

**Cultural Mandates, Artistic Missions, and
“The Welfare of Palestine,” 1876–1948**

by
Nisa Ari

B.A., Art History, Stanford University, 2008

Submitted to the Department of Architecture in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture: History and Theory of Art
at the

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

September 2019

© 2019 Nisa Ari. All rights reserved.

The author hereby grants to MIT permission to reproduce and to distribute publicly
paper and electronic copies of this thesis document in whole or in part
in any medium now known or hereafter created.

Signature of Author: _____
Department of Architecture
July 4, 2019

Certified By: _____
Nasser Rabbat
Aga Khan Professor of Architecture History
Thesis Co-Supervisor

Caroline A. Jones
Professor of Art History
Thesis Co-Supervisor

Accepted By: _____
Nasser Rabbat
Chair, Committee on Graduate Students

Dissertation Committee

Nasser Rabbat, Thesis Co-Supervisor
Aga Khan Professor of Architecture History
History, Theory and Criticism of Architecture and Art
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Caroline A. Jones, Thesis co-supervisor
Professor of Art History
History, Theory and Criticism of Architecture and Art
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Abigail Jacobson, Reader
Senior Lecturer
Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Cultural Mandates, Artistic Missions, and “The Welfare of Palestine,” 1876–1948

Nisa Ari

Submitted to the Department of Architecture on July 4, 2019
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture: History and Theory of Art

Abstract

This dissertation investigates the changing landscape for artistic production in Palestine from the last decades of Ottoman rule until the establishment of the State of Israel (1876-1948). The development of new artistic practices and exhibition spaces occurred against a political backdrop in near constant transition—including the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the First World War, British military and colonial occupation (in the form of the British Mandate from 1920-48), as well as the growth of Arab nationalism and Zionism. Previous scholarship on Palestinian art defines it as a national artistic movement, born out of a state of political disenfranchisement after 1948. I argue instead that the conflicting ideological forces impacting Palestine in the early twentieth century produced the preoccupations and practices which define Palestinian art, and analyze how aspiring Palestinian artists, imperious foreign occupiers, moralizing evangelicals, international welfare agents, and Zionist immigrants contributed to its rise.

The dissertation focuses on institutions supporting art’s production and display, whose very presence reflected Palestine’s complex political reality. These include, among others, the House of Industry created by Anglican missionaries for Jewish craftworkers in the late-1800s, the Supreme Muslim Council’s First National Arab Fair for showcasing Arab arts and industry in 1933, and the Palestine Folk Museum initiated by British, Palestinian, and Jewish political representatives for collecting local costumes in the early 1930s. By identifying the role such entities played in the promotion of new artistic forms, as they encouraged the use of new material technologies from synthetic embroidery threads to photographic prints and dried flowers, I critically reevaluate the work of canonical early twentieth-century Palestinian artists including Nicola Saig, Sophie Halaby, Jamal Badran, and Zulfa al-Sa‘di.

The dissertation finds that it was within a relatively short historical span that art production in Palestine changed from being used for religious and commercial ends in the late-1800s to being deployed for humanitarian and, eventually, political purposes by the 1930s. In doing so, it highlights Palestine as a compelling site for interrogating the previously unexamined origins of a “cultural sector” within the evolutions of nation-building, colonial pacification, and international humanitarianism following the First World War.

Thesis Co- Supervisors: Nasser Rabbat, Caroline A. Jones

Titles: Aga Khan Professor of Architecture History, Professor of Art History

Cultural Mandates, Artistic Missions, and “The Welfare of Palestine,” 1876–1948

Abstract	5
Table of Contents	6
Acknowledgements	8
Notes on Translation and Transliteration	10

Introduction: The Palestine Picture

Art in Palestine	11
Palestinian Art	20
Art World	27
Cultural Sector	34
Arts and Crafts for Palestine, Chapter Overview	40

1 Spiritual Capital and the Copy: Painting, Photography, and the Production of the Image in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine

“There Never Was a Turkish Jerusalem”	51
Jerusalem’s Art Market	55
Twice Copied	64
Replicating Icons: Nicola Saig	67
Picturing the Bible: The American Colony Photo Department	77
Painting Photographs	91
Conclusion: The Spiritual Capital of the Copy	94

2 The Charitable Crusade: Art and Welfare, 1908-1920

The Arts-Charity Landscape and the Cultural Sector	97
Artistic Missions	106
“No Charity – Only Work!”: The Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts	120
“Drawing Flowers”: Sophie Halaby, Missionary Girls Schools, and the Arab National Spirit	131
Conclusion: Charity or Parasitism?	149

3 “Creative Work in Palestine”: Technical Education, Textiles, and *Turath* (Heritage), 1920-1948

Craftsmen and Citizens	156
A State in the Building	166
“Arts & Crafty Stewart”	175
Textiles and <i>Turath</i>	189
The Palestine Folk Museum	203
Conclusion: Failures to Futures	216

4 Fair Competition: Economic Separatism and Palestine’s “National” Fairs of the 1930s

Competition in the Cultural Sector	222
“Mutual Cooperation”: The Levant Fair	
<u><i>The Pioneers and the Reapers</i></u>	227
<u><i>For the Welfare of Palestine (Equality)</i></u>	238
<u><i>“Throbbing Center of Commerce and Cultural Activity”:</i></u> <u><i>Art at the Levant Fair</i></u>	247
“Non-Cooperation”: The First National Arab Fair	
<u><i>For the Welfare of Palestine (Reciprocity)</i></u>	258
<u><i>A Fanatically National, Inter-National Fair</i></u>	266
<u><i>Awakening the Woman Artist, Awakening the Arab Nation</i></u>	274
Conclusion: Portraying Politics	284

Conclusion: Palestinian Pictures

Palestinian Pictures	288
Art, Welfare, and the Cultural Sector	296
Bibliography	312
Figures	335

Acknowledgements

Foremost, I would like to thank my advisors, Nasser Rabbat and Caroline Jones, without whom I would not have had the skills or courage to pursue this particular path of research. Their generosity and willingness to combine intellectual forces and serve as co-advisors brought me to MIT and I can now say, from experience, that they prove the dictum “two heads are better than one” (and am thankful to them for never making me “the servant of two masters”). There is not an insight or argument in this dissertation that was not touched by Caroline’s zeal for asking questions, big and small, and I am enormously indebted to her for passing on her gift of staying intellectually hungry. Nasser’s balance of candid criticism and unfailing encouragement gave me the support I needed to forge into unfamiliar territory, and it is because of him that I intend to devote my career to the study of Islamic art and architecture. More than all this, however, I am grateful to them for seeing more to me than my research, encouraging me never to lose sight of the other things in life that bring me joy. I would also like to thank Abigail Jacobson, whom I met during a fortuitous year of overlap at MIT, as she has been an anchor throughout the dissertation process, both in Cambridge and Jerusalem. It was through her pioneering scholarship that many of the guiding questions of this dissertation took shape and our conversations sustained me at some of the most crucial and difficult moments in this endeavor.

From my experience, all research on Palestine must—by necessity, but also to its great advantage—be collaborative. In order to collect the kernels of information about Palestinian art in the decades prior to the *nakba*, I formed relationships with individuals and institutions who shared the belief that building collective historical knowledge is a form of power and, also, resistance. I have long awaited the opportunity to thank them here, alongside my academic mentors, family, and friends.

I am quite certain that without Jack Persekian, who opened the doors to the Palestinian art world to me in 2013, this dissertation never would have happened. Al-Ma‘mal has been my home away from home ever since and I hope it stays that way for a long time to come. I am also thankful for a chance encounter on my first day in Jerusalem with Dor Guez, from whom I learned the lesson that guided me throughout each step in this process: listen first. George Al Ama has been a true confidante since the moment we met, and I am grateful to him for sharing his deep and ever-expanding knowledge of Palestinian art. I spent one of my happiest birthdays at the home of Widad Kawar, from whom I learned as much about Palestinian embroidery as I did about the value of sharing stories. Many of my fondest memories are of the hours spent discussing the American Colony with Rachel Lev. I am in awe of her intellect and tenacity and thankful for her continued friendship.

As the lengthy list of archives visited in the creation of this dissertation indicates, many more archivists, librarians, collectors, and scholars were integral to the completion of this work and I am grateful to them for their time and expertise. In particular, I would like to thank Jumana Emil Abboud, Issa Freij, Khaled Khatib, Baha Jubeh, Frère Stéphane Milovitch Ofm, Tina Sherwell, Idan Pinchas, Jean-Michel de Tarragon, Francesca Biasio, Aline Khoury, Alia Rayyan, Håkan Wahlquist, Bibbi Andersson Linder, Skans Victoria Airey, Barbara Bair, Felicity Cobbing, Lama Koubrouly, Rasha Salah, Laura Schor, and Hisham Khatib not only for their research assistance, but for fruitful conversations which drove aspects of this work’s development.

I received financial and research support for this dissertation from the Palestinian American Research Center (PARC), MISTI, Darat al Funun, and the Terra Foundation for American Art, as well as through a crucial dissertation completion fellowship from the Mellon Foundation/American Council of Learned Societies in my final year of writing. I am grateful to Suha Shoman, Luma Hamdan, Eline van der Vlist, Yanal Janbek, and Mohammad Shaqdiḥ at Darat al Funun for a delightful stay in Amman, where I had the opportunity to write while surrounded by some of the most intriguing artworks and living artists from the Arab world.

For their comments on the work as it has developed through publications and conferences, I thank my friends and colleagues in the field, including Anneka Lenssen, Jessica Gerschultz, Holiday Powers, Alessandra Amin, Tiffany Floyd, Nada Shabout, Kirsten Scheid, Sarah Rogers, Pamela Karimi, and Chelsea Haines. An early version of Chapter One appeared in a 2017 issue of *Arab Studies Journal* and was significantly improved by the comments of Sherene Seikaly and the anonymous reviewers. I would also like to thank Elisabeth Friedman, not only for her comments on early drafts, but for her witticisms and camaraderie across countless checkpoints, on busses, in taxis, and at every Airbnb or hotel room along our way. Finally, I am extremely fortunate to have had Sarah-Neel Smith, a close friend for over ten years, read every word I wrote (and sometimes many times over). I could not have asked for a better president of my personal “board of directors.”

For their mentorship during my years at MIT, I am grateful to Arindam Dutta, Lauren Jacobi, Mark Jarzombek, Martha Buskirk, and Gediminas Urbonas. I am especially thankful to have had the opportunity to work closely with Kristel Smentek and to have experienced her scholarly generosity, steady leadership, and warmth as a mentor and friend. Navigating the Ph.D. process would have been unthinkable without the expertise of Kate Brearley, Anne Deveau, José Luis Argüello, and Renée Caso.

I would also like to thank my undergraduate mentors, who shepherded me into the field of art history, and who continue to lend support and scholarly advice, including Jody Maxmin, Hilarie Faberman, Patience Young, and Bryan Wolf. I am especially grateful to Jennifer Marshall for being the first to encourage me to explore alternative methodologies in art history and for showing me what dedicated faculty mentorship looks like, and to Wanda Corn for teaching me the importance of making academic writing accessible and for demonstrating the vast array of opportunities a life in art history could bring. I am also forever indebted to Bill Carroll and Linda Weise, for modeling how important it is to value every person one meets along the way.

I count myself lucky to have been surrounded by a warm and brilliant cohort at MIT, who not only provided crucial criticism on this work in its various stages, but also the space to be myself. In particular, I wish to thank Christianna Bonin, with whom at times it feels like I share a brain, Deepa Ramaswamy, Jesse Feiman, Albert Lopez, Sara Berger, Kelly Presutti, Chantal El Hayek, Irina Chernyakova, Ann Lui, Emily Williamson, Azra Dawood, and Antonio Furgiuele. I am also thankful to Jordan Kauffman, Christian Hedrick, Stephanie Tuerk, Sebastian Schmidt, Niko Vicario, Christopher Ketcham, Rebecca Uchill, and Ana María León for showing me how it could (and should) be done. Finally, I am especially grateful to the friends who stayed close by me throughout this long journey: Amanda, Betsy, Shelly, Marie, Adam, and Matt.

I dedicate this work to my family—Libby, Naşit, Mim, Ben, Erol, and Esra—whose support I cannot describe in words, and, above all, to Michael for being there with patience, love, and puns each morning and every night. Without him, this simply would not have been possible, and I am so happy that the two of us made it to the other side—together.

Notes on Translation and Transliteration

Translation

All translations from Arabic into English were made in consultation with the author. I worked with Manal Yousef, Chantal El Hayek, and Nasser Rabbat on various Arabic to English translations and they are noted in the footnotes as appropriate.

Doron Shiffer-Seba provided translations from Hebrew into English, as cited in the footnotes, and several quick translations from Hebrew to English were made with the assistance of Abigail Jacobson.

All translations from German into English are mine.

Transliteration

My method of transliteration is based on the system adopted by the *International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES)*, including using macrons to indicate long vowels and dots to indicate emphatic consonants.

However, I wrote the Arabic names of artists and politicians according to the most commonly used transliterations or the artists' own spellings, which do not always correspond to IJMES specifications. I hope this will facilitate the use of this text by other scholars in the field.

Few of the artworks referenced in the dissertation had titles designated by the artist themselves and I have therefore used the English-language titles bestowed on them by their current institutional or private owners.

The titles of Arabic-language books are fully transliterated and translated into English in both the footnotes and bibliography.

Any errors of translation or transliteration are my own.

Introduction

The Palestine Picture

Art in Palestine

To accompany the exhibitions of art held in the Palestine Pavilion at the New York World's Fair of 1939, the exhibition's curator, Polish-born and New York-raised artist Elias Newman, published *Art in Palestine*, a historical guidebook to artistic activity in Palestine over the previous forty years.¹ Newman's brief history is afflicted with a terminological quandary: how to name the group of Jewish artists who had settled in Palestine as part of the Zionist migrations? Through the book's pages, written in English, he alternately classified the largely Eastern European and Russian immigrant artists as "Palestinian artists," "Palestine artists," "pioneers," and, in the singular construction, "the artist in Palestine." The phrase "Jewish artists" appeared only once, and only in reference to world-famous European Jewish artists of the early 1900s, such as Max Liebermann, Marc Chagall, and Jozef Israëls. Newman's distinction between "Jewish artists" (those Jewish artists residing outside of Palestine) and "Palestine/Palestinian artists" (those Jewish artists living in Palestine) mirrored their categorization and display in separate galleries in the Tel Aviv Museum, which had opened in 1932, seven years prior to the New York World's Fair.

Further, and despite claiming that Jewish artists had created a "Palestinian style" over three distinct periods of artistic development since 1906, Newman never once wrote of "Palestinian

¹ Elias Newman, *Art in Palestine* (New York: Siebel Company, 1939). A shorter version of the text appeared three years prior in the journal *Masada*: Elias Newman, "Art in Palestine," *Masada*, November 1936, 11–12.

art” as a discrete category. He avoids the adjectival construction altogether in favor of the more cumbersome “art in Palestine,” the same phrase that he adopted for the book’s title. Such vagaries of terminology may reflect a simple imprecision in Newman’s classificatory system or a more substantial Jewish anxiety over the claiming of Palestine and Palestinian-ness at a time when the Zionist movement aimed to promote its ancient Hebraic singularity as the basis for Jewish resettlement in Palestine. To contemporary eyes, however, the most surprising part of reading Newman’s text is the notion that a “Palestinian artist” was once Jewish. The creation of the Palestine Pavilion was a Zionist enterprise and Arab artists in Palestine, in fact, were not mentioned at all.

Today, by contrast, the terms “Palestinian artist” and “Palestinian art” leave little room for ambiguity. The current definition of Palestinian art encompasses the scope of artistic production by Arab artists (Muslims and Christians) and Armenian Christians from Palestine, whether those artists currently live under occupation in the West Bank and Gaza, within the borders of the Israeli state (where the current government classifies them as “Arab citizens of Israel”), or in the worldwide diaspora. Jewish artists who were born in Israel after the state’s declaration of sovereignty in 1948 are now definitively labeled as “Israeli artists.” Newman’s seemingly more neutral term, “Palestine artist,” appears nonsensical in the contemporary context of, on the one hand, a nation-state built on the denial that such a place as Palestine or Palestinians ever existed and, on the other hand, a community of refugees and colonized peoples for whom the use of the nationalized “Palestinian artist” is a necessary demonstration, protest, and rallying cry for a Palestinian people who exist with or without an internationally recognized nation-state.

This dissertation is an effort to bridge the distance between Newman’s more ambiguous conceptualization of Palestinian art in the early twentieth century and contemporary

scholarship's assertive one. I theorize the formation of Palestinian art by mining the period before it solidified as part of a political and national movement, and investigate the changing landscape for artistic production from the start of the reign of Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid II in 1876 to the declaration of the State of Israel in 1948. The rise of an interrelated sphere of artists, new artistic practices, and exhibition spaces in Palestine occurred against a tumultuous political backdrop in near constant transition. This period was marked by the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and its political advantages for Muslims, the First World War, British military and colonial occupation (in the form of the British Mandate from 1920-48), the growth of Arab nationalism, and the rise of Zionism. I argue that this “contestatory tangle” of ideological forces produced the historically distinctive preoccupations, practices, and modes of circulation that marked Palestinian art as an artistic field, and I analyze the ways in which many aspiring locals, imperious foreign occupiers, moralizing evangelicals, and Zionist immigrants contributed to its rise.²

“Local” and “foreign” entities are always conceived in relation to one another and are often intermixed. I therefore use the category of “local” to refer to the majority constituents of Palestine in the period under study: Arabic-speaking Muslims and Christians, Armenian residents and Sephardic Jews (who were also an Arabic-speaking community). I include in “local” those European and Russian Jews who immigrated to Palestine in the eighteenth and nineteenth century prior to the rise of Zionism. By “foreigners,” I specifically mean all those in Palestine who were not at any time Ottoman subjects or citizens. While many such foreigners became

² Palestine was not alone in fielding a multiplicity of internal and external political forces in the post-Ottoman Arab world. Here, I borrow an evocative phrase from Anneka Lenssen, whose dissertation focuses on how a “contestatory tangle of ideologies” in colonial and post-colonial Syria sparked crises in representation and modernism from the 1940s-60s. Anneka Lenssen, “The Shape of the Support: Painting and Politics in Syria’s Twentieth Century” (Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2014), 11.

permanent residents in Palestine, possessing extensive knowledge of the local setting and its history, as well as a command of the Arabic language, they held special legal status and did not always share customs with local residents. Just as Palestine's local community encompassed people of varied ethnicities, religions, and language groups, so too the foreign community was a heterogenous mix of visitors, permanent residents, and immigrants—religious pilgrims, government agents, Zionist settlers—who shared complex relations with the local community.³ For clarity in understanding the cultural categories of the local actors discussed in these pages, I use “Jewish” to designate an ethnic category, rather than strict religious observers of Judaism, and employ the term “Palestinian” to encompass an ethnically and religiously diverse group, including Muslim and Christian Arabs and Armenian Christians who spoke Arabic and were aligned with Arab political organizations.

The very concept of Palestinian identity, like Palestinian art, was in a process of becoming during the period under study. As Rashid Khalidi demonstrated in his landmark work *Palestinian Identity*, the rise of a modern Palestinian identity was as much a result of the resurgence (and later disappearance) of an Ottoman identity as it was a response to the emergence of a Zionist one.⁴ While Khalidi contends that Palestinians must always have had a unique sense of identity, built around the region's special status as home to Jerusalem, he traces the first developments toward a Palestinian identity to Ottoman political transformations following the initiation of the *tanzimat* (modernizing) reforms in 1839. With those reforms, which expanded networks of education, law, and state bureaucracy across the empire, the elite

³ My perspective on these categorizations is informed by the chapter “Foreigners in Jerusalem,” in Roberto Mazza, *Jerusalem: From the Ottomans to the British* (London; New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2009), 75–110; Rebecca Saunders, *The Concept of the Foreign: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003).

⁴ Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 20.

classes in the Arab provinces (specifically the urban “notables,” to use historian Albert Hourani’s term) more firmly assumed an Ottoman identity, intertwined with and inspired by European culture and nationalisms.⁵ Historian Alexander Schölch provides an excellent example of the complexities of this particular Ottoman-Palestinian identity in the late nineteenth century through his case study of Yusuf Al-Khalidi, an elite Arab reformer:

He considered himself entirely an Ottoman in the sense of the 1869 law on Ottoman nationality. This is expressed clearly in a long letter In it he called Jerusalem his homeland (*watani al-Quds al-Sharif*), but the nation (*al-milla*) to which he belonged was the Ottoman nation, and the country, the state in which he lived (*biladuna, diyaruna, dawlatuna*) was the Ottoman Empire. He also spoke of the empire generally as his fatherland (*watan*).⁶

As al-Khalidi’s letter elucidates, not only was his sense of identity informed by Palestine’s political and social embeddedness within the Ottoman Empire, where Palestinians were still subjects rather than citizens, but equally by the idea that Jerusalem exerted a magnetic charge as one’s homeland (*watani*) for those who lived in the geographic region of Palestine.⁷ Al-Khalidi’s description is characteristic of the “competing and overlapping loyalties” Palestinian elites navigated between ethnic, religious, and political identity in the late-1800s and early-1900s.⁸

⁵ Albert Hourani coined the term “urban notables” for those politically powerful individuals who acted as intermediaries between Ottoman government officials and their local communities. Notables were religious functionaries or *ulama*, members of the Ottoman military, or from the urban elite, the *‘ayan*, who had acquired positions in the civil or religious administration of the Ottoman state. By this definition, Hourani’s notables were all male. See Chapter 3, “Cultural Life and Identity in Late Ottoman Palestine: The Place of Jerusalem,” in Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, 35-62; Albert Hourani, “Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables,” in *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. William R. Polk and Richard L. Chambers (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), 41–68.

⁶ Alexander Schölch, *Palestine in Transformation, 1856-1882: Studies in Social, Economic, and Political Development* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1993), 246.

⁷ After the 1908 revolution, when the Ottoman Empire underwent a period of dynamic reform, the empire’s 20 million constituents went from being subjects of the Ottoman Empire to citizens. Historian Michelle Campos explores the impact of this radical shift in political identity in Palestine and traces how Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Palestine learned to become imperial citizens together, in the few short years before the eruption of world war and the end of Ottoman rule in Palestine. Michelle U. Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011).

⁸ Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, 63-88.

Rashid Khalidi's study also affirms al-Khalidi's sentiment that Jerusalem was important to the inhabitants of Palestine not only as an Ottoman administrative center (especially after it became the capital of an independent *sanjak*, "district," in 1874), but as the center of intellectual and cultural life. This dissertation's primary focus on developments in art and culture in Palestine from the perspective of Jerusalem is a reflection of this reality.

Palestine's inhabitants, previously subjects of the Ottoman Empire, were newly bestowed with Ottoman citizenship following the dynamic reforms inspired by the Young Turk revolution of 1908. Even during the central government's 'Turkification' efforts, however, Arab notables remained attached to their Ottoman identity. A shift occurred around 1914 when greater demands for Arab autonomy and a strengthened sense of Arab identity emerged from the urban landowning class at the start of the First World War. Arabism, as historian and political scientist Muhammad Muslih clarifies, was a minority position in the Ottoman Arab lands from 1908 to 1914 and Arabists did not yet seek full separation from the Ottoman state. It was only after the First World War that many Arabists amended their positions to promote an idea of Arab nationalism, which sought the creation of an independent Arab nation with Greater Syria as its center.⁹

Notably, it was in this period, from 1908-1914, that the use of the term "Palestinians" (*filistīniyyun*) entered the vocabulary of the Arabic-language press in Palestine, alongside the increasing usage of the term "Palestine" and a focus on Palestine as a country.¹⁰ The emergent sense of a Palestinian identity mirrored the broader recognition of an Arab identity. Moreover, it

⁹ Greater Syria, or *Bilad al-Sham* in Arabic, accorded with the administrative region of the *vilayet* (province) of Syria during the Ottoman era. Muhammad Y. Muslih, *The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 2–3.

¹⁰ Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, 53-59.

was in this same pre-war moment that the threat of Zionism became tangible to Palestinians. Palestine's rural population (*fellahin*) began staging revolts against land purchases by Zionist political institutions and fierce debates over Zionism began appearing in the Arabic press, not only in Palestine but across the Arab region.¹¹ Thus, years before the Balfour Declaration of 1917, wherein the British government proclaimed support for the idea of a Jewish nation in Palestine, Zionism was a central concern for Palestinians. It was an issue which began to unite Palestine's urban and rural classes and set the stage for the formation of a Palestinian identity more expansive than the Jerusalem-centric version of the Ottoman era.

Khalidi's and Muslih's arguments converge in arguing that the emergence of both Palestinian nationalism and Palestinian identity occurred in the immediate post-war period and the start of the British Mandate, from around 1917-1923.¹² Further, they agree that these developments were the result of both the amplification of Arab nationalism and the local intensification of the concern over Zionism. In Muslih's words, Palestinian nationalism was significantly "ushered into its own independent existence" as a result of Arab nationalist movements, which encouraged identity-driven splits along provincial lines (siphoning Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon from one another), and the regional conflicts following the fragmentation of

¹¹ See Chapter 5, "Elements of Identity I: Peasant Resistance to Zionist Settlement" and Chapter 6, "Elements of Identity II: The Debate on Zionism in the Arabic Press," in *Ibid.* 89-144.

¹² Recent historians of Palestine's colonial history, such as Abigail Jacobson, Laura Robson, Noah Haiduc-Dale, and Salim Tamari, work to disentangle the complex changes in religious, ethnic, and political associations that occurred during this time. They illuminate the subtle ways in which the British system of governance worked to weaken the Palestinian Arab political voice, in addition to making space for Zionist growth. This group of scholars builds on Rashid Khalidi's pivotal work to create a vocabulary through which the mercurial designations of "Palestine" and "Palestinian," alongside the growth of the "Zionist" and "Jewish" categories in Palestine, can be discussed. See Laura Robson, *Colonialism and Christianity in Mandate Palestine* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011); Abigail Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire: Jerusalem between Ottoman and British Rule* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2011); Noah Haiduc-Dale, *Arab Christians in British Mandate Palestine: Communalism and Nationalism, 1917-1948* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013); Salim Tamari, *Mountain Against the Sea: Essays on Palestinian Society and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

King Faisal’s aspirational, unified Arab government in Damascus between 1918 and 1920.¹³ Additionally, and in the spirit of Arabism, Palestine’s Arabs came together to exert their opposition to Zionism within the first few years of British occupation. As Khalidi notes, the delegation of Palestinian notables sent to London in 1921 described itself as a Palestinian *Arab* body, proving that even before the mandate for Palestine was formally confirmed on Britain in July 1922, the country’s Arab population had already come to identify primarily with Palestine.¹⁴ Amending previous historical scholarship and political narratives claiming that a coherent Palestinian national identity only formed in relation to and as a belated, derivative version of a more forceful Zionist one, Khalidi’s and Muslih’s deep dives into the historical record—through newspapers, legal records, and literature—reveals how a Palestinian national consciousness, or an “imagined community” in Andersonian terms, came into being during Palestine’s transition from Ottoman to British territory.¹⁵

Khalidi’s and Muslih’s analyses of the origins of Palestinian identity and Palestinian nationalism provoke this dissertation’s theorization of the emergence of Palestinian art in this context. While their formidable body of scholarship asserts that Palestinian identity and

¹³ Muslih, *The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism*, x.

¹⁴ Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, 174–75.

¹⁵ Benedict Anderson defines an “imagined political community” as “inherently limited and sovereign.” Focusing his discussion primarily on late-nineteenth century national formations in Europe and the Americas, Anderson’s project is apt, but inadequate when conveying the conception of national communities in the post-Ottoman Arab territories. Not only did colonial rule pressure local communities to imagine themselves through colonial institutions, as Partha Chatterjee’s criticism of Anderson’s theory asserts, but Anderson’s arguments are unable to account for non-European pre-national political structures in the region like, for example, the Ottoman *sancak* (independent administrative district) of Jerusalem. Nonetheless, Rashid Khalidi argues for the substantial similarities between the formation of a Palestinian national consciousness and those Anderson describes by similarly investigating Palestine’s print culture (the Arabic press) to “correct the oversimplified view that [Palestinian] identity was primarily a response to Zionism” and to prove that Palestinians came to “‘imagine’ themselves as a political community, with clear boundaries and rights to sovereignty, early in the twentieth century.” Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, 7, 28; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 1991), 6; Partha Chatterjee, “Whose Imagined Community?,” in *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 3-13.

Palestinian nationalism came into view by the early 1920s, based on the evidence presented in the following chapters, I argue that a self-consciously Palestinian art—that is, art connected to an ethnic (including both Arab and Armenian Palestinians) and national movement—did not begin to appear until the early 1930s. Resisting the assumption that art production passively mirrors politics or neatly aligns with social transformations, this project holds the category of Palestinian art in suspension before arguing for its emergence in the 1930s, even as it recognizes the existence of a Palestinian identity before this time.

In order to theorize the formation of a national artistic category for a people who were (and still remain) without a nation-state, the guiding question of this dissertation is not “what was *Palestinian art*?” but rather, taking inspiration from Newman’s book title, “what was *art in Palestine*?” Moving from the former question to the latter requires a shift in methodology, from studying individual artists and stylistic commonalities along ethno-linguistic lines, to researching how Palestine’s rapidly changing socio-political landscape modified what it meant to be an artist in Palestine, who constituted the audience for art in Palestine, and how art from Palestine was valued—at home, abroad, by locals, and by foreigners. The structure of the dissertation emphasizes the short historical span in which art production changed from being used toward primarily religious and commercial ends in the late-1800s to humanitarian and, eventually, political purposes by the 1930s. By studying this trajectory, I demonstrate that the arts came to be perceived as both a productive industry and a powerful tool in the struggle for political agency among Palestinians, Zionists, and British colonialists.

As such, this history points to the fundamental role of artistic practices and cultural networks within political and social histories of post-Ottoman Palestine and intervenes in three key issues in relation to the field of art history. First, I revise existing narratives on Palestinian art

by approaching the shift from *art in Palestine* to *Palestinian art* through the lens of Palestine's distinct colonial history. Second, I question the formation of an "art world" in a place where frequent political change grafted foreign institutions and actors onto local fields of artistic production. Third, I explore the relationship between art and international welfare initiatives in the twentieth century by parsing how colonial policies and humanitarian interventions affected the relationship between fine arts and artisanal crafts in Palestine's artistic milieu. I underscore a substantial dilemma in accounting for national artistic developments in a place and among peoples where a nation-state never materializes. In the case of Palestinian art and Palestine, which has been in near perpetual political crisis since the early 1900s, I expose the value in studying the role of subnational cultural institutions on national artistic formations.

Palestinian Art

An abundance of scholarship on late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century art in Palestine focuses on the pilgrimages of European and American artists to the "Holy Land"—artists, as I argue in Chapter One, whose primary goal was to portray biblical Palestine "as picture" for foreign circulation and consumption.¹⁶ Works made by traveling artists intended to capture Palestine as it was knowable to people through the words of the Bible, the songs of the psalms, and close to a century of academic Euro-Orientalism expressed in literature and scientific and

¹⁶ Here, I reference Martin Heidegger's definition of the "world picture," as it related to the rise of modern science, which "when understood essentially, does not mean a picture of the world but the world conceived and grasped as picture." As architectural historian Timothy Mitchell has noted, this idea found its cultural expression in nineteenth-century world's fairs and I suggest that it was not coincidental that the vogue for capturing Palestine in a wholistic manner, and in increasingly larger formats, occurred in the nineteenth century. Martin Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture," in *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, trans. William Lovitt (New York & London: Harper, 1977), 129; Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 2 (April 1, 1989): 217–36.

archaeological research.¹⁷ [Fig. 0.1] From polychrome prints and extensive photo albums to monumental painted panoramas, the practice of picturing Palestine was a lucrative one and, as scholars like Annabel Wharton and John Davis have shown, provided both entertainment and critical reflection for a Euro-American public eager to assert ownership over the Holy Land during the period of late- and post-Ottoman political crisis.¹⁸ Scholars who have written on local artistic production during this same time—artworks made with the materials of and in response to the conditions of living in Palestine, or “Palestinian pictures”—have segmented their discussions into separate art histories of Jews and Arabs.¹⁹ This division reflects historic ground-level conditions in Palestine during the era under study, such as the socio-cultural and economic separation of the *yishuv* (the name for the Jewish settlement in Palestine prior to 1948), but also reproduces currently operative political divisions. This dissertation draws primarily from this body of scholarship on Palestinian (and Israeli) pictures, while revising several of their core parameters.

A robust field of art historical inquiry exists in relation to the category of Jewish art in Palestine, which includes its historical canonization into distinct artistic movements and

¹⁷ Demand for visual representations of Palestine coincided with the founding of biblical and historical interest groups, like the Palestine Exploration Fund (est. London 1865) and the American Palestine Exploration Society (est. New York 1870), whose archaeological and geographical surveys of Palestine came to serve military interests in the region. For more, see Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century* (Jerusalem; Detroit, MI: Magnes Press, Hebrew University; Distributed by Wayne State University Press, 1983); Naomi Shepherd, *The Zealous Intruders: The Western Rediscovery of Palestine* (London: Collins, 1987); John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem: The Palestine Exploration Fund and British Interests in the Holy Land* (London; New York: Leicester University Press, 2000); Dov Gavish, *The Survey of Palestine under the British Mandate, 1920-1948* (London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005).

¹⁸ See John Davis, *The Landscape of Belief: Encountering the Holy Land in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996); Annabel Jane Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006). The “rediscovery” of the Holy Land by Americans and Europeans in the nineteenth century was directly connected to the perceived decline of Ottoman power.

¹⁹ For references to the preeminent scholarship on Jewish art (Israeli art) and Arab art (Palestinian art) in early twentieth-century Palestine see the following footnotes: 20-21, 30, 32-33.

periods.²⁰ The year 1948 is typically described as a springboard for increased artistic production and the majority of art historians narrate the history of Jewish arts prior to that time as if they were always already cohering around an Israeli national culture to come. However, as the slippery terminology of Newman's *Art in Palestine* illuminates, this trajectory was not always so clear to its agents on the ground.

A small group of art historians, including Inka Bertz, Dalia Manor, and Margaret Olin, have begun to question this smooth lineage, pursuing the changing designations of “Hebrew,” “Jewish,” and “Palestinian” art by investigating the history of the first dedicated art school for Jews in Palestine—and the first dedicated modern art institution in Palestine in general—the Bezalel School of Art and Crafts, opened in 1906.²¹ For instance, as Bertz uncovers, Bezalel's director (Boris Schatz)'s initial aim to create a distinctly “Hebrew” style included his recommendation to draw on the design traditions of all three major religions represented in Palestine—Jewish, Christian and Muslim.²² A poster marketing an exhibition of Bezalel's products, designed by Reuven Lifshitz (Leaf), evokes the diversity of Schatz's initial approach. It features a menorah and a Star of David, adopted in 1897 as a symbol of the first Zionist Congress, assembled amongst silhouettes of animals and urns within an Islamic, Moroccan-style

²⁰ From the embroidered tapestries made by Bezalel's first students in the 1910s to the “New Horizons” abstractionist group in the 1950s and the “10+” minimalist and conceptualist artists of the 1960s and 1970s, and beyond, the art movements which emerged among Jewish artists in Israel/Palestine are theorized by art historians as continuous and progressive. Frequently cited works on the history of Israeli art, which include the use of these periodizations, include: Gideon Ofrat, *One Hundred Years of Art in Israel* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998); Galia Bar-Or, ed., *“Hebrew Work”: The Disregarded Gaze in the Canon of Israeli Art* (Ein Harod: Mishkan Le'Omanut, Museum of Art : Israeli Forum of Art Museums, 1998); Yigal Zalmona, *A Century of Israeli Art* (Farnham: Lund Humphries, 2013).

²¹ Margaret Rose Olin, *The Nation without Art: Examining Modern Discourses on Jewish Art* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001); Inka Bertz, “Trouble at the Bezalel: Conflicting Visions of Zionism and Art,” in *Nationalism, Zionism and Ethnic Mobilization of the Jews in 1900 and beyond*, ed. Michael Berkowitz (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), 247–84; Dalia Manor, *Art in Zion: The Genesis of Modern National Art in Jewish Palestine* (London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005).

²² Bertz, “Trouble at the Bezalel: Conflicting Visions of Zionism and Art,” 247–84.

archway (perhaps in a nod to Jews of Moroccan descent). [Fig. 0.2] Trouble arose as members of Bezalel's Berlin-based board noted their skepticism towards what they saw as Schatz's unsavory idea of a hybridized "Palestinian Style."²³ Manor and Olin also point to fissures within the history of Bezalel and Jewish artistic developments more generally, such as rabbinical proscriptions on the very idea of "Jewish art" and tensions between the use of Zionist and religious iconography in the branding of Bezalel-style art.²⁴

None of these scholars, however, deeply engage with cross-communal cultural activity in Palestine, despite the fact that the school sometimes employed Arab craftsmen as teachers, used Arab models for drawing classes (as well as "oriental" Yemenite, Bukharan, and Moroccan Jews), and even trained a handful of Arab art students, such as Khair Said Mansour and Nahil Bishara.²⁵ [Fig. 0.3] Indeed, in scholarship about Jewish art in early twentieth-century Palestine, the Arab is featured mainly as exotic source material for the (formerly European) Jewish artist.²⁶ Manor, Olin, and Bertz's approach to national artistic formations, however, stimulates this dissertation's interest in accounting for similar ambiguities and tensions among artists, administrators, and institutions in relation to the establishment of Palestinian art.

Without exception, the existing scholarly works on Palestinian art revolve around themes of displacement, division, and loss, as symptomatic of the continuing *nakba*, as they grapple with

²³ Ibid., 267.

²⁴ Olin, *The Nation without Art*, 3–18; Manor, *Art in Zion*, 40–68.

²⁵ Since that time, Palestinian students have continued to receive training at the currently-named Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design. For more on Arab participation in Bezalel prior to 1948 and the use of "ethnic models," see: Nurit Shilo-Cohen, ed., *Bezalel: Crafting a Jewish Style- the Art of Bezalel, 1906- 1996*. (New York: Jewish Museum, 1996); Gannit Ankori, *Palestinian Art* (London: Reaktion, 2006), 41–44; Dalia Manor, *Art in Zion*, 62–68.

²⁶ Whereas Yigal Zalmona saw in the Jewish depiction of Palestinian Arabs "an antidote of instinct and physicality to the alienated detached diaspora Jew," the art historian Dalia Manor suggests that Jews illustrated Arabs in the vein of European Orientalist artists to contrast with the image of the "new Jew" in Palestine: "In these pictures the Jews [of the Old *yishuv*], like the Arabs, have no contact with the Zionist settlers and present no threat—physical or ideological—to the Zionist enterprise. And like the country's landscape they belong to the idyllic even mythical realm that the artists of the 1920s so carefully staged." Manor, *Art in Zion*, 147, 159.

accounting for the history of Palestinian visual art as one forcibly divided between the time before and after 1948. The violent events surrounding the birth of the Israeli nation, alternately referred to as the *nakba* (“catastrophe”) by Palestinians and the “War of Independence” by Zionists and Israelis, followed the colonial period under the British Mandate and the “resolution” adopted by the United Nations after the Second World War in 1947. The adoption of a Partition Plan for Palestine resulted in an immediate internal war leading to the forced expulsion of more than 700,000 Palestinians, the proclamation of sovereignty by the State of Israel, and an inter-state conflict between Israel and the surrounding Arab states that has simmered ever since.²⁷ Not only were Palestinians displaced into the diaspora, but close to 160,000 Palestinians remained to live as subject to martial law in Israel, under Egyptian military rule in the Gaza Strip, or under Jordanian rule in the West Bank, all of whom became subject to Israeli occupation after the war of 1967.²⁸ Paintings which depicted the moment of exile in the immediate aftermath of the *nakba*, such as Ismail Shammout’s *Where to?* (1953), became icons within Palestinian culture.

[Fig. 0.4]

As the history of modern Palestinian art first came to be articulated through Arabic-language publications produced by Palestinian organs of distribution in the 1980s, the *nakba* became the most significant historical pivot in its narration, both for its effects on the conditions of creation and dissemination of art and as an implied catalyst for most artistic subject matter.²⁹

²⁷ Following the United Nations’ vote to partition Palestine, the surrounding Arab nations provided military intervention on behalf of the Palestinians, but were defeated. James L. Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 224.

²⁸ Ilan Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 137–39.

²⁹ Ismail Shammout, an artist from Lydda, was appointed the Director of the PLO’s Art Education Department in 1964 and began producing texts on the history of Palestinian art in the early 1980s. See footnote 30 for reference to his book-length study.

This first set of scholarly work focused primarily on artwork made not only after the *nakba*, but after the Palestinian national movement further crystallized in the wake of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. These books included Nabil Anani's *Palestinian Art in the Occupied Territory* (1984), printed by the short-lived Gallery 79 in Ramallah, and Ismail Shammout's *Art in Palestine* (1989) produced for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), for which Shammout was Director of Arts and National Culture.³⁰ Advancing notions of Palestinian art after 1948 as explicitly nationalist and political, these authors' interests in pre-1948 artworks revolve around identifying stylistic connections to centuries of local folk culture in order to propose a seamless genealogy for Arab artists in Palestine from past to present.³¹ Samia Halaby's *Liberation Art of Palestine* (printed in English in 2000) is similar in its focus on art after 1967 and on stressing an unambiguous connection between art and national identity.³²

More recent English-language studies on Palestinian art similarly tend to collapse the relationship between the production of art by Palestinian peoples and the assertion of a Palestinian national political identity through art. The three major studies devoted to Palestinian art written in English share similar titles: Gannit Ankori's *Palestinian Art* (2006), Kamal Boullata's *Palestinian Art: 1850-2005* (2009), and Bashir Makhoul and Gordon Hon's more recent *The Origins of Palestinian Art* (2013).³³ These scholars self-consciously employ the

³⁰ Nabil Anani, *Palestinian Art in the Occupied Territory* [al-Fan al-Tashkīlī al-Filastīnī fī al-Ārd al-Muḥatala] (Ramallah: Gallery 79, 1984); Ismail Shammout, *Art in Palestine* [al-Fan al-Tashkīlī fī Filastīn] (Beirut: Dept. of Information and Culture, Palestine Liberation Organization, 1989).

³¹ Two of the most frequently cited themes these authors use to draw connections between pre- and post-1948 Palestinian artwork are agricultural symbols used in *tatreez* (embroidery) and the use of Arab text/calligraphy. See for example Shammout, *Art in Palestine*, 20-5.

³² Samia Halaby, *Liberation Art of Palestine: Palestinian Painting and Sculpture in the Second Half of the 20th Century* (New York: H.T.T.B. Pub., 2001).

³³ Kamal Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005* (London; Berkeley, CA: Saqi, 2009); Gannit Ankori, *Palestinian Art*, 2006; Bashir Makhoul and Gordon Hon, *The Origins of Palestinian Art* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013). Kamal Boullata had published a previous version of his text, in Arabic, several years prior: Kamal Boullata,

national designation of Palestine in its adjectival form, *Palestinian*, despite the fact that Boullata and Ankori substantially engage with late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century artistic material produced during the Ottoman period when all of Palestine’s inhabitants, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, were Ottoman subjects and their social and religious identities alternately defined as Ottoman, Arab, Jerusalemite, Muslim, Christian, Jew, and Druze, among others.

While Boullata and Ankori research changing pictorial expression in Palestine before 1948—such as the spread of Byzantine-style icon painting in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the arrival of early photography in the mid-nineteenth century, and the broad revival of *tatreez* (embroidery) in the early 1900s—the construction of Palestinian art’s “national consciousness” remains markedly under-theorized by the art historical community. The following chapters are an attempt to avoid replicating the same approach to the history of Palestinian art by attending to the fragile and contingent nature of this particular national art formation. Limiting the scope of my study to the decades prior to 1948, I temporarily displace this historical touchstone and focus on the ways in which the end of the age of empire and the rise of the age of nationalism shaped modern art in Palestine. As discussed previously, Ottomanism, Arabism, Arab nationalism, Palestinian nationalism, and Zionism were but some of the ideologies put before Palestine’s inhabitants, including artists and craftworkers, as they navigated overlapping imperial, colonial, and national interests in the most important religious center of the fraying Ottoman Empire’s Arab periphery. I contend that it was this peculiar “ecological setting,” to use Oleg Grabar’s phrase from his foundational theory on the formation

The Recovery of Place: A Study of Contemporary Palestinian Art [Istiḥdār al-Makān: Dirāsāt Fī al-Fan al-Tashkīlī al-Filasṭīnī al-Mu‘āṣir] (Tunis: Arab League Education, Culture and Science Organization, 2000).

of Islamic art, rather than a singular, stable, and continuous Palestinian national consciousness, which set the stage for a Palestinian art to arise.³⁴

Art World

To illustrate Palestine's ecological setting, I concentrate on the social relationships, institutions (and proto-institutions), and shared material interests and resources that were responsible for making art in Palestine visible—the systems of cooperative interaction sustaining what we might more simply designate an “art world.” In Howard Becker's classic sociology of artistic labor, he described art worlds as consisting of “all people whose activities are necessary to the production of the characteristic works which that world, and perhaps others as well, define as art.”³⁵

Drawing on Becker's definition, this dissertation does not limit its study only to those Palestinians producing art in Palestine, but traces the unique constellation of local and foreign artists, archaeologists, religious leaders, missionaries, teachers, businessmen, colonial bureaucrats (and their wives), ethnographers, and activists whose actions, together, formed the precondition for what could later emerge as Palestinian art.³⁶

While Becker insists that “art worlds do not have boundaries around them,” he describes how art worlds most often require institutional and social networks to sustain them: institutions of education (art schools, membership-based clubs, craft societies), institutions of distribution (associations of gallery-dealers, museums, newspaper criticism) and government institutions

³⁴ Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 12.

³⁵ Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 34.

³⁶ For a philosophical formulation of the concept of the precondition, see Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward S. Robinson (New York: Harper, 1962). Heidegger examines the nature of *Dasein* (“being there”) as a necessary precondition to the *Seinsfrage*, or the ultimate question of “what is the meaning of being?” Similarly, in order to ask what Palestinian art is, we must become more fully aware of the preconditions for its manifestation.

(providing patronage, legal protections, etc.).³⁷ Becker's approach to studying art worlds is informed by the work of earlier sociologists of art, such as Harrison and Cynthia White, who argued that the celebrated French Impressionist painters did not initially garner recognition based on their novel artistic practice, but because their careers exemplified the use of a new institutional system of art distribution, that of the "critic-dealer."³⁸ Institutional systems are thus at the base of art worlds as Becker, White and White, and other sociologists and art historians such as Janet Wolff, Francis Haskell, T.J. Clark, Patricia Mainardi, and Michael Baxandall have argued.³⁹ A deeper understanding of the institutions of art's production, display, and circulation can yield a more precise analysis of an artwork's immediate communicative value in the context and art world for which and of which it was produced. Studying how institutions emerge is crucial to this project as, in the case of Palestine, artistic practices and individual artists preceded the emergence of institutions devoted to Palestinian art.

There were no evident institutions catering to Arab artists in early twentieth-century Palestine. Even during the British Mandate, no central institutions were established for the study,

³⁷ Particular chapters in Becker's volume, including "Mobilizing Resources," "Distributing Art Works," and "Art and the State" center on the institutional mechanisms "through which art happens." Becker, *Art Worlds*, 1, 35.

³⁸ Harrison C. White and Cynthia A. White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World* (New York: Wiley, 1965), 2.

³⁹ "Social" art histories, however methodologically varied, focus on uncovering the links between institutional systems, artistic production, and public consumption. In addition to finding inspiration in Becker's sociological investigation of art worlds, my approach draws from art historians such as T. J. Clark who seek to excavate the social structures of artistic production through the artwork itself: "What I want to explain are the connecting links between artistic form, the available systems of visual representation, the current theories of art, other ideologies, social classes, and more general historical structures and processes. [...] I want to discover what concrete transaction are hidden behind the mechanical image of 'reflection,' to know *how* 'background' becomes 'foreground'..." This project finds the methods of social art history useful, particularly in working with the limited extant visual material of art produced by Palestinians in the early twentieth century. T. J. Clark, "On the Social History of Art," in *Modern Art and Modernism: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Francis Frascina and Charles Harrison (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), 252; Janet Wolff, *The Social Production of Art* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981); Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980); Patricia Mainardi, *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

making, or display of the visual arts, as they had been in other European colonial territories, such as India and Tunisia.⁴⁰ Religious missionary schools, which are the main focus of Chapter Two, provided training in the arts and crafts, but did so more out of a desire to improve the social and economic welfare of Palestinians than a commitment to advancing art in Palestine.⁴¹ Annual state-sponsored salons (and counter-salons), such as those prominent in recently-independent Egypt in the 1920s and 30s, did not surface either.⁴² Without institutional touchstones, tracking the processes by which artistic experiments transformed into common artistic practices can seem like an elusive endeavor. In contrast, Jewish cultural activity occurred largely apart from the Palestinian community, arguably within a “European” art world built from a Zionist institutional scaffold. The Jewish art world in Palestine eventually included a dedicated art school and craft workshop opened in 1906 (Bezalel), technical arts education training in Jewish-only primary and secondary schools, and, by 1932, art museums such as Museum Ein Harod (founded in a rural

⁴⁰ British art schools in India opened as early as 1850 in Madras, as well as in Calcutta (1854), Bombay (1856), and Lahore (1878). In Tunisia, three official schools for art education opened between 1922 and 1948, during the French Mandate period: the *École de Tunis* (the Tunis School), the *École des Beaux-Arts* (the School of Fine Arts), and the ateliers of the Office National de l’Artisanat (the National Office of Handicraft, referred to colloquially as “the *artisanat*.” As Jessica Gerschultz writes in her forthcoming manuscript on art in Tunisia, “these ‘schools’ dominated Tunisia’s art infrastructure” and “initially corresponded to an imagined ideal separating the Beaux-Arts from the ‘indigenous’ craft industry, though their lines were never clear-cut and became increasingly blurred by mid-century.” Arindam Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of Its Global Reproducibility* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 92–95; Jessica Gerschultz, *Decorative Arts of the Tunisian École: Fabrications of Modernism, Gender, and Class in Tunisia, 1948-1972* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019), 2.

⁴¹ The era of Ottoman reform, especially after 1876, saw a dramatic increase in foreign Christian missionary societies working in the Ottoman domains, hoping for the imminent overthrow of the Muslim empire, and often in direct alliance with their governments at home. Religious missionary institutions in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries played an important role in the training of Arab artists and, therefore, in the making of modern Arab art. A comprehensive comparative study on this topic, on the relationship between missions and modern art in Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon for example, is yet to be produced. However, this study aims to add to the growing body of research on this topic, such as Sarah Rogers’s enlightening dissertation on the construction of the idea of Lebanese cosmopolitanism through the visual arts, which tracks this correlation to artists who trained with Maronite church and Italian Jesuit missionaries in Mount Lebanon. Sarah A. Rogers, “Postwar Art and Historical Roots of Beirut’s Cosmopolitanism” (Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2008), 71–108.

⁴² For a succinct history on Egypt’s formal art establishment, the *Société des amis de l’art* (The Society of the Friends of Fine Art or, in Arabic, *jam ‘iyyat muhibbī al-funūn al-jamīla*), the rise of autonomous art collectives, counter-salons, and the crisis among Cairo’s cultural institutions in the interwar period, see Sam Bardaouil, *Surrealism in Egypt: Modernism and the Art and Liberty Group* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2017), 25–31.

kibbutz north of Jenin) and the Tel Aviv Museum. However, the fact that both Arab and Jewish artists and art initiatives worked on common soil—sometimes through common agents, and often with common, if competing, approaches—has been obscured through the separate evaluation of Arab and Jewish art worlds, a fissure that reflects more of today’s politics rather than those of the early twentieth century.⁴³

Becker’s approach, therefore, has its limitations for describing Palestinian cultural life in the early twentieth century. Without art schools, art museums, art galleries, or a government or proxy administration that truly championed arts education and display for Palestinian artists—all of which the Jewish community had in place by the early 1930s—can we really speak of a “Palestinian art world” before 1948? This question has been the sticking point of recent scholarship on early twentieth-century art in Palestine. Kamal Boullata’s robust chapter on the period from 1850 to 1948 argues that the “openness of the cultural scene” for Palestinian artists drove the birth of a “new pictorial language” which expressed artists’ “interpretation of

⁴³ A similar division, between the study of Arab history and Jewish history in Palestine during the British Mandate exists in the fields of history and political science. While several historical models to describe Jewish and Arabs relations have developed since the 1970s, such as the “dual-society model” and the “relational” model, they focus primarily on social and economic differences between the two communities, operating under the presumption that Jews and Arabs existed in two separate societies. Notable recent scholarship, however, attempts to study the land of Palestine as inherently mixed and recognizes that while Jews and Arabs under British rule had separate political, economic, and cultural systems—as well as contradictory future aspirations—they did have social contact and shared complex relationships. For instance, as Abigail Jacobson and Moshe Naor’s recent study, *Oriental Neighbors*, demonstrates, key actors bridged these purported divides and moved frequently between them, such as in the several cases they present of “Oriental Jews” who acted as “mediators” between Jews and Arabs, but also between Jews of Oriental and European descent. Other recent historical scholarship in this direction, several of which analyzes Jewish-Arab relations in Palestine starting in the late Ottoman era, is listed here: Campos, *Ottoman Brothers*; Yuval Ben-Bassat, *Petitioning the Sultan: Protests and Justice in Late Ottoman Palestine, 1865-1908* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013); Menachem Klein, *Lives in Common: Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem, Jaffa and Hebron*, trans. Haim Watzman (London: Hurst & Company, 2014); Liora Halperin, *Babel in Zion: Jews, Nationalism, and Language Diversity in Palestine, 1920-1948* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015). For examples of earlier scholarship which engages Jewish and Arab histories, but maintains their division, see: Dan Horowitz and Moshe Lissak, *Origins of the Israeli Polity: Palestine under the Mandate* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978); Jacob Metzger, *The Divided Economy of Mandatory Palestine* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007); Zachary Lockman, *Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906-1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

modernity and definition of national identity.”⁴⁴ Boullata claims artworks visualized a Palestinian national identity as early as 1900, yet stops short of proclaiming a unified art world for Palestinian artists.⁴⁵ Gannit Ankori, too, advocates for an image of a “dynamic and richly textured artistic milieu” composed of artists creating pronounced artistic styles and forms.⁴⁶ “In their choice of subject matter, awareness of the local scene, and amalgamation of Western art and native ingredients,” Ankori states even more forcefully than Boullata, “they were producing an indigenous art endowed with distinct characteristics.”⁴⁷ Where Boullata saw the *nakba* as “aborting” the beginnings of a Palestinian pictorial language, Ankori saw it as a “tragic, but temporary hiatus” from a fully-formed “indigenous” art world—her problematic use of the term indigenous identifying Palestinians and Palestinian art as ‘other’ in relation to their later colonizers.⁴⁸

Bashir Makhoul and Gordon Hon offer a critical approach to this problem by pressing on the idea of the origins of Palestinian art. Drawing on Edward Said’s theory of beginnings, Makhoul and Hon distinguish the term “origin” from the concept of “beginning:” a beginning “encourages non-linear development, a logic giving rise to a multileveled coherence of dispersion,” whereas an origin “centrally dominates what derives from it.”⁴⁹ In other words, whereas Ankori and Boullata endeavored to describe the beginnings of Palestinian art, Makhoul and Hon attempt to understand something of its immediate origins. Rather than locate the origins

⁴⁴ Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, 41–42.

⁴⁵ Boullata does, however, acknowledge an operative Jewish art world for European Jewish artists and craftspeople in the “segregated colonies.” *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴⁶ Ankori, *Palestinian Art*, 24.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁴⁸ Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, x; Ankori, *Palestinian Art*, 21.

⁴⁹ Makhoul and Hon, *The Origins of Palestinian Art*, 2–3, quoting from Edward Said, *Beginnings: Intention and Method* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 3.

in the mid-nineteenth century as Ankori and Boullata do, the *nakba*, they argue, is the inescapable driver of a coherent “Palestinian art.” Viewing the *nakba* as an ongoing event, as “it continues in the form of refugees, dispossession, exclusion from the homeland, occupation, and military domination,” they assert that there simply is no prior-to-1948 to contend with in the narrating of Palestinian art.⁵⁰ Problematic as both a political and ideological assertion, positing that the origins of a Palestinian art based on a Palestinian national consciousness only emerged as a result of dispossession, Makhoul and Hon assert that a coherent Palestinian art world did not exist before the *nakba*.⁵¹

As explored in the following section, I introduce a new term by which to understand the transformations in Palestine’s early twentieth-century art scene, shifting the focus away from this primary debate in the historiography on Palestinian art. However, by building up “as complete a picture as we can of the entire cooperating network that radiates out from the work in question,” as Becker’s understanding of art worlds encourages us to do, I demonstrate how the arts came to be valued as tools for addressing economic and political conflicts in Palestine.⁵² To better understand how art in Palestine came to play a role within cultural politics requires accounting for the diversity of immigrant practitioners, international agents, and experimental exhibitions and (non-art-focused) institutions which contributed to its rise.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 9.

⁵¹ This argument ultimately glosses over the reality that Jewish Zionists recognized Arabs as their opponents in the struggle to establish their nation-state in Palestine—for example, when Arab peasants revolted against Jewish land purchases made through Zionist organs prior to the First World War—hence acknowledging the Arabs in Palestine as presenting a unified, if nascent political identity. As mentioned prior, historical scholarship, such as Rashid Khalidi’s *Palestinian Identity*, exposed the inherent fallacy in historical or theoretical arguments which appear as indifferent to this fact. On peasant resistance to Zionist settlement, see Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, 89–117.

⁵² Becker, *Art Worlds*, 35.

To these ends, the episodes woven together through the following chapters incorporate a number of institutions, individuals, and social networks whose very presence divulged Palestine's complex political reality. These include, among others, the seemingly disparate ventures of the House of Industry created by Anglican missionaries for Jewish craftworkers in the late-1800s, the British military's short-lived Pro-Jerusalem Society (1918-1922) for supporting architectural preservation and cultural life, and the Supreme Muslim Council's First National Arab Fair for showcasing industry, arts, and crafts from across the Arab region (1933). By identifying the role of such entities in the mediation and promotion of new artistic forms, I critically reevaluate the work of canonical early twentieth-century Palestinian artists such as Nicola Saig, Sophie Halaby, Jamal Badran, and Zulfa al-Sa'idi. Living in post-Ottoman Jerusalem, these artists interacted with materials and media introduced by new political and social actors, from exploring the narrative capacities of pressed wildflowers to testing the synthetic colors of imported European embroidery threads, copying visual propaganda from newspapers, and repurposing photographic prints as surfaces for paint. Their artworks rarely spoke directly to or coherently about the shifts in communal structures and political alignments in Palestine, much less about a particular Palestinian identity.

My work intersects with other scholarship about culture's utility to politics in the complex arena of early twentieth-century Palestine. For instance, in *Selling Jerusalem*, art and architectural historian Annabel Wharton explores Jerusalem's tourist economy in the nineteenth century, revealing how the possession of illusory, technologically reproduced images of the Holy city (e.g. lithographs, photographs, and panoramas) fueled the dream of the Christian West to reclaim Palestine from Islamic, Ottoman rule.⁵³ The architectural historian Daniel Monk, in *An*

⁵³ Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem*, 145–188.

Aesthetic Occupation, considers how Arab Palestinians, Zionists, and the British looked to the control of architectural preservation as a way to mirror and reinforce their own political self-representation.⁵⁴ Furthermore, historians of archaeology note how excavations in Palestine by foreigners often mined a direct relationship between archaeology and power, as scientists, diplomats, and religious emissaries bolstered their claims to the land, literally, by digging into the ground.⁵⁵ Particularly notable is the research of anthropologist Nadia Abu El-Haj, who uncovers how both British and Zionist leaders institutionalized the archaeological discipline in Palestine, serving their respective colonial and national interests.⁵⁶ Moreover, archaeological artifacts and debates over heritage were vital components of several of the art initiatives and exhibition spaces forming in Palestine during the mandate period. These scholars' interest in institutional mediations of nation building and culture is important for this dissertation's focus on similar practices in the world of visual arts.

Cultural Sector

Looking beyond "art worlds," I posit that early twentieth-century Palestine offers a powerful site for interrogating the origin of the concept of the "cultural sector" as it evolved within nation building, colonial pacification, and international humanitarianism.⁵⁷ I draw on an understanding

⁵⁴ Daniel Bertrand Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation: The Immediacy of Architecture and the Palestine Conflict* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002).

⁵⁵ Neil Asher Silberman, *Digging for God and Country: Exploration, Archeology, and the Secret Struggle for the Holy Land, 1799-1917* (New York: Knopf: Distributed by Random House, 1982); Magen Broshi, *Religion, Ideology, and Politics and Their Impact on Palestinian Archaeology* (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1987); James F. Goode, *Negotiating for the Past: Archaeology, Nationalism, and Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1919-1941* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007).

⁵⁶ Nadia Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001).

⁵⁷ "Culture" itself operated as an international category in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, attached to an international liberal political system evolving in response to the militarism and nationalist frictions leading to the First World War. As architectural historian Lucia Allais astutely observes in her study of the survival of

of the cultural sector as it emerged following the Second World War as a UNESCO category, while questioning the historical emergence of that term. According to UNESCO's definition, the cultural sector consists of a conglomerate of institutions delimited by a distinct regional focus and, most importantly, an economic mission.⁵⁸ The cultural sector includes institutions for arts and arts education, existing alongside other sectors in civil society, such as those supporting youth, women, education, and health. One may see these "soft sectors" as the ennobling accomplices of the putatively morally impoverished sectors of finance and politics. Yet the cultural sector tends equally to factionalize and receive funding for activities sponsored by local or international allies in support of particular politics. During the politically dynamic period in Palestine that this dissertation addresses, foreigners and foreign institutions played an outsized role in local structures of artistic production and markets of distribution. Outside political funding (often in the guise of religious charitable patronage) was regularly funneled to cultural projects within Palestine. Following these activities, I detect an early instantiation of, or precondition for, the cultural sector through artistic activity in Palestine.

monuments in the twentieth century, culture became a shared concept that could "be attached to inanimate objects: cultural monuments, cultural sites, cultural heritage, cultural property, cultural institutions, cultural affairs." While several of Palestine's historic and religious sites came to be seen as "international patrimony" under the auspices of the United Nations (UN) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) after the Second World War, my efforts here are to understand the political pragmatics of instrumentalizing culture in the earlier, post-Ottoman years. For more on the internationalist valences of culture and the United Nation's definition of the term, see: Lucia Allais, *Designs of Destruction: The Making of Monuments in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018), 7; Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); Fred Halliday, "Three Concepts of Internationalism," *International Affairs* 64, no. 2 (1988): 187–198.

⁵⁸ The UN formed after the Second World War in 1945 and established the specialized agency UNESCO in 1946. Prior to 1948, a crucial year for this dissertation's study, there were separate sections or divisions within UNESCO for the fields of libraries, museums, arts and letters. In 1948, these units were grouped under the newly created Department of Cultural Activities (CUA). In 1965 the units were reorganized into Sectors, thus creating the Social Sciences, Human Sciences and Culture Sector (SHC). UNESCO currently defines cultural and creative industries as "sectors of organised activity whose principal purpose is the production or reproduction, promotion, distribution and/or commercialisation of goods, services and activities of a cultural, artistic or heritage-related nature." <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/santiago/culture/creative-industries/>. See also Diana Crane, *The Production of Culture: Media and the Urban Arts* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1992).

The dissertation thus highlights the ways in which art and culture were conscripted into humanitarian efforts and, in exchange, illuminates how humanitarianism in early twentieth-century Palestine intersected with and played an important role in developing the cultural sector. I do so by focusing on moments when political leaders endorsed art as a productive enterprise, capable of contributing to the social cohesion and financial welfare of communities. Two examples from the dissertation demonstrate the tensions which arose between local interests, colonial administrators, and national governments-in-formation as they used art and culture to sway political realities in Palestine in the name of welfare.

The Bezalel School, initiated at the Seventh Zionist Congress in Basel in 1905, came well before Zionists built their first kibbutz or first university in Palestine.⁵⁹ Building an art school was considered a necessity, both for establishing a visual identity for the desired Jewish nation and for furnishing the Jewish minority in Palestine with skills to provide economic independence.⁶⁰ While the Bezalel School would create a pioneering legacy as the birthplace for a Jewish (later, “Israeli”) national art, its humble beginnings were in creating religiously-themed carpets and other objects in silver filigree, woodwork, and brass, and it expressed its mission in Palestine through the lens of humanitarianism. “The aim of the Society—while prohibiting any profit-making activity by its members—is humanitarian: to improve the economic and social situation of the poor Jewish population in *Eretz Israel* and in neighboring countries by promoting handicrafts and home industry.”⁶¹ Bezalel’s origins, while unique in some aspects, were in step with several other charitable institutions in Palestine which connected art with welfare, such as Christ Church’s House of Industry and the American Colony School of Handicrafts and

⁵⁹ Shilo-Cohen, *Bezalel*, 35.

⁶⁰ Manor, *Art in Zion*, 11.

⁶¹ Shilo-Cohen, *Bezalel*, 35.

Dressmaking, among others, which I characterize in Chapter Two as constitutive of an “arts-charity landscape.” Reflective of this dissertation’s emphasis on the role of foreign influence in conceptualizing cultural sectors, it is important to note that it was Zionist supporters from Western Europe and America who directly financed and shepherded Bezalel, the most important institution for Jewish art production in Palestine, into existence.

A second salient example emerges from the career of William Arnold Stewart, the Director of Technical Education during the British Mandate, who proposed the Palestine Folk Museum (1935-47) in collaboration with British, Arab, and Jewish representatives. As described in Chapter Three, the museum gathered embroidered textiles from across Palestine as the core of its collection. For Stewart, the colorful embroidered robes and silk head-dresses were as integral to Jerusalem as its stone walls. He feared that the use of imported gray cloth and cheap printed goods during the mandate would not only result in an “incongruous and ugly” streetscape, but would strip Palestine’s varied communities of those traditions which were vital to preserving their heritage.⁶² Stewart’s anxiety echoed that of Charles Robert Ashbee, who as director of the Pro-Jerusalem Society had believed that dress in Palestine was being subjected to a certain type of “philistinism” imposed by the Christian missions’ “war on local costume.”⁶³ [Fig. 0.5] The drab colors, uniform patterns, and imported cloths greatly contrasted with the pluralistic fashion in Ottoman times, as that vision had been popularized and circulated in Europe through the Ottoman album *Les Costumes Populaire de La Turquie*, commissioned for the 1873 Vienna World’s Fair. [Fig. 0.6] Although proposed by Stewart, a mandate official, the Palestine Folk Museum received almost no governmental funding. Instead, the museum acquired its collection

⁶² W. A. Stewart, “Creative Work in Palestine: Technical and Crafts Education, 1918-1946” (n.d.), 5, Oxford University, Griffith Institute.

⁶³ C. R. Ashbee, “Report by Mr. C. R. Ashbee on the Arts and Crafts of Jerusalem and District,” (August 1918), 66, CRA/21/1, King’s College Archives.

from donations by wealthy Arabs and Jews, maintained its efforts through private financial donors in Palestine and abroad, and operated with the help of volunteers, primarily the wives of British bureaucrats. The museum's diverse collection sought to represent Palestine's multi-ethnic population, and its founders hoped it would represent a vision of an ethnically diverse, but unified Palestinian citizenry of the future, a vision notably at odds with mounting political tensions between Jews and Arabs.

How did institutions, like Bezalel, and individuals like Stewart, both bearers of Euro-American cultural capital, interact with and relate to the local inhabitants of Palestine? How did local artists engage with these institutions, whether Bezalel's appropriation of craft techniques or the Palestine Folk Museum's display of local textiles? How did each cultural institution package art, culture, and heritage as beneficial for social and economic welfare? Who was interested in financing these initiatives and what did they have to gain politically? These are typical of the institutions and questions that this dissertation delineates and addresses as it explores interconnections between the rise of the cultural sector and welfare discourses as they related to competing national projects in Palestine in the first half of the twentieth century.

While the prevailing narrative of the history of human rights tends to emphasize the post-Second World War era in Europe, including the founding of the United Nations (UN) and international reaction to the atrocities of the Holocaust, the research of Keith David Watenpaugh locates the roots of contemporary human rights thinking and "modern humanitarianism" decades earlier in the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the Eastern Mediterranean and specifically, the Armenian genocide and refugee crisis.⁶⁴ Modern humanitarianism, as Watenpaugh defines it,

⁶⁴ Keith David Watenpaugh, *Bread from Stones: The Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015), 3.

seeks to eradicate and prevent the root problems of humanity rather than provide direct monetary or physical relief, and shifts away from religiously-motivated aid. Scholarship on humanitarianism's role in colonial and national formations in Palestine, by historians such as Watenpaugh and also Michael Berkowitz, demonstrates how institutions across ethno-religious lines—from the American Red Cross to the Jewish National Fund—used philanthropy, charity, and humanitarianism to justify foreign presence in Palestine, citing the acute need for welfare initiatives after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the First World War.⁶⁵ Berkowitz specifically examines Zionist-led humanitarian efforts in Palestine, stressing how Zionism appealed to the sympathies of European Jews and non-Jews alike, and how their contributions to the Zionist cause should be properly contextualized as a form of humanitarian charity.⁶⁶

After 1948, international aid and peace-keeping missions grew in direct response to the Palestinian refugee crisis, such as the United Nation's Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). As evidence of the continuation of a cultural sector in Palestine, formed by institutions which link the support of art to politics, economics, and welfare, Palestinian art thrives today through the substantial support of NGOs created to support Palestine in the wake of the Oslo Accords (1993-

⁶⁵ While beyond the scope of this dissertation, Ottoman forms of charity also existed in Palestine prior to the Empire's disintegration and modernized according to the trajectory Watenpaugh defines. During the first *tanzimat* period (1839-76), for instance, institutions designed to care for the poor moved out of the exclusive control of the *waqfs*, or Muslim endowments, to the Ottoman state and semiprivate forms of philanthropy. Critical literature on charity and humanitarianism in the late Ottoman era and in Palestine, in particular, includes: Watenpaugh, *Bread from Stones*; Amy Singer, *Charity in Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002); Nadir Özbek, "The Politics of Modern Welfare Institutions in the Late Ottoman Empire (1876-1909)," *International Journal of Turcologia* 3, no. 5 (Spring 2008): 43–63.

⁶⁶ Charity, while fundamental to Zionism's successes, is often overlooked in the movement's historiography. As Berkowitz's scholarship uncovers, charity's role in the movement has been diminished due to Zionism's "carefully cultivated self-image—which emphasised the 'new' Zionist Jews as fiercely independent, rugged, and willing to make personal sacrifices" and the desire of particular Zionists to distance themselves from Jewish philanthropic ventures which were contiguous, but not necessarily fully aligned, with the Zionist experiment. Michael Berkowitz, "Toward an Understanding of Fundraising, Philanthropy and Charity in Western Zionism, 1897-1933," *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations: Official Journal of the International Society for Third-Sector Research* 7, no. 3 (1996): 243.

95). I propose a deeper history of the intertwined trajectories of modern charity, art, and politics that still characterize Palestine's history.⁶⁷ In using art and archives from Palestine to probe the unexamined origins of the concept of the cultural sector, this research adds to scholarship on the history of humanitarianism and highlights a lacuna in art historical studies by revealing how cultural transformations in Palestine modeled the deployment of the cultural sector as a tool of both nation building and international aid across the globe following the First World War. Moreover, in illustrating how the concept of Palestinian art is embedded in and responsive to the histories of international humanitarianism in the region, I offer a view on the formation of Palestinian art that no longer relies solely on touchstones in the development of Palestinian nationalism.

Arts and Crafts for Palestine, Chapter Overview

Proceeding in chronological order, the dissertation's four main chapters emphasize moments when substantial changes to the social, economic, and political fabric of Palestine produced new avenues for art's production, circulation, and display. Each chapter frames one of the evolving structures through which Palestinian art took shape: from the rise of a broad commercial market for religious souvenirs in the late Ottoman era to discourses of charity, welfare, and cultural parity under the British Mandate during and after the First World War, to a framework of

⁶⁷ While a tacit awareness of the strong relationship between international humanitarianism and Palestinian art exists among members of the Palestinian art community, little scholarly work has been devoted to the phenomenon. A scathing assertion about this link comes from Kamal Boullata: "Thanks to non-governmental organizations, grass-roots initiatives, social, cultural and political movements have been sedated and arrested as elephantine budgets cultivated a new breed of activists who were coopted into becoming professionals of a post-Oslo clientelism that eventually contributed to giving a new shape to cultural expression." Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, 233. Anthropologist Chiara De Cesari observes this unique characteristic of the contemporary Palestinian art world as well: "A number of small museums and exhibition spaces have been set up, and some have permanent collections of, for example, folklore objects, but in most cases these are attached to charitable societies, private foundations, NGOs, and other 'civil society' institutions." Chiara Cesari, "Anticipatory Representation: Building the Palestinian Nation(-State) through Artistic Performance," *Studies in Ethnicity & Nationalism* 12, no. 1 (April 2012): 87.

competition when Arab-Jewish discord hardened by the 1930s. Together, these chapters explore the interwoven dynamics of art production, seen variously as *from*, *of*, and *for* Palestine, and include the broad range of types of art-making which existed simultaneously. The line separating “fine artist” from “artisan” or “craftworker” wavered as artists, bureaucrats, and politicians negotiated art’s purpose. Therefore, in addition to bringing forth people, discourses, and institutional types which contributed to the foundations of Palestinian art prior to 1948, this dissertation theorizes a more expansive set of media as germane to understanding the development of Palestinian art.

The first significant change in Palestine’s modern history began with increases in religious tourism and foreign diplomacy and trade during the brief reign of Muhammad ‘Ali Pasha in Palestine (1831-40) and modernizing Ottoman *tanzimat* following the Crimean War (1853-56). Chapter One, *Spiritual Capital and the Copy*, centers on the heightened European and American presence in Palestine due to continued Ottoman reforms under Sultan Abdülhamid II (r.1876-1909) and the rise of a robust souvenir market predicated on the desire for products made *of* or *from* the Holy Land—souvenirs valued for their sacred connection to the place. Exploring the informal interplay between local and foreign artistic communities occurring as part of this renaissance for Palestine’s art market, this chapter investigates the relationship between Nicola Saig, a renowned Christian Palestinian icon painter, and the American Colony Photo Department (ACPD), a group of photographers from an American-Swedish Christian sect who dominated the commercial market, especially the production of allegorical biblical scenes. Saig frequently employed the Colony’s hand-colored photographic export items as source material for his first experiments with oil on canvas painting. Moving away from the *qudsi* (“Jerusalemite”) style of icon painting through the Evangelical aesthetics of the ACPD’s photographs, Saig’s paintings

disclose the transformations in artistic practice engendered by the rapidly changing communal fabric of late-Ottoman Palestine. Further, Saig's work offers insight into the practices of Khalil Halabi, Daoud Zalatimo, and Tawfiq Jawharriyeh, Saig's peers and students, who also employed souvenir photographs in the creation of their paintings.

In opening to European diplomacy, trade relations, and missionary influence, Palestine reflected the transformations of its regional neighbors across Greater Syria (which includes modern-day Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Israel/Palestine), as they too adapted to the impacts of Ottoman-European agreements in the late-nineteenth century. The dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire's Arab provinces after the First World War, however, marked the end of their parallel histories for two reasons: the addition of Zionism and Palestine's exceptional status as the Holy Land. Owing to these factors, political and social activity in interwar Palestine did not mirror the Arab struggles for independence in its neighboring territories, where the struggle was only against the colonial (British or French) power and not a settler-colonial movement (Zionism) in addition. The following three chapters assess how both factors not only affected strategies of mandate governance and social and economic life in Palestine, but the functions and valuations of artistic practices as well.

Chapter Two, *The Charitable Crusade*, examines the impact of the First World War, international humanitarian aid, and religious charity organizations on a new conception of the arts and crafts as means for economic stimulation. Palestine had a long history of hosting foreign religious charitable organizations. Endemic to Palestine since the Crusades, these charities sought to aid the more peripheral and marginalized communities of the various Islamic empires in Palestine and protect religious holy sites. The Franciscan Order, for instance, had been in Palestine since the year 1217 and was granted permission to care for Christian holy places as the

“Custody of the Holy Land.” Such organizations adapted to Palestine’s humanitarian needs after 1908, the year of the Young Turk Revolution and the deposition of Sultan Abdülhamid II, and as economic depression followed through the First World War. Acting as proxies for an unstable Ottoman government and, later, for the interim British military government, religious charitable institutions became increasingly responsible for the health, education, and well-being of Palestine’s diverse population in the first several decades of the 1900s, including Muslims. From classes in woodworking hosted by the London Jews’ Society to the loom workshop set up by the American Red Cross, welfare organizations also offered training in the arts and crafts with the goal of increasing the number of artisans and the supply of local goods for sale. Through this framework, artisanal crafts were conceived as products *for* Palestine—for sustaining the people and the holy place in which they lived.

Like the Christian missionaries operating in Palestine, the Zionist movement also mobilized a charitable response to Jewish poverty in the Holy Land—part of which resulted in the opening of the Bezalel School, also a focus of Chapter Two. Large-scale Jewish immigrations to Palestine, or *aliyah*, began in the 1880s. Charities dedicated to the aid of Jews in Palestine grew in response, seeking to distinguish themselves from the older *halukka* system wherein alms were collected and distributed to the old Jewish communities in Palestine without conditions.⁶⁸ New charities like *Hovevei Zion* (Lovers of Zion), *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden* (Aid Association of German Jews), *Kolonisationsverein Esra* (Esra Colonization Association), *Großloge des B'nai B'rith* (Grand Lodge of “Children of the Covenant”), and the *Baronin von Cohn-Oppenheim-Stiftung* (Baroness Cohn-Oppenheim Foundation) believed in funding

⁶⁸ Mazza, *Jerusalem: From the Ottomans to the British*, 140.

programming to improve the education and agricultural capabilities of Jews in Palestine, to cultivate a cultured community from the impoverished conditions in which they lived.

Most, though not all, of these charities were founded in support of Zionism as it solidified as a settler-colonial project at the end of the century. At that time, Theodor Herzl, a Viennese Jew, proposed that the only recourse to relentless anti-Semitism and violence in Europe and Russia was for Jews to leave and settle elsewhere. Although several locations were considered initially, Herzl joined with East European Zionists who stressed the need for continual Jewish settlement in Palestine.⁶⁹ Despite early attempts by the Ottoman government to curtail Jewish immigration, Zionists built the foundations for a Jewish community not only by purchasing land and creating agricultural settlements, but also by pursuing artistic missions, like the establishment of Bezalel in Jerusalem, through recent rights afforded to foreigners to live and hold property in Palestine after Ottoman reforms enacted in the 1850s and 60s.⁷⁰ As Bezalel's seed money came through these religious charities, Bezalel defined its purpose in line with their missions, aiming to furnish the Jewish minority in Palestine with skills to provide economic independence, while also setting out to develop a "national" art. The school aligned its ideals

⁶⁹ Herzl's ideas were seminal to the development of Zionism, but he did not instigate the idea of Zionism. Zionist thought and activity in Eastern Europe were already coalescing around the idea of Judaism as a form of proto-nationalism when Herzl became outspoken on the issue in the 1890s, following the Alfred Dreyfus legal affair in which a French-Jewish officer was falsely accused of treason. Unlike charitable Zionist organizations such as the *Lovers of Zion*, who emphasized self-help within the Jewish community, Herzl's aspirations were much more direct in his desire to raise funds to purchase land on which a Jewish state could prosper. Theodor Herzl, "Der Judenstaat (The Jewish State)," in *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader*, ed. Arthur Hertzberg (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959), 215–23; Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents* (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martins, 2001), 38–41.

⁷⁰ The 1856 Reformation Edict extended the basic rights of Ottoman citizens to non-Muslims and foreigners living in the Ottoman Empire and in 1867 foreigners were granted the right to hold property. Following increased Jewish immigration to Palestine in 1882, the Ottomans passed a law to prohibit Jewish immigration. The British appealed to the government and in 1888 the restriction was loosened, though not fully lifted. Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine*, 39.

with and was supported by members of the practical Zionist movement, like Martin Buber, who believed artistic activity would generate “the national soul” of the Zionist organism.⁷¹

Within the arts-charity landscape defined in Chapter Two, I also consider the role that missionary schools played in the formation of modern artists, through the lens of the still life paintings of wildflowers by the Palestinian artist Sophie Halaby. Halaby (1906-1998), from an Arab Christian family, attended the British Jerusalem Girls’ college, a secondary school founded by Anglican missionaries at the end of the First World War, before continuing her artistic training in France and Italy. According to Halaby, the girls were primarily taught to “draw flowers,” appropriately feminine subject matter that also reflected a wider interest in biblical botany popular among missionaries, artists, and scientists alike. Against this backdrop, I argue for a socio-political reading of Halaby’s watercolors of unruly wild flowers and their connection to the cultivation of an Arab national spirit in Palestine. I contend that her watercolors enable us to see how the apparatus of charity, which contributed to the development of formalized art education in Palestine, did not function in isolation, but also intersected with proto-national movements to bind cultural practices to the physical landscape of Palestine. Palestine’s religious charities and schools fundamentally altered the ways in which art and traditional craft techniques were learned, valued, shared, and distributed by the start of the British Mandate, a marked departure from the art market of the late-1800s when Palestine’s tourist and trade boom was largely premised on the commercial and spiritual value of its artisanal goods and artistic works.

With the arrival of the British Mandate after the First World War came the imperative to create institutional structures for education, industry, finance, and commerce, necessary to the

⁷¹ Martin Buber, “Address on Jewish Art,” in *The First Buber: Youthful Zionist Writings of Martin Buber*, ed. Gilya Gerda Schmidt (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 48.

mandate's success. Art also entered the purview of state bureaucracy as select officials attempted to absorb and transform the existing institutions for artisanal education, production, and display. The November 1917 Balfour Declaration, which outlined a British commitment to creating "a national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine, largely conflicted with the mandate's broader charge to assist in the creation of a self-governing state for the Arab majority population in Palestine. The brief memorandum not only rendered Jewish as its own ethno-national category in Palestine, despite the fact that Jews only constituted five percent of the total population at the time of its writing, but as historian Shirene Seikaly underscores, it also "rendered the majority of Palestinians who lived on the land nameless; it defined them by what they were not."⁷² In attempting to uphold what was essentially a double mandate, by the end of the 1920s the local government in Palestine began claiming their policies were based on a "principle of parity," in which it endeavored to cater to the equal representation of Jews and Arabs, regardless of population numbers and of the varied religious affiliations of the Arabs in Palestine.⁷³

Chapter Three, *Creative Work in Palestine*, evaluates the failure of parity, as it played out through the mandate's cultural arm. This chapter follows the career of William Arnold Stewart, the Director of Technical Education, as an example of a mid-level British bureaucrat in Palestine who hoped a British arts and crafts pedagogy could be employed to equalize the quality of the crafts between the rival political groups, providing parity in the industrial and artisanal realms. Stewart not only supported this aim through colonial policies, but also participated in developing

⁷² Shirene Seikaly, *Men of Capital: Scarcity and Economy in Mandate Palestine* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016), 5.

⁷³ Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine*, 86. The topic of parity is a key concern of Chapters Three and Four and will be addressed in more detail there. This approach to mandate rule in Palestine differed vastly from Britain's other colonial holdings and was an ad hoc attempt to resolve tensions between the Jewish and Arab communities in Palestine. As I argue throughout the dissertation, the idea of "parity" also became a fundamental component in the fields of art and culture during the mandate.

cultural projects outside of a strictly governmental purview. The primary example of Stewart's extra-curricular interest, and one which intersected with growing heritage movements among Arabs and Jews in Palestine as well, was the creation of the Palestine Folk Museum (1935-48). The founding members of the museum included Stewart and other mandate officials, but also a range of non-colonial Arab and Jewish political and religious leaders. The museum provided space for the collection, preservation, and display of embroidered textiles and well-crafted household and agricultural objects from the Bedouin, Gypsy, Druze, Circassian, Christian, Muslim, and Jewish communities—a diverse definition of “folk” that spoke to Palestine's heterogeneous communal history. In contrast to the growing strain between Arabs and Jews and the increasingly asymmetrical British political policies of the 1930s, the Folk Museum sought to be the one place in which “Arabs, Jews and English cooperate harmoniously” to highlight a shared cultural heritage, or in their words, “Palestinian art.”⁷⁴ In Stewart's work for the museum and in his educational initiatives more broadly, the arts were positioned as a diverse, yet paradoxically equalizing instrument *for* creating a common Palestinian citizenry, a device to unify a progressively divided populace.

Stewart's idyllic notions of parity gave way to an inverse and outright ethos of competition in the 1930s. The Zionist push for nationhood intensified in the face of worsening persecution of Jews in Europe and the rise of Nazism, while Palestinian national interests also solidified as part of a broader Arab national movement, which sought economic strength and independence from its regional contributors. Chapter Four, *Fair Competition*, illuminates how competition between Arabs and Jews emerged in the world of art through the example of two simultaneous, but separate industrial and craft fairs mounted in Palestine—the Municipality of Tel Aviv's Levant

⁷⁴ J. H. Iliffe to D.C. Thompson, 7 December 1938, Palestine Folk Museum Papers, Israel State Archives.

Fair in 1932 and the Supreme Muslim Council's First National Arab Fair in Jerusalem in 1933. The artwork displayed at the fairs revealed that they each belonged to a discrete cultural milieu: the Levant Fair promoted only the cultural strides of the *yishuv*, featuring landscape and portrait paintings by Tel Aviv's resident Jewish painters and monumental sculptures by the Bezalel-trained artist Zeev Ben-Zvi, while the First National Arab Fair exhibited works of Arab and Palestinian artists, including intimate portraits of contemporary Arab intellectuals by Zulfa al-Saadi and the more traditional, Islamic-inspired wooden bas-reliefs and leatherwork of Jamal Badran, all of which reflected the strength of the burgeoning pan-Arab ethos in Palestinian politics at the time. At both the Levant Fair and the First National Arab Fair, artworks were presented as products *for* a political cause, for the economic liberation of the two respective nations the fairs' organizers hoped to call into being.

Each fair claimed to be working for the welfare of Palestine in a way that recalled both the religious charitable desire to contribute to Palestine's social and financial welfare through artisanal education and Stewart's hopes to deploy the arts and cultural heritage discourses to create a more unified Palestine. The fairs, however, responded to the fact that Zionist and Arab conceptions of Palestine's future were becoming fundamentally incompatible by the 1930s; when each fair's organizers spoke of "the welfare of Palestine," they pictured two different and incommensurate Palestines. I argue that the beginnings of a self-consciously Palestinian art, one which supported the principles of economic separatism and ethno-national independence, came through the competitive cultural politics inaugurated in the 1930s and was epitomized by these fairs—years before the *nakba* and the dispossession of Palestine forced the issue.

Together, the chapters expose a conspicuous intermingling of the "fine arts" and "crafts" in regard to the way art was taught, exhibited, and sold. In the context of the religiously-driven

tourist art market of the early 1900s, valuations of medium were sublimated by an interest in authenticity of place. During the scarcity of the war years and at the start of the British Mandate, artists trained in painting and sculpture drove the refinement of Palestinian craftwork in weaving and embroidery. At the Levant Fair, Bezalel's religiously-themed carpets and metalworks were exhibited separately from the paintings and sculptures featured in the designated "art pavilion," indicating a firm craft/fine art divide, while at the First National Arab Fair, newspaper articles both lauded Zulfa al-Saadi for her politically-charged oil paintings and praised the embroidery, ceramics, and glasswork also on view as vital contributions to the Palestinian anti-imperial, anti-Zionist movement. In the case of Bezalel, an art/artisanal binary became entrenched in the institution's structure when, in 1912, the fine arts school split from the craft workshops; however, the fight over which type of art-making best represented the "soul" of the Jewish nation was an ongoing debate throughout the following decades.⁷⁵ Colonial theories of the difference between artisans and artists hinged on racially and religiously-based hierarchies and were repeated in the thinking of figures in Palestine, like Stewart, who framed the difference for Arabs as a matter of "educating" and "cultivating" the quality of the mind.⁷⁶ Yet, Stewart relied on master Palestinian

⁷⁵ Boris Schatz's belief in Bezalel's power to develop an original Hebrew art—"to give a new word to the world" in his phrasing—never wavered. Frustrated with the conservatism of the school, however, many of Bezalel's best students and teachers left Palestine to study in Europe in the late-1910s and 20s and formed their own styles and artistic communities upon return. Even Newman's *Art in Palestine* text refers to this debate in succinct and damning terms: "Bezalel remained a work-shop, busying itself with manufacturing trinklets [sic] for the tourist trade, and supplying foreign markets with Palestinian souvenirs and ecclesiastical trappings, rather than developing a school of art that bespeaks the soil and stirs the soul." "Speech Delivered by Boris Schatz to the American Section of the Interallied Commission on Mandates in Turkey," June 20, 1919, L 42/92, Central Zionist Archive; Elias Newman, "Art in Palestine," 11.

⁷⁶ Stewart wrote his thoughts on the art/artisan divide in his unpublished manuscript about his tenure as Director of Technical Education in Palestine: "An Artisan is the man who merely makes; an artist is the man who impresses the quality of his mind upon what he makes, who gives significance and beauty to the common things of life. A craftsman has it in his power to be either the one or the other. But the power needs cultivating, educating. It needs to be trained in judgement and good taste by the study, not only of fine work in his own craft, but of beauty wherever it is to be found, in literature, art and life. By enriching and raising the level of the mind we shall increase the artistic level of work, for nothing speaks more clearly of what is personal and true in a craftsman than the thing which he makes with his hands." Stewart, "Creative Work in Palestine," 196-7.

artisans, like Jamal Badran, to fulfill his pedagogical aims and championed artisanal embroidery as the truest and most advanced form of Palestinian “art.” My research demonstrates how persistent interactions between the fine arts and the crafts, encouraged by colonial policies and humanitarian interventions, contributed to an expansive range of media enriching developments in Palestinian art.

In a concluding chapter, I assert that there exist continuities between mandate-period art activities and the post-*nakba* understanding of Palestinian art by highlighting similarities in the structures that support its continued survival. I also extend the discussion on welfare and the cultural sector beyond the historiographic roadblock of 1948, specifically as it relates to the continued growth of Palestinian art after that time, despite the continued international denial of a Palestinian nation. The long decade of the 1990s in Palestine, bracketed by the beginnings of the first intifada in 1987 and the second intifada in early 2000, ushered in a dynamic cultural infrastructure of unprecedented scale, one which continues to support the flourishing of Palestinian art today. Fostered by the 1993/95 Oslo Accords and driven by the proliferation of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the region, Palestinian art projects found financial support and an audience that extended well beyond the disconnected enclaves of Palestine. As I propose in the conclusion, a study of pivotal moments in recent Palestinian art history divulges an NGO cultural support structure unique to Palestine, one in which Palestine’s contemporary “art world” — its institutions, art practices, and artists — comes largely filtered through the international relief community’s mission to support Palestine through its “cultural sector.” By surveying the rise of the cultural sector prior to 1948, the dissertation draws a compelling lineage between pre-1948 Palestinian art history and contemporary cultural politics in Israel/Palestine.

