*Ya Hilalal Ghab Anni wa-htajab*’ (the Crescent Disappeared and Became Invisible). Mahmud then dangles the puppet of Karakoz, whose shadow begins to dance on al-Aqra’s music. Haj Mahmud was performing while smoking the *nargilah*, which rarely left his mouth throughout the evening. When the play was finished he would rush to the main exit of the café and start collecting the *matlik* [Ottoman penny] from the exiting audience, while joking with them in different languages. If Ramadan happened to come during the summer, then the main performance would take place in the Nabulsi Café, owned by the Hindiyah family, outside the Damascus gate. Those festivities began just after midnight and would often continue until the cannon fire announced the beginning of fasting in the early morning.<sup>30</sup>

The Magic Lantern (*al-fanus al-sihri*) was introduced into Palestine by studio photographers who were using stereoscope images to cater to tourists and pilgrims. It was a modern version of *karakoz* that was lacking in the latter’s imaginative theatricals. The slides were projected on a screen using luxe lamps, and after 1915, electric bulbs. The audience for the magic lantern was a more educated clientele, and the subjects, for local viewers, were mostly landscapes of areas that were inaccessible, and therefore, exotic. In Jerusalem, the magic lantern was introduced by the German Schniller school, and in the American Colony compound, for students and teachers. Wasif tells us in his memoirs that “we were able to see places in the Arab lands we could not travel. In particular we were able to ‘visit’ Petra, Wadi Musa, Wadi al-Mujib, the Tongue (*lisan*) of the Dead Sea, Ba’albak, and many other places. Ustaz Elias Haddad, the teacher at the Schniller school, would provide us with a running commentary on those scenes.”<sup>31</sup> Obviously, this was a pedagogical experience, which was lacking in the imagination and theatrical narratives of the *karakoz* plays. For schools it provided an early form of alternative tourism.



FIGURE 4.10. *Sunduq al-ʿajab*, Jerusalem, c. 1910. This is one of Khalil Raad's most reprinted photographs. Wasif Jawhariyyeh collected Raad's images, often without attribution. Archives, IPS Beirut.

*Sunduq al-ʿajab* (the Magic Box) was ancestor of the magic lantern, also known as the Persian Box (*sunduq al-ʿajam*). For poorer children, and some adults, this was the cinema of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I myself caught the tail end of the life of this contraption in the early fifties in Ramallah. The box was immortalized by an iconic photograph by Khalil Raad, displayed prominently in the Athens version of the Jawhariyyeh collection (fig. 4.10). The *sunduq* was a semi-circular wooden closet, which (normally) had six external lenses. Inside the box the *hakawati* would control a series of connected drawings on a cylindrical roll, and narrate (or chant) the traditional ballad that appeared on the screen. The viewers (aged five to fifteen) would sit on wooden stools and follow the story. For one *matlik*, or half a piaster, the viewer would receive a fifteen-minute show with some extra vignettes of scenery from around the world.

تَعِ انْفَرَجْ وَشَوْفْ يَا سَلَامْ شَوْفْ اِحْوَالِكْ عَلَى التَّمَامْ

*This is Egypt. These are the pyramids. This is Abu al-Hul (the Sphinx).  
The great wonder. Come habibi take a look.*

*Sunduq al-ʿajab* would move from one neighborhood to another during the holidays, including the *mawasim* of Jerusalem. In order to protect it from the evil eye the *hakawati* would add a head of garlic and blue beads to the flower ornaments.



FIGURE 4.11. Still from the Lumière brothers, “Leaving the Jerusalem Train Station,” 1897.

### THE CINEMATOGRAPH

At the turn of the century, the Holy Land was the subject of some of the earliest motion picture projects outside Europe. The cinematograph was the name given to both the camera and the projector of the moving images on the screen. The Lumière brothers, inventors of the cinematograph, made two of the earliest films in history in Palestine: *La Palestina* (1896), and *Leaving the Jerusalem Train Station* (1897) (fig. 4.11).<sup>32</sup> Both contain substantial footage of street life in Jerusalem. Much later, during the war, Albert Kahn sent a team of French photographers to film color images of the Middle East “before it was taken over by modernity.”<sup>33</sup> The films included extensive footages of daily life in Istanbul, Beirut, Izmir, and Jerusalem. They also included rare pictures of bordellos in Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Beirut.

