

NOTES

1. WAYS OF SEEING THE PALESTINIAN VISUAL ARCHIVE

1. Salim Tamari, "Jerusalem's Ottoman Modernity: The Time and Lives of Wasif Jawhariyyeh," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 1 (Summer 2000): 1–34; Stephen Sheehi, *Arab Imago: A Social History of Photographic Portraiture 1850–1920* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016); Stephen Sheehi, "Portrait Paths: Studio Photography in Ottoman Palestine," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 61 (2015): 23–41; Walid Khalidi, *Before Their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians 1876–1948* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1984).

2. For the manifesto of the PLO Film Unit and an illuminating discussion of it see Kay Dickenson, *Arab Film and Video Manifestos: Forty-Five Years of the Moving Image Amid Revolution* (New York: Palgrave, 2018), 81–104.

3. For example, see Ali Behdad, *Camera Orientalis: Reflections on Photography of the Middle East* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016); Issam Nassar, *Laqatat Mughayirah: al-taswir al-fotographi al-mubakkir fi Falastin* (Ramallah: Kutub and Qattan Foundation, 2005); Carmen Perez-Gonzalez, *Local Portraiture: Through the Lens of the 19th Century Iranian Photographers* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012); Markus Ritter and Staci Scheiwiller, eds., *Indigenous Lens: Early Photography in the Near and Middle East* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018); Yasmeeen Nachabe Taan, *Reading Marie al-Khazen's Photographs: Gender, Photography, Mandate Lebanon* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020); Sheehi, *Arab Imago*.

4. For a contrapuntal history of photography in Southwest Asia that centers indigenous practice, see Stephen Sheehi, "Beyond Orientalism: Toward a History of *Indigenista* Photography in the Arab World," *The Handbook of Photography Studies*, ed. Gil Paternak (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), 353–68.

5. For general information on Yasayi Garabedian and the centrality of Armenians in the photographic history in the Middle East, see Badr el-Hage, "The Armenian Pioneers of Middle Eastern Photography," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 31 (2007): 22–26.

6. Issam Nassar, "Familial Snapshots: Representing Palestine in the Work of the First Local Photographers," *History & Memory* 18, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2006): 145.

7. Nassar, "Familial Snapshots," 26.

8. The relationship between photography, exoticism of the Holy Land, and postcards has been discussed at length by a number of scholars. One example is Annelies Moors, "Presenting Palestine's Population Premonitions of the Nakba," *MIT Electronic Journal of Middle East Studies* 1 (May 2001): 1–12; Annelies Moors, "Presenting People: The Politics of Picture Postcards of Palestine/Israel," in *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, ed. David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 93–105.

9. For more about the Saboungis, see Sheehi, *Arab Imago*.

10. Mia Gröndahl, *The Dream of Jerusalem: Lewis Larsson and the American Colony Photographers* (Stockholm: Journal, 2006); Barbara Blair, "The American Colony Photography Department: Western Consumption and 'Insider' Commercial Photography," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 44 (2010): 28–38. For a history of the Albina Brothers, see Iris Albina, "Souvenir From Gethsemane: Portrait of the Albina Brothers," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 60 (Autumn 2014): 59–76.

11. See Issam Nassar, "A Jerusalem Photographer: The Life and Work of Hanna Safieh," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 7 (2000): 25. Hanna Safieh also wrote an autobiography, published as *A Man and His Camera: Photographs of Palestine* (Jerusalem: s.n. [Raffi Safieh], 1999).

12. For a few studies on the rising of the *effendiyah* class, see Toufoul Abou Hodeib, *A Taste of Home: The Modern Middle Class in Ottoman Beirut* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2017); Beshara Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus 1700–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Wilson Chacko Jacob, *Working Out Egypt: Effendi Masculinity and Subject Formation in Colonial Modernity 1870–1940* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).

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

14. Seikaly, *Men of Capital*, 13.

15. See Edward J. Erickson, *Ordered to Die: A History of the Ottoman Army in the First World War* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 2001), 211; James Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 77.

16. For a recent complex study of social, economic and political dynamic around the famine, see Melanie Tanielian, *The Charity of War: Famine, Humanitarian Aid and World War I in the Middle East* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2017).

17. Seikaly, *Men of Capital*.

18. For a recent study convincingly showing that the success of Zionism and Israel itself is inextricably due to the unwavering political, military, and economic support of sponsoring powers, particularly the British and then Americans, see Rashid Khalidi, *The Hundred Years' War on Palestine: A History of Settler Colonialism and Resistance, 1917–2017* (New York: Metropolitan, 2020).

19. For further discussion of Nicola Saig's "Caliph Umar at Jerusalem's Gates," see Kamal Boullata, *Palestinian Art: 1850 to the Present* (London: Saqi, 2009), 114–16.

20. For more on this painting and allegory, see Stephen Sheehi, "Before Painting: Niqula Saig and Photographic Vision," in *Arab Art Histories: Khaled Shouman Collection (Qira'at fil-fann al-'arabi)* (Amman: Darat al-Funun and Amsterdam: Idea Books, 2014), 361–74.