Chapter One

Spiritual Capital and the Copy: Painting, Photography, and Jerusalem's Early Twentieth-Century Art Market

“There Never Was a Turkish Jerusalem”

“Jerusalem was no more ours than Florence,” remarked an Ottoman military secretary upon entering Palestine in 1914.⁷⁷ The secretary, Falih Rifki Bey, was aide to the military commander Cemal Pasha, who controlled Greater Syria during the First World War. Describing Palestine as a culturally cosmopolitan, and politically and religiously singular place, Falih Rifki dubbed Jerusalem “a Western theater which has turned religion into a play,” noting the abundance of Euro-American religious tourists who, he believed, had turned the sacred city into something of a spectacle.⁷⁸ Falih Rifki smarted at the realization that foreign institutions on Palestine’s soil, such as those Russian, Greek, French, and Italian religious missions, as well as local Arab notables, exerted more power and seemed to command more respect in Palestine than the Turkish Ottomans:

But it wasn't only Turkish money that wasn't acceptable past Aleppo; it was Turks and Turkish. . . . We wander the streets like tourists. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is symbolic; every piece belongs to a different religious community and we hold the keys. Everything in these parts belongs to the Arabs or to foreign powers. Only the gendarmes are ours: not even the gendarmes, just the uniforms.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Geoffrey Lewis, “An Ottoman Officer in Palestine, 1914-1918,” in *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period: Political, Social, and Economic Transformation*, ed. David Kushner (Jerusalem; Leiden: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi; Distributed by E.J. Brill, 1986), 412.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 408.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 411–12.

Translating this sensation into a metaphor using the place name for one of Palestine’s most sacred sites, Falih Rifki reflected, “Ölberg’ is the German for Mount of Olives. ‘Jabal al-Zaytun’ is the Arabic. And ‘Zeytindağ?’ ‘Zeytindağı’ is just the name I gave my book. There never was a Turkish Jerusalem.”⁸⁰

In the half century leading up to Falih Rifki’s arrival in Palestine, the so-called Holy Land underwent substantial and rapid social, economic, and political transformations. The Ottoman Empire grappled with territorial losses, shifting political alliances, the encroachment of the European powers, the rise of nationalism, and numerous wars. Palestine’s shifting demographics and changing markets stimulated transformations in approaches to the making, selling, and viewing of art made in Palestine. It was during this period that Palestine’s local artisans—ceramicists in Gaza, woodcarvers in Bethlehem, glassblowers in Hebron, and icon painters in Jerusalem—were joined by foreign practitioners—French Orientalist painters, British lithographers, American archaeologists, German architectural preservationists, and Europe’s earliest photographers—who were eager to visually render the sacred land.⁸¹ This chapter traces how the changes in Palestine’s political and social landscape through the late-1800s and early-1900s altered the terrain for artistic production, and argues that these shifts created pathways for artistic exchange between Palestine’s local and foreign communities, spurring new forms of

⁸⁰ Ibid., 414.

⁸¹ For more on craft guilds (*tawa’if*, sing. *ta’ifa*) and craft production in the Arab territories of the Ottoman Empire from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, see Abdul-Karim Rafeq, “Craft Organization, Work Ethics, and the Strains of Change in Ottoman Syria,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111, no. 3 (1991): 495–511; Amnon Cohen, *The Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2001); Suraiya Faroqhi, *Artisans of Empire: Crafts and Craftspeople under the Ottomans* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009). While craft guilds initially profited from the opening of the Ottoman Empire to trade and tourism, treaties which allowed for increased imports into the Ottoman territories, for example the Treaty of Balta Liman in 1838, challenged local guilds, many of which were unable to compete with the European goods which flooded the local markets in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

artistic experimentation that became foundational to the future of art in Palestine.⁸² As a specific case study for this argument, this chapter assesses a selection of genre paintings by the Palestinian Christian iconographer Nicola Saig in the context of Jerusalem's art market of the 1900s, dominated by the demand for religious souvenirs, and in relation to the consistent photographic source from which Saig copied his non-icon works: the American Colony Photo Department.

The first drastic changes to this terrain began with the opening of Palestine to increased religious tourism, foreign diplomacy, and trade in the decades spanning the brief reign of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha in Palestine (1831–40) and the subsequent implementation of modernizing Ottoman *tanzimat* (reform laws) following the Crimean War (1853–56). Muhammad Ali, the ruler from Egypt who invaded Greater Syria as part of his battle against the Ottomans for the recognition his 'Khedival' regime, sent his son Ibrahim Pasha to rule in Greater Syria, including Palestine. Inspired by early European nationalisms, Ibrahim Pasha sought to modernize the territory of Palestine by introducing agricultural reforms, modern industry (a windmill and flour mill were built in 1831), centralized taxation, and a constitutional system which notably included new representative bodies for Christian and Jewish minorities—a stark contrast from the Ottoman *millet* system.⁸³ Prior to this time, Palestine was divided in two administrative *vilayets*, where the pasha of Sidon presided over Acre (and Palestine's northern tip), while the pasha of Damascus assumed responsibility for central Palestine, including Jerusalem. The *vilayets* were divided into *sancaks* (districts), where local Muslim notables

⁸² Refer to pages 3-4 in the introduction chapter for more on my use of the categories of "local" and "foreign" in this context.

⁸³ Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents* (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martins, 2001), 23.

appointed by the Ottomans provided regional security and collected land revenues and tax payments from the non-Muslim minority groups (*millet*).⁸⁴ Although the various *millets* were granted administrative authority over their social and religious functions, they had restricted rights as Ottoman subjects and a limited political voice prior to Ibrahim Pasha's administrative changes and later *tanzimat* reforms in the 1860s. Ibrahim Pasha also encouraged the increased activity of foreign subjects in Jerusalem's economic, social, and religious spheres and permitted the first consulate to open in Jerusalem: the British Consulate opened in 1839, followed by the German in 1842, and then those of France, Italy, Austria, and Russia.⁸⁵

Only able to overthrow Muhammad Ali's government with the help of the British in 1840, the Ottomans made successive concessions that opened the Levant to the world economy, including signing the Treaty of Balta Liman (1838), which authorized unobstructed trade between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. The next great battle, the Crimean War (1853-56), initially fought over the rights of Christian minorities in Jerusalem, ended in defeat for the Russian instigators but exposed the growing weakness of the central Ottoman government. France and Britain, which had once again come to Ottoman aid, used their wartime assistance as leverage to demand further privileges for their Christian subjects within the Ottoman Empire and to strengthen their consuls in Palestine after signing the Treaty of Paris (1856).

⁸⁴ A "politics of notables" ruled in the Ottoman provinces during the mid-1800s, as the preeminent scholar of Arab history, Albert Hourani, has argued. These "monarchical" notables wielded effective power due to their direct access to Ottoman authority, as well as their possession of a perceived natural authority (often through religion) which the central government relied on in order to obtain access to and exert authority over distant populations. Albert Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables," in *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. William R. Polk and Richard L. Chambers (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), 45–46; Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 27.

⁸⁵ Roberto Mazza, "Diplomacy in the Holy Land: New Sources, Themes and Topics," *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 71 (Autumn 2017): 3.

A conspicuous sign that political—and social—change was afoot in Palestine came at the war’s end in 1855 when the Ottoman government made the *Haram al-Sharif*, the site of the Dome of the Rock and the Temple Mount, accessible to European visitors, “a fact that was counted as a downright sensation by contemporaries.”⁸⁶ The granting of rights to foreigners in Palestine only continued to increase toward the end of the nineteenth century as the subsequent *tanzimat* laws of 1867 allowed foreign entities, including traders and missionaries, the right to acquire real estate and settle more permanently throughout the Empire.⁸⁷ Palestine thus adopted a relatively cosmopolitan visage from the 1870s onward, as foreign consular representatives roamed Jerusalem, foreign merchants suffused the trading centers of Jaffa, Acre and Jerusalem, and missionaries and religious pilgrims roamed across the holy terrain from Nazareth to Jericho, from Al-Khalil (Hebron) to Al-Quds (Jerusalem).

Jerusalem’s Art Market

To speak of a unified art scene in Palestine at this juncture would be artificial; it would require consolidating a diverse group of artistic agents, with little direct interaction, working across a broad set of media, into a coherent whole. As the presence of foreigners increased in Palestine starting in the 1850s, artists too, especially those from Europe and America, pursued pilgrimages to Palestine with increasing frequency. Some visiting artists, like the British pre-Raphaelite painters William Holman Hunt and Thomas Seddon, ventured to Palestine for personal artistic pursuits.⁸⁸ Others, such as the Alsatian painter and photographer Auguste Salzmann,

⁸⁶ Alexander Schölch, *Palestine in Transformation, 1856-1882: Studies in Social, Economic, and Political Development* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1993), 268.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 112–13.

⁸⁸ Hunt and Seddon travelled together to the Middle East in 1854. They transcribed several views alongside the photographer James Graham. For more on the personal nature of this trip, see George P. Landow, *William Holman Hunt’s Letters to Thomas Seddon* (Manchester: John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 1983); Albert

accompanied and documented archaeological, religious, or diplomatic missions.⁸⁹ Though produced for different reasons, these artists' works served similar ends once disseminated back home. They authenticated the biblical landscape and provided viewers with a direct connection to the Holy Land.⁹⁰ Foreign artists' representations of Palestine thus paralleled the icon paintings, olivewood figurines, and blown glass vials of holy water that Palestine's local artists sold to tourists. Viewers perceived all these objects as sacred merely by dint of having been produced on or from Palestinian soil. Thus, to speak of a unified artistic milieu in Palestine that encompassed both local and foreign artists and imposed little hierarchy between media, would be more precisely to speak of an art market. This market was predicated on the ancient landscape's particular capacity to serve as "a spiritual reservoir as well as a market," an economy that inspired consumers to believe the sacred could be acquired through commercial means.⁹¹

Boime, "William Holman Hunt's 'The Scapegoat': Rite of Forgiveness/Transference of Blame," *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 1 (2002): 94–114.

⁸⁹ Salzmann visited the Holy Land in 1854 and 1863, on both occasions printing paper negatives of ancient archaeological remnants in Palestine. His photographs contributed directly to acrimonious debates concerning the relative ages of architectural remains. Other examples include Sergeant James McDonald, who photographed for the British Royal Engineers on their 1864 and 1868 surveys of Jerusalem and the Sinai, and Maxime Du Camp, who traveled alongside Gustave Flaubert in 1850 and took photographs as an official emissary of the French Ministry of Public Education. Kathleen Stewart Howe ed., *Revealing the Holy Land: The Photographic Exploration of Palestine* (Santa Barbara, CA; Berkeley: Santa Barbara Museum of Art; Distributed by the University of California Press, 1997), 16–28.

⁹⁰ W. J. T. Mitchell writes on the notion of the entire landscape of Jerusalem as an icon in itself, worshipped as the seat of god. Representations of the landscape, like icons, provided viewers with an opportunity to possess and connect to the place as though they were present within it. John Davis writes more specifically about how painters and viewers in the United States reacted to representations of the holy landscape, arguing "it was apparently the belief of both critic and painter that the pure landscape of the Holy Land was already profoundly 'spiritualized' and needed no additional narrative, real or imagined, to move it into the celestial realm." See W. J. T. Mitchell, "Holy Landscape: Israel, Palestine, and the American Wilderness," *Critical Inquiry* 26, no. 2 (2000): 193–223; John Davis, *The Landscape of Belief: Encountering the Holy Land in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 185.

⁹¹ Annabel Jane Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 149.

Pictures of Palestine produced by Euro-American artists primarily served a renewed Evangelical interest in the Holy Land.⁹² For American artists, as the art historian John Davis has illuminated, the vogue for visual evocations of Palestine can specifically be traced to the colonial era and stemmed from the role of the Holy Land as a visual metaphor for America's New World. In Davis' evocative terms, "Coming to America was often related to the experience of the miraculous passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea."⁹³ Whether inspired by national fervor, as in John Landis' picturesque amalgams of biblical figures amongst Jacksonian architectural fragments, or motivated by a desire to capitalize on American spirituality, as in Frederick Catherwood's sensational traveling Jerusalem panoramas, American artists who came to Palestine in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries produced works which resonated with a prevailing view of the United States as a new Israel, a promised land reserved for a favored people, even as it dispossessed Native Americans and enslaved Africans at home.⁹⁴

American painters like Frederic Church, Miner Kellogg, and Edward Troye fashioned "pure" landscape paintings of Palestine, which blatantly ignored or diminished the contemporary Ottoman realities encountered on their sojourns by adopting a "scientific-scriptural interpretation of the sacred terrain" wherein no narrative was thought necessary to highlight the land's

⁹² The fascination with which Euro-American tourists, scholars, evangelists, writers and artists approached Palestine in the nineteenth century was part of what writer and literary critic Hilton Obenzinger has dubbed "Holy Land Mania." Many of these travelers were driven by religious motivations and considered the Holy Land as the space for their religious explorations and imaginations. Hilton Obenzinger, *American Palestine: Melville, Twain, and the Holy Land Mania* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

⁹³ Davis, *The Landscape of Belief*, 13.

⁹⁴ Landis is thought to be the first American artist to reach the Fertile Crescent in 1833, traveling throughout the Holy Land for several years after experiencing religious visions during a case of smallpox. In addition to artists like Landis and Frederick Catherwood, famous for his panorama of Jerusalem, Davis' book includes detailed case study chapters on the painters Miner Kellogg, Edward Troye, James Fairman, and Frederich Church. Davis uses these cases in order to express his overarching thesis that Americans constructed a special relationship with Palestine, predicated on the idea that United States was a new Israel. *Ibid.*, 3, 29–30 (on Landis), 59–65 (on Catherwood).

profound spirituality.⁹⁵ For example, in Frederic Church's 1846 painting, *Moses Viewing the Promised Land*, the jagged rock formations upon which Moses stands protrude into a glowing ether. [Fig. 1.1] "Sacred geography," or the study of the holy landscape with the aim of demonstrating conformity between scriptural accounts and the physical terrain, even went beyond the painted canvas in America. For instance, Palestine Park, started in the 1870s on the banks of Chautauqua Lake in New York, offered a scale model of Palestine with biblical sites built into the land.⁹⁶ A large mound of stones representing Mount Hermon and an artificial stream dug into grassy hills to represent the Jordan River, among other such landscaped "replicas," allowed visitors the opportunity to experience the process of spiritual self-transformation as they physically walked through the miniature version of the Holy Land in America. [Fig. 1.2] Palestine as picture—or, in this case, as landscape—was organized, controlled, and aimed at fulfilling a Christian imaginary of the biblical past.

Like Martin Heidegger's definition of the "world picture," which "does not mean a picture of the world but the world conceived and grasped as picture," these pictures of Palestine intended to capture the Holy Land as it was knowable to people through the words of the Bible and the songs of the psalms.⁹⁷ This approach was especially apparent in the physically monumental nature of some of the works they produced. Scottish painter David Roberts' three-volume album featuring 275 polychrome prints of *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt*,

⁹⁵ Daniel Monk, in his study of the preservation and construction of architecture in Palestine, describes the new "fetishism of landscape" in the mid-1800s as connected to the popularization of archaeological discourse alongside the rise of Holy Land travel literature. *Ibid.*, 174; Daniel Bertrand Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation: The Immediacy of Architecture and the Palestine Conflict* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 25.

⁹⁶ For more on Palestine Park, see *Ibid.*, 88–97.

⁹⁷ Martin Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture," in *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, trans. William Lovitt (New York & London: Harper, 1977), 129.

and Nubia (1840-45) allowed a viewer to tour holy sites by flipping through pages.⁹⁸ [Fig. 1.3] Bruno Piglhein's massive 390-foot long and 50-foot high painted panorama representing *Jerusalem on the Day of the Crucifixion* (1885-6) embedded viewers among the architectural monuments and expanse of Jerusalem's Old City.⁹⁹ John Banvard's gigantic "moving panorama" of Palestine was accompanied by real-time narration of biblical events by Banvard himself (c. 1850).¹⁰⁰ Artists strove to create immersive viewing experiences through which Palestine could be captured and contained for those wishing to engage in a pilgrimage to Palestine from home.

At a certain point, there were enough pictures of Palestine to picture it in the mind's eye. When tourists did finally arrive in Palestine, they often looked beyond the vistas in front of them, preferring the eidetic landscapes of biblical Palestine in their imaginations, crafted by the abundance of such visual imagery as well as popular literature circulating at home. In a travel novel written by an American woman, Margaret Slattery, in 1921, the author admitted:

Nowhere in our journeys through Palestine did we trouble our souls over the arguments of men as to exact spots and identical places. If not to the place of this ruined wall, then to some spot near by Jesus came.¹⁰¹

As Mark Twain observed in his novel *The Innocents Abroad*, written while accompanying a group of English tourists to Palestine in the 1850s, visitors "entered the country with their verdicts already prepared," rendering travel to Palestine as almost immaterial:

I can almost tell, in set phrase, what they will say when they see Tabor, Nazareth, Jericho and Jerusalem—because I have the books they will 'smouch' their ideas

⁹⁸ David Roberts traveled in the Near East from 1838-39 and recorded his impressions of landscapes, temples, ruins, and people in three sketchbooks and more than 272 watercolors. These sketches and paintings provided the basis for the collection of lithographs with text published between 1842 and 1849 as the three-volume *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt, and Nubia*.

⁹⁹ Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem*, 169.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 174.

¹⁰¹ Margaret Slattery, *New Paths Through Old Palestine* (Boston; Chicago: Pilgrim Press, 1921), 69.

from. These authors write pictures and frame rhapsodies, and lesser men follow and see with the author's eyes instead of their own, and speak with his tongue.¹⁰²

Susanna Pearce Emery, a young British teacher at the Jerusalem Girl's College in the 1920s, and also a budding artist herself, reported that she had clients in England imploring her to send hand-drawn images from Palestine, including one woman who "said she found she could not describe Jerusalem without a picture."¹⁰³

Palestine was portrayed as a consumable "object-world" in these works, to borrow Timothy Mitchell's phrase for describing displays of the Orient at nineteenth-century world fairs, and their commercial successes attest to this fact.¹⁰⁴ Piglhein's panorama, for instance, not only made a profit from admissions, as art and architectural historian Annabel Wharton recounts in her book *Selling Jerusalem*, but also through "the sale of experience enhancers and souvenirs: opera glass rentals, guidebooks, and reproductions of assorted quality and expense."¹⁰⁵ In other words, viewers could not only enact their pilgrimage in the space of the panorama exhibition hall, but the experience could be replicated and taken home for purchase as a souvenir guidebook or postcard. According to Wharton, Jerusalem was the single most common subject displayed in late-nineteenth century panoramas, on view in places like New York, London, and Edinburgh, and drew large profits for their creators. Similarly profitable, Roberts' lithographic album of the

¹⁰² Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad, or, The New Pilgrims' Progress: Being Some Account of the Steamship Quaker City's Pleasure Excursion to Europe and the Holy Land: With Descriptions of Countries, Nations, Incidents, and Adventures as They Appeared to the Author* (Hartford, CT: American Publishing Company, 1869), 381.

¹⁰³ Susanna Pearce Emery, "Letter from Susanna Pearce Emery to Her Mother," June 15, 1924, Middle East Centre Archive, St. Anthony's College, Oxford.

¹⁰⁴ Timothy Mitchell employs Martin Heidegger's analysis of nineteenth-century epistemology for his examination of the festal character of nineteenth-century world's fairs, extending Heidegger's definition of the "world picture." At these fairs, Mitchell argues, the Orient was portrayed as a consumable "object-world," so convincing in its apparent realism that it persuaded people that "the so-called real world outside is something experienced and grasped only as a series of further representations, an extended exhibition." Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 2 (April 1, 1989): 233.

¹⁰⁵ Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem*, 169.

Holy Land attracted the attention of elite members of British society, including the Queen of England, selling two thousand copies prior to publication.¹⁰⁶ The eminent pre-Raphaelite painter William Holman Hunt's painting, *The Scapegoat*, for which the artist worked outside in the forbidding environment of the Dead Sea in the fall of 1854, was purchased by a well-known Victorian coach builder and art collector.¹⁰⁷ The sale brought Hunt 5,500 pounds, one of the largest sums paid for the work of a living artist at that time.¹⁰⁸ The practice of picturing Palestine was thus a lucrative one and, as scholars like Wharton have shown, also provided entertainment for a public hungry to renew their spiritual connection with the Holy Land.

The success of artists like Roberts and Hunt proved that Palestine had become a place from which artistic careers could be made. But how did Palestine's resident artists adapt to increased tourism and engage new technologies, such as photography? What was the relationship between local Palestinian artistic production and foreign influence? Did the confluence of foreign artists and new media alter the sacred status of the art object produced in Palestine? At the turn of the twentieth century, Palestinian artists navigated the currents of a market propelled by disjunctive cultural imaginaries of the Holy Land.

The Palestinian artist Nicola Saig (1863-1942) was one such artist whose trajectory demonstrates how market currents engendered tangled networks of artistic exchange and

¹⁰⁶ As Wharton also notes, Roberts's Holy Land lithographs were so popular that pirated editions appeared almost immediately in Europe. Ibid., 152–62; Sarah Walker Schroth, "David Roberts in Context," in *Jerusalem and the Holy Land Rediscovered: The Prints of David Roberts (1796-1864)*, ed. Duke University Museum of Art (Durham, NC: Duke University Museum of Art, 1996), 36–49.

¹⁰⁷ Boime, "William Holman Hunt's 'The Scapegoat,'" 114.

¹⁰⁸ Billie Melman, *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918: Sexuality, Religion and Work* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 211.

developments in local artistic practice.¹⁰⁹ A member of the Arab Orthodox Christian community in Jerusalem, Saig trained as an icon painter.¹¹⁰ He began painting portraits, biblical allegories, still lifes, and landscapes at the turn of the century and experimented with canvas and ready-made oil paints, which had become available in Jerusalem around 1860. Saig's oil on canvas painting *Nativity* (ca. 1920) reflects his new approach to art making. [Fig. 1.4] Depicting the sacred birth of Jesus in a humble grotto in Bethlehem, *Nativity's* religious subject matter and composition exemplifies late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Euro-American genre painting. Yet the traditional Palestinian dress of the shepherds and peasants in the scene point toward its connections to a contemporary and observable Palestinian reality.¹¹¹

Details about the circulation and consumption of Saig's oil paintings, like *Nativity*, are unclear. Stylistically distinct from his icon paintings, they also lacked the icons' obvious commercial potential to be sold to churches or Christian acolytes. The surviving paintings appear to have remained in the Saig family's possession.¹¹² While Saig signed several of his oil

¹⁰⁹ The proper transliteration of the artist's last name is "Sayigh," but as the artist signed his own name in the Latin script as "Saig," scholars conventionally retain this spelling. Saig, meaning "goldsmith," indicates that Nicola Saig may have been related to a prominent Christian family of Jerusalem jewelers.

¹¹⁰ In the late nineteenth century, Christians constituted forty-five percent of Jerusalem's population of fifty thousand and about ten percent of the overall population of Palestine. Laura Robson, *Colonialism and Christianity in Mandate Palestine* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 2–9.

¹¹¹ Scholars frequently cite Saig's *Nativity* as one of the artworks responsible for the "birth" of modern art in Palestine in the early twentieth century, arguing that the work bridges the gap between religious and secular, traditional and modern, and East and West. The title of the first chapter of Boullata's book, "Birth of a Pictorial Language 1850-1948," announces his desire to locate the origins of a modern Palestinian style of art formed prior to 1948. He cites specific works by Nicola Saig, Khalil Halabi, Mubarak Sa'ed, Daoud Zalatimo, Zulfa al-Sa'di, and Jamal Badran as the harbingers of this movement and devotes another entire chapter to Saig. Gannit Ankori names two artists, Nicola Saig and Jamal Badran—"the Christian and the Muslim"—as pivotal in transforming modern art in Palestine. Ismail Shammout's earlier text on the history of Palestinian art suggests that Saig was the earliest-known Palestinian artist of the modern era. Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, 41; Ankori, *Palestinian Art*, 38; Ismail Shammout, *Art in Palestine [al-Fan al-Tashkīlī fī Filasṭīn]* (Beirut: Dept. of Information and Culture, Palestine Liberation Organization, 1989), 31-33.

¹¹² In 2004, the Khalid Shoman Foundation at Darat al Funun in Amman, Jordan acquired the largest known collection of paintings by Nicola Saig, including *Nativity*. Kamal Boullata located the paintings in the possession of Saig's daughter after her father's death. Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, 105.

paintings using the Latin alphabet as “N. Saig,” indicating a desire to transmit these works to a non-Arabic speaking public, his version of *Nativity* remained unsigned and unframed. It offers no indication of its exhibition history, actual or desired.

When investigated within a larger selection of Saig’s oil paintings, however, it appears that *Nativity* was one of at least three oil paintings Saig copied from photographs produced by the atelier of the American Colony Photo Department (ACPD).¹¹³ The ACPD operated as a commercial enterprise of the American Colony, a Swedish-American Christian sect in Jerusalem from 1881 until the mid-1930s. The American Colony was one of several nationally labeled religious colonies hosting pilgrims in the holy city. Theoretically, Saig and the ACPD operated in divergent discursive regions in the landscape of art production in Jerusalem. Saig belonged to the realm of regional craft production, while the ACPD occupied the sphere of foreign religious, economic, and artistic incursion. Physically, however, the two were located mere steps apart in Jerusalem’s Old City: Saig’s painting studio near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre neighbored the American Colony’s commercial store inside Jaffa Gate.¹¹⁴ Despite a lack of written evidence linking Saig and the ACPD, Saig’s copied paintings indicate an artistic connection between the two.

The relationship between Saig and the ACPD demands an examination of how the process of copying from photographs (and not just the technology of photography) was, in itself, foundational to Saig’s transition from icon to genre painter. Saig trained in the Jerusalem style of icon painting, which was shaped by the broader post-Byzantine icon traditions of the Levant and

¹¹³ Both Boullata and Stephen Sheehi generally affirm that a photograph or painting formed the source of Saig’s nativity scene, but neither identified the ACPD’s photographs or the painting by Bagioli that the photographs reproduced. Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, 108–9; and Stephen Sheehi, “Before Painting: Nicola Saig, Painting and Photographic Seeing,” in *Arab Art Histories: The Khalid Shoman Collection*, ed. Sarah A. Rogers and Eline van der Vlist (Amman: Khalid Shoman Foundation, 2013), 372.

¹¹⁴ Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, 54.

borrowed from the processes of Russian iconographers who settled in the city in the second half of the nineteenth century. For him, the act of copying was an established practice, which expanded into a new medium with photography's assistance. Copying, too, was at the core of the ACPD's commercial success and spiritual mission. The ACPD reprinted and reproduced photographs in a variety of media to increase their sales, most often through hand-coloring.¹¹⁵ The copy serves as the connection point between the realms of foreign artistic entrepreneurship and local artistic practices in Palestine, made visible through the relationship between the ACPD and Saig. It reveals how the rapidly changing communal fabric of late-Ottoman Palestine engendered transformations in local artistic practice.

Twice Copied

Saig based *Nativity* on a painting nestled in the grotto underneath the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, signed by the artist "G. Bagioli" from 1876. [Fig. 1.5] On viewing Bagioli's painting in 1923, a journalist from Ogden, Utah enthused,

[The artist] holds us by the magic of his painting to the pathos and the commanding power of that historic moment, the very beginning of Christianity in the birth of its Saviour. The appealing helplessness of the babe is by no means the least appeal of this picture, found worthy to adorn the church which means so much to all Christendom.¹¹⁶

The journalist praised Bagioli's capacity to convey the sacred moment of Christ's birth in paint and emphasized the artwork's significance as a spiritual object of veneration. Bagioli, he claimed, "put the touch of real devotion" into his small, oblong composition so that "each

¹¹⁵ The ACPD's other frequent artistic iterations included reproducing the photographs as photogravures or color postcards, copying the photographs as engravings or lithographs, and assembling the photographs into albums with narrative captions.

¹¹⁶ "Inspiring Art Masterpieces in Palestine's Holy Cities," *The Ogden Standard-Examiner*, 23 December 1923.

beholder may feel with him the mighty foreshadowing of that hour of superhuman birth.”¹¹⁷

Bagioli’s painting charmed the journalist into experiencing the divinity of the scene. Like the many icons in the church’s basilica and iconostasis, Bagioli’s painting was bound to the historical and holy significance of its place and the devotional activities of Christian tourists in Palestine.

Despite such enthusiastic praise from visiting worshippers, Bagioli’s origins and the circumstances of his/her painting’s production are obscure.¹¹⁸ The ACPD catalyzed the circulation and viewership of Bagioli’s painting beyond the Church of the Nativity by releasing both a monochromatic, close-up photograph of the painting and a hand-colored photograph of Bagioli’s painting in situ as part of a series on “Famous Religious Paintings.” The black-and-white photograph emphasizes the disparity between the darkness of the cave and the two light sources beaming onto the baby Jesus. [Fig. 1.6] The hand-colored photograph accords with the colors used in Bagioli’s original, save for additional touches of green and yellow. The ACPD made these images available for purchase as part of a set, or individually as a glass slide, postcard, or photograph. Locals and visiting tourists could purchase these reproductions at the American Colony Store or send them via post to Bible enthusiasts abroad.¹¹⁹

Certain features of Saig’s copy allow one to hypothesize that he referenced the ACPD’s photographs as aides-mémoire. Just as the ACPD’s photographs blur the clean striations of light

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ The painting no longer hangs in the grotto of the Church of the Nativity, which is cared for by the Franciscans in Palestine. It is stored in the recreation room of the nearby monastery in Bethlehem, in the collection of the Franciscan Custodia di Terra Santa (Custody of the Holy Land). The Custody of the Holy Land does not hold records noting how the painting first entered the church’s collection, when it was removed from the grotto, or biographical information on the artist. No further information has yet been found regarding Bagioli.

¹¹⁹ Barbara Bair, “The American Colony Photography Department: Western Consumption and ‘Insider’ Commercial Photography,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 44 (2010): 28–38.

shining upon the Christ child, Saig's painted copy fades the bright beam as it moved from top to bottom of the canvas. Saig also retained the contrasts between the deep shadows and bright lights that the ACPD's process of photographing the original made more profound. Yet Saig's use of color—Mary dressed in blue, a bright golden halo around the baby's head—diverges from the coloring of both Bagioli's original and the ACPD's hand-colored photograph. In this respect, Saig's color choices reference their conventional uses in the Orthodox Christian icon painting traditions from which he came.

Saig also took the liberty of adding a small lamb to the scene, curled up in the bottom center of the painting. The lamb, used in icon painting to symbolize Jesus and his sacrificial death, increases the religious intensity of Saig's version and adds coherence to the composition by settling the drifting gaze of the woman villager at the entrance to the cave.¹²⁰ The reasoning behind Saig's decision to add the lamb remains enigmatic, however. Artist and art historian Kamal Boullata interprets the lamb as the embodiment of a “nascent nationalist sentiment.”¹²¹ Viewing the lamb as the sacrificial body of Palestine, Boullata refers to the Nakba (catastrophe) of 1948, when approximately seven hundred thousand Palestinians were exiled from their homes and the State of Israel proclaimed sovereignty in parts of Palestine. But Boullata's interpretation of the lamb reads as anachronistic. Saig, painting at the end of Ottoman rule, could not have foretold Palestinians' future. One might rather read Saig's inclusion of the lamb and color choices as evidence of the work's complex combination of statements of originality even within its status as a copy, twice removed.

¹²⁰ Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, 112.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 113.

Replicating Icons: Nicola Saig

The measured doses of conformity and originality in Saig's *Nativity* can be traced to his training as an icon painter and the technological changes affecting art production in Palestine at the turn of the century, specifically the introduction of photography. Born in 1863, Saig began his artistic practice during a renaissance in icon painting in Jerusalem. The civil war in Mount Lebanon (1860-61) exacerbated tensions between Muslims and Christians in the Levant. Its aftermath spurred a period of Christian revival, reconstruction, and large-scale building projects.¹²² As Syrian and Lebanese painting workshops were still recovering from the violence, the task of providing the large quantity of icon paintings needed for the new churches fell to Jerusalem's icon painters. Evidenced by the substantial number of icons signed with names ending in al-Qudsi or al-Urushalimi (painters "of Jerusalem"), Jerusalem's icons suffused the major Christian centers of Beirut, Aleppo, and Damascus.¹²³

In addition to the lucrative export trade with the city's northeast neighbors, Jerusalem's own souvenir industry swelled. Following the Egyptian withdrawal from Palestine, European presence grew. Embassies, trading ships, and railroads facilitated a surge of religious tourists to the region. While in 1845 around five thousand pilgrims visited Palestine, by the 1870s Jerusalem was welcoming between ten and twenty thousand pilgrims annually.¹²⁴ Responding to the demand for tangible mementos of the Holy Land, Jerusalem's icon painters continued to

¹²² What began in May 1860 as an uprising of Maronite Christian peasants against Druze landowners in Mount Lebanon eventually led to inter-sectarian conflict between Christians and Muslims across Greater Syria. In Damascus, a combined militia of Ottoman soldiers and Druze Sunni Muslim paramilitary organizations killed an estimated seven to eleven thousand Christians in a three-day pogrom in July 1860.

¹²³ Icon paintings from the nineteenth century signed by Michael Mhanna al-Qudsi, Yuhanna Saliba al-Qudsi, Niqula Tadros al-Qudsi, and Ishaq Niqula al-Qudsi or al-Urushalimi provide an idea of the extent to which Jerusalem iconographers spread their craft across the Levant. Mat Immerzeel, *Syrische Iconen/Syrian Icons* (Gent: Snoeck Ducaju en Zoon, 1997), 27.

¹²⁴ Alexander Schölch, *Palestine in Transformation, 1856-1882: Studies in Social, Economic, and Political Development* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1993), 119–20.

produce portable icons on wood, but also experimented with other forms and media. To satisfy Jerusalem's enthusiastic religious tourists, artists engraved mother-of-pearl, painted easily transported canvas, or even decorated dried fish heads and crab shells.¹²⁵ [Fig. 1.7] The souvenir industry's growing revenues mirrored the larger growth of Palestine's export industry. With the Crimean War (1853-56) looming nearby and the American Civil War (1861-65) raging farther afield, Palestine's agricultural surplus—wheat, barley, *dura*, sesame, olive oil, soap, and oranges—came into high demand in European markets. Shipping these surpluses was easy, as the newly appointed European consular agents (themselves often merchants) and European commercial enterprises in Palestine functioned as middlemen.¹²⁶ The increased manufacture of devotional items paralleled Palestine's significant economic upswing in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Jerusalem's Orthodox Christian icon trade was not geographically contained, even if the *qudsi* (Jerusalem) style of icon painting was regionally specific. Late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Syrian icons emphasized legibility by using streamlined narratives and vernacular Arabic text. Derived from this style, Jerusalem icons contained even fewer figures and simpler compositions, painted with bright primary colors. Oversized, almond-shaped eyes and black figural outlines marked the *qudsi* style, as in this example of a depiction of Saint George attributed to the Jerusalem icon painter Michael Mhanna al-Qudsi.¹²⁷ [Fig. 1.8] Jerusalem iconographers also retooled the traditional gold background of Russian icons into a

¹²⁵ Immerzeel, *Syrische Iconen/Syrian Icons*, 28.

¹²⁶ Schölch, *Palestine in Transformation, 1856-1882*, 80–1.

¹²⁷ These features spread into painting workshops further afield. Scholars attribute the revival of Coptic icon painting in eighteenth-century Egypt to the partnership of the Jerusalem-born Armenian iconographer Yuhanna al-Armani al-Qudsi and the Coptic scribe Ibrahim al-Nasikh. Tania C. Tribe, "Icon and Narration in Eighteenth-Century Christian Egypt: The Works of Yuhanna Al-Armani Al-Qudsi and Ibrahim Al-Nasikh," *Art History* 27, no. 1 (2004): 62–94.

naturalistic blue sky with occasional clouds. This stylistic feature, borrowed from European and American genre painting, perhaps reflected the heightened Euro-American artistic presence in the holy city.¹²⁸

As an inheritor of this tradition, Saig exemplified the *qudsi* style in his iconographic practice. His portrayal of Saint George is a case in point. [Fig. 1.9] The warrior saint, dressed as a Roman soldier, rides in on horseback to spear a villainous dragon while a princess and her parents watch from their castle on the right. The luminescent, thick torso of the dragon stretches across the horizontal span of the painting in stark contrast with the dynamic verticality of the savior saint. Saig uses bold primary colors, yet he tempers the saturated blue and red of the saint's robes with streaks of gold. The painting reveals its Byzantine influence in the trajectory of its narrative structure from left to right, despite the Arabic text announcing the saint's name at the top, read from right to left. While reproducing the Levantine icon-painting paradigm of the "warrior martyr," Saig's depiction of the popular saint is notably simplified and the landscape conspicuously sparse.¹²⁹ Saig concentrated his painterly attention on the careful shading and naturalism of the saint's body and his reliable steed. This feature of Saig's work, arguably derived from the Russian tradition, accentuates the distinction between the moral lucidity of the saint and his debased earthly surroundings.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Immerzeel, *Syrische Iconen/Syrian Icons*, 27.

¹²⁹ The compositional paradigm of the "warrior martyr" in Arab icon painting extended to other equestrian saints as well, such as Theodore Stratelates, Mercurius, and Victor Stratelates. Tribe, "Icon and Narration in Eighteenth-Century Christian Egypt," 79.

¹³⁰ Through interviewing Saig's students, Boullata reports that a portrait of Archimandrite Antonius hanging in the Mount of Olives convent, painted by Nikolay Koshelev (1840-1918), made a deep impression on Saig. He was especially taken with the Russian artist's naturalization of the clergyman's facial features. Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, 53.

Saig's icon operates within the longstanding traditions of both Byzantine and Arab-Islamic educational systems, where each generation transmitted texts and icons to the next largely unchanged. The icon is at once a copy and an original expression of piety. As early as the ninth century, Saint Theodore the Studite (759-826) outlined the relationship between the original, holy figure (archetype) and its copy (the icon):

Every artificial image . . . exhibits in itself by way of imitation, the form of its model . . . the model in the image. . . . Hence, he who reveres an image surely reveres the person whom the image shows, not the substance of the image. Nor does the singleness of this veneration separate the model from the image, since, by virtue of imitation [that is, *mimesis*], the image and the model are one.¹³¹

Saint Theodore asserted the spiritual value of the copy, emphasizing that it was not the material “substance of the image” which carried an icon's religious merit. Similarly, the Eastern Orthodox Bishop of Harran, Theodore Abu Qurrah (ca. 755-ca. 830), writing during the post-iconoclastic period under the Abbasid caliphate, affirmed the virtues and necessity of imitation. To counter Muslim and Jewish attacks, Abu Qurrah stressed the similarities between visual and textual representations of saints to encourage the acceptance of icon worship:

If someone says that names are not like icons, he is only speaking out of his ignorance of the facts. The fact is that he does not understand that written names are representations, or figures for sounds, and the sounds are representations for ideas, and ideas are representations for things, as the philosophers say. So then, are not the icons simply a clear writing that anyone can understand, whether he can read or he cannot read?¹³²

¹³¹ Cited in Cyril A. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453; Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 174; and Gary Vikan, “Ruminations on Edible Icons: Originals and Copies in the Art of Byzantium,” *Studies in the History of Art* 20 (1989), 50.

¹³² Theodore Abu Qurrah, *A Treatise on the Veneration of the Holy Icons* [ca.800], trans. Sidney Harrison Griffith (Louvain: Peeters, 1997), 63–4.

Abu Qurrah connected the Christian tradition of icon worship to the Muslim and Jewish devotions to holy texts, arguing that icons and writing equally expressed the divine.¹³³ Further, Abu Qurrah commended those Christian craftsmen who acted “graciously toward Christ” in their work of making “reproductions” of Christ and the saints. As deliverers of the most holy of experiences, Abu Qurrah warned “anyone of them who abandons this practice cuts himself off from what the others deserve.”¹³⁴ Saint Theodore and Abu Qurrah articulated how imitation allowed an image and its copy to be one. The act of reproduction constituted a sacred action for the craftsman and functioned as a spiritual conduit for the viewer.

The practice of copying and the sheer proliferation of icons in Byzantium evince the existence of a robust market. The production of portable and inexpensive icons *en masse* relied upon the consumer’s belief that he or she was getting “something of comparable spiritual value” to the original.¹³⁵ At once commercial and spiritual, replicated icons were not merely shaped by the workshop’s procedural mechanics, but rooted in firm religious ideals as well. The holy figure’s presence transferred from his or her original corporeal body into the archetypal image. Consumers expected reproductions of that image, whether drawn on paper or painted on a shell, to give aid or perform miracles.¹³⁶

The Orthodox Christian icon tradition neither acknowledged a hierarchy between original and copy nor placed value on the processes and materials used to produce the icon. This conventional disregard for medium in the replication of icons provides insight into Saig’s

¹³³ As Tania Tribe has discovered, the words of Abu Qurrah were included in a collection of Coptic manuscripts dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, proving the continuing importance of his ideas to subsequent generations. Tribe, “Icon and Narration in Eighteenth-Century Christian Egypt,” 67.

¹³⁴ Abu Qurrah, *A Treatise on the Veneration of the Holy Icons*, 93.

¹³⁵ Vikan, “Ruminations on Edible Icons,” 50.

¹³⁶ Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 42.

relationship to copying. In copying the ACPD photograph of Bagioli's painting, Saig respected customary icon-painting practices and perhaps viewed the act as correspondingly pious. A recent discovery of similar non-icon paintings by Saig includes a square, cropped version of *Nativity* that focuses solely on the holy family. This discovery suggests that Saig iterated upon these paintings for commercial consumption, likely selling them at souvenir shops in Jerusalem's Old City.¹³⁷ Saig produced *Nativity* as a market commodity, like his icons, and copied Bagioli's awe-inspiring canvas through practices that retained its spiritual connection. *Nativity* thus demonstrates how multiple types of valuation coexisted dynamically within Palestine's art market.

In translating the ACPD's photograph of Bagioli's nativity scene back into a painting, Saig touched on contemporary debates on the relative capacity of different media to represent (copy) the holy landscape (the sacred original). Photography arrived in Palestine mere months after Daguerre's process debuted in Paris and existed in a recursive relationship with painting.¹³⁸ The British pre-Raphaelite painters William Holman Hunt and Thomas Seddon, for instance, copied photographs taken by James Graham, amateur photographer and secretary to the London Jews' Society's mission in Jerusalem. They used the photographs as aides-mémoire in preparing their hyper-detailed canvases. Adopting the continuity from foreground to background exhibited in Graham's topographical photographs, the painters used the photographs to augment their

¹³⁷ George Al Ama recently discovered twelve paintings by Saig—including a cropped version of *Nativity* and a painting depicting the mythical hero Ganymede (likely copied from a lithograph)—in the home of the son of a Jerusalem souvenir shop owner, the late Farah Zacharia. Zacharia's shop, like Saig's studio, was in the vicinity of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Although at the time of writing they are not available for scholarly research, these paintings appear to confirm my arguments regarding Saig and his use of readily available images circulating in Jerusalem. Once they become available for research, these paintings may provide new pathways to interpret Saig's works.

¹³⁸ Soon after Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre debuted his invention at a meeting of the French Académie des Sciences on 7 January 1839, Frédéric Goupil-Fesquet and Pierre-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière photographed Palestine in December 1839 and February 1840 respectively. Howe, *Revealing the Holy Land*, 22–3.

devotion to realism.¹³⁹ Nevertheless, Hunt denied using Graham's photographs, insisting that paintings not "done strictly from Nature" were "crude and false."¹⁴⁰ Seddon lamented Graham's photographs' failure to accurately reveal the character of the topography:

[Graham's photographs] are extremely valuable, because perfectly true as far as they go; however, they will never supplant the pencil, for there is much in photographs that is false; the greens and yellows become nearly as black as the shadows, so that you often cannot distinguish which is shadow and which grass.¹⁴¹

Seddon considered the photograph inferior to paint, which had the capacity to replicate the "vivid reality" of the biblical landscape. Photographs, therefore, could not fully accomplish his goal to "render the Bible more easily understood" for his Christian brethren in England.¹⁴² For these painters, the "exacting eye" of the camera could never capture the colors and tones of the landscape, instead stripping the place of its true presence.

Others, however, believed that photography provided a higher standard of accuracy than drawing and painting in confirming the authenticity of the Bible and revealing the holy landscape. The first daguerreotype view of Jerusalem, taken by Frédéric Goupil-Fesquet in 1839, appears in Nicolas Lerebours's *Excursions Daguerriennes* (1842), one of the earliest subscription volumes of engraved daguerreotype copies. Lerebours boasted of the medium's superior "truthfulness." The Scottish Reverend Alexander Keith included engravings of eighteen daguerreotypes in the 1844 edition of his book *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion*

¹³⁹ Paintings that incorporated Graham's photographs include Hunt's *View of Nazareth* (1855, 1860-61, The Whitworth, University of Manchester) and Seddon's *Jerusalem and the Valley of Jehoshaphat from the Hill of Evil Counsel* (1854-55, Tate Gallery). Carol Jacobi and Hope Kingsley, *Painting with Light: Art and Photography from the Pre-Raphaelites to the Modern Age* (London: Tate Publishing, 2016), 36.

¹⁴⁰ William Holman Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood* (New York: Macmillan, 1905), i. 447.

¹⁴¹ Thomas Seddon, *Memoir and Letters of the Late Thomas Seddon, Artist* [1858], ed. John Pollard Seddon (New York: AMS Press, 1972), 111.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 126.

Derived from the Literal Fulfillment of Prophecy; Particularly as Illustrated by the History of the Jews and the Discoveries of Modern Travellers. Keith intended the engravings to prove his book's titular thesis and confirm the Christian truths therein.¹⁴³

Despite Lerebours's claim that "as a result of the newly found precision of the daguerreotype, sites will no longer be reproduced from drawings of the artist, whose taste and imagination invariably modified reality," photographers often copied their compositions directly from well-known paintings.¹⁴⁴ On his first excursion to the Near East, the ambitious commercial photographer Francis Frith set out to recreate David Roberts's famed colored lithographs in photographic form. [Fig. 1.10] Frith adopted Roberts's studied eye and tested the credibility of Roberts's hand.¹⁴⁵ Yet, the great aesthetic success of Roberts's lithographs did not only result from the artist's perceived probity and scientific accuracy.¹⁴⁶ Rather, their color, a feature which photography could not yet reproduce, impressed viewers beyond measure. John Ruskin argued that Roberts "remained merely a draughtsman and oil painter in grey and yellow—he never looked for the facts of color in anything."¹⁴⁷ Focusing instead on surface and tone, Roberts produced sketches and watercolors that could be closely replicated through the lithographic process, but ceded their final coloring to a prodigy of lithographic tinting, the Belgian

¹⁴³ Howe, *Revealing the Holy Land*, 23.

¹⁴⁴ Nicolas Lerebours, *Excursions Daguerriennes: Vues et Monuments les Plus Remarquables du Globe* (Paris: Lerebours, 1842), i, cited in Howe, *Revealing the Holy Land*, 23.

¹⁴⁵ Nissan Perez, *Focus East: Early Photography in the Near East (1839-1885)* (New York: Abrams, 1988), 66.

¹⁴⁶ Roberts's lithographic prints departed from earlier representations of the Holy Land, which most often sought to illustrate the stories of the Old and New Testaments. By avoiding purely Christian content and by including figures in native costumes, Roberts's works had an "anthropological gloss," helping them to gain scientific credibility. Marketed as both scientific documents and as art, they appealed to a variety of consumers. Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem*, 159.

¹⁴⁷ John Ruskin, *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, vol. 35 (London: George Allen, 1903), 625.

lithographer Louis Haghe.¹⁴⁸ Thus, Roberts's lack of facility with color eventually contributed to the success and mass reproduction of his work *The Holy Land*. Neither Roberts's great skill with a brush nor Frith's mastery of the camera could quite deliver the transcendent experience provided by Haghe's talent for color printing.

By the time of Saig's birth in 1863, photography circulated as an equal among the other arts and crafts in Palestine. Artists and viewers met claims about photography's superior capability to capture the "truth" of the Holy Land with skepticism. Yet both Boullata and cultural theorist Stephen Sheehi emphasize the novelty of the photograph in Saig's practice in their efforts to situate him in the trajectory of twentieth-century Palestinian art. In Boullata's estimation, Saig's *Nativity* was "probably reconstructed from a [photographic] reproduction of a late sixteenth-century European painting," but motivated by a desire to depart from formulaic, Euro-American biblical tropes.¹⁴⁹ Similar to his reading of the lamb as expressing the artist's fears regarding Palestine's imminent fate, Boullata argues that the artist's rendering of several figures in local dress provided a bold, proto-nationalist alternative to the traditional Magi. Invested in recovering Saig as a nationally Palestinian artist, Boullata sees photography as the medium that liberated Saig to portray his contemporary surroundings and express an underlying nationalist sentiment in his "secular icons."¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ Haghe (1806-65) was born in Belgium and came to England sometime before 1825, establishing himself as a lithographer and specializing in the tinted lithograph. Haghe employed several methods of coloring in the lithographic process, from printing using a vast array of colored inks to hand coloring and a complex method of layered printing to bring out tone. For a detailed account of Haghe's process, see Schroth, "David Roberts in Context," 46-7.

¹⁴⁹ Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, 109.

¹⁵⁰ Boullata contends that Saig's "secular icons" aimed to recode religious subject matter in the context of contemporary and local experience. *Ibid.*, 112-13.

Building on Boullata's assessment, Sheehi investigates how photography, in particular portrait photography, articulated individualist subjectivities and a broader modern aesthetic in late Ottoman Palestinian society. Photography studios in Jerusalem, primarily those managed by Garabed Krikorian and Khalil Ra'ad, were in high demand among an upper-class Palestinian clientele that spanned ethnic and religious divides.¹⁵¹ As Sheehi shows, the exchange of *cartes des visites* demonstrates how photography infiltrated the changing social networks among Jerusalem's intellectual elite.¹⁵² This elite fought for Arab political self-sufficiency and asserted a growing nationalist consciousness.¹⁵³ Inspired by how this group of Palestinians engaged photography, Sheehi concludes that photography was similarly the means by which Saig "recoded iconographic art as an expression of national identity."¹⁵⁴ Through such photography-based artworks, Boullata and Sheehi argue, Saig developed from a craftsman (*sani* ' into a

¹⁵¹ Palestine's local residents pioneered the new craft of photography in the late 1800s and early 1900s, among them Issay Garabedian, Garabed Krikorian, Khalil Ra'ad, Daoud Sabounji, and Pinchas and Yehoshua Rachman. Representative of the Armenian, Muslim and Christian Arab, and Jewish populations in Palestine, these photographers reflect the complicated and rich diversity of Palestine's local inhabitants prior to the arrival of the British and the rise of Zionism. See Issam Nassar, *Photographing Jerusalem: The Image of the City in Nineteenth Century Photography* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1997); Badr al-Hage, "Khalil Raad: Jerusalem Photographer," *Jerusalem Quarterly File* 11–12 (2001): 34–39; Issam Nassar, "Familial Snapshots: Representing Palestine in the Work of the First Local Photographers," *History & Memory* 18, no. 2 (2006): 139–55; and Stephen Sheehi, *The Arab Imago: A Social History of Portrait Photography, 1860-1910* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016).

¹⁵² Sheehi investigates how the exchange of the photographic portrait in Ottoman Palestine—the "path" of a photograph—can be used to trace how Palestinians formed new collectives and ideological visions of society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Krikorian's stamp, for instance, became nearly synonymous with the *cartes des visites* exchanged among Jerusalem's largely Arab *effendiya* class, Ottoman *mutassarifs*, and Armenian and Arab Christian notables of the late Ottoman period. Stephen Sheehi, "Portrait Paths: Studio Photography in Ottoman Palestine," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 61 (2015): 24.

¹⁵³ Emboldened by the Young Turk Revolution (1908) and responding to the military and colonial occupation of Palestine following the war, the family clans that dominated Palestine's major urban centers began engaging in nationalist politics. They explicitly sought to make Palestine an integral part of an independent Arab union. Limited to a few dozen actors, this was "elite politics in practice" and only gained momentum with the further development of the local press. Ilan Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 82.

¹⁵⁴ Sheehi, "Before Painting: Nicola Saig, Painting and Photographic Seeing," 369.

master artist (*mu'allim*).¹⁵⁵ Their analyses transform Saig from a leading artist of his craft, into a politically active voice of his generation, and ultimately into *the* Palestinian artist anchoring an emergent canon of modern art.

Certainly, Saig's experimentation with non-icon compositions and the introduction of photography into his process reflected two primary vectors of transformation within Christian painting traditions in the Levant. But by overlooking *Nativity's* direct relationship to Bagioli's painting and the ACPD's photographed copy, both Boullata and Sheehi minimize a third current shaping Saig's practice. While Saig supplied some of the "original" elements Boullata interprets as nationalist, such as the lamb, he did not deliberately choose others, such as the shepherds' Palestinian dress. These elements appeared as a consequence of his decision to remake the ACPD photograph of Bagioli's painting. Boullata and Sheehi thus omit a substantial influence on Saig's non-icon paintings: foreign artistic entrepreneurship, exemplified by the ACPD, in Palestine's art market at the turn of the twentieth century.

Picturing the Bible: The ACPD

The founding members of the American Colony did not originally seek to visually reproduce or profit from the Holy Land, like many of those foreign artists described at this chapter's outset. In 1881, the millenarian group of fourteen adults and four children, led by Chicago lawyer Horatio Gates Spafford and his wife Anna, moved from Chicago to Jerusalem to witness the Second Coming of Christ.¹⁵⁶ Less than a decade prior, all four of the Spaffords' children had died in a

¹⁵⁵ Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, 106.

¹⁵⁶ The Spaffords timed their arrival in Jerusalem based on the theories of Charles Piazzi Smyth. Smyth calculated Jesus's return in 1881 through the "divinely inspired" geometries of Egypt's pyramids. Odd Karsten Tveit, *Anna's House: The American Colony in Jerusalem* (Nicosia: Rimal Publications, 2010), 25.

trans-Atlantic sailing accident.¹⁵⁷ Anna and Horatio became increasingly religious following this tragedy and had three more children: Bertha, Horatio (who died at age three), and Grace. The Spaffords moved away from the puritanical Calvinist theology of their Chicago Presbyterian congregation and established a new sect based on the belief that sin could be overcome by living a charitable life. Originally called “The Overcomers,” the group garnered the colloquial name the “American Colony” once they settled in Palestine.¹⁵⁸ Their name perhaps referenced Palestine’s longstanding “German Colony” of Templars who had established their first colony in Haifa in 1868/9, but had expanded to several other locations, including the Refaim Valley southwest of the Old City of Jerusalem since 1873.¹⁵⁹ Rather than pursue missionary work, the group sought personal salvation, which they believed to be attainable only in Palestine. Expressing this desire in one of his many hymns and poems, Horatio wrote, “We’re pilgrims here through deserts drear, Where paths are rough and lights are dim, But what do we with doubt or fear! We meet next year at Jerusalem.”¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Anna Spafford and her first four daughters were crossing the Atlantic to France in 1873 aboard a passenger ship, the *Ville du Havre*, when it collided with another. Anna survived, but all four of the young Spafford children perished.

¹⁵⁸ It was rumored that the name “The Overcomers” was taken because Anna wanted to overcome the personal tragedies that afflicted her family, but she denied this, citing the overcoming of sin as the group’s namesake. “The Overcomers” were first mentioned in the popular press on 17 August 1881, in an article in *The Daily Inter Ocean* that chronicled the young religious sect and its upcoming trip to Jerusalem. Tveit, *Anna’s House*, 54.

¹⁵⁹ The Templars were a group of Protestant families from southwest Germany who, moving away from the tenets of Lutheran Protestantism and with a view of themselves as “the new people of Israel,” decided to live according to their new spiritual beliefs in close proximity to the location of the first Jewish temple in Palestine. The first settlement was in Haifa (1868) and they established additional communities in Jaffa (1869), Sarona (1871), Jerusalem (1873), Wilhelma (1902, today known as Bnei Atarot), and Bethlehem (1905). It is estimated that in 1878 close to 850 people were living in Templar communities, by 1884 the number rose to 1300, and at the start of the First World War they may have numbered close to 2,000, before wartime losses prohibited Germans from remaining in Palestine. For more on the history of the German Templars in Palestine, see Alex Carmel, “The German Settlers in Palestine and Their Relations with the Local Arab Population and the Jewish Community, 1868-1918,” in *Studies on Palestine During the Ottoman Period*, ed. Moshe Ma’oz (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975), 442–65; “The Templars in Israel and Their Place in the Local Society,” The National Library of Israel, accessed March 20, 2019, <http://web.nli.org.il/sites/nli/english/collections/personalsites/israel-germany/weimar-republic/pages/templars.aspx>.

¹⁶⁰ Horatio Gates Spafford, *Draft Manuscript of Hymn “Next Year at Jerusalem,”* ca. September 1879, American Colony in Jerusalem Collection, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Lacking government or church sponsorship and refusing payment for their charity work, the American Colony pursued a variety of projects in order to attain financial solvency. The Colony operated a coeducational school and kindergarten for their own children, as well as for the children of leading Arab and Turkish administrators. Horatio Spafford taught English at the Alliance Israelite Universelle, a French boys' school in Jerusalem. Several women in the congregation led workshops for poor mothers on nursing and nutrition.¹⁶¹ In their earliest years, they established non-sectarian personal allegiances with figures such as Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, the zealous young scholar working to revive Hebrew as a spoken language, and 'Ali Rida Pasha al-Rikabi, the Ottoman-Arab deputy governor in Jerusalem.¹⁶² Abstaining from the proselytizing activities pursued by their German, American, French, British, and Russian religious counterparts in Palestine, this unusual group of expatriates bonded with the leading Arab and Jewish political leaders from their rented home inside the Damascus Gate.

In 1896 a second wave of colonists, hailing from Chicago and the village of Nås in Sweden, boosted the population to nearly one hundred and added much-needed agricultural and handicraft skills to the Colony's wheelhouse of vocations. With the new members' arrival, the Colony increased its autonomy and expanded its production. They began producing food and baked goods for sale; crafting textiles, furniture, and tools; managing a hostel; and hosting parties. They relocated to larger living quarters in the former residence of Rabbah al-Husayni, a multi-building compound just north of the Old City, near the Sheikh Jarrah Mosque on Nablus Road.

¹⁶¹ Tveit, *Anna's House*, 67–8.

¹⁶² Al-Rikabi's son attended the American Colony School in its earliest days. Isma'il Bey al-Husayni also recruited Bertha Spafford to oversee Jerusalem's Islamic School for Girls. Lars Lind, "Jerusalem Before Zionism and The 'American (Swedish) Colony,' 1881-1948," 248, ca. 1979, Lars E. Lind Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Lars Lind, a young Swedish transplant from Nås, sketched a map of the Colony's East Jerusalem compound in his unpublished memoir. [Fig. 1.11] Lind's map demonstrates how the American Colony spread precipitously both up and down Nablus road, with the main house acting as the central landmark.¹⁶³ Sketched unassumingly in the bottom left-hand corner of Lind's map is the Vester & Co.–American Colony Store. The American Colony purchased the German-owned souvenir shop run by Ferdinand L. Vester in 1900, six years after Ferdinand's son Frederick joined the American Colony and four years prior to Frederick's marriage to the Spaffords' eldest daughter, Bertha.¹⁶⁴ Located on the ground floor of the Grand New Hotel inside Jaffa Gate, the store became the colonists' commercial outpost. The store's profits grew quickly. To the primarily Calvinist colonists, this success demonstrated God's favor, but it surprised the Colony's friends in Jerusalem.¹⁶⁵ One such friend criticized the disconnect between the Colony's religious and capitalistic pursuits: "While you are upstairs praying 'Dear God, Dear Jesus,' at the store they are praying, 'Oh Gold, Dear Gold!'"¹⁶⁶ The messiah failed to arrive by the turn of the twentieth century. In the meantime, the Colony established itself in the region and endured by other means.

Lind's map indicates two photography studios. Photography was the primary industry through which the Colony sustained itself over its forty-year residence in Palestine. An enigmatic

¹⁶³ In a letter written to her relatives in America in October 1902, Anna Spafford gushed about the Colony's expansion since moving to the compound, stating, "all together we look like a little village." Anna Spafford, "Letter from Anna Spafford to Her Relatives George and Sarah," 5 October 1902, American Colony in Jerusalem Collection, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

¹⁶⁴ Details about the sale of the Vester & Co.–American Colony Store were obtained in a personal email from Rachel Lev, archive curator and researcher, American Colony Archive Collection, Jerusalem, 2 August 2017.

¹⁶⁵ This belief can even be traced to the Colony's first days in Jerusalem. Horatio penned the following prayer in his diary on 11 November 1881: "Lord, if Thou dost send money, we shall receive it as a sign of Thy approval of our belief . . . including our coming to Jerusalem and all we have done, believing it to be for Thee. Amen and Amen." Quoted in Tveit, *Anna's House*, 76.

¹⁶⁶ Lars Lind, "Jerusalem Before Zionism and The 'American (Swedish) Colony,'" 105.

member, Elijah Meyers, introduced photography to the Colony in 1898 and taught the trade to several of the younger male members.¹⁶⁷ As fervent spiritualists, the ACPD might naturally have gravitated toward producing photographs in order to emphasize the Bible's veracity. This was the case with other commercial photographers in the Levant such as Félix Bonfils, Luigi Fiorillo, Jean Pascal Sébah, and Frank Mason Good.¹⁶⁸ A close examination of individual accounts of the photo departments' beginnings, however, reveals that current events and competitive market pressures ultimately drove the ACPD away from portraiture and toward documentary and biblical photography.

The ACPD's first significant photographic undertaking was documenting Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany's 1898 visit to Palestine. Reigniting Christian religious claims to the Holy Land and signaling an alliance between a rising national power and a struggling empire, the Kaiser's visit was a diplomatic event of almost mythic proportions.¹⁶⁹ The Ottoman authorities permitted Meyers to photograph the imperial cavalcade. The ACPD photographers trailed alongside the

¹⁶⁷ A peripatetic spiritualist, Meyers was an East Indian Jewish immigrant and Christian convert. Meyers trained ACPD members Furman and Norman Baldwin, Erik Lind, Lars Lind, Hols Lars (Lewis) Larsson, and Fareed Naseef. Later, when Lewis Larsson became master photographer of the department in 1904, Olof Lind, E. F. Beaumont and Jamil and Najib Albina joined the Colony's roster of photographers. Lewis Larsson (1881-1958), Olof Lind (1889-1971), and Lars Lind (1891-1982) were young boys when they emigrated from Sweden to Jerusalem in 1896. Ernest Forrest Beaumont (1871-1952) joined the American Colony in 1896 as part of the second wave of colonists from Chicago. In addition to serving as the Colony's (self-trained) dentist, Beaumont was a photographer, painter, relief model maker, cartographer, surveyor, city engineer and archaeologist. Jamil and Najib Albina were Catholics born in Jerusalem and did not begin working at the American Colony until after World War I, although their relationship with the Colonists may have begun earlier. Mia Gröndahl, *The Dream of Jerusalem: Lewis Larsson and the American Colony Photographers* (Stockholm: Journal, 2005), 43–9; Bair, "The American Colony Photography Department," 33; Rachel Lev, *Visionaries and Creators: Members and Creative Ventures of the American Colony in Jerusalem, 1881-1948*, exhibition catalogue, unpublished manuscript, entry no. 21 (Jerusalem: American Colony Archive Collection, 2014), 5; Jack Green, "From Chicago to Jerusalem (and Back Again): The Untold Story of E.F. Beaumont," *The Oriental Institute News and Notes* 227 (Autumn 2015), 15–19; and Iris Albina, "Souvenir from Gethsemane: Portrait of the Albina Brothers," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 60 (Fall 2014), 59–76.

¹⁶⁸ For discussion and biographical information on these photographers, and others, see Perez, *Focus East*; Nassar, *Photographing Jerusalem*.

¹⁶⁹ While the Kaiser was officially there to inaugurate the Church of the Redeemer, a new Protestant church in Jerusalem, his visit signaled Germany's political interest in the region and purportedly demonstrated support for its ally, the Ottoman Empire, against the British and French prior to World War I.

royal party during the week-long visit. Two horses pulled their heavy equipment in a Montgomery Ward farm wagon. They rushed their glass plates back to the compound for development and printing in a newly purchased Studebaker buggy. They sent this set of documentary photographs to British and German news sources through the Austrian postal service.¹⁷⁰ The photographs launched the ACPD as a formidable business enterprise in Palestine seemingly overnight.

Following the Kaiser's visit, Meyers built a glass-top studio and darkroom at the Colony compound, hoping to attract customers for portraits. As Lind recalled, Meyers's efforts were in vain. The Colony could scarcely match the business of their staunchest competitor, Garabed Krikorian, who had opened his studio in the tourist area of Jaffa Gate in 1885.¹⁷¹ Even Horatio Spafford posed for Krikorian before his death in 1888, and Colony members continued to frequent Krikorian's studio despite their later successes in the photography business. Krikorian also trained Khalil Ra'ad, whose rival portrait studio opened across from Krikorian's on Jaffa Road in 1890. Teacher and student monopolized the photography industry in the last decade of the nineteenth century.¹⁷² Despite the triumph of the Kaiser Wilhelm photographs, the budding ACPD faced a seemingly saturated local portraiture market. Meyers discovered that the Colony's infancy in the craft and distance from the Old City made it impossible to compete with the Jaffa Road photographers.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Lars Lind, "Jerusalem Before Zionism and The 'American (Swedish) Colony,'" 94-7.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 97.

¹⁷² Sheehi, "Portrait Paths: Studio Photography in Ottoman Palestine," 28.

¹⁷³ Of Meyers's early attempts at creating a portrait studio, Lars Lind writes: "Fearing that the successful photographic venture would burst like a bubble once the excitement of the Kaiser's visit had subsided . . . Bro. Elijah set to work on a large glass-topped studio with dark room, hoping to get in on a more permanent branch of photography. But it was soon discovered that the Colony was too far out of town and away from the hotels such as they were. So the portraiture venture petered out." Lind, "Jerusalem Before Zionism and The 'American (Swedish) Colony,'" 97.

Pushed to work beyond portraiture, the ACPD experimented with larger-scale production and more extensive field photography than their local competitors. The ACPD's dependable labor pool of young men, eager to explore outside the increasingly strict confines of the Colony, allowed the business to undertake long-term and distant photographic assignments without straining their work flow at home. The ACPD photographers honed their abilities in landscape photography and ethnographic documentation, evidenced by their earliest photo sets from Egypt, Mesopotamia, and India.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, the ACPD frequently served as field photographers for the many archaeologists digging their way across Palestine. A letter from ACPD photographer, E. F. Beaumont, to a member of the British Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF), Duncan Mackenzie, suggests an intellectual dialogue between the two parties as they corresponded about Mackenzie's excavation at Beth Shemesh in 1911-12:

In speaking to Mr. [Jacob] Spafford about the fifty thousand slain at Beth Shemesh he reminded me that the account says fifty thousand and seventy, and the Hebrew renders it, as does the revised version: 'seventy men, fifty thousand.' He says he thinks that Josephus gives the number as seventy. We have not had time to look that up yet. So, if that is the case, the text at Josephus' time must have read only seventy. I thought this might be of interest to you in connection with what we were saying on the subject.¹⁷⁵

As Beaumont's reference to Roman historian Flavius Josephus suggests, the ACPD offered their clients more than professional photographic services. The ACPD also provided their patrons with access to their well-educated community, which was deeply engaged in all matters of Palestine, both past and present. Yet it was the ACPD's dexterity in producing photographs and photo-based objects for Bible enthusiasts that secured their legacy.

¹⁷⁴ Between 1905 and 1909, Colony photographers produced over one thousand negatives for prints and glass lantern slides covering these regions and Palestine, Syria, and Transjordan. Gröndahl, *The Dream of Jerusalem*, 151; and Bair, "The American Colony Photography Department," 31.

¹⁷⁵ E. F. Beaumont, "Letter from E. F. Beaumont to Duncan Mackenzie," January 14, 1913, Palestine Exploration Fund Archives, London.

The ACPD combined its collective's extensive geographic knowledge of Palestine with its scriptural expertise to produce allegorical biblical scenes and other religious ephemera, such as olivewood-bound books of dried flowers mentioned in the Bible. These commodities catered to the particularities of those who hoped to immerse themselves in the biblical world. A letter from 1913 between one of the ACPD's many long-term clients, Reverend William Knight (of Boston), and John D. Whiting, the ACPD's business manager, illustrates the lengths to which the ACPD would go to authenticate an image's biblical veracity:

This leaves two more photos to be made for you, one of the shepherd with his bag, and another of shepherds watching their flocks by night. We have tried to get these nearby, but without success, so have sent for an old shepherd and expect to make a three days' trip with him to the plain below lower Beth Horon where we learn large flocks are to be found.¹⁷⁶

Whiting's attention to the shepherd's age, the ancient landscape of Beth Horon, and the optics of a large flock over a small one, reveal the necessity that each photograph adhere to the biblical metaphor of Jesus tending to the multitudes. But as a separate passage in the same letter reveals, the ACPD's acute understanding of present-day Palestine was often at odds with these evangelical requests:

We spent hours looking for a position that would show "A view of Bethlehem on the hill showing the side of the old gate or entrance towards Jerusalem, that is where the well is said to have been." A view from the site of the well itself, or from the present entrance to Bethlehem would be impossible, since the modern buildings and churches would spoil the view of the primitive village. . . . In getting these photos we had to forget the traditional site of the well to get a picturesque and village-like picture of Bethlehem.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ John D. Whiting, "Letter from John D. Whiting to Reverend William A. Knight," 20 August 1913, American Colony in Jerusalem Collection, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

Sacrificing the truth for the picturesque, ignoring the modern to reignite the past, the ACPD followed conventions typical of orientalist Holy Land photography.¹⁷⁸ Yet just as Louis Haghe's expert coloration of David Roberts's lithographs boosted the artwork's spiritual ambiance and financial success more than fifty years earlier, the ACPD experimented with paint and color to distinguish its photographic work and fulfill its commercial goals in Jerusalem's competitive religious tourism industry.

The ACPD members' coloration practice was highly refined, often using a brush with only a single hair. They most often colored their prints with watercolors, pencils, or oil-based pastels, while they tinted slides with an oil-based mixture of pigments that were resistant to a projector's heat.¹⁷⁹ The hand-coloring, mostly performed by the photographers themselves, imbued the images with warmth at a time when color photographs could only be produced at incredible expense.¹⁸⁰ In addition to the hand-colored glass slides purchased by Christian leaders for use in biblical lectures, the Colony produced hand-painted, large-scale photograph albums such as *Blue Galilee* (1926) and *The Twenty-Third Psalm Illustrated* (ca. 1920) to attract an affluent religious clientele. The impeccably colored photographs also bolstered the ACPD's international reputation as progressive photographers, evidenced by their contracts to produce illustrated articles about Palestine for *National Geographic Magazine* from 1913-39.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ For remarks on the relationship between photography, colonialism, orientalism, and Palestine, see Issam Nassar, "'Biblication' in the Service of Colonialism," *Third Text* 20, no. 3-4 (January 2007): 317-26.

¹⁷⁹ Guy Raz, "The American Colony: Photographic Enterprise in the Holy Land," in *Images from the Land of the Bible: People, Life and Landscape, 1898-1946*, ed. Etan Ayalon (Tel Aviv: Eretz Israel Museum, 2012), 32-3.

¹⁸⁰ Kodak began producing its affordable color film, Kodachrome, in 1935. Thereafter, the Colony photographers used color photography liberally. *Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁸¹ The articles commissioned by *National Geographic Magazine* (*NGM*) were written by John D. Whiting and illustrated with photographs by the ACPD. The ACPD and *NGM* viewed color as a salient and unique feature of their contract as, for example, in John D. Whiting, "Letter from John D. Whiting to Gilbert H. Grosvenor," 9 August 1913, American Colony in Jerusalem Collection, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. For a list of ACPD articles published in *NGM*, see https://www.loc.gov/rr/print/coll/629_whiting.html#bib.

The ACPD employed color as a supplemental material, applying it to the surfaces of photographs to make the Bible come to life. *Blue Galilee* contains thirteen hand-painted watercolor photographs of Palestinian fishermen, accompanied on the adjacent pages by both biblical passages and brief verses written by the late Horatio Spafford in a lilting rhyme:

To toilers on thy hill-bound sea,
First came his words, 'Come follow me!'
And men from out thy coasts were those, —
His lips last bless'd that day He rose.

While Spafford's verses reiterate the Christian religious history of the waters, the paintings respond to the album's title and explore the rhythm of a fisherman's day on the Galilee through an investigation of the color blue. In the first painting, the lush green hillside and distant lavender mountains frame the tepid blue waters of the Galilee. [Fig. 1.12] As the bow of the fisherman's boat glides through the Galilee's water in the third painting, the sun strikes the gentle waves and the blue becomes like antique glass, smooth and bright. [Fig. 1.13] Later, when the fishermen rest along the rocky shore, the stillness of the Galilee renders the water nearly white, obscuring the horizon line that differentiates it from the hazy, bright sky. [Fig. 1.14] By the end of the album, the pink hue of the sun rising on a new day casts the blue waters of Galilee into deep shadows of black and purple. [Fig. 1.15] The ACPD transformed these mundane scenes by adding color to the base layer of the enlarged sepia photograph. The shifts in blue enhanced the sense of "heightened reality" desired by Western Christians viewing the Holy Land.¹⁸² Just as Horatio Spafford's poetic verses transform the photographic captions from the descriptive to the devotional, the hand-painting of the photographs lift these scenes from the physical to the spiritual.

¹⁸² Bair, "The American Colony Photography Department," 34.

The ACPD's hand-painted photographs summoned the many shades of meaning and sensation latent in biblical texts. In *The Twenty-Third Psalm Illustrated*, the ACPD photographed the canyons and natural spring waters of Ain Farah (Wadi Farah), frequently noted as the inspiration for the twenty-third psalm and attempted to depict, line-by-line, the oft-repeated psalm's imagery. The opening verses of the psalm conjure a verdant landscape:

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.
He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: he leadeth me beside the still waters.

Using color like orchestration to a symphonic poem, the ACPD painted the green of the pasture mixed with yellows and browns, subdued shades which helped to more accurately convey the unusual sight of lushness within a desert climate. [Fig. 1.16] The painters honored the verse's mention of "still waters" by reflecting the shepherds and their flock in the glassy river in such a crisp manner that the reflection nearly trumped the clarity of the rest of the scene. [Fig. 1.17] To express the stoic comfort the desert canyons provide, like God ("I will fear no evil: for thou art with me"), the painters strove to reproduce the fine-grained tonal shifts in the rocks' granularities throughout the album. [Fig. 1.18] Employing color to precisely illustrate the naturalism described in the psalm, the painted photographs do not distract from the most germane aspect of the verses: the relationship of the shepherd to his flock, the devout to his lord. Only the album's final image employed some of the more melodramatic coloration effects used in *Blue Galilee*. To accompany the psalm's concluding line—"And I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever"—a single shepherd, gazing at Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, faces a grapefruit-pink sunset. [Fig. 1.19] Against the deep browns of the ancient olive tree in the garden of Gethsemane, the sun's brilliance implies the presence of the divine as deep shadows fall over the lone figure. The color in the hand-painted photographs provides the crucial bridge between the actual Palestine in the photographs and the biblical Palestine of the imagination.

In *Blue Galilee, Twenty-Third Psalm Illustrated*, and the ACPD's hand-colored photographs generally, the process of painting in watercolors, oils, and pastels began, both materially and conceptually, after photography. More accurately, it began after and on top of photographs. The ACPD enlivened the photograph's cropped and flattened landscapes through the saturated color of paints and the texture of paintbrushes, in accordance with worldwide practices of hand-coloring photographic prints and slides.¹⁸³ They often chose to print directly onto a canvas-based paper, coupling the effect of canvas's materiality with their painterly techniques and fabricating a process that resonated with the process of oil-on-canvas painters. With a photograph forming the base layer for experimentation, the ACPD retained a crispness to the distinction between foreground and background, overindulged in the dramatic chiaroscuro effects conjured in the darkroom, and added ephemeral atmospheric qualities not so easily captured by the camera, such as mist, smoke, and glare.

But the ACPD photographers and painters did not write about such artistic aspirations. Instead, they viewed color as a tactic for commercial success. Written testimonies from ACPD photographers disclose how the department considered their coloring techniques proprietary—the crown jewels of the booming business. In extolling the profitability of the photographic enterprise in its early years, ACPD photographer and painter Olof Lind recalled:

The photographic department was their most important line of work, yielding a steady income superseding all other commercial branches. . . . Enlargements six feet long were made from three separate negatives, forming a panorama of Jerusalem, without showing a trace of the joining. When coloured, these panoramas sold for 75 dollars apiece, yet there was a great demand for them. The colouring process was a secret method of tinting, which they acquired from a Frenchman at a

¹⁸³ For more on the phenomenon and techniques of hand-coloring photographs prior to the advent of color photography, see Heinz K. Henisch and Bridget Ann Henisch, *The Painted Photograph, 1839-1914: Origins, Techniques, Aspirations* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996).

price. Thousands of coloured art photos sold for a dollar apiece every season, besides the plain and sepia prints.”¹⁸⁴

Lind boasted of the significant price jump that occurred when the ACPD hand-colored a photograph, be it an impressively collaged panorama or a single print.¹⁸⁵ He stated that the ACPD deliberately kept its coloring process secret. Lind’s elder brother, Lars, corroborated his brother’s cryptic narrative and also underscored the profitability of the hand-colored photographs:

Then there happened to come to the Colony one of those wandering types from Germany who, in America, would have been classified as a tramp or hobo, who asked his price for teaching the secret of color tinting. We came across many such wanderers but our respect for them grew as we learned in time that these shabbily dressed, unshaven men were more often than not, graduates from German, Scandinavian and Central European colleges who took off on a year's journey to distant parts, working their way, sometimes coaching in the higher studies, languages, history, etc. . . . The technique of tinting photographs set a new impetus to the trade. Thousands of famous religious paintings photographed on canvas paper and scenes of sacred sites were sold as fast as they could be produced. Sixty years after, the color remains as vivid as when applied.¹⁸⁶

Lars Lind’s account confirmed his brother’s telling of how the ACPD learned the secrets of color tinting.¹⁸⁷ Despite writing about the photography department several decades after departing

¹⁸⁴ Olof Lind, “Three Different Groups,” 1962, Olof E. Lind Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

¹⁸⁵ Gathering a firm sense of the cost of the ACPD items is challenging as prices fluctuated through the years and financial record books show that the ACPD accepted many different types of currencies, including Palestinian piastres, U.S. dollars, British pounds, and French francs. In correspondence with Duncan Mackenzie, an archaeologist affiliated with the Palestine Exploration Fund, an invoice from 1912-13 shows that one large painted photo was valued at five francs, while a monochrome print sold for one and a half francs, suggesting a more than three times price increase on the colored items and providing some comparison with Lind’s account of colored photos being sold for a dollar a piece. E. F. Beaumont, “Invoice from the American Colony Store to Duncan Mackenzie,” February 4, 1913, Palestine Exploration Fund Archives, London.

¹⁸⁶ Lars Lind, “Jerusalem Before Zionism and The ‘American (Swedish) Colony,’” 103-4.

¹⁸⁷ The only other art historian to have investigated the ACPD’s hand-coloring techniques, Guy Raz, speculated that the American photographer Dwight L. Elmendorf’s book, *Lantern Slides, How to Make and Color Them* (New York: E. & H.T. Anthony & Co., 1895), may have found its way into the hands of the ACPD photographers during Elmendorf’s visit to Palestine in 1901. The Lind brothers’ accounts, however, insist that the nameless foreigner who taught the ACPD color tinting was European, not American. Raz, “The American Colony: Photographic Enterprise in the Holy Land,” 33.

from Jerusalem, the Linds safeguarded the ACPD's hand-coloring secrets, demonstrating the practice's prized value within and without the department.

Some in Palestine viewed the ACPD's financial aspirations as more than a desire for professional success. Although having roots as a religious commune, the American Colony was frequently described as an enterprise with a thirst only for money. For instance, the archaeologist Robert Macalister (Duncan Mackenzie's predecessor at the PEF), refused to work with the "so-called American Colony," who he called "a communistic institution of religious cranks" and "the worst rascally and unscrupulous antiquity dealers" in Palestine.¹⁸⁸ Referencing salacious rumors regarding the colony's internal structure (the colonists notoriously practiced celibacy and banned marriages from 1882-1904) and questioning the selling of antiquities at the American Colony Store, Macalister never hired the ACPD, choosing to work with photographer Khalil Raad instead. The American Colony's reputation as a shrewd business organization followed the group throughout its tenure in Palestine. Charles Robert Ashbee, the British arts and crafts leader who came to Jerusalem in 1917, wrote of the American Colony that they were "quite frank in their Philistinism, repudiate all intention of 'arts' or 'doing good' or of 'social service,' and they told me that the Vester [American Colony] shop was run as their business and was their only means of livelihood."¹⁸⁹ A story recounted by Ernest Tatham Richmond, who served as the director of the Department of Antiquities in the late-1920s and 30s, confirmed Ashbee's point. While discussing matters of political importance with the American Colony's Jacob Spafford one day,

¹⁸⁸ Robert Macalister, "Letter from Robert Alexander Stewart Macalister to Mr. Crace, Honorary Secretary of the PEF," June 17, 1905; Robert Macalister, "Letter from Robert Alexander Stewart Macalister to Mr. Crace, Honorary Secretary of the PEF," January 1, 1909, Palestine Exploration Fund Archives, London.

¹⁸⁹ C. R. Ashbee, "Report by Mr. C. R. Ashbee on the Arts and Crafts of Jerusalem and District," (August 1918), 52, CRA/21/1, King's College Archives, Cambridge.

Richmond described Spafford's distracted behavior as he spoke to the British official while "at the same time watched with the tail of his eye a crowd of American tourists enter the shop."¹⁹⁰

Whether such scathing commentary on the American Colony's business tactics was warranted or not, the sheer number of descriptions of its lust for money indicates its sharpened commercial instincts. As the primary earning enterprise of the American Colony the photographic business required the ACPD members to consistently innovate and expand their catalogue. The ACPD's process of painting on top of photographs in order to increase the original photograph's price (and, perhaps, enhancing its spiritual essence) proved an advantage in Jerusalem's tourism industry. When Saig, a fellow producer of religious souvenirs, looked to the ACPD's photographic work as source material for his new, non-icon-based paintings, he selected models whose powerful commercial success lay precisely in the use of coloration on the photograph's surface.

Painting Photographs

In addition to *Nativity*, Saig copied at least two other ACPD photographs, from which he produced the oil paintings *Untitled (after historical photograph of the surrender of Jerusalem to the British)* (ca. 1918) and *Escape of the Holy Family to Egypt* (ca. 1920). In *Untitled*, Saig portrayed the capitulation of Ottoman Jerusalem to the British army on 9 December 1917.¹⁹¹

[Fig. 1.20] The central character of the painting, Jerusalem's mayor Husayn Salim al-Husayni, appears relaxed and in control as a white flag waves gently above him. Local Ottoman officials

¹⁹⁰ E. T. Richmond, "Mammon in the Holy Land. A Description of How We Build up Zion with Blood and Jerusalem with Iniquity," (Diary entry from March 1, 1922), ca. 1920-1940, 74, E. T. Richmond Papers, Durham University Library Special Collections, Durham.

¹⁹¹ The British defeated Ottoman forces in Palestine in 1917, commencing the British rule over Palestine, which lasted until 1948.

and family members flank Husayni, who exudes late Ottoman elegance with a tarbush tipped fashionably sideways on his head and a cigarette carelessly held in one hand. The two British soldiers recede into the entourage, their pencil-sharp bayonets like wispy shadows of Husayni's sturdy, straight cane. In contrast to the precision with which Saig painted the emotive expressions of the men squinting against the piercing sunshine, the graveled foreground and the diaphanous landscape in the background appear hurriedly finished. The looseness of these elements makes the figures appear sharper in their focus.

In copying the composition from an ACPD photograph, Saig made slight changes in his reproduction of the historical moment.¹⁹² [Fig. 1.21] He eliminated the harsh shadows, squared the oblong white flag, manifested a romantic background landscape, and reduced the number of people, subtly shifting Husayni into the central axis of the canvas. According to Boullata, Saig's artistic flourishes not only glorified the memory of the Palestinian leader, who vocally opposed early twentieth-century Jewish settlement in Palestine, but also incorporated a latent nationalist message, as Saig diminished the visual impact of the British soldiers, and thereby the British military takeover.¹⁹³ The Husayni family's cultural-political organization, al-Nadi al-'Arabi (the Arab Club) organized in 1918, not only resisted Zionism in the wake of British military occupation but also advocated for the unification of Palestine with Syria. Countering British colonialism by supporting locally motivated alternative political unions, the Husayni family participated in regional currents of Arab nationalism. By shifting the photograph's focus to

¹⁹² The men in the photograph are Mayor Husayn Salim al-Husayni, the mayor's nephew, Tawfiq Husayni, the police inspectors 'Abd al-Khadr 'Alami and Ahmad Sharfi, policemen Husayn 'Asali and Ibrahim Zanukh. Hanna Iskandar Lahham held the white flag. Jawad Ibrahim Husayni was also in the delegation. The two British sergeants with rifles and helmets are F.G. Hurcomb and J. Sedgwick. Tveit, *Anna's House*, 260.

¹⁹³ Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, 118–9.

center more noticeably on Husayni, Saig may have been imparting his support for an Arab national movement, as Boullata suggests.

Recognizing the similarities in how Saig and the ACPD photographers “painted” photographs also illuminates the latent relationship between Saig and the ACPD. This relationship suggests a different interpretation of the striking painting. The contrast between the figures in the foreground and the soft landscape of the background resembles the way in which the ACPD dramatized the central components of a photograph in the painting process. Similarly, Saig removed the bodies overcome by dark shadows in the photograph from the painted version. In fashioning a landscape of bushy trees and lavender mountains, Saig accounted for the atmospheric qualities of the historic event that the overexposed film failed to absorb. Saig likely first saw the historic photograph printed in Palestinian newspapers in 1918.¹⁹⁴ Interpreting Saig’s copied painting of the historical photograph of the surrender of Jerusalem in relation to the ACPD’s own painted photographs reveals something of the process through which art practices were progressing in Palestine. This reading of the painting complements its significance in the realm of Palestinian identity and nationalism.

Rather than view Saig’s third painting copied from an ACPD photograph, *Escape of the Holy Family to Egypt* (ca.1920), as a copy of an image, we can instead see it as a copy of a process. [Fig. 1.22] In similar fashion to the “Famous Religious Paintings” photo set, the ACPD photographed a series of eighty watercolors the Scottish artist William Brassey Hole produced for his illustrated collector’s item *The Life of Jesus of Nazareth* (1906).¹⁹⁵ [Fig. 1.23] *Escape of*

¹⁹⁴ Gröndahl, *The Dream of Jerusalem*, 84.

¹⁹⁵ William Hole, *The Life of Jesus of Nazareth: Eighty Pictures* (London: Fine Art Society and Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1906). This particular ACPD color slide is missing, absent from both the American Colony Archives in Jerusalem and the Library of Congress in Washington, DC. But the archives do have more than seventy colored photographs of Hole’s watercolors produced for his book, leading one to assume the ACPD photographed the entire set of eighty.

the Holy Family closely mirrors the processes by which Saig's *Nativity* and *Untitled* came into being: originally painted by a foreign artist, reproduced by ACPD photographers, animated through hand-coloring by ACPD painters, and finally copied by Saig. Saig painted the central characters with a precision that matches the focus of a photograph. He pulled the holy family into sharp view against a landscape deliberately muddled by loose brushstrokes, as he did in the *Untitled* painting of Husayni's surrender. Saig's painterly attention to facial features, juxtaposed with the inexact background, also recalls his icons, such as that of Saint George. Although he preserved the integrity of the central trio in Hole's original watercolor, from the troubled bow of Mary's head to the rippling water around Joseph's feet, Saig departed when painting the panoramic view behind them. Forcing the brick walls open at an obtuse angle, shifting the holy family to the center of the composition, and sweeping the corners of the scene into shadows, Saig transformed the original watercolor to resemble a soft-focus photograph. The image's status changed from its original incarnation as Hole's watercolor painting, into a photograph hand-colored by the ACPD to look like a painting, to its manifestation as a painting, retooled by Saig to behave as a photograph. These shifts reflected the fluidity and heightened interplay among artistic media and foreign and local artistic communities seeking financial gain in Palestine's growing art market.

Conclusion: The Spiritual Capital of the Copy

On its surface, the relationship between the ACPD's photographs and Saig's oil paintings might suggest a simple, unidirectional flow, from foreign to local artist. But Saig's painterly exaggerations of photographic features in the copying process aligned with his other copied paintings, demonstrating a developed and personalized technique. Further, Saig's practice of

copying readily available ACPD photographs did not necessarily constitute a new artistic exercise, learned from a foreign entity. Rather, it was part of a sustained practice that emerged from his early training as an icon painter. The ACPD sought to capitalize on delivering spiritual experiences through photographs. Saig used such photographs to work outside the realm of pure icon painting, but not outside the realm of spiritual capitalism. Both Saig and the ACPD worked within this realm, which encompassed icons and photography, traditional and more novel artistic methods respectively. A diverse group of artistic agents, employing different practices, produced and sold religious representations and objects, forming a vibrant economic market in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Palestine.

Copying operated as an artistic medium within this market. Photography was merely one of its forms, embellished and sanctified through the addition of painted color. The interconnected images of the ACPD, Saig, and a far larger network of other local painters like Daoud Zalatimo, reveal a prominent method of dialogic artistic practice that emerged at this historical juncture in Palestine.¹⁹⁶ [Fig. 1.24] For a Christian Palestinian icon painter like Saig, for whom copying connected the representation of a saintly body and the pious devotee, photography offered an automatic, and therefore potentially more divine, mode of reproduction. Mechanical processes of making icons recalled the renowned Shroud of Turin, which materialized through the sheer indexical presence of Christ's body on a cloth. Mechanical image production generated images with the utmost aura, unmediated by an artist's hand.¹⁹⁷ Biblical photographers like the ACPD viewed Palestine and Palestinians as metonyms for religious salvation. For them, copying the

¹⁹⁶ Daoud Zalatimo (1906-2001) was an Arab Muslim who spent time in Nicola Saig's studio and built a career as an art teacher during the British occupation. Figure 23 shows Zalatimo's painting, *The Coast of Acre* (oil on canvas, undated, private family collection, Jerusalem), which is copied from a colored ACPD postcard of the coast of Tiberias (ca. 1906, Alexander Museum of Postal History and Philately, Tel Aviv).

