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Our Photography

Refusing the 1948 Partition of the Sensible

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ORIENTALISM AS THEFT: REDISTRIBUTION OF THE SENSIBLE

The Orientalist photographic archive is a stolen archive. Orientalism itself is the theft of the photographic index. Innumerable images of the visual geographies of indigenous peoples are recast into a vision where only the colonizer sees and, if she even exists, the colonized is only to be seen. In the case of Palestine, this vision is coded by the overarching "Holy Land" narrative that is entwined with the creation of Zionism itself. Orientalism stole the visual landscape of Palestine long before the Zionists. This indexical theft then is related epistemologically to 1948.

The theft of the photographic index is the colonial condition of photography, which deterritorializes the index. This is a condition of colonialism itself, which involves not only an expropriation of land but of visual indices, geographies and histories. While this assertion and larger implications are explored elsewhere, examples of Orientalism as theft can be found readily. Whether an image of the Pyramids, a veiled woman, the Bosphorous, or a Maronite priest, every image from "the East" was coerced by and/or conscripted into an Orientalist and colonialist signification system that coded these indexes even within nationalist discourses and systems of representation (fig. 5.1).

Until recent decades, the "history of photography in the Middle East" has been circumscribed by the works and adventures of European photographers during colonial expansion in the region. Joseph-Philibert Girault, James Graham. and James Robertson to Francis Bedford, Auguste Salzmann, and the Maison Bonfils, not Arab and Armenian photographers, occupy the space of the progenitors of "Middle Eastern photography" (fig. 5.2). What is the effect when we realize that

FIGURE 5.1. The famous Khalidi Library in Jerusalem in Bab al-Silsilah. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut.

FIGURE 5.2. The Port of Yaffa (Jaffa) during the Ottoman Period, 1868. Photo: Bonfils. Jawhariyyeh Album 7, IPS Beirut.

none of Wasif Jawhariyyeh's photographs are "originals" that he took? He himself only appears in three images out of more than eight hundred, and is not a central figure in any of them. Rather, many of the photographs are reproductions of images taken by expatriate and Orientalist photographers, as well as reproduced from news and colonial sources. While it would be inaccurate to reduce Bonfils and the American Colony solely to their Orientalist predilections and consumer base, it is impossible for us to dissociate Orientalism— ideologically, politically, and discursively—from their photographic production.[1] They extracted and accumulated value from Palestine without compensation to or collaboration with the subjects (and objects) of their production. In order to understand the full force and potentiality of Wasif Jawhariyyeh's albums, we must make the basic but previously hidden methodological observation that *photography is a colonial mode of extraction, a mode of theft, a mode of theft facilitated by colonialism and colonial capitalism*. With Jawhariyyeh's collection in mind, this observation ponders what is produced through the adjacency of Orientalist and colonialist images in Jawhariyyeh's albums alongside indigenously-produced and circulated images. What is produced when these images, sitting side by side, one perhaps obfuscating the social origins of the other, coalesce into a Palestinian photographic archive?

The Jawhariyyeh albums expose a number of examples that demonstrate how Orientalism is a form of theft. Since the Holy Land discourse enframes so much of the representation of Palestine, let us look at one very non-Biblical example from the Jawhariyyeh Collection that simply and unambiguously illustrates how Orientalism is a form of indexical appropriation. Let us see how material realities, the lifeworlds, and living social relations are displaced by Orientalized generic codes that commodify an image for colonial power and exchange. The image of the exterior of the Khalidi Library is one of the few photographs that appears twice in Jawhariyyeh's albums. It is a well-known image of five *'ulema* standing in front of the door and, in the "original" postcard, two men with mustaches, suits, and tarbushes (pl. *tarabish*) stand in the shadow of the doorway (fig. 5.1). The American Colony produced and commercially sold this photograph, titling it "Moslim Sheiks and Effendis" with a translation in German. (The adjacent French translation, "Biblioteque Khalidieh," matches the French and Arabic sign above the Library's door.) Jawhariyyeh, however, writes "The famous Khalidi Library in Jerusalem, in Bad al-Silsilah neighborhood" (fig. 5.3). The image could be the basis for a painting by Ludwig Deutsch, an Austrian Orientalist who frequently painted Muslim scholars and *'ulema*. The Orientalist photograph is ahistorical, invoking exoticized, sacred knowledge of the Islamic Golden Age. These "Moslim Sheiks and Effendis" and their ancient library could be from any time in the Islamic past. The coding of the English/German title only contributes to this sense of the timeless Muslim scholar, who inhabits no country other than *Dar al-Islam*, and who is now arcane in the modern moment.

The material and indexical reality of this image is displaced. In other words, the image is presented in a way that does not represent how Palestinian Arabs might

FIGURE 5.3. Top left: al-Hajj Muhammad Sa'id al-Shawwa; top right, Khalidi Library, 1900 (interior); bottom right: Khalidi Library. Jawhariyyeh Album 3, IPS Beirut.

have read this image. This is a reality of which Jawhariyyeh was well aware. The Khalidi Library was not an ancient repository for Islamic learning. It was, in fact, quite a modern creation, one of its time, and an enterprise that arose very much as a part of the *nahdah* ("enlightenment") project in the Arab world, particularly, in this instance, in Palestine. Founded in 1899 by al-Hajj Raghib al-Khalidi, scion of a powerful Jerusalemite family, the library was intended to be a public facility, housing the Khalidis' formable collection. Tahir al-Jaza'iri, the famous Islamic *salafi* reformer who had founded the illustrious Zawhariyah Library in Damascus, assisted al-Hajj as a part of opening a series of libraries throughout Bilad al-Sham. The Jerusalem library, Rashid Khalidi notes, was meant to "help restore the Arabs to prosperity by fostering knowledge, and enabling them to match the powerful cultural establishments created by foreign powers all over the region."[2] What distinguished the Khalidi Library from the venerable twelfth-century al-Maktabah al-Budayriyah, or the Aqsa Library on the grounds of al-Haram al-Sharif, was that its holdings "show both continued copying of earlier (classical) manuscript and the production of new religious and other texts in manuscript form late into the nineteenth century."[3] Equally relevant is that these canonical classical and contemporary Muslim manuscripts and scholarly works stood side by side in the library with the contemporary, cutting edge, *nahdah* journals of the day from Istanbul,

Beirut, Damascus, and Cairo, including *al-Jinan, al-Muqtataf, al-Jawa'ib* and *al-Manar*.[4]

The photograph was, in fact, taken upon the opening of the Library, and al-Hajj Raghib and Tahir al-Jaza'iri are among those standing in front of the doorway, along with Musa Shafiq al-Khalidi, Khalil al-Khalidi, and Muhammad al-Habbal of Beirut.[5] These important figures also appear, sitting in the library, in another photograph in the album, while another copy of the exterior of the library is placed below it (fig. 5.3). Jawhariyyeh's choice and placement of images (exterior, interior, and prominent figures) depicts not a static, moribund space of the past or Orientalized "scholars" of outmoded "Islamic knowledge." Rather, the interplay of photographs, surrounded by images of leaders such as al-Hajj Sa'id al-Shawwa—mayor of Gaza City, member of the Supreme Muslim Council, and the Gaza representative to the Palestinian National Congress—clearly alert us to a dialogic narrative being established.

The apparatus and infrastructure of Orientalism (from the lens to the photography market to the scholarly book which might reproduce the image) erase the social value, codes, and meaning of these images. The purpose of Orientalism is to establish power, domination and an epistemological order of the world with a particular place for Arabs and Muslims and another place for Europeans, as Edward Said teaches us. This process occurs through the multiple apparatuses of Orientalism, photography being just one of many. This apparatus, as one piece of colonial infrastructure, *steals* the index from its context and transfers the value of the image into the colonial marketplace and into the imperial political arena. This process needs to be made apparent in Palestine, where colonial, imperialist, and Zionist powers have sought to erase the theft of land and displacement of its people. Therefore, notable Arab intellectuals with deep social networks that connect Jerusalem to Beirut to Damascus are hollowed out and recoded to be legible to the colonizer but also in order to delegitimize any possible challenge to colonial rule. These are the mechanics of Orientalism, where representation of *generic* Arab subjects becomes evidence of the vestiges of a noble but now archaic Islamic clergy, rattling around in a dilapidated Oriental city that needed to be reclaimed for Christianity. (It should not be forgotten that, for all their sympathies for the "native," the American Colony was a Protestant missionary project.) The colonizer's vision mediates the reception and reading of the photograph of the Khalidi Library, its very name obstructed by the cliché English/German title. Orientalism pushed al-Hajj Raghib out of the frame and replaced him with a timeless, typecast "Moslem sheikh."

By lingering in Wasif Jawhariyyeh's photography albums, this chapter offers a radical method for confronting the lasting apparatuses and infrastructures of colonial modernity, which includes the settler-colonization of Palestine. To think about this method as an anti-colonialist as well as decolonialist method, Amílcar Cabral's words seem to reach across continents and time. In speaking of colonialism, Cabral tells us, "When imperialism arrived in Guinea it made us leave our history—*our*

history."[6] The sentiment must be extended to the study of photography, considering the central and unique role the visual plays in the history of the colonized. This is so not only in constructing or manifesting representation itself, as Edward Said masterfully taught us, but also as, quite literally, illustrating that which is to be seized, controlled, dominated, and exploited by the colonial rulers.

If imperialism evicts us from "our history," I offer in this chapter a means to consider Jawhariyyeh's albums as a version of *our photography*—Palestinian Arab photography. In doing so, these albums allow us claim "our history," as Palestinians and as Arabs. The composition and reintroduction of these images into circulation among Palestinians and non-Palestinians present us with start of a radical *process*; to reappropriate photography as space (visual, representational, geographic and physical) and to repatriate Palestinians from that land and to evict colonizers. This is not metaphor but a suggested method to approach extractive Orientalist photography. The process is not determined by me as a militant Lebanese Arab, or even by we three authors. It is determined by the Palestinian people. Yet, here, we present only one additional impetus for this process that has been initiated by Palestinians since 1947. Therefore, I start this chapter with alerting us to photography as one apparatus of Orientalism and colonialism, by alerting us to theft, not as a crime around the sanctity of property, but as a *violation of the relationship between people and their social relations to others, places and objects*. Photography played a central role in Orientalism's grand heist of the index. Jawharriyyeh's collection of that heritage, intentionally or unintentionally, reframes this theft within the context of the index's hereditary proprietors, the Arab inhabitants of Palestine; that is, Palestinians.

Photography, as an apparatus of colonialism, provided the visual raw material for Orientalism's visual and discursive organizing of the "East" and the "Holy Land." Moreover, it facilitated colonialism's "distribution of the sensible," or, I should say, appropriation and redistribution of the sensible. In this chapter, I will borrow tactically from Jacques Rancière but also I will discuss how we can do this while building a decolonial methodology to think about photography in connection with living social relations of the colonized. But for now, I point to how Rancière explains that the "distribution of the sensible" structures how particular forms of the senses, in particular visuality and aesthetics, are "perceived and thought of . . . as forms that inscribe a sense of community."[7] While we might understand this as a means of subaltern struggling to forge out communal spaces, solidarities, and realities, we must recognize how those forms of thinking about the "native" and colonized self, even in terms of colonial "resistance," were informed by a radical epistemological shift that Arab intellectuals and reformists retooled for their own subject and social formation (as is seen in the example of the Khalidi Library).