21. Laura Robson, *Colonialism and Christianity in Mandate Palestine* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011); Michelle Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth Century Palestine* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011).

22. See Michael Allen, *In The Shadow of World Literature: Sites of Reading in Colonial Egypt* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016); Elliot Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities: Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); Tarek El-Ariss, *Trials of Arab Modernity: Literary Effects and the New Political* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013); Elizabeth Holt, *Fictitious Capital: Silk, Cotton, and the Rise of the Arabic Novel* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017); Ilham Khuri-Makdisi, *The Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism, 1860–1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Kamran Rastegar, *Literary Modernity between the Middle East and Europe* (London: Routledge, 2007); Jeff Sacks, *Iterations of Loss* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015); Samah Selim, *The Novel and Rural Imaginary 1880–1985* (New York: Routledge/Curzon, 2004); Stephen Sheehi, *The Foundations of Modern Arab Identity* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004); and Shaden Tageldin, *Disarming Words: Empire and the Seduction of Translation in Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

23. Lauren Banko, *The Invention of Palestinian Citizenship, 1918–1947* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2017).

24. For the theory of photography as contract with which this book engages directly and indirectly, see Ariella Aïsha Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography* (New York: Verso, 2012). For some discussion of political thought and concepts of citizenship and political rights of subjects, see Amal Ghazal, *Islamic Reform and Arab Nationalism: Expanding the Crescent from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean 1880s–1930s* (London: Routledge, 2010); or Armando Salvatore, *Islam and Political Discourse of Modernity* (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1997); or, for a more micro study of a formative Arab political thinker in terms, see Stephen Sheehi, "Al-Kawakibi: From Political Journalism to a Political Science of the 'Liberal' Arab Muslim," *Alif* 37 (2017): 85–109.

25. Cyrus Schayegh, "The Mandates and/as Decolonization," in *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Middle East Mandates*, ed. Cyrus Schayegh and Andrew Arsan (New York: Routledge, 2015): 412.

26. Schayegh, "The Mandates and/as Decolonization," 412.

27. Schayegh, "The Mandates and/as Decolonization," 414.

28. Anibal Quijano, "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America," *Nepantla: Views from the South* 1, no. 3 (2000): 533–80; Anibal Quijano, "Colonially and Modernity/Rationality," *Cultural Studies* 21, no. 2–3 (March–May 2007): 168–78.

29. Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).

2. THE ARCHIVAL AND NARRATIVE NATURE OF THE PHOTOGRAPHIC ALBUMS OF WASIF JAWHARIYYEH

1. Jacques Derrida, "Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression," trans. Eric Prenowitz, *Diacritics* 25, no. 2 (Summer, 1995): 9–10.
2. For further discussion of the subject of captions, see John Berger, *Understanding a Photograph* (New York: Penguin, 2013).
3. Bertha Spafford Vester, *Our Jerusalem: An American Family in the Holy City, 1881–1949* (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1950), 256.
4. Wasif Jawhariyyeh, *The Storyteller of Jerusalem: The Life and Times of Wasif Jawhariyyeh, 1904–1948*, ed. Salim Tamari and Issam Nassar, trans. Nada Elzeer (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2014), 100.
5. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 99.
6. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 35.
7. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 199.
8. Damian I (July 10, 1848–August 14, 1931) was the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem from 1897 to 1931.
9. On the Ottoman air force, see <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/europe/ot-air-history-2.htm>.
10. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 95.
11. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 100.
12. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1991), 24.
13. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 222. Ze'ev Jabotinsky was a revisionist Zionist leader in Palestine, who immigrated from Russia and formed a number of extremist right-wing Zionist paramilitary groups, including the infamous Irgun organization.
14. Tahiya Carioca, or Karioka (1915–99) was an Egyptian belly dancer and actress. Badi'a Masabni (1892–1974) was a Syrio-Lebanese belly dancer in Egypt. Farid al-Atrash (1910–74), a Syrian active in Egypt, was a composer, singer, and oud player. Amin Haseenayn was an Egyptian singer most famous for his songs during World War II. Sami al-Shawa (1889–1965) was the most famous Egyptian violinist of the twentieth century. His family came to Egypt from Aleppo in Syria. 'Ali al-Kassar (1887–1957) was a famous Egyptian movie star. 'Umar al-Batsh (1885–1950) was a composer and oud player from Aleppo; he was Wasif's oud instructor and companion during World War I. See Muhammad Sawi, *Tahiyah Kariyuka: ashhar raqisat al-cinema al-misriyah (Tahiya Carioca: The Most Famous Dancer of Egyptian Cinema)* (Beirut: Dar al-ratib al-jama'iyah, 1995) and, in English, Sharifa Zuhur, *Colors of Enchantment: Theater, Dance, Music, and the Visual Arts of the Middle East* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2001).
15. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 179.
16. Mohammad 'Ali Jawhar (1878–1931) was an Indian Muslim activist, journalist and poet whose name is associated with the Khilafat movement.
17. All references to Emile Habibi's novel come from the original Arabic version *al-Waqa' al-gharibah fi ihtifa' Sa'id Abu al-Nahs al-mutasha'il* (Beirut: Ibn Khaldun for Publishing and Distribution, 1974). However, the book appeared in English translation as *The Secret Life of Saeed: The Pessoptimist*, trans. Trevor LeGassick (Northampton, MA: Interlink Pub Group, 2001). The quotation above is from the Arabic version, page 37.