Wasif narrates how he attended his first cinematograph event in 1910 when he was a student in Khalil Sakakini’s Wataniyah College, in the company of his friends from the Muna family (the current owners of the Educational Bookshop). He recalls,

The projection was in the theater in the Veikold Building, opposite the Russian Compound on Jaffa Street. The ticket cost one Turkish *bishlik*. The films were all silent, but still it left us with a sense of astonishment. . . . To us children, this perfectly made picture seemed to be of real men, women, and animals, and the small objects represented also seemed real in a way that caused both puzzlement and admiration, for this was like a miniature version of today’s cinema.<sup>34</sup>

During the 1920s and 1930s, the number of cinemas in Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Haifa mushroomed. Cinemas became the main locales for both theatrical productions and concerts. Um Kulthum’s first performance in Jerusalem was in in 1929 at the Aden Cinema.<sup>35</sup> Leaflets and billboards, reproduced by Wasif in his memoirs, advertised these occasions (fig. 4.12). Abdul Wahhab (‘Abd al-Wahhab) performed at Cinema Zion, while Rex Cinema, located near the Mamilla cemetery, was a favored site for other visiting musicians.<sup>36</sup>

الى اهالي القدس! ...      اقرأوا هذا! ...

ليلتان فقط!  
لفاتنة الجماهير ومطربة الشرق الوحيدة

## الانسة ام كلثوم

مجلات  
خصوصية  
للسيدات

للملابي الفن الثائر في صوت  
ام كلثوم  
لللاصكي

نرف هذه البشري حتى لا تقوم  
الفرصة وضيع عليهم الانتفاع  
يا وحب الله هذه الفتاة الفاتنة  
من ثوب وسحر وقتها



تحبيبها  
على مسرح سينما  
عدن بالقدس

يوم الخميس  
ويوم الجمعة  
في ٨ و ٩  
تشرين الأول  
الساعة ٩ مساء

درجة اولى ٥٣٠ ملا      درجة ثانية ٤٣٠ ملا  
درجة ثالثة ٣٣٠ مل \* للسيدات في اماكنهن الخصوصية ٤٣٠ ملا

فلا تدعوا هذه الفرصة تفوتكم

التذاكر تباع في محلات دارو المدجاني، محمود مكرملوي، وعلى باب المسرح

مطبعة فلسطين الجديدة - ٥٤

FIGURE 4.12. Um Kalthum concert flyer for a performance in Cinema Eden, Jerusalem, October 8, (1926?). Source: Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 86.

Wasif narrates how Jewish and Arab audiences were mesmerized by Abdul Wahhab's appearance in person, which was often followed by a cinematic appearance. The following episode (undated, but most likely this took place in the late 1930s) conveys the manner in which Jerusalem audiences interacted with visiting performers.

Abdul Wahab made a second visit to Jerusalem and, being a close friend of the Prince of Poets, Ahmad Shawqi, he stayed at the home of Mr. Is'af al-Nashashibi in Sheikh Jarrah. Muhammad Abdul Wahab was already a glowing star, thanks to the wonderful music, art, and singing that he had given the world and which had moved the souls of both men and women, whether music connoisseurs or not, all over the Arab countries. He thus shot to fame and became indeed one of the greatest music masters we know. He pioneered the introduction of more *tarab* instruments and of Western musical instruments into his orchestra, which added to the beauty and perfection of his music, and people began to savor and appreciate his singing, now that they had become accustomed to his innovative music.

The master decided to give his concert at Cinema Zion on Jaffa Road in Jerusalem. The demand for tickets was so high that there ended up being more people standing than sitting. I was in the front row, waiting impatiently for him to come on stage. The audience received a massive shock with news of the death of the honorable and much-loved judge, the late great 'Ali Bey Jarallah. I thought to myself that, indeed, calamities fall on the calmest nights, while everyone else just froze, for the deceased had been so dear to them. He was an extraordinary person, and his death was a great and irredeemable loss for the people of Jerusalem.<sup>37</sup>

Jawhariyyeh's photographic memory of this concert, and several other similar events, takes precedence in his memoirs over other political events that were taking place at the same time. In this case it is worth quoting at length from Wasif's description of the event since it reveals how well-known performers like Abdul Wahab, Hijazi, and Um Kulthum were involved personally with events in Palestine.

Given the close friendship that joined the deceased with Isa'af al-Nashashibi, poet Ahmad Shawqi, and Mr. Muhammad Abdul Wahab, a friendship that had grown stronger after a number of private gatherings at al-Nashashibi's mansion, most of the audience was certain the concert would be canceled. But soon the curtains were drawn open and Mr. Abdul Wahab gave a brief speech, fraternally expressing his feeling of loss and offering his condolences to the Jarallah family and the people of Jerusalem. He then announced that he would not be canceling the concert, out of respect for art and for the audience, demonstrating his love and loyalty. And so, he started the performance looking visibly sad. But strangely, despite the great loss, he and his ensemble excelled in both singing and playing, having sensed the audience's thirst for his voice.<sup>38</sup>

#### THE FLANEUR AS PROTÉGÉ: BONDS WITH THE HUSSEINIS

With the establishment of a new independent Governership (*Mutasarrıflık*) in Jerusalem in 1876, the status of Jerusalem's Husseinı family was enhanced. The Husseinis went from being one of several leading families in the city to its most powerful clan, occupying the central institutions of local power in the Ottoman sultanate.

The Husseinis occupy the lion's share in the list of city notables in the Jawhariyyeh Albums, with many including biographical details that accompany the images. Rabah Effendi (d. 1886), the richest merchant in the city, became the *Naqib al-Ashraf*, the leading head of the syndicate of the local nobility. Tahir Effendi (1843–1908) was the chief Mufti, followed by his son Kamil, and after World War I, by Haj Amin.<sup>39</sup> Salim Husseinı (d. 1908) became the Mayor, a position he held until 1897, when he was removed from office in favor of Yasin al-Khalidi. He remained, however, the main figure in the provincial representative council for the district (*majlis idarat al-Quds al-Sharif*). His sons Hussein Hashim (d. 1918) and Musa Kazhim (Kazim) Pasha al-Husseinı became mayors, both before and after World

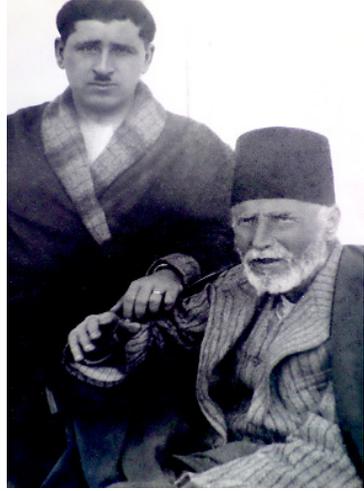


FIGURE 4.13. A young Wasif Jawhariyyeh leaning on Mayor Salim al-Husseini. Athens Collection.

War I. Ismail al-Husseini (1860–1935?) was the progressive head of the Education Department in the late Ottoman period, establishing the first public school for girls. His villa in Sheikh Jarrah received Kaiser Wilhelm during his visit to the Holy Land in 1898, and later became the famous Orient House hotel. Finally, Said Bey al-Husseini (1878–1945) was an elected member of the Ottoman Parliament (*majlis al-mab'uthan*) after the constitutional (CUP) revolution of 1908, and chief censor of the press.<sup>40</sup>

Wasif's career as a musician and his engagement in public life were inextricably linked to his family connections to the Husseini families. Both his father, the lawyer Jiryis (Jirgis) Jawhariyyeh, and Wasif afterwards, depended on the Husseinis for securing public employment, mediating with the authorities when intercession and/or protection was needed (conscription, allocation of military service), and for their integration into the upper echelons of Jerusalem society. They both benefitted from these bonds in the provision of public employment and, in the case of Wasif, in the world of entertainment. Despite the discourse of intimacy and its egalitarian rhetoric, the relationship was essentially one of feudal patronage. Wasif knew where he stood with Mayor Hashim and his father, and Hashim Bey knew that he knew.

Throughout his diary, the narrative is permeated with references to the strong bonds that connected him and his family to the Husseinis. Those bonds begin with his father's service as a bailiff and tax collector for Salim Effendi al-Husseini (fig. 4.13). Later, Jiryis secured his membership in the Jerusalem Administrative Council (as Orthodox *mukhtar*) at the behest of Hussein Hashim. These services also included Jiryis's work as a lawyer in the Jerusalem's Circuit Court, and Wasif's first employment in the municipal animal services.