¹⁹⁷ Vikan, "Ruminations on Edible Icons," 50–3.

texts of the Bible through photographic restaging, while admittedly appropriative and commercially motivated, was also an act seeking to transmit the sacred.

Understanding the ways in which the ACPD photographers and their work intersected with contemporary artistic production in Palestine challenges an interpretation of the department's history as autonomous, commercial, and foreign.¹⁹⁸ This approach begins to bridge the gap between scholarship on local and foreign artists in Palestine. In serving as models for Saig, the ACPD's photographs were neither the origins of Palestinian modern art, nor the irrelevant pretexts for the purported bold nationalism expressed in Saig's early oil canvases. Rather, the direct connection between Saig's paintings and the ACPD's photographs can be understood as an early marker of consumer demand, local-foreign artistic exchange, intersecting visual practices, and modes of artistic experimentation that came to underpin the early twentieth-century art market and the future of artistic production in Palestine.

¹⁹⁸ Scholarship on the ACPD has heretofore focused on its role within the operations of the Colony or assessed its work in comparison to other foreign photographic enterprises in Palestine. Barbara Bair contextualizes the ACPD among other local photography studios in Jerusalem; however, she codes the ACPD's photographs as purely "Western" and of interest to Western tourists only. Gröndahl, *The Dream of Jerusalem*; Tveit, *Anna's House*; Bair, "The American Colony Photography Department."

Chapter Two

The Charitable Crusade: Art and Welfare, 1908-1920

The Arts-Charity Landscape and the Cultural Sector

On one of the last days in February 1915, nearly a year into the Great War, the crisp blue skies above Palestine turned into a vibrating black mass. Swarms of locusts gathered over the towns of Ain Farah, Bethlehem, and Es Salt in clouds so thick that they obliterated the sun. The first major occurrence of locusts in Palestine since 1865, the invasion of 1915 was of such ferocity that many observers likened it to the biblical locust plague wrought upon Pharaoh's Egypt. As Palestine entered the second year of the war, the fear of famine and long-term food shortages generated by the locusts added to the widespread disease and economic distress already afflicting the region.¹⁹⁹ With the same commercial and spiritual fervor that had guided their other projects, the American Colony Photo Department (ACPD) observed and photographed the locusts in utmost detail and made their work available for an international public through an illustrated photo-essay in *National Geographic Magazine*.²⁰⁰ Yet, despite the ACPD's enterprising effort,

¹⁹⁹ Due to poverty and overcrowding in Jerusalem's Old City and its neighboring villages, periodic outbreaks of cholera, malaria, scarlet fever, and eye disease were common in the early 1900s. As but one example of this fact, Laura S. Schor's history of the Evelina de Rothschild School for Girls in Jerusalem is rife with mentions of such epidemics which forced the school's periodic closure or reconstitution as a make-shift medical center and sanitary respite. Laura S. Schor, *The Best School in Jerusalem: Annie Landau's School for Girls, 1900-1960* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2013), 52–61.

²⁰⁰ The photographer Lewis (Lars) Larsson, accompanied by John D. Whiting and Ernest Furman Baldwin, documented the locusts' life cycle and path of destruction as they burrowed into the country's soil, ravished Palestine's fruit trees and fields, and marched into the crevices of every stone wall. The ACPD hand-colored Larsson's photographs, to render the dramatic effects of the locust's assault in vivid detail (although *National Geographic* printed them in black and white). Able to completely strip a fig tree of its fruits and leaves in less than fifteen minutes, the locusts (*jarad*) were frighteningly worthy of their Arabic name, originating from *ujrod*, meaning "to scrape clean," as Whiting noted in his essay text for the magazine. John D. Whiting, "Jerusalem's Locust Plague," *The National Geographic Magazine* 28, no. 6 (December 1915): 511–50.

the hardships caused by the war compelled them to plead for charity from their long-term client. In writing to *National Geographic Magazine*'s lead editor, Gilbert S. Grosvenor, the once prosperous American Colony pronounced their photographic trade as "quite dead" and begged him to make the remuneration for the locust story "as large as well you can."²⁰¹

As the ACPD's plunge toward financial ruin indicated, the art market bolstered by tourists in Palestine (described in Chapter One) dwindled in the years during and leading to the onset of the war. As I argue in this chapter, the infrastructure supporting arts and crafts production shifted from the capitalistic system of touristic souvenir shops to the more bureaucratic realm of religious charities, missionary schools, and humanitarian organizations. These institutions fostered the arts and artisanal crafts in Palestine as a way to connect their spiritual, economic, and, for some, political goals in Palestine. Together, this group of institutions formed the basis for what I argue constituted a "cultural sector"—a conglomerate of institutions delimited by a distinct regional focus, furthering cultural development as part of both an economic and political mission.

The dramatic change in the structures supporting art production in Palestine accorded with the official decline of Ottoman rule in 1908, the year of the Young Turk Revolution and the deposition of Sultan Abdülhamid II, and the economic depression that followed through the First World War.²⁰² A new "arts-charity landscape," as I have designated it, became the foundation

²⁰¹ The Colony's financial situation was indeed dire as Whiting emphasized to Grosvenor in 1915. However, through donations primarily from affluent Americans abroad and with Whiting acting as a designated volunteer of the American Red Cross, the American Colony did manage to gather enough resources to organize emergency operations throughout the war. John D. Whiting, "Letter from John D. Whiting to Gilbert H. Grosvenor," September 25, 1915, Box II:44, Folder 3, American Colony in Jerusalem Collection, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Odd Karsten Tveit, *Anna's House: The American Colony in Jerusalem* (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2010), 219–43.

²⁰² It is worth noting, however, that large donations came to Palestine for the Jewish community during the war years. In March 1915 alone, \$1.5 million dollars and 900 pounds of food were sent to Palestine through the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. By the war's end, the American Jewish communities raised close to \$16 million in total, much of which was funneled to Zionist efforts in Palestine. Such large donations shifted the

upon which art persisted and progressed in Palestine in these years, as the organizations fueling a charitable crusade in Palestine explicitly linked both individual and social welfare to artisanal craft production. Programs like the American Colony's "School of Handicrafts and Dressmaking" for primarily Arab women and girls and the Bezalel's "School of Arts and Crafts" for Palestine's Jewish residents and recent Jewish immigrants combined charity and craft work. More specifically, they offered training in the arts and crafts to encourage self-reliance among Palestine's Arab and Jewish communities, and thereby simultaneously increased the number of artisans and the supply of local goods for sale. Alternately serving Arab Christians, Arab Muslims, and Jews, such religious charities newly positioned arts and crafts as sites for community building and local economic stimulation. The arts and crafts also became unprecedented vehicles for international charitable engagement with Palestine's diverse population during this tenuous period of political transition, as frequent exhibitions of Palestine's artisanal crafts staged abroad attest.

Such international outreach increased as a response to the steep decline of tourism in the years leading up to the war. The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 had caused shock waves as a more secular and national Turkey emerged from the Revolution's debris and an interest in "local" politics and nationalism gripped the region.²⁰³ While Palestine's borders remained open

socio-communal organization of Palestine and contributed to the ultimate success of the Zionist mission in Palestine. "History of JDC: 1914-1919," *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee*, accessed November 10, 2015, <http://archives.jdc.org/history-of-jdc/history-1914.html>.

²⁰³ The Young Turks initially outlawed any political associations attempting to promote Arab autonomy or independence, forcing such movements underground. However, as historian Ilan Pappé notes, the secularism and romantic nationalism of the Turkish enterprise decreased the intermediary role of local notables and brought about "the importance of legislative and representative bodies, especially city councils," which were given new life after the revolution. Interest in local politics and local welfare in Palestine increased as a result. By the time the government declared that "Turkish" would be the only national identity of the empire in 1912, many of Palestine's leading urban families were already working toward the articulation of a national Arab identity by joining various national associations in Greater Syria. Ilan Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 56–61.

and the Ottoman government did not revoke the Capitulations for foreigners until 1914, the political instability of the region discouraged leisure travel.²⁰⁴ As registered in a report by the British consul in 1911, “5,595 tourists visited Jerusalem between June 1908 and May 1909, increasing to 7,196 the following year; however, numbers dropped in 1911 to 5,759 as a result of the Balkan Wars and the Turco-Italian war in Libya.”²⁰⁵ Counting tourists separately from religious pilgrims, the consul’s statistics revealed how the tourist economy began to sag as a result of the drastic changes to Ottoman power in the years preceding the outbreak of the war.

Foreign presence persisted in Palestine, however, in the form of religious charity missions and international humanitarian organizations that were eager to aid the empire’s more peripheral and marginalized communities. As the new Ottoman government focused its humanitarian efforts primarily on Sunni Muslims, under the purview of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society (established 1868), organizations with an interest in aiding Palestine’s Christians and Jews, and most importantly in responding to the Armenian refugee crisis, strengthened their footholds in the region.²⁰⁶ Newly formed humanitarian organizations like the Hadassah Women’s Zionist

²⁰⁴ The Capitulations offered special legal, economic, religious, and social privileges to foreigners trading or residing in the Ottoman Empire. Conferred by successive sultans, in various forms, since the fifteenth-century, Capitulations underwent significant legal changes in the mid-nineteenth century. The 1839 Gülhane Edict, which recognized the basic rights of Ottoman citizens, was followed by a second edict, the 1856 Reformation Edict, extending those rights to non-Muslims and foreigners living in the Ottoman Empire. With this legal change in status, investors, bankers, and merchants began settling in the Ottoman territories in larger numbers, and in 1867 foreigners were granted the right to hold property. In Palestine, foreign missionaries especially purchased land and built structures, significantly altering the landscape after 1867.

²⁰⁵ British Consul Harold Eustace Satow quoted in Roberto Mazza, *Jerusalem: From the Ottomans to the British* (London; New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2009), 81.

²⁰⁶ The Ottoman Red Crescent Society, founded in 1868, increased its efforts under the Young Turk revolutionary elite after 1908. As examples of intercommunal cooperation in pre-1948 Palestine, the Red Crescent Society allowed Red Cross affiliates, including that of the Armenian Red Cross, to operate simultaneously, and in the Jerusalem branch of the Society (established 1915), Jewish women were also active volunteers in the organization. However, the Red Crescent Society’s primary focus was on Muslims, especially those relocating from the Balkans and Russia, thus allowing for other humanitarian organizations to handle minority populations. Keith David Watenpaugh, *Bread from Stones: The Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2015), 9–11; Abigail Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire: Jerusalem between Ottoman and British Rule* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2011), 34–36.

Organization, the American Red Cross, and the (American) Near East Relief began their work in Palestine between 1912 and 1915.

These organizations joined the bevy of nationally-coded religious missionary institutions and charities that had operated in Palestine since at least the mid-nineteenth century. Poverty among the various populations in the Holy Land during the late Ottoman era had provoked several international religious entities to become active in Palestine, creating aid programs which often carried the pressure of conversion. Christian missionary institutions included the Quaker-based American Friends Mission, the German Christian *Missionsgesellschaft für das Heilige Land* (Missionary Society for the Holy Land), the Italian Catholic Franciscan Order, and several British Protestant institutions, such as the Church Missionary Society, the Jerusalem and East Mission, and the London Jews' Society, which derived its name from the target of its conversions (as it hoped to convert Jews to Christianity). Similar nationally-coded Jewish charitable organizations existed from the 1860s onward to help impoverished Jews in Palestine without the pressure of conversion, including the *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden* (Aid Association of German Jews), the France-based *Alliance Israélite Universelle* (Universal Israelite Alliance), and the American Jewish Committee. These Jewish charities differed from the ancient *chaluka* (distribution) system to aid Jews in Palestine in their separation from rabbinical networks and their focus on providing educational and social programs in addition to money.²⁰⁷

While the founding principle of Christian institutions in Palestine had been based primarily on soliciting conversions from Jews, by the early 1900s many had effectively ceased active proselytizing, as their successes often counted fewer than 100 converts over the period of a half-

²⁰⁷ For more on charity as a central concept in Judaism and especially the changes to the *chaluka* system in the mid-seventeenth century, see Gregg Gardner, *The Origins of Organized Charity in Rabbinic Judaism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

century.²⁰⁸ As a result, Christian religious missionaries turned their focus to strengthening connections with Palestine's Arab Christian and Muslim communities and toward addressing human suffering and education. They encouraged work and productivity to align their programs closer to those of the new international humanitarian agencies. These Christian religious charitable institutions, acting as proxy institutions for an unstable local government, became increasingly responsible for the health, education, and well-being of Palestine's diverse Arab population.²⁰⁹ In the case of Jewish charitable organizations, almost all of which eventually aligned their work with the Zionist movement (as clarified in the dissertation's introduction), their efforts focused most resolutely on assisting with Jewish immigration to Palestine in the wake of deadly pogroms in Eastern Europe and Russia, and on creating centers of education in which Jews could learn separately from Arabs and from which a modern Hebrew language could be promulgated (the Hebrew language reformer Eliezer Ben-Yehuda taught at the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, for example). Through their work with Palestine's impoverished

²⁰⁸ The small number of converts was especially striking considering Palestine's ballooning Jewish population during the years encompassing the first and second *aliya*, between 1882-1914, when Jerusalem's Jewish population alone grew from 2,000 to 10,000. Arab Muslims were not initially targeted by these Protestant institutions, whose evangelical goals were focused on Jewish conversions as necessary for salvation. Billie Melman, *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918: Sexuality, Religion and Work* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 208; Inger Marie Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living, of High Endeavour and Adventure: Anglican Mission, Women, and Education in Palestine, 1888-1948* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002), xix-xx.

²⁰⁹ Those charitable organizations that were able to weather the diplomatic tussles of the war and remain in the region functioned with an almost outsized importance throughout the duration of the war, in some cases behaving as proxies for their home governments eager to exert control during a time of Ottoman fragility. For instance, German organizations remained untouched at the start of the war, due to Ottoman-German cooperation. As the United States remained neutral in the war until 1917, American diplomats and religious representatives were also afforded the opportunity to stay and work in Palestine, when other consular representatives (like those from Britain, Russia, France, and later Italy and Greece) were expelled from their posts much earlier. As one such American religious organization, the American Colony operated not only a soup kitchen during the war, but also helped run two hospitals and a clinic in cooperation with the Ottoman Red Crescent Society, managed a school of handicrafts (under the purview of their newly formed "American Colony Aid Association") and continued their work with poor women and babies. As historian Abigail Jacobson has argued, "the position of relief providers, and their central role during the war, provided America with a position of power and influence in the country during this time of crisis." Abigail Jacobson, "American 'Welfare Politics': American Involvement in Jerusalem During World War I," *Israel Studies* 18, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 66-68.

communities, both Christian and Jewish charities hoped to create attachments with the local populace to increase their influence in Palestine and to cultivate people with a way of life in line with and sympathetic toward Euro-American social and political customs.²¹⁰

The trajectory of art's incorporation into such charitable missions, which I analyze in the first part of this chapter, registers its integral role within the shift from earlier forms of *relief* work to the more modern *humanitarian* work that sprouted in the Middle East after the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Prior to Ottoman collapse, relief efforts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were motivated by religious prerogatives and an ethic of sympathy, attempting to soothe the symptoms of bodily suffering, such as hunger, and to provide medical care and shelter. Modern humanitarianism, which the historian Keith Watenpaugh defines as emerging through the First World War, the Armenian Genocide, and the formation of the League of Nations, sought to eradicate and prevent root problems. Rather than provide direct monetary or physical relief, the aims of modern humanitarian organizations were primarily social and economic, and were implemented by providing education, teaching technical skills, and organizing familial and cultural-social restoration projects.²¹¹

Studying the history of welfare organizations in Palestine appends the notion of a *cultural* humanitarianism to Watenpaugh's definition of modern humanitarianism. Further, it embeds the concepts of charity and humanitarianism within the origins of what I have defined as the cultural

²¹⁰ When the goal of Jewish conversions to Christianity weakened among missionaries, efforts to imbue Palestine's Arab population with Euro-American socio-political values and create an increased tolerance for Christianity became priorities within the educational goals of the missionary schools. In the case of the Anglican Jerusalem & East Mission, the new "vision" for the future was "of a Palestine governed by Anglican-education Christian Arabs." Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living, of High Endeavour and Adventure*, 49.

²¹¹ Through his book-length study, Watenpaugh argues that modern humanitarianism emerged as a response to the most horrific byproduct of Ottoman collapse and the rise of Turkish nationalism, namely the Armenian genocide and refugee crisis. Therefore, he contends, it was prior to the Second World War and in the Eastern Mediterranean "where much of modern humanitarianism was born." Watenpaugh, *Bread from Stones*, 2–5.

sector. Not only did foreign relief organizations in Palestine teach artisanal skills as a form of economic charity, they also provided international religious donors with a new medium through which to funnel their support to Palestine and its inhabitants. This new cultural sector joined the educational, agricultural, and trade sectors as an equally legitimate area for international charities to invest their efforts. Moreover, and as would be increasingly desired after the war, such investments in artisanal and artistic production carried the potential to sway political realities on the ground by shifting economic and social relationships both within and between ethno-religious groups.

Viewing the collective of institutions that populated Palestine's arts-charity landscape together, rather than individually, offers important new perspectives on early-twentieth century beacons of art in Palestine. While the Bezalel School would create a pioneering legacy as the birthplace for a Jewish (later, "Israeli") national art, it first expressed its mission in Palestine through the lens of humanitarianism and through humble beginnings in creating religiously-themed carpets and other objects in silver filigree, woodwork, and brass. Similar to the houses of industry, craft workshops, and working parties that were prevalent among Palestine's Christian missionary institutions, Bezalel originated as a Jewish religious charity. However, the school's humanitarian agenda intersected with its secondary role as a Zionist fundraising initiative, which often put the Berlin-based board members of the school at cross purposes with the school director's more lofty goal of developing a distinctly "Hebrew" style of fine art. Appreciating Bezalel's origins in charity contextualizes the school's place within the broader activity of welfare initiatives and demonstrates how, and through which struggles, objects of art initially

created to support Jewish livelihoods in Palestine could transform into symbols of a nascent political movement.²¹²

In the second part of this chapter, I trace how the attention to art, nature, and culture within the educational curricula of missionary schools affected how Palestinians, especially female students, studied the world around them and connected their artistic practices to the cultivation of an Arab national spirit. I specifically consider the still life paintings of Palestinian wildflowers by the Arab Christian painter Sophie Halaby within this context. Halaby (1905-1997) attended the British Jerusalem Girls' College, a secondary school founded by the Anglican missionaries of the Jerusalem and East Mission (J&EM) at the end of the First World War, before continuing her artistic training in France and Italy. According to Halaby, the girls were primarily taught to “draw flowers” by their British teachers, cultivating an appropriately feminine subject matter that reflected the missionaries' scriptural interest in biblical botany and intersected with the Palestinian activity of *shathat*, or leisurely “outings,” which popularized wildflower picking as something close to a national pastime.²¹³ In contrast to previous interpretations of Halaby's painting practice as intensely personal and devoid of political resonance, “responsive only to the sounds of her inner bell,” I argue for a socio-political reading of these watercolors of unruly

²¹² For dedicated histories of Bezalel's early years and stylistic advancements, see: Ilona Oltuski, “Kunst und Ideologie des Bezalels in Jerusalem: Ein Versuch zur Jüdischen Identitätsfindung” [Bezalel's Art and Ideology in Jerusalem: A Search for Jewish Identity] (Ph.D. diss., Kunstgeschichtliches Institut der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, 1988); Nurit Shilo-Cohen, “The ‘Hebrew Style’ of Bezalel, 1906-1929,” *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 20 (1994): 141–63; Nurit Shilo-Cohen, ed., *Bezalel: Crafting a Jewish Style- the Art of Bezalel, 1906- 1996*. (New York: Jewish Museum, 1996); Margaret Rose Olin, *The Nation without Art: Examining Modern Discourses on Jewish Art* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001); Dalia Manor, *Art in Zion: The Genesis of Modern National Art in Jewish Palestine* (London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005); Yigal Zalmona, *A Century of Israeli Art* (Farnham: Lund Humphries, 2013).

²¹³ Samia Halaby, “Sophie Halaby, Palestinian Artist of the Twentieth Century,” *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 61 (2015): 88; Mona Hajjar Halaby, “The Proverbial Shatha in Early Twentieth-Century Jerusalem,” *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 61 (2015): 73. The scientific-scriptural “Wild flowers of Palestine” glass slide set by the ACPD can be viewed online through the Library of Congress' website: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/matpc/>.

wildflowers.²¹⁴ I also contend that her paintings enable us to see how the apparatus of charity, which contributed to the development of formalized art education in Palestine, did not function in isolation, but intersected with local movements to bind cultural practices to the physical landscape of Palestine.

Artistic Missions

The first craft workshops to be set up by religious pilgrims in Palestine may date as far back as the year 1347, when the Franciscan “Terra Sancta” mission in Bethlehem taught the arts of intaglio, wood carving, and mother of pearl ornamentation, in addition to the Italian language, and liturgical and theoretical subjects to the Arab orphans under their care.²¹⁵ While the records of the monastery show the Franciscans largely ceasing such craft production during the long duration of Ottoman rule, they revived their practices in the mid-nineteenth century as the surge in religious tourism created a fresh market for their products.²¹⁶ In addition to practicing these

²¹⁴ This description of Halaby’s artistic process is extracted from Kamal Boullata’s analysis of the painter, which positions her as incapable of creating work outside of personal experience: “...Halaby was a fiercely independent woman who could not respond to what might be expected of her as an artist at a time of political and national turmoil. When it comes to painting, she could only trust what her eyes saw and how her body experienced space. Only through her senses could she express her relation to the homeland...[she] was responsive only the sounds of her inner bell, and her art continued to be inseparable from her own self.” Halaby’s younger relative and painter, Samia Halaby, likewise refers to Sophie Halaby’s landscapes and still lifes as symbols of her “petit bourgeois existence” and as purely “empirical” and “always based on observation.” Halaby’s recent biographer, Laura S. Schor (book forthcoming, 2019), contends that if there was any politics in Halaby’s canvases of landscapes and flowers, it was only evident in its “erasure.” In this chapter I argue against these notions of Halaby and her still lifes as squarely apolitical and ahistorical. Kamal Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005* (London; Berkeley, California: Saqi, 2009), 167; Samia Halaby, “Sophie Halaby, Palestinian Artist of the Twentieth Century,” 91; Laura S. Schor, interview with the author, March 20, 2017.

²¹⁵ P. Bellarmino Bagatti O.F.M., “L’Industria Della Madreperla A Betlemme [“The Mother-of-Pearl Industry in Bethlehem”],” in *Custodia Di Terra Santa, 1342-1942* (Jerusalem: Tipografia dei Padri Francescani, 1951), 135.

²¹⁶ The workshops experienced a resurgence under the supervision of Father Bernardino Amico from 1593-97 and again, in 1740, when the Franciscans opened an “Arts and Trades” school in Jerusalem to complement the workshops in Bethlehem. P. Bellarmino Bagatti O.F.M., “L’Industria Della Madreperla A Betlemme”; “Handicrafts in Bethlehem,” *Custodia Terrae Sanctae*, accessed September 13, 2018, <http://www.bethlehem.custodia.org/default.asp?id=453>; “The First Schools in the Shadows of the Sanctuaries,” *Custodia Terrae Sanctae*, accessed September 13, 2018, <http://www.custodia.org/default.asp?id=506>.

arts among them for the practicality of furnishing monasteries with their own wares, the Franciscans taught their arts to many of Palestine's Arabs (including orphans), with the hope of inspiring Catholic conversion while generating saleable crafts.

In a large-format album produced in 1893, the Franciscans detailed the broad extent of their workshop practices as part of the description of the liturgical, custodial, and civil components of the Terra Sancta's mission. Through photolithographs and accompanying textual descriptions in Latin, Italian, French, English, and German, the album depicted workshops for printing, lithography, bookbinding, baking, carpentry, smithery, organ building and repair, shoemaking, marble carving, embroidery for religious vestments, tailoring, and icon painting. Each image featured a Franciscan friar surrounded by a group of young Arab apprentices, often in the midst of a lesson. The album's image of the painting workshop at Saint Saviour's Convent in Jerusalem illustrates how students were taught to learn the contours of each icon and religious site so that they might be employed and "sent to the different Churches according to requirement," as described in the lithograph's caption. [Fig. 2.1] Surrounded by empty frames, pots of paint, and masterful models, the students appeared as active and astute learners, not as mere assistants but as apprentices being trained for a lifetime in the craft.

The Franciscan workshops inspired Palestinians, including talented artists whose names and works have survived history's penchant for erasure, such as Bishara and Yousef Zoughbi, who opened their own successful mother of pearl and olive wood workshop in Bethlehem in 1876.²¹⁷ [Fig. 2.2] The Zoughbi workshop reproduced the Catholic styles and forms taught by the Franciscans, attaching etched and carved pieces of mother of pearl to large wooden crosses,

²¹⁷ Enrique Yidi Daccarett, Karen David Daccarett, and Martha Lizcano Angarita, *El Arte Palestino de Tallar el Nácar: Una Aproximación a Su Estudio Desde el Caribe Colombiano* ["The Palestinian Art of Mother-of-Pearl Carving: An Approach to Its Study from the Colombian Caribbean"] (Bogotá: Panamericana Formas e Impresos, 2005), 67.

framed images of biblical stories, and even models of the holy sites, such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Nativity. [Fig. 2.3] Continuing to make objects for churches throughout its history, the Zoughbi workshop also received commissions for elaborate pieces which were used as diplomatic gifts, such as the shield of the United States surrounded by emblematic monuments from its capital, completed in 1928, or a relief-carved portrait of Ismet İnönü, the Turkish prime minister who assumed the presidency after Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's death in 1938. [Fig. 2.4] This piece, a regal, icon-like illustration of İnönü under a view of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, reveals the Zoughbi workshop's Christian origins in its materials and form, but also serves as an artifact of contemporary artistic practices among Palestinians in Bethlehem who responded to world historical events around them. Masterpieces of craftsmanship, the Zoughbi workshop objects are also records of the profound impact that religious missions had on local artistic production.²¹⁸

The Franciscan workshops were joined in the mid-nineteenth century by several newly-established Christian missions to Palestine that were established under looser Ottoman laws.²¹⁹ The German Protestant Templars, who had arrived in Palestine in the late-1860s, for instance, claimed not to use "traditional proselytism and denominational propaganda" to encourage conversions, but believed that by leading by example in work and trade they would be able to "influence the natives and stimulate them to imitation."²²⁰ By excelling at all forms of craftwork,

²¹⁸ The Franciscan Order in Palestine owns many Zoughbi works in its collection, suggesting that the work of the Zoughbi workshop inspired the Franciscan craftworkers as well. For more details on the provenance of specific Zoughbi works, which were often produced as church commissions or diplomatic gifts, see Daccarett, Daccarett, and Angarita, *El Arte Palestino de Tallar el Nacar*.

²¹⁹ See footnote 204, above.

²²⁰ The Temple Society, *The Temple Society in Palestine: To Interested Visitors of the Stand of the Society at the British Empire Exhibition Wembley* (London: The Temple Society, 1924). For more on the history of the Templars in Palestine, see references listed in Chapter One, footnote 159.

from carpentry to baking, the Templars trusted that they could both sustain themselves in Palestine and provoke Jews and Muslims to turn toward Christianity, avoiding any direct proselytizing to Muslims which was forbidden under Ottoman law.

More common among Christian missionaries in Palestine, however, was the opening of workshops for artisanal crafts as centers for conversion, similar to the Franciscan workshops. Most notable among them was the “House of Industry” opened by Anglican Protestants, under the name of the London Jews’ Society (LJS), who wanted to combine their supreme mission of converting Palestine’s Jews to Christianity with practicality.²²¹ The LJS had strongly advocated for the opening of a British consulate in Palestine, recognizing the convergence of their own evangelical interests in Christian conversions in Palestine with the Foreign Office’s desire to consolidate a British presence in the Middle East.²²² The British consulate was the first European consulate to open in Jerusalem in 1838-39, when Palestine was still under the control of the Egyptian ruler Muhammad Ali Pasha (from 1831-40). The LJS’s inaugural project in Palestine was to erect Christ Church, the first modern church to be built in Palestine since the Crusades.

²²¹ While my focus for the remainder of this section will be on Anglican missionary schools and Jewish workshops, other religious charities offering a combination of academic and artisanal training operated in Jerusalem at the same time, most notable among them the woodworking workshop inside the Schneller Orphanage (established 1860 by German Protestants), the trade school of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (established 1882 by French Jews), and the embroidery and dress-making workshops inside Schmidt’s Girls College (opened in 1886 by German Protestants for Arab Muslims and Christians). For more on these schools and others, see Paul Silberman, “An Investigation of the Schools Operated by the Alliance Israélite Universelle from 1862 to 1940.” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1973); H. L. Murre-van den Berg, ed., *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006); Norbert Friedrich, Uwe Kaminsky, and Roland Löffler, eds., *The Social Dimension of Christian Missions in the Middle East: Historical Studies of the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2010); Seth Frantzman, “Education and Empowerment: Lessons and History of the Christian Education Network in Israel and Palestine,” *Digest of Middle East Studies* 20, no. 2 (Fall 2011): 186–201.

²²² Kelvin Crombie, *For the Love of Zion: Christian Witness and the Restoration of Israel* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991), 4.

Reflecting the importance of artisanal training in the overall mission of the LJS, the second major project was the establishment of the House of Industry, opened soon thereafter, in 1843.²²³

Originating in Ireland to discourage indiscriminate almsgiving, “houses of industry” and “workhouses” combined religious charity with the provision of training and a vocation to the destitute.²²⁴ Based on this model, LJS’ House of Industry similarly recruited poor Jewish men to train in carpentry, shoemaking, printing, and the production of olive wood souvenirs, the products of which were sold in a store operated by the LJS in the Old City. [Fig. 2.5] While the main goal of the House of Industry may have been to convert Jewish men to the Protestant faith, as supported by their daily Bible readings and sermons, the curriculum also provided instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic to provide the men with the skills necessary to establish their own workshops.²²⁵ The men learned how to produce popular souvenir items, such as olive wood boxes, tables, and carved covers for photograph albums or albums of pressed flowers, as seen in a photograph of the workroom from the late 1800s. [Fig. 2.6] Structured to avoid creating dependent clients, the House of Industry also targeted the Jewish community’s historic reliance on diasporic Jewish money, otherwise known as *chaluka*, which had been financing parts of the *yishuv* in Palestine for decades.²²⁶ While few who apprenticed at the House of Industry converted to Christianity, the Protestant effort to relieve the economic distress of poor Jews through

²²³ The inaugural Protestant Bishop to Jerusalem, Michael Solomon Alexander (a Jewish convert and former rabbi), attended to the opening of the House of Industry in only his second year of service.

²²⁴ Catherine Cox, “Health and Welfare, 1750-2000,” in *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland*, ed. Eugenio F. Biagini and Mary E. Daly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 262.

²²⁵ Crombie, *For the Love of Zion*, 61-62.

²²⁶ The second-order problem of “creating dependent clients through missionary work,” after detaching Jewish Palestinians from the *chaluka*, “was an issue the J&EM was conscious of and worked to avoid.” Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living, of High Endeavour and Adventure*, 16.

training in artisanal crafts created a functional bond between the two communities and, more tangibly, significantly increased the number of Jewish-made crafts in Palestine.

While the House of Industry focused on the training of men, the LJS engaged Jewish women through “visiting societies” and “working parties,” socially acceptable forms of female charity imported from Britain. Visiting societies, which aided indigent Jewish women in the privacy of their own homes, were sensitive to cultural notions of propriety which discouraged female presence in public space. At the same time, these societies manifested Christian ideals of “visitation,” humility, and service.²²⁷ Elizabeth Ann Finn, the wife of the British Consul James Finn and a particularly zealous pre-millenarian evangelical, founded the Sarah Society in Jerusalem in 1854, which combined evangelization (Bible reading, distribution of religious texts, and sermonizing) with customary female work, such as sewing, weaving, and embroidery. Finn’s initiative was one among several Protestant visiting societies combining the hope for Jewish conversions to Christianity with women’s work, including the Benevolent Society for the Relief of Poor Jewish Women in Child Birth (1865) and the Dorcas Society (1849).²²⁸

The Jewesses Institute established in 1848 by Caroline Cooper, an unmarried female Protestant missionary in Palestine and close friend of Mrs. Finn’s, became the most visible and successful of these ventures and later operated as the female counterpart to the LJS’ House of

²²⁷ Melman, *Women’s Orients*, 180.

²²⁸ The names of the societies were symbolic. The Sarah Society, or Benot Sara was named, as Melman explains, “literally, Sara’s daughters, after the verse in Peter’s first epistle 3,6.” The Dorcas Society commemorated Tabitha, also known as Dorcas, “the good woman of Joppa [Jaffa],” who was a “paragon of feminine humility, industry, and piety” and thus is often invoked as the patroness of the garments-industry. In Britain and the U.S., schools named after Dorcas offered practical Christian educations, including instruction in the crafts. Melman investigates the importance of the infusion of female missionaries to the Protestant mission in Palestine in the mid-eighteenth century, and especially the female “career missionaries” (mostly unmarried women with independent financial means) starting in 1887, arguing that “the feminisation of the missions was the most significant change in missionary policy in Palestine” and discusses such visiting societies as prime examples of her claim. *Ibid.*, 175-77, 180-2.

Industry. Hosting “working parties” for the women outside the home, Cooper’s innovative enterprise separated women’s work from the patriarchal household environment and further unsettled the conventional *chaluka* support system.²²⁹ An illustration of the Jewesses Institute by Lucy Matilda Cubley for her travelogue *The Hills and Plains of Palestine* (1860) shows women arranged in a semi-circle in a domed room, employed in several stages of yarn production and embroidery: picking, spinning, and stitching. [Fig. 2.7] An open book on a nearby table in the front left corner of the drawing is perhaps a set of sermons to be read to the women while they work, or maybe a pattern book or instructional aid. Cooper bequeathed her vocational program and small store, which had become a showcase of missionary work for tourists, to the LJS upon her death in 1859, where it continued to run with its own vocational school, a girls’ day school, and a commercial bazaar.²³⁰ “[She] effected real change in the idle, dirty, ignorant state in which she found the Jewesses of Jerusalem sunk,” wrote one of Cooper’s supporters shortly after her death.²³¹ For Cooper, eradicating ignorance and poverty (not to mention idleness and dirt) through the cultivation of the domestic arts was a necessary precursor to Jewish conversion and, ultimately, Christian salvation. For Protestant missions in the Middle East, where due to cultural conventions “women could only be reached by women,” female missionaries played a vital role in the evangelical movement.²³² Cooper’s career underscored the secondary, and arguably much

²²⁹ I have not yet been able to pinpoint the precise location of Cooper’s Jewesses Institute. Melman’s account of the Jewesses Institute states that the meetings took place outside of domestic homes, but she does not describe the location. Yaron Perry’s book on British missionaries in Palestine describes meetings of the Jewesses Institute as taking place in Church society buildings inside the Old City in 1891, but this was long after Cooper’s death and therefore does not strongly correlate to where she may have hosted meetings during her lifetime. Ibid., 184; Yaron Perry, *British Mission to the Jews in Nineteenth-Century Palestine* (London: Routledge, 2003), 149.

²³⁰ Perry, *British Mission to the Jews in Nineteenth-Century Palestine*, 119.

²³¹ Emily Ann Beaufort, *Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines, Including Some Stay in the Lebanon at Palmyra and in Western Turkey*, vol. I (London: Longman and Roberts, 1861), 409.

²³² Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living, of High Endeavour and Adventure*, xxii.

more successful, role such female missionaries played in intensifying craft production and in the modernization of the domestic economy for Jewish women.²³³

Emblematic of the missionary ideal to “improve” social and economic conditions for women through art, the working parties utilized traditional local designs, but enhanced them with European production techniques and patterns—improving the products’ marketability in parallel. The Jewesses’ Institute, for example, acquired a mechanical loom to revolutionize the speed with which the women could make woven cloth, both for their needs at home and for sale in Cooper’s tourist shop.²³⁴ Booklets of sample lace patterns produced by the American Colony’s internal lace workshop during the war (1914-1917), and later at its institutionalized School of Handicrafts and Dressmaking (opened at the end of the war in 1918), reveal the hybridized Palestinian-European styles that became popular within such women’s welfare initiatives. Similar to the working parties, the American Colony’s handicrafts school aimed “to enlighten and improve conditions” for young, unmarried girls in Palestine after the war, most of whom were Arab and many of whom were forced into early marriage due to the deteriorated economic circumstances of their families.²³⁵

In the brochure describing the American Colony school, the instructors claimed that traditional Palestinian lace patterns were in fact “degenerated” versions of Central European and Armenian designs, and hoped to revive them with “new designs made from Arabesque and other

²³³ Melman, *Women’s Orients*, 184.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 185.

²³⁵ The American Colony School of Handicrafts and Dressmaking, as stated in the promotional pamphlet, “tried to make these little girls useful to their elders and guardians, by means of increasing the family income through handicrafts, and in this way prolong their days of liberty.” “Brochure from the School of Handicrafts and Dressmaking, Conducted by the American Colony Aid Association, Jerusalem,” n.d., American Colony Archive Collections, Jerusalem.

Oriental models.”²³⁶ Indeed, Palestinian *tatreez* is based almost exclusively on one stitch, cross-stitch, and aside from the use of metallic silk cords for couching embroidery in Bethlehem, traditional Palestinian embroidery favors streamlined geometric pattern-work as opposed to the dense patterns featuring multiple types of stitches that were typical of Armenian and Central European embroidery. [Fig. 2.8, 2.9] Sample embroidery booklets collected in the Colony’s library, as well as English, Italian, and German lacemaking instruction books, however, point to a broader push to incorporate European designs in order to fashion products for sale to elite and overseas buyers. Within the pages of the sample booklets showing lace edgings and insertions produced by the girls at the American Colony school, a buyer could choose from a vegetal, tulip-based pattern (popular in Palestinian *tatreez*), simple, old English edge patterns, or more modern, playful motifs like that of a butterfly. [Fig. 2.10-2.12] The price markings alongside each lace sample in a booklet also corresponded to the relative valuation of the various designs, the most expensive of which seemed to be ornate elaborations on traditional Palestinian patterns. [Fig. 2.13]

The Evelina de Rothschild School for Girls, supported through the charity of the Jewish-German Rothschild family, also excelled in marketing their craft products and, thereby, in providing small incomes for Jewish girls and their families. The Evelina School’s headmistress from 1900-1945, Annie Landau, adamantly opposed the *chaluka* system, viewing it as a “degrading charity...a cancer eating away at the vitals of Jerusalem.”²³⁷ Her creation of a lacemaking atelier and, later, millinery and dress workshops in the school provided job opportunities for the Jewish girls, where they were paid “five to twenty francs per month and

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Annie Landau quoted from Anglo-Jewish Association, *Thirty-Third Annual Report, 1903-04*, 57-9 in Schor, *The Best School in Jerusalem*, 61.

received one hot meal a day as well as additional lessons in various subjects.”²³⁸ An inspector visiting the Evelina School in 1904 was “struck by the excellent work being done by the school as an agent for good in Jerusalem, a city afflicted by poverty, dirt, and disorder.”²³⁹ Contrasting the city’s waste with the girls’ budding talents, the inspector judged their skills to be beyond the level of work produced by schoolgirls in England—a judgment corroborated by the successful sale of the Evelina School’s items both at home and abroad.

To increase sales within Palestine, the Evelina School had adapted its designs to local needs, for instance by gaining commissions from the officers of the Turkish garrison in Jerusalem to make epaulettes with the embroidered words of *al-Quds es-sharif* (“The Holy, Noble place,” the name for Jerusalem in Islamic texts) in Aleppo pure silver thread on red cloth.²⁴⁰ Examples of similar designs from the American Colony’s lacemaking school, where the sinuous Arabic script was incorporated into the more traditional floral tendrils animating the lace, attest to the fusion of designs for practical and economic purposes. [Fig. 2.14] As a by-product of such training in missionary schools, providing needlework and embroidery services for military soldiers continued to be an activity of Arab women and girls after the war, as they were often found “hanging about the camps after the [British] soldiers” looking for work and materials.²⁴¹

For sales abroad, the school focused on producing fancy embroidered articles as fashionable export goods for European buyers and as religiously-themed Jewish goods for Jewish buyers all over the world. By 1910, the Evelina School’s embroidery and lace works had

²³⁸ Schor, *The Best School in Jerusalem*, 62.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 58.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 70.

²⁴¹ C. R. Ashbee, “Report by Mr. C. R. Ashbee on the Arts and Crafts of Jerusalem and District,” (August 1918), 28, CRA/21/1, King’s College Archives.

been shipped for sale in a Parisian shop, commissioned by Berlin department stores requesting “lace-trimmed handkerchiefs and dress trimmings,” and coveted in Amsterdam where the city’s clientele desired simple dresses designed “to be comfortable, healthy, and beautiful.”²⁴² By 1914, the Evelina School’s workshops had also produced ornamental synagogue curtains and Torah mantles for Jewish communities from Australia to Hungary, and continued to receive individual lace orders from wealthy female clients in France, England, Switzerland, and the United States.²⁴³ Like the work created at the American Colony School of Handicrafts, the Evelina School’s products not only included traditional Palestinian patterns or religious symbols, but likely incorporated popular Euro-American designs in order to appeal to a wide buying public outside Palestine.

Exhibitions staged abroad by Jewish philanthropic societies highlighted how crafts could function as repositories for international charitable givers, who hoped to contribute to the survival of poor Jews in Palestine during this precarious period. In the early 1900s, European and American Jewish charities hosted exhibitions to expose the world to the needs of Palestine’s Jewry and raise funds for their survival. Such exhibitions, like the one hosted by the Anglo-Jewish Association in Vienna in 1904 and an exhibition of Jewish craft goods from Palestine in the Hague in 1907, were met with financial success. All articles of embroidery and handmade lace sent by the Evelina School to the 1904 Vienna exhibition, for example, sold immediately to an eager public, and Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands was evidently so impressed with the school’s display at the Hague that she purchased some items for her own collection.²⁴⁴

²⁴² Ibid., 70.

²⁴³ Ibid., 76–77.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 59. In a pamphlet produced for the 1912 fundraiser exhibition for the school hosted by the Anglo-Jewish Association in London, Landau reported: “I have received letters from Holland telling me that Queen Wilhelmina, when visiting the Palestinian Exhibition at the Hague, expressed her admiration of the lace and embroidery sent by

In promoting the work of specific communities in Palestine, such exhibitions began to take on more explicitly political dimensions. The 1907 exhibition in the Hague, for instance, occurred as part of the meeting of the eighth Zionist Congress. That Queen Wilhelmina purchased an object made by the young Jewish students of the Evelina School may have indicated a diplomatic gesture of support for the Zionist movement in Palestine.²⁴⁵ The “Palestine Exhibition and Bazaar” held in London in 1912, another example of an exhibition hosted by the Anglo-Jewish Association, also articulated goals in line with Zionism. While on the surface the exhibition was a fundraiser to directly benefit the Evelina School and the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, the organizers’ stated aim also included the more broad desire “to secure...the attention and active support of the Jewish community in England” for Jewish activity in Palestine.²⁴⁶ While the term “Zionism” was not used explicitly in the exhibition’s promotional materials, the primary organizers of the 1912 exhibition, Cecil Franklin, Cyril Picciotto, and Leonard Stein, as well as many of the exhibition’s patrons, were active members in London’s Zionist associations.²⁴⁷ Stein, in particular, went on to serve in high-ranking positions in the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine during the British Mandate period.²⁴⁸ The use of exhibitions as Zionist fundraising efforts aligns with cultural

us, and that she purchased some of it.” The Committee of the Palestine Exhibition and Bazaar, *Awakening Palestine* (London, 1912), 5.

²⁴⁵ For more on the relationship between the Jewish community in the Netherlands and Dutch royal attitudes towards Jews, see Bart Wallet, “Dutch National Identity and Jewish International Solidarity: An Impossible Combination? Dutch Jewry and the Significance of the Damascus Affair (1840),” in *The Dutch Intersection: The Jews and the Netherlands in Modern History*, ed. Yosef Kaplan (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008): 319–30.

²⁴⁶ The Committee of the Palestine Exhibition and Bazaar, *Awakening Palestine*, 3.

²⁴⁷ For a discussion on Zionism in Picciotto’s own words, see for example Jacob Alexander, Cyril M. Picciotto, and Leon Simon, *Zionism and the Western Jew: A Symposium Read before the London Zionist League, on the 24th December, 1908* (London: Ginzburg, 1908).

²⁴⁸ For a brief biography on Stein, see “Stein, Leonard Jacques (1887–1973), Scholar and Zionist,” Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed April 1, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/31717>.

historian Michael Berkowitz's conclusions regarding the relationship between Jewish fundraising and Zionism during this time:

In large part Zionism owed its surprising success to constructively integrating fundraising into the movement, which provided a means for Westernised Jews – those who were not conceived as Palestine's 'pioneers' – to participate in, and feel a full part of, the national movement.²⁴⁹

While in principle Zionism denigrated the idea of a Jewish diaspora, European and American Jews were needed to “bankroll” the movement.²⁵⁰ Exhibitions staged abroad in the first decades of the 1900s, like those featuring the craft work of Jewish charities in Palestine, galvanized financial giving to the political cause through artisanal production and were thus early markers of the existence of a cultural sector in Palestine.

Within the delicate items on display in the 1912 London exhibition, made of lace, copper, wool, and silver filigree, was thus embedded a rallying cry to prompt English Jews to nurture the communal—and increasingly political—advancement of their brethren in Palestine. A commemorative pamphlet published for the occasion (most likely written by Franklin, Picciotto, and Stein), *Awakening Palestine*, demonstrated the rhetorical change in Jewish charitable giving from one of simple economic relief to one which imbued financial giving with the organizers' Zionist aims.²⁵¹ As heralded by the pamphlet's title, the European Jewish community presupposed a slumbering, uncivilized Jewish community in Palestine. Recently awakened through the efforts of international welfare initiatives, like the Evelina School, which combined

²⁴⁹ Michael Berkowitz, “Toward an Understanding of Fundraising, Philanthropy and Charity in Western Zionism, 1897-1933,” *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations: Official Journal of the International Society for Third-Sector Research* 7, no. 3 (1996): 253–54.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 247.

²⁵¹ Almost a decade after this exhibition was held, in 1923 Leonard Stein joined with another British Zionist, Leon Simon, to put together another book under the same title, *Awakening Palestine*, which articulated the men's Zionist aims directly. Leon Simon and Leonard Stein, *Awakening Palestine* (London: John Murray, 1923).

Jewish religious charity with productivization efforts, the pamphlet's authors claimed that the *yishuv* showed signs of financial advancement. As elaborated in the pamphlet's text, older charitable schools provided a good European education merely to "save [the children] from sinking into a condition of ignorance and superstition," while their new mission hoped to provide an education "that shall enable the boys and girls of to-day to develop into useful members of the Palestinian Jewish community."²⁵² Dovetailing with the intensification of the Zionist movement across Europe, the rhetoric surrounding the exhibition was no longer solely about charitable financial engagement with Palestine's Jews, but about supporting the rise of an economically stable, educated Palestinian Jewish community, a precursor to a stable political unit.

Further, the exhibition and fundraising event also envisioned a reciprocal effect: to awaken English Jews to the coming of a Jewish renaissance in Palestine, apparent in the recent advancements made in industry and the artisanal crafts.²⁵³ The exhibition's organizers also hoped that the status of the craft objects themselves would transform from religiously-themed export goods to symbols of the movement in order to strengthen a Jewish ethno-national identity in Palestine: "Whether that art [the craft works of Bezalel and the Evelina School on view] is to be *truly national* depends upon the warmth of the encouragement it will receive when its aims and achievements are properly understood."²⁵⁴ In this context—one that would presage future trends—objects of art, initially created to support Jewish "livelihood" through the auspices of a religious charitable institution, later existed to sway the opinion of donors toward the goals of a particular political movement, which in this case was Zionism.

²⁵² The Committee of the Palestine Exhibition and Bazaar, *Awakening Palestine*, 3.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 8. Emphasis mine.

“No Charity - Only Work!”: The Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts

While Bezalel occupies the historically-significant position of the first designated Jewish art school—and the first purpose-built art school in Palestine—the school’s secondary status at the 1912 London fundraising exhibition reveals that in its own time Bezalel was but one of several charitable institutions focusing on craft production within the arts-charity landscape I have described. When the school opened it joined the Franciscan craft workshops, the LJS’ House of Industry, Protestant women’s’ visiting societies, the Jewesses Institute, the American Colony School of Handicrafts and Dressmaking, and the Evelina School, among other workshops hosted within missionary schools including the German Protestant Schneller Orphanage, the French Jewish Alliance Israélite Universelle, and the German Catholic Schmidt’s Girls College.²⁵⁵

Proposed by the Lithuanian Jewish artist Boris Schatz at the Seventh Zionist Congress in Basel in 1905, Bezalel was an explicitly Zionist project that existed well before Zionists built their first kibbutz (Degania, 1909) or first university (Hebrew University, 1918) in Palestine.²⁵⁶ Schatz developed the idea of Bezalel based on his previous position as the co-founder of the State School of Art in Sofia, Bulgaria, which drew on contemporaneous “national art” movements in Russia. However, Schatz had been equally inspired by the “Address on Jewish Art” given by Martin Buber at the Fifth Zionist Congress in 1901.²⁵⁷ In that speech, Buber positioned art as the antidote to the “barren” nature of Jewish life, reflected in the “desert” of the historic Jewish land (Palestine):

²⁵⁵ See footnote 221 for resources related to those institutions not explored here. Dalia Manor is one of few art historians writing on Bezalel to also stress its commonalities with local charity initiatives. She reports that Bezalel was “not exactly a novelty,” but rather “competed with existing institutions such as the AIU [Alliance Israélite Universelle] school resulting in tension between them.” Manor, *Art in Zion*, 8-13.

²⁵⁶ The Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, or *Kunstgewerbe* as it was known in German, was registered as an official German society in 1906. Shilo-Cohen, *Bezalel*, 35.

²⁵⁷ Eugeny Kotlyar, “The Making of a National Art: Boris Schatz in Bulgaria,” *Ars Judaica* 4 (April 2008): 43.

Jewish art is a series of facts. For thousands of years we were a barren people. We shared the fate of our land. A fine, horrible desert sand blew and blew over us until our sources were buried and our soil was covered with a heavy layer that killed all young buds. The excess in soul power that we possessed at all times expressed itself in the exile merely in an indescribably one-sided spiritual activity that blinded the eyes to all the beauty of nature and of life.²⁵⁸

Characteristically painting Palestine as a wasteland, Buber advocated for art as being the necessary “spiritual amelioration” of both Jewish land and Jewish society, which had previously relied too heavily on religion (“spiritual activity”).²⁵⁹ Buber further tethered Jewish art to political Zionism, claiming artistic activity as “the national soul” of the Zionist organism.²⁶⁰ Schatz’s school of arts and crafts would create an institutional framework for Buber’s vision, shared by other leading Zionist figures such as Dr. Max Nordau who spoke in different terms than Buber, but similarly addressed the necessity of furthering Jewish “cultural amelioration” at the same Fifth Zionist Congress.²⁶¹ Schatz purportedly received the blessing of the head of the Zionist Organization, Theodor Herzl, before Herzl’s death in the summer of 1904, after which Schatz delivered his concept to Otto Warburg, who became the Zionist Organization’s new leader in 1911. With their support, Schatz opened the school in Jerusalem in 1906.

As summarized by the art historian Dalia Manor, Bezalel’s three main principles included shifting the economic structure of the *yishuv*, producing objects of religious or sentimental value for export, and the harboring of the belief that “a local style of art would emanate from the land

²⁵⁸ Martin Buber, “Address on Jewish Art,” in *The First Buber: Youthful Zionist Writings of Martin Buber*, ed. and trans. from the German by Gilya Gerda Schmidt (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 48.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 48.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 46. As synthesized by Manor, the difference between Nordau’s and Buber’s positions on the arts hinged on the reason for developing a particular Jewish aesthetic. Nordau viewed the arts as part of the “social mission” of Zionism and believed a new type of Jewish art could play a potent role in attracting assimilated European Jews to the national movement, whereas Buber contended that developing the arts, in and of itself, deserved attention and that “the aesthetic education of the people should start immediately.” While somewhat less explicit in his Zionist aims, Buber maintained that “a full blossoming of Jewish creativity would be attained only when Jews had their own soil under their feet.” Manor, *Art in Zion*, 13–14.

itself.”²⁶² Warburg’s interest in such a project, as the leader of the political Zionists, proved how building an art school was considered a necessity for the Zionist cause, as a means of establishing a Jewish national and political identity through visual expression. Schatz and his supporters intended Bezalel to be part of an artistic awakening that would separate new Jewish life in Palestine from that of the old and create a visual vocabulary to represent a connected Jewish community of the future, culturally distinct from the disparate diaspora of the early 1900s.

Bezalel’s early products, however, were displayed side by side with the more unassuming lacework from the Evelina School in 1912, and they continued to populate booths at fundraising events throughout the school’s early history. In fact, the members of the Anglo-Jewish Association who likely wrote the text for the *Awakening Palestine* pamphlet described Bezalel not as “the national soul” of Zionism, but as merely a “practical” center providing “its pupils a profession or handicraft whereby they may be able to earn a living” and “only in a secondary sense a school of Fine Art.”²⁶³ It was the well-established Evelina School that drew public attention to the exhibition and the organizers hoped that the lacework made by the schoolgirls would stimulate a public, and overdue “awakening of interest in the achievements of Bezalel.”²⁶⁴

In its infancy, Bezalel received funding primarily through German and Russian Jewish charities, some of which operated separately from the Zionist project. The *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden* (Aid Association of German Jews), which was not a Zionist organization, provided the largest contribution to the project (3,000 marks). It was followed by the Zionist Organization, the *Kolonisationsverein Esra* (Esra Colonization Association), the *Großloge des*

²⁶² Manor, *Art in Zion*, 25–26.

²⁶³ The Committee of the Palestine Exhibition and Bazaar, *Awakening Palestine*, 5.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

B'nai B'rith (Grand Lodge of “Children of the Covenant”), the *Baronin von Cohn-Oppenheim Stiftung* (Baroness Cohn-Oppenheim Foundation), the Odessa Committee, and individual private donors.²⁶⁵ A common refrain among such organizations was the shared purpose of providing education in Palestine to cultivate a cultured community from the unsavory conditions in which they currently lived: “Among the population decayed in dirt, individuals will be educated, for whom cleanliness, order and outward beauty will become a necessity of life.”²⁶⁶ Thus, in concert with the school’s statement of Zionist ideals, Bezalel defined its purpose in line with the religious charities supporting its existence, aiming to furnish the Jewish minority in Palestine with skills to provide economic independence. Similarly distancing its services from the outdated *chaluka* system and adopting the slogan, “No Charity – Only Work!”, the school initially expressed its mission not in terms of national or artistic idealism, but primarily in terms of modern humanitarianism:

The aim of the [Bezalel] Society—while prohibiting any profit-making activity by its members—is humanitarian: to improve the economic and social situation of the poor Jewish population in *Eretz Israel* and in neighboring countries by promoting handicrafts and home industry.²⁶⁷

In language quite apart from Schatz’s “national” artistic vision for the school, Bezalel’s mission statement painted an image of the school that was much closer to the charities which had been operating in Palestine since the mid-1800s than to the experimental and artistic avant-garde of a new nation.

²⁶⁵ Inka Bertz, “Trouble at the Bezalel: Conflicting Visions of Zionism and Art,” in *Nationalism, Zionism and Ethnic Mobilization of the Jews in 1900 and Beyond*, ed. Michael Berkowitz (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), 255.

²⁶⁶ Yaacov (Jacob) Thon (assistant to Warburg and later to Arthur Ruppin, head of the Palestine Office in Jaffa) quoted from a newspaper interview for the *Jewish Chronicle*, 1905 in Bertz, 262.

²⁶⁷ Translated from German by Nurit Shilo-Cohen in Shilo-Cohen, *Bezalel*, 35.

Was Bezalel a welfare initiative, as its official mission suggested, or a Zionist national design school, as Schatz initially articulated? As recorded in the early letters exchanged between Schatz in Jerusalem and Bezalel's board members in Berlin, disagreements between the two parties were frequent, vituperative, and hinged on this very question. Upon the school's founding, each major funding agency appointed a board member to the *Bezalel Verein* (Bezalel Association), notably consisting of Otto Warburg as chairman (representing the Zionist Organization), Paul Nathan as secretary (representing the *Hilfsverein*), and Berthold Israel as treasurer and representative of the *Kolonisationsverein Esra*. While the Bezalel Association would be responsible for the school's financial and administrative health, a separate Artistic Advisory Committee was established to advise Schatz on the artistic trajectory of the school and included famous Jewish European artists Jozef Israëls, Max Liebermann, Hermann Struck, Ephraim Moses Lilien, Julius Bodenstein, and Paul Levy, the director of the Gladenbeck bronze foundry in Berlin.²⁶⁸ As articulated by the historian Inka Bertz, the primary board members of the Bezalel Association were members of the "practical Zionist" movement and, as was typical of political discourse in Germany at the time, regarded economic success and the attraction of international investment as the most important goals for the Zionist movement. With this aim in mind, they encouraged Schatz to keep the charitable and financial goals of the institution in sight—even when it came to aesthetic decisions. Warburg explained to Schatz in callous terms that,

Those who support the Bezalel, organizations and individuals, can only be won permanently, if the Bezalel really becomes instrumental in fighting the poverty of the Jewish population in Palestine. They do not have any interest whatsoever in particular varieties of artistic endeavors.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁸ Bertz, "Trouble at the Bezalel: Conflicting Visions of Zionism and Art," 255–56.

²⁶⁹ "Letter from Otto Warburg to Boris Schatz," October 15, 1906, L 42/56, Central Zionist Archive, translated from German by Inka Bertz and quoted in Bertz, "Trouble at the Bezalel: Conflicting Visions of Zionism and Art," 264.

Despite Schatz's ultimate goal of developing a uniquely "Hebrew" style of art, Warburg contended that the school's first need was to prove its efficacy in relieving Jewish poverty in order to retain its international charitable donors.

As such, Warburg and the board had little patience for Schatz's experiments in design, which sought to infuse modern, *art nouveau* trends with traditional Jewish themes and referents to the Palestinian landscape. Their disagreements indicated a debate over the symbolic significance of Bezalel's arts and crafts objects for the Zionist movement. Menorahs and the Star of David, adopted in 1897 as the symbol of the first Zionist Congress in Basel, were recurrent motifs in Bezalel's earliest carpet designs by Ephraim Moses Lilien, as were Palestine's autochthonous palm trees, flowers, and birds. [Fig. 2.15, 2.16] Schatz agitated for the establishment of a botanical department, as well as a nature museum at Bezalel's founding, appointing zoologist Israel Aharoni as its collector. Schatz emphasized the importance of researching Palestine's native specimens for the development of a Hebrew style:

Every weaver and embroiderer of carpets embroiders the splendid birds and butterflies of his own land...Look for example at Japanese, Chinese, or Persian rugs. What those artists take from nature in their countries, we will abstract from our land...and every Jew or gentile will purchase our carpets because they represent what is characteristic of our land, what is particular to it!²⁷⁰

The board's feedback on such designs was not only critical, but openly disapproving:

We are happy to see that you are making progress with the technique of weaving. We are however by no means satisfied with the choice of colors. We ask you repeatedly to refrain from experimenting with any modern effects and to keep to the tried-and-true Oriental taste (*den altbewährten orientalischen Geschmack*), as we have repeatedly written to you.²⁷¹

²⁷⁰ Aharoni recalled when Schatz first approached him with the idea of creating a nature museum in his memoirs *Zichronot Zoolog Ivri* ["*Memories of a Hebrew Zoologist*"] (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1943), vol. 1, 193-95, translated from Hebrew by Nurit Shilo-Cohen and quoted in Shilo-Cohen, "The 'Hebrew Style' of Bezalel, 1906-1929," 149-51.

²⁷¹ "Letter from Bertrand Hamburg to Boris Schatz," February 13, 1909, L 42/19, Central Zionist Archive, translated from German by the author.

When it came to developing carpet patterns for the weaving workshop, Bezalel's inaugural department and design endeavor, the board suggested that Schatz abandon the development of a Jewish iconography and a Jewish-oriented business model altogether. Instead, they requested that Schatz focus on producing the type of "Oriental" carpets favored by Jews and non-Jews alike in Europe. Or, as they wrote to Schatz in hopeful, yet menacing terms: "We have been told that you are finally moving forward with copying Persian carpets and will no longer be using the screaming Zionist compositions (*die schreienden Zionistischen Compositionen*)."²⁷² Scoffing at Schatz's use of bright colors and "modern effects," the board moved slowly in honoring his requests for expensive and diverse pattern books to study. The board suggested Schatz simply learn the "Oriental taste" by visiting "various mosques to see magnificent (*prachtvolle*) carpets and to take a pattern of them (*sich daran ein Muster zu nehmen*)."²⁷³ Encouraging Schatz to copy and appropriate Arab and Islamic tastes and traditions, the board also advised that for the coloring of the carpets Schatz should "keep an eye out for the Islamic carpets, which will still be preserved in every house of that region, even though the most beautiful old Persian and Turkic carpets have already been bought by the dealers for Europe."²⁷⁴

Throughout their letters to Schatz, the board often spoke of adopting a general "Palestinian" style, drawing on sources from all three religions in the country, rather than laboring over the invention of a uniquely "Hebrew" art, as Schatz proposed.²⁷⁵ Even as late as 1911, seven years after the opening of Bezalel, the board complained to Schatz that "to date, we

²⁷² "Letter from Bertrand Hamburg to Boris Schatz," June 30, 1909, L 42/19, Central Zionist Archive, translated from German by the author.

²⁷³ "Letter from Bertrand Hamburg to Boris Schatz," February 13, 1909.

²⁷⁴ "Letter from Dr. Justus Brinkmann, Director of the Hamburg Museum of Arts and Crafts, to Boris Schatz," n.d. (c. 1909), L 42/19, Central Zionist Archive, translated from German by the author.

²⁷⁵ Bertz, "Trouble at the Bezalel: Conflicting Visions of Zionism and Art," 263.

have not received a single carpet in the Persian style from you” and lamented his resistance to their advice as being deeply impractical and short-sighted:

we can only regret, most deeply, that you cannot at last agree to abandon the idea of a so-called Jewish style (*sogennanten Jüdischen Stiles*), and instead make carpets as they are demanded everywhere, which by virtue of their harmonious composition of colors, are so extraordinarily quiet and represent a uniform, tasteful composition (*eine einheitliche geschmackvolle Composition*).²⁷⁶

In discrediting Schatz’s ideas for the design of carpets, pithily encapsulated in their designation of his work as only a “so-called Jewish style,” the board’s deep misgivings over Bezalel’s decorative carpets reflect how such livelihood crafts became objects of ideological debate within the Zionist movement.

Such moments of friction between Schatz and the board have been historicized and described as a “culture clash” between the idealistic Eastern European pedagogue and the pragmatic Western Europeans, or else as an aesthetic conflict between the ornamental style of a Russian-trained nationalist and the *shlichtheit* (“simplicity”) preferred by the German modernists.²⁷⁷ Viewed through the lens of welfare culture in Palestine at the time, however, and in terms of the politico-economic position of Bezalel’s board, the promotion of traditional Islamic designs was merely considered “good business” for an institution which aimed to become an effective welfare initiative and, thereby, a profitable endeavor for the Zionist enterprise. The board clarified that their exasperation over Schatz’s carpet designs and their subsequent advice was ultimately “in the interest of the [Zionist] cause,” as without a stable financial income the school would surely not survive.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶ “Letter from Bertrand Hamburg to Boris Schatz,” March 18, 1911, L 42/19, Central Zionist Archive, translated from German by the author.

²⁷⁷ Bertz, “Trouble at the Bezalel: Conflicting Visions of Zionism and Art,” 248, 274.

²⁷⁸ “Letter from Bertrand Hamburg to Boris Schatz,” February 2, 1911, L 42/19, Central Zionist Archive, translated from German by the author.

Schatz, for his part, never ceased championing the notion that the school's financial success could only emerge from the creation of a new artistic style. In giving a speech in English to the American section of the League of Nation Mandates Commission in 1919, he stated:

I have a strong belief that when the promises given to us are fulfilled, we shall be able not only to provide a livelihood for thousands of poor people, but also to develop an original Hebrew art work which will beautify the home of every European interested in our beautiful and holy country. We shall give a new word to the world. We shall give shape and form to the beautiful words which we have given already to the world in the book of books—the Bible.²⁷⁹

Appealing to his Christian audience by evoking the first lines of the Gospel of John (“in the beginning was the Word...”), Schatz proclaimed to his American listeners that just as God made Jesus, so Bezalel aimed to make art that would profoundly alter the world. Skirting the necessity to develop designs that would be marketable to the Jewish diaspora, as repeatedly stressed by the board, Schatz believed that if he could create “an original Hebrew art work” as singular and powerful as the words of the biblical texts, Bezalel's designs would accordingly manifest as agents representing Jewish national desire in Palestine.

While Bezalel grew rapidly in its early years—“the number of workers rose from 100 in 1908 to 457 in 1911 and the value of goods produced from 20,000 francs in 1908 to 250,000 in 1912”—the disagreements between Schatz and the board made the institution's initial model simply “untenable.”²⁸⁰ Due to the inability of the two parties to work together, the school never managed to escape financial precarity in its first decade of existence. By 1913, its advisors

²⁷⁹ “Speech or Letter Delivered by Boris Schatz (in English) to the American Section of the Interallied Commission on Mandates in Turkey,” June 20, 1919, L 42/92, Central Zionist Archive.

²⁸⁰ Otto Warburg, “Ein Betriebsfonds Für Den Bezalel! (An Operating Fund for Bezalel!),” 1912 and “Letter from Otto Warburg to Dr. Harry Friedenwald,” March 30, 1913, Z3/1555, Central Zionist Archive, both translated from German by the author. Outgoing letters from Warburg and other members of the Bezalel board during this period stress Bezalel's quick development and the struggle for the institution to keep pace with demand with so few financial resources. As Warburg pleads for money from supporters abroad to establish a “Bezalel Association” separate from Schatz's school, he states his desire to split off the workshops and to devote the energies of the Association to their profitable maintenance.

declared that “Bezalel stands directly on the edge of collapse” and that changes were paramount if it was to survive beyond the year.²⁸¹ Bezalel thus split firmly into two components in 1914—a crafts workshop under the control of the Zionist Organization and a fine arts school directed by Schatz—which reflected the ideological split over the status of the institution that had plagued the school from its founding.²⁸² This resolution allowed the workshop part of Bezalel to operate firmly as a welfare institution under a newly convened “Bezalel Association,” a conservative model that fit within Palestine’s tapestry of religious charities, while the other was free to forge new ground after the First World War as an artistic academy bursting with political zeal.²⁸³

While not exactly the earth-shattering Hebrew artworks Schatz imagined, tourism posters published by Bezalel in partnership with the Society for the Promotion of Travel in the Holy Land in this second phase of its existence (before the school closed due to bankruptcy in 1929), facilitated creating an image of Palestine as an Edenic destination and aided in the process of

²⁸¹ In 1913 an administrator from the Zionist committee in Berlin, Leo (Arje) Estermann, was sent to Jerusalem to diagnose Bezalel’s financial crisis, which he blamed on “overproduction” and the unprofitable linking of the workshops to the school. “Letter from Leo Estermann to Dr. Hantke,” February 15, 1913, Z3/1555, Central Zionist Archive, translated from German by the author.

²⁸² While Bezalel’s workshops and the fine arts school technically began simultaneously, there was little progress made in establishing fine arts instruction in the school’s early years. E. M. Lilien, a decorative painter and designer, and another painter, Julius Rothschild of Weimar, began teaching at Bezalel in 1906, but neither stayed long. In 1908, Shmuel Hirszenberg joined the painting faculty, but died several months later. In 1913, the painter Abel Pann taught classes for only a year. The gap between what was promised at Bezalel and what was available, led the painter Reuven Rubín to remark the following about the school’s status in 1912: “Although called the ‘Bezalel Art School,’ it possessed no fine arts section, and other young people who, like myself, had come to study there were forced to run to souvenir making for a living.” Manor, *Art in Zion*, 35–36; Reuven Rubín, *My Life, My Art* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1969), 55.

²⁸³ Bezalel operated during the war, until 1917, when its buildings were converted into a military hospital. Schatz was arrested and exiled to Damascus in the war’s final year and upon his return in 1918 introduced many of the reforms the Berlin board had been demanding, including separating the commercial activities of the institution from the fine arts school and placing greater emphasis on production, rather than education. The school closed in 1929, due to financial difficulties, and Schatz died in Denver, Colorado in 1932 when on a U.S. fundraising and exhibition tour to raise money for its re-opening. The Bezalel board reopened the school as the “New Bezalel School for Arts and Crafts” in 1935, directed by the eminent print-maker Josef Budko from Berlin. Fleeing Germany, Bezalel’s new faculty members were strongly influenced by Bauhaus pedagogy and they used their training in typography and the graphic arts to create strong visual materials for distribution abroad, broadcasting both the needs and the successes of the Zionist movement in Palestine. Bertz, “Trouble at the Bezalel: Conflicting Visions of Zionism and Art,” 259; Shilo-Cohen, *Bezalel*, 2.

connecting the place name of Palestine to the Jewish national project. [Fig. 2.17, 2.18] Designed by Zeev Raban, a Polish immigrant to Palestine and one of Bezalel's most prominent faculty members after joining the school in 1912, these posters employed the vocabulary of European *art nouveau/Jugendstil* while combining Jewish religious texts and important Jewish sites in Palestine with Palestine's native botanical specimens—all equally important to Schatz's "Hebrew" style. In one poster, a central palm tree draped over biblical characters and stretched across the landscape as the poster boldly commanded its viewers to "Come to Palestine." The use of the palm tree recalled its prominence within Bezalel's carpet designs (see Fig. 2.16), especially those which side-stepped the Bezalel board's appeals to copy more Oriental and Islamic patterns. Raban's other poster, "Come and see Erez Israel," introduced the term favored by Zionists for the land of Palestine, and even advertised for the school's own commodities on the poster, making explicit the association between Bezalel and Zionism. These posters reflect how Bezalel continued to contribute to the economic engine of the cultural sector in Palestine, specifically the part of the sector keeping the Zionist movement afloat, even if not through the expensive Oriental carpets the Bezalel board initially had in mind. As precursors to the well-known "Visit Palestine" poster designed by Jewish artist Franz Krausz in 1936 [Fig. 2.19]—which has since been reissued and adapted many times over to serve various political ends—Bezalel's tourism posters highlight the ways in which this institution, which sought to be both a religious charity and national art school, contributed to the cultural sector and facilitated the Zionist enterprise in Palestine.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁴ For more on the afterlife of the Krausz's "Visit Palestine" poster—including its adaptation into a symbol of Israeli-Palestinian harmony by Israeli artist David Tartakover after the first intifada in 1996, and later into an emblem of Palestinian resistance by the Palestinian artist Amer Shomali after the second intifada in 2009—see Rochelle Davis and Dan Walsh, "'Visit Palestine': A Brief Study of Palestine Posters," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 61 (Winter 2015): 42–54.

“Drawing Flowers”: Sophie Halaby, Missionary Girls Schools, and the Arab National Spirit

No other institution espoused Bezalel’s singular mission to drive arts and craft production in Palestine, for the Zionist cause or otherwise, during the years leading up to the First World War and immediately thereafter. For Arab Palestinians, however, and especially for Arab girls in Palestine, the charitable crusade was most acutely experienced through the substantial increase in educational opportunities, including a reshaping of the domestic arts curriculum to better connect the Arab students with their land. The painter Sophie Halaby received her initial scholarly and artistic experiences as a student of the Jerusalem Girls’ College (JGC) in the early 1920s. A school operated by Anglican missionaries of the Jerusalem & East Mission, the JGC was a pillar among religious charities in Palestine and, through its offerings in the domestic arts, exemplified the institutions that contributed to Palestine’s particular arts-charity landscape. Although Halaby’s professional career as an artist was not exclusively defined by her experiences as a pupil at the JGC, one particular body of her artistic work stands out as responsive to her formative education in Palestine’s late-war and early-mandate years: her paintings of wildflowers.

Flowers, and the study of botany more broadly, were the keystone connecting girls’ missionary educations to both a religious veneration of the Holy Land and a rising Arab national spirit, which included fostering an attachment to the land.²⁸⁵ Boris Schatz, the director of Bezalel, had also been keenly aware of how Palestine’s vegetation could be used to connect the school’s designs to the Jewish national movement in Palestine, establishing a department of

²⁸⁵ While botany, as a subject, appeared as a regular part of the curriculum of most missionary schools (and government, public schools as well), the specifics of studying botanical specimens mentioned in the Bible—and the ability to go outside in order to view and collect them within school hours—was rather specific to schools in the Levant.

botany shortly after setting up the school's first weaving workshop. A class in plant drawing, as shown in a photograph from 1906, required Bezalel's students to incorporate botanical specimens into their textile designs as well as into their experiments with Hebrew letter forms.

[Fig. 2.20] While the curriculum in missionary girls' schools, which connected academic subjects with the domestic arts, encouraged girls to stitch images of Palestine's native flowers onto cloth, carve them into wood, and dry and arrange them for the home, Halaby's painted versions of those same flowers suggest further ways in which the buds, leaves, and petals of Palestinian flowers entered the discourses of both politics and the visual arts. Exploring the history of botanical education in missionary schools and its resonances across Palestinian society, particularly as it intersected with an increasing nationalist impulse to connect to the land, reveals how the arts-charity landscape existed beneath the surface of Halaby's seemingly isolated wildflower still lifes.

Bursting out of their glass vases and extending to the far edges of the canvas or paper, Halaby's painted wildflowers often appear impossible to contain. In one painting, purple irises and red anemones reach desperately out of their overcrowded vase, a few drooping face-down as they succumb to the force of greedier stems reaching above and beyond them. [Fig. 2.21] In another, a single white iris stretches out of its rubicund clay pot, grasping for the canvas' upper bounds. [Fig. 2.22] A simple arrangement of pink cyclamens in a glass vase appears in Halaby's watercolor composition as a swarm of cotton-candy colored missiles, shooting in all directions. [Fig. 2.23] Halaby's recognizable technique is defined by the looseness of her brushwork, unevenly suffusing the painted surface, as set against the economy of her lines. Sketchy and swirling black ink marks, added to delineate the flowers' forms, lose their coherence upon close view.

Halaby's unique talent for illustrating flowers, which she discussed toward the end of her life, first revealed itself when she was a student at the JGC. The school's art teacher, Susanna Emery, took great pleasure in drawing *en plein air* and it was likely Emery who often shuttled the JGC girls into Palestine's hills to record their observations, and later to exhibit their works in fundraising auctions for the school.²⁸⁶ As recounted by Sophie Halaby's younger relative, Samia Halaby:

Sophie Halaby told me that as a child she studied at the British College for Girls in Jerusalem. She told me that in those days the teachers had them, for the most part, drawing flowers. Her talents then began to show and she became the best at drawing flowers.²⁸⁷

The sedulous care with which Halaby painted Palestinian wildflowers over the course of her life-long artistic career began as a response to a standard missionary school curriculum in Palestine.

The daughter of a Russian Christian Orthodox father and an Arab Christian mother, Halaby grew up as part of Jerusalem's middle class. Her attendance at the JGC, where most of her classmates hailed from prominent Arab Christian families, affirmed this status. Under the supervision of progressive English headmistress Mabel Warburton, the JGC was among the most successful secondary schools focused on the education of Arab girls in Palestine. Halaby graduated at the age of eighteen in 1925 "with credit in English, History, Geography, French, Russian, and drawing," as reported in the JGC's monthly magazine *Bible Lands*, and she sat for and passed the Oxford-Cambridge matriculation exam, excelling in the botany section in part due

²⁸⁶ Susanna Pearce Emery (1896-1986) served as "Art Mistress" at the Jerusalem Girls' College from 1919-30, after which she became the Principal of the English High School for girls in Haifa from 1932-48, where she continued to teach drawing classes. Her unpublished autobiography, containing extracts from letters she wrote to her family in England, details her routine morning practice of sketching outside around the Old City. While the autobiography contains no explicit mentions of taking her drawing classes outdoors, it is likely she took her students to sketch *en plein air* occasionally as well. Susanna Pearce Emery, "First Volume of Typed Autobiography Consisting of Extracts from the Author's Letters 1919-38, with Introductory Notes on the Beginning of the British Mandate for Palestine" (1981), GB165-0099, Box 2, Middle East Centre Archive, St. Anthony's College, Oxford.

²⁸⁷ Halaby, "Sophie Halaby, Palestinian Artist of the Twentieth Century," 88.

to her drawing capabilities.²⁸⁸ After five years working in an administrative post for the British government in Palestine from 1924 to 1929, Halaby pursued an ad hoc art education in France and Italy on two separate trips in 1929-1933 and 1949. To her friends, she reported that she studied in a few private studios and attended events at the Sorbonne, meanwhile studying human anatomy and expanding her subject matter to include landscapes and nudes.²⁸⁹ Palestine's native flowers, however, continued to captivate her, and she released streamlined versions of her watercolors as postcards or displayed the originals themselves in her sister Asia Halaby's embroidery shop (which opened in 1948) until late in her life.²⁹⁰ [Fig. 2.24] While demonstrably gifted, Halaby was just one of the many schoolgirls taught to "draw flowers" as part of their daily routine in missionary school.

Efforts to increase educational opportunities for girls, especially for those of lesser means than Halaby, were a response to European trends in social reform, as well as the growing pressure from Ottoman reformers and Arab intellectuals to give women more educational opportunities, as voiced by Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi, Namik Kemal, Qasim Amin, and Huda

²⁸⁸ Jerusalem and the East Mission Church Association, "News of the College," *Bible Lands* 7, no. 103 (January 1925): 538; Laura S. Schor, interview with the author, March 20, 2017. Schor has written a forthcoming biography on Sophie Halaby and kindly shared much of her research with me, as it pertains to Halaby's artistic career, in an interview.

²⁸⁹ Schor, interview with the author; Halaby, "Sophie Halaby, Palestinian Artist of the Twentieth Century," 89. Few of Halaby's paintings or sketches are dated and the entirety of her work was confiscated by her lawyer upon her death, and later bequeathed to a souvenir shop owner, Tahir Nousaiba. Nousaiba offered the private art collector Mazen Qpty the first option to buy from Halaby's works, of which he mostly took the oil paintings. A second collector, George al Ama, viewed the remaining works and took the bulk of the watercolors and sketches. Any works that remained thereafter were sold to other buyers and have yet to be traced. A set of anatomical sketches and nudes by Halaby in al Ama's collection include several which are dated according to her years abroad.

²⁹⁰ Sophie's sister, Asia Halaby, opened an embroidery workshop employing Palestinian women who were refugees from the 1948 *nakba*, of which I write more later. Sophie Halaby's friend, Randa Atalla, recalled in an interview with Samia Halaby that "there was a vitrine [outside the workshop] in which embroidered products were shown. There, Sophie would place some paintings and the postcards of flowers that she made." This account is consistent with that of Kamal Boullata, who wrote of the "deep impression" Halaby's works made on him and his fellow artists when they would see them "in the window of her sister Asya's workshop on Zahra Street" in the late-1950s. Halaby, "Sophie Halaby, Palestinian Artist of the Twentieth Century," 90; Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, 172.

Sharawi among others.²⁹¹ Teaching women lacework and embroidery in order to earn an income was the primary goal of women's charitable visiting societies and working parties at the turn of the century. These same goals informed the early educational programs of missionary girls' schools in Palestine in the late-Ottoman period. The daily curricula in schools such as the Anglican JGC, the American Quaker Friends Girls School, and the Jewish Evelina de Rothschild School for Girls included the domestic arts and homemaking skills alongside courses offering basic instruction in Arabic, geography, arithmetic, and foreign languages. Schools bought back the completed needlework and embroidery, allowing girls the chance to earn a small income for their families.²⁹²

However, much to the dismay of more progressive educators arriving in Palestine, the schools' workrooms were often the nucleus of activity, displacing conventional subjects. Annie Landau, headmistress of the Jewish Evelina School, described the phenomenon in an essay penned prior to beginning her tenure in 1903:

There were 250 pupils in the school. The main activities centered around the workroom where beautiful embroidery was done. I would meet girls walking down the corridor from classrooms to the workroom and in answer to my query as to where they were going they would say, "J'ai récitée," meaning that they had picked a number out of their master's tarbush which enabled them to say their piece [sic], after which their scholastic requirements for the day being ended, they were free to go to the workroom.²⁹³

²⁹¹ For a brief overview of the question of girls' education in Arab intellectual discourse, see Ela Greenberg, *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow: Education and Islam in Mandate Palestine* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 1–3; Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living, of High Endeavour and Adventure*, 41.

²⁹² The system of buying back the girls' work was a feature of the earliest missionary girls' schools in Palestine, like that of St. Mary's, established by trained British women in cooperation with the Anglican Bishop Blyth in 1888: "The Working Parties for Jewish women had been part of the institution of St. Mary. The same concept of teaching young girls and women to make lace work which was bought by the school, was used as part of the educational program, in order to give the women an opportunity to make an income." Okkenhaug, 9, 21.

²⁹³ Annie Landau, "Recollections," *Jewish Chronicle*, October 30, 1903, 21 quoted in Schor, *The Best School in Jerusalem*, 39.

Landau looked to replace an outmoded pedagogy of rote memorization with one of increased classroom engagement and to move the curriculum away from practical pursuits like embroidery. While she significantly reduced the number of school hours devoted to needlework, sewing, and embroidery, Landau added designated needlework, millinery, and embroidery workrooms for postgraduate girls (aged fifteen and older). Some of the girls did housework in the school for modest wages, and the workrooms generated important income for both the girls and the school during the war and after.²⁹⁴ Viewed in terms of its financial contributions, the domestic arts dominated female education in missionary schools.

In addition to affecting economic change among Palestine's poorer families, a domestic education increasingly became perceived among Palestinians as an integral building block in producing civic-minded women. Much like the "new Christian Woman" that English missionaries hoped to fabricate in their territories both at home and abroad since the 1870s, the "new Arab woman" in Palestine studied hygiene, housekeeping, and even politics in order to become a proper intellectual support for her husband and an educator for her children.²⁹⁵ Qasim Amin's book *al-Mar'a al-jadida* (The New Woman, 1900) emphasized his belief that women educated in these skills would, as historian Ela Greenberg summarizes, "uplift and reform the family and the nation."²⁹⁶ While administrators in almost all schools providing secondary schooling echoed the hope that a prolonged education would reduce early-age marriages among

²⁹⁴ Schor, *The Best School in Jerusalem*, 44, 62.

²⁹⁵ "In the English school system, domestic economy and general homemaking skills (including needlework) were made obligatory for girls by the early 1870s. This strategy for female education was adopted by the Protestant mission, for example in India, where the 'new Christian Woman' that the missionaries wanted to create in their institutions, was strongly oriented toward domestic roles." Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living, of High Endeavour and Adventure*, 24. Historian Ela Greenberg provides an in-depth investigation of the particular construction of the "mother" figure through girls' education and its relationship to Arab nationalist discourse in Palestine during the slightly later period of the British Mandate. See Greenberg, *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow: Education and Islam in Mandate Palestine* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010).

²⁹⁶ Greenberg, *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow*, 3.

girls (whether Jewish, Muslim, or Christian), this education was equally meant to prepare women to be active at home as wives and mothers, and in the public sphere as combatants of social and cultural degradation.

Historian Enaya Othman articulates this shift among the American Quaker missionaries at the Friends Girls School (FGS), opened in 1889 in Ramallah.²⁹⁷ Initially treating Palestinian girls as child-like, ignorant, and in need of direct help (recalling Watenpaugh's definition of symptom-minded *relief* work), the missionaries altered their strategy by the 1930s, after prolonged engagement with Palestinian society. They began approaching the girls as "guardians of household ethics" and "empowering them as reformers and teachers in society" (recalling Watenpaugh's definition of social and economic-minded *modern humanitarianism*).²⁹⁸ The concept of the "new woman" had reached American soil by the 1910s and the teachers arriving at the FGS around the war years, many of whom were middle-class and college-educated, believed that they could prepare Palestinian women for jobs like teaching and nursing in addition to teaching skills that undergirded "women's basic roles as good mothers and wives."²⁹⁹ Subjects such as science, mathematics, hygiene, history and geography, botany, physical education, and drawing bolstered the more skeletal curricula of the preceding years, with an emphasis on preparing women for the possibility of higher education and, at the least, the ability to create "a virtuous and intellectually stimulating environment" at home.³⁰⁰ As modern curricula in missionary schools intersected with *nahda* discourse encouraging young girls to prepare for their

²⁹⁷ Prior to the First World War the Friends Girls School was known as the Girls Training Home.

²⁹⁸ Enaya Othman, *Negotiating Palestinian Womanhood: Encounters Between Palestinian Women and American Missionaries, 1880s-1940s* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016), 149.

²⁹⁹ Enaya Othman, "Meeting at Middle Ground: American Quaker Women's Two Palestinian Encounters," *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 50 (2012): 54.

³⁰⁰ Othman, *Negotiating Palestinian Womanhood*, 150.

national role as fit mothers of a new generation (advocated for by several Arab women writers, such as Hind Nawfal, Rose Haddad, and Labiba Hashim), the domestic arts were thus elevated to a level of import far beyond that of mere manual labor or financial support.³⁰¹

One subject that became notably responsible for uniting the girls' training for "home life" and "national life" was botany. A subset of the girls' scientific education, botany not only included classroom time devoted to identifying and learning about the lifecycles of Palestine's flora, but also incorporated trips outside the school's confines for students to view the flowers blossoming around them. "Once a week we would go to the valley," reminisced former FGS student Widad Kawar,

It was during the time of the anemones, and the tulips, and cyclamens. And we would compete in who picked the most. We would bring them back and arrange them nicely in our classrooms on the windowsill. The teachers would teach us the significance of the flowers in the Bible in our religion class.³⁰²

Palestine's native plants, as Kawar recalls, not only delighted the students, but resonated with the religious indoctrination of their teachers.

The study of botanical specimens referenced in the Bible, a discipline I term "biblical botany," was common practice not only among Palestine's long-term missionaries—the German Lutheran pastor and theologian Gustaf Dalman gathered the first botanical specimen collection in Jerusalem for the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology between 1902 and 1914—but also among visitors to Palestine with scientific interests. Popular books, such as Henry Baker Tristram's *The Fauna and Flora of Palestine* (1884) and William Maclure Thompson's *The Land and the Bible* (1859), featured precise illustrations of Palestine's flora and fauna, and through

³⁰¹ Ibid., 166-67. For a critical history of the rise of the "new" woman in Palestine, specifically, see Ellen Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its "New" Women: The Palestinian Women's Movement, 1920-1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Greenberg, *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow*.

³⁰² Widad Kawar, interview with the author, July 8, 2018.

successive reprints flooded the market and became known “to virtually all evangelical tourists.”³⁰³ Collecting one’s own set of biblical flowers while in Palestine, or buying souvenir books of pressed flowers with captions naming the biblical sites from whence they came, such as those produced by the American Colony, remained in fashion for religious tourists through the first half of the twentieth century.³⁰⁴ [Fig. 2.25] Women especially took to the activity, beyond pressing floral souvenirs between the pages of a Bible or guide-book, and some initiated their own scholarly works, such as Hanna Zeller’s *Feldblumen aus dem Heiligen Land* (Wild Flowers of the Holy Land, 1875)—illustrated with her own color-printed drawings and translated into French and English almost immediately upon its release—and Augusta Temple’s photo-illustrated *Flowers and Trees of Palestine* (1907).³⁰⁵

When incorporated into the education of Palestinian girls in missionary schools, as when Bezalel included botanical studies, the observing, pressing, drawing, and collecting of

³⁰³ Melman, *Women’s Orients*, 211. What remained of Dalman’s collections of botanical specimens, glass slides, carved wood, ceramics, archaeological findings, relief maps, and clothes after the First World War are now housed at Universität Greifswald in northern Germany. For more on the collections, see <http://wissenschaftliche-sammlungen.uni-greifswald.de/Collection/DE-MUS-035229>.

³⁰⁴ As yet another indication of the popularity of images of wildflowers, the ACPD photographed a series of approximately 125 wildflowers to make available for sale as glass slides, prints, and postcards prior to the First World War. John Dinsmore, head of the American Colony’s school, completed a revised edition of George E. Post’s 1896 *Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai* in 1932, and before that time, wrote a small booklet entitled, *Some of the Most Important Plants of Palestine with their English and Arabic Names*, which was published by the English College (printed by the London Jews Society’s Printing Press in the House of Industry) in 1923, when he was simultaneously teaching botany at the College. A photocopy of the booklet is held in the American Colony Archive Collection, Jerusalem. For wildflower photographs, search the Library of Congress’ online collection: “Matson (G. Eric and Edith) Photograph Collection,” 1898-1946, [//www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/matpc/](http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/matpc/).

³⁰⁵ Temple composed her book after only a few months’ visit to Palestine in spring 1904 and intended it to be a “portable handbook” for future travelers and “students of the Bible.” Zeller (1838-1922), on the other hand, spent the entirety of her life in Palestine as the daughter of the Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem (Samuel Gobat) and later as the wife of John Zeller, a missionary in Nazareth who later became head of the Gobat school in Jerusalem. As Henry Baker Tristram (author of *The Fauna and Flora of Palestine*, 1884) wrote in his preface to the first English-language edition of her book in 1876, Zeller’s drawings were not only coveted for their accuracy but for “the fact that they represent to us the very flowers on which our Lord’s eye must so often have rested.” Hannah (Gobat) Zeller, *Feldblumen aus dem Heiligen Land* (Basel: Spittler, 1875); Henry Baker Tristram quoted from Hannah (Gobat) Zeller, *Wild Flowers of the Holy Land* (London: James Nisbet, 1876), vi; Augusta Anna Temple, *Flowers and Trees of Palestine* (Elliot Stock: London, 1907), vii.

wildflowers took on several socio-political valences, which changed during the years of the mandate. Othman describes these shifts in her close study of the FGS in Ramallah. At first, the girls learned to collect and arrange flowers as a step toward creating a pleasant home environment, a byproduct of offering a complete education in the domestic arts, furthering the concept of the “new woman” and reflecting the missionaries’ scriptural interest in the land. So successful was the school’s connection between Palestine’s flora and the education of young girls into sophisticated women that some girls even described themselves as flowers, cultivated by and flourishing in their school environment, as in this poem by the student Tafida Tarazi:

I swear my dear school
You awakened the best scent of my spirit
Taught me to manage my dwelling
And beautify myself with high qualities
The beating of my heart is from the tenderness of yours
Its softness like the elasticity of a breeze
As a youngster a seedling of virtue you planted
And today I am blossoming, and here are my flowers
Knowledge, virtues, house keeping
All are the only lady’s life armament.³⁰⁶

Girls were encouraged to develop an interest in Palestinian flowers as an index of their cultural growth for a modern era.