18. Habibi, *al-Waq' al-Gharibah*, 17.
19. Jawhariyyeh, *The Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 74.

3. VISUAL INTERLUDE: PHOTOGRAPHIC IMAGES FROM OTTOMAN AND MANDATE PALESTINE

1. Stephen Sheehi, "Behind Every Male Photographer: The Invisible History of Arab Women Photographers," *Aramco Magazine* (March–April, 2019): 28–30, <https://www.aramcoworld.com/en-US/Articles/March-2019/Women-Behind-the-Lens>.
2. Silvia Federici, *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2012), 31.
3. For examples of methodologies and strategies that locate the affective experiences as a critical point of departure, see Elspeth H. Brown and Thy Phu, *Feeling Photography* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014); Tina Campt, *Listening to Images* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017); and Tina Campt, *Image Matters: Archive, Photography, and the African Diaspora in Europe* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

4. PATRONAGE AND PHOTOGRAPHY: HUSSEIN HASHIM'S MELANCHOLIC JOURNEY

1. Susan Sontag, "Melancholy Objects," in *On Photography* (London: Penguin, 2008), 44.
2. Sontag, "Melancholy Objects," 62–66.
3. J.W. Dewdney, "Melancholy Objects: Notes 'On Photography,'" *C4 Contemporary Art*, n.d., <https://c4gallery.com/pedagogy/Sontag-on-Photography-%20essay.html>, accessed July 30, 2018.
4. Wasif Jawhariyyeh Photographic Index, Album 2, "Women's Protest, 1929" Images J2/60–169 to J2/61–175.
5. Wasif Jawhariyyeh, Salim Tamari, and Issam Nassar, *al-Quds al-'Uthmaniyah fil-mudhakkirat al-Jawhariyah: al-kitab al-awwal min mudhakkirat al-musiqi Waṣif Jawhariyah, 1904–1917* (al-Quds: Mu'assasat al-Dirasat al-Maqdisiyah, 2003), 6.
6. Jawhariyyeh, Tamari, and Nassar, *al-Quds al-'Uthmaniyah*, 6.
7. See a description of the collection in Wasif Jawhariyyeh, *The Storyteller of Jerusalem: The Life and Times of Wasif Jawhariyyeh, 1904–1948*, ed. Salim Tamari and Issam Nassar, trans. Nada Elzeer (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2014), 171–73.
8. Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Ken Knabb (Berkeley, CA: Bureau of Public Secrets, Public Domain, 2014).
9. Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, 18.
10. Phil Carney, "Crime, Punishment and the Force of Photographic Spectacle," in *Framing Crime: Cultural Criminology and the Image*, ed. K.J. Hayward and M. Presdee (London: Routledge, 2010), 29.
11. Carney, "Crime, Punishment," 20.
12. Salim Tamari, "The War Photography of Khalil Raad: Ottoman Modernity and the Biblical Gaze," *The Jerusalem Quarterly* 52 (2014): 25–37.
13. I have used here *Al-Quds al-'Uthmaniyah* and the abridged English version *Storyteller of Jerusalem*.

14. The filming of this event is recorded in Ihsan Turjman's diary, *'Am al-Jarad (Year of the Locust)*. The best photographic image of the launching comes from the École Biblique World War 1 photographic collection, which is reproduced here by permission.

15. Another *taqtuqah*, *al-Kursannah wal-Ful* ("Homage to Double Book-Keeping") is cited by Jawhariyyeh in the second volume of his memoirs, but no music of this ditty has survived (for the its text see Wasif Jawhariyyeh, ms. 164).

16. Wasif's *Musical Notebook* is a repertoire of Arabic musical collections that were performed in Jerusalem and Palestine at the turn of the century. See *Al-Safina—the Musical Notebooks of Wasif Jawhariyyeh*, unpublished manuscript, IPS Archives, Ramallah.

17. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 62.

18. Nermin Menemencioglu, "The Ottoman Theatre 1839–1923," *Bulletin of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies* 10, no. 1 (1983): 55–56.

19. Jawhariyyeh, Tamari, and Nassar, *al-Quds al-'Uthmaniyah*, 133–34.

20. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 79.

21. Cyrus 'Ali Zargar, "The Satiric Method of Ibn Daniyal: Morality and Anti-Morality," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 37, no. 1 (2006): 68–108.

22. Dror Zé'evi, "Hiding Sexuality: The Disappearance of Sexual Discourse in the Late Ottoman Middle East," *The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice* 49, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 40–41.

23. Zé'evi, "Hiding Sexuality," 40.

24. 'Ali Hasan Bawab, *Mawsu'at Yafa al-Jamilah*, Vol. 2 (Beirut: al-Mu'assasa al-'Arabi yalid-Dirasat wal-Nasr, 2003): 1519–20.