Throughout this chapter, I choose to push upon the limitations and full implications of the language of a number of French theorists whose thought aims to critically, even radically, disrupt predominant thinking about the visual and

the philosophy and politics of aesthetics, art, photography, and performance. I will briefly touch on the ethics, tactical relevance and circumscribed limitations of using high "French theory" to think in decolonial terms. Such a digression is important when we continue to debate within decolonial and postcolonial studies the relevance and place for "Western theory" in the struggle for anti-colonial, anti-white supremist and anti-capitalist liberation. That is, despite their upending of hegemonic methods and theories of art, aesthetics, and social action, many of these thinkers, despite their theoretically left politics, remain incredibly "white" and disconnected from issues of race and colonialism. More specifically, they are shockingly equivocal regarding the rights of the Palestinian people in the face of Zionist settler colonialism, Israeli apartheid, and human rights violations. In the case of Rancière, who has expressed sympathy for Palestinians' human rights, I focus on his "aesthetic theory" because the limitations of his language within his powerful theorization direct our analysis to the structural creases and telling-ironies in the logic of sensibility that he could not perceive, in ways that the original theory actually might otherwise foreclose.

For example, in speaking about his "distribution of the sensible," Rancière's "distribution" is *partage*, partition, or, perhaps even worse, "sharing." The implications and resonance of the term "partition" is hardly innocent in the context of Palestine and in the Arab world. Similarly, it has powerful meaning and implications in India and Pakistan, Ireland and occupied Northern Ireland, Cyprus, the Koreas, and Vietnam. The full, global, and Southern implication of *partage* seems otherwise undetectable to Rancière. If photography "distributed" or partitioned the sensible in the colonial context, it also *partitioned off visual geographies* and lifeworlds. This partitioning aimed to ethnically cleanse them from the visual fields and forge master Orientalist and colonialist narratives. These narratives live on in pernicious and violent afterlives. It is within these partitioned visual geographies that the colonized are interpolated by colonial power and modernity, where they are conscripted or coerced to represent themselves, and to seek and produce meaning. Therefore, the colonized native reproduces or pushes back on partitioning of community and history, on the redistribution of the sensible that positions the oppressed as inconvenient or exotic features within a stolen land and history commandeered by the colonizer.

Jawhariyyeh's albums reclaim not only stolen images but the stolen index—visual and cultural references that are given meaning through social relations of the origins and their "context." In reclaiming this index, Jawharriyeh, we will see, "redistributes" them, returning them to their proper space and time of Palestinian history and visual geography. This is not to assert that Jawhariyyeh's Palestinian vision is so exclusive that it shares no overlap with colonial or even Zionist vision. Jawhariyyeh's collecting practices were clearly informed by Orientalism. Furthermore, his *nahdah* perspective was structured by the civilizational discourses and cosmopolitanism of Arab modernity. These are the same

discourses that compelled al-Hajj Raghib al-Khalidi, who was fascinated by European positivist social paradigms, to establish a library that would "help to civilize the country, move forward its affairs, and raise up its people, who are ignorant of Palestine's virtues, although others appreciated them."[8] But also within this civilizational worldview, al-Hajj Raghib realized how Europe's appreciation of knowledge, both secular and Islamic, produced, in his words, their "wealth, happiness, and greed for what belongs to other lands."[9] In other words, Jawharriyeh is not "returning" to some authentic meaning but producing knowledge and meaning within the context of Mandate Palestine.

We should not romanticize Jawhariyyeh's albums as a explicitly "alternative view" or intentional "counter-visuality" that consciously attacks Orientalist representation.[10] The matrix of modernity presents the multitemporal "problem-space," which "conscripts," as David Scott might say, Jawhariyyeh to receive, organize, and find value and meaning in photographs within particular political and civilizational paradigms.[11] In the case of Wasif, this modality was intimate with Arab modernity. Therefore, I propose that we understand Jawhariyyeh's albums, which partially were organized and composed after *al-Nakba*, as a refusal of the 1948 partition of the sensible.[12] While Jawhariyyeh subscribed to *nahdah* civilizational discourses, which simultaneously challenged and reinscribed Orientalist authority, the deployment of the images served a pointed goal and emanated a particular effect.

That is, the images that Wasif deploys were "snatched" not only from history but from Zionist and colonialist history, snatched through the apparatuses of Orientalism. They are surviving images. The "surviving image," according to Georges Didi-Huberman, "always describes another time and thus it *disorients* history and opens it up, making it more complex."[13] This disorienting history, as offered by this chapter, is the result of exposing how objects are meaningful in ways that are not immediately apparent because they are entangled in the "heterochronies" of present.[14] They are enmeshed in knots of the past(s) and present. Every image in Jawhariyyeh's albums is circumscribed by these synchronous heterochronies, the expressed coterminous temporalities of the late Ottoman and Mandate eras and of post-1948 Palestine. Therefore, it is a mistake to see Jawhariyyeh's photographs as artifacts of the past alone or as a nostalgic testimony to lost Palestinian lifeworlds "before the Diaspora."

But, the photographs are "surviving images" in ways that strip Didi-Huberman's theory of the limitations of its own linguistic, social, and, yes, ideological origins. "Disorient" and "survival," like *partage*, take on additional meaning within the context of Palestine and the Arab world. We have seen how Jawhariyyeh's albums might "disorient" Orientalism's grand move of theft. However, more central to the historical, social, and political impact of Jawhariyyeh's photographic project, "survival" signifies something absent in Didi-Huberman's use of *nachleben*, namely the politics and presence of the colonized. Jawhariyyeh's albums "dis-orient,"

un-orient, Palestinian history. The images of Jerusalem, its communal members, its cityscapes, its religious rituals and festivals, its civil society, and its politics, are not exclusively coded by Orientalist indices, nor do they hold pretensions to nativist authenticity and purity. Jahwariyyeh repurposed a slew of images, including Orientalist images, that serve not to "haunt" but to *refuse* to become a specter of the past. They refuse to go away just because one is stateless. They are the kernel of reality and history that infuses the present moment. If Palestinian experience is latent in these images, it is only so in the mind and tradition of colonialism, Zionism, and Orientalism. As we will discuss in depth, these images in the viewfinder of the Palestinian "spectator" are imbricated in an unbroken past-present-future continuum of social reality: Palestine.

The emphasis on Jawhariyyeh's albums as "surviving images," an expression of persistence, perseverance, and refusal that speaks across temporalities, is not rhetorical analysis. It is the assertion that the "surviving images" are not abstract but social facts. Jawhariyyeh's photographic albums are not a gesture of historical memory, an academic exercise, or a nostalgic enterprise. His Palestinian photographic archive is not a rectification of history, a rewriting of Palestinian history into History, or a reintroduction into the field of photographic visuality. Rather, Jawhariyyeh's albums "disorient" history and refuse European and Zionist histories that have tried unsuccessfully to imagine them out of History and, indeed, out of the photographic archive and out of their land. Jawhariyyeh's albums redistribute the sensible, rejecting the partition and the displacement of the Palestinians out of the visual geographies of the Orient that started with Orientalism's theft and continue through colonialism until today.

THE PALESTINIAN LIVING BODY OF PHOTOGRAPHY

In the previous chapters, Issam Nassar and Salim Tamari have provided us with a social, cultural and, indeed, personal history of Wasif Jawhariyyeh's seven photography albums, titled *Tarikh Filastin al-musawwar* (*The Illustrated History of Palestine*) and their annotated index. They have shown how this work was a part of what Nassar identifies as a self-generated archive that included an extensive written chronicle of his life, a number of personal and miscellaneous photographs, cultural artifacts, instruments, and sheet music.[15] In this chapter, I have begun with a discussion of how we must not dismiss but radically re-appropriate the extracted value from Orientalist photography. In doing so, we may dwell within the localized, contextual, indigenous historical spaces which Jawhariyyeh himself has set out for us.

Jawhariyyeh was a bureaucrat, a fixer, a "flaneur," a husband, a son, a stepson, a loyal subject of elite families, a musician, a collector, an Ottoman, a Palestinian, a Jerusalemite, a Christian Arab. All of these subject positions, we will see, are connected to a social network, a social space, an urban and rural landscape, a

cultural tapestry, and political hierarchy, all of which exist in Palestine, and more specifically, in its historic and eternal capital Jerusalem. The social, the political, the cultural, and the personal space opened up in these albums by Jawhariyyeh, and contours given by Nassar and Tamari, permit us to consider and acknowledge the "visibility" of Palestine and the Palestinian both in, out, before, and beyond the photographic archive. Concretizing how the Palestinian appears, how the Palestinian becomes recognizable, and that the Palestinian Arab subject is a *social fact* is central to this book and, unfortunately, remains a necessity considering that Zionism has worked assiduously to make it *invisible*, a condition of Zionist settler colonialism on which scholars have focused in recent years.[16]

Yet one of these scholars, Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian, also points us to the "livability" of Palestinian existence, the ethos of Palestinian life as organically connected to space and place throughout historic Palestine that defies sustained settler colonial violence.[17] Centering Palestinian life compels us to deliberate the number of dimensions within the "visibility" of the Palestinian subject when we speak of photography, if not contemporary Palestine itself. The mere mention of Palestine brings to the surface the contradiction within "visibility" and photography—namely, who has the right to be seen? Who has the right to be acknowledged? Whose visibility is weighed over others?[18] The photographic archive is often deployed to give value to the Palestinian subject erased and displaced through Zionist settler colonial history-making.[19] But such a gesture forces us to argue "for" Palestinian value always in relationship to the value of the Zionist settler and settler state.

In order to refuse photography's invitation to prove or disprove the value of Palestinian life and present as well as historical claims to Palestine through a discussion, I would like to adopt a "queer phenomenology" of the Palestinian object of photography, to play on Sara Ahmed's work.[20] In other words, rather than searching for the emergence of a Palestinian object in the photographic archive, I assume the "living body" of the Palestinian, as Ahmed would say in making Edmund Husserl relevant to us. This living body of the Palestinian is, we will see, both a current and historical fact, to be understood as the constant, as a social fact, rather than the variable in the equation of thinking about the photography of Palestine. The "queer picture on the table," then, is the photograph of Palestinian bodies, spaces, families, collectives, genders, sexualities, classes, object, artifacts, lands, cities, and towns, all in synchronic (even at times antagonistic) relationship with one another.[21]

Therefore, this chapter approaches the "Palestinian object" of the photograph as an agentic subject. This subject of photography is representative of the living body (social and corporeal, individual and collective) of the Palestinians, that is, the "emancipated" Palestinian spectator within and outside the Palestinian archive and the social history of Jerusalem that Nassar and Tamari describe, respectively. The concept of the "emancipated" Palestinian spectator is borrowed from Jacques

Rancière. With some adjustment, the concept allows us to think of the living body of the Palestinian as a subject of history and a subject of the land, who may "look through" and "look at," as Geoffrey Batchen says, the Palestinian photograph.[22] But in keeping with Ahmed's queer methodologies, the concept of the "emancipated Palestinian spectator" permits us to see the Palestinian subjects of the image also looking back at themselves into the future from within the image itself, reaching across and connecting history, the present, and the certainties of a liberated future.

Before proceeding further, it is essential to acknowledge but avoid the threat of ableist metaphors and language when one relies on terms such as "seeing" or "visible" or even "spectator," even within the study of visual culture and social history.[23] The idea of a "spectator," as Rancière reminds us, is traditionally coded as the "opposite of knowing" and "of acting," alerting us to the ableist association of sight with awareness, intelligence, and consciousness. Yet, pursuing Rancière's observation with this in mind, "seeing" and "visibility" should be disconnected from the "ability" or "disability" of biological functions of sight. Rather, I think of them as modes of controlling what is assumed to be known, knowable, what is already "coherent," legible and, hence, permissible. This conceptualization of "seeing" and "visibility" works against defining knowledge through the physical process of vision/sight, just as Rancière's use of "spectator" upends the understanding of the active actor and passive "viewer." Rather than a capricious or irresponsible choice of words, I see the inversion of the role of the emancipated spectator as a clear parallel to how Palestinian subjects are "viewed" or removed from the tableau of "sight" that constitutes knowledge. They are "seen" or not as "victims," as subjects or objects of knowledge, either worthy or unworthy of empathy.