It was through his relationship with Haj Salim that Wasif's father established a bond that lasted for three generations. The Husseinis had acquired tax farming rights (known as *iltizam*) in the middle of the nineteenth century in the Jerusalem area—extending from Saris, Suba, Beit Naqubah, and Khirbat 'Amr in the western Jerusalem, all the way to 'Ain Sinya. In those villages, peasants paid their taxes to their landlords, from which the Husseinis extracted the *'ushr* (tithe) for the state treasury. Jirjis Jawhariyyeh, who was already the *mukhtar* of the Orthodox community in the Old City, was one of Haj Salim's main bailiffs in the collection of these taxes.<sup>41</sup> In Sheikh Jarrah, north of the Old City, Haj Salim set up a family diwan next to the family mansion. The diwan served as a guesthouse for ceremonial occasions, as well as a reception hall for clients and farmers of the Husseinis who had complaints and wanted Haj Salim to intercede on their behalf or settle their debts.<sup>42</sup> As the family businesses expanded, and the peasant claims increased, Hussein began to depend on the elder Jawhariyyeh to deal with those claims as well. In return for his services, Haj Salim secured him a position in Jerusalem's Shar'ia court—one of the few Christians to be appointed in this position.<sup>43</sup> Jurjis later became as a member of the city council, representing the Rum Orthodox *ta'ifah*.

When Hussein Effendi died in February of 1918, Wasif wrote an intimate tribute recalling his early indebtedness to “my second father”. He recalls,

In my early youth I used to accompany him during the summer months to the family estates in Khirbat Dayr 'Amr and to Beit Susin—as one of his sons. During those years he intervened for me to enroll in the Dusturiyahh school, run by *ustaz* Khalil Sakakini, and made sure that my fees were paid. Later he did the same by enrolling me at the Mutran school, where I continued to study until 1914, when the school closed during the war. . . . He gave me the earliest encouragement to study in my musical instrument and in my singing career. When he became mayor of Jerusalem I became his [personal] assistant, and his aide when he conducted business in Karak and the Dead Sea.<sup>44</sup>

When Hussein Effendi was dismissed from the mayoralty during the war by Jamal Pasha, Wasif became his confidante, trusting him with his finances and private errands.

Occasionally Wasif flaunted this relationship by assuming an informal camaraderie with his patrons, as in a rare photograph of a young Wasif in his early twenties, in his *robe du chambre*, leaning on the fully attired dean of the Husseinis, the venerable Salim ibn Hussein al-Husseini (fig. 4.14). Wasif, at this time, was working closely as an assistant to his son, mayor Hussein Hashim. This picture is not included in any of the albums, but appears separately in the Athens collection. Wasif is leaning on the seated senior Hussein, affectionately holding his frail hand and gazing straight at the camera. A case of role reversal, although the pose is both intimate and filial. The viewer who is not aware of the relationship might think of the young man as the patron and Hussein as the patronized.



FIGURE 4.14. Hajj Salim al-Husseini, Head of Majlis Idarah, Jerusalem Council, 1901. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut.

When Wasif came of age and finished his schooling, he maintained his close association with the Husseinis. He developed strong bonds with both sons of Haj Salim, Musa Kazhim Pasha and Hussein Hashim. The Husseinis, like the Khalidis, were pillars of the Ottoman regime, equally in the Hamidian period and after the constitutional revolution in 1908, which brought the CUP, the Young Turks, to power. They benefited from top appointments in the local administration, as well to judgeships and *qaimmakams*.

The Husseinis, in particular, were able to secure commissions in public enterprises such as the building of a seaport on the Dead Sea during the war. Several photographs showing Jamal Pasha visiting the Dead Sea installations in the company of Mayor Hussein appear in the Matson Collection in the Library of Congress. During Haj Salim's tenure as mayor (1887–97), he undertook a number of urban development schemes in the city, including the paving and expansion of the main internal roads of the city and the establishment of a public park, known as Manshiyyeh, next to City Hall.<sup>45</sup> He entrusted the supervision of garden to Jirjis Jawhariyyeh. Wasif recalls:

The Park and its trees, plants, ponds, and the fountains were all designed by my father and extended, in the beginning, as far as the road to Sisters of Compassion. A base was placed over a well and covered with an engraved wood and tin rooftop, and wooden chairs were fixed around it for the members of the state's military band.<sup>46</sup>

The Manshiyyeh band performed on Fridays, Saturdays, and Sunday for the public (fig. 4.15). One of its lead musicians was the renowned Sheikh 'Umar al-Batsh from Aleppo, who later became Wasif's main oud teacher. After the death of Haj Salim, Wasif and his brother Khalil contracted the running of the Manshiyyeh