25. Zé'evi, "Hiding Sexuality," 42. For a discussion of the origins of Karagoz and Hacivat see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karagöz_and_Hacivat, accessed October 19, 2020. The text of the Jerusalem performances of Karakoz and Uwaz can be reviewed in Jawhariyyeh, Tamari, and Nassar, *al-Quds al-'Uthmaniyah*, 82–88.

26. Jawhariyyeh, Tamari, and Nassar, *al-Quds al-'Uthmaniyah*, 88.

27. Jawhariyyeh, Tamari, and Nassar, *al-Quds al-'Uthmaniyah*, 79–88.

28. Jawhariyyeh, Tamari, and Nassar, *al-Quds al-'Uthmaniyah*, 81.

29. Jawhariyyeh, Tamari, and Nassar, *al-Quds al-'Uthmaniyah*, 80.

30. Jawhariyyeh, Tamari, and Nassar, *al-Quds al-'Uthmaniyah*, 81. The Hindiyah Café still exists opposite Damascus Café, a century later, and has now been converted into a fast food restaurant (2017).

31. Jawhariyyeh, Tamari, and Nassar, *al-Quds al-'Uthmaniyah*, 130.

32. Samir Franciscus, "Palestine 1896 short film (La Palestina en 1896) by the Lumière Brothers," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OxemkAXlr8s>, accessed September 21, 2020.

33. Douglas Knoop, *Colour Impression: Report to the Albert Kahn Trustees on the Results of a Journey Round the World, July 21, 1913, to July 24, 1914* ([SP.]: Forgotten Books, 2016).

34. Jawhariyyeh, Tamari, and Nassar, *al-Quds al-'Uthmaniyah*, 130; Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 62.

35. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 176.

36. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 91, 204.

37. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 178.

38. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 178–19.

39. Adil Manna, *A 'lam Filastin fi awakhir al- 'ahd al- 'Uthmani* (1800–1918) (Beirut, Institute for Palestine Studies, 2008), 121–24.
40. Manna, *A 'lam Filastin*, 124–30.
41. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 27.
42. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 22.
43. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 25.
44. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 11.
45. Mana, *'Alam*, 121; Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 23.
46. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 23.
47. Jawhariyyeh, Tamari, and Nassar, *al-Quds al-'Uthmaniyah*, 139; Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 24.
48. Salim Tamari, *Year of the Locust: A Soldier's Diary and the Erasure of Palestine's Ottoman Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 111–12.
49. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 173. Turjman also discusses widespread prostitution in Jerusalem during the war. See Tamari, *Year of the Locust*, 65.
50. Knoop, *Colour Impressions*.
51. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 38.
52. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 39, 63, 272.
53. Sontag, “Melancholy Objects,” 41, 44, 54. See also a short reflection by a student identified only as “j2lajoie,” “Mourning the Real through Photography,” <https://selfierhetoric.net/2015/01/22/mourning-the-real-through-photography-a-brief-summary-of-sontags-melancholy-objects>, accessed July 28, 2020.
54. Manna, *'Alam*, 123. The sewage system was never realized during Husseini's tenure, for lack of funding, and was soon canceled by the onset of the war.
55. Vivian Gilbert, *The Romance of the Last Crusade: With Allenby to Jerusalem* (New York [u.a.]: Appleton-Century, 1939), 154–70.
56. Gilbert, *The Romance of the Last Crusade*, 166.
57. Gilbert, *The Romance of the Last Crusade*, 167.
58. Jawhariyyeh, Tamari, and Nassar, *al-Quds al-'Uthmaniyah*, 254.
59. Jawhariyyeh, Tamari, and Nassar, *al-Quds al-'Uthmaniyah*, 256. The date is according to the Ottoman mali calendar. The actual years of Ottoman administration were 414 hijra years.
60. Jawhariyyeh, Tamari, and Nassar, *al-Quds al-'Uthmaniyah*, 255.
61. Wasif Jawhariyyeh, Salim Tamari, and Issam Nassar, *al-Quds al-Intidabiyah fil-mudhakkirat al-Jawhariyah: al-kitab al-awwal min mudhakkirat al-musiqi Wasif Jawhariyah, 1904–1917* (al-Quds: Mu'assasat al-Dirasat al-Maqdisiyah, 2003), 277.
62. Jawhariyyeh, Tamari, and Nassar, *al-Quds al-Intidabiyah*, 278.
63. Jawhariyyeh, Tamari, and Nassar, *al-Quds al-Intidabiyah*, 279.
64. Jawhariyyeh, Tamari, and Nassar, *al-Quds al-'Uthmaniyah*, 180. This episode refers to his father's memory of the closure of the city's walls after sunset—he mentions the year 1845—“when I was a boy in Harat al-Sa'diyah.”
65. *al-Safina*, musical notebook of Wasif Jawhariyyeh (undated manuscript), IPS Archives, Ramallah.
66. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, xxiii; Jawhariyyeh, Tamari, and Nassar, *al-Quds al-'Uthmaniyah*, 175.

67. Kirsten Seale, "Eye-Swiping London: Iain Sinclair, Photography and the *Flâneur*," *Literary London: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Representation of London* 3, no. 2 (September 2005), <http://www.literarylondon.org/london-journal/september2005/seale.html>.