After the war, during the period of the British Mandate, the government encouraged outdoor activities, like wildflower picking, specifically among Arabs to further the bond they had with the land and encourage them to “remain in agricultural communities which served the best interest of the Empire.”³⁰⁷ In her memory, Kawar referred to the friendly competition among schoolgirls to collect the most flowers during an outing; by the early 1920s, however, the

³⁰⁶ Tafida Tarazi, “*Hayātī wa al-fār ‘al manzeli*” [“My Life and Home Economics”] (1931), translated from Arabic by Enaya Othman and quoted in Othman, *Negotiating Palestinian Womanhood*, 150.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 151.

government's Department of Education (along with the Jerusalem Horticultural Society) organized and sponsored official country wide wildflower collecting competitions held in the Citadel. In the 1938 wildflower competition, the FGS competed with an entry of 157 specimens, only ten of which they were unable to identify.³⁰⁸ These wildflower competitions furthered the British government's social and political prerogatives to delimit Arab Palestinians as an agrarian society, even as the girls and the missionary school's themselves envisioned more urbane and cosmopolitan futures.

The political resonance of wildflower picking pivoted once more as the Arab national movement gained momentum throughout the years of the mandate and as Arab women, many of whom matriculated from Palestine's missionary schools, became teachers in the schools themselves.³⁰⁹ Educating students and their fellow non-Palestinian colleagues alike, these teachers would have been acutely aware of how flower gardens and the land were used as metaphors in Arab nationalist literature for encouraging the resistance against colonization and foreign penetration.³¹⁰ Supported by a shift in the school's management, including the

³⁰⁸ FGS alumna, Henriette Siksik described the impact the school's wildflower picking excursions and the wildflower competitions made on her own attachments to the land: "Both of these educational institutions, the Friends School and the Teacher Training College, were partly responsible for my interest in wild flowers. In Beirut we used to take the train up the hills, then after a few stops get down and gather flowers. In Ramallah we used to walk down the wadies (valleys) and pick flowers for the wild flower contests held at Jerusalem's citadel in which we were winners for many a year. Until now the wild aroma of those flowers comes back to me, even though I am now 89 plus years of age." "Henrietta Siksik Autobiographical Account," *Four Homes of Mercy*, accessed September 15, 2018, <http://www.fourhomesofmercy.com/henrietta-cont.html>; Othman, *Negotiating Palestinian Womanhood*, 152.

³⁰⁹ Historian Ela Greenberg's meticulous "prosopographic" study (a collection of descriptions of a person's social and family connections) of over 200 employment files of Arab women who worked as teachers in Palestine between 1920 and 1948 reveals how their elevated status ("notables" of a meritocratic kind) allowed them to play an integral role in the nationalist struggle in Palestine, specifically through Arab women's solidarity associations. Ela Greenberg, "Between Hardships and Respect: A Collective Biography of Arab Women Teachers in British-ruled Palestine," *Hawwa* 6, no. 3 (2008): 284–314.

³¹⁰ Following the Balfour Declaration in 1917, "there were a number of poems voicing fear and deep concern about Palestine because of the Zionist threat to it." In broaching the subject, poets adopted both direct and indirect approaches, as literary scholar Khalid A. Sulaiman argues. The poems addressing the Zionist threat obliquely did so using metaphors featuring flora and fauna, such as Ibrahim Tuqan's *al-Habashi al-Dhabih* (The Slain Turkey, 1931), Fadwa Tuqan's *al-Rawd al-Mustabah* (The Confiscated Garden, 1947) and *Warda fi Kaff Zalim* (A Rose in the Hand of an Oppressor, 1947) by an anonymous Iraqi poet, wherein the poet poses the rhetorical question: "Do

appointment of Palestinian nationalist Khalil Totah to the post of principal of the Friends Boys' School in 1927, FGS teachers introduced Arab literature and history into the curriculum and discussed current events regularly.³¹¹ Forming a bond with the land by collecting wildflowers reinforced the notion of the outdoors as a national space for Arab society, connecting what was once a domestic activity to the political sphere.

The attachment to the land and to nature manifested beyond school hours in a popular leisure-time activity of *shatha* (pl. *shathat*), or an “outing,” wherein groups of friends and families would walk, picnic, and collect flowers while enjoying the fresh air of Palestine’s hills. When the sunny days of late-winter and spring coaxed the flowers out of the ground, both men and women roamed outside the urbane and cramped cities to pick wildflowers to bring home. A selection of early-twentieth century photographs in the collection of Mona Hajjar Halaby demonstrates the prevalence of Palestinian families enjoying *shathat* during the pre- and post-war years.³¹² [Fig. 2.26-2.28] The people in the photographs show off Palestine’s natural bounty and their place within it, cradling great bushels of anemones, tulips, cyclamens, daisies, and thistles, or posing among the tall grasses of the hills. Documenting the outing appeared to be an integral part of the *shatha* itself, as the many photographs evince. While far from an explicitly

people know who this rose is meant to be? It is Palestine, the suffering country, which the oppressors have devastated.” Khalid A. Sulaiman, *Palestine and Modern Arab Poetry* (London: Zed Books, 1984), 208.

³¹¹ Khalil Totah (1886-1955) was born in Ramallah and received his M.A. and Ph.D. from Columbia University’s Teachers College in 1917 and 1926 respectively. He served as principal of the Men’s Education Training College (MTC), later known as the *Kuliyyah al- ‘Arabiyya*, or Government Arab College in Jerusalem from 1919-25 and as both a teacher and principal of the Ramallah Friends Boys School (FBS) from 1927-44. Quaker missionaries began hiring Palestinian Christian nationals, like Totah, to negotiate a middle ground between the missionaries and the local community as part of a broad strategy of missionary “cooperation.” Totah’s political stance came through his role as an educator. He believed in the critical role of education for the liberation and development of Palestine and therefore, was also a staunch supporter of girls’ education and women’s professional development. Othman, “Meeting at Middle Ground: American Quaker Women’s Two Palestinian Encounters,” 59; Thomas M. Ricks, “Khalil Totah: The Unknown Years,” *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 34 (2008): 52.

³¹² Halaby, “The Proverbial Shatha in Early Twentieth-Century Jerusalem,” 71.

political act, the enjoyment and occupation of Palestine's land, beyond its urban hubs, encouraged a modern attachment to the land for middle-class Palestinians who had lost the relationship that their agrarian ancestors once had.

As a part of this trend, and perhaps in part a response to the contemporary popular interest in Palestine's plant-life, the respected doctor and ethnographer Tawfiq Canaan investigated the practices and attachments rural Palestinians had to the land in an article he wrote on "Plant-lore in Palestinian Superstition" for the *Journal of the Palestinian Oriental Society* in 1928. Rather than describe the healing properties of plants, as his medical background would have prompted him to do, Canaan investigated agricultural lore among rural Palestinians, providing a history and elucidation of the Palestinian attachment to the land for the local and international audience of the journal.³¹³ Canaan did not only study and describe the daily activities and rituals performed around the time of planting and harvesting. He also collected colloquial aphorisms that described the supposed influence that certain natural foods exercised on the human body (ex. "*Akl edj-djoz briabbi il-makarem fidj-djoz* - Eating of nuts brings up the husband to virtues [=strengthens his sexual powers]"), as well as those that used plants to interpret human characteristics and relationships ("*hubb el-hama lal-kinneh mitl el-maiy 'al-makkuk*, the love of the mother-in-law to her daughter-in-law is as repugnant as drinking water on green carob fruits").³¹⁴ Canaan regretted how many of the old agricultural customs were falling out of use by the late-1920s, but reiterated the purportedly pure and persistent attachments rural Palestinians had to their land in an era of colonial insurgence: "The joyous songs and exuberant health are ample proof of the happiness of the people in this simple life."³¹⁵ The Palestinians experiencing

³¹³ Tawfiq Canaan, "Plant-Lore in Palestinian Superstition [1928]," *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 24 (2005): 57.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 61.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 58.

the land in the *shatha* photographs seem quite unlike the rural Palestinians near Beit Jala whom Canaan observed. However, the joyousness Canaan described is reflected in the faces of the urban *shatha* explorers, partaking in a new cultural practice intended to facilitate their communion with the land.³¹⁶

Building off of her days picking and drawing flowers as a JGC student, Halaby continued to collect and bring Palestine's native specimens indoors as an integral part of her artistic practice. Whether cut from her ample backyard garden or picked from the field, the flowers that Halaby packed into vases signified more than a personal predilection.³¹⁷ In her painting of yet another bouquet of deep purple or black irises in a transparent vase, an unusual addition of several books leaning against the vase's framing walls stands out. [Fig. 2.29] One book's spine, clearly visible and carefully lettered by Halaby, reads "Nisi Dominus," the title of a historical survey of the Palestine problem written in 1946 by Neville Barbour. Barbour (1895-1973) was a British correspondent who had lived in the Middle East for thirteen years in the 1920s and 30s, six of which were spent in Palestine during the mandate.³¹⁸ By the end of his tenure in Palestine, Barbour resolved that British and Zionist actions in Palestine constituted "a grave injustice to the Arab population of Palestine, which is absolutely innocent of any responsibility for the situation brought about by the action of Jewish and English Zionists," and his book gained notoriety as an anti-Zionist work in support of the Palestinian cause.³¹⁹ In Halaby's watercolor, Barbour's book

³¹⁶ For an in-depth discussion on the ways in which early Zionist settlers also facilitated their communion with the land through images, and in particular through photographs, see Rona Sela, *Zionist Photography in Palestine and Israel 1933-1973, A Nationalization of the Visual: From the Image of the 'New Jew' in the 'New Land' to Victory Albums* (Ph.D. diss., University of Essex, 2005).

³¹⁷ Both Kamal Boullata and Samia Halaby, writing on Sophie Halaby's artistic process, describe Jerusalem's hills and her well-tended garden as fonts of inspiration. Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, 167; Halaby, "Sophie Halaby, Palestinian Artist of the Twentieth Century," 91.

³¹⁸ "Obituary: Appreciation: Nevill Barbour," *Asian Affairs* 4, no. 1 (1973): 86-87.

³¹⁹ Nevill Barbour, *Nisi Dominus: A Survey of the Palestine Controversy* (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1969), 7. The original publication of Barbour's book was in 1946 by George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd. in London. The

balances the weight of the velvet-petaled irises with their lance-shaped leaves. One of Palestine's most conspicuous native flowers—featured in every guide describing biblical flowers, drawn by girls in missionary schools, collected by Arab families as an outdoor leisure activity (and today explicitly politicized as both the Jordanian and Palestinian “national flower”)—the iris is here put into dialogue with anti-Zionist literature with such simple and unassuming ease that the painting's historical, and potentially political, implications are easily missed.

When viewed in concert with another of Halaby's wildflower paintings, however, questions of history and politics become harder to ignore. In this canvas, Halaby portrays a sweeping view of Jerusalem's Old City from the neighboring hill of Mount Scopus. [Fig. 2.30] Aligned toward the center of the scene, the Dome of the Rock's golden cap appears like a polished acorn atop a pedestal as other domes, minarets, and cypress trees fade into the distance behind it. A wall surrounds the city, its stone crenellations noted aperiodically by dots of black paint, and the muted blue-green gulf beyond it gestures toward the steep valleys that exist beyond the high, holy city. Closest to the viewer in the foreground, two clusters of blood-red anemones stand erect. Anemones, mostly being of the red or white varieties when found in Palestine, are yet another member of the cornucopia of wildflowers referred to as “lilies of the valley” in the Bible (alongside irises and daffodils). The two sets of anemone blossoms in Halaby's painting are firmly planted in the ground, but sprout up from the hillside like sentinels—their sizable

book's second reprint by the Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut 1969, points to book's importance within the field of Palestinian studies as it developed in the wake of the rise of the Palestinian Liberation Organization after 1964. The title, *Nisi Dominus*, is taken from the opening words of the Latin version of Psalm 127, the English of which reads: “Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it : except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain. It is vain for you that ye rise up early, and so late take rest, and eat the bread of toil: for so he giveth unto his beloved in sleep.” As Barbour noted, he chose this particular title because, “according to Ernest Renan, this Psalm was originally composed with reference to the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem at the time of King Cyrus,” making a deliberate analogy between the ancient Persian king's proclamation of the Jewish right to rebuild the Temple with the proclamations within the contentious Balfour Declaration. During my interview with Widad Kiwar, who knew Barbour's wife (Violet) after his death, she confirmed that Barbour maintained anti-Israel views until his passing.

presence almost matching the revered religious monuments beyond. Their soldier-like presence perhaps alluded to the British soldiers in Palestine during the mandate, who were nicknamed by Hebrew speakers using the word for anemones, *kalaniyot*, owing to the red color of their military hats.³²⁰ The ubiquitous flower's name in Arabic, however, referred to as *hannoun* (passionate) in the north of Palestine and *shakiq* (brother) in the south, purportedly derives from the story of Adonis in Greek mythology, whose blood nourished the land and produced the red flower. As summarized by Nasser Abufarha, anthropologist and scholar of contemporary Palestinian martyrdom, "The flower came to be associated with renewal, resurrection, and life."³²¹ Unlike in her other wildflower still lifes, where the flowers have been cut and transported into domestic space, the red anemones in this painting remain rooted in the ground in parallel with the city and its walls across the valley. Halaby paints the canonical botanical and urban/architectural symbols of Palestinian life as both entrenched and harmonious within the soil, perhaps a quiet yet firm reference to the deep-seated existence of Palestinians in a time of reckoning.³²²

Pairing a native Palestinian specimen with a human-made work, like Barbour's *Nisi Dominus* or the early Islamic monument of the Dome of the Rock, appears again as a feature in a third watercolor painting by Halaby. A compositionally similar work includes a robust, ancient olive tree—another pillar of Palestine's ecosystem—in the foreground of a representation of the Old City wall. The tree appears as if gazing up toward the sand-colored barrier, putting it in

³²⁰ I am grateful to Abigail Jacobson for pointing out this important correlation.

³²¹ Nasser Abufarha, "Land of Symbols: Cactus, Poppies, Orange and Olive Trees in Palestine," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 15, no. 3 (2008): 360.

³²² Halaby rarely dated her paintings or sketches. It is possible she painted the scene in the late-1960s or early-1970s, when the red anemone became the symbol of the martyr's sacrifice and an icon of the Palestinian resistance, but this is as yet unconfirmed. The anemone frequently appears as a symbol in Palestinian literature, such as in Mahmoud Darwish's poem "The Lover Bled Anemone" and in another poem, "We Will Choose Sophocles," where he describes Arab and Palestinian cities of resistance as "gushing" with anemones. See Salma Khadra Jayyusi, ed., *Anthology of Modern Palestinian Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 47; Mahmoud Darwish, *If I Were Another*, trans. Fady Joudah (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009).

conversation with the architecturally and historically significant enclosure. [Fig. 2.31] In the lower right-hand corner, Halaby titled the painting *The Golden Gate from the Gethsamanie Garden*, across from which she signed her name and identified the location as “Jerusalem, Palestine.” Based on the sparse landscape around the Old City wall and the few headstones in the cemetery on the hillside, Samia Halaby hypothesizes an early date for this particular watercolor, in the late-1930s or early 1940s. If so, it could have easily been read as a veiled political statement by those who saw the work, as the spirit of Palestinian nationalism asserted itself most profoundly during the Arab Revolts of 1936-39.³²³ Halaby’s rendering of the olive tree in the foreground, with its thick, knotted trunk and bushy leaves occluding the city wall, and perhaps even serving to protect it, reinforces the notion of the tree as a symbol of the character and resilience of Palestine’s natural features—features which Halaby seemed to view as being equally significant to its historical monuments. Whether created prior to or after the declaration of the Israeli state in 1948, the scene she declares is decidedly one of Palestine. In each of the three paintings of irises, anemones, and the olive tree, Halaby produces a visual dialogue between the natural and the man-made. Together, this body of work coheres into a view of an artist working with Palestine’s native botanical life—a skill first learned as a student in a religious missionary school—as a way to comment on Palestine’s ever-changing and troubling political life, painting the botanical specimens into the same space as the urban and architectural symbols of the Palestinian national movement.

Remembered by those who knew her as outspoken, and often acerbic and critical of the British Mandate when among friends, Halaby never joined a political association or united with

³²³ Halaby, “Sophie Halaby, Palestinian Artist of the Twentieth Century,” 93.

other Arab women and men in public protest.³²⁴ However, as her recent biographer Laura Schor uncovered, she did contribute eight political cartoons to the economic magazine *Palestine and TransJordan Weekly* in 1936 and 1937.³²⁵ Pointedly criticizing the incompatible “dual mandate” of the British government in Palestine, the Zionist’s underestimation of “Islamic anger,” and the harrowing economic pressures of increased Jewish immigration, Halaby’s expressly political cartoons bear no resemblance to her bold and colorful paintings of wildflowers.³²⁶ [Fig. 2.32-2.34] In content and intended audience, too, they clearly differ. Yet, by seeing Halaby’s wildflowers as emerging from an arts-charity landscape that developed around the First World War in Palestine, an environment which enabled religious charity, women’s education, botany, and national politics to inform one another, the gulf between these two bodies of work begins to shrink. Wildflowers thus begin to impart histories of art in Palestine more complex than the story of a woman’s affinity for her garden and the hills which surrounded her.

³²⁴ Sophie’s reputed nationalism is anecdotal, from her friends’ memories of the way she spoke or actions she took (including harboring Jordanian soldiers during the war of 1967), as there is no documentation of her official membership in a political association. Schor, interview with the author; Halaby, “Sophie Halaby, Palestinian Artist of the Twentieth Century,” 86–88.

³²⁵ The *Palestine and TransJordan Weekly* was a weekly review of political, economic, legal and social affairs in Palestine, Transjordan, and other parts of the Arab world. The journal appeared in English and was edited by Fuad Saba (1902-1984), who also founded the journal’s printing house the Arab Publications Co. Ltd. Saba was an accountant, a leading Christian member of the Palestine Arab Party, and member of the Arab Higher Committee negotiating for Palestinian national rights against the British. An explicit political outlet during the Arab Revolts, the journal featured anti-Zionist articles and several anti-Semitic cartoons, leading the British government to interrupt publication three times before it was shut down at the end of 1937. After the *nakba*, Saba moved to Beirut. “Fuad Saba,” in Mahdī ‘Abd al-Hādī, *Palestinian Personalities: A Biographic Dictionary* (Jerusalem: Passia, 2006), online at <https://www.paljourneys.org/en/biography/9866/fuad-saba>.

³²⁶ Halaby’s cartoons appeared in the following issues of *Palestine and TransJordan Weekly* in 1936: August 29, September 19, October 10, October 17, November 7, November 14, November 21, and on March 6, 1937. Laura S. Schor’s discovery of these cartoons prove Halaby exercised a political voice at the start of the 1936-39 Arab Revolts. While they have no direct bearing on her other artistic works, the cartoons give a sense of Halaby’s socio-political stance in Palestine during the Mandate. I am indebted to Laura Schor for sharing her findings in advance of her forthcoming biography on Halaby. Schor, interview with the author.

Conclusion: Charity or Parasitism?

Once the British military came to occupy Palestine at the end of the Great War, they began to assess the institutions of the arts-charity landscape that this chapter examines. These descriptions are worth exploring, as they identify the changes to come in Palestine's landscape for art production within the new bureaucratic structuring of Palestine under British control (the focus of the following chapter). While institutions like the Jerusalem Girls College, the Evelina School, and Bezalel continued to pursue artisanal craft instruction alongside politics, they would now intersect with new programs for technical and artisanal craft education oriented toward the British government's needs of generating financial resources for their new mandate territory and producing political stability among the progressively hostile Arab and Jewish communities.

After the British military took Palestine on December 9, 1917, Jerusalem's inaugural military governor, Ronald Storrs, appointed the British arts and crafts enthusiast Charles Robert Ashbee to take charge of assessing and restoring the city's artistic, architectural, and urban fabric.³²⁷ Ashbee reflected on the impact of religious organizations' unfettered access to the holy city, both during the fat years of ample tourism and Ottoman lenience, and during the lean years of war. "Jerusalem is an artificial city, and in a sense parasitic," Ashbee began in his "Report on the Arts and Crafts of Jerusalem and District."³²⁸ Many pages later, he elucidated his meaning in architectural terms:

Coming into the City from the old pilgrim route, Mons Gaudi, we notice how the ancient Jerusalem is all but obliterated; we see the once golden dome no longer, we see a bastard Florence, a bastard Nuremberg, a bastard Moscow, an imitation Lourdes, a Bavarian suburb and an imitation Oxford. [...] And what do we see when

³²⁷ For a comprehensive account of the life of C. R. Ashbee (1863-1942) and his involvement in the British Arts and Crafts movement, see Alan Crawford, *C. R. Ashbee: Architect, Designer & Romantic Socialist* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985).

³²⁸ Ashbee, "Report by Mr. C. R. Ashbee on the Arts and Crafts of Jerusalem and District," 2.

we look out from Jerusalem? Found about the City circuit within or without the walls we note an arrogant assertion of the various national Gods.³²⁹

Ashbee framed the *mélange* of charity initiatives in Palestine, each connected to a particular religio-national order, as having visibly devoured the city itself.³³⁰ The rampant parasitism in Jerusalem, he believed, was not merely a reflection of the people who had been “pauperised” by the war and forced to rely on the charity of religious missionaries.³³¹ The religious organizations, too, were parasites, feasting on the spiritual capital of Jerusalem, which he observed would “always be a City of relics and draw revenue from the rest of the world.”³³² In other words, religion was an industry in Palestine and it created a unique culture of parasitism between the people, the land, and the religious missions, which reached an apex in the first decades of the twentieth century. While Ashbee’s vitriolic attacks on the religious missions and charities served particular political ends, he understood that a charitable crusade had swept through Palestine long before the British military stepped foot in Palestine as its supposed redeemer and harbinger of a new Christian Crusade.

As charity, rather than tourism, became the dominant infrastructure through which the arts and crafts persisted in the years around the First World War, so too the landscape for art production in Palestine changed from an art market to a cultural sector. Whereas the structures of the art market brought together local and foreign practitioners for artistic exchange across denominational boundaries, the scaffolding of the cultural sector factionalized religious and

³²⁹ Ibid., 44.

³³⁰ The Russian Orthodox compound built just outside the old city’s walls (1860-1903) and the Church of the Redeemer in the Christian quarter of the Old City (financed and erected by the German Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1898, which Ashbee called a “triumph of commercialism”) were two of the most recent, prominent examples Ashbee identifies as having veered from the stone walls and curved archways of the medieval city. Ibid., 44–48.

³³¹ Ibid., 3.

³³² Ibid., 2.

ethnic communities and inserted a political dimension into both local and international financial support for the arts in Palestine. This change also transformed the relationship between art made in Palestine and its patrons. No longer solely intended as products made *of* or *from* the holy landscape—souvenirs valued for their sacred connection to their place and materials of production—artisanal crafts were now increasingly intended as products *for* the Holy Land—for sustaining the people and places within it.

Promotional photographs taken for the American Colony's School of Handicrafts made this association plain. In one, a young mother sits cross-legged in a window sill, with an alert baby resting on her lap and a small spool of thread in front of her. [Fig. 2.35] The photograph's focus on the mother's absent-minded gaze, her new baby, and her nervous grasp of a piece of thread promotes interest in the life of the woman, rather than in her craft. In another photograph of six women attending dutifully to their lacework while working outside, a recognizable view of the Mount of Olives behind them creates a visual analogy linking support of the girls' lacework to the support of the Holy Land itself. [Fig. 2.36] While described as both beautiful and traditional, artisanal crafts from Palestine were promoted less for their aesthetic or spiritual virtues and more for their functional ones. Through them, communities in Palestine could become more self-sufficient and less reliant on imports. At the same time, non-local buyers would be able to support Palestine and people in Palestine financially through the purchase of arts and crafts. Craft fairs in Europe and America selling products made by the Jewish girls of the Evelina School, the purpose-built storefront for the LJS' House of Industry to promote the wares of their students, and the grand experiment of the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts to design products capable of financing a Jewish resurgence in Palestine, together formed a trend stimulating international charitable engagement with Palestine's population through the arts and

crafts. As expressly seen in the case of Bezalel, such engagement also carried strong political potential.

Contributing to the arts and crafts for the sake of the welfare of Palestine's residents became a type of cultural humanitarianism unique to Palestine, especially as it extended to the British concern for the welfare of the Holy Land after the war. The Pro-Jerusalem Society, founded in 1918 by Governor Storrs and directed by Ashbee, was the first cultural organization established during British rule in Palestine, which aimed to be the "creative" and "pacific" arm of the British military government.³³³ The Pro-Jerusalem Society maintained its efforts through matching grants with private contributors and promised its international supporters that it would advance the welfare of Jerusalem's inhabitants through a dual focus on architectural preservation and the establishment of art galleries and cultural centers.³³⁴ Justifying their mission as a necessity to redeem and vivify the Holy City after centuries of "negligent" Ottoman care, the Pro-Jerusalem Society attached charitable benevolence and religious righteousness to the British military operation through its calls for culture. In existence for only four years, the Pro-Jerusalem

³³³ C. R. Ashbee, "Pro-Jerusalem," *The American Magazine of Art* 12, no. 3 (1921): 99. The Pro-Jerusalem Society's mission of "the preservation and the advancement of the interests of Jerusalem, its district and inhabitants," were detailed in the seven points of the society's official charter. They included: "1. The protection of and the addition to the amenities of Jerusalem and its district. 2. The provision and maintenance of parks, gardens, and open spaces in Jerusalem and its district. 3. The establishment in the district of Jerusalem of Museums, Libraries, Art Galleries, Exhibitions, Musical and Dramatic Centres, or other institutions of a similar nature for the benefit of the Public. 4. The protection and preservation, with the consent of the Government, of the Antiquities in the district of Jerusalem. 5. The encouragement in the district of Jerusalem of arts, handicrafts, and industries in consonance with the general objects of the Society. 6. The administration of any immovable property in the district of Jerusalem which is acquired by the Society or entrusted to it by any person or corporation with a view to securing the improvement of the property and the welfare of its tenants or occupants. 7. To co-operate with the Department of Education, Agriculture, Public Health, Public Works, so far as may be in harmony with the general objects of the Society." C. R. Ashbee, ed., *Jerusalem, 1918-1922; Being the Records of the Pro-Jerusalem Council during the Period of the British Military Administration* (London: J. Murray, Published for the Council of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, 1921), vii.

³³⁴ While the term "matching grant," like "cultural sector," was not in use until several decades later with the rise of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) after the First World War and the specialized agency UNESCO, Ashbee described the Society's finance as such: "The Administration gives to the Society pound for pound of what it receives in subscriptions and donations...so that the income, exclusive of special grants for education or fresh subscriptions and donations, will for the current year be double that sum." Ashbee, *Jerusalem, 1918-1922*, 246.

Society's bombastic claims and quick results contrasted greatly with the longer-term changes the mandate government attempted to make to arts and crafts education in government schools in the 1920s and 30s, as will be discussed in the following chapter.³³⁵

The arts-charity landscape, described in this chapter as it took shape between 1908 and the early 1920s, did not, however, cease to exist with the arrival of the British in 1917 or even with the establishment of Israel in 1948. The types of charities and the populations in need shifted with the changes in Palestine's political structure, but the encouragement of the arts and crafts as a practical welfare initiative largely remained in play. One such welfare initiative, which focused on the creation of Palestinian textiles, was opened on Jerusalem's Zahra Street in the East part of Jerusalem by Sophie Halaby's sister, Asia Halaby, directly after the *nakba*. Consisting of a basement level workroom and a street-level store, the facility allowed poor Arab women and girls (from the age of fourteen and higher) to learn *tatreez* and practice creating in-demand patterns in the workroom below, while Asia sold their products in the store above. A recovered swath of sample patterns from Asia Halaby's workshop shows the various designs the women were taught. [Fig. 2.37] The sample shows recognizable, traditional *tatreez* patterns, such as "cypress trees," "pasha's tent," "feathers," and "cauliflower."³³⁶ The more ornate trees in the second row and the swirling, neo-Grecian forms on the bottom row suggest the infiltration of foreign patterns. Once a week, as recalled by the artist and art historian Kamal Boullata, Sophie Halaby would exhibit a single painting in the street-level window of Asia's shop. Surrounded by

³³⁵ As regards the arts and crafts, the Pro-Jerusalem Society most notably hosted three temporary painting exhibitions inside the Citadel of the Old City from 1921-22, took over the management of the Jerusalem Looms workshop from the American Red Cross, and initiated the Dome of the Rock Potteries workshop, which was operated by trained Armenian tile-workers (refugees from Kütahya) who trained locals to restore the tiles on the Dome of the Rock.

³³⁶ Kawar, interview with the author; Margarita Skinner and Widad Kawar, *Palestinian Embroidery Motifs: A Treasury of Stitches, 1850-1950* (London: Rimal, 2014).

the women's *tatreez* works, often representing Palestine's botanical specimens, Sophie Halaby's paintings of wildflowers and landscapes resonated anew as they joined with the work of poorer women, most of whom were refugees from villages destroyed by Zionist militia in the events leading to the *nakba* and Israel's subsequent declaration of independence. The arts-charity landscape represented by Asia Halaby's store window, in a place now known as "occupied Jerusalem," differed greatly from the one which was established during the collapse of Ottoman rule. It was a world apart from the Anglican missionary school where Sophie Halaby had once learned to draw flowers and in a political order far away from the one in which her passion for drawing began, but still Asia Halaby's charity operated with a clear belief in the positive relationship between artistic production and social welfare.

Charity, or "parasitism," as Ashbee put it more unkindly, was as responsible for contributing to the educational, social, and economical health of Palestine in its moments of political instability as it was for affecting developments in the content, materials, and techniques of much artistic and architectural work. Like the red tiles from Marseilles covering the roofs of new Zionist buildings, imported from Europe with the help of Jewish charities (an architectural material which Ashbee abhorred), many craft techniques, such as intaglio and mother-of-pearl engraving either got their start or increased in popularity through their advancement in workshops directed by religious charities and missions—a feature of Palestine's art scene so apparent that Ashbee could not help but devote an entire section of his inaugural report on the arts and crafts to this phenomenon.³³⁷ That the influence of charity and the curricula of a missionary education can also be seen in some of Halaby's painterly work indicates the influence

³³⁷ Part III of Ashbee's report was titled "Schools and Religious Organizations where the crafts are taught or practiced," Ashbee, "Report by Mr. C. R. Ashbee on the Arts and Crafts of Jerusalem and District," 49–57.

of the effects of charity not only on the domestic crafts, but also on the formation of modern Palestinian artists. Teaching a young student to observe and draw the flowers of the Bible, as Halaby's missionary teachers once did, was a gesture so innocuous as to be almost forgotten. However, it reflected the historical context of pre- and post-war Palestine and exemplified the ways in which Palestinian art evolved from an environment sharply defined by international religious charities. Moreover, it was these charities that prepared the way for institutions in the service of colonial pacification and modern statecraft, also claiming to be in the interest of the welfare of Palestine, to enter the cultural sector during the British Mandate.

Chapter Three

“Creative Work in Palestine”: Technical Education, Textiles, and *Turath* (Heritage) During the British Mandate

Craftsmen and Citizens

When Britain acquired the Mandate for Palestine through the League of Nations in 1920, it assumed responsibility to develop and coordinate the institutional structures necessary to ensure the smooth functioning of their newly-acquired territory, encompassing the fields of education, industry, finance, and commerce.³³⁸ Training in the artisanal crafts—which in the decade prior had been guided by religious charitable and humanitarian institutions as an antidote to poverty—now entered the purview of state bureaucracy, as selected officials attempted to create additional avenues for artisanal education, production, and display. Charles Robert Ashbee, who had come to Palestine in 1918 to direct the cultural and architectural preservation enterprise of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, was eager to describe how the British Mandate government might deploy “creative work” as a means to bind Palestine’s inhabitants to the new colonial state:

Work with the hands, the creative work, the work of the imagination applied to a man’s personal labour, keeps men from empty political speculation. For every craftsman we create, we create also a potential citizen; for every craftsman we waste, we fashion a discontented effendi.³³⁹

³³⁸ While appointed to Britain at the San Remo Conference on April 25, 1920, the Palestine Mandate was not officially approved by the League of Nations until July 24, 1922 and it came into full operation on September 29, 1923 with the official ending of the war with Turkey by the Treaty of Lausanne. British operations to establish a colonial government, building and administering civil institutions inside Palestine, however, began in earnest in 1920/1921.

³³⁹ Stimulated by the socialist thinking of designers and pioneers in the British Arts and Crafts Movement, like William Morris, Ashbee imported and adapted their ideas into the political context of Palestine, as this quote demonstrates. Charles Robert Ashbee, ed., *Jerusalem, 1918-1920: Being the Records of the Pro-Jerusalem Council during the Period of the British Military Administration* (London: J. Murray, Published for the Council of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, 1921), 34.

Rather than solely focus on the financial prospects of artisanal production, increasing the quantity of artisanal crafts for local sale and international export, the aim of encouraging creative work among Palestine's residents also included the desire to produce, in Ashbee's words, "potential citizens." Idle hands and idle minds, Ashbee intimated, were among the perceived threats to political stability in Palestine that British Mandate officials sought to moderate by way of the arts.

Despite being a slight landmass with a small population, Palestine presented unique difficulties for the well-oiled British colonial machine with regard to political stability. The most pressing problem for administrators throughout the mandate (1920-48) would be how to uphold a "fundamental contradiction" in its charter, or what was essentially a double mandate.³⁴⁰ According to the terms of The Palestine Mandate, Britain was to undertake "all necessary measures to safeguard the public interests of the community in connection with the development of the country" (Article 11), while simultaneously "placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home" (Article 2), as had been pledged in the Balfour Declaration of 1917.³⁴¹ Promising to shepherd the national aspirations of the majority population of Palestine, which was still overwhelmingly Arab in 1920, was directly at odds with the simultaneous endorsement of the Jewish ethno-national project, which the government quickly ratified at the start of the mandate

³⁴⁰ Ilan Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 84.

³⁴¹ *The Palestine Mandate*, 24 July 1922; available through *The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy*, avalon.law.yale.edu (accessed 18 October 2017). As Pappé reminds us, however, the inclusion of the Balfour Declaration in the mandate for Palestine was not "*fait accompli*" and required considerable effort on behalf of the Zionist campaign to convince the Americans not to oppose its inclusion. *Ibid.*

by providing near-unrestricted Jewish immigration, offering Palestinian citizenship to Jews upon arrival, and approving large-scale land purchases by the World Zionist Organization.³⁴²

Toward the end of the first decade of British Mandate rule in Palestine, which was marked by the violent Western Wall/Al-Buraq Riots of 1929, tensions between Zionist Jews and Palestinian Arabs had risen to a fever pitch. A long-running dispute between Muslims and Jews over the physical uses of the Western Wall—and the inability of the British administrators to deliver a firm ruling—had resulted in mass violence.³⁴³ Though seemingly void of Christian involvement, the deadly riots became a matter of nationalist interest as Arab Muslims and Christians banded together in its aftermath to protest Jewish immigration and formed more centralized political parties to unify the Palestinian Arab political voice.³⁴⁴ As the culmination of a series of events prompting the escalation of conflict between Jews and Arabs, the 1929 riots marked a clear moment by which political struggles in Palestine hinged solely on the conflicting national interests of two communities, firmly split along ethnic lines.

Did the arts play a role in assisting the British Mandate administration manage the dual currents of Arab nationalism and Zionism? Did the administration ever position art or the artisanal crafts as tools to create “potential citizens” of the British Mandate, as Ashbee had hoped

³⁴² “Two months after assuming office, Sir Herbert Samuel [Palestine’s High Commissioner] promulgated an immigration ordinance under which a first year’s quota of 16,500 Jews (or more than 25 percent of the then existing Jewish population of some 60,000) were authorized to enter the country.” Abdul Latif Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine: A Study of Three Decades of British Administration* (London: Luzac, 1956), 11–12; *Report on Palestine Administration, 1920-21*, 127.

³⁴³ Avraham Sela, “The ‘Wailing Wall’ Riots (1929) as a Watershed in the Palestine Conflict,” *The Muslim World* 84, no. 1–2 (April 1, 1994): 60–94.

³⁴⁴ The Christian Committee for the Relief of Moslem Sufferers in Jaffa formed in response to the event and joint Muslim-Christian meetings resulted in formal protests to the colonial office. Even the Nashashibi and the Husayni families, who dominated the rival cultural-political clubs of *al-muntada al-adabi* (‘the Literary Society’) and of *al-nadi al-‘arabi* (‘the Arab Club’) respectively in the 1920s, attempted to merge their split supporters by founding centralized political parties, such as the Palestine Arab Party, which debuted in 1935 to represent the interests of the Arab population within the policies of the British Mandate and to advocate for international support for the Arab national movement within Palestine. Noah Haiduc-Dale, *Arab Christians in British Mandate Palestine: Communalism and Nationalism, 1917-1948* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 101, 117.

they might, and, if so, what did citizenship mean in the context of the increasingly divergent future imaginaries of a nation-state in Palestine? What was the administration's attitude toward the arts and crafts more generally during the mandate, and how did the mandate's ability to inject itself into Palestine's cultural sector inform art-making in Palestine? Did the mandate's activities in the realm of culture intersect with an intensifying national consciousness among Palestinians?

Unlike the British academies for art and industry instituted in other colonial cities, such as Calcutta, Lahore, and Cairo (which were created to stimulate and control local production, as well as to compete with France's vast state-supported network of domestic and colonial art academies), the move to incorporate technical education in Palestine's schools was far less extensive and, ultimately, as I describe in this chapter, unsuccessful.³⁴⁵ In fact, there was no identifiable coordinated or long-term effort during the British Mandate to control creative work, whether as a way to fashion "citizens," mitigate unrest, or contribute to the Palestinian economy. The British Mandate government in Palestine never opened a fine arts academy and attempts to establish schools for technical training or museums for the display of Palestine's artistic, artisanal, and even archaeological objects received limited financial and bureaucratic support from the government. The administration did not appoint a Director of Technical Education, whose job it was to implement arts and technical studies curriculum in the government's public schools, until ten years into the mandate, in 1930. The desire to convert local crafts into exportable commodities and local craftsmen into "civilized" citizens may have undergirded the rhetoric of certain British actors in Palestine, such as Ashbee. However, a studied history of the

³⁴⁵ British art schools in India opened in Madras in 1850, Calcutta in 1854, Bombay in 1856, and Lahore in 1878 and persisted well into the twentieth century. Several schools were then turned into government art schools after India and Pakistan gained independence in 1947, forming the foundation upon which modern art in the region progressed. Arindam Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of Its Global Reproducibility* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 129; Saloni Mathur, *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 92–95.

attempts to institutionalize artistic and technical education within the structure of the British Mandate reveals a haphazard approach, pursued by a few individuals with an ambivalent relationship to the mandate's colonial policies, including the support for a Jewish national home in Palestine.

This chapter argues that while attempts by British officials to transform the education, production, and display of artisanal crafts may not have been important pillars in the administrative strategy of the British Mandate, they nonetheless diversified Palestine's cultural sector in the short-term and greatly informed Palestinian national culture in the long-term. During the British Mandate, officials introduced government-sponsored crafts exhibitions, as well as partnered with private individuals to create "non-governmental" art initiatives. Moreover, they offered important educational opportunities for Palestinian artists and promoted national heritage movements led by elite, politically-engaged Palestinians, affecting the future trajectory of Palestinian art. To make this case, the chapter tracks the mandate administration's arts and crafts policy in Palestine through the only person directly charged with its development: William Arnold Stewart, the Director of Technical Education in Palestine's mandate government starting in 1930.

Stewart (1882-1953) arrived in Palestine following a multi-year appointment as inspector of arts and crafts in the Egyptian Ministry of Education and as a teacher in, and later, principal of the School of Arts and Crafts in Cairo (1911-1927). As with Ashbee and several of his compatriots working in Palestine, including the Director of Education, Humphrey Bowman, and the Director of the Department of Antiquities, Ernest Tatham Richmond (who had previously been Assistant Director of Political Affairs), Stewart was steeped in the pedagogy of the British arts and crafts movement. He believed, as they did, in the preservation of non-mechanized

industries and local traditional crafts.³⁴⁶ However, unlike Bowman, who never contested Britain's policies in Palestine, or Richmond, one of the only British officials to adopt a fierce anti-Zionist attitude, Stewart never firmly allied himself or advocated strongly for either a Zionist or a Palestinian political faction over the other.³⁴⁷

While Stewart believed that Palestine's rural Arab communities were prime subjects for him to test his theories on preserving craft industries and to build upon the work he had done previously in Cairo, as an officer of the British state, Stewart's efforts were also guided by financial and political realities. Like agriculture and trade, the creative industries were expected to contribute to the coffers of the mandatory state, as Palestine—like Britain's other colonial territories—received only the bare minimum of imperial assistance. The Covenant of the League of Nations, through which Britain was awarded the mandate, stipulated that the ruling government foster the institutions necessary to a modern state—cultural institutions among them. Within Palestine, however, where residents were already agitating for more than one possible state, Stewart was compelled to navigate the role that technical education and the craft industries might play in mitigating the increasingly hostile relationship between Arab national and Zionist groups.

³⁴⁶ Stewart trained at Bradford Technical College and the Royal College of Art. Upon graduation, he was employed as a textile designer in Bradford until 1911 when he took up his post in Egypt. Stewart was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Arts in 1915 and pursued his passion of painting throughout his life. In 1938, a painting entitled *Feast of Nebi Musa*, created from his observations in Palestine, was exhibited in the Royal Academy. In addition to his roles within the departments of education in Egypt and Palestine, Stewart worked with the Harvard-Boston expedition on the restoration of the furniture of Queen Hetepheres in Giza between his two colonial appointments (1927-30). His name remains connected with that first attempt in Egyptian archaeology to restore domestic objects and materials seemingly beyond repair—a legacy connected to his training in the arts and crafts pedagogy. Jaromir Malek, "Stewart, William Arnold (1882–1953)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004.

³⁴⁷ E.T. Richmond, whose opprobrium for the Zionist project resulted in his resignation from his first post in the Palestine administration as secretary for political affairs (1920-24), rejoined the British Mandate administration as Director of the Department of Antiquities in 1927. In the interim he converted to Catholicism and published texts on monumental architecture, history, and Islam. For a detailed political and intellectual history of Richmond in Palestine, see Daniel Bertrand Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation: The Immediacy of Architecture and the Palestine Conflict* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 33–80.

In addition to the Department of Education's annual reports, Stewart's unpublished manuscript, *Creative Work in Palestine: Technical and Crafts Education 1918-1946*, provides the most comprehensive record of the economic, social, and political changes the mandate administration sought to affect by developing artisanal training within the Arab education system. It also divulges Stewart's personal reflections as a politically aware but, I argue, idealistic agent of the British government, and imparts details on cultural initiatives he pursued outside the direct purview of the government. Reading the manuscript critically, and in tandem with other voices from the period, two related themes emerge and form the core of this chapter's investigation.

First, Stewart devoted his efforts to raising the standards of Arab craft education to stand on equal footing with that of the Jews. Once the World Zionist Organization had succeeded in fully privatizing Jewish education in Palestine by the mid-1920s, the British government's public schools were only able to tangibly affect education among Arabs. Within the divisive landscape of Palestinian politics during the British Mandate, Stewart hoped that an arts and crafts pedagogy could be employed to equalize the quality of crafts between the rival political groups, providing a sense of parity in the artisanal realm. I argue that Stewart's rhetoric of parity mimicked that of the British Mandate administration as a whole, as he positioned the arts as a diverse, yet paradoxically equalizing, instrument for creating a common Palestinian citizenry, a device to unify an increasingly divided populace.

As proof of his aim to elevate Arab craft education and craftworkers, Stewart recruited the Palestinian artist Jamal Badran (1909-1999) to assist him as drawing master for the government's technical education program. Trained locally in Palestine and in arts and crafts schools in Cairo and London, Badran worked across a variety of media in his own practice,

including ceramics, glass, leather, and wood, drawing primarily from the geometric patterns and stylized forms of Arabic calligraphy common in Islamic art. With an acute understanding of local designs as well as the type of design thinking promulgated by the British arts and crafts curriculum, Badran was eventually appointed to the position of primary instructor for teaching the art of embroidery design to women teachers. While Badran's own art objects, such as glass vases, painted tiles, and leather Qur'an covers have elicited art historical interest, his impact on the advancement of Palestinian textiles, as a teacher in Stewart's department, is relatively unknown.³⁴⁸

Second, Stewart proposed textile education and the promotion of traditional costumes as key to advancing the pursuit of artisanal parity. Weaving and *tatreez* (Palestinian embroidery), in particular, were extant small industries in rural Arab villages, ripe for modernizing reform, and represented a symbolic connection to Palestinian cultural heritage. Additionally, as discussed in the previous chapter, religious missionaries had long nurtured *tatreez* in schools and workshops as a tool with which to improve social and economic conditions for young girls and women, thereby contributing to the craft's marketability. Nationalist heritage movements were on the rise among the Palestinian intellectual elite, who were themselves alumni of European missionary

³⁴⁸ Although a broad scholarly study of Badran's art has yet to be written, a Ph.D. dissertation by the Palestinian artist Fayege Oweis provides the most detailed biographical account of Badran and an analysis of the traditional Islamic sources of his designs. Additionally, through personal interviews with Jamal Badran and his daughter, Samira, in the 1980s and 90s, the art historian Kamal Boullata gathered specific information on Badran's early influences from Islamic arts and crafts and details about the studio Badran opened with his two brothers in Jerusalem in 1940. The studio was said to specialize in "work on leather, bookbinding, decorated olive wood, embroidery with innovative designs, decorated lamps and lampshades, water and oil colour painting, and architectural ornaments." Art historian Gannit Ankori also assesses Badran's work, similarly focusing on Badran's resolve to keep traditional Islamic crafts alive in Jerusalem by synthesizing "the lessons of European painting with Islamic aesthetics." Badran received several high-profile official commissions, which are often the focus of these art historical inquiries, including the restoration of the mosaics of al-Aqsa Mosque in 1927 through appointment by the Supreme Muslim Council and a commission by Amir Abdullah of Transjordan to make an ornamental chest as a wedding gift for Princess Elizabeth (later, Queen Elizabeth II) in 1947. Fayege Saleh Oweis, "The Elements of Unity in Islamic Art as Examined Through the Work of Jamal Badran" (Ph.D. diss., Union Institute and University, Cincinnati, 2002); Kamal Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005* (London: Saqi, 2009), 70–77; Gannit Ankori, *Palestinian Art* (London: Reaktion, 2006), 29–32.

schools in Palestine. Palestinian women engaged with heritage discourse through their clothing, using dress as a powerful communicative medium. Many Palestinian men, inspired by the work of both colonial and Zionist ethnographers, began publishing articles in the fields of archaeology and ethnography, primarily in foreign-run journals, like the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*. These men and women found in their work a way to assert a Palestinian national identity within the bifurcated political landscape of the mandate. Stewart's advocacy for local textiles intersected with these trends—stemming from his fear that “ample supplies of [imported] grey cloth and cheap printed goods” would suppress the aesthetic diversity of Palestine's streetscapes that he so admired—as he considered how crafts and clothing could be capable of expressing heritage and perhaps, even, formulating a sense of Palestinian citizenship under the mandate.³⁴⁹

Stewart's many goals converged in the creation of The Palestine Folk Museum (PFM), a non-governmental, private initiative developed in collaboration with British, Arab, and Jewish representatives. Positioned as a partner museum to plans for the Rockefeller-funded Palestine Archaeological Museum that had been in discussion since 1927, the PFM was intended to be a museum of living history, a space reflecting ethnographic rather than archaeological interests.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁹ W. A. Stewart, “Creative Work in Palestine: Technical and Crafts Education, 1918-1946” (unpublished manuscript), n.d., 5, Oxford University, Griffith Institute. Thinking about the sartorial crafts in relation to establishing a sense of both regional identity and group citizenship, recalls, among others, Ahmet Ersoy's scholarship on the the *Elbise-i 'Osmaniyye: Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie* photograph album, produced in 1873 and presented (alongside actual costumes) at the World Exposition in Vienna that same year. Ahmet Ersoy, “A Sartorial Tribute to Late Tanzimat Ottomanism: The Elbise-İ 'Osmaniyye Album,” *Muqarnas* 20 (2003): 187–207.

³⁵⁰ John Henry Iliffe, “A Folk Museum for Palestine,” *The Museums Journal* 36 (1937): 420. Whereas the vintage artifacts within the Archaeological Museum ended strictly at “1700 A.D.,” the limit of antiquity as defined in Article 21 of the mandate for Palestine, the PFM would take up the story and continue until the present. A complete history of the formation of the Palestine Archaeological Museum (re-named the “Rockefeller Museum” after coming under Israeli control after 1967) is outside of this chapter's focus. While plans for an archaeological museum were in motion even from the outset of the mandate (and before this time as a project of the Oriental Institute in Cairo), it did not open until 1938, three years after the opening of the folk museum. A brief summary of the museum's history, mission, and architectural and curatorial plans written by the museum's curator, John Henry (J.H.) Iliffe, in 1938, describes the archaeological museum as a strategic enterprise to encourage the “sacred trust of civilization” outlined as a goal of the mandate. More recent critical historical work on the archaeological museum positions it both within a longer history of Ottoman archaeological collecting and display in Palestine, as well as part of a colonial encyclopedic project imagined by James Breasted, director of the Oriental Institute in Chicago, and John D.

While archaeological fieldwork in Palestine implicitly accentuated the historical priority of particular ethnic or religious communities on the land, ethnographic research—based on the study of specific living communities within the heterogeneity of contemporary society—offered a basis for theorizing coexistence that supported Stewart’s professed interest in mediating local conflict through local arts and crafts. The PFM aimed to provide space for the collection, preservation, and display of woven and embroidered textiles, along with well-crafted household and agricultural objects, from Palestine’s diverse religious and ethnic communities. The PFM endeavored to be the one place in which “Arabs, Jews and English cooperate harmoniously” to highlight a shared cultural heritage, in the words of the museum’s founders, yielding “Palestinian art”—the first non-commercial exhibition space in Palestine claiming to do so.³⁵¹ While the PFM’s harmonious vision ultimately failed to rule Palestine’s political realities, limiting its immediate impact, at the same time it created a precedent for Palestinian textiles to be seen as one of the bases of modern Palestinian art by enshrining it in the space of a museum.

Stewart’s work in Palestine engaged the spheres of education, art, craft, heritage, and ethnography through an equally dense and diverse network of actors from across the political and religious spectrum, including Jewish and Muslim craftsmen, Arab and European ethnographers, female Arab activists, and enterprising wives of British diplomats. Stewart’s history provides the

Rockefeller Jr. For reference, see John Henry Iliffe, “Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem,” *The Museums Journal* 38, no. 1 (1938): 1–22; Felicity J. Cobbing and Johnathan N. Tubb, “Before the Rockefeller: The First Palestine Museum in Jerusalem,” in *Tutela, Conservazione e Valorizzazione Del Patrimonio Culturale Della Palestina*, ed. Fabio Maniscalco, *Mediterraneum* 5 (Napoli: Massa, 2005), 79–89; Beatrice St. Laurent and Himmert Taskomur, “The Imperial Museum of Antiquities in Jerusalem, 1890-1930: An Alternate Narrative,” *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 55 (2013): 6–45; Jeffrey Abt, “Toward a Historian’s Laboratory: The Breasted-Rockefeller Museum Projects in Egypt, Palestine, and America,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 33 (January 1, 1996): 173–94; Annabel Jane Wharton, *Architectural Agents: The Delusional, Abusive, Addictive Lives of Buildings* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), 32–48; Azra Dawood, “Building Protestant Modernism: John D. Rockefeller Jr. and the Architecture of an American Internationalism (1919-1939),” (Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2018).

³⁵¹ J. H. Iliffe to D.C. Thompson, 7 December 1938, Palestine Folk Museum Papers, Israel State Archives.

connective tissue between these distinct parties and helps to capture the complex machinations of the cultural sector during the mandate period. In many ways, Stewart mirrored the trajectories of French and British cultural administrators in other mandatory territories, working to promote local art traditions, refashioning them as a “sign of nation-ness,” and displaying them in newly formed “national museums” as a symbol of local-colonial cooperation and the fulfillment of the mandate’s cause.³⁵² Yet in Palestine, where a double mandate for the formation of both a Jewish and an Arab national home ruled, defining the nation or even the national subject presented unique difficulties.

A State in the Building

*The [British] Administration shed its military titles, following the example of [Wyndham] Deedes, who descended in a single step from Brigadier-General to plain ‘Mr.’*³⁵³ – Herbert Samuel, 1945

From the entrance of the first British troops to Palestine in 1917 until the summer of 1920, Palestine was administered as a military territory. While this temporary administration under General Edmund Allenby made efforts to manage political tensions, introduce education in rural villages, and stimulate the local economy, a combination of local village councils, religious missionary organizations, and other national welfare initiatives, such as the American Red Cross,

³⁵² Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh, “Museums and the Construction of National History in Syria and Lebanon,” in *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 187. For more on the fraught creation of national museums in twentieth-century British and French colonial territories in the Middle East and also in India, see Asher Kaufman, *Reviving Phoenicia: The Search for Identity in Lebanon* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004); Katarzyna Pieprzak, *Imagined Museums: Art and Modernity in Postcolonial Morocco* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Tapati Guha-Thakurta, “The Museumised Relic: Archaeology and the First Museum of Colonial India,” *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 34, no. 1 (1997): 21–51; Saloni Mathur, *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display*, 2007; Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850-1922: Occidental Orientations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

³⁵³ Herbert Louis Samuel, *Grooves of Change: A Book of Memoirs* (Indianapolis; New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1946), 190.

continued to provide critical services like medical care and schooling for the majority of Palestine's residents. With the grant of a Mandate for Palestine at the San Remo Conference on April 25, 1920, the League of Nations ceded the territory to British officials who commenced unifying Palestine's fragmented post-war landscape through building a centralized bureaucracy. Officially no longer military occupiers, the British set about forming a colonial government.³⁵⁴

British administrators were bound by Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations in which the "well-being and development of such peoples [under Mandate rule] forms a sacred trust of civilization," and were obliged to administer the territory on behalf of the inhabitants to "encourage local autonomy" (Article 3) through the formation of "self-governing institutions" (Article 2).³⁵⁵ In the autobiography published by General Herbert Samuel, the first appointed High Commissioner for Palestine, a single chapter covers the mandate's first five years in Palestine under his supervision. The chapter title, "Palestine: A State in the Building," though dry, adequately expressed the British viewpoint that no modern state yet existed in Palestine and, as such, that they were duty-bound to install one.³⁵⁶ Yet in a territory occupied by the British,

³⁵⁴ The British interest in the territory had been a tactical component of the Empire's geo-political strategy prior to the First World War. As recounted by historian David Kushner, "because of [Palestine's] proximity to their [British] main lines of communication with India and the rest of Asia, Palestine had assumed great importance in the eyes of the British, and such events as the opening of the Suez Canal (1869), the purchase of the Egyptian shares in the Canal Company (1875), the occupation of Egypt (1882) and the acquisition of the Iranian oil concession (1901), could only increase it. In addition, a number of religious and philanthropic institutions were established in Palestine by British citizens." David Kushner, *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period: Political, Social, and Economic Transformation* (Jerusalem; Leiden: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi; Distributed by E.J. Brill, 1986), 310. After the Great War, Palestine would primarily serve British aspirations as a paternalistic project of modern development, a symbolic Christian return to the Holy Land, and, crucially, the place where the government would seek to fulfill the Balfour Declaration. The mandate's structure, as summarized by historian Ilan Pappé, was "the facade of an independent state that was in fact a colony." However, unlike British colonial territories in India and Africa, Palestine harbored few natural resources to extract (aside from a limited number of minerals in the Dead Sea) or robust industry to exploit. Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine*, 86.

³⁵⁵ *The Covenant of the League of Nations*, 28 April 1919; *The Palestine Mandate*, 24 July 1922; available through *The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy*, avalon.law.yale.edu (accessed 18 October 2017).

³⁵⁶ Samuel, *Grooves of Change*, 187.

Zionists, Arab Palestinians, and an unwieldy array of foreign religious missions, whose state was Samuel planning to build?

As one of the principle supporters of the Balfour Declaration, and a Jew himself, Samuel believed that Zionism and the two decrees in the Balfour Declaration (“to foster the establishment of a Jewish National Home; second, to do it without prejudice to the civil and religious rights of the rest of the population”) were not irreconcilable, because they ultimately hinged on supporting only one national project: that of the Zionists.³⁵⁷ Moreover, he believed that Zionism, organized by intellectually, politically, and culturally progressive European Jews, presented the most efficient path toward modernizing the “derelict” country and improving the welfare of its residents, what the mandatory regime was charged to do.³⁵⁸ In this way, Samuel managed to champion Zionism while at the same time claiming to serve *all* of Palestine’s residents:

I was sure that the only course by which the National Home could give satisfaction to the Jews themselves, win credit in the eyes of the world, or satisfy the Mandatory Power, would be if it resulted, not merely in tolerance for the Arabs, not merely in a formal recognition of existing legal rights, but in opening for them the doors to better standards of living, in giving them access to higher levels of comfort and of culture.³⁵⁹

Samuel professed to believe that through Zionism and the example of its leaders, Palestinian Arabs would have the chance to be culturally modern. The obvious implications of this position—that Palestinians would lack the opportunity to become politically modern through building a nation-state of their own, undergirded Samuel’s views.

³⁵⁷ Samuel expressed this view, in no uncertain terms, in his collected memoirs: “Some thought that the two were irreconcilable; that a National Home for the Jews must mean subordination, possible spoliation, for the Arabs. I did not share that view. If I had it would have been impossible for me to accept the office of High Commissioner.” Herbert Louis Samuel, *Grooves of Change*, 204–5.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 196.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 205.

The way in which Samuel expressed his personal position was clearly drawn from the actual charter of the British Mandate for Palestine, which promised to ensure religious and legal rights for all of Palestine's residents without prejudice.³⁶⁰ The terms of the mandate stated that the British administration would preserve free access to and worship in the holy places and, moreover, that it would treat Palestine's residents of all ethnicities and religious creeds with "respect" and provide equal legal status.³⁶¹ With regard to the holy places, the British Mandate upheld the "status quo," first issued as an Ottoman *firman* by Sultan Abdul Mejid in 1852, which divided the rights and responsibilities for different sections of Christian holy sites to designated religious sects, and tried to extend its power to Jewish and Muslim holy places as well.³⁶² In the spirit of making Palestine hospitable to the Jewish national project, the mandate declared English, Arabic, and Hebrew as the "official languages of Palestine," despite the fact that Jews only constituted five percent of the total population.³⁶³ Finally, in order to achieve equal legal status among Palestine's various communities, the British Mandate significantly altered the existing Ottoman *millet* system, which had historically provided religious minorities (meaning all non-Muslims) with control over many of their own social and religious affairs. By labeling Palestine's Muslim majority as its own religious group, or *millet*, the British Mandate authorities

³⁶⁰ *The Palestine Mandate*, 24 July 1922, Article 6.

³⁶¹ *The Palestine Mandate*, 24 July 1922, Articles 9 and 13.

³⁶² As more than one sect often claimed rights to a holy place, the use and maintenance of each site had been parceled into exceedingly minute divisions under the "status quo." In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, for instance, the clergy of the Franciscans had exclusive possession of the convent to the left of Jesus' purported tomb, while ownership and maintenance of the small chapels to the right belonged to the Greek Orthodox. Other sects, like the Copts and the Ethiopians, took sections of the roof. Yet, as the British military Sergeant Lionel Cust noticed, the smell of incense would often waft from one part of a church to another, trespassing barriers and implying that "proprietaryship is not absolute." L. G. A. Cust, *The Status Quo in the Holy Places* (Jerusalem: Ariel Publishing House, 1980), 12.

³⁶³ *The Palestine Mandate*, 24 July 1922, Article 22; Sherene Seikaly, *Men of Capital: Scarcity and Economy in Mandate Palestine* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2016), 5.

radically reduced the power of Palestine's Arab Muslim majority and strained inter-ethnic Muslim-Christian Arab alliances.³⁶⁴

An example of Samuel's attestations of fairness, despite his professed Zionist bias, came in the formation a local Advisory Council. Just prior to Samuel's arrival, Palestinians had launched a vociferous protest against the decision of the British government to honor Zionist claims in Palestine on the joint occasion of Christian Easter and the Muslim festival of *nabī musa*, symbolizing Arab Christian and Muslim anti-imperial and anti-Zionist unity.³⁶⁵ Samuel believed he could improve the British government's relationship with the Arab community through a "principle of parity," if only just to keep the peace.³⁶⁶ Upon his arrival, Samuel formed an Advisory Council, including representatives from the Muslim, Christian, and Jewish communities, that was intended as a "first step towards the establishment of self-governing institutions."³⁶⁷ Convinced that in order to make a fresh start as a civilian administration it was "necessary to pass a sponge over recent unhappy events," Samuel declared amnesty for almost all those who had been punished on account of the *nabī musa* riots, thereby allowing some of the

³⁶⁴ Abigail Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire: Jerusalem between Ottoman and British Rule* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2011), 150–175.

³⁶⁵ Following an edict by the Ottoman government in the early nineteenth century, the Islamic religious festival celebrating Moses always culminated the same day as the Christian celebration of Easter (and near the Jewish feast of Passover) as a way to counterbalance the influx of Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem during the Holy Week. In 1920, the *nabī musa* protestors clashed with local Zionists from the organization Beitar, who marched through the streets of Jerusalem at the time of the feast, resulting in a day of violence. Hajj Amin al-Husayni and Vladimir Jabotinsky, considered leaders of the two factions, were put on trial. Al-Husayni fled to Transjordan and Jabotinsky, alongside other Arabs and Jews arrested in the relation to the event, were sent to prison or fled in exile. Naomi Shepherd, *Ploughing Sand: British Rule in Palestine, 1917-1948* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 41; Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine*, 83.

³⁶⁶ Pappé describes that the British Mandate's commitment to the notion that "local government had to be based on the principle of parity," was one of the most unique components of British rule in Palestine, and also the one which caused many of the administration's problems as they did not accurately foresee the gulf that would come to separate Jewish and Arab communities in Palestine. Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine*, 86.

³⁶⁷ Samuel, *Grooves of Change*, 192.

most outspoken Jewish and Arab leaders to rejoin political life.³⁶⁸ On the British-dominated Advisory Council, however, the Muslim, Christian and Jewish delegates were combined as one minority block, forming less than half of the total the voting body (seven out of twenty). As representatives of the majority of the population, the Muslim and Christian Arab delegates “refused to accept minority representation or parity of political status with the Jewish minority,” as reported by a Palestinian observer at the time, leading to the swift decline of the Council.³⁶⁹ Calling for proportional rather than equal representation on the Council, the Arab delegates thwarted Samuel’s first attempts to balance the government’s dual commitment to supporting Zionism and Arab welfare. Their protests exposed the Council as an attempt to pacify Arab-Jewish tension through supposedly equal involvement, but without granting effective political representation to either party.

With the support of the mandate, however, which allowed for Jewish funds to purchase land and establish institutions in Palestine, the Zionist leadership was able to concentrate on building a robust infrastructure for a Jewish state in Palestine.³⁷⁰ As early as 1923, the Zionists in Palestine were able to effectively consolidate all Jewish education into private schools and

³⁶⁸ Ibid. Samuel, in fact, helped to promote Amin al-Husayni to the center of Palestinian politics after he returned to Jerusalem in March 1921. Succeeding his deceased brother, Kamil al-Husayni, as the Mufti, Amin al-Husayni also became the head of the Supreme Muslim Council (SMC, established 1922) through Samuel’s assistance. The SMC was a body of religious dignitaries supervising the Muslim religious courts, endowment, and charities and, as its leader, al-Husayni rose to prominence not just as a powerful religious authority, but a prominent leader in the national movements stimulated by anti-Zionist feeling. Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine*, 85.

³⁶⁹ Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine*, 13.

³⁷⁰ Poverty among many of Palestine’s Jewish residents and significant political divisions within the *yishuv* threatened Jewish progress in Palestine during the early years of the mandate. However, the Jewish Agency and World Zionist Organization managed to overcome these obstacles by providing direct financial support in order to build comprehensive economic, educational, scientific, and social institutions to support Jewish life in Palestine, leading to the *yishuv*’s later (unofficial) designation as ‘an *imperium in imperio*’ by the British Palestine Royal Commission in the mid-1930s. Roza El-Eini, *Mandated Landscape: British Imperial Rule in Palestine, 1929-1948* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 21–22.

achieve semi-independence in their health services and legal systems not long thereafter.³⁷¹

Regarding Palestine's Jewish residents as independent, well-funded, and highly organized, the British administration focused its staff and budget on providing resources for Palestine's population most in need of infrastructural aid, which they identified as the rural Arab population. While several Arab-run political, commercial, and educational institutions were in their incipient stages, there was no equivalent to the Zionist Organization's centralized planning or financial support from abroad at that point.³⁷²

In order to carry out his mission, Samuel—in what can be described as 'department fever'—rapidly launched the Departments of Agriculture, Forestry, Communications, Education, Finance, Health, Commerce and Industry, Land Registration, Tax, Trade, and Town Planning between 1921 and 1925. Ultimately, however, he became convinced that "the most essential step for raising the standard of life of the Arab population was the development of education."³⁷³ With a small budget of £53,000, the British military administration had already made several democratizing changes hoping to advance Palestine's government schools, previously operated by the Ottomans.³⁷⁴ They replaced Turkish with Arabic as the medium of instruction, opened two

³⁷¹ As Pappé outlines in more detail, "The health services were first run on a voluntary basis, organized by the American Jewish women's organization, Hadassa, but were soon assisted by mandate government funds. Independent courts were established to deal with local community matters according to, among other sources, Hebraic (i.e. biblical and Talmudic) law. This was in addition to religious courts, which, like the Muslim and Christian ones, dealt with matrimony and other aspects of religious life." Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine*, 88–89.

³⁷² The Arab Executive Committee (founded 1920), the Supreme Muslim Council (1922), and the Arab Higher Committee (1936) represented the main political bodies emerging out of rival family factions in the 1920s and 30s. While these organizations helped to fund schools and religious institutions, and Arab-founded banks and business unions also formed during this period, there was no real equivalent to the Jewish Agency's comprehensive planning and institutional prowess, including the formation of special departments such as those for Economic Research or Agriculture. *Ibid.*, 22.

³⁷³ Samuel, *Grooves of Change*, 198.

³⁷⁴ This earliest available record of the military administration's exact expenditure on education is from 1919. Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine*, 155.

boarding colleges for training teachers in Jerusalem (one for men and one for women), and supported the resurrection of local education committees, which had been handicapped during the war.³⁷⁵ Building off of these modifications, the civilian administration increased the education budget to £78,000 and became most concerned with expanding the number of schools and teachers, especially for girls, and centralizing the educational administration.³⁷⁶ However, parallel to their retention of the Ottoman “status quo” toward religious sites, the British allowed the various independent school systems operating under the Ottomans to stay open. This created a dense network of public, private, secular, and religious schools that functioned simultaneously, causing “educational chaos.”³⁷⁷ The exceptional diversity of schools operating in Palestine, and in particular the private foreign schools, increased the overall number of students that were able to enroll, but made it exceedingly difficult for the public education department to impose standard curriculum requirements or to oversee student progress, given the paucity of their staff resources.

In his detailed investigation of the education system in mandate Palestine, Abdul Latif Tibawi (an inspector in the Department of Education and, later, its critical biographer) concluded that: “If agricultural education was below the need, technical education was even worse.”³⁷⁸ Of

³⁷⁵ Ibid., 24–25.

³⁷⁶ Samuel emphasized his commitment to rural education in his memoirs, but revealed his administration’s limited financial capacity to provide each village with a functioning educational apparatus *tout court*: “This was a matter to which I gave special attention, initiating a scheme under which the Government would pay the cost of a teacher for any village which would itself provide a school building.” Samuel, *Grooves of Change*, 198–99. Budgetary information comes from Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine*, 155.

³⁷⁷ The provision for each religious or ethnic community to maintain its own educational system was written into the wording of the mandate (Article 15): “The Right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such education requirements of a general nature as the Administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired.” As such, the educational system under the mandate conformed to Ottoman practices, offering legislation in favor of communal autonomy and also in excluding foreign, private schools from any state-imposed organizational and curricular standards, or in Tibawi’s words, “whatever national system of education was contemplated.” Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine*, 26–27.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 238.

secondary importance to the tasks of curbing basic illiteracy, providing agricultural instruction, and training suitable teachers, the provision of technical education throughout the department's schools began late. Tibawi clarified his position in terms of inequality:

It must be acknowledged...that education, in common with other mandatory services, failed to equalize Arab standards with Jewish standards in professional training, technical skill and effective literacy. The struggle of the Arabs of Palestine against the Jews was thus a very unequal one.³⁷⁹

Tibawi blamed the schools' deficiency in teaching technical skills, in addition to literacy and professional training, as a creating severe political and financial disparity. While training in "manual work" was listed early on in the boys schools' curriculum, usually consisting of carpentry, broom-making, book-binding, and on occasion, drawing, it rarely amounted to more than two to four hours per week.³⁸⁰ Technical education for the girls, outside of basic embroidery and drawing, was similarly sparse.

The purpose of the government's interest in providing technical education and in hiring William Arnold Stewart as the Director of Technical Education in 1930 was therefore three-fold. First, as Tibawi implied, skill-based education was essential if the Arab worker was to be able to compete with his or her Jewish counterparts in Palestine, who were rapidly industrializing and assuming prominence in the areas of building construction and textile production, in addition to their advancement in agriculture. Second, nurturing technical skills among Arab students would

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 248. Additionally, Tibawi explained, while the government schools primarily served the Arab community, they never fully integrated with or gained the full trust of the Arab populace: "In political controversy or in daily usage the schools were always "Government" schools or Department of Education "*Ma'arif*" schools, but never "Arab" schools. An Arab witness had pointed out in evidence before the Royal Commission, that the annual reports on the Arab public system were not published in Arabic. The use of the official term is nevertheless accurate. Practically all the teachers were Arab, all the pupils were Arab, the language of instruction was Arabic and the general tone Arab. But was this system, under whatever name we may prefer to take it, suitable to promote the well-being and development of Arab society?" Ibid., 225.

³⁸⁰ Department of Education, "Rural Schools: Weekly Distribution of Lessons" and "Town Schools: Weekly Distribution of Lessons," *Annual Report for the Year, 1926-27* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1930), 9.

not only help to improve the prospective income of individuals, but had the potential to assist in making entire villages economically self-sufficient and less reliant on government subsidies. Unlike the French, who encouraged colonial development through government support, the British developed their territories through systems of local trade and taxation.³⁸¹ As Palestine was not a territory rich in natural resources, the British administration had an imperative to increase the skilled manpower and industrial and craft commodities produced in Palestine. Finally, devoting resources to developing Arab abilities in the arts and industries would demonstrably prove the cultural contribution of Arab Palestinians to the “sacred trust of civilization” to which the Covenant of the League of Nations referred, and to which Jews in Palestine were already eagerly contributing through archaeological institutes and art schools, like Bezalel. When the director of the Department of Education, Humphrey E. Bowman, invited Stewart to advise on the direction of technical education in Palestine in 1929, it was with the breadth of these issues in mind.³⁸²

“Arts & Crafty Stewart”

*I would urge that technical education in [weaving] and in other crafts is even more necessary than general education.*³⁸³ – W.A. Stewart, 1946

³⁸¹ The “Cromer system” guided British economic policy in the colonies. The system emphasized low taxation, minimal interference in the traffic of goods, an efficient fiscal administration, and careful expenditure on public works (spent mostly to improve the spheres of public health, education, law, transportation, and communication). While the British public broadly supported colonial development, they opposed the use of British taxpayer funds to that end, resulting in the *laissez faire* policy of the Cromer system where almost all government activity in the colonies was financed by local taxation. Gideon Biger, *An Empire in the Holy Land: Historical Geography of the British Administration in Palestine, 1917-1929* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1994), 20–21; Roger Owen, “The Influence of Lord Cromer’s Indian Experience on British Policy in Egypt, 1883-1907,” in *Middle Eastern Affairs 4*, ed. Albert Hourani, St. Anthony’s Papers 17 (Oxford University Press: London, 1965).

³⁸² Bowman (1879-1965), previously an administrator in the Egyptian Ministry of Education (1903-18) and the Director of Education in Iraq (1918-1920), served as the Director of Education in Palestine from 1920-1936. An arts and crafts supporter, Bowman met Stewart while the latter worked for the School of Arts and Crafts in Cairo. Humphrey Bowman Collection, Middle East Centre Archive, St. Anthony’s College, Oxford University.

³⁸³ Stewart, “Creative Work in Palestine,” 15.

“Arts and Crafty Stewart,” the jaunty nickname appointed to Stewart among his fellow bureaucrats, designated his official position as much as it spoke to the cunning nature of his spirit and the clever solutions he proposed to ease Palestine’s political tensions through the realm of technical education. Prior to assuming this role, between the years of 1911 and 1927, Stewart had first arrived in the Middle East as the inspector of arts and crafts with the Egyptian Ministry of Education and later became principal of the School of Arts in Crafts in Cairo. Trained primarily as a painter at the Royal College of Art in London, Stewart embodied the ethos of the arts and crafts movement as it had manifested in England and as it had developed and mutated through British colonial projects in India and the Middle East. Believing that traditional processes of craft production and ancient workshop and guild structures were still active in these regions, proponents of the arts and crafts movement viewed the Middle East as both an ultimate example of and a most fruitful landscape for reviving an arts and crafts pedagogy.³⁸⁴ Not long after his appointment as the Director of Technical Education in Palestine, Stewart delivered a speech titled “Shall We Revive the Native Industries in Palestine?,” in which he reiterated classic tenets of the arts and crafts movement: the rejection of mechanized crafts, the valorization of individuality and individual creativity, the nostalgic desire to revive guilds, and a lament for the decline of “beauty” in the industrial age.³⁸⁵ Written for the Palestine Economic Society, Stewart hoped to convince financiers of both the social and economic benefits of encouraging small

³⁸⁴ For instance, encountering Cairo for the first time was no less than a “revelation” for Charles Ashbee, his biographer wrote, because “it fitted so closely to his own ideas about craftsmanship and pre-industrial traditions.” Despite disappointments with the available training institutions in the crafts, Ashbee believed that such institutions could be formed out of the extant workers and guilds, a path he would continue to pursue alongside other arts and crafts figures like Patrick Geddes and Stewart in Palestine. Alan Crawford, *C. R. Ashbee: Architect, Designer & Romantic Socialist* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 166.

³⁸⁵ W.A. Stewart, “Shall We Revive the Native Industries in Palestine?,” paper read at the meeting of the Palestine Economic Society, 21 January 1932. Reprinted in Stewart, “Creative Work in Palestine,” 78–89.

industries. However, the specific application of these ideals in Palestine would be challenged by the uneven and chaotic education system, bi-partisan politics, and violence fomented by Zionists and Arab nationalists throughout the latter decades of the British Mandate.

Stewart made four visits to Palestine before receiving his appointment in 1930, each one providing an index of how the British administration was responding to the rapid shifts in Palestine's political climate in the realm of culture. Stewart's first contact with the arts and industries of Palestine arrived not through a bureaucratic appointment, but through an invitation from the Bezalel School in 1912. He was curious to survey the craft work of the rapidly growing Jewish community of artisans being assembled in the Middle East through Zionist efforts. Stewart admired Professor Schatz's desire to learn and revive workshop production, designs, and methods of craft production from the Damascene and Yemenite Jewish artisans that were local to the region, an approach that was sympathetic with the tenets at the heart of the British arts and crafts movement. Stewart, however, deemed Bezalel's objects to contain an "excess of ornament" and "rather irritating and restless" in their obligation to include Jewish symbols and Hebrew inscriptions.³⁸⁶ A sketch for a carved olivewood desk clock from 1908, appearing to drip with representations of grapes and vines and topped with a Star of David, exemplified the type of designs to which Stewart might have reacted. [Fig. 3.1] Rejecting Bezalel's designs, but praising its approach, Stewart's judgment revealed his interest in Bezalel's workshops—a model he would later emulate to a degree in government Arab schools as an attempt toward parity—but expressed a distaste for the religious and political imperatives undergirding Bezalel's products.

Stewart next returned to Palestine in 1918 upon the invitation of the first British Military Governor, Sir Ronald Storrs, to advise on the re-establishment of crafts following their recession

³⁸⁶ Stewart, "Creative Work in Palestine," 3.

during the war.³⁸⁷ Guided through the country by Storrs and Ashbee, founder and director of the Pro-Jerusalem Society respectively, Stewart's interest became newly oriented around the historically polyvalent material culture of Palestine. Bewildered by the "strange motley" of both Arab village culture and foreign material incursion that was specific to the Holy Land in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Stewart became fixated on preserving Palestinian costumes, and their associated crafts of weaving and embroidery, as a record of the region's cultural diversity.³⁸⁸ Based on the type of cloth, stitches, and patterns used in *tatreez*, one could identify regional variation. For example, a *thob* (dress) from the village of Beit Dajan, near Jaffa on the Mediterranean Sea, often included a wave pattern, characteristic of *tatreez* from the coastal plains. [Fig. 3.2] *Thobs* from highland village of Ramallah, on the other hand, where the women wore white linen in summer and black in winter, characteristically included the palm tree motif on the lower back section of the dress, while those from Hebron were distinguished by their deep indigo-dyed linen and copious covering in cross-stich embroidery. [Fig. 3.3, 3.4] Bethlehem *tatreez* stood out in particular for its use of the technique of couching on the *thob*'s chest panel and sleeves, which resembled embroidery styles from Turkey, Greece, and Persia, and used gold or silver cord. [Fig. 3.5] While many features of *tatreez* were used across Palestine, such as the cypress tree symbol or the cross-stitch, each Palestinian village asserted its identity through the particular motifs or fabrics which referenced their place of origin. Stewart feared that the art of *tatreez* would be lost as cheap fabrics flooded the region amid changes to Palestine's rural life. Further, he feared the incursion of British Mandate officials and Zionists, both of whom would deteriorate ancestral lines of transmission. Moreover, missionaries

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 3.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 4.

continued to introduce European patterns to their students (as described in Chapter Two), while synthetic-colored silk threads from the Dollfus-Mieg & Cie company (DMC) in France entered Palestinian markets, and traditional *tatreez* patterns were beginning to be transferred onto European-style cuts for the more “modern” woman. [Fig. 3.6] In this context, Stewart worried that the traditional arts of Palestinian costume would not survive.

This early interest in Palestinian clothing and textiles served Stewart well when, on his next invitation to Palestine by Humphrey Bowman in 1922, he was asked specifically to visit weaving centers in Gaza and Al-Majdal (a village north of Gaza) to provide his expert recommendations:

What we are especially anxious to obtain from you is advice as to the best way of helping the crafts of weaving and dyeing, and this from the point of view, not only of their trade organization and the processes or machinery now in use among them, but also of the education and future of the boys in the various Districts.³⁸⁹

From his appointment in Cairo, Stewart was keenly aware of the value of weaving as a part of technical education, having established a large-scale weaving institute in Mahalla al-Kubra outside of Cairo with some success.³⁹⁰ In his report for Bowman, Stewart insisted that it was first and foremost the “technology of weaving and cloth structure,” as opposed to artistry and design, that was required to improve the craft in Palestine.³⁹¹ Affirming the authenticity of the craft as practiced in these Arab centers, Stewart hoped to prevent the incursion of European designs and European textiles, even as he supported the import of certain European technologies, such as the incorporation of modern chemical dyes and the use of more efficient fly-shuttles, heddles, and

³⁸⁹ H. E. Bowman to W. A. Stewart, 21 March 1922. Reprinted in Stewart, 11.

³⁹⁰ W. A. Stewart, “Appendix A: Report on the Possibilities of Technical and Artistic Crafts Education in Palestine,” 8 July 1929 in Department of Education, *Annual Report for the Year, 1926–27*, 44.

³⁹¹ W. A. Stewart, “Report on the Dyeing and Weaving Industries: To the Chairman of the Commission for Palestine Crafts and Industries,” 20 May 1922. Reprinted in Stewart, “Creative Work in Palestine,” 15.

draw looms. Convinced that more robust and modernized training for boys in the crafts of weaving and dyeing would strengthen village life both socially and economically, Stewart saw technical education as paramount to the future of Arab welfare in Palestine.

In Stewart's final trip to Palestine in an advisory position, Bowman summoned him to complete a full survey of technical education across all schools—governmental and non-governmental, Jewish and Arab—in 1929.³⁹² The task affirmed the mandate administration's commitment to the strategy of parity, substantiating its claims to serve all Palestine's communities equally, at every bureaucratic register. In addition to surveying all Government public schools, which provided "almost a complete lack of qualified technical training," Stewart made special arrangements to visit one Arab and one Jewish privately-run training center: the Muslim Orphanage in Jerusalem (a crafts school operated by the Supreme Muslim Council since 1925) and the Hebrew Technical Institute at Haifa (established in 1924).³⁹³ According to Stewart, the two institutes suffered from opposite problems, and he gave his assessment of the Arab and Jewish arts and crafts in neat binaries. At the Muslim Orphanage "crafts [were] being taught as labour" and consisted of "too much merely manual work," whereas the courses at the Technical Institute in Haifa consisted of so much "technical training...that the practical side of

³⁹² Eager to review and improve the state of the crafts across Palestine, Bowman accompanied Stewart personally throughout this trip. Bowman's keen awareness of the need for improved agricultural and technical training among rural Arab populations drew suspicion from the central government. During the Palestine Royal Commission, dispatched following the start of the 1936 Arab Revolt, colonial bureaucrats questioned Bowman's educational methods as odd and potentially disloyal. They pointed to his insistence on maintaining Arabic and Hebrew as (separate) primary languages of instruction, instead of English in secondary schools, and his promotion of the teaching of handicrafts and agriculture above literature as potentially responsible for allowing political unrest to foment—inciting invidious separation rather than unification. Palestine Royal Commission, "Notes of Evidence taken on Friday, 27th November, 1936," Humphrey Bowman Collection.

³⁹³ Stewart, "Report on the Possibilities of Technical and Artistic Crafts Education in Palestine," 43. In addition to running an elementary school, the orphanage in Jerusalem maintained sections for carpentry, printing, book-binding, dressmaking, carpet-making and pottery. As early as 1925 and 1926 a number of teachers of manual training in Government schools attended courses of instruction in this orphanage. Department of Education, *Annual Report for the Year, 1925* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1926), 4; Department of Education, *Annual Report for the Year, 1925–26* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1927), 7; Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine*, 59.

the work suffers.” Thus, he saw the Muslim crafts in production at the orphanage as little more than trinkets in a “bazaar” and the Jewish crafts in development at Haifa as stuck “on paper.”³⁹⁴ Or, in other words, he codified Arab crafts as lacking in purposeful and intelligent design and the Jewish crafts as being over-conceptualized, so stuck in the design phase that they never materialized.

Stewart’s conclusions regarding Arab artisanal education echoed established British opinions concerning “Oriental” artisans, believing that these practitioners copied complex geometric patterns “unmindful of purpose,” without arriving at them through reasoned study.³⁹⁵ On the other hand, the Eastern European Jewish artisan, bogged down by his education, was seen as more akin to the “rational European,” searching for the reason beneath the intricacies of Oriental patterns.³⁹⁶ Unsurprisingly, Stewart recommended that an arts and crafts education, teaching design in parallel with an elaborate exploration of tools, methods, and materials, would solve both Arab and Jewish ailments in the field of artisanal production.

Once appointed as Palestine’s Director of Technical Education in 1930, however, Stewart had little power to affect pedagogy in the private Jewish school system, as it did not fall under government jurisdiction. Rather, he saw raising the standards of technical education and integrating an arts curriculum into the government’s Arab schools as his primary tasks. Stewart’s curriculum was rooted in teaching drawing as a “means of expression” applicable across a multitude of crafts, mirroring the syllabi disseminated by the Department of Science and Art (DSA) in trade schools across the British metropole and its colonies.³⁹⁷ Drawing was added to

³⁹⁴ Stewart, “Report on the Possibilities of Technical and Artistic Crafts Education in Palestine,” 43.

³⁹⁵ Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty*, 116.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ Stewart, “Report on the Possibilities of Technical and Artistic Crafts Education in Palestine,” 45. For more details regarding the formation of the Department of Science and Art, its pedagogical imperatives, curriculum, and

training in elementary schools, with students encouraged to draw from both nature and the imagination, using colored chalks to portray the world around them from their first year. By the second year, paper folding and simple wood work were added to the curriculum, followed by more advanced carpentry and metal work in the third and fourth years.³⁹⁸ Unlike the implementation of the DSA's curriculum in other colonial territories, however, the uneven public-private educational system and the severe shortage of trained teachers prevented Stewart's efforts from reaching a high number of Arab students. Furthermore, despite agitating for the opening of secondary schools dedicated to technical education, Stewart was unable to raise the necessary funds or gather enough teachers to open centralized arts and crafts academies in Palestine until the latter half of the decade.

Stewart framed the immediacy of his efforts not in terms of the threat of the arrival of mechanized European industrial commodities, as was the case for instance in India, but in terms of the competing Jewish labor force in Palestine:³⁹⁹

The Arabs are up against very stiff competition with the Jewish Artisans, and they have every right to demand that Technical Training, of a high standard, shall be provided for them. [...] The theory that the Arab is not fitted for highly skilled technical work must be disproved by actual achievement.⁴⁰⁰

Stewart negated the widely-held belief among British officials that Arabs lacked the skill or desire to excel in the arts and crafts, especially as it related to their awareness of how to secure their financial solvency in a country with a growing class of foreign workers. Moreover, he

dissemination across the colonies, see Rafael Cardoso Denis, "The Educated Eye and the Industrial Hand: Art and Design Instruction for the Working Classes in Mid-Victorian Britain" (Ph.D. diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, 1995); Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty*.

³⁹⁸ Stewart, "Report on the Possibilities of Technical and Artistic Crafts Education in Palestine," 45.

³⁹⁹ Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty*, 19.

⁴⁰⁰ Stewart, "Creative Work in Palestine," 129–30.

specifically blamed the government's weak provision of technical education in Arab schools for heightening the sense of disparity and political unrest between Arabs and Jews:

It is obvious that the provision for technical training is hopelessly inadequate, more particularly for Arabs, and that this state of things is resulting in Jewish workers being employed almost exclusively in the more highly skilled technical work, a condition which is not likely to encourage harmonious living together of the two races.⁴⁰¹

Stewart seemed to believe he could rectify some of the imbalances that had occurred from British support of Zionism and increased Jewish immigration by elevating Arab artisanship. While he articulated his advocacy for Arab workers and Arab education in such written reflections, however, he never directly challenged the mandate administration's policies and freely provided his technical expertise across political lines, maintaining good relations with the competent stewards of Palestine's varied ethno-religious groups. As expressed throughout his manuscript, Stewart felt bound more by duty than by a particular political activism to balance the scale and help to achieve parity for Arab artisanship.

In addition to the lack of technical education in elementary schools, which he aspired to remedy through the implementation of his curriculum, Stewart identified a paucity of trained teachers and an insufficient market for Arab craft objects as factors hindering Arab advancement. His solution to the teaching crisis emerged in his symbiotic relationship with the artist Jamal Badran. Stewart and Badran had first met when the young talent, at the age of thirteen, had been sent to Egypt to study at the Cairo School of Arts and Crafts in 1922, where he spent his time reportedly studying Islamic objects at the museums and illuminated manuscripts in the Royal Library.⁴⁰² While under the supervision of Stewart in Cairo, Badran specialized in painted and

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 165.

⁴⁰² Ibid., 3.

carved ornament, and perfected his skills in carved leather to create decorative covers for the Qur'an. At the time of Stewart's appointment in Palestine, the twenty-one year old Badran had recently completed the renovation and restoration of ceramic tiles, mosaics, and plaster carvings inside the Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (1927-8). Selected by the Supreme Muslim Council (SMC) to complete the work, Badran was well-regarded for his ability to adapt Islamic visual motifs across a broad array of media.⁴⁰³ Comparing a painted glass vase and an illuminated page of Qur'anic verse that Badran executed, for instance, shows his mastery of the floriated Kufic style of Arabic calligraphy and a sensitivity toward its use on different forms. [Fig. 3.7, 3.8] In each case the script is legible, but on the vase he extends the proportions of the letters to fill the most bulbous section, focusing the dense ornamentation and text on the bottom in order to lift the eye up the slender neck of the glass form. Badran's hand was confident and his visual ability to create and decipher complex geometries meant that later in his life, when the Salah al-Din Minbar in the al-Aqsa Mosque needed to be rebuilt in 1969 (after being burned), Badran managed to recreate the original designs from photographs and singed fragments, drawing directly on paper at 1:1 scale, and without tracing any patterns.⁴⁰⁴ [Fig. 3.9]

Stewart hired Badran as his assistant drawing master in Palestine in 1930, with the aim of co-planning and teaching drawing lessons to amateur teachers who were hired as instructors in rural elementary boys' schools. Stewart also hired a "Mr. Belinfante," a man from London who was known to have converted to Judaism, to assist with woodwork instruction. He had been

⁴⁰³ Oweis, "The Elements of Unity in Islamic Art as Examined Through the Work of Jamal Badran," 87.

⁴⁰⁴ The twelfth-century minbar was destroyed after a mentally ill Christian extremist from Australia, apparently intent on demolishing the mosque to make room for building the Third Temple, tried to burn the entire mosque. Salwa Mikdadi, "Badrans: A Century of Tradition and Innovation," *This Week in Palestine* 114 (October 2007), accessed April 5, 2019, <http://archive.thisweekinpalestine.com/details.php?catid=11&id=2281&edid=146>.

employed in the workshop of Christ Church (the London Mission to the Jews).⁴⁰⁵ The three men worked together, first through a fifteen-day summer training course, to teach the principles of perspective, the science of color, and the proper use of basic wood working tools.⁴⁰⁶ Reputedly, Badran also sent his students to copy at least one geometric and one floral pattern from the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa mosque as part of the course, ensuring that the students were learning decorative design from the historic Islamic monuments surrounding them in Palestine.⁴⁰⁷ Like the SMC which hired Badran for restoration work, Stewart coveted Badran's expertise in the Islamic arts and relied on his highly developed skills in the arts of drawing, painting, calligraphy, leatherwork, pottery, and glass to raise the standard of technical teaching in Arab boys' schools.

