

Visual Interlude

Photographic Images from Ottoman and Mandate Palestine

The selection of photographs in this section come from the albums of Wasif Jawhariyyeh that are in discussion in this book. While we are mindful that they are only a small fraction of the images, we present them in order to illustrate a number of different dimensions of the visual narrative that Jawhariyyeh unfolds for his viewership. Few images in his albums are self-generated, and none of the photographs in this *Visual Interlude* were taken by him personally, although he appears in one (see fig. 3.17). These images represent the photographs that he collected through different means, over different periods in his life, and ones he valued enough to carefully place within the narrative of his albums. Many of these images are easily found, especially those produced by the American Colony's Department of Photography, which can all be located in the Library of Congress in Washington, DC. Yet, for us, the value of the images lies not in their "originality" but in the ways they are located in relation to one another and in relation to the historical experiences that Jawhariyyeh was registering. Moreover, the value and coherence of the images emerge from meaning produced precisely through their deployment within a visual compendium of an "illustrated history of Palestine."

We also need to recognize that the *Visual Interlude* makes stark the gender imbalance in Jawhariyyeh's albums and, therefore, in his visual narrative. It is true that women have a considerably more prominent place, even if they are still under-represented, in his written narrative. Images of women are found throughout the seven albums. The largest cluster of named, known women is the intervention by Arab Women's Executive Committee (see chapter 5 and fig. 3.1). Women are often named as members of families, described in relation to their male counterparts (as wives, sisters, aunts, etc.), and in relation to their social networks, geographies, and communities. Palestinian women appear often in family, school, and institutional

group portraits. But more often than not, their appearance is linked to their class privilege and their relationship to the new effendi, emergent bourgeoisie, and/or elite *‘ayan* families. Portraits of non-Arab and non-Palestinian women (particularly women related to colonial authorities) and even character portraits of Arab women (see fig. 3.20) appear infrequently, but certainly more often than photographs of Palestinian women from the popular classes. This reflects Jawhariyyeh’s overall nationalist, class project.

Our acknowledgement of the relative absence of Arab women should not deflect from the discursive and ideological *manner* by which Palestinian women are made visible or invisible in these albums. At the base, material level, we understand the importance of representation in gender equity and parity. Yet, we also understand that visibility and representation, or the lack therein, fully reflects the distribution of power across and within Palestinian and Arab society and how gendered power systems (i.e. heteropatriarchy) structure them.

For a study that takes photography as its locus of representing not only social history but social relations that bind the colonized societies, this chapter, even if minimally, gestures toward the ways in which the lack of visibility and presence of women in the visual archive serves to distract us from considering the full range of ways the material, social, political, and economic lives of women structure Palestinian and Arab polities. As social products of the urban middle class, no one may be surprised to learn that Jawharriyyeh’s albums very explicitly reproduce the patriarchy, gender hierarchy, and gender systems in Palestinian Arab society that cut across class and sect. As three male, Arab scholars, we resist complicity with the erasure of women (especially working class women) from this and other visual narratives of Palestine that shore up the assumption that, in a sexist, traditional society, women are separate from political society or local economies or the liberation struggle. Such truisms have been articulated as easily by liberal academics as they have been by Orientalists. Rather, we want to stress that the relative absence of women, and the almost total absence of working class and peasant women (including sex workers and consorts, who figure prominently in Jawharriyyeh’s memoirs) reproduces the erasure of women as central to social production, as Silvia Federici has taught us. Elsewhere we learn that women were fundamental to the production of indigenous Arab photography but largely left out of the commercial and historical record.¹ Likewise, just as “behind every male photographer is a woman,” we must understand Jawhariyyeh’s albums as saturated with the presence of women as “behind every factory, behind every school, behind every office or mine there is the hidden work of millions of women who have consumed their life, their labor, producing the labor power that works in those factories, schools, offices, or mines”—or photo albums.² Furthermore, while we only broach the topic, we, in our discussions, are beginning to ponder how Jawhariyyeh’s visual narrative deflects also from critical and operative practices of women in the *production of Palestinian* history and the resistance to settler colonialism within strat-

egies that navigate, reproduce and/or challenge internal patriarchal frameworks within Palestinian communities.

In addition, thinking about the affective quality of photography in relation to dominant and counter-material histories in conversation and tension with lived contemporary realities may present methods and techniques to exit from the hegemony of the visibility/invisibility binary.³ Affective theory allows us to draw out the presence of women, labor, and the racialized that saturate images while also being overwritten by dominant representation. We invite scholars and readers, in the future, to consider more rigorously the gender interplay within the narrative, if not the gendered, class, and national overdetermination, that Jawhariyyeh “imagines” and lays out before us, and how that narrative connects with living Palestine today.