"Spectator," however, in the context of this chapter, as with Ahmed's living body, alerts us to how those indigenous subjects are posed as subjects to be looked at within the photograph (bound by the production of the photograph). It also marks how this one-directional viewing produces social meaning and value, rather than understanding how multiple vectors between these subjects create value and meaning. This meaning and value, produced through the social relations of subjects in and out of the photograph, which include the object's circulation and display, all function within the social relations of the Palestinian community. The theft of this value, "the visual evidence" of the theft itself, by colonialism and Zionism may be reminiscent in some way of the theft of the relationship between labor and its product by the ruling capitalist class, inasmuch as they share the crucial role that invisibility (and mystification) plays within systems of extraction.[24]

To put it more simply, this chapter seeks to learn from Palestinian spectators qua subjects, like Wasif and those in his community, who are located both in and looking at the photograph, in order to produce social meaning that undermines the force and violence of settler colonialism. The spectator is not an onlooker. The Palestinian spectator is agentic while also structured by the contradictions, competing desires, and conflicts of any subject of Arab modernity. In this

regard, Jawhariyyeh's photographic albums offer us an opportunity to encounter a transhistorical Palestinian spectator, not a displaced subject of history whose relationship to the photograph as historical testimonial remains nostalgic and passive. Instead, his albums present us with an example of how the Palestinian subject qua spectator's relationship with photography, her own sense of dominant visuality and history, is generative of a sustained, coherent, and material Palestinian identity.

Against the social, urban, and biographical histories that Tamari and Nassar have given us, I further explore the ways in which we can start to "unfix," as Jennifer Bajorek suggests, the coloniality of how we engage the photography of Palestine and the Arab world.[25] Jawhariyyeh's albums challenge us to define "Palestinian photography" not as derivative of "Western" photographic practices. They challenge us to "uproot Western knowledge from its central place" in our analytic of those albums, while, at the same time, understanding how Wasif himself might have been saturated by those forms of modern knowledge production as a subject of Arab modernity.[26] While I gestured to Ahmed's queer phenomenology, this chapter, unfortunately, cannot offer a comprehensive method and philosophy of decolonizing photography. The albums do offer us, however, an opportunity to explore, in Ahmed's words, "multiple forms of contact between others," and between the living and dead bodies of Palestinians selves, I would add.[27] The "double critique" emerges as a mode of thinking about how Palestinian modern subjects have negotiated positions that have always been subject to dissonant social and ideological forces. Or in other words, Jawhariyyeh's albums provide us with an opportunity to parse out a political and social history of Palestinian selfhood, not only of consensus but *dissensus*, to further borrow from Rancière.[28] Such a *dissensual* history of contradictions and polarities allows us to represent Palestine as more than a nation of victims, a nation of loss, and an irretrievable historic (rather than contemporary) nation. It also allows us to understand Palestinian identity as a part of larger Arab identity intersecting with sectarian forces, the forces of the local ruling class, their own antagonisms and alliances with the imperial center, and so forth.

My use of the concepts of "dissensual" history and "emancipated spectator," or any other theoretical language, should not be seen as gratuitous, obfuscating, or a means of recentering Eurocentric thinking about the non-West. Indeed, I have always been struck by how Palestinian identity has been held to a level of coherence and consistency in ways that no other national identity is; how Palestinians have to prove they called themselves this or that before 1920 or 1948; how Palestinians have to have lived in the same house for generations because if their families had emigrated to a village from Lebanon or Jordan in the nineteenth century, then clearly they have no right to their land or their identity. Therefore, by using dissensus, for example, I want to license scholarship to platform difference and contradictions as constitutive of identity as much as the nationalist myths of similarity and sameness. Even though the term originates from Rancière, I

mobilize it, with great deliberation as a Lebanese Arab scholar, within decolonial methodologies as set out by generations of anti-colonial scholars.[29] I seek to strategically parse photography as a historical and visual source that is structured by synergies, but also by contradictions and tensions that might not need always to be reconciled. In fact, co-existing tensions are essential to the production of knowledge that liberates suppressed, repressed, and displaced histories.

Approaching Jawhariyyeh's photographic montage as *dissensus* reveals the albums as a coming-together of the many different lived worlds and temporalities that co-exist in tension. In other words, Jawhariyyeh's albums must first and most obviously be understood as an assertion of transhistorical Palestinian national identity, but one that should not be romanticized but understood as dynamic and conflictual. Jawhariyyeh's deployment and arrangement of photographs represent the social relations and politic history of Jerusalem and, to a larger extent, Palestine. In doing this, the photographic oeuvre undertakes, by default, a process of undoing, reworking the Orientalist and colonial visual narratives that erase Palestinians from the imaginary of Holy Land and the state now known as Israel. Against a sustained tension with the legacies of colonial representation, Jawhariyyeh also presents, in quite high resolution, the visuality of an ossified political class that miscalculated resistance to British colonial authority and Zionist settlement, as much as he presents a Palestinian reality of a communal order that has been sustained even to the present.

THEORY AS A WEAPON

Cobbling together a methodology and theoretical apparatus for looking at Palestinian photography is a dynamic struggle of navigating between the hegemony of modern forms of European thought (including colonial logics of identity, governance, and *homo economicus*), Arab modernity, and the anticolonial struggle. In navigating this tension, I employ theorists from the Arab world, the Global South, and Europe. I do so not in order to make the Palestinian worthy of theoretical discussion or out of a requirement to make this study relevant to the academy at large. As a scholar who has critically engaged the intellectual, material and visual history of the Arab world for years, I have always felt coerced, when it came to Palestine, to suspend a critical theoretical apparatus, because the most fundamental historical and material realities of Palestine are negated as a matter of "fact" within the mainstream. To ponder, for example, how the contradictions of capitalism structured the reformation of a Palestinian ruling class before 1948 or how Palestinian Arabs were involved in "constructing" their own "imagined" community seemed irresponsible when we are busy with the relentless struggle to oppose the mainstreaming and, indeed, institutionalizing (including within legal systems) of constitutive Zionist settler colonial myths that include "Palestine was a land without a people" and that "there is no such thing as Palestinians."

Perhaps much later than I should have, I have come to realize that this coercion (prohibiting the use of theory) is, in fact, the effect of the "coloniality of knowledge" that structures the politics of inquiry around Palestine within the academy and political organizing. The suspension of the "applicability" of theory is crucial to perpetuating positivist, Orientalist, Zionist, and neocolonial developmentalist discourses about the Arab world. Yet these discourses are reiterated themselves by Arab intellectuals, who themselves are often caught in the binaries of a colonialist epistemology that predispose their engagement with neoliberal empire and its regional and Zionist allies. As a graduate student in 1990s Beirut, I was specifically told that Palestine "is not ready for 'deconstruction.' We can't afford it. We are still trying to get our country back and you want 'deconstruct' it!?"

The Arab intellectual who told me this was not wrong. While he himself was an admirer of European political philosophy, he, as a Palestinian in exile, rightfully suspected the ways that Western theory displaces indigenous subjects, corralling them into realms of abstraction.[30] But the epistemological framing of scholarship around Palestine that occludes critical theoretical approaches has another effect. It functions to steal the "weapon of theory," as Amílcar Cabral says, from the hands of the anticolonial *indigènes*.[31] Cabral wants instead to liberate "theory" from its colonial, racist, Eurocentric origins and seize it as a means to dismantle the epistemological and economic systems from which European theory emerges (and, indeed, itself critiques). Cabral guides us, in that our mobilization of indigenous and non-indigenous forms of theory, as Arabs and subjects of coloniality and racial capitalism, allows us to critically approach the "presuppositions and objectives of national liberation in relation to social structure" in the service of maintaining the continuity of a "revolutionary consciousness" at the heart of Palestinian existence and resistance.[32]

For this reason, I approach Rancière's concepts of "dissensus" and "spectator" with particular caution and weariness, contemplating what they might obfuscate as much as illuminate, because his analysis is very much limited to a structural relationship between actors, viewers, and the stage of European theatre. To me they are helpful terms to amplify the process of making the illegible legible and the suppressed perceivable. But also, the shortcomings and inabilities of Rancière's theory (as well as those of Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Georges Didi-Huberman, whose diminishment of Palestinian life is decriable and indefensible) must be noted not out of pedantic criticism of their Eurocentrism. Rather, as scholars always engaged in the dialectics of decolonial thinking, we also understand the blockages, limitations, and shortcomings of their thinking and theorizing as actually symptomatic of the systems of coloniality, colonial power, and racial authority that authorize settler colonialism.

In other words, the theoretical language of "French theory," for me, helps betray the processes of settler-colonial extraction that lay at the foundation of how we approach "Arab photography. For example, Rancière's concept of "spectator" is

consciously and strategically repurposed in this study of Palestinian visuality to "challenge the opposition between viewing and acting," understanding that "viewing is also an action that confirms or transforms" the relationship of subjects in relations to "structures of domination and subjection."[33] I therefore critically and tactically deploy the work of a small handful of European theorists very consciously in orbit with anticolonial and decolonial thinkers from the Global South and Palestinian and Arab scholars in Southwest Asia, Europe and the country now known as the United States. In doing so, I am working to procure a method, albeit imperfectly, of undoing colonial, Zionist, and capitalist hegemony that relies on making the invisible visible, whether that is the erasure of black and indigenous people or women and labor from social production and surplus value. Thinking about the Palestinian subject as Palestinian spectator takes a step in this methodological direction. It acknowledges the collective social value of image and knowledge production that continues to be produced *communally* by Palestinians, both under apartheid or in forced exile, as Jawharriyeh himself lived after 1948.

ARAB MODERNITY: SHOULD WE *READ* JAWHARIYYEH'S PHOTOGRAPHY ALBUMS?

Let us then begin to reapproach Jawhariyyeh's photographic albums with a renewed decolonial perspective, one that not only embraces a "disorientation" of histories otherwise based on theft and dispossession but an approach that begins from the primacy of the life and presence of the Palestinian people. To answer the fundamental question as to how to read Jawhariyyeh's albums, we must locate them with in two fundamentally separate, but overlapping, fields of inquiry, Palestine and photography. In answering what do these photographs mean, we may consider the enunciative *function* of the albums; that is, they testify to the presence of Palestine that cuts across and compresses time.[34] Considering the assortment of genres and photographers that populate Wasif's albums, the gambit of photographs—notably the reliance on expatriate and European alongside native photographers to narrate an indigenous history—presents a challenge to those who are seeking a truly "authentic" Palestinian "viewpoint." This leads to the perennial tension in using the photographic archive to explore historical realities. Therefore, in seeking a method for reclaiming "our photography" in the Orientalized archive, it is important to squarely identify photography as the medium that mediates the relationship between Jawhariyyeh as auteur, the Palestinian subject (or, as we will see, spectator), and Palestine as a social and political fact.