68. See Salim Tamari, "City of Riffraff: Crowds, Public Space, and New Urban Sensibilities in War-Time Jerusalem, 1917–1921," in *Comparing Cities: The Middle East and South Asia*, ed. Kamran Asdar 'Ali and Martina Rieker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

5. OUR PHOTOGRAPHY: REFUSING THE 1948 PARTITION OF THE SENSIBLE

1. For a recent critical overview of the "history of Middle East photography," locating the "Orientalist" and "expatriate" traditions of photography of the Middle East in relation to the history of indigenous (Arab and Armenian) photography of the Middle East, see Stephen Sheehi, "Beyond Orientalism: Toward a History of Indigenista Photography in the Arab World," in *The Handbook of Photography Studies*, ed. Gil Pasternak (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), 353–68. Also see Sheehi, *Arab Imago*, and Ali Behdad, *Camera Orientalis: Reflections on Photography of the Middle East* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), which offers a complex re-reading of Orientalist photography and its circulation and deployment in the Middle East.

2. Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 46.

3. Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, 43.

4. Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, 54.

5. The image appears on the Khalidi Library webpage, where all the members are identified. See <http://www.khalidilibrary.org/opening.html>.

6. Patrick Cabral, *Amílcar Cabral: Revolutionary Leadership and People's War* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 172 (my italics).

7. Jacques Rancière, *Politics of Aesthetics: Distribution of the Sensible*, trans. Gabriel Rockhill (London: Continuum, 2004), 14.

8. Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, 45.

9. Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, 46.

10. Some have asserted that Ottoman photographic practice intentionally pushed back against Orientalist representations; see Zeynep Çelik, "Speaking Back to Orientalist Discourse at the World's Columbian Exposition," in *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures: Orientalism in America 1870–1930*, ed. Holly Edwards (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

11. David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).

12. For an enlightening study about how European powers regularly thought in terms of partitions and population transfers as viable political solutions to "ethnic" conflicts that were fueled, in fact, through European design (for example, patronizing and favoring some communities over others to curry allies and stoke division), see Laura Robson, *States of Separation: Transfer, Partition and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017).

13. Georges Didi-Huberman, *The Surviving Image: Phantoms of Time and Time of Phantoms: Aby Warburg's History of Art*, trans. Harvey Mendelsohn (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 2017), 48.

14. Didi-Huberman, *The Surviving Image*, 37.
15. The diary has been published in full in Arabic in two volumes: Wasif Jawhariyyeh, *al-Quds al-'uthmaniyah fil-mudhakkirat al-Jawhariyyeh: al-Kitab al-awal min al-musiqi Wasif Jawhariyyeh 1904–1917*, ed. Salim Tamari and Issam Nassar (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-dirasat al-Filastiniyah, 2003) and Wasif Jawhariyyeh, *al-Quds al-intidabiyah fil-mudhakkirat al-Jawhariyah: al-Kitab al-thani min al-musiqi Wasif Jawhariyah 1918–1948*, ed. Salim Tamari and Issam Nassar (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-dirasat al-Filastiniyah, 2005). Unless otherwise noted, most English translations are taken from the English edition of Jawhariyyeh's diary, *The Storyteller of Jerusalem: The Life and Times of Wasif Jawhariyyeh, 1904–1948*, ed. Salim Tamari and Issam Nassar, trans. Nada Elzeer (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2014). For an introduction to Jawhariyyeh, see Salim Tamari, "Jerusalem's Ottoman Modernity: The Time and Lives of Wasif Jawhariyyeh," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 1 (Summer 2000): 1–34.
16. See Nadera Shalhoub Kevorkian, "Palestinian Women and the Politics of Invisibility: Towards a Feminist Methodology," *Peace Prints: South Asian Journal of Peacebuilding* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 1–21; Andreas Hackl, "Immersive Invisibility in the Settler-Colonial City: The Conditional Inclusion of Palestinians in Tel Aviv," *American Ethnologist* 45, no. 3 (2018): 1–13; and Ilana Feldman, "Refusing Invisibility: Documentation and Memorialization in Palestinian Refugee Claims," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21 (2008): 498–516.
17. Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian, "Speaking Life, Speaking Death: Jerusalemite Children Confronting Israel's Technologies of Violence," in *The Emerald Handbook of Feminism, Criminology and Social Change*, ed. Sandra Walklate et al (London: Emerald Publishing Limited, 2020): 253–70.
18. For thinking about a method for "decolonizing" the colonial archive and making the invisible visible, see Stephen Sheehi, "Searching for a Method in a Plate of Hummus: Reading Photographs from Mandate Palestine," in *Imaging and Imagining Palestine: Photography, Modernity, and the Biblical Lens 1818–1948*, ed. Karéne Sanchez Summer and Sary Zananiri (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 346–65.
19. Gil Hochberg, *Visual Occupations: Violence and Visibility in a Conflict Zone* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015). Hochberg's work is in conversation with Nicholas Mirzoeff, *Rights to Look: A Counter History of Visuality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011). The issue of race, in particular blackness, in the United States also seems to be instructive in thinking about the "value" of blackness as always in relation to whiteness or "visibility." See, for an example of such an inquiry, Charles W. Mills, *Blackness Visible: Essays on Philosophy and Race* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015).
20. Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).
21. Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, 170.
22. Geoffrey Batchen, *Each Wild Idea: Writing, Photography, History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 60.
23. A number of important publications push us to think about the intersection between ableism and visibility. While few have specifically engaged in confronting not only the metaphor but the epistemological prism of "visuality," a number of important works reach beyond physical dimensions of ableism and capacity and the ways in which representation colludes with ableism even when unintended, including in regards to photography. See, for example, Benjamin Fraser, *Cognitive Disability Aesthetics: Visual Culture, Disability Representations, and the (in)visibility of Cognitive Difference* (Toronto: University of Toronto