FIGURE 4.15. A musical performance in Jerusalem's Manshiyyeh Garden, Jaffa Street, 1903. Matson Collection, Library of Congress.

garden café from Salim's son, Hussein Hashim, who was by now also mayor. Wasif performed with his own band, singing and playing the oud, while Khalil helped with the light fare. He had brought with him gastronomic skills, including the serving of iced widgets with 'araq for the mezza. The Manshiyyeh Café competed with the Aristidi Bar, next door, which was run by a Greek who was, Wasif comments, "father of Miss Nina, the current mistress of Archbishop Epiphanius."<sup>47</sup>

Concubinage occupied a noticable space in the life of the Jerusalem aristocracy. Wasif goes to great lengths to distinguish between daughters, wives and the paramours of his patrons and the lives of sex workers during World War I. During these years, bordellos were established under government and army supervision in Jerusalem and Jaffa to cater for Ottoman army officers, as well as to Austrian and German soldiers who were stationed on the southern front. Ihsan Turjman refers to public celebrations in the city where sex workers were brought in to entertain officers at the Fourth Army Manzil at the Notre Dame building at the behest of Amiralai Rushan Bey and Ahmad Jamal Pasha.

Cemal Pasha issued an order today in celebration of the anniversary of Sultan Mehmet Rashad V's ascension to the throne. A big party was being prepared at the Commissariat to be presided over by the two Cemals and Rushen (Rushan) Bey and other senior admirals and officers. We were ordered to extend electric lights and decorations in the Gardens of Notre Dame de France. To celebrate the anniversary, a number of notables and their ladies were invited to Notre Dame. An orchestra performed while liquor flowed. A number of Jerusalem prostitutes were also invited to entertain the officers. I was told that at least fifty well-known prostitutes were among the invitees. Each officer enjoyed the company of one or two ladies in the garden compound.<sup>48</sup>

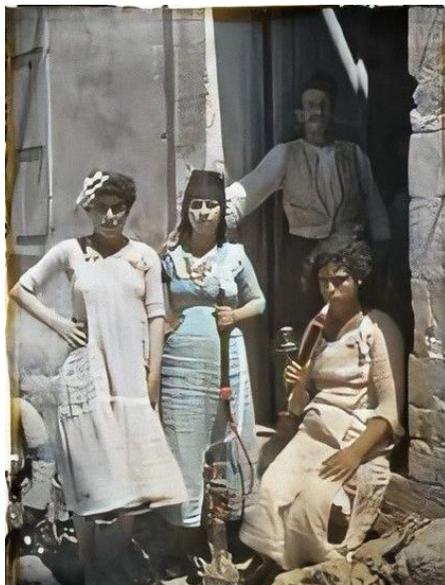


FIGURE 4.16. “Women of pleasure,” Jaffa, c. 1914. Albert Kahn Museum, Paris.

Local women sex workers were also often invited to enhance parties in the bachelor apartments of the Jerusalem potentates, known as *odahs*, some of whom were singers and players in Wasif’s own band.<sup>49</sup> A photographic record of these sex workers is available from the Albert Kahn collection. This includes a short film reel from a Beirut bordello, including military clients, and several outstanding color prints of Jaffa’s “women of pleasure” smoking their arghillehs with the (male) brothel keeper (fig. 4.16).<sup>50</sup>

By contrast, this is how Jawhariyyeh introduces us to the Jerusalem courtesans: “For a long time the custom in the country, particularly in Jerusalem, was for the notables of the city’s well known families, al-Husseini, al-Khalidi, al-Nashashibi, and others, to have a mistress, provide a home for her, and spend their leisure time with her.”<sup>51</sup> Wasif introduces us to several Jerusalem concubines who played a major role in the city’s political and social life, educated professionals combining entertainment and social skills with business acumen. Among these women were Lea Tannenbaum, the mistress of Jamal Pasha, who later married the well-known lawyer Abicarius; Miss Nina Aristidi, the mistress of Archbishop Epiphanius; Kyriaki, the Greek consort of Fahim Nusseibi; “Um Mansur,” the Jewish mistress of Raghیب Bey an-Nashashibi, who later became his wife; and the Albanian-Greek mistress of Hussein Effendi al-Husseini. The latter occupies several pages in the Jawhariyyeh memoirs:

Her name was Persifon, and she was well-known in Jerusalemite society, particularly for her ravishing figure, stunning beauty, and elegant style. When she went to visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, people would say that the patriarch visited.