To undervalue Jawhariyyeh's choice of photography as a medium of history-telling or to unproblematically view photography as a "window to the past" prevents us from exploring how the mode of visuality (i.e., the way Jawhariyyeh sees his society, how he as a Palestinian subject envisions history, and how he visually organizes his narrative) is historically and ideologically produced in

and by Arab modernity in the late Ottoman and Mandate period. Contrarily, interpreting the photograph as solely an ideologically overdetermined discursive act with no material reality overlooks photography's assumed quality to provide a visualization of empirical historical realities. Therefore, situating the history of photography in Palestine disassembles the structural binaries that delineate the trite discussion of the photograph as either pure document or pure artifices or a purely "Western" product of seeing versus an "alternate" gaze of the colonized, as Ali Behdad teaches us.[35]

Even if Orientalist and colonialist photographic tropes and representation often mediated indigenous photographic production, we understand that photography in the Ottoman Arab world was as much a domestic practice as a foreign import, without necessarily making the latter uncritically mimetic. Early "Arab" photography, like so many other commercial and social practices, unfolded in a mode of seeing the world, a visual regime, that was laid out during the late nineteenth century as *al-nahdah al-ʿarabiyah* or the "Arab Renaissance." The photography of Palestinian Arab and Armenian photographers worked within the discursive confines of *al-nahdah*. During the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire actively engaged in a self-generated juridical, institutional, and social project of "modernity," called Tanzimat, that reached far beyond pedestrian assumptions of "modernization." Rather, an epistemological rupture had occurred where Ottomans themselves were defining an indigenous pathway to modernity. The Arab *nahdah* is an outgrowth of the Ottoman Tanzimat; Arab intellectuals and cultural producers, based in Beirut, Alexandria, and Cairo, but also in Jerusalem, Aleppo and Mosul, were enacting a vision of Arab society and identity that would be comfortable in this "new era," or *al-ʿasr al-jadid*.[36] The era produced a particular *nahdah* "perspective" (*manzhar*) and *Osmanli* (Ottoman) ideology structured by the priorities and formulae of patriotism, national unity, and "civilization and progress."[37] The visual content, narrative, and priorities of Jawhariyyeh's album roots him and his social milieu squarely within *Osmanli* ideology and the *nahdah* visual regime (fig. 5.4).

Identifying that the *nahdah* and the late Ottoman Empire imbued Jawhariyyeh's worldview is critical to reassessing his use of photography in narrating Palestinian polity and history. The arrangement of the photographs within each album, at times, seems arbitrary, while at others the progression is clearly logical, based on chronology, genre, historic events, personalities, or locality. The relationship between the images and albums does not necessarily correspond to a chronological history, although chronology is the predominant arc. The first five albums are in tighter concert with one another, while the remaining two are almost conceptual in nature. Volume 1 opens with a cavalcade of Ottoman-era portraiture that supplies a diagram of the social networks of Jerusalem and their relationship with Palestinian elites, other provincial capitals, and Istanbul.[38] Volume 1 visualizes the

FIGURE 5.4. Top, from left to right: Sa'adatlu Nasim Bey, Sa'adatlu 'Izzat Bey, Sa'adatlu Rafit Bey 'Atufatlu. Bottom, from left to right: Ibn al-Mutassarif Ru'uf Pasha, 'Atufatlu Ru'uf Pasha, Salid Fa'iq Bey. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut.

social bedrock of late Ottoman Jerusalem into which Jawhariyyeh was born and that informs Mandate politics.

Volume 2 opens with the arrival of the British (fig. 5.5). It is the album of Palestine's new rulers. It is a new era: World War 1, Arab delegations, Faisal, Abdullah, negotiations, and the breakdown to the riots of Nabi Musa. Volume 3 documents the violent occupation of Palestine, the Revolt of 1929, the rise of Zionist militarism and British oppression, and the internationalization of the Palestine Question. Volume 4 becomes dominated by Zionist settlement, colonial occupation, and violent resistance so that Volume 5, weighed down by the intensity of the preceding two albums, downshifts, opening with large portraits that recenter Palestinian social life around personalities and elites, social hierarchies and social networks. The fifth and the sixth albums rely heavily on Orientalist images, postcards, expatriate, and static images: happy peasants, building projects, processions and religious ceremonies. The final album continues a photographic tour of Jerusalem, building a visual tour from inside the city outward to its surroundings, linking it to Palestine and its geography. This tour of Jerusalem's surroundings

FIGURE 5.5. General and Lady Edmund Allenby. Jawhariyyeh Album 2, IPS Beirut.

may not be as pictorial or romantic as it seems when one remembers that Wasif's father was the Husseini family's representative, responsible for tending to their extensive property holdings surrounding the city. Likewise, Wasif himself worked in the Mandate's Werko office, responsible for land taxation, and we also know that he purchased a large parcel of land in a growing neighborhood of the Palestinian bourgeoisie near Baqa in western Jerusalem.

With the wealth of sources that Jawhariyyeh left us to serve as a foundation of historical inquiry, the question remains: how should we read these albums? This is a methodological question as much as a theoretical one. Did Jawhariyyeh, the Jerusalem musician, arrange his albums like a musical piece, progressing between seven movements, each with their own *maqam?* Perhaps his albums are a visualization of a musical sensibility of history and his experience, arranging a rhythm invisible to some of us but recognizable to a fellow musician? Or, should we read the seven albums as a companion to his two-volume diary to make sense of the cataclysmic events, personalities, social groups, geographies, and institutions depicted in the images? Should we read the albums separate from his written testimony? Should we read the albums with his handwritten index, as he directs us to do in a number of instances within the albums themselves? Or, should we pay attention to the progression of the images, to the unfolding of an illustrated historical narrative that seems to chronologically end in Volume 5 before the end of the albums themselves in Volume 7?

Jawhariyyeh's organization was not a foregone conclusion and the albums were clearly worked over a number of times. Moving between the index and the albums can be confusing as Jawhariyyeh changed his numbering system at least once, leaving us with two cataloguing systems. A handful of images are repeated and events come back to insert themselves in different contexts. We should not take the rhizomic nature of the albums to be an indication of their lack of organization. To the contrary, the conscious over-organization indicates that Jawhariyyeh struggled with the many possible trajectories in which these images could be attached to one another. Therefore, rather than thinking of how to read the images in relation to his written sources—although those sources are crucial—we should attend to the relationship *between* the images within albums and the relationship *between* the albums themselves. While we should not read the images piecemeal per se, at any given instance we can disaggregate each album from the others, reading them singularly. At the same time, we should receive the albums as a unified body where each album leads to the next and each image speaks to those adjacent to it. This method opens the albums to micro and macro readings, where every album and the oeuvre itself functions as a national history. But also, simultaneously, every individual photograph, in any given relation to other photographs, is a lifeworld unto itself in tension with the experiences included and excluded from the albums' visual narrative.

CONTRA NOSTALGIA: TOWARDS MULTIPLE TEMPORALITIES OF PALESTINIAN IDENTITY

Jawhariyyeh's photographs are in sustained tension and dialogue with one another, with history, and with the present. It bears repeating that his albums should not be read nostalgically or through a lens of loss. While Salim Tamari speaks of the melancholy exuded from the albums, particularly not that of Jawhariyyeh himself but, in fact, of his patron. Tamari insists, in fact, that this sense of melancholy should not be confused with nostalgia, as has otherwise been ascribed to Palestinian photography, most notably Walid Khalidi's *Before Their Diaspora*. Khalidi's seminal work introduced a public readership to the Jawhariyyeh collection.[39] Written in 1984, his book offers a tightly organized world of Palestine before 1948. The publication intentionally aims not only to elicit "sympathy" for the Palestinians, who are represented as the oppressed party under Zionist hegemony, but also, consequently, presents a coherent narrative of Palestinian existence before the establishment of the state now known as Israel. This attestation to the presence of Palestinians in historic Palestine directly speaks to colonial practices of pushing colonized people, directly or figuratively, from their own country. Yet the nostalgic air of the narrative partitions a vibrant historical Palestinian society behind the wall of 1948.

Such nostalgia may be understandable and attend to the affective power of photography. For example, Tina Campt offers an invaluable theorization of the "haptic temporalities" of family albums. In examining the intimacy and relationality within the visual archive of the African diaspora, she defines the "haptic encounter" with images of the family album as "multiple forms of touch, which, when understood as constitutive of the sonic frequency of these images, create alternative modalities for understanding the archival temporalities of images." In other words, photographs provide a material space of affective connection to histories, communities, social relations, and even psychic interiorities that the violence of racial capitalism, chattel slavery, colonialist extraction, and settler colonialism work to erase.[40]

While the affective power of the photograph provides corridors to experiences that colonialism seeks to eradicate and invalidate, affect too may be misdirected back to the colonial subject, objectifying the indigenous self as an objectified victim. Lena Meari reminds us how this nostalgic/victimized paradigm structures the international human rights discourse on Palestinians, seeing them as agentless and passive victims of apolitical or depoliticized trauma.[41] Political nostalgia—especially as articulated by those who maintain political and familiar relations with Palestinian ruling families and their familial networks—organizes innumerable written and visual narratives of Palestine and Palestinians. Naseeb Shaheen's two-volume *Pictorial History of Ramallah*, likewise, is a photographic tour de force in itself, a mass of generations of men, women, and children from Ramallah's

native families. The publication, he explicitly states, is a "family album" for "the Ramallah people who view the entire town as one extended family."[42] But his photographic narrative is enframed by a very particular temporal conditioning, where the progress of time distances the viewer from a lost Ramallah. It is a photographic scripture for the elders, intentionally written to the "older generation," who will recognize the figures and prominent members of the Ramallah families in ways successive generations will not.[43]

Constance Abdallah's *To Be a Palestinian* reconstructs a memory and history of Palestine through the life of her husband, Hassan Mustafa Hassan Abdallah.[44] Despite its subtitle, *An Anthropology of One Man's Culture*, the book is a personal and rich account of Abdallah's life as a Palestinian, an Arab American, an Arab activist and diplomat. After illustrating the life of Abdallah with images and stories, she casts her husband's as a micro-story and an allegorical history of Betunia, his village. The text mixes personal and family photos with historical, photojournalistic, and postcard images, along with reproductions of art and Palestinian artifacts. In some ways, one might see it as a compendium, or a doppelgänger, to the Jawhariyyeh Collection, or a visual analogue to Salman Abu Sitta's rigorous autobiography *Mapping My Return*. Abu Sitta is known for empirically documenting the erasure of more than four hundred Palestinian villages by the state now known as Israel. His biography's title is not coincidental, offering an autobiographical and factual cartography, his goal to chart "the pieces of debris and painstakingly reconstruct the destroyed landscape," with the explicit intent that "if that could be done," it will be "possible to return to our homes."[45]

Unlike Khalidi's scholarship, Abdallah's biography, and Abu Sitta's cartography for "return" (*al-ʾawdah*), Jawhariyyeh's photographic narrative, I would argue, does more than document a community before its trauma, "before" al-Nakba, and before the diaspora. Rather, these albums are an animation of a living political, cultural, and social community that *exists* (present tense) as an extension of the photographic albums. The albums' effect is not exclusively an act of documenting, witnessing, testifying, or remembering. Collected over decades and reassembled at least two times after 1948, Jawhariyyeh's albums form a montage, an assembly of disparate narratives to create an album of different speeds and shifts, and a compendium of divergent photographic genres. Whether intentional or not, the archive (and his diaries) speak in, from, and to multiple temporalities or heterochronies. The narrative speaks to Palestine in the present, future, and past tense simultaneously.