Badran would also prove to be the linchpin in Stewart's strategy for advancing technical training in Arab girls' schools. Starting in the mid-1930s, women teachers could attend summer courses at the Women's Training College in Jerusalem, where British female teachers instructed them in needlework and embroidery, but never in drawing or design. In 1937, Stewart decided to begin instructing women in the full arts and crafts curriculum and appointed Badran as their primary instructor. Badran had only recently returned to Palestine after completing three years at

⁴⁰⁵ The Christ Church workshop was also known as the House of Industry (as discussed in Chapter Three). Despite Arab-Jewish tensions running high by 1930, Stewart claimed that the Arab teachers in the course "knew [Belinfante] was a Jew but they liked him, in those early days, and respected his skill." Stewart, "Creative Work in Palestine," 47.

⁴⁰⁶ The Palestinian painter, Daoud Zalatimo (1906–2001), who had spent his youth in the studio of Nicola Saig, recalled honing his painting skills in such government summer courses for teachers, after securing employment as an art teacher in Khan Younis in 1925 and, years later, in Lydda. He may have attended the British-sponsored courses held at the Muslim orphanage in 1925-26, these later ones orchestrated by Stewart in 1930, or both. Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, 64. The prominent Palestinian artist, poet, and art critic Jabra Ibrahim Jabra recounted his experiences with Badran as a teacher in one of his books, praising Badran for teaching "the principles of perspective and light and shadow in painting" and "the appreciation of Islamic decorative art." Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, *al-bi'er al ula: fusool min sirah zatiyyah*, 2nd edition (Beirut: al-Mu'assasah al-Arabiyyah lil dirasat wa al-nasher, 2001), 189.

⁴⁰⁷ Oweis, "The Elements of Unity in Islamic Art as Examined Through the Work of Jamal Badran," 14.

the London Central School of Arts and Crafts from 1934 to 1937. As part of a Department of Education program which annually selected a small number of students from Palestine for scholarships to study abroad, it was Stewart who recommended Badran for the opportunity with the *quid pro quo* stipulation that he return to Palestine to teach afterwards.⁴⁰⁸ (Stewart was also the diplomat who hand-selected Nahil Bishara, the first Arab student to attend the New Bezalel School for Arts and Crafts after it reopened in 1935, and Zeev Ben-Zvi, a sculpture student at Bezalel, to study and work abroad.)⁴⁰⁹

Upon his return, Badran became the primary teacher responsible for continuing the women's training program throughout the school year, in addition to continuing his teaching duties at the Government Arab College for boys. The first Arab man to teach at the Rural Training Centre for Women in Ramallah, Badran held classes two days a week. He encouraged the women to draw and design their own embroidery on paper, "making the stitch the basis for design," instead of working from prescribed pattern books. Patterns in Palestinian embroidery had been primarily geometric until about 1870, when missionaries introduced pattern sheets with more curvilinear floral motifs and motifs of animals that were not common to Palestine (such as ducks) for the girls to copy from, as shown in an example of a *thob* using patterns sheets brought by the Quakers at the Friends Girls School in Ramallah. [Fig. 3.10] In encouraging the women to make their own designs through experimenting with the fundamental unit of a single cross-stitch,

⁴⁰⁸ Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine*, 67.

⁴⁰⁹ Bishara (1919–1997) was not only the first Arab, but the first Arab woman to study at Bezalel. As recounted by Bishara to art historian Gannit Ankori, Stewart handpicked her for a scholarship to study art in England after seeing her work in a high school graduation show in 1941. Forbidden by her parents to travel abroad alone, Bishara remained in Palestine. Stewart helped arrange her entry to Bezalel, where she studied from 1942–44. Stewart was also enchanted by the Bezalel-trained artist Zeev Ben-Zvi (on whom more is written in Chapter Four) and arranged for him to acquire studio space at the Royal College of Art in 1938–39, where he met fellow artists and had the opportunity to exhibit his works to London audiences. Ankori, *Palestinian Art*, 41–43; Stewart, "Creative Work in Palestine," 65–67.

Badran encouraged them to gain deep knowledge of their craft so as to be able to work without patterns. An example of a cushion cover from Hebron in the 1930s, where the thread was stitched directly into silk, shows some of this type of experimentation. [Fig. 3.11] The slightly unusual tree forms attached to the flowers, which vary in form, and the non-standard patterning of the colors suggest that the embroiderer adapted her pattern and chose colors as she worked. Moreover, Badran encouraged the students to further their craft of making small papier-mâché dolls, dressed in traditional Palestinian attire, as expressions of their individual creativity.⁴¹⁰ Badran's male students, some of whom continued to study painting, Arabic calligraphy, and Islamic design in Badran's private studio after 1948, such as Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, Yousef al-Najjar and Muhammad Siam, spoke of how their work bears the mark of their mentor.⁴¹¹ The names of the many women who would have studied with Badran prior to 1948 are largely undocumented (except for that of his wife, Fatima), but his influence on their creative work influenced the designs taught in girls' schools, which in turn affected the trajectory of women's cross-stitch and embroidery across Palestine in the mid-twentieth century.

The second prominent problem Stewart attacked in his task to equalize the arts and crafts between Jews and Arabs was the purportedly inadequate space for the egalitarian display and sale of craft objects. Stewart complained about Jerusalem's limited exhibition spaces in his manuscript:

Some examples of craftwork were to be seen in the Store of the American Colony and in one or two shops in the Jaffa road, but in none of these was there a really representative selection of all Arab and Jewish crafts.⁴¹²

⁴¹⁰ Stewart, "Creative Work in Palestine," 136.

⁴¹¹ Oweis, "The Elements of Unity in Islamic Art as Examined Through the Work of Jamal Badran," 133. Jabra (1919–1994), the most well-known of Badran's students, settled in Iraq after 1948 where his career flourished as a painter, poet, art critic, and founding member of the Baghdad Group for Modern Art (alongside Jewad Selim and Shakir Hassan al Said).

⁴¹² Stewart, "Creative Work in Palestine," 57.

Beyond the more enterprising souvenir shops along Jaffa Road, the Bezalel school also hosted frequent exhibitions of their work at home and abroad and Stewart hosted small displays of craftwork from the government schools.⁴¹³ However, there was no occasion to gather such disparate undertakings under one roof. Like a local version of a world's fair, Stewart set about organizing an arts and crafts exhibition that would display craftwork from every possible school, village, and individual around the country he could find:

We collected carpets from Gaza, silk stuffs from Mejdal hand looms, cotton stuffs from the Alliance Israelite workshop, copper work from Nazareth, Bethlehem pearl and olive wood work, Yemenite Basket work and Embroideries, lace, jewelry, in fact anything and everything we could find that was useful and attractive. Peasant women brought in embroidered head shawls and could not understand why my wife selected those of old traditional stitch and design and rejected others decorated with swans, cupids, and harps taken from French cross-stitch pattern books.⁴¹⁴

Stewart brimmed with excitement over the local diversity of the artisans and the variety of media he was able to exhibit in a unified manner. Stewart's listing of the participants in the exhibition reveals his interest in crafts produced in region-specific media (and his wife's bias toward works with "traditional" designs, likely shared by Stewart). Collecting "anything and everything," Stewart hoped to stimulate a local interest in and a market for all of Palestine's crafts, produced by all of Palestine's constituents. After hosting the exhibition for four simultaneous years in a room inside the Citadel near Jaffa Gate, Stewart concluded that the exhibition's visibility successfully stimulated the migration of craft objects from exhibition space to store window:

⁴¹³ In addition to graduation exhibitions for high schoolers and some small exhibitions of works by teachers, Stewart created a hybrid exhibition-competition for boys in the government Arab elementary schools. Each year, Stewart circulated the subject of the exhibition to the schools and the submitted entries were exhibited and judged by a set of officials from the architectural section of the Department of Public Works. The subjects ranged from the creation of objects, such as "a small Arabic table to be enriched with veneered inlay" (to be submitted alongside complete working drawings), to drawing tests, such as "a study in colour of Palestinian wild flowers" or "an illustration to the story of 'Joseph and his Brethren.'" Ibid., 120.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., 57.

“The object had been served; we had made a market for them and there seemed to be no further reason for competing with the shops.”⁴¹⁵

The Arts and Crafts Exhibitions highlighted the guiding principle behind Stewart’s endeavors in Palestine, creating a space—through the arts—in which Jews and Arabs could find common ground. He reflected on this idealistic position toward the end of his lengthy manuscript, writing, “If Jews and Arabs could agree to work together, to be Palestinians and work for Palestine, they might succeed.”⁴¹⁶ The proclamation of this ethos and the belief in the possibility of a common Palestinian citizenship for Jews and Arabs, despite the mandate administration’s clearly stated desire to foster a Jewish national homeland in Palestine, illuminate the double meaning behind the title of Stewart’s manuscript, *Creative Work in Palestine*. Not only did he believe a strong technical education would serve as a form of labor, or “creative work” for Palestine’s rural communities in financial need, but he harbored hope that the arts themselves could labor *for* Palestine, performing the work of solving the mounting gulf between Palestine’s Arab and Jewish communities.

Textiles and *Turath*

*Palestinian costume is rapidly dying out. I did not see either the variety or the beauty of costume during my last visit which I had noticed in 1911, or even in 1919. We cannot stop this, it is inevitable with westernizing influences, but we can at least retard it and keep alive traditional stitches and designs.*⁴¹⁷ – W.A. Stewart, 1927

For all of Stewart’s efforts to reform technical education in Palestine, a meager financial budget, a deficit of qualified teachers, and continued political upheaval throughout the decade of the

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 59.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 195.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 24.

1930s brought rather minimal advancement to local Arab crafts. Even after Stewart succeeded in opening a dedicated government trade school to train teachers in 1937, the Arab revolts of 1936-39 and the Second World War transformed the school into an active military base and army hospital for nearly a decade, forcing the school's pupils to learn in ill-equipped temporary facilities. Few students graduated from the trade school in these years and their inadequate training environment prevented the graduates from becoming efficient teachers.⁴¹⁸ Stewart himself acknowledged that his work fell far short of expectations: "The school was not re-opened again until after the end of the war. It was one of the most unfortunate circumstances of the war, that Arab Technical Education should have had to suffer just when it had made a start."⁴¹⁹

If Stewart's technical education reforms failed to make a lasting impact on Palestinian students, his passion for improving the weaving and embroidery industries and for preserving traditional Palestinian costumes constituted his most notable contributions to Palestine's cultural sector. Early in his Palestine career, Stewart marked Palestine's textile industry as paramount to conserving and promoting "all that was best in the social life" of Palestine.⁴²⁰ During his visit to Palestine as a guest of the Pro-Jerusalem Society in 1918, he remarked upon the inherent paradox within the Society's grand efforts to preserve and "beautify" the historical monuments of the Holy City without a corresponding interest in protecting contemporary Palestinian costumes. The "lovely costumes," Stewart argued, were not only of ethnographic interest as "every village has its own special costume," but without their presence, the change would take "so much beauty and colour out of the Jerusalem picture." For Stewart, the "embroidered robes and silk head-

⁴¹⁸ Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine*, 238–39.

⁴¹⁹ Stewart, "Creative Work in Palestine," 129.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

dresses” were as integral to the street-scape of Jerusalem as the stone walls. While Stewart recognized that the gradual transition to European clothing was inevitable—and hurried along by the “fearfully efficient and practical” American Red Cross, which had distributed cheap grey clothing to residents during the war—he hoped that the whitening and standardization of the city’s architecture would not be mirrored by the loss in color or diversity of local clothing.⁴²¹

Pressing for the Pro-Jerusalem Society to hire a local expert to instruct women teachers in the arts of “native dress-making and embroidery” at this early juncture, Stewart furthered this agenda once officially a member of the mandate administration by establishing dedicated weaving sections with updated looms in the Arab elementary schools of Bethlehem, Al-Majdal, and the smaller village of Dura.⁴²² By 1941, Stewart counted 636 hand looms and twelve machine looms operated by Arabs (Jewish looms numbered 158 hand looms and 418 machine looms), a significant advancement from the small and technically “primitive” weaving centers he had surveyed on his visits to Palestine in the early 1920s.⁴²³

Stewart considered the preservation and continuation of the production of Palestinian textiles as a vital social project. He insisted that the cultivation of local weaving industries would provide “occupation during spare time” from agricultural life, therefore helping to “make village

⁴²¹ Ibid., 4–5. Sharon Rotbard, Israeli architect and theorist, takes up the compelling subject of the “whitening” of Jewish Tel Aviv and the “blackening” of Arab Jaffa during the mandate (and in its immediate aftermath) in his book *White City, Black City: Architecture and War in Tel Aviv and Jaffa*, trans. Orit Gat (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2015). While Rotbard’s concern is the ‘whitewashing’ of Palestine’s urban and architectural fabric as part of joint British-Zionist colonial efforts, it resonates with Stewart’s fears over the loss of colorful, traditional costumes as a cipher for his concern about the loss of plurality in Palestine.

⁴²² Stewart, “Creative Work in Palestine,” 5, 131.

⁴²³ While these numbers were difficult for Stewart to obtain with any accuracy (or confirm today), Stewart noted that despite his best efforts to engage weaving as a primary industry among both Arabs and Jews, the craft did not fully take off until the start of the Second World War, when imports were rare and there was a great need for the local production of textiles. After that time, the number of Arab hand looms increased considerably to 1,080 and their machine looms to thirty-three. W. A. Stewart, “The Recent Development of Crafts and Industries in Palestine,” *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 14, no. 5 (1944): 266–67; Stewart, “Report on the Dyeing and Weaving Industries,” 11.

life more interesting and self-contained.”⁴²⁴ He framed his observations in terms of recent urbanization in Egypt and a fear of replicating the same conditions in Palestine:

Anything that can be done to maintain this social organization should be encouraged or Palestine will be faced with the problem so well known in Europe and already growing up in Egypt, of keeping the people on the land. [...] Nothing could be more pathetic than the conditions, so rapidly coming about in Egypt, of the half-educated youth of the Fellahin unable to find situations in the already overcrowded government service and yet unwilling and unfitted to return to the land and provincial village life.⁴²⁵

Stewart’s beliefs echoed the “industrial paternalism” that lay behind the arts and crafts movement, especially as it developed in the British colonies, where industrialization was not yet a *fait accompli*.⁴²⁶ Even as British colonial officials, like Stewart, romanticized the figure of the native artisan and valorized her efforts in preserving traditional culture against European incursion, it was necessary to confine the artisan to rural, “primitive” life for the continuity of the economic, industrial, and aesthetic stratification between the centrality of the more cosmopolitan cities, such as Jerusalem, and their peripheral villages.⁴²⁷ Just as much as Stewart aimed to stimulate the economy and social well-being of Palestine’s peasant class through the advancement of artisanal textiles in rural villages, his actions also made him complicit in the broader British colonial project and its associated appropriation of agency from the colonized.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁴ Stewart, “Creative Work in Palestine,” 15.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty*, 5. The socialist desire to fold agricultural laborers into the scheme of the arts and crafts movement, but often laced with paternalistic overtones, is echoed in writings by many of the movement’s chief protagonists, by example here in a text by William Morris: “...I must at the outset disclaim the mere aesthetic point of view which looks upon the ploughman and his bullocks and his plough, the reaper, his work, his wife, and his dinner, as so many elements which compose a pretty tapestry hanging, fit to adorn the study of a contemplative person of cultivation [. . .] On the contrary, what I wish for is that the reaper and his wife should have themselves a due share in all the fullness of life.” William Morris, “The Revival of Handicraft,” *Fortnightly Review*, May 1888.

⁴²⁷ Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty*, 4.

⁴²⁸ As Dutta argues throughout his book, the arrival of the DSA curriculum in the British colonies (in his analysis, India specifically) and its associated aim to combine universal policy and local initiative “resulted in a full-blooded compensatory thrust toward ‘culture’ as the rubric for appropriating agency from the native.” Ibid., 6.

Stewart's interest in Palestinian costume dovetailed with nationalist heritage movements arising among Palestine's intellectual and political elite. Throughout the late-Ottoman period, British, French, and German archaeological expeditions had proliferated, mostly with the goal of authenticating the Judeo-Christian imagination of the Holy Land and effacing the region's more recent Islamic past through the "hard facts of archaeology."⁴²⁹ These foreign excavators, including scientists, diplomats, and religious emissaries, produced archaeological knowledge in order to bolster their contemporary claims to exercising their rights in Ottoman Palestine.⁴³⁰ In archaeology's sister discipline of ethnography, the modern-day Palestinian and specifically, the Palestinian peasantry, came to be viewed as part of a "living Bible," vessels through which ancient traditions and beliefs described in the Bible were still visible.⁴³¹ Together, the archaeological and ethnographic disciplines posed heritage as something discoverable and tangible, and posited a connection between ancient objects/sites and living persons.⁴³²

As the contemporary anthropologist Nadia Abu El-Haj has demonstrated, during the mandate the British began "disciplining" archaeology through establishing a Department of Antiquities, issuing a revised antiquities law (1929), and encouraging more scientific

⁴²⁹ Chiara De Cesari, "Cultural Heritage Beyond the 'State': Palestinian Heritage between Nationalism and Transnationalism" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2009), 76.

⁴³⁰ Neil Asher Silberman, *Digging for God and Country: Exploration, Archeology, and the Secret Struggle for the Holy Land, 1799-1917* (New York: Knopf: Distributed by Random House 1982); Magen Broshi, *Religion, Ideology, and Politics and Their Impact on Palestinian Archaeology* (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1987); James F. Goode, *Negotiating for the Past: Archaeology, Nationalism, and Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1919-1941* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007).

⁴³¹ Such views were aided by ethnography's traditional penchant for "allochroism," or the "denial of coevalness," as discussed by Johannes Fabian—in other words, the relegation of the object of study to another time. By freezing the Palestinian peasant in the biblical age, ethnographers wrested both present and future agency away from the local Arab populace. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* [1983] (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Cesari, "Cultural Heritage beyond the 'State,'" 76.

⁴³² Nadia Abu El-Haj, "Producing (Arti) Facts: Archaeology and Power during the British Mandate of Palestine," *Israel Studies* 7, no. 2 (2002): 33.

classification systems.⁴³³ Their institutionalization of the discipline made possible specific historical conceptions of Palestine as *Eretz Israel*—the Land of Israel—as visible, demonstrable, and ultimately factual. The Zionist-funded Jewish Palestine Exploration Society (established in 1914) increased its activity under the mandate, accumulating evidence of Jewish cultural remains and re-discovering or generating Hebrew geographical place names throughout the country. Their ability to practice the professional and disciplinary science of archaeology as outlined under the mandate helped to neutralize Zionism’s colonial dimensions. Through their zealous collection of “facts,” Palestine emerged “visibly and linguistically as the Jewish national-home.”⁴³⁴ Or, in other words, “archaeological data helped to make real the *truth* of (settler)nationhood” by proving that “in contrast to colonial projects elsewhere, this was simply a nation returning home.”⁴³⁵ As both British and Zionist archaeologists continued to view the dress and customs of the Arab Palestinian peasantry as rooted in a continuous tradition going back to biblical times, they interpreted this sartorial heritage as being shared by Muslims, Christians, and Jews.⁴³⁶

While the Department of Education and the Department of Antiquities made attempts to instill an interest in modern science and a notion of heritage among Palestine’s rural population (implementing science curricula in the schools and “familiarizing” the fellahin with the existence and meaning of the Antiquities Law through public outreach), a group of middle-class Arabs, of both Muslim and Christian background, had already begun contributing to the mounting research

⁴³³ Nadia Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 22–72.

⁴³⁴ Abu El-Haj, "Producing (Arti) Facts," 46.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, 34–35.

⁴³⁶ Cesari, “Cultural Heritage beyond the ‘State,’” 79.

linking archaeology, ethnography, and national heritage.⁴³⁷ The Jerusalem doctor Tawfiq Canaan, nationalist activist Omar Saleh al-Barghouti, historian and educator Khalil Totah, Stephan Hanna Stephan, and Elias Haddad were among the most prominent Arab contributors to the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society (JPOS)*, a journal established in 1920 as a collaborative undertaking by the many European and American archaeological societies operating in Palestine. Dubbed “nativist ethnographers” by the historian Salim Tamari, these men produced a loose ethnographic corpus of articles and books about Palestine and Palestinians during the 1920s and 30s that drew directly from the methodologies and the lexicon of colonial discursive practices.⁴³⁸

While these Arab ethnographers modeled colonial methods in practice, they pursued their studies in nationalist opposition to British and Zionist colonial interests in establishing a Jewish national home in Palestine. From Canaan’s investigations of “haunted springs and water demons in Palestine” to El-Barghouti’s insights about “judicial courts among the Bedouin of Palestine” or Haddad’s exploration of “blood revenge among the Arabs,” these ethnographers carefully documented the origins, mutations, and continuities of social practices and folkloric beliefs across the diverse Palestinian population, tracing a historic lineage of cultural practices and deep connections to the land.⁴³⁹ As modern scholars, they distanced themselves from Palestine’s rural class, viewing those practices and beliefs as temporally and culturally foreign to Palestine’s more

⁴³⁷ Peasants residing on a historical site, using its stones as quarries or selling its buried antiquities as souvenirs caused great anxiety among officials of the Department of Antiquities. Early attempts to “familiarize” peasants with the antiquity laws included trying to forcefully remove the (newly labeled) “squatters,” such as in the case of Arabs living in the ruins of the Crusader castle at Athlit in 1932. However, the Department eventually abandoned such forceful tactics, realizing that by education and encouragement the local population would work with the government to protect and preserve their antiquities. Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground*, 70–71.

⁴³⁸ Salim Tamari, “Lepers, Lunatics and Saints: The Nativist Ethnography of Tawfiq Canaan and His Jerusalem Circle,” *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 20 (2004): 28.

⁴³⁹ Titles sourced from the first two volumes of the journal: *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 1, 2 (1920-22).

modern urbanites. Haddad, and others, adopted the vocabulary and tone of their European counterparts, expressing that the peasantry reflected “the customs, practices, and rites of primitive times” and fearing that “many of the native customs will disappear before the advance of European culture.”⁴⁴⁰ Yet the growth of the Arab nationalist movement equally motivated their study of rural Palestinian material culture, viewing the peasantry as the rightful “soul of the nation.”⁴⁴¹ Canaan felt it his duty to contribute to this scientific work as a “son of the country,” and Tamari has argued that by finding an authentic expression of Palestinian roots in the land through their study of the peasantry, these nativist ethnographers “contested Zionist claims to biblical patrimonies by stressing present day continuities between the biblical heritage (and occasionally pre-biblical roots) and Palestinian popular beliefs and practices.”⁴⁴² What Canaan would express more directly in his later political treatises, *The Palestine Arab Cause* and *Conflict in the Land of Peace* (both published 1936), the rooting of an Arab Palestinian nationalism in heritage studies began through the scientific practice of archaeology and ethnography.⁴⁴³

Rehearsing colonial statements about the timelessness of the peasant world in a politically-motivated search for Palestinian roots might have produced a certain lack of scientific

⁴⁴⁰ E. N. Haddad, “Blood Revenge Among the Arabs,” *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 1 (1920): 103.

⁴⁴¹ Salim Tamari, “Soul of the Nation: The Fallah in the Eyes of the Urban Intelligentsia,” in *Israel/Palestine: Fields for Identity, Special Issue of the Review of Middle East Studies*, ed. Glenn Walker Bowman (London: Scorpion, 1992), 74–83.

⁴⁴² Tawfiq Canaan, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine* (London: Luzac & Co., 1927), V; Tamari, “Lepers, Lunatics and Saints: The Nativist Ethnography of Tawfiq Canaan and His Jerusalem Circle,” 30.

⁴⁴³ *The Palestine Arab Cause*, originally written in English and distributed in short articles in the local and foreign press after the outbreak of the Arab Revolt in 1936, “resembled a political pamphlet directed at British public opinion,” and was also later published in Arabic and French. Canaan’s other book, *Conflict in the Land of Peace*, not only echoed the pamphlet’s questioning of British policy in relation to Zionism, but spoke specifically of recent Arab improvements to the land and agriculture as proof of their continued rights to the land. Khaled Nashef, “Tawfik Canaan: His Life and Works,” *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 16 (2002): 21-23.

nuance.⁴⁴⁴ Yet the Arab ethnographers carried out detailed research to support their claims. Canaan categorically rejected generalities, as demonstrated by the painstaking data he collected for his book *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine* (1927), originally printed in installments in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*:

The present work is based on a study of 235 shrines which I have examined personally, 348 shrines about which exact material was available, attendance at Mohammedan festivals, *dikers*, *molads*, and other ceremonies, a large assortment of stories told about the saints, a large collection of verses sung by the people in honour of the *awlia*, and a very extensive collection of amulets. [...] Yet the subject is so vast and complicated that I cannot claim to have gathered more than a handful of grain from the large heap of corn.⁴⁴⁵

Canaan's compulsion for specificity as a reflection of Palestinian diversity can also be gleaned from his review of Gustaf Dalman's magisterial two-volume book *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* (Work and Customs in Palestine) published in 1928 and again, in 1932, with illustrations.⁴⁴⁶ Dalman, the founding director of the German Protestant Institute for Archaeology in Jerusalem (established in 1900), ran weekly courses for German scientists in history and biblical archaeology and completed extensive ethnographic research throughout Palestine until the early 1920s. Canaan lightly criticized Dalman for his "perhaps too lengthy" descriptions of present conditions in Palestine, but praised the German scientist's "minutest description of everything"

⁴⁴⁴ Cesari, "Cultural Heritage Beyond the 'State,'" 79.

⁴⁴⁵ Canaan, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine*, VI.

⁴⁴⁶ Gustaf Dalman, *Work and Customs in Palestine*, trans. Nadia Abdulhadi Sukhtian (Ramallah: Dar Al Nasher, 2013). Original publication: Gustaf Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1928). Canaan's affinity for detailed scientific work was gleaned from his education in the German school system. His early education in Palestine was at the German Schneller School and after completing medical studies at the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut (now known as the American University of Beirut), he returned to Palestine in 1905 to work as a physician at the German Deaconesses Hospital and the Shaare-Zedek Hospital (the German-Jewish Hospital). From 1912-13 he studied microbiology and medicine in Hamburg. Canaan's research methods were informed by the German schooling system and he published articles in German and for Germany scholarly publications throughout his career. Nashef, "Tawfiq Canaan," 21-23.

and his “carefulness in giving exact and uniform transcriptions.”⁴⁴⁷ Though he deemed Dalman’s text an authoritative “encyclopedia of the life and customs of the Holy Land,” Canaan’s review nonetheless provided five pages of densely written notes correcting and expounding upon regional adaptations of customs and etymological variants of words that Dalman omitted or missed. In the early years of the mandate, as Palestinians grappled with the failure of a unified Arab national government under King Faisal, as well as British and Zionist incursion, Canaan’s exacting observations of Palestinian popular beliefs, customs, and material objects contributed to the strengthening of a modern Palestinian identity that was multi-layered and inclusive of Palestine’s poorer classes.⁴⁴⁸

While Palestinian ethnographers explored caravan routes, burial rites, and even topics as seemingly minute as “plant-lore in Palestinian superstition” (an article written by Canaan), they never directly studied the genealogy of Palestinian costume. That subject appeared to be reserved for women, both Palestinian and foreign. Mary Eliza Rogers, a visitor to Palestine in 1855, received unprecedented entrée into the world of women in Palestine as the sister of a high-ranking British lawyer and penned her observations in *Domestic Life in Palestine* (1865).⁴⁴⁹ In

⁴⁴⁷ Tawfiq Canaan, “Book Review of G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*,” *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 1934, 147–51.

⁴⁴⁸ Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 172–75.

⁴⁴⁹ Rogers’ brother, Edward Thomas Rogers, began his career in the British consular service in the Middle East in 1848 and held various posts in Jerusalem, Haifa, Beirut, Damascus and Cairo. In the company of her brother, Rogers spent three years in residence in Palestine where she was given the “unusual” opportunity to observe “the inner phases of Oriental Domestic Life,” as she wrote in the preface to her book. “The women especially interested me,” Rogers wrote, and boasted “I gleaned many facts concerning them, which have never hitherto been published, and probably have never been collected.” Also an amateur artist, Rogers sketched many of the individuals and scenes she encountered in Palestine, using them to write her detailed descriptions. Mary Eliza Rogers, *Domestic Life in Palestine*, reprint of 1865 edition (London; New York: Kegan Paul International; Distributed by Routledge, Chapman, and Hall, 1989), 3.

the book, she emphasized the unique artistry of Palestinian dress as representative of the soul of the country:

The real poetry of the country is unwritten. It is the everyday language of the people. They are all—more especially the Bedouins and the peasants, unconscious poets. Their natural artistic feeling, and their sense of beauty and fitness, are shown in their costumes, which are always harmonious in colour, and never embroidered except with pure and graceful designs.⁴⁵⁰

Bedouin costume indeed featured less embroidered segments and often used color to carefully code if a woman was single, married, or widowed—creating a harmony across the dresses when seen together in a group of women. [Fig. 3.12] Like the spoken language, Rogers claimed, Palestinian costume was a form of communication to be decoded and historicized, as well as an object to be aestheticized.

Hilma Granqvist, the Scandinavian anthropologist who spent more than two years living among Arab women in the village of Artas between 1925 and 1931, also closely studied the grammar of Palestinian costume as part of her observations on female domesticity, marriage, and childbirth.⁴⁵¹ Granqvist's ample photographic collection documenting marriage rituals in Artas provided an important visual index of the symbolism of textiles and jewelry in the culture she studied.⁴⁵² [Fig. 3.13-3.15] Photographic plates with descriptive captions were included in the

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 338.

⁴⁵¹ Granqvist began her academic career in biblical studies, graduating from Helsinki University in Pedagogy, History, and Philosophy and subsequently attending courses in Old Testament Studies at Berlin University with the aim of writing a book on women in the Old Testament. Finding the literature insufficient, she arranged to study in Palestine in 1925, fortuitously intersecting with a European woman (Louise Baldensperger) who introduced Granqvist to female life in the village of Artas. She completed three years of fieldwork in Artas focusing on the study of domestic village life between 1925 and 1931, collecting the material for her books *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village* (1931), *Birth and Childhood Among the Arabs* (1947) and *Child Problems Among the Arabs* (1950). With further research on a visit to Artas in 1959, she completed her last book on Artas, *Muslim Death and Burial*, in 1965. Praised by anthropologists, from Gustaf Dalman to Margaret Mead, Granqvist's books are of special importance for their systematic study of the Palestinian rural domestic sphere. Biographical information summarized from Shelagh G. Weir, "Hilma Granqvist and Her Contribution to Palestine Studies," *Bulletin (British Society for Middle Eastern Studies)* 2, no. 1 (1975): 6–7.

⁴⁵² Textile historian and curator Shelagh Weir reproduced many of Granqvist's photographs (both published and unpublished) in her catalogue on Palestinian costume for the British Museum, which demonstrate the rich variety of

second edition of her first published volume, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village* (1935), as corroborating evidence for her rich descriptions about the uses of textiles to indicate age, marriage status, and wealth. Like her Arab male counterparts, Granqvist sought truth in the details.

While Arab women in the same social and political circles as Canaan may not have studied Palestinian costume scientifically, one of the ways they entered into the debates about Palestinian nationalism and heritage during the mandate was through their own dress. In the late 1920s, Palestinian women in urban centers began to challenge traditional dress codes by wearing knee-length dresses, high heels, and occasionally removing the *hijab*. Debates over female veiling/unveiling erupted in Arabic-language newspapers like *Filastin* and *al-Difa* in the late 20s and early 1930s, revealing a wide range of opinions and diversity in experience. While some saw the move toward unveiling as a positive step toward “westernization” and recourse against British and Zionist claims about the backwardness of Arab culture, others believed that maintaining the veil demonstrated a belief in the importance of traditional principles in the growth of Palestinian national movements.⁴⁵³ Such debates erupted among the founders of women’s national political organizations, such as the Arab Women’s Association (AWA) and the Arab Women’s Union (AWU).⁴⁵⁴ Matiel Mogannam, a founder of the AWA, equated culture and

costumes and circumstances captured by Granqvist. For examples, see Shelagh Weir, *Palestinian Costume* (Northampton, MA: Interlink Books, 2009), 264–65.

⁴⁵³ As the historian Ellen Fleischmann summarized from her close reading of the newspaper veiling debates: “Two distinct trends of thought emerge from the pages of the newspapers in this period: one attributes all of the various social ills (such as the ‘marriage crisis’ or ‘women’s ignorance,’ for example) to Arab backwardness vis-a-vis the West; the other places the blame for these problems on ‘blind imitation’ of the West.” Ellen Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its “New” Women: The Palestinian Women’s Movement, 1920-1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 78.

⁴⁵⁴ Tensions among members of the AWA continued to increase, leading to the union’s split in the midst of the Arab Revolts: “But the seams of harmony had already been strained before the revolt, and sometime toward its conclusion, the AWA became affected by the factionalism that had intensified to the point of internecine

the advancement of the Palestinian national cause with Western dress, “implicitly negating Arab cultural traditions,” according to the historian Ellen Fleischmann, and alienating women from the movement who held more traditional views.⁴⁵⁵ Mogannam opined in *The Palestine Post*:

All English women think Arab women are uncultured. They believe they speak only Arabic, that they all wear veils and rush away at the sight of a man. How I wish I could take English women around to see my cultured Arab friends. How surprised they would be—European clothes, silk stockings, highheeled shoes, permanently waved hair, manicured hands.⁴⁵⁶

For Mogannam, proof of a woman’s place within the Arab national movement and within modernization movements at large lay in the swing of her skirt and the height of her heels.

However, in parallel to the ways in which urban Arab male ethnographers valorized the peasant class even as they regarded their beliefs and practices as “primitive” and distanced themselves culturally, Mogannam wore European fashions but promoted the traditional crafts of weaving and embroidery among rural women. During the First World War and the early years of the mandate, Mogannam opened and financed the Jerusalem Women’s Institute, a weaving and embroidery center for Christian Arab women, recalling the many foreign Christian missionary schools and workshops (discussed in Chapter Two) that provided such opportunities for Jewish, Muslim and Christian girls. Mogannam’s institute provided looms, fabrics, and other materials to support the rural economy and keep traditional costumes alive. The Institute produced “woven dress fabrics, wool rugs, and delightful embroidered tea sets, using the traditional patterns of the local costume of Ramallah.”⁴⁵⁷ Promotional photographs taken by the American Colony Photo

assassination within the national movement. Around late 1938-early 1939, the AWA-Jerusalem split into two groups: the Arab Women’s (or Ladies’) Association and the Arab Women’s Union.” Ibid., 152–53.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., 153.

⁴⁵⁶ “A Threat from Arabia: Mrs. Mogannam, ‘Arab Woman Who Fears Nothing,’” *The Palestine Post*, 7 December 1936.

⁴⁵⁷ Stewart, “Creative Work in Palestine,” 76.

Department for the Institute show both men and women engaged in the preparation of cloth and embroidery while wearing a range of Palestinian and European dress. [Fig. 3.16] Although separated from the students in her institute by economic class and education, Mogannam valued and supported the material culture of the peasantry as demonstrating the flourishing of Palestinian cultural heritage and integral to the Palestinian demand for political rights. If, according to the male nativist ethnographers, the Palestinian nationalist consciousness was to be found in the soul of the peasant who still believed in myths and folklore, then, according to women ethnographers and activists, the threads of the peasant's clothing were the visible encasement of that soul.

Stewart's obsession with reviving Palestine's textile industry and his interest in the diversity of the costumes of the country reflected this rise in heritage studies among Palestine's Arab community. While discussing the strides women teachers were making under Badran at the Women's Training College in Jerusalem, Stewart made special note of the craft of doll-making that the women brought with them to the school, which Badran encouraged:

The girls made dolls, often in the costumes of the country. Their faces were of papier mache and usually had character. Some of these dolls were real little works of art, correct in every detail and expressing the character of the people.⁴⁵⁸

An example of one such doll illuminates his point. [Fig. 3.17] The real metal coins sewn into the doll's conical *shaṭwa* (cap) implies her status as a married woman and even includes a traditional embellished chin-chain to keep the cap in place. The vertical stripes on the front panel of her *thob* and the four-loop pattern on the chest panel, a simplified version of the popular *muftah al-qalb* (key of the heart) design, identifies her as a Bethlehemite. Even the vivid pink and purple border motifs of her sleeves and the orange plant-like form growing from the bottom of her dress

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., 136.

indicate she is a woman of her time, using the types of brightly-colored DMC threads and patterns imported from France during the mandate. Stewart viewed such dolls dressed in the diverse “costumes of the country” as simulacra for the as yet-unrealized potential of furthering Arab political participation through a revitalization of Palestinian textiles.⁴⁵⁹ Echoing his educational creed that in order to advance Arab technical skills and thereby Arab economic and political capital—“we do not need uniformity, but the expression of individuality”—Stewart’s interest in Palestinian costume extended to his enthusiasm for British-Arab-Jewish collaboration in the context of the founding of the Palestine Folk Museum.⁴⁶⁰

The Palestine Folk Museum

*With all the talk one hears about nationality and the rights of minorities, one would have thought that costume would be treasured as a national heritage, but however strong national politics may be, they do not include many of those characteristics, costume among the most important, which are vital to the individuality of a people.*⁴⁶¹ - W.A. Stewart, 1932

Conceived as a unique space in which the intimate objects of Arab and Jewish life might peaceably come together in a way that they struggled to do in reality, the idea for the PFM was rare in that it preached commonality in a landscape defined by increasingly hardline ethnic separatism. From the composition of the museum’s executive committees to its small but thoughtful collections, Stewart’s drive to achieve parity in the artisanal crafts extended to the folk museum’s vision as well. As an institution, its history is one of failure, or at best a mild and short-lived success. The future it promised—of tranquil, multicultural coexistence—never arrived. However, the museum’s bumpy road to creation, its supporters and detractors, and the textiles and craft

⁴⁵⁹ Stewart, “Shall We Revive the Native Industries in Palestine?,” in *Ibid.*, 83–84.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 83.

objects within, describe how a veneer of harmony between communities could be imagined through the epistemological categories of “art,” “culture,” and “heritage.” Through private initiative, the museum’s founders reimagined Palestine’s citizenry as a unified body, not separated by religion or ethnicity, by boldly marching crafts and costumes into the realm of politics and nationalist heritage discourse.

The development of the PFM occurred in fits and starts over a fifteen-year period with Stewart at the helm. Stewart first proposed the idea of a folk museum during his second visit to Palestine in 1919, “when costumes would have been acquired cheaply” and the Pro-Jerusalem Society could have “charged tourists for admission in connection with the Tour of the City Walls.”⁴⁶² A space to celebrate Jerusalem’s living “artifacts” as a complement to its recently restored stone walls, the first version of Stewart’s envisioned museum would have served a foreign class of tourists, many with an interest in observing local culture as part of the trend to compare present-day conditions with ancient biblical life.⁴⁶³ By 1929, on the cusp of his appointment as director of technical education, Stewart again “urged the purchase of local costumes,” but this time with the intention of serving the local community “as a basis for a school of dress design and embroidery.”⁴⁶⁴ Proposing a publicly accessible textile museum as a tool to bolster the government’s educational aims, Stewart managed to convince the mandate

⁴⁶² W. A. Stewart to Ralph Poston, 21 May 1935, Palestine Folk Museum Papers, Israel State Archives.

⁴⁶³ This aspect of the museum was never fully abandoned. In Iliffe’s text for *The Museums Journal* he wrote: “Historical continuity, of which many examples are provided already by the Folk Museum, is of particular importance in Palestine, where our knowledge of the conditions in prehistoric and biblical times is being yearly extended and amplified as the result of excavations. Craftsmen may be found to-day employing exactly the same methods as those used 4,000 years ago, and many of the objects made by the Palestinian villager to-day for his daily use are identical in form with those being excavated on sites of the Bronze or Iron Age.” Iliffe, “A Folk Museum for Palestine,” 421–22.

⁴⁶⁴ W. A. Stewart to Ralph Poston, 21 May 1935, Palestine Folk Museum Papers.

government to dedicate one hundred pounds in the yearly budget to this purpose—a line item that was swiftly removed the following year.⁴⁶⁵

Without financial support from the government and with only an embryonic collection of five to six costumes acquired by the antiquities department in the mid-1920s, the idea for the folk museum stalled. It appeared to gain traction when Stewart began describing his “museum of Native Costume” as supporting the preservation of “national heritage,” tapping into currents of local discourse.⁴⁶⁶ He proposed that revitalizing hand-crafted textile production in Palestine would not only “reduce boredom, the fatal cancer of modern life,” but would elevate Palestinian textiles through the auspices of a museum. This museum, he believed, would provide a potential remedy to political upheaval and dissatisfaction with the government—recalling Ashbee’s sentiment that creative work could be used to prevent Palestinians from becoming “discontented effendis.”⁴⁶⁷ By 1935, Stewart was joined by likeminded individuals, many of whom were the spouses of British colonial officials, enchanted by the designs of Palestinian embroidery and interested in the museum’s possible social implications. “These spasmodic attempts, these indefinite gropings,” made in pursuit of the museum’s founding, wrote the PFM’s chairman John Henry Iliffe,

were indicative of the widespread feeling that something ought to be done, that an unparalleled opportunity was being allowed to slip from our grasp. Eventually it

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁶ Stewart, “Creative Work in Palestine,” 83. The first Director of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine and head of the Archeological Museum, Professor John Garstang, petitioned for government funds to acquire “native costumes” in 1926. Garstang began collecting costumes as part of the fashion to establish ethnographic “Museums of National Life.” It is believed he acquired five or six costumes, but they lacked “sufficient antiquity” to be exhibited in the Archaeological Museum and were thus relegated to the storeroom. Violet Barbour to Chief Secretary Max Nurock, 22 January 1936, Palestine Folk Museum Papers, Israel State Archives.

⁴⁶⁷ Stewart, “Creative Work in Palestine,” 85; Ashbee, *Jerusalem 1918-1920*, 34. Stewart’s attitude reflected the social theories of the arts and crafts movement, as he drew parallels between Palestine and folk movements in England which arose in response to the social inequities produced by mechanized industry. For more on the English arts and crafts movement and its ambivalent relationship with socialism, see Michael Kimmel, “The Arts and Crafts Movement: Handmade Socialism or Elite Consumerism?,” *Contemporary Sociology* 16, no. 3 (1987): 388–90.

became clear to those interested who had a realistic outlook that if a Folk Museum were to come into existence, it would only do so through private initiative.⁴⁶⁸

Despite the engagement of mandate officers like Stewart and Iliffe (curator of the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum from 1931 to 1948), the PFM never operated directly under the mandate authorities during its history, continuing only as a privately-sponsored initiative whose mission could be developed somewhat outside of official narratives.

Nevertheless, the founders of the PFM operated from a fundamentally colonial perspective and defined “the artistic heritage of Palestine” not just as relating to Palestine’s Arab Muslim and Christian population, but as a heritage shared among Palestine’s Muslims, Christians, Jews, Druze, Bedouins, Gypsies, and Circassians. Yet erecting a cultural institution in 1935 espousing such harmonious coexistence was as unlikely a prospect in its own time as it appears inconceivable in hindsight.⁴⁶⁹ By that year, Zionists and Palestinians had formed executive bodies of leadership resembling nascent governments: the Jewish Agency for the former and, by 1934, the Arab Higher Committee for the latter. The authority of the British Mandate continued to rule both organizations, but each petitioned for equal treatment and vied for assurances regarding future sovereignty over Palestine and its inhabitants. The activities pursued by each party’s base, from schooling to shopping, had become almost fully detached from one another and offered few opportunities for the ordinary commingling of the recent past.⁴⁷⁰ Jews were escaping Europe to Palestine in increasing numbers, and as the need to locate a Jewish refuge became urgent, anxieties over securing a future Arab national state grew.

⁴⁶⁸ Iliffe, “A Folk Museum for Palestine,” 422–23.

⁴⁶⁹ Executive Committee of the Palestine Folk Museum to High Commissioner for Palestine Sir Arthur Wauchope, n.d. (ca. 1935), Palestine Folk Museum Papers, Israel State Archives.

⁴⁷⁰ Deborah Bernstein and Badi Hasisi, “‘Buy and Promote the National Cause’: Consumption, Class Formation and Nationalism in Mandate Palestinian Society,” *Nations and Nationalism* 14, no. 1 (2008): 127–50.

Tensions between Arabs and Jews escalated, and open confrontation between the two groups surged. The three year “Arab revolts” that followed, from 1936-39, became a chapter in Palestine’s mandate-era history that now appears as the antithesis of cooperation and cultural harmony.

For the people supporting the museum’s creation, however, its successful establishment presented an alternative vision of the present and a possible future. The composition of the museum’s executive committee, responsible for its operations, embodied the inter-ethnic and religiously-inclusive space they hoped the museum’s collections would represent. The diverse founding members of the museum included British administrators Stewart and Iliffe, but also a range of non-colonial officials, such as Leo Aryeh Mayer, a Jewish professor of Islamic art and archaeology at Hebrew University; Ahmed Bey Khalidi, head of the Government Arab College and from a prominent Muslim family, and Edwin Herbert Samuel, son of Herbert Samuel. Several wives of local British officials, including Nora Bowman, Violet Barbour, Jan MacDonald, and Mrs. J. E. F. Campbell, as well as the wives of Palestinian political and intellectual figures, including Katy Antonius, Mrs. Musa Bey al-‘Alami, and Tarab ‘Abd al-Hadī, were also integral contributors to the museum’s founding.⁴⁷¹ The Palestinian women were well-known figures in their own right: Katy Antonius hosted legendary literary and political salons and Tarab ‘Abd al-Hadī co-founded the Palestine Arab Women’s Congress in the late 1920s and was active in the Arab Women’s Association alongside Mrs. Musa Bey al-‘Alami throughout the 1930s and 1940s.⁴⁷² The museum’s appeal committee—those willing to lend their imprimatur to the museum for fundraising purposes—included Palestine’s top political operatives, such as

⁴⁷¹ Minutes on the establishment of a Folk Museum in Jerusalem, 1935–1947, Palestine Folk Museum Papers, Israel State Archives.

⁴⁷² For more on the biographies of these women, see Ellen Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its “New” Women*.

Hussein Khalidi, the Mayor of Jerusalem, J. L. Magnes, the president of the newly established Hebrew University, Humphrey Bowman, Director of Education, and the prominent ethnographer Tawfiq Canaan, then a medical officer at the German Deaconess Hospital.⁴⁷³ By participating in the founding of the folk museum, these individuals declared their desire for inter-sectarian and inter-ethnic peace in Palestine, or at least publicly touted that rhetoric, even as relations between Jews and Arabs were strained. The museum offered a tangible place to enact a utopian, if improbable vision of Palestine, where the intimate objects and clothes of Arabs and Jews would come together in an image of quiet solidarity.

Letters documenting the formation of the PFM's steering committees, many of which were written by Stewart and Iliffe, affirm the museum's "harmonious" aspirations, but also reveal the tenuous pillars on which the project rested. Upon viewing the initial list of names on the appeal committee in the summer of 1935, the Chief Secretary of the British administration, Max Nurock, insinuated the need to include more Jewish members.⁴⁷⁴ The five additional names Nurock suggested—"Miss Landau, Mr. Dizengoff, Mrs. Persitz, Mr. Ben Zvi, and Mr. Van Vriesland"—were all prominent Jews in charge of political parties, businesses, and schools who also had an interest in promoting Jewish heritage in Palestine.⁴⁷⁵ The Chief Secretary's recommendations indicated the delicate handling of inter-ethnic endeavors and the colonial

⁴⁷³ As evident in the Palestine Folk Museum Papers in the Israel State Archives, where a full list of members can be located, the museum's executive and appeal committees were in constant flux between 1935 and 1946.

⁴⁷⁴ Nurock was Personal Secretary to High Commissioner Herbert Samuel and later Assistant Chief Secretary of the Government of Palestine until appointed assistant Chief Secretary in Uganda in 1937. An Irish Jew, he was one of several British Zionists serving in high government positions in Palestine.

⁴⁷⁵ Minutes on the establishment of a Folk Museum in Jerusalem, 1935–1947, Palestine Folk Museum Papers, Israel State Archives. Dizengoff was the leader of the Zionist Executive (and mayor of Tel Aviv), Isaac Ben Zvi was a member of the Vaad Leumi Executive Committee (later, the second president of Israel), and Van Vriesland was the head of the Palestine Potash Company, one of the most lucrative Zionist businesses in Palestine. Not a political figure, Annie Landau was the Orthodox Jewish Englishwoman in charge of the Evelina de Rothschild School for Girls. For more on Landau, see Laura Schor, *The Best School in Jerusalem: Annie Landau's School for Girls, 1900-1960* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis, 2013).

office's interest in securing equal representation, even in initiatives for which they were not directly responsible. Ben Zvi and Van Vriesland did eventually join the committee, potentially broadening the appeal of the PFM to Jewish supporters.

Memos documenting the refusal of certain Arab individuals, specifically Muslims, to join the PFM's committees, however, underscore the fallacy of the museum's strategy at this particular historical juncture:

The Pres. [of the] Supreme Moslem Council [Hajj Amin Husseini] is reluctant to be among the signatories of the Appeal and Omar Eff. Barghuti who has made a study of Arab folk lore has abstained because Hajj Amin abstained. In the Northern District the Mayor of Nablus was unwilling to serve and the D.C. [District Commissioner] does not think that he could obtain the services of any notables on either Committee at this stage, although they may subscribe and help from the outside in due time.⁴⁷⁶

Recommended to the appeal committee by Stewart, Husseini and Barghouti cited "political reasons" for their unwillingness to serve publicly as patrons of the PFM.⁴⁷⁷ Registering dissent for the museum's project of exhibiting cultural harmony during a time of mounting strife between Jews and Arabs, the political abstentions by Husseini, Barghouti and other Arab notables evinced that the museum's core tenet of cohesion and shared heritage was ill-conceived from the outset.

Publicly circulated texts about the museum's goals and collections painted a sunnier, nostalgic vision of a multicultural Palestine that, with the aid of the museum, might manage to remain in view. In an article penned for the *Museum Studies Journal*, Iliffe proposed the following axiom: "The Old City of Jerusalem, to go no further, is a living outdoor Folk

⁴⁷⁶ Minutes on the establishment of a Folk Museum in Jerusalem, 1935–1947, Palestine Folk Museum Papers.

⁴⁷⁷ W. A. Stewart to Max Nurock, 24 July 1935, Palestine Folk Museum Papers, Israel State Archives. Stewart's full statement reads, "The Mufti [Husseini] is sympathetic but does not wish to sign the appeal for political reasons and because he will not sign, Omar Eff. el Barghuti also refuses."

Museum.”⁴⁷⁸ Rehearsing statements similar to those which had provided the basis for the Pro-Jerusalem Society’s restoration work on the Old City, he continued,

Within an hour you may hear forty different tongues and see most of the types of the Near East go by. Any visitor who has seen it will know what a feast it is to the eyes, and recall it as perhaps the chief of Jerusalem’s qualities. And in this, Jerusalem is but the quintessence of the whole country.⁴⁷⁹

Ilfie argued that the PFM had the capacity to represent Jerusalem’s “quintessence” and, in doing so, “preserve some picture of a way of life of great antiquity and intense interest that is now rapidly passing into history.”⁴⁸⁰ A trait apparently visible in the present and yet somehow already of the past, multiculturalism occupied a liminal space in Iliffe’s text as both Palestine’s abandoned hope and its saving grace. Stewart’s rhetoric on Jerusalem’s sartorial diversity mimicked Iliffe’s, describing the spectacle as akin to viewing a well-curated exhibition:

This colorful variety has been and still is one of the most striking qualities of Palestinian life to the visitor and may normally be seen at its best on any day in the Old City of Jerusalem.⁴⁸¹

Both “has been” and “still is”: Stewart used temporal tenses interchangeably as he searched for the words to describe the museum’s object of displaying a nostalgic idea of past culture as present possibility. Both Stewart and Iliffe, the British officials most responsible for encouraging the development of the PFM, emphasized their desire to preserve Palestine’s polyphonous veneer of coexistence—eroding under current conditions—and described the PFM’s collections as providing a conduit between past and present.

⁴⁷⁸ Iliffe, “A Folk Museum for Palestine,” 421.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., 422.

⁴⁸¹ Iliffe to D.C. Thompson, 7 December 1938, Palestine Folk Museum Papers.

Fittingly, the museum's collections contained both traditional and more modern items, acquired through purchases and donations from across the region. Despite the museum's rhetoric about collecting costumes from all of Palestine's religious and ethnic communities, the PFM seemed to collect primarily Arab and Bedouin costumes and items from villages such as Beit Dajan, Yahudiyeh, Hebron, Jericho, Gaza, and Jerusalem among others. Carefully catalogued in notebooks kept by the PFM's chief secretary, Violet Barbour, the clothes, ceramics, agricultural and household objects ranged in quality, vintage, and site of origin.⁴⁸² [Fig. 3.18, 3.19] Barbour recorded the description of each item alongside its Arabic name in English transliteration. She also noted where the item was originally made, where acquired, and whether or not the PFM purchased the item or received it through personal donation. Ranging in price from five piasters (for "*libas* or *sirwal*, woman's trousers, dark blue cotton, very worn" from the village of Yahudiyeh) to eighty piasters (for "*Sikket al Buqr*, Ox plough" from Hebron), the collection registered the breadth of the museum's interests.⁴⁸³ Tawfiq Canaan donated unique objects to the museum gleaned from his ethnographic studies, including a "water pitcher made from sheath of date flower" and "child's cap, modern, showing traditional symbols, crude work." The museum also received donations of clothing items and textiles from several of the female members of the PFM's executive committee, such as Violet Barbour, Nora Bowman, and Mrs. Musa Bey al-'Alami.

While the few pages of the PFM's catalogue which remain only document Arab costumes, reports about the museum in local newspapers suggest that at least some Jewish costumes were contained in the museum's collection as well. One observer noted how the

⁴⁸² Violet Barbour was wife of British correspondent Neville Barbour who, as described in Chapter Two, became an outspoken voice against Zionism and published books on the subject.

⁴⁸³ Palestine Folk Museum Catalogue Vol. 1, 1936–37, Palestinian Heritage Museum Archive, Jerusalem.

museum's displays helped him to distinguish superficial differences within Palestine's multicultural melting pot, writing that "the Bokharan Jew and the Yemenite Jew are brothers under the skin but each is covered with costumes markedly different."⁴⁸⁴ While the exact costumes the observer saw is unknown, Jewish ceremonial costumes from Bukhara were distinctive for their use of brightly-colored threads and fabrics, like *ikat*-dyed silk, and cuts similar to those found in Persia and central Anatolia. [Fig. 3.20] Another visitor seemed to buy into the PFM's intended message of cultural unity as he described his feelings after seeing the similarities between some Jewish and Arab-made objects when staged side-by-side in the exhibition space: "It is clear from this collection how absurd it would be for modern arts and crafts in Palestine to make timid distinctions between Jewish and Arab models."⁴⁸⁵ Like the costumes themselves, financial contributions came from a variety of Jewish, Arab, and British donors. Contributions were applied to the purchase of clothing and objects, and the financial records from 1935 also document a substantial, £10 payment made to Wasif Jawharriyeh, the most avid Palestinian collector of his generation, for "exhibits."⁴⁸⁶ [Fig. 3.21] The Palestine Folk Museum was thus both sponsored by and displayed the diversity of the "folk" comprising Palestine in the mid-1930s.

⁴⁸⁴ Arthur Settel, "Preserving the Ways of the People: A Visit to the Palestine Folk Museum," *The Palestine Post*, 17 May, 1937.

⁴⁸⁵ "Clothes Tell a Tale: Folk Museum in New Quarters," *The Palestine Post*, 16 June 1939.

⁴⁸⁶ Executive Committee of the Palestine Folk Museum, table of receipts and payments, 5 November 1936, Palestine Folk Museum Papers, Israel State Archives. Jawharriyeh's eclectic collection included "musical instruments, Qur'anic manuscripts, historical documents, prayer beads, gilded swords and Persian rugs, along with a few icons painted by his father as well as oil paintings and wooden carvings executed by his brother Tawfiq Jawharriyeh." He also possessed an enormous collection of contemporary photographs, notably by Khalil Ra'ad and the American Colony Photo Department. Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, 72; Wasif Jawhariyyeh, *The Storyteller of Jerusalem: The Life and Times of Wasif Jawhariyyeh, 1904-1948*, ed. Salim Tamari and Issam Nassar, trans. Nada Elzeer (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2014).

The curatorial strategy of the PFM emphasized cultural relativism and promoted a kind of typological, historic, and scientific survey of Palestine's rural populations.⁴⁸⁷ Housed in two small, rented rooms in the Muristan Quarter of Jerusalem, close to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and, after 1938, in a domed, multi-room annex of the government's Audit Department near St. George's Street and Nablus Road, the PFM arranged its collections to offer views of the objects as both cherished tools of the past and as animated instruments of the present.⁴⁸⁸

Photographs of the museum from the late 1930s depict agricultural tools and women's *thobs* (dresses) organized by room. [Fig. 3.22] The displays allowed for a comparative perspective of, for example, the styles of women's daily *thobs*: a Bedouin *thob* from the southern region of Khan Yunis featuring almost no embroidery work and including a face veil is seen in the front right of the room, while a white-colored *thob* from the Ramallah region with significant embroidery on the chest and side panels is shown toward the back left of the room. [Fig. 3.23] One could also survey distinctions between the short and long wooden oxen ploughs of Palestine's southern and northern districts, which hung on one wall. [Fig. 3.24]

The PFM also featured rooms containing mixed household objects and textiles to portray a typically "arranged peasant interior," including popular contemporary imported items like Syrian copper and brass ware, to animate the ethnographic objects and convey their everyday

⁴⁸⁷ A considered scientific and ethnographic approach also informed the procurement of the museum's collections: "Various members of the Committee have secured material up to date on a pre-arranged plan, by themselves visiting the villages and rural areas and getting into touch with that part of the population which is as yet less influenced by Western civilisation, and whose habits and way of life it is the object of the Museum to study and illustrate." Iliffe to D.C. Thompson, 7 December 1938, Palestine Folk Museum Papers.

⁴⁸⁸ The government initially promised the PFM a few rooms inside the Tower of David near Jaffa Gate—the same rooms occupied by Stewart's earlier arts and crafts exhibitions. However, in 1935 the rooms were being occupied by the Rockefeller Museum and E. T. Richmond, the museum's director, fought to continue to occupy them. E. T. Richmond to Sir John Hathorn Hall, 31 May 1935, Palestine Folk Museum Papers, Israel State Archives.

arrangement and uses.⁴⁸⁹ [Fig. 3.25] In a 1938 memo, Iliffe expressed the museum committee's hopes for future acquisitions and more modern displays that would continue to spotlight their heritage objects *in situ*, emphasizing the living traditions the museum aimed to keep relevant:

As soon as conditions make it possible the Committee has in view extensive plans for development, e.g., the acquisition of such things as a complete Beduin [sic] tent, with all its internal equipment, a large Noria (water wheel) of the type used at Antioch or Hama, the making and setting up of dioramas, etc., showing various aspects of rural life.⁴⁹⁰

Rather than provide protracted explanatory texts, the PFM's period rooms and (proposed) dioramas presumed that visitors would glean the nature of an object's use through its schematic arrangement alongside other domestic articles, and appraise its value and ethnic heritage in relation to the typological, classificatory displays in nearby galleries. Photographs of rural life adorned the museum's walls, many of which featured people employing objects similar to those displayed in the galleries in order to convey their continued importance in contemporary life.⁴⁹¹ Barbour also took great pains to have "each costume in the various stages of being put on" photographed before she left the country in 1939 in order to keep a record of each textile's mechanics and intended uses.⁴⁹² The PFM's founders mixed stationary and dynamic presentation

⁴⁸⁹ "Palestine Folk Museum," 29 May 1935, Palestine Folk Museum Papers, Israel State Archives. Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett describes the display of ethnographic objects as an "art of excision." The object is necessarily detached from its origins and its display in ethnographic museums as if *in situ* is reflective of an ethnographer's attempt to define and classify the object, rather than being a dynamic presentation of the object or its original context. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 18.

⁴⁹⁰ Iliffe to D.C. Thompson, 7 December 1938, Palestine Folk Museum Papers.

⁴⁹¹ "Palestine Folk Museum," n.d., Palestine Folk Museum Papers, Israel State Archives.

⁴⁹² Violet Barbour to Olga Tufnell, 25 March 1965(?), box 5, Olga Tufnell Papers, PEF-DA-TUF-0956, Palestine Exploration Fund Archives, London.

tactics, strategies common to ethnographic museums, to strengthen the museum's goal of displaying past culture as both present life and future promise.⁴⁹³

Without financial support from the government, however, the PFM struggled to fully realize its goals. In its early years, the PFM hosted exhibitions of rural Palestinian costumes and heritage objects abroad to raise awareness and funds for the museum—one in Adelaide in December 1935 and one in England in November 1938—but, more ordinarily, the executive committee members published yearly appeal letters in the press.⁴⁹⁴ Operating at a budget deficit throughout its history, the museum never hired a proper curator and was only open to the public a total of four to six hours per week, staffed by volunteers.⁴⁹⁵ In 1941, the PFM moved its galleries to two large halls in the Hippicus Tower of the Citadel, a space the government promised to the museum's founders from its inception in 1935 and perhaps the same space (or near to it) in which Stewart had held his large crafts exhibitions almost a decade earlier. The new placement of the museum fulfilled Stewart's original wish to create an indoor museum abutting the "outdoor museum" of the Old City as its color and variety began to fade under the mandate. As the government provided the accommodations rent-free, the PFM managed to stay open during the Second World War, but amassed little in the way of new items or monetary donations.

⁴⁹³ The PFM's executive committee hoped not only to create a "Museum of National Life" in common with similar colonial endeavors in Syria and Lebanon, but their internal memos also express the urge to create a museum on par with recently opened ethnographic museums in Europe: "Much attention is being given to Folk Museums today in Europe. Important ones exist in Scandinavia, Holland, Innsbruck, Cardiff and in other centres." Iliffe to D.C. Thompson, 7 December 1938, Palestine Folk Museum Papers; Watenpaugh, "Museums and the Construction of National History in Syria and Lebanon."

⁴⁹⁴ For one such example, see "Palestine Folk Museum: Mrs. Barbour's Appeal," *The Palestine Post*, 28 April 1937 (also printed in *The Times*, London, 19 April 1937). Additional drafts for appeal letters appear in the Palestine Folk Museum Papers.

⁴⁹⁵ "The Folk Museum has been open regularly to the public throughout the past year on Tuesday and Friday afternoons from 3-5 p.m. with one or more members of the Committee or other interested helpers in attendance, and at other times by appointment." Iliffe to D.C. Thompson, 7 December 1938, Palestine Folk Museum Papers. The Papers also reveal the PFM committee's continual hopes to hire a curator, with many appeal letters written to the government for funds for the purpose, but none materialized.

Though the museum only closed its doors during the maelstrom of violence and political upheaval in 1947-48, it was already spiraling toward obsolescence.

The PFM made a final request for government support in 1947, though this was denied by the government's treasurer, who definitively concluded "that the museum can hardly be considered as being of importance for the development of welfare of the people of Palestine."⁴⁹⁶ For the Folk Museum—which was explicitly designed to preserve the "artistic heritage of Palestine," shared by various ethno-religious groups and, analogously, to act as a model of harmonious Arab, Jewish, and British cooperation in the present—these words must have been particularly demoralizing. The PFM was the only example of an institution supposedly geared toward a secularized, cultural unity among Palestine's segregated ethno-religious sectors in the 1930s. As a privately-run and internationally-supported initiative aiming to mend relations through the promotion of artistic activity and cultural heritage, the PFM contributed to a cultural sector in Palestine that sought to encourage the arts for the financial and social welfare of the people. Through the galleries of the PFM a history of kinship, commonality, and cooperation was narrated through the arts, one that suggested a promising, if utopian and ultimately unrealizable path in uncertain times.

Conclusion: Failures to Futures

There is no other museum in Palestine of which this collection could form part. The Al Aqsa Museum is for objects of purely Islamic interest. The Tel Aviv Museum is only for the fine arts (chiefly paintings) and not for applied arts. The Bezalel Museum in Jerusalem is for the fine arts and for specifically Jewish religious arts. The Hebrew University Museum in Jerusalem is for antiquities only and for those of specifically Jewish interest. The

⁴⁹⁶ Memo from the Acting Treasurer in the collected minutes on the establishment of a Folk Museum in Jerusalem, 1935–1947, 12 March 1937, Palestine Folk Museum Papers.

*Palestine Folk Museum, however, contains exhibits of both Arab and of Jewish origin.*⁴⁹⁷
– J.H. Iliffe, 1946

The PFM appears to have been the last opportunity for Arab and Jewish artisanal products to be exhibited together during the mandate. Stewart's entire career in Palestine hinged on the ultimately naïve belief that the arts and crafts could bridge the economic and political gap between Arabs and Jews, and the establishment of the PFM represented the pinnacle of Stewart's philosophy. Emerging neither as an official cultural project of the British colonial government nor as an institution that grew out of the needs of a network of local artisans, the PFM became a primarily political vehicle for a range of officials and non-officials, locals and internationals alike to lend their voice to a project that preached for unity in diversity, against the seemingly inevitable segmentation of Palestinian society. As such, the museum emerged as a vanguard for the use of artistic collections and exhibitions to engage local politics, not only as an initiative to protect cultural and artistic heritage in Palestine.

Yet the museum's exceptional ethos and its collections, uniquely containing "exhibits of both Arab and Jewish origin," soon relegated it to the margins of a cultural landscape that was increasingly defined by its distinct Arab and Jewish initiatives and by a new wave of artists concerned with creating artworks that registered Palestine's immediate politics, rather than its past heritage. When the last efforts to secure government funding in 1947 failed and the museum's fate became uncertain, the PFM's remaining committee members boxed the collections and stored them in the basement of the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, annexed by the Jordanian Department of Antiquities after 1948.⁴⁹⁸ The collections remained out of view

⁴⁹⁷ J.H. Iliffe to the Chief Secretary of Palestine, March 1946, Palestine Folk Museum Papers, Israel State Archives.

⁴⁹⁸ Iliffe's letter to the Chief Secretary of Palestine in March 1946 presented an updated list of the members of the Palestine Folk Museum Committee against the original members from 1935. In addition to documenting the many British members who had left Palestine by that time (such as Violet Barbour and Nora Bowman), the list includes

for nearly two decades until Violet Barbour returned to Jerusalem in 1961 to secure a future for the museum. Unpacking each box in the “rather chilly dark-room” granted her by the archaeological museum’s new curator, Yusef Saad, Barbour checked the box’s contents against her catalogue list compiled decades prior. The collection remained largely intact, despite rumors that Saad had been loaning out the costumes “for all and sundry to wear at dinner parties,” and in 1962 Barbour brokered an agreement between the Municipality of Jerusalem and the Tourist and Antiquities Departments to own and provide modest funds for the museum’s operations.⁴⁹⁹ When Israeli forces occupied the archaeological museum in 1967 and annexed the entirety of Jerusalem, the (still) unhoused PFM was swiftly transferred to the custody of Hind al-Husseini, a Palestinian notable at the forefront of Arab politics, social work, and education both prior to and after 1948. Still displayed today in the same building as Husseini’s orphanage and school in East Jerusalem, *Dar al-Tifl al-‘Arabi*, the PFM collections are currently cared for and displayed under the aegis of an institution now known as the Palestinian Heritage Museum—conspicuously no longer with any Jewish costumes on display.⁵⁰⁰

While the museum’s ambitions were avowedly political and social, with the preservation and promotion of a shared artistic heritage as its mission, its formation also stimulated a

the names of a significant number of Arabs and a few additional Jews, perhaps representing the museum’s bias toward representing the Arab constituency by the middle of the 1940s.

⁴⁹⁹ Violet Barbour to Olga Tufnell, n.d. [ca. 1962], box 5, Olga Tufnell Papers, PEF-DA-TUF-0814; Violet Barbour to Olga Tufnell, 23 January 1962, box 5, Olga Tufnell Papers, PEF-DA-TUF-0797, Palestine Exploration Fund Archives, London.

⁵⁰⁰ The original deed transferring the collection from the Jordanian Government to Hind al-Husseini dates to 12 September 1969 and is in the collection of the Palestinian Heritage Museum. Secondary evidence of the transfer of the collection is in Barbour’s correspondence with Olga Tufnell, 10 September 1973(?), box 8, Olga Tufnell Papers, PEF-DA-TUF-1523, Palestine Exploration Fund Archives, London. Jewish costumes from the original PFM collection no longer appear in the collection’s current housing at *Dar al-Tifl*, and it is as yet unknown what became of them.

categorical shift of Palestinian textiles from the status of craft to that of art.⁵⁰¹ Palestinian textiles had been on view in industry fairs, such as at the British Empire Exhibition in Wembley in 1925, or in Stewart’s arts and crafts exhibitions in the Old City during the early 1930s, but it was with the inauguration of the PFM that textiles took root inside the walls of the non-commercial museum space.⁵⁰² Residing within an ethnographic museum, the objects were curated in order to transmit their utilitarian uses. However, by contextualizing the costumes as channels to a national aesthetic heritage, their placement in a museum foreshadowed a lasting engagement between the designs and materials of traditional Palestinian costumes and Palestinian art.

When arrangements were being made for the PFM’s reopening in 1966, while the museum was under Jordanian control, the collection briefly claimed a new title as the ethnically singular “Arab/Jerusalem Folk Museum,” with its previously inter-ethnic executive committee now replaced by an all Arab board, including prominent artists. Signaling the importance of the museum’s collections to Palestine’s new art world, the artists Jamal Badran, Nahil Bishara, and Asia Halaby—as we have seen, the proprietor of a post-1948 embroidery workshop and sister of renowned painter Sophie Halaby—joined the political patrons and archaeological scholars on the museum’s new Board of Trustees.⁵⁰³ [Fig. 3.26] “The impressive committee names tells its own tale,” wrote the British archaeologist Olga Tufnell in a letter to Barbour, conveying the importance of Palestinian textiles to those at the forefront of both the Palestinian national cause

⁵⁰¹ Unlike sociologist Howard Becker, who explains the way art objects and techniques shuttle between the categories of “art” and “craft” as largely the result of individual decisions to “invade” new media or “master” and capitalize on technical skills, I posit that the institution of the PFM initiated the transfer between “craft” and “art” in the Palestinian case. Howard S. Becker, “Arts and Crafts,” *American Journal of Sociology* 83, no. 4 (1978): 862–89.

⁵⁰² 1924 British Empire Exhibition (Wembley), *Palestine Pavilion Handbook and Tourist Guide* (London, 1924), Brent Archives, England.

⁵⁰³ Yusef Saad to Olga Tufnell, 19 May 1966, box 6, Olga Tufnell Papers, PEF-DA-TUF-1015, Palestine Exploration Fund Archives, London. Following her education at Bezalel in the 1940s, Bishara founded factories to continue the revival of the traditional art of glass-blowing in Hebron and was an avid researcher of *Fellahi* embroidery. Ankori, *Palestinian Art*, 43.

and the field of Palestinian art, especially as Palestinian political mobilization took the shape of cultural resistance in the late 1960s and 70s.⁵⁰⁴ Charitable societies—this time organized by the Arab Palestinian institutions like the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Arab Women’s Union—once again promoted the production of embroidered items as “a source of income for women *and* as a way to preserve Palestinian cultural heritage,” strongly echoing both earlier charitable missions and Stewart’s goals for technical education under the mandate prior to the *nakba*.⁵⁰⁵

As embroidery became a key symbol of Palestinian identity, and Palestine’s most revolutionary painters, such as Ismail Shammout, Nabil Anani, and Sliman Mansour, took to portraying the Palestinian nation as a strong, if often despondent, woman in traditional costume. [Fig. 3.27] A subsequent generation of artists, like Mona Hatoum, Khalil Rabah, and Tina Sherwell employed actual swatches of textiles to transmit the diversity and longevity of the Palestinian people. [Fig. 3.28] Over time, even the weaving and embroidery patterns themselves mutated into overt symbols of Palestinian nationalism and resistance against Israeli occupation, such as in this example of a *thob* with motifs of the Palestinian flag and the Dome of the Rock. [Fig. 3.29]

Most of Stewart’s large-scale efforts in Palestine—to fully reform the technical education curriculum, to open a dedicated trade school, to establish a world class museum of Palestinian heritage—had failed to materialize as he had envisioned them. “Frustration,” Stewart conceded in his manuscript, “has always been part of the Palestine picture.”⁵⁰⁶ However, the ways in which

⁵⁰⁴ Olga Tufnell to Violet Barbour, 13 June 1966, box 6, Olga Tufnell Papers, PEF-DA-TUF-1025, Palestine Exploration Fund Archives, London

⁵⁰⁵ Cesari, “Cultural Heritage beyond the ‘State,’” 94.

⁵⁰⁶ Stewart, “Creative Work in Palestine,” 190.

Stewart conscripted embroidery and weaving as a means to mediate politics through the cultural sector during the British Mandate emerged again in the 1960s, newly attached to the Palestinian political cause and a pillar of the contemporary Palestinian art world.

Chapter Four

Fair Competition: Economic Separatism and Palestine’s “National” Fairs of the 1930s

Competition in the Cultural Sector

As Director of Technical Education in the British Mandate administration from 1930 onward, William Arnold Stewart had believed that by eliminating economic, educational, and social disparity between Jews and Arabs—a feat, he claimed, that could be at least partially achieved through improvements in the structures supporting art and the artisanal crafts—Jews and Arabs together could “make a Paradise of Palestine.”⁵⁰⁷ Despite living through the many violent conflicts between Jews and Arabs during his tenure in Palestine throughout the 1930s and early 1940s, Stewart maintained his “hope” that a “better way of life...will come through co-operation and fellowship.”⁵⁰⁸ Stewart’s efforts were based on the idea that the cultural sector could be used as a space for building consensus: installing changes in the curriculum for technical education in government Arab schools, creating commercial spaces for the egalitarian display of artisanal crafts, and forming the Palestine Folk Museum, wherein Palestine’s diverse constituencies could see their multiethnic heritage reflected back to them as a united, if patchwork, whole. In these ways, Stewart’s actions in Palestine served the aims of the colonial government, to limit discord even as the administration produced structural social and financial inequities through the

⁵⁰⁷ W. A. Stewart, “Creative Work in Palestine: Technical and Crafts Education, 1918-1946” (n.d.), 196, Oxford University, Griffith Institute.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 206.

restructuring of Palestine's legal and financial systems in order to make space for the creation of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine, as promised in the Balfour Declaration.

This chapter focuses on how Palestine's cultural sector, in the hands of Palestinian and Zionist actors, came to be conceived as a territory not of consensus, but of political debate. Dissensus in the public sphere, as political theorist Chantal Mouffe posits, is an index of a healthy democratic society; yet, as I argue, in the unique context of Palestine during the British Mandate, dissensus in the cultural sector evinced how the colonial government compelled Palestinians and Zionists to compete for the nations they wished to create.⁵⁰⁹ With an awareness of how soliciting economic engagement through the realm of art and culture could move the needle on local politics, as had been modeled by both religious charitable institutions and the colonial administration (see Chapters Two and Three), Jews and Arabs entered the cultural sector to promote their concurrent, conflicting bids for national agency in Palestine. This chapter tracks these efforts by investigating two simultaneous, competing trade fairs which were mounted in Palestine following the "watershed" Wailing Wall Riots/al-Buraq Uprising of 1929 and on the eve of Palestine's violent ethno-national clashes of the 1930s: the Levant Fair in Tel Aviv (1932), supported by the Municipality of Tel Aviv and organized by the Zionist trade organization *Mischar w'Taasia*, and the First National Arab Fair in Jerusalem (1933) organized by a council of Palestinian businessmen and hosted in the headquarters of the Supreme Muslim Council.⁵¹⁰ Charitable giving, which had fueled the cultural sector during its formation by

⁵⁰⁹ Mouffe draws on the idea of dissensus (collective disagreement with the social hierarchical order) to argue that a 'good society' is one with a "vibrant public sphere where many conflicting views can be expressed and where there is the possibility to choose among legitimate alternative projects." Chantal Mouffe, "Pluralism, Dissensus, and Democratic Citizenship," in *Education and the Good Society*, ed. Fred Inglis (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 42.

⁵¹⁰ See my discussion of the riots in Chapter Three as well as Avraham Sela, "The 'Wailing Wall' Riots (1929) as a Watershed in the Palestine Conflict," *The Muslim World* 84, no. 1–2 (April 1, 1994): 60–94, x. Although the proper

religious charities and humanitarian institutions, was now joined by the promotion of consumption in bolstering Palestine's cultural sector. The trade fairs tried to convince individual consumers that their financial support for businesses—or even the viewing of artworks—at the fair could contribute to furthering particular political agendas in Palestine.

While four smaller editions of the Levant Fair had occurred since 1924, it was in 1932 that the Levant Fair organizers espoused their desire to become an “international” trade fair as a proof of concept for Zionist national ambitions, even as strategies for growing the Zionist economy—through agrarian or industrial means—were debated among the various Zionist factions in Palestine.⁵¹¹ The Palestinian leaders of the First National Arab Fair called for a boycott of the Levant Fair, contesting its internationalist aspirations, which were seen as epitomizing the economic and cultural colonization of Palestine by Zionist organizations. Instead, the Arab Fair's organizers summoned a powerful internationalism of a different sort: pan-Arabism, supported by the Palestinian nationalist businessmen behind the Arab Fair, seeking to make Palestine part of a unified Arab state in the post-Ottoman landscape. As evoked by major political and religious leaders across Syria, Iraq, and Trans-Jordan in the early 1930s, pan-Arabism called for the strengthening of local patriotism and local economies within the colonized Arab regions in order to intensify the political, economic, and cultural value of a joint union. Promoting the concept of unity in diversity, pan-Arabism explored how the pillars of

transliteration of the name should be *Mischar ve-Ta'asia*, the journal published its name in the Latin script as *Mischar w'Taasia*, so I have retained this spelling.

⁵¹¹ The idea for promoting Jewish industrial development through a trade fair was announced in the Hebrew journal *Mischar w' Taasia* in 1923. The first, embryonic exhibition of the fair occurred in 1924, under the name “Palestine & Near East Exhibition and Fair,” and was an exhibition of Jewish goods displayed in two small rooms in a house on Rothschild Boulevard in Tel Aviv. Subsequent fairs took place first annually and then biannually in 1925, 1926, and 1929, followed by the larger, international-scale fairs in 1932 and 1934, which will be discussed later in this text. Mordecai Naor and Batia Carmiel, *The Flying Camel: 85 Years of Exhibitions and Fairs in Tel Aviv [Hebrew]* (Tel Aviv: Eretz Israel Museum Tel Aviv, 2010), 6 and “The Troika and the Flying Camel,” n.d., 2, A458/9, Central Zionist Archive.

Islam and Arabic (by which Arab Christians were also included in the movement) could join disparate Arab communities and create a modern political system out of local leaderships.⁵¹² The Arab Fair adopted the pan-Arab ethos, inviting only Arab businesses from across the region to exhibit and, in clear violation of the mandate's three official languages clause, advertised and distributed press solely in Arabic.

I contend that unlike Stewart, who used the discourse of parity in his arguably quixotic quest to achieve social and political harmony through the cultural sector, the Levant Fair and Arab Fair organizers leveraged the discourse of parity in radically different ways and for opposing ends. The Levant Fair founders stressed themes of cooperation, mutual exchange, and equal opportunity in order to benefit from the support of the British Mandate authorities, positioning themselves as partners in international trade from the shores of Palestine to further their ability to build a Jewish national homeland. The Arab Fair organizers, who perceived such Zionist and British overtures toward equality as hypocritical, enacted the politics of parity by employing its reverse: hosting a trade fair, equal in projected scope to that of the Levant Fair, but denying participation to British, Jewish, and all foreign (non-Arab) businesses and merchants and assuming a stance of “non-cooperation.”⁵¹³ As Zionists and Palestinian Arabists tried to further their separate political projects under the mandate, each fair's organizers recognized the cultural sector as a space in which they could play into the politics of parity as fashioned by the

⁵¹² For a cogent and detailed discussion of these developments in Arab nationalism and pan-Arabism in the Middle East prior to 1948, including the ways in which nationalisms were in formation in the Arab regions prior to the First World War, see James Jankowski and Israel Gershoni, eds., *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

⁵¹³ The strategy of “non-cooperation” was adopted as a political tactic on March 26, 1933 at a rally organized by the joint Arab Executive Committee in Jaffa. The specifics of non-cooperation and how it related to the cultural sector will be discussed later in the chapter.

British, thereby creating an effective, non-violent, method by which their communal groups could be politically “heard.”

Exhibitions of arts and crafts in these initiatives, which expressly aimed to wed economic achievement to national independence, highlighted the valued role of art and artists in these emerging missions. The Levant Fair promoted the cultural strides of the *yishuv*, featuring an art pavilion consisting primarily of landscapes and portraits by Tel Aviv’s resident painters and sculptors, along with a separate section for the artisanal objects produced from the Bezalel School’s craft workshops. The Arab Fair filled multiple rooms with artisanal works made by young Palestinians through charitable initiatives and missionary schools, as well as oil paintings by artists from both Palestine and its neighboring Arab states. The Arab Fair also provided a featured exhibition space for the female Palestinian Muslim artist Zulfa al-Sa‘dī, where her intimate painted portraits of the intellectual leaders of the pan-Arab movement became widely hailed as proof of the Arab awakening (*naḥḍa*) in Palestine.

Upon seeing al-Sa‘dī’s artworks at the Arab Fair, Palestine’s Youth Commission Secretary, Sa‘ad al-Khalil, enthused: “The Arab Exhibition has proved to the whole world that Palestine is able to produce many beneficial products, ones that foreigners claim that only they can produce with no competition regarding precision.”⁵¹⁴ The “foreign” competitors al-Khalil invoked were not those outside of Palestine’s borders, but, based on the context of boycott of the Zionist-sponsored Levant Fair, the perceived Jewish foreigners living within. As he continued writing his impressions of the Arab Fair in an open guestbook, al-Khalil proceeded with his praise, calling out al-Sa‘dī’s works as proof of his point: “The exhibited crafts and oil paintings

⁵¹⁴ “Guest book of Zulfa al-Sa‘dī’s 1933 Exhibition at the First National Arab Fair, Jerusalem,” 1933, 16, Darat al Funun Archive. This quotation, and all subsequent entries from the guest book in this chapter, have been translated from Arabic by Manal Yousef, in collaboration with the author.

of the artist Ms. Zulfa al-Sa‘dī do just that. She has proved that the Arab is able to compete (*tastaṭī‘a’ muḍāhātan*) —. God bless her. Those with power in this country should make use of the talent of this respectable lady.”⁵¹⁵ Al-Khalil’s concomitant encouragement to men “with power” to “make use” of al-Sa‘dī’s artistic talents conveyed that not only in commerce but also in culture, in the pressing of olive oil as in the brushing of oil paints, Palestine’s industrial *and* artistic products were considered instrumental in the fight for political autonomy in Palestine. Through the competitive cultural politics inaugurated in the 1930s, epitomized by these two trade fairs, I argue that the beginnings of a self-consciously Palestinian art emerged; and like al-Khalil’s appraisal of al-Sa‘dī’s artworks suggested, it was an art which supported the principles of economic separatism and ethno-national independence.

“Mutual Cooperation”: The Levant Fair

The Pioneers and the Reapers

Feet pressing into the steep hillside, the stoic farmer walks forward. [Fig. 4.1] Dressed in an outfit resembling the cool cotton garments of the Jewish *kibbutznikim* in Palestine, shoulders and knees shaded against the searing sun, he holds a sack full of seeds close to his chest; its form slumping against the harsh surface of his brawny physique. One arm stretches back behind him to sprinkle seeds through fingers and thumb onto freshly turned earth. With bowed head and a steady gait, he pushes ahead, absorbed and unaware of the diminutive figure coming over the hill behind him, ready to harvest the crop after it grows. Planted in the center of the Jewish National Pavilion at the 1934 Levant Fair in Tel Aviv, Ze’ev Ben-Zvi’s larger than life-size cast bronze

⁵¹⁵ Ibid.

sculpture, *The Sower*, stood as a monument for the leading Jewish agencies of the *yishuv* represented in the pavilion. The slogan that accompanied the printed circulation of the sculpture, “The Sower is the Pioneer Followed by the Reaper,” celebrated the accomplishment of Jewish agricultural labor in building social cohesion and economic capital, as well as the progress wrought through these resources, such as industrial manufacturing, the expansion of Jewish products into international markets, local urban development, and—as the sculpture embodied—cultural and artistic achievements. [Fig. 4.2]

Ben-Zvi (1904-52), whom Stewart praised as “a most conscientious and gifted artist,” was a Polish artist who had come to Palestine in his early twenties after studying at the Academy of Fine Art in Warsaw.⁵¹⁶ Also described by Stewart as “entirely a product of Bezalel” (Ben-Zvi attended Bezalel for a short time in 1923-1924 before becoming an instructor of sculpture there), Ben-Zvi represented for many people, like Stewart, the Jewish artistic voice in Palestine, and was thus an apt choice for inclusion in the Jewish National Pavilion.⁵¹⁷ The robust worker and his harvester were encircled by info-graphics, photographs, and dioramas celebrating the recent achievements of the parastatal institutions serving Palestine’s Jewish community.⁵¹⁸ For this sixth and largest edition of the Levant Fair, the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemeth), Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod), Jewish National Council, Hadassah Medical Organization, Hebrew University, Jewish Education Department, Women’s International Zionist Organization (WIZO), Haifa Technical Institute (Technion), and the Bezalel School of Arts and

⁵¹⁶ Stewart, “Creative Work in Palestine,” 65. For more on Ze’ev Ben-Zvi, see Yigal Zalmona and Gideon Ofrat, *80 Years of Sculpture in Israel* (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1984).

⁵¹⁷ Stewart, “Creative Work in Palestine,” 67.

⁵¹⁸ I borrow the apt term “parastatal” from the economic historian Sherene Seikaly in her description of these Zionist institutions. Sherene Seikaly, *Men of Capital: Scarcity and Economy in Mandate Palestine* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2016), 6–7.

Crafts (Bezalel) pooled their resources to represent the harmonious cooperation of their efforts. While the older agencies represented in the pavilion, such as the Jewish National Fund and Palestine Foundation Fund, had focused on the buying and tilling of land, the more recent institutions, such as the Haifa Technical Institute and Hebrew University, shifted their gaze toward recruiting and training students to develop and implement industry.

Ben-Zvi's sculpture was an apt emblem for those pillars of the Zionist front rallying in support of the *yishuv*'s 'industrial turn,' as it bridged older and newer approaches to Zionism in Palestine. Ben-Zvi's sculpture was a rather faithful emulation of *The Sower* (1850) by Jean-François Millet, whose portraits of common agricultural laborers in rural France had become symbols of nineteenth-century French socialist politics.⁵¹⁹ [Fig. 4.3] In appropriating Millet's painting into the Zionist context, dressing this version of the sower as a Jewish agriculturalist, Ben-Zvi payed homage to the early settler-plantation colonies formed by Jewish immigrants of the first *aliya*, and even more directly to the utopian socialists from Eastern Europe who had come to Palestine with the second *aliya* and set up cooperative agrarian communities since the first decade of the 1900s.⁵²⁰ Ben-Zvi's sculpture also engaged with another image of Millet's sower, which had already been circulating in Palestine as a way of casting the rural Arab peasant as a biblical figure. In a photograph by the American Colony Photo Department (ACPD), the Arab model copied the formal pose of Millet's sower, the lonesome figure within Palestine's hills alluding to The Parable of the Sower in Matthew 13:3 of the New Testament: "Behold, a

⁵¹⁹ For more on the ways in which the figure of the "rural" peasant was seen to intervene in socialist politics, see Robert L. Herbert, *From Millet to Léger: Essays in Social Art History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 23–48.

⁵²⁰ Jewish immigration to Palestine took place in waves, called in Hebrew "*aliyot*" (sing.: *aliya*), which means "ascent." The word *aliya* references the idea of "going up" towards Jerusalem. The first kibbutz in Palestine was Daganian, formed in 1909.

sower went forth to sow...”⁵²¹ [Fig. 4.4] Like a sower in the field, Christ came to earth to scatter the heavenly grain of truth and, as the verse elucidates, only those with “good ground,” or a heart prepared for Christ, could receive the grain. Christ, in the ACPD photograph from the 1920s, took the form of an Arab peasant. Ben-Zvi’s sculptural recasting of Millet’s painted (and perhaps also the ACPD’s photographed) sower as a Zionist agriculturalist, not only reflected the fluidity among media characteristic of art in early twentieth-century Palestine, but was a direct way of reclaiming biblical figures as Jewish, replacing the Arab as the “rural” figure in Palestine with the Zionist settler, and reinvigorating Millet’s sower with its socialist roots.

On this last point, Ben-Zvi’s sculpture reflected some of the tensions that emerged among the new wave of activist socialist-Zionists in Palestine following the collapse of Tsarist Russia in 1917 (the third *aliya*) and the private landowning Jewish sector, which was an offshoot of the early colonizing efforts of wealthy European Jews, such as Baron de Rothschild, to buy and create industry on land in Palestine, but not necessarily with Jewish labor.⁵²² The figure of the sower emphasized agricultural development as key to the *yishuv*’s growth, but the sculpture’s inclusion of the small figure of the harvester at the bottom of the hill, ready to receive the benefits of the sower’s toil, pointed to a future with a new set of roles for Jews in Palestine as business owners, tradesmen, and industrial entrepreneurs. While the idea that cultivating “Jewish soil” and labor in Palestine could transform the *yishuv* into a true nation was widely accepted among Zionist factions (summarized through the aspirational “conquest of land” and “conquest of labor” slogans brought with the Zionists of the second and third *aliyot*), the decision to follow more agrarian/rural or industrial/urban models for growing the Jewish economy was an active

⁵²¹ Matthew 13:3 (King James Bible).

⁵²² Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents* (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martins, 2001), 116–28.

debate of the 1920s and 1930s.⁵²³ As one of the Levant Fair’s founders, the Lithuanian and socialist immigrant Alexander Everserov (Ezer), expressed, the organizers encountered anger over the fair’s desire to shift the conversation from agricultural dreams to industrial and commercial aspirations: “When we broached the idea of promoting industrial development...we were told that it was a lot of stuff and nonsense. Not only nonsense, but a betrayal of the Zionist ideal of bringing the Jew back to the soil.”⁵²⁴

Cast with the dynamic, cubist lines of the future, Ben-Zvi’s sculpture conveyed the hypothesis which had guided the development of the Levant Fair itself: in order to advance the Jewish national project in Palestine, the *yishuv* must shift from primarily existing on agriculture to investing in industry. The first, embryonic exhibition of fair in 1924, under the name “Palestine & Near East Exhibition and Fair,” was an exhibition of Jewish goods displayed in two small rooms in a house on Rothschild Boulevard in Tel Aviv. When the exhibition’s founders, Everserov, Abraham Idelson (Eilon), and Shlomo Jaffe had the idea to present a consolidated view of Jewish industrial progress in Tel Aviv, Palestine’s first Jewish urban enclave was host to only 18,000 inhabitants. The factories on display numbered a meager sixteen. Its mission was to present a survey of industrial progress in the *yishuv*—which, at that point, consisted primarily of its main export industries of wine, soap, and sesame—to mark the community’s development toward self-sufficiency.⁵²⁵ Within an environment still dominated by the “conquest of land” and

⁵²³ The “conquest of land” and “conquest of labor” slogans expressed the socialist aspirations to “tame the wilderness” through agricultural settlement and to remake the Jewish people by allowing them to conquer the labor economy (as opposed to the relegation of Jews to the professions of trade and moneylending, as had been the case in Europe). James L. Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 220–21. For an account of the tensions between socialist principles and the nationalist goals of Zionism, see the well-researched, if somewhat controversial book: Zeev Sternhell, *The Founding Myths of Israel Nationalism, Socialism, and the Making of the Jewish State.*, trans. David Maisel (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

⁵²⁴ “The Troika and the Flying Camel,” n.d., 2, A458/9, Central Zionist Archive.