Press, 2018) and the seminal work of Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, including “Seeing the Disabled: Visual Rhetorics of Disability in Popular Photography,” in *The New Disability History: American Perspectives*, ed. Paul K. Longmore and Lauri Umansky (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 335–74, and “The Politics of Staring: Visual Rhetorics of Disability in Popular Photography,” in *Disability Studies: Enabling the Humanities*, ed. Sharon L. Snyder, Rosemarie Garland Thomson, and Brenda Jo Brueggemann (Modern Language Association of America, 2002), 56–75.

24. For this whole series of thoughts about “visual evidence,” see Michael Renov’s *Subject of Documentary* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004) in the groundbreaking series edited by him, Jane Gaines, and Faye Ginsburg.

25. Jennifer Bajorek starts us on this journey of “unfixing” photographs from dominant ways of seeing that structure our relationship with photography from/of the Global South (*Unfixed: Photography and Decolonial Imagination in West Africa* [Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2020]). Also see Ariella Aïsha Azoulay, *Potential History: Unlearning Imperialism* (New York: Verso, 2019).

26. Abdelkebir al-Khatibi, “Double Critique,” in *Plural Maghreb: Writings on Postcolonialism*, trans. Burcu Yalim (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), 30.

27. Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, 41.

28. Jacques Rancière, *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics*, trans. Steven Corcoran (London: Continuum, 2010), 69.

29. Decolonial and postcolonial methodologies regarding the visual and the aesthetic come from a broad spectrum of theorists. An insufficient sample includes theoretical studies of Blackness in the United States such as Fred Moten, *Black and Blur (consent not to be a single being)* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017) and Saidiya Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Social Upheaval* (New York: Norton, 2019). It might also include Walter D. Mignolo’s concept of “aesthetic entanglements”; see Rubén Gaztambide-Fernández, “Decolonial Options and artistic/aesthetic entanglements: An Interview with Walter D. Mignolo,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 3, no. 1 (2014): 196–212. Or scholars of the Middle East, South Asia, and Africa such as Ali Behdad, *Camera Orientalis: Reflections on Photography of the Middle East* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016); Stephen Sheehi, *Arab Imago: A Social History of Photographic Portraiture 1850–1910* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016); Christopher Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology* (London: Reaktion, 2011) and Bajorek, *Unfixed*.

30. To think about the ways in which “theory” coopts and displaces not only people of color but also displaces modes and media of critical inquiry that are deemed otherwise not valuable or not “theoretical,” see Barbara Christian, “The Race for Theory,” *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 67–79.

31. Amílcar Cabral, “Theory as a Weapon,” *Unity and Struggle: Speeches and Writings of Amílcar Cabral*, trans. Michael Wolfers (New York: Monthly Review, 1979), 119–37.

32. Cabral, “Theory as a Weapon,” 123, 120.

33. Jacques Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator*, trans. Gregory Elliot (New York, Verso, 2009), 13.

34. Stephen Sheehi, “From Sheikh Jarrah to Gaza: Palestine is Presence,” *Journal of Visual Culture* (2022): 221–26.

35. Ali Behdad, *Camera Orientalis: Reflections on Photography of the Middle East* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).

36. For a sample of works that discuss how Arab cultural producers “enacted” modernity in a variety of literary, architectural, visual and intellectual ways, see Tarek El-Ariss, *Trials of Arab Modernity: Literary Affects and the New Political* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013); Wilson Chacko Jacob, *Working Out Egypt: Effendi Masculinity and Subject Formation in Colonial Modernity, 1870–1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Stephen Sheehi, *Foundations of Modern Arab Identity* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004); Sheehi, *Arab Imago*; Keith Watenpaugh, *Being Modern in the Middle East: Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle Class* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

37. For a more precise and developed explanation of the Osmanli or “Ottoman perspective” (*manzhar*), see Sheehi, *Arab Imago*, e.g. xxiii.

38. For a discussion of the portraiture in Jawhariyyeh’s albums, see Stephen Sheehi, “Portrait Paths: Studio Photography in Ottoman Palestine,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 61 (2015): 23–41.

39. Walid Khalidi, *Before Their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1984).

40. Tina M. Campt, *Listening to Images* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017), 72.

41. Lena Meari, “Reconsidering Trauma: Towards a Palestinian Community Psychology,” *Journal of Community Psychology* 43, no. 1 (2015): 76–86.