To some degree, Raja Shehadeh's *A Rift in Time* suggests how a tension presented by these heterochronies are wired into post-Nakba Palestinian national identity, a tension that inadvertantly misdirects us to read Jawhariyyeh's albums as nostalgia. In his book, Shehadeh tours historical Palestine, guided by the figure of his dead uncle Najib Nassar, a character of a past world and a contemporary of Jawhariyyeh.[46] Nassar considered himself an Ottoman citizen and an Arab-Palestinian

nationalist. In addition to being the founding editor of, arguably, Palestine's most prominent and important political journal, the anti-Zionist, progressive, and pro-woman a*l-Karmil*, Nassar wrote the earliest treatise on Zionism in 1911.[47] Much of this work is a translation of the entry for "Zionism" from the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. However, in this treatise, Nassar is the among the first to correctly identify Zionism as a settler-colonial movement intent on replacing/displacing the indigenous population, Palestinian Arabs, from Palestine. Shehadeh's narrative transports us between multiple historical periods and the present, intertwining Nassar's world with contemporary Palestine where we meet the inhabitants of localities in the Galilee and Golan, among others. On this journey Shehadeh also encounters Palestinians who cannot live in the present but can only live in the past. Abu Naif, for example, can only prattle on about "his glorious years in the 1936 Great Arab Revolt," but "refused to comment on present times."[48] Shehadeh shows that this inability is not a structural part of the Palestinian reality but what one might call a psychological, and perhaps political, defense in order to avoid rather than transcend the hegemony of Zionist occupation.

A Rift in Time is not similar to Jawhariyyeh's work because it is a story of Najib Nassar, a Palestinian subject of the late Ottoman and British Mandate eras. It is similar because it is a story of the physical and social geographies of Palestine and the way those geographies are inhabited by Shehadeh himself in multiple temporalities. That Palestine is inaccessible, occupied, and more than four hundred villages lie in rubble does not preclude the reality that Palestine is unified in a historical present. Shahadeh's literary tour of historic Palestine commutes between the historical and the present. He co-inhabits the world of his "Ottoman uncle," Najib Nassar, and his own contemporary self. In Jawhariyyeh's photographic archive, Palestine lives at the juncture of two synchronized temporalities contained in one empirical reality: Palestine and Palestinian society exist in an unbroken continuity from the Ottoman period to the current day. Jawhariyyeh collected photographs over his lifetime, speaking to a future that was imminent. His visual narration of Palestine is not exclusively a historical documentary. Like *A Rift in Time*, his albums are a *documentary of the present*, a visualization that exists even in exile and under occupation. If Palestinians have been displaced and their homes wiped out, their history has not and the present is constantly in the process of being reclaimed.

Musée Imaginaire Palestinien

The photography albums arise out of the "Jawhariyyeh Collection," a collection of Palestinian and Arab art, textiles, instruments, furniture, and photographs that Jawhariyyeh collected throughout his lifetime. Traveling from his Jerusalem home to the West Bank and eventually Beirut, the collection itself has its own story that remains at the margins of his written narrative and is absent from his photography albums altogether.

His narrative, his albums, and indeed the Jawhariyyeh Collection share two elementary yet essential qualities. The first is that each was intended to be seen and read, first and foremost, by Palestinians and Arabs. Secondly, his oeuvre is a marked by a glaring self-awareness. Individually and collectively, his writing and albums are a conscious project, part nationalist (Palestinian), part communal (Jerusalemite, Orthodox, and Jawhariyyeh family-network), part personal, and, as we have seen, part historical and part contemporary. This self-awareness coupled with a clear intentionality that the photographs were to be viewed by Palestinians spurs us to theorize about the use of photography in producing (or reproducing) a historical narrative of Palestine. The lack of intimacy, even salaciousness, of the photography mirror its intent. In this regard, we may understand Jawhariyyeh's *Tarikh Falastin al-musawwar* less as an illustrated history than as Palestine's first national museum.[49]

The museum is an institution where nation-states and their enfranchised citizens instrumentalize their power and propagate dominant discourses. The museum is where states and their constituent actors visualize and condense national normativity and naturalize a victorious national selfhood and its relation to the state itself, its environs, and the natural world. The museum offers states and their citizens an opportunity to imagine and materialize their *weltanschauung* and their place in it. Jawhariyyeh's photograph albums are an answer to a museum for a stateless people.

In his diary, Jawhariyyeh specifically states that the Jawhariyyeh Collection was intended to be 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*."[50] The Collection figures prominently in his diary, where he specifically calls the room of his house where it is held "the Museum." Jawhariyyeh pays particular reverence to British military governor Ronald Storr (fig. 5.6), who was an avid antiquarian and aficionado of Middle Eastern artifacts, and who inspired Jawhariyyeh to begin collecting. He remarks that Storr's home in Mulk al-Alman (the German Colony) was like a museum. In seeing it, he states, the Governor's home made him "realize the dream I had always nourished inside to start acquiring memorabilia and antiques, which led to my hopes turning into reality."[51]

Jawhariyyeh describes the Collection almost in the language of magical realism. He notes how the photographs of singers, composers, and musicians enraptured his guest the Jewish-Egyptian singer Khairiyah al-Saqqa.[52] When British soldiers break into his house searching for weapons in the wake of the 1929 uprising, the collection bedazzles them, distracting them until they leave without searching the premises.[53] Even the house itself has an enchanted quality. His marital home in Nicophoria, a neighborhood of Jerusalem, was the ideal setting for Palestinian artifacts, displayed in an "old Arab-style building with cross-vault arches." The dilapidated structure was transformed by Jawhariyyeh and his bride from a house into a "spectacular museum."[54] It housed china from his father, snakeskins,

FIGURE 5.6. Ronald Storrs, British Mandate Governor of Jerusalem, in front of the entrance to the British Opthalmic Hospital on the Jerusalem-Bethlehem road, being received by a contingent of Jerusalem police. Jawhariyyeh Album 2, IPS Beirut.

a "Cairo-made armchair inlaid with mother of pearl," a "long Ibrahim Pasha flint lock rifle," and a Persian belt used as a curtain. The walls were adorned "with historical pictures and portraits of loved ones such as my late father, the late Hussein Effendi al-Husseini, and others, in oriental Damascene frames, which added to the room's elegance and beauty."[55]

In 1948, Jawhariyyeh's collection ceased to be a bricks-and-mortar museum, planted in a particular neighborhood within Jerusalem and within a particular home, where its objects quite explicitly and intentionally were placed in concert with other objects. Here, photography's fundamental qualities of mobility and reproducibility, the "itinerant" nature of photography, assert themselves most forcefully, defying the project of historical, physical, and discursive erasure that colonial-settler powers intend over conquered and colonized lands. For Jawhariyyeh the photography archive was not an archive of ambivalence but an archive of certainty. It speaks across and through time to Palestinians in a prescient way: *behold it when we are gone*. The photographs' indexical statements were factual attestations to social realities that could not be appropriated as easily as people's homes and lands. Photography albums are the disembodied soul of a hardscaped living museum, but also of the social networks embedded in those objects. The photographs become the raw material for the *musée imaginaire*, the museum without walls, of Palestine.

Yet, the *musée imaginaire palestinien* is, perhaps, a precedent for and an inversion of André Malraux's *musée imaginaire*.[56] Malraux was concerned with objects of art. He was searching for the purity of their art-ness as objects. In all the "imagination" of his museum, Malraux, steeped in the modern tradition of art as aesthetic-contemplative object, intuitively understood objects as plundered and looted objects. Museums, he wrote, "imposed on the spectator a wholly new attitude toward the work of art. For they have tended to estrange the works they bring together from their original functions. . . ."[57] Art was originally tied to a context, a setting, time, period, its social relations and a dominant aesthetic regime. For Malraux, the violence of the museum is its edificial characteristic, the arbitrary mixing of objects brought together through institutional (and state) power. His

musée imaginaire, or "museum without walls" would free objects from the overdetermination of their contexts and liberate their potentiality as art objects, allowing them to occupy a shared aesthetic realm. Within this context, the invention of photography revolutionized our relationship to art, allowing us to close the proximity between masterpieces and the viewers, between spaces of spectatorship and the objects of art. Photography redefined the notion of masterpieces and allowed other styles and genres to enter into the realm of art (further divorcing the objects from their social contexts and geographic limitations).

Unlike Malraux, Jawhariyyeh was a man of the state, both the Ottoman state and the Mandate government. For all of his talent as a musician, in the end, he was a *petit-fonctionnaire*, closely associated with and genuinely loyal to Jerusalem's ruling elites. If we were to romanticize Jawhariyyeh and his albums as the revolutionary project of a libertine musician, we would not only exaggerate Wasif's true ability to negotiate and uphold the ruling order, which he served. We would, more importantly, be distracted from the regime of visuality which he reproduced and how it was intimately entwined with "Arab modernity," capital, and local and imperial power (whether British or Ottoman).

This present analysis is not concerned with Malraux's larger theory or psychology of art and art history. It is not concerned with how he expands the value of the aesthetics of the art object, although aesthetics' relationship to "visuality" is certainly relevant to understanding the Jawhariyyeh albums. I am not even taking an interest in how Malraux expands the aesthetic value of deracinated non-Western objects, placing them on the same plane as Western "masterpieces" (no doubt, a cultural appreciation he developed during his years in China and Vietnam). Malraux here only is an opportunity to open the possibilities for a "potential history" of plundered objects, (and objects that will be plundered). This potential history of these photographs does not intend to "reveal that these objects were looted, since this is not secret," as Azoulay teaches us.[58] Rather, we invert insights from Malraux's Eurocentric imagination to delink objects through the medium of photography within the context of the colonized, "in order to enable the rights in these looted objects to be recognized" as objects belonging to "a built world" beyond the epistemology of a colonial moment that can only metabolize them through Orientalist (on the one hand) and nationalist (on the other) social relations.[59]

Otherwise said, what should interest us is Malraux's observation that the medium of photography changes the nature of social relations between object and viewers and between objects themselves. A photograph can put art objects from disparate origins and temporalities within a radically new proximity, a proximity that otherwise would be impossible, thereby creating new relationships between them. For Jawhariyyeh photographs, when conjoined to the physical space of his home and locality, form a part of his larger collection, acting in dialogue with the other objects in his "museum," including instruments, "traditional" furniture, textiles and ceramics, and images of prominent figures. 1948 did not change the

FIGURE 5.7. Receiving the flag of the Prophet Musa from Dar al-Raghib and an Egyptian music troup, 1919. Jawhariyyeh Album 2, IPS Beirut.

nature of Palestinian photographs, despite wrenching them away from their collector, their space, and the objects around them. Rather, 1948 changed their responsibilities. The responsibilities of the albums after 1948 transformed the photographs themselves into testimonial artifacts, legal and historical documents, and supplements for the objects that were stolen. 1948 demanded that Jawhariyyeh convert material objects into witnesses of history, not vice-versa.

When we speak of an imaginary, then, I certainly do not mean fantasies, but rather reach to the play of imagination as image-nation, of Jawhariyyeh imaging/imagining a nation by deploying material Palestinian objects, figures, events, and references. But imagination also alludes to the Palestinian *imago*, in the psychoanalytic sense. Jawhariyyeh's imagination of Palestine and Palestinian social relations assembles images as documents of empirical-indexical reality and narrates a Palestine of the present that is imbricated with the past.

This is not a theoretical imposition on the work. In his diaries, Jawhariyyeh repeatedly invites his readers to "imagine." He says, "Imagine an evening like that, in a cafe, after a day at work!"[60] In describing the frenetic excitement in Jerusalem's streets during Holy Week which he amply represents in his albums (fig. 5.7), where Muslims simultaneous celebrated the Feast of Moses while mixing with Palestinian Christians and foreigners in Jerusalem, he exclaims, "Imagine what Jerusalem was like on this Holy Thursday, as Christians from the various denominations held an unequaled celebration in which they were joined by foreign tourists and

pilgrims visiting the Holy City. Then imagine the gathering of Muslims who were either from the city itself or from neighboring villages."[61] Likewise, in juxtaposing the sensory experiences of enjoying an overflowing spring in the village of Silwan after a month of rain causing sewage to wash down from Jerusalem, he states, "so imagine us picnicking and washing our feet in the pure water of Bir Ayyub, while before us, alas, flowed a large river of foul-smelling waste."[62] In his diary and photographic albums, imagination is not abstract or fantastic. It is empirical. It is a "redistribution of the sensible."[63]

Jawhariyyeh's *musée imaginaire palestinien* is mediated by images often produced not by Palestinians, by the people who inhabited and claimed propriety of those spaces and places, but by those whose Holy Land and colonialist narratives diminished their very presence and negated the legitimacy of their claims to those spaces and places. It is not surprising, then, that he opens his albums with a constellation of *cartes de visite* and cabinet cards testifying to the social contracts and relations between families, individuals, institutions, and classes within Jerusalem and Palestine. While not central to these relationships, Jawhariyyeh is the linchpin, connecting for us a complex set of social, political, economic, and communal relations that span three generations and quite a bit of geography. The photographs, including portraits and their dedications, trace the social vectors and subjective ideals that were so central to Jawhariyyeh's personal and professional *weltanschauung*, an ideological world richly described in his autobiographical writing.