⁵²⁵ Barbara J. Smith, *The Roots of Separatism in Palestine: British Economic Policy, 1920-1929* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 161.

“conquest of labor” slogans, an event promoting industrially-manufactured products and the industries of import/export trade, finance, and transportation was considered by some as a “betrayal” to the founding Zionist ideals linking Jewish pioneers to Eretz Israel.⁵²⁶

Two years later, when the founders organized a second edition of the fair, the goal was no longer “so much in showing what industrial activity was already taking place—and that the participants were real industries by then—but in revealing what was still lacking.”⁵²⁷ The first exhibition took stock of the current industrial landscape—what had the union of external capital investments and internal labor achieved together so far?—while the following edition asked a slightly more strategic question: if a Jewish nation were to come to fruition, could its internal industry sustain it? What still needed to be done? In emphatically linking the mission of the early editions of the fair to the *yishuv*’s internal, autarchic ambitions, the founders managed to earn support from their early detractors and ignite industrial development. By the fourth edition in 1929, the founders reported that “practically every branch of industry and some branches of agriculture” were represented at the *yishuv*’s premier industrial fair.⁵²⁸ Furthermore, the fair had by then achieved enough success that the Zionist trade organization *Mischar w’Taasia* and the municipality of Tel Aviv (chaired by Mayor Meir Dizengoff, who was himself a founder of several commercial industrial businesses) came on board to join in the responsibility and burden

⁵²⁶ The invitation for the 1924 Levant Fair featured a photograph of a “colonist pruning vine trees,” a clear illustration of Zionist agricultural pursuits. Nevertheless, the Levant Fair still had its ideological detractors for whom the fair’s focus on industry and finance pulled focus from agricultural efforts. Naor and Carmiel, *The Flying Camel*, 30.

⁵²⁷ “The Troika and the Flying Camel,” 3.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*

of the fair's administration.⁵²⁹ The once-modest trade fair was now a touchstone for the *yishuv*'s economic advancement, a strategic agent in the bid for Jewish nationhood in Palestine.

However, the tenor of the fair changed considerably by the fair's fifth edition in 1932, from trumpeting Jewish national independence and economic growth to professing international desires. It was for this edition that the fair adopted the notorious "Flying Camel" logo and garnered its official and lasting name, The Levant Fair.⁵³⁰ [Fig. 4.5] From the French verb *lever* ("to rise"), the Levant was both a technical geographic term for the lands bordering the eastern Mediterranean and a rich metaphoric one that presumed Europe as the center and the lands of the East, the "Levant," as the place from which the sun rises. With a new name the fair organizers carved themselves a fresh image as unifiers of the industries of the Levant and as the exemplary connection point linking eastern and western markets.⁵³¹ The cheeky and fantastical Flying Camel logo, designed by the fair's resident architect Ariel Elhanani, who had immigrated to Palestine from Ukraine in 1922, illustrated the rise and almost impossible ambitions of the

⁵²⁹ Meir Dizengoff was born in Bessarabia (between today's Ukraine and Romania) and he joined the Hovovei Zion (Lovers of Zion) organization as a teenager. While he identified as a socialist in his younger years, Dizengoff's biography points to the contradictions between the socialist tenets of Zionist parties in Palestine and the practical actions members of the Zionist movement took in building private industry. In 1892, Dizengoff came to Palestine for the first time on a mission for Baron Rothschild to set up a glass bottle factory in Tantura (today Nachsholim), designed for the the Rishon Lezion and Zichron Yaakov wineries, which closed in 1894. In 1904, he founded the Geulah Company for the acquisition of land in Palestine and later, in 1911, founded a commercial company in Jaffa together with Meir Arison for import and export and shipping—all long before he was elected to be the first mayor of the young city of Tel Aviv in 1921. "Meir Dizengoff (1861-1936)," Prime Minister's Office, Independence Hall of Israel, accessed April 9, 2019, <http://eng.ihl.org.il/history/meir-dizengoff.aspx>.

⁵³⁰ The Hebrew name for the fair, *Yerid Hamizrach*, can be alternately translated as Orient Fair, Levant Fair, or Eastern Fair. However, the English-language advertisements, promotional materials, and press all used the "Levant Fair," designating it the official choice of the fair's organizers. Additional efforts to promote the Levant Fair as an international trade fair included issuing a special edition Levant Fair stamp and to pay for extensive advertising in both local and international newspapers. "Report of the Fair Committee," 1932, 4, L51\352, Central Zionist Archive.

⁵³¹ "The Levant Fair, in which His Excellency has taken so much interest, is intended to serve not only the twin cities of Tel Aviv and Jaffa or even Palestine alone. It is there to serve the needs of the commercial communities of the entire Middle East by offering them an unequalled opportunity for coming into contact with the latest developments in Western industry and assisting in the expansion of outlets for the produce of Middle Eastern territories." "Speech delivered by Mr. M. Dizengoff, O. B. E., Mayor of Tel Aviv, President of the Fair Committee, At the Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Levant Fair 1934 on August 16th 1933 [in English]," August 16, 1933, 2, L51\351, Central Zionist Archive.

industry of the young *yishuv* and traded on visions of the camel as the historic carrier of material goods across the trading routes of the Middle East.

The logo perhaps also sought to erase a vastly different stereotype of a camel from Palestine, often laggardly and old, still largely in use by Palestine's Arab population. In a caricature printed in a Hebrew-language magazine, a man in rural Palestinian costume riding an old camel looks at an advertisement with the flying camel and sneers: "Let it to go to hell, this satanic bird! My camel and I will keep moving on our way – the way of progress." [Fig. 4.6] The caricature's starkly rendered contrast between the flying camel and the man's emaciated camel, with its bell hanging low off of its skeletal neck, poked fun at the notion of the rural Palestinian's idea of "progress." In addition to the transformative vigor expressed by the Levant Fair's new logo and change of name, the fair organizers expanded the fairground site, now located next to the railway station in the eastern part of Tel Aviv, to host more exhibitors, cafes, and a nighttime amusement park. [Fig. 4.7] The sun was to rise and never set on the 1932 Levant Fair.

These cosmetic changes provided the historically local exposition with the "character of International Trade Fairs," as the organizers articulated, but they also heralded an important structural modification to the fair's approach: specifically, to foster market competition. While the 1929 fair imposed certain restrictions on the small number of foreign exhibitors, most notably barring them from exhibiting any goods competing with locally made ones, the 1932 fair invited foreign participation irrespective of local overlap. The organizers established permanent fair bureaus in nine countries and appointed short-term fair representatives in twenty-four countries to recruit foreign exhibitors and consumers.⁵³² Foreign business participation in the fair

⁵³² Permanent fair bureaus existed in Austria, Belgium, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Poland, and Romania. Honorary fair representatives were appointed in Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Lithuania, Morocco, Poland, Romania, South Africa, Switzerland, Syria, and the U.S.A. Ibid.

increased by almost seven-fold between the 1929 and 1932 fairs, from 121 to 821 foreign firms.⁵³³ The fair reported an attendance increase from 120,000 in 1929 to 285,000 in 1932, although such numbers were often hard to confirm. The Levant Fair also disseminated posters, prospectuses, pamphlets, and newspaper advertisements throughout the world, through international Jewish and Zionist associations, to bolster Tel Aviv's reputation as a new economic center. As Tel Aviv's Mayor, Meir Dizengoff, articulated, foreign competition would raise the city's international profile and have the intended byproduct of forcing the advancement and expansion of industry at home:

Our country which is becoming the key to the economic movement in the Near East will bind by means of these Exhibitions and Fairs the Western producers to the Eastern consumers, will improve the quality of Palestinian products and will provide markets for new labour and creation.⁵³⁴

In addition to the several large-scale industrial projects already underway, such as the building of the Haifa port, the projected Haifa-Baghdad railway, the Jordan Hydro-electric scheme, the Dead Sea works, and the mining of phosphates in Transjordan, the Levant Fair aimed to stimulate more industries which would work toward advancing Palestine as a powerful economic center in the Levant. The organizers of the fair viewed the event as an opportunity to orchestrate international trade and promote market competition, cementing the *yishuv*'s transformation from agricultural silo to industrial crossroad.

Embodying this new role, the 1934 edition of the Levant Fair was characterized by its robust urban and architectural expansion. The organizers set their sights on building a permanent fairground in the space of 100,000 square meters on the Yarkon Peninsula, stretching the first

⁵³³ Ibid.

⁵³⁴ "Mayor M. Dizengoff's Speech delivered at the Opening Ceremony of the 1932 Levant Fair [in English and Hebrew]," quoted in Ibid.

Jewish city in Palestine to its most northwesterly point, leveling sand dunes and paving the end of Dizengoff Street until it reached the sea. [Fig. 4.8] Planned by architect Richard Kauffman, who had immigrated from Germany to Palestine in 1920, the 1934 Levant Fair was split into four main sections. The largest and most prominent position on the grounds was allotted to house local industries, the second to the “British and Imperial Square” and the fair’s information bureau, the third to foreign industries, which included the sprawling 3,000 square meter “General Foreign Pavilion,” and a final section devoted to restaurants, amusement rides, agricultural and horticultural demonstrations, and display of model homes.⁵³⁵ Raised atop a sixteen meter white metal column at the entrance to the fairgrounds, the bronze-cast flying camel soared above the more than twenty permanent buildings, many designed by Kauffman and Elhanani (architect and designer of the Flying Camel logo). [Fig. 4.9] As the Levant Fair claimed more ground, asserted its permanency, and invited international acclaim, attendance shot up to 600,000 and a record number of 2,800 exhibitors took part, including those from thirty foreign countries. The fair’s organizers had (finally) successfully staged what one budding publicist deemed the first “*really* international fair.”⁵³⁶

The Levant Fair organizers hoped that in becoming “international,” the fair would act as proof of competency for the *yishuv*’s national ambitions. At the ceremony to lay the foundation stone for the 1934 fairgrounds, Dizengoff extolled the union between the fair’s zeal to become an international center for trade and its ability to represent Jewish progress toward nationhood in Palestine:

This change from a sterile expanse into a throbbing centre of commerce and cultural activity is symbolic of those wider endeavors in this country which have already

⁵³⁵ J. Shiffman, “Palestine: The Levant Fair, Tel Aviv,” *The Town Planning Review* 16, no. 3 (1935): 191–94.

⁵³⁶ “The Troika and the Flying Camel,” 4. Emphasis is original.

been responsible for reconstructional achievements which may, I think, be said to equal those of any other colonizing undertaking of our time.⁵³⁷

Reinforcing (false) narratives which portrayed Palestine as barren—both socially and economically—before the mass migration of Jews to the region, Dizengoff’s sentiments emphasized the importance of agricultural, urban, and now also industrial and commercial developments for the fulfillment of the settler colonial Zionist mission in Palestine. Evolving the showcase of locally-made Jewish goods into an international trade fair, the Levant Fair organizers contributed to the cultural sector in Palestine in a format designed to influence public opinion, assert national values, and nurture market competition. Like the nineteenth-century Great Exhibition of 1851, which originated not as a way to validate Britain’s growing industry but as an attempt “to identify and rectify Britain’s manufacturing deficiencies,” so too did the Levant Fair begin with an idea of the perceived deficiencies of Jewish industry in Palestine but emerged with a refined and expanded vision of Jewish industrial capabilities for the *yishuv*’s desired future.⁵³⁸ Coinciding with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of Tel Aviv, the expansive and international Levant Fair of 1934 not only celebrated Jewish agricultural and industrial independence, as Ben-Zvi’s emblematic sculpture of the sower and the reaper in the Jewish National Pavilion illustrated, but augured national independence through its demonstration of the *yishuv*’s aspirations to colonize Palestine physically, economically, and culturally.

⁵³⁷ “Speech delivered by Mr. M. Dizengoff... At the Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Levant Fair 1934,” 2.

⁵³⁸ Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 10.

For the Welfare of Palestine (Equality)

*“Just as political and scientific questions find their solution in parliaments, congresses and meetings, so do Fairs and Exhibitions serve as the vantage-ground for the unravelling of economic problems.”*⁵³⁹ —Meir Dizengoff, 1932

Palestine was, however, already colonized under the British. In order to produce the event, it was incumbent upon the Levant Fair organizers to appeal for public support from British authorities, an effort they achieved through activating the lexicon of parity. The fair received the support of the British Mandate Government by saying it aimed to serve *all* of Palestine’s inhabitants, parroting the mandate’s own rhetoric that advocated for the equal treatment of all its constituents—at least on paper. In a letter dated July 14, 1931, the Levant Fair organizers solicited the patronage of the British High Commissioner, General Arthur Wauchope, for the 1932 Levant Fair by promising,

In organising this Fair the Committee aim at furthering the development of Palestine trade to the benefit of all her inhabitants. They hope that all sections of the population will cooperate to obtain this end and that in a common endeavour the various communities of Palestine may come to a better understanding of their mutual economic interests.⁵⁴⁰

Cooperation, common endeavor, and mutual interest: these were the formal phrasings for assuring equal benefit from the profits of the fair. Implicitly acknowledging the recent al-Buraq Uprising/Wailing Wall Riots of August 1929, the organizers’ carefully selected words stressed the fair’s interest in fostering joint cooperation among Palestine’s increasingly acrimonious communities. Echoing this vocabulary in an essay penned for the Levant Fair’s 1932 prospectus, Dizengoff assured potential participants and investors that,

⁵³⁹ Meir Dizengoff, “The Value of the Levant Exhibition and Fair [text printed in English and Hebrew],” Levant Fair 1932 Catalogue, 7, A458-9, Central Zionist Archive.

⁵⁴⁰ “Letter from the Levant Fair Committee to High Commissioner Arthur Wauchope,” July 14, 1931, 4, 4-3176A, Tel Aviv Municipal Archive.

In this land, despite its variety of languages and religions, a common way will be found in the joint endeavour to foster economic welfare and progress, for common economic interests are the greatest of all unifying forces.⁵⁴¹

Finding common ground across cultural barriers, Dizengoff argued, could be achieved through cooperation in the economic sphere. Offered as a salve for Palestine's apparent schism, without any overt mention of Jewish or Arab groups, the Levant Fair's focus on equality and mutual advancement appealed to the British government as it struggled to maintain order in the wake of deadly violence. In response to the organizing committee's request, General Wauchope agreed to act as patron of the fair, and the British government contributed administrative and modest financial support and also agreed to sponsor, build, and maintain a dedicated "British Pavilion" at the 1932 and 1934 Levant Fairs. [Fig. 4.10]

What Dizengoff and the Levant Fair committee described as the fair's potential to rectify the growing strain among communal groups in Palestine, the British explained as a need to bridge the rural-urban and agricultural-industrial divide in Palestine. In his remarks at the inauguration of the 1932 Levant Fair, General Wauchope opened by praising the Levant Fair on two counts, first as "another successful example of the energy and industry of the people of Tel-Aviv" and, second, for its outward, international scope, "in showing both to Palestinians and to visitors the opportunities that exist for further development in commerce and industry in this country."⁵⁴² His closing statement, however, looked inward and signaled an attempt at joining Palestine's disparate Jewish and Arab communities, referenced as the "urban" and "agricultural/rural" communities respectively:

It is an undeniable fact, though sometimes forgotten, that a prosperous urban community is one of the greatest assets to the maintenance of a prosperous

⁵⁴¹ Dizengoff, "The Value of the Levant Exhibition and Fair," 7.

⁵⁴² "Inaugurating Speech by His Excellency the High Commissioner General A.G. Wauchope," in "Levant Fair Bulletin 1932," 1932, 40-5-1932-1, Tel Aviv Municipal Archive.

agricultural community. Primary producers require a good home market as well as a foreign market; one lesson we can learn from this Exhibition is that the interests of the urban and rural communities are closely interwoven.⁵⁴³

While early Zionism in Palestine had been rooted in agricultural development and often defined by kibbutz culture, by 1930 the majority of the Jewish population in Palestine lived in cities, primarily in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, and Haifa—provoking debates over the agrarian and industrial futures of Zionism discussed prior. Palestine's Arab population, on the other hand, maintained a more diffuse, rural population across Palestine. The British colonial office's "paternalistic concern for 'consumers' and 'agriculturalists,'" as the economic historian Barbara Smith argues, "was based rather on the sheer numerical weight of the Arab peasantry."⁵⁴⁴ Painting the Levant Fair as an enticement for rural ("Arab") producers to reap the benefits of the "prosperous urban community" ("Jews"), General Wauchope remarked on the fair's potential to spark a period of political abeyance and hoped that by allowing Palestine's Jewish industry to flourish, Arabs would eventually, in his words, "duplicate Zionist endeavor by imitation."⁵⁴⁵ These words not only mirrored those of the first High Commissioner in Palestine, Herbert Samuel, who believed that Zionists would "open the doors" to better standards of living for Arabs in Palestine. Indeed, and though not necessarily as Samuel or Wauchope imagined, the Palestinian community would imitate Zionist endeavor in their founding of an Arab Fair, toward different ends, the following year.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴³ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁴ Smith, *The Roots of Separatism in Palestine*, 173.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., 176.

⁵⁴⁶ This quote from Samuel is analyzed in Chapter Three. The full quotation reads: "I was sure that the only course by which the National Home could give satisfaction to the Jews themselves, win credit in the eyes of the world, or satisfy the Mandatory Power, would be if it resulted, not merely in tolerance for the Arabs, not merely in a formal recognition of existing legal rights, but in opening for them the doors to better standards of living, in giving them access to higher levels of comfort and of culture." Herbert Louis Samuel, *Grooves of Change: A Book of Memoirs* (Indianapolis; New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1946), 205.

The promise of making the 1932 Levant Fair a “joint” or “interwoven” endeavor, however, turned out to be mere empty verbiage. While the 1932 Levant Fair claimed to be an interethnic trade initiative, it included fewer than five local non-Jewish (Arab and Armenian) exhibitors, even as the total number of local firms doubled to 405 in 1932 against 209 in 1929. A reviewer for the Arabic-language newspaper *Falastin* commented on the scarcity of non-Jewish Palestinian representation at the 1932 Levant Fair, making note of the mostly international origins of even these shops:

The non-Jewish Palestinian shops displaying their products at the exhibition included: ‘Moḥadada wa Akthar’ al-Alemaniiyyah [German], Masbeero Cigarette Company, the English company Sebni, and Luis Caminos, the owner of the chemical fertilizer factory which sells to Arabs. These shops, however, are in no way considered national (*waṭanī*).⁵⁴⁷

Arab and other Levantine companies were represented within the category of “foreign” firms at the fair—those from Egypt, Syria, Turkey, and Cyprus in 1932 and also including Lebanon in 1934—but had little, if any, contact with local Arab businesses. The anonymous reviewer continued his article by writing detailed descriptions of the Syrian and Egyptian pavilions in order to pull back the curtain on the purported ‘Arab-ness’ of these sections as well:

As for the Syrian section, it had a shop selling oriental brassware for its owners, Suwaidu and Hades. The owners of a second shop selling silk textiles were Jewish. There was a third shop for cotton, and a fourth for the Lebanese calligrapher Naseem Mokarrem. The calligrapher presented some of his detailed work in Arabic calligraphy, which was not understood by the Jewish visitors. As a result, they avoided it. One of his pieces was the Hebrew anthem written on a rice grain!

The Egyptian section at the exhibition had shoes, which are not as well-crafted as the ones made in Palestine. The owners of this shop were Jews as well. There was another store which sold “Khalifa Dessert,” a third shop showed products from The

⁵⁴⁷ “Account of the Opening of the Levant Fair,” *Falastin*, April 8, 1932. As a reminder, this quotation and all subsequent quotations from Arabic-language newspapers have been translated from Arabic by Manal Yousef in collaboration with the author.

African Rubber Company, and a fourth was a jewelry store owned by Fahmi Nashed. This is the Egyptian section of the Jewish Tel Aviv Exhibition.⁵⁴⁸

Disparaging both the legitimacy of the “Arab” businesses, which were mostly run by Jews, and the quality of their products, the reviewer’s skepticism illustrates how few foreign Arab firms were actually part of the Levant Fair, despite the organizers’ stated aim of inclusivity.

Nonetheless, the participation of the few Arab businesses in the Jewish trade initiative greatly incensed prominent members of Palestine’s Arab business community, provoking the launch of the Arab boycott in 1932 which warned neighboring Arab countries, in no uncertain terms, that the Levant Fair was “part of the false propaganda of the ‘national homeland (*waṭan qaumī*),’ dreamt of by intruders (*al-dukhāla*) to set up in the heart of your home (*dāarak*)!”⁵⁴⁹

In spite of the boycott, however, Arabs did attend the Levant Fair as consumers—a point proudly exclaimed by Levant Fair promoters and British government officials, and still remarked upon in the modest secondary literature written about the fair’s history.⁵⁵⁰ The official report issued following the 1932 Levant Fair stressed that a large number of Arab businessmen visited the fair, with commercial visitors from Egypt being “particularly numerous” and with “Syria holding second place.”⁵⁵¹ Photographs from the fair, circulated in English and Hebrew-language Palestinian newspapers, confirmed the presence of Arabs by focusing particularly on the Muslim

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁹ “Appeals Against Arab Participation in the Levant Fair,” *Falastin*, April 7, 1932.

⁵⁵⁰ In Batia Carmiel and Mordecai Naor's recent history and analysis of the Levant Fair for an exhibition at the Eretz Israel Museum in Tel Aviv, the figure of the Arab is invoked only as a willing participant—as an attendee or exhibitor at the fair. Accounting for the number of Arab consumers at the Levant Fair, they write, “Thousands of Arabs, headed by public figures such as the mayors of Jerusalem and Jaffa, attended the fairs. A delegation of Egyptian teachers visiting Tel Aviv in 1926 was officially welcomed at the fairgrounds by the Tel Aviv Municipality.” Naor and Carmiel, *The Flying Camel*, 8.

⁵⁵¹ “Report of the Fair Committee 1932,” 7.

women who wore veils. [Fig. 4.11] A British government report for the 1934 Levant Fair also confirmed Arab participation in spite of the boycott,

It may be mentioned here that while official representatives of the Arabs were not present at the opening ceremony, at all times during the run Arabs either in European clothes and the tarboosh, or in the hatta (*ḥaṭṭah*) and argal [sic., *iqāl*] of the desert Arabs, accompanied in many cases by veiled Arab ladies, were a considerable and conspicuous ingredient of the crowd. A certain amount of business was done with Arab buyers.⁵⁵²

The Arab-language newspaper *Falastin* corroborated the presence of Arabs at the fair, but did so critically and suggested they were not all local to Palestine:

A number of Arabs living abroad have visited the Tel Aviv exhibition. Although this number is small, their decision still tarnished the reputation of the cause. Some may find an excuse for them, but those are the ones who are not informed on the full extent to which this action is harmful.⁵⁵³

The suggestion in the *Falastin* article that Palestinian Arab attendance was not as high as was being reported was corroborated by the report of a British military officer, Sir Kenyon P.

Vaughan-Morgan, who had the chance to attend the Levant Fair on his own accord. Vaughan-Morgan wrote a review of the event for *The Times London* and pointed out this same inaccuracy:

Imposing figures were given of the number of visitors [to the Fair], but it was boycotted by the Arabs who form four-fifths of the total population, and my impression is that the numbers were made up by repeated visits by the Local Zionists, including children, to whom the Luna Park was the chief attraction. I saw no evidence that the Fair was a buying centre for visitors from neighboring countries...⁵⁵⁴

Not only did Vaughan-Morgan emphasize the significance of the Arab population and its boycott, but he accused the Levant Fair of inflating statistics as well (his assertions prompted Dizengoff to write several counter-editorials in *The Times*). Thus, while Arabs certainly did attend the

⁵⁵² “The Levant Fair, Tel-Aviv, 1934. Report on ‘British Section.’,” 1934, 5, 4-3177 C, Tel Aviv Municipal Archive.

⁵⁵³ “Patriotism of the Employees,” *Falastin*, May 12, 1932.

⁵⁵⁴ Lieutenant Colonel Sir Kenyon Pascal Vaughan-Morgan, “Copy of the Review of the 1934 Levant Fair,” *The Times [London]*, January 22, 1934, 4-3177 A, Tel Aviv Municipal Archive.

Levant Fair, it is unclear just how large a group this was. From the small number of local non-Jewish exhibitors, to the timid participation of Arab visitors, and to the main hall, the “Palace of Palestine Industries,” which displayed products produced solely by Palestine's Jewish residents, the lack of any substantial Palestinian Arab involvement exposed cracks in the Levant Fair's professed ethos of parity and mutual progress. Palestine, as presented at the Levant Fair in 1932, was already a Jewish entity.

Such slippage between the territorial and ethnic definitions designated by the term “Palestine” at the Levant Fair was encouraged by the separatist campaign slogan “buy only *totseret ha-arets!*” reverberating through the fair and ringing throughout the country, as seen in this advertisement for a “Hebrew banana.” [Fig. 4.12] The literal meaning of the slogan is “buy only local products of this land [Palestine]!” Translated in brief as “buy local,” the use of the Hebrew word for the land of Israel (*ha-arets*), designates its true meaning as “buy Jewish.” Formally instigated by Nahum Tishby, the Director of the Department for Commerce and Industry of the Zionist Executive in 1923, the campaign to protect “the land's products” (*totseret ha-arets*) targeted shop owners and the *yishuv*'s primary consumers, Jewish women, to stitch together a commitment to consumption that “was often seen as relatively detached from the other two Zionist economic struggles, those over land and labor.”⁵⁵⁵ As cultural historian Hizky Shoham has traced, during the early 1920s consumption campaigns were sporadic and hard to regulate, with Tishby and other interested organizations consistently complaining of public indifference.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁵ Shoham, Hizky. “‘Buy Local’ or ‘Buy Jewish’?” Separatist Consumption in Interwar Palestine.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 3 (2013): 476.

⁵⁵⁶ Such organizations included *Merkaz Lema'an Totseret ha-Arets* (Center for the Land's Products) and *Mo'etset ha-Morim le-Ma'an Kakal* (The Teacher's Council for the Jewish National Fund). *Ibid.*, 477.

Guiding consumption habits as the root of successful ethno-national separatism, however, gained momentum (for both Jews and Arabs) beginning in earnest with the violent conflict of August 1929 and reaching its apotheosis during the riots beginning in April 1936, when intermingling between Jews and Arabs became absolutely untenable.⁵⁵⁷ Thus, “buy local,” appointed as the primary slogan of the 1926 edition of the Levant Fair and used in fair advertisements thereafter, coded the event as a vehicle for Jewish economic and ethno-national advancement despite the fair’s purported support for interethnic, “mutual economic interests.” The specific linguistic construction of the slogan, as “buy only *totseret ha-arets!*”, revealed its function. Playing out through the staging of the Levant Fair, on paper and in the international view, the fair could *look* like an event for the land of *Palestine*, while in actual intent it was to benefit the hoped-for land of the Jews, *Israel (ha-arets)*.

British policy also actively supported economic separatism, even prior to the blockbuster editions of the Levant Fair in 1932 and 1934 which encouraged “buying Jewish” to an unprecedented degree. Relative to worldwide economic collapse, Palestine’s economy was in rather good health at the start of the 1930s.⁵⁵⁸ Yet, in the context of the distribution of British colonial wealth, Palestine was a lower priority territory and the country’s budget during the first decade of the mandate “was both conservative and retrospective...in that the previous year’s

⁵⁵⁷ Importantly, Hizky Shoham notes, that while calls for mutual boycotts between Arabs and Jews rang out in the wake of the 1929 riots, these efforts had “little effect on consumption habits and inter-ethnonational trade.” It was not until 1936 that the economic separatist campaigns fueled mutual, and much more effective, calls for boycotts of Jewish and Arab products. *Ibid.*, 477–478. Also, see Deborah Bernstein and Badi Hasisi, “‘Buy and Promote the National Cause’: Consumption, Class Formation and Nationalism in Mandate Palestinian Society,” *Nations and Nationalism* 14, no. 1 (2008): 143.

⁵⁵⁸ Incidentally, local newspapers, like *The Palestine Post*, frequently commented on Palestine’s relative fiscal strength: “During the last 2 years imports into Palestine have fallen by about 17 percent but the world figure shows a fall of 40 percent. Palestine has slightly increased her exports since 1929: in other countries of the Near East have fallen from 20 percent to 45 percent and the world figure by 42 percent.” “Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce Meets,” *The Palestine Post*, July 27, 1932; “The economic and fiscal conditions of Palestine continued favourably in 1932, ‘in comparison with the depression which besets most of the countries of the world at present,’ ...” “1932 Year in Review, British Palestine Government Report,” *The Palestine Post*, June 12, 1933.

revenue was usually taken as the guideline for the coming year's expenditure."⁵⁵⁹ Despite establishing departments of commerce and labor in tandem with their takeover of the civilian government in 1920, the British were reluctant to champion any wide-scale promotion of Palestinian industry in accordance with traditional priorities limiting government investment in colonial development. Instead, as the historian Barbara Smith has meticulously shown, the British encouraged and rather relied on the development of the Zionist's project of building a Jewish National Home as the primary source for Palestine's overall economic development. Although operating through the new language of parity, British support for the Levant Fair thus followed established norms for advancing industry and trade in Palestine primarily through Zionist capital and Zionist efforts. While the British administrators may have hoped that Zionist political and financial support would ultimately benefit Palestine as a whole, just as Dizengoff proclaimed that the Levant Fair's economic interests would constitute "the greatest of all unifying forces," early British protectionism for the Zionist economy now extended to the trade fair and provided a renewed institutional basis for ethno-national separatism between Jewish and Arab communities in Palestine.⁵⁶⁰

In spite of the imbalance between Jewish and Arab representation at the fair and evidence of British economic favoritism, the notion that the Levant Fair could be a great equalizer for the country's economic development prevailed among most Jewish residents. As one fan opined in the English-language newspaper *The Palestine Post*, "Surely a people which can promote an undertaking such as Levant Fair without even putting their own name into its title, which threw open its doors to all, and published its literature in all languages cannot be suspected of

⁵⁵⁹ Smith, *The Roots of Separatism in Palestine*, 37.

⁵⁶⁰ Dizengoff, "The Value of the Levant Exhibition and Fair," 7; Smith, *The Roots of Separatism in Palestine*, 167–176.

overstressing their share in the country's development."⁵⁶¹ The purported humility by which the Levant Fair organizers resisted naming the fair's Jewish origins and the inclusionary rhetoric which permeated the media around it provided a superficial veneer for the fair's core aim: to develop the *yishuv*'s internal industry through international competition and trade as a way of assuring a Jewish national future in Palestine. Summarized by Dizengoff at his opening speech for the 1932 Levant Fair: "Palestine the land Holy to all nations and creeds, accustomed to philanthropic support from nations all over the world, appears before us today having attained noteworthy material and moral achievements and is bringing up a healthy, free and independent generation."⁵⁶² In an era of international economic depression and local unrest, the Levant Fair encouraged Jewish industrial production to move away from religious charity and welfare support systems that prevented the *yishuv*'s development into a self-sustaining nation.

"Throbbing Center of Commerce and Cultural Activity": Art at the Levant Fair

Perhaps nowhere was this strategy more apparent than in the art pavilion incorporated into the Levant Fair in 1932 and, at a larger scale, in 1934. A significant contribution to the cultural side of that "throbbing center of commerce and cultural activity" that Dizengoff had promised, the art pavilion exhibited only Jewish artists as representative of the most contemporary trends in art in Palestine. Complementing the nightly films, public dances, theatrical and orchestral performances, and the dazzling "Luna" amusement park, the art pavilion showcased the contemporary Jewish landscape in Palestine through an exhibition format akin to the industrial

⁵⁶¹ "An Undesirable Undercurrent," *The Palestine Post*, June 18, 1934.

⁵⁶² "Opening Speech by the Chairman of the Fair Committee Mr. M. Dizengoff O.B.E. Mayor of Tel Aviv [delivered in English and Hebrew]," in "Levant Fair Bulletin 1932," 1932, 40-5-1932-1, Tel Aviv Municipal Archive.

goods surrounding it. The more than one hundred paintings, drawings, and sculptures at the 1932 fair were crowded into two small rooms, in such close proximity that one reviewer remarked “that it is hardly possible not to let oneself be over-powered by the variety of styles, themes, and colours.”⁵⁶³ Yet, despite being “made in Palestine,” the artworks were not billed for sale, not quite exhibited like the *totseret ha-arets* around them. A vitrine through which Jewish artistic achievement in Palestine could be viewed as on par with its manufacturing prowess, an art pavilion provided a point of reflection, a possible antidote to commerce. The art pavilion contributed to a vision of the fair as governed by principles beyond those only striving for economic, and thereby political, superiority in Palestine.

Both the 1932 and 1934 art pavilions included many of the artists now considered among the pioneers of “Israeli art.” A checklist for the 1934 art pavilion discovered in the Tel Aviv Municipal Archive shows that the featured artists included Nachum Gutman, Chaim Gliksberg, David Handler, Israel Paldi, Sionah Tagger, and Reuven Rubin among other eastern European and Russian Jewish transplants to Palestine in the early twentieth century. [Fig. 4.13] A newspaper review of the 1932 art pavilion in *The Palestine Bulletin* mentions many of the same artists, as well as Arie Allweill and Zvi Schorr, among lesser-known artists like Chaim Aptekor and Shulamith Wittenberg.⁵⁶⁴ Some of these artists had arrived in Palestine with an art education from centers in Eastern Europe, such as Warsaw or Odessa. Others had received their formative training at the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, which also drew on social nationalist traditions from Eastern Europe, but had gone on to study in cities in Western Europe (primarily Paris) and returned to represent visions of their new homeland through rural landscapes, cityscapes, and

⁵⁶³ “The Palestine Art Exhibition,” *The Palestine Bulletin* [English], April 26, 1932.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

portraits.⁵⁶⁵ Stylistically, the artists borrowed from the dominant trends circulating in Europe where they trained, namely Russian Constructivism, early twentieth-century abstraction as practiced in Paris, or the French modes of Cubism and an anachronistic Impressionism.⁵⁶⁶ With titles that evoked a lucid sense of place, such as *In the Tel Aviv Orange Groves* (Gutman), *Corner in Shavzei [Shabazi?] Street* (Gliksberg), *Ploughing in Sarona* (Gliksberg), and *On the Road to Mikveh Israel* (Halevi), the artworks in the pavilion guided visitors through Palestine as it had been transformed by Jewish labor: managing citrus groves, ploughing previously uncultivated land, building new roads, and assigning Hebrew place-names—all clear hallmarks of Jewish progress in Palestine. An example of one such work, a landscape by Israel Paldi from 1928, features a man and his donkey pulling a cart full of wheat over recently tilled hills. [Fig. 4.14] “Palestine artists,” as they were named in order to separate them from the category of increasingly famous “Jewish artists” from Europe, such as Marc Chagall, were an intriguing addition to the now decade-old trade fair.⁵⁶⁷

More remarkable, in hindsight, was the fact that the 1932 art pavilion constituted the first public display of the collections of the recently established, but not yet housed, Tel Aviv Museum (Dizengoff’s final pet project before his death in 1934).⁵⁶⁸ First announced in 1931, the priorities

⁵⁶⁵ Many of the participating artists were members of The Hebrew Union of Artists (also known as the Jewish Artists Association). The group included former students and teachers from the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts who had left due to ideological differences and positioned themselves as an association of modernist painters against the conventional and religiously-oriented teachings of Bezalel. Yigal Zalmona, *A Century of Israeli Art* (Farnham: Lund Humphries, 2013), 41–83.

⁵⁶⁶ “According to biographical data, half of the Jewish 100 artists in the field of plastic arts that worked at the time spent at least one period in Paris between 1920 and 1940.” Graciela Trajtenberg, “Plastic Arts and Nation-Building in Israel,” *Nations & Nationalism* 8, no. 2 (April 2002): 221.

⁵⁶⁷ Just as Elias Newman referred to this group of artists as “Palestine Artists” in his exhibition and book for the 1939 New York World’s Fair (discussed in the dissertation’s introduction chapter), the checklist for the art exhibition at the 1934 Levant Fair exhibition titles the event the “Palestine Artists’ Exhibition.” Elias Newman, *Art in Palestine* (New York: Siebel Company, 1939).

⁵⁶⁸ By the time of the first display of its collections at the Levant Fair in 1932, the Tel Aviv Museum had yet to open in its permanent location in Dizengoff’s home on Rothschild Boulevard, which occurred in the spring of 1933.

of the museum closely aligned with the *yishuv*'s international ambitions on display at the fair. During a European press tour to Vienna, Warsaw, Berlin, and Brussels in 1932, Dizengoff promoted the museum as an unparalleled center for European and biblical art, hoping to draw international visitors to Palestine:

This museum is intended to show the whole of European art through good examples. It is intended to be equipped with an ethnographic department for teaching purposes, and is the only museum in the world to contain a biblical gallery, which is dedicated to all works of art illustrating biblical topics.⁵⁶⁹

While the commitment to erecting a biblical gallery (hardly the world's first) nodded to the museum's local context in the Holy Land, scarce mention was made of Palestine's local Jewish artists. Yet, when described by Nachum Gutman, a member of the museum's "Foundation Committee," the museum's initial aims also emphasized promoting local artistic production as one of its "chief objects:"

Our aim was to found in Tel-Aviv a collection of internationally famous works of art; to provide facilities for the artistic education of our fellow citizens; and to assist, in whatever manner possible, local artists in their work.⁵⁷⁰

The museum required an international outlook to draw visitors, donations, and funding to its operations, but it ultimately remained in service of a more local cause: to provide tools for the

Several small renovations and expansions to the house museum occurred between 1933 and 1936 when it was completely redesigned to accommodate the museum collections. According to the recommendations of Dr. Carl Schwartz, who Dizengoff had invited to serve as the museums' artistic director, and the plans of architect Carl Rubin, the redesigned museum opened in an official ceremony in the presence of the British High Commissioner on February 23, 1936. "Beit Dizengoff," Independence Hall of Israel, Prime Minister's Office, accessed March 2, 2019, <http://eng.ihl.org.il/history/beit-dizengoff.aspx>.

⁵⁶⁹ "Dieses Museum soll die gesamte europaische Kunst in guten Beispielen zeigen, soll zu Lehrzwecken mit einer ethnographischen Abteilung ausgestattet sein und als einziges Museum der Welt eine Bibelgalerie erhalten, die allen illustrativen Kunstwerken zu biblischen Stoffen gewidmet ist." Translated from German by the author. "M. Dizengoff, the First Mayor of Tel Aviv (M. Dizengoff, der erste Bürgermeister von Tel-Awiw)," *Berliner Tageblatt*, September 22, 1932. Newspaper clipping located in TAM 1932, Tel Aviv Art Museum Archive, translated from the German by the author.

⁵⁷⁰ "Fostering Art in Palestine, The Work of the Museum in Tel-Aviv," *The Zionist Record*, December 28, 1934. Newspaper clipping located in TAM 1934, Tel Aviv Art Museum Archive.

education and promotion of the local artistic scene. As the museum's international collection was slow to build, its early collection was often more accurately described as consisting of "unadulterated junk" donated by residents of Tel Aviv and friends of the Zionist movement in Europe and America, with very few "examples of important modern art" donated particularly from the wealthy gem merchant Maurice Lewin in Antwerp.⁵⁷¹ It was, instead, Tel Aviv's resident artists who comprised the bulk of the museum's collection at its start. When presented at the Levant Fair as the best examples of what Palestine's art scene had to offer, their artworks transformed from being amateur canvases, mere attempts at mastering the international styles of modernism, to becoming yet another showcase of Jewish ingenuity in Palestine.

Dizengoff made it clear that the museum's collection would serve not only to spark local artistic development, but to encourage local artistic appreciation as well—a proposition made all the more relevant within the context of a trade fair. "When we understood that Tel Aviv was a city with prospects of becoming unique and big and the focal point of modern Judaism in the country and in the Diaspora," Dizengoff admitted,

we began to feel the need to develop beauty and all spheres of art. We realized that you cannot build buildings, pave roads, and improve the city without paying attention to aesthetics and harmony, and without developing people's fine taste for all human creation. With this perspective the Tel- Aviv Museum was founded.⁵⁷²

Art appreciation, in his estimation, was integral for encouraging thoughtful, harmonious, and efficient urban construction and the industry created to support it. Staging an art exhibition within the fairgrounds applied pressure to this concept of the museum, expecting its collection to

⁵⁷¹ "Modern Culture in an Ancient Land: Jewish Artists of Many Nations Enrich Museum at Tel-Aviv," *The Literary Digest*, September 5, 1936. Newspaper clipping located in TAM 1936A, Tel Aviv Art Museum Archive.

⁵⁷² Dizengoff's vision for the Tel Aviv Museum as quoted in "The Tel-Aviv Museum of Art," Independence Hall of Israel, Prime Minister's Office, accessed March 2, 2019, <http://eng.ihl.org.il/history/the-tel-aviv-museum-of-art.aspx>.

directly affect the manufacturers exhibiting nearby who were responsible for the *yishuv*'s infrastructural development. By holding a non-essentialist understanding of public taste, like the Kantian *sensus communis*, Dizengoff intended the art collection on display at the Levant Fair to exercise a role of influence in the public sphere.

Speaking on behalf of the artists to be included in the 1934 art pavilion, Reuven Rubin positioned art as the field most appropriate to absorb and reflect the fair's exhibitionism and competitive drive. In an interview, Rubin acknowledged the theatricality of a fair as providing the ideal visions for an artist desirous of capturing contemporary life:

...the youth parade on Allenby street on Saturday nights, arms crossed and hugging each other's shoulders; transported all those youngsters [female] to the fair and exhibit area in a continuous parade, a multi-colored festive mood, surrounded by "Luna Park" attractions, meetings of diaspora, conventions, conferences, and moon-light shows in an atmosphere under the wings of a flying camel - and please understand, gentleman, what this furnishes the Jewish artist thirsty for plays?⁵⁷³

Fanning the imagination for an artist, like Rubin, who wanted to represent the youthful energy and prosperity of Tel Aviv, the fair was a nexus point for witnessing the growth of social, cultural, intellectual, and industrial life inside the *yishuv*.⁵⁷⁴

Further, Rubin stated his belief that the Levant Fair itself was "a large-scale artistic enterprise," orchestrated "by the masses out of a desire to be liked and out of competition," allowing him to further argue for the link between the artistic and industrial worlds.⁵⁷⁵ First, he

⁵⁷³ "Interview with the artist Reuven Rubin regarding the 1932 Levant Fair," *Kolnoa*, February 26, 1932. Newspaper clipping re-printed in Naor and Carmiel, *The Flying Camel*, 121. Translated from Hebrew by Doron Shiffer-Seba.

⁵⁷⁴ Rubin is well-known for his painterly depictions of Tel Aviv and he spoke of the city often. Interestingly, however, Rubin did not represent the city nearly as often as he talked about it, as the art historian Dalia Manor argues, although I have included a representation of one of his cityscapes in Figure 16. Dalia Manor, "Imagined Homeland: Landscape Painting in Palestine in the 1920s," *Nations & Nationalism* 9, no. 4 (October 2003): 533–54.

⁵⁷⁵ "Interview with the artist Reuven Rubin."

stated, industry required the eye of the artist to be successful, much like Dizengoff advocated for the presence of “aesthetics and harmony” in the building of buildings and the paving of roads:

“Fair!” – it is an important artistic endeavor... The harmonious arrangement of all the artifacts, the symmetrical mixture of all the shades, the lines, and the shapes have in them an artistry of display. [...] In an exhibition the arrangement cannot be un-harmonious. The very desire to create something likeable – adds beauty. And the trend of “marketing,” fundamental for every exhibition and fair, is in itself an enormous impetus for beauty. Every trader seeks that his goods will be liked and he inserts into their arrangement his sense of beauty. He who makes an effort – reaps reward.⁵⁷⁶

In the context of the fair, Rubin claimed, aesthetics could be monetized. Second, Rubin noticed, presciently, that the economy of the *yishuv*'s art world was tied to the economy of its industry:

The art of land is bravely tied with labor, industry and trade in the country. I cannot describe the progress of industry without the progress of art! But the art will not progress without industry – that we all agree... And if the fair nudges the development of industry and fortifies production – well, it also nudges the progress of art. [...] I heard that professional artists are planning to visit during the exhibition and bring with them important gifts for the young Tel Aviv museum.⁵⁷⁷

Art, like ploughing, had “worked” the land—indeed, its visions of Palestine’s vistas were often instrumentalized for the Zionist cause.⁵⁷⁸ Rubin believed that international interest in the *yishuv*'s industry stimulated by the Levant Fair should necessitate a similar increase in international attention for the *yishuv*'s artists and, in practical terms, encourage donations of important artworks to the incipient Tel Aviv Museum. In a final rhetorical flourish, to position the Levant Fair as competitive with the great European fairs in both industry and art, Rubin proudly exclaimed, “Not Paris nor Venice will tie us with the external great world – but Tel Aviv and its

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁸ For focused discussions of Zionist ideology in painting and photography, see Rona Sela, *Zionist Photography in Palestine and Israel 1933-1973, A Nationalization of the Visual: From the Image of the 'New Jew' in the 'New Land' to Victory Albums* (Ph.D. diss., University of Essex, 2005); Zalmona, *A Century of Israeli Art*.

exhibits.”⁵⁷⁹ Art, as much as industry, aimed to be the magnet through which the world would be pulled toward Tel Aviv, the new urban and commercial center of the Zionist movement in Palestine.

Yet, the majority of artworks on view at the 1932 and 1934 Levant Fairs—predominantly landscape paintings—hardly seemed to be the economic and political catalysts Rubin described. Representing contemporary trends in Jewish art in Palestine, landscapes constituted a good fraction of canvases produced in the 1920s and early 1930s and, as a visitor to the 1932 Levant Fair noted, “landscapes [were] especially numerous” inside the art pavilion.⁵⁸⁰ Searching to understand the wide diffusion of these rather benign landscapes in an era of profound political upheaval, art historians often claim that their creators strove to produce art in the category of “high” or “autonomous” art, influenced the artists’ dominant training among the Impressionists and early abstractionists in Paris, and thus removed from any overt “pre-state” Zionist ideology.⁵⁸¹ Flipping this conclusion on its head, the art historian Graciela Trajtenberg argues that it was not only the impact of *art pour l’art* attitudes on Palestine’s Jewish painters abroad,

⁵⁷⁹ “Interview with the artist Reuven Rubin.”

⁵⁸⁰ “The Palestine Art Exhibition,” *The Palestine Bulletin* [English], April 26, 1932. Based on an exhibition of artworks from the 1920s held at the Tel Aviv Museum in 1982, Dalia Manor estimates that some forty percent may be regarded as landscapes: “out-of-door scenes, people in the countryside, views of streets or parts of town or views out of the window.” Manor, “Imagined Homeland,” 536.

⁵⁸¹ In these discourses, Palestine’s Jewish painters are often discussed as existing between the poles of the “local” and the “universal,” as the artists shuttled physically (and metaphorically) between Palestine and European and Soviet artistic centers. For examples of this type of historical narrative, see Galia Bar Or, “Universal and International: Art in the Kibbutz in the First Decade,” Galia Bar Or and Gideon Ofrat, *Sixty Years of Art in Israel* (Ein Harod: Museum of Art, Ein Harod, 2008), ix; Yigal Zalmona, *A Century of Israeli Art*, 41–109. Dalia Manor, for one, acutely observes the lack of obvious Zionist symbolism in landscape paintings in particular: “Perhaps the most surprising absence of all is views of the Zionist enterprise. A handful of pictures may be described as Zionist landscapes are the exception that verifies the rule: the numerous Jewish colonies and settlements that were founded by waves of Zionist immigrants since the late nineteenth century and during the first decades of the twentieth century made hardly any impression on artists. [...] This fact was well observed at the time, and critics who appreciated the artists’ expression of the spirit of modern art were also disappointed by their indifference to national topics, particularly to ‘the life of new Hebrew labour.’” Dalia Manor, *Art in Zion: The Genesis of Modern National Art in Jewish Palestine* (London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 114.

but the modernist imperatives grounding the Zionist national cause, which primarily “adopted Central and Western European ‘high culture’ as a general referent.”⁵⁸² If Zionism was to be seen as a social movement parallel to those in Europe, then promoting a sphere of art removed from politics was a vital political strategy to overcome any “ethnic deficiencies” of the Jewish national movement.⁵⁸³ Even in the aftermath of the deadly 1929 riots, the *Haaretz* newspaper published an editorial calling on the *yishuv*’s artists “not to forego their artistic needs” in times of socio-political crisis. Zionist leaders, chief among them Dizengoff, continued to advocate for the development of “the people’s physical and spiritual culture.”⁵⁸⁴ The reviewer of the 1932 art pavilion for *The Palestine Bulletin* found this sentiment echoed in the works on view. He praised the Jewish painters for moving away from painting scenes that directly referenced Jewish historical claims in Palestine—like images of the “Old City Nooks and David Towers”—instead choosing to make “more personal painting,” some of which he found “wistful and elegant,” and others, like the ones made by an artist named Zichron Moshe, which he found to have “a particular aristocratic quietness.”⁵⁸⁵ [Fig. 4.15, 4.16] In other words, despite painting the fields and streets of Palestine as they had been altered due to Zionist development, it was painting in the styles that were most closely associated with autonomous art, art created to nourish the soul of the individual, which was perceived as best serving the Zionist “national renaissance” in

⁵⁸² Trajtenberg, “Plastic Arts and Nation-Building in Israel,” 225.

⁵⁸³ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁴ Quoted in Ibid., 228. The dialectical opposition between bourgeois “autonomous” art and an “avant-garde” art which resists institutionalization, as set out by Peter Bürger, is helpful here in that it clarifies how the purportedly unconventional artwork of Rubin and his peers fit did not, in fact, seek to fundamentally redirect the way European, modernist art functioned in a Zionist-oriented society, but rather upheld its central tenets. Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 46–49.

⁵⁸⁵ “The Palestine Art Exhibition,” *The Palestine Bulletin* [English]. I have not found an example of Moshe’s particular landscape paintings referenced here, but in Figures 15 and 16 I provide examples of landscape paintings done by other artists who were featured in the Levant Fair’s art pavilion.

Palestine. The art pavilion at the Levant Fair, brimming with such ‘autonomous’ landscapes, may have looked on its surface as an apolitical event; rather, it hoped to be further proof of the viability of a European-inspired, Jewish artistic renaissance in Palestine, a precondition for the nation to come.

The idea that works of art created by Jewish artists in Palestine could be deployed as international ambassadors, garnering support for the Zionist mission abroad, was an extension of how Jewish-made artisanal crafts had circulated within trade fairs and fundraising exhibitions orchestrated by Jewish and Zionist associations abroad since the early 1900s (see Chapter Two). After the 1932 Levant Fair, "Palestine Art," specifically paintings and sculpture, became fixtures in exhibitions representing Jewish progress in Palestine, such as at the 1933 Anglo-Palestine Exhibition in London, the Chicago World’s Fair in 1934 and the New York World’s Fair in 1939. Following the initial staging of the Tel Aviv Museum’s art collection at the Levant Fair, one of the Fair’s founders, Abraham Idelson, implored the Jewish National Fund to consider granting space for art within the staging of a Palestine Pavilion at the upcoming Anglo-Palestine Exhibition of 1933 in London:

You know that Palestine Art is highly developed and is much praised in many countries abroad, and I am positive that such an exhibition will attract much attention [here] and contribute to the general success of this venture.⁵⁸⁶

As Rubin foreshadowed, art was becoming an attraction and engine of success when promoting Palestine’s economy in the world market. The artist Elias Newman, himself responsible for curating Palestine’s art pavilions at the World’s Fairs in Chicago and New York in 1934 and 1939

⁵⁸⁶ “Letter from Abraham Idelson (of the Levant Fair Committee) to Mr. Levin (of the Anglo-Palestine Exhibition Committee) [in English],” March 21, 1933, 102-8 1855A, Tel Aviv Municipal Archive.

respectively, was a fierce advocate for the political capacities of the new “Palestine art” made by Jewish artists in Palestine, contrasting its capabilities with those of the Bezalel artists,

Bezalel remained a work-shop, busying itself with manufacturing trinklets [sic] for the tourist trade, and supplying foreign markets with Palestinian souvenirs and ecclesiastical trappings, rather than developing a school of art that bespeaks the soil and stirs the soul.⁵⁸⁷

Housed elsewhere at the Levant Fairs, alongside displays of the other parastatal institutions of the *yishuv*, such as the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund, the religiously-themed carpets and metalworks produced by the students of Bezalel were offered for sale and therefore decidedly “craft.” Whereas items in the art pavilion were regarded as the vital visions of a Jewish future in Palestine, Bezalel's “souvenirs” belonged to a Jewish past of disenfranchisement and poverty in Palestine. Despite being in high demand among Jews in the diaspora, Bezalel's creations apparently could not do the work of Tel Aviv's international ambassador artists featured in the art pavilions at home and abroad, whose works of “high” or fine art employed more modern, European artistic trends to speak of a Jewish future in Palestine.

Only Ben-Zvi's sculptural works and their placement at the 1934 Levant Fair seemed to bridge the gap between these two artistic poles. In addition to *The Sower* exhibited in the Jewish National Pavilion (in the same building as the Bezalel display), Ben-Zvi contributed a bust of Dizengoff for view in the stand-alone art pavilion. [Fig. 4.17] Ben-Zvi also exhibited a third sculpture, *Lot's Wife*, a modernist reinterpretation of the biblical woman who defied God's will and was turned into a pillar of salt. [Fig. 4.18] Sited outdoors on the grounds of the fair site, and flanked by the brass letters “קאליה” (‘Kallia,’ the name of a place near the Dead Sea), *Lot's Wife* was not only a colossal experiment in Cubist sculpture, but a billboard for the Kallia northwest

⁵⁸⁷ Elias Newman, “Art in Palestine,” *Masada*, November 1936, 11.

branch of the Palestine Potash Company, a Jewish mining company for potassium chloride from the Dead Sea, furthering industry in the service of Zionism. The sculpture may not have been for sale, but its intended outcome was both monetary and political. Ben-Zvi's totemic sculptures of *The Sower* and *Lot's Wife* at the Levant Fair embodied the ways in which the fair's organizers were speaking through the cultural sector to bolster Jewish industry in Palestine and thereby support the Zionist national cause.

When the painter Rubin claimed that the Levant Fair was born out of the twin strands of a "desire to be liked" and "competition," he managed to capture the sharp connection between the veneer of neutrality (the performative declarations of parity and mutual economic benefit, the privileging of 'autonomous' art) and the underlying appetite for economic and political superiority. A journalist for *The Palestine Post*, intoxicated by the "augmented energy and enterprise" of the 1934 Levant Fair seemed to metabolize the fair's guiding ethos as he wrote in wonder, "...even the glare of the [1934] Chicago Fair was dimmed by the Levant Fair comet which drew almost all nations in its wake. Who thought of Chicago while Tel Aviv dazzled the vision?"⁵⁸⁸

"Non-Cooperation": The First National Arab Fair

For the Welfare of Palestine (Reciprocity)

"At last, the Zionists have inaugurated their widely promoted exhibition. They circulated propaganda to nations; near and far. They made the exhibition seem like

⁵⁸⁸ "Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce: President's Report, Delivered at Yesterday's Annual Meeting," *The Palestine Post*, July 31, 1934.

a huge event to attend. They called it 'the Levant Faire,' [sic] but the Levant has nothing to do with it."⁵⁸⁹ —Members of the Arab Youth Association in Jaffa, 1932

A torrent of public indignation hit the pages of the popular Arabic-language newspaper *Falastin* as political, intellectual, and religious leaders called for a large-scale Arab boycott of the 1932 Levant Fair, rejecting both the participation of businesses from Arab countries (occupied Egypt and Syria) and refusing any Palestinian consumption which would contribute to the Zionist cause. The chairman of the Palestinian Islamic Nation Conference, Ragheb Al-Nashashibi, painted the boycott in nationalist terms, speaking as much to pan-Arab currents as Arab political ambitions inside Palestine: "The Arab nation's (*umma*) interest lays in abstaining from participation in order to persist with the national plan (*al-khaṭa al-qawmmiyya*) towards the holy nationalist (*qawmī*) purpose."⁵⁹⁰ The head of Palestine's Arab Executive Committee, Musa Kazim Pasha Al-Husayni, promoted the boycott for its ability to protect Arab Palestinian commercial interests: "The executive committee asks the public of this dignified nation (*umma*) to boycott the Tel Aviv exhibition, through both participation and visiting, in order to prevent the intended damage to our plan of promoting our own national (*waṭaniyya*) manufacturing and trade."⁵⁹¹ Reinforcing the political and economic aims of the boycott, the imam of the Great Mosque in Jaffa cast his support through a detailed reading of the teachings of the Qur'an, concluding unequivocally that, "going against the unanimous decision of boycotting the exhibition is a violation of the religious teachings passed to us by the Prophet Muhammad."⁵⁹² Amidst the rally cries, shouted by Palestine's most established Palestinian leaders, one affluent

⁵⁸⁹ "Arab Nation Boycott of Tel Aviv Zionist Exhibition, by the Arab Youth Association in Jaffa," *Falastin*, April 9, 1932.

⁵⁹⁰ "Appeals Against Arab Participation in the Levant Fair," *Falastin*.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

⁵⁹² "Visiting the Tel Aviv Jewish Exhibition is Forbidden by Religion," *Falastin*, April 12, 1932.

citizen, Yusuf Abdu, had the temerity to question the utility of stopping at a boycott alone:

“Boycott is the first weapon for fighting Zionism. If a Fair is established by the Arabs, it will be boycotted by the Jews immediately. Why not treat them reciprocally?”⁵⁹³ An equal and opposite reaction, a blow for a blow, a competition on even ground would require no less than the staging of a parallel trade fair in Palestine, Abdu declared. Swiftly organized by a newly formed executive committee of Arab businessmen and hosted by the *waqf* of the Supreme Muslim Council (SMC) to open in July 1933, the First National Arab Fair constituted the official response of Arab Palestinians to the Zionist push for the control of industry in their homeland.

The boycott’s determination to thwart Jewish efforts in Palestine by looking out for what the instigators referred to as their own “national interests” (*al-maṣlaḥat al-waṭaniyya*) led to the first articulations of the idea for an all Arab Fair. The Arab Fair’s catalogue, advertisements, and signs were issued only in Arabic and only Arab countries were invited to exhibit in the headquarters of the SMC on Agron Street near the Mamilla pool, west of the Old City in Jerusalem. While non-Arab speakers attended the fair, many complained of its inaccessibility, largely due to the event’s staunch mono-lingual approach in a colonial city that enforced three official languages. Searching for the words to describe the overtly politicized Arab Fair after its opening, one British official griped: “As a means of showing the Arabs what they themselves could do, the Fair may have had some success, but so far as it was intended to impress the outside world, it defeated its own end by being almost fanatically nationalist.”⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁹³ Yusuf Abdu, “Zionists and the Tel Aviv Exhibition: About Holding a National Exhibition,” *Falastin*, March 31, 1932. I have, as of yet, been unable to uncover detailed biographical information on Yusuf Abdu. However, he is mentioned in Khalil Sakakini’s diaries (an entry dated March 20, 1948), indicating Abdu was likely a member of the affluent Arab Christian community in Palestine, and perhaps a member of the family of Sakakini’s wife, Sultana Abdu. Khalil Sakakini, *The Diaries of Khalil Sakakini: Diaries, Letters, Reflections. Volume 8: Exile from Qatamon, 1942-52*, ed. Akram Mousallam (Ramallah: Khalil Sakakini Cultural Center, Ramallah, and The Institute of Jerusalem Studies, 2010).

⁵⁹⁴ “The Levant Fair, Tel-Aviv, 1934. Report on ‘British Section.’,” 5.

Accusations of “fanatic nationalism” were rooted in more than the fair’s apparent ethnolinguistic and geographic biases. The Arab Fair committee barred Jewish representatives from participating in the exhibition, rejecting the facade of equality and mutual benefit that characterized the Levant Fair and sparking outrage. Indignant reporters for the English-language (and Zionist sponsored) newspaper *The Palestine Post* scoffed at the “strange and ostrich-like attitude” of the organizers, wondering if it was their “nationalist egotism” or “discourtesy” and “churlishness” which sparked such “inexplicable” and blatant discrimination. It was considered a “matter of regret” that “Palestine as a whole does not benefit by this notoriety and that our friends the Arabs don’t take advantage of the experience and aptitude of the [Levant Fair] promoters who would readily co-opt with them in exhibiting products for the welfare of Palestine.”⁵⁹⁵ The director of the Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce (a joint Arab-Jewish-British venture) pleaded for the promoters to join forces with the Levant Fair. Such cooperation, he said, would “go a long way to produce domestic peace in which alone commerce can thrive.”⁵⁹⁶ Threatening to stunt the Zionist mission to invest in Palestine’s international economic growth, the Arab Fair thwarted its necessary antecedent, “domestic peace.”⁵⁹⁷ The British government declined to support the Arab Fair, owing to its inequitable policy, and the British High Commissioner did not visit until its closing day.⁵⁹⁸ Complaining about how plans for the Arab Fair resisted protocol, a reporter for *The Palestine Post* wrote:

The former Palace Hotel is to house an Arab Exhibition in a few month’s time and the Arab press carries a call to Arab manufacturers to send along samples of their products. The invitation to participate in the Anglo-Palestine Exhibition in London,

⁵⁹⁵ “Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce: President’s Report.”

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁸ “Social and Personal,” *The Palestine Post*, August 7, 1933: “The High Commissioner, accompanied by Mr. Eastwood, Private Secretary, visited the Arab Exhibition yesterday morning.”

next June, was extended to all communities and published in the papers of all languages. Courtesy would suggest reciprocity.⁵⁹⁹

The reporter suggested the history of public overtures from Jewish-run exhibitions to “all” Palestine’s communities should have warranted “reciprocity,” granting Jewish businesses, at the very least, an invitation to exhibit at the Arab Fair. However, it was reciprocity that inspired the Arab Fair’s antipodal, non-equitable approach. Having been virtually excluded from participating in the Levant Fair, despite rhetoric to the contrary, and viewing the Levant Fair as anathema to Arab interests, the Arab Fair organizers decided to treat Jewish businesses reciprocally by banning their participation.

The Arab Fair’s discrimination against Jewish business, which violated accustomed notions of fairness and equality under the British Mandate, was part of a recently debuted policy of “non-cooperation,” which included the boycott of both Jewish *and* British goods and a policy of non-cooperation with the entirety of the British administration. Non-cooperation was first articulated as a political tactic on March 26, 1933 at a rally organized by the joint Arab Executive Committee in Jaffa. A direct response to General Wauchope’s renewed interest in instituting a joint legislative council, the Arab Executive Committee rejected Wauchope’s invitation (as many Arab Palestinian leaders had done before) and used the occasion to articulate a set of revised demands in the wake of 1929, as any notion of a joint Arab-Jewish state receded from reality.⁶⁰⁰ In addition to the more traditional demands for the government to limit Jewish immigration, restrict land purchases by Jews, and introduce self-governing Arab institutions, non-cooperation enlisted direct Arab participation for the realization of its goals. Not only were Arab citizens encouraged to withdraw from Jewish and British economic markets as everyday consumers, but

⁵⁹⁹ “Arab Palestine Exhibition,” *The Palestine Post*, May 1, 1933.

⁶⁰⁰ Martin Sicker, *The Middle East in the Twentieth Century* (Westport, CT : Praeger, 2001), 48.

Arabs occupying political posts in the government and even lower-level government employees were advised to resign.⁶⁰¹ The close timing between the articulation of non-cooperation and calls for boycott against the 1932 Levant Fair, only two weeks later, suggests the Jewish trade fair may also have been a motivating factor guiding the new approach. While, in reality, the outcomes fell far short of the demands (convenience often eclipsed morality and job security often trumped ethno-national loyalties), the non-cooperation movement was able to align the boycott of the Levant Fair and the subsequent establishment of the Arab Fair within a circumscribed political strategy.⁶⁰²

As such, both the boycott of the Levant Fair and the founding of the Arab Fair were depicted not only in moralistic terms, but laid bare as tactics in the drive toward economic and ethno-national separatism. The editors of *Falastin* offered approximate calculations of the loss to Jewish businesses in their attempts to persuade against Arab consumption at the Levant Fair:

In addition to the moral value of the boycott, there is a second, tangible influence which cannot be ignored. [...] Arabs previously rushed en masse to past exhibitions, during which they spent lavishly. This year's absolute boycott means the loss of at least 100,000 pounds, which would have flowed into Jewish hands to further establish their alleged country. [...] If it is estimated that each Arab attendee spent an average of 1 pound, the total Jewish loss is 100,000 pounds, which is not an insignificant number. All in all, the Arab boycott against this exhibition is a glorious act, beneficial to the Palestinian cause in many aspects.⁶⁰³

Relying on the persuasive power of numbers, guaranteeing close to 100,000 pounds in Jewish losses if the Arabs mounted a uniform resistance to the Levant Fair, the editors concretely tied economic resistance to the Arab national cause. Yusuf Abdu, the citizen who first proposed

⁶⁰¹ "Today's Arab Meeting: Question of Non-Cooperation," *The Palestine Post*, March 26, 1933.

⁶⁰² "Patriotism of the Employees," *Falastin*, May 12, 1932.

⁶⁰³ "Boycotting the Exhibition," *Falastin*, April 9, 1932.

starting an Arab Fair as a way to intensify the boycott, also did so by admonishing Arab consumers directly:

Arabs currently are not working to thwart this effort that benefits Jews and enables them. We are not stopping them from benefiting and using Arab money to establish their national country in our land.⁶⁰⁴

By protecting one's money, the proponents of the boycott claimed, one could protect one's homeland.

Like the *totseret ha-arets* movement, the Arab Fair provided a platform for stimulating Arab national production and consumption and encouraged the principle of “ethical Arab consumption as a tenet of national independence.”⁶⁰⁵ Through a quantitative analysis of advertisements, text, and illustrations in the newspaper *Falastin* over three decades (1920s-1940s), socio-legal scholars Deborah Bernstein and Badi Hasisi demonstrated the link between the rise of an Arab middle class and the mobilization of a national consciousness by consumption. As they postulated, the observable growth in product advertisement in Arabic-language newspapers, specifically in the decade of the 1930s, may have reflected “the impact of British rule and its new occupational opportunities as well as inflow of Jewish capital and the subsequent rapid economic growth.”⁶⁰⁶ Advertisements for products boasting new technologies, like the radio, or appealing to the buyer’s well-being, such as vitamins, illustrated European middle-class values that were infiltrating Arab Palestinian society. However, as Bernstein and

⁶⁰⁴ Abdu, “Zionists and the Tel Aviv Exhibition.”

⁶⁰⁵ Seikaly places notion as not starting in earnest until 1936, with the 1936 boycott/revolts and the launch of the journal *Iqtisadiyat*, but the Arab Fair makes it clear how this all happened even earlier. “Indeed, in the early 1930s, men of capital—such as the bankers Ahmad Hilmi Pasha and Rashid al-Hajj Ibrahim—charted plans for local production and regional imports to sustain an anti-Jewish boycott. The boycott of 1936 that spearheaded the Great Revolt was based on the principle of an ethical Arab consumption as a tenet of national independence.” Seikaly, *Men of Capital*, 32.

⁶⁰⁶ Bernstein and Hasisi, “Buy and Promote the National Cause,” 134.

Hasisi's analysis reveals, it was in 1933 that a surge in appeals for the consumption of "national" products arose. [Fig. 4.19] Making use of the particular Arabic word for nation (*waṭan*) which has its roots in the notion of "homeland," the slogan "Encourage National Production" (*shajja ū al-maṣnaw'āt al-waṭaniyya!*) indicated a rooted, territorial conception of the nation. The slogan began appearing at the bottom of *Falastin*'s front page almost daily in the spring of 1933, coinciding with and most likely stimulated by the debut of the First National Arab Fair.⁶⁰⁷ Locally financed products made by local families became rebranded as being "of the nation"—*watani* beds, matches, and wheat, for example—and consuming local products was promoted as proof of one's national commitment: "He who smokes the magnificent Fuad cigarettes—manifests his nationalism!"⁶⁰⁸ Editorials regarding the Arab Fair echoed the advertisers' slogans—"The Moslem Youth Federation has issued a manifesto, in connection with the forthcoming Arab Exhibition, calling on the public to buy only National products"—and underscored the Arab Fair's ambitious mission: to use the event to encourage economic separatism and promote, therewith, an independent Arab polity in the region of Palestine as it would serve the aims of a pan-Arab national movement.⁶⁰⁹

Meant for the Arabic-speaking population only, such slogans reflected the Arab Fair's denial of any type of mutual economic cooperation, exchange or equal opportunity investment with both their Jewish and British counterparts in Palestine. In words as in actions, the organizers of the Arab Fair refused to enact the politics of parity, which they had already experienced as

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., 141. While Bernstein and Hasisi do not provide any particular explanation for the bar graph spikes according with the years 1933 and 1935, I submit that the first and second Arab Fairs (which occurred in 1933 and 1934) were likely contributors to the increase.

⁶⁰⁸ This advertisement appeared in the newspaper *Falastin* on April 9, 1933 and is re-printed and translated from the Arabic in Ibid., 142.

⁶⁰⁹ "In Several Lines," *The Palestine Post*, May 29, 1933.

disadvantageous to the more numerous populace they represented. “Zionists, with all the financial power they have, are seeking to control commerce and industry by all possible means,” decried Yusuf Abdu, galvanizing ancient, anti-Semitic notions linking Jews with the evils of profit to emphasize his point as it related to the Zionist economy in Palestine. He continued,

Arabs are aware that this control is harming their interests and that each individual in this country is affected by it. If the people confront the Zionist control of the economy, the whole country will benefit and commerce will be protected from Jewish power, which the whole world together is resisting.⁶¹⁰

This view, that Palestine’s Arabs could only “benefit” and secure their own welfare through absolute resistance to the Zionist control of the economy in Palestine, was in stark contrast to the Zionist organizers who claimed to be at the ready to “co-opt with [the Arab Fair] in exhibiting products for the welfare of Palestine.”⁶¹¹ Thus, both fair organizers professed to be protecting Palestine, but their conceptions of Palestine were incompatible.

A Fanatically National, Inter-National Fair

*“As to the share of Palestine in the Exhibition, the [news]paper points out that it is an ‘Arab’ and not a ‘Palestine’ Exhibition.”*⁶¹² —The Palestine Post, 1933

Like a coat of arms, the poster for the 1933 First National Arab Fair was raised high above the fair’s gated entrance. [Fig. 4.20] Designed by the Arab Palestinian artist Tawfiq Jawharriyeh, the logo centered on two crossed ceremonial flags of pan-Arabism and also featured a harp, sword, hammer, pickaxe, mallet, and the Qur’an, binding together a vision of the political, cultural, industrial, martial, and religious tools supporting the establishment of the Arab Fair. [Fig. 4.21]

⁶¹⁰ Abdu, “Zionists and the Tel Aviv Exhibition.”

⁶¹¹ “Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce: President’s Report.”

⁶¹² “‘Falastin’ Wants it Both Ways: Jews Should Go Where Not Asked,” *The Palestine Post*, July 12, 1933.

Eight stars, each likely representing a separate Arab polity represented at the fair, hovered in an arc above the crossed flags, with one moon shared between them, while a spherical sun glowed beneath them, its radial beams reaching out to touch all aspects of the design. Far from the Flying Camel logo, its fantastical and almost cartoonish figure guiding the internationalist aims of Jewish industry in Palestine, Jawharriyeh designed a shield, heraldic armor designed to protect the Arab Fair.

As the logo betrayed, the Arab Fair aimed to compete against Jewish industry by using an international arsenal from the emergent union of Arab countries. Refusing to take part in the economic growth of Palestine as conceived by Zionists and supported by the British, namely a desire to join in international exchange, the Arab Palestinian leaders looked to another and, importantly, anti-colonial version of inter-national economic growth as manifested by pan-Arabism. Following the First World War, pan-Arab thought was primarily stimulated by the desire among the previously Ottoman and now colonized Arab countries to combat both territorial divisions and European control of the Levant and much of the Arabian peninsula through a political union. While these geo-political dimensions of pan-Arabism continued to loom large, a strain of pan-Arab thinkers in the early 1930s hoped to shift the movement towards an economic unity rather than the previous merely political one.⁶¹³ In the context of Palestine, historian Sherene Seikaly has examined how economic progress was positioned by certain Arab

⁶¹³ Greater social and economic ties were formed across the cities of the Ottoman *vilayet* of Syria in the late 1800s, as modern technologies (telegraph, new roads, rail service) allowed commerce to flow easily from Damascus to Beirut and to the south of the Levant as well, and marriages across Arab elites from different cities promoted further social cohesion. This evolution of “Greater Syria” as a distinct unit inspired later generations to champion the establishment of a Greater Syrian state in the period around the First World War, which would be ruled under King Faisal, the son of Sharif Hussein from Mecca, who later became appointed King of Iraq in 1928. The idea for a pan-Arab social and economic union can be traced back to this period and the 1919-20 declarations of the Syrian National Congress (also called the Pan-Syrian Congress). For more on these currents undergirding pan-Arab thinking in Palestine by the 1930s (and the rise and fall of the idea of the Greater Syrian state), see Jankowski and Gershoni, eds., *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*.

businessmen as crucial to constructing a “pan-Arab utopia of free trade, private property, and self-responsibility.”⁶¹⁴ As with the Levant Fair’s founders, these self-proclaimed Palestinian “men of capital” understood economics as being at the core of politics. Their projects of economic cultivation and domestic reform were specifically geared toward creating Arab commercial unity as part of a broader Arab *nahḍa* (“renaissance” or “awakening”), which recognized the common bonds of language, religion, and tradition across the ‘unnatural’ borders of the Arab territories that had been carved by colonial powers out of the region in the wake of the Ottoman Empire’s collapse.⁶¹⁵ Sixty percent of the 2,269 commercial and manufacturing businesses established in Palestine in the decade after 1917 were by Arabs.⁶¹⁶

The Director of the Arab Fair, Issa al-Issa (the Christian founder of the newspaper *Falastin*) and the president of the Arab Fair Committee, Ahmad Hilmi Pasha (the previous general director of the *awqaf* in Palestine and founder of the Arab National Bank) were the enterprising beacons of the Arab Fair and were recognized in this environment as true ‘men of the nation.’⁶¹⁷ In addition to being the previous director of the Muslim *awqaf* in Palestine and a founder of the Arab National Bank, for instance, Ahmad Hilmi Pasha achieved financial success as the head of the Kraman-Dik-Salti “industrial group,” which ran mills and factories producing tobacco and ice.⁶¹⁸ Ahmad Hilmi and al-Issa were joined on the Arab Fair Committee by a group of other Muslim and Christian businessmen who not only served as members of local business

⁶¹⁴ Seikaly, *Men of Capital*, 1.

⁶¹⁵ For a classic study of *nahḍa* thought, as well as more recent essays on the topic, see Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Jens Hanssen and Max Weiss, eds., *Arabic Thought Beyond the Liberal Age: Towards an Intellectual History of the Nahda* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

⁶¹⁶ Seikaly, *Men of Capital*, 14.

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*

councils, but significantly, were nearly the exact same members constituting a recently formed “National Fund” (*Sandūq al-Umma*), established by the joint Muslim-Christian Arab Executive Committee in 1932. The National Fund was a fundraising body, which provided the Arab Executive Committee with money for making land purchases, an institution to act as counterpart to the Jewish National Fund, which had been buying land for Jewish settlement since the late Ottoman period.⁶¹⁹ Ahmad Hilmi Pasha was largely in control of the fund and was joined by members such as ‘Omar al-Bitar (the mayor of Jaffa) and Ya‘qoub Bey Al-Ghusayn (leader of the nationalist Youth Congress Party) on the committee of the Arab Fair. As the group in charge of the Arab Fair, these men assured that the event would be dedicated toward furthering Palestinian political interests. They also brought their interest promoting consumption to the sphere of the cultural sector as part of the trade fair.

Individual photographs of each member of the Arab Fair Committee graced the front page of *Falastin* after the fair’s opening day on July 8, 1933, with Issa al-Issa and Ahmad Hilmi Pasha’s portraits poised at the very top, flanking an exterior view of the fair’s site. [Fig. 4.22] Their portraits in aggregate, alongside the photograph of the Supreme Muslim Council’s (SMC) new headquarters and Jawharriyeh’s logo celebrating pan-Arabism, illustrated a novel advancement in Arab Palestinian politics. While the Committee members hailed from various political and religious affiliations within Palestine, they were here joining together to advance Palestine’s economic prosperity as an integral step in contributing to a broader Arab nation.

Instead of using its platform simply to compete with the Jewish or Euro-American industry and manufacturing on view at the Levant Fair, the Arab Fair offered an opportunity to

⁶¹⁹ For more on the formation of the National Fund, as well as its revival after the Arab Revolts of 1936-39, see Issa Khalaf, *Politics in Palestine: Arab Factionalism and Social Disintegration, 1939-1948* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1991), 98–104.

advance wide Arab industrial growth. The Arab Fair hoped to benefit from the industrial and economic advancements of neighboring Arab communities and make progress toward building internal industry strong enough to sustain an Arab nation in Palestine. As expressed by Yusuf Abdu,

Palestine is in great need of a national exhibition in order for the Palestinians to see the products of the neighboring countries and to cover their needs through them. Let the relationships be strong and the commercial deals be reciprocal (*mutabādala*). This would help to realize the meaning of Arab unity (*al-wahadat al-‘arabiyya*). Let those who are patriotic work to reach this goal as soon as possible to prove that they choose life and self-reliance.⁶²⁰

Plainly spoken, the Arab Fair organizers reserved their spirit of reciprocity for the industry of Arab countries and for the promotion of the Arab national cause. Their stance echoed the “Encourage National Production” campaign, which placed advertisements for Palestine’s “national” products side by side with advertisements soliciting buyers for “Arab” products, as in the case of an advertisement for Syrian cement that Bernstein and Hasisi examined, wherein,

The cement, was made of ‘good Arab soil,’ was ‘made exclusively by Arab labor,’ all stocks were owned by Arabs and there was ‘no foreign (*ajnabī*) involvement in the firm’s management.’⁶²¹

Like these advertisements targeting pan-Arab national appeal for Palestine’s consumers, the Arab Fair’s organizers predicted the event would mutually advance neighboring Arab industry, the welfare of Arab Palestinians, and ultimately, the Arab national movement.

The Arab Fair’s physical organization directly reflected the pan-Arab values motivating the event. It was held in a large stone building that had been built by the SMC in 1928 (under the purview of the Mufti Hajj Amin Al-Husayni) to serve as the luxurious Palace Hotel, acting as a

⁶²⁰ Abdu, “Zionists and the Tel Aviv Exhibition.”

⁶²¹ This advertisement appeared in the newspaper *Falastin* on January 12, 1937 and is re-printed and translated in Bernstein and Hasisi, “Buy and Promote the National Cause,” 142.

symbolic claim to the city growing beyond Jerusalem's Old City walls. [Fig. 4.23] In direct competition with the Jewish-financed King David Hotel in construction further down the road, the Palace Hotel boasted a grand entrance hall, marble ornaments, and 140 guest rooms with four-poster beds and telephones in every room.⁶²² Showcasing the impressive presence of an Arab economy in Jerusalem, the Palace Hotel was a fitting venue for a trade fair which was also staged in direct competition with a Jewish initiative.

Filling the first two floors of the hotel, the Arab Fair occupied approximately sixty rooms with nearly one hundred exhibitors selling food stuffs (chocolate, candy, jam, salt, and olive oil), home goods (soap, furniture, carpets, embroidery, and perfume), and clothing (socks, pantyhose, shoes, textiles). [Fig. 4.24, 4.25] Gathering products from across the Levant, the Hejaz (later, Saudi Arabia), and Mesopotamia, the exhibitors hailed from cities in Palestine including Jerusalem, Nablus, Haifa, Bethlehem, and Ain Karim, as well as those outside of Palestine, including Beirut, Jounieh, Tripoli, Damascus, Aleppo, Baghdad, Cairo, and Mecca.⁶²³ Rather than be split in separate pavilions or rooms by country, the exhibitors mixed with one another within each room, presenting a unified vision of Arab industry. "There were only two non-Arab exhibitors," reported *The Palestine Post*, "Karakashian and the German Schneller Orphanage."⁶²⁴ The interior gardens of the hotel housed multiple cafes for rest and conversation and a central exhibition entitled "The World's Major Exhibition Products," which brought together products from across the fair, filling the capacious first floor atrium. Unlike the Levant Fair, which was

⁶²² "The Palace Hotel," Central Zionist Archives, accessed February 25, 2019, <http://www.zionistarchives.org.il/en/AttheCZA/AdditionalArticles/Pages/PalaceHotel.aspx>.

⁶²³ The Arabic-language newspaper *Al-'Arab* published a detailed description of the Arab Fair during opening week, including a full list of exhibitors and detailed floor plans. "The First Arab Fair," *Al-'Arab*, July 15, 1933.

⁶²⁴ "Arab Exhibition Opened, Non-Arab Press Barred, Palestine Poorly Represented," *The Palestine Post*, July 9, 1933.

heavily weighted toward exhibits of new building materials and technologies, the industry presented at the Arab Fair was geared largely toward agricultural and domestic ends (including the arts and crafts), reflecting the current state of Arab industries, and perhaps representing a particular resistance to the types of industry British colonialists and Zionists were interested in advancing in Palestine.

Five hundred visitors attended the first day of the Arab Fair, which included visiting dignitaries from Egypt, Syria and Trans-Jordan.⁶²⁵ The fair's opening day festivities maintained a firm Arab presence, to the neglect of any British administrative representation, as was reported by *The Palestine Post*:

At 9 a.m. on Friday at the former Palace Hotel which was decorated with Arab colours, the Exhibition was declared open by Muza Kasim Pasha [sic, Musa Kazim Pasha al-Husayni], head of the Palestine Executive. There was a noticeable absence of Government and Municipal representatives, and the only Consul present was the Egyptian, Sadiq Bey. From Syria there came Jamil Bey Mardam, once Minister of Finance and Shukri Bey of the Nationalist Party [Shukri al-Quwatli, who would become the first president of independent Syria]; from Trans-Jordan, Hussein Pasha Tarawani, and several members of the Legislature; from Palestine, the Mayor of Tulkeram, Amin Bey Tamimi, and Jamal El Husseini. Only Arabic inscriptions hung outside the hotel...an Arab hymn was played inside, and then outside, the building. After Ya'qub Bey Ghussein had opened the proceedings, a speech by Issa el Issa, editor of the 'Falastin,' was read by his brother, who stressed the fact that the Exhibition, and what it represented was the fruit of their own effort, unaided by the Government.⁶²⁶

From the welcome speech prepared by Issa al-Issa as to the politicians gracing the stage and the banners and music greeting visitors outside the hotel, a uniform message of Arab pride and self-sufficiency characterized the opening ceremonies. Throughout the duration of the month-long fair, newspapers made frequent mention of visiting youth groups, such as "the Moslem Scouts of Beirut" and the "Moslem boy scouts from Cairo and Alexandria," as well as Arab entertainers

⁶²⁵ "First National Arab Fair," *Falastin*, July 9, 1933.

⁶²⁶ "Arab Exhibition Opened," *The Palestine Post*.

and athletes making appearances at the fair, such as when “Madame Asia, the Egyptian film star” came to screen two of her most recent films or when a “group of Egyptian boxers” visited the fair after competing with Tel Aviv champion boxers in Jaffa.⁶²⁷ Political leaders and heads of commercial clubs from all the major neighboring Arab countries, including Egypt, Syria, Trans-Jordan, the Hejaz and Iraq sent messages of support throughout the fair and were notable visitors, continuing the visible presence of outside Arab interest in Palestine’s Arab Fair.⁶²⁸ While no precise records of the fair’s attendance or revenue for 1933 have been located, the First National Arab Fair was considered successful enough to warrant a second edition in 1934, whose opening reportedly drew in a crowd of 2,000 and whose organization, exhibits, and political delegates largely mirrored the 1933 Arab Fair.⁶²⁹

While the Arab Fair Committee eschewed the politics of parity by spurning British and Jewish representatives, they did in fact contradict indictments of “fanatic nationalism” by calling upon the Arab nations as a show of pan-Arab solidarity in the struggle over the homeland in Palestine. International in its scope, the fair acted as a litmus test to evaluate the strength and welfare of the proposed Arab union. Out of the initial boycott of the Levant Fair and through to the establishment of the Arab Fair, an opportunity arose for an alternate political union and sphere of economic exchange to challenge the internationalist-as-European paradigm furthered

⁶²⁷ These events were announced in *The Palestine Post* on the following dates in 1933: July 4 (Madame Asia), July 16 (Egyptian boxers), July 17 (Moslem Scouts of Beirut) and July 26 (Moslem boy scouts from Cairo and Alexandria).

⁶²⁸ For example, *The Palestine Post* reported on June 9, 1933 that, “The Directors of the Arab Exhibition report that they have received letters from King Ibn Saud and his son, the Crown Prince, in which they wish the Exhibition success and express the wish that Hedjaz should contribute to the exhibits...” On July 24, 1933, the paper reported, “The Arab Exhibition in Jerusalem is to be visited by Ibrahim Hananu, the Syrian Nationalist member,” as well as, “Hassan Shoukhri, the Mayor of Haifa, and members of the Haifa Municipality were among the visitors on Saturday to the Arab Exhibition.”

⁶²⁹ “Arab Fair in Jerusalem Opened with Booming of Guns and Fireworks,” *The Palestine Post*, April 12, 1934. The Second National Arab Fair took place from April 6 to May 12, 1934.

by British and Zionist agendas in Palestine. The Head of the Arab Executive Committee and a member of one of Palestine's most prominent Muslim families, Musa Kazim Pasha Al-Husayni, used the Islamic-tinged word for "nation" (*umma*) as he expressed his high hopes for the value of the boycott and Arab Fair in connecting Palestine's national aspirations to those of the Arab nation: "We hope that the Arab Palestinian nation (*al-umma al-'arabiyya al-filistiniyya*), affected now, will be an example of unity to the Arab nation. We hope for full unity ... to ensure the wellbeing of the whole Arab nation (*al-ummat jum 'ā*)." ⁶³⁰

Awakening the Woman Artist, Awakening the Arab Nation

"The truth is that what I found in this room is the best of what the Arab Exhibition offers. This exhibition is a great start for Arabs in general and for Ms. Zulfa, who has put a lot of effort into giving us this work. Her work is an example of the Arab awakening (nahḍa) of the future." ⁶³¹ —Anonymous Arab Fair attendee, 1933

From Tawfiq Jawhariyyeh's logo, pulling together the symbols of pan-Arabism, to Zulfa al-Sa'dī's oil on canvas portraits of contemporary pan-Arab intellectual and political leaders, the arts and crafts exhibited at the Arab Fair reinforced the organizers' approach to portraying Palestinian unity through pan-Arab diversity. Engulfed by the tastes, smells, and textures of the food, spices, soaps, and fabrics of Arab industry, the exhibitions of painting and drawing, alongside ceramics, embroidery, and lace works, were featured in a series of ten rooms on the second floor of the hotel. Women's clubs and schools from Palestine, namely the Arab Women's Association of Jerusalem and the Birzeit High School for Girls, exhibited textiles, embroidery, and paintings next to crafts made in workshops outside of Palestine, such as silk embroidery by

⁶³⁰ "Appeals Against Arab Participation in the Levant Fair."

⁶³¹ "Guest book of Zulfa al-Sa'dī's 1933 Exhibition," entry dated July 7, 1933.

orphans from the Women’s Craft School in Aleppo and minuscule views of the Baalbek castle and Qur’anic verses carved into grains of rice by Sheikh Naseem Mocarrem of Beirut (who had previously exhibited at the Levant Fair).⁶³² With little separation between them, the items merged together as a holistic view of craft production in the Arab region.

Mirroring this integrated approach, a room in the northernmost corner of the building featured a “museum” (*mathaf*) containing oil paintings by seventeen artists, six women and eleven men, who hailed from Palestine and neighboring Arab regions.⁶³³ Supervised, or perhaps even “curated” by a man named Adel Al-Haddad, a team of Arab artists, most of whom are untraceable today, gathered together in one room to present the best of their works. An enticing clue to an early twentieth-century network of Arab artists, their names and localities were documented in an exhibition dispatch from *Falastin*:

Adorning the walls of this room are a number of attractive paintings which amazed both Arabs and foreign visitors. [...] The creators of the pieces are by the ladies and gentlemen: Eleanor Haddad, Jerusalem; Zulfa al-Sa’dī, Jerusalem; Amy Al-Salthugh, Jaffa; Leoni Farah, Jaffa; Ivon Hawa, Akka; Ivon Habib, Akka; Ali Rida Mo’een, Aleppo; Tawfiq Jawhariyyeh, Jerusalem; Haydar Zeyn al-Abbedin, Beirut; Musa Bahathi, Haifa; Helbert, Egypt; Khalil Halaby, Jerusalem; Marwan Tanib, Haifa; Issa Al-Zaghrebi, Bethlehem; Fared Al-Husayni, Jerusalem; Muhammad ‘Amr, Khalil; Ahmad Fakhr Al-Din, Jerusalem.⁶³⁴

⁶³² Writing briefly on the 1933 Arab Fair, art historians Kamal Boullata, Gannit Ankori, and Samia A. Halaby all reference Jamal Badran as having participated at the 1933 fair, supposedly displaying wooden bas-reliefs and leatherwork with traditional Islamic designs (Ankori references Boullata’s text for this information). Surveying reports of the Arab Fair in Arabic-language newspapers of the period and reading through the guest book entries in the “Guest book of Zulfa al-Sa’dī,” I found no concrete evidence of his participation in the 1933 edition of the fair. However, I did find evidence of his participation in the second edition of the fair in 1934, which I discuss later in the chapter. Kamal Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005* (London; Berkeley, CA.: Saqi, 2009), 70–71; Gannit Ankori, *Palestinian Art* (London: Reaktion, 2006), 38–39; Samia A. Halaby, “The Pictorial Arts of Jerusalem, 1900-1948,” 49.