Hussein Effendi had brought her over from Istanbul, and she remained with him for over seventeen years. She learned Arabic and he granted her total freedom to go out and spend summers in Beit Susin, and particularly in Dayr 'Amr.

Later, Persifon was placed in charge of the Dayr 'Amr estates, where she specialized in distilling thyme oil and sold it for medicinal purposes. She played a major role in sponsoring Wasif's musical career, bringing musicians to train him while he taught her how to play the oud. When Hussein Effendi was elected mayor, Wasif's father prevailed on him to get married to the "honorable Fatima, daughter of Muhammad Tahir al-Khalidi," thereby ending his relationship to Persifon. Deserted by her patron in her later career, Persifon moved into the Jawhariyyeh household, finding solace with her younger protégé.<sup>52</sup> What stands out among these colorful and detailed accounts of the fascinating social lives of paramours, in contrast to the one-dimensional appearances of Jerusalem sex workers and the virtual absence of working class and peasant women, is that his albums lack any reference to either. While this particular chapter cannot go into depth regarding the complex social history of gender, sex work, and/or family and sexual relations, we do invite scholars to explore this gendered social history of late Ottoman and Mandate Palestine through radical feminist methodologies that have emerged from Arab and Southwest Asian scholars over the past three decades. While we gesture to this in chapter 3's introduction, it bears repeating that the glaring distinction between the visual narrative of his albums and the written narratives in his memoirs seems to us to be a critical place where this book ends but, hopefully, future scholarship on the central role of gender and sexuality in the social reproduction of Palestinian elite and new urban petit-bourgeoisie can begin.

#### THE MELANCHOLIC JOURNEY OF HUSSEIN HASHIM

In "Melancholy Objects" Sontag notes that early photographs set themselves up as "cultural and historic objects to establish distinct and ideological paradigms. . . . Photography's social distance . . . manifested at its earliest in the conflict between the bourgeois and the peasant." She suggests that the "earliest surreal photographs," from 1850s France, characterized by "concrete, particular, anecdotal . . . moments of lost time, of vanished customs . . . seem far more surreal to us now than any photograph rendered abstract and poetic by superimposition, underprinting, solarization, and the like."<sup>53</sup>

One of the most evocative image in the Jawhariyyeh albums introduces us to Hussein Hashim, son of Salim Effendi, holding a horse's rein and leading his carriage on a muddy road on the outskirts of the city (fig. 4.17). There is no caption and no date. Hussein Hashim al-Husseini was the last presiding Ottoman mayor of the city during the bitter war years and witnessed the fall of the city to the advancing troops of General Allenby. In Jawhariyyeh's album housed in the IPS in Beirut, this picture of the lonely Hussein Hashim driving despondently into an



FIGURE 4.17. Hussein Hashem and his carriage. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut.

unknown future appears next to the famous image of the surrender of Jerusalem taken by Lars Larson, head of the American Colony Photographic Section. As the American Colony photograph suggests, he was one of three Ottoman officials to present the act of surrender to British officers on their approach to Jerusalem on December 9, 1917. The impression given by the order of presentation is that of a broken and defeated man, leaving his beloved city after the act of surrender. The two pictures are juxtaposed to convey a feeling of capitulation and abandonment, an impression which was forgotten in the euphoria of the end of the war and the illusion of liberation.

Jawhariyyeh, in his retrospective memoirs, which I will discuss below, created a divide between the war years and the prewar years. His nostalgic projections were surprisingly focused on the war years and the “three years of anarchy” following British occupation—which saw an abundant spectrum of musical activities and flaneurism. By contrast the prewar years, which include Hussein Hashim’s lonely trek to Beit Susin, were seen as years of formative youth, and stability for the city.

But the juxtaposition in the Beirut album creates an illusion, induced by the order of the images’ presentation. In the Athens collection, the two photographs are instead separated by a number of sequences. The horse carriage in the muddy road appears much earlier in the album, and here is clearly identified in Wasif’s handwriting—“Hussein Hashim al-Husseini and his *Tuk* carriage on the road to Beit Susin, 1907” (fig. 4.18). The dating is ten years earlier than the surrender date. Beit Susin was one of the Husseini estate villages, and was periodically visited by family members to oversee the crops and collect revenue. While the sense of melancholy is evoked by the muddy road and the greyness of the wintery landscape, the picture was taken, we now realize, when Hussein Bey was at the height