DEEP SPACE OF PALESTINIAN PHOTOGRAPHY: PALESTINE AS A SOCIAL FACT

The portrait gallery in Jawhariyyeh's first album is an invitation to the viewer, or spectator, to enter the ambulatory of a *musée imaginaire*. This ambulatory creates a space for witnessing the bedrock of political and social networks that link people and communities to localities. Didi-Huberman warns us that ignoring "the dialectic work of images" puts us at risk of "confusing fact with fetish, archive with appearance, work with manipulation." It, then, seems obvious to think of Jawhariyyeh's photographic collection as something more than a mimetic reproduction of Storr's collecting practice. Nor should we see it as a canned curatorial impulse, spurred by nationalism, fetishization, or nostalgia. Rather, to purloin from Didi-Huberman, the images of Jawhariyyeh's museum without walls are deployed "according to the minimum complexity supposed by two points that confront each other under the gaze of a third."[64] The photographs supplement a space of cultural identification and political assertion that is otherwise physically inaccessible due to Zionist larceny. But also, photographs put in motion the play of Palestinian objects, events, actors, and localities with the gaze of the Palestinian subject of the present. It is this parallax, this triangulated vision, that organizes Jawhariyyeh's albums, which otherwise may seem staccato, capricious, and disjointed.

FIGURE 5.8. Left: Hussein Hashim Effendi al-Husseini; right: Faidi Effendi al-'Alami. Jawhariyyeh Album 1, IPS Beirut.

Any given image in Jawhariyyeh's albums is an invitation to the Palestinian spectator to enter the *musée imaginaire*, and locate oneself in history and the present through a visual triangulation. This parallax vision organizes the images of Jawhariyyeh's albums, where every image is connected to several other photographs in a myriad of ways representing not only what I have called elsewhere a dense "network of sociability" inherent to pre-1948 Palestinian social and political life, but also the deep social space of Palestinian social relations that cuts across time and legitimate a lasting claim to historic Palestine.[65] Let us explore this dense web and deep space of the photograph through a few rudimentary examples.

Portraits of Faidi al-'Alami and Hussein al-Husseini (fig. 5.8) are among the local elites in the first pages of Volume 1. Likely taken by the Krikorian studio, these are more than tributary portraits of prominent Palestinians. Rather, these images connect and are in conversation with a number of other images in subsequent volumes. Faidi al-'Alami was a Palestinian Ottoman official and Ottoman Parliamentarian. He was mayor (1906–09) when Jerusalem's clock tower at Bab al-Khalil was completed. Wasif gives us a detailed history of the clock, which is the most frequently represented photograph in his albums (fig. 5.9). The clock, we are

FIGURE 5.9. *Bab al-Khalil as I knew it during the Ottoman Era, 1910*. Jawhariyyeh Album 5, IPS Beirut.

told, was constructed to commemorate the twenty-five-year celebration of Sultan Abdülhamid's rule. Seven clock towers were constructed in the Palestinian cities of Jaffa, al-Nasirah (Nazareth), Nablus, Haifa, Safad, and ʿAkka. The architect was Pascal Effendi Serufim, the municipality's architect and a member of "one of the most honorable families of the Roman Catholic community of Jerusalem."[66] Pascal apparently also was active with a small handful of indigenous, European Christian, and European Jewish architects in designing and building new quarters in Jerusalem in the early part of the century for Jewish settlers.[67] He was hired in 1902 by the Italian consulate to "restore the house bought on behalf of the Empress Taytu [of Ethiopia]."[68] Jawhariyyeh likens him to the musician Muhammad Abdul-Wahhab because he studied in France but "adhered to the Oriental architectural style," practicing the "Franco-Arab" architecture. The clock had an "important role in Jerusalem and was of great use to its citizens," and it "could be even seen from as far away as Beit Laham (Bethlehem)."[69] Yet, "despite its perfect construction, the quality of its stones, and its ornamentation," Ronald Storrs's Pro Jerusalem Society "demolished it overnight," considering it was out of place with the Wall's "four hundred years of history" (fig. 5.10).[70]

While Jawhariyyeh agreed with Storrs, he proposes that it could have been moved to the rooftop of the Barclays building or the new municipality building (fig. 5.11). Lamenting the loss of the town, he discloses that he made a wooden model of the clock tower and Bab al-Khalil: "thus I have immortalized the entrance to the

FIGURE 5.10. Ronald Storrs. Jawhariyyeh Album 2, IPS Beirut.

FIGURE 5.11. Barclays Bank. Jawhariyyeh Album 5, IPS Beirut.

city as it was on the eve of the British occupation."[71] The model was a part of the Jawharriyah Collection but, Tamari and Nassar tell us, it was gone when Wasif's acquaintance returned to retrieve it in 1967 with other objects from his collection. There may be another reason for the ample number of images of the Bab al-Khalil clock tower, other than the important fact that Hamidian clocktowers marked the

FIGURE 5.12. Professors at the National School. Sitting, right to left: Adel Jabar, Achille Saikali, Khalil Sakakini, Antoni Mashabak, Musa al-'Alami, Hanna Hamadah, George Khamis. Jawhariyyeh Album 2, IPS Beirut.

political and economic importance of Arab provincial cities. The Vesters, who ran the American Colony and sold postcards produced by their Photography Department, had a thriving tourist shop at Jaffa Gate.

These social relations not only structure the past but also structure and reach into Jawhariyyeh's present. Al-'Alami's father was Musa al-'Alami, a former Mayor of Jerusalem. His son was also Musa, named after his grandfather. Musa, the junior, was an eminent Arab nationalist who had studied law at Cambridge. He appears in a portrait of the faculty of the National School, with other renowned educators and nationalists (fig. 5.12). He returned to Palestine to work with the British Mandate government, until he was exiled by the British for advocacy of Palestinian liberation. His sister, Ni'mati, married Jamal Husseini, another prominent Arab nationalist activist who was also sent into exile and participated in the anti-Zionist movement and anti-British struggle. They all (save Ni'mati) are represented in a number of different individual and group portraits throughout the albums.

Faidi al-'Alami was preceded as mayor by Hussein Hashim al-Husseini (also known as Hussein Salim al-Husseini), who held office during the CUP Revolution. Hussein was the son of Salim, notable late nineteenth-century mayor of Jerusalem and brother of Musa Kazhim al-Husseini. Musa Kazhim regularly appears in Jawhariyyeh's albums, as does Hussein al-Husseini. Musa Kazhim was a high-level Ottoman official, prominent Palestinian nationalist, and head of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Arab Congress. Musa Kazhim was also the uncle of Jamal al-Husseini, Musa al-'Alami's son-in-law. Visually, Hussein

FIGURE 5.13. Martyr ʻAli bin Hussain Hashim al-Husseini. Jawhariyyeh Album 3, IPS Beirut.

Salim al-Husseini is best known as the mayor of Jerusalem who surrendered the city to the British during World War 1, an image we have seen earlier in this book. Hussein's son, ʻAli (fig. 5.13), who appears in the albums, was martyred after he joined the armed resistance against British rule during the Great Revolt. In 1938, he was killed in battle at Bani Na'im against the British, under the command of the

FIGURE 5.14. Martyr ʻAli bin Hussain Hashim al-Husseini with cousin and hero ʻAbd al-Qadir al-Hussein. Jawhariyyeh Album 3, IPS Beirut.

legendary ʻAbd al-Qadir al-Husseini, son of Musa Kazhim al-Husseini (fig. 5.14). ʻAli and the famous ʻAbd al-Qadir were cousins.

Hussein al-Husseini also, as we have seen, had a special relationship with Wasif, effectively adopting him after his father's death in 1914. In his diary, Jawhariyyeh tells us much about Hussein, including a large section about his paramour,

Persifon, who was a successful merchant and respected citizen of the city. One of his crowning achievements in Jawhariyyeh's opinion was to bring the musician Sheikh Salama Hijazi and George Abyad's performance troupes from Cairo. An enormous tent was erected for the performance, and the plays *Salah al-din* (probably written by Farah Antun) and *Romeo and Juliet* were performed to great acclaim. Hijazi's performance was so moving, Jawhariyyeh states, that it drove Greeks to tears. The young Jawhariyyeh attended the performance with his father, who was employed in Elias Effendi Habib's office at the time.

Jawhariyyeh could not have foreseen how his "hopes" and "dream" of collecting objects and chronicling the lives, social networks and events of Jerusalem would create an imaginary palimpsest where every image triangulates between individuals, events, and places of the past and the Palestinian spectator of the present. The portrait gallery of his photographic *musée imaginaire* announces that the seven albums are, in fact, the first Palestinian national museum without walls, one that is based not in cultural artifacts and art objects but in a multi-dimensional social network. Unlike Malraux's concept, Jawhariyyeh's *musée imaginaire* did not recode the relationship between art objects, divorcing them from their historical contexts and social relations in order to produce new aesthetic meaning for those objects. To the contrary, the photography albums represent the deep space of a trans-temporal social and political reality; they produce a space to attest and testify to the historical contexts and social relations of the photographic objects and sitters that are denied by Zionist expropriation.

The *musée imaginaire palestinien*, however, is more than just a series of legal documents salvaged from the wreck of al-Nakba. It is more than artifacts for reconstructing social relations that functioned at the heart of a society whose existence is denied by many Israelis, or US Presidents and Congressmen and Congresswomen. It is more than stubborn shards of history that will not go away. The photography albums of Jawhariyyeh "redistribute the sensible" in order to bring together deceased, living, and future individuals in a single space and back into their natural order, revealing how these individuals congregate with one another in a sensibility that defies *partage* and flouts the violence thrust upon them, individually, and their community, collectively, by settler-colonialism. As a consequence of this redistribution of the sensible, Jawhariyyeh's *musée imaginaire palestinien* produces and reproduces social relations and social meaning, offering not an "alternate" history but a social reality that stands in defiance of a Zionist alternative history qua History.

Rancière asserts that the distribution of the sensible reveals who "can have a share in what is common to the community based on what they do and on the time and space in which this activity is performed."[72] It is a matter of how images, and indeed aesthetics, are collectively shared, embodied, experienced, felt, perceived, created, owned, and/or disavowed in ways that stand outside but are also engaged with formal means and regimes of sovereignty and governance. He continues,

"Having a particular 'occupation' thereby determines the ability or inability to take charge of what is common to the community: it defines what is visible or not in a common space, endowed with a common language, etc."[73] Rancière means "occupation" as work or labor. Yet, the elision of "occupation" (as a parapraxis within the context of Palestine) transfers and discloses how Rancière's critique can be made more relevant to the context of settler-colonialism. The distribution of the sensible is determined by *occupation* and/or refusal of it. Jawhariyyeh's *musée imaginaire palestinien* realigns the sensible and the sensibility of photographs under occupation. The boundaries of this partition are not mediated by Zionist domination but rather, mediated by a regime of photographic visuality that understands the Palestinians as social facts to Palestine, regardless of international *partage* and in defiance of occupation.