⁶³³ “Exhibits at the Arab Fair, From Our Special Correspondent in Jerusalem” *Falastin*, July 21, 1933. The Arabic word used in the article, *mathaf*, most directly translates to “museum,” but can also be interpreted as “exhibition” or “section.”

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*

From Jerusalem to Akko in Palestine, and from Egypt to Lebanon, the artists represented an impressive array of Arab polities from around the eastern Mediterranean: a far more comprehensive assembly of Levantine artists than the Tel Aviv-based artists representing the Levant at the neighboring Levant Fair. The styles and subject matter were also of a broad range: “The painting on each nail represents some great figures [people] and breathtaking natural landscapes, and other pieces illustrated abstract values.”⁶³⁵ Mixing artistic media and regional influences, individual artists were presented side by side with art schools and clubs in the rooms of arts and crafts at the Arab Fair.

Despite *Falastin*'s inability to “choose one [artwork] particularly preferable, because all of them were the incarnation of art and beauty,” the paintings and embroidery of one artist garnered significantly more attention than the others.⁶³⁶ Presented separately in a one-room exhibition, the works of Zulfa al-Sa‘dī (1910-1988), a female Muslim artist, included embroidered pieces, paintings of a few city views and village landscapes, and most abundantly, portraits.⁶³⁷ The portraits, composed alternately in rectangular or oval format, featured contemporary pan-Arab and pan-Islamic luminaries, including the Islamic activist Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, the Egyptian ‘national Arab’ poet Ahmad Shawqi, the Hashemite leader of the Arab revolt against the Ottoman Empire Sharif Hussein Ibn ‘Ali, the Sharif’s son King Faisal I of Iraq, and, rather surprisingly, a portrait of the German Emperor Wilhelm II, whose visit to Jerusalem in 1898 had reaffirmed Ottoman confidence (and had been copiously documented by the American Colony Photo

⁶³⁵ Ibid.

⁶³⁶ Ibid.

⁶³⁷ Zulfa al-Sa‘dī was part of a well-respected Muslim (perhaps Sufi) family in the Old City of Jerusalem. More biographical information on al-Sa‘dī is discussed later in this chapter and in the conclusion chapter. For more on al-Sa‘dī see: Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, 68–70; Samia Halaby, “The Pictorial Arts of Jerusalem, 1900-1948,” in *Jerusalem Interrupted: Modernity and Colonial Transformation 1917-Present*, ed. Lena Jayyusi (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, an imprint of Interlink Publishing Group, 2015), 46–48.

Department), but also whose “homage to Saladin at his grave initiated a veritable revival of Arab remembrance of the Sultan and knight.”⁶³⁸ [Fig. 4.26, 4.27] Al-Sa‘dī’s portraits included the historical figures Saladin, defender of Islam during the twelfth century crusades, and Tariq bin-Ziyad, who led the Muslim forces spreading Islam to the Iberian peninsula in the eighth century. [Fig. 4.28] Finally, al-Sa‘dī painted ‘anonymous’ Palestinian characters including wool spinners, vegetable sellers, and town clerics. [Fig. 4.29, 4.30] Merging past campaigns for the preservation of an Islamic Levant with present crusades for a pan-Arab (and for some, pan-Islamic) post-colonial independence forged the collective force of al-Sa‘dī’s display. Al-Sa‘dī’s bright and crisply painted portraits—many of which were copied from professional photographs and subtitled like newspaper captions or icons—presented a panoramic view of the religious, political, intellectual, and everyday figures of the pan-Arab movement, both past and present.⁶³⁹

Al-Sa‘dī was the granddaughter of Ahmad Hilmi Pasha, director of the Arab Fair, and it is not difficult to imagine why she was given pride of place at the exhibition. It is also possible her works were commissioned, and/or she was directed to paint certain images. In addition, the effusive praise for her artworks in the press may have been seen as a way to commend the economic and political work of Ahmad Hilmi by proxy and curry political favor with him. Nevertheless, the paintings were her own. By using techniques taught to her by Palestinian artists and making compositional choices to tap into the spirit of the Arab Fair, Al-Sa‘dī managed to capture the event’s pan-Arab principles within her single oeuvre.

⁶³⁸ Rashid Khalidi, *The Origins of Arab Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 154; Peter Wien, *Arab Nationalism: The Politics of History and Culture in the Modern Middle East* (London, New York: Routledge, 2017), 37.

⁶³⁹ Gannit Ankori has located the source for at least one of these portraits (of Sharif Hussein Ibn Ali) in an unidentified newspaper clipping from London. The photographs of Ahmad Shawqi and King Faisal were also frequently reprinted in news sources throughout the early decades of the 1900s. Ankori, *Palestinian Art*, 39.

Al-Sa‘dī’s portraits employed the formal strategies of Christian Orthodox icons in the *qudsi* (Jerusalemite) style, drawing from a specific repertoire of popular modern art techniques in Palestine. A student of the renowned Jerusalem icon and genre painter Nicola Saig, al-Sa‘dī adopted her teacher’s penchant for realism and the *qudsi* icon’s emphasis on legibility (see Chapter One).⁶⁴⁰ Her attention to facial details in particular divulges the mark of her mentor, from the somber concern shown through the deep, undulating wrinkles bracketing the poet Ahmad Shawky’s eyes to the pallid coloring of King Faisal’s neck and cheek, perhaps evidence of her use of a monochrome photograph for study. [Fig. 4.31, 4.32] Her portrait of Sharif Hussein also exemplifies the manner in which she mixed the traditions of icon painting and photography, as learned by Saig. [Fig. 4.33] A three-quarter view of the late “King of the Hejaz” (r. 1916-1924), al-Sa‘dī’s painting copied the composition and perspective of a well-circulated photograph of the leader. [Fig. 4.34] Whereas the accoutrements of coffee were visible in the foreground of the original photograph, contrasting Sharif Hussein’s formal pose with instruments of leisure, al-Sa‘dī cleared the image of any unnecessary objects, confining the articulation of her brushwork to Sharif Hussein’s face, beard, and turban. The meticulous depiction of his drooped eyelids, dark eyebrows, wrinkled forehead, and perfectly shaped beard accentuated the transparent morality of his character.

Like the *qudsi* religious icons, al-Sa‘dī’s portrait also married image and text in defense of Sharif Hussein’s recent claim to the Caliphate. In altering the composition of the photograph to conceal the quotidian foreground, al-Sa‘dī also replaced it with a banner of text proclaiming the king’s divine attributes:

⁶⁴⁰ Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, 68.

This (this man) whose strength is known to the clans/tribes
The house [the Ka'ba, House of God in Mecca] knows him: and the place of halal
and the place of haram
He is son of Fatima that you know
By his seriousness the prophets of God have sworn...
He died on Thursday, at 6 in the morning, 18 Moharram (first month Hijri) in 1350
- June 4, 1931.⁶⁴¹

Sharif Hussein's command of the 1916-1918 Arab revolts against the Ottoman Empire, with clandestine support from the British government, was an event retroactively proclaimed as a touchstone in the Arab national movement. Al-Sa'di employed a prototypical icon format to communicate Sharif Hussein's piety in addition to his perceived political prowess. Borrowing the painterly tools of *qudsi* icons, al-Sa'di provided historical and religious depth to the pioneers of pan-Arabism, like Shaif Hussein, matching form to function to present them as the veritable "patron saints" of the first ever National Arab Fair.

As al-Sa'di's incorporation of the Islamic calendar (Hijri) into the text of Sharif Hussein's portrait intimated, in using Christian Palestinian painting techniques to recall the Islamic religious underpinnings of the Arab revolts, al-Sa'di made a strong statement about the importance of Muslim and Christian relationships in Palestine in the move toward pan-Arabism. In this way, her work embodied the non-sectarian strain of Arab politics in the early 1930s as it was articulated by the newly formed executive committee of the Arab Fair, those who heeded Abdu's call to establish a trade fair representing Arab "national interests." Issa al-Issa, the Christian director of the Arab Fair and editor of the widely read political newspaper *Falastin*, was fiercely vocal on this point, using the space of his popular newspaper to advocate for the loosening of religious affiliation in favor of broad Arab national progress. In his words, "saving

⁶⁴¹ The text at the bottom of the painting was adapted from a well-known poem by the Umayyad-era poet al-Farazdaq, written about the great grandson of the Prophet Mohammad. It was translated from Arabic by the author with the assistance of Chantal El Hayek and Nasser Rabbat.

Palestine...through an Islamic path [was] closest to [saving it] through a national road” and that even converting Muslim holy events, like *nabī musa*, into national demonstrations would “prove to [our] opponents the power of the Arabs in Palestine.”⁶⁴² While religious attachments contributed to some political fragmentation under the British Mandate, religious festivals, on the other hand, became sources of political action, such as during the particularly unique convergence of *nabī musa*/Easter, a time for powerful Muslim-Christian collective dissent and advancing national unity. The marriage of Christian icon painting traditions with Muslim leaders in al-Sa‘dī’s works, reflected the fact that the Arab Fair was conceived by its founders as a cultural event that could similarly draw Palestinians together across religious lines as a form of anti-imperial and anti-Zionist protest.

As a woman, a Jerusalemite, a Muslim, and an artist, al-Sa‘dī also embodied the progressive pillars of the *nahḍa*, a point consistently brought up by the viewers of her work. A precious copy of a guestbook from al-Sa‘dī’s exhibition at the Arab Fair survives and was signed by close to one-hundred and fifty visitors, many of whom were distinguished personalities in Palestine and other Arab states.⁶⁴³ The few English-speaking visitors who signed the guestbook expressed surprise that “such beautiful handwork...could be done by a Moslem people,” and by a “veiled” female Muslim artist at that, while the influential Palestinian signatories praised the

⁶⁴² Quoted and translated from the Arabic in Noah Haiduc-Dale, *Arab Christians in British Mandate Palestine: Communalism and Nationalism, 1917-1948* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 143. The Islamic religious festival celebrating Moses (*nabī musa*) always culminated on the same day as the Christian celebration of Easter (and near the Jewish feast of Passover). As described in Chapter Three, beginning with protests against the British and the Zionists in 1920 (and followed by those in 1921 and 22), the *nabī musa*/Easter period came to signal a time of joint Muslim-Christian political action in Palestine. Naomi Shepherd, *Ploughing Sand: British Rule in Palestine 1917-1948* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 41.

⁶⁴³ The following quotations are all from “Guest book of Zulfa al-Sa‘dī’s 1933 Exhibition.” Artist and art historian Samia Halaby summarized several of the noteworthy signatories in her essay on Palestinian art prior to 1948: “Among the Palestinian signers were Ahmad Hilmi Pasha, manager of the Arab National Bank; Musa al-Husayni of Jerusalem, a respected citizen and father of popular 1948 resistance leader ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Husayni; Nicola Ziadeh, a famous Palestinian historian and thinker, Bashir al-Rayyes, the supervisor of Palestinian education; and ‘Ali Sha’th, a famous educator from Jaffa.” Halaby, “The Pictorial Arts of Jerusalem, 1900-1948,” 46.

twenty-three year old as “a woman Palestine can be proud of,” “reflecting the creativity that the nation (*umma*) is capable of.” Upon seeing her work, a governor from Jerusalem even suggested establishing a national institute for the arts and crafts with al-Sa‘dī as its director. Local newspapers enthusiastically reported on her commitment to Arab values:

It is worth mentioning that Mrs. Zulfa did not display these artifacts for sale. She exhibited them instead for the attention of the dignified Arab public as a proof of the Arab woman’s capacity and taste and her ability to distinguish herself in the realm of art and aesthetics.⁶⁴⁴

The worth of al-Sa‘dī’s paintings resided not only in the representational content of the works, but in her status as a woman and in her refusal to enter her art into the world of commerce, recalling the art pavilion/Bezalel divide at the Levant Fair.⁶⁴⁵ Commentators in the guestbook conveyed the significance of her artworks by describing her exhibition as “an example of the Arab awakening of the future” and “an awakening to retrieve the greatness of the past and awakening of Arab women.” Those visiting her exhibition “found a lot for the Arab awakening to be proud of.” Less moved to comment on the content of her paintings and more intrigued by her identity, viewers described al-Sa‘dī’s artistic endeavors as synonymous with the *nahḍa*.

More specifically, the fair attendees interpreted al-Sa‘dī’s artistic contributions within the rise of the Arab women’s movement in Palestine. Galvanized by the events of the Wailing Wall Riots/al-Buraq Uprising of 1929, more than two hundred women came together in Jerusalem on October 26, 1929 to inaugurate the Palestine Arab Women’s Congress. At the event, the women pledged to “support all resolutions, decisions, and demands of the Arab Executive” and elected an Arab Women’s Executive Committee (AWE) to “execute and administer the congress’s

⁶⁴⁴ “What’s of Interest at the Arab Fair,” *Al-Jamī‘a Al-‘Arabīa*, July 10, 1933. Translated from Arabic by the author with assistance by Chantal El Hayek.

⁶⁴⁵ Her paintings have seemingly stayed out of the market since the fair. The after-life of al-Sa‘dī’s paintings are discussed further in the conclusion chapter. Halaby, “The Pictorial Arts of Jerusalem, 1900-1948,” 48.

resolutions.”⁶⁴⁶ As described by Matiel Mughannam, a member of the AWE, in her book *The Arab Woman and the Palestine Problem*, the necessity to launch a self-conscious women’s movement felt inevitable following the unforgettable events of 1929:

In August, 1929, Palestine suddenly emerged into a state of disorder. [...] The Arab women could no more keep aloof; they found themselves unable to shirk the responsibility which was thrust upon their shoulders. Hundreds of men were sent to prison, hundreds of homes unmercifully destroyed, hundreds of children became orphans, without parents to whom they could turn for care and affection. [...] It was not strange, therefore, that such distressing circumstances as those in which Palestine was found in 1929 should have resulted in the greatest change in the life of the Arab women in Palestine and in the concentration of their forces.⁶⁴⁷

The same watershed moment that had motivated the ethno-national Arab unity across Palestine’s male-oriented political societies had catalyzed women to participate in Arab politics. While charitable women’s religious associations existed prior to 1929, the movement led by the AWE was decisively nationalist (more than religious, or even feminist) in its motivations and sought to strengthen Arab Palestinian politics by connecting with a broad network of Arab women, mirroring the fair’s pan-Arab approach and pan-Arab goals more widely.⁶⁴⁸ The women’s congress resolved to:

Participate in an ‘Arab women’s national awakening like other countries’, consider the congress the foundation of the women’s movement in Palestine; make contact with other women’s organizations in Egypt, Iraq, and Syria; unify the women’s

⁶⁴⁶ Ellen Fleischmann, “The Emergence of the Palestinian Women’s Movement, 1929-39,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 29, no. 3 (2000): 18.

⁶⁴⁷ Matiel E. T. Mughannam, *The Arab Woman and the Palestine Problem* (Westport, CT: Hyperion Press, 1976), 69. Matiel Mughannam was born in Lebanon, raised in the United States and moved to Palestine in 1921 with her husband, a native of Jerusalem.

⁶⁴⁸ For more on the ways in which the “new Arab woman” was also produced through both Christian missionary and Islamic educational systems in Palestine, see Inger Marie Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living, of High Endeavour and Adventure: Anglican Mission, Women, and Education in Palestine, 1888-1948* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002); Enaya Othman, *Negotiating Palestinian Womanhood: Encounters Between Palestinian Women and American Missionaries, 1880s-1940s* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016); Ela Greenberg, *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow: Education and Islam in Mandate Palestine* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010).

movement in Palestine by establishing Arab women's associations; encourage national trade and industry; and attempt to spread Arabic culture in Palestine.⁶⁴⁹

Seen in this context, al-Sa' dī's artworks at the Arab Fair in 1933 not only added a vital intellectual and cultural dimension to the industrial exhibits but were seen as a concrete contribution to the Arab women's movement in Palestine and, thus, the Arab *nahḍa* at large. She was, as one guestbook signatory wrote, an example of women's "effective role in the economic renaissance (*al-nahḍa al-iqtisādiyya*)" in the Arab world, allowing her works to be on view in support of the trade fair. "The truth," another visitor proclaimed even more forcefully, was that al-Sa' dī's artworks were "the best of what the Arab Exhibition offers. This exhibition is a great start for Arabs in general and for Ms. Zulfa, who has put a lot of effort into giving us this work. Her work is an example of the Arab awakening (*nahḍa*) of the future."⁶⁵⁰

The official delegates and politicians in attendance at the Arab Fair understood the competitive edge that al-Sa' dī's paintings, proof of the *nahḍa*'s progress, provided in the bifurcated landscape of Palestine's politics. As presented at the outset of this section on the Arab Fair, Palestine's Youth Commission Secretary, Sa'ad Al-Kahlil's had proclaimed that al-Sa' dī's artworks "proved" to the world that "Palestine is able to produce many beneficial products" that were on par with foreign industry. Dhaher Alfayez, Head of the Al-Skhour tribe, echoed Al-Khalil's sentiments, stating:

I attended the Arab exhibition and I especially went to Ms. Zulfa Al-Sa' dī's section. I was very amazed with the crafts and paintings that I saw. I was pleased to see an example of what the Arab woman could do. I believe that the Arab woman can match her Western sisters in anything if provided with proper environment (*al-muḥīt al-malā'im*).⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁹ The resolutions of the women's congress were reported in the newspaper *Mirat al-Sharq*, October 28, 1929, and are re-printed and translated in Fleischmann, "The Emergence of the Palestinian Women's Movement, 1929-39," 19.

⁶⁵⁰ "Guest book of Zulfa al-Sa' dī's 1933 Exhibition," entry dated July 7, 1933.

⁶⁵¹ "Guest book of Zulfa al-Sa' dī's 1933 Exhibition," n.d.

In Alfayez's understanding, the Arab Fair had provided the "proper environment" for artistic products, and specifically those made by women, to perform like seasoned politicians in the game for cultural and political one-upmanship. "With her abilities," another viewer emphasized, "she shows that the Arab woman has surpassed (*fāqat*) her European counterpart. This progress is very delightful."

Knowing the full scope and desires of the Arab Fair, it is almost impossible to read such phrases as "Western sisters" and "European counterpart" as referring to any group other than the eastern European Jewish artists on display in the trade fair to the north, nor to read such sentiments outside of the competitive politics of parity. Al-Sa'dī's artworks, whether it was the artist's express determination or not, now belonged to an emerging Palestinian art world which valued artworks that addressed contemporary political concerns. The Arab boycott of the Levant Fair and the subsequent staging of the Arab Fair were integral building blocks toward the principles of economic separatism as the foundation for ethno-national independence. The origins of a Palestinian art, which buoyed and buttressed this aim, can also be traced through young, contemporary artists, like Zulfa al-Sa'dī.

Conclusion: Portraying Politics

Following her presentation of portraits in the First National Arab Fair, portraits formed a significant portion of the "Arab art exhibition" in the 1934 Second National Arab Fair, but not only those painted on canvas. Indicating the continued intermingling of the "fine arts" and "crafts" so germane to Palestinian art's development, the Second Arab Fair art exhibition included portraiture on "goose-quills and other plumage" by the "decorator of feathers" Haidar

Z. Al-Abdine of Beirut.⁶⁵² The *Palestine Post* praised Al-Abdine's plumage portraits as "ingenious work," and wrote highly of the "decorative" work of Jamal Badran, and the miniature engravings and many impressive mother-of-pearl models across the exhibition.⁶⁵³ Unlike al-Sa'di's portraits, however, which focused on the luminaries of pan-Arabism, Al-Abdine's imagery included portraits of some of the anti-colonial, national, and anti-Semitic figures that the pan-Arab movement looked toward for inspiration internationally, such as India's anti-British independence activist Mahatma Gandhi, French Prime Minister Aristide Briand, a bold advocate for a federal "union" in Europe, and Adolf Hitler, painted against "a red and black swastika," who was at the time of the April 1934 Arab Fair the Chancellor in the German national socialist regime.⁶⁵⁴

Jamal Badran's contributions included "fancy leather designs" and "a fine model Ferris-wheel in fretwork" (likely in wood), demonstrating once more his ability to work across disparate media.⁶⁵⁵ The pinnacle of the craftwork presented at the Second Arab Fair, however, seems to have been a model doll house, "executed entirely, inside and out, in mother-of-pearl" by an artisan from Bethlehem, Tawfiq Butrous Shami. Displayed dramatically in a darkened room of the Palace Hotel, the doll house was "illuminated with tiny bulbs showing up [lighting] the

⁶⁵² "Arab Fair a Fair Bazaar, What you May See and Buy Near Mamillah (From Our Special Correspondent," *The Palestine Post*, April 26, 1934.

⁶⁵³ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁴ Al-Abdine's portraits, of which I have not been able to locate images, included an eclectic array of political, military, and literary figures from across the world. In addition to those mentioned above, the portraits included the British military officer and founder of the Scout movement Lord Robert Baden-Powell, Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore, and the leader of the Turkish Republic Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, possibly among others. That Hitler was a contemporary figure in 1930s politics is not surprising, nor is his veneration in a rendering by an Arab artist. Palestinian leaders looked toward Hitler as an ally in the struggle against a Jewish homeland in Palestine and the former Mufti of Jerusalem, Hajj Amin Al-Husayni, even visited Nazi Germany in 1941 to discuss a political partnership. What is surprising, however, is that *The Palestine Post*, an English-language, Zionist sponsored newspaper, would praise an artwork made of Hitler.

⁶⁵⁵ "Arab Fair a Fair Bazaar," *The Palestine Post*.

living-room and salon furniture.”⁶⁵⁶ Small figurines of King George V, the ruler of Britain when its military occupied Palestine and assumed the mandate, stood on the steps of the doll house.

The artworks presented by Palestinian and other Arab artists in the Arab Fairs of 1933 and 1934 thus drew from across the divide of fine arts and crafts and featured direct political content to serve the advancement of the national project in Palestine, as part of the Palestinian push toward pan-Arabism. This strategy was quite unlike the one employed at the Levant Fair, where artworks presented by Jewish artists in the art pavilions of the Levant Fairs of 1932 and 1934 consisted of paintings and sculptures which drew from styles of European abstraction to support the Levant Fair founders’ Zionist political aims. However, both artistic strategies reflected the trade fairs’ engagements with the political discourse of the British Mandate, which encouraged a harmonious heterogeneity, however implausible. Thus, while both trade fairs existed to serve the advancement of national projects in Palestine—one Jewish, one Arab—the Levant Fair organizers insisted on creating a “mutually beneficial” fair to garner British support, even while working toward Jewish nationalist ends, while the Arab Fair organizers rejected the discourse of parity and were seen by the British as being “fanatically nationalist.” By viewing the episode of Palestine’s simultaneous trade fairs of the 1930s through the lens of parity, the strategies of economic progress and artistic exhibitionism used by the organizers in their bids for nationhood come to the fore.

By the conclusion of the 1934 Levant Fair and Arab Fair, tensions between Jews and Arabs had begun to boil. Despite the fairs’ initial successes, the Arab Riots of 1936-1939 and the outbreak of the Second World War guaranteed the demise of both. It is easy to place the history of the fairs within nostalgic narratives of a lost world, one which succumbed to the ethno-

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid.

national violence that resulted in the *nakba* of 1948 for Palestinians and the declaration of the State of Israel for Jews. However, subsequent Jewish and Arab trade exhibitions did manage to occur, in slightly altered form over the following decade, such as the 1941 Palestine Industrial Fair in Cairo, organized by the same founders as the Levant Fair, and the 1945 Arab Industrial Fair in Jaffa, organized by several of the same businessmen behind the Arab Fair. In addition to representing political struggle and discord, the 1930 trade fairs therefore also indicated progress and dynamism, laying the groundwork for commerce and culture—both Jewish and Arab—to continue throughout the British Mandate and to endure after 1948.

Jewish-only cultural initiatives escalated in support of the bid for parity throughout the 1930s: in addition to the art pavilions at the Levant Fair, the Museum Ein Harod began its operations in a rural kibbutz around 1930, the Tel Aviv Museum was established in 1932, and the New Bezalel Arts Academy opened in Jerusalem in 1933. Cultural initiatives developed by or geared explicitly toward Palestinians during the mandate have been more difficult to locate. Looking beyond the framework of art worlds, which tend to focus on institutions devoted exclusively to art (museums, schools, and galleries), and instead toward the charitable, economic, and politically-oriented institutions of the cultural sector, we can see other institutional structures, including the Arab Fair, which played a key role in the development of Palestinian art prior to 1948.

Conclusion

Palestinian Pictures

The sensational portraits of pan-Arab luminaries exhibited by Zulfa al-Sa‘dī’s at the 1933 First National Arab Fair—once lauded as “an example of the Arab awakening of the future”—are presently ensconced in bubble wrap, nestled within a wooden cabinet inside an apartment in Amman.⁶⁵⁷ Stored in the private collection of the revolutionary Palestinian artists Tamam al-Akhal and her late-husband, Ismail Shammout, al-Sa‘dī’s paintings will only be made available to the public when, according to their custodians, “a museum of Palestinian painting is established in a free Palestine.”⁶⁵⁸ Both al-Sa‘dī and her paintings went into exile as a result of the *nakba*. Al-Sa‘dī fled to Damascus, becoming a teacher for Palestinian refugees in primary schools erected by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA).⁶⁵⁹ Her own artistic practice appears to have gone into hiding, or disappeared altogether, as no further artworks from

⁶⁵⁷ “Guest book of Zulfa al-Sa‘dī’s 1933 Exhibition at the First National Arab Fair, Jerusalem,” 1933, Darat al Funun Archive. Translated from Arabic by Manal Yousef.

⁶⁵⁸ Reportedly, al-Sa‘dī rolled her canvases and transported them in a tube to Damascus after 1948, fleeing the Upper Baq‘a neighborhood where she lived with her husband in Palestine. After her death in Damascus, neighbors transferred her possessions to relatives in Amman, including the roll of eighteen paintings and guestbook from the 1933 First National Arab Fair exhibition. The paintings were given to Ismail Shammout for safekeeping in 1998. Shammout, an artist from Lydda, was appointed the Director of the Palestinian Liberation Organization’s (PLO) Art Education Department in 1964 and was co-founder of the Union of Palestinian Artists and the exhibition space Dar al-Karamah in Beirut in the late 1960s. Tamam al-Akhal, also a distinguished Palestinian painter from Jaffa, met Shammout when in Beirut and served as the director of the PLO’s Arts and Heritage section. They moved to Amman in 1991. Al-Sa‘dī’s collected works have been displayed to the public only twice, at the Darat al Funun arts center in Amman when they first entered Jordan in 1998 and, more recently, in 2017. Samia Halaby, “The Pictorial Arts of Jerusalem, 1900-1948,” in *Jerusalem Interrupted: Modernity and Colonial Transformation 1917-Present*, ed. Lena Jayyusi (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, an imprint of Interlink Publishing Group, 2015), 48; Kamal Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005* (London; Berkeley, C.A.: Saqi, 2009), 128–32, 166.

⁶⁵⁹ Later in life, al-Sa‘dī became principal of the Lydda School in a Palestinian refugee camp, so named for the village in Palestine.

her hand have been found. Al-Sa‘dī’s artistic voice, one of Palestine’s most promising in 1933, went silent after 1948.

When so much of Palestinian cultural and artistic heritage was lost, looted, destroyed, or—as in the case of al-Sa‘dī’s artistic career—prematurely stunted in the wake of the *nakba*, it can be hard to focus on what remained, much less to find what was left to be found.⁶⁶⁰ By approaching early twentieth-century artistic production in Palestine primarily through investigating its structures of support, rather than solely through its material remains, however, this study offers new possibilities for narrating the beginnings of Palestinian modern art and its continuities after 1948. The previous chapters have delineated the diverse motivations which drove artistic experimentation in Palestine in the decades prior to the *nakba*, from the commercial and the religious to the political and the humanitarian. The dissertation argues that the types of institutions nurturing these aims—such as souvenir shops, religious missionary schools and workshops, colonial museums, and trade fairs—had a lasting impact on Palestinian cultural formations through the rest of the century, an impact comparable to the influence of Palestine’s early-twentieth century artists and their artworks.

Fortunately, al-Sa‘dī’s paintings have survived. To fail to account for the framework through which they were first exhibited, however, would be to conceal a significant part of what made them *Palestinian* art and not merely examples of art in Palestine. The current literature on Palestinian modern art argues for al-Sa‘dī’s innovative use of portraiture “as a new type of

⁶⁶⁰ The efforts to locate artworks, family photographs, and other ephemera from the pre-1948 period—as well as the difficult work of restoring and properly caring for the items—has been led primarily by Palestinian private collectors, such as George Al Ama (Bethlehem), Rami El Nimer (Beirut), and Suha Shoman (Amman). Israeli art historian Rona Sela investigates and locates Palestinian items in Israel’s state and military archives. She recently produced a groundbreaking documentary, *Looted and Hidden* (2017), investigating the cinematic and other archival objects Israel plundered from various Palestinian visual and research institutions in Beirut in the 1980s, which were presumed “lost” until her recent discovery.

Palestinian national icon,” drawing on her knowledge of *qudsi* (Jerusalemite) Arabized Christian icons taught to her by her mentor Nicola Saig.⁶⁶¹ Her sophisticated adaptation of *qudsi* icons to exalt pan-Arab national leaders spoke to discourses on national politics dominating Arab Palestinian thought in the 1930s. As art historians Bashir Makhoul and Gordon Hon have suggested, al-Sa‘dī’s icons may even imply a plausible lineage between pre-1948 artworks and contemporary *shahīd* (martyr) painted portraits, also based on photographs, which occupy a permanent position in today’s Palestinian visual culture.⁶⁶² [Fig. 5.1]

Absent from the literature, however, is a discussion of al-Sa‘dī’s paintings as the de facto “patron saints” of a trade fair, positioned “free of commerce” in a battle against a Zionist trade fair for the economic (and ethnic) control of Palestine. Nor does the literature incorporate the historical prevalence of trade fairs and industrial and craft exhibitions in Palestine during the British Mandate, as outlined throughout the chapters of this dissertation. Even more so than Palestine’s fledgling early museum projects, trade fairs transformed the platform through which Palestinian artists first began connecting with viewers outside of spaces for tourism (those analyzed in Chapter One). From one-room bazaars hosted by missionaries to relieve the poverty of Palestine’s inhabitants in the early 1900s, like the one established by Caroline Cooper for the Jewesses Institute (described in Chapter Two), to those assembled by the British bureaucrat W. A. Stewart to encourage Arab-Jewish parity in the 1920s (discussed in Chapter Three), and finally to the explicitly political, competitive fairs organized by Zionist and Arab ethno-national economic associations in the 1930s (the subject of Chapter Four), trade fairs in Palestine were

⁶⁶¹ Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, 69.

⁶⁶² Bashir Makhoul and Gordon Hon, *The Origins of Palestinian Art* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 6.

staged to enact local social and political change. The arts and artisanal ingenuity, as in the case of al-Sa‘dī’s presentation of paintings at the Arab Fair, were integral to their message.⁶⁶³

This chain of evidence suggests that it was through the forum of the trade fair that artists and craftspeople, like al-Sa‘dī, became recognized as important agents in nation-building and, as such, in the history of Palestinian art. Al-Sa‘dī’s portraits are foundational to Palestinian art not only because of the artist’s identity as a Palestinian woman, but because of the setting in which they were produced, exhibited, and appreciated. The particular ecology of the trade fair in Palestine, as it had grown over the previous thirty years, stimulated a new attitude toward art making amongst Palestinians, one which was rooted in traditional craftsmanship, deeply connected to the shared heritage of Muslim and Christian Arabs in Palestine, and, above all, was invested in an Arab-oriented future in Palestine.⁶⁶⁴ The case of al-Sa‘dī’s portraits reveals how a historical examination of the institutional type of the fair itself, and not just al-Sa‘dī’s paintings alone, is crucial for understanding the development of art in Palestine prior to 1948 and specifically, its development into what we can now term *Palestinian* art—an art connected to a political, ethnic, stateless nation from the 1930s to the present.

Surveying the structures supporting art’s production prior to the 1930s is equally important in providing clues regarding the reasons for the survival and continued development of Palestinian art today. A carved mother-of-pearl shell produced in Bethlehem in the 1980s,

⁶⁶³ In a forthcoming essay, I stitch together the long history of presentations of Palestine in trade fairs from 1900 to 1939, both locally and internationally, including examples not included in this dissertation. Nisa Ari, “The First National Arab Fair in Jerusalem: Art, Industry, and Christian-Muslim Collaboration in 1930s Palestine,” in *Crossroads: European Cultural Diplomacy and Arab Christians in Palestine*, ed. Karène Sanchez (Brill, forthcoming 2019).

⁶⁶⁴ As framed in the dissertation’s introduction, Oleg Grabar’s interest in the “ecological setting” for the formation of Islamic art is foundational to this study’s interest in parsing the formation of Palestinian art and the “series of attitudes toward the very process of artistic creation” Palestine’s particular setting inspired. Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 12, 200.

currently in the private collection of George al Ama, provides a particularly apt example. [Fig. 5.2] The carved medallion, shaped like a pomegranate and no larger than six inches in diameter, features incised floral tendrils delicately ringing two narrative scenes. The lower scene is a simplified copy of Leonardo da Vinci's famed *The Last Supper* (1495), with the perspectival grid of the wood-beam ceiling framing the animated diners below. The shell's much larger central scene, however, is reserved for the reproduction of a virtually unknown depiction of the night of Christ's birth. It is, in fact, a replica of Bagioli's painting *Nativity* (1876), discussed in Chapter One. Originally hung in the grotto of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem in the late-1800s, *Nativity* was reproduced and copied first by the American Colony Photo Department (ACPD) and then by renowned painter Nicola Saig to satisfy Palestine's rapacious tourist market of the early 1900s, trading on the sacred value of the copy from Byzantine iconography. Likely basing the mother-of-pearl representation on versions of the painting circulated by Saig or the ACPD, the Bethlehem carvers copied a copy of a copy. Perhaps even Bagioli's "original" was itself a copy of an unknown painting. In this version, however, the carvers compressed the composition to fit into the ellipsoidal frame of the shell. The holy characters and the anonymous Palestinian villagers are drawn together in a more intimate grouping, the *thob*-clad woman and young child in the scene indicating an identifiably Palestinian environment.

These threads of connection between a painting displayed in Palestine in the 1880s and a Palestinian object from the 1980s demonstrate the rich variety of images, media, and modes of circulation that have been constitutive of Palestinian art production, then and now. First, the use of Bagioli's *Nativity* scene as visual content for this *objet d'art* discloses a thematic lineage in Palestinian artworks that passed—remarkably—from the early practitioners of modern art in Palestine through the complexities of mandate occupation to the splintering devastation of the art

scene during and after the *nakba* to the contemporary Palestinian art world. Owing to the overt representation of Arab Palestinians in the scene, signaled especially by a village woman's traditional Palestinian dress, this particular image of the biblical nativity has become a recognizably Palestinian trope in twentieth-century art. *Nativity* appears to have suffused the Palestinian artistic consciousness, much like da Vinci's *The Last Supper* has been consumed and appropriated the world over. In form, the shell represents the historic practice of mother-of-pearl carving in Bethlehem, first introduced to Palestine by Italian missionaries in the fourteenth century. The carvers' embrace of painting, too, epitomizes the fluidity and interplay among artistic media that helped to define art in Palestine in the early-twentieth century and continues to inform Palestinian art today, as this study has shown. Finally, as was argued in Chapter One, this type of art object persists within the realm of Palestinian art due to Palestine's unique art market, predicated on religious tourism, and one wherein consumers invest art objects made in Palestine with a type of spiritual capital.

In other words, just as al-Sa' dī's identity is not the only basis by which to mark her work as Palestinian, it is not just the pictorial content of the shell that suggests its Palestinian-ness or which represents an unbroken connection between pre-and post-1948 Palestinian art (although the continued use of the same image is, in itself, quite extraordinary). The structures of the shell's production and dissemination have also persisted, despite the expulsion of the majority of Palestinians from Palestine in 1948 and despite Bethlehem's current position within the heavily regulated "occupied West Bank" of Israel, where the mother-of-pearl workers continue to practice their craft. It is through these structures that the late-nineteenth century *Nativity* (painted by a visiting Italian), its many early-twentieth century reproductions (made by "local" and "foreign" practitioners like Saig and the ACPD), and the Bethlehem carved shell version of the

painting (created by contemporary Palestinians) are united in the same category of Palestinian art.

By using other lenses for understanding art production from Palestine that displace, at least momentarily, the dominant one of national identity, we can make space for evaluating these types of curious connections as contributing to the codification of national artistic formations. Looking seriously at the ways in which social networks, markets, or institutions act as stimulants for artistic experimentation helps to analyze the oddities encountered through archival research and answer the unusual questions that arise alongside them. In the case of this dissertation's investigation, those questions included: Why did a seemingly generic genre painting, made by an unknown Italian artist, attract the attention of a Jerusalemite master icon painter? Why would a woman, who lived through world war and witnessed several occupations of her homeland, obsessively paint wildflowers? Why was *tatreez* (embroidery) the first art form to be recognized as contemporary "Palestinian art" rather than, say, icon painting? And why was it deemed worthy of placement in a museum by British bureaucrats? Toward what ends would a female Muslim painter court religious taboos regarding figural representation in the 1930s? In attempting to answer these questions, among others, the dissertation accounts for a richly textured cultural milieu wherein itinerant and local painters, photographers, monks, socialites, ethnographers, businessmen, activists, artists, and artisans advanced developments in Palestinian art.

Many more fragmentary pieces of evidence from the archives, ones which were not included in the space of these chapters, advance the dissertation's tenet that a one-to-one historical narrative based on identity—that is, "Palestinians made/make Palestinian art"—is no longer sufficient. One such morsel comes from W. A. Stewart's unpublished memoir regarding

his work in Palestine, wherein the British official shares a story about the Palestine Conservatoire of Music, opened in 1933 as an extension of Hebrew University's music department.⁶⁶⁵ Narrating the "pleasant diversion" of a fundraiser for the conservatory in the 1940s, not long after the start of the Second World War, Stewart recounts,

We got the students of the Bezalel Art School to put up decorations, boldly executed on brown paper, and to advertise the show they made a parade of a large painted dragon through the streets. It was good fun and the dance was a great success. I took some Arab teachers to see the decorations, which included Caricatures of great works of art, and they enjoyed it immensely.⁶⁶⁶

Described in this way, through Stewart's hopeful vantage point, the vibrant occasion conjures the possibility of a past world in which Arab and Jewish artists easily commingled in Palestine, all as "Palestine artists."

However, much of the scholarship on both Palestinian and Israeli art widely accepts the view that the Jewish art world interacted very little with Arab artists or even government art programs, owing to the near-complete social and financial separation of the *yishuv* from its Ottoman-era origin.⁶⁶⁷ The Jewish art scene was "inaccessible" to Arab Palestinian artists who "found themselves before a closed world," claims art historian Kamal Boullata.⁶⁶⁸ While there is

⁶⁶⁵ The conservatory received modest financial support from the British Mandate government as well. Violinist Emil Hauser, who had emigrated to Palestine from Budapest in 1932, was the school's first principal. The conservatory was supposed to be "open to all races and creeds," a similar ethos of equality as espoused by Governor Ronald Storrs' short-lived music school opened in 1919 as a program of the Pro-Jerusalem Society. W. A. Stewart, "Creative Work in Palestine: Technical and Crafts Education, 1918-1946" (n.d.), 90-91, Oxford University, Griffith Institute.

⁶⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁶⁶⁷ The field of history has done more to advance scholarship which moves beyond the "dual-society" model in assessing the ways in which Jewish and Arab society overlapped during the mandate. For more examples of this scholarship, see footnote 43 in the introductory chapter. While not the focus of this dissertation, a future project to further understand the relationship between the Arab and Jewish artists in Palestine, such as in the relationship between the Arab and Jewish art teachers hired by W. A. Stewart, for example, may yield interesting data to nuance these conclusions.

⁶⁶⁸ Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, 76. Similarly, as mentioned in the dissertation's introduction chapter, scholarship on Jewish art in early twentieth-century Palestine elucidates that the Arab was considered removed from Jewish experience in Palestine and featured mostly as exotic source material for the (formerly European) Jewish

no firm evidence for how the fleeting moment described in Stewart’s manuscript may have affected those Arab teachers in attendance—or whether those teachers passed on to their students something of their experience with the “caricatures of great works of art”—such an account unsettles the purportedly firm borders between Jewish and Arab artists in Palestine, even as late as the 1940s. It also allows for speculation on any number of events, like this one, or any number of unnamed people, like those Jewish Bezalel students dancing beneath painted dragons or those Arab teachers trained by Stewart in art and design, who may have contributed in untold ways to the future of Palestinian art.

Art, Welfare, and the Cultural Sector

Over the four decades this dissertation traces, the most pivotal support structure for the arts in Palestine came in the form of welfare. From the influx of religious charitable organizations to Palestine in the late 1800s, the topic of Chapter Two, to the arrival of welfare discourse in the turbulent partisan landscape of the 1930s, the focus of Chapter Four, the notion that arts and culture could contribute to the welfare of Palestine and Palestinians shifted from the province of foreign religious missions to one that was fomented within Palestinian-led organizations as well. These chapters investigate a diverse set of charitable institutions that existed in early-twentieth century Palestine, which today would be included in what economists and sociologists call the “third sector,” or clusters of voluntary and non-profit organizations (NGOs) intended to fill need-based gaps between the governmental and the for-profit sectors.⁶⁶⁹

artist. Dalia Manor, *Art in Zion: The Genesis of Modern National Art in Jewish Palestine* (London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005): 147, 159.

⁶⁶⁹ Hakon Lorentzen, “Sector Labels,” in *Third Sector Research*, ed. Rupert Taylor (New York: Springer ; Published in cooperation with the International Society for Third Sector Research, 2010), 22–25.

Religious missionary organizations in Palestine historically occupied this “third” space, tending to the non-Muslim minority communities (the various *millet*) as Ottoman rule positioned them at a social and financial disadvantage. When religious charitable organizations of the late-1800s and early 1900s joined these historic institutions, they did so by importing new ideologies for how to best alleviate suffering: namely, by offering vocational training instead of performing indiscriminate almsgiving. These newly “humanitarian” organizations, mostly Christian, sought to draw Palestine’s Jews to them in the hopes of conversion, or at the very least, to provide the Jewish community with the necessary tools to ensure their future welfare as part of the Christian reclamation of the Holy Land. Jewish charitable organizations, also coming from Europe, adopted a similar approach and instituted advanced technical and artisanal training in their workhouses and schools. The Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, while singular as Palestine’s first dedicated art school, typified this type of charitable organization, which connected the arts with educational welfare institutions.

Within these institutions, the arts and crafts functioned as both product and charitable cause: objects in wood, lace, wool, and mother-of-pearl were both the direct outcomes of the organization’s labors and the objects through which financial supporters could invest in the welfare of a particular community in Palestine, thereby supporting particular visions for Palestine’s future. Moreover, Palestine’s artisanal crafts were treated as moveable commodities in this landscape, shuttling between fulfilling the international community’s desires for sacred objects and satisfying their concerns over Palestine’s welfare in the tumultuous decades following the recession of Ottoman control in the region. The many promotional pamphlets and news articles which described displays of objects from Palestine articulated these dynamics

almost to the point of monotony. Reporting on an early exhibition of Bezalel’s work in America in 1915, for example, the *New York Times* proclaimed:

Glories of great master craftsmen of the Hebrews are revived in the exhibition of the Bezalel School, Jerusalem, which has been opened at 233 Fifth Avenue, near Twenty-seventh Street. Exquisite examples of filigree work, copper inlay, carving in ivory and in wood, which are here displayed, bear witness to the fact that the skill of the race has lost nothing since the days of Bezalel. . . .The revival of the arts of the Hebrews in Palestine was due to the work of Professor Boris Schatz, who sought to make self-supporting many Jews who were in dire poverty. The school, which was started in one small room in Jerusalem, has since become a factor in art and industry.⁶⁷⁰

Purchasing an artisanal object made in Palestine meant possessing a piece of the ancient Holy Land and its traditions, as well as providing support for a specific community’s welfare and longevity in Palestine—in this example, the Jewish community.⁶⁷¹

As in the case of Bezalel’s alliance with Zionism, the purchase of art objects began to be equated with support for particular political causes. Collectors of Arab and Islamic art, too, purchased items with the idea of supporting Arab resilience in Palestine. While the historical archive on this subject is sparser, a riveting set of diaries written by the Palestinian musician, bureaucrat, and art collector of the early 1900s, Wasif Jawhariyyeh, tells a similar tale. Of his collection of mother-of-pearl inlaid furniture, textiles, rare musical instruments, historic and contemporary paintings and photographs, Jawhariyyeh writes,

I would like to explain to you dear reader the reasons that prompted me to think seriously of collecting artistic objects and antiques, particularly those relating to

⁶⁷⁰ “Revive Jewish Artistry: Bezalel School of Jerusalem Shows Distinctive Works of Art,” *The New York Times*, November 14, 1915.

⁶⁷¹ One more example of this point, from a 1926 Bezalel exhibition reviewed by an unnamed writer for the *New York Times*, underscores the public understanding of art objects from Palestine as both ancient/holy and contemporary/practical: “The Bezalel school tries to instill in its pupils a feeling that whatever they do should be based on the history, legends, customs, traditions and ideals of the country in which the art products are made. Only biblical or Hebraic art, executed in a style reflecting the past and present of the country, is fostered. Its more practical contribution to the welfare of the Jews is the training of artisans in a manner enabling them to gain a livelihood by the work of their hands.” “Native Art from Palestine: Jewish School in Jerusalem Strives to Perpetuate Biblical Traditions—Work of Students Not on Exhibition Here,” *The New York Times*, March 14, 1926.

my dear city of Jerusalem. . . . I thought of turning this collection into a kind of national museum under the slogan: “This is our legacy that speaks of who we are, so behold it when we are gone.” I hope that the Jawhariyyeh Collection and its treasures become a historical and artistic reference.⁶⁷²

Most likely inserted into the diaries after Jawhariyyeh escaped to Beirut in 1949, his description of the collection posits a relationship between artistic objects and communal heritage and resilience. “This is our legacy,” he writes, as a fierce assertion of the art objects’ connection to continued Arab prosperity in Palestine. Most of Jawhariyyeh’s collection did not survive the *nakba*, nullifying his proposed creation of a “national museum.”⁶⁷³ Jawhariyyeh, as a financial supporter of Arab Palestinian arts and crafts, and his collection, however, may be seen to have represented a similar engagement with supporting culture as a means of contributing to (Arab) welfare. The long-term effects of Jawhariyyeh’s collection may have rivaled Bezalel’s impact on the Jewish arts in Palestine if it had been given similar opportunities to flourish and grow throughout the century.

Based on the historic connection between the arts and welfare in Palestine, then, it was perhaps foreseeable that welfare soon became the orienting mission for non-religious, non-charitable initiatives in Palestine throughout the 1920s and 1930s. As described in Chapter

⁶⁷² Wasif Jawhariyyeh, *The Storyteller of Jerusalem: The Life and Times of Wasif Jawhariyyeh, 1904-1948*, ed. Salim Tamari and Issam Nassar, trans. Nada Elzeer (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2014), 171. The diaries were first published in Arabic in two volumes, after which selections were translated and published in English: Salim Tamari and Issam Nassar, *Al-Quds al-‘Uthmaniyya fi al-Mudhakkirat al-Jawhariyya: al-Kitab al-Awwal min Mudhakkirat al-Musiqi Wasif Jawhariyya, 1904–1917* [Ottoman Jerusalem in the Jawhariyyeh memoirs: the first book of the memoirs of the musician Wasif Jawhariyyeh, 1904–1917] (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2003); Salim Tamari and Issam Nassar, *Al-Quds al-Intidabiyya fil al-Mudhakkirat al-Jawhariyyeh, 1918–1948* [British Mandate Jerusalem in the Memoirs of Wasif Jawhariyyeh, 1918–1948] (Jerusalem: Institute of Jerusalem Studies, 2005). For an introduction to Jawhariyyeh, see Salim Tamari, “Jerusalem’s Ottoman Modernity: The Time and Lives of Wasif Jawhariyyeh,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 1 (Summer 2000): 1–34.

⁶⁷³ Jawhariyyeh describes the loss of his collection in his diaries. After carefully storing the contents in his home, Jawhariyyeh bequeathed the house and its contents to the French Consulate in 1948, hoping they would be protected under French possession from the Haganah forces. Jawhariyyeh never returned home and his art collection is lost. Fortunately, however, the photographic albums Jawhariyyeh compiled and annotated survived with him and are currently located in the Institute for Palestine Studies Archive in Beirut. Jawhariyyeh, *The Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 250-252.

Three, W. A. Stewart feared for the economic welfare of Palestine's Arab population in the face of imported and technologically modern Jewish industries during the British Mandate. He spent his career as a government official in Palestine working to improve the "inadequate" technical training offered in British-run government Arab schools in order to "equal" the economic playing field between Jews and Arabs.⁶⁷⁴ Further, he promoted the building of a museum, the Palestine Folk Museum, showcasing the communities' shared cultural heritage through textiles as a means to "encourage harmonious living together of the two races."⁶⁷⁵ Even for those cultural and business institutions which did not share Stewart's visions of idyllic harmony, welfare acted as an institutional watchword. As argued in Chapter Four, the competitive trade fairs of the Levant Fair and the Arab Fair, staged by opposing Jewish and Arab business associations in the 1930s, also claimed to have "the welfare of Palestine" at heart while actively competing for respective Jewish or Arab ethno-political dominance in Palestine.

This study illuminates the notion that, in Palestine, supporting culture came to be seen as an instrumental piece in any effort to create a self-sustaining community—or, potential nation-state—contributing along with other sectors, such as those of health, education, and business to building a functioning civil society. By focusing on key moments when institutions and prominent leaders in Palestine promoted the arts and crafts as capable of contributing to the welfare of Palestine's heterogenous communities, as well as the international interest in supporting such endeavors, the dissertation begins to shed light on the ways in which the emergence of the "cultural sector"—a conglomerate of institutions shepherding artistic activity

⁶⁷⁴ Stewart, "Creative Work in Palestine," 165.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid.

for political and economic purposes—intersected with the rise of modern humanitarianism, nation building, and colonial pacification in the twentieth century.

As a ubiquitous, though often perfunctory term in the fields of art history, cultural studies, non-profit and humanitarian studies, and international relations, the concept of the cultural sector has yet to be historicized. This dissertation offers a foundation for that task and revises existing narratives about how support for the cultural and creative industries came to be included in the tenets of international humanitarian organizations. First, it challenges the notion that the cultural industries came into the purview of humanitarian organizations only after the Second World War, in concert with the establishment of the specialized agency of the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1946. The work of architectural historian Lucia Allais traces how culture became a “middling, consensus-building substance” as a response to the nationalist frictions leading to the First World War, before it became ensconced within the auspices of UNESCO.⁶⁷⁶ This dissertation tracks the political pragmatics of instrumentalizing culture from a slightly earlier moment, beginning in the 1840s as a European response to Ottoman instability. A prime example of this instrumentalizing is the London Jews’ Society’s “House of Industry,” established in Jerusalem in 1843 to relieve the economic distress of Palestine’s Jews through artisanal training, while at the same time attempting to gain both a British imperial and a Christian religious foothold in the rapidly changing Islamic empire. Second, and crucially, the dissertation provides an account of the rise of international cultural diplomacy from the perspective of the Ottoman Arab lands. Viewing the rise of the cultural sector from Palestine—which was somewhat peripheral in terms of its place

⁶⁷⁶ Lucia Allais, *Designs of Destruction: The Making of Monuments in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018), 7.

in the Ottoman Empire, but absolutely central in the international consciousness as the real and imagined Holy Land—demonstrates how a form of “cultural humanitarianism” (as defined in Chapter Two) blossomed outside of Europe and before it came to be considered an invention of the European allies after the establishment of UNESCO.

Third, this study proposes that the cultural sector is neither inherent to “soft power,” nor an obvious expression of “cultural internationalism.” Soft power, as coined by the political scientist Joseph Nye, is predicated on nation-to-nation government relations and the currency of culture in non-coercive manipulations of one nation’s impressions of another.⁶⁷⁷ Institutions invested in promoting Palestine’s cultural production during the late-Ottoman and British Mandate eras, however, were often without national affiliation (they were, instead, often religiously affiliated) and, even more notably, were the efforts of not-quite-national and not-quite-colonial organizations, like the Zionist organizations behind the founding of Bezalel or the British military government in the establishment of the Pro-Jerusalem Society. Whereas cultural internationalism, as distinguished by historian Akira Iriye, rests on the agency of individual cultural elites to promote “peace” and cross-national exchange through art and culture, Palestinian cultural actors in the early twentieth century, like the artist Zulfa al-Sa‘dī or the collector Wasif Jawhariyyeh, rarely had the opportunity to offer their artistic works (or themselves) as ambassadors for Palestine at an international level.⁶⁷⁸ The focus, rather, was resolutely internal, to encourage change in local politics and among the Arab polities around them. The same, incidentally, cannot be concluded about Jewish artists living in Palestine, like Reuven Rubin, who did serve as cultural ambassadors on an international stage, eager to promote

⁶⁷⁷ For Nye’s construction of the term, see Joseph S. Nye, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 1990); Joseph S. Nye, “Soft Power,” *Foreign Policy*, no. 80 (1990): 153–71.

⁶⁷⁸ Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

their work as part of the effort to convince the international community of the potential for a Jewish state in Palestine (see Chapter Four).⁶⁷⁹ Elias Newman, an artist and also curator of exhibitions of Jewish “art in Palestine” at world’s fairs throughout the 1930s, and whose words commenced this dissertation, also represents an agent of cultural internationalism from the Jewish context.⁶⁸⁰

Taken together, the evidence collected here presents the concept of the cultural sector as potentially deriving from the post-Ottoman Middle East—thus intersecting with Keith David Watenpaugh’s theories on the origins of modern, secular humanitarianism under the same conditions—and as contributing to a type of welfare-based politics for international, as well as local, aims.⁶⁸¹ Seen as a kind of chain reaction, wherein politically-motivated actors channel financial support for welfare through the fields of art and culture in the hopes of achieving political gains, the cultural sector emerges at a juncture in the history of a community when its future is undetermined and actively contested. As a place that has remained in perpetual political crisis since the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Palestine’s cultural sector is historically rooted in the early twentieth-century, but continues to grow and reinvent itself as the uncertain fate of Palestine and of the welfare of Palestinians endures.

⁶⁷⁹ A forthcoming dissertation by Chelsea Haines, a Ph.D. candidate at the City University of New York, investigates the continued role of Jewish artists as cultural ambassadors for the nascent Jewish state, exploring the function of international art exhibitions in Israeli nation-building from 1939 to the establishment of the Israel Museum in Jerusalem in 1965.

⁶⁸⁰ Elias Newman, *Art in Palestine* (New York: Siebel Company, 1939).

⁶⁸¹ Watenpaugh’s work on the origins of modern humanitarianism in the Middle East is discussed in Chapter Two and is fully expressed in his book-length study Keith David Watenpaugh, *Bread from Stones: The Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015). My thinking on “welfare politics” is inspired by the work of historian Abigail Jacobson, who has assessed the ways in which both politically-appointed and non-politically or nationally affiliated institutions in Palestine entered the field of politics through welfare-based practices: Abigail Jacobson, “American ‘Welfare Politics’: American Involvement in Jerusalem During World War I,” *Israel Studies* 18, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 56–76.

Exploring the region's early-twentieth century cultural sector is particularly important in that it provides the most conspicuous link between art production in Palestine prior to 1948 and today's Palestinian art world. As international aid and peace-keeping missions grew in direct response to the Palestinian refugee crisis after 1948, they encountered a community which already possessed more than a century of experience with religious, humanitarian, and philanthropic infrastructures eager to protect their "welfare." While the cultural aspects of international aid in the first several decades after the *nakba* were initially sublimated to the more pressing needs of addressing shelter, sustenance, and education, they emerged again with gusto in the 1990s, on the heels of the peace accords between Israel and Palestine following the first intifada.⁶⁸² Prior to this moment, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) had begun trading in culture since the late-1960s by staging travelling exhibitions of Palestinian arts and cultural heritage, chiefly organized by Tamam al-Akhal and Ismail Shammout. PLO members also supported international exhibitions of Palestinian art in collaboration with hosting institutions like the Tattershall Castle yacht on the River Thames in London (1976) or the Beirut Arab University (1978).⁶⁸³ These exhibitions marked a sea change in the development of a Palestinian art world, motivated, funded, and populated by Palestinians, even if their staging and visibility were fraught with difficulties.⁶⁸⁴ The signing of the Oslo Accords and the establishment of the Palestinian Authority in Ramallah in 1994 drastically altered the possibilities for Palestinians to

⁶⁸² Whereas after 1948 some funding for cultural projects, like performances and parades, was provided not only by UNRWA but also by the Jordanian government to artists in the West Bank, the funding for Palestinian arts and culture became limited to UNRWA and the (not yet recognized) Tunis-based PLO in the period from 1967 to 1994, after Israel's conquest of the West Bank during the war of 1967. Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*, 231.

⁶⁸³ For the most comprehensive account of the 1978 "International Exhibition for Palestine," which opened in Beirut but parts of which travelled to France, Iran, and Norway, see Kristine Khouri and Rashā Saltī, *Past Disquiet: Artists, International Solidarity, and Museums-in-Exile* (Warsaw: Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw, 2018).

⁶⁸⁴ For an intriguing list of the many international exhibitions of Palestinian art in the 1970s and 1980s, of which little documentation or ephemera exist or are accessible from the offices of the PLO to the public, see Jack Persekian, "17 Lost Art Exhibitions," *Field Notes [Asia Art Archive]*, no. 4 (April 2015): 64–75.

receive funds for cultural projects, with the ability to apply for grants and to solicit funding from more affluent nations and international non-profits appearing almost overnight. Thus, it was that in the mid-1990s, once again, international humanitarian organizations positioned art and culture as crucial elements contributing to Palestinian welfare and offered political and financial resources for those willing to work through these channels.

A swell of Palestinian cultural institutions emerged from 1993 forward with the assistance of charitable societies, private foundations, and most prominently NGOs, many of which were founded by Palestinians in the diaspora, altering the support structure of contemporary Palestinian art. Cultural institutions which have attracted the attention of the international art world include the Khalil Sakakini Cultural Center in Ramallah (est. 1996), the Al-Ma‘mal Foundation for Contemporary Art in Jerusalem (est. 1998), Al-Hoash in Jerusalem (est. 2004), and the International Academy of Art Palestine in Ramallah (est. 2006). As in the case of the Ford Foundation’s critical financial support for the opening of Al-Ma‘mal in 1998—a non-profit extension of Jack Persekian’s earlier project, Gallery Anadiel—many contemporary Palestinian cultural institutions came into being with the help of international funding agencies devoted to “the advancement of human welfare.”⁶⁸⁵

Although the effects of the cultural sector’s framework on actual artistic production may seem hard to define, the framework itself is not difficult to locate within the history of contemporary Palestinian art. Consider Khalil Rabah’s 1995 artwork, *Grafting*. For the work, Rabah uprooted olive trees from a field near his home in Ramallah, wrapped their branches in

⁶⁸⁵ The 1936 founding charter of the Ford Foundation included the statement that resources should be used “for scientific, educational, and charitable purposes, all for the public welfare.” The committee convened to discuss the future of the foundation after Edsel and Henry Ford died in the mid-1940s recommended that the foundation “become an international philanthropy dedicated to the advancement of human welfare through reducing poverty and promoting democratic values, peace, and educational opportunity.” “Our Origins,” Ford Foundation, accessed March 15, 2019, <https://www.fordfoundation.org/about/about-ford/our-origins/>.

multi-colored embroidery threads, and planted them in the lush lawns of the United Nations' Ariana Park in Geneva. [Fig. 5.3] Transplanted into new soil, the work alluded to the displacement and alienation of the Palestinian trees, and by extension, perhaps, of the Palestinian artist. *Grafting* was part of an exhibition sponsored by the UN entitled *Dialogues of Peace*. While this art work appears in the three most recent books on Palestinian art, and art historians debate its meaning, none of them questions how it relates to the particular structures of support through which it was commissioned and created. During yet another seminal moment in Palestine's history when welfare, culture, and politics were inextricably intertwined, *Grafting* took shape through a partnership between a local Palestinian cultural institution, Anadiel, and an international conglomerate ostensibly devoted to "peace."

A pertinent, if obscure case from the institutional history of Palestine's contemporary art world demonstrates how the energies reigniting the post-Oslo cultural sector helped contribute to the current landscape for Palestinian art production. In 1995, a group of Palestinian and Israeli artists, art historians, and art organizers came together to form the art and art education steering committee of "The People's Peace Process."⁶⁸⁶ Motivated by Annex 6 of the Oslo II agreements, which specifically sought to implement cooperation in the economic, scientific, social, and cultural fields through a "people-to-people" program, the group was convened by Israeli and Palestinian NGOs, the Economic Cooperation Foundation (ECF), and the Palestine Council of Health (PCH) respectively, and included the oversight of an Austrian government official.⁶⁸⁷ The steering committee included prominent figures in Palestinian and Israeli art: Sliman Mansour,

⁶⁸⁶ "The People's Peace Process: Art + Art Education Working Group Overview Paper," November 1995, The Al-Ma'mal Foundation for the Contemporary Art Archives.

⁶⁸⁷ "The Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement-Annex VI," Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1995, <https://mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/peace/guide/pages/the%20israeli-palestinian%20interim%20agreement%20-%20annex%20vi.aspx>.

Tayseer Barakat, Jack Persekian, Gannit Ankori, Larry Abramson, and Yona Fischer.⁶⁸⁸ In an initial report, this group of cultural instigators called for “parity”—that same political status so desperately desired by Palestine’s Jewish and Arab communities during the British Mandate (see Chapters Three and Four)—to be reached between the Palestinian and Israeli “cultural sectors,” the term now widely in use by the mid-1990s. To achieve cultural parity, the group’s first proposition was the development of a new art institution, named the Palestinian Institute for Visual Arts (PIVA).

PIVA aimed to encapsulate the first stage in establishing a “meaningful, long-term bilateral relationship between Palestinian and Israeli artists and art institutions” and a corrective to the “unhealthy imbalance” between the art worlds due to the near non-existence of a Palestinian infrastructure for art.⁶⁸⁹ How could there be true cooperation, the group asked, without “equality”? How could the two worlds expect to collaborate, they reasoned, if such an infrastructure for Palestinian art did not yet exist? PIVA imagined a new platform for Israeli-Palestinian cultural exchange and even supported the concept of Palestinian programming inside of Israeli art institutions as it waited to be built. Yet PIVA never materialized owing to lack of organization and proper funding. With the collapse of the peace accords and the eruption of the second intifada in 2000, the “people-to-people” approach became quaint, idealistic, and frankly,

⁶⁸⁸ Each member of the steering committee held a prominent post in their respective art scenes. Sliman Mansour and Tayseer Barakat, both prominent Palestinian artists, were also members of the Al-Wasiti Arts Centre, a short-lived Palestinian cultural institution in the 1990s. Jack Persekian, while director of his Gallery Anadiel, was also a Department Director in the Palestinian Ministry of Culture at the time. Gannit Ankori was a professor in the Hebrew University Art History Department and Larry Abramson, a well-known Israeli artist, was at the time the Director of the Fine Arts Department of the Bezalel Art Academy. Yona Fischer, who was formerly chief curator of the Israel Museum was serving as the director of Art Focus at the time. The committee’s other members were Ron Pundik and Daniel Levy, both members of the ECF, and Nedal Ismail was the representative from the PCH. Georg Fisher was seconded by the Austrian Government as adviser to the “People to People” program. For the steering committee list, see “The People’s Peace Process: Art + Art Education Working Group Overview Paper.”

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid.

untenable after the intifada's end in 2005. Palestinian cultural leaders would no longer compromise or engage in cultural cooperation as most became avid supporters of the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement launched in 2005.

While PIVA exists as part of a shadow history to the flourishing of Palestinian cultural institutions between the intifadas, it is not as hidden as it seems. In conversation with Jack Persekian, a member of the PIVA committee, and founder of both Gallery Anadiel and later the non-profit Al-Ma' mal, he noted a lineage from PIVA to his current work:

I think everything I do somehow goes on quite a long and winding trajectory until it eventually comes to life. I'm sure even though I forgot about PIVA, the seed, the spark, the idea, the thought, the concept, and the possibility started there. And so I'm sure PIVA became AICA [Anadiel Institute of Contemporary Art] and then eventually AICA became Al-Ma' mal.⁶⁹⁰

To be sure, the success of Al-Ma' mal derives from the tireless efforts of Persekian and the motivated board members and staff who work to bring the non-profit Palestinian arts foundation to life. To note some of the institution's ties to the welfare industry—the seedling concept of PIVA and the Ford Foundation's generous start-up grant to Al-Ma' mal in 1998—is not to call attention to the rarity of Al-Ma' mal's origin story, but rather to acknowledge the pervasiveness of the cultural sector in Palestine, a sector that Palestinian artists, arts organizers, and arts administrators must contend with as they continue to grow their Palestinian art world.

Even the opening of the Palestinian Museum in Birzeit in 2016, a colossal undertaking and a revolutionary force in creating opportunities for contemporary Palestinian artists and providing international visibility for Palestinian cultural heritage from the occupied West Bank, has at its roots a philanthropic charitable foundation devoted to welfare. Established by Palestinian cultural and business leaders living in the diaspora in 1983, the foundation behind the

⁶⁹⁰ Jack Persekian, interview with the author, August 5, 2013.

Palestinian Museum is Taawon (“cooperative society,” in Arabic), and its mission is “to make a distinguished contribution toward furthering the progress of Palestinians, preserving their heritage and identity, supporting their living culture and building civil society.”⁶⁹¹ Based on its aims, Taawon has been translated for English-speaking audiences as the *Welfare Association*.

That the association sought to carry out its mission through the making of a museum confirms the ways in which the cultural sector continues to operate as a viable system for Palestinian-led organizations to contribute to Palestinian welfare. Members of Taawon state that the idea of creating the museum began in 1997, in the same moment when most other Palestinian cultural institutions came into being between the first and second intifada. Seen through the prism of this dissertation, however, The Palestinian Museum has its roots in a much deeper history than the post-Oslo NGO-ification of Palestine in the 1990s, beyond the PLO’s re-activation of the cultural sector in the 1960s and 70s, and even deeper than the post-1948 moment of mass international humanitarian aid to Palestinians in the form of UNRWA. The marriage of culture and welfare, the outcome of which I argue forms the idea of the cultural sector, began in earnest with the fall of Ottoman order in Palestine, and its legacy continues to inform even the most groundbreaking support structures for Palestinian art today.

Contemporary Palestinian artists exhibit a deep responsiveness toward the condition of working in an art scene shaped by a shared Palestinian identity (and the global art world’s demands to represent that identity), while often supported by international welfare agencies and foreign art institutions. Jumana Emil Abboud, Khalil Rabah, Mona Hatoum, Nasser Soumi, Mohammad Hawajiri, Jumana Manna, Khaled Jarrar, and Noor Abu Arafah are just some of the

⁶⁹¹ “Vision, Mission and Values | Taawon,” accessed March 18, 2019, <https://www.taawon.org/en/content/vision-mission-and-values>.

Palestinian artists who have explored the history of their art world and, sometimes, its intersections with humanitarianism as well.⁶⁹² They assess what was and what might have been, often digging into the early twentieth-century period to mine for knowledge about their artistic ancestors, finding seeds of growth and mourning failures.

One particularly rich example will suffice here to illustrate how some of these artistic explorations, seemingly about the history of the Palestinian art world, are equally about searching for an art world when only a cultural sector is to be found. Noor Abuarafeh, a mid-career Palestinian artist, is obsessed with the myth of Palestine’s “first” museum. Intrigued by the Palestinian Museum’s boastful claims as the first national museum for Palestinians in Palestine, Abuarafeh tilled Palestine’s past to unearth more than a handful of museums claiming to be Palestine’s “first.” In *The Rumour Started Long Ago* (2018), a diagrammatic, collaged wall piece and accompanying lecture/performance, Abuarafeh counted seven “first” Palestinian museums in the period between the final decades of Ottoman rule and the end of the British Mandate.⁶⁹³ [Fig. 5.4] From the Ottoman antiquities office’s discussions to open a museum in Jerusalem in 1891 to the Pro-Jerusalem Society’s hosting of exhibitions in the Citadel starting in 1919 and the opening of the Palestine Archaeological Museum (now known as the Rockefeller Museum) in 1938, Abuarafeh concluded that in each case the museum “rarely reflected life in Jerusalem accurately. Rather, the Jerusalem of the museum was designed to fit the vision of the institution.”⁶⁹⁴ Although not an exhaustive listing—for instance, her project does not include the Palestine Folk

⁶⁹² In a separate essay, I explore an example of one such contemporary Palestinian artwork by Jumana Manna, which reanimates a photograph from Palestine’s mandate-era history as an occasion to investigate the continuing consequences of Palestine’s colonial experience. See: Nisa Ari, “Orientalism Repeated: Shifting Time in Jumana Manna’s *A Sketch of Manners and the Politics of Photography in Palestine*,” *Third Text* 30, no. 5–6 (2016): 331–45.

⁶⁹³ This artwork was produced for the 2018 Jerusalem Show, “Jerusalem: Actual and Possible” curated by Jack Persekian and Kirsten Scheid, as part of the 2018 Qalandiya International biennial in Palestine.

⁶⁹⁴ Noor Abuarafeh, “Artist Statement for *The Rumour Started Long Ago*,” 2018, The Jerusalem Show.

Museum investigated in Chapter Three—Abuarafeh’s observation stems from the fact that each “first” museum she found was conceived by organizations run by foreigners, interested in dictating cultural progress ostensibly to aid the economic and social welfare of Palestine.

While she does not go so far as to speculate whether or not the Palestinian Museum succeeds where these other, earlier “first” museums failed, Abuarafeh’s realization that Palestine’s early twentieth-century museums were neither motivated by a pure interest in Palestinian art and “life” nor the organic outcome of the efforts of Palestinian artists and arts organizers is the same reason why this dissertation is unable to locate a Palestinian art world for the period it studies. Rather, and as the inherent tension in Abuarafeh’s project illuminates, this dissertation is about understanding how Palestinian art formed both because and in spite of the cultural sector.

Bibliography

Archives

Al-Ma‘mal Foundation for Contemporary Art, Jerusalem
Gallery Anadiel Archival Papers

American Colony Archive Collections, Jerusalem
Correspondence, diaries, financial and legal records, scrapbooks, photographs, photograph albums, printed matter, and other papers relating to the history of the American Colony in Jerusalem and its members

Bibbi Andersson Linder Private Family Collection, Nås
Correspondence, photographs, and art objects from the Swedish members of the American Colony in Jerusalem (primarily from members of the Matson family)

Brent Archives, London
The British Empire Exhibition Collection

Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem
Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts Papers
Patrick Geddes Reports and Correspondence
Yerid Hamizrach [Levant Fair] Papers, Reports, and Correspondence

Christ Church Archive, Jerusalem
Art objects and papers from the “House of Industry”

Custodia di Terra Santa (Custody of the Holy Land), Jerusalem
Art objects, school registries, and papers relating to exhibitions of craftwork staged abroad

Dar El-Nimer, Beirut
Modern and Contemporary Palestinian Art Collection
Palestine Photographs and Souvenirs Collection

Darat al Funun Archives, Amman
The Khalid Shoman Collection
Zulfa al-Sa‘di Archival Materials

Durham University Library Archives & Special Collections, Durham
E. T. Richmond Papers

École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem, Jerusalem
Photograph Collection

George al Ama Private Art Collection, Bethlehem

Hisham Khatib Private Art Collection, Amman

Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut
Historical Palestinian Newspapers Collection
Khalil Raad Photograph Collection
Rare Books Collection
Wasif Jawharriyeh Photograph Albums

Israel State Archives, Jerusalem
Palestine Folk Museum Papers
Records of the Department of Antiquities

Jerusalem Municipal Archive, Jerusalem
Felicity Ashbee Papers

King's College Archive Centre, Cambridge
The Papers of Charles Robert Ashbee

Library of Congress, Washington, DC
American Colony in Jerusalem Collection
G. Eric Matson and Edith Matson Papers
John D. Whiting Papers
Lars E. Lind Papers
Matson (G. Eric and Edith) Photograph Collection
Olof E. Lind Papers

Middle East Centre Archive, St. Anthony's College, Oxford
Humphrey Bowman Collection
Susanna Pearce Emery Collection
John D. Garstang Collection

Palestine Exploration Fund Archives, London
Robert Alexander Stewart Macalister Archive
Duncan Mackenzie Archive
Olga Tufnell Archive

Palestinian Heritage Museum, Jerusalem
Palestine Folk Museum Collection, Records and Costumes

Sursock Museum Archives, Beirut
Rare Books and Pamphlets

Swedish National Archives, Stockholm
Sven Hedin Collection

Tel Aviv Municipal Archive, Tel Aviv
Yerid Hamizrach [Levant Fair] Papers, Reports, and Correspondence

Tel Aviv Museum of Art, Tel Aviv
Artist Files
Museum Files

Tiraz, Amman
Widad Kawar Palestinian and Arab Dress Collection

The Griffith Institute, Oxford University, Oxford
William Arnold Stewart Collection

The Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm
Lewis Larsson Photograph Collection
Sven Hedin Collection (Lewis Larsson photographs, Hedin library)

The National Archives, London
Assorted materials related to the British Foreign Office (FO) and Colonial Office (CO) in Palestine, specifically including published reports on the Palestine Administration and published annual reports for the Department of Education in Palestine

The Palestine Poster Project Archives
Online: <https://www.palestineposterproject.org/>

Uppsala University Library Special Collections, Uppsala
The American Colony Photo Department Glass Slide Collection

Yvette & Mazen Qupty Private Art Collection, Jerusalem

Historical Newspapers in Palestine

Al-‘Arab
Al-Jamī‘a Al-‘Arabīa
Falastin
Kolnoa
Palestine and TransJordan Weekly
The Palestine Bulletin
The Palestine Post

Published Primary Sources

- “Fostering Art in Palestine, The Work of the Museum in Tel-Aviv.” *The Zionist Record*, December 28, 1934.
- “Inspiring Art Masterpieces in Palestine’s Holy Cities.” *The Ogden Standard-Examiner*, December 23, 1923.
- “M. Dizengoff, der erste Bürgermeister von Tel-Awiw” [M. Dizengoff, the First Mayor of Tel Aviv]. *Berliner Tageblatt*, September 22, 1932.
- “Modern Culture in an Ancient Land: Jewish Artists of Many Nations Enrich Museum at Tel-Aviv.” *The Literary Digest*, September 5, 1936.
- “Native Art from Palestine: Jewish School in Jerusalem Strives to Perpetuate Biblical Traditions—Work of Students Not on Exhibition Here.” *The New York Times*, March 14, 1926.
- “Revive Jewish Artistry: Bezalel School of Jerusalem Shows Distinctive Works of Art.” *The New York Times*, November 14, 1915.
- Aharoni, Israel. *Zichronot Zoolog Ivri* [Memories of a Hebrew Zoologist]. Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1943.
- Alexander, Jacob, Cyril M. Picciotto, and Leon Simon. *Zionism and the Western Jew: A Symposium Read before the London Zionist League, on the 24th December, 1908*. London: Ginzburg, 1908.
- Ashbee, C. R., ed. *Jerusalem, 1918-1922; Being the Records of the Pro-Jerusalem Council during the Period of the British Military Administration*. London: J. Murray, Published for the Council of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, 1921.
- . “Pro-Jerusalem.” *The American Magazine of Art* 12, no. 3 (1921): 99–102.
- Barbour, Nevill. *Nisi Dominus: A Survey of the Palestine Controversy*. London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1946. Reprinted ed. Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1969.
- Beaufort, Emily Ann. *Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines, Including Some Stay in the Lebanon at Palmyra and in Western Turkey*. 2 vols. London: Longman and Roberts, 1861.
- Canaan, Tawfiq. “Book Review of G. Dalman, Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina.” *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* (1934): 147–51.
- . *Conflict in the Land of Peace*. Jerusalem: Syrian Orphanage Press, 1936.

- . *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine*. London: Luzac & Co., 1927.
- . “Plant-Lore in Palestinian Superstition.” *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* (1928), reprinted in *Jerusalem Quarterly* 24 (2005): 57–64.
- . *The Palestine Arab Cause*. Jerusalem: Modern Press, 1936.
- Cust, L. G. A. *The Status Quo in the Holy Places*. Reprint of 1929 ed. Jerusalem: Ariel Publishing House, 1980.
- Dalman, Gustaf. *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* [Work and Customs in Palestine]. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1928.
- . *Work and Customs in Palestine*. Trans. Nadia Abdulhadi Sukhtian. Ramallah: Dar Al Nasher, 2013.
- Dinsmore, John. *Some of the Most Important Plants of Palestine with their English and Arabic Names*. Jerusalem: English College, 1923.
- Granqvist, Hilma. *Birth and Childhood Among the Arabs*. Helsingfors (Helsinki): Söderström, 1947.
- . *Child Problems Among the Arabs: Studies in a Muhammadan Village in Palestine*. Helsingfors (Helsinki): Söderström, 1950.
- . *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village*. Helsinki: Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters, 1931.
- . *Muslim Death and Burial: Arab Customs and Traditions Studied in a Village in Jordan*. Helsinki: Soc. Scientiarum Fennica, 1965.
- Haddad, E. N. “Blood Revenge Among the Arabs.” *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 1 (1920): 103–112.
- Herzl, Theodor. “Der Judenstaat” [The Jewish State] [1896]. In *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader*, ed. Arthur Hertzberg, 215–23. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959.
- Hole, William. *The Life of Jesus of Nazareth: Eighty Pictures*. London: Fine Art Society and Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1906.
- Hunt, William Holman. *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*. New York: Macmillan, 1905.
- Illiffe, John Henry. “A Folk Museum for Palestine.” *The Museums Journal* 36 (1937): 420–27.

- . “Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem.” *The Museums Journal* 38, no. 1 (1938): 1–22.
- Jawharriyeh, Wasif, Salim Tamari, and Issam Nassar. *Al-Quds al-‘Uthmaniyya fi al Mudhakkirat al-Jawhariyya: al-Kitab al-Awwal min Mudhakkirat al-Musiqi Wasif Jawhariyya, 1904–1917* [Ottoman Jerusalem in the Jawhariyyeh Memoirs: The First book of the Memoirs of the Musician Wasif Jawhariyyeh, 1904–1917]. Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2003.
- Lerebours, Nicolas. *Excursions Daguerriennes: Vues et Monuments les Plus Remarquables du Globe*. Paris: Lerebours, 1842.
- Morris, William. “The Revival of Handicraft.” *Fortnightly Review*, May 1888.
- Mughannam, Matiel E. T. *The Arab Woman and the Palestine Problem* [1937]. Westport, CT: Hyperion Press, 1976.
- Newman, Elias. “Art in Palestine.” *Masada* (November 1936): 11–12.
- . *Art in Palestine*. New York: Siebel Company, 1939.
- Post, George E. *Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai from the Taurus to Ras Muhammad, and from the Mediterranean Sea to the Syrian Desert*. Beirut: Syrian Protestant College, 1896.
- Rogers, Mary Eliza. *Domestic Life in Palestine* [1865]. London; New York: Kegan Paul International; Distributed by Routledge, Chapman, and Hall, 1989.
- Sakakini, Khalil. *The Diaries of Khalil Sakakini: Diaries, Letters, Reflections* [1907-1952], ed. and trans. Akram Mousallam. Ramallah: Khalil Sakakini Cultural Center and The Institute of Jerusalem Studies, 2010.
- Samuel, Herbert Louis. *Grooves of Change: A Book of Memoirs*. Indianapolis; New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1946.
- Seddon, Thomas. *Memoir and Letters of the Late Thomas Seddon, Artist* [1858], ed. John Pollard Seddon. New York: AMS Press, 1972.
- Shiffman, J. “Palestine: The Levant Fair, Tel Aviv.” *The Town Planning Review* 16, no. 3 (1935): 191–94.
- Simon, Leon and Leonard Stein. *Awakening Palestine*. London: John Murray, 1923.
- Slattery, Margaret. *New Paths Through Old Palestine*. Boston; Chicago: Pilgrim Press, 1921.

Stewart, William Arnold. "The Recent Development of Crafts and Industries in Palestine." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 14, no. 5 (1944): 265–70.

Temple, Augusta Anna. *Flowers and Trees of Palestine*. Elliot Stock: London, 1907.

The Committee of the Palestine Exhibition and Bazaar. *Awakening Palestine*. London: Issued by the Committee of the Palestine Exhibition and Bazaar, 1912.

The Temple Society. *The Temple Society in Palestine: To Interested Visitors of the Stand of the Society at the British Empire Exhibition Wembley*. London: The Temple Society, 1924.

Tristram, Henry Baker. *The Survey of Western Palestine: The Fauna and Flora of Palestine*. London: Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1884.

Twain, Mark. *The Innocents Abroad, or, The New Pilgrims' Progress: Being Some Account of the Steamship Quaker City's Pleasure Excursion to Europe and the Holy Land: With Descriptions of Countries, Nations, Incidents, and Adventures as They Appeared to the Author*. Hartford, CT: American Publishing Company, 1869.

Zeller, Hannah. *Feldblumen aus dem Heiligen Land* [Wildflowers of the Holy Land]. Basel: Spittler, 1875.

———. *Wildflowers of the Holy Land*. London: James Nisbet, 1876.

Interviews Cited

Kawar, Widad. Interview conducted by Nisa Ari, July 8, 2018.

Persekian, Jack. Interview conducted by Nisa Ari, 5 August 2013.

Schor, Laura S. Interview conducted by Nisa Ari, March 20, 2017.

Secondary Sources

"Beit Dizengoff." *Prime Minister's Office, Independence Hall of Israel*. Accessed March 2, 2019. <http://eng.ihl.org.il/history/beit-dizengoff.aspx>.

"Handicrafts in Bethlehem." *Custodia Terrae Sanctae*. Accessed September 13, 2018. <http://www.bethlehem.custodia.org/default.asp?id=453>.

"Henrietta Siksik Autobiographical Account." *Four Homes of Mercy*. Accessed September 15, 2018. <http://www.fourhomesofmercy.com/henrietta-cont.html>.

- “History of JDC: 1914-1919.” *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee*. Accessed November 10, 2015. <http://archives.jdc.org/history-of-jdc/history-1914.html>.
- “Meir Dizengoff (1861–1936).” *Prime Minister’s Office, Independence Hall of Israel*. Accessed April 9, 2019. <http://eng.ihl.org.il/history/meir-dizengoff.aspx>.
- “Obituary: Appreciation: Nevill Barbour,” *Asian Affairs* 4, no. 1 (1973): 86–87.
- “Our Origins.” *Ford Foundation*. Accessed March 15, 2019. <https://www.fordfoundation.org/about/about-ford/our-origins/>.
- “Stein, Leonard Jacques (1887–1973), Scholar and Zionist.” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Accessed April 1, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/31717>.
- “The Covenant of the League of Nations.” *The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy*. Accessed October 18, 2017. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/leagcov.asp
- “The First Schools in the Shadows of the Sanctuaries.” *Custodia Terrae Sanctae*. Accessed September 13, 2018. <http://www.custodia.org/default.asp?id=506>.
- “The Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement-Annex VI.” *Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 1995. Accessed July 8, 2016. <https://mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/peace/guide/pages/the%20israeli-palestinian%20interim%20agreement%20-%20annex%20vi.aspx>
- “The Tel-Aviv Museum of Art.” *Prime Minister’s Office, Independence Hall of Israel*. Accessed March 2, 2019. <http://eng.ihl.org.il/history/the-tel-aviv-museum-of-art.aspx>.
- “The Templers in Israel and Their Place in the Local Society.” *The National Library of Israel*. Accessed March 20, 2019. <http://web.nli.org.il/sites/nli/english/collections/personalsites/israel-germany/weimar-republic/pages/templers.aspx>.
- “The Palace Hotel.” *Central Zionist Archives*. Accessed February 25, 2019. <http://www.zionistarchives.org.il/en/AttheCZA/AdditionalArticles/Pages/PalaceHotel.aspx>.
- “The Palestine Mandate.” *The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy*. Accessed October 18, 2017. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/palmanda.asp.
- “Vision, Mission and Values.” *Taawon*. Accessed March 18, 2019. <https://www.taawon.org/en/content/vision-mission-and-values>.

- Abt, Jeffrey. "Toward a Historian's Laboratory: The Breasted-Rockefeller Museum Projects in Egypt, Palestine, and America." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 33 (January 1996): 173–94.
- Abd al-Hadi, Mahdi. "Fuad Saba." *Palestinian Personalities: A Biographic Dictionary*. Jerusalem: Passia, 2006. Accessed March 4, 2017.
<https://www.paljourneys.org/en/biography/9866/fuad-saba>
- Abu El-Haj, Nadia. *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- . "Producing (Arti) Facts: Archaeology and Power during the British Mandate of Palestine." *Israel Studies* 7, no. 2 (2002): 33–61.
- Abu Qurrah, Theodore. *A Treatise on the Veneration of the Holy Icons* [ca.800]. Trans. Sidney Harrison Griffith. Louvain: Peeters, 1997.
- Abufarha, Nasser. "Land of Symbols: Cactus, Poppies, Orange and Olive Trees in Palestine." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 15, no. 3 (2008): 343–368.
- Albina, Iris. "Souvenir from Gethsemane: Portrait of the Albina Brothers." *Jerusalem Quarterly* 60 (Fall 2014): 59–76.
- Allais, Lucia. *Designs of Destruction: The Making of Monuments in the Twentieth Century*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018.
- Anani, Nabil. *Al-Fan al-Tashkīlī al-Filasṭīnī fī al-Ārḍ al-Muḥatala* [Palestinian Art in the Occupied Territory]. Ramallah: Gallery 79, 1984.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London; New York: Verso, 1991.
- Ankori, Gannit. *Palestinian Art*. London: Reaktion, 2006.
- Ari, Nisa. "Orientalism Repeated: Shifting Time in Jumana Manna's A Sketch of Manners and the Politics of Photography in Palestine." *Third Text* 30, no. 5–6 (2016): 33–45.
- . "The First National Arab Fair in Jerusalem: Art, Industry, and Christian-Muslim Collaboration in 1930s Palestine." In *Crossroads: European Cultural Diplomacy and Arab Christians in Palestine*, ed. Karène Sanchez. Leiden; Boston: Brill, forthcoming 2019.
- Auerbach, Jeffrey A. *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999.

- Bagatti O.F.M., P. Bellarmino. "L'Industria Della Madreperla a Betlemme" ["The Mother-of-Pearl Industry in Bethlehem"]. In *Custodia Di Terra Santa, 1342-1942*, 134–152. Jerusalem: Tipografia dei Padri Francescani, 1951.
- Bair, Barbara. "The American Colony Photography Department: Western Consumption and 'Insider' Commercial Photography." *Jerusalem Quarterly* 44 (2010): 28–38.
- Bardaouil, Sam. *Surrealism in Egypt: Modernism and the Art and Liberty Group*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2017.
- Bar-Or, Galia, ed., "*Hebrew Work*": *The Disregarded Gaze in the Canon of Israeli Art*. Ein Harod: Mishkan Le'Omanut Museum of Art Ein Harod and the Israeli Forum of Art Museums, 1998.
- Bar-Or Galia and Gideon Ofrat. *Sixty Years of Art in Israel*. Ein Harod: Mishkan Le'Omanut Museum of Art Ein Harod, 2008.
- Baxandall, Michael. *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
- Becker, Howard S. *Art Worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- . "Arts and Crafts." *American Journal of Sociology* 83, no. 4 (1978): 862–89.
- Belting, Hans. *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Ben-Arieh, Yehoshua. *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century*. Jerusalem; Detroit, MI: Magnes Press, Hebrew University; Distributed by Wayne State University Press, 1983.
- Ben-Bassat, Yuval. *Petitioning the Sultan: Protests and Justice in Late Ottoman Palestine, 1865–1908*. London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013.
- Berkowitz, Michael. "Toward an Understanding of Fundraising, Philanthropy and Charity in Western Zionism, 1897-1933." *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations: Official Journal of the International Society for Third-Sector Research* 7, no. 3 (1996): 241–258.
- Bernstein, Deborah and Badi Hasisi. "'Buy and Promote the National Cause': Consumption, Class Formation and Nationalism in Mandate Palestinian Society." *Nations and Nationalism* 14, no. 1 (2008): 127–50.
- Bertz, Inka. "Trouble at the Bezalel: Conflicting Visions of Zionism and Art." In *Nationalism, Zionism and Ethnic Mobilization of the Jews in 1900 and Beyond*, ed. Michael Berkowitz, 247–84. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004.

- Biger, Gideon. *An Empire in the Holy Land: Historical Geography of the British Administration in Palestine, 1917-1929*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.
- Boime, Albert. "William Holman Hunt's 'The Scapegoat': Rite of Forgiveness/Transference of Blame." *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 1 (2002): 94–114.
- Boullata, Kamal. *Istihdār al-Makān: Dirāsāt Fī al-Fan al-Tashkīlī al-Filastīnī al-Mu'āšir* [The Recovery of Place: A Study of Contemporary Palestinian Art]. Tunis: Arab League Education, Culture and Science Organization, 2000.
- . *Palestinian Art 1850-2005*. London; Berkeley: Saqi, 2009.
- Broshi, Magen. *Religion, Ideology, and Politics and Their Impact on Palestinian Archaeology*. Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1987.
- Bürger, Peter. *Theory of the Avant-Garde*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.
- Campos, Michelle U. *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011.
- Carmel, Alex. "The German Settlers in Palestine and Their Relations with the Local Arab Population and the Jewish Community, 1868-1918." In *Studies on Palestine During the Ottoman Period*, ed. Moshe Ma'oz, 442–65. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975.
- Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Clark, T. J. "On the Social History of Art." In *Modern Art and Modernism: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Francis Francina and Charles Harrison, 249–258. New York: Harper & Row, 1982.
- Cobbing, Felicity J. and Johnathan N. Tubb. "Before the Rockefeller: The First Palestine Museum in Jerusalem." In *Tutela, Conservazione e Valorizzazione Del Patrimonio Culturale Della Palestina*, ed. Fabio Maniscalco, 79–89. Napoli: Massa, 2005.
- Cohen, Amnon. *The Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2001.
- Cox, Catherine. "Health and Welfare, 1750-2000." In *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland*, ed. Eugenio F. Biagini and Mary E. Daly, 261–281. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Crane, Diana. *The Production of Culture: Media and the Urban Arts*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1992.
- Crawford, Alan. *C. R. Ashbee: Architect, Designer & Romantic Socialist*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985.