42. Naseeb Shaheen, *Pictorial History of Ramallah* (Beirut: Arab Institute for Research and Publishing, 1992), 8.

43. In addition to Campt’s remarkable insights regarding the affective power of photography and the possibilities presented by that affect, Marianne Hirsch shows that family photographic albums in the United States supported accepted ideological configurations of the idealized family and society, the “familial gaze” as well as a familial look that accepts others into the family albums’ narrative. See Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).

44. Constance Abdallah, *To Be a Palestinian: An Anthropology of One Man’s Culture, The Life and Times of Hassan Mustafa Hassan Abdallah* (Chicago: Adam Writing and Publishing, 2000).

45. Salman Abu Sitta, *Mapping My Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (New York: American University of Cairo Press, 2017), x.

46. Raja Shehadeh, *Rift in Time: Travels with My Ottoman Uncle* (New York: OR Books, 2011).

47. Najib Khuri Nassar, *al-Sahuniyah: tarikhuha, gharaduha. hammiyatuhu* (Zionism: Its History, Its Goal. Its Priorities) (Haifa: Matba’at al-Karmil, 1911). For a fine taxonomy of the book, see Emanuel Beška, “Arabic Translations of Writing on Zionism Published in Palestine before the First World War,” *Asian and African Studies* 23, no. 1 (2014): 154–72.

48. Shehadeh, *Rift in Time*, 92.

49. The assertion that Jawhariyyeh established or imagined the first Palestinian national museum may be contested. Ilan Pappé relates that, around the turn of the century Ismail Musa al-Hussein, who had an erudite fascination with Palestinian antiquity, “began to collect ancient artifacts found by foreign archeologists” and “arranged [six of them] in a handsome permanent display at the Sultaniyah school opposite Herod’s Gate.” Pappé claims that “this was the first Palestinian museum” (*The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian Dynasty: The Husaynis, 1700–1948* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010], 107).

50. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 171.
51. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 125.
52. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 198.
53. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 201.
54. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 169.
55. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, x, 172.
56. André Malraux, *Voices of Silence*, trans. Stuart Gilbert (St. Albans: Paladin, 1974).
57. Malraux, *Voices of Silence*, 14.
58. Azoulay, *Potential History*, 64.
59. Azoulay, *Potential History*, 65.
60. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 133.
61. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 52.
62. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 62.
63. Martha Langford also discusses the role of photography albums in imagining or remembering history (*Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* [Montreal: McGill-Queen University Press, 2001]). For a history of “photobooks,” see Patrizia Di Bello, Colette Wilson and Shamoon Zamir, eds., *The Photobook from Talbot to Ruscha and Beyond* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012). And for an insightful gendered reading of photo albums and women, see Patrizia Di Bello, *Women’s Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007).
64. Georges Didi-Huberman, *Images in Spite of All: Four Photographs from Auschwitz*, trans. Shane B. Lillis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 151.
65. Sheehi, “Portrait Paths.”
66. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 139.
67. Ruth Kark and Michal Oren-Nordheim, *Jerusalem and its Environs: Quarters, Neighborhoods, Villages, 1800–1948*, (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press, 2001); 128.
68. Roberto Mazza, Maria Chiara Rioli, and Stéphane Ancel, “The History of the Forgotten Diplomatic Mission, 1846–1940,” *Jerusalem Quarterly*, Issue 71 (Autumn) 2017; 102.
69. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 139.
70. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 139.
71. Jawhariyyeh, *Storyteller of Jerusalem*, 140.
72. Jacques Rancière, *Politics of Aesthetics: Distribution of the Sensible*, translated by Gabriel Rockhill (London: Continuum, 2004); 12.
73. Rancière, *Politics of Aesthetics*, 12.
74. Georges Didi-Huberman, *Confronting Images: Questioning the Ends of a Certain History of Art*, trans. John Goodman (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2005), xxii.
75. Georges Didi-Huberman, “The Surviving Image: Aby Warburg and Tylorian Anthropology,” *Oxford Art Journal* 25, no. 1 (2002): 61.
76. Didi-Huberman, “The Surviving Image,” 68.
77. Didi-Huberman, *The Surviving Image*, 26.
78. Among many publications see Steven Salaita, *Inter/Nationalism: Decolonizing Native America and Palestine* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016) and J. Kehaulani Kauanui, *Speaking of Indigenous Politics: Conversations with Activists, Scholars, and Tribal Leaders* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018).

79. Rancière, *Dissensus*, 39.
80. Rancière, *Dissensus*, 39.
81. Rana Barakat, "The Jerusalem Fellah: Popular Politics in Mandate-Era Palestine," *Journal of Palestine Studies* XLVI, no. 1 (Autumn 2016): 8. For the aftermath of the Buraq revolt, see Rana Barakat, "Criminals or Martyrs? Let the Courts Decide!—British Colonial Legacy in Palestine and the Criminalization of Resistance," *Al-Muntaqa* 1, no. 1 (2018): 84–97.
82. Julie Peteet, *Gender in Crisis: Women and the Palestinian Resistance Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 43. Also see Ellen Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its "New" Women: The Palestinian Women's Movement 1920–1948* (Berkeley: University of California, 2003).
83. Peteet, *Gender in Crisis*, 48.
84. Matiel Moghannam's autobiography, as quoted by Peteet, *Gender in Crisis*, 47. For the first-person account in English, see Matiel Moghannam, *The Arab Woman and the Palestine Problem* (London: Herbert Joseph, 1937).
85. Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its "New" Women*, 117. Moghannam's autobiography features prominently in Fleischmann's study, which approaches it with critical but respectful discernment. See, e.g. *The Nation and Its "New" Women*, 117–22.
86. In addition to Peteet's and Fleischmann's histories, see Mogannam, *The Arab Woman*, and Anbara Salam al-Khalidi, *Memoirs of an Early Arab Feminist: The Life and Activism of Anbara Salam Khalidi*, trans. Tarif Khalidi (London: Pluto, 2013).
87. For a clear and compelling introduction to social reproduction theory see Tithi Bhattacharya, ed., *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentring Oppression* (London: Pluto, 2017); Silvia Federici, *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2012); and Nancy Fraser's sharp and concise "Contradictions of Capital and Care," *New Left Review* 100 (July/Aug 2016): 99–117, <https://newleftreview.org/issues/ii100/articles/nancy-fraser-contradictions-of-capital-and-care>.
88. Prominent members of the Executive Committee hailed from families that were the backbone of the Palestinian ruling class, all of whom appear in Jawhariyyeh's photographs: Fatima al Hussein, Khadija al-Husseini, Tarab 'Abd al-Hadi, Wahida al-Khalidi, Diya al-Nashashibi, Zahiyyah Nashashibi, Ni'mati 'Alami, Katrin Dib, Shahinda Duzdar, Anisa al-Khadra, Melia Sakakini, Zulaykha Shihabi, Mary Shahadah, and Sa'adiyah al-'Alami. For a fine study on their activism, see Ellen Fleischmann, "The Emergence of the Palestinian Women's Movement, 1929–1939," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 29, no. 3 (2000): 16–32.
89. Tali Hatuka, "Negotiating Space: Analyzing Jaffa Protest Form, Intention, and Violence, October 27, 1933," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 35 (2008): 95.
90. Hatuka, "Negotiating Space," 99.
91. Hatuka, "Negotiating Space," 96.
92. Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2006), 88–90.
93. Khalidi, *The Iron Cage*, 89.
94. Rancière, *Politics of Aesthetics*, 13.

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1. Edward Said and Jean Mohr, *After the Last Sky: Palestinian Lives* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 88.
2. Said and Mohr, *After the Last Sky*, 88.
3. Philip Gourevitch and Errol Morris, *The Ballad of Abu Ghraib* (New York: Penguin Books, 2009), 148, cited in Jennifer Tucker, "Entwined Practices: Engagements with Photography in Historical Inquiry," *History and Theory* 48, no. 4 (2009): 1.
4. Ariella Azoulay, *Potential History: Unlearning Imperialism* (New York: Verso, 2019). Also, see her "Potential History: Thinking through Violence," in *Critical Inquiry* 39, no. 3 (Spring 2013): 565.
5. Ariella Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography* (New York: Zone Books, 2008), 14.
6. Peter Gran, *Rise of the Rich: A New View of Modern History* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009), 60.
7. Sherene Seikaly, *Men of Capital: Scarcity and Economy in Mandate Palestine* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015).
8. Muhammad Muslih, *The Origins of Palestine Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 164–65.
9. Ilan Pappé, *The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian Dynasty: The Husaynis, 1700–1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 90.
10. Pappé, *The Husaynis*, 128–32.
11. Rana Barakat, "The Jerusalem Fellah: Popular Politics in Mandate-Era Palestine," *Journal of Palestine Studies* XLVI, no. 1 (Autumn 2016): 7–19; Seikaly, *Men of Capital*.
12. Parcelation Scheme of Wasif Jahariyyah, 1910/31, Scheme number 568, Government of Palestine, Jerusalem District Building and Town Planning Commission, Israel National Archives.
13. Michael Jensen, "Fence is Gone, There is Still Partition," *Jordan Times*, May 22, 2018, <https://archive.fo/20150201104709/> <http://jordantimes.com/fence-is-gone-there-is-still-partition#selection-1271.24-1271.137>.
14. Rana Barakat, "Mujimun am shuhuda'? Fa-linada' al-mahkamah tuqariru! Al-Irth al-'isti'mari al-Britani fi Falistin wa tajrim al-muqawimah," *Umran* (Omran) 2, no. 6 (Autumn 2013): 33–54; Barakat, "The Jerusalem Fellah."
15. Beshara Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus, 1700–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 7.
16. Some of these scholars who have been re-shaping our understanding of Mandate Palestine include Lauren Banko, Rana Barakat, Beshara Doumani, Laura Robson, Sherene Seikaly, Andrea Stanton, and Salim Tamari.
17. Rana Barakat, "Writing/righting Palestine Studies: Settler Colonialism, Indigenous Sovereignty and Resisting the Ghost(s) of History," *Settler Colonial Studies* 8, no. 3 (2018): 201, 353.
18. Barakat, "Writing/righting Palestine Studies," 355.
19. Barakat, "Writing/righting Palestine Studies," 360.