THE NACHLEBEN ALBUMS

Jawhariyyeh's albums are circumscribed by two parallel temporalities—a temporality of the late Ottoman and Mandate eras and a temporality of post-1948—bound by a singular regime of visuality. The albums should not be seen, as Khalidi's work proposes, as partitioned pre-and post 1948, but as a redistributing of the sensible, repartitioning a regime of visuality that binds the two temporalities together through the position of the Palestinian spectator. The simultaneity of two coterminous temporalities is the state of all Palestinian photographs before 1948. It has been a mistake to see photographs as artifacts of the past and as documents of history alone. Rather, they survive as material objects that bind the past and present as they bind the present and future. In this regard, Jawhariyyeh's albums are an assemblage, a concert, of perpetual "surviving images."

A surviving image, in Didi-Huberman's words, "is an image that, having lost its original use, value and meaning, nonetheless comes back, like a ghost, at a particular historical moment: a moment of 'crisis,' a moment when it demonstrates latency, its tenacity, its vivacity, and its 'anthropological adhesion.'"[74] The English term "survival" was frequently used interchangeably with *nachleben*, "the mysterious keyword or slogan of [Aby] Warburg's entire enterprise, *Nachleben de Antike*," in order to make us consider the "afterlife" of art object and images.[75] Simply put, "nachleben meant making historical time more complex, recognizing specific, non-natural temporalities in the cultural world. . . ."[76]

Within the context of Palestine, "survival" becomes something more powerful, current, and salient, something certainly rooted in Aby Warburg's use of *nachleben* but also something that is grossly absent from Didi-Huberman's work in general. That is, *nachleben* as an analytic concept arises from what Didi-Huberman (partially quoting Warburg) called the "displaced" terrain of [Warburg's] travels in Hopi country."[77] Warburg, perhaps better than Didi-Huberman, understood intuitively the politics and presence of indigenous people living in a settler-colonial society

under the constant pressure of erasure. Indigeneity under settler-colonial violence is imminent to Warburg's concept of *nachleben*, a concept that brings "displaced" temporalities and lived-worlds into the realm of perception. Jawhariyyeh's repurposed images are not ghostly figures of the past, but they are haunted by the present and future. In fact, they are a refusal to become a specter of the past, a refusal to go away. They are, like the indigenous Hopi objects and images in Warburg's archive, an insistence of reality. If the presence of the Palestinians is latent, they, like the Hopi, are only latent in the mind and tradition of the colonizer. But to the indigenous spectator, the Palestinian, they are imbricated in the temporality of an unbroken past-present-future continuum of social reality: Palestine.

It is not lost on us that Warburg's nachleben emerges from this engagement with the first nations of what is now known as North America. These links between settler colonialism in the country now known as the United States and in Palestine has been noted by a number of scholars, from Steven Salaita to J. Kēhaulani Kauanui.[78] Like the Palestinian photographic archive, Hopi cultural objects did not present new possibilities to recover a lost history for the Hopi people. Rather, unbeknownst to Warburg, they really were an invitation *to see history as it is*, outside the *"displaced terrain"* of Euro-American history as History. If this analysis is an overwriting of Warburg's Taylorian ethnography of Hopi "art," it is productive because it allows us to understand exactly what is going on in Jawhariyyeh's photography albums. That is, the albums are not a rectification of history, a reintroduction of Palestinian history into History, or a reintroduction into the field of photographic visuality. Rather, they are a narrativization of history through a dominant Arab visuality that European and Zionist histories have tried to unsuccessfully imagine out of History, to displace out of the visual geographies that started with Orientalism and continue to today.

When we read Jawhariyyeh's albums as one continuous text over several volumes, we might be "disoriented," searching for a clean narrative of "before the diaspora." Monumental portraits shift to war images, images of riots and corpses, to Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim delegations contrasting British diplomatic images; the photojournalism of current affairs is juxtaposed against a closing litany of Orientalist and colonial postcards. Yet, what occurs with the adjacency of a myriad of images is a metabolizing of the images into a history that "disorients" the colonizer's History. The images next to images disorient not only through introducing a mélange of coterminous heterochronies, but they liberate subaltern and unrepresented experiences, freeing them to burst forth from below the dominant regime of visuality that constituted Arab modernity in Palestine.

This disorienting history is a dissensual history. It is a history of contradictory multitudes that holds temporalities in a counter-hegemonic visuality (counter-hegemonic to colonial visuality). Such a statement in any other context might be seen as a cliché. But in a Palestine governed by the logic of settler colonialism, the idea of a "conflictual" history is not permitted. Such claims make Palestinians

immediately vulnerable to dispossessing relativism, to a history presupposed upon a series of rival opinions, equal but rival claims, or "alternative" but equally valid perspectives. In the case of Palestine, I am arguing for a dissensual history that does prioritize material dispossession over fantastic historical claims to ownership.

Dissensual history, rather, is something more, I am arguing. It involves an acknowledgment of the contradictions with Arab capitalist modernity but also an acknowledgment of a history of the will to liberation and the desire to self-determination, of the Arab people and, especially, of the Palestinian people. Dissensual history is a "demonstration (*manifestation*) of a gap in the sensible itself," in Rancière's words.[79] The photographic album is a *demonstration*, a *manifestation* in French and *muzhahirah* in Arabic, of the political in a way that Didi-Huberman cannot fathom. That is, it is "a demonstration that makes visible that which has no reason to be seen; it places one world in another."[80] Hence, the images are not haunted, but a haunting. Even more accurately, Jawhariyyeh's photographs are a form of seizure, a re-appropriation, a refusal of partition.

The Orientalist and colonialist photographic archive houses and organizes an imminent desire to expel Arabs (like all colonized peoples) out of their own history and out of their own visual geographies. Zionism is only the enactment of that colonial, Orientalist fantasy. Yet Jawhariyyeh's albums are precisely about the facticity of the Palestinian spectators, who asserts their presence in the photograph, in the land, and in Palestine, regardless of who produced those images. They claim these photographs as visual articulations of Palestinian national legitimacy and national rights as well as subjective presence. They claim the *kawshun* (title) over the index and over Palestine, historically and in the present. This claim, again, is not one of the sanctity of private property or the "rights" to property or the sanctity of the rights of individuals. The albums are a collective authorization and licensing of the title as testimony (*shahadah*) to their place in their communal space, in their home, in their history and in their present. The albums are a *manifestation*, a demonstration, of the refusal to be pushed out of a history not fully of their making.

This analysis should not be seen as conceptual. It is meant be understood quite literally. Images of protest and demonstrations figure prominently in Wasif's albums. It is important to note that photographs of the Nabi Musa "riots" of 1920, the 1921 Jaffa riots, the 1929 Buraq uprising, and the 1933 demonstrations conspicuously emerge as images that one cannot help but to consider as the retroactively projected violence of 1948. The photographs of protests and violence show the burned and ransacked homes of Jews, probably from the Old Yishuv in Jerusalem and al-Khalil (Hebron), as readily as Palestinian corpses (fig. 5.15). More specifically, after the provocations of Rightist Zionists at the Wailing Wall, violence broke out in 1929, resulting in the death of 116 Palestinians and 133 Jews in what is known as the Buraq Revolt, which, in the words of historical Rana Barakat, grew to become "a collective and cohesive expression of resistance to British colonial

FIGURE 5.15. Ahmad ʻAwwad al-Liftawi, killed by Zionists during the Buraq Revolt, September 1, 1929. Jawhariyyeh Album 2, IPS Beirut.

rule and its implicit endorsement of Zionist settler colonialism."[81] Alongside Palestinian attacks on the Old Yishuv and settlers from the New Yishuv, and as a consequence of peasant organizing, Palestinian political society launched a series of nonviolent protests. As this is the class that Wasif served and was connected to, he represents demonstrations and conferences organized by the Palestinian ruling class at *Rawdat al-Ma'arif* (fig. 5.16).

Images of congresses, demonstrations, strikes, and protests throughout Palestine are well represented, and show us that along with the usual notable and middle class (male) Palestinians, peasants, Bedouin, and working-class people attended in significant numbers. Group portraits of congresses, conferences, and meetings among a variety of Palestinians appear often and, like the two images of the Khalidi Library, images of conferences such as a group of "Male Arab Politicians" are reproduced at different angles, as seen in almost the exact same group portrait in the introduction of this book. Among these sets of images, two sets of protest photos, however, stick out. The first is a series of photographs of the Arab Women's Executive Committee engaged in a public action. The images are also found in the Matson Collection, now housed in the Library of Congress, suggesting that the photographs were taken by the American Colony. Julie Peteet and Ellen Fleischmann, respectively, mark the growth and activism of a robust anticolonialist and anti-Zionist Arab women's movement in Palestine since the end

FIGURE 5.16. *Arab politicians at Rawdat al-Ma'arif, 1929. First row: Raghib Nashishibi, Musa Kazhim al-Husseini, al-Hajj Amin al-Husseini, 'Awni 'Abd al-Hadi. Second row: Sulaiman Tuqan . . . Hussain 'Aziz (Egyptian Consul in Jerusalem), al-Hajj Toufiq Hamad, Amin al-Tamimi, al-Hajj Sa'id al-Shawwa. Third row: . . . .Yusuf 'Ashur (father of Issam 'Ashur) . . . .Mustafa al-Khalidi near the aisle, 'Adil Jabar on the left of the aisle, and Ahmad 'al-Akki*. Photo: Khalik Sakakini. Jawhariyyeh Album 3, IPS Beirut.

of World War 1, including forming a delegation to meet the British High Commission in 1920 to insist on the abrogation of the Balfour Declaration.[82] Since that time, Peteet notes, women from a cross-section of Palestinian society have regularly appeared in street demonstrations, many of which turned violent (largely at the instigation of the British or Zionists). The Committee was the Executive of the Arab Women's Association, launched at the Palestine Arab Women's Congress in 1929 as a direct result of the Buraq uprising. It was attended by a cross-section of women from the new middle ("effendi") classes, the upper class, and those from notable families from throughout Palestine.[83]

The Arab Women's Executive Committee engaged in civil acts of protest, hoping to deliver their memorandum to the High Commissioner's wife, who refused to meet them. As a result, they "had no other alternative but to wait upon the High Commissioner at the Government House, and to ignore all traditional restrictions."[84] Fleischmann's careful history of the formation of the Arab Women's Association (AWA) challenges the foundational narrative that the Executive Committee was founded upon the return from the AWA's first congress after women's delegations presented a resolution to the British High Commissioner and visited

FIGURE 5.17. Arab Women's Executive Committee Protest, British High Command, 1929. Jawhariyyeh Album 2, IPS Beirut.

a number of foreign consuls. Rather than mapping discrepancies in "divergent" historical accounts, Fleischmann notes that the "confusion" between them accents the "political sophistication of the congress organizers, who recognized the importance of public perceptions of their political behavior."[85] This sophistication, organization, and commitment comes through in the Jawhariyyeh albums.