- Crombie, Kelvin. *For the Love of Zion: Christian Witness and the Restoration of Israel*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991.
- Daccarett, Enrique Yidi, Karen David Daccarett, and Martha Lizcano Angarita. *El Arte Palestino de Tallar el Nácar: Una Aproximación a Su Estudio Desde el Caribe Colombiano* [The Palestinian Art of Mother-of-Pearl Carving: An Approach to Its Study from the Colombian Caribbean]. Bogotá: Panamericana Formas e Impresos, 2005.
- Darwish, Mahmoud. *If I Were Another*. Trans. Fady Joudah. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009.
- Davis, John. *The Landscape of Belief: Encountering the Holy Land in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Davis, Rochelle and Dan Walsh. “‘Visit Palestine’: A Brief Study of Palestine Posters.” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 61 (Winter 2015): 42–54.
- Dawood, Azra. “Building Protestant Modernism: John D. Rockefeller Jr. and the Architecture of an American Internationalism (1919-1939).” Ph.D. Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2018.
- De Cesari, Chiara. “Anticipatory Representation: Building the Palestinian Nation(-State) through Artistic Performance.” *Studies in Ethnicity & Nationalism* 12, no. 1 (April 2012): 82–100.
- . “Cultural Heritage Beyond the ‘State’: Palestinian Heritage between Nationalism and Transnationalism.” Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 2009.
- Denis, Rafael Cardoso. “The Educated Eye and the Industrial Hand: Art and Design Instruction for the Working Classes in Mid-Victorian Britain.” Ph.D. Dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1995.
- Dutta, Arindam. *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of Its Global Reproducibility*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- El-Eini, Roza. *Mandated Landscape: British Imperial Rule in Palestine, 1929-1948*. London; New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Ersoy, Ahmet. “A Sartorial Tribute to Late Tanzimat Ottomanism: The Elbise-İ ‘Oşmāniyye Album.” *Muqarnas* 20 (2003): 187–207.
- Fabian, Johannes. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. Reprint of 1983 ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

- Farooqi, Suraiya. *Artisans of Empire: Crafts and Craftspeople under the Ottomans*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2009.
- Fleischmann, Ellen. "The Emergence of the Palestinian Women's Movement, 1929-39." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 29, no. 3 (2000): 16–32.
- . *The Nation and Its "New" Women: The Palestinian Women's Movement, 1920-1948*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Frantzman, Seth. "Education and Empowerment: Lessons and History of the Christian Education Network in Israel and Palestine." *Digest of Middle East Studies* 20, no. 2 (Fall 2011): 186–201.
- Friedrich, Norbert, Uwe Kaminsky, and Roland Löffler, eds. *The Social Dimension of Christian Missions in the Middle East: Historical Studies of the 19th and 20th Centuries*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2010.
- Gardner, Gregg. *The Origins of Organized Charity in Rabbinic Judaism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Gavish, Dov. *The Survey of Palestine under the British Mandate, 1920-1948*. London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005.
- Gelvin, James L. *The Modern Middle East: A History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Gerschultz, Jessica. *Decorative Arts of the Tunisian École: Fabrications of Modernism, Gender, and Class in Tunisia, 1948-1972*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019.
- Goode, James F. *Negotiating for the Past: Archaeology, Nationalism, and Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1919-1941*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007.
- Grabar, Oleg. *The Formation of Islamic Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987.
- Green, Jack. "From Chicago to Jerusalem (and Back Again): The Untold Story of E.F. Beaumont." *The Oriental Institute News and Notes* 227 (Autumn 2015): 15–19.
- Greenberg, Ela. "Between Hardships and Respect: A Collective Biography of Arab Women Teachers in British-ruled Palestine." *Hawwa* 6, no. 3 (2008): 284–314.
- . *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow: Education and Islam in Mandate Palestine*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010.
- Gröndahl, Mia. *The Dream of Jerusalem: Lewis Larsson and the American Colony Photographers*. Stockholm: Journal, 2005.

- Guha-Thakurta, Tapati. "The Museumised Relic: Archaeology and the First Museum of Colonial India." *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 34, no. 1 (1997): 21–51.
- Haiduc-Dale, Noah. *Arab Christians in British Mandate Palestine: Communalism and Nationalism, 1917-1948*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013.
- Al-Hajj, Badr. "Khalil Raad: Jerusalem Photographer." *Jerusalem Quarterly* 11–12 (2001): 34–39.
- Halaby, Mona Hajjar. "The Proverbial Shatha in Early Twentieth-Century Jerusalem." *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 61 (2015): 69–83.
- Halaby, Samia. *Liberation Art of Palestine: Palestinian Painting and Sculpture in the Second Half of the 20th Century*. New York: H.T.T.B. Pub., 2001.
- . "Sophie Halaby, Palestinian Artist of the Twentieth Century," *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 61 (2015): 84–100.
- . "The Pictorial Arts of Jerusalem, 1900-1948." In *Jerusalem Interrupted: Modernity and Colonial Transformation 1917-Present*, ed. Lena Jayyusi, 21–56. Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, an imprint of Interlink Publishing Group, 2015.
- Halliday, Fred. "Three Concepts of Internationalism." *International Affairs* 64, no. 2 (1988): 187–198.
- Halperin, Liora. *Babel in Zion: Jews, Nationalism, and Language Diversity in Palestine, 1920-1948*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015.
- Hanssen, Jens and Max Weiss, eds. *Arabic Thought Beyond the Liberal Age: Towards an Intellectual History of the Nahda*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Haskell, Francis. *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980.
- Heidegger, Martin. *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward S. Robinson. New York: Harper, 1962.
- . "The Age of the World Picture." In *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, trans. William Lovitt, 115–54. New York & London: Harper, 1977.
- Henisch, Heinz K. and Bridget Ann Henisch. *The Painted Photograph, 1839-1914: Origins, Techniques, Aspirations*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996.
- Herbert, Robert L. *From Millet to Léger: Essays in Social Art History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.

- Horowitz, Dan and Moshe Lissak. *Origins of the Israeli Polity: Palestine under the Mandate*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978.
- Hourani, Albert. *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- . “Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables.” In *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. William R. Polk and Richard L. Chambers, 41–68. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968.
- Howe, Kathleen Stewart, ed. *Revealing the Holy Land: The Photographic Exploration of Palestine*. Santa Barbara, CA; Berkeley: Santa Barbara Museum of Art; Distributed by the University of California Press, 1997.
- Immerzeel, Mat. *Syrische Iconen/Syrian Icons*. Gent: Snoeck Ducaju en Zoon, 1997.
- Iriye, Akira. *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.
- Jacobi, Carol and Hope Kingsley. *Painting with Light: Art and Photography from the Pre-Raphaelites to the Modern Age*. London: Tate Publishing, 2016.
- Jacobson, Abigail. “American ‘Welfare Politics’: American Involvement in Jerusalem During World War I.” *Israel Studies* 18, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 56–76.
- . *From Empire to Empire: Jerusalem between Ottoman and British Rule*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2011.
- Jankowski, James and Israel Gershoni, eds. *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Jawhariyyeh, Wasif. *The Storyteller of Jerusalem: The Life and Times of Wasif Jawhariyyeh, 1904-1948*, ed. Salim Tamari and Issam Nassar, trans. Nada Elzeer. Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2014.
- Jayyusi, Salma Khadra, ed. *Anthology of Modern Palestinian Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.
- Kaufman, Asher. *Reviving Phoenicia: The Search for Identity in Lebanon*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2004.
- Kawar, Widad. *Palestinian Embroidery Motifs: A Treasury of Stitches, 1850-1950*. London: Rimal, 2014.

- Khalaf, Issa. *Politics in Palestine: Arab Factionalism and Social Disintegration, 1939-1948*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1991.
- Khalidi, Rashid. *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- . *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2007.
- . *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.
- Khoury, Kristine and Rasha Salti. *Past Disquiet: Artists, International Solidarity, and Museums-in-Exile*. Warsaw: Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw, 2018.
- Kimmel, Michael. "The Arts and Crafts Movement: Handmade Socialism or Elite Consumerism?" *Contemporary Sociology* 16, no. 3 (1987): 388–90.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- Klein, Menachem. *Lives in Common: Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem, Jaffa and Hebron*, trans. Haim Watzman. London: Hurst & Company, 2014.
- Kotlyar, Eugeny. "The Making of a National Art: Boris Schatz in Bulgaria." *Ars Judaica* 4 (April 2008): 43–60.
- Kushner, David. *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period: Political, Social, and Economic Transformation*. Jerusalem; Leiden: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi; Distributed by E.J. Brill, 1986.
- Landow, George P. *William Holman Hunt's Letters to Thomas Seddon*. Manchester: John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 1983.
- Lenssen, Anneka. "The Shape of the Support: Painting and Politics in Syria's Twentieth Century." Ph.D. Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2014.
- Lev, Rachel. "Visionaries and Creators: Members and Creative Ventures of the American Colony in Jerusalem, 1881-1948." Jerusalem: American Colony Archive Collections, 2014.
- Lewis, Geoffrey. "An Ottoman Officer in Palestine, 1914-1918." In *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period: Political, Social, and Economic Transformation*, ed. David Kushner. Jerusalem; Leiden: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi; Distributed by E.J. Brill, 1986.
- Lockman, Zachary. *Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906-1948*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

- Lorentzen, Hakon. "Sector Labels." In *Third Sector Research*, ed. Rupert Taylor, 21–35. New York: Springer, Published in cooperation with the International Society for Third Sector Research, 2010.
- Mainardi, Patricia. *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Makhoul, Bashir and Gordon Hon. *The Origins of Palestinian Art*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013.
- Malek, Jaromir. "Stewart, William Arnold (1882–1953)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004. Accessed October 4, 2017.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/odnb/9780192683120.013.38008>
- Mango, Cyril A. *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453; Sources and Documents*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972.
- Manor, Dalia. *Art in Zion: The Genesis of Modern National Art in Jewish Palestine*. London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005.
- . "Imagined Homeland: Landscape Painting in Palestine in the 1920s." *Nations & Nationalism* 9, no. 4 (October 2003): 533–54.
- Mathur, Saloni. *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.
- Mazza, Roberto. "Diplomacy in the Holy Land: New Sources, Themes and Topics." *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 71 (Autumn 2017): 3–6.
- . *Jerusalem: From the Ottomans to the British*. London; New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2009.
- Melman, Billie. *Women's Orient: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918: Sexuality, Religion and Work*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995.
- Metzer, Jacob. *The Divided Economy of Mandatory Palestine*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Mikdadi, Salwa. "Badrans: A Century of Tradition and Innovation." *This Week in Palestine* 114 (October 2007). Accessed April 5, 2019.
<http://archive.thisweekinpalestine.com/details.php?catid=11&id=2281&edid=146>
- Mitchell, Timothy. "The World as Exhibition." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 2 (April 1, 1989): 217–36.

- Mitchell, W. J. T. "Holy Landscape: Israel, Palestine, and the American Wilderness." *Critical Inquiry* 26, no. 2 (2000): 193–223.
- Mitter, Partha. *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850-1922: Occidental Orientations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Monk, Daniel Bertrand. *An Aesthetic Occupation: The Immediacy of Architecture and the Palestine Conflict*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.
- Moscrop, John James. *Measuring Jerusalem: The Palestine Exploration Fund and British Interests in the Holy Land*. London; New York: Leicester University Press, 2000.
- Mouffe, Chantal. "Pluralism, Dissensus, and Democratic Citizenship." In *Education and the Good Society*, ed. Fred Inglis. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Murre-van den Berg, H. L., ed. *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006.
- Muslih, Muhammad Y. *The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Naor, Mordecai and Batia Carmiel. *The Flying Camel: 85 Years of Exhibitions and Fairs in Tel Aviv* [Hebrew and English]. Tel Aviv: Eretz Israel Museum Tel Aviv, 2010.
- Nashef, Khaled. "Tawfik Canaan: His Life and Works." *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 16 (2002): 12–26.
- Nassar, Issam. "'Biblicization' in the Service of Colonialism." *Third Text* 20, no. 3–4 (January 2007): 317–26.
- . "Familial Snapshots: Representing Palestine in the Work of the First Local Photographers." *History & Memory* 18, no. 2 (2006): 139–55.
- . *Photographing Jerusalem: The Image of the City in Nineteenth Century Photography*. Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1997.
- Nye, Joseph S. *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. New York: Basic Books, 1990.
- . "Soft Power." *Foreign Policy*, no. 80 (1990): 153–71.
- Obenzinger, Hilton. *American Palestine: Melville, Twain, and the Holy Land Mania*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Ofrat, Gideon. *One Hundred Years of Art in Israel*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998.

- Okkenhaug, Inger Marie. *The Quality of Heroic Living, of High Endeavour and Adventure: Anglican Mission, Women, and Education in Palestine, 1888-1948*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002.
- Olin, Margaret Rose. *The Nation without Art: Examining Modern Discourses on Jewish Art*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001.
- Oltuski, Ilona. "Kunst und Ideologie des Bezalels in Jerusalem: Ein Versuch zur Jüdischen Identitätsfindung" [Bezalel's Art and Ideology in Jerusalem: A Search for Jewish Identity]. Ph.D. Dissertation, Kunstgeschichtliches Institut der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, 1988.
- Othman, Enaya. "Meeting at Middle Ground: American Quaker Women's Two Palestinian Encounters." *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 50 (2012): 47–65.
- . *Negotiating Palestinian Womanhood: Encounters Between Palestinian Women and American Missionaries, 1880s-1940s*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016.
- Oweis, Fayeq Saleh. "The Elements of Unity in Islamic Art as Examined Through the Work of Jamal Badran." Ph.D. Dissertation, Union Institute and University, Cincinnati, 2002.
- Owen, Roger. "The Influence of Lord Cromer's Indian Experience on British Policy in Egypt, 1883-1907." In *Middle Eastern Affairs 4*, ed. Albert Hourani. London: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Özbek, Nadir. "The Politics of Modern Welfare Institutions in the Late Ottoman Empire (1876-1909)." *International Journal of Turcologia* 3, no. 5 (Spring 2008): 43–63.
- Pappé, Ilan. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Perez, Nissan. *Focus East: Early Photography in the Near East (1839-1885)*. New York: Abrams, 1988.
- Perry, Yaron. *British Mission to the Jews in Nineteenth-Century Palestine*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Persekian, Jack. "17 Lost Art Exhibitions." *Field Notes [Asia Art Archive]*, no. 4 (April 2015): 64–75.
- Pieprzak, Katarzyna. *Imagined Museums: Art and Modernity in Postcolonial Morocco*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.
- Rafeq, Abdul-Karim. "Craft Organization, Work Ethics, and the Strains of Change in Ottoman Syria." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111, no. 3 (1991): 495–511.

- Raz, Guy. "The American Colony: Photographic Enterprise in the Holy Land." In *Images from the Land of the Bible: People, Life and Landscape, 1898-1946*, ed. Etan Ayalon, 24–38. Tel Aviv: Eretz Israel Museum, 2012.
- Ricks, Thomas M. "Khalil Totah: The Unknown Years." *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 34 (2008): 51–77.
- Robson, Laura. *Colonialism and Christianity in Mandate Palestine*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011.
- Rogers, Sarah A. "Postwar Art and Historical Roots of Beirut's Cosmopolitanism." Ph.D. Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2008.
- Rotbard, Sharon. *White City, Black City: Architecture and War in Tel Aviv and Jaffa*, trans. Orit Gat. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2015.
- Rubin, Reuven. *My Life, My Art*, trans. Haim Gamzu. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1969.
- Ruskin, John. *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn. London: George Allen, 1903.
- Said, Edward. *Beginnings: Intention and Method*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.
- Saunders, Rebecca. *The Concept of the Foreign: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003.
- Schmidt, Gilya Gerda, ed. and trans. *The First Buber: Youthful Zionist Writings of Martin Buber*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999.
- Schor, Laura S. *The Best School in Jerusalem: Annie Landau's School for Girls, 1900-1960*. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2013.
- Schölch, Alexander. *Palestine in Transformation, 1856-1882: Studies in Social, Economic, and Political Development*. Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1993.
- Schroth, Sarah Walker. "David Roberts in Context." In *Jerusalem and the Holy Land Rediscovered: The Prints of David Roberts (1796-1864)*, ed. Duke University Museum of Art, 36–49. Durham, NC: Duke University Museum of Art, 1996.
- Seikaly, Sherene. *Men of Capital: Scarcity and Economy in Mandate Palestine*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016.
- Sela, Avraham. "The 'Wailing Wall' Riots (1929) as a Watershed in the Palestine Conflict." *The Muslim World* 84, no. 1–2 (April 1, 1994): 60–94.

- Sela, Rona. *Zionist Photography in Palestine and Israel 1933-1973, A Nationalization of the Visual: From the Image of the 'New Jew' in the 'New Land' to Victory Albums*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Essex, 2005.
- Shammout, Ismail. *Al-Fan al-Tashkīlī fī Filasṭīn* [Art in Palestine]. Beirut: Dept. of Information and Culture, Palestine Liberation Organization, 1989.
- Sheehi, Stephen. "Before Painting: Nicola Saig, Painting and Photographic Seeing." In *Arab Art Histories: The Khalid Shoman Collection*, ed. Sarah A Rogers and Eline van der Vlist, 360–373. Amman: Khalid Shoman Foundation, 2013.
- . "Portrait Paths: Studio Photography in Ottoman Palestine." *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 61 (2015): 23–41.
- . *The Arab Imago: A Social History of Portrait Photography, 1860-1910*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016.
- Shepherd, Naomi. *Ploughing Sand: British Rule in Palestine, 1917-1948*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000.
- . *The Zealous Intruders: The Western Rediscovery of Palestine*. London: Collins, 1987.
- Shilo-Cohen, Nurit, ed. *Bezalel: Crafting a Jewish Style- the Art of Bezalel, 1906- 1996*. New York: Jewish Museum, 1996.
- . "The 'Hebrew Style' of Bezalel, 1906-1929." *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 20 (1994): 141–63.
- Shoham, Hizky. "'Buy Local' or 'Buy Jewish'?" Separatist Consumption in Interwar Palestine." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 3 (2013): 469–89.
- Sicker, Martin. *The Middle East in the Twentieth Century*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001.
- Silberman, Neil Asher. *Digging for God and Country: Exploration, Archeology, and the Secret Struggle for the Holy Land, 1799-1917*. New York: Knopf: Distributed by Random House, 1982.
- Silberman, Paul. "An Investigation of the Schools Operated by the Alliance Israelite Universelle from 1862 to 1940." Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1973.
- Singer, Amy. *Charity in Islamic Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- . *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002.

- Skinner, Margarita and Widad Kawar, *Palestinian Embroidery Motifs: A Treasury of Stitches, 1850-1950*. London: Rimal, 2014.
- Smith, Barbara J. *The Roots of Separatism in Palestine: British Economic Policy, 1920-1929*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993.
- Smith, Charles D. *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents*. Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martins, 2001.
- St. Laurent, Beatrice and Himmet Taskomur. "The Imperial Museum of Antiquities in Jerusalem, 1890-1930: An Alternate Narrative." *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 55 (2013): 6–45.
- Sternhell, Zeev. *The Founding Myths of Israel Nationalism, Socialism, and the Making of the Jewish State*, trans. David Maisel. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Sulaiman, Khalid A. *Palestine and Modern Arab Poetry*. London: Zed Books, 1984.
- Tamari, Salim and Issam Nassar. *Al-Quds al-Intidabiyya fil al-Mudhakkirat al-Jawhariyyeh, 1918–1948* [British Mandate Jerusalem in the Memoirs of Wasif Jawhariyyeh, 1918–1948]. Jerusalem: Institute of Jerusalem Studies, 2005.
- Tamari, Salim. "Jerusalem's Ottoman Modernity: The Time and Lives of Wasif Jawhariyyeh." *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 1 (Summer 2000): 1–34.
- . "Lepers, Lunatics and Saints: The Nativist Ethnography of Tawfiq Canaan and His Jerusalem Circle." *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 20 (2004): 24–43.
- . *Mountain Against the Sea: Essays on Palestinian Society and Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.
- . "Soul of the Nation: The Fallah in the Eyes of the Urban Intelligentsia." In *Israel/Palestine: Fields for Identity, Special Issue of the Review of Middle East Studies*, ed. Glenn Walker Bowman, 74–83. London: Scorpion, 1992.
- Tibawi, Abdul Latif. *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine: A Study of Three Decades of British Administration*. London: Luzac, 1956.
- Trajtenberg, Graciela. "Plastic Arts and Nation-Building in Israel." *Nations & Nationalism* 8, no. 2 (April 2002): 215–34.
- Tribe, Tania C. "Icon and Narration in Eighteenth-Century Christian Egypt: The Works of Yuhanna Al-Armani Al-Qudsi and Ibrahim Al-Nasikh." *Art History* 27, no. 1 (2004): 62–94.
- Tveit, Odd Karsten. *Anna's House: The American Colony in Jerusalem*. Nicosia: Rimal Publications, 2010.

- Vikan, Gary. "Ruminations on Edible Icons: Originals and Copies in the Art of Byzantium." *Studies in the History of Art* 20 (1989): 47–59.
- Wallet, Bart. "Dutch National Identity and Jewish International Solidarity: An Impossible Combination? Dutch Jewry and the Significance of the Damascus Affair (1840)." In *The Dutch Intersection: The Jews and the Netherlands in Modern History*, ed. Yosef Kaplan, 319–30. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008.
- Watenpugh, Heghnar Zeitlian. "Museums and the Construction of National History in Syria and Lebanon." In *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett, 185–202. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Watenpugh, Keith David. *Bread from Stones: The Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015.
- Weir, Shelagh G. "Hilma Granqvist and Her Contribution to Palestine Studies." *Bulletin (British Society for Middle Eastern Studies)* 2, no. 1 (1975): 6–13.
- . *Palestinian Costume*. Northampton, MA: Interlink Books, 2009.
- Wharton, Annabel Jane. *Architectural Agents: The Delusional, Abusive, Addictive Lives of Buildings*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015.
- . *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- White, Harrison C. and Cynthia A. White. *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World*. New York: Wiley, 1965.
- Wien, Peter. *Arab Nationalism: The Politics of History and Culture in the Modern Middle East*. London, New York: Routledge, 2017.
- Wolff, Janet. *The Social Production of Art*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981.
- Zalmona, Yigal and Gideon Ofrat. *80 Years of Sculpture in Israel*. Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1984.
- Zalmona, Yigal. *A Century of Israeli Art*. Farnham: Lund Humphries, 2013.

Figures



Figure 0.1

Robert E. M. Bain, *Grotto of Jeremiah—The Place Where Christ Was Buried*, black and white photograph, 25.5 x 18 cm, 1894. University of Pennsylvania Libraries.



Figure 0.2

Reuven Lipshitz, “Bezalel Exhibition – Palestine Arts and Crafts” poster, 1926. Palestine Poster Project Archives. <https://www.palestineposterproject.org>.



Figure 0.3
Bezalel drawing class, with Oriental Jewish or Bedouin Arab model, under the direction of Abel Pann, 1912. Photographer unknown. Central Zionist Archives Photograph Collection, PHG\1078268.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 0.4

Ismail Shammout, *Where to?*, oil on canvas, 1953. Private family collection.



Figure 0.5

American Colony Photo Department, "Northern Views. English Mission Girls' School [Jerusalem Girls' College]," glass stereograph dry plate negative, 5 x 7 in, ca. 1900-20. G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, LC-M32- 354, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington DC.



Figure 0.6

Album page from *Costumes Populaire de La Turquie [Elbise-i Osmaniyye]*, Part III, plate XXXVII, compiled by Osman Hamdi Bey and Marie de Launay, photograph by Pascal Sébah, “Studio portrait of models wearing traditional clothing from the province of Syria in the Ottoman Empire: Peasant of the environs of Jerusalem, peasant woman of the environs of Jerusalem, and married Arab woman of Jerusalem,” 1873.



Figure 1.1

Frederic Church, *Moses Viewing the Promised Land*, oil on board, 25.4 x 31.7 cm, 1846, Dr. Sheldon and Jessie Stern Private Collection.



Figure 1.2

Historic postcard for *Palestine Park – Chautauqua Institution*, 9 x 14 cm, n.d., Published by Geo V. Millar & Co.



Figure 1.3

David Roberts, engraved and colored by Louis Haghe, "Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, April 8th, 1839" from Vol. I of *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt, and Nubia* (London: F. G. Moon, 1842-49).



Figure 1.4
Nicola Saig, *Nativity*, oil on canvas, 64 x 35 cm, ca. 1920. Courtesy of the Khalid Shoman Collection, Amman.



Figure 1.5

G. Baglioli, *The Nativity*, oil on canvas, 1876. Reproduction photograph courtesy of Philip Hihi, Custody of the Holy Land, Jerusalem.



Figure 1.6

American Colony Photo Department, "Famous Religious Paintings—The Nativity by G. Baglioli," glass, dry plate negative, 10 x 12 in, ca. 1898-1914. G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, LC-M36-1101, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.



Figure 1.7

School of Jerusalem, Dried fish heads painted with scenes of the baptism, undated (Dar al-Suriyyan, Egypt). Printed in Mat Immerzeel, *Syrische Iconen/Syrian Icons* (Gent: Snoeck Ducajuen Zoon, 1997), 28.



Figure 1.8

Attributed to Michael Mhanna al-Qudsi, *Saint George*, oil on wood, 34.5 x 51 cm, second half of the nineteenth century. Printed in Mat Immerzeel, *Syrische Iconen/Syrian Icons* (Gent: Snoeck Ducaju en Zoon, 1997), 111.



Figure 1.9
Nicola Saig, *St. George*, oil on metal, 26 x 33 cm, undated (early twentieth century). Courtesy of the Khalid Shoman Collection, Amman.



Figure 1.10

Francis Frith, *General View of Jerusalem from Mount of Olives*, albumen silver print, 18.8 x 25 cm, 1857.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 1.12

American Colony Photo Department, “*Sea of Galilee and the probable Mount of Transfiguration*,” scan from hand-colored monochrome photographic print (ca. 1900-1920), from *Blue Galilee*, annotated photograph album, 39 x 29.5 cm, text printed by the Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1926. Courtesy of the American Colony Archive Collections, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 1.13

American Colony Photo Department, “*Now it came to pass on a certain day, that He went into a ship with his disciples and he said unto them, Let us go over unto the other side of the lake. And they launched forth (Luke 8:22),*” scan from hand-colored monochrome photographic print (ca. 1900-1920), from *Blue Galilee*, annotated photograph album, 39 x 29.5 cm, text printed by the Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1926. Courtesy of the American Colony Archive Collections, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 1.14

American Colony Photo Department, “*But when the morning was now come, Jesus stood on the shore; but the disciples knew not that it was Jesus. As soon then as they were come to land, they saw a fire of coals there, and fish laid thereon, and bread. Jesus saith unto them, bring of the fish which ye have now caught. Come and dine. (John 21:12),*” scan from hand-colored monochrome photographic print (ca. 1900-1920), from *Blue Galilee*, annotated photograph album, 39 x 29.5 cm, text printed by the Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1926. Courtesy of the American Colony Archive Collections, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 1.15

American Colony Photo Department, “*The rising sun of a new day – ‘Oh Galilee – dear Galilee, - Knit with His life and ministry, - What shall thy vales and heights yet see, Thrice blessed land of Galilee?’ - H. G. Spafford,*” scan from hand-colored monochrome photographic print (ca. 1900-1920), from *Blue Galilee*, annotated photograph album, 39 x 29.5 cm, text printed by the Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1926. Courtesy of the American Colony Archive Collections, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 1.16

American Colony Photo Department, “*He maketh me to lie down in green pastures,*” scan from hand-colored monochrome photographic print (ca. 1900-1920), from *The Twenty-Third Psalm Illustrated*, annotated photograph album, text printed by the Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 26 x 32 cm, ca. 1900-1923. Courtesy of the American Colony Archive Collections, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 1.17

American Colony Photo Department, “*He leadeth me beside the still waters,*” scan from hand-colored monochrome photographic print (ca. 1900-1920), from *The Twenty-Third Psalm Illustrated*, annotated photograph album, text printed by the Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 26 x 32 cm, ca. 1900-1923. Courtesy of the American Colony Archive Collections, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 1.18

American Colony Photo Department, “*I will fear no evil: for thou art with me,*” scan from hand-colored monochrome photographic print (ca. 1900-1920), from *The Twenty-Third Psalm Illustrated*, annotated photograph album, text printed by the Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 26 x 32 cm, ca. 1900-1923. Courtesy of the American Colony Archive Collections, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 1.19

American Colony Photo Department, “*And I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever;*” scan from hand-colored monochrome photographic print (ca. 1900-1920), from *The Twenty-Third Psalm Illustrated*, annotated photograph album, text printed by the Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 26 x 32 cm, ca. 1900-1923. Courtesy of the American Colony Archive Collections, Jerusalem.



Figure 1.20
Nicola Saig, *Untitled* (after historical photograph of the surrender of Jerusalem to the British), oil on canvas, 67 x 86 cm, ca. 1918. Courtesy of the Khalid Shoman Collection, Amman.



Figure 1.21

American Colony Photo Department, "The surrender of Jerusalem to the British, December 9, 1917. The Mayor of Jerusalem, with white flag, offers surrender to two British tommies (sergeants)," glass, dry plate negative, 4 x 5 in, 9 December 1917. G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, LC-M31- 1831, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington DC.



Figure 1.22

Nicola Saig, *Escape of the Holy Family to Egypt*, oil on canvas, 95 x 66 cm, ca. 1920. Courtesy of the Khalid Shoman Collection, Amman.



Figure 1.23
William Brassey Hole, “No. 9 Holy Family to Egypt,” watercolor illustration, 1906, printed in *The Life of Jesus of Nazareth: Eighty Pictures* (London: Fine Art Society and Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1906).



Figure 1.24

(top) American Colony Photo Department, "Tiberias," hand-colored picture postcard, 4 x 5 in, 1906, Alexander Museum of Postal History and Philately, Tel Aviv

(bottom) Daoud Zalatimo, *Coast of Acre*, oil on canvas, undated, Family Collection, Jerusalem. Printed in Kamal Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850 – 2005*, 67.



Figure 2.1

“Jerusalem at St. Saviour's Painters' Workshop - One friar teaches painting to a certain number of pupils, who are sent to the different Churches according to requirement.” *Album Missionis Terrae Sanctae Pars Prima: Judaea et Galilaea*, Album of the Mission of Franciscans in the Holy Land, 1893.

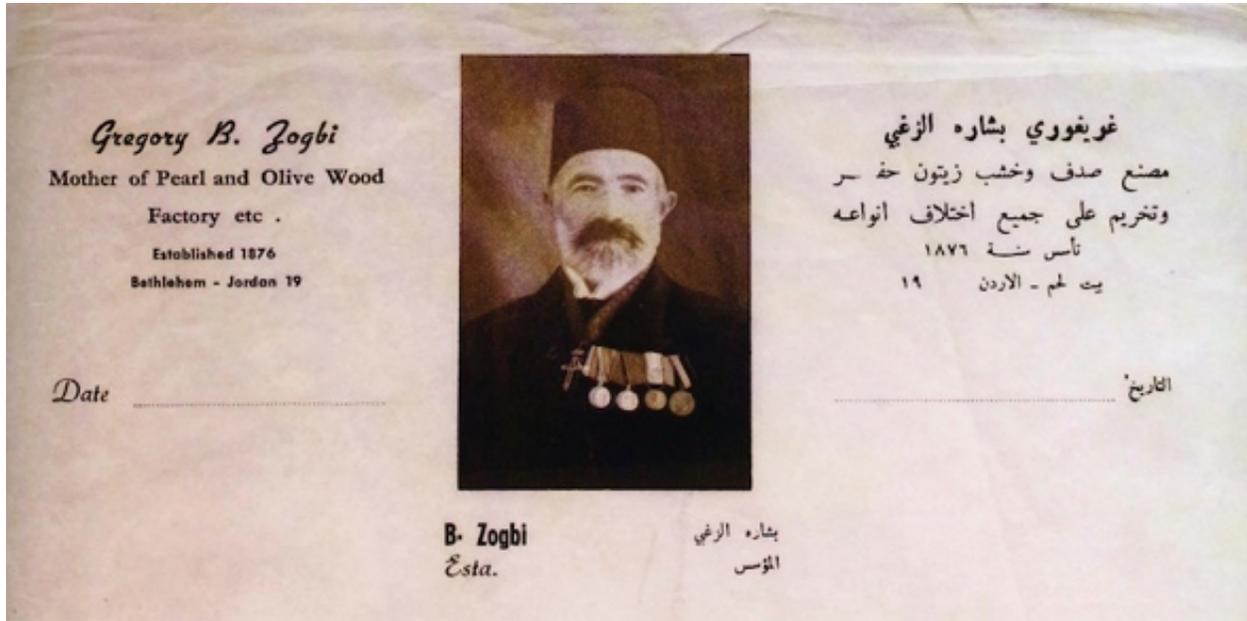


Figure 2.2

“Letterhead from the Zoughbi workshop,” printed in Yidi Daccarett, Enrique, Karen David Daccarett, and Martha Lizcano Angarita, *El Arte Palestino de Tallar el Nácar: Una Aproximación a Su Estudio Desde el Caribe Colombiano* [The Palestinian Art of Mother-of-Pearl Carving: An Approach to Its Study from the Colombian Caribbean] (Bogotá: Panamericana Formas e Impresos, 2005), 67.

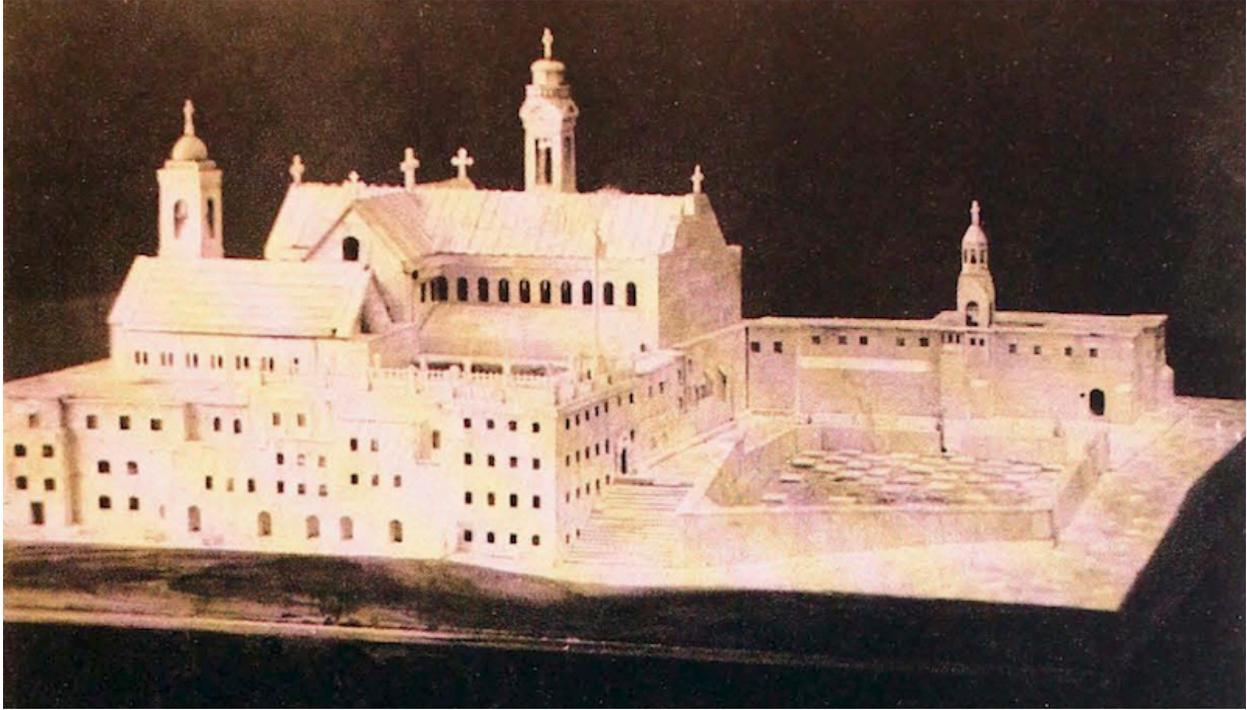


Figure 2.3

Yusef Zoughbi, “Model of the Church of the Nativity Compound in Bethlehem,” mother-of-pearl, 1936. Printed in Yidi Daccarett, Enrique, Karen David Daccarett, and Martha Lizcano Angarita, *El Arte Palestino de Tallar el Nácar: Una Aproximación a Su Estudio Desde el Caribe Colombiano* [The Palestinian Art of Mother-of-Pearl Carving: An Approach to Its Study from the Colombian Caribbean] (Bogotá: Panamericana Formas e Impresos, 2005), 79.



Figure 2.4

Yusef Zoughbi, “Relief carving for Turkish President İsmet İnönü,” mother-of-pearl, 1939. Photograph supplied by Saleem and Bichara G. Zoughbi, printed in Yidi Daccarett, Enrique, Karen David Daccarett, and Martha Lizcano Angarita, *El Arte Palestino de Tallar el Nácar: Una Aproximación a Su Estudio Desde el Caribe Colombiano* [The Palestinian Art of Mother-of-Pearl Carving: An Approach to Its Study from the Colombian Caribbean] (Bogotá: Panamericana Formas e Impresos, 2005), 45.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 2.5

Photographer unknown, “Exterior view of the LJS’ House of Industry Store,” c. 1843. Christ Church Archives, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 2.6

Photographer unknown, “Interior view of the LJS’ House of Industry,” c. 1843. Christ Church Archives, Jerusalem.



Drawn by Mrs. C. Wagner. Lith.

Day & Son, Ltd. to the Queen.

JEWESSES AT WORK.
Plate 5

Figure 2.7
Lucy Matilda Cubley, "Plate 5: Jewesses at Work," printed in Lucy Matilda Cubley, *The Hills and Plains of Palestine* (London: Day & Son, 1860).



Figure 2.8

Artist unknown, *Qabbeh* (chest piece) for a *thob* (dress) from Ramallah, red and black silk thread cross-stitch on white linen, featuring the 'ayn el-baqarah' (eye of the cow) stitch pattern. Image printed in Margarita Skinner and Widad Kawar, *Palestinian Embroidery Motifs 1850 – 1950: A Treasury of Stitches* (London: Rimal, 2014), 114.



Figure 2.9

Artist unknown, Armenian covering, typical of work from Malatia, dark blue cotton plain weave textile, embroidered with chain and interlacing stitch, late nineteenth century. Donated by Karns and Karabian to the Armenian Museum of America, Watertown, MA.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figures 2.10, 2.11, 2.12

“Pages from catalogues of lace samples,” created either by women of the “American Colony Lace Industry,” (1914-17) or by women of “The American Colony Aid Association School of Handicrafts and Dress-Making” (1918-38), glued lace samples on paper. American Colony Archive Collections, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 2.13

“Page from catalogue of numbered lace samples with price list,” created either by women of the “American Colony Lace Industry,” (1914-17) or by women of “The American Colony Aid Association School of Handicrafts and Dress-Making” (1918-38), glued lace samples on paper. American Colony Archive Collections, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 2.14

“Page from catalogue of lace sample with *al-Quds es-sharif* pattern,” created either by women of the “American Colony Lace Industry,” (1914-17) or by women of “The American Colony Aid Association School of Handicrafts and Dress-Making” (1918-38), photograph of lace sample on paper. American Colony Archive Collections, Jerusalem.



Figure 2.15

Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, "Carpet with menorah and Star of David, depicting David's Tower and the Site of the Temple," n. d., wool. The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Gift of Mrs. Rosa Kipnis, Tel Aviv. Printed in Nurit Shilo-Cohen, "The 'Hebrew Style' of Bezalel, 1906-1929," *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 20 (1994): 147.



Figure 2.16

Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, “Avraham Baradon and workers next to a carpet with a palm tree motif,” 1908, printed in Nurit Shilo-Cohen, “The ‘Hebrew Style’ of Bezalel, 1906-1929,” *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 20 (1994): 153.



Figure 2.17

Zeev Raban, "Come to Palestine," 50 x 70 cm., published by the Society for Promotion of Travel in the Holy Land (in association with Bezalel), 1929. Palestine Poster Project Archives.

<https://www.palestineposterproject.org>.



Figure 2.18

Zeev Raban, "Tourism in Palestime, Come and See Erez Israel," 26 x 18 in., published by the Bezael School of Arts and Crafts, 1929. Palestine Poster Project Archives. <https://www.palestineposterproject.org>.



Figure 2.19

Franz Krausz, "Visit Palestine," 1936, Published by the Tourist Development Association of Palestine. Palestine Poster Project Archives. <https://www.palestineposterproject.org>.



Figure 2.20

Photographer unknown, Bezalel class in plant drawing, 1906. Student works incorporating plant forms and Hebrew letters are hanging on the walls. Photograph printed in Nurit Shilo-Cohen, "The 'Hebrew Style of Bezalel, 1906-1929," *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 20 (1994): 150.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 2.21

Sophie Halaby, *Untitled (vase with anemones and irises)*, n. d., oil on canvas. Yvette & Mazen Qupty Private Collection, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 2.22

Sophie Halaby, *Untitled (white iris)*, n. d., watercolor on paper. Yvette & Mazen Qupty Private Collection, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 2.23

Sophie Halaby, *Untitled (pink cyclamens)*, n. d., watercolor on paper. Yvette & Mazen Qpty Private Collection, Jerusalem.



Figure 2.24

Sophie Halaby, "Thorns and Thistles of the Holy Land," n. d., color postcard "Designed & published by Sophie G. Halaby, Jerusalem, Jordan." George al Ama Private Collection, Bethlehem. Photograph by the author.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 2.25

“Flowers from the Convent of the Cross,” page from “Flowers of the Holy Land,” created by Ferdinand Vester and printed by Joseph Schor, Jerusalem, ca. 1870-1904, pressed dried flowers, twigs, and herbs in an olivewood bound book. Private collection, currently held in the American Colony Archive Collections, Jerusalem.



Figure 2.26

“Picking wildflowers at springtime in Palestine, outskirts of Jerusalem toward Bethlehem, with Elias Zananiri, Katie Hisheh, Alfred Farradj, Suhiela Farradj, Hanna Muna, Nada Halabi, Nabiha Halabi, Loutfi Sununu, Fernando Halaby” c. 1940. Mona Hajjar Halaby Private Collection.



Figure 2.27
“Tina Shammass,” n. d. Mona Hajar Halaby Private Collection.



Figures 2.28

“Hiking in Wadi al-Qilt with Alfred Farradj, Eddy Saad, Elias Mushabek, Boris Issaevitch, Fernando Halaby,” n.d. Mona Hajar Halaby Private Collection.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 2.29

Sophie Halaby, *Untitled ("Nisi Dominus" and irises)*, n. d., watercolor on paper. Yvette & Mazen Qpty Private Collection, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 2.30

Sophie Halaby, *Untitled (anemones and Jerusalem's Old City)*, n. d., watercolor on paper. Yvette & Mazen Qupty Private Collection, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 2.31

Sophie Halaby, *The Golden Gate from the Gethsamanie Garden*, n. d., watercolor on paper.
Yvette & Mazen Qupty Private Collection, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 2.32

Sophie Halaby, “The difficulty seems to be that of singing two different lullabies at the same time,” printed in *Palestine and TransJordan Weekly*, March 6, 1937.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 2.33

Sophie Halaby, “The blind leading the blind,” printed in *Palestine and TransJordan Weekly*, October 10, 1936.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 2.34

Sophie Halaby, “A lesson in taking a ‘conservative view’ of the economic capacity,” printed in *Palestine and TransJordan Weekly*, November 21, 1936.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 2.35

American Colony Photo Department, "Palestinian Woman with Baby, Making Lace," dry plate glass negative, 5 x 7 in., ca. 1914-1917. Courtesy of the American Colony Archive Collection, Jerusalem.



Figure 2.36

American Colony Photo Department, "Photograph of six young women making lace, printed on front of Brochure from the School of Handicrafts and Dressmaking, American Colony Aid Association, Jerusalem," black and white photographic print, 7 x 9 in., ca. 1930. American Colony in Jerusalem Collection, Part I, Box 3, Folder 1, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.



Figure 2.37

“Sample pattern swath from the embroidery workshop of Asia Halaby,” ca. 1950, from the collection of Tiraz: Widad Kawar Home for Arab Dress, Amman. Photograph by the author.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 3.1

Sketch of a clock from the workshop of the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, included in “Letter from Bertrand Hamburg to Boris Schatz,” December 30, 1908, L 49/19, Central Zionist Archive.

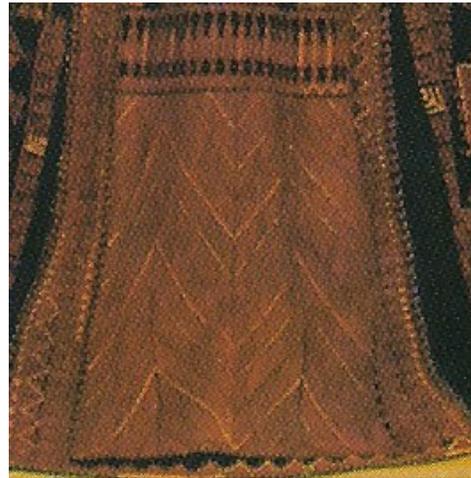
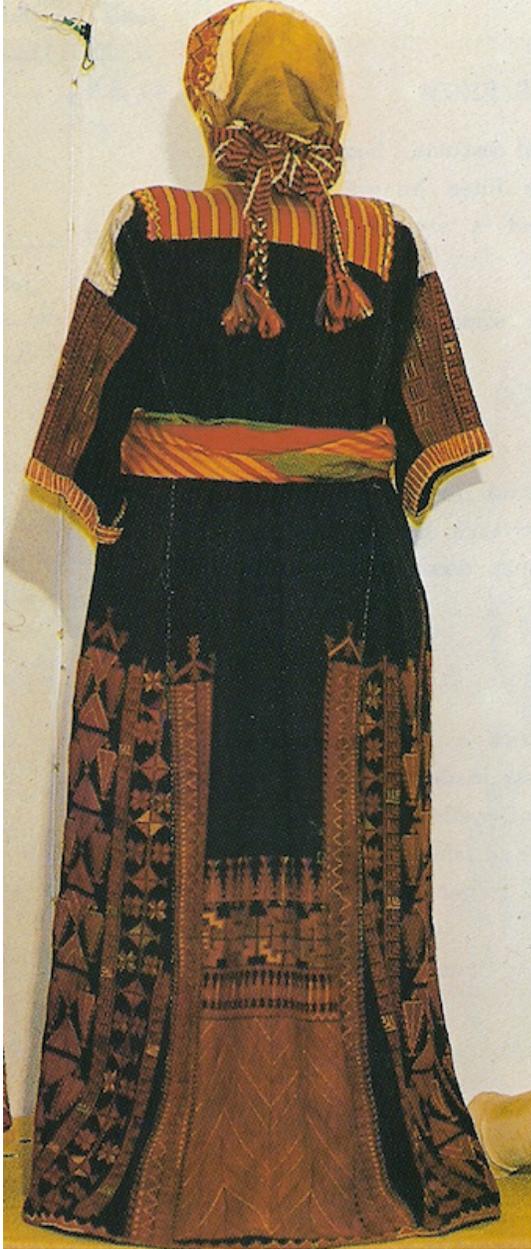


Figure 3.2

Back view of Beit Dajan *thob* with detail of the *muj* (wave) pattern. Collection of the Palestinian Heritage Museum (perhaps previously of the Palestine Folk Museum). Photograph printed in Zeinab Jawad Husseini, *Palestinian Arab Folklore Centre*, 2nd edition (Jerusalem: Dar al-Tifl al-Arabi, 1992), 52.



Figure 3.3

Back view of Ramallah summer dress with detail of the *nakhleh* (palm tree) pattern, c. 1880, from the collection of Tiraz: Widad Kawar Home for Arab Dress. Photograph can be found online at: https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/ramallah-summer-dress/bQFP1s-Huiw_tQ?childassetid=qgGxi0uax15VIQ.



Figure 3.4

Sleeve detail of everyday dress from Hebron, 1900-1915, from the collection of Dar al-Tifl al-Arabi, Palestinian Heritage Museum, photographed by Kayané Antreassian. Photograph printed in Rachel Dedman and Shuruq Harb, *Labour of Love: New Approaches to Palestinian Embroidery* (Birzeit: The Palestinian Museum, 2018), 211.



Figure 3.5

Bethlehem *thob malak* (queenly dress) with couching embroidery, c. 1890, from the collection of Tiraz: Widad Kawar Home for Arab Dress. Photograph printed in Margarita Skinner and Widad Kawar, *A Treasury of Stitches: Palestinian Embroidery Motifs 1850-1950* (London: Rimal Publications, 2007), 16.



Figure 3.6

European style silk dress and jacket with Palestinian *tatreez*, 1921, from the collection of Tiraz: Widad Kawar Home for Arab Dress, photographed by Tanya Traboulsi. Photograph printed in Rachel Dedman and Shuruq Harb, *Labour of Love: New Approaches to Palestinian Embroidery* (Birzeit: The Palestinian Museum, 2018), 158.



Figure 3.7
Jamal Badran, *Untitled (glass vase with painted Qur'anic verse and ornament)*, n.d, George al Ama Private Collection, Bethlehem. Photograph by the author.

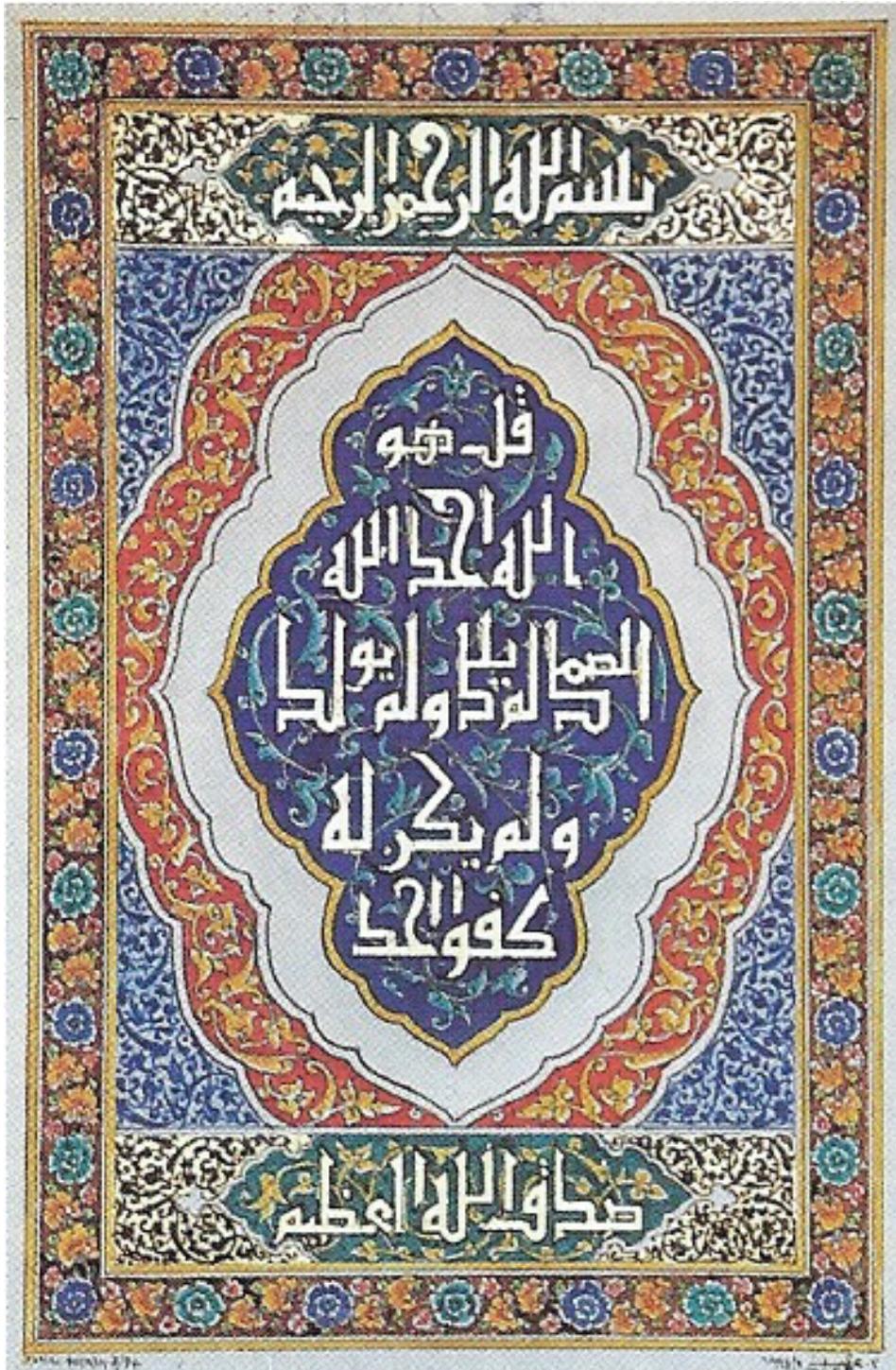


Figure 3.8

Jamal Badran, *Illuminated Page of a Qur'anic verse in Kufic script (sura CXII: 1-4)*, 1994, family collection Amman. Photograph printed in Kamal Boullata, *Palestinian Art 1850-2005* (London: Saqi, 2009), 77.

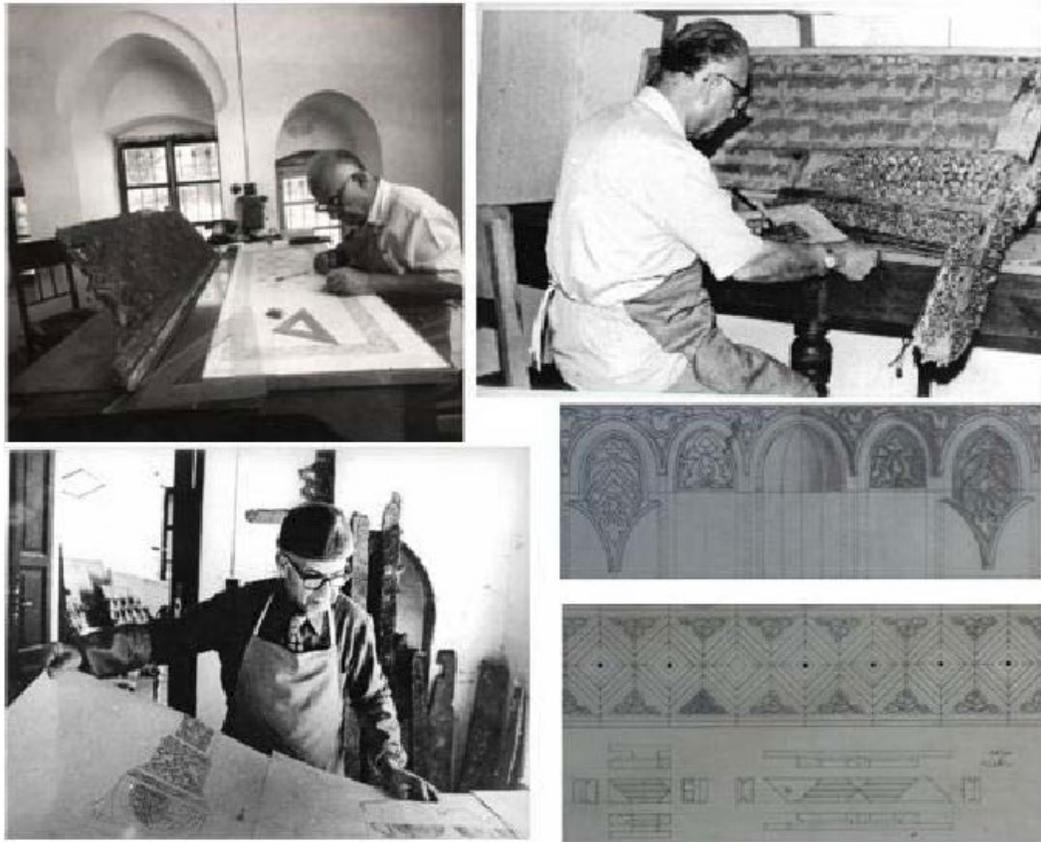


Figure 3.9

Photographs of Jamal Badran working on the designs for the restoration of the Salah al-Din minbar in the Al-Aqsa Mosque, Jerusalem, 1969-1976. Photographs printed in Walid H. Abweini, Rizeq Hammad, A.-E.M. Abdeen, and May Hourani, "Reconstructing Salah Al-Din Minbar of Al-Aqsa Mosque: Challenges and Results," *International Journal of Conservation Science* 4 (September 2013): 307-316.



Figure 3.10

“Quaker motif” *thob* from Ramallah with designs from European pattern books, c. 1870-1900, from the collection of Tiraz: Widad Kawar Home for Arab Dress. Photograph printed in Margarita Skinner and Widad Kawar, *A Treasury of Stitches: Palestinian Embroidery Motifs 1850-1950* (London: Rimal Publications, 2007), 88.



Figure 3.11

Detail of an embroidered cushion cover made of Damascene silk from the region of Hebron, c. 1930, from the collection of Tiraz: Widad Kawar Home for Arab Dress. Photography by the author.



Figure 3.12

Bedouin dress from Tabgha near Tiberias, before 1937, from the collection of Dar al-Tifl al-Arabi, Palestinian Heritage Museum, photographed by Kayané Antreassian. Photograph printed in Rachel Dedman and Shuruq Harb, *Labour of Love: New Approaches to Palestinian Embroidery* (Birzeit: The Palestinian Museum, 2018), 235.



Figure 3.13

Hilma Granqvist, "Wedding-day procession, Artas, 1925-31." Printed in Shelagh Weir, *Palestinian Costume* (Northampton, MA: Interlink Books, 2009), 260. Weir adds the following caption taken from Granqvist's description: "Note the sword carried by the bride. Artas brides wore a striped outer coat and a dark pink face-covering to signify the Qaysi affiliation of their village."



Figure 3.14

Hilma Granqvist, "A Bethlehem bride's newly washed underdress is displayed as proof of her virginity, Artas, 1925-31." Printed in Shelagh Weir, *Palestinian Costume* (Northampton, MA: Interlink Books, 2009), 264.



Figure 3.15

Hilma Granqvist, "A young bride 'going out to the well', Artas, 1925-31." Printed in Shelagh Weir, *Palestinian Costume* (Northampton, MA: Interlink Books, 2009), 265. Weir adds the following caption taken from Granqvist's description: "In Artas this ceremony took place on the morning following the wedding, and was explicitly stated to be so that she would, like her water container, become full (of children). Note her exceptionally wide, flamboyant girdle which she wore as a face veil on the preceding wedding day."



Figure 3.16

American Colony Photo Department, "Arab Women's Union of Ramallah," nitrate negative, 4 x 5 in, ca. 1934-1939. G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, LC-M36-1101, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

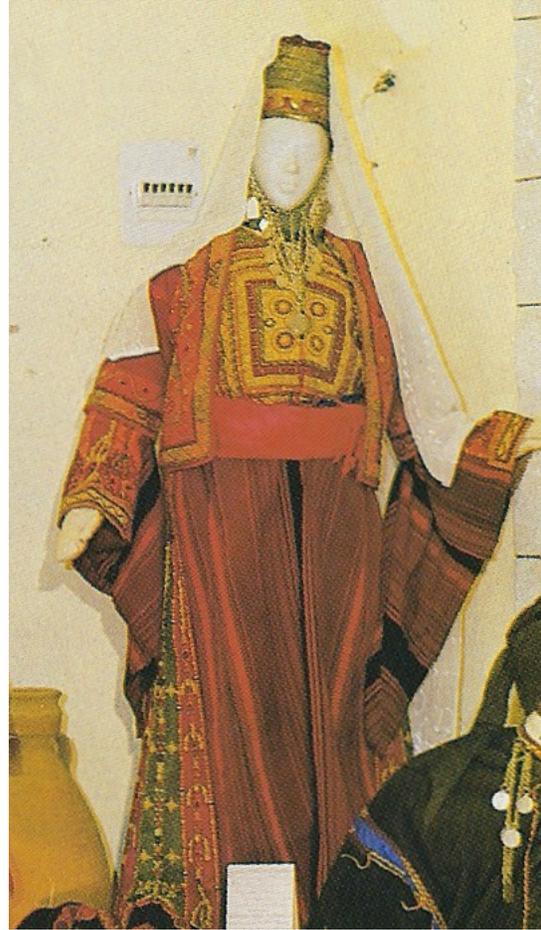


Figure 3.17

Doll in Bethlehem dress made for sale, date unknown, from the private collection of George al Ama, photographed by Kayané Antreassian. Photograph printed in Rachel Dedman and Shuruq Harb, *Labour of Love: New Approaches to Palestinian Embroidery* (Birzeit: The Palestinian Museum, 2018), 145.

For comparison, see Bethlehem ceremonial costume (on the right), made of cotton and silk in striped orange, green, purple, and black, and chest panel embroidered using couching technique with silk and gold thread. The costume also features the high head cap, *shatwa*, featuring silver coins and a chin chain. Costume from the collection of the Palestinian Heritage Museum (perhaps previously of the Palestine Folk Museum). Photograph printed in Zeinab Jawad Husseini, *Palestinian Arab Folklore Centre*, 2nd edition (Jerusalem: Dar al-Tifl al-Arabi, 1992), 54.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 3.18

Detail of a page from Palestine Folk Museum Catalogue Vol. 1, 1936–37, Palestinian Heritage Museum Archive, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 3.19

Detail of a page from Palestine Folk Museum Catalogue Vol. 1, 1936–37, Palestinian Heritage Museum Archive, Jerusalem.



Figure 3.20

Groom's attire, Bukhara, Uzbekistan, late 19th – early 20th century, overcoat (silk velvet, couched gilt-, silver-, and silk-thread embroidery) and undercoat (*ikat*-dyed silk). The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 3.21

Detail of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Folk Museum, table of receipts and payments, 5 November 1936, Palestine Folk Museum Papers, Israel State Archives.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 3.22

Pages showing photographs of exhibition rooms, photographer unknown, Palestine Folk Museum Catalogue Vol. 1, 1936–37, Palestinian Heritage Museum Archive, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 3.23

Photograph showing a room full of *thobs*, detail from the pages showing photographs of exhibition rooms, photographer unknown, Palestine Folk Museum Catalogue Vol. 1, 1936–37, Palestinian Heritage Museum Archive, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 3.24

Photograph showing a wall with wooden oxen ploughs, detail from the pages showing photographs of exhibition rooms, photographer unknown, Palestine Folk Museum Catalogue Vol. 1, 1936–37, Palestinian Heritage Museum Archive, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 3.25

Photograph of exhibition room, detail from the pages showing photographs of exhibition rooms, photographer unknown, Palestine Folk Museum Catalogue Vol. 1, 1936–37, Palestinian Heritage Museum Archive, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 3.26

“Jerusalem Folkloric Museum Board of Trustees, 19 May 1966,” Yusef Saad to Olga Tufnell, 19 May 1966, box 6, Olga Tufnell Papers, PEF-DA-TUF-1015, Palestine Exploration Fund Archives, London.



Figure 3.27
Sliman Mansour, *Sad Tunes*, oil on canvas, 87 x 90 cm, 1977. Collection of Barjeel Art Foundation, Sharjah.



Figure 3.28

Mona Hatoum with Inaash, *Twelve Windows*, 12 pieces of Palestinian embroidery on fabric, wooden clothes-pegs, and steel cable, 2012-14, photograph copyright: Joerg Lohse.



Dress of the *shawal* style embroidered with patriotic motifs. Dresses such as this, called 'flag dresses', probably originate in embroidery centres where village women earn much-needed cash.
Collection: Widad Kawar

278

Figure 3.29

Dress of the *shawal* style embroidered with patriotic motifs. Collection of Widad Kawar. Printed in Shelagh Weir, *Palestinian Costume* (Northampton, MA: Interlink Books, 2009), 278.



Figure 4.1

The Jewish National Pavilion (Architect: Richard Kauffmann, interior design: Jacob Steinhardt); in the center, *The Sower*, a bronze sculpture by Zeev Ben-Zvi, 1934 Levant Fair. Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv. Printed in Mordecai Naor and Batia Carmiel, *The Flying Camel: 85 Years of Exhibitions and Fairs in Tel Aviv [Hebrew]* (Tel Aviv: Eretz Israel Museum Tel Aviv, 2010): 163.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 4.2
Jewish National Pavilion Pamphlet, 1934. Central Zionist Archives.



Figure 4.3
Jean-François Millet, *The Sower*, oil on canvas, 101.6 x 82.6 cm, 1850. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 4.4

American Colony Photo Department, "Agriculture, etc. Sowing Grain," nitrate negative, 4 x 5 in, c. 1920-1933. G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, LC-M33-3957, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.



Figure 4.5
1932 Levant Fair Poster. Designer: Esther Berlin-Joel. Palestine Poster Project Archives.
<https://www.palestineposterproject.org>.



Figure 4.6

Caricature by Mula: “The Flying Camel – Let it go to hell, this satanic bird! My camel and I will keep moving on our way – the way of progress” *Kolnoa*, 16 May 1934: 17. Printed in Mordecai Naor and Batia Carmiel, *The Flying Camel: 85 Years of Exhibitions and Fairs in Tel Aviv [Hebrew]* (Tel Aviv: Eretz Israel Museum Tel Aviv, 2010): 140.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 4.7

“Jaffa Tel Aviv, 1935,” Survey of Palestine [showing site of the 1932 Levant Fair in red box], National Library of Israel; “Ground Plan of the Levant Fair 1932, Tel-Aviv.” Tel Aviv Municipal Archive.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 4.8

“Aerial View of the Jetty, Stadium, 1934 Levant Fair Grounds, and Yarkon River.” Photographer unknown. Tel Aviv Municipal Archive.



Figure 4.9
“Flying Camel” sculpture on the fairgrounds of the 1934 Levant Fair (date of photograph may be later), photographer unknown. *Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository, accessed April 4, 2019, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PikiWiki_Israel_29193_Events_in_Israel.jpg*

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 4.10

“High Commissioner Arthur Wauchope speaking at the opening ceremony of the Levant Fair,”
April 7, 1932. Photographs by Zvi Aroshkes. Central Zionist Archives.



Figure 4.11

“Visiting the 1934 Levant Fair.” Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv. Printed in Mordecai Naor and Batia Carmiel, *The Flying Camel: 85 Years of Exhibitions and Fairs in Tel Aviv [Hebrew]* (Tel Aviv: Eretz Israel Museum Tel Aviv, 2010): 164.



Figure 4.12
“Only the Hebrew Banana is Marked with the Made in Israel Stamp,” Association for Products of Eretz Israel, c. 1935. Central Zionist Archives.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 4.13 (cont. on next page)

Catalogue for "Palestine Artists' Exhibition, Levant Fair 1934." Tel Aviv Municipal Archive.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 4.13 (cont.)

Catalogue for "Palestine Artists' Exhibition, Levant Fair 1934." Tel Aviv Municipal Archive.



Figure 4.14
Israel Paldi, *Landscape*, oil on canvas, 1928. The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 4.15

Nachum Gutman, *Landscape*, oil on canvas, 50 x 65 cm, n.d.



Figure 4.16
Reuven Rubin, *Houses in Tel Aviv*, oil on canvas, 55.5 x 75.5 cm, 1923. The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.



Figure 4.17

Zeev Ben-Zvi, "Bust of Meir Dizengoff," 1932. Israel Zafrir Photographer Archive at the Information Center for Israeli Art, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.



Figure 4.18

Zeev Ben-Zvi, *Lot's Wife* at the 1934 Levant Fair. Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem. Printed in Mordecai Naor and Batia Carmiel, *The Flying Camel: 85 Years of Exhibitions and Fairs in Tel Aviv [Hebrew]* (Tel Aviv: Eretz Israel Museum Tel Aviv, 2010): 162.

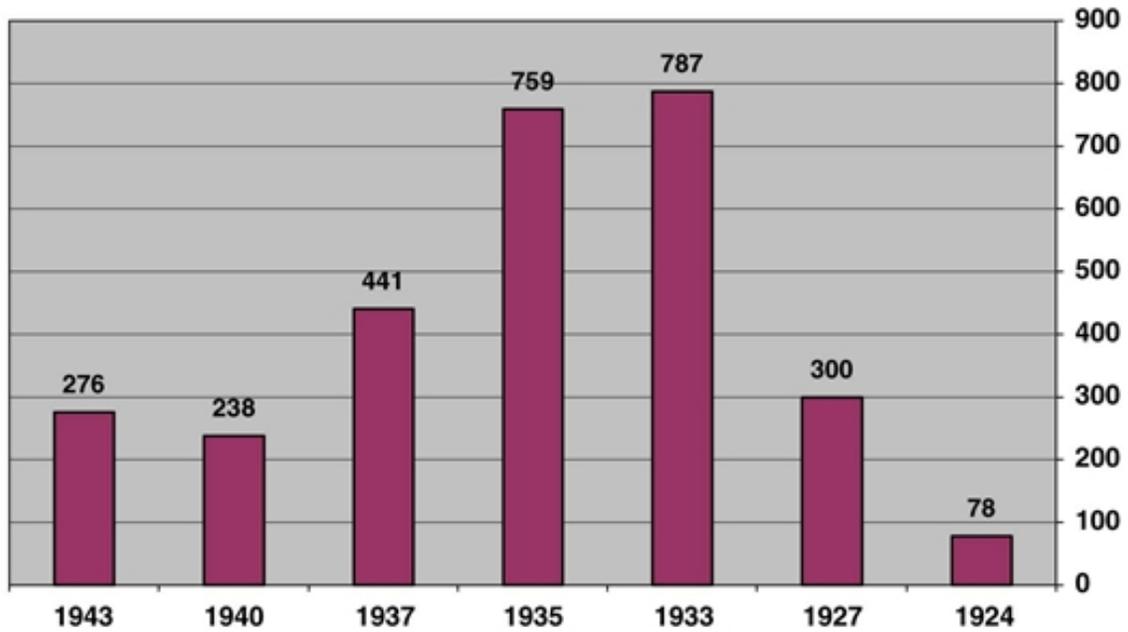


Figure 1. Trends in advertisement/consumption of commodities, selected years.

Figure 4.19

Contemporary graph by Deborah Bernstein and Badi Hasisi, “Trends in advertisement/consumption of commodities, selected years,” from their essay “‘Buy and Promote the National Cause’: Consumption, Class Formation and Nationalism in Mandate Palestinian Society,” in *Nations & Nationalism*, January 2008, Vol. 14 Issue 1: 135.



Figure 4.20

“Opening of the National Arab Fair, July 7, 1933,” *Falastin*, July 16, 1933. Institute for Palestine Studies.

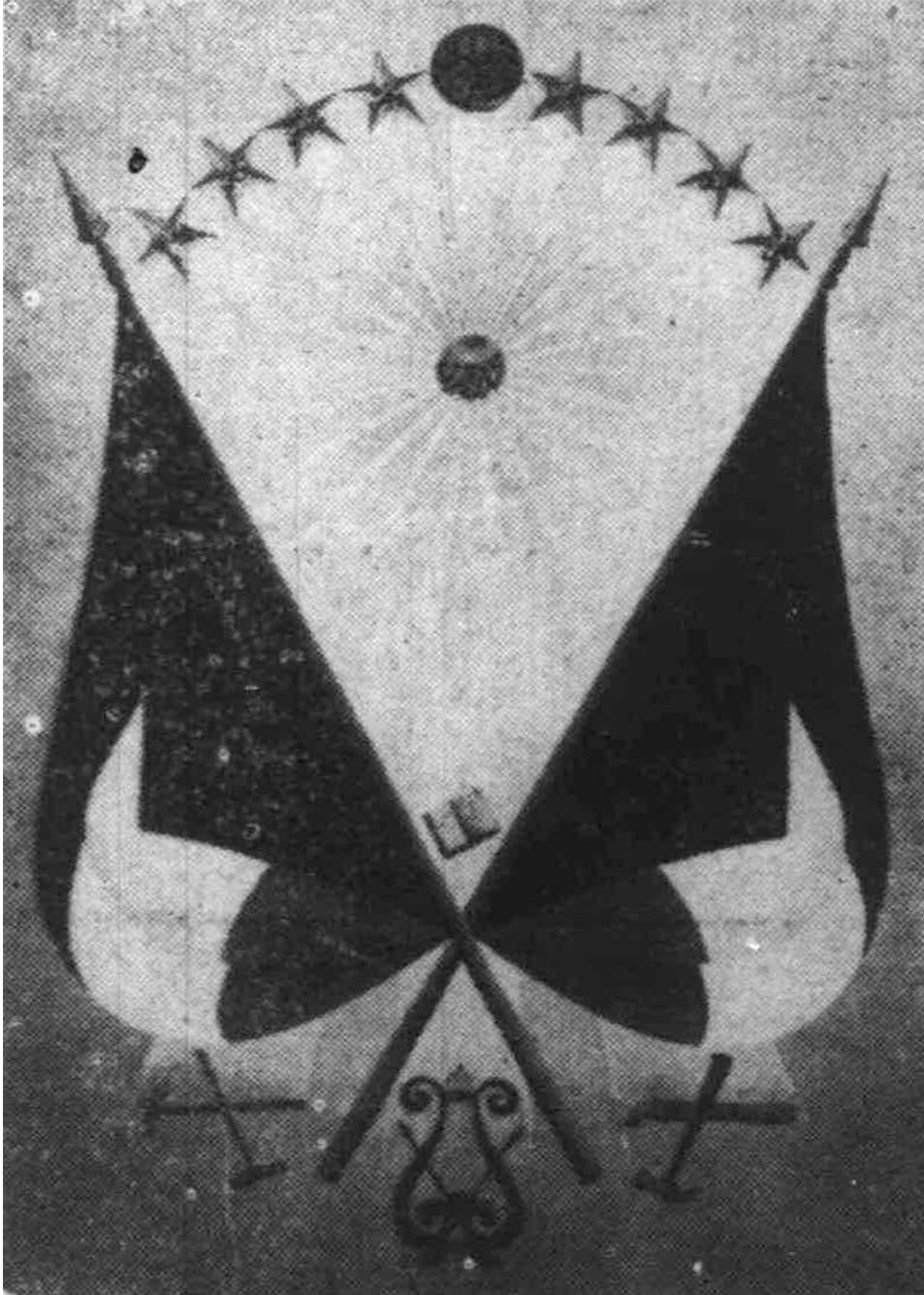


Figure 4.21
Logo for the National Arab Fair, designed by Tawfiq Jawharriyeh. *Falastin*, July 7, 1933.
Institute for Palestine Studies.

الاشتراك
في بلاطه وجه وروح ، في فلسطين وشرق الاردن
جنيه ونصف وفي الخارج عشرة دولارات اميركا
الاعلانات
نشرة السعر ٥٠٠ ملاً ، الاعلانات القهريه والسويح
يتفق عليها مع الادارة
مركز ادارة وتحرير الجليل
شارح النجس (البوابه) تقون ٩٤ صندوق البريد ١٩٤٤

فلسطين

“FALASTIN”

رعيته يومية ، سياسية ، اخبارية و ادبية ، مصورة

ساحب المريدة
عيسى داود العيسى
محرر المريدة
يوسف حنا
مدير ادارة المريدة
داود بندي العيسى

١٥ ربيع الاول سنة ١٣٥٢

Jaffa Friday 7 July 1933

٧ جمادى الاولى سنة ١٩٣٣



الاستاذ عيسى هانيه
مدير المروض وعضو مجلس الادارة



بناية الاوقف المرفوقة باسم « بلاس اوتيل » والتي
يقام فيها المروض العربي اليوم

افتتاح
المعرض
العربي
القومي
الاول
في
القدس



سعادة احمد حلي باشا رئيس شركة المروض
العربي ولدير العام فيلك العربي فلسطين



الوجه الحاج يوسف هاتور
عضو مجلس الادارة



الوجه عمر هانيه
عضو مجلس الادارة



فضيلة الشيخ محمود اندي الدواوي
عضو مجلس الادارة



سعادة الرئيس الجليل موسى كازم باشا الحسيني رئيس
الهيئة التنفيذية العربية الذي يفتح المروض العربي اليوم



الوجه عزيز هانيه
عضو مجلس الادارة



الوجه حسن هانيه
عضو مجلس الادارة



الوجه يثوب بك العينين عضو مجلس الادارة
ورئيس مؤتمر الشباب العرب



الوجه يوسف هانيه طالب عضو مجلس الادارة
ورئيس اللجنة التجارية الوطنية بيسان

اعتكاف

لم تتكمن من الحصول على حود
حضرات الوجاه السادة يوسف الحجاب
والحاج طاهر بك ترمان وفرحيس جلاذ
وصلة القضا الذين يتلون باقي اصناف
مجلس ادارة شركة المروض العربي



شمار للمروض العربي
الذي ابتكره الزمام
السيد توفيق
جوهري بالقدس



الوجه حمدي بك التالبي
عضو مجلس الادارة



الوجه جورج هاتور
عضو مجلس الادارة

Figure 4.22
Falastin, front page, July 9, 1933. Institute for Palestine Studies Archive.

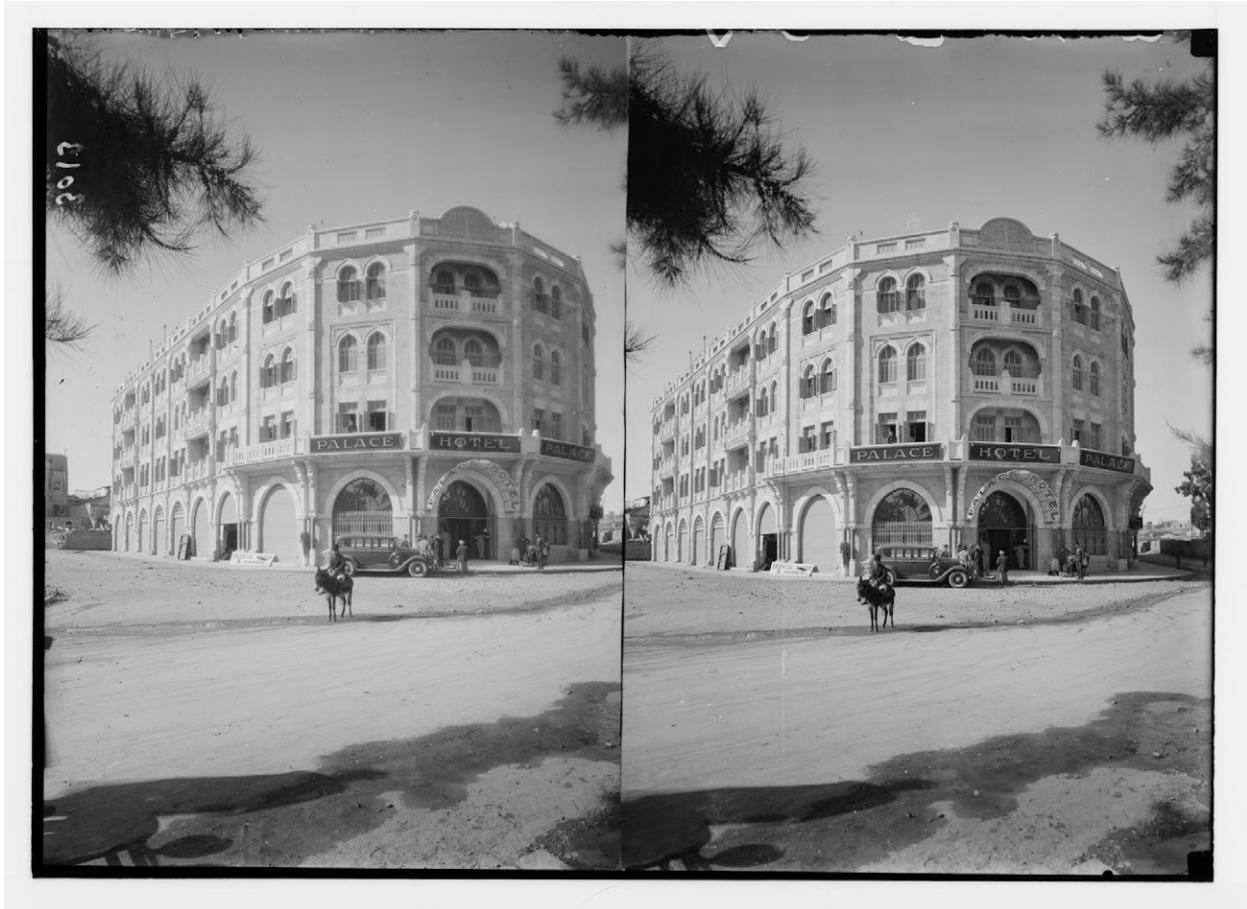


Figure 4.23

American Colony Photo Department, "Muslim Waqf Building, Mamilla Road [Palace Hotel]," glass stereograph dry-plate negative, 5 x 7 in., c. 1929-1933. G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, LC-M32-3013, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

منتجات البلاد العربية في المعرض

ورأي من المنتجات بطلع قراءة العرب ، في مختلف الاقطار ، ولو اطلاقاً عاماً ، على أسماء العارضين وانواع معروضاتهم ، فقلنا ذلك
من دليل المعرض العربي ، وهو كتاب لطيف وضعت ادارة المعرض وطبع بمطبعة العرب ، وصدر مناسيخ :

- ١ -

في الدور الاولى - قسم المعرض

نوع المعروض	اسم العارض	البلد
معمل دخان وسجاير	شركة قربان وديك وسليبي	حيفا
معمل شوكولاته	السادة جميل	بيروت
حلويات	محمد مست	حلب
معمل حلويات طرابلس	الحاج روضة الحلاب واخوانه	طرابلس الشام
معمل عطريات	زكي وكبارة	طرابلس الشام
سكاكر شامية	جمال عبد الوهاب	القدس
زيت زيتون	فيؤاد سعد	حيفا
معمل قيشاني	قره فاشيان	القدس
معمل حلويات بيرونية	خليل العربي	بيروت
معمل الصابون	احمد حسن الشكعة	ناپلس
مناذج حجارة بنيا	الياس الجلال والحاج محمود	القدس
تقاربات	فوح اوبه	القدس
معمل الصابون	الحاج طاهر المصري	ناپلس
ملح	شكري ديب	القدس
معمل حواريب العروس	رشدي بكداش	دمشق
معمل قمصان	الشركة السورية	دمشق
معمل التريكو وقمصان	محاس ومعتوق	دمشق
معمل منسوجات مركزية	انطوان الياس الزر	دمشق
معمل بودرة	نظام	دمشق
معمل حرير	فؤاد خليل قبوات	دمشق
مصانع نظير واشغال	محي الدين الحصري	سوريا ومصر
معمل الدخان والسجاير	عزيز بك ميقياني	حيفا
مصنع اشغال الصدف	ميخائيل قنواني اخوان	بيت لحم
معمل عطريات	بدوي الضاعي	دمشق

٣٦

Figure 4.25

"Page 1 of the List of Products/Exhibitors at the Arab Fair," *al-'Arab*, July 15, 1933. Institute for Palestine Studies.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 4.26

Zulfa al-Sa'dī, *Jamal al-Din al-Afghani*, oil on canvas, approx.. 70 x 50 cm, c. 1930, Ismail Shammout Private Collection. Image courtesy Darat al Funun Archives, Amman, Jordan.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 4.27

Zulfa al-Sa'dī, *Kaiser Wilhelm II*, oil on canvas, approx.. 70 x 50 cm, c. 1930, Ismail Shammout Private Collection. Image courtesy Darat al Funun Archives, Amman, Jordan.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 4.28

Zulfa al-Sa'dī, *Salah al-Din*, oil on canvas, approx.. 70 x 50 cm, c. 1930, Ismail Shammout Private Collection. Image courtesy Darat al Funun Archives, Amman, Jordan.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 4.29

Zulfa al-Sa'dī, *Spinning Wool*, oil on canvas, approx.. 70 x 50 cm, c. 1930, Ismail Shammout Private Collection. Image courtesy Darat al Funun Archives, Amman, Jordan.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 4.30

Zulfa al-Sa'dī, *To the Market*, oil on canvas, approx.. 70 x 50 cm, c. 1930, Ismail Shammout Private Collection. Image courtesy Darat al Funun Archives, Amman, Jordan.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 4.31

Zulfa al-Sa'dī, *Ahmad Shawky*, oil on canvas, approx.. 70 x 50 cm, c. 1930, Ismail Shammout Private Collection. Image courtesy Darat al Funun Archives, Amman, Jordan.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 4.32

Zulfa al-Sa'dī, *King Faisal I*, oil on canvas, approx.. 70 x 50 cm, c. 1930, Ismail Shammout Private Collection. Image courtesy Darat al Funun Archives, Amman, Jordan.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 4.33

Zulfa al-Sa'dī, *Sharif Hussein Ibn 'Ali*, oil on canvas, 70 x 50 cm, c. 1930 (Ismail Shammout Private Collection). Image courtesy Darat al Funun Archives, Amman, Jordan.

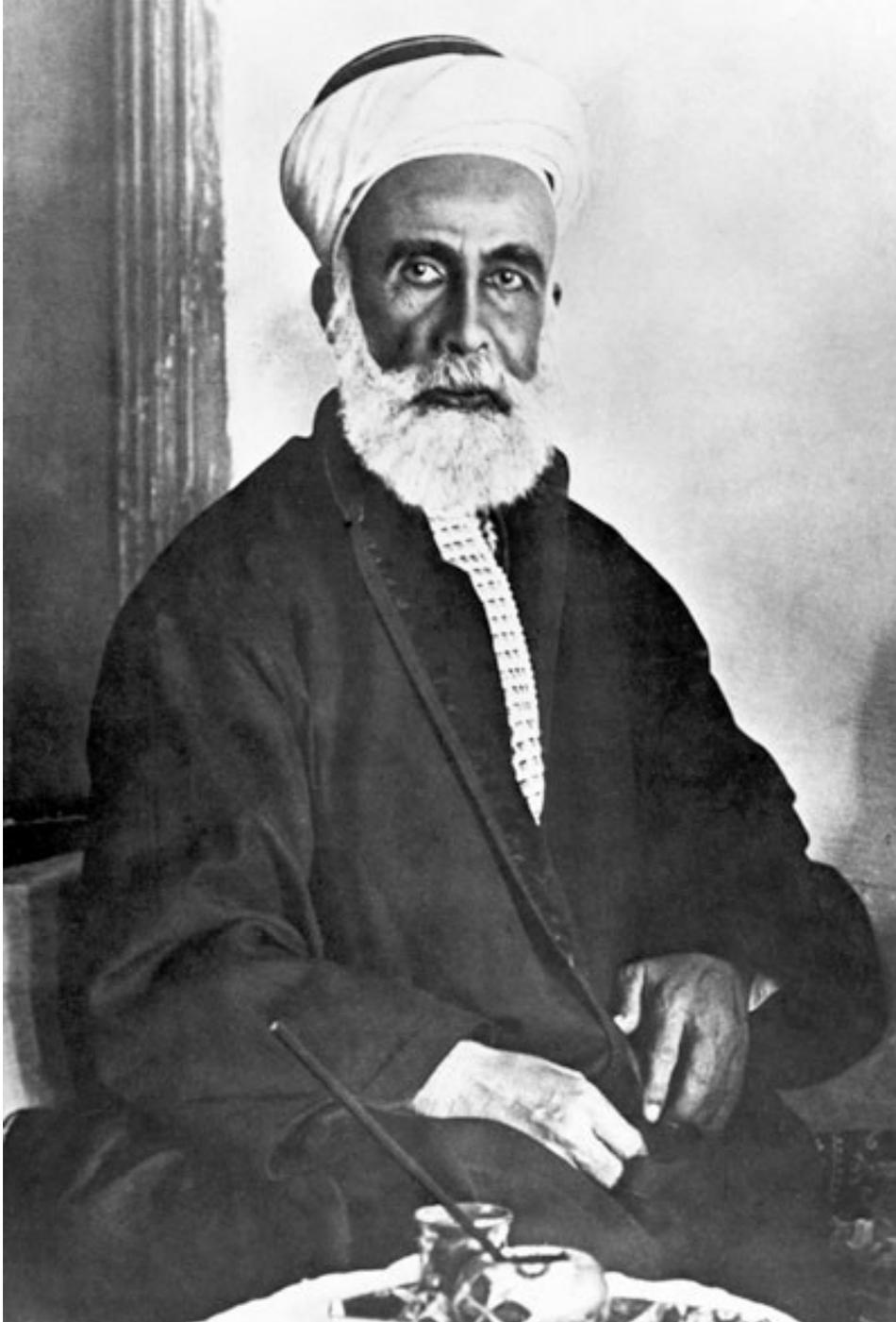


Figure 4.34

This photograph of Sharif Hussein circulated in newspapers, especially following the death of the “The King of Hejaz” in 1931. Gannit Ankori located this photograph in a newspaper clipping from a London-based news source. Gannit Ankori, *Palestinian Art*, (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), 39. *Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository*, accessed April 2 2017, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Sherif-Hussein.jpg&oldid=239515441>.



Figure 5.1

Mohammad Hawajiri, from the *Between Us* series, photograph, 100 x 70 cm, 2007-2010.

Between Us is a series of photographs of martyr portraits in their context on the streets of Gaza. Photograph printed in Makhoul and Hon, *The Origins of Palestinian Art* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 7.



Figure 5.2
Carved mother-of-pearl shell, Bethlehem, c. 1980. Private collection of George Al Ama.



Figure 5.3

Khalil Rabah, *Grafting*, olive trees, thread, earth, video still (Ramallah) and installation view (Ariana Park, Geneva), 1995. Image source:

<http://www.thepalestinianmuseumofnaturalhistoryandhumankind.org/program-projects/grafting/>

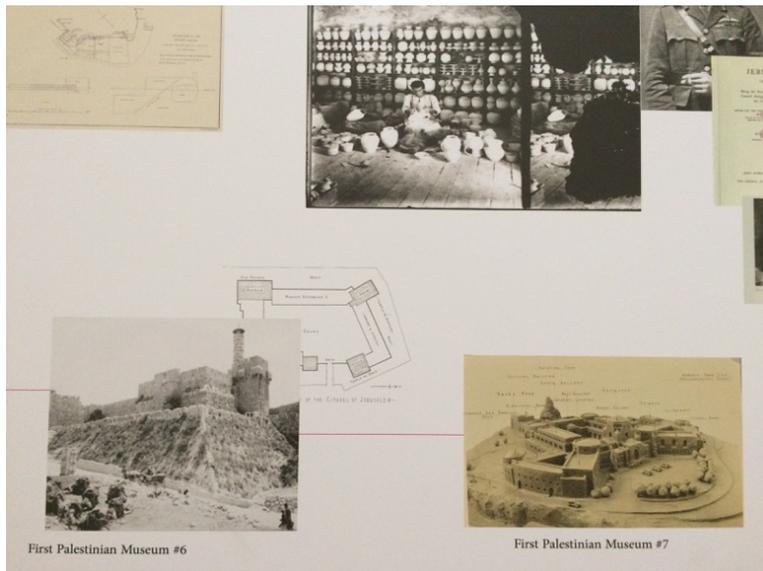


Figure 5.4
 Noor Abuarafeh, *The Rumour Started Long Ago*, installation view and detail, The Jerusalem Show, 2018. Photograph by the author.