The captions provided for these photographs come from a variety of sources, each of which provided different information. We cobble together captions from a number of origins to give coherence, with brevity, to the images that Jawhariyyeh is presenting to us. They are a composite: (a) The original caption that Jawhariyyeh wrote in his albums under each image, provided here in *italics*. (b) After Jawhariyyeh’s original information (in italics), we then provide additional information to elaborate on each image, including names of photographers when available to us. (c) We also supply selected further information found in Jawhariyyeh’s “index,” that is, his notebooks that accompany the albums. Entries into these notebooks are erratic and uneven. His comments for any given image can range from no or a few words up to paragraphs. Therefore, we are discerning about providing information from the index.



FIGURE 3.1. *The demonstration of the Arab ladies [upper class women from the Arab Women's Executive Committee] protesting the announcement by his excellency the High Commissioner following the 1929 Revolt. The house of 'Awni 'Abd al-Hadi. Jawhariyyeh writes that "the demonstration started from the home of lawyer 'Awni Bey Abd al-Hadi in protest of the statements made by the High Commissioner of Palestine following his return from London, in which he condemned Arab activities, describing them as brutal . . . which in turn led to the strengthening of the Arab revolt. The demonstration was organized by veiled Arab Muslim women along with their Christian sisters. The commissioner retracted and apologized." The wife of 'Awni, whose name was Tarab (1910–76), appears with Wasif's numbering on the photo as number 1. She was an early female activist in Palestine and one of the founders of the Palestine's Arab Women's Congress. No. 2 is Matiel Mughannam; no. 5 is Nabihah Nasir from Birzeit. Photographer unknown. Jawhariyyeh Album 2, IPS Beirut.*



FIGURE 3.2. *Bab al-Khalil from outside [of the Old City] towards the Jerusalem Citadel. You can see al-Ma'arif Café, which was the only theater in Jerusalem, 1900. The photograph is from the American Colony photo department, and the date Wasif provided might not be exact, since it appears in some archives as from the year 1910. Jawhariyyeh Album 5, IPS Beirut.*



FIGURE 3.3. *The meeting held at Rawdat al-Ma'arif in 1930 to debate sending a delegation to England following the revolt of 1929. Rawdat al-Ma'arif was a school located near the Dome of the Rock. The delegation eventually traveled to London to present its case, calling for an end to British policy regarding Zionist colonization of Palestine. Wasif wrote the names of those appearing in the photograph. Photographer unknown. Jawhariyyeh Album 2, IPS Beirut.*



FIGURE 3.4. A beautiful view of the Dead Sea around the start of the year 1914, during the times of the late Hussein Effendi Al-Husseini and the late Jalal al-din al-'Alami. Photo: American Colony Photo Department. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut.



FIGURE 3.5. *Photograph of General Dill, 1937.* General John Dill was sent to Palestine to stop the Arab Revolt of 1936; he was appointed commander of the British forces in Palestine in 1936–37. The High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Wauchop, is to his right, leaving the memorial altar on Jerusalem's Mount Scopus, preceded by the Anglican Bishop, Francis Graham Brown. Photo: American Colony Photo Department. The photo is very likely from 1936, not 1937 as Jawhariyyeh writes. Jawhariyyeh Album 3, IPS Beirut.



FIGURE 3.6. A historic photograph on the occasion of a political event during the Ottoman period, most likely from the period of the mutasarrif Subhi Bey, appointed on the 10th of September 1324. This date is according to the Ottoman calendar; 1324 is 1907 CE. Subhi Bey is the bearded man third from the right. Photographer unknown. Jawhariyyeh Album 2, IPS Beirut.



FIGURE 3.7. *His Beatitude the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1899. He was ordained as a patriarch in 1897. Damianos I (Damian in English) was the patriarch of Jerusalem until his death in 1931. The photo is signed by C. Khouri, though no specific information is known about such a photographer. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut.*



FIGURE 3.8. *Friday flea market [cattle market] next to the pool of al-Sultan in the valley towards the colony of Montefiore and Bab al-Khalil. In his memoirs, Wasif writes that he was appointed as a municipal animal inspector at the market. Photo: American Colony Photo Department. Jawhariyyeh Album 2, IPS Beirut.*



FIGURES 3.9. *Yusuf Dia' al-Din al-Khalidi Pasha*. Al-Khalidi (1842—1906) served as a mayor of Jerusalem and as a deputy in the Ottoman Parliament (*Majlis al-Mab'uthan*). The photographer is Garabed Krikorian.



FIGURE 3.10. Portrait of a younger Yusuf Dia' al-Din al-Khalidi Pasha by the official photographer of the Armenian Convent, Jerusalem. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut.