The series of images depict the women's delegation congregating outside an archway, wall, staircase, and in a cavalcade of cars (fig. 5.17). The women are at ease and, in some images, laughing. Some women are covered and others are not. They all look determined and comfortable in their space, waiting to make their intervention. The American Colony's Photography Service likely is responsible for these images as well as the iconic image of the meeting at Rawdat al-Ma'arif. The American Colony's Matson Collection at the Library of Congress has a similar image of the women delegates waiting outside the house of the High Commissioner, John Chancellor. Jawhariyyeh, however, presents four images on one page. Two photographs show women outside the house of 'Awni 'Abd al-Hadi. Cofounder of the Istiqlal Party and, later, a member of the Arab Higher Committee, he also

appears in the images of the Arab Congress at Rawdat al-Ma'arif. His wife, Tarab 'Abd al-Hadi, was a leading member of the feminist nationalist movement and, therefore, it is likely that the delegates congregated at her house. From there, they organized a caravan of automobiles, as shown in another photograph, to Chancellor's residence. Jawhariyyeh places the four images in relation to images of their male counterparts' demonstrations, signaling the coordinated and comprehensive organizing underway in Palestinian political and civil society. But he also places the images in relation to one another, four images of the same day in a dynamic unfolding. Placed in relation to one another, they provide a visual narrative that animates the work of these activists in a way that is otherwise not communicated through a singular, static image in the American Colony collection.

These images reveal a dissensual history. Certainly, one readily reaches to the issue of women's participation in the nationalist movement. The activism of women is often displaced or forgotten. Or worse, it is claimed as an uncritical tokenism that offers no critique of gender and class disparities within Palestinian Arab society at that time. In other words, we can also see the way in which class privilege within nationalist organizing displaces the *gendered* nature of these women's critiques, asking us to read them as "patriots," not as critics of the male ruling power to which many were intimately attached.[86] The images point to a class and political struggle within the Palestinian ruling classes and within Palestinian society writ large. Yet, as we have seen in chapter 3, the Jawhariyyeh photography albums present the male-dominated surface of Arab social history. This all-male surface, however, is saturated with and fully structured by the lives, labor, and relationships of women. With this in mind, we must approach the appearance of any women, even ruling elite women, as a breach of a veneer of their absence that speaks to their sheer centrality of women's role of social reproduction, as Tithi Bhattacharya, Nancy Fraser, Cinzia Arruzza, and Silvia Federici teach us.[87]

The Arab Women's Executive Committee's members were from the economic and political elite and perhaps their representation should point us to the absence of working and peasant class women in Palestinian society in Jawhariyyeh's albums. Yet, the archeology of this photographic archive does provide us with a breach of that masculinist gendered surface. Like Tarab 'Abd al-Hadi, a number of these women had husbands on the Arab Executive Committee and its successor, the Arab Higher Committee.[88] These were the elites who had structured Palestinian society since the late Ottoman era and who populated Jawhariyyeh's social life and albums. Approaching the images from an oblique, gendered dissensual angle, images of "demonstrations" allow gender (and class) tension to seep from Jawhariyyeh's male and ruling-class centered narrative. On the one hand, these images inadvertently document the disintegration, ineffectual nature, and collusion, of the ruling families and their functionaries and clients, including Jawhariyyeh himself. But, perhaps on the other, these images remind us of the central of women in the reproduction of a people, their social ties and their

cultural identities that defy erasure, whether by Arab masculinist narratives or by Zionist settler colonialism.

Let us read the gendered images of the Arab Women's Executive Committee against equally frenetic images that were put in motion with one another by Jawhariyyeh. While the riots of Nabi Musa and the conflagration of 1929 regularly receive attention and figure prominently in the written and visual narrative of the history of Palestine, the "Jaffa Protest" of 1933 receives less attention. By 1933, Jewish immigration began to further intensify due to worsening conditions for Jews in Nazi Germany. Furthermore, Palestine's new High Commissioner, Arthur Wauchope, was a consummate colonial-military governor. He was also an unabashed and open Zionist sympathizer, committed to Jewish economic and political development in Palestine, including support for the militarization of the Yishuv. After discovering a shipment of arms headed to Tel Aviv, the Arab Executive Committee called for a general strike in October of 1933, sparking a series of demonstrations throughout Palestine, starting in Jerusalem and spreading to Jaffa, Haifa, and Nablus. Tali Hatuka notes that the events of 1933 clearly differed from the uprisings in 1920, 1921 and 1929, which were directed at Zionists and Arab Jews.[89] These demonstrations protested specifically against what had become clear as the British Mandate's open support for the Zionist project and were a call for independence.

In her analysis of the spatial dimensions of the Jaffa protest, Hatuka also observes how the District Commissioner refused to permit a public protest and rejected the demonstration route. In turn, he offered to receive a Palestinian delegation in his office, a plan which itself was rejected by the Palestinian leadership. Hatuka notes that "the British offer to receive a delegation disregarded two key elements of a mass demonstration, namely: the sense of equality achieved by breaking down hierarchal representation, and, secondly, the recognition that a demonstration is a form of inclusion, not reduction as in the case of a small delegation."[90] As a result, the police chief ordered the violent dispersal of the crowd by ordering a baton charge on peaceful protestors.[91] Twenty-one people died and dozens more were injured as a result of police brutality.

Jawhariyyeh shows photographs of police riots in Jaffa and in Jerusalem, where Mandate police are seen beating Palestinians with batons. They are wide shots taken from the roof above the squares, where the photographer can clearly capture that demonstrators are being attacked by the British. Palestinian bodies are on the ground and the police are seen chasing after the large crowd, beating demonstrators indiscriminately. The Jaffa demonstration had a particular emotional meaning for Wasif, as at this event Musa Kazhim al-Husseini, then in his eighties, was beaten by the British so badly that he died from the injuries a few months later. The albums contain photographs of the demonstrations both in Jaffa and Jerusalem, which form a series of images that are intended to speak to one another, just as the photographs of the Arab Women's Executive Committee, in a dynamic way.

FIGURE 5.18. Arab demonstrations protesting Jewish immigration in Jaffa, October 27, 1933. Jawhariyyeh Album 2, IPS Beirut.

The Jerusalem images start with throngs of men pushing, peacefully, through the narrow streets of Bab al-Khalil, who are then surrounded by British gendarmes and then attacked by British police at Bab al-Khalil and Bab al-Jadid (fig. 5.18). The Jerusalem images are followed by similar images of British police, on horse and foot, charging and savagely attacking demonstrators in Jaffa.

These images document more than a sustained pattern and policy of violence and police abuse of Palestinians. Rather, they offer a dissensual history, a latent history that emerges even in Jawhariyyeh's own imaginary museum. These images are not only documents of the lived experiences of the notable class and ruling elite, but also clearly give life to the cross-section of workers, peasants, merchants, and others who filled the streets when the Arab Executive Committee made their official call. Indeed, it is these actors that are largely responsible for dragging the Palestinian leadership, eventually, to support the Great Revolt. Rashid Khalidi suggests that the violence of 1933 was a turning point that gave visibility to the failures, infighting, and, indeed, corruption of the traditional ruling class who had worked with the Zionists and British to suppress a more militant younger generation that began to consider armed struggle.[92]

Jawhariyyeh, perhaps inadvertently, exposes that, despite their colonial civilizational discourses, his employers and rulers, the British, relied on brute violence to repress Palestinian aspirations and, in turn, clearly demonstrated

favoritism to the Zionists. The images document the disintegration of an aging Ottoman-era leadership of Palestine, who believed that they could engage Mandate authorities and negotiate themselves into liberation. Many of them, like Jawhariyyeh, worked for the British while also advocating independence. While many decried the Zionist program and its British supporters, they also secretly took money from the Zionists, like Musa Kazhim himself, or sold land to the Zionists at exorbitant profit, like ʿAwni ʿAbd al-Hadi.[93] Between jockeying for power and for access to capital, the ruling elite were caught within their own rivalries, for example between the Husseinis and the Nashishibis, rivalries that would result in collusion with the British and the Zionists. All the while, the working class and the peasantry—those who worked for or had patron-client relations with the ruling elite—seemed ready and capable of mobilizing on the ground when the political moment demanded.

Jawhariyyeh's images of *muzhaharat*, of manifestations, introduce a "gap in the sensible itself." The images of demonstrations provide a dissensual history that allows us to approach Palestinian resistance without romanticizing it as monolithic. A dissensual history navigates contradictions—the absences of women, peasants and workers with the presence of mass demonstrations, for example. But also, this dissensual history, in the process of identifying contradictions within Palestinian civil and political society, notes them as historical facts determined by multiple vectors of political and social forces within Palestinian lifeworlds; lifeworlds caught in confrontation, negotiation and even collaboration with the power of British colonial authorities and growing Zionist immigration and mobilization. Presenting a series of frenetic, surviving images of demonstrations and their repression provides a method by which the albums reclaim the sensible, reclaim the contradictions and complexities inherent in any political society that are otherwise prohibited by the *partage*/partitions/distribution along colonial settler sensibilities.

The logic of colonialism and the naturalized ideology of settler-colonialism charge us to read these surviving images as relics of a lost past, a tragic un-realized state, and a people on their way to extinction. However, if we translate "surviving images" into Arabic, they will be read as "living images," *suwar m'ayishah*, or perhaps more accurately *suwar hayah*. These images as living images refuse the logics of colonialism, the perspectives of the Orientalist lens, and the ideology of the settler colonial state. To see these surviving images as living images repatriates them to Palestine, repatriates them as "our photography." I myself offer this analysis not as a Palestinian but as a Lebanese Arab sibling and scholar, who is empowered by these living images to reclaim "our" shared history, empowered to refuse the naturalization of the unnatural division of our communities.

Surviving living images of Palestine refuse Sykes-Picot and 1948. In other words, the demand emerging from surviving living images is not a nationalist demand but an epistemological, cultural, and political demand. It demands us to move away from the headlock of the *umheimlich*, the uncanniness of Jawhariyyeh's

photographs that draw us to nostalgically imagine a lost and irretrievable Palestinian history. The framework demands us to accept these images as un-partitioned history itself, as undivided sensibilities of social relations of the colonized, as texts that cut across Palestine from pre-1948 to the current moment. Tethering the visual to the political, Rancière states that "politics revolves around what is seen and what can be said about it, around who had the ability to see and the talent to speak around properties of spaces and the possibilities of time."[94] The reference to Rancière is intended only towards the realization of legitimacy at the heart of not only producing photographs, but also deploying them in order to give meaning to one's world, in order, even, to produce one's world as it struggles against being stripped by British colonizers and Zionist settlers.

Therefore, reading Jawhariyyeh's albums through the prism of surviving or living images, settler-colonial logics and settler-colonial futures are disrupted and denaturalized. The effect of Jawhariyyeh's photographs becomes restorative, although not because they "give light" to the "unseen" in the visual. It is restorative, rather, because the albums insist we perceive Palestine as present reality under the brutal forces of Zionist settler-colonialism. The surviving images restore the dissensual reality of Palestinian modernity that exists in an unbroken continuity until today. The centering of the contradictions, tensions, competing forces, desires and interest within Palestinian polity allows us to approach the social, class, gendered, and material contradictions within Palestinian society and history without abrogating Palestinian claims to Palestine. In fact, this approach allows us to evince these claims. Approaching Jawhariyyeh's albums as a consortium of surviving images permits us to critically approach Palestinian history itself as not a byproduct of Zionist determination, British machinations and collusion, and Palestinian failure. Rather, the interplay of images in Jawhariyyeh's albums emancipates Palestinian history from Zionist and colonial narratives. Rather than continuously having to answer questions and statements as framed by the settler-colony and its patrons, this method of reading the interaction between the images decolonizes the Palestinian visual archive and Palestinian history. The decolonial method, then, acknowledges the contradictions and tensions that structure all colonial societies and national movements, which include bourgeois machinations to hijack the national movement, the collusion of the ruling class with settler-colonial forces, and the suppression of the leading role of subaltern classes in the revolutionary struggle. The surviving images that Wasif draws from the Orientalist and expatriate archive and places in his *musée imaginaire palestinien* centers "our photography" of the Palestinians and the undeniable *living* reality of transhistorical Palestine, from the River to the Sea.