FIGURE 4.18. Hussein Hashim on the road to Beit Susin, 1907. Considered with the earlier date, the image now conveys a relaxed leisurely stroll with a single horse carriage, the *tuk*. Athens Collection.

of his prestige and power. He had won the mayoral race by a majority vote and had embarked on a project of modernization and renovation of the city's infrastructure, including the building of a modern sewage system.<sup>54</sup>

#### THE SURRENDER OF JERUSALEM: THE FARCICAL MOMENT AND A TRAGIC DECISION

Conflicting accounts surround the apparent climactic meeting between the British and Palestinians upon the surrender of Jerusalem on December 9, 1917 (fig. 4.20). The standard eyewitness account of Ottoman surrender, if there is such a thing, comes from the memoirs of Major Vivian Gilbert's *The Romance of the Last Crusade*.<sup>55</sup> Gilbert's account, simultaneously romantic and farcical, provides us with a caricature of Mayor Hussein Hashim, who is unnamed in this British version of the surrender. The focus of the account is Private Murch, a cook in Allenby's army camped near Lifta, who is in search of eggs for his Major's breakfast. The cook sent to fetch the eggs from Lifta encounters Mayor Hussein with his entourage, looking for the advanced troops to provide a peaceful transfer of authority. Here is the encounter as described by Gilbert, in the cook's cockney accent, some ten years later:

'Where is General Allah Nabi?' enquired the man in the red fez [Mayor Hussein]. 'Anged if I know, mister,' answered the private. 'I want to surrender the city please. 'Ere are ze keys; it is yours!' went the stranger, producing a large bunch of keys and waving them before the bewildered Britisher, who now began to think he had fallen

amongst lunatics. 'I don't want yer city. I want some heggs for my hoficers!' yelled the disgusted cook.<sup>56</sup>

Three further attempts at surrendering the city (to General Watson, Major-General Shea, and finally to Allenby himself) are made by the mayor before Allenby marches into Bab al-Khalil on December 11. Mayor Hussein dies two weeks later of pneumonia. Gilbert notes: "I could not help thinking he must have caught cold standing exposed to the inclement weather whilst he handed over Jerusalem, first to the cook, then to the brigadier, then to the major-general, and finally to the commander-in-chief."<sup>57</sup>

Jawhariyyeh was also a witness to these momentous events. But he provides us with a substantially different account. In his memoirs, he lists the sequence of events that led to the collapse of the city's defenses. He cites a historic meeting that took place in the Mutran building (St. George) on Nablus Road on the eve of December 8. The meeting was attended by 'Izzat Bey, Governor of Jerusalem and the city's top administrator. In coordination with the German command the commander of the Ottoman forces, 'Ali Fu'ad, had sent a signal approving the surrender of the city. Among those attending were the commander of the city's police force and members of the administrative council: Abd al-Qadir al-'Alami, Ahmad Sharaf, and Ishaq al-Asali.<sup>58</sup> Wasif accompanied Hussein Hashim, who had been deposed from his duties as mayor by the notorious Ottoman Governor of Syria, Jamal Pasha. He reports the proceedings as follows:

Final Meeting with Mutassarif 'Izzat Bey at Mutran School

The Governor [Izzat Bey] spoke at length about the deteriorating situation in the country, and the need to deliver Jerusalem immediately. The following decisions were made:

- To restore Hussein Bey al-Husseini as mayor of Jerusalem.
- Grant Hussein Bey official dispensation to surrender the city, addressed as follows (in Turkish)

TO THE ENGLISH FORCES

*In the circumstances of your siege of the city, and given your heavy bombardment and our fear from the impact of this bombardment on the holy sites, we are compelled to surrender the city at the hands of Mayor Hussein Bey al-Husseini, expecting that you will preserve Jerusalem as we have preserved it for close to 500 years.*

—(SIGNED) IZZAT, MUTASSARIF OF JERUSALEM, 8–9.12. 1333<sup>59</sup>

All ethnically Turkish civil administrators in the city, including those of Registry, the land administration, and the Werko, withdrew with the armed forces from the Sheikh Jarrah/Nablus Road on the night of December 8.<sup>60</sup> Mayor Hussein travelled the next morning with the commander of the police and city notables



FIGURE 4.19. The iconic picture of surrender included by Jawhariyyeh in the Athens Collection with a listing of names of the remaining members of the city's council. This same photograph is listed in the Matson Collection at the Library of Congress with no names attached to it.

to Sheikh Bader to deliver the act of surrender to the advancing British forces. Wasif included in his memoirs the iconic picture of the initial surrender, taken by Lewis Larson of the American Colony (fig. 4.19). Unlike the standard image preserved by the Library of Congress, Wasif marked this copy with the names of all the accompanying dignitaries from the city council and their retinue, including Ahmad Sharaf, the commissioner of police; Haj 'Abd al-Qadir al-'Alami, head of the mounted police force (*sawaris*); and Shams al-Din and Amin Tahbub, officers in the Jerusalem police force.<sup>61</sup> The white flag flown in Sheikh Bader was held by Salim Bey, the Lebanese driver of Jamal Pasha, which Wasif claims to have personally delivered to him.<sup>62</sup> Wasif disputes the British claim that this was "a chance encounter" with a private soldier in search of eggs. He notes that the location of the surrender was Sheikh Bader, scene of substantial fighting with the Jerusalem Ottoman garrison, while the purported search for eggs was in Lifta. Furthermore, he notes the presence of two armed officers in the picture, and not a single unarmed cook.<sup>63</sup>

The death of his benefactor and patron Hussein al-Husseini mere days after the act of surrender was a major blow to Wasif. In his album, he displays the last picture of the mayor, a broken man, attending the surrender ceremony on December 11 (fig. 4.20). He is seen standing next to a mounted General Watson, just before

FIGURE 4.20. Detail of first surrender of Jerusalem to the British—Mayor Husseini with City Councilor Hussein al-Asali and a British officer, wrongly identified as T.E. Lawrence by the original caption. Photo: Lewis Larson. Matson Collection, Library of Congress; Jawhariyyeh Album 2, IPS Beirut



the entry of Allenby to the Bab al-Khalil plaza. He stands looking deserted and despondent next to Ibrahim al-Husseini and Mitri Salamah, uncertain as to what the future holds. His death was a turning point for Wasif's career and the beginning of a new era for Jerusalem and Palestine.

#### CONCLUSION: THE FLANEUR'S ANTI-NOSTALGIC RECOLLECTIONS

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 going back to the beginning of the century. In few cases he used verbal recollections attributed to his father going back as far as 1845.<sup>64</sup> Paradoxically this would be a case where 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 dates that are 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."<sup>65</sup>

A picture of Wasif taken in the late fifties shows the man on his sixtieth birthday, lying on a lawn in a silk *'abayah* near the Beirut corniche with a mixed look of boredom and nostalgia. An aging dandy and traumatized flaneur. A visual register absent from the photo albums themselves, 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-’ula sahar al-layali’ (‘He who seeks glory, must toil the nights’).<sup>66</sup>

There is no standardized Arabic term for flaneur. Literary uses include “*mutasakki*” (the wanderer) and “*su’luk*” (the vagabond). The ambivalence is related to the absence of an equivalent to the (mostly) Parisian figure, experiencing the crisis of modernity, who was described by Baudelaire and Benjamin. But Wasif and many of his associate musicians were really neither vagabonds nor wanderers, and the available Arabic terms do not fit them. The word *mutasakki* carries both the aura of “aimless wandering” and parasitism—while *su’luk* conveys a meaning of underclass rebellion that is not part of Benjamin’s usage. However, the term is useful when we do think about crises that modernity perpetually precipitates. Also, the term is useful in thinking about crisis, in understanding how alienation is inbuilt into the modern condition and only exacerbated and metabolized in other ways within the colonial context.

In this review of patronage and the photographic image I have focused 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 flaneur, Kirsten Seale 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.”<sup>67</sup>

The instances I have used to describe Wasif’s deployment of the photographic image were focused on the transformation of the cityscape and its ceremonial processions (Nabi Musa, Sitna Mariam, the Saturday of Light)—all of which transcended their original religious content and became public syncretic celebrations. Wasif the flaneur as *su’luk*/vagabond was a keen observer of the traditional performative theater (the shadow play, *karagoz*, and its more primitive manifestations in *sunduq al-’ajab*, the wondrous “magic box”). The third instance 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 gaze is directed at the events of the war years itself and not at the ceremonial processions of peacetime. During the war years and their aftermath, Wasif was able to survive army discipline and savagery through his wits and performative skills as a musician. As he served 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 atypical musical contribution, 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 (see fig. 4.3). The “years of anarchy” (1917–20)—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 memories of the musical nights he arranged in the Old City and in Musrara, and in the photographic images he preserved for those liminal moments.<sup>68</sup>