FIGURE 3.11. *The first years at al-Madrasa al-Wataniya al-Dusturiyah (the National Constitutional School in 1908). The school was a project of educator Khalil Sakakini, who appears seated to the left. Jawhariyyeh Album 2, IPS Beirut.*



FIGURE 3.12. *A photograph of the freedom arch at Bab al-Qal'a (the Gate of the Citadel), Jerusalem. The arch was in celebration of the Ottoman Constitutional Revolution of 1908. Photographer unknown. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut.*

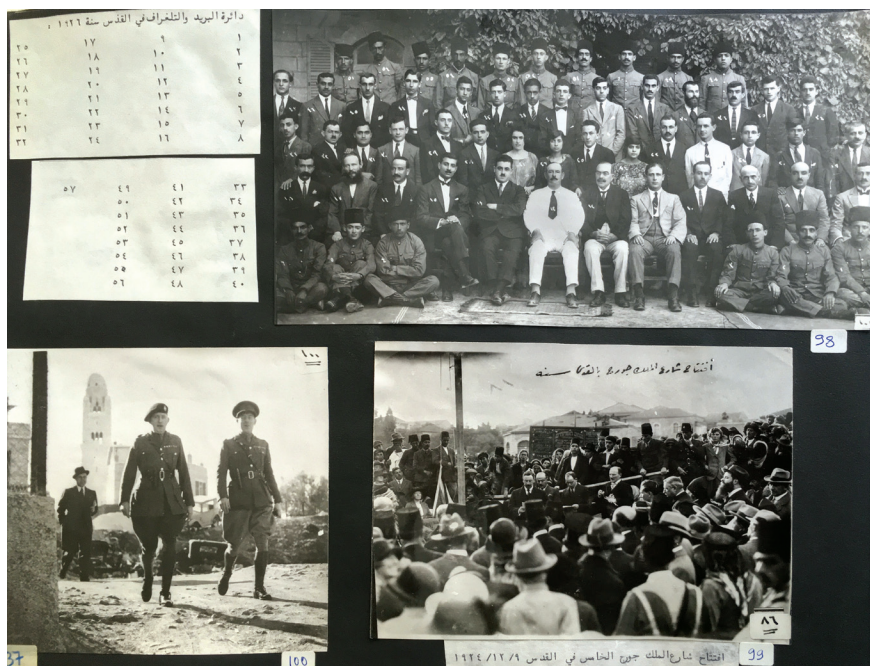


FIGURE 3.13. Inauguration Ceremony of King George Street in Jerusalem, December 19, 1924. High Commissioner of Palestine Sir Herbert Samuel giving a speech and in attendance Sir Ronald Storrs, the former Governor of Jerusalem, Mayor Raghib Bey al-Nashashibi. Wasif pointed out in the notebook that behind Samuel stands Wadia al-Shaftari, the first translator in the Mandate Government. Above this is a group portrait of the Postal and Telegraph Department of Jerusalem, 1926. On the lower left we see two anonymous British officers walking with the Jerusalem YMCA in the distance. Jawhariyyeh Album 3, IPS Beirut.



FIGURE 3.14. 'Ali Akram Bey. 'Ali Akram was the *mutasarraf* (the governor) of the Jerusalem district between 1905 and 1908. Photographer: Garabed Krikorian. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut.



FIGURE 3.15. *Hakham Bashi* [the chief Rabbi of Jerusalem]. Eliyahu Moshe Panigel (1850–1919) was the Sephardic Rabbi of Jerusalem around 1906. Photographer unknown. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut Collection.



FIGURE 3.16. *Ramallah Conference in 1908*. The conference, according to the notebook, was held at the Friends School and was in celebration of Ottoman revolt that year. Photographer unknown. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut Collection.



FIGURE 3.17. *A celebration of the Epiphany on Jordan River in 1905.* More details were provided in the notebook, where the photo is described as “a historic picture of some members of the Arab Orthodox community.” Wasif provided the names of all those in the picture. He appears in the picture as the little child wearing a tarboush (fez). Photographer unknown. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut Collection.



FIGURE 3.18. *Christmas festivities with the entry of his beatitude the Latin Patriarch to the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem to hold mass.* Photo: The American Colony. Jawhariyyeh Album 5, IPS Beirut Collection.



FIGURE 3.19. *In the aftermath of the 1929 Revolt and the appointment of the Shaw Commission [the official name was the Commission on the Palestine Disturbances of August 1929]. The photograph is in front of al-Buraq [the Wailing/Western Wall], which [the Palestinian delegation was] investigating. In it we see lawyer Subhi al-Khadra, the two British lawyers, one with his wife, Hajj Amin al-Husseini, Ajaj Nuwayhid, Sheikh 'Araf Yunis, and Sheikh Sa'id al-Khatib. Photographer unknown. Jawhariyyeh Album 2, IPS Beirut.*



FIGURE 3.20. *Bedouin woman in traditional dress*. In the American Colony records at the Library of Congress. The subject is described as “a woman from the settled town of Kerak, Jordan, who probably was the wife of a sheikh. Her high social status is reflected in her expensive clothing (which possibly came from Homs, Syria) and her hair braids. Braids were predominantly worn by Christian women of the tribes of Jordan.” Jawhariyyeh Album 6. IPS Beirut.



FIGURE 3.21. *As it was: the hill of Bab al-Khalil in the year 1909.* Photographer unknown. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut.



FIGURE 3.22. A page from Album 1 that shows members of Arab Orthodox community who were designated to carry the flag of their clan (*sanjak*) during the celebration of Holy Fire at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher on the Saturday before Easter. They are Saliba Abu Zakhariya (upper left), unknown portrait (lower left), Spiro al-Qarah (middle), and Niqula Ansarah (lower right). Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut.



FIGURE 3.23. *British army train from Jerusalem heading north, near the Tombs of the Kings, 1918.* The military train line that existed at the end of World War I linked Jerusalem to the region north of Ramallah, and the lines were extended to al-Balu' area, in al-Bireh (al-Birah) and beyond, bringing soldiers and military hardware to the retreating Ottoman front in the spring of 1918. The British dismantled the train after the war, in 1919. Photo: American Colony Photo Department. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut.



FIGURE 3.24. *The Muslim Palestinian National Party in 1932.* In that year two Islamic conferences were held in Jerusalem. The first was known as “The Islamic General Conference” and was hosted by the Mufti, Hajj Amin al-Husseini. The second, shown here, was a response from the opposition to the Mufti and was known as the conference of the Palestinian Muslim Nation, led by Raghib Nashashibi, shown in the middle. Photographer unknown. Jawhariyyeh Album 2, IPS Beirut.



FIGURE 3.25. *Another view seen from the revolution of 1929 in front of the post office.* In the notebooks Wasif added: "The beginning of the revolution of 1929 in front of the post office on Jaffa road, after the funeral of a Jew, August 15, 1929." The revolution is what is more commonly known in Arabic as al-Buraq revolution and in English as the Walling Wall riots. The image shows Zionist settlers from Ze'ev Jabotinsky right-wing Revisionist Alliance, congregating after the funeral of a Zionist settler. Photographer unknown. Jawhariyyeh Album 3, IPS Beirut.



FIGURE 3.26. *His majesty King George VI (with the Duke of Kent [his younger brother]) with Abdallah [Emir of Transjordan].* Photographer unknown. Jawhariyyeh Album 3, IPS Beirut.



FIGURE 3.27. A court in Jerusalem. In attendance: Ahmad al-Ja'uni, Jirji Zakariyah, Faidi al-'Alami, Musa Bayk 'Aqel, Matia Saraphim. This was the Bidaya court (first instance or lower court) in Jerusalem. Photographer unknown. Jawhariyyeh Album 2, IPS Beirut.



FIGURE 3.28. An Indian guard searching passersby for weapons at Bab al-Khalil after the revolt of 1920. Photographer unknown, though very likely Khalil Raad. Jawhariyyeh Album 2, IPS Beirut.



FIGURE 3.29. *The first Arab delegation to London in 1921 protesting the ominous Balfour Declaration. Ibrahim Shammas [seated from the right], Musa Kazhim Pasha al-Husseini [in the middle], Hajj Adel Hammad [seated on the left], Amin al-Tamimi [standing on the right], Shibli al-Jamal [standing in the middle], and Mu'in (Mouin) al-M'adi. Photographer unknown. Jawhariyyeh Album 2, IPS Beirut.*



FIGURE 3.30. *Opening ceremony of the first durable bridge over the Jordan River, 1310 AH [1893 CE]. Photographer unknown. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut.*



FIGURE 3.31. *At the plaza of al-Haram [the Sanctuary] in 1931.* Although Wasif numbered the individuals in the photograph, he did not list their names. Photographer unknown. Jawhariyyeh Album 2, IPS Beirut.



FIGURE 3.32. *His Majesty King Faisal I and Tahsin Qadri in 1932.* It is unknown if the photograph was taken in Jerusalem. King Faisal was the Hashemite king of Iraq. Tahsin Qadri was a prominent figure in Arab politics at the time and the king's military attaché. The king's last visit to Jerusalem was in 1933. It is possible that the date provided by Wasif is incorrect. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut.