

**SITE-SEEING: POSTCARDS OF PALESTINE/ISRAEL AND THE VISUAL
CONSTRUCTION OF PLACE, 1890S TO 1990S**

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**Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham
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ABSTRACT

This PhD thesis explores postcards depicting Palestine/Israel in the period from 1890 – 1990, from the archives of the British Museum and comparable collections, to analyse the ways in which commercial visual media of this type reflected, and at times shaped, national narratives and identities. It also examines the inter-relations between the postcards and wider visual culture by looking at motifs featured on postcards and imagery in contemporaneous newspaper and travel photography, posters, and advertisements. I argue that postcards are an understudied visual medium when discussing the formation of national narratives and place-making, and that while they often repeat the same sights and generic landscapes, they function as unique commercial objects for single purchase, which commodify political and ideological positions and sites for the tourist gaze.

In the century covered by my study, postcards and visual culture of Palestine/Israel changed and adapted to represent the shifting social, political, and economic circumstances, as well as evolving market tastes. I explore these socio-political changes by outlining broad themes in postcard imagery: the depiction of biblical, picturesque Palestine; the agricultural display of the *Yishuv*; images of Tel Aviv's architectural development; commercial imagery of the military; postcards depicting resorts and beaches; and in the final chapter, the visual culture of urban and rural settlement in Palestine/Israel.

This visual archive allows for an examination of multiple narratives and perspectives that developed around a particularly contested landscape, through a consideration of European travel attitudes deeply shaped by religious-imperialist cultural contexts, and the self-presentation or lack thereof of local inhabitants of Palestine/Israel.

Key words: postcards; visual culture; tourism; national identity; photography; history; Palestine/Israel.

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LIST OF ARCHIVES CONSULTED

British Museum, London

National Archives, London

Thomas Cook Archives, Peterborough

Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Kenyon Institute, Jerusalem

W.F. Albright Institute, Jerusalem

Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem

Folklore Research Center, Hebrew University, Jerusalem

National Library of Israel, Jerusalem

Israel Museum, Jerusalem

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East Archives, online

Palestine Poster Project Archives, online.

Palestinian Museum, Birzeit

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Archive Abbreviations

BM – British Museum

EPH-ME – British Museum catalogue reference to ‘ephemera’ and ‘Middle East’

CZA – Central Zionist Archives

IMJ – Israel Museum, Jerusalem

FRC – Folklore Research Center, Hebrew University, Jerusalem

LoC – Library of Congress

NLI – National Library of Israel

PPPA – Palestine Poster Project Archives.

SKM – South Kensington Museum

TNA – The National Archives

UNRWA – United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East

General Abbreviations

IDF – Israel Defence Forces

JA – Jewish Agency

JGM – Jewish Gymnastic Movement

JNF – Jewish National Fund

PLO – Palestine Liberation Organisation

PMG – Post Master General

WZO – World Zionist Organisation

ZIB – Zionist Information Bureau

INTRODUCTION

The shaping of national narratives has always relied on visual culture – in symbols, in images, and in propaganda, national identities and histories are established, reinforced and disseminated both in and outside of a nation's borders. Within this wider sphere, the visual culture of tourism has played a key role in framing spaces, landscapes and people as a means for shaping this narrative and influencing local and international perceptions of nationhood and identity(ies). This thesis will ask what is meant by the concept of national identity(ies) in the context of the contested landscape of Palestine/Israel, and how this has been understood by local, foreign and diasporic audiences, specifically in terms of visual representation. Further, this thesis examines how image-producers influence how visual culture is created and interpreted, and how the means of production and the images created are indicative of wider presences and absences in Palestinian/Israeli tourist visual culture and identity narratives. Using the archive of Palestine/Israel postcards at the British Museum (BM) as the primary archival resource, this thesis will seek to establish how much of a role postcards played within the broader context of tourist visual culture in the establishment of national identity(ies) and narratives.

The postcard is an ephemeral object, understudied and underutilised in comparison to other types of visual culture in the examination of national narrative and identity formation. Yet the postcard is also the archetypal souvenir, and as this thesis will argue, a potent indicator of the ways in which publishers and photographers wished to represent places, peoples and nations. Postcards can also indicate the ways in which local and tourist postcard publishers wished to commemorate and communicate their experiences and understandings of place.

Can postcards tell us anything new about the process of establishing national narratives, or do they merely reflect, repeat and make palatable broader national identity narratives? How often do postcards conform to or subvert the standard tourist gaze – and what can that tell us both about postcards as a visual medium and the broader visual culture?

In this introductory chapter, I will discuss the scope of the source material that was the basis of my research; situate my research within the extant historiography of visual culture, imperialism and post-colonialism, histories of travel, tourism and national identity; and outline the structure of the thesis beyond this chapter.

The source base: methodological limitations and considerations

The primary archival resource for this research is the collection of postcards from the Middle East held at the BM, specifically those with an image depicting Palestine/Israel from 1890 – 1990. This collection continues to expand at the time of writing, and therefore the volume of cards and regional percentages are likely to change over time. The statistics used in this thesis were accurate as of 28 September 2018. The BM's collection included, at that point, 5,976 postcards which were archived under the geographic category of 'Middle East' (in the Museum's archive, this broadly means the Levant, Arabia, the Gulf, North Africa and Turkey). Of these, 1,935, or 32 per cent, depict the region known as the Levant (including Palestine/Israel, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan). Out of these Levant cards, 1,455 or 75 per cent, have images depicting Palestine/Israel. The nation(s) of Palestine/Israel are the most represented in the BM's Middle East postcard collection, followed by Egypt (720 postcards) and Turkey (688 postcards). This indicates, given that the donors to the collection are largely British – and are either donating personal postcards or collections – that Palestine/Israel has been a popular tourist destination for British tourists, and that collection and distribution of postcards from travel there was similarly popular.

The BM's understanding of Palestine/Israel follows the guidelines of the UN. The UN map is used to categorise cards from the nation(s) and therefore, the Palestine/Israel collection of postcards is split, geographically, into the West Bank, Gaza, Jerusalem and Israel. The majority of postcards from Palestine/Israel which can be situated in a specific place depict Jerusalem or a site within Jerusalem (713 postcards, of 49 per cent of all cards from the nation(s)). As shown in Table 1 below, which does not show Jerusalem so that the data can be more clearly seen, the next most represented cities are, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Galilee, Tel Aviv and Haifa. Some of the least represented areas include the Golan Heights and Gaza. The most represented urban sites are those which are home to significant Christian landmarks or are relatively 'modern' Israeli cities. The least represented are in the West Bank, Gaza or Golan Heights, where there is more general conflict and a majority Palestinian Arab population.¹

¹ This table uses figures from the BM's geographical tag of each postcard. Occasionally, more than one location is tagged in a postcard – for example, when multiple locations are shown on a single card – meaning the numbers here have some unavoidable overlap. Also, some cities with smaller numbers in terms of representation have been sorted into the 'Other' category in order to make the table readable. Full statistics can be accessed by contacting the author.

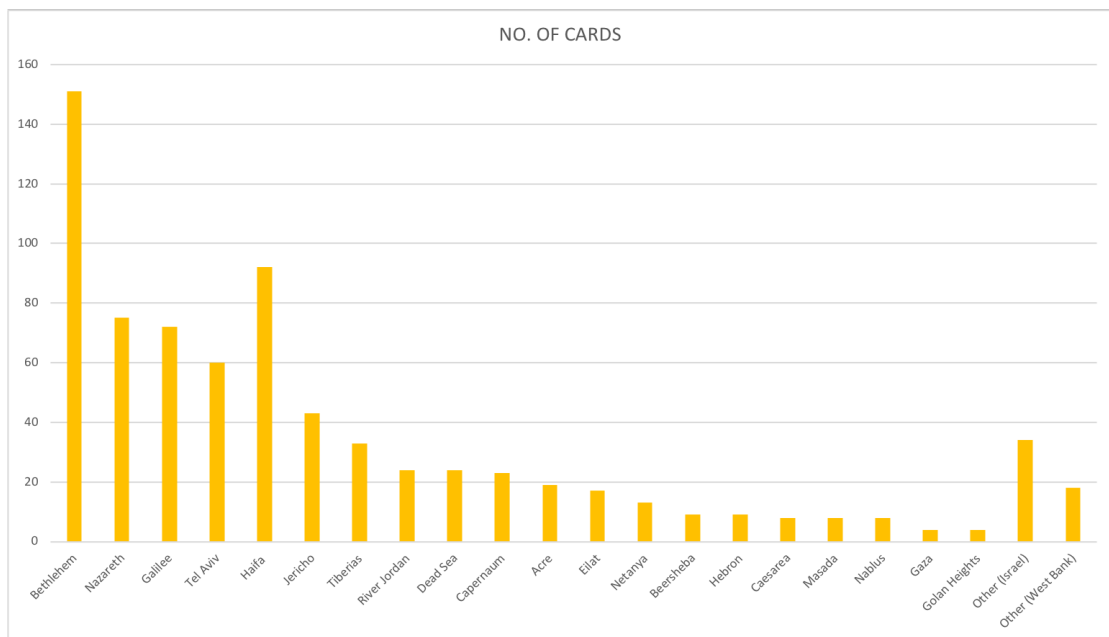


Table 1.

The number of postcards in the British Museum collection by city/site shown in the recto image.

This disparity could be indicative of a number of things: as shall be explored in Chapter One, British tourists have historically been likely to visit sites familiar to their understanding of Palestine/Israel as biblical, and the market of tourist visual media catered for this. Additionally, for postcards published in the later part of the twentieth century, tourism to regions experiencing conflict was likely to have been restricted either by the perception of danger or the actual threat of it, as shall be examined in Chapters Four and Five. Furthermore, the parameters of the BM collection are limited by tourist tastes, aesthetics, and the choices of postcard dealers and sellers. However, it is also true that postcards within the collection were purchased by the BM from postcard dealers, and so the structure of the collection is biased to some extent towards the collection choices of the BM. These choices are largely based on availability, cost, and condition of postcards, as well as filling gaps in the collection which is an ongoing process.

It is worth noting that the BM archival system for the postcards privileges the pictorial face of the card; something Annebella Pollen notes is also the case at Brighton & Hove Museums in her study of their inscriptions. She notes that such systems relegate the ‘message side to be the historically inferior face,’ but that this is likely also influenced by ‘collectors who originally acquired and later donated the cards [...]

following the market's lead, where cards that have been "postally used" are diminished in value.² The number of cards in the BM collection with no message on the verso vastly outweighs those with messages, posted or unposted, as well. Over 1000 postcards are unused within the set of postcards investigated in this thesis, 554 have an inscription on the verso (posted or unposted), and 358 have been, as collectors say, 'postally used.'

Within the collection there is a clear disparity in the volume of postcards produced by different publishers. The Israeli publisher Palphot dominates the collection – they are responsible for 48 per cent of the postcards depicting scenes from Palestine/Israel. Palphot has been actively publishing since 1932, when it was established by two Jewish immigrants to Palestine, and it continues to be a family-run company at present. Other significant producers include Jamal Brothers (34 postcards in the collection); the Cairo Postcard Trust (36 postcards); Photochrom (27 postcards) Fr. Vester & Co./The American Colony (10 postcards) and the Missionary Film Committee (8 postcards) – but none of these companies are still active or have the market-dominance of Palphot, which by 1985 was the publisher of 85 per cent of Israel's postcards.³ The impact of the popularity and endurance of Palphot will be explored in the following chapters but is not a limitation unique to the BM collection, in that it reflects the shape of the Palestine/Israel postcard market and is echoed in postcard collections such as that at the Folklore Research Center (FRC) at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

One further restriction of the BM's collection, and indeed all postcard collections examined for this thesis, is that dating postcards and establishing publisher information are both difficult. If the postcard has not been used and postmarked, an exact date is impossible to establish; the same images were often reprinted over decades. Some postcards do not contain any publisher information at all on their verso, especially those from the early decades of the twentieth century. In the case of the BM collection, an educated guess is used to establish a timeframe of publication based on image, design and content, unless a concrete date is available. Therefore, establishing statistics based on chronology is flawed and difficult to do accurately. In Table 2 below, created using the number of postcards with a definitive date stamp combined with those that the BM has determined were likely published in a certain decade, however, it

² Annebella Pollen, 'Sweet nothings: suggestive Brighton postcard inscriptions,' *Photography and Culture*, 2 (2009): 77-88, DOI: 10.2752/175145209X419408, p.78.

³ Tim Jon Semmerling, *Israeli and Palestinian postcards: presentations of national self* (University of Texas Press: Austin, 2004), p.10.

is possible to see two peaks in the number of postcards: between 1910 – 1930, and 1960 – 1980. The possible reasons for these increases will be explored in Chapters Two and Five of this thesis, which deal with these periods of Palestinian/Israeli history.

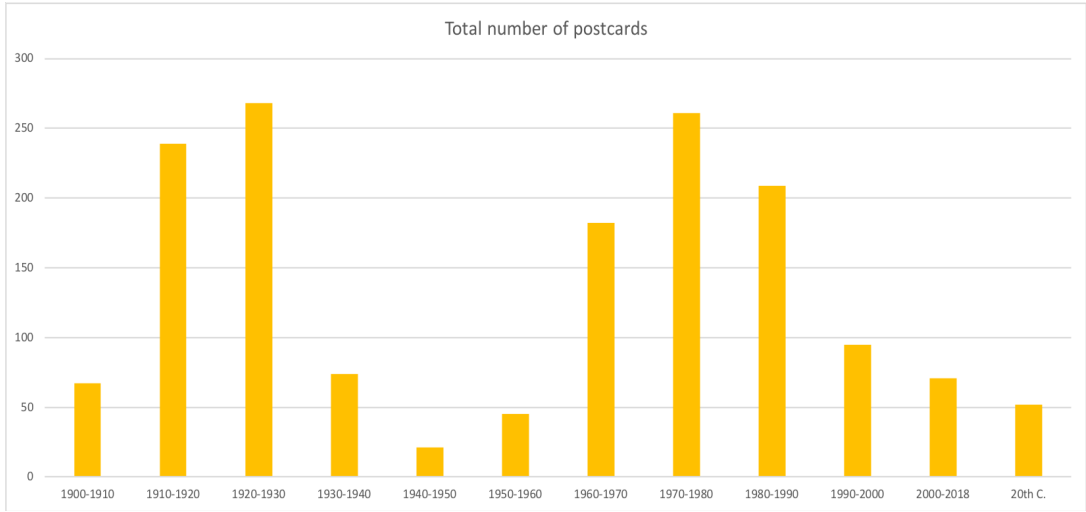


Table 2

The number of postcards in the Palestine/Israel section of the British Museum postcard collection by decade.

To draw out what is specific about postcards from the collection at the BM, I also examined tourist photography and albums, as well as tourist travel guides at The National Archives (TNA) in London, Thomas Cook Archives in Peterborough and the Kenyon Institute and Albright Institute in Jerusalem. Further, I explored the tourist visual culture of Palestine/Israel including posters, pamphlets and propaganda at the Central Zionist Archives (CZA) in Jerusalem; and Israeli postcard collections at the Israel Museum (IMJ) and FRC at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. I also spent a Fellowship at the Library of Congress (LoC) examining the collection of The American Colony and Fr. Vester & Co. to gain a broader understanding of the Christian-American postcard market. In this way, the thesis source material is contextualised within other postcard collections and a wider visual and textual culture in both Britain and Palestine/Israel.

The postcards chosen for inclusion in this thesis are either examples of trends in imagery for the era in which they were published (such as the dominance of religious sites on postcards from 1880 – 1920), useful for the message written on the verso in indicating the perceptions of travellers; or of interest because they exemplify a rare example of an unusual image (such as the postcards of the final chapter, which show occupation and settlements). In each thesis chapter it has been made clear how

representative these images are of the scope of the collection at the BM overall, and where possible, the wider postcard market and visual culture of Palestine/Israel.

There are some limitations here in the scope of sources used – as a researcher without a fluent understanding of Hebrew or Arabic, many resources were unavailable to me in both Israeli and Palestinian archives. My fieldwork in Jerusalem was limited by the insurance requirements stipulated by both the BM and University of Nottingham which forbade travel to large areas of the West Bank. At the time of research, the Israel State Archives were also of limited use as physical access to their materials was severely restricted for researchers and became subject to government censorship and intervention.⁴ Finally, all the postcard archives, including that at the BM, are not necessarily accurate reflections of the postcard market. Rather, they show what individuals chose to keep, collect and donate, and there will therefore be absences that are undocumented.

Building a methodological framework: visual culture and the specificity of postcards in historiography

Postcards repeat the same images on a mass-reproduction scale, reproducing landscapes, people and sites for viewers which Walter Benjamin understands as depreciating ‘the quality of [the original’s] presence.’⁵ In this thesis, I draw on Benjamin’s theory that photographic reproduction (both of works of art and landscapes) ‘enables the original to meet the beholder halfway [...] it reactivates the object reproduced.’⁶ In terms of the postcards examined in this thesis, they ‘met’ the beholder by circulating both the nations depicted and in the sender’s home countries, and a selection eventually found themselves in the archives of museums, creating what Michelle Woodward calls ‘a potent visual archive of the Middle East.’⁷ Whilst, as Benjamin posits, this ‘substitutes a plurality of copies for a unique existence,’⁸ the volume of reproduced sites and landscapes allowed viewers, I would argue, to interpret

⁴ Ofer Aderet, ‘Historians struggle as Israel State Archives deadlocked by legal restrictions,’ *Haaretz*, 1 August 2017, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-israel-state-archives-deadlocked-1.5437955>, accessed 2 August 2017.

⁵ Walter Benjamin, ‘The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction,’ in Hanna Arendt (ed), *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken, 1969), p.4.

⁶ Benjamin, ‘The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction,’ p.4.

⁷ Michelle L. Woodward, ‘Creating memory and history: the role of archival practices in Lebanon and Palestine,’ *Photographies* 2/1 (2009): 21-35, DOI: 10.1080/17540760802696930, p.23.

⁸ Benjamin, ‘The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction,’ p.4.

repeated sites as ‘authentic’ representations of place and often either confirmed preconceptions or occasionally challenged or replaced dominant narratives with alternatives.

This does not mean, however, that the postcard is a subversive material object, which constantly challenges the dominant visual narrative. Rather, postcards are remarkable most often for their ordinariness, their banality, and their repetition or re-establishment of tropes and symbols. Only in a few instances do postcards in the BM collection diverge from the norm, and these are notable because they occur so infrequently. As Benjamin notes, with the absence of authenticity in reproduction, the creation of images shifts from a practice of ritual to a practice of politics. In the case of postcards, I would argue that this political practice is achieved most often through a replication of visual narratives which draw on and feed into political discourse and cultural knowledges around national identity.

Usually captioned, postcards combine text and image in ways which may seem similar to posters, advertisements and newspaper images; however, postcards make use of their dual text-image function in specific ways, and will also include text on the verso – whether handwritten or printed information. In this thesis, I have drawn on Pollen’s argument that ‘it is preferable to consider the postcard as a double-sided medium with two intersecting opportunities for meaning.’⁹ Postcards also have material value as items for sale, which circulate across borders. In this thesis, I argue that postcards commodify the tourist gaze. While posters and advertisements are placed in the public sphere and therefore visually consumed by passers-by, and newspapers read by those who purchase and share them, the postcard is an example of an image chosen and purchased specifically for the image by the consumer and distributed singly through the postal network or kept as a souvenir. The possibility of adding additional text to the verso makes the image a more potent carrier of the purchaser’s personal understanding of the place pictured – not only is the purchase of the postcard itself indicative of one’s conceptualisation of place, but the message can compound or subvert that choice. Whilst posters, advertisements and photography are useful comparative mediums and will be examined in this thesis as part of a visual language or network, the postcard stands as a distinct element of visual representation of place and tourist media.

However, it is not only the tourist gaze which is important in this thesis; rather, it is how the tourist gaze is situated within a network of producers and viewers who

⁹ Pollen, ‘Sweet nothings: suggestive Brighton postcard inscriptions,’ p.79.

interpret and disseminate the postcard in multiple ways. For this, I draw upon Susan Sontag's understanding of photographs as 'acquisition in several forms.'¹⁰ Sontag describes photographs as having three layers of acquisition, which can also, I would argue, represent three layers of meaning. The first is acquisition of surrogate to the referent (or, simply the image itself); the second the acquisition of the viewer's relationship to events (or the viewer's response to the image); and the acquisition of information (or the maker's intention). I have used this understanding of the photograph to approach postcards from more than one perspective – to examine not only the context of the image on the postcard, but also the interpretation of it from the sender and recipient, and the intent of the producer. This approach is relatively limited, however, in that intention is near-impossible to ascertain and can only be suggested through context, and given that not all postcards are used with explicit messages, the viewer's response to a postcard image is often equally difficult to gauge. However, Sontag's approach relies on an understanding of images as constructions of signs or symbols which are themselves constructed in various ways by several viewers, drawing on the theoretical foundations of Benjamin, Gramsci and Hall.¹¹

Of course, this understanding of images as constructed by symbols is directly tied to semiotics which, as outlined by Roland Barthes, is the examination of signs and symbols and their possible interpretations.¹² Semiotics is not primarily about the visual,

¹⁰ Susan Sontag, 'The image-world,' in Jessica Evans and Stuart Halls (eds) *Visual culture: the reader* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 1988), p.81.

¹¹ Stuart Hall's interpretation of visual culture draws directly from Gramsci's definition of hegemony and the ways in which individuals negotiate power relationships as one with opportunities for subversion of typical top-down power structures (see Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971).) Hall interprets Gramsci's work in terms of the visual and defines three positions that audiences can take in order to interpret visual culture. These positions are dominant-hegemonic; negotiated; and oppositional reading. In the first, the viewer interprets the signs of the image as they are established by the dominant cultural force; in an oppositional reading, the viewer will interpret the signs as directly contradicting the dominant cultural narrative; and in a negotiated reading, the viewer's interpretation is more nuanced, as they draw upon established cultural norms as well as an awareness of the way these norms create narratives to interpret the image in their own way. See Stuart Hall, 'Encoding and decoding in the television discourse,' in Stuart Hall *et al.* (eds), *Culture, media, language: working papers in cultural studies, 1972-1979* (London: Hutchinson, 1980). These three broad categories are useful ways to examine the relationship between dominant cultural image producers and different types of viewers, but don't entirely account for an understanding of the agency of subjects of visual culture, nor the materiality of the visual.

¹² See Roland Barthes, 'Rhetoric of the image,' in Roland Barthes, *Image, music, text*, trans. Steven Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977). In this essay, Barthes argues that there are three classes of message within images: linguistic (or text); symbolic (or connoted) and literal (or denoted). The linguistic message is significant in this thesis – Barthes argues that most images come with some sort of text accompaniment, and that these have two functions; either to

but as shown by Sontag and others, has been successfully applied to the study of the visual. Albers and James, in their 1988 study of travel photography, make a clear distinction between two relatively contemporary methodologies in terms of their application to the study of visual culture: semiotics, and content analysis.¹³ While semiotics in this sense examines images for signs and symbols; content analysis, as defined by Philip Bell, is a quantitative analysis system for measuring visual representation in various types of media.¹⁴ It is clear, I would argue, that neither methodology works singularly for this thesis as a whole framework for analysis – semiotics does not, as Albers and James describe it, work to ‘[explain] either how pictorial appearances get conventionalised or why they emerge in particular contexts,’¹⁵ and content analysis does not deal with symbolic values, meanings and interpretations. In this thesis, therefore, I use both content analysis to determine the relative representativeness of certain postcards in terms of the frequency with which similar imagery appears in the collection, and a modified historical semiological framework to address the historical and social contexts in which these postcards were produced and disseminated.

I posit a modified historical semiological framework, as although many recent studies of postcards have drawn upon semiotics in the construction of their methodologies - including those of Semmerling,¹⁶ DeBres and Sowers;¹⁷ and Schor¹⁸ - it is also necessary to make space in one’s methodology for an understanding and adaptation of discourse analysis and materiality. Semmerling, for example, focuses specifically on postcards from Palestine/Israel and uses an adapted methodology which combines both semiotics and discourse analysis, the latter which he defines as examining the ‘socially constructed displays of similarity and difference, articulations of

anchor the image and focus interpretation in one particular direction, or to add meaning to the image. Postcards, largely captioned, are a prime example of this phenomenon. By denoted and connoted message, Barthes meant what is purely visible – although he argues that there is no such thing as a purely denoted image, in that the content of an image cannot be separated from its connotations – and what the image symbolises or suggests.

¹³ Patricia C. Albers and William R. James, ‘Travel photography: a methodological approach,’ *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15/1 (1988): 134-158, DOI: 10.1016/0160-7383(88)90076-X, p.150.

¹⁴ Philip Bell, ‘Content analysis of visual media,’ in Theo Van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt (eds) *The handbook of visual analysis* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2001).

¹⁵ Albers and James, ‘Travel photography: a methodological approach,’ p.150.

¹⁶ Semmerling, *Israeli and Palestinian postcards*.

¹⁷ Karen DeBres and Jacob Sowers, ‘The emergence of standardized, idealized and placeless landscapes in Midwestern Main Street postcards,’ *The Professional Geographer*, 61 (2009): 216-230, DOI: 10.1080/00330120902736062.

¹⁸ Naomi Schor, ‘Cartes Postales: representing Paris 1900,’ *Critical Inquiry*, 18 (1992):188-244.

discourse in images, and demonstrations of institutional practices, issues of power, and regimes of truth.¹⁹ However, the limitations of discourse analysis include a relative rigidity in its exploration of the power and knowledge systems; as Annelies Moors argues in her study of the politics of Palestinian/Israeli postcards (one of few postcard studies on this region in particular), discourse analysis ‘is too rigid and one sided for the picture postcards.’²⁰ Moors argues that non-dominant groups use photography to challenge the dominant hegemony of images, a theoretical observation supported by Sturken and Cartwright, who draw on the work of Gramsci to position an approach which acknowledges counter-hegemonic forces and negotiated power systems.²¹ In this thesis, my methodology then acknowledges postcards as sites of multiple interpretations and loci of agencies, as well as the different ways of seeing an image. However, in establishing my research methodology it has also been necessary to build on this framework in order to account for the agency of image-subjects, and also the materiality of the object of the postcard.

The materiality of the postcard I explore here by drawing upon Edwards and Hart who posit that ‘photographs have inextricably linked meanings as images and meanings as objects,’²² and argue that this is perhaps even more true for postcards which were often purchased not only for aesthetic but practical purposes, like communication. I use a framework also influenced by Harvey and Umbach, who argue against locating meaning solely within an image, but also against ‘emphasizing context above all else.’²³ Rather, they suggest a model which allows for the agency of photographs as objects in their own right, and entails studying the material markers which provide information about their meaning and reception throughout history, so that it is possible to see the ways in which individuals and objects are in constant, shifting dialogue with one another. By shifting the focus, rather than excluding other means of interpretation, this methodology is more fluid and intuitive. For this thesis, I

¹⁹ Semmerling, *Israeli and Palestinian postcards* p.2.

²⁰ Annelies Moors, ‘From “Women’s Lib” to “Palestinian Women”: the politics of picture postcards in Palestine/Israel,’ in David Crouch and Nina Lübbren (eds), *Visual culture and tourism* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2003), p.25.

²¹ Maria Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, *Practices of looking: an introduction to visual culture*, 2nd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

²² Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, ‘Introduction: photographs as objects,’ in Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart (eds) *Photographs, objects, histories: on the materiality of images* (London: Routledge, 2004), p.2.

²³ Elizabeth Harvey and Maiken Umbach, ‘Introduction: photography and twentieth-century German history,’ *Central European Historian*, 48 (2015): 287-299, DOI: 10.1017/S000893891500076X, p. 290.

have adapted these methodological frameworks into one which best suits the examination of postcards over a long chronology, and over several geographic regions.

Research into postcards of Palestine/Israel, with the region's fluctuating sense of nation and identity, as well as divergent and conflicting reception of images from the region depending on the viewer's location historically, culturally, socially and geographically, must take a self-reflexive approach seriously. My methodology is one which combines the materiality of the image, discourse analysis and historical semiotics and is, I would argue, the most effective way to approach postcards and their relationship to national identity(ies). By examining the signs of the image in relation to the context of their historic production and reception, as well as how those images function as material objects in their own right, a more complete analysis can be achieved. Finally, being flexible in methodological approach, this study then attempts to avoid removing agency or power in studies of non-dominant populations. However, it is also important to avoid drawing from methodologies in a haphazard way that can lead to a methodological confusion, but rather to build a framework containing components of these methodologies that allows for a more robust and aware critical framework when examining visual culture and postcards specifically. Thus, the interpretation of the image itself will be the primary focus – the methodology here will be a modified historical semiotics, which seeks to find coherent signs and symbols but also to understand their origins, workings and effects in terms of power and resistance. In addition, beyond the content of the image there will be a secondary focus on the postcard as an object of trade, circulation and communication also situated in and constitutive of historical, political and social contexts.

Thematic frameworks (1): imperialism, colonialism, post-colonialism and the visual

The history of postcards in Palestine/Israel is necessarily entrenched in histories of imperialism and colonialism. As Benita Parry notes, the term 'imperialism' has now become interchangeable with colonialism and empire, so 'entrenched in literary and cultural studies,'²⁴ that what is meant by these terms should be clarified and methodologies cemented. For the purpose of this thesis, the definitions of imperialism

²⁴ Benita Parry, 'Narrating imperialism: Nostromo's dystopia,' in Keith Ansell-Pearson, Benita Parry and Judith Squires (eds) *Cultural readings of imperialism: Edward Said and the gravity of history* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1997), p.227.

and colonialism shall follow Edward W. Said's model; imperialism understood as 'the practice, the theory and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory,' whilst colonialism, 'almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on a distant territory.'²⁵ I would also suggest that colonialism is the physical manifestation of imperialist thought.

The term 'post-colonial' has also been historiographically contentious: Catherine Hall summarises this debate by noting that as neo-colonialism continues to exist contemporarily one must question if it is 'misleading to use the term "postcolonial."'²⁶ However, whilst the research for this thesis may not be taking place in a truly post-colonial environment, the term postcolonial here will apply as 'a type of criticism, rather than theory or method',²⁷ as Leo G. Perdue *et al.* suggest. Rather than signifying a postcolonial temporality, in this thesis the term 'post-colonial' will apply to the collection of critical attitudes that have developed in response to previously imperialist historiographical approaches.

The nineteenth century European perception of imperialism profoundly shaped twentieth century historiographies of empire, and later became constitutive of the object of postcolonial critique. In this thesis, Bhikhu Parekh's model of imperialist thought of the nineteenth century and its manifestation in colonialism is the starting point; Parekh argues that Christianity, liberalism and Marxism were three schools of thought which in theory should have been 'hostile to the violence and exploitation inherent in the colonial enterprise,' but 'with only a few exceptions [they] approved European colonialism.'²⁸ Parekh's model outlines the three nineteenth century schools of thought thusly: Christians of the era challenged the prevailing view that Indians – specifically, in Parekh's study, but here extrapolated outward to all colonial and imperial enterprises – were inhuman, but argued that as they were human they must become Christians either through persuasion or force.²⁹ Liberalism is exemplified in Parekh's study through Locke's writing, which influenced critical thinkers of the nineteenth

²⁵ Edward W. Said, *Culture and imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p.8.

²⁶ Catherine Hall, 'Introduction: thinking the postcolonial, thinking the empire,' in Catherine Hall (ed) *Cultures of empire, a reader: colonizers in Britain and the empire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p.3.

²⁷ Leo G. Perdue, Warren Carter and Coleman A. Baker, (eds) *Israel and empire: a postcolonial history of Israel and early Judaism* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), p.5.

²⁸ Bhikhu Parekh, 'The west and its others,' in Keith Ansell-Pearson, Benita Parry and Judith Squires (eds) *Cultural readings of imperialism: Edward Said and the gravity of history* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1997), p.173.

²⁹ Parekh, 'The west and its others,' p.176.

century. Locke argued for the equal dignity and rights of colonial subjects, but he also posited that because of their failure to conform to western societal standards such as the institution of private property and enclosure of lands, the lands of colonial subjects were in fact empty and available for colonisation.³⁰ As British Mandate and later, Zionist settler's understandings of landscape and ownership are examined in this thesis, it is this conceptualisation of emptiness and misuse of land that will underpin discussion. This understanding of empty landscapes can be applied not only to colonialist occupation of the physical space and political rhetoric, but also, I would argue, to the visual culture around Palestine from the early-twentieth century onward.

Parekh also describes Marxist thought as positioning non-European societies as 'static [...] backward,' and colonisation as a therefore 'historically necessary and progressive force.'³¹ These conceptualisations, I argue in this thesis, have been repeated in imperialist historiography and neo-colonialist thought; and have shaped the understanding of British and Palestinian/Israeli relations through an imperialist lens. In this sense I apply the critiques of Catherine Hall who has linked imperialist writing of thinkers like Locke and J.R. Seeley to twentieth century imperialist historiography, which she argues 'became the orthodoxy [...] until the 1950s.'³² However, in this thesis I extrapolate this critique outward to argue that the dominant imperialist historiography was central to contemporaneous and later visual culture production; visual culture which repeated and relied on imperialist narratives around nationhood and ownership of land.

A turning point in approaches to imperial history was the publication of Edward W. Said's *Orientalism*, in which he argued that there were inextricable links between culture and colonialism; that the west, through a network of imperial discourse, constructed 'the Orient' as Other, that to which the west could be constructed as opposite and therefore inherently superior.³³ Although there has since been a large body of work dedicated to discussing and often arguing against Said's theory, most historians agree, as Ziad Elmarsafy and Anna Bernard phrase it, that '*Orientalism* made it all but impossible to write about colonialism and culture, intellectuals and institutions or the representations of non-European "difference" without at least acknowledging its

³⁰ Parekh, 'The west and its others,' p.183.

³¹ Parekh, 'The west and its others,' p.189.

³² See Hall, 'Introduction.'

³³ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979).

claims.³⁴ Historians such as Robert Spencer argue that *Orientalism* remains a relevant text in current historical study because it encourages a self-reflexive approach influenced by the assumption that ‘all knowledge is admixed with presuppositions, theories and even personal biases.’³⁵ He dismissed some of Said’s most polemical detractors including Ibn Warraq and Robert Irwin as ‘manifestly anti-intellectual,’ and intent on ‘stifling debate and discrediting an articulate opponent of mainstream preconceptions about Islam and Arabs.’³⁶ Not all criticisms of Said are so easily dismissed however; there is also the pertinent point, emphasized by Stephanie Cronin, that *Orientalism* excluded ‘Orientals themselves from the construction of Orientalist discourse, which thus consisted of a conversation that Europe was having with itself;’³⁷ the elision of other European colonialisms from his historiographical discussion which focused on Britain and France, and the argument, put forth by many researchers in ‘Beirut, Jerusalem and Cairo [...] that Said’s approach to history allowed for no theory of revolution, no class war, only some incremental humanization of the elite by elite intellectuals.’³⁸

Nicholas Tromans also notes that Said’s work often avoided addressing the visual or the image as a means by which Orientalism was propagated by the West. However, he argues that one can ‘translate Said’s original formula of Orientalism into the visual register,’ by examining ‘how the West has historically denied the visual competence of the Oriental’ and through investigating ‘the relationship between power and the possession of technologies for generating representations.’³⁹ Whilst this thesis uses Said’s understanding of imperialism, colonialism and power relationships as a starting point, it has been critical to adopt a fuller methodological approach that also acknowledges sites of resistance, and is inclusive of visual culture.

³⁴ Ziad Elmarsafy and Anna Bernard, ‘Orientalism: legacies of performance,’ in Ziad Elmarsafy, Anna Bernard and David Atwell (eds) *Debating Orientalism* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p.2.

³⁵ Robert Spencer, ‘The “War on Terror” and the backlash against Orientalism,’ in Ziad Elmarsafy, Anna Bernard and David Atwell (eds) *Debating Orientalism* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p.161.

³⁶ Spencer, “‘The War on Terror’,” pp.155-156.

³⁷ Stephanie Cronin, ‘Introduction: Edward Said, Russian Orientalism and Soviet Iranology,’ *Iranian Studies*, 48/5 (2015): 647-662, DOI: 10.1080/00210862.2015.1058633, p.651.

³⁸ Cronin, ‘Introduction,’ p.27.

³⁹ Nicholas Tromans, “‘The defeat of narrative by vision’: Said and the image,” in Ziad Elmarsafy, Anna Bernard and David Atwell (eds) *Debating Orientalism* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

However, perhaps the most significant departure from Said's work in more recent postcolonial historiography has been a recognition of the limitations of a binary dichotomy between the West and 'the Other'; a shift Hall acknowledges as a change in focus toward 'the ambivalence of colonial discourse [...] associated especially with the work of Homi Bhabha.'⁴⁰ Bhabha's work, as Perdue *et al.* note, 'rejects the simplistic polarizations of the world into distinct cultures and humans into self and other, speaking, instead, of hybridity.'⁴¹ Indeed, Bhabha seeks to address the ways in which colonial discourse depends on 'the concept of "fixity" in the ideological construction of otherness [...] a paradoxical mode of representation: it connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition.'⁴² Bhabha argues in favour of postcolonial critical discourse in that it requires the acknowledgement and representation of 'minorities' or 'Others' and 'attempts to revise those nationalist or "nativist" pedagogies that set up the relation of Third World and First World in a binary structure of opposition.'⁴³ This is not to dismiss the idea of difference, rather to approach it in the way which Hall describes: 'differences, whether of race, ethnicity, or gender, are always socially constituted, and they always have a dimension of power.'⁴⁴ Bhabha's argument against binary constructions of west and 'Other', as well as an acknowledgement of the social constructions of difference and power relationships, are a useful framework within which to examine imperial histories. Necessarily central to this thesis then has been the question of 'who speaks', as described by John Tomlinson. Tomlinson argues that 'the issue of "who speaks?" is of particular sensitivity in the context of cultural imperialism. This is because there is a danger of the practice of cultural imperialism being reproduced in the discussion of it.'⁴⁵ As previously discussed, reproducing an us/them dichotomy in one's research only reinforces imperialist attitudes and scholarship, subsuming already suppressed, silenced, or subaltern histories within a more widely reproduced body of western scholarship accepted by many as canon. When dealing with cultural imperial histories, Tomlinson argues that one should 'have an uneasiness about speaking in the place of others,'⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Hall, 'Introduction,' p.15.

⁴¹ Perdue, Carter and Baker, *Israel and Empire*, p.16.

⁴² Homi K. Bhabha, *The location of culture*, (Oxon: Routledge, 1994), p.95.

⁴³ Bhabha, *The location of culture*, p.248.

⁴⁴ Hall, 'Introduction,' p.16.

⁴⁵ John Tomlinson, *Cultural imperialism: a critical introduction* (London: Continuum, 1991), p.11.

⁴⁶ Tomlinson, *Cultural imperialism*, p.12.

which is why in this thesis I have attempted to acknowledge the multiplicity of histories that exist in the colonial and postcolonial space, and the fluidity of power relationships.

As well as adopting an approach based in transnational postcolonial critical thinking, this thesis will also recognise what Tomlinson outlines as ‘connections in disciplinary and conceptual terms, forging links between debates usually compartmentalised’⁴⁷ in order to create a dialogue that is not grounded in an us/them binary. An example of this kind of interdisciplinary approach which I have drawn on heavily for my methodological approach can be found in the work of Joanna de Groot who, although framing her discussion firmly from the positionality of the ‘West,’ examines western traveller’s understandings of ‘the Orient’ through the lenses of gender, race, and a Marxist understanding of capitalism and empire as commodity. De Groot explores the construction of ‘concepts of societies and cultures in the Middle East and North Africa’⁴⁸ as being based in an extant discourse around gender and race within Britain, France and Germany. Her interpretation of imperial histories seek to reveal how trade and material involvement with the Middle East and North Africa were reflected in a ‘growing cultural and intellectual interest on the part of the British and French (and German) writers, artists, travellers and scholars.’⁴⁹ Tracing an understanding of power and construction of both self and Other through commodification of the Other, de Groot examines the role of the visual in imperial histories, and the ways in which the visual was deployed in deeply racialized and gendered ways which reflected the discourses prevalent in the colonizing countries at the time. De Groot notes that images used in advertising in the colonial period helped to create ‘naturalised, fixed and essentialised representations which establish “difference” by repeating and transmitting particular forms and ideas, creating imperial, often racialized, “knowledges.”’⁵⁰ Further, she argues that the concept of ‘the Orient’ and ‘the Other’ propagated by western writers and artists in the colonial period was ‘expressed in terms which are both racial/cultural and profoundly sexual,’⁵¹ which

⁴⁷ Tomlinson, *Cultural imperialism*, p.89.

⁴⁸ Joanna de Groot, “‘Sex’ and ‘race’: the construction of language and image in the nineteenth century,” in Catherine Hall (ed) *Cultures of empire, a reader: colonizers in Britain and the empire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p.46.

⁴⁹ De Groot, “‘Sex’ and ‘race’,” p.46.

⁵⁰ Joanna de Groot, ‘Metropolitan desires and colonial connections: reflections on consumption and empire,’ in Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (eds) *At home with the empire: metropolitan culture and the imperial world* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.187.

⁵¹ De Groot, “‘Sex’ and ‘race’,” p. 48.

allowed for the conceptualisation of a racialized, gendered Other that could be dominated and controlled.

This approach, connecting not just us/them, west/Other binary oppositions but framing the construction of the Other in terms of its gendered, racialized and economic discourses is important for this thesis because it enables us to understand the history of imperialism in a wider context. Of course, this is not to argue that a study of imperial history or colonialism, or indeed this thesis, can articulate all histories, all perceptions, all geographies and temporalities at once: but rather that one cannot limit ones understanding of imperial histories by arbitrary boundaries and ignore the fluidity of histories in this area. In this thesis, in an attempt to overcome this challenge, I have focused on some key areas: the construction of nationhood and nationalit(ies) through the visual, linked to racialised, economic, militaristic and religious discourses, grounded in an imperialist understanding of ownership and the conceptualisation of the Other. As discussed in section three of this introduction, it has been necessary to ground my approach in postcolonial critical theory, but that does not mean that histories of Palestine/Israel can be viewed as straightforwardly imperialist-colonial. My aim here is that narrowing to these specific discourses will allow for a more focused discussion, but I do not argue that it is a complete understanding of the visual cultures of tourism in Palestine/Israel— there is also space for further research around other discourses.

Thematic frameworks (2): the historiography of travel and tourism

The majority of the extant historiography around tourism from Britain or the west more generally to Palestine/Israel deals with the late-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century at the latest. Historiographical, rather than statistical, or marketing-led, studies of tourism dealing with the period post-1967 onward, are far less common, at least in terms of English-language publications. Studies that have proved useful for this thesis in exploring the tourist dynamics of the pre-state period in Palestine/Israel include those of Geoffrey Nash, who lays out the foundation of aesthetics as tied to British pilgrimage and travel writing, exploring the link between the picturesque in landscape painting and the concept of picturesque Palestine from the British tourist-pilgrim gaze.⁵² In addition to this understanding of pilgrimage as linked to a religious picturesque

⁵² Geoffrey Nash, 'Politics, aesthetics and quest in British travel writing on the Middle East,' in Timothy Youngs (ed) *Anthem studies in travel: travel writing in the nineteenth century* (London: Anthem Press, 2006).

conceptualisation of the landscape, I have also drawn on the theories of Simon Coleman and Kristine Kelly, both of whom discuss British travel to Palestine in the pre-Mandate and Mandate periods in the context of imperialist attitudes influenced by biblical representations of the land and people, both in scripture and in paintings by Orientalist artists. From these frameworks, I move to photography and postcards specifically as another avenue by which these tourist-pilgrims picturesque and religious interpretations of the landscape were reinforced, reiterated and renewed.⁵³

However, these studies deal specifically with a tourist-pilgrim model which focuses on the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries; and do not account for other modes and models of tourism and travel to Palestine/Israel that were developing concurrently or emerged after this period. To expand my definition and understanding of travel from Britain to Palestine/Israel over the century-long scope of this thesis, I also turned to Erik Cohen's definition of pilgrimage and tourism. In Cohen's interpretation, pilgrimage and tourism are inextricably linked, but he defines pilgrimage generally as a journey taken by an individual towards their perceived spiritual centre, and tourism as a journey from the centre, or metropole, towards the 'other'.⁵⁴ This framework has been useful in this thesis for a broader chronology of tourism, where pilgrimage was still key to British and other European and American perceptions of the landscape and people, but non-religious tourism was also undertaken, and began to play a larger role especially from the 1960s onward.

In this study then, 'tourist' or 'traveller' operates as a shorthand for pilgrims, local travellers, volunteers, soldiers, and family visitors – all of whom purchased tourist visual media like postcards.

Thematic frameworks (3): some notes on the historiography of Palestine/Israel

The historiography of Palestine/Israel is fraught with disagreement around both the general narrative and specific historical events. The disagreement around political,

⁵³ Simon Coleman, 'From the sublime to the meticulous: art, anthropology and Victorian pilgrimage to Palestine,' *History and Anthropology* 13/4 (2002): 275-290, DOI: 10.1080/02757200220000046751; and Kristine Kelly, 'Aesthetic desire and imperialist disappointment in Trollope's *The Bertrams* and the Murray *Handbook for travellers in Syria and Palestine*,' *Victorian Literature and Culture* 43:3 (2015): 621-639, DOI: 10.1017/S106015031500011X.

⁵⁴ Erik Cohen, 'Pilgrimage and tourism: convergence and divergence,' in Alan Morinis (ed) *Sacred journeys: the anthropology of pilgrimage* (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., 1992).

military, social and cultural events will be examined more fully in the forthcoming chapters, but here a brief and broad overview of the main historiographical arguments is necessary in order to situate this thesis within the larger debate.

Said's *Orientalism* is perhaps the most widely-known Palestinian historiographical text from which new perspectives developed, although debates have since emerged about *Orientalism*'s efficacy as a broadly applicable methodological framework, as discussed previously. A useful introduction to more contemporary historiographical shifts around Palestine/Israel is Benny Morris' 'The new historiography.' Many of the scholars discussed in the forthcoming section have drawn heavily on Morris' work, which outlines an approach often referred to as 'post-Zionist,' challenging the established historical narrative of the Israeli state and allowing for Palestinian national identity and agency.⁵⁵

Historiography of the past two decades has more frequently acknowledged a lack of objectivity inherent in discussions of Palestine/Israel. Ehud Adiv points to a wave of historians following Morris who are known collectively as the 'new historians' or 'post-Zionist' historians, including Ilan Pappé, who acknowledge their subjectivity and attempt to make space for a plurality of narratives. Pappé in particular argues that to claim pure objectivity in historical debate is a fallacy, and unhelpful in situating the historian within the discussion.⁵⁶ The reason for this shift is summarised by Avi Shlaim, also widely recognised as part of this wave of new historians, as part of a concurrent change in public perception and attitudes in Israel after the invasion of Lebanon in 1982. Shlaim calls this invasion a 'watershed, until then, the notion of *ein breira*, or no alternative, was central to the explanation of why Israel went to war.'⁵⁷ This movement of public perception was so significant, Shlaim argues, that it prompted a historiographical re-examination, at least on the part of Israeli historians, of past actions and narratives.

However, in some historiographical circles within and outside Israel, this post-Zionist approach is considered tantamount to heretical, as historians like David Rodman make clear when he dismisses post-Zionist scholarship as 'radical,' 'revisionist,'

⁵⁵ See Benny Morris, 'The new historiography: Israel confronts its past,' in Benny Morris (ed) *Making Israel* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2007).

⁵⁶ Ehud Adiv, 'A critical analysis of Israeli historiography and political thought,' in Ilan Pappé and Jamil Hilal (eds) *Across the wall: narratives of Israeli-Palestinian history* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2010), p.36.

⁵⁷ Avi Shlaim, 'The debate about 1948,' in Ilan Pappé (ed), *The Israel/Palestine question: a reader*, 2nd edition, (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 1999), p.146.

and ‘far-fetched.’⁵⁸ Arguments like Rodman’s are often bolstered by pointing to the unconventional source material used by Palestinian, post-Zionist Israeli and foreign historians; although I would argue that this use of cultural sources is necessary in a state that currently blocks access for Palestinian historians in particular to archives containing Palestinian historical documents and artefacts.⁵⁹

If Pappé and scholars of similar methodological positions are considered relatively far to the left in Israeli historiography, criticisms of his and others’ work come most harshly from the opposite end of the spectrum. Efraim Karsh is one particularly polemical and widely known example. Karsh takes issue with the ‘very choice of the term “Zionist” rather than “Israeli” to describe the imaginary “official line” allegedly pursued by the fictitious “old historians” [...] the standard anti-Semitic propaganda.’ Karsh derides the ‘new historians’ like Pappé, Morris and Shlaim for their claim that histories of Palestine/Israel had until recently been dominated by a group of historians that deferred to and legitimised official accounts from the Israeli state and Zionist organisations. Of course, it would be misguided at best to use the term ‘Zionist’ interchangeably with ‘Israeli’ or ‘Jewish’ – however, Karsh seems to suggest that the alternative is to conflate ‘Zionist’ and ‘Israeli,’ to say that it is not possible to be one without the other. It is not useful, in discussions of the nuanced development of national identities – both Palestinian and Israeli – to essentialise either group. Equally, it cannot be denied that histories dealing with Palestine/Israel can be Zionist, or indeed, pro-Palestinian, following Pappé *et al.*’s acknowledgement of subjectivity. Indeed, Karsh himself argues that the historiography has ‘been politicized to an extent that is unprecedented,’⁶⁰ although he blames this primarily on the shift in methodology prompted by Edward Said’s *Orientalism*. For the sake of clarity, in this thesis I use the term Zionist to refer to organizations with an explicit Zionist purpose, and historiographical arguments that are explicitly Zionist in ideology.

⁵⁸ David Rodman, ‘Nation and history: Israeli historiography between Zionism and post-Zionism,’ *Israel Affairs*, 18/4 (2002): 666-667, DOI: 10.1080/13537121.2012.718495, p.667.

⁵⁹ See the documentation of difficulties or blocking of archival access in Lauren Banko, ‘Occupational hazards, revisited: Palestinian historiography,’ *Middle East Journal*, 66/3 (2012): 440-452; and the account of Roma Sela in Ofer Aderet, ‘Why are countless Palestinian photos and films buried in Israeli archives?’ *Haaretz*, 1 July 2017, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium.MAGAZINE-why-are-palestinian-photos-and-films-buried-in-israeli-archives-1.5490325>, accessed 1 December 2017.

⁶⁰ Efraim Karsh, *Fabricating Israeli history: the ‘new historians’*, 2nd edition (Oxon: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd, 2000), p.9.

The ‘new historian’ approach, with an ownership of subjectivity and acknowledgement of plurality, made space for the examination of the historical narratives of Palestinians, British occupiers, Jewish and Zionist populations together rather than as separate histories. I have attempted to make that same space in this thesis, although absences in visual representation can lead to absences in the historical narrative. This thesis is situated within British academic context, and as the author, I bring my own subjectivities and absorption of British historical narratives to bear on my research, as well as the privilege of access to resources in Britain and Jerusalem. Although I was not able to access all Israeli or Palestinian archives, as outlined above, I was able to exit and enter Israel freely, and access resources unavailable to many Palestinian scholars, especially those living in Gaza. I also brought limitations, in terms of access only to English-language archives and literature. An acknowledgement of my own positionality as the author draws not only on Pappé’s framework, but on that of visual culture theorists discussed earlier whose self-reflexive model has been central to my research.

Structure of the thesis

The structure of this thesis is broadly chronological, with some overlap between chapters, and divided largely into thematic chapters which deal with specific trends or anomalies in the visual culture, and specifically in postcards, of Palestine/Israel. In the **first chapter**, my principal focus will be on relationships between postcards of Palestine published between 1890 – 1920, and contemporary picturesque biblical painting by artists like Lear. In order to explore how postcards sometimes shaped, or reflected the demands of the British, mostly Christian tourist market, in this chapter I will examine depictions of landscape and Palestinian people with an eye towards the imperialist lens of the period. I will go on to examine travel guidebooks of this era, advertisement posters for tours, and the culture of fairs and exhibitions of the Holy Land in Britain, to situate these postcards within a broader visual culture of the religious and picturesque.

In the **second chapter**, I will examine the visual culture of the *Yishuv* (pre-state Jewish population) between 1890 – 1930 and the concept of ‘making the desert bloom,’ discussing the symbols and motifs used in this period to establish the precursors to Israeli symbols of national identity. Using postcards depicting *kibbutzim* and *moshavim* alongside tourist and advertisement posters which used agricultural or *kibbutz*-related imagery, I will explore the ways in which the visual imagery of settler landscapes and

peoples was related to the imagery discussed in the previous chapter, which established the land as empty and unused and therefore available for settlement and modernisation. I will also examine both foreign press and local Arabic-language press imagery to further explore the ways in which both Palestinian Arab and Jewish populations were represented in visual media, and the ownership of the narrative of modernisation and progress.

This narrative of modernisation shall be further explored in the **third chapter**, which takes as a case study postcards of Tel Aviv and Jaffa in the 1920s and 1930s. Alongside promotional materials of the Jewish National Fund (JNF) and tourism advertisement posters, these postcards allow me to discuss the development of an architectural and visual style centred around modernist Tel Aviv in this period, and the positioning of both cities as part of a rural/urban, undeveloped/developed dichotomy that echoed earlier visual culture and rhetoric. Here, the symbols of Israeli identity such as collective spaces, Hebrew as a national language, and economic and infrastructural progressiveness are shown to be reinforced in the visual sphere, and a continuity of narrative is established.

In the **fourth chapter**, my focus shifts to the decades following 1948 and the declaration of Israel's independence. In this chapter, the primary archival resource is a series of militaristic postcards, featuring the Israel Defence Forces (IDF), particularly dating from the 1960s – 1990s. In addition to these postcards, I return to foreign and local press photography and also the photography of charitable organisations documenting the Palestinian refugee crisis, in order to examine the ways in which postcards absorbed and reproduced dominant attitudes towards Israel's military and military actions, and eventually, how the decline in popularity of this type of imagery can be read as part of wider public discomfort with explicitly militaristic imagery both within Israel and outside of its borders.

Chapter Five moves to an examination of idealised portrayals of Israel in tourist visual media, particularly in periods of active conflict, and the establishment of Israel as a popular resort destination with a Mediterranean identity from the late 1950s to the late 1970s. In this chapter, I explore the relationship between postcards of resorts, beaches and sunbathers with promotional JNF imagery of settled beach *kibbutzim*, magazine advertisements and articles, and tourism posters, to form an understanding of the ways in which postcard imagery of this period was part of a pattern of imagery reinforcing positive associations with tourism to Israel. I also

examine the wider trends of tourism in this period towards outdoor, sun-based relaxation trips and the move away from largely pilgrimage-based religious tourism; and how effective this was as a strategy for establishing Israel as the safe, relaxing destination in a region perceived as troubled in the west.

In the **sixth and final chapter**, I make use of some anomalous postcards to further examine this perception of Palestine/Israel as troubled; postcards depicting occupation and settlement from the 1970s – 1990s. Alongside news media imagery of settlements such as Hebron and Yamit, I use these postcards to explore the understanding and perception of settlements both inside and outside Palestine/Israel, and examine why this type of imagery may not have been more prevalent in tourist-facing media. I also examine afforestation and imagery related to this as part of settlement visual culture, and link this to earlier rhetoric of ‘making the desert bloom,’ and landscape presented as empty, with an absence of Palestinians, in order to show how earlier visual culture symbols and images came to be reutilised and reworked in the later decades of the twentieth century.

In these six chapters, I present a broad overview of visual trends in postcards and other tourist-facing imagery around Palestine/Israel between 1890 – 1990. This century-long scope has allowed me room to examine large cultural, political, social and economic shifts, and to look at a wealth of archival resources in order to establish likely trends and visual tropes. In doing so, I hope to make clear the role of postcards within the wider tourist visual cultural sphere, and to establish their significance, even as ‘ephemera’, in repeating and reinforcing national narratives and identit(ies) both in and outside the borders of Palestine/Israel as they shift over time.

TOURING AND EXHIBITING 'PICTURESQUE' PALESTINE, 1890 – 1930

Introduction



Figure 1.1

EPH-ME.3033. Publisher unknown, France, c.1910s. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The postcard shown in Figure 1.1 is a softly lit and coloured panoramic view of the city of Nazareth, with the mountains behind and small, traditionally-dressed shepherds with their flock in the foreground, evoking an idea of a biblical past. Its style and composition are reminiscent of the pictorial style and symbols of Orientalist paintings of Palestine, exemplified by artists such as Frederic Leighton, William Holman Hunt, and Edward Lear. Idyllic scenes such as these appear commonly in postcards from the BM collection published between 1890 – 1930; the collection includes 599 postcards published over these four decades; 72 of which depict ‘biblical landscapes.’ Whilst many of these 599 postcards fall under multiple categories, I have identified four key types from this period which can reasonably be called ‘biblically influenced.’ As well as those depicting biblical landscapes, there are 105 postcards which depict churches; 63 which show other Christian sites such as monasteries or shrines; and 24 which feature primarily shepherds or Bedouin ‘types,’ often with accompanying animals like sheep, donkeys, and camels. These numbers are not exact as there is some overlap – for example, the Nazareth postcard above features both shepherds and a biblical

landscape – but over half of the postcards published in this period refer to or imply a biblical context.

That pastoral scenes meant to evoke Palestine as it would have appeared in biblical times were popular in this era is understandable, when examining the cultural language of British tourists to the region, and the ways in which those tourist perceptions of Palestine reinforced and contributed to visual representations of the Holy Land in Britain. The postcard above is an example of the symbols of visual culture around Palestine that were to become established in this period and would be influential and repeated in various ways for decades to come. In the postcard, the only clear figures are the two small shepherds to the bottom left. The majority of the rolling hills and fields are unpopulated; even the city looks empty. The shepherd or Bedouin in this context implies a lack of rootedness in the landscape; although they are tied to the biblical past, they are also a presumptively nomadic figure, implicitly without permanent claim to the land. The image appears almost like the painted backdrop to a theatre set, an empty stage onto which the viewer can project scenes and ideas. As I shall explore in this chapter, this image was produced in a time where British understandings of the region were filtered through not only a Christian religious cultural context, but also an imperialist lens which was exemplified in exhibitions, museums and fairs which sought to codify and categorise the peoples and places of the Holy Land.

Cohen *et al.*'s framework for understanding tourist photography sees it as a quest for documentation, limited by the tourist's knowledge of their environments and 'consequent inability to grasp anything but the most obvious and easily recognisable features of it, necessarily inducing them to stereotyping.'⁶¹ The most recognisable features of the landscape and people for British tourists would be those they had seen repeated in the metropole in art, museums, exhibitions and tourist advertisements. The Cohen *et al.* framework can be applied also to the tourist's selection of postcards. While the tourists did not individually create the image, their selections would still be made within that context, and indeed, photographers of the period whose images were reproduced on postcards often came from the same cultural context as tourists, or at least understood the images which would please Euro-American tourist markets the most. Pirie writes that 'visiting the colonies [...] could be seeing first-hand the postcard

⁶¹ Erik Cohen, Yeshayahu Nir and Uri Almagor, 'Stranger-local interaction in photography,' *Annals of Tourism Research*, 19/2 (1992): 213-233, DOI: 10.1016/0160-7383(92)90078-4, p.217.

landscape and built sites written about by adventurers.’⁶² The desire, I argue, would be to replicate that imaginary through the purchase and distribution of postcards themselves, to make fixed and permanent the tourist experience.

The trope of the Palestinian Arab as nomadic Bedouin, primitive and biblical without roots in Palestinian landscape; the framing of the landscape in the style of the biblical picturesque; and the reliance on imperialist ideas of the world-as-exhibition were reinforced, referenced and, I would argue, never in the period subverted by commercial postcard producers. By contextualising postcards of this period alongside contemporary travel literature, tourist advertisements and exhibitions, I will show here that the British narrative around Palestine in these four decades was circular, in that tourists’ preconceptions were shaped by their cultural context, but they also perpetuated these representations through demand to replicate them in tourist visual culture and writing. These postcards, then, commodified and capitalised on a broader visual culture and narrative that combined the religious and the imperial, and were part of a visual culture which established tropes and symbols that would significantly influence perceptions and representations of Palestine - and latterly Israel - in the following decades.

‘Passing from century to century’: biblical painting and conceptualisations of Palestine

In Edward Lear’s 1861 landscape *Bethlehem* (Figure 1.2), it is possible to immediately see similarities to the Nazareth postcard in Figure 1.1. Lear’s landscape presents a pastoral, timeless vision of one of Christianity’s holiest cities, unspoiled by the technological and industrial advantages of the modern age. In the painting, as in the previous postcard and others in this chapter, the colour palette is soft pastels, and there is a warm, romantic glow over the scene. Even the perspective of Lear’s painting, a broad panorama with very few figures, dominated in the foreground by trees and looking down on the city from a rural remove, was a frequently repeated compositional technique used in photography and postcard imagery; it is comparable in perspective to the Nazareth postcard.

⁶² Shelley Baranowski *et al*, ‘Tourism and empire,’ *Journal of Tourism History*, 7/1-2 (2015): 100-130, DOI: 10.1080/1755182X.2015.1063709, pp.105-106.

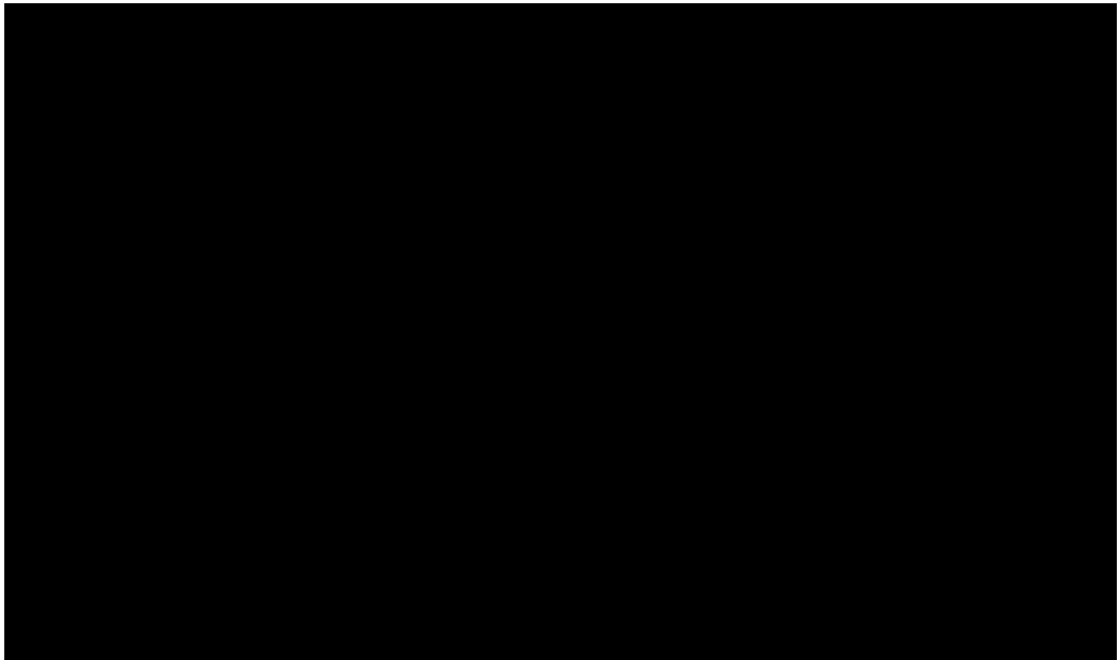


Figure 1.2

Edward Lear. *Bethlehem*. 1861. Oil on canvas. Copyright Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

Lear's painting is in the Orientalist style; a style which offered an idealised conceptualisation of the landscape of Palestine, which treated that landscape as the Bible made physically manifest. Artists working in this tradition had sometimes never seen the land they depicted, but interpreted it through reading scripture. Some who did visit Palestine were enraptured by the sight of holy cities, primarily Jerusalem, but others were disappointed as reality failed to live up to expectation. Lear himself wrote: 'O my nose! o my eyes! o my feet! How you suffered in that vile place! For let me tell you, physically Jerusalem is the foulest and odiouslest place on earth.'⁶³ Some artists even kept journals where they recorded their impressions, in a manner reminiscent of commercially published travel diaries and literature. Hunt and David Roberts kept daily journals, and wrote letters to their patrons and friends at home; this link between the written and the visual, then, was established in media other than picture postcards. Hunt expressed his impression that travelling through Palestine was akin to 'passing from century to century,' in letters to friends, and wrote often of his desire to capture the stories of the Bible with realism.⁶⁴ He spent almost seven years in Jerusalem, and

⁶³ Briony Llewellyn, 'Extraordinary scenes of beautifully arranged horrible wilderness,' *TATE*, <http://www.tate.org.uk/context-comment/articles/extraordinary-scenes-beautifully-arranged-horrible-wilderness>, accessed 3 March 2017.

⁶⁴ Selection of Hunt's letters in George P. Landow, 'William Holman Hunt's "Oriental Mania" and his Uffizi Self-portrait,' *The Art Bulletin*, 64 (1982): 646-655.

wrote to the *Jewish Chronicle* in 1896 that the city made Biblical events seem ‘so real as to appear like an event of the day.’ In that letter, he also expressed his support for Theodor Herzl’s Zionist movement as ‘in accordance with promises made by the ancient prophets.’⁶⁵

Although painters like Hunt and Lear wrote commonly of their disappointment with the realities of Palestine as compared to their hopeful imaginings, they rarely reflected this in their visual work, instead attempting to use the landscape as a background for religious paintings, or at least for images evocative of a biblical past, as can be seen in Lear’s *Bethlehem*. The advent of photography saw these paintings fall out of fashion, as sites became more easily and cheaply depicted, but their influence can be clearly felt in the travel photography, advertisements and postcards which followed.



Figure 1.3

EPH-ME.2760. Published by Jamal Brothers, Jerusalem, 1921. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The postcard in Figure 1.3, published by Jamal Brothers in 1921, shows a panorama of Jerusalem shown from the perspective of Mount Zion. This image is clearly influenced, at least compositionally, by artists like Lear’s work. The city is framed

⁶⁵ Jennifer Lipman, ‘An artist in love with the Holy Land,’ *The Jewish Chronicle*, 12 October 2012, <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/an-artist-in-love-with-the-holy-land-1.37118>, accessed 27 July 2017.

in the distance, with vegetation and natural landscape in foreground, echoing the positioning of *Bethlehem*.

This postcard uses a photograph taken by another artist of this period, although he was not working in the Orientalist style. The photographer was Shlomo Narinsky, who emigrated to Palestine from Russia at the turn of the twentieth century. He became a photographer shortly after his arrival, and in 1920 sold over 100 photographs to Jamal Brothers, an Arab Christian postcard publishing company, before he left to pursue work in Paris. While there, he began his career as a painter under the name 'Neroni, the Oriental Painter.' He and Sonia Narinsky, his wife, returned again to Palestine during the Second World War, where both then worked as photographers, Mr. Narinsky until his death in 1960.⁶⁶ Mr. Narinsky's movement between media – from photographer of sites in Palestine, to painter of such sites, and then back to photography – reveals ways in which the two representative forms interrelated with and influenced one another, and also the ways in which postcards perpetuated and commercialised these stylistic conventions.



Figure 1.4

Shlomo Narinsky (Neroni). *Sea of Galilee Shore*. Unknown date. Charcoal.
<<http://www.findartinfo.com/english/art-pictures/1/26/0/Charcoal/page/1772.html>>. Accessed 26 July 2017.

⁶⁶ Tim N. Gidal, 'S. Narinsky of Palestine,' *History of Photography* 5/2 (1981): 125-128, DOI: 10.1080/03087298.1981.10442653.



Figure 1.5

Shlomo Narinsky (Neroni). *Tiberias*. Unknown date. Pastel crayons.
 < <http://www.artnet.com/artists/shlomo-narinsky-naroni/tiberias-1DPS2y6GfVFkDIJM5LIqtg2>>. Accessed 26 July 2017.

Narinsky's non-photographic art, as shown in the charcoal sketch of the Sea of Galilee in Figure 1.4 and the pastel rendering of Tiberias in Figure 1.5, were not picturesque in the manner of Lear or other Orientalist painters. His works have more in common with post-impressionist naïve primitivism in the style of artists like Henri Rousseau, in their two-dimensionality and lack of realism. Although the style of painting with which artists like Lear and Narinsky approached the landscape of Palestine was different, both presented idealised notions of the landscape which were not concerned with depicting realism or ugliness. One of the significant ways in which Narinsky's works differ from those of earlier Orientalist painters, however, is in their flatness and two-dimensionality. This was reflected in the postcards published of his photography, including that in Figure 1.3, where the landscapes looked similarly flat, in a manner reminiscent of a shadow box or stage set. Although imagery of the type shown in the above postcards were influenced in colour palette, symbolism and composition by Orientalist painters, and therefore was imbued with biblical significance, there was also an element of staging and emptiness that allowed for the viewer to insert their own narratives into the landscape – to imagine themselves, or their own stories, playing out on the landscape. The stories of travellers were, of course, to play an important role in

the construction of British visual culture around Palestine, and perceptions of the landscape and people.

‘The only holiday that lasts forever’: tourist photography and commercial postcards

It was not only painters who wrote of their journeys to the Holy Land; many travellers either wrote letters home or published their diaries between 1890 – 1930. The effect of this writing was, as Catherine Hall puts it, to bridge ‘the gap [...] between the metropole and the colony,’ and to do ‘the work of empire building.’⁶⁷ The experiences and knowledge of travellers in the colonies was valued to the extent that some were put to work for the colonial administration: D.G. Hogarth, for example, became the director of the Arab Bureau in Cairo, and Gertrude Bell used her knowledge to advise the British Mandate of Iraq after 1918.⁶⁸ The perspectives of travellers did, however, range across an imperialist/anti-imperialist spectrum; writers like Wilfrid Scawen Blunt favoured nationalism in Egypt, Iran and Turkey, for example, whereas Hogarth and Mark Sykes stood opposed to nationalism as imperialist ideologues. However, there was in this period an increasing tendency amongst writers across the board to what Geoffrey Nash calls a ‘distaste for the importation of western modernity into situations of Eastern authenticity.’⁶⁹ This juxtaposition – of modern as false and biblical/ancient as authentic, would come to be repeated in text and image across visual media of Palestine.⁷⁰ It has already been seen in the art writing of Orientalist painters, and their preference towards landscape that seemed untouched by industrialisation, as representative of biblical authenticity.

⁶⁷ Catherine Hall, ‘Women writing empire,’ *Studies in Travel Writing*, 12/2 (2008): 193-206, DOI: 10.3197/136451408X329761, p.198.

⁶⁸ Nash, ‘Politics, aesthetics and quest,’ p.57.

⁶⁹ Nash, ‘Politics, aesthetics and quest,’ p.64.

⁷⁰ Kuang-Hao Hou provides an analytical framework for examining the construction of nationalism and the ‘authentic’ nation by incorporating the arguments of Gellner, Smith and Barth in Kuang-Hao Hou, ‘Synthesising Gellner, Smith and Barth: building a preliminary analytical framework for exploring the relationships between ethnic groups, nations and nationalism,’ *Asian Ethnicity*, 14/4 (2013): 467-474, DOI: 10.1080/14631369.2012.726139. Seglow also provides an argument that identity and the authenticity of identity is constructed through opposition to the Other in Jonathan Seglow, ‘Cultural authenticity and liberal democracy: a reply to Colin Tyler,’ *Politics*, 17/3 (1997): 169-173, DOI: 10.1111/1467-9256.00049. The involvement of the Other in constructions of national identity leads to the creation of an authentic/inauthentic binary, which forms the basis of the discussion of visual culture here.

Travel writing and visual representation of Palestine in the nineteenth century initially paid little attention to the contemporary local inhabitants. As tourism increased, however, some began to depict the local population visually and in writing, in a manner reminiscent of Orientalist painting and landscape photography; that is, representations often sought to position the local inhabitants as idealised, stereotyped representations of a preferred biblical past. This is particularly evident in F.H. Deverell's travel writing from 1899. Deverell toured Palestine and Syria in the 1890s and published a book detailing his journey at the end of the decade. His reasons for travelling to the Holy Land, he wrote, 'doubtless arose from my childhood's hometraining, which was entirely based on the Bible and almost confined to Scriptural subjects [...] I had gained some vague conception [of Palestine].'⁷¹



SHEPHERD AND FLOCK.—NEAR SOLOMON'S POOLS.

Figure 1.6

F.H. Deverell. *Shepherd and flock – near Solomon's Pools*. Photograph published in F.H. Deverell, *My tour in Palestine and Syria*, (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1899), p.31.

The photographs in Deverell's book, such as that shown in Figure 1.6, frame the local inhabitants of Palestine in pastoral, religious scenes reminiscent of bible stories. The shepherds in Figure 1.6 are not positioned in a way that links them permanently to the land. They are shown as shepherds, suggesting that they are constantly moving to new grazing land; for a contemporary Christian audience, they represent an imagined biblical past but are not connected to any contemporary

⁷¹ F.H. Deverell, *My tour in Palestine and Syria* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1899), p.2.

infrastructure or permanent home. This is also evocative of paintings like *Bethlehem*, where shepherds are dotted throughout the rural landscape but do not inhabit the city, which in terms of its age and size, appears as a more permanent part of that particular space.

In much travel writing of this period, the idea of Palestinian Arabs as authentic was only permissible in the writing and images of western travellers when they were linked to biblical pursuits. Once travellers described Palestinian Arabs in towns and cities the tone of their writing and imagery shifted considerably. This perception had its roots in what Kelly describes as the ‘dissonance in acknowledging how a religion deeply relevant to British spiritual history was under the control of a competing imperialist power,’⁷² which in the pre-Mandate period was the Ottoman Empire. D. Williams, for example, who recounted his 1898 tour of Palestine and Egypt in a book published the same year, was enamoured of the religiously significant areas of Palestine but disturbed by the port city of Jaffa, a majority-Palestinian-Arab city, describing it as ‘very dirty – no sanitary inspectors evidently about.’⁷³ This sentiment was echoed by Deverell, who actively advocated throughout his writing for Jewish reclamation of the Holy Land, and described Jaffa as full of ‘shouting, and confusion, and dirt, and poverty, and business, and money-seeking, but nothing of a sacred character, nothing to arouse elated or devotional feelings, nothing among the people generally to indicate that they were conscious of the wonderful past of this land.’⁷⁴ He then described an encounter with another European traveller, who claimed that ‘Mahomedanism [sic] was dying in Palestine and Christianity rising all over the land. He expressed a wistful hope for an English occupation of the country. Clearly, it would be the very best thing that could happen for Palestine. If the Turk [...] was got rid of, and Britain substituted in his place, then Palestine might revive.’⁷⁵ This sentiment – that while local inhabitants were a visual connection between the biblical and the contemporary for the western traveller in rural areas, in cities and towns they prevented modernisation and improvement and thus had no contemporary right or claim to the land – was echoed by other travellers, including W. Sanday. In Sanday’s 1903 book, he argued:

⁷² Kelly, ‘Aesthetic desire and imperialist disappointment,’ p.623.

⁷³ D. Williams, *Diary of a “pilgrimage” to Palestine and Egypt, January – February 1898* (London: Frederick Shaw & Co, 1898), p.9.

⁷⁴ Deverell, *My tour in Palestine and Syria*, p.17.

⁷⁵ Deverell, *My tour in Palestine and Syria*, p. 24.

there can be little doubt that since [the time of Christ] the process of “Arabization” has gone much further [...] unfortunately this Arabian influence is not good for the country [...] In spite of these adverse conditions, and in spite of the misgovernment which lies like a dead weight upon the land, one seems to see some signs of recuperation. But these are due to immigration of a different kind. Under any other government the prosperity of Palestine would advance by leaps and bounds.⁷⁶

The paternalistic attitude expressed in these passages is indicative of an attitude amongst British travellers which appreciated the Palestinian Arab person solely as a prop for visual representations of the Holy Land, but simultaneously resented and abhorred the Other for what travellers claimed was neglect of Christianity’s holiest sites and locations. Writing such as this is a clear example of the spiritual-imperial paradigm within which British travellers perceived and presented Palestine and its inhabitants.

18 **ADVERTISEMENTS.**

ROYAL DEVONSHIRE SERGE
MADE OF SELECTED & ELASTIC STAPLE WOOLS.
No other Article manufactured equals this in general utility.
It is Woven for Ladies' Dresses in Navy Blue and other solid colours, and in Heather or Homespun Mixtures, price 1/11, 2/6, & 2/11 per yard; also in Light-weighted Yarns for Summer Use.
And for Children's Wear in White and Navy Blue at 1/64 per yard.
The qualities for Boys' Hard Wear are Extra Milled and strengthened, as also those for Gentlemen's Suits; prices, 5 1/2 inches wide, from 4/6 per yd.
Book of Patterns containing 100 will be sent on application to
SPEARMAN & SPEARMAN, Devonshire Serge Factors, Plymouth.
N.B.—THE ROYAL DEVON SERGE is the only true Yachting Serge; sea-water cannot injure it. Good wear is positively guaranteed by the factors, who cut any length desired, and send parcels over Two Pounds in value, carriage paid, to Bristol or London, and by steamer to Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Waterford, and Glasgow.
Heavy and Light Qualities are specially made in dark colours for travelling.

PHOTOGRAPHY FOR TOURISTS
THE TRIUMPH OF THE PHOTOGRAPHIC ART IS
THE NEW POCKET CAMERA OF
ROUCH AND CO., which requires no previous knowledge of photography. Extensively used by tourists and travellers, no chemicals required in the field, the prepared plates are marvels of sensitiveness, will keep for years in any climate, price 3s. 6d. per dozen; every plate guaranteed to produce a picture; Camera, three double slides, Alpentock tripod, Ross's lens, and strong patent leather case, price complete £7 10s.; larger size, No. 2, 6in. by 4in., price complete £8 17s. 6d. These appliances being made in our own workshops, no other make can equal them for quality. Full particulars post free, or at the Manufactory.
W. W. ROUCH and CO., 180, STRAND, LONDON. Established 1851.

COOK'S
BRITISH MUSEUM BOARDING HOUSE
59, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, London.
This Establishment is pleasantly situated within three minutes' walk of Oxford Street and High Holborn, the great Omnibus route to the City and the West End, with easy facilities for visiting every part of the Metropolis.

LEICESTER.
Cook's Commercial and Family Temperance Hotel,
63, GRANBY STREET
(Adjoining the Temperance Hall).
Ladies and Gentlemen visiting Leicester, for purposes of Business or Pleasure, will find at this Establishment the ordinary comforts of a quiet home, in close proximity to the chief centres of commerce. The Hotel is situated in the principal thoroughfare, within five minutes' walk of the Railway Station, and about an equal distance from the principal Banks, Public Offices, Mercantile Establishments, Markets, Post Office, &c. An Ordinary is provided daily at One o'clock.

Figure 1.7

Photography for tourists advertisement. Advertisement by Rouch and Co. 1876. Published in Thomas Cook, *Cook's Tourist Handbook for Palestine and Syria* (London: Thomas Cook & Son, 1876).

⁷⁶ W. Sanday, *Sacred sites of the gospels: with illustrations, maps and plans* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), p.3-5.

Not all tourists were taking their own photographs at this stage, but it is possible to gauge how early travel photography became normalised for western travellers in Palestine through advertisements in the back of guidebooks, such as that in Figure 1.7. This advertisement was published in the 1876 Thomas Cook travel guide for Palestine and Syria; it describes the Rouch and Company pocket camera, which ‘requires no previous knowledge of photography,’ and is ‘extensively used by tourists and travellers.’ Set on a page among adverts for common tourist products like hotels and travel clothing, this advertisement suggests that in the latter half of the nineteenth century there was also a market for tourist photography products.

Indeed, the popularity of amateur travel photography was, in this period, set to explode. In 1884, George Eastman founded Kodak, which almost immediately began releasing pocket cameras commercially. In 1900, Kodak released the Brownie camera, which was ‘user-friendly, lightweight and cheap,’ although even before the release of that particular model, *Photographic News* was reporting in 1899 that tourists throughout Britain were armed in large numbers with cameras.⁷⁷ This development was made possible by advancement in photographic technology – by 1900 it was possible to purchase a lightweight, portable hand-held camera pre-loaded with film, which could then be sent back to companies like Kodak for processing.

Kodak’s advertisements, including that featured in Figure 1.8, soon turned to the encouragement of travel photography. In the advertisement below, the text reminds the viewer that ‘you can learn to use a Kodak in half-an-hour,’ emphasising the simplicity of the equipment and its availability to the layman. This was different from photographs fifty years previously, which were made using daguerreotype or paper negatives and took a long time to process, limiting photography to those with the skills, patience and funds to attempt it.⁷⁸ The advert not only emphasises the lack of necessary knowledge needed to take photographs, but also the need to document one’s memories in order to fix them, make them permanent, share them and return to them again.

⁷⁷ Jonas Larsen, *Performing Tourist Photography*, PhD dissertation supervised by Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt, Wolfgang Framke and John Urry. Department of Geography and International Development Studies, Roskilde University, Denmark. 2004, p.72.

⁷⁸ To see some examples of early daguerreotype and paper negative photography in Palestine: Kathleen S. Howe, *Revealing the Holy Land: the photographic exploration of Palestine* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1999).



**The only holiday that lasts
forever is the holiday with a
Kodak**

Ask your nearest Kodak dealer to show you the latest models.
Kodak Ltd., Kingsway, London, W.C. 2.

Figure 1.8

The only holiday that lasts forever is the holiday with a Kodak.
Advertisement by Kodak, London, c.1920. Copyright Punch
Picture Library, London.

How travellers of the period selected the sights to document, however, was influenced not only by their cultural context, but also by the examples of travel guidebooks and other tourist visual culture. Guidebooks published by companies like Baedeker contained passages including, ‘natives are like children, with a touching simplicity.’⁷⁹ *The American Colony guide-book to Jerusalem*, published in 1920 by the utopian Christian organisation which also produced and sold photographs and postcards, claimed that ‘the city has progressed very materially in the past few decades, and many

⁷⁹ Karl Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria: handbook for travellers*, 2nd edition (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker Publisher, 1894), p. xiii.

modern improvements have replaced the mediaeval backwardness of the past [...] all this is of course the result of the influx of European settlers.⁸⁰ This guidebook was written by O.G. Matson, member of and photographer for the colony, many of whose images appeared on American Colony postcards. Additionally, Cook's introduction to his 1876 Palestine guidebook indicates how pervasive biblical understandings of the landscape were. In this guide, he promised to 'incorporate into this Handbook not merely the references to the passages of the Scripture descriptive of places of interest, but the worlds of the sacred text also.'⁸¹

These guidebooks, prior to the widespread use of photography, often contained illustrations which served as visual precursors to postcard images and drew on the Orientalist art context of the period. In the 1876 edition of Baedeker's guide, for example, sites are often depicted in two ways: the whole site illustrated from a distant viewpoint, unpopulated; and in a double-page spread in close-up, often with figures populating the image and suggesting the ways in which the site is used by the local inhabitants.

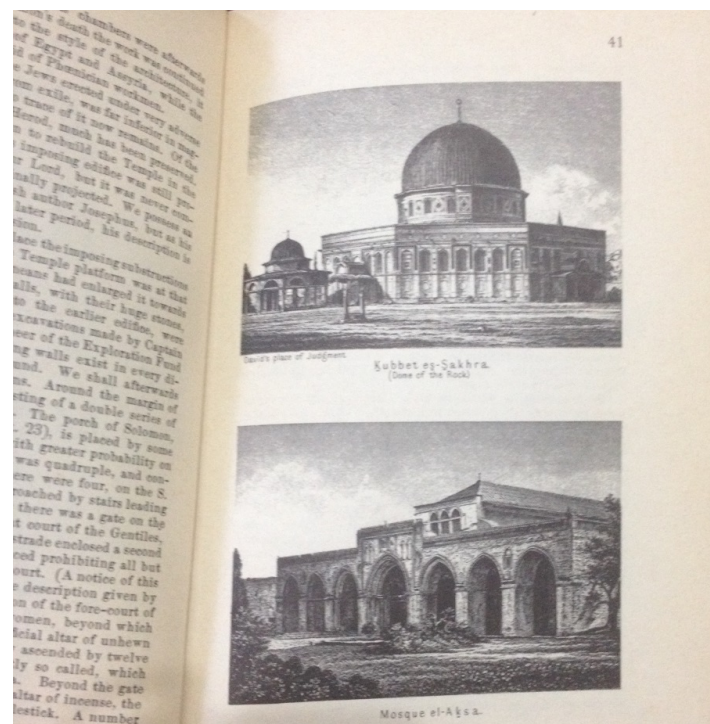


Figure 1.9

Illustration of Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem. Karl Baedeker, Jerusalem and surroundings 1876 (Dulau and Co: London, 1876), p.41.

⁸⁰ O.G. Matson, *The American Colony guide-book to Jerusalem and environs* (Fr. Vester & Co.: Jerusalem, 1920), p.6.

⁸¹ Thomas Cook, *Cook's tourist's handbook for Palestine and Syria* (London: Thomas Cook & Son, 1876), pp.iiiv-iv.

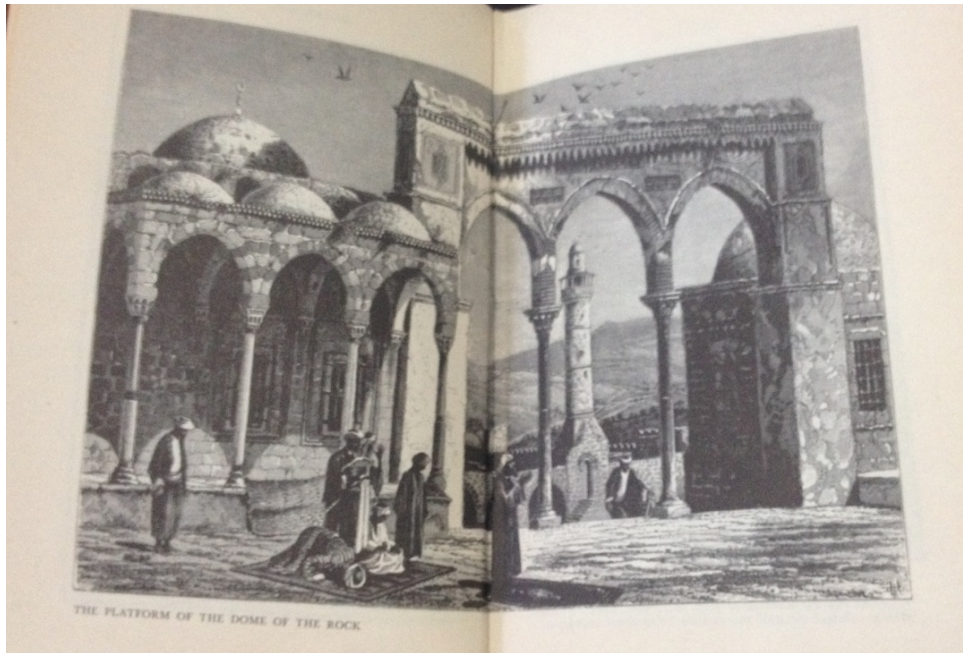


Figure 1.10

The Platform of the Dome of the Rock. Karl Baedeker, *Jerusalem and surroundings* 1876 (Dulau and Co: London, 1876), p. 42.

An example of this is clear in Figures 1.9 and 1.10, the former of which presents the Dome of the Rock from a distance, allowing the entire building to be contained within the image. The second illustration shows the platform of the Dome of the Rock at close-range, with the arched columns known as the Scales of Souls in mid-ground, and people at prayer featured prominently in the foreground. Images of architectural and religious sites in Palestine of this period are often of the same two types: those of sites from afar often depict them as picturesque and depopulated – a refining of the image that often involved detaching the site from its human component. Those taken at close range will often contain images of local inhabitants. Especially when those inhabitants are Palestinian Arabs, they are depicted most often in traditional or religious clothing, as relics of the past or exotic curiosities to be examined in an anthropological manner. In many ways, illustrations like those in the Baedeker guidebook were a part of the context of display in Britain which, in the following decades, led to exhibitions depicting the culture and customs of Palestine's inhabitants as curious spectacles to be consumed and observed by the public, as shall be explored later in this chapter. It is clear that postcards, too, often reproduced these two types of image: picturesque landscapes at a distance, and closely rendered displays of people.

Postcards showing similar images to those printed in Palestine guidebooks have commonalities not just in terms of the site depicted, but also in the way that site is

constructed visually. The postcards in Figure 1.11 and 1.12 show the *Haram al-Sharif* with the Dome of the Rock from afar, and al-Aqsa mosque through the arches in close-up respectively. The card in Figure 1.11, showing the Dome of the Rock from a distant perspective, is a hand-coloured monochrome photograph, lending the image the quality of an illustration. The foreground of the image is unpopulated – the platform surrounding the Dome is devoid of people, and therefore the building itself and the trees around take prominence. In the second image (Figure 1.12), a monochrome photograph published circa 1920, the prominence of the archway and the figure standing underneath it are reminiscent of the Baedeker illustration in Figure 1.10.

The postcard of the Dome of the Rock was published by Saraffian Bros., a firm of three brothers who ran a photographic company and studio in Beirut, later becoming one of the largest producers of postcards in the Levant. According to the records of the BM, the company was largely active between 1900 and 1930.⁸²



Figure 1.11

EPH-ME.7748. Published by Saraffian Bros, Beirut, c.1920s. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

⁸² British Museum, 'Saraffian (Biographical details),' *The British Museum*, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?biold=98709, accessed 16 May 2017.



Figure 1.12

EPH-ME.7995. Published by A. Atallah Freres, Jerusalem, c.1910s.
Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Little information is known about A. Atallah Freres, who published the second card, other than the fact that they were based in Jerusalem at the dawn of the twentieth century.⁸³ The Saraffian Bros. card, with its soft pastel tinting, pink light and prominent trees, has stylistic similarities with paintings of the Holy Land exemplified by Lear's *Bethlehem*, although it includes architectural features prominently, like Narisnky's *Sea of Galilee*. Empty and serene, the image shows the idealised tourist experience: as travel writers like Deverell hoped, there is no modern, industrialised business in the frame. It is the perfect exotic past made present.

⁸³ The British Museum, 'A Atallah Freres (Biographical details),' *The British Museum*, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?biold=191734, accessed 16 May 2017.

In the A. Attallah Freres card, the mosque and the figure in the foreground are framed by the arches, centring them as the focal points of the image. The arches form a window through which the Other and their customs and practices can be viewed and interpreted by the purchaser; again, this is reminiscent of a stage, and the figure standing under the archway seems a player on that stage. In wide views of unpopulated landscapes, painters and photographers alike drew on an idealised past to present and untouched, evocative landscape; in these closer images, however, which featured ‘exotic’ peoples and customs, the framing allowed the viewer to safely observe the curiosity of the Other, and insert their own fantastical imaginings. Both types of view invited the viewer to step into the frame – to visit themselves either the untouched biblical landscape, or the exotic Other. This was of course part of the religious-imperial context from which British travellers came. In some commercial tourist imagery, this combination of the religious and the imperial lenses was even more explicit.

As I have suggested, tourists of this period primarily sought images of Palestine rooted in a biblical understanding of the land, but also those that catered to an imperialist desire to codify its people. Image producers, responding to consumer demand, therefore attempted to display Palestinian people and places from a religious-imperial perspective. T.H. Baxter of the Missionary Film Committee (MFC), which published several postcards including the card in Figure 1.13, gave an interview to the *Daily Telegraph* in 1929 in which he was explicit in his aim:

Our aim will not just be to get a travel picture [...] We shall, of course, show the Palestine of today, but when people visit that land, what they are really interested in is the Palestine of the Bible. Our purpose will be to make the Bible real through the existent Palestine. This is still possible, though every year it is becoming less so through the spread of modernity in this petrol age. Even the women who go the well, as they have done for 3,000 years, now favour the empty petrol tin in preference to the pitcher.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Jewish Telegraphic Agency, ‘Missionaries to make Palestine film,’ *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, 30 March 1929, <http://www.jta.org/1929/04/01/archive/missionaries-to-make-palestine-film/>, accessed 5 November 2016).



Figure 1.13

EPH-ME.5067. Published by Missionary Film Committee, London, c.1929. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

While Baxter says the MFC will 'show the Palestine of today,' he immediately goes on to say they will 'make the Bible real through the existent Palestine,' suggesting that modern advancements in technology and infrastructure make showing the world of the Bible impossible.⁸⁵ If the plan then, was to depict biblical Palestine with the landscape as a stage, ignoring the inconvenient 'petrol age' modernity, the MFC continued in the tradition of other image producers in aestheticizing and romanticising the landscape, and excluding the parts of the country and its realities that did not

⁸⁵ Glenn Reynolds, *Colonial cinema in Africa: origins, images, audiences* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2015), p.82.

conform to the idealised biblical conception of Palestine. This was most commonly the case when discussing modernisation in cities like Jaffa which were dismissed as noisy, dirty, and inauthentic as opposed to these romanticised biblical portrayals. In the MFC postcard there is evidence of both a stylistic impulse to romanticise the traditional dress of the woman in a manner reminiscent of the biblical period, and also an impulse to categorise people as 'types' in the imperial tradition. The woman is not named, she is captioned as 'a Ramallah woman,' and is presented as representative of an entire group of people. She is framed doubly, by the image itself and by the doorway in which she stands, almost suggesting her image as the entry point to an understanding of the exotic world beyond the door.

Although Baxter talks pejoratively about the modern infrastructure of the landscape, and even travel writers like Deverell and Williams were quick to criticise the industrialised port towns like Jaffa, these elements never seem to make their way into depictions of Palestine or its people for tourist consumption. This is the flip-side to portrayals of Jewish settlement as modernisation which neglect to discuss the archaic elements of the landscape and infrastructure which do not fit the specific narrative, as will be shown in Chapter Two. Indeed, although Baxter mentions the modernisation of drawing well-water, MFC postcards of wells published in the 1920s do not show them in a modern context. The same image was reproduced more than once in fact, both as a monochrome and coloured printed postcard, as seen in Figure 1.14 and Figure 1.15.

Here, camels wearing decorative saddles and tassels are foregrounded drinking from a well in Beersheba known as Abraham's Well. The people are faceless in the background, and no modern well-water drawing equipment is visible. In this image, the exotic desert animal and its colourful decorations take precedence, and the people are incidental. There is no attempt here to include what Baxter himself singled out as an area of 'modernisation' in Palestine.

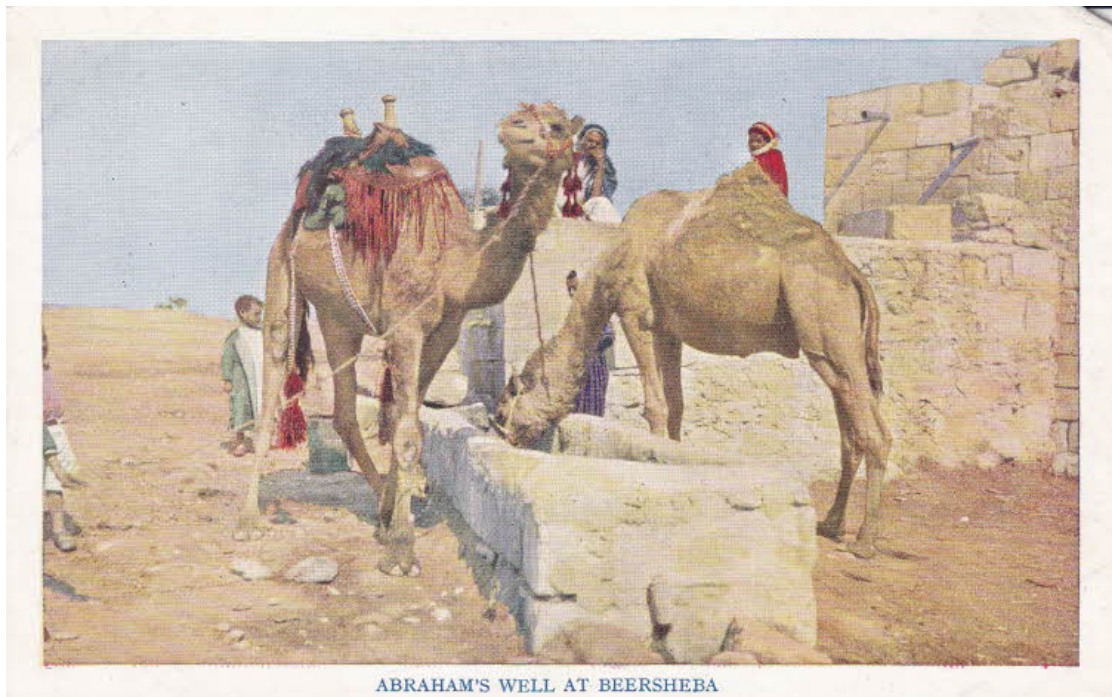


Figure 1.14

EPH-ME.8090. Published by the Missionary Film Committee, London, c.1920s. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

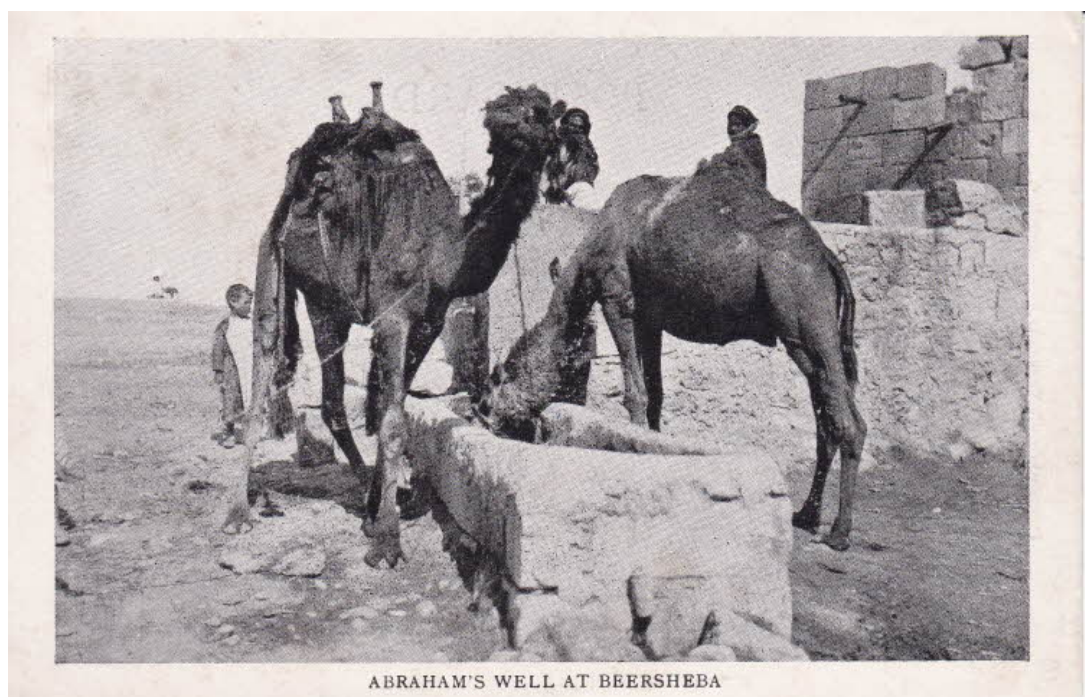


Figure 1.15

EPH-ME.7867. Published by the Missionary Film Committee, London, c.1920s. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Instead, the emphasis is on the exotic things which would evoke, to an audience in Britain, thoughts of the bible and the romantic Palestinian Arab as naïve, simpler than the industrialised metropolitan British traveller. The caption makes even more explicit the prioritisation of the MFC and other biblical image producers like it – in this case, the biblical site takes precedence, not the camels, or the people. When they could be used as exemplification of an exotic ‘type’, this was the focus of the photograph and caption; when a biblical site was also in the picture, this was the most important feature for the MFC.

This erasure of Palestinian Arab’s lived experiences, and the layering over of Christian symbolism was common in commercial postcards of this period. Palestinians were often shown as stand-ins for shepherd figures alongside camels or donkeys, as seen in Figure 1.16.

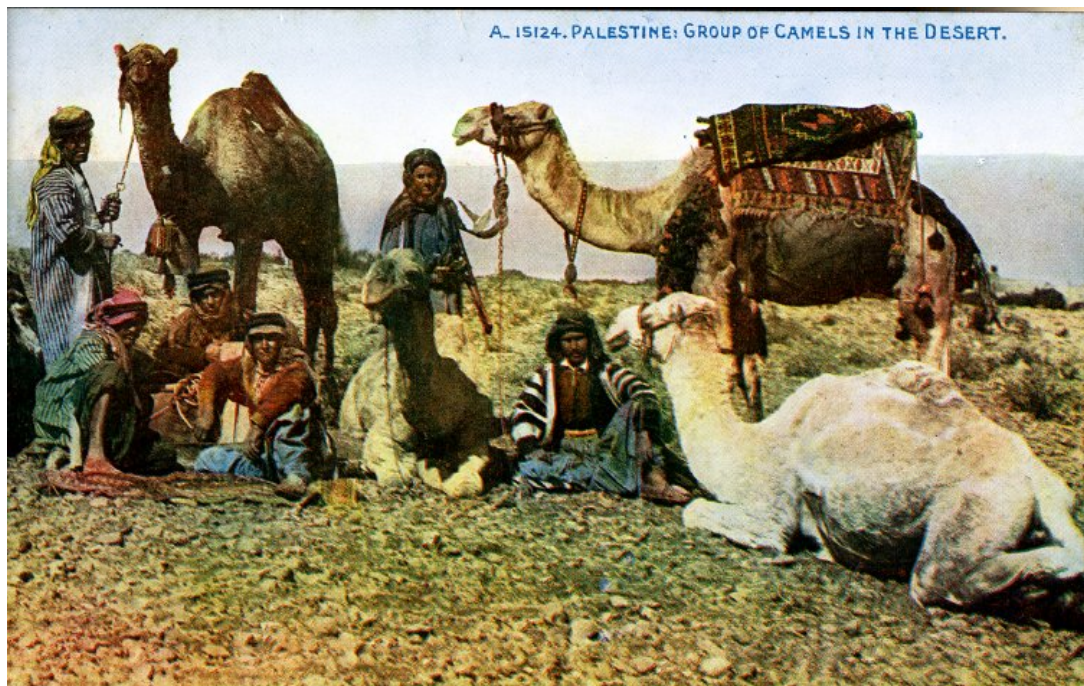


Figure 1.16

EPH-ME.2892. Published by Photochrom Company, London, c.1920s.
Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

This Photochrom postcard has a caption which does not even mention the human subjects of the image, emphasizing instead the ‘group of camels in the desert.’ The local inhabitants of Palestine are therefore defined for the tourist gaze by their connection to the exotic and biblical (the desert, the camel), and erased from the caption entirely. This is a continuation of the type of language seen on the MFC postcards – the hierarchy of importance appears to have been the biblical site, the

exotic elements of the image, and finally the people in the image, if they could be made to stand in as representatives of a certain type or ethnographic group. The postcard above is certainly indicative of an imperialist attitude which did not see Palestinians as individual human beings.

The publisher Photochrom, a company which had bases in Europe and America, began as a manufacturer of Christmas cards before expanding into tourist guidebooks, photography and postcards.⁸⁶ They collaborated with the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews on a number of postcards. They also collaborated with other Christian organisations such as The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, including on the postcard shown in Figure 1.17.



Figure 1.17

EPH-ME.3021. Published by Photochrom and The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, c.1910s. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

This card showing Jerusalem from a mountaintop, depicts the Mount of Olives and Gethsemane, sites significant to Christian tourists in Jerusalem. The wide panorama, the trees and rural landscape in the foreground and the city below, are clearly influenced by Orientalist works like Lear's *Bethlehem*, and is a composition we have seen

⁸⁶ Alan Petrus, 'Metropostcard publishers.' *Metropostcard*, <http://www.metropostcard.com>, accessed 4 November 2016.

in postcards like those in Figures 1.1 and 1.3. Here again, the colour palette is soft and the light warm, and the scene looks entirely unpopulated. The Christian conception of the Holy Land clearly played a role in Photochrom's selection and production of tourist imagery when one examines the types of landscapes and views they published and whom they worked in collaboration with. Producers of these types of cards in the BM collection were published by producers who can definitively be said to have had Christian lenses with which they viewed the landscape and people of Palestine. This clearly, in the cases above, played deeply into the ways in which they displayed them.



Figure 1.18

EPH-ME.1631. Publisher unknown, Britain, c.1930s. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The evocation of the biblical was occasionally even more explicit – local Muslims were asked to stage photographs where they played ‘unfamiliar biblical roles,’ or photographers and other image-producers depicted local life whilst referring to scriptural passages in captions which established ‘Biblical precedents.’⁸⁷ Whilst the local inhabitants of Palestine in the period between 1890 and 1930 were religiously varied – Muslims, Christians and Jewish people all lived in the region, and Palestinian Arab

⁸⁷ Cohen, Nir and Almagor: ‘Stranger-local interaction’, p.227.

Christians were a significant population – imagery of the period would sometimes obscure the local culture and customs of the Palestinian population and superimpose Christian religious scripture and scenes upon them, reinforcing the perception that their identities and contemporary lives were irrelevant or exotic curiosities. The postcard in Figure 1.18 is an example of this; a British postcard showing three faceless Palestinian men depicted on camels, which is deeply suggestive of the three Magi approaching Bethlehem as described in the Bible.

The viewer's eye is drawn to these three men, sitting atop their camels, positioned along a road which stretches into the distance. Although the men and their animals pull the most focus in the image, the eye is also drawn to the picturesque, softly coloured desert landscape behind them and the pink and blue sky. The men are situated in this undefined landscape (the caption does not establish the location) but those familiar with the story of the three Magi would likely find the implication that the road leads to Bethlehem rather obvious. All three men face away from the viewer, looking out on the road ahead and the landscape beyond. They therefore remain faceless, props for the narrative imposed on them by the image and its biblical subtext. For the audience likely consuming this image, given that it was published in Britain circa the 1930s, the identity of these men is rather less important than the scriptural connotations they are imbued with – or at least, that is the assumption made by the positioning of these men.

These commercial postcards not only allowed viewers to observe the sights and scenes of the Bible, but also allowed a Christian audience to gaze on the unfamiliar, while simultaneously being reassured by the 'civilising' element of Christianity, and the implication that biblical customs and scripture predate and supersede all traditions of other peoples. The desire to view, categorise, and control the Other is clear in the anthropological imagery shown, but also in imagery which couched the exotic in the familiar. This was part of a broader visual milieu, but shows particularly in the advertising practices of companies like Thomas Cook, which sought to make both the culture and landscapes of the Other safe and consumable for western travellers.

'Oriental articles of every description': tourist advertisements

Tourism posters at the turn of the twentieth century show a promotional sensibility rooted in biblical conceptions of the Holy Land, clearly aimed to inspire associations with scriptural understandings of Palestine yet simultaneously to inspire a

feeling of exoticism that echoed the Orientalism prevalent in art and literature of the Victorian period. The poster shown in Figure 1.19, published by Thomas Cook in 1901, is an example of this religious-imperialist impulse.

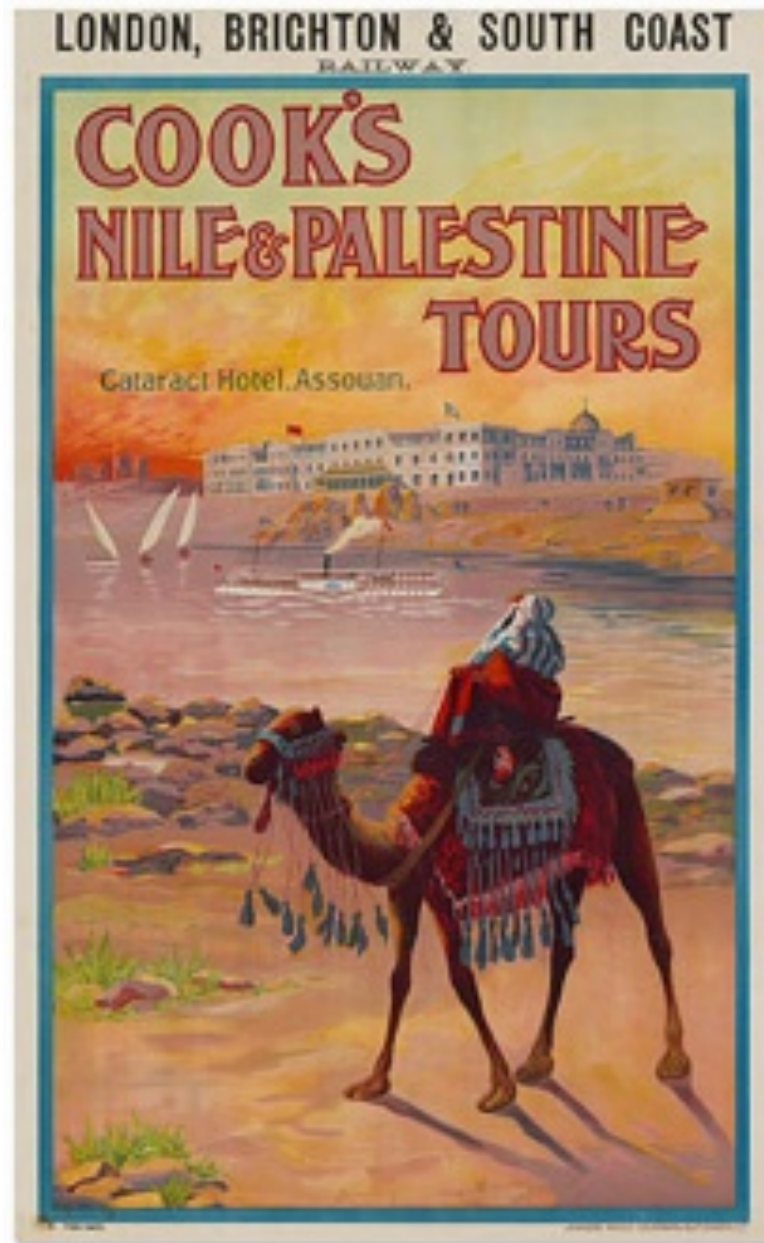


Figure 1.19

Cook's Nile & Palestine Tours. Published by Thomas Cook and Son, Ltd, Britain, 1901. Copyright courtesy of The Palestine Poster Project Archives (PPPA).

The poster shows an image of the Cataract Hotel in Aswan, Egypt, a hotel purpose-built for British tourists by Thomas Cook two years previously. The large text reads 'Cook's Nile & Palestine Tours' showing that, by this period, travellers were combining trips to the Holy Land with tours of nearby countries that were home to

fewer spiritual sites for Christians. The most prominent feature of the poster, however, is the Bedouin man atop his camel in the foreground, who bears striking similarity to the camel-riders in the postcard in Figure 1.18 in both style and composition. In the poster, the man sits atop his camel facing away from the viewer, towards the hotel across the river, where there is a tour ship likely representative of the type Cook used to ferry tourists. The man's bright red clothing and bold decorative elements that the camel is wearing serve to draw the viewer's eye to them immediately. The man is framed in the image as romantic, bathed as he is in the warm colours of the sunset; but he is also framed as exotic and Other – his position is across the river from the British colonial hotel, the tourist steamships and the tourists themselves. He observes them from afar, as the viewer in turn observes him. That he is turned away from the viewer and faceless renders him a stand-in for 'exotic Arabs' as a whole. That this poster bears such a strong similarity to postcards from the early decades of the twentieth century suggests a continuation of visual language across various types of tourist media, which itself suggests that the tourist market had established which visual styles and tropes would best appeal to a western tourist market.

Travel posters also drew on Orientalist framings of the landscape; an example of the ways in which desert landscapes populated with biblical cities translated from paintings like Lear's *Bethlehem* to commercial tourist media is evident in the poster shown in Figure 1.20. In this poster, published by the Paris-Lyons Mediterranean Travel Company in 1898, there are two images showing views of Bethlehem, with a gate in the foreground and the old city in the background. The washed-out colour palate provides a dreamy, ethereal quality and the image is populated by traditionally-dressed local inhabitants on donkeys or leading camels, two animals evocative of biblical stories. Dividing the two views of the city is an olive branch, which while a common sight in Palestine, is also a clear reference to Genesis 8:11: 'and the dove came in to him at eventide; and lo in her mouth an olive-leaf freshly plucked; so, Noah knew that the waters were abated from off the earth.' This Bible story would have been widely known by British travellers of the period, and this image would have inspired religious connotations for those travellers. More than thirty years separate the image on this poster and the earlier Lear painting of Bethlehem, yet the similarities in softness of style

and colour palette, and romanticised idealisation of the landscape and cityscape through a biblical lens remain apparent.



Figure 1.20

P.L.M. Palestine. Published by Paris-Lyons Mediterranean Travel Company (PLM), France, 1898. Copyright courtesy of The Palestine Poster Project Archive (PPPA).

The increased availability and popularity of travel to Palestine had a profound effect on the economy, the landscape, and the local inhabitants. Bar and Cohen-Hattab refer to tourism as a ‘modernising force,’ pointing out that modern tourist-pilgrims, who could no longer rely on the church or state to provide accommodation for them as a traditional pilgrim could, prompted a boom in hotel construction by the close of the

nineteenth century.⁸⁸ Hazbun makes the case that ‘tourism involves cultural political economy in which the consumer’s leisure tastes, mental images of other places, and understanding of other cultures define much of the economics of the sector.’⁸⁹ Indeed, in the nineteenth century Thomas Cook was successful in establishing itself in Egypt not least thanks to the help of ‘privileges and immunities’ conferred upon the company as a result of Cook’s relationship to the British authorities.⁹⁰ Cook was also given military contracts to transport British troops and supplies along the Nile.

Cook’s tours endeavoured to anticipate British travellers’ concerns about the inconveniences or realities of Palestine, and to this end they imported British foodstuffs and camping equipment, and set up an office in Jaffa and a network of dragomen, couriers and boatmen.⁹¹ This is what Piers Brendon identifies as ‘taming the Middle East in the interests of tourism.’⁹² These seemingly opposed ideas of the Middle East – authentic and antiquated versus familiar and ‘British’ – demonstrate how tourist companies presented, and tourists experienced, the colonial landscape. The tourist searched for the ‘authentic,’ but also enjoyed the comforts and familiarity offered by the colonial presence in countries such as Palestine, Egypt and Turkey. Tour companies and their network of guides in Palestine led tourists to the same sites repeatedly and provided dragomen as models for images, allowing for a growing visual uniformity in photographic representations of the landscape and population. This type of tour – framing the exotic through the familiar – is reminiscent of the visual culture examined previously in this chapter, which presented the landscape and people of Palestine through the same imperialist lens.

There were also some examples of tourist businesses in Palestine in this period who produced commercial imagery for tourist consumption as well as leading guided tours. Jamal Brothers, the publishing company to whom Shlomo Narinsky sold his photography collection, also operated as a tour company in Jerusalem. Another example

⁸⁸ Doron Bar and Kobi Cohen-Hattab, ‘A new kind of pilgrimage: the modern tourist pilgrim of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century Palestine,’ *Middle Eastern Studies*, 39/2 (2003): 131-149, DOI: 10.1080/14004511, p.140.

⁸⁹ Waleed Hazbun, ‘Revising itineraries of tourism and tourism studies in the Middle East and North Africa,’ *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 8/4 (2010): 225-239, DOI: 10.1080/14766825.2010.521244, p.227.

⁹⁰ Baranowski *et al*, ‘Tourism and empire,’ p.103.

⁹¹ Piers Brendon, *Thomas Cook; 150 years of popular tourism* (London: Martin Secker and Warburg Limited, 1991), p.132.

⁹² Brendon, *Thomas Cook*, p.132.

is the American Colony, who sold various types of souvenirs as well as travel guidebooks, as outlined in the advertisement postcard shown in Figure 1.21.

This card, published by the American Colony circa the 1920s, shows an illustration of the Dome of the Rock which is similar in style to illustrations found in guidebooks and other postcards of the period. The text highlights the availability, at the store, of ‘Oriental Articles of every description,’ including olive wood items, guidebooks, and ‘the well known American Colony Photographs’ and postcards. This suggests that the American Colony produced imagery specifically for a tourist market interested in both the exoticised portrayal of Palestine and the biblical, as the store also sold religious artefacts and ‘oriental’ items. That the photographs produced there were well known is some indication of the popularity of photographic and postcard imagery for tourists of the early-twentieth century in Palestine.

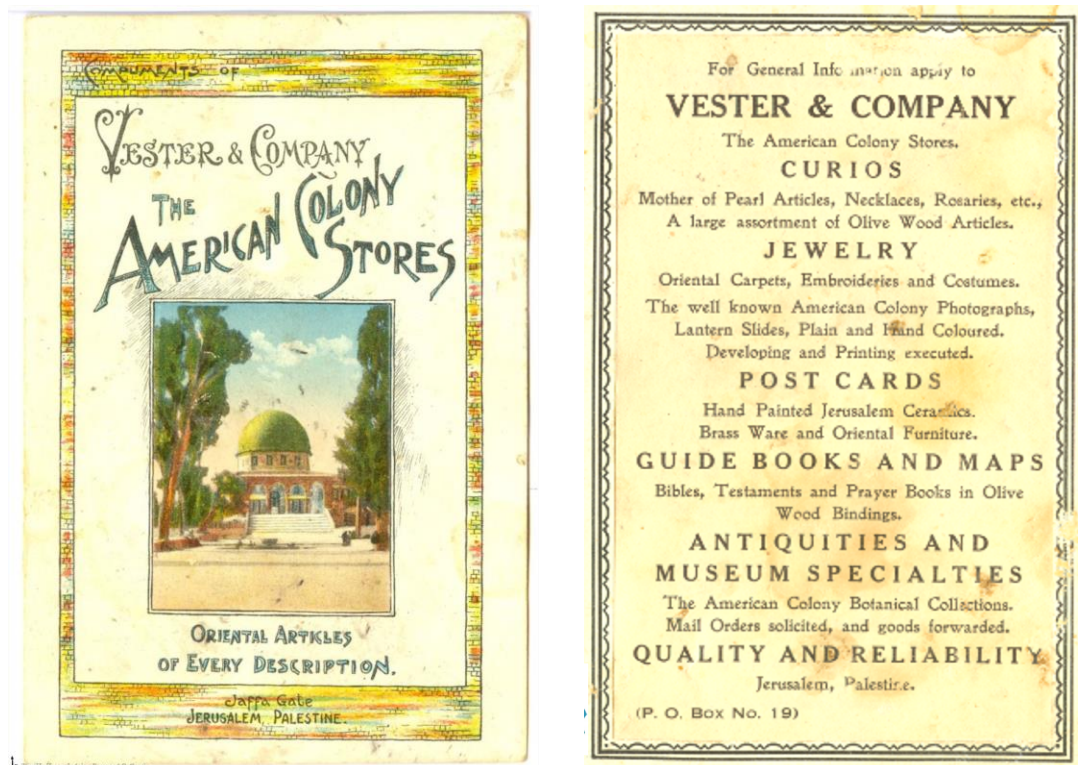


Figure 1.21

Hof20-0035. Published by The American Colony, Jerusalem, c.1920s.
Copyright courtesy of the Folklore Research Center, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

It was not only the tour companies however, who participated in the perpetuation of tropes and visual symbols. The dragomen on whom Cook relied often functioned as cultural brokers and mediators between travellers and locals, for example

by having Palestinians agree to pose for photographs. Occasionally, dragomen themselves would pose as photographic subjects.⁹³ As Cohen *et al.* contend, the availability of dragomen and the locals they convinced to pose for photographs may have 'kept travellers from seeking out less accessible and perhaps more representative samples of local subjects.'⁹⁴ The perpetuation - by dragomen and other guides - of the production of the same photographic content can be read as an exploitation for profit of tourist expectations and preconceptions, as opposed to a passive acceptance of stereotypes on the part of the Palestinian Arab population. Indeed, rather than buying into what Rafiq Ahmad describes as the representation of Palestinians as 'in a timeless present, with an ontologically stable existence, without a conscious self,'⁹⁵ Palestinian Arabs began to subvert these representations into key markers of identity as they engaged in resistance and the establishment of national-cultural Palestinian identity. Issam Nassar notes that in response to clashes in reaction to Jewish settlement in Palestinian villages, 'the peasant character became an essential part of the way Palestinians view and represent themselves. Later on, they would adopt peasant forms of dress, such as the *kufeyeh* headscarf [...] as symbols of Palestinian national identity.'⁹⁶ Reclamation of the *kufeyeh* to firmly attest to a national Palestinian identity suggests an acknowledgement of the visual tropes of the Mandate era, and a rejection of those elements that represent Palestinians as passive and without conscious or active engagement with the landscape.⁹⁷

⁹³ Kobi Cohen-Hattab, 'Zionism, tourism and the battle for Palestine: tourism as political-propaganda tool,' *Israel Studies*, 9/1 (2004): 61-85, p.72.

⁹⁴ Cohen, Nir and Almagor, 'Stranger-local interaction in photography,' p.225.

⁹⁵ Rafiq Ahmad, 'Orientalist imaginaries of travels in Kashmir: Western representations of the place and people,' *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 9/3 (2011): 167-182, DOI: 10.1080/14766825.2011.620117, p.170.

⁹⁶ Issam Nassar, 'The pre-history of Palestinian nationalism,' in Paul Scham, Walid Salim and Benjamin Pogrund (eds), *Shared histories: a Palestinian Israeli dialogue* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2005), p.71.

⁹⁷ Sarah Graham-Brown argues that the portrayal of Palestinian Arabs in photography and other imagery created under the conditions of the Mandate perpetuated 'an impression of passivity – of a people, the Palestinians [...] to whom history just happened.' Sarah Graham-Brown, *Palestinians and their society, 1880-1945: a photographic essay* (London and New York: Quarter Books, 1980), p.1. This depiction and reading of the Palestinian Arab population as passive non-actors can be subverted through reclamation of tropes, as mentioned above, or through an examination of media produced by Palestinians themselves, particularly in later decades when image-production and dissemination methods became more widely available. That does not mean, however, that the perception of Palestinian Arabs by outside observers was not as a passive non-actors; indeed, as shall be seen in the following chapters, when there was resistance to this portrayal it was often framed in the foreign press, by pro-Zionist media and by British Mandate authorities as irrational, dangerous and stepping out of the natural order – Palestinian

It is also true that Palestinian Arab postcard producers existed in the pre-state era. The most significant of these represented in the BM collection is the Jamal Brothers publishing company. The company was established by the five Jamal brothers who lived in Talbieh, and who were practising Christians involved to some degree in local politics. Shibli Jamal was part of the 1921 delegation which visited Britain to negotiate with then-Secretary of the Colonies Winston Churchill, in the hopes of overturning the Balfour Declaration. Khalil Jamal, the son of one of the original five brothers, was the first Arab man to be ordained a priest in the Anglican Church, at Christ Church in Nazareth, although he left for the United Kingdom in 1955.⁹⁸ The rest of the Jamal family were forced from Talbieh in 1948, which put a formal end to their tour company and publishing business.⁹⁹ The Jamal Brothers appear, in Palestine/Israel, to be an exception to a general rule. Whilst some Palestinian Arabs of the Mandate era had access to cameras or photography studios, access was limited primarily to the comfortable or well-off individuals living in towns and cities. Palestinians who were rural, poorer or village-based were less able to produce images themselves and as a result were more likely to be photographed by outside image-producers from the cities or from abroad.¹⁰⁰ Although other Palestinian photographers such as Khalid Raad were producing work in this era, their images were far less likely to be produced on a wide scale for commercial consumption.

The postcard shown in Figure 1.22 is a Jamal Brothers postcard, using a photograph taken by Narinsky. This image is reminiscent of others discussed here; the Bedouin man is dressed traditionally and has with him two horses which drink from a trough. The framing obscures the landscape, does not fix the man in a specific location, and makes clear the man's overtly traditional dress and livestock. Even then, in imagery published by Palestinian Arab producers, these same 'types' of people and ways of framing the life of everyday people in Palestine could be reproduced in imagery intended for tourists. This may have been in part due to the ubiquity of dragomen and the models they procured for photographers like Narinsky, and partly due to the

Arabs could be authentic and legitimate in their lives and landscapes *if* they were passive to occupation, in the imperial imagination.

⁹⁸ John Miller, *A simple life: Roland Walls & the community of the transfiguration* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrews Press, 2004), p.137.

⁹⁹ Ben Jamal, 'What the Nakba means to me,' *Palestine Solidarity Campaign*, 5 May 2016, <http://www.palestinecampaign.org/what-the-nakba-means-to-me-ben-jamal>, accessed 5 November 2016).

¹⁰⁰ Graham-Brown, *Palestinians and their society*, p.16.

aesthetic impulses of the period and a knowledge of the demand for images like these in a tourist context heavily influenced by exhibition culture, biblical imagination and an idealised notion of the tourist experience.



Figure 1.22

EPH-ME.2783. Published by Jamal Brothers, c.1921. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Prior to the establishment of the British Mandate in Palestine, the Ottoman authorities had attempted to take control over the images of their Empire represented to foreign audiences. Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876 – 1909) was an avid supporter of photography, commissioning fifty-one albums of the Ottoman empire in the 1890s, largely depicting the area known presently as Turkey rather than Palestine/Israel. The albums, however, contained photographs depicting modernisation in architecture, cultural, educational, military and medical institutions, local people in modern dress and industry.¹⁰¹ These photographs were intended as a direct response to what Abdul Hamid II saw as a European attempt to ‘vilify and mock’ the Ottoman empire and its people.¹⁰² He also had, as Reina Lewis points out, ‘an awareness of the power of photographic representation [and] used photography to intervene in how his empire was displayed to the Occident,’ by providing albums for the Chicago Exhibition in

¹⁰¹ Michelle L. Woodward, ‘Between orientalist clichés and images of modernisation: photographic practices in the late Ottoman era,’ *History of Photography*, 27/4 (2003): 363-374, p.365.

¹⁰² Woodward, ‘Between orientalist clichés and images of modernisation,’ p.365.

1893, as well as to the American and British governments of the time.¹⁰³ While these attempts continued in Turkey after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire,¹⁰⁴ Palestinian Arab authorities, with no such overarching control of the administration of Palestine, were less able to control the narrative in this fashion.

This is not to suggest that foreign perceptions have primacy in the making of a nation's identity. However, the images constructed for tourists do take on a level of importance – in both Palestine/Israel and Turkey, the challenge for local Arab inhabitants was to publish imagery that would sell as it confirmed imperialist understandings of the people and landscapes but also to question those assumptions in what Woodward called the division between 'visual representations [...] that ranged from European fantasies to local efforts to promote modernisation.'¹⁰⁵

European fantasies were played out in tourist imagery like advertisements, guidebooks and commercial postcards, of course, which presented the landscape as a stage in a symbolic way. In a much more material way, the exhibition and display culture of Britain in this period showcased these imperial ideas in cultural institutions and events, many of which reiterated and reinforced notions of exotic authenticity on the one hand, and modernisation as the sole purview of European settlers and tourists on the other.

The world-as-exhibition: Palestine on view in British cultural institutions

In many ways, museum displays function like postcards: they often attempt to encapsulate whole cultures, peoples and places in objects and display them in a consumable fashion for audiences. Ivan Karp argues that images produced and disseminated by travellers in the imperial age were used by museums to 'form in part

¹⁰³ Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2004) p.209.

¹⁰⁴ In 1932, a law was passed in Turkey forbidding foreigners to work as artists and craftsmen in several fields, including photography, and in 1934 the Directorate of the Press established a 'project of publishing visual material about Turkey,' the purpose of which was 'to convince Westerners that Turkey was now a modern nation, an equal to Europeans.' Despite the earlier prohibition on foreign commercial photography, the Directorate employed Austrian Othmar Pferschy to compile this visual archive, resulting in a 16,000-image store which was provided to foreign journalists and writers by the government. Additionally, in 1935 and 1938, two government decrees were enacted which allowed the government's Postal Administration control and regulation of postcard production on Turkey. See Bülent Batuman, 'Gazes in dispute: visual representations of the built environment in Ankara postcards,' *The Journal of Architecture*, 20/1 (2015): 21-46, DOI: 10.1080/13602365.2014.1003955, pp.26-41.

¹⁰⁵ Woodward, 'Between orientalist clichés and images of modernization,' p.365.

“the image of the other,”¹⁰⁶ and this relationship is clear in the exhibitions and displays discussed below. The effect of imperialism and colonial theft on Britain’s museums was pervasive, to the extent that historians like Emily Duthie posit the building of museums as ‘a direct consequence of war, colonialism and military expeditions, which returned with “exotic” objects.’¹⁰⁷ Here I will also draw on Robert Aldrich’s understanding of this exhibitionary complex, which acknowledges that museum collections inspired the careers of colonial administrators, settlers and travellers, as well as their conceptualisations of place.¹⁰⁸

One example of museum building as a consequence of colonialism and tourism is the establishment of the South Kensington Museum (SKM) in 1857 (renamed the Victoria & Albert Museum in 1899).¹⁰⁹ Although the SKM focused primarily on the decorative arts, the influence of travel photography and writing was clearly felt in both the design of the building and the collection it housed. Henry Cole, one of the chief developers of the SKM, was himself an extensive traveller, who, as Christopher Whitehead describes it, adopted a ‘specific patriarchal attitude’ toward the ‘foreign Other’ which ‘allowed the desirable cultures of the Other to be overviewed, recorded, catalogued and ultimately appropriated with propriety [...] for modern British museum[s].’¹¹⁰ Cole’s attitude was clear when he established a network of people working to catalogue and collect abroad for the museum, and implemented a ‘ransacking’ policy for his staff.¹¹¹ Owen Jones, too, was instrumental in the development of the museum, not as curator but designer. Jones was a keen traveller who visited Egypt and Turkey in the 1830s and was inspired by the architecture and design of the broader Middle East region.¹¹² Commissioned to design the walls, ceilings and tile pavements of the Oriental Court at the museum, Jones proposed a design of colourful and highly decorative archways. These were located in the South Court, which also housed European objects. The European objects were surrounded by similar

¹⁰⁶ Ivan Karp, ‘How museums define other cultures,’ *American Art*, 5/1 (1991): 10-15, p.14.

¹⁰⁷ Emily Duthie, ‘The British Museum: an imperial museum in a post-imperial world,’ *Public History Review*, 18 (2011): 12-25, p.16

¹⁰⁸ Robert Aldrich, ‘Colonial museums in a postcolonial Europe,’ *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 2/2, (2009): 137-156, DOI: 10.1080/17528630902981118, p.152.

¹⁰⁹ Aldrich, ‘Colonial museums in postcolonial Europe,’ p.140.

¹¹⁰ Chris Whitehead, ‘Aesthetic otherness, authenticity and the roads to museological appropriation: Henry Cole’s travel writing and the making of the Victoria and Albert Museum,’ *Studies in Travel Writing*, 10/1 (2006): 1-26, DOI: 10.1080/13645145.2006.9634800, pp.2-3.

¹¹¹ Whitehead, ‘Aesthetic Otherness,’ p.16.

¹¹² Felix Driver and Sonia Ashmore, ‘The mobile museum: collecting and circulating Indian textiles in Victorian Britain,’ *Victorian Studies*, 52/3 (2010): 352-385, p.356.

archways but these lacked any 'exotic' details. The Oriental Courts were separated visually from the decorative arts of the west, and yet, with the appropriation of various styles from across Asia in his designs, Jones simultaneously managed, as Tim Barringer puts it, to 'collaps[e] difference within the category of the "Oriental".'¹¹³

This construction of the culture of the Other, and by implicit (and in the case of the SKM, actual architectural) opposition, of Britain itself, was influenced by and contributed to the selection of objects brought back to Britain through travel, colonial 'expedition' and theft, and the ways in which they were discussed and displayed were informed by the direct contribution of tourists. In the SKM, photographs taken by travellers such as Lockwood Kipling, showing the displayed objects of the museum in their original locations and being made by craftsmen, were displayed alongside the objects themselves.¹¹⁴ In this way, travellers were given an air of authority on the cultures and customs of the Other, their imagery established in the museum sphere as an authentic representation of reality to be disseminated to visitors.

Travel photography did not only influence exhibitions, but simultaneously owed a great deal to the exhibitions of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The display of the cultures of the world in both museums and travelling exhibitions piqued the interest of potential travellers from the metropole, but also appropriated world cultures as living museums, to be viewed in an aesthetically pleasing manner. Later exhibitions, as discussed below, would also explicitly encourage tourism to Palestine, especially after its colonial occupation by the British. The pictorial, romantic quality of these exhibitions is seen in photographs such as that on the postcard in Figure 1.23 where Bedouin life is aestheticized for British consumption. Displays like this, and their reproduction in commercially available postcards, contributed to the imperialist idea of the world as a stage or exhibition.

¹¹³ Tim Barringer, 'The South Kensington Museum and the colonial project,' in Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn (eds) *Colonialism and the object: empire, material culture and the museum* (London: Routledge, 1998), p.16.

¹¹⁴ Barringer, 'The South Kensington Museum and the colonial project,' p.20.

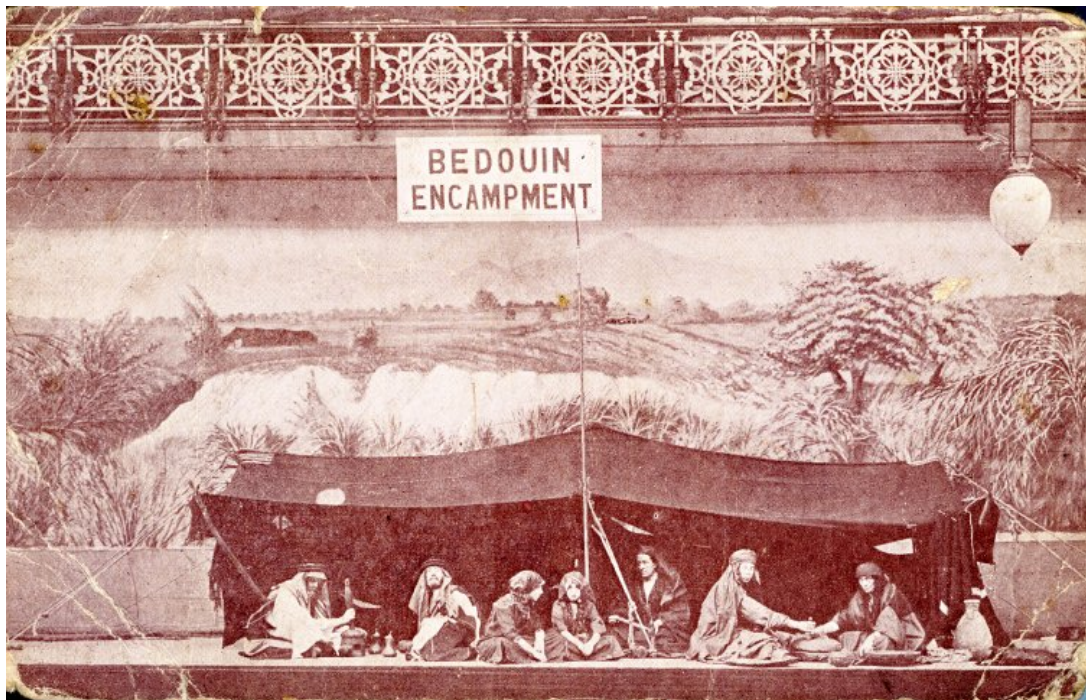


Figure 1.23

EPH-ME.1786. Published by the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, c.1907. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

These types of colonial, world or specifically regional exhibitions were often a mixture of display, learning and commerce. They were spaces in which to construct and disseminate a narrative, with a captive audience attending lectures, performances and living exhibits, and then purchasing items, including postcards, which could then be disseminated to a wider audience. The exhibition depicted in Figure 1.23 was the 1907 *Palestine Exhibition* at the Royal Agricultural Hall in Islington, London, arranged by the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews.¹¹⁵ The exhibition toured from 1907 – 1910, visiting cities across Britain including Sheffield, Glasgow, Dundee and Nottingham and promoting its Christian conceptualisation of the landscape, history and people of Palestine whilst commodifying that perception through the sale of various kinds of souvenirs.

In the exhibition catalogue from 1907, the Society outlined the twelve divisions of the exhibition, which included large-scale models of Jerusalem and the Second

¹¹⁵ The London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews was based in London, and operated as an Anglican missionary society. It functions presently under the name Church's Ministry among the Jewish People (CMJ). See Church's Ministry Among the Jewish People, 'About,' *CMJ UK*, <http://www.cmj.org.uk/about>, accessed 5 November 2016.

Temple, historical tableaux, and missionary works. Most significantly, the text referred to an area named ‘How Easterns Live,’ which promised to represent ‘the Home-life of the three great classes of the East, the Bedouin, the Fellaheen and the Towns people. This will be illustrated by [...] a Bedouin encampment,’ along with a re-enacted home in Bethany which shows ‘their everyday work – the quaint primitive life of Bible times.’¹¹⁶ This staged Bedouin encampment is the one shown in Figure 1.23, on a postcard likely sold in what the exhibition guide referred to as a ‘Jerusalem Street Bazaar,’ selling ‘native wares [including] pictures, photos, picture post-cards, &c.’¹¹⁷ The photograph printed on the postcard is indicative of the ways in which actors played at Bedouin life for the pleasure of tourists and visitors, adhering to an aesthetic ideal that would satisfy an audience conscious of the scripture and who came from an imperialist context; the image adheres to the idea of displaying the exotic other within the safe confines of the familiar that has been a key part of the visual material examined thus far. Additionally, exhibitions such as this were tied in many ways to the permanent displays of museums – both presented the exotic other and the biblical familiar as objects for consumption.



Figure 1.24

EPH-ME.7860. Published by Photochrom and the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, c.1907. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

¹¹⁶ London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, *Great...Palestine Exhibition in the Royal Agricultural Hall, Islington, London, in June, 1907* (London: London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, 1907), p.7.

¹¹⁷ London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, *Great...Palestine Exhibition*, p.15.

As has been discussed, the Society also collaborated with postcard company Photochrom to publish landscape views like that shown in Figure 1.17, and the postcard in Figure 1.24, published explicitly for the exhibition. This postcard again shows a scene reminiscent of biblical landscape paintings like Lear's. The dramatic vista, softened by the use of muted tones in the colouring of the photograph, and the blurred quality of the details, lends the image a romantic quality that clearly draws on Orientalist tradition. The link between painting and postcard was even more explicit at the exhibition, which also featured an art gallery which claimed to 'exhibit pictures which correctly represent Scripture Scenes in the light of the East,' now that 'many distinguished modern artists have visited the Holy Land, and painted their masterpieces in the very land and amid the surroundings they are painting.'¹¹⁸ The language here, where the artists' renderings of the landscape are designated as 'correct' as they have visited the lands they depict, suggests that travel to the Holy Land bestowed a degree of legitimacy to contemporary artists, exemplary of the authority granted travel photographers at the SKM. The Society's language is also suggestive of an attitude which presumed that scriptural scenes could be authenticated by contemporary Palestinian landscapes, as the country had not progressed in any particular fashion since biblical times.

In comparison to the exhibition's treatment of the Palestinian Arab population as a kind of living museum, the guide describes the Jewish population with a more forward-looking approach, albeit one that is still infused with a patronising romanticization. In a section detailing the part of the Exhibition which will display products from Palestine, the guide claims 'many of the products will hail from the Jewish Agricultural Colonies, and will prove how unmistakable is the success of these Jewish settlers, and the hopefulness of the Zionist movement.'¹¹⁹ The visitors to this Exhibition would have been exposed to the society's preferred narrative – a Christian conception of Palestine, with a Christian Zionist message as regarded Jewish settlement, and a treatment of Palestinian Arabs as curiosities, not historical agents in their own right. This narrative would have reached a large number of people – the exhibition was popular and over the nineteen days it showed in London, received over 350,000

¹¹⁸ London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, *Great...Palestine Exhibition*, p.10.

¹¹⁹ London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, *Great...Palestine Exhibition*, p.13.

visitors.¹²⁰ Some visitors attended the exhibition more than once, as the sender of the postcard in Figure 1.25 writes that they have done.



Figure 1.25

EPH-ME.1461. Published by Photochrom and the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, c.1910. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

¹²⁰ William Thomas Gidney, *The history of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews* (London: London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, 1908), p.581.

The writer, E.H. Garner, dates the card 6 November 1910, and after some discussion of travel and the cold weather, tells the recipient, 'S. and I went to Sheffield yesterday. We visited the Palestine Exhibition. It is very much larger than it was at Nottingham.' This implies that the sender and 'S' visited the *Palestine Exhibition* twice, in two locations, and likely purchased this postcard at the Sheffield event. The number of visitors, the possibility of repeat visits, and purchase of souvenirs like postcards (the London run raised £12,000 alone)¹²¹ suggest not only that exhibitions such as this were popular and profitable, but that the narrative they promoted was viewed and disseminated by their thousands of attendees.¹²²

400,000 People visited this Exhibition in London in 1907.

PALESTINE IN SHEFFIELD.

Cutlers' Hall, Oct. 18th to Nov. 10th, 1910.

President - THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.
 Vice-Presidents:
 THE LORD BISHOP OF SHEFFIELD. THE LORD BISHOP OF BEVERLEY.
 THE LORD BISHOP OF HULL.
 Chairman of Committee - THE VEN. ARCHDEACON EYRE
 Chairman of Executive Committee - THE REV. CANON GILMORE.
 Vice-Chairman of Executive Committee - THE REV. CANON CHORLTON.



Photo. by] JERUSALEM FROM MOUNT SCOPUS. [Photochrom Co., Ltd.

Under the auspices of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews.

General Manager - Rev. SAMUEL SCHOR.

Treasurer - J. F. BELCHER, Esq., Sheffield and Hallamshire Bank.
 Local Secretaries { REV. W. J. COLE, St. Mary's Vicarage.
 REV. J. W. MERRYWEATHER, St. Philip's Vicarage.
 G. R. AUSTIN, Esq., 26 Victoria Rd., Broomhall Park.

OPEN DAILY, 2 to 10 p.m. PRICES OF ADMISSION, 1/-; after 6 p.m., 6d.
 Season Tickets (not transferable), including admission to all Lectures, &c., 5/-; Season Tickets (not transferable),
 not admitting to Lectures, &c., 3/6. Children (under 12), Half-price.
 TICKETS should be obtained from the various Parochial Ticket Secretaries and crushing at the doors
 thus avoided.
 Special Terms for Bible Classes, Mothers' Meetings, &c., on application to Mr. C. R. DAVIES, TOWN HALL
 CHAMBERS, SHEFFIELD.

Figure 1.26

MP1705 L. *Palestine in Sheffield pamphlet*. Published by London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, 1910. Copyright courtesy of Sheffield Local Studies Library Archive.

¹²¹ Gidney, *The history of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews*, p.581.

¹²² Incidentally, the postcard in Figure 1.25 shows some shops along the left edge of the frame: one is the Mission to the Jews, an arm of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. Another is the offices of the Palestine Exploration Fund, an archaeological society which still exists today.

Interestingly, the pamphlet detailing the programme of the *Palestine Exhibition* when it toured to Sheffield in 1910 is illustrated on its front cover with a Photochrom postcard (Figure 1.10). The postcard has been copied and pasted onto the pamphlet, which is clear from the caption included in the image, a caption recognisable in style from other Photochrom postcards. This card shows a panoramic view of Jerusalem from the vantage point of Mount Scopus, with a tree framing the image on the left, similar to the postcard from 1921 in Figure 1.3. The choice to depict Jerusalem on the cover seems obvious – after all, this was an event organised by a Christian society who recognised Jerusalem as a significant spiritual site. As the society had collaborated with Photochrom to publish postcards already, the use of the postcard on the pamphlet does not seem irregular. It is, however, an example of the ways in which the understanding of the world-as-exhibition in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries was tied to the photographic representation of place, and the commercial aspects of souvenir photography as well. It is also indicative of the ways photographs and postcards could be repurposed – serving not just as souvenirs or vehicles of correspondence, but also as advertisements and illustrative images.

The *British Empire Exhibition*, which took place in London in 1924, is one example of the continuation of this type of exhibition in later decades. By this point, the British were invested in Palestine politically as well as spiritually. Arguably, Britain had been an imperial force in Palestine prior to the establishment of the Mandate. Many historians, like Cleveland, recognise the 1917 Balfour Declaration as a turning point in the history of Palestine/Israel as it pledged support for the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, particularly in light of the discrimination against and oppression of Jewish people in Europe, especially eastern Europe, at the time.¹²³ Others, like James Renton, question the importance of the Declaration as it did not legally commit Britain to anything. Renton contends that the key shift was the terms of the Mandate itself, which was more far-reaching in its commitment to Zionism than the Declaration.¹²⁴ The Zionist movement had attracted the attention of British governmental authorities, largely as a partner through which the British could leverage positive support from the United States and Russia in the war. After the British military

¹²³ William L. Cleveland, *History of the modern Middle East*, 3rd edition (Colorado: Westview Press, 2004), p.163.

¹²⁴ James Renton, 'Flawed foundations: the Balfour Declaration and the Palestinian Mandate,' in Rory Miller (ed) *Britain, Palestine and Empire: the Mandate years* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), p.16.

occupation of Palestine began in 1917, they attempted to facilitate reconciliation between Zionist interests and those of pan-Arabist groups through discussion between Faysal of Syria and Chaim Weizmann of the WZO.¹²⁵

Chaim Weizmann's Zionist Commission entered Palestine in 1918 and acted as though the terms of the Balfour Declaration had already been implemented; the Zionist Commission's request for Hebrew to be made an official language and for Jewish people to be appointed to official posts were granted. In November of 1918 they held an anniversary parade in celebration of the Declaration – causing a swift and strong reaction from the Arab population who began to organise in earnest.¹²⁶ The Mandate authorities were dismissive of Arab organisations at this time, as despite the establishment of the Arab Executive and several congresses held by them between 1918 – 1919, the Mandate authorities refused to recognise them politically.

The conversations facilitated by the British between Faysal and Weizmann were fruitless in the end; when Syria was occupied by the French in 1920, Faysal was expelled from Syria and as a result rejected a provisional agreement.¹²⁷ The occupation of Syria and the expelling of Faysal by the French authorities, with the support of the British, was seen by many British contemporaries such as Gertrude Bell and T.E. Lawrence as a betrayal of the Arab population and the cause for the invalidation of the agreement.¹²⁸ In 1920, the San Remo Conference also gave Britain the Palestine Mandate, after which a civilian occupational government replaced military occupation. In 1922, the League of Nations formally sanctioned the Mandate with the added provisos: the incorporation of the Balfour Declaration into the terms of the Mandate, and the recognition of Hebrew as 'the official language in Palestine.'¹²⁹ At the time, the Arab population of Palestine constituted 85 per cent of the population, at 668,258 inhabitants.¹³⁰ That same year, the Mandatory government issued a White Paper which attempted to placate both Arab and Zionist interests – it argued that Jewish people had the right to live in Palestine, but no right to impose a 'Jewish' nationality on the rest of the population.¹³¹

¹²⁵ Cleveland, *A history of the modern Middle East*, p.245.

¹²⁶ David K. Fieldhouse, *Western imperialism in the Middle East 1914-1958* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.153.

¹²⁷ Cleveland, *A history of the modern Middle East*, p.245.

¹²⁸ Georgina Howell, *Gertrude Bell: Queen of the desert, shaper of nations* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006), p.358.

¹²⁹ Cleveland, *A history of the modern Middle East*, p.245.

¹³⁰ Cleveland, *A history of the modern Middle East*, p.245.

¹³¹ Much of the more recent historiography discussed here also reflects a shift away from what Pappé castigates as the paradigm of parity or 'the assumption that both parties to the conflict should be treated as more or less equal in power as well as in guilt and justice.' See Ilan Pappé,

The then-High Commissioner of Palestine, Sir Herbert Samuel, attempted to integrate the Arab and Jewish communities through advisory and legislative councils but was rejected by Arab leaders who refused to serve in any official capacity without the voiding of the Balfour Declaration. This meant, ultimately, that Palestine was governed solely by the British Mandatory authorities until 1948, and that the Arab and Jewish communities evolved their own 'political apparatus [...] and separate spheres of economic activity.'¹³² This is the context around which the following exhibition was launched: Britain was the new Mandatory authority in Palestine, and as such, had a vested political interest in the way it was run, its economy and its development.

The 1924 exhibition included a Palestine Pavilion arranged and promoted by the Palestine Pavilion Organisation Committee, who published a guidebook to the Pavilion that year. The guidebook was divided into two parts - the first acted as an introduction and tour guide to Palestine for tourists, and the second as a catalogue of exhibits at the Pavilion. This Palestine Pavilion guidebook shows a clear link between international fairs and exhibits of this sort and the promotion of tourism in Palestine. The tone of the book echoes similar sentiments to those found in tour companies' guidebooks and travel literature written by British tourists, with a strong emphasis on the modernising guidance of the British Mandate and the strides made by Zionist settlers. Much like the 1907 exhibition guide, the emphasis is on the previously undeveloped nature of the Palestinian landscape, economy and people, and the benefits of the Zionist project. The 1924 exhibition guidebook, in its introductory text to the tourist guide section, reminds travellers that the British 'found the country derelict after centuries of misrule,' and that

'Introduction: new historical orientation in the research on the Palestine question,' in Ilan Pappé (ed) *The Israel/Palestine question: a reader*, 2nd edition (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2007), p.2. With varying degrees of strength, the recent historiography tends to recognise and unequal power balance caused by inequitable levels of access to the political elite and differences in power of organisations that was facilitated by the British. Renton notes that the British had a political interest in Zionism as they hoped support of the Zionists would lead to American and Russia support for the Allies in World War I. See Renton, 'Flawed foundations,' p.17. Renton and Miller both, however, follow Sefer's relational history model and show a plurality of British attitudes to Zionism in the interwar years: Renton argues that while there was a large pro-Zionist contingent of the British government there was no unanimous commitment to the movement; but opinions also largely viewed the Arab population as racially mixed and therefore not homogenous enough to constitute a nation.' See Renton, 'Flawed foundations,' pp.22-23. Miller points out that in the 1920s there was a British Arabist opposition to the Mandate altogether, shown by a 1922 motion against the Mandate and a 1923 pro-Arab "memorial" passed by 111 Conservative MPs. See Rory Miller, 'Introduction,' in Rory Miller (ed) *Britain, Palestine and empire: the Mandate years* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), p.3.

¹³² Cleveland, *A history of the modern Middle East*, p.247.

the landscape was uncultivated and the people illiterate and unhealthy.¹³³ In the provided fourteen-day tourist itinerary, travellers are directed several times to view ‘modern Jewish enterprise,’ in the ‘Colonies [which] will give the tourist an excellent idea of what patient toil can accomplish in reducing the neglected wastes of Palestine.’¹³⁴ The agriculture, landscape and people of Palestine, prior to the occupation of the British Mandate and influx of Zionist organisations and settlers, is characterised throughout as ‘undeveloped,’ ‘primitive and uneconomic,’ and ‘negligible,’ in contrast to the ‘new and virile Jewish element.’¹³⁵

The 1924 Exhibition and the Palestine Pavilion within it were, like the 1907 Exhibition, depicted through postcards. Raphael Tuck & Sons, a London-based postcard publisher, is listed as an exhibitor at the *British Empire Exhibition*, and published postcards of the exhibition itself, such as the illustrated card shown in Figure 1.27.

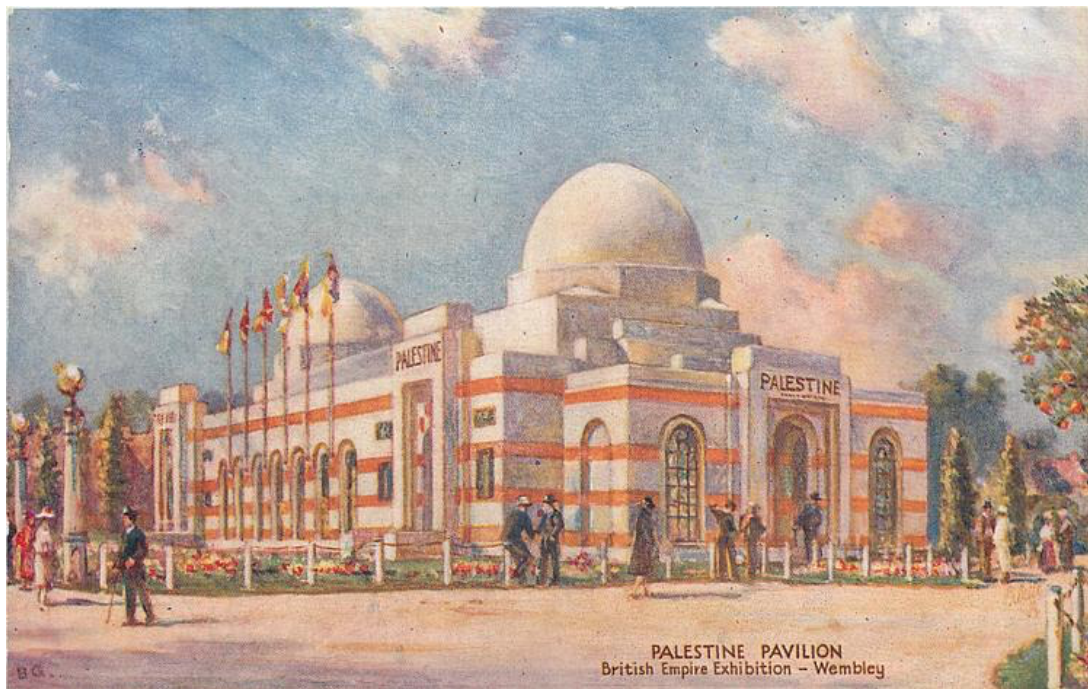


Figure 1.27

Published by Raphael Tuck and Sons Ltd., London, 1924. Copyright courtesy of Raphael Tuck and Sons Ltd. Archive.

¹³³ Palestine Pavilion Organisation Committee (eds.), *British Empire Exhibition 1924: Palestine Pavilion handbook and tourist guide* (London: Heelway Press Ltd., 1924), p.21.

¹³⁴ Palestine Pavilion Organisation Committee, *British Empire Exhibition 1924*, p.28.

¹³⁵ Palestine Pavilion Organisation Committee, *British Empire Exhibition 1924*, pp.66-70.

Raphael Tuck and his wife Ernestine established their print-selling business in London in 1866, although Tuck was originally from Poznan. In Poland, he had dedicated himself to the study of Judaism and Hebrew; an Orthodox Jew, he was respected as an accomplished Talmudic scholar. On his arrival in England, Tuck noticed that the designs for Christmas cards at the time were largely secular and set about publishing cards focusing on the religious aspects of Christmas in 1871. When he died his sons continued to publish cards, including a series of cards which reproduced biblical illustrations of Jerusalem. The Tuck company's inclusion in the 1924 Exhibition as a souvenir shop was a natural element of their expanding business. Raphael Tuck's sons had continued to establish overseas offices and were instrumental in negotiating with the Universal Postal Union to implement a larger postcard size with a divided back for address and message, suggesting that the company was significant enough to have the ear of government administrators. Tuck & Sons also ran design competitions where the prize was thousands of Tuck postcards. These received thousands of entries, indicating that there was already a market for the collection of postcards in the early-twentieth century.¹³⁶

Raphael Tuck & Sons was not the only company to publish postcards of the 1924 exhibition. The card shown in Figure 1.28 was published by Heelway Press Ltd., who also published the guidebook for the Pavilion. The postcard shows the exterior and entrance of the Palestine Pavilion at the *British Empire Exhibition*. The inscription on the verso, postmarked 11 July 1924, reads:

Dear Alice, Thank you so much for your card. This pavilion is full of Jews who sell the lovely things made in Palestine. There is a Jewish Temple built by the side. Sincerely yours, R. Barnes.

The stamp affixed to the postcard is a commemorative stamp celebrating the exhibition, showing that visitors could post their cards from the exhibition itself, encouraging the purchase and circulation of images selected by the Organisation Committee. That a visitor to the exhibition would write to a friend expressing their opinion on the 'lovely things made in Palestine' by what the postcard indicates is mostly Jewish people, indicates that these exhibitions operated as tourist attractions as well as

¹³⁶ Raphael Tuck and Sons Ltd. Archive, 'History of Raphael Tuck & Sons Ltd.,' *Raphael Tuck and Sons Ltd.*, <https://tuckdb.org/history>, accessed 27 July 2017.

industry fairs, and that the message they hoped to impart was spread by at least some of the visitors who attended.



Figure 1.28

EPH-ME.2228. Published by Heelway Press Ltd., London, 1924.
Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The language of the inscription, emphasising the Jewish aspects of Palestine, is an echo of the language found in the guidebook for the Exhibition itself, where the emphasis is on the Jewish settlement of Palestine, the economic and cultural benefits of this settlement, and the lack of significant industry or culture before the arrival of the

Jewish settlers or the Mandate authorities. Of course, both the guidebook and the postcard-writer operate from a context of British imperial imagination, which largely believed that the colonisation or occupation of countries by the British or other Europeans was a force for economic, social and spiritual good. That the Zionist movement was predominantly European allowed the settlers to be partners in taming the 'mismanaged' east. There is also an element in the guidebook, however, of patronising essentialism of the Jewish people. The similarities between the message of the guidebook and the text in the postcard is indicative of a transfer of narrative and message from the exhibitor to the visitor, who then transmitted those ideas and visual images to people within Britain.

These exhibitions and permanent museum displays are examples of the ways in which cultural institutions, travellers and tour companies worked in tandem and all reinforced, or reproduced, imagery which evoked both spiritual and imperial connotations for the British viewer. The tone in these displays, posters, guidebooks and commercial postcards, which referenced barren landscapes ripe for development in the same breath as exoticised portrayals of backward Other cultures, laid the groundwork for the ways in which the settler population of Palestine was to be portrayed in the early twentieth century.

Conclusion

All the established symbols of visual culture outlined in this chapter – the trope of the nomadic Bedouin 'type' with no roots in the landscape; the reliance on imperialist conceptualisations of the world-as-exhibition; and the framing, influenced by Orientalist art, of Palestine in the style of the biblical picturesque, would, as shall be shown in later chapters, influence the wider visual culture of Palestine/Israel for decades.

The embedded idea of Palestinian Arabs as backward laid the groundwork for the establishment of settlers as comparatively modern, and for the types of architectural photography that were to gain prevalence in commercial visual culture in the 1930s and 1940s, especially around the burgeoning Jewish city of Tel Aviv, as will be explored in Chapter Three.

The portrayal, or lack of portrayal of Palestinians was inconsistent throughout the following decades, but the basis of images which constructed Palestinians as a voiceless community to whom tropes were applied by outsiders was to remain a key issue in terms of representation throughout the twentieth century. It is clear, then, that

early imagery of Palestine had long-term ramifications on the depictions of nation, national identity and people in Palestine/Israel. It is also possible to see how images of this kind distributed in tourist advertisements, guidebooks, postcards, and exhibitions abroad laid a foundational perception of Palestine and its peoples that influenced political thought and action for the immediate and long-term future, including within Britain. It is here, in the first decades of the 1900s, that one can begin to see the extent of the disparity between Palestinian Arabs, British producers and Zionist organisations in terms of who was able to control the narrative and establish national symbols, systems and identities. The absence of Palestinian Arab narratives and visual imagery for tourists was not due to the passivity of the people but rather a lack of access, which was to continue especially after the 1948 *Nakba*, or war of Independence, and 1967 Six-Day War. Although there were sites of resistance, in the decades prior to the establishment of independent Israel, there was no organised, unified voice to clarify and disseminate a narrative. This lack of a unified narrative of resistance was to be corrected to a degree in the following decades; however, the establishment of such a disparity in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries was to also result in an unequal volume of visual culture, with Palestinian Arab narratives often absent from the visual culture representing Palestine/Israel both locally and abroad.

In this chapter it has also been clear that postcards were, in this period, repeating and disseminating the dominant visual narrative around Palestine and its inhabitants – although part of a network of influence involving tourists, producers and cultural institutions, there was little if any subverting of the visual symbols of the land. In the following chapter, it will be possible to see shifts, as new producers moved into the market and began to make imagery promoting a discourse that is linked to this positioning of the land as empty, backward and aimless, but charted a different narrative course.

'MAKING THE DESERT BLOOM' : VISUAL CULTURE OF THE *YISHUV*

Introduction



Figure 2.1

EPH-ME.8100. Published by Matathiahu Eliahu & Brothers, Jaffa, c.1920s. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Founded in 1891 by Lithuanian and Latvian immigrants to Palestine, the farming colony of Hadera was eventually declared a city in 1952.¹³⁷ The postcard in Figure 2.1, published circa 1920 by Matathiahu Eliahu & Brothers,¹³⁸ depicts the colony before it became a city and before many of the more significant infrastructural works had been completed, such as the police station and other institutional buildings. In the monochrome photograph used on the postcard, captioned in both English and Hebrew, the viewer's eye is first drawn to the central figures in the foreground. Wearing

¹³⁷ Noam Dvir, 'New Urbanism, Israeli style,' *Haaretz*, 27 November 2008, <https://www.haaretz.com/new-urbanism-israeli-style-1.258375>, accessed 27 August 2017.

¹³⁸ Matathiahu and Yossef Eliahu were born in Corfu to parents active in the Zionist movement. They brothers immigrated to Palestine in 1914, and ran their postcard publishing company from the early 1920s - 1939. They had been deported in 1917 as they were foreign nationals, but returned after WWII to open a stationery store in Jaffa, and a second on Herzl Street in Tel Aviv, establishing a publishing house for postcards shortly thereafter. There is no record of their work after approximately 1939. British Museum, 'Matathiahu Eliahu & Brothers,' *The British Museum*, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=223499, accessed 15 June 2017.

clothes that would appear recognisably European in style for the period, the men in the image stand facing the camera. The road on which they stand makes a path through the architectural settlement behind them. Trees line that path to either side of the men, drawing the eye toward the horizon, where there is more land in the distance. This visual pathway is suggestive of distance and the future, with the possibility of more land and opportunities for development, to be undertaken by settlers just like these men at the start of both the literal and figurative road.

In comparison to images of Palestinian Arabs and landscapes such as those seen in the previous chapter, already there are stark contrasts between that type of biblically-influenced imagery and the postcard in Figure 2.1. The settlers in the Hadera postcard are dressed in contemporary fashions, and have constructed buildings in a style recognisable to any European audience. They have also tamed the landscaped behind them with a pathway and neat rows of trees. Although the men in the Hadera postcard are not actively participating in agricultural labour, they stand at the forefront of the arable land around them, their position between both trees and buildings linking them to both a rural rootedness in the landscape and the development of that landscape through construction. Palestinian Arabs photographed for tourist postcards were, as has been shown, not afforded this kind of duality or associated with modernity or progress in infrastructure and agriculture. However, one must ask how representative the postcard in Figure 2.1. is of wider visual trends in both postcards and other tourist visual media of the 1920s and 1930s in Palestine. Indeed – how frequently were agricultural colonies, or *kibbutzim* and *moshavim* depicted on postcards at all?

An assessment of the number of postcards in the BM depicting a *kibbutz* or other type of agricultural settlement is made difficult by the cataloguing system. Many locations in Palestine that were, in the pre-state period, settled as *kibbutzim* or agricultural colonies, are currently incorporated as towns and cities and thus within the geographical cataloguing system are not listed as *kibbutzim*. However, it is possible to identify approximately 30 postcards which depict *kibbutzim* or similar settlements. The majority of these postcards date from between 1960 – 1977, as visiting *kibbutzim* became a more established tourist experience for foreign, sometimes non-Jewish tourists. This chapter will deal with those few that date from the pre-state period; the later postcards will be discussed in the final two chapters. Given that the postcard collection was constructed from the collections of British travellers and collectors, or purchased at British postcard fairs, postcards with imagery less appealing or relatable to

those audiences will be absent from the collection. In the pre-state period, the majority of British tourists to Palestine were, as has been discussed in the previous chapter, largely Christian tourists and while some did visit *kibbutzim* and other settlements as part of tours arranged by Zionist organisations, it is not surprising that postcards of *kibbutzim* are far outnumbered by those depicting Christian holy places.

The Hadera postcard allows for an examination of Christine Pirinoli's argument that images of Zionist connection to the landscape of Palestine were very different from images featuring Palestinian Arabs: she argues that young settlers or pioneers became the totem of Zionist iconography for the pre-state Jewish population of Palestine. Presented as hardworking, modern and European in dress - as they are in the Hadera postcard - they were, she posits, 'not disconnected from the biblical imagination [...] but through hard labour in redemptive agriculture [...] renewing ties with the land of their ancestors.'¹³⁹ The Hadera postcard appears to repeat this narrative, and provides a sharp contrast to the images of the previous chapter. The dominant visual narratives of this period focused on Jewish agricultural redemption of the land, and the formation of a national (eventually Israeli) identity via the promotion of *kibbutzim*, the Hebrew language, and military preparedness. This was an identity constructed in opposition to and by the erasure of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants, whose portrayal was never as 'modern' in European contexts. In this chapter, I will examine how the construction of these opposing narratives allowed for a positioning of Palestinian Arabs as backward and therefore unable to self-govern, and had wider consequences on a political scale. By examining postcards of this type alongside tourism posters and articles in foreign, and local Arabic-language press, it will be possible to gauge the extent to which these commercial postcards repeated dominant contemporary visual narratives, and the wider social and political context of Britain's relationship to Palestine, as well as the pre-state Jewish population's construction of symbols around national identity.

'Muskal Juneturn': redeemers of the land in visual culture

The *Yishuv*, translated literally as 'settlement,' became a word used to describe the Jewish population of Ottoman and later Mandate Palestine from the 1880s, and is presently used to describe the pre-state Jewish community. Although a Jewish

¹³⁹ Christine Pirinoli, 'Erasing Palestine to build Israel: landscape transformation and the rooting of national identities,' *Etudes Rurales*, 173/174 (2005): 67-85.

community had existed in Palestine prior to the *Yishuv* era, the initial waves of Jewish immigration known as *aliyah* (or return,) sponsored and encouraged by the Zionist movement, occurred from the 1880s onward. Spurred into urgency following the Russian pogroms of that decade, the central Zionist organisation of the time, *Hovevei Zion* (Lovers of Zion), sponsored a number of small rural settlements in Palestine. The majority of these *Hovevei Zion* projects were underfunded and occasionally unsuccessful – although a successful example of one of the organisation’s settlements is Hadera, pictured in Figure 2.1.¹⁴⁰

In the 1890s, a more cohesive Zionist movement came together under the leadership of Theodor Herzl, who wrote his treatise *The Jewish State* in 1896. The thesis of Herzl’s treatise, as defined by Cleveland, was that ‘Jews constituted a nation but lacked a political state within which they could freely express their national culture,’¹⁴¹ a conceptualisation of national identity that would later apply to the development of Palestinian national consciousness. Herzl’s text and his leadership were significant factors leading to the organisation of the first Zionist Congress in 1897 in Basel. The programme of the first Congress declared that ‘the objective of Zionism was to secure a legally recognised home in Palestine for the Jewish people,’ and it was at this convention that the World Zionist Organisation (WZO) was confirmed as the central Zionist organisation representing the movement as a whole.¹⁴²

Despite religious and political divisions within the Zionist movement, the main focus prior to the establishment of the state was to encourage and facilitate the return of the Jewish people to *Eretz Yisrael*,¹⁴³ partly for reasons of religious birth-right and partly in response to the growing violence of anti-Semitism in Europe. The population of Palestine therefore grew rapidly in the first half of the twentieth century, as large numbers of Jewish people made *aliyah*. By 1939, immigration had led to a Jewish population of approximately 450,000; that same year, the Arab population had risen to approximately one million, in part as a result of the high birth rate but also as a result of immigration from surrounding Arab nations.¹⁴⁴ The Jewish immigrants making *aliyah*

¹⁴⁰ Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), p.34.

¹⁴¹ Cleveland, *A history of the modern Middle East*, p.242.

¹⁴² Cleveland, *A history of the modern Middle East*, p.242.

¹⁴³ Hebrew, meaning Land of Israel. Historically a religious term for the Holy Land, latterly during the Mandate used by Zionist organisations when referring to Palestine. Still a preferred term for some when referring to pre-state Palestine.

¹⁴⁴ The third *aliyah*, from 1919 – 1923, numbered approximately 30,000 Jewish immigrants primarily from Eastern Europe; the fourth, from 1924 -1926 consisted of approximately 50,000 Jewish immigrants largely from Poland. In 1933, Central European and German Jewish refugees

were not necessarily always motivated by ideology, but also by a lack of resettlement options elsewhere, due to the restrictive immigration policies of the rest of Europe and the United States, and widespread anti-Semitism.

In the pre-state period, Arab incomes were, in comparison to Jewish incomes, far more reliant on agriculture, as the Jewish population was more likely to be urban-dwelling, despite the growing popularity of the imagery around the Jewish agricultural communities.¹⁴⁵ The Arab agricultural economy, however, stagnated in the 1920s and 1930s, due to lack of investment, lack of irrigation, and also the replacement of Arab agricultural lands with Jewish settlement communities which were far more likely to be sponsored by overseas fundraising committees and therefore more financially viable from the outset.



Figure 2.2

EPH-ME.8102. Published by Matathiahu Eliahu & Brothers, Jaffa, c.1920s.
Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Despite the fact that the Jewish population of Palestine more commonly resided in cities, photographs of *kibbutzim*, largely built on land owned and funded by Zionist

comprised a fifth *aliyah* numbering approximately 170,000. See Charles K. Rowley and Jennis Taylor, 'The Israel and Palestine land settlement problem: an analytical history, 4000 B.C.E – 1948 C.E,' *Public Choice*, 128/1 (2006): 41-75, DOI: 10.1007/s11127-006-9044-x, p.51.

¹⁴⁵ Amos Nadan, 'No holy statistics for the Holy Land: the fallacy of growth in the Palestinian rural economy, 1920s-1930s,' in Rory Miller (ed), *Britain, Palestine and empire: the Mandate years* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), p.116.

organisations such as *Hovevei Zion* and, more commonly, the JNF, were commissioned by the JNF and WZO from the earliest settlements. These images were featured in promotional photography, newspapers and Zionist organisation publications, as well as commercial postcards like those in this chapter. The same organisations that funded agricultural settlement for Jewish immigrants were often those who commissioned photography of those same settlements. There was no agency for photography of agricultural works in Arab Palestine during the Mandate of a similar nature.

The postcard shown in Figure 2.2 was published circa 1920 by Matathiahu Eliahu & Brothers, as was the image in Figure 2.1 and several of the postcards discussed below. Clearly, these publishers were invested in disseminating imagery of the settlement element of Zionism. This postcard, like the Hadera postcard before it, is captioned in both English and Hebrew. This suggests two audiences: Hebrew-speakers and readers familiar with the Zionist settlement project, and English-speakers and readers overseas who may view these images and become exposed to positive depictions of the Zionist project. In Figure 2.2, the focus is on the building functioning as settler quarters in Daganah, founded in 1909 and considered the first established *kibbutz*.

The caption explicitly addresses the fact that Daganah was built on land purchased by the JNF, which may mean that this is one of the photographs commissioned by the fund to promote its successes. This does, however, mean that a full reading of the postcard is only possible for viewers with a level of cultural capital required to fully understand the image – JNF is left as an acronym in the caption, with no further explanation on the card's verso as to what the letters stand for, or the purpose of the fund. This suggests a specific target audience for this card and others like it – those who were familiar with the settlement process and who would understand the context of the photograph, rather than a more general tourist audience.

In the photograph itself, the foreground is dominated by grass and trees surrounding the settler quarters building in the background, which is partially obscured by cypresses and palms. The photographer could have staged the image so that the building was less obscured by moving in more closely or taking the photograph from another angle – the inclusion of the trees allows for an understanding of the settlement as rooted in the landscape in the same way as the trees are. The way in which the trees surround the building and partially block it from view gives the impression of a building which has long been part of the landscape. The building itself, with its pale colour in the

dark trees, and geometric, ordered lines, evokes the impression of an organised community – symbolic of the settlement project’s aim to both redeem the landscape and modernise it. In this postcard and the postcard in Figure 2.1, both architecture and trees are prominent – a clear attempt to visually link the Zionist settlement project with growth and fertile land. In order to lay claim to the landscape, the Zionist movement had to, consciously or otherwise, undertake what Donald Ellis describes as ‘eras[ing] the sovereignty of the indigenous people.’¹⁴⁶ This erasure, I contend, was assisted by both foreign and local image producers who depicted the landscape as either empty, or under the stewardship of backward people with primitive agricultural practices.

This perception of the Palestinian Arab people as primitive was widespread, evident in not only the visual depiction of the population but also the treatment of Palestinian Arab leaders by the British authorities. The Mandate government did not treat Palestinian Arab political movements and leaders as legitimate in the same way they their Zionist counterparts, and often afforded Palestinians less access to and opportunity to negotiate their position. Post-WWI, local Palestinian leaders convened the first Palestinian Arab Congress in 1919, constituted of Muslim-Christian Association delegates. The Congress continued to meet annually and formed an Arab Executive in 1920 which claimed to represent Palestinians as a whole. The British ‘refused to accept it as a properly elected body and only occasionally acknowledged its legitimacy.’¹⁴⁷ The Arab Executive collapsed in 1934 after the death of its president. By comparison, the WZO moved its headquarters to London in 1920, affording Weizmann far greater access to the British government than any Palestinian Arab agencies or organisations. In 1921, the WZO created the Palestine Zionist Executive, which would, in 1929, become the Jewish Agency (JA). In 1920, the Zionist national assembly had been formed and was treated as the legitimate representative of the Jewish population of Palestine by Mandatory powers.¹⁴⁸

Between 1920 and 1948, the most significant and influential Zionist organisations were established, including the *Histadrut* in 1920. The *Histadrut* was founded as the labour movement of Zionism and established several companies and public works projects, simultaneously forming strong ties with labourers working on *kibbutzim*. The *Histadrut* came to influence the *Yishuv* population and the eventual Israeli

¹⁴⁶ Donald Ellis, ‘Three discursive dilemmas for Israeli religious settlers,’ *Discourse Studies*, 16/4 (2014): 473-487, p.477.

¹⁴⁷ Cleveland, *A history of the modern Middle East*, p.248.

¹⁴⁸ Cleveland, *A history of the modern Middle East*, pp.248-252.

government immensely. They also controlled a defence/military group known as the *Haganah*, which would eventually become the Israel Defence Forces (IDF).¹⁴⁹ The *Histadrut* helped to organise differential wages as well as autonomous and exclusively Jewish labour on *kibbutzim*, which was one of the key elements necessary for the eventual goal of an exclusively Jewish state of Israel. The *kibbutzim* and agricultural colonies were therefore, according to Fieldhouse, ‘pure settlement colon[ies] which allowed for a hierarchy after 1948 with Palestinian Arabs and non-Ashkenazi Jewish people at the bottom of the pile.’¹⁵⁰ The exclusively Jewish nature of settlement facilitated by the *Histadrut* is one way in which political organisations worked to portray a singular representation of Israeli-ness to the exclusion of other populations – one that was repeated on visual media often funded by Zionist organisations working in collaboration with the *Histadrut*.

Not only was this portrayal of *kibbutzim* - and by proxy the building and redemption of the land for the forthcoming Israeli state - exclusively Jewish, it was exclusively one type of Jewish person that was portrayed. The idea, formulated in the discussions of the Zionist Congresses, of the ‘new Jew,’ a strong, European-Jewish man who worked in the fields to redeem the land, became a widespread visual trope in Zionist media in the pre-state period. In response to aggressively anti-Semitic depictions of Jewish people in Europe at the time, an effort was made by Zionist organisations to present a visual ideal of a Jewish person who subverted all the bigoted stereotypes.

The idea of the ‘new Jew’ as linked to physical fitness coalesced at the Second Zionist Congress in Basel, 1898. Here the writer, doctor and Zionist leader Max Nordau coined the phrase *Muskal Juneturn*, or ‘muscular Jewry.’¹⁵¹ This expression, along with the term ‘new Jew,’ referred to a physical ideal, but also a template for a youthful, hardworking state. As well as imagery of young, healthy men working in an agricultural context on *kibbutzim*, another element of this construction of the ideal physicality of the Jewish people was the establishment of Jewish sports groups – particularly gymnastics groups. These associations had their roots in the German Gymnastics Movement (*Deutsche Turnerschaft*) which had been established in the aftermath of the Napoleonic

¹⁴⁹ See Fieldhouse, *Western imperialism*, pp.124-126 for more on the *Histadrut* as a labour movement.

¹⁵⁰ Fieldhouse, *Western imperialism*, p.126.

¹⁵¹ Joshua Shanes, *Diaspora nationalism and Jewish identity in Hapsburg Galicia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p.181.

Wars by Freidrich Ludwig Jahn.¹⁵² The aim of the original *Deutsche Turnerschaft* was, according to Kaufman, to ‘strengthen their sense of nationalism by enhancing social solidarity and physical endurance for the coming national struggle.’¹⁵³

The Jewish Gymnastic Movement (JGM) formed largely as a result of widespread anti-Semitism within the German movement; Hapsburg Empire German Gymnastic associations adopted an ‘Aryan section’ into their charters which expelled Jewish athletic clubs from the movement.¹⁵⁴ The umbrella organisation for Jewish clubs, the JGM was established in 1903, adopting a ‘name, administrative system, insignia, gymnastic methods and [...] rejection of competitive sports,’ from German predecessors.¹⁵⁵ Although gymnastic movements of this type were tied to political ideologies and nationalism, initially the JGM avoided defining themselves within a Zionist framework. This changed in the aftermath of WWI. At the Twelfth Zionist Congress in Carlsbad, 1921, the Maccabi World Union was established which ‘was defined as “a federation dedicated to the physical and moral rejuvenation of the Jews and the restoration [of] a Jewish country and nation.”’¹⁵⁶ The JGM was carried over to Palestine with the second and third *aliyahs*, from approximately 1904 onward. The first sports club opened in 1906, and several more ‘Maccabi’ clubs were established in the colonies and *kibbutzim* around the land.¹⁵⁷

The postcard shown in Figure 2.3, from an unknown publisher circa 1930, depicts one of these groups in Petah Tikvah, near Tel Aviv. In this monochrome photograph, there are several people attending *Jahresfest*, or an annual festival, wearing boater hats and suits as they watch others take part in gymnastic displays. Their clothing is European, as are, most likely, the people in the image given the use of German in the caption of the image and the specificity of the Gymnastics Movement to European Jewish populations in this period. Again, the composition of the image, with rows of people seated on the grass, leads the eye backward to observe the large number of participants and the fertile land, ready for redemption, beyond.

¹⁵² For a brief introduction to the German Gymnastics Movement, see Claire Nolte, ‘The German Turnverein,’ *Encyclopaedia of Revolution, Ohio University*, 4 November 2005, <https://www.ohio.edu/Chastain/rz/turnvere.htm>, accessed 27 August 2017.

¹⁵³ Haim Kaufman, ‘Jewish sports in the diaspora, Yishuv and Israel: between nationalism and politics,’ *Israel Studies*, 10/2 (2005): 147-167, p.149.

¹⁵⁴ Kaufman, ‘Jewish sports in the diaspora, Yishuv and Israel,’ p.149.

¹⁵⁵ Kaufman, ‘Jewish Sports in the Diaspora, Yishuv and Israel,’ p.149.

¹⁵⁶ Kaufman, ‘Jewish Sports in the Diaspora, Yishuv and Israel,’ p.152.

¹⁵⁷ Kaufman, ‘Jewish Sports in the Diaspora, Yishuv and Israel,’ p.152.



Figure 2.3

EPH-ME.5350. Publisher unknown, Jerusalem, c.1930. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Their clothing and activities would have been familiar to a European audience. The display of gymnastics ties not only to the JGM's origins in Europe, but also to the burgeoning gymnastics movement in the *Yishuv*, and the ideal of the 'muscular Jew' espoused by Nordau. Here, the postcard displays young Jewish men as active, physically fit and healthy – on an agricultural colony, but not actively taking part in manual labour. Whilst images of young European Jewish immigrants taking part in agricultural labour or posed in front of *kibbutzim* and agricultural settlements more specifically tie in with the visual imagery of nation building, this card too is part of establishing a narrative around the Zionist project as one of health, modernity and robustness. This was necessary at a time when the Zionist movement was seeking overseas support for the establishment of a Jewish national home.

'See Ancient & Modern Palestine': tourism and national identity construction

The Zionist movement also began using maps in images they published from the early years of the movement, even displaying them on postcards, such as that shown in Figure 2.4. This sepia postcard was published in Warsaw in 1910 and is illustrated with a map of Palestine, annotated with place names in Hebrew. The use of Hebrew, the implementation of which as a national language was a hugely significant part of the

Zionist movement, to annotate a landscape not yet designated as a 'Hebrew nation' in any official capacity, speaks to the ideological motivation of the producers. Although the caption in the upper left reads 'Palästina', or Palestine, in German, the Hebrew text above reads 'From Eretz Yisrael,' indicating that the intended audience was those who would not only understand the Hebrew text but appreciate the designation of the landscape as the Land of Israel. The inset enlargement depicts Jerusalem, which is also captioned entirely in Hebrew. The prioritising of this city is an example of the ways in which the land as a whole was significant, but that especially important to the Zionist project politically was the situation of Jerusalem as the capital of the eventual Israeli state.

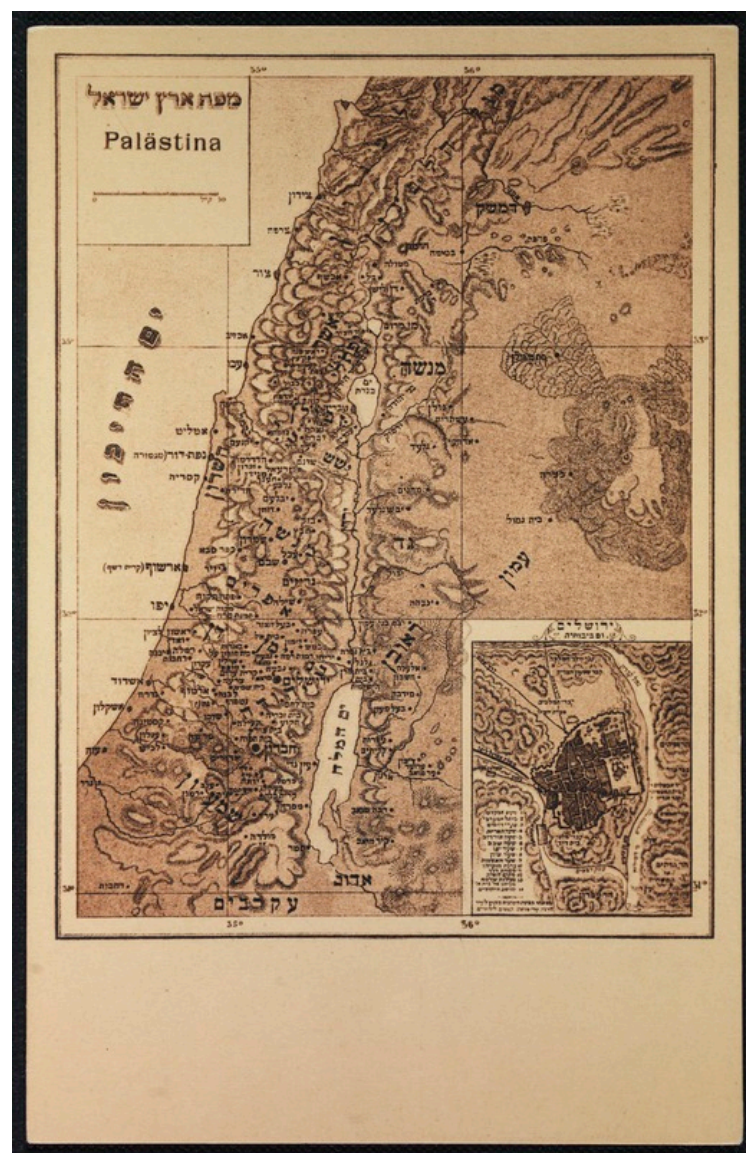


Figure 2.4

TM 8* 176. Published by Levanon Company, Warsaw, 1910. Copyright courtesy of the National Library of Israel.

The use of Hebrew to denote the cities and points of interest on the map as a whole suggests an attempt to Hebraise the landscape – to remove the Arabic names for sites and locations, and symbolically then, to remove the Palestinian Arab history of the landscape. Yair Wallach argues that a Hebrew map ‘create[s] a sense that the country had an uninterrupted Jewish history, going back to the days of the Bible [...] strengthen[ing] Zionist claims over the territory,’¹⁵⁸ and the lack of Arabic names in this postcard is, I would argue, exemplary of this type of erasure. This Hebraisation of the landscape ties into a struggle in the early decades of the twentieth century over control, rights to, and the narrative around sights and locations in the political and tourism spheres in Palestine.

In the midst of growing political and military struggles for control of Palestine between the First and Second World Wars, the tourist industry of Mandate Palestine began in earnest to establish a national narrative and to project ideological concepts of nationhood both within the borders of the country and to the outside population. In the early years of British occupation, Palestinian Arab tour guides had a near-monopoly on the tourist industry, facilitated by their relationships with foreign tour companies like Thomas Cook. This began to change as Zionist groups moved into the tourist industry and launched a series of tours and written media which worked as advertisements for the Zionist movement and the establishment of a Jewish national home. This included the publication of visual and written media such as guidebooks and advertisements; the establishment of the Zionist Information Bureau (ZIB) and the establishment of tour routes that focused on the Zionist narrative of right to land and return.¹⁵⁹ Palestinian Arab tour guides had largely been working for British and other European tour companies and, as explored in Chapter One, often facilitated their exotic fantasies for economic purposes, but had not established tour infrastructure that catered to their national narrative. Tensions between Zionist and Palestinian Arab agencies over control of sites, the tourist economy and the narrative of the nation grew in the early decades of the twentieth century, culminating in the violent clashes of the 1929 uprising.

The events of 1929 came about after a dispute involving the rights of the Jewish population to access the Western Wall.¹⁶⁰ This dispute culminated in violent

¹⁵⁸ Yair Wallach, ‘Trapped in mirror-images: the rhetoric of maps in Israel/Palestine,’ *Political Geography*, 30 (2011): 358-369, p.363.

¹⁵⁹ Cohen-Hattab, ‘Zionism, tourism and the battle for Palestine,’ pp.67-75.

¹⁶⁰ For more on the events around this dispute, see Cleveland, *A history of the modern Middle East*, p.256.

demonstrations in August 1929, which eventually involved the British authorities, Arab and Jewish populations, and at the end of the violence 133 Jewish people and 116 Arab people had died. This of course meant a further deterioration of relations between Jewish and Arab tour guides, as well as a denial of access for Jewish tour guides to sites like *Haram al-Sharif*, also known by the Jewish population as Temple Mount.¹⁶¹ The struggle over control of religious sites was not the only contributing factor to the conflict, however. As the JNF began purchasing land, their land became 'the perpetual and collective property of the Jewish people,' leasable only to Jewish citizens.¹⁶² The transfer of land had a destructive economic and social effect on Palestinian Arab peasants who in this period constituted two-thirds of the Arab population of Palestine. The disenfranchisement of Palestinian Arab landholders as a contributing factor to the riots was supported by the conclusion of the first royal commission organised by the British government in 1929, which laid blame for the unrest at the 'creation of a landless class of discontented Arabs.'¹⁶³

Not only did political events impact the extent to which tourists could access significant sites, depending on their tour guide, but as before, tour guides sought to shape the narrative through what things they chose to emphasise and ignore. For example, in 1930s editions of the ZIB guidebook to Palestine, 'the Old City [of Jerusalem] received a mere two paragraphs, with the remainder of the chapter given over to an extensive survey of the new part of town.'¹⁶⁴ This focus on the new construction in Jerusalem, on Jewish institutions, schools and sites, and the glossing over of areas which had traditionally been the main attractions for both traditional and modern-tourist Christian pilgrims, indicates a deliberate effort to wrest control of the narrative of nation from European and Palestinian tour guides. Even though Jewish tour guides did not have access to *Haram al-Sharif*, that was by no means the only or even the most significant site for European tourists to Jerusalem, and there were several other sites in the Old City itself that had been part of pilgrimage tours to Jerusalem for decades, so although difficulty of access may have been a contributing factor for this rerouting of tour routes, it was unlikely to have been the entire reason for the shift in focus. The shaping of tourist experience occurred not only in text but also in action:

¹⁶¹ Cleveland, *A history of the modern Middle East*, p.256.

¹⁶² Gershon Shafir, 'Zionism and colonialism: a comparative approach,' in Ilan Pappé (ed.) *The Israel/Palestine question: a reader*, 2nd edition (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 1999), pp.85-86.

¹⁶³ Walid Khalidi, 'Revisiting the UNGA partition resolution,' in Ilan Pappé (ed.) *The Israel/Palestine question: a reader*, 2nd edition (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 1999), pp.100-102.

¹⁶⁴ Cohen-Hattab, 'Zionism, tourism and the battle for Palestine,' p.69.

part of the ZIB's remit was to meet tourists at the railway stations and ports of Haifa and Jaffa, suggesting they make use of Jewish tour guides and hotels. The recommended tours would include meetings with local activists, trips to *kibbutzim* and an overall experience that Cohen-Hattab calls 'a comprehensive introduction to the Zionist endeavour [...] making sure [tourists] obtained the correct, Zionist perspective of the country.'¹⁶⁵

In the context of competition for tourist business and control of the national narrative, one of the most interesting forms of visual media in this period are *Yishuv* tourism posters, of the type explored by Ayelet Kohn and Kobi Cohen-Hattab.¹⁶⁶ These posters utilized early symbols of Israeli identity such as Hebrew lettering, the Star of David and the combination of blue, white and gold in colouring. Posters making use of the developing visual symbolism of Zionism served a dual function, especially as the years progressed – to advertise *Eretz Yisrael* to both western Christian tourists, and to the Jewish diaspora as a place to live. In Kohn and Cohen-Hattab's study of these posters, they draw a link between the construction of national identity and the symbols and images featured on the posters.

The *Har Carmel/ Har Zion* poster shown in Figure 2.5, Kohn and Cohen-Hattab contend, has commercial elements, but 'its overall conception is national-ideological,' as it features oranges prominently, signifying the citrus trade and tying it not to Jaffa, the Arab town famed for its oranges, but to Hebrew ships.¹⁶⁷ However, Kohn and Cohen-Hattab emphasize the Hebrew text of the image and argue that it appeals to the Jewish diaspora, whilst also seeking to shape perceptions of Palestine and the Zionist project with non-Hebrew speakers abroad. They do not include the English-language version of this poster, shown in Figure 2.6, which changes the wording from 'Hebrew ships' to 'Jewish ships,' and is clearly intended to appeal to a non-Hebrew-speaking foreign audience. The production of Zionist posters in both Hebrew and English signifies the hope of various agencies to appeal to a broad audience of both diasporic Jewish potential settlers, and potential foreign travellers.

¹⁶⁵ Cohen-Hattab, 'Zionism, tourism and the battle for Palestine,' p.67.

¹⁶⁶ Ayelet Kohn and Kobi Cohen-Hattab, 'Tourism posters in the Yishuv era: between Zionist ideology and commercial language,' *Journal of Israeli History*, 34/1 (2015): 69-91, DOI: 10.1080/13531042.2015.1005858.

¹⁶⁷ Kohn and Cohen-Hattab, 'Tourism posters in the Yishuv era,' p.73.

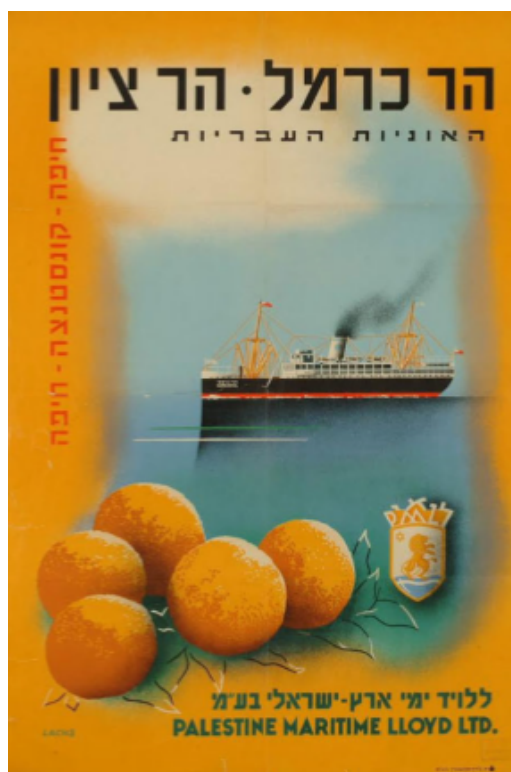


Figure 2.5

Har Carmel/Har Zion. Designed by Oskar Lachs. Published by Palestine Maritime Lloyd, Ltd., Palestine, 1936. Copyright of the Central Zionist Archives.

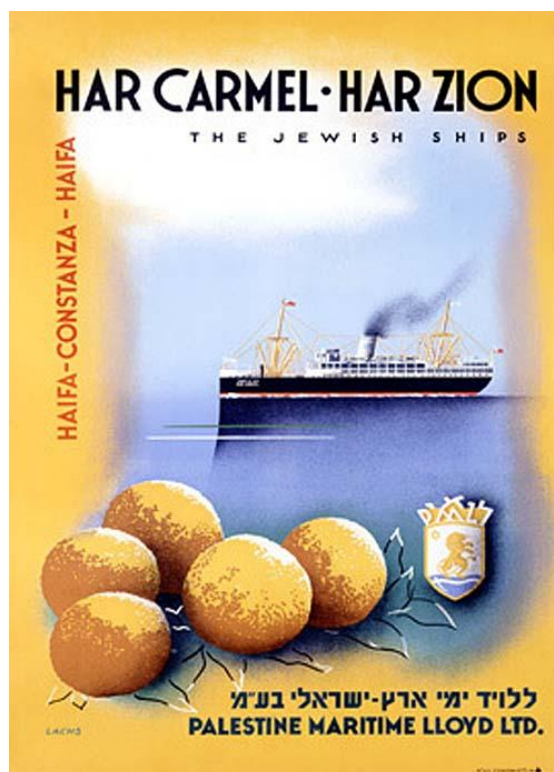


Figure 2.6

Har Carmel/Har Zion. Designed by Oskar Lachs. Published by Palestine Maritime Lloyd Ltd., Palestine, 1936. Copyright courtesy of The Palestine Poster Project Archives (PPPA).

In another poster (Figure 2.7) there is a clear appeal to the modern-tourist pilgrim of the early-twentieth century, still a key market for any tourist organisation in Palestine. Despite the broadening of tourist experiences by Zionist organisations attempting to disseminate a pro-Zionist narrative to foreign travellers, there was also an element of economic necessity to emphasizing the enduring biblical nature of the landscape in order to attract a primarily Christian tourist public. As has been explored, Euro-American tourists to Palestine felt a commitment and connection to its biblical past, but also a desire for home comforts and modern amenities in Palestine's cities. In the Mandate era, this desire was slowly realised as tourist services developed, as well as 'new urban centres, especially Tel Aviv, the "first Hebrew city"'.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸ Kohn and Cohen-Hattab, 'Tourism posters in the Yishuv era,' p.76.

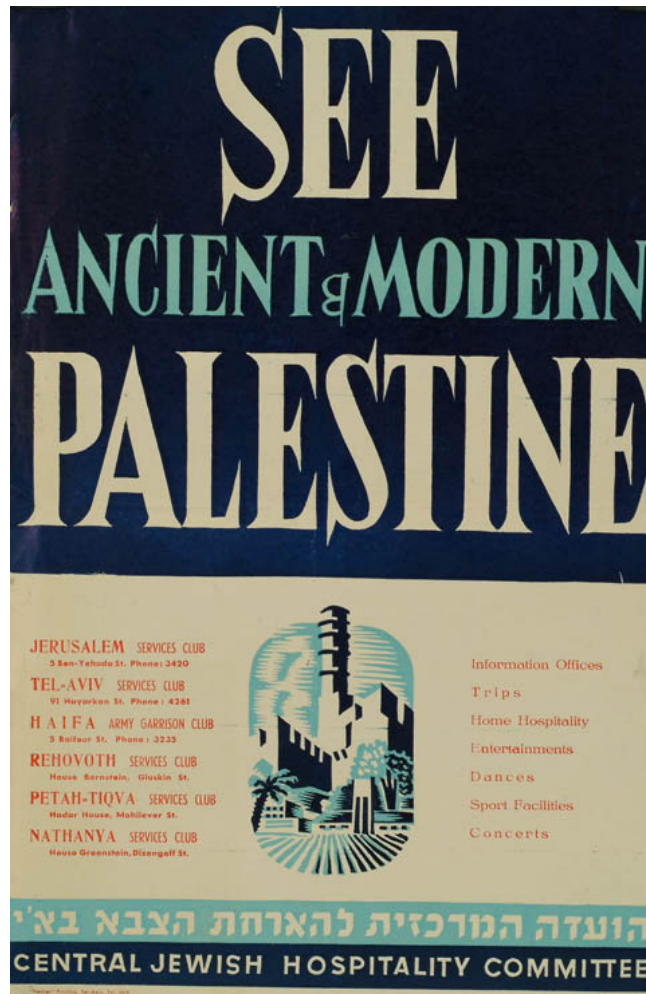


Figure 2.7

See Ancient and Modern Palestine. Poster published by the Central Jewish Hospitality Committee, c.1940. Copyright courtesy of The Palestine Poster Project Archives (PPPA).

The poster features the Tower of David in Jerusalem centrally, and a water tower, which by then had become ‘a dominant symbol of Zionist agricultural settlement,’ as Kohn and Cohen-Hattab describe it.¹⁶⁹ The water-tower had a recognisable architectural form by the 1930s in Palestine – four pillars holding a round reservoir tank aloft – and became symbolic of the settlement movement as a whole, and of the modernisation of a dry, arid landscape by the Zionist project. Maoz Azaryahu documents the establishment and use of the water-tower as a Zionist icon in visual culture, finding that as well as its use in tourist posters such as those shown above, the water-tower commonly featured in photography, propaganda, school textbooks, Shana

¹⁶⁹ Kohn and Cohen-Hattab, ‘Tourism posters in the Yishuv era,’ p.77.

Tovah cards, newspapers and stamps.¹⁷⁰ The fields in the image are ploughed, adding another settler-agricultural motif, but the palm tree in the foreground also stands as a symbol of the biblical and exotic past of Palestine. The poster's imagery would work to appeal to the foreign tourist who desired the modern urban centre of the Zionist project in contrast with Jaffa, frequently portrayed as dirty, uncivilized and loud, but who also had a significant attachment to and romanticised ideal of the nation's biblical past.



Figure 2.8

Keren Hayesod Sows and the Hebrew Nation Harvests. Designed by Otte Wallisch. Published by Keren Hayesod. Printed by Goldberg's Press, 1936. Copyright courtesy of The Palestine Poster Project Archives (PPPA).

¹⁷⁰ Azaryahu's study is comprehensive and contains many pictorial examples of water-towers in the visual culture of Palestine/Israel in both the pre- and post-state years. See Maoz Azaryahu, 'Water towers: a study in the cultural geographies of Zionist mythology,' *Ecumene*, 8/3 (2001): 317-339, DOI:10.1177/096746080100800304.

The importance of these agricultural sentiments to Zionist conceptions of identity was clear in posters like that in Figure 2.7, targeted at tourists, and also in posters targeted at a diaspora and local population in the same period. An example of this is the poster in Figure 2.8, designed for *Keren Hayesod* (United Israel Appeal) by Otte Wallisch in 1936, which shows an illustration of a farmer scattering seeds in a ploughed field, with a guard tower in the background. Wallisch was a significant Israeli graphic designer, who designed and wrote the calligraphy for Israel's Declaration of Independence scroll; here, his dedication to Israel's visual national identity is exemplified.

The background of the poster is a map of Mandatory Palestine, and the text in Hebrew reads '*Keren Hayesod* sows, and the Hebrew nation harvests,' showing that the use of maps in visual media in the Zionist movement, and the use of Hebrew to reclaim that map's landscape, continued in the decades following the publication of postcards like that shown in Figure 2.4. The prominent placement of the illustrated farmer marks him as the most important element of the image – the elevation of the agricultural worker as the symbol of Israeli-ness is clear here. His ploughed fields and scattered seeds are superimposed over a map displaying *Eretz Yisrael*, drawing a link between the farmer's work and the transformation and sowing of roots in the entire landscape. The agricultural work of settlers therefore becomes, symbolically in text and image, the construction of the nation-state. The text is more explicit, employing the agricultural language of 'sow' and 'harvest' to conjure associations between financial investment in the settlements and the reaping of benefits for the establishment of the state of Israel. The map's colouring in areas not settled – other Arab majority countries surrounding Palestine included – is brown and yellow, colours suggestive of an arid landscape. Within Palestine it is possible to discern smatterings of green on the map, indicating agricultural growth in the landscape where *Keren Hayesod* has 'sowed' its settlements.

That a guard tower is featured in this image is indicative of an understanding that safety and a degree of militarisation were constants in the narrative of the construction of Israel, even in imagery seemingly unrelated to military action or conscription. This poster was published in 1936, the year which marked the start of the Arab Revolt of 1936 – 1939. This revolt was a series of strikes and actions that were a result of growing Palestinian Arab resistance to not only the Zionist movement, its more militant military splinter groups like the *Irgun* and *Lehi*, and the Mandatory

government but also the leadership of the Supreme Muslim Council.¹⁷¹ During this period the Zionist settlers adopted a policy of *Homa Umigdal* (literally ‘wall and tower,’ known as Tower and Stockade.) In response to the Revolt, all major settlement groups took part in the Tower and Stockade project, which meant establishing walled settlements with the addition of wooden guard towers surrounded by four sheds which housed the first forty settlers.¹⁷² The settlements could be assembled in one day, built as they were from pre-fabricated parts. Fifty-seven of these Tower and Stockade settlements were constructed during the years of the Revolt, and they became so recognisable as part of the settlement movement that one was reconstructed in 1937 at the Paris World Exposition for the Land of Israel Pavilion.¹⁷³ The wooden guard tower is visible in the poster in Figure 2.8, as are the sheds surrounding it at the bottom. This poster therefore seems to advocate for the establishment of such *Homa Umigdal*, which were illegal under the law of the British Mandate but rarely enforced against. Already it is possible to see how settlement and agricultural work were linked to military and defensive action, in both the wider sense and in visual culture, as shown in this poster and in postcards examined in this chapter which document not only new immigrants on *kibbutzim*, but also armed watchmen, as we shall see later. Even the placement of the guard tower in the poster above suggests that it watches over *Eretz Yisrael* – from its vantage point in the upper left corner, all the settlements can be seen – and this suggests that perhaps the whole of Palestine will be watched over by settlers such as the man illustrated in the poster, with the support of *Keren Hayesod*.

¹⁷¹ See Cleveland, *A history of the modern Middle East*, pp.258-260, for more on the conflict during the strikes of 1936-1939; also see Penny Sinanoglou, ‘The Peel Commission and partition, 1936-1938,’ in Rory Miller (ed), *Britain, Palestine and empire: the Mandate years* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010) for details on the British commission on partition and details of where each invested party fell on this debate.

¹⁷² Sharon Rotbard, ‘Wall and Tower,’ in Rafi Segal and Eyal Weizman (eds), *A civilian occupation: the politics of Israeli architecture* (London: Verso, 2003).

¹⁷³ Eyal Chowder, *The political philosophy of Zionism: trading Jewish words for a Hebraic land* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p.111.

It was not only Zionist organisations or individuals, however, who made use of the map to legitimise claims to the landscape through visual culture. Palestinian Arab nationalists also made use of maps as early as the 1930s. Several sets of stamps were printed in this decade with the intention of fundraising for the Palestinian Arab resistance, including the example in Figure 2.9.



Figure 2.9

Palestine for the Arabs. Published from photographs taken by the American Colony, publisher unknown, September 23 1938. Copyright courtesy of the Library of Congress.

The stamp shows images of the Dome of the Rock and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre taken from American Colony photographs, with a map of Palestine superimposed over those images. The language of the stamp is in both Arabic and English, reading ‘Palestine for the Arabs’ in both.¹⁷⁴ The use of both English and Arabic, as well as the use of the two sites/sights most significant to both Muslims and Christians, shows a clear intent to encourage support of Palestinian Arabs not only throughout the Arab nations but also throughout the largely Christian, English-speaking western world.

¹⁷⁴ Wallach, ‘Trapped in mirror-images,’ p.364.

Stamps like these were used by groups other than those organised for collective Palestinian Arab resistance. Philatelic Societies in Mandate Palestine organised exhibitions where various stamps were displayed. A letter dated March 1945 from the office of the Postmaster General (PMG) to several recipients indicates that a Philatelic Exhibition was to be held in Tel Aviv on the 8 April 1945 and goes on to say that ‘a special postcard bearing the impression of 7 mils Palestine Postage Stamp has been produced locally and is being placed on sale[...] I forward herewith 354 specimens of these postcards for records and for distribution.’¹⁷⁵ A later letter dated 7 April 1945, mentions this exhibition as being organised ‘by the Philatelic Society of Tel-Aviv with other Philatelic Societies (almost certainly all Jewish) in Palestine. At the insistence of the PMG, Palestine, the Governments of Egypt, the Lebanon and Trans-Jordan are officially participating. There will be an official exhibition of all Palestine stamps issued to date.’¹⁷⁶



Figure 2.10

Philatelic Exhibition Tel Aviv. Published by Atid Press, Tel Aviv. 1945. Image accessed from ebay.co.uk/ Public domain.

An example of the commemorative card produced for the exhibition is shown in Figure 2.10. Exhibition organisers set up a post office so that attendees could send

¹⁷⁵ Israel State Archive: ISA-MandatoryOrganisations-MandateCommunications-0006nxn.

¹⁷⁶ Israel State Archive: ISA-MandatoryOrganisations-MandateCommunications-0006nxn.

commemorative postcards to themselves or others using the various stamps available at the exhibition itself. The participation of the Governments of Egypt, Lebanon and Trans-Jordan likely facilitated the inclusion of one line of Arabic text in the image, whereas the rest of the text is in Hebrew and English. This indicates that whilst the Arab population was involved to some degree, the primary audience for the exhibition, and the market for the stamps and cards themselves, was Euro-American and *Yishuv* citizens. That commemorative cards were made for events such as these is not unusual, given the content of the exhibition, and has been the case in other exhibitions of the pre-state period as explored in Chapter One.

However, that an exhibition of this type would be so popular (the high volume of cards sent outside of Tel Aviv for distribution suggests a level of popularity), indicates that not only were postcards and stamps used and appreciated throughout Palestine and overseas, but that images relating to Palestinian/Israeli national identity, as expressed through official governmental stamps, had a wide audience. These types of exhibitions and stamps were, then, a way to establish national identity to an overseas audience, and in the case of that shown in Figure 2.10, to establish the dominance of the *Yishuv*'s interpretation of that identity as opposed to the narratives of the Arab population, as had been the case in commercial tourist imagery previously discussed in this chapter.

The *kvutza* watchman: military and *kibbutzim* as tourist sites

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, a large number of British troops arrived in Palestine to serve alongside Jewish brigades. The prospect of war in Europe meant that Britain needed access to oil and airfields in the region, as well as to respond to the various conflicts of the preceding two decades. Additionally, in an attempt to conciliate the Arab population of Palestine and the surrounding region, the British released a White Paper in 1939 which severely restricted Jewish immigration and land transfers, offered a ten-year timeline for Palestinian independence and attested that it was not British policy that Palestine become a Jewish state. It was here that Britain split from League of Nations policy, which was in general pro-Zionist, as the British government became convinced of the need to appease the Arab inhabitants of Palestine.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷For more on the relationship between Britain and the League of Nations, a thorough study is provided in Susan Pedersen, "The impact of League oversight on British policy

The White Paper resulted in outraged reactions from the Jewish diaspora, especially in light of the growing knowledge of the persecution faced by Jewish people at the hands of the Nazis; however, no official action could be taken against it as the Zionist leadership in Palestine recognised the necessity of supporting the Allies to defeat the Nazis. The paper was in many ways a victory for the Palestinian Arab population, but their official leadership response was rejection on the grounds that the paper was not far-reaching enough.

The influx of British soldiers presented the Jewish population with a new opportunity: an overseas audience to whom they could present agricultural settlements and build relationships with, an audience whose positive impressions of the *Yishuv* community could have broader political consequences. The arrival of British troops also sparked a shift – *kibbutzim* could now be used for the housing of foreign visitors, and became more closely tied with the tourist industry, as will become clear in an examination of tourist visual culture from this period.

The stationing of British troops in Palestine is likely how the postcard-writer from Figure 2.11 came to be familiar with Jewish settlement activity and defence mechanisms. This postcard builds on earlier portrayals of the ‘new Jew’ as physically fit and redeeming the land. In this case, the figure representing the *Yishuv* population is shown as militarily prepared to defend the Jewish people and the Zionist project, as well as radiating health and vigour.

in Palestine,’ in Rory Miller (ed), *Britain, Palestine and empire: the Mandate years* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010).

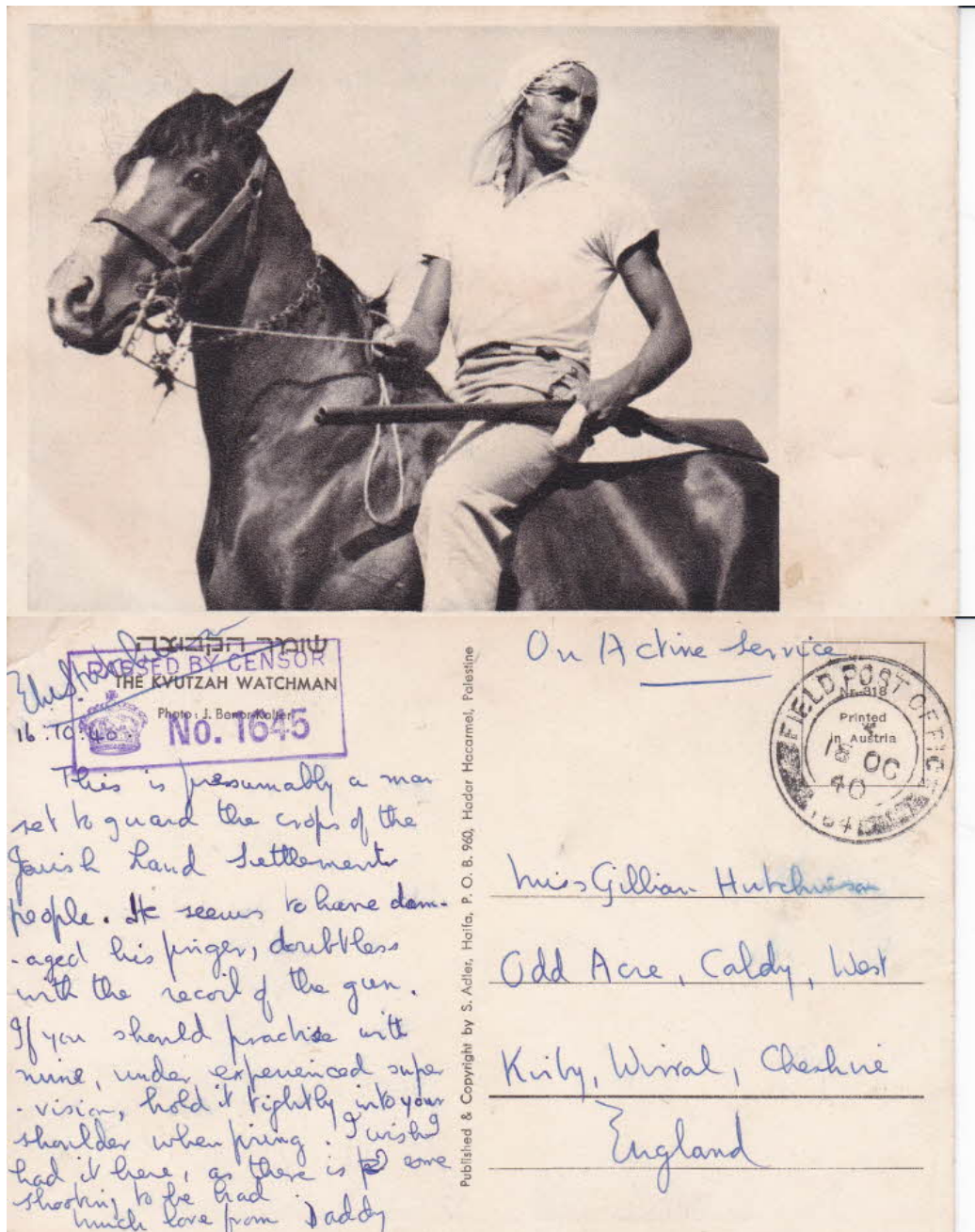


Figure 2.11

EPH-ME.7839. Published by S. Adler, Haifa, c.1940. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

In the postcard, a monochrome photograph published circa 1940 by S. Adler of Haifa, a fit young man sits atop a horse. In his right hand he holds the reins, in his left, a rifle. The man wears European clothing – a short-sleeved shirt and light trousers – but also has a kerchief tied over his head, likely in an attempt to protect against the heat. The caption on the verso identifies the horseback rider as ‘the *kvutzah* watchman’; a *kvutzah* is a Jewish cooperative settlement, most often smaller in size than a *kibbutz*, but

similar in nature to other agricultural settlements. The inscription on the verso is written by a British soldier on active duty – the message bears a stamp indicating the contents were approved by military censors. In the message, the soldier writes to his child, telling them that the image shows ‘presumably a man set to guard the crops of the Jewish land settlement people. He seems to have damaged his finger, doubtless with the recoil of his gun [...] I wish I had [my gun] here, as there is some shooting to be had.’

The man on the postcard looks healthy (despite the injured finger), confident and youthful. Looking out of the frame, he appears active and ready to protect his people. Like images of young men participating in the Gymnastics Movement, or working the arable land, this man symbolises a wider nation of people, in this case, a nation ready to defend itself by militaristic means. This was to be an important component of Zionist and later Israeli visual culture and the movement overall – the emphasis on the military preparedness of the population would come to be exemplified by a compulsory draft for both sexes and would be displayed in commercial visual media like postcards, as shall be explored in Chapter Four.

Approximately 21,000 Jewish people volunteered for service in the British forces during WWII, alongside 8,000 Palestinian Arabs. The Jewish population of Palestine pressed for exclusively Jewish units, which the British initially refused to implement in order to avoid angering the Arab population; the British eventually capitulated to that demand in September 1944.¹⁷⁸ The formation of these units was an external validation of nation, expressed in a 1942 essay written by David Ben-Gurion. In the essay, he argued for the formation of Jewish fighting units on the grounds that ‘Jews of Palestine claim the elementary right, denied to no people in the world, to defend themselves and their country.’ He also argued against what he saw as appeasement of the Palestinian Arab population, claiming that only ‘pro-Nazi Arabs’ could oppose all-Jewish fighting units, and that the Mandate ‘principle of “parity,”’ which meant that only as many Jewish fighting units could be formed as there may be Arab units,’ was misguided and a denial of Jewish rights.¹⁷⁹

The influx of British military forces into Palestine in the years of WWII also reshaped the leisure industry as *kibbutzim* began to provide guest houses for armed forces. In the late 1930s, the Zionist Bureau and JA provided 210,000 British soldiers

¹⁷⁸ Rowley and Taylor, ‘The Israel and Palestine land settlement problem,’ p.57.

¹⁷⁹ David Ben Gurion, ‘On the defense of Palestine and the Jews (1942),’ in Eran Kaplan, Derek J. Penslar and David Sorkin (eds), *The origins of Israel, 1882-1948: a documentary history* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011), pp. 290-291.

with leisure trips to *kibbutzim* in an effort to inspire goodwill among the British authorities toward the Zionist cause.¹⁸⁰ This had the effect of transforming *kibbutzim* guest houses into a viable part of the tourist economy. Imagery of *kibbutzim* on postcards, however, from the BM collection, dating from the 1920s – 1930s, does not often show militarism in the way that the example in Figure 2.11 does. In most cases these postcard images adhere to the style established earlier in this chapter, as can be seen in Figure 2.12.



Figure 2.12

EPH-ME.8091. Published by Matathiahu Eliahu and Brothers, Jaffa, c.1920-1930s. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

In this sepia-tinted postcard, a group of men in European-style dress are pictured standing on a hill above the settlement of Zichron Ya'akov, with the wine cellars of the settlement prominently featured in the background and a field of livestock to the left, as well as a grove of trees nearby. This postcard bears a compositional similarity to the one shown in Figure 2.1 as the arrangement of the men and the landscape both draw the viewer's eye into the background. This is suggestive of a level of consistency in *kibbutzim* photography, as within photographs taken for and published by Matathiahu Eliahu & Brothers, who also published this card circa 1920.

¹⁸⁰ Yossi Katz and Kobi Cohen-Hattab, 'The attraction of Palestine: tourism in the years 1850-1948,' *Journal of Historical Geography*, 27/2 (2001): 166-177, DOI: 10.1006/jhge.2001.0296, p.175.

In this image, as in Figure 2.1, the men are dressed in contemporary fashions and are embedded within the landscape and rooted to it through the presence of permanent architectural structures (the wine cellar), the trees, and the livestock, which are fenced in and therefore seem beholden to this specific settlement. The prominence of the wine cellar in the photograph draws a link between the arable land, the men that farm it, and the architectural features of the settlement, as well as serving to remind viewers of the ways in which the *kibbutzim* participated in the wider (and eventually, national) economy. Unlike imagery depicting Bedouin Arabs shown in postcards in Chapter One, the images of the Zionist settlements of the pre-state era suggest a long-term investment in, renewal of and attachment to the landscape. The creation of infrastructure which is inherently tied to farming practice – the wine cellar, which is linked to the growth of grapes and wine production – and the documenting of it through photography, symbolically legitimises the ownership of the land by settlement groups to the viewer, as opposed to the supposedly nomadic groups of Palestinian Arabs who had no permanence in the visual landscape.

The narrative that Palestine, prior to the settlement of the Jewish population, was largely empty and depopulated, was explicitly espoused by postcard producers of the era. Tova Dorfzaun, co-founder of Palphot, the largest postcard producer in Palestine/Israel even in the present day, said of the company's establishment in Palestine in 1934,

'I had doubt about succeeding because there was so little here to photograph [...] Tel Aviv was hardly a photographic subject. Herzliya was just an outpost with a handful of stone cottages. In between there was an awful lot of sand. Trees? Birds? Flowers? Even people were hard to find in those days!'¹⁸¹

Dorfzaun's comments are in alignment with the Zionist idea of 'making the desert bloom,' but also reflect a desire in the Zionist project for specifically Hebraised or Jewish cities and infrastructure which could then be photographed and used as a visual example of the Zionist project of developing and modernising the land, as well as cementing itself in permanent cultural, political and social institutions. The emphasis on finding trees, flowers and people to photograph highlights how significant these symbols of rootedness and growth in the landscape were to image producers of the era.

¹⁸¹ Semmerling, *Israeli and Palestinian postcards*, p.14.

Dorfzaun's language is also reminiscent of that used by early European guidebooks and travel literature as seen in Chapter One, which often argued that the landscape as populated by Palestinians was undeveloped and improved under occupation, suggesting a continuation in both visual and written culture around Palestine.

Like other photographs of *kibbutzim* in the pre-state period specifically published by the Eliahu brothers, the card shown in Figure 2.13 depicting the settlement of Mikveh-Israel exemplifies the symbolic language that had developed in these decades. Here we can again see that the people working the land are afforded the most visual attention. Their clothing is again European in style. The road draws the eye onward toward the architectural settlement itself which is in this case hidden from view. The buildings of the settlement are obscured by what Dorfzaun found so hard to photograph on the establishment of Palphot in the 1930s – trees, plants and flowers. These visual cues had by the end of the 1940s become recognisable and formalised into markers of Israeli identity.



Figure 2.13

EPH-ME.8097. Published by Matathiahu Eliahu and Brothers, Jaffa, c.1920-1930s. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The postcards of this period published by the Eliahu brothers have some unifying features – when people are included, they are posed on the road leading to the

architecture of the settlement, wearing European clothes, most often looking at the camera. Most striking, however, is the repetition of the framing and composition of the photograph – most often with a road leading the eye toward the horizon, where the structure of the settlement sits in the background. This is clear in not only the previous postcard examples, but also Figures 2.14, 2.15 and 2.16 below.



Figure 2.14

EPH-ME.8095. Published by Matathiahu Eliahu and Brothers, Jaffa, c.1920-1930s. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 2.15

EPH-ME.8096. Published by Matathiahu Eliahu and Brothers, Jaffa, c.1920-1930s. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 2.16

EPH-ME.8092. Published by Matathiahu Eliahu and Brothers, Jaffa, c.1920-1930s. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The three postcards above use the same configuration found in other Eliahu Brothers postcards of *kibbutzim*. The road leads forward, and is often lined with cultivated trees, a symbol of the taming of the landscape through regimented agriculture and therefore redemption of wasted territory. The eye is drawn into the distance and symbolically, the future, where the architectural settlements of the Zionist project lie. These images are suggestive then, of the future of the land itself – settled by the Zionist movement, modernised through European-style architecture and farming techniques, and exclusively Jewish.

The selection of these three sites may also be indicative of the types of settlement considered important to advertise to both the diaspora and outside communities – Rosh Pina was the site of the first modern Hebrew school, established in 1899. Rishon LeZion was the second ever agricultural settlement of the *aliyah* movement, and literally translated the name means ‘First to Zion.’ Tel Hai was the site of one of the first violent conflicts between the Jewish and Palestinian Arab populations, in 1920. It was largely abandoned and later absorbed into *kibbutz* Kfar Giladi in 1926. Agriculture, the Hebrew language and military action – three significant elements of Zionist culture and the movement itself, are represented here by three cards.

The replication of these types of views on commercial postcards, especially at a time when British troops were stationed in the country and able to transmit these views to the metropole, indicates a desire to associate the burgeoning Zionist project with positive associations of agricultural plenty, lush natural surroundings, and orderly, European-style architecture. There was a ‘taming’ of the landscape in imagery like this, as well as the opening up of *kibbutzim* for leisure visits, alongside tourist visual media like posters which emphasised the security, prosperity and familiarity of Jewish Palestine to foreign viewers. In opposition to the imagery of the previous chapter, these commercial images can be seen as an attempt to shape the tourist narrative to one of support for the Jewish national home, as well as advertise settlements to the Jewish diaspora and promote their successes. It is possible to see this promotional aspect and the national identity symbols used by the *Yishuv* community spreading to the foreign press even in the pre-state era.

‘The progress of the Jewish National Home’: visual culture of the foreign press

The stylistic and symbolic elements clear in postcard photography and tourist posters were also part of the visual culture of the foreign press in the years of WWII. In those cases, the Zionist project was usually presented in a positive light, especially in the American press where there was widespread popular support for the eventual establishment of a Jewish national home (fuelled both by genuine support for the Zionist cause and a not-insignificant amount of separatist anti-Semitism). In articles of this type, it is possible to see the ways in which visual culture around Palestine in this period repeated and made appealing the dominant discourse, which presented an us/them dichotomy where Palestinian Arabs were firmly in the category of ‘them.’ It is also possible to see the repetition of symbols that Zionist groups used as part of their formative national identity – agricultural motifs, strong and healthy youth, and orderly architecture – disseminated in a broader visual sphere, and in a way that encouraged these symbols to become those associated with the Jewish national home.

This type of publication was occasionally supported and encouraged by Zionist groups in Palestine. This is the case in a letter written by Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Chairman of the Political Committee of the Women’s Zionist Organisation, to the chapter presidents of the same organisation in 1943. In the letter, Mrs. Halprin discusses an article soon to be published in the American *LIFE Magazine*, which, she

said, would present ‘the progress of the Jewish National Home.’¹⁸² Recipients of the letter were encouraged to buy a copy of the magazine, and if they had ‘any comments to make, favourable or adverse do not hesitate to write to the editors of Life.’¹⁸³ The article itself, published on 11 October 1943, is titled ‘Jewish Homeland: Palestine Wants a Million More Jews,’ and is accompanied by photographs showing the development of Tel Aviv, *kibbutzim*, the military and work in factories and hotels, alongside portraits of prominent Zionist figures such as Weizmann.¹⁸⁴ The photograph in Figure 2.17 is from the article, and depicts the *kibbutz* of Ein HaShofet, first settled in 1937.



Figure 2.17

Palestine Settlement. Photograph by John Phillips. Published by *Life Magazine*, 11 October, 1943. Copyright courtesy Life Magazine Archive via Google Books.

The name Ein HaShofet when translated to English is ‘Well of the Judge,’ as noted in the image caption, as a tribute to U.S. Supreme Court Justice Brandeis. Brandeis was the leader of the Zionist Organisation of America at the time of

¹⁸² Central Zionist Archives, DD1\5791.

¹⁸³ Central Zionist Archives, DD1\5791.

¹⁸⁴ Life Magazine, ‘Jewish Homeland: Palestine wants a million more Jews,’ *Life Magazine*, 11 October 1943, https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=MlcEAAAAMBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=jewish&f=false, accessed 20 May 2017.

publication, making him a recognisable link between the Zionist movement in Palestine and the American public consciousness.¹⁸⁵ The choice to photograph this particular *kibbutz*, as opposed to others which were longer-established, was likely in part due to this link.

The choice to use the word 'settlement' as opposed to *kibbutz* in the description is also indicative of the way in which *LIFE* intended the article to be informative and educational for those unfamiliar with Hebrew terminology and language. The image itself shows an orderly, developed and aesthetically pleasing landscape, alongside on-going construction with a caption noting the forthcoming refrigeration plant and tower headquarters. It evokes the idea of a progressive and hardworking settler population who are cultivating the landscape and modernising it in a way that would be familiar to an American audience. The caption in the article also notes that Ein HaShofet is built on land owned by the JNF –the continuity in the way JNF-purchased and developed settlement land was depicted, not only by internal image-producers but foreign photographers and publications, indicates a level of control over what was shown/not shown to image-makers from overseas.

In the rest of the accompanying article and photo spread, the Palestinian Arab population of Palestine are not afforded the same level of representation. Their villages and homes, factories and workplaces are not photographed, and they are mentioned in text only in terms of 'Arab-Jew relations,' or the improvements Jewish immigration has made to the Arab population's health, wealth and efficiency. In the section dealing with the relationship between the Arab and Jewish population, the article suggests that occasional violence is outweighed by 'petty irritations,' and that most members of the two groups are friendly toward one another. The Jewish population, the article claims, have 'produced something unique and potent on the edge of the dreary deserts of the Middle East.'¹⁸⁶ The Arab population, the article goes on to paternalistically contend, are grateful for the influx of immigration as it has bridged the gap between the Christian west and 'Moslem [sic] Middle East, which is now one of the world's major dead ends.'¹⁸⁷

The article allows us to see how the foreign press and visual media represented the Jewish population of Palestine as relatively homogenous. The article does, at one

¹⁸⁵ Cleveland, *A history of the modern Middle East*, p.253.

¹⁸⁶ Life Magazine, 'Jewish Homeland,' p.100.

¹⁸⁷ Life Magazine, 'Jewish Homeland,' p.93.

point, argue that the Jewish population of Palestine is not monolithic and rather has different religious and political ideologies, and includes an image of Orthodox rabbis amongst its many photographs.

Throughout the remainder of the text and images, however, there is no acknowledgement of the diversity of the Jewish population, and several references to the Jewish population as a collective entity. For example, the article argues that it is because of the Jewish population of Palestine that the country has become ‘one of the most cosmopolitan and worldly places in the world [...] the Jews of Palestine are probably the most literate, highly educated, healthy and sober group in the world.’¹⁸⁸ While the qualities the article suggests are inherent in the Jewish population are largely positive in nature, and in alignment with the idealised Jewish settler that the Zionist movement was attempting to project, the article treats the Jewish population as a curious example of an Otherized group which bears a surprising similarity to the ‘average’ American; the tone therefore reads as an attempt to convince an American population still influenced by anti-Semitism that the Jewish people could fit into an idealised European ‘type’ and were therefore somehow more worthy of political, financial and ideological support. This was, of course, one of the aims of Zionist propaganda of the era, and the replication of this image in the foreign press can in a way be seen as a success in the dissemination of visual icons of the Zionist movement.

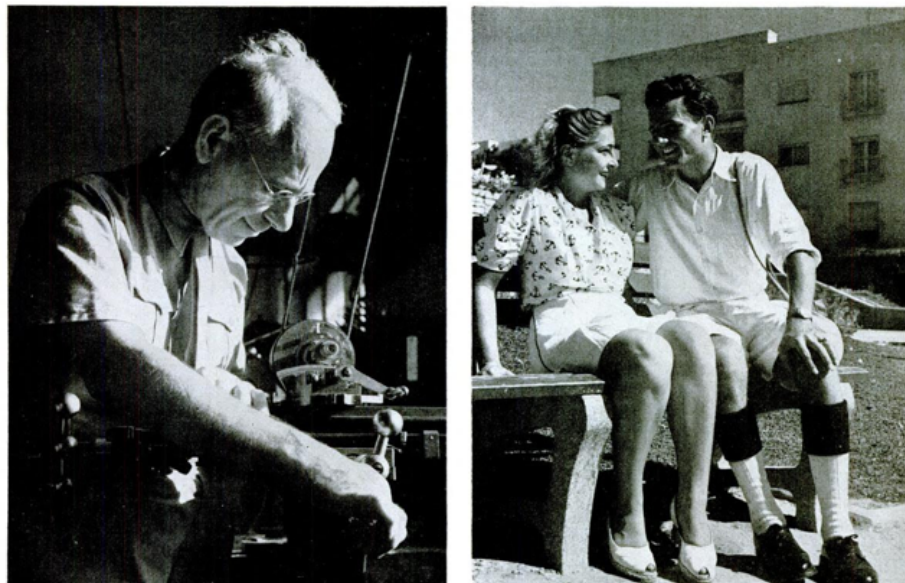


Figure 2.18

It Labors and Lives With Zest. Photograph by John Phillips. Published by *Life Magazine*, October 11, 1943. Copyright courtesy of Life Magazine Archive via Google Books.

¹⁸⁸ Life Magazine, ‘Jewish Homeland,’ p.97.

In the photograph from *LIFE* in Figure 2.18, the caption describes the Jewish youth of Palestine as ‘healthy and handsome,’ the image showing a young couple in contemporary European dress and with a tanned athleticism about them. The other images of young people in the article show them at work in fields or factories, or serving in the military, to bolster the sweeping claim that ‘the Jews of Palestine, like the Americans of the early 19th century, are a new people, bold, energetic, friendly, unconventional. They know how to swear, and their natural social idealism is applied to advancing their community rather than themselves.’¹⁸⁹ The emphasis on the collective, and the health and vigour of young Jewish immigrants to Palestine is reminiscent of the types of imagery seen in the postcards of this chapter – but the text also relies on a comparison between the *Yishuv* community and early American settlers, suggesting a need, for American audiences, to make the Other safe and familiar; this despite the ‘social idealism’ of the Jewish population of Palestine sitting quite contradictorily to American frontier individualism. The same sense of taming the wild landscape, and disregard for the native population, however, links the two groups.

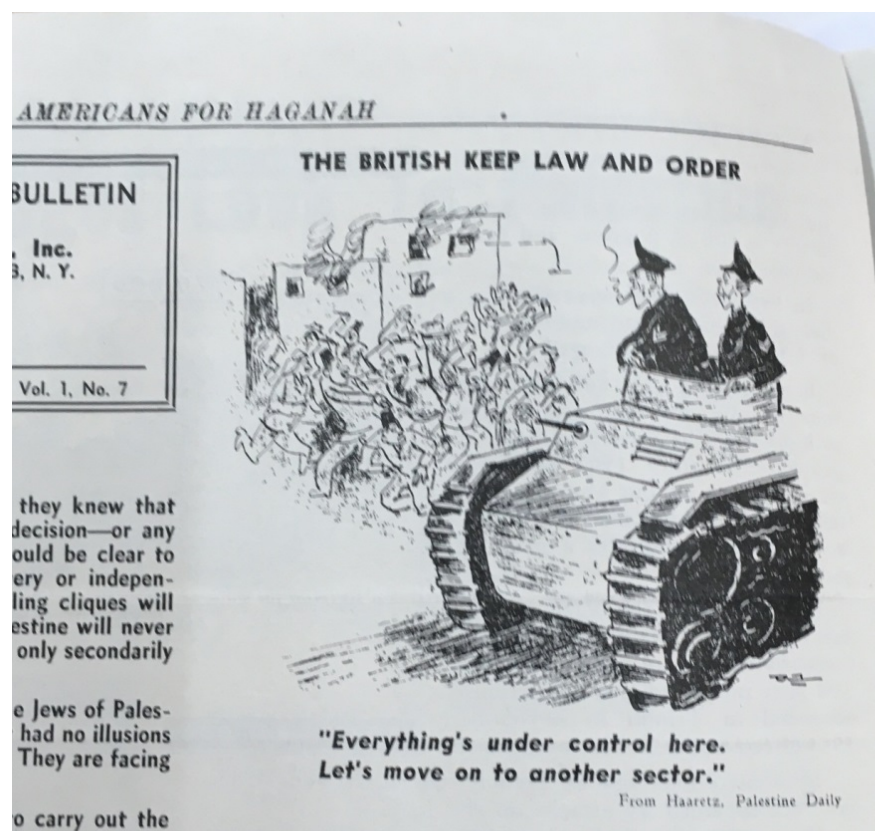


Figure 2.19

The British Keep Law and Order. Cartoon published by *Americans for Haganah*, 1940. Copyright courtesy of the Central Zionist Archives.

¹⁸⁹ Life Magazine, 'Jewish Homeland,' p.93.

Overseas press organisations have been historically more likely to report on Palestine and the Palestinian Arab population in times of conflict. This is especially true in press which has a specific political agenda, such as the *Americans for Haganah* newsletter printed in 1940. *Americans for Haganah* would already be supportive of Zionist endeavours in Palestine and military action against both the British and Arab population there, given that the title of the publication is ‘for Haganah,’ the Zionist military wing. This newsletter contains an article on the Arab revolts of 1936 – 1939 and features photographs with captions such as ‘Arabs rioting in Jerusalem attack Jewish shops. British police, unwilling to prevent riots, hindered Haganah efforts to handle situation.’¹⁹⁰ The newsletter also features a political cartoon originally published by *Haaretz*, one of the earliest established and longest-running Jewish newspapers in Palestine/Israel (Figure 2.19.) The cartoon expresses the same disgust as the rest of the newsletter at British inaction towards violence on the part of the Arab population of Palestine. This indicates that *Haaretz*, a newspaper based in Palestine, and *Americans for Haganah*, based in the United States, both wished to convey their belief that the British had a strong pro-Arab bias in their administration of Palestine. Reprinted in an American newsletter from a newspaper printed in Palestine primarily for the Jewish population, the cartoon is an example of the ways in which political visual culture established in Palestine and latterly Israel was disseminated to a wider overseas audience and used to influence public opinion, in much the same way that visual representations from postcards found stylistic and symbolic continuity in magazines like *LIFE*. As part of a wider visual culture of the pre-state period which dismissed, erased or depicted Palestinian Arabs only as backward and/or violent, and displayed the Jewish settler population as morally upstanding, progressive and fighting for freedom, cartoons like this became part of a symbolic language that established a narrative of Palestinian Arab radicalism and Israeli righteousness.

Filastin: Arabic-language press, 1939 – 1948

It is possible, however, to see alternative images of Palestinian Arab people which subvert this narrative. The Arabic press was late to arrive in Palestine compared to the rest of the Arab world, and the circulation and volume of newspapers and journals fluctuated until 1948 as a result of various uprisings, censorship from the

¹⁹⁰ Central Zionist Archives, DD1\5791.

Mandate authorities and eventually closure as a result of the 1948 war. The first Arabic and Turkish language newspaper to arrive in Palestine was most likely *Quds-I Serif al-Quds al-Sharif*, founded in 1876 as the mouthpiece of the Ottoman authorities.

Following the Young Turk revolution of 1908, printing in the Ottoman Empire increased dramatically, including in Palestine where by December of that year fifteen Arabic-language newspapers and journals had been established. Initially, many of the publishers of these newspapers were Christian and based in either Jaffa or Jerusalem; after the 1929 uprising, Muslim-owned newspapers also began to appear, and newspapers and journals began to print more frequently. The attitudes of the Arabic press in the years following 1936 and the great strike and revolts of the three years following was one of resistance to British rule and the Zionist movement; once WWII began, the British authorities increased censorship methods and shut down all Arabic newspapers but *Filastin*, *al-Difa'* and *al-Sirat al-Mutaqim*.

After the war, many closed newspapers did not reappear and several ceased publication as people and infrastructure were displaced in 1948.¹⁹¹ *Filastin* was something of an exception, and ran from 1911 until the 1967 war, becoming one of the most widely-circulated Arabic-language newspapers in Palestine.¹⁹² The name *Filastin*, meaning Palestine, is indicative of the terminology of Palestinian national identity becoming codified in text and language.

Although newspapers were the form of print media with the highest circulation in pre-state Palestine, the Arabic-language journals were more visual, as they featured photographs and illustrations prominently and sometimes contained only minimal text. One such journal was *al-Muntada*, initially a monthly and later a weekly publication printed between 1943 – 1947, based in Jerusalem. *Al-Muntada* was an official government publication, operated by the Government Printing Office (GPO) and the Palestinian Broadcast Authority, meaning that while it printed in Arabic it was subject to the regulation and censorship of the British Mandate authorities. The GPO was a Mandatory government office among whose main functions was acting as 'the main censorship office, and [being] responsible for checking all foreign publication,

¹⁹¹ For more on the newspapers of this period and their circulation see Ami Ayalon and Nabih Bashir, 'Introduction: history of the Arabic press in the Land of Israel/Palestine,' *National Library of Israel*, <http://www.web.nli.org/sites/nlis/en/jrayed/Pages/History-of-the-Arabic-Press.aspx>, accessed 10 May 2017.

¹⁹² Ayalon and Bashir, 'Introduction.'

franchising and licenses for newspapers and journalists, and issuing closure orders to newspapers.’¹⁹³

Al-Muntada’s stated goals included promoting the modernisation of the country by ‘emphasising the benefits of modern technology.’¹⁹⁴ It translated articles previously published in English as well as articles by Arab intellectuals on several topics including the visual arts. The journal also published photo spreads in their weekly issues, such as the one depicted in Figure 2.20. As is clear from this spread, published in January 1947, the photographs printed were picturesque in the way one associates with commercial postcards, including those published to represent the landscape of Palestine in this era. The inclusion of these photographs implies that picturesque landscape imagery was published not only for Euro-American tourist consumption, but also for a local, culturally engaged Palestinian Arab audience.



Figure 2.20

Published by *al-Muntada*, 3 January 1947, pp.22-23.
Copyright courtesy of the National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.

¹⁹³ National Library of Israel, ‘Al Muntada,’ *National Library of Israel*, <http://www.web.nli.org.il/sites/nlis/en/jrayed/Pages/Al-Muntada.aspx>, accessed 10 May 2017.

¹⁹⁴ National Library of Israel, ‘Al Muntada.’

The omission of images that would indicate the unrest in Palestine in 1947 - as the conflict between the Jewish and Arab populations, and hostilities towards the British occupiers grew violent¹⁹⁵ - is partly due to the journal's remit, but also likely a result of its operation under the Mandate government censorship office. Other journals of the period, like *Mihmaz*, *al-Dhakira* and *al-Qafila*, also depicted cultural and touristic style imagery rather than political issues explicitly. *al-Qafila* was the governmental successor to *al-Muntada* with the same promotional aims; *al-Dhakira*'s goal was to promote 'national and cultural training,' in order to support 'true cultural spirit [and] true democratic nationalism.'¹⁹⁶ The focus of these journals on the promotion of Palestinian culture and self-improvement is suggestive of an aim to make the Palestinian national consciousness and identity cohesive and culturally established.

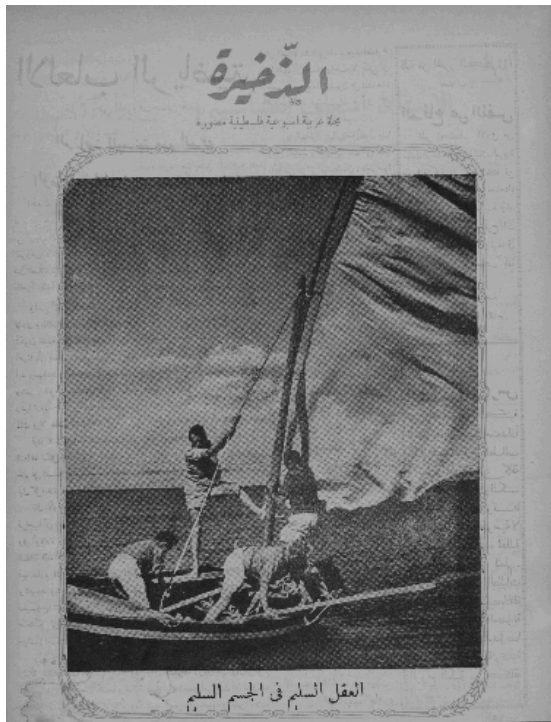


Figure 2.21
Published by *al-Dhakira*, 22 October 1946,
p.1.
Copyright courtesy of the National Library
of Israel, Jerusalem.



Figure 2.22
Published by *al-Qafila*, 25 April
1947, p.3.
Copyright courtesy of the
National Library of Israel,
Jerusalem.

Given that Palestinian Arabs and their landscapes were often omitted from, exoticised, or reported on only in times of conflict by foreign image producers, the

¹⁹⁵ See Chapter Four for further discussion of events leading to the war of 1948 and the establishment of the state of Israel.

¹⁹⁶ National Library of Jerusalem, 'Al-Dhakira,'
<http://web.nli.org.il/sites/nlis/en/jrayed/Pages/Al-Dhakira.aspx>, accessed 10 May 2017.

choice to focus on landscape, architecture and cultural institutions in the imagery of these journals shows attempts to frame Palestinian Arabic culture and landscape as modern, rooted in the landscape but with permanent infrastructure tying the people to the land. It is true, too, that Palestinian Arab publications did not commonly feature imagery of the Jewish population, or images of the Zionist project such as settlement. Given the animosity between the two groups in this period, this is not unusual – and is perhaps part of the attempt to separate representations of the Palestinian Arab population from those established tropes, which often compared the two populations and depicted the Palestinian Arabs as ‘lacking’ or backward in some fashion. However, the absencing of the Jewish population from the imagery of Palestine in the Arabic-language press is indicative of a similar approach as those images of the Jewish population – an attempt to portray the land as belonging to one group to the exclusion of others.

In the *al-Dhakhira* cover shown in Figure 2.21, a scene of Palestinian fishermen at work takes up the majority of the visible space. In the *al-Qafila* spread in Figure 2.22 there are images of Islamic architecture, as well as Palestinians at work and study. Images like the fishing scene in Figure 2.21 occasionally appeared in photographs especially in later imagery depicting seaside resorts in Israel, but rarely did they focus so much on the individuals at work and place them so prominently.

There was no comparative idealised Palestinian Arab ‘type’ in the style of the ‘new Jew’ during this period – that was to come later through imagery of figures like Yasser Arafat. Rather than reducing the men on the boat to small figures, emphasizing the boat and the seascape in a romantic fashion, this image emphasises the people of the photograph and depicts Palestinians outside of the dominant visual representation as nomadic shepherd-types. Such images of Palestinians at work or study in modern settings, and as part of institutions like schools did not feature on postcards of the time, and outside of the Arabic-language press, were not frequently shown in the media, which portrayed Palestinian Arab figures as a near-caricature of either Bedouin or violent radical. In this significant way, the Arabic-language press allowed for more complex portrayals than symbolically-loaded, but contextually lacking tourist media like postcards. In spreads like these, multiple points of view could be shared alongside full stories and text, as in the *LIFE* spread above. While these stories may not necessarily have established the most complex narrative, they allowed for more nuance than a commercial postcard or poster.

Conclusion

As the development of formative Israeli cities and towns began, image-producers continued to also focus on the development of agrarian land and rural settlement to justify their claim to the landscape. The discourse which justified 'return' through religious text was bolstered by a depiction of Palestine as largely empty, and where occupied, occupied by a nomadic people who made poor use of the land. As we have seen in British travel writing of the Mandate period, the idea that Palestinian Arabs were unfit to occupy Palestine was not new or exclusive to the Zionist movement. The Eliahu Brothers postcards may have been published by the same company, but elements found in their imagery are also found in other visual culture of the era including posters, newspaper and journal photography both local and foreign. This suggests a formalisation of visual symbols of Israeli-ness, which would also include the Hebraisation of architectural Palestine/Israel by the establishment of the state. These symbols were to be incorporated into the post-state visual representation of Israel and were part of establishing a narrative of Palestinian Arab and Israeli opposition that placed each group as sides of a coin – lazy as opposed to hardworking; antagonistic as opposed to peaceful; destructive as opposed to constructive. The *Yishuv* visual culture was to have a lasting and widespread effect on perceptions of nation and identity for decades to come.

As authorship of images and the purpose of creation shifted from largely Euro-American photographers and travellers making images for a tourist audience to those living in Palestine permanently, the narratives of nationality also shifted and the intended audience broadened. This shift was also evoked in architectural photography of new towns and building projects meant to establish *Eretz Yisrael* and the eventual (even inevitable) Israeli state as modern, forward-thinking and desirable as both a tourist destination and a site for permanent Jewish relocation. Postcards featuring distinctly Jewish and Zionist sites, especially those to do with the Hebrew national language, education and culture, began to feature more frequently on postcards from the mid-1920s, and increased in number from the 1930s as the impetus for the creation of a Jewish national home gained traction and speed. The ways in which these representations related to and differed from agricultural imagery of *kibbutzim*, but also helped to establish the national identity of the *Yishuv* and eventual Israeli state will be explored in the following chapter which examines the visual culture of the architecture of Tel Aviv and Jaffa.

BUILDING THE 'HEBREW CITY': THE VISUAL CULTURE OF ISRAELI ARCHITECTURE, 1920s – 1930s

Introduction



Figure 3.1

TM 8*801. Published by Sidney Schwartz, Tel Aviv, c.1930. Copyright courtesy of National Library of Israel.

In 1930, Sidney Schwartz Publishers issued a postcard depicting the Tel Aviv Municipality Building at 27 Bialik Street (Figure 3.1.) which remains there today. The photograph, with a forced low-angle perspective taken from the street, shows the building looming above. Whilst the photograph itself is monochromatic and therefore shows a sharp contrast on the exterior between recessed and extended elements, the building in reality is a stark white, in a style reflective of a prevalent, Bauhaus-influenced aesthetic of the period.

The building comprises a series of sharply intersecting planes, both curved and linear, clearly demonstrating its modernist interpretation. This is softened and, in a rather awkward manner, complicated by the inclusion of neo-classical pilasters on its façade, rising from a large terrace and interrupted by balustraded balconies halfway up the building. The terrace and balconies, the tall frontage windows and glazed doors, and the raised main entrance leading straight onto the first floor, allow Tel Avivian officials an elevated view over their town. The city's residents, however, are excluded from the

Municipality by the high railings and closed gate sealing the building, nestled in greenery, off from the street. Not only is the building an example of a new style of building in Tel Aviv which was gaining popularity in the 1930s, but it also houses the local authority office where town planning and the hiring of local architects was carried out. The postcard therefore serves a dual purpose: to commemorate the developing architectural aesthetic of the city, but also its political independence and authority. It is suggestive, in its modernism and its political content, of an attempt to situate the Zionist project as a progressive endeavour which aimed to develop the land in a way Palestinian Arabs implicitly (through the absence of similar imagery showing Palestinian local authorities) had not.

How can we understand postcards like that shown in Figure 3.1, different in so many ways from the rural images we examined in the previous chapters, and from usual tourist pictures of urban sites and scenes? What might the Municipality building tell us about the visions and aspirations of Jewish urban settlers of this period, and what might its depiction on this postcard indicate about the visual culture that was evolving to depict new city spaces and promote new ways of perceiving, experiencing and living the 'Hebrew city'? In this chapter, I will explore how imagery of Tel Aviv, and of the neighbouring Arab-majority port city of Jaffa, offers an idea of how Palestine's Jewish and Arab populations were perceived and positioned, especially in terms of the duality afforded to them as both rural and modern, or religious and secular.

In the BM collection, sixty postcards specifically depict views of Tel Aviv. Although these account for only four per cent of the total postcards of Palestine and Israel, Tel Aviv is still the fifth most represented city in the collection, following four cities or regions with strong significance for Christianity (Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth and the Galilee). Tel Aviv can therefore be considered the most popular 'secular' – or at least, not explicitly religious – city represented in the collection. There is no separate geographical catalogue for cards of 'Jaffa' since the cities were merged into one municipality in the 1950s; therefore, cards depicting Jaffa are part of this selection of Tel Aviv postcards. The postcards of Tel Aviv are more common in the BM collection in later decades, when the city became a popular beach resort destination, but there are several cards which depict Tel Aviv in the 1930s, when its architectural identity was beginning to take shape. This is true in other postcard collections of Palestine/Israel, including that of the FRC in Jerusalem. In a 2016 exhibition at the Israel Museum titled *Each Year Anew: A Century of Shanah Tovah Cards*, the FRC

collection was used to demonstrate trends and stylistic movements in Israeli postcard history. The wall text at the exhibition described the postcards from this era as featuring largely both urban and rural Jewish settlement, and also scenes which represented the physical architectural construction of the new Land of Israel. The exhibition argued that ‘in all their forms, these cards aimed to encourage immigration to the Land of Israel.’¹⁹⁷ Is this why, then, as Graham-Brown posits, photographs taken for postcards, when depicting newer cities like Tel Aviv, ‘showed less fascination with the “quaint” ways of their people and more interest in their expansion and “progress”’?¹⁹⁸ This chapter will explore to in what ways this shift in focus – from tourist advertisement to advertisements for a diaspora, a prospective-settler audience - accounts for the shift in visual imagery. Additionally, by examining commercial postcards alongside tourist advertisements and official Zionist or governmental publications, I will explore how architectural representations of Tel Aviv were a continuation of the rural/urban, modern/backward dichotomy established in earlier chapters, and how these images fed into the types of commercial visual culture created in the following decades. I will also examine the ways that these representations, whatever their target audience, seeped into international understandings of Tel Aviv, and more broadly of Israel, and how they built on imperialist perceptions of the landscape that understood colonisation as a redemptive and necessary.

From the dunes: the founding narrative of Tel Aviv

The Jewish neighbourhood of Ahuzat Bayit was established on 6 July 1906.¹⁹⁹ Jewish neighbourhoods had been established in Jaffa before this, most notably Neve Tzedek, but this new area, built outside of the contemporary borders of Jaffa, was to be different. Arthur Ruppin, head of the JNF at the time, stated that this new settlement would ‘stand in comparison with the quarters of other nations and, in regard to hygiene, will not suffer from the short-comings of the present Jewish quarters in these towns.’²⁰⁰ The idea that Jaffa overall was unhygienic, and that current Jewish neighbourhoods within it, because of their adherence to the extant architectural style of the city, were

¹⁹⁷ Wall text, *Each year anew*.

¹⁹⁸ Graham-Brown, *Palestinians and their society 1880-1946*, p.100.

¹⁹⁹ Sharon Rotbard, *White city black city: architecture and war in Tel Aviv and Jaffa*, trans. Orit Gat (Pluto Press: London, 2015), p.50.

²⁰⁰ Arthur Ruppin, quoted in Mark Levine, *Overthrowing geography: Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and the struggle for Palestine 1880-1948* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), p.157.

similarly full of what Meir Dizengoff at the time called ‘sickness and filth,’ was widespread among the founders of Ahuzat Bayit.²⁰¹ Thus they set out to found a new neighbourhood with an eye to the establishment of a new city, as part of an eventual new state.

Ahuzat Bayit, by 1910, would be renamed Tel Aviv. With the renaming of the city came a new founding narrative, one that disregards the establishment of Ahuzat Bayit in 1906, and instead places the date of Tel Aviv’s foundation on 11 April 1909. This was when a shell lottery was held to distribute housing parcels yet to be built in the new neighbourhood. The occasion was recorded in a now-famous photograph taken by Avraham Soskin (1881 – 1963), the most prominent photographer of Tel Aviv in the years following its establishment.



Figure 3.2

Lottery of housing parcels. Photograph by Avraham Soskin. April 11, 1909. Copyright courtesy of Eliasaf Robinson Tel Aviv Collection, Stanford University Digital Collections.

Soskin’s monochrome photograph (Figure 3.2) shows a group of settlers dressed in recognisably European clothing, in a barren, sandy landscape, with no indication that there already existed a population, architecture and infrastructure in neighbouring Jaffa, outside the frame of the image. Soskin’s photography proved

²⁰¹ See Levine, *Overthrowing Geography*, pp.157-158.

popular enough to be reproduced on postcards during the early years of Tel Aviv's establishment; the first set of these postcards was ordered by the Town Committee in 1912, which ordered 30,000 postcards made from twelve photographs.²⁰² In 1926 an album of these images was published, titled Tel Aviv – according to the Stanford University Digital Collections team, the photograph of the housing parcel lottery is 'the most frequently reproduced and widely disseminated image of early Tel Aviv.'²⁰³ Soskin's image carried such potency and became so canonical in Tel Aviv's foundation narrative that Tel Aviv chose 2009 as its centenary. Rotbard argues that the longevity of Soskin's lottery photograph and its use in reinforcing Tel Aviv's foundation narrative can be attributed to the fact that it legitimises Tel Aviv as the Zionist project's 'ideological and moral core [...] Born from a lottery on untouched dunes, there was nothing there before it; it was at no one's expense; all it did was turn wilderness in to bloom.'²⁰⁴ Indeed, the popularity of this particular image – European-style settlers poised to transform the arid, abandoned Palestinian landscape – testifies to the popularity of that narrative overall in the construction of perceptions of Israel's national identity and founding myth. Given that Ahuzat Bayit was designed from the outset in opposition to the largely Arab city of Jaffa, and the Jewish neighbourhoods within its 'sick' and 'dirty' architectural landscape, the Soskin photograph allowed for the narrative of a 'clean slate' upon which to work.

Without a centralised government to fund construction, the would-be residents of Ahuzat Bayit turned to the WZO in 1907 with a request for money from the JNF, which they received.²⁰⁵ Once the funding was in hand, as Tali Hatuka and Rachel Kallus note, the neighbourhood of Ahuzat Bayit was from its earliest inception constructed to form gridded streets with large plots for detached residential buildings and gardens, 'in

²⁰² Barbara E. Mann, *A place in history: Modernism, Tel Aviv and the creation of Jewish urban space* (Stanford University Press: Stanford, 2006), p.108. Mann goes on to note that these cards were reproduced in the post-war period with English captions in Egypt, 'and became a favourite of the British troops,' an example of the longevity a postcard image can have and how often it can be reproduced for different audiences.

²⁰³ Stanford University Digital Collections, 'Iconic Tel Aviv: Avraham Soskin and other photographers,' *The Eliasaf Robinson Tel Aviv Collection, Stanford University Digital Collections*, <https://lib.stanford.edu/eliasaf-robinson-tel-aviv-collection/iconic-tel-aviv-avraham-soskin-and-other-photographers>, accessed 6 March 2016.

²⁰⁴ Rotbard, *White city black city*, p.51.

²⁰⁵ Yossi Katz, 'Ideology and urban development: Zionism and the origins of Tel Aviv, 1906-1914,' *Journal of Historical Geography*, 12/4 (1986): 402-424, DOI: 10.1016/S0305-7488(86)80177-3, pp.409-410.

contrast with the vernacular of Jaffa's crowded streets.²⁰⁶ A clear differentiation between Jaffa and Tel Aviv in form and aesthetic was not the only way in which the founders of Tel Aviv strove to establish a Hebrew city; the residents' association's earliest meetings explicitly outlined their vision for the city as 'a Hebrew one and its residents 100% Hebrew,' a vision that would later become part of official suburb regulations 'which forbade selling or letting houses in Tel-Aviv suburb to Arabs.'²⁰⁷ At the time the new 'Hebrew City' was to act as a physical example that the Zionist project would not only transform the land in an agricultural sense, but would also revolutionise the urban topography and infrastructure. To build Tel Aviv was to build urban Israel.

Initially, the buildings of Tel Aviv were designed in what Weil-Rochant has termed the 'Hebrew Patriotic Style', which combined European interior styles and 'Oriental architectural components like domes, vaulted arches, flat roofs and decorative roof tiles.'²⁰⁸ A prime example of this was the city's centrepiece, the Herzliya Hebrew Gymnasium (high school), named after Theodor Herzl. The Gymnasium was treated with great significance in the early plans for the city, and its cornerstone was laid in Ahuzat Bayit in 1909. The early city plans did 'not call for any other specific architectural structure proclaiming Zionist or Jewish religious symbols,' and there was no plan for a synagogue to be placed centrally, which differentiated Tel Aviv starkly from the Jewish quarters of Jerusalem and Jaffa and emphasized the function of the city as part of the nationalist, secular element of the project of Zionism.²⁰⁹

By the 1920s, there was a shift away from this mixed style 'as the city expanded northward, turning its back on Jaffa,' according to the Israel Museum's *Social Construction* exhibition. In this period, the exhibition continues, 'architects sought a language that would express their yearning to erase the diaspora past and build a new nation.'²¹⁰ However, the city's architecture was not entirely about rejecting a diaspora past, as it drew heavily on the cultural context of many immigrant's home countries. This decisive break was also a rejection of the Oriental influence on the eclectic style,

²⁰⁶ Tali Hatuka and Rachel Kallus, 'Loose ends: the role of architecture in constructing urban borders in Tel Aviv-Jaffa since the 1920s,' *Planning Perspectives*, 21/1 (2006): 23-44, DOI: 10.1080/02665430500397188, p.26.

²⁰⁷ Katz, 'Ideology and urban development,' p.408.

²⁰⁸ Catherine Weil-Rochant, 'Myths and Buildings of Tel Aviv,' *Bulletin du Centre de recherche français à Jérusalem*, 12 (2003): 152-163, <http://bcrfj.revues.org/672>, p.157.

²⁰⁹ Katz, 'Ideology and urban development,' p.409. The 1909 Gymnasium building was demolished in the 1960s.

²¹⁰ Wall text, *Social construction: modern architecture in British Mandate Palestine*. 2016. Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

which, as discussed above, was described as ‘dirty’ and ‘sick’ by those who sought to construct in a new style.

The new architectural language of Tel Aviv was expressed in structures using elements of the International Style. This drew on European cultural context, but was modified in Tel Aviv, as Diana Dolev points out, ‘for compliance to the local climate and materials.’²¹¹ These modifications and adaptations included, for the climate of Tel Aviv, raised legs, shaded balconies, and open roof terraces. Drawing on modern European principles of design to adapt to the landscape of Palestine/Israel created something now seen as specifically Israeli, as indicated not only by its ‘White City’ status in Israeli governmental publications and discourse, but also in its designation in 2003 as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. This construction of an Israeli city identity was reinforced and heightened through its juxtaposition with the largely Palestinian Jaffa.



Figure 3.3

EPH-ME.2810. Published by Jamal Brothers, Jerusalem, c.1921. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

²¹¹ Diana Dolev, *Architecture and nationalist identity: the case of the architectural master plans for the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (1919-1974) and their connections with nationalist ideology*, PhD dissertation supervised by Prof. Adrian Forty, The Bartlett, UCL, September 2000, <http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1381748/1/369227.pdf>, p.57.

Postcards depicting Jaffa in the BM collection from the 1920s and 1930s are examples of its representation as a historic port city and thus out of step with contemporary European culture. In a postcard published by Jamal Brothers shown in Figure 3.3 (dated in the caption on the reverse as 1921, and therefore likely from a Shlomo Narinsky photograph), the horizon of the sea is interrupted by several old-fashioned sailing boats, and, in the far distance, one steamboat. The sunset softens and romantically lights the scene, and the sepia tint lends the photograph a sense of the past in an aesthetically pleasing way. The sunset is also suggestive of a figurative setting sun on the city of Jaffa, with its outmoded economy and infrastructure. Whilst the caption of the image is ‘fishermen in Jaffa,’ no individual figures are visible, unlike the photograph printed in *al-Qafila* in the previous chapter. This suggests that the individuals and their professions are not significant, but rather, the impression of Jaffa as a city of fishermen. The photographer chose to take the photograph as the steamboat was on the horizon; it points away from the sail boats, symbolically echoing the movement of modern and industrial Tel Aviv from the historic and romantic Jaffa represented by the sailboats. The picture is aesthetically pleasing with the thin masts of the sail boats reaching towards the upper frame in silhouette, but the steamboat is more jarring – although it is distant and partially obscured, its inclusion appears purposeful, intended to draw the tourist’s attention to it and all the progress and modernity it symbolises, as it leaves the horizon of Jaffa.



Figure 3.4

EPH-ME.6459. Published by Photochrom Co., Ltd., London, c.1910-1920.
Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Jamal Brothers were not the only postcard producers to publish images which depicted Jaffa in this way. In the postcard shown in Figure 3.4, published by Photochrom circa 1910 – 1920, the photograph is tinted in soft, romantic pastels, framing Jaffa from the sea, at a distance. The buildings of the city crowd the harbour, appearing to almost slide down the slope to the water's edge in a disorderly fashion. Toward the foreground of the photograph are several rocks jutting out from the sea haphazardly, representing in their disordered heights and shapes the eclectic architecture of the city behind them.

There are, in the middle ground, and coloured in such a way as to almost blend in with the cityscape behind, some boats in the port. The golden light of the image, and the pale blues and pinks used to colour it, create a sense of the romantic. Jaffa from this perspective does not appear bustling with industry. There are no visible people on the shore, nor are there symbols of industrial modernity like cars or other motor vehicles. The lack of a people in the landscape evokes the lack of discernible individuals in Figure 3.3, and echoes images discussed in the previous chapters which portrayed rural villages as empty and unpopulated. While there are some large and official looking buildings in the background, and what appears to be the Jaffa clock tower extending toward the sky in the background, all of these buildings are bathed in this same soft light and colour, giving them a blurred quality that makes the whole photograph seem quaint, sweet, even historic. The style of this postcard, its painterly qualities and palette, are reminiscent of the biblical landscapes and paintings shown in Chapter One. The construction of Jaffa as an exotic city rooted in an imagined past was specifically designed for tourist consumption. This sanitised and constructed sense of historic authenticity was one which many tourists, as we have seen in previous chapters, searched for or were presented with, even while much of the travel literature of the 1880s to the 1920s dismissed Jaffa as unclean and populated by people ignorant of the significance of the landscape.

The accounts of two travellers to Tel Aviv and Jaffa from the mid-1930s documented by Azaryahu indicate the ways in which the two cities were often contrasted against one another. One traveller, a British officer, described 'the city of Jaffa and its filth,' in opposition to 'the most wonderful city in the Near and Middle East,' Tel Aviv. The second, a French journalist, described Tel Aviv and Jaffa as the

difference between 'light and darkness, civilization and ignorance.'²¹² Even Theodor Herzl kept a travel diary which echoes these sentiments. Travelling to Palestine in October 1898, he wrote dismissively, 'well, here we are in Jaffa! Again, poverty, suffering, and heat in cheerful colours. Confusion in the streets and no carriage for hire.'²¹³ As we have seen, these attitudes were also expressed by the founders of Ahuzat Bayit.

Images like those shown above of Jaffa, are in stark contrast to postcards which began to depict Tel Aviv from approximately 1930 onwards. In postcards of Tel Aviv and Jaffa, it is often difficult to ascertain on first glance, if at all, that the two places exist side-by-side, and blend into one another at their boundaries. This total separation of the two places was part of a wider narrative, especially promoted by the founders and constructors of Tel Aviv, which sought to keep Tel Aviv free of the negative connotations associated with Jaffa. Postcards may not be the best medium in which these two cities could reasonably be framed together – this would work better in an aerial view, or map; and of course, tourists often want views depicting specific sites, not entire vistas. This inability to contextualise the cities together is a limitation of the medium in many ways, but also lent itself neatly to the foundational narrative of Tel Aviv.

Bauhaus or not: Tel Aviv nationalist International Style

The framing of Tel Aviv's architecture as explicitly Bauhaus has been a more recent development. In fact, the history of the city's architects and their design philosophies is more complex than a straightforward adaptation of Bauhaus principles into the landscape of Palestine/Israel. As several historians have noted, among them Alona Nitzan-Shiftan, Mark Levine, and Sharon Rotbard,²¹⁴ the framing of Tel Aviv as the 'White City' of Bauhaus or International Style architecture gained prominence as a narrative principally as a result of a 1984 exhibition entitled *White City: International Style Architecture in Israel: A Portrait of an Era*. This exhibition presented the architecture of Tel Aviv as a formalised style, establishing a narrative of a Tel Avivian Bauhaus vernacular,

²¹² Maoz Azaryahu, *Tel Aviv: mythography of a city* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), p.59.

²¹³ Rotbard, *White city black city*, p.68.

²¹⁴ See Rotbard, *White city black city*, Levine, *Overthrowing geography*, and Alona Nitzan-Shiftan, 'Contested Zionism – alternative Modernism: Erich Mendelsohn and the Tel Aviv Chug in Mandate Palestine,' *Architectural History*, 39 (1996): 147-180.

which later became popular. This notion – that Tel Aviv was a Bauhaus city, with its roots in a widespread and accepted, formalised architectural plan – was so popular, according to Nitzan-Shiftan, because it ‘suggested to Israelis alternative architectural roots in Tel Aviv, the first Hebrew City, rather than the disputed “authentic” regions of Judea [the West Bank].’²¹⁵ However, I would argue that, as we have seen, the promotion of an architectural style distinct from the extant buildings in the area and an attempt to develop a particularly Israeli architectural aesthetic was clear from the moment of the city’s foundation. The significant shift post-1984 was the idea that there was a homogenous Bauhaus architectural movement in the city, not the idea that there were sets of design principles.

The process of designing a Tel Aviv that was cleanly delineated in its population, architecture and topography was begun in 1921 when Sir Herbert Samuel, recently appointed High Commissioner for Mandate Palestine and Transjordan, signed the Order of Tel Aviv Township, making the city independent and creating its border with Jaffa.²¹⁶ Now that the Tel Aviv Municipality (see Figure 3.1) had been established, they at once began to plan for the development, expansion and unification of the city in style and form. To that end, the Municipality hired the Scottish city planner Patrick Geddes, who was already involved in the colonial town planning of India.²¹⁷ Tel Aviv’s then-mayor, Meir Dizengoff, who as we have seen thought of Jaffa as unhygienic, enlisted Geddes to design a plan for the city that would ‘transform the small town [...] into a large urban metropolis with 100,000 inhabitants.’²¹⁸ Geddes’ plan was submitted in 1925 and approved in 1926. In his accompanying report he wrote, ‘all the world can see that Zionism stands for regional reconstruction, for a better combination of town and country[...].’²¹⁹ The construction of Tel Aviv as a modern, European-influenced but, most importantly, Hebrew city was made possible not just by the political support of the Mandate but also through the employment of other planners and architects who had made *aliyah* from the diaspora, who had clear ties to the ideology of the Zionist movement.

Not all architects working in Tel Aviv in the 1930s and 1940s were unified behind an explicitly Bauhaus architectural practice, and nor was this type of practice

²¹⁵ Nitzan-Shiftan, ‘Contested Zionism,’ p.148.

²¹⁶ Rotbard, *White city black city*, p.86.

²¹⁷ Weil-Rochant, ‘Myths and buildings of Tel Aviv,’ p.159.

²¹⁸ Weil-Rochant, ‘Myths and buildings of Tel Aviv,’ p.159.

²¹⁹ Patrick Geddes, quoted in Weil-Rochant, ‘Myths and buildings of Tel Aviv,’ p.159.

unique to Tel Aviv. Elements of Tel Avivian architecture of the period differentiated it from similar work in Europe – largely, its adaptation to the requirements of the climate. However, modern architecture in a similar vein had also been built in British and French colonial outposts of the period, including significantly in Algiers. Similarities between Tel Avivian International Style and that found in other countries with a European colonial presence are described by Rotbard as ‘attempts to found new, modern European cities overlooking or beside what were perceived to be crumbling Arab dwellings.’²²⁰ Rotbard contends that the lack of acknowledgement of similarities between Tel Aviv and Algiers in Israeli historiography until recently was part of a wave of Francophobia that took hold in Israel in the aftermath of Charles de Gaulle’s military embargo of Israel in 1967.²²¹ However, I would contend that this lack of acknowledgement has an additional dimension: a desire on the part of Tel Aviv’s architects and planners to disassociate Tel Aviv’s construction from other explicitly colonial projects, and to separate architecture of majority Arab cities in North Africa from the new Hebrew city.

Architects working in Tel Aviv in the 1930s were often those who had made *aliyah* to Palestine after training in architectural schools in Europe. Among the most prominent of these were a group known as the Chug, or the ‘circle of architects,’ which included Arie Sharon. Sharon had studied at the Bauhaus school, and later become the Head Architect of the newly independent Israeli state.²²² The other founding members of the circle were Yoseph Neufeld and Ze’ev Rechter, the latter a follower of Le Corbusier, and the group was later joined by other architects from the diaspora including Carl Rubin. The group began distributing a publication titled *Habinyan Bamizrah Hakarov* (Building in the Near East) in 1934, but an editorial split led to the publication of a different journal, known simply as *Habinyan* (Building) in the late 1930s. The publication of *Habinyan* allowed the group’s remaining members to disseminate and institutionalise their architectural philosophy, especially as regarded Tel Aviv.²²³ Of these architects, Sharon was the only student specifically of the Bauhaus school to, as Rotbard describes it, ‘conclusively leave his mark on Tel Aviv (and arguably on Israel as a whole).’²²⁴ It is also worth noting, however, that his structures are not often those

²²⁰ Rotbard, *White city black city*, p.37.

²²¹ Rotbard, *White city black city*, p.37.

²²² Weil-Rochant, ‘Myths and buildings of Tel Aviv,’ p.157.

²²³ Nitzan-Shiftan, ‘Contested Zionism,’ p.153.

²²⁴ Rotbard, *White city black city*, p.28.

most associated in the popular imagination with 'Tel Avivian 'Bauhaus' Style, which often had more playful, rounded elements, in comparison to Sharon's practical and sharp designs.

If the group of prominent architects working in Tel Aviv at the time did not adhere to an explicitly Bauhaus style they did at least arguably work in a framework heavily influenced by that school of design. Aside from the fact that many of these architects had trained in European design schools, the question arises as to why this style of architecture was seen as something that could be made specifically representative of *Eretz Yisrael*?



Figure 3.5

Weissenhofsiedlung. Publisher unknown, c.1940. Daniella Ohad/Public domain.

The postcard in Figure 3.5 is a 1940 reproduction of a 1933 postcard depicting the *Weissenhof* exhibition of 1927. The *Weissenhof* exhibition took place in Stuttgart, and was a showcase of twenty-one buildings organised by Mies van der Rohe, then-director of the Bauhaus school; it included buildings by architects in what would become known as the International Style, including Le Corbusier and Bauhaus founder Walter Gropius. Some of the buildings in the exhibition can be seen in the postcard, curving along the right frame of the image and across the top edge. Their facades, smooth, concrete painted white, with ribbon windows and repeating, simple geometric shapes, are instantly recognisable as part of the International Style. The trees partially obscuring

some of the buildings were to be an important element incorporated into the town planning of Tel Aviv, following the Garden City proposals put forward by Geddes.

However, the photograph used in the postcard has been manipulated, in a way intended to mock and vilify the exhibition and the type of architecture it showcased. It is altered with illustrations showing crude stereotypes of Arab villagers in traditional dress, with camels and, oddly, lions, to the right of the frame. The exhibition itself was rejected and disparaged by the Nazi government which came to power in 1933. The Nazi government were largely critical of Bauhaus from a position of anti-Semitism and ethno-nationalism especially as many of the architectural style's practitioners were Jewish, but here there is a pointed use of recognisable Arab tropes and stereotypes embedded with racism. The Nazi government's vilification of Bauhaus, and modern architecture in general, as well as the *Weissenhof* exhibition in particular, was also based on the 'insistence of its organisers on the international nature of modern architecture. Immediately after seizing power in 1933, Nazi officials stated that "it [was] in the public interest of all patriotic Germans to prevent such cosmopolitan experiments."²²⁵ The conceptualisation of modern architecture of the period as stateless, not nationalist, was part of what so aggrieved the Nazi government, but in the *Yishuv*, modern architecture was by the 1930s being re-appropriated as a symbol of a new nation. It was perhaps this rejection of the internationalised modern architecture by the Nazi regime that led so many Jewish members of the diaspora to utilise the style in Tel Aviv; by attempting to establish a national architecture in the new Jewish homeland through a style so thoroughly rejected by their oppressors, they could in turn reject not only the anti-Semitism of the Nazi regime, but also its design principles.

It is also worth noting that while the Bauhaus school closed in 1933 with the advent of Nazi control, Mies van der Rohe, the final director of the school, continued to propose projects to the Nazi authorities and did not leave for America until he had been dismissed multiple times. The Bauhaus school – or at least its ultimate director – did not appear to ideologically oppose the Nazi regime in principle, merely its design aesthetics. Le Corbusier, also, whom Arie Sharon cited as the greatest influence on Tel Aviv, was a collaborator with the Vichy government and worked as a colonial architect.²²⁶ Therefore, the Bauhaus school and architects of the International Style were not inherently anti-fascist. However, architectural designs heavily influenced by

²²⁵ Nitzan-Shifan, 'Contested Zionism,' p.151.

²²⁶ Rotbard, *White city black city*, pp.148-149.

architects denigrated and mocked by the Nazis came to be the primary style – and the most widely reproduced in photographic representations of the city’s architecture - in Tel Aviv. This suggests that part of the image of Tel Aviv that image-makers wished to put forward was a response not only to neighbouring Arab-majority cities, but also to the ideology and aesthetics of the Nazis.

‘A truly European town’: perceptions and depictions of Tel Aviv

While Rotbard rightly points out that ‘the Bauhaus creations which have come to characterize the era [of the 1930s] were only a fraction of the total mass of buildings erected,’²²⁷ they were heavily featured in the visual media of the era, in postcards and posters that local and outside audiences could absorb. The choice to use imagery of this type in media depicting Tel Aviv likely contributed to the characterization of the city as the ‘Bauhaus city’; the narrative, also, fed into the visual representations of Tel Aviv in a circuitous fashion. One prominent publisher of postcard views of Tel Aviv was the Eliahu Brothers publishing company. Based in Tel Aviv, several of their cards depict the city’s growth in the 1930s. The Eliahu Brothers appear infrequently in the BM collection (some examples of their postcards are discussed in Chapter Two), but they published several monochrome postcards depicting either Tel Avivian buildings or broad street views named after important Zionist figures, which I have found outside the museum collection. The postcards explored here give some insight into what producers based in the city itself deemed appropriate for tourist visual media. The attention paid in these images to the avenues and boulevards of the city is suggestive of how important the urban planning of Tel Aviv was to those who represented it to outside viewers.

An examination of travel guidebooks and literature from this period also shows how often tourists and tour companies were quick to extol the ‘European’ nature of these streets when advertising the city as a destination for tourists, referencing their similarity to the broad avenues of Paris, or Berlin. Often this was part of a broader description of Tel Aviv as a city with European characteristics, as distinct from Jaffa. It is clear that the conceptualisation of modernisation in the British imagination of the period was directly linked to familiar, European construction, architecture and infrastructure. Jaffa’s modernisation was embedded within its local context, and the

²²⁷ Rotbard, *White city black city*, pp.85-86.

town planning was not 'European' either in authorship or physicality. The linking of 'modern' to 'European' has been discussed before in terms of the traveller's imperialist perception of Palestine/Israel – here, in two cities side-by-side, the discrepancy with which tourists described two relatively modern, industrialised cities, is striking.

The American Colony guide-book of 1920, for example, noted that Tel Aviv had 'progressed very materially in the past few decades, and many modern improvements have replaced the mediaeval backwardness of the past [...] all this of course is the result of the influx of European settlers.'²²⁸ Less explicitly, this sentiment was reflected in *The handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan*, published under the authority of the Mandate Government of Palestine in 1934. This handbook contained a foreword by Arthur Wauchope and Herbert Samuel, the former the High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of Mandate Palestine, the latter the first High Commissioner from 1920 to 1925.²²⁹ In the foreword, they described Tel Aviv as a city of phenomenal growth:

twenty-five years ago, sixty Jewish families living in Jaffa decided to establish for themselves a small residential suburb in the vicinity [...] these barren sand-dunes have become a flourishing town of over 60,000 persons pulsating with life and energy. [...] It has three permanent theatrical companies, a symphonic orchestra, numerous cinemas, two daily newspapers, five publishing houses [...] a public library, an art museum [...] It is one of the most remarkable towns in the Levant.²³⁰

Tel Aviv was thus positioned in travel literature of the first half of the twentieth century as a city of culture and institutions that would feel familiar to a Euro-American travelling public. This conceptualisation of Tel Aviv was endorsed by none other than the Mandatory Authorities, including two High Commissioners, cementing it to a degree with official approval. Tel Aviv was drawn as the embodiment, for the foreign traveller, of experiencing the exotic other from the comfort of the familiar.

²²⁸ Matson, *The American Colony guide-book*, p.6.

²²⁹ For a useful overview of both men's positions on Palestine and Zionism, see Bernard Wasserstein, 'Herbert Samuel and the Palestine problem,' *The English Historical Review*, XCI/CCCLXI (1976): 753-775, DOI: 10.1093/ehr/XCI.CCCLXI.753. Wauchope is generally seen as more sympathetic to the Zionist cause, see Hillel Halkin, *Jabotinsky: a life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), p.174.

²³⁰ Herbert Samuel and Arthur Wauchope, 'Foreword,' in Harry Luke and Edward Keith-Roach (eds.) *The handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan* (London: Macmillan, 1934), pp.113-114.

In Thomas Cook's brochure advertising tours of the Nile and Palestine from 1930 to 1931, there is a page on Zionist Activities which features Tel Aviv and contrasts it to Jaffa, referring to 'the port of Jaffa, a typical Oriental city,' in contrast to 'the modern town of Tel Aviv.'²³¹ The tour brochure goes on to paint a specific picture of Tel Aviv as a Jewish city which is developing admirably in the face of trying conditions:

The story of Tel Aviv reads like a romance. In the year 1909 the site was covered by sand-dunes. Then the Jews of Jaffa founded a residential quarter there, and in 1911 the population was 550 [...] and to-day it is a flourishing town with a population of 45,000. It has broad streets and first-class hotels, and is surrounded by flourishing garden suburbs. It has been constituted a Jewish municipality, and enjoys the reputations of being the only hundred-per-cent Jewish town in the world.²³²

Here it is clear that the 1909 foundation narrative of Tel Aviv has been not only established, but explicitly romanticised, and the European-style architecture exemplified by 'broad streets' and Garden City elements, are portrayed as among the city's most admirable features. The last sentence emphasises the entirely Jewish nature of the city, indicating that by this point Tel Aviv's status as a symbol of the success of the Zionist project was repeated in foreign literature. This portrayal of Tel Aviv as European was exhibited in exhibitions outside the city as well; for example, in the 1933 *Anglo-Palestine exhibition*, Tel Aviv was described as 'a truly European town, with wide, clean streets and with organized social services.'²³³

²³¹ Thomas Cook, *Cook's Nile services and Palestine tours season 1930-31* (London: Thomas Cook & Son, 1930), pp.101-102.

²³² Thomas Cook & Son, *Cook's Nile Services and Palestine Tours*, p.103.

²³³ Azaryahu, *Tel Aviv: mythography of a city*, p.58.



Figure 3.6

Published by Eliahu Brothers, Tel Aviv, c.1930s. Wikimedia Commons/ Public domain.



Figure 3.7

Published by Eliahu Brothers, Tel Aviv, c.1930s. Wikimedia Commons/ Public domain.



Figure 3.8

Published by Eliahu Brothers, Tel Aviv, c.1930s. Wikimedia Commons/ Public domain.

It seems likely, then, that postcards such as those published by Eliahu Brothers were designed to appeal to that same perception of Tel Aviv as cosmopolitan and European. The three postcards shown above in Figures 3.6, 3.7 and 3.8, published circa the 1930s by the Eliahu Brothers, show the wide Rothschild Boulevard, named for the benefactor who funded many of the WZO's projects. In all three monochrome photographs, figures in European-style dress can be seen walking the streets. The people are individually distinct, unlike in the earlier postcards depicting Jaffa and its invisible fishermen. The tree-lined roads in the postcards of Rothschild Boulevard also bring to mind other recognisable European boulevards such as Paris' Champs-Élysées, although the buildings to either side of the street are not in the Parisian style. They are, however, white, modern and boxy structures with facades punctuated by balconies and evenly-spaced windows.

In all three images, the perspective is nearly the same – the photographs are taken from a high angle and from a position which allows the wide street to fill the foreground of the image, stretching backward to draw the eye along the street in its entirety. This framing is further aided by the repetitive, geometric shapes of the buildings on either side of the street, their white facades contrasting sharply with the black road, or dark foliage lining it. Telephone poles and wires too, draw a line from the

foreground to background of the image, tracing the street alongside the buildings. The neatness and orderliness of these street views is in sharp opposition to the jumbled panoramas of Jaffa's shoreline seen in earlier postcards. In those images, the city was framed from a distance, from the sea, and from below, giving the impression of several buildings almost precariously balanced on the rocky slope to the sea. In these images, taken from a height and showing the city unfolding before the lens, the clean lines of the buildings and streets are showcased, the modern infrastructural elements are central in the photographs, as well as the trees which, at the time, in the era of Garden City theory, would have seemed essential to any modern town plan. While the postcards of Jaffa do not explicitly frame the city as 'sick' or 'dirty' in the sense that the views still position the city as a romantic if crumbling city; the depiction of Tel Aviv is more orderly and adheres to principles of air circulation and greenery that appealed to the idea of healthy city planning of the era.

Also visible in each of the postcards in Figures 3.6, 3.7, and 3.8 are modern cars, public transport in the form of busses, and the aforementioned telephone poles. All three are elements of a modern and functional city infrastructure by the standards of the 1930s. The prominence of the telephone poles, and the wires stretching across each image, are significant, in that they appear to repeat elements of images used in the visual media of Zionist organisations of the period. One example is the yearbook of *Keren Hayesod* published in 1932 and shown below in Figure 3.9.

The monochrome illustration was the cover image for the organisations' 1932 yearbook. *Keren Hayesod* was and is an organisation dedicated to providing aid – both financial and practical – which would further the return to and redemption of the Land of Israel. The illustration is titled, at the top of the image, 'The Jewish Town,' and closer to the bottom, 'Tel-Aviv.' Clearly, in this image and for the organisation as a whole, the point was that Tel Aviv was to be an exclusively Jewish town, emblematic of an eventual Jewish state to the exclusion of the Other. It was to be built by Jewish labour, as well, indicated by the illustration taking up most of the cover page. In this illustration, four stylised male figures are at work, suggesting that they are in the process of constructing Tel Aviv itself, and given the broader remit of *Keren Hayesod*, symbolically building the eventual state of Israel as well.



Figure 3.9

Keren Hayesod Yearbook. Yearbook cover published by *Keren Hayesod*, 1932. Copyright the Central Zionist Archives.

The figure closest to foreground lays bricks directly into the sand, referencing the narrative that Tel Aviv sprung from the untouched sand dunes, as represented in the iconic Soskin photograph of 1909 (Figure 3.2), discussed earlier. A second figure in the middle ground of the image is planting a tree, symbolising the agricultural revitalisation of the land (most often represented, as we have seen, by the *kibbutzim* and agricultural workers in visual media). This also referencing the trees lining the streets of Tel Aviv which can be seen in the Eliahu Brothers postcards and links the urban renewal of the landscape with the agricultural redemption and settlement of the Zionist project.

The final two figures are climbing telephone poles, and affixing wires to them. These wires stretch into a distance dominated by minimal white boxes, punctuated by narrow, geometric windows, echoing of the architecture of the city. One's gaze is drawn first to the prominent foreground figures, then upwards to those on the telephone

poles, then via the wires backward to the architecture. In this image, unlike in photographs of Tel Aviv in postcards, the people redeeming the land are the most important figures, echoing the postcard photography of *kibbutzim* seen in Chapter Two. In *kibbutz* postcards, often the labourers were centrally foregrounded, the eye drawn back to the architectural settlements beyond. In this illustration too, the labourers are central, but linked visually to the modern, white architectural shapes in the distance. This is a difference between photographs oriented for commercial consumption, and illustrations intended to advertise the work of a Zionist organisation, and indeed to encourage new *aliyah*-making and funding for the redemption of the land. In the latter case, the people who work and contribute to *Keren Hayesod* are the most important element because they fund and work for the organisation – the settlement land itself is still the overarching goal, and the workers are linked to it in the image, but that settlement is only possible through the work of the Jewish people. In tourist imagery, the aim is to show a view that encapsulates a city or place. With *kibbutzim*, this was often achieved through an emphasis on the agricultural collective in the 1920s and 1930s; in Tel Aviv, it was through the ‘European’ urban landscape and modern elements of the city.



Figure 3.10

Published by Eliahu Brothers, Tel Aviv, c.1938. Wikimedia Commons/ Public domain.

Modern elements in postcard imagery could also include new infrastructural projects. In the monochrome photograph in Figure 3.10, published by Eliahu Brothers circa 1938, the Tel Aviv South Railway Station is visible in the foreground. The station was built in 1920 by the British Mandate authorities as one of the first major engineering projects in the region. The building in the centre of the image is Beit Hadar, or Citrus House, designed by Carl Rubin and the subject of the postcard's caption in both English and Hebrew. Carl Rubin was one of the later members of Tel Avivian architectural group, the Chug, and had studied in Berlin under Erich Mendelsohn. He made *aliyah* to Palestine in 1932, and designed Beit Hadar in 1934 (the building was constructed between 1936 and 1938).²³⁴

The curvature of Beit Hadar's main structure makes clear his traineeship under Mendelsohn, who was more prone than architects like Sharon to make use of the rounded shapes that would eventually become key markers of Tel Avivian International Style. It also bears some resemblance, in its curved façade, use of pilotis (columns upon which the lower portion of the building is elevated) and ribbon windows, to Le Corbusier and Nikolai Kolli's Centrosoyuz Building, constructed in Moscow in 1933. The influence of European architects, and architecture from countries with a large Jewish diaspora who were making *aliyah* to Palestine in this period, is clear in this image. Why photograph this building and railway station at all, however, especially for use on a commercial postcard? Beit Hadar operated as an office building, so its inclusion on a postcard is unlikely to be related to the function of the building itself. Rather, Beit Hadar works in this postcard as a symbol of the development of the new architectural style of Tel Aviv. The inclusion, also, of an important infrastructure project in the foreground, the railway, is indicative not only of the progression of the city, but also of the support – financial, and therefore political – of the British Mandate. For British tourists, this could operate as an implicit seal of official governmental approval; for prospective Jewish immigrants, as a sign of the investment and opportunity in the new Hebrew city.

²³⁴ Boelien, 'The international style architecture in Tel Aviv,' *Boelien*, 7 March 2016, <http://www.boelien.com/content/1994/490.html>, accessed 15 August 2017.



Figure 3.11

Published by Eliahu Brothers, Tel Aviv, c.1930s. Wikimedia Commons/ Public domain.

Jaffa, on the other hand, was still often missing from the narrative. Even in postcards which used photographs of Tel Aviv's streets that were wider in their framing, Jaffa was often out of shot, or receding into the background of the image. This is part of the movement of Tel Aviv in terms of politics, architecture and society, as the city sought to cleave itself from its majority-Arab neighbour entirely.

In Figure 3.11, published by Eliahu Brothers circa 1930, a monochrome photograph reproduced on a postcard shows Allenby Street. In this image, like others published by the company, a wide street is central. The modern, boxy geometric buildings frame the street on either side, and distinct individual figures in European dress cross the wide square to the bottom-right of the photograph. Trees line the roadside and the square itself, and again, telephone lines dissect the image in the foreground, and draw the eye back along the street to the horizon of the photograph.

What marks this street photograph as slightly different from those preceding it in this chapter is the inclusion of the sea at the street's end. Tel Aviv here stretches toward the sea, but there is no indication that Jaffa, the port city, lies just nearby. In all these postcards, in fact, Tel Aviv is only depicted from within, showing the city's expansion outwards and onwards, including up to the shoreline. The remove from which Jaffa is depicted – from a safe distance, so to speak, is not present in postcards of

Tel Aviv, including that of Figure 3.11. Here, as well, the composition of the street, trees, telephone poles and buildings draw the viewer's eye forwards to the sea – the implication, as in the postcards of *kibbutzim* in the previous chapter, is that one is looking towards the future. In this case, it is not towards the settlement of land agriculturally, but towards the construction of a modern urban infrastructure and architecture, which will stretch as far as the coast of the country.



Figure 3.12

Published by Eliahu Brothers, Tel Aviv, c.1930s. Image accessed from ebay.co.uk/ Public domain.

A more explicit example of the way Jaffa was diminished in representations of Tel Aviv is evident in Figure 3.12, a monochrome postcard published by Eliahu Brothers circa 1930, which is captioned 'General view of Jaffa & Tel Aviv.' Despite this caption, in Hebrew and English, which places Jaffa first in the word order, in the photograph itself, Jaffa is a blurred, indistinct smudge in the top left of the frame, and Tel Aviv's modern buildings and streets occupy the entire foreground of the image. In Shelley Hornstein's study of architecture and memory, she explores postcard photographs of Tel Aviv from the 1950s, to examine the ways in which they are part of a white/black city dichotomy, positioning Tel Aviv in opposition to Jaffa in order to construct a modern, urban Israeli identity. In the examples she uses, published mostly by Palphot, the people are, like the Eliahu Brothers postcards, 'in European attire,' and

‘everyone is white.’²³⁵ Hornstein analyses a Palphot postcard in which the cityscape of Jaffa is visible only at the image’s vanishing point, like the photograph in Figure 3.12. She contends that this arrangement is intentional, in order ‘to place Tel Aviv visually first.’²³⁶ This is apparent already in the Eliahu Brothers postcard above; from Hornstein’s study it is clear that this dichotomous framing of the two cities persisted for decades after this postcard was published.

In the political context of the 1930s, which included the Great Arab Revolt of the second half of the decade, there was a desire in the local authority to detach Tel Aviv politically, militarily, spatially and visually from Jaffa. As Rotbard describes, from 1936, ‘for most of the residents of the Jewish settlement in Tel Aviv, the Arab city became a “forbidden city”’. In turn, Palestinian residents of Jaffa became increasingly aware of their isolation.²³⁷ As a result, Jaffa became, in a somewhat parallel fashion to Tel Aviv, the emblem of the urban Palestinian cause – which would lead to a violent confrontation between the residents of Jaffa and the *Haganah*, *Irgun* and *Lehi* in the 1948 war which saw Jaffa nearly entirely evacuated of its Arab inhabitants. By the end of the 1948 war, twenty-six Arab villages in the Jaffa district had been destroyed, and ninety per cent of its pre-war population had died or fled. Ben-Gurion declared that ‘Jaffa will be a Jewish city [...] war is war.’²³⁸ Furthermore, the idea of Jaffa as a dirty, backward city persisted in the aftermath of the conflict, much like the dichotomous representations of both cities in postcards from the 1930s and the 1950s. In 1950, when Tel Aviv was ‘officially’ merged with Jaffa, there were calls for the ‘renewal’ of Jaffa, which led to its eventual gentrification. This is described by critics like Levine as ‘not “preserving” the past but rather as “rewriting or inventing it [...] Jaffa had to be emptied of its Arab past and Arab inhabitants.”²³⁹ This seems to me a continuation of earlier depictions of Jaffa in postcards – understood as dirty, in need of urban renewal, but also romanticised in a way that ignored the facts of Arab habitation and development of the region and instead imposed an exotic and othered history onto the landscape in their imagery, divorced from cultural context.

²³⁵ Shelley Hornstein, *Losing site: architecture, memory and place* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011), p.67.

²³⁶ Hornstein, p.67.

²³⁷ Rotbard, *White city blackCity*, p.87.

²³⁸ Mark Levine, ‘From bride of the sea to Disneyland: the role of architecture in the battle for Tel Aviv’s “Arab neighborhood”’, in Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, Roger Heacock and Khaled Nashef (eds.) *The landscape of Palestine: equivocal poetry* (Birzeit: Birzeit University Publications, 1999), p.107.

²³⁹ Levine, ‘From Bride of the Sea to Disneyland,’ p.115.

Postcards of 'Hebrew' buildings: cultural and educational iconography of the Yishuv



Figure 3.13

EPH-ME.2031. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1935. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Cultural context in postcards of Tel Aviv, however, was everywhere. One example, shown in Figure 3.13, is a monochrome postcard published by Palphot circa 1935, showing Brenner House. The architecture of Brenner House, designed by Arie Sharon, is recognisably modern and follows many of the stylistic conventions of the International Style adapted for Tel Aviv's local environment already discussed. The façade of the building is smooth and light in colour, punctuated by even rows of square

windows. Columns, not unlike Le Corbusier pilotis, raise the lower levels from the ground, and here, a projected awning allows for shade in these lower levels, functioning in the same manner as the balcony of the Municipal Building shown in Figure 3.1. The building was named after Ukrainian-born, Hebrew-language author Yosef Haim Brenner (1881 – 1921), a pioneer of Modern Hebrew. Brenner made *aliyah* to Palestine in the early-twentieth century, initially working as a farmer and later teaching at the Herzliya Hebrew Gymnasium in Tel Aviv. He was killed in Jaffa in 1921, during the Jaffa uprising.²⁴⁰ The significance of Brenner, as someone whose life followed the path of the nation-building narrative, is obvious. He worked as an agricultural ‘redeemer’ of the land, then taught the next generation of settlers at a school which had, from the beginning of the urban planning of Ahuzat Bayit, been the most significant site of the new Hebrew city. He then worked to promote and write in Modern Hebrew, the adoption of which as a national language was a key priority of the Zionist movement, in terms of creating a unified culture in the *Yishuv*, laying the groundwork for the eventual Israeli state. His death, in 1921, was one of many which preceded the recognition of Tel Aviv as a separate township from Jaffa.²⁴¹

The monochrome photograph used in this postcard, then, has multiple points of reference, especially for the viewer educated in the history of the Zionist movement in Palestine. It situates a building named after a martyr of the conflict centrally, and also shows an example of the modern architecture of Tel Aviv, symbolising the modernising of the landscape. To feature a photograph of that building on a commercial postcard suggests that Brenner’s identity and the ways in which he represented the formative Israeli state were as important as the architectural style to image producers.

The photograph used in the postcard is interesting also in that it matches a photograph taken by Itzhak Kalter in 1934, which is held in the archive of the building’s architect, Arie Sharon.²⁴² Kalter was the younger brother of architect Ya’acov Benor-Kalter, and made *aliyah* to Palestine in 1925. In 1930, he became an architectural

²⁴⁰ Hela Tamir, *Israel, history in a nutshell: highlighting the wars and military history* (Jerusalem: TsurTsina Publications, 2016), p.46.

²⁴¹ Tali Hatuka, *Violent acts and urban space in contemporary Tel Aviv: revisioning moments* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), p.173. Brenner’s life and work are detailed much more thoroughly than there is space for here in Rotbard’s text. Rotbard details how Brenner captured in his work the tense atmosphere of Tel Aviv and Jaffa in the period immediately before the riots, and outlines the consequences of the murder of Brenner and the others in the house where he lived. See Rotbard, *White city black city*, pp.79-82.

²⁴² Arie Sharon Archive, ‘Brenner House, Histadrut Center – 1934-1935,’ *Arie Sharon Archive*, 2016, <http://www.ariesharon.org/Archive/Tel-Aviv-1930s/Brenner-House-1935/i-RWR5gGd/>, accessed 4 November 2016.

photographer, working first for prolific architect for the Zionist movement, Erich Mendelsohn. He later went on to photograph the leading architects of the period, including the three founders of the Chug: Sharon, Neufeld and Rechter.²⁴³ This photograph then, was taken specifically by an architectural photographer who was documenting the works constructed for the Zionist movement. Its use on a postcard published by Palphot for an ostensibly commercial market makes clear that architectural photography was considered important enough for inclusion on visual media intended to encapsulate ideas about the cities or nations they represented. This card was one of many available showing sites in Tel Aviv, but the building was not in and of itself a typical tourist site, like a theatre, hotel, or museum might be. Instead, it represented a new architectural style, and was loaded with symbolism about the national narrative through Brenner's story.



Figure 3.14

EPH-ME.2032. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1945. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

In another Palphot postcard, from circa 1945 (Figure 3.14), the monochrome photograph is dominated by the Habima Theatre, with the road curving along the bottom and left of the frame, and cars driving toward more modernist buildings on the

²⁴³ Silver Print Gallery, 'Itzhak Kalter 1903-1997,' *Silver Print Gallery*, 2017, <https://silverprintgallery.photoshelter.com/gallery/Bauhaus-Architecture-Tel-Aviv/G0000oB2x247vUjg/>, accessed 4 November 2016.

horizon. The Habima Theatre was constructed in 1945 and was one of the first Hebrew-language theatres. It is now generally considered the national theatre of Israel. In the monochrome photograph, the theatre fills most of the frame. The building, like others in this chapter, has columns which support a curved overhang, although in this case, the columns stretch the height on the building in a modernist interpretation of neoclassicism. The façade is smooth and featureless otherwise, with geometric windows, and low, curved walls, in a style not unlike the curved façade of Beit Hadar, or the entranceway to the Municipal Building.

That the postcard in Figure 3.14 shows a theatre, and specifically a Hebrew-language theatre, exemplifies the significance of Hebrew language as integral to Israeli national identity. This is true also of the Brenner House postcard, representative as it is of one of the pioneers of Modern Hebrew literature. It is also clear that images of cultural institutions like theatres were intended to evoke an idea of Tel Aviv as a new, culturally relevant pioneer in the landscape. Given, also, that buildings in this Tel Avivian architectural style never constituted the majority of buildings constructed in the city, it is significant that postcards highlighted specific major civic buildings, which were similar in architectural style and spoke to the idea of a new, culturally important, modern city that Tel Aviv's founders and advocates wished to disseminate.

Postcards like those shown above speak directly to a desire and attempt to establish Tel Aviv, not Jerusalem, as the cultural capital of the eventual state. Selwyn Ilan Troen outlines the ways in which Tel Aviv rapidly became the cultural centre of the Zionist project, remarking that

'by 1930 there were more than thirteen thousand Hebrew-speaking children in municipal schools, thereby giving substance to the Zionist claim that an ancient people could be revitalized in its historic land [...] Further visual testimony to this achievement was found in Tel-Aviv's street signs, which carried, in Hebrew script, the names of ancient and modern heroes. [...] Perhaps a statistic that best indicates the level of cultural achievement was that by 1930, Tel-Aviv was touted – in a metaphor that again reveals the European frame of reference – as "the second Leipzig," for it had already published 2,500 titles.'²⁴⁴

²⁴⁴ Selwyn Ilan Troen, 'Establishing a Zionist metropolis: alternative approaches to building Tel-Aviv,' *Journal of Urban History*, 18/1 (1991): 10-36, DOI: 10.1177/009614429101800102, p25.

This emphasis on the cultural sites of significance, rather than the religious or agricultural, was in sharp contrast to the *kibbutzim* of earlier Zionist settlement, and to the centrality of Jerusalem as the most significant site for the Jewish people. It reflects not only the ideology of a Zionist organisation in terms of how to approach national cultural identifiers, but also the purposefulness of the Zionist movement in its establishment of a city recognisable to both a Jewish European diaspora and travellers from a Euro-American public. These two ideas of the Jewish homeland did not have to exist exclusive of one another however – as has been shown in the *Keren Hayesod* poster, they were two sides of the same coin. Both the agricultural, religiously-imbued *kibbutzim* worker and the pioneer of the new Hebrew city were working to redeem the land and develop the state, and as such had a duality afforded them in the visual culture of the period. Again, this is in contrast to the particularly one-dimensional quality given to Arab peoples in photography and other tourist visual media of the period.

It would be misleading, however, to suggest that postcards featuring distinctly Zionist secular sites, especially those to do with Hebrew as a national language, education, or culture, were confined solely to postcards depicting Tel Aviv. Images of other important sites, particularly the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, were also among these types of cards, and carried with them significant symbolic and ideological connotations. The naming of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, funded (much like Ahuzat Bayit and the construction of Tel Aviv) through the work of Zionist organisations and individuals, as ‘Hebrew’, was, according to historians such as Diana Dolev, ‘an indication of its political and ideological significance. It was part of the Zionist quest for a new national identity, and a wish to link with its ancient roots in the land of the Hebrews.’²⁴⁵ Dolev goes on to argue that the Hebrew University came to symbolise a precursor to the future re-erection of the Third Temple, and as a result ‘was in constant use in Zionist propaganda, as a symbol of the national revival in the land of the forefathers.’²⁴⁶ While I would argue that the quasi-religious-nationalist symbolism of the Hebrew University is evident in the reverence with which it is displayed in photography pre-and-post-state, the University also functioned as a political and ideologically nationalist symbol. The construction, so early in the Zionist project, over twenty years before the establishment of an independent state, of an explicitly Jewish and Zionist-funded higher education institute, was a clear sign of the intentions of the

²⁴⁵ Dolev, *Architecture and nationalist identity*, p.10.

²⁴⁶ Dolev, *Architecture and nationalist identity*, p.14.

Zionist movement to establish a community in Palestine with longevity, and a community which was educated and cultured. This was evident in the haste with which the Herzliya Hebrew Gymnasium was constructed in Tel Aviv, as discussed earlier.



Figure 3.15

TM 8*900. Published by Eliahu Brothers, Tel Aviv, 1925. Copyright courtesy of the National Library of Israel.

The monochrome photograph shown in Figure 3.15, published by Eliahu Brothers in 1925, was taken on the opening day of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The large crowd of attendees fills the foreground and two-thirds of the frame; they face a dais where several suited figures sit around a table and a central figure stands forward making a speech or announcement of some kind. Behind the crowd and the figures on the stage, the arid landscape stretches into the distance. A division between the landscape behind and the crowd attending the opening is created by a row of trees. The clothing worn by the attendees of the opening is contemporary and European in style, as has been the case in photographs depicting cities like Tel Aviv and *kibbutzim*. The size of the crowd in attendance suggests that this opening ceremony was relatively popular. That this postcard was published for the commercial market is suggestive, like the postcards depicting civic buildings in Tel Aviv, or cultural institutions like the Habima Theatre, that events such as this were significant moments of pride for the

Jewish diasporic population and settlers in Palestine, and inspired a commemorative sentiment.

However, whilst photographs and postcards which depicted secular, cultural and educational architecture in other cities such as Jerusalem certainly existed, what is rather particular about those of Tel Aviv is that they so regularly feature buildings in a style that accounted for a mere fraction of the total construction of the city. The modernist buildings of Tel Aviv were confined largely to several large public projects, and some large streets such as Rothschild Boulevard, but were hardly constitutive of the city as a whole. Architecture in previous Jewish urban settlements in cities like Jaffa and Jerusalem had not, in many ways, deviated from the extant eclectic style, and in Tel Aviv there was more variation in form and style than these postcards would suggest. The choice then to depict largely Tel Avivian International Style architecture was clearly intentional and meant to speak to the image that Tel Aviv hoped to project outward, to the diaspora and other foreign individuals and groups.

'Visit Tel Aviv': advertisement posters in the 1930s

It was not only in postcards for tourist populations and diaspora populations, or in tourist brochures and travel literature, that Tel Aviv's modernity was advertised. It was also clear in tourist posters, and indeed, in posters designed by the Tel Aviv Municipality (pictured in Figure 3.1) for the consumption of the city's resident population. In their study of the language of Tel Aviv's municipally-published posters of the 1920s and 1930s, Yael Reshef and Anat Helman note that 'tourism was important for Tel Aviv's economy,' even in these early decades of its growth, and point to a poster from 1933 instructing local residents to open their homes to visitors from the diaspora. The focus in this poster, which consists entirely of printed Hebrew text, is on visitors making pilgrimage from the diaspora as opposed to foreign tourists of other types such as those from Britain travelling with companies like Thomas Cook. In the text of this poster, residents are advised 'to put rooms at the guests' disposal in exchange for payment,' as 'vacancies in hotels do not suffice,' and 'it is our duty to regard the visitants with fitting hospitality and to provide for their accommodation.'

The arrival of convoys of pilgrims ‘from all corners of the Diaspora’ is described as a ‘joy.’²⁴⁷

This poster makes explicit the intention of the Tel Aviv Municipality to welcome and foster positive impressions of the city among the diaspora population; by inviting pilgrims into the homes of local inhabitants of Tel Aviv, the purpose was clearly to have the local population act as ambassadors for the city and the Zionist project as a whole. The emphasis on the diaspora population specifically, as opposed to a wider tourist population, suggests that the driving motivation behind this poster was to encourage movement of peoples to the burgeoning city, which can also be read in some of the postcards explored earlier in this chapter. This suggests that Tel Aviv postcards of this period were more like the images of *kibbutzim* explored in Chapter Two than the postcards of other tourist cities like Jerusalem explored in Chapter One, in that they catered less broadly to a commercial tourist market. That is not to say that other types of tourists did not visit Tel Aviv, or that they did not have also wished to take home a memento, like these types of postcards; or that these cards did not also serve a secondary function of promoting the progress of the Hebrew City to a broader tourist public. However, the primary market, as indicated by the subject matter and contextualised within the broader tourist advertisement media of the period, was a diaspora populations in this pre-state era.

In their study, Reshef and Helman deal only with text posters published by the Municipality. While these are useful contextually, posters with a largely visual component also reveal the ways in which the city was advertised and displayed both within and outside its borders. The city’s inclusion in magazine-style travel brochures published by Thomas Cook, began to occur with more frequency in the 1960s and 1970s, and will be discussed in Chapter Five at greater length. However, some examples of early tourist posters intended for an English-speaking, Euro-American tourist market were produced in the 1930s and 1940s.

One such example is an early design for a poster by Franz Krausz, illustrated circa 1935. Krausz was also the artist responsible for the famous and often reappropriated *Visit Palestine* poster. He made *aliyah* to Tel Aviv in 1934, and worked as a poster designer in the city thereafter. In this poster, shown in Figure 3.16, which has

²⁴⁷ Yael Reshef and Anat Helman, ‘Instructing or recruiting? Language and style in 1920s and 1930s Tel Aviv Municipal posters,’ *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, 16 (2009): 306-332, p.306.

not been completed and includes some unfinished sketches over the finished parts of the image, Tel Aviv is captioned as 'The Wondercity [sic] of Palestine.'



Figure 3.16

Tel Aviv The Wondercity of Palestine. Poster designed by Franz Krausz, Tel Aviv, c.1935. Copyright courtesy of The Palestine Poster Project Archives (PPPA).

The central feature of the poster, and the section which dominates the image overall, is a stylised depiction of three white buildings which tower dramatically skyward. The background is a bold, bright blue against which the buildings sharply contrast. These buildings are geometric in shape and have smooth, uncluttered facades. Although no windows punctuate their exteriors, the suggestion in their shape and colour is that they are meant to evoke the modern International Style buildings that were coming to populate the visual culture of Tel Aviv, as they did in postcards shown previously. In the lower left of the poster are a beach and palm tree, and unfinished sketches on the lower right of the image show an intention to also include motor vehicles, trees, and another modern building with ribbon windows, again in the Tel Avivian International Style.

The inclusion of cars and trees in the unfinished street-scene sketch repeat symbols seen in commercial postcards of the era which were keen to include elements of modern, industrialised infrastructure alongside the verdant greenery which symbolised healthiness and cleanliness in alignment with Garden City principles. The beach, here, is not seen in postcards of the period but is suggestive of a shift in audience focus in this postcard – the appeal of Tel Aviv for tourists, it suggests, is that it combines modern infrastructure and architecture with resort elements like sand, sea, and palm trees. However, it is important that the architecture, rather than the beach, dominates the image. This corresponds with the travel literature of the era which focused more on the modern hotels, European-style wide streets and white, modernist buildings of the new city. The caption ‘The Wondercity [sic] of Palestine’ is another expression of the awe with which the previously examined guidebooks described Tel Aviv, and the way it was positioned as exceptional and unique in the broader Palestinian landscape, especially in comparison to neighbouring Jaffa.

A second poster was self-published by designer Steven Pesach Ir-Sahi in 1948. Ir-Sahi designed for clients and self-published several posters advertising Israeli tourist attractions alongside Zionist political posters between the 1930s and 1950s.²⁴⁸ This poster, like the one shown in Figure 3.16, explicitly markets Tel Aviv to an English-speaking tourist audience; there is no Hebrew anywhere in either poster. Ir-Sahi’s poster

²⁴⁸ See more of Ir-Sahi’s work at Palestine Poster Project, ‘Steven Pesach Ir-Sahi,’ *Palestine Poster Project*, 2017, <https://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/steven-pesach-ir-sahi>, accessed 15 August 2017. His work largely falls outside of the geographical or chronological parameters of this chapter but is reflective of an Eastern European design aesthetic and Zionist political ideology.

makes bold use of bright colours – a primary blue and yellow for the sea and sand that compose the mid-ground, a bright green for the cactus stretching the length of the left side and the windows of the stark white buildings, and orange and white text. The white text reading ‘State of Israel’ crosses mainly over the blue sea and yellow sand in the image, and the three main colours are blue, white and gold (or yellow) which were also the main colours of Israel’s state iconography, lending the poster nationalist symbolism.

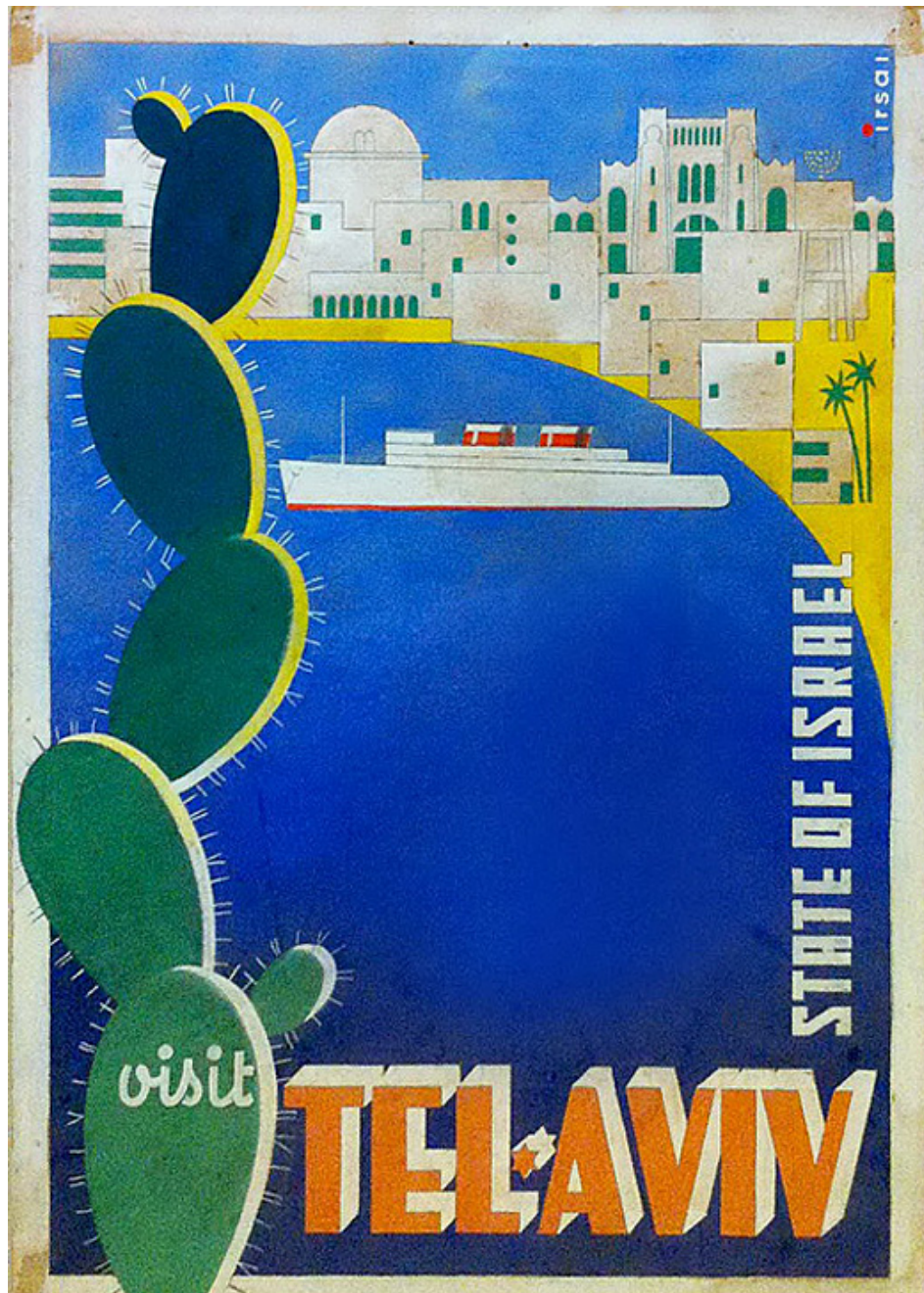


Figure 3.17

Visit Tel-Aviv. Poster designed by Steven Pesach Ir-Sahi, 1948. Copyright courtesy of The Palestine Poster Project Archives (PPPA).

The poster was published in the year of the establishment of the independent state of Israel, and already Ir-Sahi was using the new name of the state in his tourism posters, which is suggestive of a desire to firmly associate the new state with the attractions of tourism. Other elements of the poster are laden with the iconography of Zionism and the representation of Tel Aviv as an exclusively 'Hebrew City,' which functioned as an icon of the Zionist project as a whole. The buildings in the background are depicted in white, with simple, minimalist shapes and boxy windows as was the architectural style of the time – but also included is the Herzliya Hebrew Gymnasium, which as discussed earlier was symbolically important in the construction of Tel Aviv's Israeli identity. The inclusion of the Gymnasium suggests that its construction was still a source of pride for the local residents and municipality.

The modern, boxy buildings in the background sit along the beachfront and in the sea is a cruise-liner, evoking associations with the tourist cruises such as those run by Thomas Cook, which had previously docked in Jaffa or Haifa. Here, the city of Jaffa is nowhere to be seen even though its borders abut those of Tel Aviv. Jaffa is completely absent from the poster in both text and image, replaced by sweeping sand in much the same manner as it was in Soskin's photograph (Figure 3.2). In the foreground, the climbing cactus stretches the length of the left frame of the poster – as has been discussed in previous chapters, plants such as cacti were highly symbolic in the Zionist movement as they suggested a rootedness and longevity in the landscape. The poster, with its erasure of Jaffa, its emphasis on the modern, JNF-funded construction and beaches, and its use of agricultural symbols to suggest long-term roots in the land, is both designed to appeal to tourists (who see beaches, cruise ships, modern architecture and bold colours) and to advertise the progress of the Zionist movement – which in this instance, meant ignoring the neighbouring majority-Arab city, but including the educational opportunities available in Tel Aviv, and the existing tourist infrastructure available for visitors.

Conclusion

Of course, not every photograph or illustration can contain everything in its frame. That so many postcards here and tourist posters showing the length of the coast did not include Jaffa may have been for reasons of space. However, it was clearly possible to include Jaffa in views of Tel Aviv, as indicated by those where the city was visible in the background. In views along the coast, this would have been particularly

possible since Jaffa stretched to the water right next to Tel Aviv. Travel literature and published guidebooks, from the 1880s up until the 1930s, often compared Jaffa and Tel Aviv to one another, and found Jaffa lacking as the inferior Other: Jaffa, as has been shown, was often described in these accounts as dirty, dark, and dangerous. Whilst postcards and tourist visual media of the time did not necessarily display Jaffa as dirty, or dangerous – after all, what tourist would purchase such a card? – the ways in which they displayed Jaffa in comparison to the ways in which Tel Aviv were depicted are starkly different. Tel Aviv is shown as modern, progressive, clean and constructed of broad avenues and leafy trees. Jaffa is seen from a distance, as a jumble of buildings nearly falling into the sea. Tel Aviv is nearly always photographed from within, the tourist invited to step inside the new Hebrew city, whereas photographs of Jaffa almost always seen taken from a remove, a safe distance from which to observe the exotic, romanticised Other without having to experience the city so disparagingly described in contemporary travel literature.

The BM collection of postcards is not entirely representative, but posters, travel literature and illustrations of the period seem to support this narrative. The depiction of Tel Aviv as the modern, white city that sprung from the sand dunes was furthered and in fact cemented by pictorial representations of the same – one need only see the lasting narrative effect of Soskin's Ahuzat Bayit lottery photograph, or the fact that Tel Avivian International Style became the most significant feature of the city in its pictorial depictions as early as the 1930s, despite the fact that buildings such as these accounted for such a small percentage of the construction in the city at that time. In the context of a Zionist movement attempting to cement its position with a large, entirely Jewish urban metropolis in the landscape, and ongoing conflict with the Palestinian Arab population of Jaffa, the visual representation of Tel Aviv as entirely separate (physically, culturally, aesthetically, morally) from its neighbouring city seems almost inevitable. That Tel Aviv's modernist architecture has become in the present day such a defining feature for tourists – so much so the Tel Aviv 'Bauhaus Style' buildings are now a UNESCO World Heritage Site – is a testament to the pervasiveness of its representation in tourist media from the earliest days of the city's inception.

Now that the Zionist movement had disseminated representations of both its agricultural redemption and settlement of the land and its infrastructural and urban development of Palestine, the third most ideologically significant element of the

burgeoning state was also going to be represented in tourist media. This was of course the military of the Israeli state, which shall be explored in the forthcoming chapter.

TANKS AND TRAVEL: THE COMMERCIAL VISUAL CULTURE OF THE ISRAELI MILITARY

Introduction



Figure 4.1

EPH-ME.1464. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1960s. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The postcard shown in Figure 4.1, published circa the late 1960s by Palphot, is a visually striking example of military motifs on display in commercial media. In a brightly coloured, high-contrast photograph are several heavy artillery guns on display as part of Independence Day celebrations in Israel (the exact city is unclear.) These guns fill the bottom-left corner of the image, pointing their barrels towards the top right and drawing the eye toward the crowds filling the auditorium seats in the background, and the Israeli flags flying in the breeze above them. The guns, in army-green, are tied to the colour of the uniforms worn by many in attendance, both spectators and parading soldiers; the only other prominent colours are the blue and white of both the flags and sky. This card has been used to write a message – although there is no evidence of it ever having been posted – part of which is in English and reads, ‘Aizyk and Fela, Sala. Wish you health and happiness in the New Year and well over the fast.’ Here, the sender refers to Rosh Hashanah, Jewish New Year, and the fast that takes place on the ninth day following the first day of Rosh Hashanah, and the day before Yom Kippur. The religious message, on the back of a postcard with such a clear military visual component, may seem unusual. However, the blending of the religious and the militaristic was a component of the way the IDF was formed, its actions justified, and how it was displayed in the visual culture of Israel after the declaration of independence in 1948 onward.

This chapter will focus primarily on depictions of the Israeli military from 1948 – 1986. In the BM collection, 24 postcards which feature images of the military were published between 1910 – 1935, mostly in 1917 and 1918. The collection also holds 13 postcards published between 1960 – 1975; only 2 cards from 1975 to the present explicitly depict the military. All the military postcards from this collection published post-1935 were published by Palphot. The main archival resources of postcards (among them the BM and the FRC), do not show Palestinian Arab military action or culture – this absence is itself telling. In addition, as Rona Sela confirms, ‘countless photographs and visual archives were looted, plundered, destroyed or lost during the 1948 war and subsequent wars,’²⁴⁹ meaning that imagery relating to Palestinian Arab military visual culture is much more difficult to find. That is not to say military images of Palestinian Arabs do not exist, but that they are far less common especially in commercial visual

²⁴⁹ Rona Sela, ‘Rethinking national archives in colonial countries and zones of conflict: the Israel-Palestinian conflict and Israel’s national photography archives as a case study,’ *Ibraaz*, 28 January 2014, <http://www.ibraaz.org/usr/library/documents/main/rethinking-national-archives.pdf>, accessed 20 August 2016.

culture and largely appear in the context of conflict and war reportage, or in the visual culture of resistance, as opposed to in parade photography and state-sanctioned celebratory imagery of the type shown in Figure 4.1.

Despite the lower number of military cards published after the 1948 war in the Museum collection, this chapter will focus on the latter half of the twentieth century in order to explore civil and military visual culture in Israel post-independence. In all newly-established nations there are some infrastructural, political and cultural steps which are nearly always taken immediately; these are what Dallen J. Timothy outlines as ‘the erection of border checkpoints, the hoisting of the flag, and the printing and use of postage stamps.’ Of all the usual steps, the formation or official establishment of a fully-functioning military is among the most significant. Israel was not unique in this regard; there was an extant armed force which had fought in the 1948 war, and post-independence the next step was enshrining the IDF into the official machinery of the state. One key difference, however, was the inclusion of women into Israel’s military draft. In this chapter I will explore whether the positioning of military women in visual culture of this period was as a proxy for modernity, secularisation and progressiveness, in line with Euro-American imperial ideals which defined occupation as imperative for the progression of backward or static societies.

This chapter will also explore if, and in what ways, the military was embedded in the public sphere through visual representations. Wendy Pullan argues that ‘security in Israel is so ingrained as to be a latent factor in most aspects of life. It is not just a matter of military preparedness but a fact of civilian experience.’²⁵⁰ Through an examination of ephemeral visual culture like postcards, I will attempt to determine the validity of this argument. I will draw also on Noa Roei’s interpretation of civil-militarism as it applies to Israel’s visual culture. Roei distinguishes between ‘militarism’ and the ‘military way’ – the latter refers to the actions of the military as they relate to ‘winning specific power objectives with the utmost efficiency via the application of violence,’ the former to a variety of customs, actions, thoughts and so on which relate to the military and may permeate wider society and culture.²⁵¹ Roei expands on this and concludes that ‘civilian militarism [is] a basic element of Israeli society and a prominent attribute of Israeli culture, a “civil malfunction” which reiterates itself in numerous everyday cultural

²⁵⁰ Wendy Pullan, ‘Bible and gun: militarism in Jerusalem’s holy places,’ *Space and Polity*, 17/3 (2013): 335-356, DOI: 10.1080/13562576.2013.853490, p.340.

²⁵¹ Noa Roei, *Civic aesthetics: militarism, Israeli art and visual culture* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2017), p.3.

codes, attitudes, habits and customs.²⁵² Pullan and Roei both argue that Israeli society is permeated with militaristic visual culture – what I would describe as a banal militarism. Civil-militarism, then, in this chapter, will refer not to a glorification of the military as the strongest members of the nation, but rather to a representation of the military which makes it commonplace, and which every citizen is a participant in either literally or symbolically.

By examining the imagery in newspapers and photography of aid agencies taken during the 1948 war, I will discuss the establishment of military visual symbols, and how these symbols differed from or continued representations of the various populations of Palestine/Israel in the post-independence era. Within that context of wider visual culture, I will then explore commercial visual culture like postcards from the period between 1948-1967; here, I will examine whether soldiers were used as emblems of the emergent state through repetition of symbolic imagery, and the inclusion of female soldiers as representative of modernity and progressiveness. In the post-1967 period, commercial visual culture will be examined for its performative militarism as part of national identity formation; before moving on to examine a backlash to militaristic imagery in the period post-1973, and a movement towards commemoration rather than celebration. Here, I will examine how far the argument for civil-militarism works, when faced with a decline in popularity around explicitly militaristic imagery both in Israel and elsewhere. I posit a conceptualisation of civil-militarism that does not necessarily always rely on positive associations with the military; whilst in the first half of this chapter, civil-militaristic culture will be discussed in terms of the ways it was exemplified in everyday visual culture, the permeation of military symbols and signifiers in the visual sphere was, I would argue, continued albeit alongside a shift in public opinion.

In this chapter, then, I will explore how commonplace military imagery truly was in this period; if the frequency with which my sources depict military imagery implies a permeation of militarism in society; and if it is possible to determine the degree to which militaristic imagery influenced the interpretations and responses of those who absorbed commercial visual culture, like tourists.

²⁵² Roei, *Civic Aesthetics*, p.6. See pp.3-6 for a brief overview of the main theories and developments in historiography around Israeli civil-militarism, including those that underpin the work of Enloe, Ben-Elizier and Kimmerling.

Victims of militarism: silence and absence in visual culture

The representation of the expulsion of Palestinian Arabs in visual and written culture has been examined by historians like Rona Sela and Laurence Davidson. Davidson, using Ben-Gurion's diary as a source, argues that the point of military tactics of the *Haganah* was either to expel or to cause fear. In his diary, Ben-Gurion himself described his tactics as necessarily 'strong and brutal,' to be carried out 'without mercy, women and children included [...] there is no need to distinguish between guilty and not guilty.'²⁵³ Sela focuses on the visual culture around the clearing of Arab villages, using photographs from the JNF, GPO and IDF archives to examine 'how Palestinian villages that existed before the 1948 war and were gradually erased from the Israeli map after the establishment of the state of Israel were unconsciously represented in a number of Israeli institutional archives.'²⁵⁴ An example of the type of visual imagery explored by Sela is shown in Figure 4.2, a black and white photograph of the Palestinian village of Ijzim, occupied and transformed into Moshav Kerem Maharal.



Figure 4.2

Moshav Kerem Maharal, formerly an abandoned Arab village. Photograph by Zoltan Kluger, 3 October 1949. Copyright courtesy of The Government Press Office, Israel. [The Palestinian village name was Ijzim.]

²⁵³ Laurence Davidson, *Cultural genocide* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2012), p.76.

²⁵⁴ Rona Sela, 'Presence and absence in "abandoned" Palestinian villages,' *History of Photography*, 33/1 (2009): 71-78, DOI: 10.1080/03087290802582970, p.71.

Sela examines the official photographs of Jewish settlement on previously Palestinian land in order to show how they worked as part of ‘the Zionist information campaign that sought to document Jewish settlement throughout the young country [...] and as part of its public relations and fund raising campaign.’²⁵⁵ Sela critiques the narrative that the Palestinian refugee crisis was one of self-imposed exile by proposing that we examine images like that in Figure 4.4 and see the purposeful erasure by Israel of Palestinian Arab life and people from the landscape. The images examined in Sela’s work were used by the JNF, GPO and IDF to both document and advertise Jewish settlement in the new state of Israel. The lack of the ‘Other’ allows the official narrative to write itself over the landscape and peoples who are missing, to posit itself as the only narrative – until one examines the absence itself, as Sela has done.

Sela’s work is an answer to historians like Efraim Karsh, who frame the conflict in the traditional, David versus Goliath sense as one between an outmatched but morally superior *Yishuv* and a pan-Arab force bent on the destruction of the Jewish homeland. It is true that five Arab armies, in the form of the Arab League, invaded Israel after the state declared independence in May 1948 on the expiration of the Mandate.²⁵⁶ However, the portrayal of Israel as wildly outmatched is inaccurate; as Dowty outlines, the Arab League was eventually defeated because although their armies were larger, they ‘actually put fewer forces in the field than did Israel [...] Israel’s advantage with internal lines enabled it to focus on one enemy at a time [...]’ He also argues that ‘Arab armies had a poor level of training, equipment and leadership,’ compared to the *Haganah* and therefore they were overwhelmed by high levels of Israeli organisation and their trained forces.²⁵⁷

Karsh takes his argument further and invokes the absence and erasure explored in images like that above, positing that the Arab League were defeated in the 1948 war as ‘the Palestinian community [...] unlike the Yishuv [had] totally failed to develop a corporate national identity, remaining instead an uncertain amalgam of internal schisms and animosities.’²⁵⁸ It is true that the Palestinian Arabs were less well-prepared for conflict, in part due to a depletion in forces after the British crushed the rebellion of 1936 – 1939; partly as a result of the spread of the population in hard-to-reach rural

²⁵⁵ Sela, ‘Presence and absence,’ p.77.

²⁵⁶ Rowley and Taylor, ‘The Israel and Palestine land settlement problem,’ p.73.

²⁵⁷ Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, p.88.

²⁵⁸ Efraim Karsh, *The Arab-Israeli conflict: the 1948 war* (New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, 2009), p.25.

areas; and also as a consequence of the lower uptake in service in the British army, which provided training. Karsh's suggestion that this is because the pre-state Jewish population had a firm national identity which was completely lacking in their Palestinian Arab counterparts is part of a wider denial on his part, of any collective Palestinian identity. Although the military became a formative part of Israeli national identity, Palestinian Arab identity had, as shown in Chapter Two, begun to form around *fellahin* culture, literary magazines and the arts, and would later also coalesce around resistance both peaceful and armed.

One place in which Palestinian Arabs were not absent was in photography of the *Nakba* (literally, the 'catastrophe,' the Arabic word for the expulsion and refugee crisis, referred to in Israel as the War of Independence) taken primarily by charitable organisations like the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. Founded in 1949, UNRWA has since archived photographs and films taken by both UNRWA photographers and their predecessors, including those which document 'the flight of 1948.'²⁵⁹

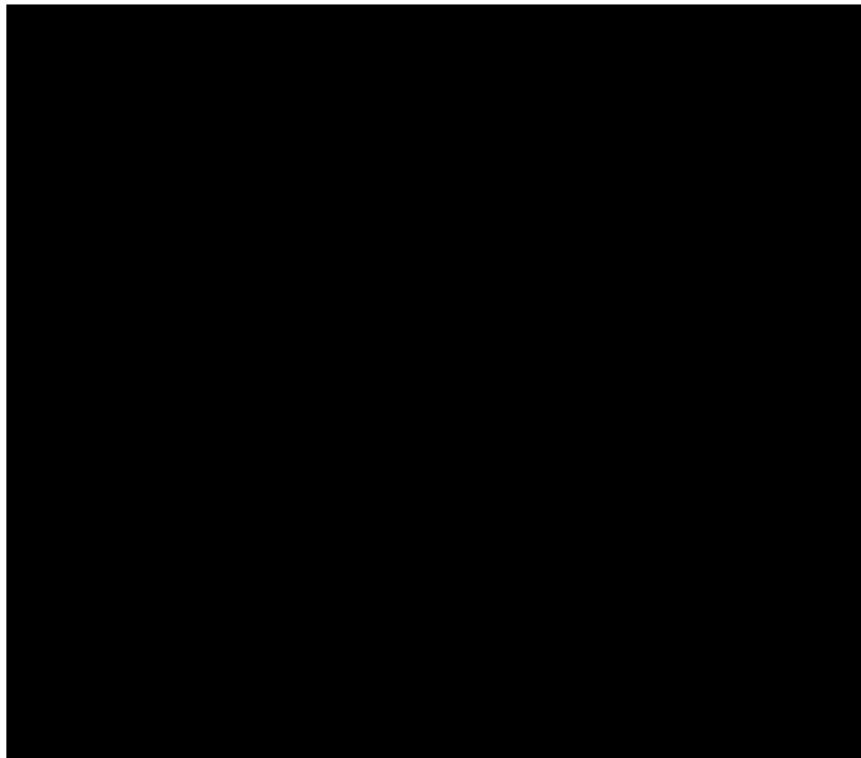


Figure 4.3

A Palestine refugee woman cut off from her home by the "Green Line." Copyright UNRWA, 1948.

²⁵⁹ UNRWA, 'The Flight: 1948,' UNRWA, 17 January 2010, <https://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/photos/flight-1948>, accessed 21 May 2017.

Images like the monochrome photograph shown in Figure 4.3 did not appear on tourist media – there was nothing to entice a tourist to visit a country in imagery of refugees expelled from their homes. However, it serves a narrative purpose: like Sela’s exploration of expropriated land, it shows an alternative to the initial mainstream national narrative. In Figure 4.3, a woman and her children sit separated from their home by a Green Line barbed wire barrier. The house is just steps from her yet she is unable to cross the barrier to reach it. In terms of militarism in visual media, this is the context in which Palestinian Arabs were most likely to appear –either as disenfranchised refugees, or later, as instigators of violence. Never were their images used in a celebratory or advertorial fashion in tourist media like postcards.

There has historically been disagreement among historians about the degree to which the expulsion of Palestinian Arabs from their land was intentional (and, at the extremist end of the spectrum, about whether it occurred at all). Kimmerling is one historian who argues the case for intentional expulsion, claiming that while ‘the Jews formally accepted the partition, they made all military efforts to capture maximum territory of the country with minimum Arabs as inhabitants,’ citing the state of Israel’s control of 8,108 square miles after the 1949 armistice agreements as opposed to the 5,405 square miles proposed in the partition plan.²⁶⁰ Karsh, on the other hand, has argued that while forced expulsion of Arab villages did occur, ‘this accounted for only a small fraction of the total exodus [...] and was dictated predominantly by ad hoc military considerations.’²⁶¹ Karsh attempts to diminish the impact of one of the worst atrocities of the war – the Deir Yassin massacre - claiming that 100 Palestinian Arabs were killed (most scholars believe the number of fatalities was much higher)²⁶², but that ‘Arab propaganda quickly capitalised on the tragedy [...] Deir Yasin [sic] would indeed become the most effective Arab propaganda tool against Israel [with] widely exaggerated descriptions of Jewish atrocities.’²⁶³ Karsh also attempts to make the case that the

²⁶⁰ Baruch Kimmerling, ‘The continuation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by “academic” means: reflections on the problematiqués of publishing books and reviewing them,’ *Contemporary Sociology*, 35/5 (2006): 427-449, p.448.

²⁶¹ Karsh, *The Arab-Israeli conflict*, p.89.

²⁶² In other works cited in this chapter, the consensus is that the number of victims is closer to 245. Historians who cite higher numbers include Kimmerling, Shlaim, Cleveland, and Fieldhouse, generally consider more central-to-neutral politically. Karsh is widely considered a leader of the ‘Revisionist,’ or politically right-wing faction of Israeli historiography, and has been criticised for distorting figures around the conflict by several historians including Benny Morris. In this case, given the volume of historiography that conflicts with Karsh’s claim here, I would argue his intent was to diminish the massacre in the narrative.

²⁶³ Karsh, *The Arab-Israeli conflict*, p.44.

Jewish community in Palestine/Israel was 'subjected to the same dislocations and pressures as its Arab rival and still did not take to the road [...] what makes a certain social group into a nation is precisely the readiness to stay put, to endure the hardships and to make the necessary sacrifices for defending its collective existence on its own land.'²⁶⁴ This equation of fleeing violence or the threat of violence with a lack of attachment to the land is one of the most extreme positions on the Palestinian refugee crisis in historiography. Most recent historiography takes a less polemical approach in its exploration of the crisis – most, for example, agree that atrocities took place at Deir Yassin. Most also agree that atrocities were also perpetrated by Palestinian Arabs – such as the response to Deir Yassin, in which 77 doctors, nurses and patients were attacked and killed on their way to the hospital on Mount Scopus.²⁶⁵

The images above are an example of the two narratives put forth in historiography and national narratives more generally around 1948 – there are some who argue that those Palestinians who left the region did so relatively voluntarily,²⁶⁶ and those who argue that the refugee crisis was entirely the result of mass, planned forced expulsions. However, visually, as shall be shown further in the chapter, Palestinians were rarely if ever featured in commercial visual media. The narrative around Israeli national identity that was to be formulated in the coming decades was one that placed primacy of citizenship and military participation – things that Palestinian Arabs could not be part of due to discriminatory policies introduced after statehood that included, among other things, the introduction of identity cards that identified citizens as 'Jewish' or 'Arab,' and laws that required Arab citizens to 'obtain travel permits to go from one village to another.'²⁶⁷ The distinction between 'types' of citizen in the law was a continuation of this dichotomy that has been shown in the visual media of the past three chapters – in the coming decades, that absence of Palestinians was to be juxtaposed against the pervasiveness of imagery depicting Israelis as citizens of a country bearing all the markers of established national identity. One of these markers was active participation in an established military force.

²⁶⁴ Karsh, *Fabricating Israeli history*, p.26.

²⁶⁵ See Martin Gilbert, *Israel: a history* (London: Black Swan, 1999), p.170 for more information on this atrocity and also an overview of where various historians fall on this issue.

²⁶⁶ Dowty, for example, argues that 'the claim that Israel deliberately and systematically expelled Palestinians was disproved by the presence of the 150,000 who did not flee, and were given citizenship in the state of Israel.' See Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, p.95.

²⁶⁷ Cleveland, *A history of the modern Middle East*, p.352.

Soldiers as emblems of the state in post-Independence visual culture

In the period following the 1948, the new Israeli government began to mould the country's national identity in a formalised way; with the establishment of Hebrew as the national language, and the passing, in 1950, of the Law of Return, giving all Jewish people in the diaspora the right to make *aliyah* to Israel.²⁶⁸ This did not mean that Jewish immigration to Israel was completely unrestricted; the Orthodox Supreme Rabbinical Council also became the recognised authority for determining the legitimacy of Jewish conversions and Jewish marriages (and therefore, right to make *aliyah*) in 1953.²⁶⁹ Although all people of the Jewish diaspora technically had the right to return to Israel, not everyone was treated equally. Minister of Labor between 1949 – 1956, and later Prime Minister, Golda Meir said 'we shall bring the immigrants to Israel and make them human beings.'²⁷⁰ Ben-Gurion also expressed these ideas of racial hierarchies, saying of Jewish people from Morocco that 'their customs are those of Arabs [...] The culture of Morocco I would not like to have here. And I do not see what contribution at present Persians have to make.'²⁷¹ These statements, from the leaders of the Israeli government, are examples of a sentiment in this period that ranked Ashkenazi (European) Jewish immigrants as the most desirable members of society, whereas those who were Sephardi, Mizrahi, Yemeni and other ethnic minorities (from outside of Europe, often those who did not present as white) were seen as primitive and backward.

At the same time, all Israeli citizens, excepting Arab Israelis, the very religious, and women with familial responsibilities, were conscripted into the newly-named IDF, remaining in active duty until their late forties for men and late thirties for women.²⁷² This was initiated through the Security Service Law, passed by the first Knesset in September 1949, which took the – at the time - unusual step of making conscription mandatory for both men and women.²⁷³ Participation in military conscription became a crucial means of forming Israeli national identity. Anderson's understanding of nations as imagined communities is here particularly useful; in making the IDF a mandatory conscription service (albeit with rare exceptions), the state sought to reinforce a sense of

²⁶⁸ Cleveland, *A history of the modern Middle East*, pp.350-351.

²⁶⁹ Cleveland, *A history of the modern Middle East*, p.352.

²⁷⁰ Fieldhouse, *Western imperialism in the Middle East 1914-1958*, p.472.

²⁷¹ Fieldhouse, *Western imperialism in the Middle East 1914-1958*, p.472.

²⁷² Cleveland, *A history of the modern Middle East*, p.353.

²⁷³ Chava Brownfield-Stein, 'Visual representations of IDF women soldiers and "civil-militarism" in Israel,' in Gabriel Sheffer and Oren Barak (eds) *Militarism and Israeli society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), p.304.

community amongst its Jewish population – as Anderson puts it, ‘the members of the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.’²⁷⁴ At the time, other nation-states also had a military draft – for example, the United States, and Britain – but did not draft women; in this way and in depicting women in the armed services in visual culture, Israel distinguished itself as forward-thinking and modern, especially in comparison to established depictions of Palestinian Arab women as traditional. As shall be explored in this section, this positioning of the IDF as a necessary part of the modernisation of the landscape and population of the new state was part of a visual culture which relied on imperial ideas of transforming backward populations and nations through occupation.

Israeli armed forces were depicted in active combat in the press and in visual media including posters and postcards – helping to consolidate the image of the IDF as a legitimate military organisation, and the country as well-run, safe and militarised. The soldier in visual culture, like the *kibbutz* worker in pre-state visual imagery, was shown as able to redeem the land and make the desert bloom through regulation of possession of the land and the occupation of it. Agricultural symbolism in imagery sometimes appeared alongside imagery of the soldier, as exemplified in the poster in Figure 4.4.

The poster, printed by the recently-opened Bezalel Art School in Tel Aviv, was designed by Shmuel Katz for the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1958. Katz, a Holocaust survivor, served in the IDF as a military illustrator. He also illustrated cartoons for newspapers, *kibbutz* newsletters, and several children’s books.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origins and spreads of nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), p.6.

²⁷⁵ He later was a courtroom artist for the trial of Adolf Eichmann, and sketched the Israeli-Egyptian and Israeli-Jordanian peace accords. See Nirit Anderman, ‘Shmuel Katz, 1926- 2010: caricaturist and illustrator of Israel’s best-loved children’s books dies at 83,’ *Haaretz*, 28 March 2010, <https://www.haaretz.com/shmuel-katz-1926-2010-caricaturist-and-illustrator-of-israel-s-best-loved-children-s-books-dies-at-83-1.265389>, accessed 24 August 2017.

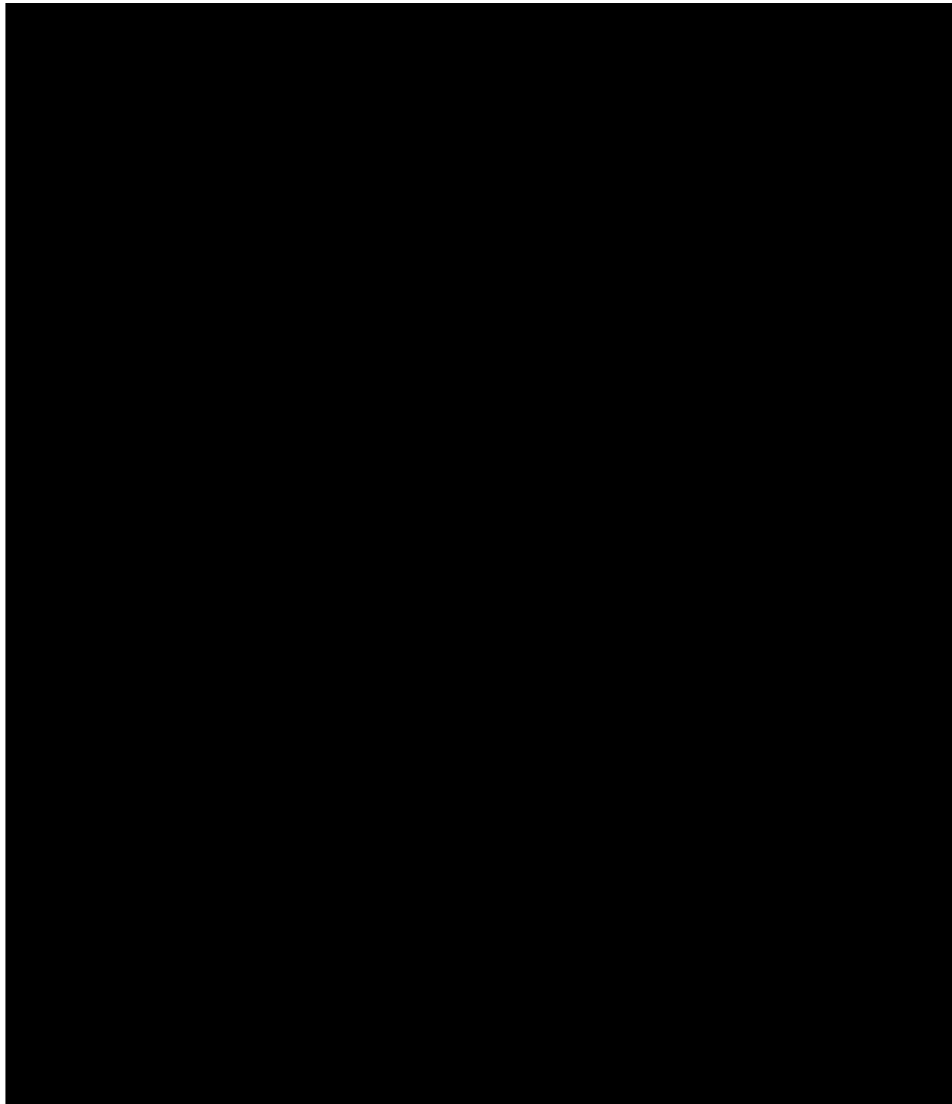


Figure 4.4

CZA KRA\1687. Poster designed by Shmuel Katz for the Ministry of Education and Culture, 1958. Copyright Central Zionist Archives.

The poster is playful: the soldiers and the weapons in the poster here are drawn with a sense of animation and looseness which is not often associated with traditional conceptualisations of military figures. In this image, the soldier is softened, light-hearted, and everyday – not inherently threatening, although the guns do lie nearby. The poster is intended as a celebration of ten years of independence. On a green background, there are several comically stylised soldiers, each of whom is picking colourful orange, black and green flowers from the ground. Lying untouched, but still present in the illustration, are two guns in the bottom centre. Large and central to the poster is the number ‘10’ – the number ‘1’ has been stylised to look like a cannon, and one soldier bends to reload it with flowers as it shoots a bouquet toward the top right corner. The image of guns shooting flowers will seem familiar enough now – as a

symbol of an anti-war peace movement particularly around the Vietnam War in the 1970s, and that may be the intention in this image. After all, the war has by this point been over for a decade. The soldiers are smiling and in one case, dancing, their guns lie discarded on the ground. However, the shooting of bouquets from cannons also ties back to the symbolism of earlier imagery around *kibbutzim* and agricultural redemption of the land – of making the desert bloom. Here soldiers stand on green grass, surrounded by flowers. The poster appears to suggest that a military victory for Israel has also been a victory in terms of developing the land as promised in the early days of the Zionist movement.

This type of imagery of soldiers was balanced by more traditional (although often no less jubilant) photography of the military in traditionally tourist media like postcards. Visual representation of the IDF included, of course, imagery of their female service members – Brownfield-Stein describes the phenomenon of photography of female IDF soldiers thusly: ‘photos of military women filtered into the national memory, shaped the image of the IDF as “the people’s army,” and simultaneously formed the image of Israel as a “nation-in-arms.”’²⁷⁶ I would also contend that this depiction of female soldiers was about signalling Israel’s progressiveness, implicitly in comparison with depictions of Palestinian women who were shown in traditional dress and often in the home sphere, never as armed forces. Brownfield-Stein examines images taken by exclusively male photographers of the GPO and IDF, which include many images of military parades, arguing that parades ‘can be seen as a temporary military invasion into the public-civic space,’²⁷⁷ which is a hypothesis given credence by postcard imagery in the BM collection. Military parades are a common feature on military postcards in the BM collection, including imagery specifically featuring female troops (Figures 4.5 and 4.6).

²⁷⁶ Brownfield-Stein, ‘Visual representations of IDF women soldiers,’ p.304.

²⁷⁷ Brownfield-Stein, ‘Visual representations of IDF women soldiers,’ p.311.

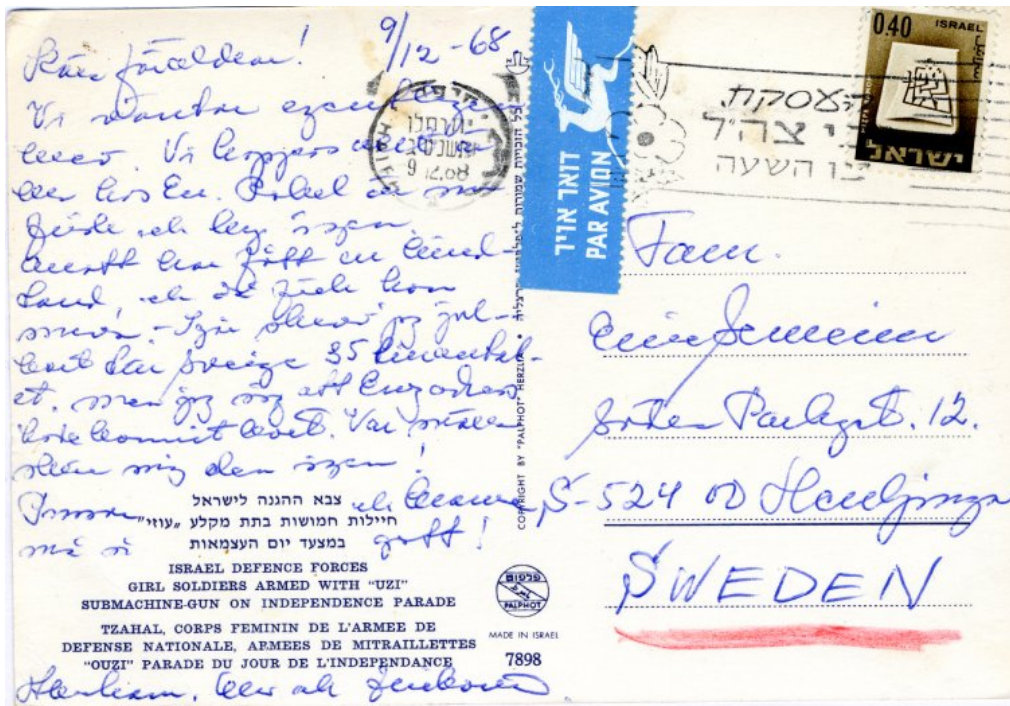


Figure 4.5

EPH-ME.1686. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1965. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



Figure 4.6

EPH-ME.1465. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1968. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The postcards in Figures 4.5 and 4.6 were sent by the same person to someone in Sweden.²⁷⁸ This person sent many of the military postcards in the BM collection – the

²⁷⁸ Despite several attempts at translation, including by native Swedish-speakers and a crowdsourcing platform, these postcards have not been translated due to the illegibility of the handwriting.

sender appears to be someone who lived for a long period in Israel, between the early 1960s and late 1980s, and wrote to the same people with relative frequency. That the same person purchased and sent several of these cards is indicative of a personal proclivity for images of the military. However, the cards also provide a useful visual archive which allows for an understanding of the kinds of military photographs being used on commercial postcards of this period.

These two postcards are the only two in the collection which exclusively depict female IDF members, but they are similar to other imagery of female IDF members marching in parades, of the type explored by Brownfield-Stein in her study of photographs taken by the GPO.²⁷⁹ Both are taken from the same perspective, with the closest soldiers filling the right side of the frame, and the eye drawn the length of the image by a uniformed parade of female soldiers leading back and left. In Figure 4.8, the line of soldiers is mirrored also by a line of trees and the lines of the modern buildings in the background. This is reminiscent of imagery of Tel Aviv, as discussed in the previous chapter, which displayed the clean, modern lines of the city alongside the garden city elements. Tying these two things together with the soldiers links them the modern military force to the renewal of the land through the construction of new cities. In the second photo, there are no distinguishable landmarks, but in the distance behind the soldiers it is possible to make out several rows of Israeli flags. The colours in the flags – blue and white – are reflected in the uniforms of the marching soldiers. The women all carry Uzi submachine guns in both images. The display of force indicated by these guns is also clear – these may be female soldiers, unusual for the time, but they were able and prepared for conflict.

These images, with their rigid uniformity, show a ‘united front,’ that the Israeli government was keen to present to the outside world in the initial period post-independence. They also tie the soldiers in with other symbols of Israeli national identity – the colours of the flag, the modern architecture, the planting of trees – allowing the soldiers to represent the ideal of Israeli-ness, or to stand in as emblems of the emerging state.

These women also appear strong, youthful and vital – a perpetuation, in many ways, of imagery of *kibbutzim* workers explored in earlier chapters. That these emblems of the military, and by proxy the new state, were women, however, is suggestive of a desire to show Israel as modern and progressive compared to the ‘Other’; to show a

²⁷⁹ Brownfield-Stein, ‘Visual representations of IDF women soldiers.’

necessary occupying force, as exemplified through parades into civilian space, that operates, in an imperial context, as an agent for betterment of the landscape and people.

Occupations and spaces of leisure: post-1967 visual displays of victory

As the Israeli state began to implement its national systems, Palestinian Arab unrest and dissatisfaction were again increasing, spurred into action by a widespread pan-liberation movement in the Arab regions of the Middle East, in the midst of a period of decolonization. Egypt's Gamal Abdul Nasser became a major political figure in this movement, and his leadership during the 1956 Suez Crisis was seen, as Dowty puts it, 'as a watershed; imperialism had suffered its first humiliating defeat.'²⁸⁰ The Palestinian militant group *al-Fatah* was founded in 1958, led by Yasser Arafat, in a bid to replicate wider Arab military successes on a Palestinian scale.²⁸¹ Arafat was particularly inspired by the success of Algerian Arabs against their French occupiers.²⁸² In 1964, the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) was founded as an umbrella organisation covering *al-Fatah* and other rebellion groups,²⁸³ and in the same year *al-Fatah* began planting explosives in Israel, increasing guerrilla actions throughout the 1960s particularly on the Jordanian and Syrian borders.²⁸⁴

Historiographical accounts of this period differ on whether the actions of the Palestinians and the Israelis in the years leading up to 1967 were defensive. Whilst some, from a post-Zionist perspective like Sela, argue that Israel's government had a determined expansionist policy in the years after independence, pointing to the destruction of Palestinian villages and homes and their occupation by settlers,²⁸⁵ others like Dowty argue that *al-Fatah* deliberately sought war through guerrilla raids in Israel, and forced a peace-seeking nation into an unavoidable offensive position.²⁸⁶ Israel's policy in the era of Levi Eshkol, who replaced Ben-Gurion as Israel's Prime Minister in the early 1960s, was less activist and less militarily aggressive than his predecessors. However, by that point, it made little difference. Until 1963, Ben-Gurion was both the Prime Minister and Defence Minister, and followed a doctrine 'pursued in the belief

²⁸⁰ Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, p.99.

²⁸¹ Gregory Harms and Todd M. Ferry, *The Palestine Israel conflict: a basic introduction* (Ann Arbor: Pluto Press, 2005), p.108.

²⁸² Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, p.101.

²⁸³ Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, p.101.

²⁸⁴ Harms and Ferry, *The Palestine Israel conflict*, p.108.

²⁸⁵ Sela, 'Presence and absence in "abandoned" Palestinian villages,' p.74.

²⁸⁶ Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, pp.101-103.

that Arab regimes could be persuaded to abandon their hostility to the existence of Israel only by being subjected to constant reminders of Israel's military power.²⁸⁷ This was achieved not only through physical military action, but through militarism – that is, visual displays of power both in parades, and in visual culture as we have so far seen.

By May 1967, Israel, Syria and Egypt were living in a state of tension. When Egypt received intelligence that Israel was soon to launch a strike on Syria, they moved their troops into the Sinai Peninsula, and closed the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli ships. After a short period of attempted diplomatic negotiations, Israel struck by land and air on 5 June, and in the six days of ensuing battle occupied the Gaza Strip and Sinai Peninsula from Egypt; West Bank from Jordan; and the Golan Heights from Syria.²⁸⁸

Once the 1967 war, known as the Six-Day War, began, Israel in its occupation of this land came into the control of 1.1 million Palestinians, and had expelled or contributed to the exodus of a further 200,000 from the West Bank. Homes and villages of the fleeing Palestinian Arab refugees were often demolished, including 135 homes in the Maghrabi Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem facing the Western Wall.²⁸⁹ By 1968, 1.3 million had registered for relief with the United Nations.²⁹⁰ In November 1967, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 242, the language of which was negotiated by Israel, to call for “withdrawal of the Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict,” rather than ‘withdrawal from the territories occupied,’²⁹¹ which led to differences in interpretation thereafter. Harms and Ferry surmise: ‘the Israelis viewed their obligations as withdrawal from some of the territories [...] the Arab interpretation was withdrawal from all territories,’ but despite these differences, Egypt, Israel and Jordan signed the treaty and ‘it became the basis for all peace efforts, and remains so today.’²⁹²

Postcards from the late 1960s then, frequently displayed military processions, equipment and action with a celebratory air, emphasising Israel's triumph over its enemies. Palphot's owners, in an interview with Moors, say that their best-selling postcard in the history of the company was likely ‘the one showing the troops at the Western Wall during the Six Day War,’ estimating that they sold approximately 10,000

²⁸⁷ Cleveland, *A history of the modern Middle East*, p.354.

²⁸⁸ Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, p.106.

²⁸⁹ Harms and Ferry, *The Palestine Israel conflict*, p.112.

²⁹⁰ Cleveland, *A History of the modern Middle East*, p.356.

²⁹¹ Harms and Ferry, *The Palestine Israel conflict*, p.113.

²⁹² Harms and Ferry, *The Palestine Israel conflict*, p.113.

copies.²⁹³ In their interview with Moors, they do not specify which card in particular this was, although there is a postcard which fits this description in the BM collection (Figure 4.7).



Figure 4.7

EPH-ME.1697. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1970. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

In this postcard, published circa 1970, a group of male IDF soldiers dressed in green uniforms and brown hats stand in front of the Western Wall, cheering and smiling. Some have raised their guns into the air in celebration, others leave them strapped to their backs. The photograph is closely framed, allowing only for the Western Wall and the soldiers to fully occupy the image, and is brightly coloured in a way which feels similar to the postcard in Figure 4.1.

The air of the postcard is jubilant and triumphant, a blending of the military with an important religious site that was to become commonplace in images of the IDF in the years following 1967. The Arab population, and the houses they owned that were later demolished which faced the Western Wall, are not present in this image.

²⁹³ Annelies Moors, 'Presenting people: the cultural politics of picture postcards of Palestine/Israel,' in Jordana Mendelsohn and David Prochaska (eds) *Postcards: ephemeral histories of modernity* (Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2010), p.101.

That this image was printed on a commercial postcard represents a shift from the more bucolic landscape and agricultural imagery relating to the Zionist movement and photography of Jerusalem before the wars of 1967 and 1948. Military imagery of this type was intended to mark a specific event in Israel's very recent history, as opposed to alluding to its ancient biblical past. This type of image may have been intended for local inhabitants as a souvenir of military victory, but as a postcard available to a commercial market and of the type Palphot says was most popular, will have likely been marketed also to tourists visiting the region from elsewhere. This postcard was used, sent by the same Swedish writer as elsewhere in this chapter in 1970, indicating that like the others, at least some of this militaristic imagery was seen, purchased and disseminated outside the borders of Palestine/Israel. The popularity of the postcard shown in Figure 4.10, or one like it, would suggest that imagery of this type permeated society in Israel, and perhaps further afield, with some regularity, allowing a perpetuation of military imagery to the point of banality. This would lend some credence to the argument for banal civil-militarism in Israeli culture, although this was to be challenged in later decades.

There have been studies which show that international tourism increased substantially to Palestine/Israel from 1948 onward. Approximately 22,000 international visitors travelled to Israel in 1948, and this had by 2012 increased to 2.8 million. Although this follows the growth of global international tourism more generally, which Cohen attributes to 'numerous factors such as economic development of many countries, which in turn led to increased leisure time and money for recreation, and improvements in transportation,'²⁹⁴ in Israel it was also directly linked to the military successes and occupation of the IDF. International tourism especially increased following the end of the 1967 war, a time perceived as a period of security, and also a time of 'strengthening [...] connection of Diaspora Jews to Israel.'²⁹⁵ Not only that, but Israel had occupied several territories which included significant tourist sites such as the Sea of Galilee, the Northwest Dead Sea, the Red Sea's Sinai-side shore, and the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Collins-Kreiner *et al.* point out that these sites occupation

²⁹⁴ Erik Cohen, 'Tourism and terror: a case study: Israel 1948-2012,' *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*, 2/1 (2014), p.15.

²⁹⁵ Cohen, 'Tourism and Terror,' p.15.

allowed Israel's tourism industry to 'offer a comprehensive pilgrimage tour of the Christian holy sites.'²⁹⁶

Rebecca Stein posits a theory of Israeli occupations as tourist events of a different sort. She argues that the Six-Day War resulted in 'a tourist event of massive proportions, passionately documented by the Israeli popular media,' as places previously inaccessible – the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, Golan Heights and East Jerusalem – became open to movement once again.²⁹⁷ As Stein points out, 'such tourist practices and accompanying narratives worked to displace the violence of the new Israeli occupation by recasting military occupation as a leisure opportunity.'²⁹⁸ This was surely reinforced by the inclusion of the imagery of occupation – celebratory conquest as in Figure 4.7, military parades and so on - on visual media like postcards which linked leisure activities of tourist travel with militaristic photography and commemoration. This softening of occupation and military activity through the lens of tourism and leisure also contributed to a sense of blurring the boundaries between civil and military spaces and people.

This was not confined to the visual imagery of postcards, although they specifically linked tourist media with images of the IDF. Stein also identifies articles published in the immediate aftermath of the 1967 war which include the declaration of 'a liberated Jerusalem,' in the *Jerusalem Post*, and the description of the opening of the Western Wall Plaza as 'the first pilgrimage since dispersion,' by the same newspaper. The Western Wall in particular was described as a tourist destination for the military, with soldiers 'wandering around the city with a gun in one hand and a camera in the other.'²⁹⁹ The *Jerusalem Post* could have been describing the scene shown in Figure 4.10, as to be so close to the action one could argue the photographer was likely a member of the IDF themselves.

Photography was also an important component of press coverage of the 1967 IDF victory. An issue of the Hebrew-language newspaper *Ma'ariv* proclaimed, on 15 June 1967, 'the masses returned to the Western Wall,' above an image of Israeli tourists flocking to the Plaza (Figure 4.8). The caption underneath the photograph, a monochrome image showing a large and tightly-packed crowd of visitors to the

²⁹⁶ Noga Collins-Kreiner, Nurit Kliot, Yoel Mansfeld and Keren Sagi (eds) *Christian tourism to the Holy Land: pilgrimage during security crisis* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), p.26.

²⁹⁷ Rebecca L. Stein, 'Souvenirs of conquest: Israeli occupations as tourist events,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40 (2008): 647-669, DOI: 10.1018/S0020743808081531, p.647.

²⁹⁸ Stein, 'Souvenirs of conquest,' p.648.

²⁹⁹ Stein, 'Souvenirs of conquest,' p.650.

Western Wall, reads, ‘more than 200,000 residents of Israel visited the Western Wall in the Old City of Jerusalem yesterday, after the site opened to visitors.’ The idea of ‘return’ as suggested in the headline of the article, and rightful ownership over the landscape, was central to the justification for the post-1967 occupation and to Israeli identity in this period – and indeed, to the Zionist movement since its inception. The establishment of the Western Wall was not only an important holy site, and indeed, site for military celebration, but also as a major feature of the Israeli tourist industry promoted both in and outside of the country, was near-immediate as conveyed by these press articles and photographs.

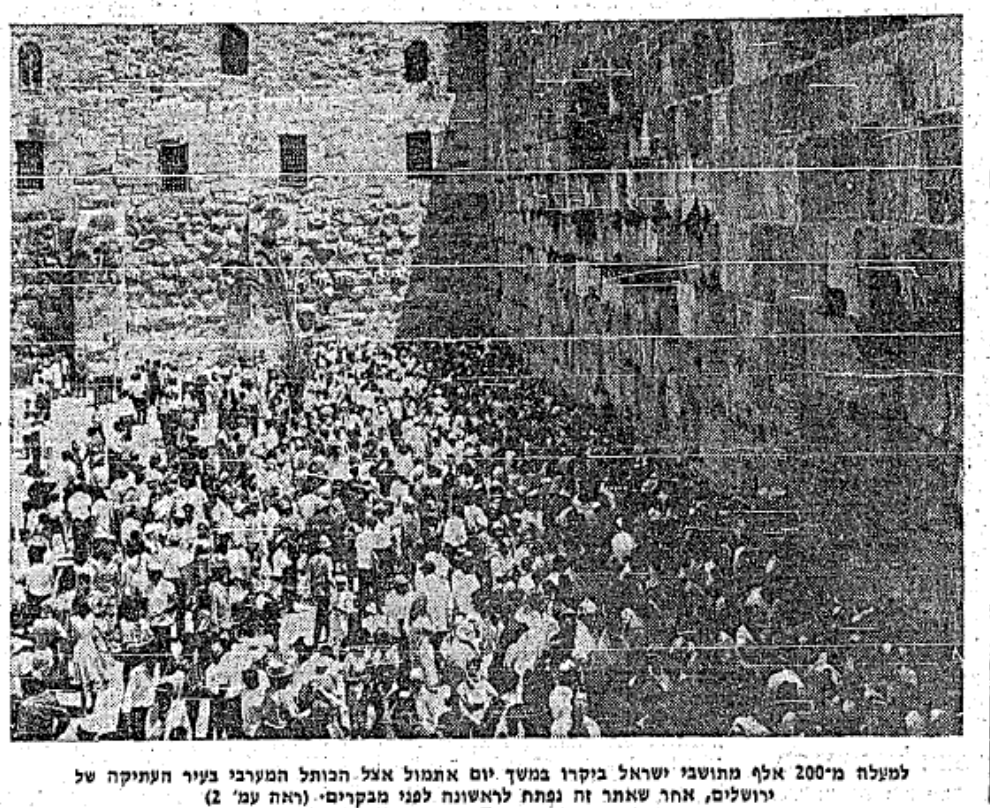


Figure 4.8

‘The masses returned to the Western Wall,’ *Ma'ariv*, 15 June 1967, p.1.
Copyright courtesy of the National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Israel established an Editor's Committee that imposed a strict level of security censorship over the various newspapers, both party-affiliated and private, in Israel. There was no television until 1968, and radio was state-controlled until 1965. In this environment of carefully controlled media, the images depicting Israel during and after the 1967 war appear to be indicative of the government's idea of nation which it wished to disseminate both within Israel and to the outside world. And it was

not only press and media directed toward adult Israelis and tourists that conveyed this new sense of militaristic pride and nationhood. Media intended for children was part of this trend in visual culture as well. *Haaretz Shelanu*, the children's weekly of the larger *Haaretz* newspaper, placed celebratory images of the military on its front cover, such as that shown in Figure 4.9.



Figure 4.9

A dream that became reality. Cover page of *Haaretz Shelanu*, 11 July 1967. Copyright courtesy of the National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.

Captioned, 'a dream that became reality,' this cover of *Haaretz Shelanu* showed a warplane squadron flying above the Tower of David in Jerusalem's Old City, again tying in a site of significant religious importance to the military occupation of it. The

warplanes fly off to the top left of the image, suggestive of the advance of the military into the future – a larger state of Israel with borders imagined in the boldest dreams of the Zionist movement. This was not all – the weekly also included games, quizzes and advertisements that encouraged children to learn about and celebrate the military. Games included ‘Identify the planes,’ and ‘Know the IDF Generals.’³⁰⁰ This lends credence to Pullan and Roei’s argument that militarism permeated Israeli culture – from a young age, Israeli citizens were encouraged to know about, and become familiar and comfortable with, the military and their presence as part of the wider Israeli national experience.

The integration of the holy with the militaristic at many sites in Palestine/Israel was also represented in the aftermath of the 1967 war by iconic photographs, such as David Rubinger’s image of paratroopers at the Western Wall at the time of its capture (Figure 4.10). This photograph was distributed by the GPO and later became one of the touchstones of Israeli national narrative and identity.³⁰¹ The monochrome photograph shows three Israeli paratroopers: Zion Karasenti, Yitzak Yifat, and Haim Oshri, from a low angle, their faces looking toward the upper right of the frame with the Western Wall behind them.

When asked about the impact of the image, Rubinger himself said, ‘I still don’t think it’s a great picture, but often iconic pictures are created by media and what people read into them.’³⁰² The photograph’s low angle allows the paratroopers to loom tall and imposing in the image, almost in the manner of a monument. Their faces gaze out of frame, suggestive of looking to the future in a new, expanded state of Israel (like the drawing of the eye upward and outward in Figure 4.9). They are framed by the Western Wall, the most symbolic of the occupied areas in 1967 – tying again the actions of the military into sites of religious significance. This linking of the two became more tangible with the decision, after 1967, to begin holding *tekes hasbba’ah* (swearing-in ceremonies) for new soldiers, particularly of paratroopers, joining the IDF at the Western Wall.³⁰³

³⁰⁰ Hilo Glazer, ‘The Israeli children of the Six-Day War, then and now,’ *Haaretz*, 6 May 2017, <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.787289>, accessed 20 May 2017.

³⁰¹ Conal Urquhart, ‘Six days in June,’ *The Observer*, 6 May 2007, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/may/06/israelandthepalestinians.features1#article_continue, accessed 7 May 2017.

³⁰² Urquhart, ‘Six days in June.’

³⁰³ Pullan, ‘Bible and gun,’ p.342.



Figure 4.10

Six Day War, Israeli Paratroopers Stand in Front of the Western Wall in Jerusalem.
Photograph by David Rubinger, 1967. Copyright courtesy of The Government Press Office, Jerusalem.

Although visual culture including press photographs and postcards blended images of the military with religious sites relatively frequently, perhaps no other postcard in the BM collection combines the religious and militaristic as explicitly as that shown in Figure 4.11.



Figure 4.11

EPH-ME.1691. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1968. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

This colour photograph postcard, published by Palphot in 1968, shows an Israeli tank silhouetted against the sun, with the Gulf of Suez in the background and four soldiers sitting in various positions atop the tank. The landscape in the background is almost picturesque in a manner reminiscent of earlier, biblical landscape postcards of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The inclusion of the tank, dark and imposing and central to the landscape, alters the image entirely. Against the sun, the soldiers and tank appear to be awaiting the new dawn, the arising of an expanded state of Israel. The framing of the soldier and tank in silhouette against the infinite landscape is evocative of German Romanticism in the style of artists like Caspar David Friedrich, whose work was often of lone military figures against dreamlike landscapes in silhouette. The caption in English is descriptive, reading ‘an Israeli tank at the Gulf of Suez.’ The caption in Hebrew, however, quotes Exodus 14:9, ‘and overtook them in camping by the sea;’ an allusion to the way in which the Israeli army occupied the Sinai Peninsula as far as the Gulf of Suez after the war in 1967. The combination of the religious scripture with the image of the occupying Israeli tank is an explicit example of the way in which the visual culture of Israel combined the secular and religious, and reflected the intentions and foreign policy of the state, at the time.



Figure 4.12

EPH-ME.1693. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1968. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 4.13

EPH-ME.7939. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1960s. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Less religiously oriented, other postcards of the period also focused on military equipment such as vehicles, armoured tanks and planes of the IDF (Figures 4.12 and 4.13). Like the postcards in Figure 4.1 and 4.11, they made the machinery of occupation central to the image. Like the quizzes in children's weekly *Haaretz Shelanu*, they familiarised the viewing audience with the tools of the IDF, normalising them by repeatedly featuring them on commercial media.

Both postcards were published by Palphot in the 1960s. The first shows several types of plane used by the IDF, the second, two IDF Centurion tanks as part of a victory parade. Imagery of weaponry and equipment in this style – almost like an encyclopaedia meant to provoke familiarity with the machinery of war – were not the only way in which the centrality of the IDF's military power in terms of cars, tanks and artillery was shown. Military vehicles like the tanks above and armoured jeeps were also central to several of the postcards which depicted Independence Day parades, as shown in the examples of Figures 4.14, 4.15 and 4.16. These cards were all published in the 1960s by Palphot, and 4.14 and 4.16 were both sent to Sweden by the same sender as the earlier postcards depicting female soldiers of the IDF.



Figure 4.14

EPH-ME.1687. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1965. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 4.15

EPH-ME.1695. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1960s. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 4.16

EPH-ME.1692. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1968. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Each of these cards focuses on the tanks or armoured jeeps – but also gives some space to the crowds surrounding them who have come out to view the parades. The sense of communal celebration is palpable in each image, echoing postcards discussed earlier. The crowds line the barriers or fill the amphitheatres, flags wave in the breeze. The framing of the postcard in Figure 4.16 is also reminiscent of the imagery of female IDF soldiers discussed earlier – we can see here a repetition in the way parade imagery was presented, a repetition that would breed familiarity with militarism.

The postcard in Figure 4.16 was sent in 1968 after the IDF occupied the Old City and East Jerusalem from Jordan, and depicts a parade around the walls of the Old City that would now be part of the Israeli landscape and national identity. All three postcards include striking geometric forms – in Figure 4.15, the curve of the amphitheatre across the left side of the frame sweeps the eye across the crowds to the tanks in the arena; in Figure 4.14, the upright building appears to push forward into the frame, echoed by the boxy military cars and their attached flagpoles driving toward the viewer; in the final postcard, the curve of the amphitheatre in Figure 4.15 is mirrored in the curve of the road, the dynamic movement of the tanks echoing the military cars in Figure 4.14. In the first two postcards, there is a more obviously staged performative aspect – the spectators are for the most part, seated or organised to watch the display, lending the images a formalised, uniform air. In the latter postcard, however, the high angle gives a wider perspective; it is possible to see the edges of the crowd milling around in a more unorganised fashion. Here, the site of celebration has not been chosen for its convenience in terms of infrastructure built for performance – no seating or amphitheatres line the street. Instead, this postcard shows a celebration that also acts as a reclamation of the urban landscape, and occupation of the everyday street. It is still performative, but in a less formalised way. The image shows the ordinariness, in some ways, of this type of performance – some figures in attendance do not even face the tanks, suggesting a familiarity or banality about the tanks sweeping down the public streets, indicative of a civil-militaristic culture.

Less iconic than his Western Wall photograph, but no less relevant, are images Rubinger took of Israeli tourists after the occupation of Gaza in 1967. In Figure 4.17, Rubinger captures Israeli tourists standing on an abandoned tank, with another photographer in frame taking their souvenir image.

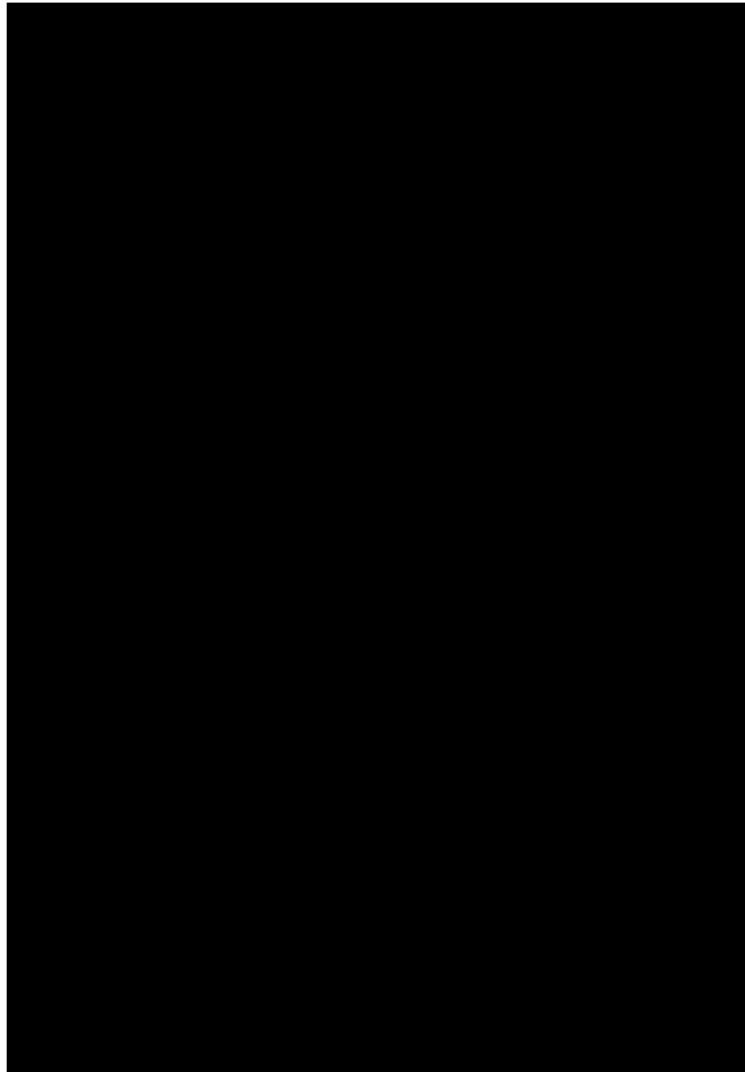


Figure 4.17

Israeli tourists visit Gaza after defeat. Photograph by David Rubinger, June 1 1967. Copyright Getty Image Archive.

In this monochrome photograph, the blurred boundaries between tourist snapshot and image of conquest are evident, and it has elements reminiscent of other images used in postcards and the press which conflated military occupation and the annexation of land with opportunities for leisure and tourism. Here, Rubinger captures not only the act of making tourism out of the remnants of war, but also consciously frames the image to also include the photographer who is making the moment into a visual souvenir. It is clear, then, that visual mementoes of the leisure around occupation were a part of tourist culture in Israel, and this may explain why postcards such as those by Palphot proved so popular. It is also clear that the militarism of the landscape, the detritus of military occupation and sites of conflict, were becoming visually embedded

in the way Israel presented and displayed itself in visual media and souvenir photography.

Of course, access to these spaces after the 1967 war was not unidirectional. Despite unequal travel restrictions for Palestine/Israel's Palestinian population, Palestinian travel also took place, and was often based on returning to places from which they had been exiled in 1948, or visiting family whom they had not seen in two decades. This type of travel was not photographed for postcards that appear in any collections studied here, nor did it seem to warrant pictorial display in Israeli newspapers. When it was covered at all by the Israeli press, this type of Palestinian travel was often written about in the style of old colonial travel texts which depicted the Arab population as primitive and dumbfounded by modern infrastructure. In one piece explored by Stein and published in the *Jerusalem Post* in June 1967, the author described Palestinians 'standing in wonder before the traffic light,' and astounded by 'multistoried buildings.'³⁰⁴ In another article from *Ma'ariv* published in July 1967, Palestinian Arabs are described as 'enchanted with espresso machines.'³⁰⁵ This patronising tone was not applied to Israelis travelling to previously unseen areas – this depicting of Palestinians as uncultured was in juxtaposition to the portrayal of Israelis as modern, progressive, and rightful in their occupation of the landscape as reiterated and reinforced in the visual culture. This type of language, alongside imagery of the IDF which positioned them as modern redeemers of the landscape, perpetuates earlier imperialist visual and textual discourse which represented Palestinian Arabs as backward and uncultured, and occupation as a necessary redemptive force for good.

What has been seen here is how commonplace imagery depicting the military was in commercial visual culture like postcards, but also official state photography and press imagery that was distributed both within and outside of Palestine/Israel. This suggests, as I have argued, a level of embeddedness in the visual culture of Israel, and as we have seen, a reliance on imagery of a successful, youthful and modern military as emblematic of a young and vigorous Israeli state. The relaxed, comfortable approach to the military in public and visual space was to change, however, in the years after 1973.

³⁰⁴ Ronnie Hope, 'Gigantic job for police,' *Jerusalem Post*, 30 June 1967, quoted in Stein, 'Souvenirs of conquest,' p.657.

³⁰⁵ Zvi Lavie, 'Ha-Mevukeshet ba-Iir ha-Atikah: Totseret Sin ha-Amitit,' 2 July 1967, quoted and translated in Stein, 'Souvenirs of conquest,' p.657.

'STOP. DANGER': shifts in perception post-1973

Since the end of the Six-Day War in 1967, several crises have altered the volume of tourist numbers to Palestine/Israel and tourist perceptions of the nation(s). The first of these was the Yom Kippur War between Israel, Egypt and Syria in October 1973, followed by the War of Attrition between Israel and Syria shortly thereafter. Not only did these conflicts project an image of Palestine/Israel as unsafe for travel, they proved the impetus for a global oil crisis, spiking oil prices and as a result, the cost of travel.³⁰⁶ In 1982, Israel invaded Lebanon in a hugely unpopular war which also negatively affected tourism to the region; simultaneously, an increase in the number of PLO operations against Israeli border settlements led to, in 1987, the First Intifada.³⁰⁷ The period around these conflicts saw a decline of 35 per cent in tourist numbers to the region.³⁰⁸ As the international media increased its coverage of Palestine/Israel's internal and external conflicts, the international conception of both nation(s) became more associated with acts of terrorism and instability. In Palestine/Israel, also, the wars of 1973 and 1982 had proved unpopular with the local population to a degree heretofore unseen. This was accompanied by a sharp decrease in the proportion of postcards depicting the IDF or military symbols - a trend shown not only in the BM collection but also that of the FRC.

Military scenes disappeared not just from general postcards, but also from Shanah Tovah cards in the years following 1973.³⁰⁹ The subject of so many cards, the Independence Day military parades, were also cancelled at the same time – the last took place in May 1973, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the 1948 war and the subsequent declaration of independence.³¹⁰ However, this does not mean that banal civil-militarism did not continue to be a part of Israel's national identity and culture. The decline in visual and physical celebrations of the military is indicative, I would argue, of a decline in public support for anything that could be read both in and outside Israel as glorification of the IDF. Conscription did not end, and therefore members of the military would still be visible to the general public of Israel; and a large percentage of

³⁰⁶ Collins-Kreiner, Klot, Mansfield and Sagi, *Christian tourism in the Holy Land*, p.27.

³⁰⁷ Cohen, 'Tourism and Terror,' p.16.

³⁰⁸ Collins-Kreiner, Klot, Mansfield and Sagi, *Christian tourism in the Holy Land*, p.29.

³⁰⁹ Wall text, *Each year anew*.

³¹⁰ Roei, *Civil aesthetics*, p.118.

the population would still be members of the military themselves. It was rather that outward-facing displays of military strength in the aftermath of an unpopular conflict were less commercially viable. I would also argue that civil-militarism does not have to mean a popular permeation of militarism into the broader culture – in the decades following 1970, the awareness of and familiarity with the military was to continue to be an important signifier of Israel's national identity both at home and abroad, but in this case, in a far less celebratory manner than previously.

Whilst postcards depicting the military may have become less popular in the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War and subsequent Lebanon War, postcards for the military were still in circulation during the former conflict. In the Sol Singer Archive at Emory University, Atlanta, there exist Yom Kippur cards printed specifically for the military mail, to be sent by officers in active service. The text on the reverse of each card encourages the soldier, in Hebrew, to 'write to your family and friends!' Each of the cards contains an illustration in the style of a political newspaper cartoon. One card, shown in Figure 4.18, shows a blue illustration of fire and hailstones falling on the pyramids on its left side. The quote in Hebrew underneath is from Exodus 9:24, and reads: 'And there was hail, and fire flashing continually in the midst of the hail, very heavy hail, such as had never been in all the land of Egypt since it became a nation.'

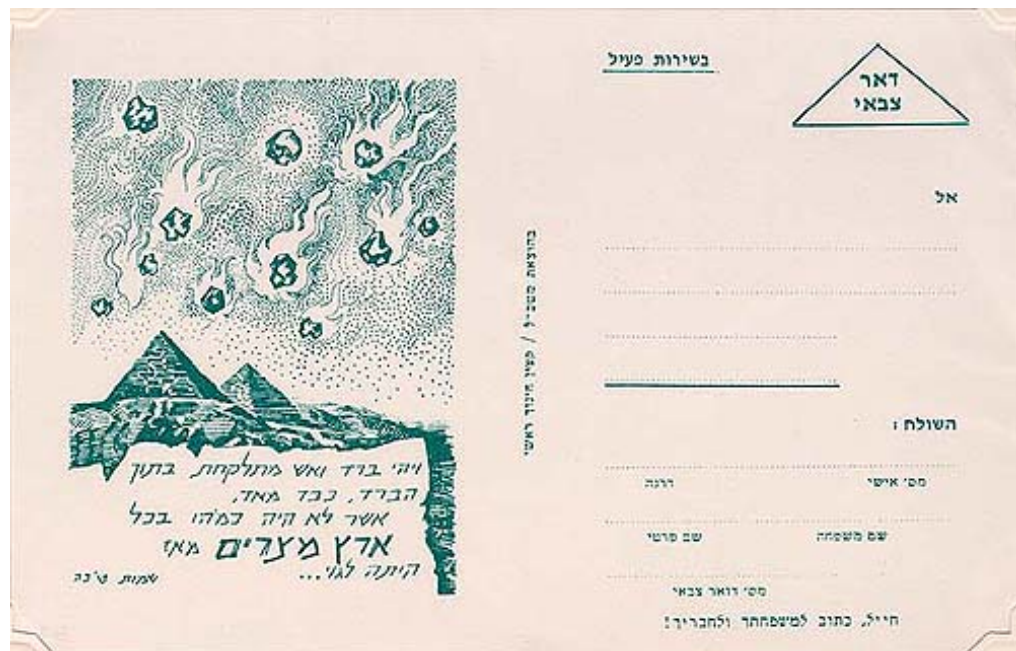


Figure 4.18

Yom Kippur. Postcard, military issue, Israel, 1973. Copyright courtesy of Sol Singer collection of Philatelic Judaica, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.

This conflation of military action with religious text has been seen before in postcard imagery – most similarly, in the postcard featuring the tank at the Gulf of Suez shown in Figure 4.11 – but these Yom Kippur cards, specifically intended for the military and their friends and family, are a much more explicit example of this type of text-image blending. In this case, however, the cards were targeted towards a very specific audience – those engaged in active combat, rather than a civilian public. This shift indicates a change in the permeation of militaristic visual culture into the civil spheres, particularly with regards to those outside of Israel who would not be privy to military correspondence and imagery circulated within the IDF. That does not mean, however, that civil spaces were not permeated more generally with militarism as defined by Roei. As discussed in the introduction of this chapter, the unpopularity of the ‘military way,’ or the actions or violence of the military, did not necessarily mean that civil spaces in Israel were not permeated with ‘customs, actions, thoughts and so on which relate to the military.’³¹¹ As we shall see, the military was very much part of the public discourse in Israel even in the aftermath of some unpopular actions on their part.

After the ceasefire agreement between Israel and Egypt was brokered in late October 1973 (leading, eventually, to the 1978 Camp David Peace accords and the return of the most of the Sinai to Egypt), there were ‘waves of demonstrations’ in Israel, including ‘protests of returning soldiers,’³¹² which began to deconstruct the previous, relative unity of the state and its people. The Jewish population of Israel could no longer rely on the military to declaratively ‘win’ every conflict into which it entered – as it had in 1948 and 1967 – this time, there had been substantial military losses. This shift in public opinion was to lead not only to the beginnings of a post-Zionist historiography and questioning of the hegemonic historiographic lens, but also, on the opposite end of the ideological spectrum, to ‘a powerful new brand of national-religious Zionism,’³¹³ exemplified by right-wing settler groups like *Gush Emunim*, which will be further examined in Chapter 6.

In 1982, in the face of attacks from factions of the PLO based in Lebanon, Israel invaded Lebanon. The PLO had been operating in the south of Lebanon since

³¹¹ Roei, *Civic Aesthetics*, p.6.

³¹² Eyal Weizman, ‘The architecture of Arie Sharon,’ *Third Text*, 20/3-4 (2006): 336-353, DOI: 10.1080/09528820600900745, p.347.

³¹³ Weizman, ‘The architecture of Arie Sharon,’ p.347.

refugees had fled there in the aftermath of previous conflicts and expulsions. War between the IDF, PLO and Lebanese forces broke out which would, eventually, end with the withdrawal of Israeli forces as peace talks became increasingly unlikely, and the Lebanese civil war, which lasted until 1990. At the beginning of this conflict the press in Israel in some instances featured depictions of soldiers-as-tourists, in much the same manner as it had in the aftermath of the war of 1967. As the incursion into Lebanon began, ‘numerous Israeli newspapers departed from their standard reporting to describe Israeli army personnel enjoying espresso and ice cream in late-night Beirut venues.’³¹⁴ Here we can see a continuation of the discourse around military occupations as banal, civil activities of leisure, of occupying spaces as necessary and a force for good. However, as Stein argues, reports like these were part of a broader Israeli censorship effort in its press; what Prime Minister Menachem Begin at the time called ‘a battle over the truth,’ as the Israeli censor tried to ‘intercept damning television footage from foreign crews, insistence by the army spokesman on the small numbers of Lebanese and Palestinian casualties, and the enduring media accounts of Palestinian terror, with refugees as the guilty party.’³¹⁵ This narrative was to be disrupted in light of the high death toll of the conflict and, in particular, the Sabra and Shatila Massacre of September 1982. On 16 September, the IDF allowed its allies in the region, the Lebanese Christian Phalanges militia, to enter Sabra and Shatila, two refugee camps for Palestinians in Beirut. In the following days, the militia raped, murdered and dismembered approximately 800 civilians.³¹⁶

In the weeks and months that followed this atrocity, there was ‘a wave of anti-war protest never before seen in Israel. This was accompanied in the army by a new form of protest, namely the growing phenomenon of conscientious objection.’³¹⁷ In a country until recently unified by its mandatory conscription and celebratory attitude towards its military force, this was an unprecedented shift in public and military opinion. Ariel Sharon and other Israeli leaders were found ‘indirectly responsible’ for the massacre by an Israeli investigative commission in 1983.³¹⁸ Whilst this kind of

³¹⁴ Stein, ‘Souvenirs of conquest,’ pp.657-658.

³¹⁵ Stein, ‘Souvenirs of conquest,’ p.660.

³¹⁶ Seth Anziska, ‘A Preventable Massacre,’ *The New York Times*, 16 September 1982, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/17/opinion/a-preventable-massacre.html>, accessed 21 May 2017.

³¹⁷ Jochai Rosen, ‘The end of consensus: the crisis of the 1980s and the turning-point in Israeli photography,’ *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 9/3 (2010): 327-347, DOI: 10.1080/14725886.2010.518445, p. 332.

³¹⁸ Rosen, ‘The end of consensus,’ p.331.

critical vitriol against the state and its leaders, and indeed references to past atrocities, have become less universally popular in recent years, at the time this was a marked break in rhetoric and holding leaders to personal account. This was reflected not only in the general public response and historiography, but also in a more critical approach in the Israeli press. It did not mean, however, that depictions of military symbols and signifiers completely disappeared from popular visual culture, or that militarism was less imbued in the civic sphere – this break signified a shift in narratives, and an opportunity for new discourses around the IDF particularly in the Israeli press, but did not signify a disappearance of militarism in the Roei sense from commercial visual culture or the civic discourse more broadly.

Critique or commemoration? The difference between press and commercial visual media



Figure 4.19

Aisha el-Kord, Khan Younis Refugee Camp. Photograph by Micha Kirshner, 1988.
Copyright courtesy of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

From the late 1970s, the Israeli press began undergoing significant changes, ‘as it became increasingly popular and entertaining, and adopted the tabloid format.’³¹⁹ With the introduction in 1978 of the *Monitin* monthly, which was a largely visual magazine, there was a shift toward the primacy of the visual in the Israeli press, which had prior to this included imagery but on the whole given precedence to text.³²⁰ This movement towards both the visual and political criticism was exemplified in the willingness of the Israeli press to include different kinds of photography of Palestinian Arabs – such as photographs depicting Yasser Arafat in a manner that humanised him, or the famous photograph of Aisha el-Kord published in colour tabloid *Hadasot* in the late 1980s (Figure 4.21.) This photograph was later purchased by the Israel Museum and has become a visual touchstone for both Israelis and Palestinians. Aisha el-Kord’s story included being arrested on suspicion of participation in a hostile organisation, the arrest of her husband, the destruction of her home as a punitive measure without a court hearing or conviction of either member of the couple, solitary confinement, and the destruction of the tent she constructed on the rubble of her home. In this image, which as Rosen notes, frames her in a recognisably Madonna-and-Child staging, presented a Palestinian Arab woman, one with a complex history, in a sympathetic light.³²¹ That this image became so iconic, and resonated so with both the Palestinian and Israeli public to the point that it became part of the national museum collection, is suggestive of both this fundamental change in public perception of the conflict and the nation in the mainstream, and the willingness of the press to take a more nuanced and critical approach in its imagery. However, this framing of el-Kord as a victim without agency is an example of one of the limited ways in which Palestinians, particularly women, were framed in the press. Agency and power outside the context of conflict was less likely to make its way into the Israeli press in terms of how it reported on Palestinian Arab people.

Additionally, worth noting is that while depictions glorifying the Israeli military were less popular in the Israeli press from 1973 on, that has become less the case in more recent years. Especially in the case of the 1948 and 1967 wars, special Israeli press supplements often commemorate these conflicts, as explored thoroughly in Oren Meyer’s study. Meyers find that as time has gone on, there has been ‘a gradual increase

³¹⁹ Rosen, ‘The end of consensus,’ p.331.

³²⁰ Rosen, ‘The end of consensus,’ p.331.

³²¹ Rosen, ‘The end of consensus,’ pp.333-342.

in the tendency to publish commemorative supplements. While in 1958 none of the three newspapers [*Ma'ariv*, *Yedioth Ahronoth* and *Haaretz*] published such a supplement, in 1998 *Ma'ariv* published three.³²² Meyers also identifies the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as the most frequent theme in all the supplements; in the earlier supplements, there is also 'continuous presentation of Israeli soldiers storming enemy posts [...] while enemy soldiers are presented either as corpses [...] or as POWs.'³²³ It is possible, then to see that the turn in the press towards less military glorification was relatively short-lived, especially in the aftermath of increasing conflict from 1990 onward; but it is also possible to see a perpetuation of narratives established early in Israel's history – the IDF soldier as the hero, redeeming the landscape and people, as an emblem of Israel the state; the Palestinian Arab as the aggressor, defeated – that conformed to imperial discourses around occupation and military violence.

Whilst, as has been mentioned, depictions of the military declined rapidly on commercial media like postcards from 1973 onward, there still exist three examples in the BM collection, and these continued, unlike the press, to depict the military in a relatively uncritical way, and to not depict Palestinians at all. The first, sent by the same sender to Sweden as many of the other postcards in this chapter, dates from approximately 1975 and was again published by Palphot (Figure 4.20.)



Figure 4.20

EPH-ME.1703. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1975. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

³²² Oren Meyers, 'Still photographs, dynamic memories: a study of the visual presentation of Israel's past in commemorative newspaper supplements,' *The Communication Review*, 5 (2002): 179-205, DOI: 10.1080/10714420290099435, p.185.

³²³ Meyers, 'Still photographs, dynamic memories,' p.189.

The colour photograph in this postcard shows a car passing through a military checkpoint at the Israel-Lebanon border crossing at Rosh Hanikra, in the Upper Galilee. Rosh Hanikra is home to a *kibbutz*, but also to a series of grottoes which are a popular tourist destination in the region. Whilst the caption on the reverse of the card mentions these grottoes, the image frames the border crossing rather than the attraction itself. This image does not place primacy on the military figures in the same way as other militaristic postcards from Israel, such as those of independence parades or tanks and weaponry. Instead, the soldiers are small and, in the background, and more prominently to the left foreground of the image stand a group of people, possibly tourists waiting to cross the border, and the car which is crossing in the opposite direction.

Two signs, framing the image, read 'STOP. DANGER. ISRAEL LEBAN BORDER,' in both English and Hebrew. Rather than an idyllic tourist image like a photograph of the grottoes might otherwise have been, this photograph immediately disrupts the ordinary tourist image (elements of which still exist, such as the seascape in the background, the bright blue sky and fashionable tourists) with the everyday realities of an active militarised state. This postcard was sent nearly a decade before Israel's incursion into Lebanon in 1982, yet the image underlines the tension between the two nations. However, the danger is at the border with the Other, again, the military here is not the thing which represents danger but is rather the buffer of safety between the tourists and the unknown beyond. The choice to publish this image seems unusual for a commercial market, but it is clear that at least some people were attracted to imagery such as this – the particular sender of this card, of course, has been established in this chapter as someone who frequently selected and sent imagery which depicted the military in a positive fashion. The relatively casual nature of the scene – the tourists stand patiently waiting to cross, no one has a weapon drawn, a lack of other signifiers of immediate security like barbed wire or metal detectors – also demonstrates a banality with border crossing experiences like this, an everyday element of life for the tourists crossing at this point.

The second postcard example which explicitly shows the IDF or other elements of Israeli militarism was sent again by the same person, was this time sent in 1973, the year of the Yom Kippur War. Again, this card was published by Palphot and is captioned on the reverse as 'Safe-Guarding Border Patrol Unit on the Move.' On the

recto, the colour photograph shows a view of the border (it is unclear which, but could be, given the period and the green hills, the border with Syria in the Golan Heights), and filling the foreground of the frame, a soldier with his hands on a mounted gun on top of a car. The perspective is almost the view of the soldier in the foreground – the eye is drawn further out into the background by a line of two more armoured vehicles filled with soldiers.

The line of the gun, pointed into the top right of the image, follows the line of the pastoral green hills in the background. In this image, as in the postcard shown in Figure 4.21, the Israeli side of the border is closest to frame – the familiar and safe in the foreground, the start of the Other at the border in the background. Again here, as in other imagery of this type such as the illustrated poster celebrating the tenth anniversary of independence, there is a juxtaposition of agricultural beauty in the hills behind and the blue, clear skies, and the metal machinery of war. The soldiers, in their green berets and uniform, seem more attuned to the fields of green behind them, linked to the landscape, than they do to their weaponry.

However, the soldier in the foreground's hands remain on his gun – ready and prepared to fire at any time. There is no active conflict in the picture – here again, the suggestion is that the military have made the landscape safe by their active presence, have redeemed the landscape through military action; conforming, as has been discussed, to ideas of necessary occupation of space and redemption of the landscape. This photograph is another example of the way in which the soldier takes the place of the agricultural *kibbutz* worker in Zionist imagery of this period. The soldier, not the farmer, is the primary redeemer of the land. By positioning the viewer in the same position as the soldier, to see from the eyes of the soldier in effect, is significant in it gives one the feeling of being part of the action and safeguarding of the border.



Figure 4.21

EPH-ME.1701. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1973. Copyright of the Trustees of the British Museum.

This narrative – of the soldier making the landscape safe, as part of the collective Israeli public which is redeeming the land – is also clear in a card published earlier, circa the 1960s, also by Palphot, which shows a statue of Mordechai Anielewicz at Yad Morechai *kibbutz* (Figure 4.22.)

The colour photograph shows the statue, gazing out of the frame to the right, with trees and plants around the edges of the frame. The ruin of a water tower, symbolic of Zionist agricultural redemption of the land, that was damaged in the 1948 war, is positioned in the background. Mordechai Anielewicz was the leader of the Jewish Fighting Organisation, which led the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, the largest Jewish insurrection during WWII. His image has become, in Israel and elsewhere, potentially symbolic of Jewish resistance during the Holocaust. Yad Mordechai was renamed after its settlement in his memory. The ruined water tower is not the only remnant of conflict on site: ‘they have preserved a water tower that was smashed in the fighting in 1948, and the battlefield, where metal cut outs of Egyptian soldiers still charge towards a rusty line of weapons [...] concreted into the trenches they defended 60 years ago,’ notes one

BBC report from 2008.³²⁴ This postcard then, centrally features several symbols of Jewish resistance which would have felt particularly relevant in the 1960s when war and expansion were underway. Here again, we see soldier and *kibbutz* associated; and the remnants of conflict and symbols of the military embedded into the landscape and identity of this *kibbutz*, and the people who live and work there.

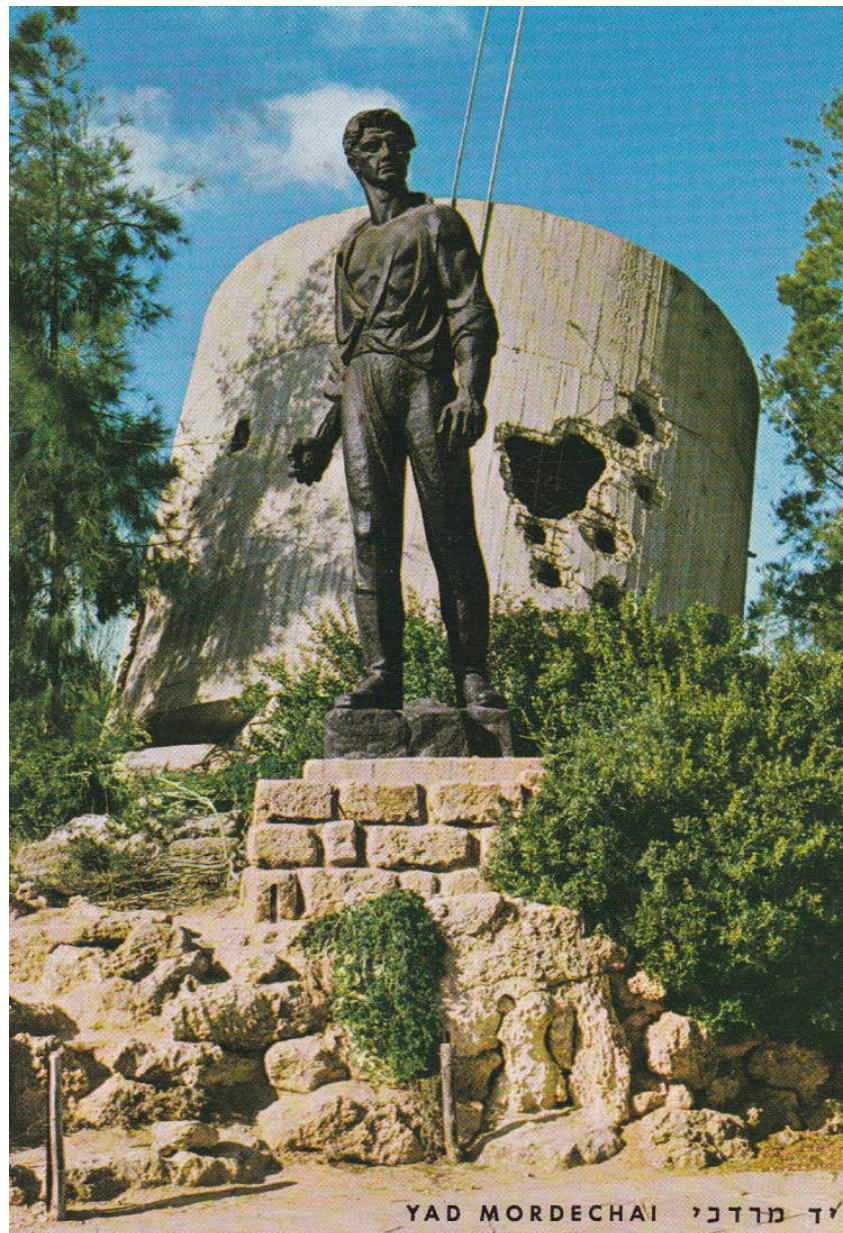


Figure 4.22

EPH-ME.7940. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1960s. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

³²⁴ Jeremy Bowen, 'Sixty years of Middle East division,' *BBC News*, 7 May 2008, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7385156.stm, accessed 2 November 2017.

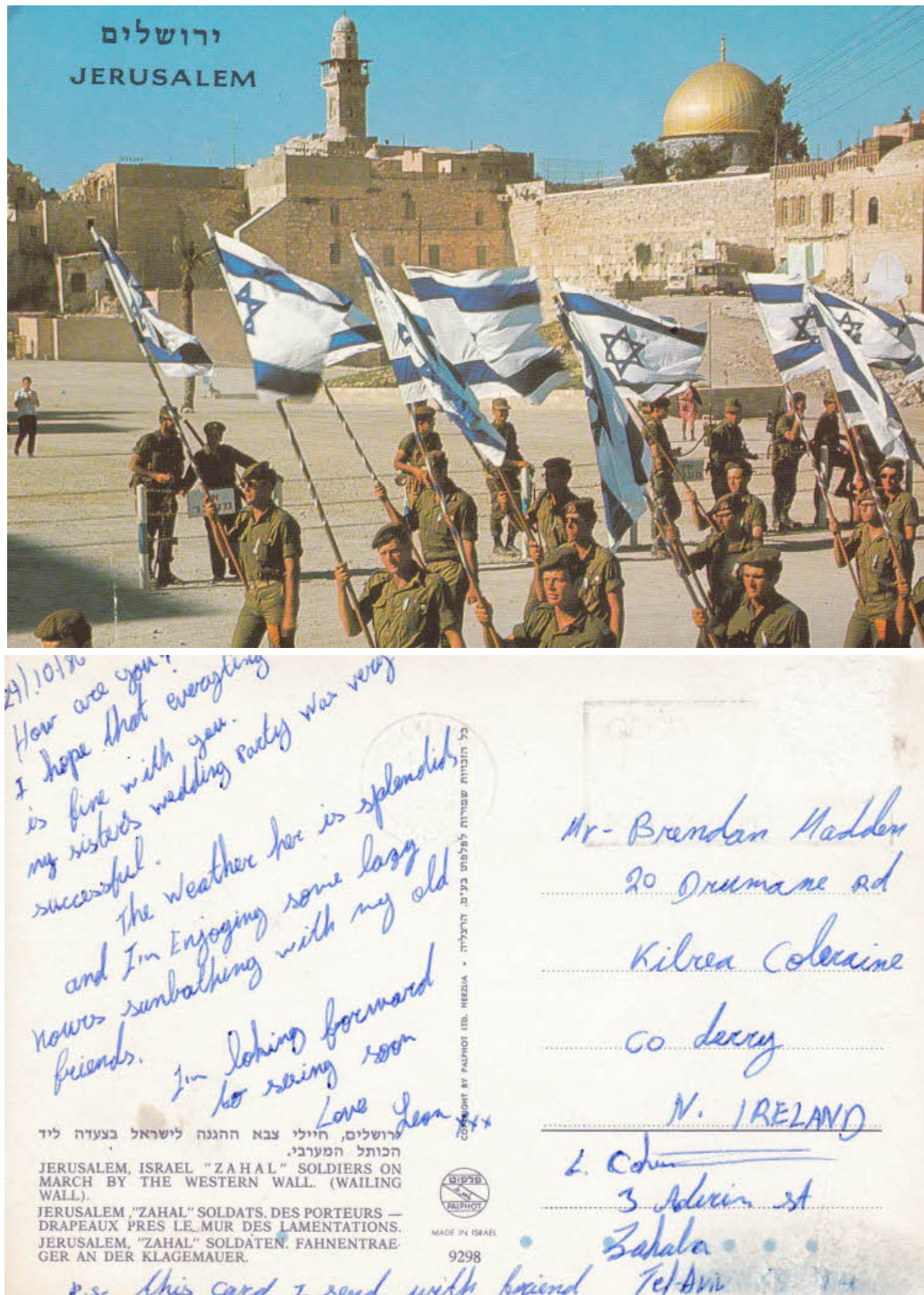


Figure 4.23

EPH-ME.6355. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1986. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The final example of a card depicting the military explicitly in the BM collection is from 1986, also published by Palphot but this time sent to Northern Ireland (Figure 4.23). It is important to here again note that whilst the postmark is dated 1986 this image may have been taken before and reprinted since – although the fact that it was

still for sale and purchased in the aftermath of the 1982 war is a sign that militarism did not entirely disappear from commercial media in this era.

The inscription on this card is dated 29 October 1986 and mentions a wedding, sunbathing and good weather. The sender includes a return address in Tel Aviv. This postcard, showing a colour photograph of the Western Wall, with the Dome of the Rock in the background, frames IDF soldiers in the foreground marching past with Israeli flags. The caption on the reverse refers, as many English-language Palphot translations on these types of cards do, to the ‘Zahal’ forces, which is an Anglicization of the common Hebrew *tzahal* acronym for the IDF. This postcard is the latest example in the BM collection of the type featured more regularly in the 1960s and early 1970s, of IDF soldiers carrying flags and on parade. Like earlier cards, the focus is on the uniformed soldiers, and the Israeli flags are also prominent against the Western Wall. The combination again, of a holy site and military parade is an echo of earlier cards and photography which placed great importance on the Western Wall, and its capture in 1967. Whilst Independence Day parades were no longer occurring by the time this postcard was sent, this could be an example of Jerusalem Day celebrations, which were institutionalised in the late 1970s as a national holiday by Prime Minister Menachem Begin – Klein has argued, to ‘demonstrate to whom the city belonged.’³²⁵ Indeed, the marching of the IDF throughout the city, particularly around Arab majority areas such as East Jerusalem and parts of the Old City, waving Israeli flags, is a clear flexing of power.

Images like these on postcards serve also as a constant visual reminder, once in shops for sale, purchased by tourists and other types of visitor, and disseminated outside and within the borders of Palestine/Israel, of that power dynamic. The reinstatement of parades and military celebrations by Begin, also, indicates that despite the unpopularity of conflicts and the shift in public opinion after 1973, militarism was embedded enough into the public sphere to reintroduce its celebration relatively quickly. This, I would argue is a clear example of the difference between the ‘military way’ and ‘militarism’ as outlined by Roei – the public took issue with the actions of the IDF, but, while this shifted some narratives around the IDF, the conflict with

³²⁵ Menachem Klein, ‘Jerusalem without East Jerusalemites: the Palestinians as the “other” in Jerusalem,’ *Journal of Israeli History*, 23/2 (2004): 174-199, DOI: 10.1080/1353104042000282375, p.194.

Palestinians, and conscription, it did not significantly change the degree to which the military was culturally embedded in the civic sphere.

'A bit disappointing': tourist encounters with conflict and the military

In the BM collection, encounters with conflict are rarely expressed in the written messages on postcards. Only two exist written in English which refer to the conflict explicitly and the experience of it during their visit. The first (Figure 4.24) shows a colour photograph of Jerusalem at night, a panorama showing the bright lights of the west of the city (not pictured). The card has no date written on it, but its stamp depicting Rosh Pinna was part of a series published between 1971 – 1980, so when the sender refers to 'the war' she is mostly likely referring to the Yom Kippur War of 1973. The message reads, in part:

Dear Mrs Weeg [...] I felt **so awfully sorry for you as the war came and really spoilt your stay here. Of course, the war meant much more serious sorrow to many, but nevertheless – I could have wished you brighter days in Israel!** But I hope & believe you felt that your dear ones have found their place. [emphasis mine.]

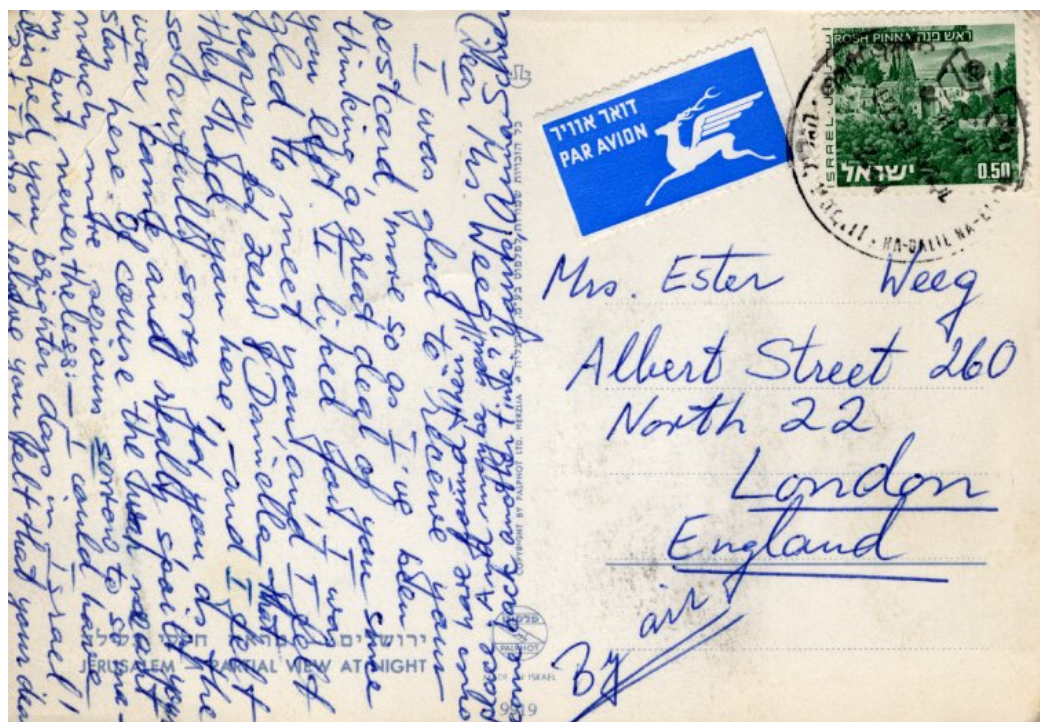


Figure 4.24

EPH-ME.821. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1971-1973. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The second, sent in 1994, the year of the Hebron massacre, was also published by Palphot. It shows part of a mosaic in the Church of the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes in Tabgha (Figure 4.25). This message reads, in part:

Shalom and Easter greetings from the Holy Land! [...]we went threw [sic] the American and Jewish q[uar]ters to the Wailing Wall (**couldn't get into the Dome of the Rock as it has been shut due to the Hebron massacre – a bit disappointing!**) [emphasis mine.]

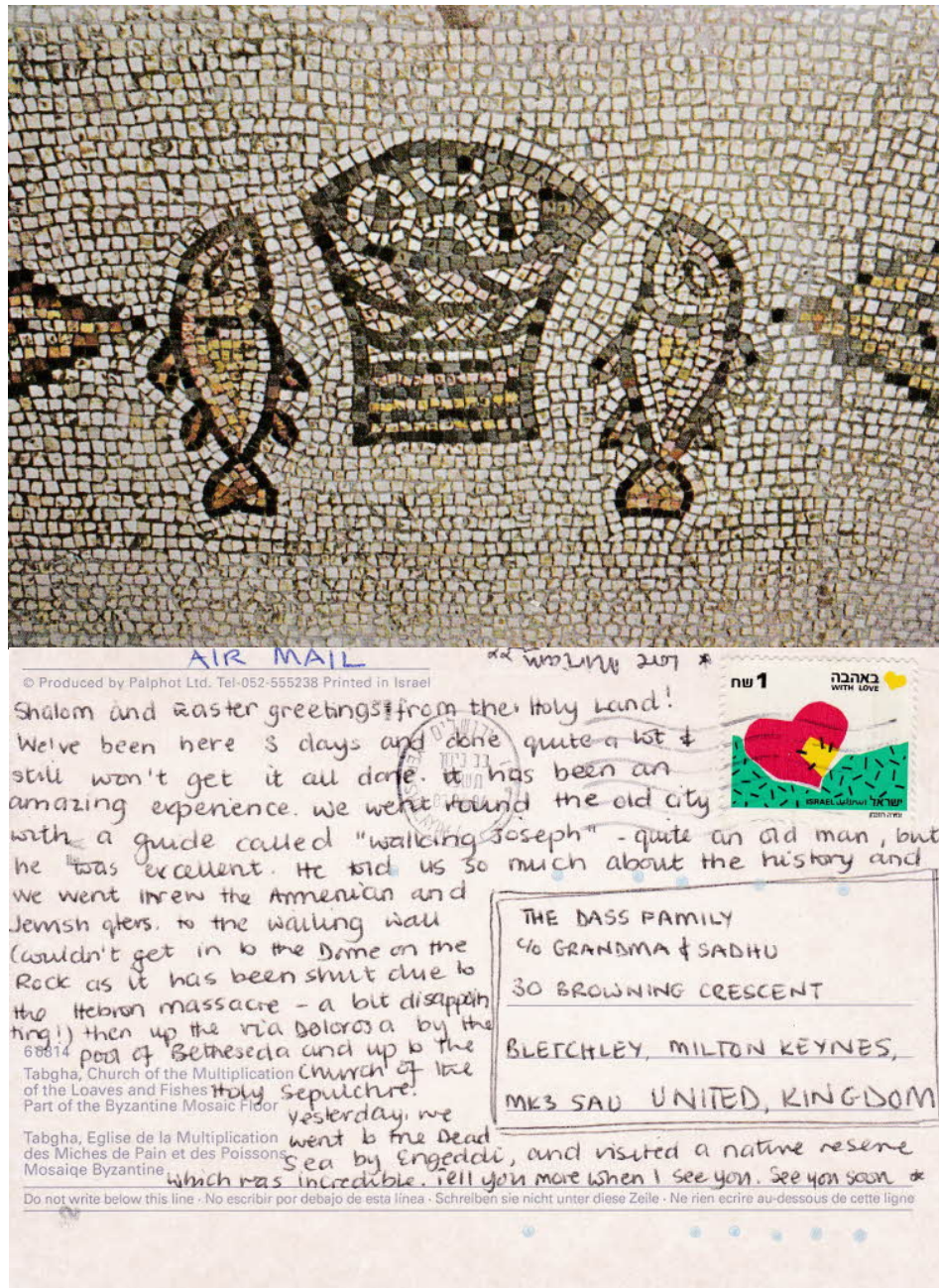


Figure 4.25

EPH-ME.4228. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1994. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Each card briefly refers to the conflict as it touched the tourist experience. In the first, earlier card, there is an acknowledgement that the war has been a terrible experience for those in the region whilst the sender refers to the conflict 'spoiling' the trip of the recipient. In the second card, however, the Hebron massacre is referred to as an inconvenience that disrupted the sender's plans. That the first card was sent by a resident of Israel to a recipient who had recently travelled there likely had an effect on the tone of the message – the sender is more attuned to the repercussions of the conflict on the local population. The latter, sent by a tourist, is primarily concerned with their trip. That being said, these cards are more usually sent with typical tourist messages – of the 'wish you were here,' 'it is hot,' 'we saw such-and-such site,' type - and a discussion of the Hebron massacre in any depth, an atrocity in which 29 Palestinian Muslims were murdered and 125 were wounded by American-Israeli far-right terrorist Baruch Goldstein, was likely too upsetting to include on a message intended for pleasantries.

Although there are cards which briefly mention seeing soldiers in general (more of which will be explored in postcards of the following chapter, where they are included in messages on postcards depicting beaches and resorts), these are the only two which refer to specific events or conflicts in their messages. Whilst tourists and locals alike bought and sent postcards which showed the military, these are not the type of cards chosen for cards which discussed conflict on their verso – instead, generic tourist images are those used for these cards, and the discussion embedded in a larger message dealing mostly with personal and travel concerns.

This is indicative of the purpose for which tourists bought postcards in the main – to depict the pleasant aspects of their travel for their family and friends at home, with a brief mention of conflict if any. The postcards showing the military were more likely, in the BM collection, to be purchased by long-term residents (in the case of the Swedish cards especially, which span a number of years, and the 1986 postcard sent by a resident of Tel Aviv) or unused entirely, perhaps collected for their images and never sent. This indicates that perhaps militaristic postcards were more likely to be intended for the local or overseas Zionist audiences who were more likely to support the IDF as an aspect of national or political identity, whereas tourists were less likely to find these types of cards appealing in the face of more traditionally touristic imagery.

Conclusion

The relative similarity of postcards depicting the IDF from the 1960s to approximately 1986, at least within the BM collection, suggests that there was a banality and relative uniformity in the ways the military was depicted and accepted as part of the visual culture of Israel. Although there was a shift in public opinion both at home and overseas towards the IDF post-1973, this led largely to a decline in representations of the military overall – but when images of the military did appear in commercial media, it was not in a critical way; it was commemorative and still emphasised the heroism of the IDF. This was one way in which postcards and tourist imagery of this type departed from the press – the photographs appearing in newspapers and journals began to sometimes take a more critical approach in the period post-1973, whereas commercial postcards made the military consumable for a local and tourist public, although with less frequency than previously.

That imagery of this type became part of a traditionally tourist-focused visual market – postcards – is suggestive of the degree to which militarism had become part of the public fabric of Israel as a nation and as part of the Israeli identity. This was of course reinforced by more tangible factors such as conscription and the physical presence of the military in everyday life, as well as the increase in military action post-1948 with the expansion of occupation in 1967 and conflicts with neighbouring nations in 1973 and 1982, as well as the increased unavailability of conflict with the PLO and *al-Fatah*. Postcards, whose ubiquity and reproductive quality are what makes them most potent, are examples of what Roei called the ‘civil-militarism’ of Israeli society both pre- and post-conflict. Their banality points to the ways in which militarism as a cultural element of public life was widespread. The fact that these photographs appeared on tourist media is also perhaps indicative of the type of image postcard-producers wished to project not just locally, but internationally. That many of these images seem to have been taken by military photographers (as indicated by the closeness of the soldiers in the frame of some such as the Border Patrol postcard and Western Wall image of 1967) suggests also that postcard producers were reproducing official narratives and visuals in the tourist sphere. Whilst tourists may have less frequently bought these types of cards than other more traditional types, the presence of this type of imagery among other tourist views is therefore part of the tourist visual understanding of Israel, and its people.

On the other hand, as has been discussed, the conflicts both internally and externally in Palestine/Israel had a detrimental effect on the tourist industry in the nation(s); there was therefore an attempt via censorship to project an atmosphere of safety to outside observers, and this was managed through press, tourist advertisement and, indeed the visual imagery of postcards, as shall be discussed in the following chapter.

**‘THERE’S NO WINTER IN ISRAEL’: RESORTS AND BEACHES IN
TOURIST VISUAL CULTURE, 1960S – 1980S**



Figure 5.1

EPH-ME.7414. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1980. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The postcard shown in Figure 5.1, published by Palphot circa 1980, depicts two sunbathers relaxing on deck chairs in the Dead Sea. Taken with a wide-angle lens, the horizon curves in a manner reminiscent of a globe; the Dead Sea here could be the end of the world, populated only by the couple in the image, as there are no other visible figures. Unlike postcard imagery from the previous chapter, which sought to highlight Israel's national military, or the more common postcards which depicted holy sites or historical points of interest, the postcard in Figure 5.1 is suggestive of rest, relaxation, and a tourist experience uncomplicated by religious or political matters. The bright blues of the sea and the sky, as well as the vibrant red bikini on the woman, are all in the warm colours which bring to mind summer and heat; the couple's closed eyes and relaxed postures suggest an untroubled holiday; their tans are indicative, especially in this period where the dangers of tanning were less of a deterrent, of sunshine and health. The curved horizon and isolation of the two figures suggests that the Dead Sea is a kind of terminal point; which, given that the Dead Sea is on the border of Israel, and the opposite shore is in Jordan, is true. The Dead Sea is 'the end of the world,' in the sense that it is the border of Israel, and this postcard does not show the opposite

shore. In this image, there is nowhere beyond Israel. And the whole world, in this image, is dominated primarily by the leisure opportunities afforded by the resort.

The BM's postcard collection contains 130 postcards which depict the sea, of which 33 show a beach scene. The most well-represented beach-side regions and cities in the collection are the Dead Sea, Eilat, Netanya and Tiberias, as well as some which depict Tel Aviv. Not all postcards of these regions and cities show their beaches or waterfronts, however, and are therefore not included in the number of beach scene postcards. The frequency with which the beach is depicted in the BM collection increases from the 1960s onward; although the most popular destination depicted on postcards continued to be Jerusalem post-1960, there was nevertheless an increase in resort imagery. This only applied in the area defined as Israel, despite the changing borders in the aftermath of 1967 and 1982; the same changes cannot be seen in postcards depicting Palestine, split in the period after the 1967 war and resulting conflicts into the West Bank and Gaza. These regions did also not see widespread construction of beachfront tourist resorts, as a result of economic and political instability as well as conflict. Aside from postcards depicting the key religious and archaeological sites in the West Bank, there is no increase in postcards showing Palestine from the 1960s onward, and they never show idyllic scenes of rest and relaxation, on a waterfront or otherwise. Of the four postcards in the collection which depict Gaza, which lies along the coast, for example, one is dated pre-state, one depicts a refugee camp, and the two others depict archaeological finds from the region. Postcards from the West Bank primarily feature religious or archaeological sites in cities like Bethlehem and Jericho.

In this chapter I will explore the increase in beach and resort imagery of Israel from the 1960s, as part of what I would argue was a wider shift away from visual imagery that speaks to the redemption of the landscape and national identity represented in the urban architectural space. Instead, through an examination of commercial postcards alongside other tourist visual media, I will show that there was a movement, in this period, towards a visual culture of rest and relaxation that attempted to express Israel's safety and modernity, and reclamation of the land in a different way.

Visual culture which expressed an idea of 'safety' to both domestic and foreign tourists was key to the tourist economy after independence. Post-independence, Israel's tourism industry fluctuated as a result, largely, of conflicts both within Palestine/Israel and in the broader Middle East region. For example, following the Sinai Campaign of

1956, tourist arrivals to Israel declined by 15 per cent (although they increased by 60 per cent in 1958 on the tenth anniversary of independence).³²⁶ Although tourism initially declined during the 1967 war, in 1968, Israel's tourist arrivals recovered and increased by nearly 50 per cent.³²⁷ Neighbouring Arab countries saw a decline in tourist arrivals for three consecutive years.³²⁸ However, in the aftermath of the 1973 Yom Kippur War, Israel suffered a three-year decline in tourist arrivals, and neighbouring Arab-majority states were affected only for the year of 1973.³²⁹ Israel's tourism numbers also suffered in 1982, the year of the war with Lebanon and the Sabra and Shatila massacre, and in 1988, the year after the onset of the First Intifada.³³⁰ Even though in 1982 Israel had also signed a peace treaty with Egypt and withdrawn from the Sinai, the unpopularity of the war with Lebanon, as well as the outrage provoked over the massacre, likely contributed to the decline in visitor arrivals.

Avraham and Ketter posit that the violent conflicts in the Middle East are perceived by those outside of the region as “a general state of war”, thus hindering the ability to distinguish among the different places.³³¹ This has meant that Israel's travel industry has historically been affected not only by conflicts in which it was directly involved, but also by a conflation of the surrounding region into one mass area of conflict. It is possible to see this conflation in the decline in tourist arrivals to Israel during the Gulf Wars, the Iranian hostage crisis, and other non-Israel-specific conflicts in the region.³³² The key for Israel's tourism promoters and the state, therefore, was to promote an idea of the country as safe for travel and distinct from its neighbours. By examining the commercial visual culture of the 1960s – 1980s, I will explore the ways in

³²⁶ Central Bureau of Statistics, 'Israel in statistics 1948-2007,' *Central Bureau of Statistics, State of Israel*, 2009, http://www.cbs.gov.il/statistical/statistical60_eng.pdf, accessed 10 June 2018, p.17.

³²⁷ Central Bureau of Statistics, 'Israel in statistics 1948-2007,' p.18.

³²⁸ Yoel Mansfeld, 'Wars, tourism and the “Middle East” factor,' in Abraham Pizam and Yoel Mansfeld (eds) *Tourism, crime, and international security issues* (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 1996), p.270.

³²⁹ Mansfeld, 'Wars, tourism, and the “Middle East” factor,' p.270.

³³⁰ In 1973, inbound tourists by air to Israel numbered 662,000, -9% from the previous year. In 1982, there were 998,000 visitor arrivals, -12% from the previous year. In 1988, 1,299,000 visitor arrivals showed a 14% decrease on the previous year. However, in 1992, 1,805,000 visitors arrived by air to Israel, a 61% increase on the previous year likely as a result of the start of the Arab-Israeli peace process and expulsion of Hamas activists to Lebanon, among other factors. For more, see Raphael Raymond Bar-On, 'Measuring the effects on tourism of violence and of promotion following violent acts,' in Abraham Pizam and Yoel Mansfeld (eds) *Tourism, crime and international security issues* (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 1996), pp.160-163.

³³¹ Eli Avraham and Eran Ketter, *Tourism marketing for developing countries: battling stereotypes and crises in Asia, Africa and the Middle East* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p.100.

³³² Central Bureau of Statistics, 'Israel in statistics 1948-2007,' p.17.

which this distinct identity revolved in large part around the conceptualisation of Israel as a country with a Mediterranean, as opposed to Middle Eastern, identity.

Tours to Palestine/Israel had, as we have seen in previous chapters, often been part of larger tours which included trips to other destinations on the Mediterranean coast, including Greece and Italy. This has been clear in travel diaries, and the itineraries of Thomas Cook tours from the early-twentieth century. These tours often drew on a type of travel in the style of the Grand Tour which was meant to encompass the important locations of foundational 'civilisation' for the purposes of education, or religion. However, Palestine/Israel was also more likely to be emphasised as part of a Holy Land tour; or as the 'Oriental' tour or leg of a tour which often included stops in locations like Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon. Prior to the late 1950s, these tours to Palestine/Israel, but specifically in this case, Israel, were not defined as exclusively Mediterranean in nature. In this chapter I will explore how tour companies, the state and commercial visual producers began to shift this narrative. This was, I argue, in combination with the establishment of a generalised narrative of Israel's waterfront destinations, including in the Dead Sea area and in Eilat in particular, as specifically beachfront resort destinations dislocated from their Middle East and border context, as part of the shift away from a militarised identity around Israel. Looking at postcards alongside magazine advertisements, articles and promotional materials, I will examine the ways in which this conforms to or contradicts Israel's Mediterranean identity along its opposite coast, and the ways in which imagery of the Dead Sea and Eilat sought to disassociate Israel's border regions from imagery and tourist perceptions of conflict and danger. The advertisement and promotion, too, of Israel as a resort for foreign leisure, but with an emphasis on its unique aspects as a site of deep religious-historical significance, was a continuation in many ways of Euro-American religious-imperialist perceptions of the landscape and people, as shown in Chapter One. In a new context, these advertisements and other visual culture worked to couch the exotic in the safety of the familiar, as we have previously seen in Cook's tours of the region in the early-twentieth century. In the final section of this chapter, then, I will examine the combination of religious-historical and leisure aspects of commercial visual culture, and the ways in which they echoed or diverted from earlier imperialist conceptualisations of Palestine/Israel.

Positioning Israel as Mediterranean

A memorandum from 1956, sent by the Israeli Government Advisor on Tourism to several branches of the Israeli government, spoke of the promotion of the country through fairs, exhibitions and advertising abroad as integral not just for the promotion of national pride, but for the tourist market, as ‘we must study to please our tourists, each one of whom is a potential propagandist in our favour and if catered to his satisfaction will repay our trouble tenfold by recommending our country to his friends on his return home.’³³³ In the early years of the Israeli state, then, there was already an effort being made on the part of governmental agencies to gain control of the international narrative through tourism.

This was part of a larger trend toward the return of narrative control to local inhabitants in the Middle East and North Africa in these decades as a result of decolonisation and the withdrawal of British forces in the region. As Hazbun describes, these decades saw ‘a shift towards local agency [...] when most ME/NA states gained sovereignty and independence. In the process, they also gained the opportunity to develop tourism industries that could serve local and national interests.’³³⁴ This change was reflected in nations other than Palestine/Israel, such as in Lebanon’s establishment as ‘a cosmopolitan tourism and leisure scene’ in this period, and Jordan’s re-shaping of its tourist industry to appeal both to international and intra-Arab tourism.³³⁵

In Israel (but not in Palestine, which gained little-to-no political agency in this decolonisation period) this shift in narrative control coincided with an upturn in the national economy following a period of austerity. Global tourism developments, especially cheaper flights and larger aircraft, led the Israeli government to examine resorts, already established particularly along the Mediterranean coast, as a key resource which ‘could help the young country secure foreign currency.’³³⁶ The cities on the Mediterranean coast had been, by the middle of the twentieth century, established for decades and were the major population centres of Israel. It is unsurprising then, that two national tourism plans published by the Ministry of Tourism in Israel in the mid-

³³³ Central Zionist Archives: A458\1.

³³⁴ Hazbun, ‘Revising itineraries of tourism and tourism studies in the Middle East and North Africa,’ p.227.

³³⁵ Hazbun, ‘Revising itineraries of tourism and tourism studies in the Middle East and North Africa,’ p.227.

³³⁶ Kobi Cohen-Hattab and Noam Shoval, ‘The decline of Israel’s Mediterranean resorts: life cycle change versus national tourism master planning,’ *Tourism Geographies*, 6/1 (2004): 59-79, p.65.

1970s and mid-1980s ‘viewed the development of tourism along the Mediterranean coast as important,’ and, predicting an increase in the number of tourists to this region, ‘recommended the extensive construction of hotel rooms in these resorts.’³³⁷

The Mediterranean coast of Israel includes cities like Netanya, Ashkelon, Acre, and of course, Tel Aviv. Whilst Tel Aviv in particular had, since the 1930s, been portrayed in tourist visual media as an example of a new, Jewish city, with a focus on the architecture and infrastructure in particular, by the late 1950s these cities were being positioned as Mediterranean resort towns to travellers. Alexandra Nocke argues that over the course of modern Israeli history, ‘the sea has played a less important role when compared to the land.’³³⁸ By examining the postcard collection of Israeli graphic designer David Tartakover, Nocke describes how images postcards of Tel Aviv focus ‘on the actual sites, with the Mediterranean, when it is visible, functioning only as background.’³³⁹ The emphasis in visual culture was often, as discussed in Chapter Three, on the forging of a new identity out of the sand dunes. Nocke’s analysis of Tartakover’s collection, which spans from 1920 – 1970, is evident in trends in the BM collection from this period also, which often frame Tel Aviv in terms of its urban landscape. However, I would argue that there was a significant difference in how Tel Aviv was displayed in tourist visual culture from the 1960s onward, in that, alongside other cities on the Mediterranean coast, there was an increasing focus on views of the beach, sea and resorts.

The postcard shown in Figure 5.2 is one example of such imagery, published circa the 1970s by Palphot. The high-contrast colour photograph used on the postcard depicts the beachfront of Netanya, a city approximately nineteen miles north of Tel Aviv along the Mediterranean coast. Just as in the Dead Sea postcard in Figure 5.1, the bold colours follow a familiar ‘sun, sea, sand’ palette of golden yellows and sky blues. The beach cuts diagonally across the middle of the frame, with the sea and waves filling the foreground, and tall new hotel buildings across the hill in the background, spanning the horizon and dominating the scene as they watch over the people below. The sea is filled with swimmers and paddlers, and to the left of the image an orange-and-white

³³⁷ Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, ‘The decline of Israel’s Mediterranean resorts,’ p.70.

³³⁸ Alexandra Nocke, ‘Modern Israeli identity and the Mediterranean cultural theme: an exploration into the visual representations of Tel Aviv and the sea,’ *Jewish Culture and History*, 13/1 (2012): 68-86, DOI: 10.1080/1462169X.2012.726515, p.69.

³³⁹ Nocke, ‘Modern Israeli identity and the Mediterranean cultural theme,’ p.72.

surfboard peeks into the frame, indicating more activities on offer just out of sight – a temptation to look further, or visit for oneself.



Netanya, the beach

Figure 5.2

EPH-ME.6801. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1970. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

This postcard could depict any number of resorts in the Mediterranean region – the tall, modern towering hotels and casual swimwear would have been familiar to many European travellers. The bathers, also, appear in the image to be largely white, and dressed in contemporary fashions: there would have been little to prompt a white Euro-American audience into fears of the ‘unknown’ or ‘exotic.’ Significantly, the caption on the verso of the postcard describes Netanya as ‘the Mediterranean resort,’ not ‘the Israeli resort,’ placing the emphasis on the city’s Mediterranean identity. For European tourists, associations with the Mediterranean were, historically most likely the south of Europe in the tradition of the Grand Tour. Focusing on the Mediterranean identity of Israel allowed for tourists to make connections with Italy and Greece. Additionally, focusing on Israel’s Mediterranean-ness was, by implication, disassociating Israel from its Middle Eastern and majority-Arab neighbouring countries, which, as discussed in the first chapters of this thesis, had long been considered backward, exotic, primitive and unsafe in British popular imagination. Mediterranean identity was therefore safe and familiar to European tourists, and implicitly imbued Israel with a European-ness, and

obscured its geographical location in the Middle East, in a manner reminiscent of the postcards of Tel Aviv shown in Chapter Three, which emphasised the modernity and International Style of the city's architecture.

It was not only in commercial postcards that Israel as a whole, or its cities, were framed as Mediterranean. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, this began to take place in tours and tour advertisements in the 1960s also. In one Air France advertisement (Figure 5.3), we can see an example of this changing narrative.

FAST! FRENCH! FABULOUS!
AIR FRANCE
JET-AWAY HOLIDAYS
AS LOW AS **\$494** COMPLETE

PARISIAN HOLIDAY
One week in gay, fabulous Paris! See the sights, go night-clubbing, stay at first-class hotel. \$494 complete. 17 days, \$639*

MEDITERRANEAN HOLIDAY
Bask on sunny Mediterranean shores of Sicily, Spain, French Riviera, Greece, **Israel**. Five itineraries in all. From \$614* complete.

MOST EXPERIENCED
6,000,000-mile pilots, American-built jets. It's no wonder more people have flown Air France to Paris than any other airline!

TAHITIAN HOLIDAY
11 days in the island paradises of Tahiti, Moorea, Hawaii. Only \$998** from L.A. 18 days, including Fiji, \$1,298**, via T.A.I.

EUROPEAN HOLIDAY
Escorted motorcoach tour visits Paris, Rome, the Vatican, Florence, Venice, Lausanne, Nice, Lyon and more. Only \$595* complete.

ALPINE HOLIDAY
No need to ski! Enjoy sun, fun and scenery, too, at famous resorts like Chamonix, Megève, St. Moritz. 17 days, \$585* complete.

ROUND-THE-WORLD HOLIDAY
France, Greece, **Israel**, India, Thailand. Return via Australia, Tahiti, Hawaii or Hong Kong, Japan, Hawaii. 31 days, from \$2,103**, N.Y.

FREE 3-3-1!
Air France
Department HG-3-61
683 Fifth Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.
Gentlemen: Please send me your free colorful Air France Jet-Away Holiday Kit.
Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____

AIR FRANCE JET
WORLD'S LARGEST AIRLINE / FIRST IN WORLD-WIDE PASSENGER EXPERIENCE

*Includes round-trip Economy Excursion jet fare from N.Y., hotels, sightseeing, etc.
**Includes round-trip Economy jet fare.

Figure 5.3

Air France Jet. Advertisement by Air France, August 1961. Published by *National Geographic Magazine*, p.143. Copyright courtesy of the National Geographic Virtual Library via The Library of Congress.

The advertisement, published in August 1961 in *National Geographic Magazine*, advertises various types of holiday including ‘European Holiday,’ – with destinations in France and Italy; ‘Alpine Holiday,’ which included ski resorts like Chamonix; and ‘Tahitian Holiday,’ encompassing Tahiti, Hawaii and Mo’orea. Each of the holiday ‘types’ are represented by an image, with text underneath listing the destinations of the trip. In the advertisement, Israel is listed under two of the holiday types: ‘Round the World,’ but also ‘Mediterranean.’

In the advertisement, underneath an image of a golden sun on a deep red background, Israel is listed alongside Sicily, Spain, Greece, and the French Riviera, but none of its neighbouring Arab-majority countries. The text advertises these destinations as places where the traveller might ‘bask on sunny Mediterranean shores.’ Unlike advertisements of earlier decades, Israel is not positioned here as a place of biblical or historical significance, but rather a beach holiday destination. There is no mention of the educational, cultural or religious significance of any of the destinations – which in the case of Israel is specifically unusual given the pre-1950s dominant narrative that the primary purpose of travel there was for pilgrimage or cultural engagement of some sort.

Another advertisement, also published in *National Geographic Magazine* in September 1963, promoted the air and sea holidays of Scandinavian Airlines System. This advertisement’s headline read ‘Flying’s a great way to get to the Mediterranean, but when you’re there you see more from a ship.’ Israel is listed in this advertisement as one of the destinations that the ship will visit, alongside Cyprus, Malta and Greece.³⁴⁰ Here again, one can see that Israel is positioned as part of the Mediterranean countries, but not alongside its neighbouring states as it had been in earlier package tours.

This positioning of Israel as Mediterranean, as opposed to part of the Middle East, also appeared in travel brochures from the period. Thomas Cook, for example, in a 1956 – 1957 *Winter Sunshine* brochure, offered an eight to fifteen-day holiday to Tel Aviv exclusively, separate from a broader tour of the ‘Holy Land and Jordan.’ The Holy Land tour followed a familiar Thomas Cook pattern, with stops at sites of religious or historic significance. However, the promotion of a holiday which stopped only in Tel Aviv and did not tour to other destinations was a departure in itself. The holiday to Tel

³⁴⁰ Scandinavian Airlines System, ‘Advertisement,’ *National Geographic Magazine*, September 1963: 304, *National Geographic Virtual Library*, via The Library of Congress.

Aviv is described in the brochure as a trip to a city full of fruits and flowers, with 'lively cafes and cabarets, and, of course, the Mediterranean'.³⁴¹



Figure 5.4

Thomas Cook. *Holidays Overseas 1961-1962* (United Kingdom: Thomas Cook, 1961), p.64. Copyright courtesy of the Thomas Cook Archives.

A later Thomas Cook brochure from 1961 – 1962, shown in Figure 5.4, chose for its Israel page to display a large photograph of palm trees and the Sea of Galilee as seen from Tiberias, rather than any biblical or heritage sites. The palm trees frame either side of the image, and in the middle ground the mountains and coastline draw the eye downward towards the sea. The view appears almost like a door framed by the trees, through which the viewer need only step to reach the shores beyond. The descriptive text acknowledges the historical significance of the country, but goes on to promote travel there by describing it as ‘a country of Mediterranean warmth and sunshine, bursting with vitality’.³⁴² The focus then, is less on the religious-historical urban landscape, but on the waterfront, resort cities of Israel, which are described as ‘vital’ and

³⁴¹ Thomas Cook, *Winter sunshine 1956-1957* (United Kingdom: Thomas Cook, 1956), p.49.

³⁴² Thomas Cook, *Holidays overseas 1961-1962* (United Kingdom: Thomas Cook, 1961), p.64.

‘warm’, evoking ideas of safety and comfort as opposed to religious conflict and regional disputes.

The motifs of the images discussed thus far – the sea, palm trees, sunshine and bathers – continued to appear in other tourist-oriented imagery from the 1960s to the late 1980s. In one poster shown in Figure 5.5, designed for an unknown tourist agency circa 1985 by Israeli artist Cyla Menusy, the coastal city of Ashkelon is advertised using similar symbols.



Figure 5.5

Ashkelon. Poster designed by Cyla Menusy, c. 1985. Publisher unknown. Copyright courtesy of The Palestine Poster Project Archive (PPPA).

The poster depicts various scenes meant to represent the city to tourists – including one historical artefact in the bottom centre. All the remaining illustrations, however, evoke the idea of a resort city with rest and relaxation at the forefront of its conceptualisation and purpose. In highly stylised illustrations using bold geometric shapes and bright, warm colours, two ships on the sea sail in the top left corner; a sun shines over a palm tree; a modernist building not dissimilar to other illustrations of Tel Aviv's architecture sits in the bottom right corner; and opposite, a parasol shades a table and chair on green grass. The naïve style, reminiscent of children's drawings, as well as the bright palette and overlapping elements of the poster give it a playful look, suggesting that Ashkelon is a city for irreverent, fun travel as opposed to more serious biblical pilgrimage or historical site visits. The iconography is obvious and simplified – palm trees, sunshine, sea water – suggesting that Ashkelon itself would be an uncomplicated, simple holiday destination. The caption at the bottom of the poster reads, 'Ashkelon on-the-Mediterranean, Israel,' further emphasising the town's seaside identity. This set of simple, generic markers of resort destinations were repeated time and again in commercial postcards from Israel's resort areas. Postcards, however, followed the patterns of iconography established by tourist advertisement and magazine spreads but were distilled by nature of commercial necessity and lack of space into the most simple, clear, and repetitive types of imagery, as seen in the postcards in Figures 5.1 and 5.2.



Figure 5.6

EPH-ME.2192. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1977. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 5.6 (cont.)

EPH-ME.2192. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1977. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 5.7

EPH-ME.2231. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1971. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

leisure activities on the shore, as shown in the postcards in Figures 5.6, 5.7, and 5.8. These three postcards show similar views encompassing the beachfront and sea, as well as the modern hotel developments along the coastline, and people on the shore sunbathing, swimming, or playing beach games. The similarity between the three, as well as with other examples of postcards depicting beaches, indicates the generic and repetitive nature of this imagery and therefore its reinforcement within a wider visual cultural sphere as representative of Israel's tourism market, particularly along the coast.

All three postcards, much like the postcards in Figures 5.1 and 5.2, use high-contrast colour photography to depict the beach front which allows for brighter blues and yellows, as well as an emphasis on the tanned skin of sunbathers which, particularly from the 1960s onward, was considered a sign of health. Those people on the beach who can be seen most clearly are young, dressed in contemporary fashions and photographed wearing swimwear – quite a different representation of the people of the nation than older Holy Land photography which showed women and men covered. There is an element of sexualisation in the depictions of bathers in their modern bikinis and swim-shorts that allows for an understanding of Israel, especially its coastal resort towns, as more permissive and 'modern' than understandings of their surrounding nations. It is also clear that the people on this beach, as in earlier postcards of Tel Aviv and *kibbutzim*, are recognisable to a Euro-American audience that would have been primarily white, and dressed in similar fashions – the tourist can therefore see themselves in the image, imagine their own travel to such a destination as comfortable and not challenging, as free of confrontation with the Other; this seems, as discussed previously, a continuation of those early imperial styles of travel which tempted with the exotic but obscured with the familiar.

The text on the back of these postcards also shows that people who chose these postcards had often visited the location depicted on the recto. In the postcard in Figure 5.6, for example, the sender writes that they 'have spent a few days resting on the beach, which is not as crowded as on the postcard!' The sender of the postcard in Figure 5.7 had a less pleasant experience, writing 'picture this photograph without any people and about 3 feet of water! Today (my fourth day) I saw the sun for the first time.' This sender also mentions that she has found volunteer work on a *kibbutz*, which frames these types of relaxing beach holidays within a wider context of nature-based travel to Israel, the *kibbutz* element of which will be explored in the following chapter. Their experiences both seem to have been that the beaches were less populated than shown in

the image – the depiction of these beaches as full of people suggests a popular resort to which many people (as viewer surrogates) have travelled, highlighting its safety and familiarity as a destination. That this was not always the case is not surprising given the fluctuation of weather, tourist patterns, and the likelihood that photography such as this was intended to show the beaches on their best and most popular days, but it is also clear that the peopled nature of the beaches was important for postcard producers to communicate as a symbol of safety.

In a similar fashion, postcards of Tel Aviv's waterfront were also busy and peopled in their imagery. Whilst, as Nocke has argued, earlier photography of Tel Aviv - a town like Netanya and Ashkelon poised on the border of the Mediterranean Sea - was largely landlocked, by the 1980s its position as the hub of Israel's Mediterranean coastal resort towns was established. Tel Aviv's airport was the hub for all travel to the north of Israel and the city had embraced its coastal identity with the establishment of many more hotels and beach amenities such as changing rooms, kiosks and water-sport activities. Postcards featuring the promenade of Tel Aviv, once it had become a more prominent tourist destination, appear in the BM collection less frequently than other destinations – Tel Aviv postcards still often concentrate on land-focused imagery like hotels, municipal buildings and the Bauhaus-style architecture. This could be because such architectural imagery is kept, and postcards of beaches, seen as more frivolous or trivial, are discarded, which would influence the content of the collection. However, Tel Aviv beach imagery does increase after 1960 comparative to earlier decades, including the postcard shown in Figure 5.9 which is particularly significant because of its verso caption and written message.

The colour photograph used on the postcard shows the Tel Aviv promenade, with Jaffa hazy in the distance. The focus is on the promenade itself, and the road next to it: these fill the foreground of the postcard entirely. On the palm-lined road, several cars are driving; on the tiled promenade, many people are walking, or sitting on benches or deckchairs facing the water. To the right of the street is a densely populated beach dotted with palm trees and refreshment stands. Beyond this, the sea itself.



Figure 5.9

EPH-ME.8022. Published by the Ministry of Tourism in Israel and El Al Airlines, Tel Aviv, c.1989. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The postcard works to draw one's eye backward to the beach and the sea by travelling the length of the promenade. With its modern infrastructure and amenities featured prominently alongside opportunities for leisure and beach activities, the

postcard works like an advertisement. This postcard likely was supposed to operate as an advertisement, given that it was published collaboratively by El Al Airlines, the national airline of Israel with its hub in Tel Aviv, and the Israeli Ministry of Tourism. The caption on the verso reads, 'Come to Israel, come stay with friends,' which was the official Israel tourism slogan of this late-1980s period. This slogan used on a postcard can carry multiple meanings – it could be interpreted as an invitation only to those nations with which Israel maintains a friendly relationship. The message also suggests that the people on the card's recto will welcome tourists and their experience will therefore be safe, and it mobilizes the postcard author as an ambassador, a friend (or, as in the government memo from 1956, as a 'propagandist') inviting more tourists to come to Israel.

The message written on the verso of the postcard, which was posted from Tel Aviv, describes how the sender is in Israel for their nephew's Bar Mitzvah. Describing their plans for the day, the sender writes, 'Jerusalem, Dead Sea & (if it's safe) Bethlehem today.' The concern over the safety of towns in the West Bank is clear – and part of a wider issue for tourists travelling to Palestine and Israel, especially from the late 1960s onward. In this card it is likely the safety concern is largely a result of the First Intifada which began in December 1987. This reputation for instability and danger in the West Bank and Gaza was widespread in the aftermath of the Intifada, although it also drew on a conceptualisation of these regions as separate, and Other. The ability to see these populations and therefore regions as unsafe was reinforced by prejudices that drew on a long history of visual representations that positioned Palestinian Arabs as an exotic curiosity or danger, as explored in previous chapters.

Images, then, like those on the postcards, advertisements and posters above were part of a wider shift in imagery around Israel which tried to separate the nation from its conceptualisation as part of the Middle East, and situate it in a recognisably Mediterranean visual sphere for overseas visitors. Although this emphasis on Mediterranean identity on the part of visual media producers was a key element of establishing Israel as a safe destination, the more general resort and beach imagery was also applied to regions that were not technically Mediterranean, but rather faced hostile borders.

'If it's safe': conflict, tourist safety concerns, and occupation as an avenue for tourist development

Despite tourists' fears over safety, conflicts with other nations sometimes worked in the favour of Israel's tourist industry by allowing for the occupation of spaces previously inaccessible and opening them up to tourist travel. In the 1967 war in particular, Israel occupied the West Bank and East Jerusalem, giving control of the holy sites of Jerusalem's Old City and the Christian, Jewish and Arab pilgrimage sites of Hebron, Jericho and Bethlehem to Israel. This conflict considerably weakened Jordan's tourism market as it lost control of its most significant holy site attractions but was beneficial to Israel's tourist traffic not just in terms of its holy sites but also the possibilities for the Dead Sea region. Later conflicts in Lebanon massively disrupted its tourist marketability and infrastructure; both the Lebanese civil war of 1975 – 1990 and the conflicts with Israel in 1978 and 1982 'shattered the market for the regional circuit tours organised out of Beirut,' and destroyed Beirut's image among both local and international tourists as 'the leisure "playground" of the Middle East.'³⁴³ This left, I would argue, an open space in the markets for both Holy Land tourism and leisure tourism for another country in the region; Israel's government and tourist agencies positioned the nation to fill both roles simultaneously.

The 1967 war provided the Israeli state with the opportunity to improve access to the Dead Sea and the broader southern region around it. As Cohen-Hattab and Shoval note, whilst the government also planned to build more hotels and develop the Mediterranean coast's resort cities, these areas were already established population hubs and had existing infrastructure and amenities. In the period immediately following the 1967 conflict, 'government budgets were redirected towards developing new tourist areas, such as the Dead Sea with its unique healing properties, and the Red Sea resort town of Eilat.'³⁴⁴

The ways in which Eilat and the Dead Sea were depicted in tourist visual media from the late 1960s onward is indicative of a shift towards year-round resort tourism, and an emphasis on safe, leisurely travel. As with cities along the Mediterranean coast, language and visuals began to change in order to disassociate these border regions from their neighbours and the Middle East more broadly, and turn viewers' attention from

³⁴³ Waleed Hazbun, *Beaches, ruins, resorts: the politics of tourism in the Arab world* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), p.77.

³⁴⁴ Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, 'The decline of Israel's Mediterranean resorts,' p.65.

conflicts in the area. For example, as a way to extricate Israel from the narrative of conflict in tourist advertisements of the 1970s (post-Yom Kippur War), the slogan for Eilat became ‘Eilat on the Red Sea.’³⁴⁵ There was no indication of its location within Israel, and attention was instead drawn to its seaside location and leisure-tourist possibilities, much like the example of Netanya in Figure 5.2.



Figure 5.10

EPH-ME.7531. Published by Palphot, Herzlia c.1990. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

This language, which located Eilat in respect to its bordering sea, continued to be used in tourist visual media after the mid-1970s, as can be seen in the Palphot postcard shown in Figure 5.10. This postcard, like those of other beachfront locations in Israel, is a high-contrast colour image and displays Eilat’s beach, the Red Sea, modern concrete hotels and people bathing, swimming and using boats in the water. The caption reads, ‘Eilat, Red Sea.’ The emphasis in both image and caption is on Eilat’s sea location, rather than its wider contextual location in Israel more generally. This image, like others in this chapter, is a relatively generic beach photograph and its heightened colours of bright blue, yellows and greens suggests that same warm, relaxing, playful atmosphere. It can be seen that the repetitive use of the same iconography in beach photography used on postcards transcended coastal differences – although the resorts

³⁴⁵ Avraham and Ketter, *Tourism marketing for developing countries*, p.100.

of the Mediterranean coast, Red Sea and Dead Sea were marketed differently, their imagery was the same recognisable symbolism of sun, sea and sand that made them non-threatening and easy to absorb. This image, like those in other postcards of Mediterranean coastal resorts, shows white, European-looking bathers, advertising these regions in a way that suggests they are playgrounds for European travellers – again, in a manner suggestive of imperialist lenses for earlier travel that positioned travel to the region as an opportunity to occupy spaces and shape nations in a way that best suited the tourist, rather than the local.

Eilat differed from Israel's northern coastal cities in several ways, not least of which was its desert climate which allowed for year-round dry, high temperatures. Established as a permanent settlement in 1949, the town became a relatively busy resort on the seaside, but remained a town on the frontier until 1967 as a result of its location on the southernmost point of Israel's then-borders. After the 1967 war, and until 1982, Eilat lost that status as Israel occupied the Sinai Peninsula; after 1982, when Israel arranged a peace treaty with Egypt, the terms of which included Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai, the status of Eilat as a frontier town returned but with the added benefits of a now prosperous resort industry and transport links with the rest of Israel.³⁴⁶ In the two 'frontier periods', pre-1967 and post-1982, Israel's popular culture conceptualised Eilat as 'the end of the world,' given its terminus point on the road leading south (a conceptualisation, I would argue, which also applied to the Dead Sea given its border status between Israel and Jordan, and which is represented in the postcard in Figure 5.1.) This popular imagining of Eilat as a wild frontier at the end of the world was enhanced by the beatnik lifestyle of many of the town's residents, which appeared exotic and unfamiliar even within the rest of Israel, a nation in which the values of productive, communal work still held much sway.³⁴⁷ In the interim period during which Israel occupied the Sinai, new beaches opened up in locations like Sharm El-Sheikh which became what Azaryahu describes as 'popular havens of uncommitted idleness for Israeli youth.'³⁴⁸ However, this development of the wider region also led to the more specific development of Eilat as a 'fully-developed tourist resort catering

³⁴⁶ Moaz Azaryahu, 'The beach at the end of the world: Eilat in Israeli popular culture,' *Social & Cultural Geography*, 6:1 (2005): 117-133, DOI: 10.1080/1454936052000335008, pp.118-119.

³⁴⁷ Azaryahu, 'The beach at the end of the world,' p.124.

³⁴⁸ Azaryahu, 'The beach at the end of the world,' p.125.

mainly to European tourists,' the most significant element of which was the incorporation of Eilat into the global system of charter flights in 1975.³⁴⁹

Located on the margins and borders of Israel, Eilat and the Dead Sea could have been positioned as more dangerous than landlocked areas or the Mediterranean coast, which had been longer established and more protected. Instead, they became examples of Israel's functional border security as they developed into popular tourist areas. Eilat in particular, already imagined as a more liberal town, was the ideal location to pivot tourist marketing towards – it distracted and shifted the narrative away from conflict and religious tension towards beach lifestyles, liberal attitudes and, importantly, year-round sunshine. Yet simultaneously, its border status could function as proof that the whole of Israel was safe for travel, given the safety of its frontier.

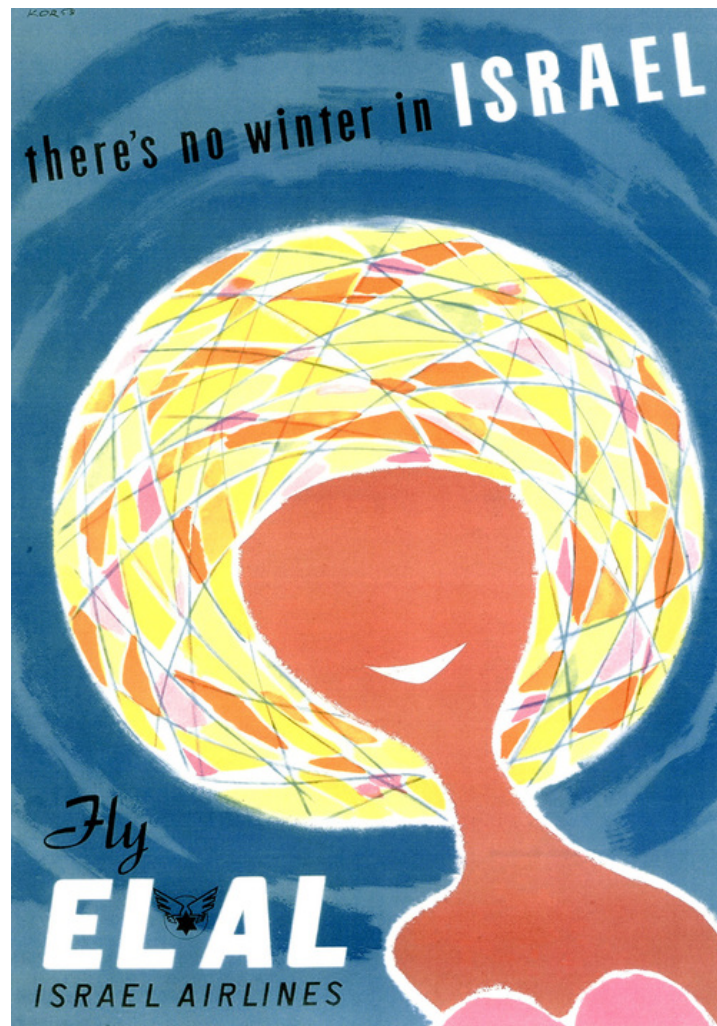


Figure 5.11

There's no winter in Israel. Poster designed by Paul Kor. Published by El Al Airlines, Tel Aviv, 1965. Copyright courtesy of The Palestine Poster Project Archives (PPPA).

³⁴⁹ Azaryahu, 'The beach at the end of the world,' p.125.

As Eilat became a more popular destination for travel, producers of tourist visual culture seized on its year-round high temperatures to market Israel as a destination where tourists could expect warm, summer weather at any time. In the poster shown in Figure 5.11, published by Israel's national airline El Al Airlines in 1965, the headline text explicitly reads 'There's no winter in Israel.' The poster was designed by Paul Kor, a graphic designer whose work was instrumental in 1960s Israel in terms of shaping state iconography: he designed bank notes, postage stamps and posters for state institutions before collaborating with El Al and other commercial partners. Paul Kor's style would therefore have been recognisable or at least familiar to Israelis, but this poster was intended for international audiences, given its invitation to fly to Israel and its text in English. This audience were far less likely to be familiar with his work. The choice of Kor as designer, however, given his close hand in developing the style of state graphics, suggests that El Al wanted their tourist media and design aesthetic to mirror that of the government and state institutions, to be as 'official' a representation of Israeli visual style as possible.

The poster itself is a stylised illustration depicting a smiling, but otherwise featureless woman, wearing a bright pink strapless dress or swimsuit, and a broad yellow sunhat splintered with geometric shards of orange and pink. The hat is very large and appears spherical above the woman's head, looking in colour and shape almost like a bright yellow sun. The background is that intense blue shown in postcard imagery of beach scenes, and the other colours in the image are similarly vivid. The woman is tanned, slim, and smiling – the idealised notion of health and vitality, representative of the young, healthy nation of Israel. Through her clothing she represents beachgoers – there are no other figures or sites depicted in the poster, so the whole of Israel is represented by a woman dressed for the beach. The facelessness of the woman also allows for the same self-insertion of the tourist audience as in generic beach postcards; she could be any tourist, and thus the viewer can imagine themselves as this tanned, happy visitor. The slogan, 'There's no winter in Israel,' emphasises not only the new focus on year-round resort tourism, but also the shift in attention towards accommodation of non-religious or leisure-focused tourists who place less of a premium on Israel's historic or pilgrimage sites.

Erik Cohen posits a phenomenology of the tourist experience in an attempt to establish why overseas tourists with no nationalistic, religious or political affiliations to the state visited Israeli *kibbutzim*. He identifies five modes of tourist experience:

recreational; diversionary; experiential; experimental; and existential. The latter two modes are especially useful in terms of thinking about *kibbutzim* travel and will be explored in the following chapter; but here the recreational mode is most significant. Cohen argues that a recreational tourist makes trips that are intended to be both entertaining and restorative, and therefore, this mode is related to ‘the religious voyage to the sacred, life-endowing centre, which rejuvenates and “re-creates”’.³⁵⁰ However, in the recreational mode, ‘the intent and meaning of the religious voyage is secularized [...] though the tourist may find his experiences on the trip “interesting”, they are not personally significant.’³⁵¹ As the visual media thus far has shown, this type of recreational travel was marketed from the 1960s onward in Israel, and there is evidence that European and American tourists were increasingly open to experiencing Israel specifically in this recreational mode.

Contemporary non-religious, pleasure-seeking travellers of the type exemplified in an article published in *US Vogue*’s travel section in July 1969 fit Cohen’s recreational mode. Written by Anne Chamberlin, the article declares that ‘to a lot of Sunday-school dropouts Israel has always seemed a risky place to go looking for dolce far niente [the art of doing nothing]. [...] You don’t mind feeling tired after a vacation; you just hate to feel you’ve improved yourself.’³⁵² Chamberlin goes on to reassure this type of traveller, not interested in ‘high’ culture or religious experiences, that the Israel of the contemporary era had many things to offer them:

‘Even in the fearsome furnace of the Negev desert, a traveller need never pause for the night more than fifty feet from an Olympic-sized swimming pool. At Ein Gedi, near the Dead Sea, it’s a cool green pond with a waterfall at one end. At Ein Bokek, down the road, they’ve got mineral and mud baths [...] at the guest house of Kibbutz Ginossar, the “pool” is the entire Sea of Galilee [...] at Kibbutz Ayelet Hashahar, not far away [...] the view from the diving board takes in the gleaming slopes of the newly-conquered Israeli ski slopes on Mount Hermon. Syrians and Lebanese are sliding down separate but equal slopes just

³⁵⁰ Erik Cohen, ‘A phenomenology of tourist experiences,’ *Sociology*, 13/2 (1979): 179-201, DOI: 10.1177/003803857901300203, p.183.

³⁵¹ Cohen, ‘A phenomenology of tourist experiences,’ p.184.

³⁵² Anne Chamberlin, ‘Vogue’s fashions in travel: Israel, it’s safe to eat the lotus,’ *Vogue*, 154/1 (1 July 1969), p.158.

as Jordanians are laughing and splashing at Aqaba, across the beautiful bay from Eilat.³⁵³

Her emphasis, in the article, is on the bountiful and beautiful amenities and seascapes of Israel, largely to the south of the nation. She lists various attractions but largely reiterates the availability of beaches and swimming pools, in much the same way as advertisements and postcards focused on waterfront locations and activities in this period. Visual media and articles in this style were not trying to create a market that did not already exist, rather, they were utilizing an already extant tourist public to shift the narrative of tourism to Israel in a new direction.

Tellingly, Chamberlin's final paragraph makes a tasteless 'separate but equal' comparison in reference to Mount Hermon and the recent occupation of that area by Israel. There is a 'reassurance' to her readers that it will not be necessary to interact with the Other on your beach holiday – the average Euro-American tourist will be surrounded by the familiar and people who appear like them. This notion would have been particularly familiar to an American audience, as their nation's own 'separate but equal' doctrine had only been overturned in 1954; and segregationist laws continued to operate there for decades afterward.

This type of language, attempting to advertise a luxurious getaway location with an element of glamour and exoticism, but familiar enough to assuage any safety concerns or doubts based on prejudices, was part of advertisements of this era as well, and is reminiscent of the Orientalist advertisements of the early-twentieth century. In these post-1960 advertisements, however, the focus was on the Mediterranean as a point where the east and west met, but with a firm European-ness that was separate from Middle Eastern identities. In the same issue of *Vogue*, an advertisement for the Tel Aviv Hilton Hotel emphasises the features of the hotel and the city which may attract the modern, leisure-tourist of the late 1960s; 'climate-controlled rooms,' overlooking the Mediterranean in 'Israel's youngest, biggest city,' as well as '24-hour room service, a heated saltwater pool.' The hotel amenities would have been familiar, even expected, by tourists of the type likely to purchase *Vogue*, but the advertisement goes on to describe its restaurant, with 'doors like King Solomon's temple,' alluding to the religious and historical aspects of the nation. It concludes by describing the hotel as 'the Israeli hotel

³⁵³ Chamberlin, 'Vogue's fashions in travel,' p.154.

with the American accent,³⁵⁴ assuaging any fears the tourist may have with the unfamiliar, allowing for enough exotic fantasy to attract visitors and yet simultaneously couching the experience in an American context. The safety of the familiar and the thrill of the unknown also occasionally appear simultaneously in the messages written on postcards by their senders.



Figure 5.12

EPH-ME.7354. Published by Palphot, Herzlia c.1984. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

³⁵⁴ Hilton Hotels, 'Tel Aviv Hilton advertisement,' *Vogue*, 154/1 (1 July 1969), p.49.

In one postcard shown in Figure 5.12, posted in 1984, the laid-back resort atmosphere of Eilat is explicit in the message on the verso, in addition to being suggested by the image on the recto. By 1984, of course, Eilat had resumed its position as a frontier town once again, but it had also developed into a popular resort, and its tourist infrastructure was popular specifically with the European market, as has been discussed. How this easy-going atmosphere was interpreted by this tourist may provide insight into the effectiveness of this tourist narrative more broadly.

The imagery on the postcard is divided – three panels show high-contrast colour photographs of the resort architecture, fish swimming underwater, and the beachfront. In the right lower corner there is an illustration, captioned ‘Eilat’ in English and Hebrew, showing a bikini-clad woman water-skiing, pulled along by a sea creature of some sort. The playful illustration captioned with the name of the city indicates the tone the postcard hoped to transmit, as do the photographic images: Eilat is a place for relaxation and water-based leisure activities. The image of the resort’s architecture, with its repeated rows of white buildings and red roofs is repetitive on its own and suggests a cohesiveness or homogeneity in the tourist experience for all visitors – there is little that will differ, it suggests, between individual tourist experiences of Eilat.

The message written on the verso of the postcard reads:

‘Hello y’all! We’re getting lovely + brown. Drinks are \$3 (even lemonade) beer is \$1.80 so mummy’s tea maker is handy – it boils the water for the fridge too. The hotel have given us some fruit as well. Tomorrow we hope to go to the underwater observatory – although just standing in the sea, the water is so clear we see tropical fish – electric blues, zebra fish, coral fish, etc. The pace here is very relaxed + we’ve only just got used to it. Most natives are in the army if not in hotels + tourist trade so we have soldiers (male + female) with machine guns+ pistols wandering along the beach! Sun is at its hottest from 9am – 11am so we’re up early! Love M+N xxx.’

This message mentions several of the themes of visual tourist media, including postcards, that featured imagery of Israel in the decades following the late 1960s. The writer mentions getting ‘lovely + brown,’ much like the tanned sunbathers on beach postcards, in advertisements and posters that in this period were representative of youth and health. The activities the traveller will be participating in are not religious or

historical – instead, the writer mentions visiting an aquarium, and paddling in the sea to observe the tropical fish. These activities are shown in the postcard's imagery, where both the seashore and a school of fish are depicted. Explicitly, the writer refers to the very relaxed pace of Eilat, something that visual tourist media of this era attempted to convey through the signifiers of sun, sea, and sand.

Significantly, however, the writer of the postcard also notes that most of the local population are either employed in the tourist trade or the army, and mentions that armed soldiers of both sexes carry weapons on the beach – an indication of the relatively recent return to frontier status in Eilat. Imagery of the military patrolling the beach was not used on tourist visual media – unlike the military postcards of the previous chapter, this new genre of imagery clearly strove to disassociate Israel's resort tourism from its national military endeavours. Whilst the military were arguably part of the narrative of Israel's safety and security, by the time this card was written in 1984, military imagery was less prevalent and less likely to project the impression of safety and stability, given the unpopular wars of preceding years. It was also less likely to convey a relaxed pace than imagery of waterfronts, tropical fish and sunbathers, which would disrupt the narrative being promoted in popular tourist media.

As has been noted, a decrease in tourist arrivals to Israel post-1982 and the war with Lebanon led the Israeli Ministry for Tourism to rethink their tourist promotional policy. This was apparent not only in the absence of militarism in commercial media like postcards, but also through an explicit campaign outlined in *The Christian Science Monitor* in June 1983. In the article, Barry Beiderman, president of the company hired by the Ministry for Tourism to orchestrate the new campaign, argued that the previously stable base of religious tourists had become less reliable in recent years. As the article's author pointed out, 'how many times can even a devout sightseer travel to the same historic site?'³⁵⁵ Beiderman's solution was to 'build a broader, more stable visitor base [...] put more emphasis on Israel as an attractive, year-round resort rather than just a place for sightseeing.'³⁵⁶ Clearly, this emphasis on resort travel had begun earlier than the 1980s, as has been shown in advertisements and other media thus far. However, Beiderman's acknowledgement of changing travel habits reveals an awareness on the

³⁵⁵ George R. Bonner Jr., 'Israel plans ad blitz to restore tourism lost after Lebanon invasion,' *The Christian Science Monitor*, 15 June 1983, p.8.

³⁵⁶ Bonner Jr., 'Israel plans ad blitz,' p.8.

part of the Israeli state, and his comments suggest a concerted effort to shift the narrative from the state tourism offices.

This does not mean, however, that the religious and historical context of Israel was abandoned entirely in tourist visual media like advertisements and posters. It was merely presented in a new way, combining the religious-historical with leisure in a way designed to appeal to a new kind of recreational tourist, with echoes, however, of the mix of religious-historical tourist promotion and the provision of familiar home comforts established by companies like Cook in the early-twentieth century.

‘And on the seventh day, you rest’: combining the religious with the resort



Figure 5.13

High tea on the Dead Sea. Advertisement by the Israel Government Tourist Office, May 1963. Published by *National Geographic Magazine*, p.575. Copyright courtesy of the National Geographic Virtual Library, via the Library of Congress.

In the latter half of the twentieth century, there were many instances where tourist visual media conflated language and imagery about the religiously significant and leisure activities. One example is the Israeli Government Tourist Office advertisement published in *National Geographic Magazine* in May 1963 (Figure 5.13).

The block of text, underneath the headline ‘High tea on the Dead Sea,’ combines the ancient history of the region with its modern possibilities in phrases like, ‘a swimming pool in the land of Abraham,’ and ‘you can dive at Ashkelon, at the beach where Samson met Delilah.’ When discussing dinner at the Sea of Galilee, they suggest that tourists ‘pay the bill with your Diner’s Club card.’ In this way, the text of the advertisement capitalises on the amenities and leisure activities available in the resort areas of Israel, but reminds the audience of the gravitas of these areas in a religious-historical context. It is a way of defining Israeli resort travel as unique and more worthwhile, perhaps, than other resort regions in Europe or America. It also allows for sites outside of Israel’s then-borders (the Old City of Jerusalem, in particular, which was only occupied post-1967) to be the focus of religious tourism, even if it is combined with leisure.

Here also, Euro-American travellers fear of the Other is assuaged. The majority of the advertisement is a bright colour photograph of a young, tanned white man – a surrogate for the target audience - floating in the Dead Sea whilst drinking from a teacup. The text, ‘High tea on the Dead Sea,’ evokes notions of British upper-class sensibility, while the text underneath points out that you can use your credit card even in a site from the Bible to pay for your dinner. The advert reassures the reader that there is no need to abandon home comforts, and therefore the traveller can experience a resort holiday with familiar amenities, alongside the benefit of historical and religious interest – in a way that evokes Thomas Cook’s tours discussed in Chapter One. As the text concludes, ‘where else in the world?’ The implication being certainly not in neighbouring Jordan, which had ownership of the most significant religious sites in 1963 but did not have the modern resort amenities of Israel. Israel could combine the religious and the relaxing in a way that bordering nations could not.

This advertisement, published in 1963, also came at a time when, as Shaul Krakover notes, ‘the obstacles for regional development prospects to the Dead Sea seemed insurmountable,’ largely due to the high daily temperatures, lack of water and

difficulty of accessibility due to lack of infrastructure.³⁵⁷ Krakover points to the establishment of Kibbutz Ein Gedi in 1953 as crucial in shaping the development of the desert region, as the *kibbutz* residents ‘were among the first to realise the tourism potential of the area, by opening a 200-bed youth hostel and offering guided field trips as early as 1960.’³⁵⁸ The opening, in the mid-1960s, of a new paved road though Arad was perhaps more significant a development, given that the road led tourism to the hot mineral spring spas at Hamei Zohar and Ein Bokek. This was part of larger infrastructural and narrative changes that were to influence the portrayal of the Dead Sea region as an area for spa and health tourism. After the end of the war, a paved road was added from Jerusalem through Jericho and along the shore of the Dead Sea, which shortened the drive from Jerusalem to the Dead Sea from three hours to one.³⁵⁹ This had the added effect of bringing other infrastructural improvements, including live power lines and wells in the early 1970s, which again boosted tourism; Krakover’s study shows that even not counting two campsites and three youth hostels operating by 1975, the number of hotels in the Dead Sea region increased from one with 32 rooms in 1965, to 4 with 603 rooms in 1975, to 6 with 904 rooms by 1983.³⁶⁰

This shift towards developing previously inaccessible or underserved areas like the Dead Sea post-conflict led to advertising making visual use of that newly open space for tourists, and was an example of the ways in which conflict and occupation of land could provoke opportunities for the development of tourist economies, as discussed above. The language, again, would highlight the new opportunities for relaxation but continue to emphasise the significance of the landscape, as it did in the Israel Government Tourist Office advertisement shown in Figure 5.14.

Published in *US Vogue* in 1979, this advertisement features eleven images of tourist activities taking place across Israel. Of the eleven separate photographs used, only three show religious or historical sites: the Dome of the Rock, the Dead Sea Scrolls at the Israel Museum, and the ruins at Caesarea. The other eight images show a young, fit white couple playing tennis, snorkelling, eating a meal, running on the beach, water-skiing, riding a motorbike, playing golf, and relaxing in a swimming pool on inflatable

³⁵⁷ Shaul Krakover, ‘Development of tourism resort areas in arid regions,’ in Yehuda Gradus (ed), *Desert development: man and technology in sparselands* (Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1985), p.279.

³⁵⁸ Krakover, ‘Development of tourism resort areas in arid regions,’ p.280.

³⁵⁹ Efrat Kedem-Tahar, ‘The kibbutz that was – what is left from the original concept,’ *Cross-Cultural Management Journal*, 16/2 (2014), p.320.

³⁶⁰ Krakover, ‘Development of tourism resort areas in arid regions,’ p.282.

loungers. The priority in this advertisement is clearly the emphasis on beach related activities, relaxation, and the type of physical activities tourists may enjoy on holiday.



And on the seventh day, you rest.

On your first day in Israel, you probably won't know what to do first. You might travel back to Biblical times—to follow in the footsteps of patriarchs and prophets. Stand atop Mount Carmel, where Elijah once stood. Or head for Jerusalem—home of three great religious shrines. Then, you might leave history behind for Tel Aviv with its jet-age architecture, glittering nightspots and fashionable boutiques. Whirl to the music of a swinging Israeli band. And feast on foods ranging from St. Peter's fish to Beef Wellington. As time goes on, so will you. To Galilee for waterskiing and Caesarea for golf.

Once you get started, it's hard to stop. And just when you think you've seen it all, you'll discover the glorious colors of the Negev—with the heavenly oasis of Elat on the Red Sea. By the seventh day, you'll be relaxing at a Dead Sea spa or on one of our Mediterranean beaches. Knowing that you're experiencing the perfect holiday—the closest thing to heaven on earth. Come visit us. Your travel agent can tell you about the new low airfare and tours to Israel.

ISRAEL

Israel Government
Tourist Office, 350 Fifth Ave.,
N.Y., N.Y. 10001

Tell me what to see once I get there.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

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Copyright © 2012 Condé Nast
Figure 5.14

And on the seventh day, you rest. Advertisement by the Israel Government Tourist Office, 1 May 1979. Published by *Vogue*, p.185. Copyright courtesy of the Library of Congress.

The caption reads, ‘And on the seventh day, you rest,’ explicitly referencing the Bible and the story of God’s creation of the earth. The text underneath this caption briefly suggests at its beginning that travellers might ‘travel back to biblical times,’ suggesting Jerusalem and Mount Carmel as possible destinations. However, the following paragraphs immediately suggest ‘you might leave history behind for Tel Aviv

with its jet-age architecture, glittering nightspots and fashionable boutiques.’ For Galilee, rather than describe its religious significance, the advert suggests to travel there ‘for water-skiing;’ for Caesarea, rather than its historical artefacts, tourists are encouraged to golf. Towards the close of the advertisement text, the language begins to sound like that of earlier Government Tourist Office advertisements conflating the religious and the resort, as it describes ‘the heavenly oasis of Eilat on the Red Sea,’ and invokes the biblical by suggesting ‘by the seventh day, you’ll be relaxing at a Dead Sea spa or on one of our Mediterranean beaches [...] the closest thing to heaven on earth.’

Here again, the suggestion is that Israel is especially significant for religious or historical reasons, but that this should serve to enhance a primarily leisure-based resort holiday. That this advertisement and that shown in Figure 5.13 come from Israeli state tourism offices suggests the adoption of this type of narrative on an official level, and its dissemination in widely available, popular magazines in Europe and America was for a target audience of Euro-American young-to-middle-aged people with relatively high disposable income. In the caption, that audience is specifically addressed: ‘on the seventh day, you rest,’ which implies travel to Israel will make you a god-like figure, represented by the youthful, fit and healthy people in the images. It also evokes to some degree, those imperial notions that the foreign traveller could visit, and conquer, foreign nations and be viewed in the fashion of a ‘god’ or superior figure – that the traveller could also, in a colonial way, refashion the landscape to their will.

The tear-off slip at the bottom of the advertisement in Figure 5.13 even has space on which to write a name and address, and send to the Israel Government Tourist Office so that they can ‘tell me what to see once I get there,’ indicating an attempt to control the narrative not only through advertisement but in the more direct shaping of the tourist experience.

The conflation of resort culture and religious-historical significance is also pronounced in another Israel Government Tourist advertisement, shown in figure 5.15 and published in *Vogue* in the same issue as Anne Chamberlin’s article eschewing all religious attractions in Israel in favour of its resorts and leisure amenities.

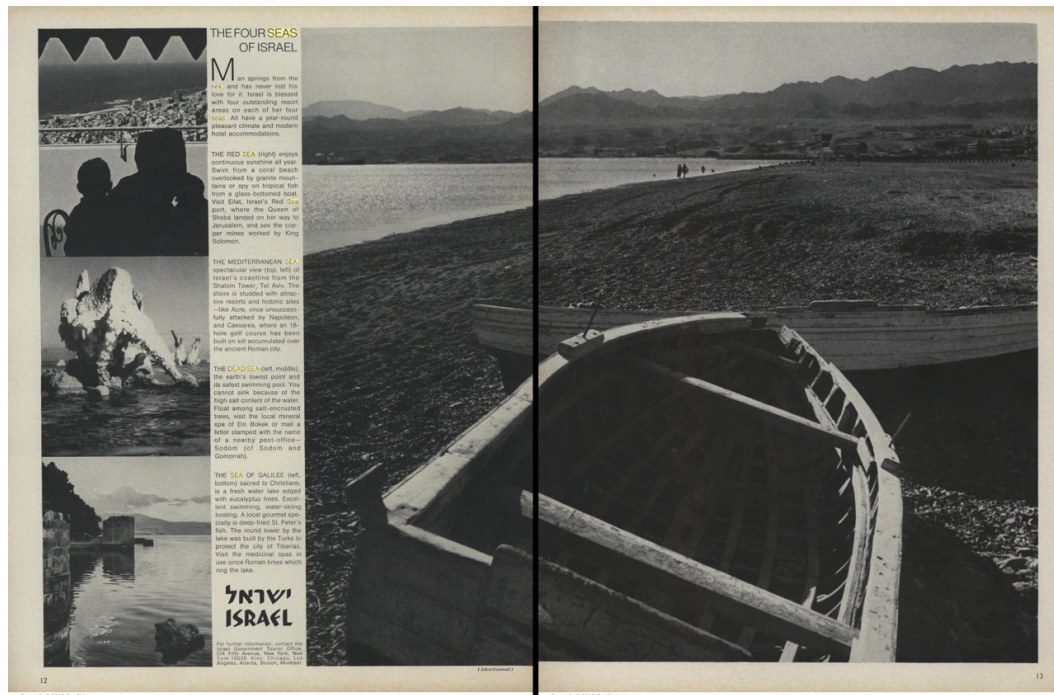


Figure 5.15

The four seas of Israel. Advertisement by the Israel Government Tourist Office, 1 July 1969. Published by *Vogue*, pp.12-13. Copyright courtesy of the Library of Congress.

This advertisement is a monochrome two-page spread, three-quarters of which is dominated by a large photograph of the shore of the Red Sea at Eilat, with a fishing boat in the foreground. On the left side of the advertisement are a further three monochrome photographs, showing from top to bottom: the coast of Tel Aviv from Shalom Tower; salt formations in the Dead Sea; and the shore of the Sea of Galilee. The title reads, ‘The Four Seas of Israel.’ Encouraging tourists to visit, the text claims that ‘Israel is blessed with four outstanding resort areas on each of her four seas. All have a year-round pleasant climate and modern hotel accommodations.’ In this advertisement we can see the relatively early adoption of narratives that came to dominate tourist visual media in Israel around resort areas since. The Red Sea, the text explains, ‘enjoys continuous sunshine all year,’ and the coast on the Mediterranean Sea has ‘a shore studded with attractive resorts.’

The images dominate the advertisement, allowing for a small explanatory panel filled with advertising copy to run down the gap between the photographs. The fishing boat in the foreground of the Eilat photograph on the right points the eye towards the beach and shoreline, which in turn draws the viewers gaze along its length. The fishing boat is suggestive of the types of leisure activities possible in Eilat, while the wide

expanse of beach and figures populating it in the distance suggests endless opportunity for sunbathing and other leisure activities. However, the fishing boats are also religious in symbolism, and historical, given that they are not the more modern steamships and cruise liners that were coming to Israel in this period. Here again we can see the combination of the religious-historical with leisure.

The three additional images to the left of the page focus primarily on the shore or water; the image of Tel Aviv also shows two silhouetted figures sitting in a shaded balcony café in its foreground but both gaze towards the shoreline in the distance; the image of the Dead Sea is dominated by the unusual-looking salt formation and the foreground is entirely filled by the seawater; the third and final image of the Sea of Galilee depicts the water and a wall running along the left-hand side of the frame which draws the viewers gaze backwards to the expanse of the water beyond. Both the images and title reinforce the conceptualisation of Israel as a beachfront destination for tourists, with the primacy they place on the water and its possibilities for tourism. In the smaller text panel, however, is where the narrative of the advertisement is more explicit. Caesarea is advertised through its '18-hole golf course [...] built on silt accumulated over the ancient Roman city,' acknowledging the historic past yet simultaneously emphasising its erasure by the building over of new leisure amenities for tourism. The Sea of Galilee is affirmed as 'sacred to Christians,' yet it is not described as a site of pilgrimage but rather as 'excellent for swimming, water-skiing, boating [and ...] medicinal spas.' The Dead Sea is the ideal place in which to 'float among salt-encrusted trees, visit the local mineral spas of Ein Bokek, or mail a letter stamped with name of a nearby post-office – Sodom.' Here, two significant religious sites are highlighted for their resort aspects – and in the case of Sodom, likely referenced in an attempt at humour - but given context in terms of their importance culturally, allowing Israel's seaside resorts to appear familiar yet unique to the leisure-focused Euro-American tourist.

Travellers to Israel may have often, in this period, fit into a recreational mode, but it was also possible that they absorbed and replicated the tourist narrative advertised, which combined both the resort experience and the religious-historic significance of the land. In one Palphot postcard, shown in Figure 5.16, and posted in 1989, the sender and the image exemplify this type of travel.

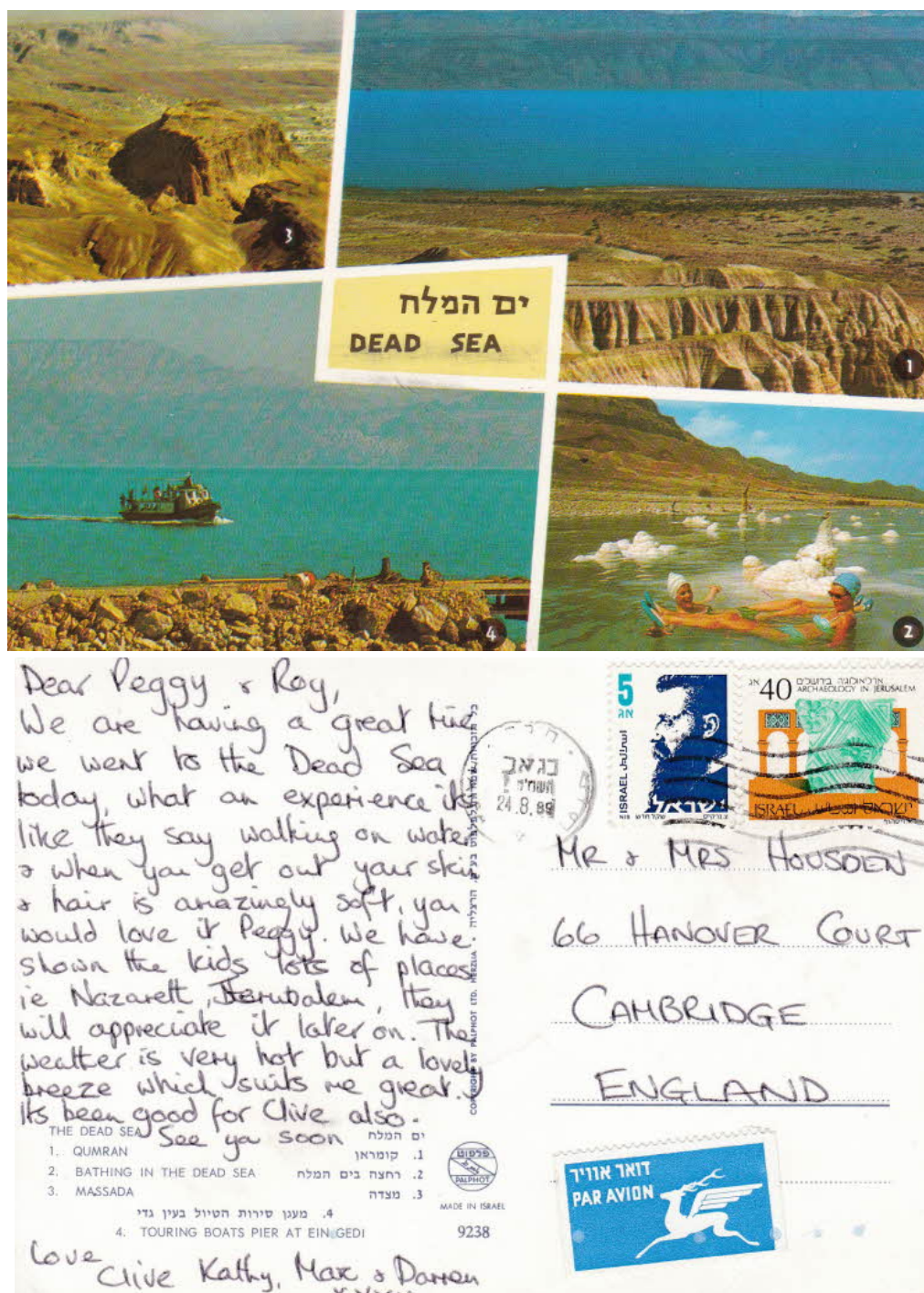


Figure 5.16

EPH-ME.6355. Published by Palphot, Herzlia c.1989. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The postcard's imagery consists of four colour photographs captioned in the centre with 'Dead Sea' in both English and Hebrew. These images conform to the same bright colour palette as previous beach photography, but in this case, the split of images is equally divided among sites of historic importance and leisure views. The top right image shows Qumran, an archaeological site approximately one-mile northwest of the

Dead Sea, which, despite its location in the West Bank is managed by Israel's Qumran National Park authority. It is perhaps best known for its caves in which the Dead Sea Scrolls were found. In the top left is Masada, the ancient fortification and one of the most popular historical tourist destinations within Israel's borders. The two images in the lower half of the postcard, however, show a tour boat and pier at Kibbutz Ein Gedi (which, as has been discussed, was a particularly early developer of the *kibbutz* tourist economy) and two bathers floating among the salt formations in the Dead Sea. The combination of historic sites and leisure activities is similar to the ways in which the Dead Sea and other seaside locations were presented in official state tourism advertisements, allowing for a conceptualisation of resort tourism with religious-historical significance as unique to Israel in the context of the Middle East, but as part of a Mediterranean identity in a European context. The combination of historic and leisure was also part of the perception of countries like Italy and Greece, which it is clear that Israel's tourist advertisers also capitalised on, as shown earlier in the chapter.

The message written by the sender – most likely the mother, Kathy, on holiday with her husband and two children – talks about this type of travel. She mentions visiting the Dead Sea: 'what an experience, it's like they say, walking on water & when you get out your skin & hair is amazingly soft.' The writer is cognisant of both the spa-like benefits of travel to the Dead Sea (the benefits for your skin and hair, and she later mentions that the hot weather has 'been good' for her husband) but also uses the phrase 'walking on water,' which has inherently biblical connotations. She then goes on to mention that 'we have shown the kids lots of places i.e. Nazareth, Jerusalem, they will appreciate it later on.' Here she shows that the family have not only engaged with the resort aspects of travel but also used this as a base from which to visit important religious and historical sites which, she writes, will be important or significant to her children in later life.

These types of advertisements and postcards then, repeating the same narratives for public consumption, are rooted in a visual historical trend that began in the days before the independent state of Israel. They borrowed from the visual language established in the pre-state period, which juxtaposed the modern and progressive *Yishuv* against the backward and stateless Palestinian Arab population. The us/them dichotomy, and the rhetoric both visual and otherwise that posited Israel as unique in the context of the broader Middle East which was peopled with the Other, was to continue past the 1960s and 1970s, as we shall see in the forthcoming chapter. It also

drew on established imperial tropes we have seen in earlier chapters, showing an adaptation of these visual symbols to the modern period, but an underlying set of principles which continued in the post-state period in commercial tourist media.

Conclusion

The changing focus in narrative in tourist visual culture around Israel was occurring at the same time as militaristic imagery was increasing and then declining in that same sphere, as explored in Chapter Four. Resort imagery in postcards, advertisements, brochures and articles, however, continued to permeate the Israeli tourist culture past the point at which military imagery was no longer popular. The ways in which Israel's tourist marketers, both state and public, chose to position the nation's attractiveness as a destination was shaped by the response – locally and internationally – to unpopular conflicts and an increasing association of Israel within the broader context of the region as unsafe. In addition, there was clearly a need for Israel to broaden its tourist public to include those types of tourist, increasingly common in the more liberated 1960s and onward, who had little interest in visiting the landscape's archaeological, religious or historical sites and instead looked for travel geared towards relaxation, rest and play. A combination of these factors led to the publication and dissemination of tourist media that emphasised the relaxed nature of Israel's growing resort economy, the possibilities for year-round travel opened up by Eilat and the Dead Sea region, and a concentrated avoidance of imagery reminiscent of contested sites, conflict or indeed, the entirely absent Palestinian population or landscape. The focus was on creating a visual culture which reflected a familiar, recognisable image back at Euro-American travellers, and simultaneously offered an additional level of experience to them through the possibility of undertaking leisure activities in such significant spaces.

As has been shown in previous chapters, the postcard imagery of this period did not deviate from this larger visual narrative. In this case, imagery of beaches and resorts on postcards not only repeated the types of imagery published by official state tourism authorities and advertisers, but also allowed tourists to share visual representations of the types of holidays they were now taking – holidays no longer entirely reliant on historical and cultural sightseeing. These postcards are useful indicators, then, of changing types of travel and international perceptions of Israel, and as with previous

chapters' imagery, allow us to see what was present and absent in commercial visual culture and therefore the dominant narrative.

This shift towards Israel's outdoor attractions was not limited entirely to its beaches, waterside locations and resort regions, however. This movement toward relaxing in nature, enjoying the clement weather, and the openness and safety of the landscape within Israel's borders was also to be evoked in its advertisement and promotion of *kibbutz* tourism from the 1950s onward, and the development through the JNF of Israel's forests and parkland for tourism; as well as the depiction of hilltop illegal settlements, and outposts in regions such as the Sinai, as opportunities for tourism and recreation. This type of outdoor-focused tourism, however, placed more emphasis on physical exertion, recalled the pioneer imagery of earlier *kibbutz* postcards and visual culture, and had a more explicitly nationalist purpose at the expense of the Palestinian population and landscape than resort imagery. As I shall argue in the next chapter, the ways in which this type of tourist visual culture was presented to tourists both local and international was part of the changing political perceptions of these settlements – negative and positive - and was part of a wider narrative around national identity in the later third of the twentieth century that had long-term implications for international perceptions of Palestine/Israel, as well as very real repercussions in both territories.

URBAN AND RURAL SETTLEMENT TOURISM IN PALESTINE/ISRAEL

Introduction

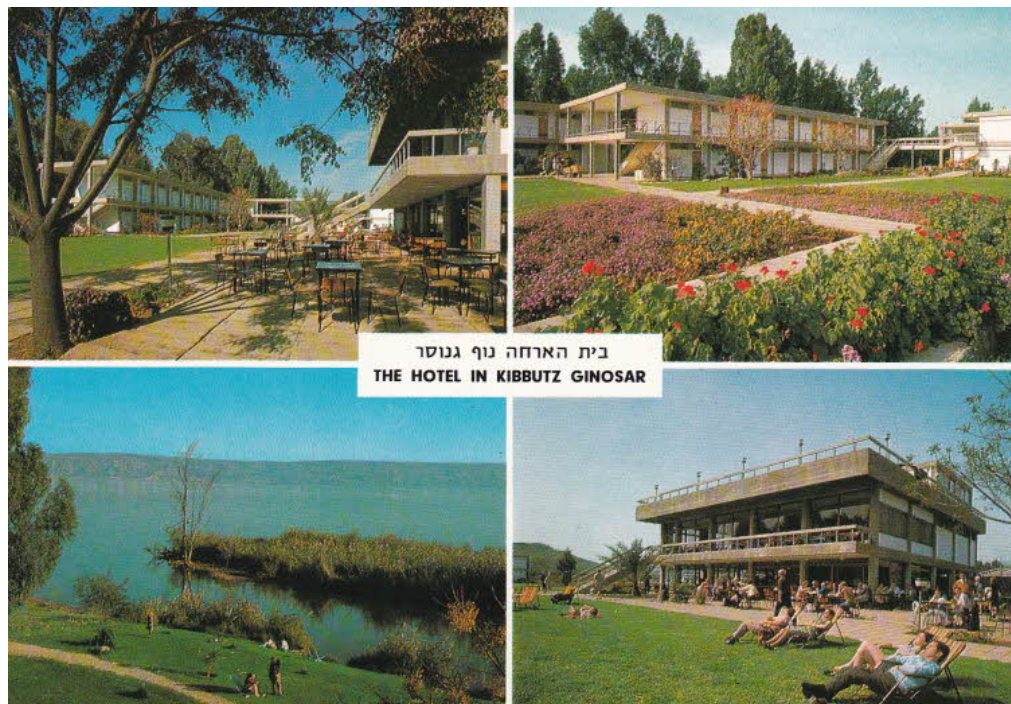


Figure 6.1

EPH-ME.7372. Published by the Palphot, Herzlia, c.1970s. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The Palphot postcard shown in Figure 6.1 depicts four colour photographic views of the hotel in Kibbutz Ginosar, located on the shore of the Sea of Galilee. The two upper images show the accommodation buildings of the hotel, surrounded by lush plants, green lawns, and numerous trees. In the lower right of the postcard, those same buildings can be seen with a crowd of tourists sunbathing in the foreground: all appear young, dressed in contemporary clothing, and relaxed as they lean on sun-loungers on the grass outside the hotel. The final image to the lower left of the postcard shows a view of the Sea of Galilee as seen from the hotel; perhaps the same view those sunbathing tourists gaze out of frame towards. In all four images, much as in the resort imagery explored in Chapter Five, the colours are highly-contrasted and bright, mostly blues and greens indicative of natural surroundings, suggestive of health and vitality. The hotel structure itself is a modern, low-slung, boxy building with repeated, evenly-spaced square windows, doors and balcony railings that suggest order and modernity. Each photograph in which the hotel is shown frames the buildings in such a way that they draw the eye back, towards the horizon and the trees, mountains or sky beyond.

The suggestion is of a hotel set in the middle of a natural expanse, with outdoor activities available, and does not make use of any signifiers which would indicate the holy significance of the Sea of Galilee or the State of Israel for Euro-American Christian audiences. Instead, the emphasis is entirely on nature, the outdoors and the possibilities for a safe holiday in beautiful surroundings.

The Kibbutz Ginosar postcard, published circa the 1970s, is one of a relatively small number of postcards in the BM collection which explicitly depict *kibbutzim* in the years after 1948. Only seven postcards in total show *kibbutzim* in their imagery specifically – however, a handful more also mention stays or work on *kibbutzim* in their verso inscriptions. Taken in addition to postcards depicting the settlements of Hebron and Yamit, the number is slightly more than ten. Why, then, are these postcards and their visual content significant? In much the same way as resort postcards of the previous chapter were small in number but indicative of a shift in tourist travel, these postcards of settlements, both rural and urban, within Israel's borders and in occupied Palestinian territory, give us some context for the changing nature of tourist travel to Palestine/Israel, especially from the mid-1970s onward. Tourism that was focused, at least partly, on outdoor activities or travel in nature, as well as 'authentic' experiences of folk traditions or the customs and cultures of Other peoples, was to become part of the tourist experience in Palestine/Israel in these decades. The degree to which this was influenced by external visual tourist marketing is to be explored through the use of postcards, tourist advertisement, newsletters and posters in this chapter. I will also examine the question of what kind of tourist was partaking in these types of travel experiences – were the travellers local, from diasporic communities, or from Europe and America with no immediate connection to the land?

As in the previous chapter, the main producers of postcards in this period continued to be Israeli – largely Palphot, but also *Keren Hayesod* and the JNF. Palestinian producers published none of the postcards depicting *kibbutzim* or settlements in the BM collection and were of course far less likely to have access to or a desire to promote these spaces. Once again, Palestinian Arab communities remained absent from the tourist visual culture of this period, in a way that appears explicit and conscious when regarding visual imagery around contested spaces, as shall be shown in postcards of Hebron and Yamit in the last section of this chapter. The ways in which tourists absorbed, were exposed to, and distributed visual culture like postcards around these settlements of various kinds can give some indication both of the narrative Israeli

tourist organisations hoped to disseminate about these spaces and the ways in which these narratives were accepted or subverted in the tourist sphere both locally and abroad. Therefore, in this chapter, I will examine postcards, advertisements and articles around tourist travel to *kibbutzim* as part of a new, 'authentic' rural tourist experience, and then how this relates to the afforestation imagery of commercial visual culture around Israel in this period.

Additionally, I will explore visual narratives around occupation and settlement, and the commodification of these settlements for the tourist market both in the Sinai and in Palestine. Following from the earlier chapters of this thesis, I will show the ways in which earlier established narratives around Israeli identity in both rural and urban architectural contexts were continuous or changing in the period post-1967. The understanding of the landscape as unoccupied or poorly used, in the imperial manner, appears continued in the visual language around afforestation and settlement, as, to a certain degree, does visual culture around foreign tourists travelling to *kibbutzim*. Like travellers of the Mandate period, they wished to have an 'authentic' experience of an exotic culture, but at a safe and familiar remove, as shall be shown through postcards and their written inscriptions later in the chapter.

'To see a nation in the making' : tourist experiences of *kibbutzim* from the 1970s onward

Kibbutz stays had been part of some tourist and military experiences since the pre-state era. The first guest houses on *kibbutzim* were established in the 1940s, and during WWII, several thousand Allied soldiers stationed in Palestine spent their leave at *kibbutz* guest houses³⁶¹ It was not until the 1960s and 1970s that these guest houses would develop into a broader, more popular kind of tourist travel, but the tourism economy at *kibbutzim* developed quietly in intervening years to become part of several tours organised by international agencies and thus the tourist experiences of foreign travellers.

In one programme published by Thomas Cook for their inclusive tours of Palestine/Israel in 1954, two types of tour were offered. One was a tour of the 'Biblical Holy Land,' in the style of holy-site tourism familiar from religious travel of the early-twentieth century; the other was a tour titled 'Modern Israel.' The 'Modern Israel' tour

³⁶¹ Katz and Cohen-Hattab, 'The attraction of Palestine,' p.170. See also Chapter Two.

included Jerusalem – but only ‘new city’ Jerusalem, including the Jewish Agency, Herzl Room, Knesset and Mea Shearim. The trip would also encompass several *kibbutzim* and settlements including Nahalal, Daganian and Hadera (the latter two of which were depicted on postcards discussed in Chapter Two).³⁶² The structure of the tour is attributable in part to the fact that until 1967, East Jerusalem and parts of Palestine where historical and religious sites were located were not occupied by Israel and could therefore not be part of a tour of ‘Modern Israel’ specifically. However, that the Israeli state is here depicted as modern in direct juxtaposition to the ancient sites of non-occupied territory, suggests the kinds of associations tour operators like Thomas Cook constructed around Israel and its neighbours. The conflation of the modern with Israeli state-making and political endeavours did not end post-independence; in a 1974 brochure also published by Thomas Cook, the text on the page advertising Israel describes the tour as ‘the rare opportunity to see a nation in the making.’ In addition to the familiar Holy Land tour, they also in this brochure offered a ‘highlights of Israel tour,’ which included stops in Tel Aviv, Ashdod, Kibbutz Yad Mordechai, Ashkelon, Beersheba, Hebron, the Golan Heights, Upper Galilee and Eilat.³⁶³ Among the tourist highlights of the nation by 1974 then, were *kibbutzim* and settlements, at least according to perhaps the most significant foreign tour operator in the region.

Promotional material for travel to *kibbutzim* appeared in the news media as well as tourist brochures in the 1970s. One article published in Danish newspaper *Politiken* in 1970 describes a visit made to Denmark by an Israeli *kibbutz* ambassador, whose job was to promote *kibbutz* tourism to travellers from Europe. Meir Rosenblum, from Kibbutz HaGoshrim in Upper Galilee, made the trip to West Germany and Scandinavia that year to meet with travel organisations and advertisers in the region. In the article, he gives an interview extolling the benefits of staying on a *kibbutz* which include the opportunity to experience Israeli culture and everyday life, beautiful scenery, and trips to nearby areas. The main focus is on physical activities combined with amenities for tourist comfort; Rosenblum notes that tourists can ski and swim at many *kibbutzim* and will be able to work at the *kibbutz* during their stay, but can also take advantage of ‘1230 guest rooms [...] air conditioning and all amenities,’ at a low cost. He adds that ‘most places have swimming pools, if not, the kibbutz in question leads directly to the Mediterranean. Often there are opportunities for angling in nearby streams, and [...]

³⁶² Thomas Cook, *1954 Cook's programmes abroad* (United Kingdom: Thomas Cook), p.2.

³⁶³ Thomas Cook, *1974 Goldenwing holidays* (United Kingdom: Thomas Cook, 1974), p.156.

there are movies, dancing, socializing in the restaurant or bar, library visits, folklore entertainment and much more.³⁶⁴

This focus on both the natural surroundings and outdoor activities available as well as the amenities of the *kibbutz* hotel is evident in postcards published around the same period depicting *kibbutzim*. The postcards in Figures 6.2 and 6.3, like that in Figure 6.1, show a view of Kibbutz Ginosar. Both frame the scene in a very similar way, with a small difference in perspective, and both highlight Kibbutz Ginosar's modern hotel architecture and the verdant natural surroundings. As in Figure 6.1, both postcards, published by Palphot in the 1980s, are brightly coloured and highly contrasted. Both position the plants and grass of the *kibbutz* in the foreground and frame the geometric shapes of the hotel in the middle ground, with contemporarily-dressed tourists walking along the garden paths. In the background of each postcard image lies the Sea of Galilee and the mountains in the distance. All three Kibbutz Ginosar postcards place primacy on depicting the hotel, suggesting that its modernity and the implied amenities available were important to convey to tourists, echoing earlier assurances made to tourists on Cook's tours in the early-twentieth century.



Nof-Ginosar Kibbutz Hotel
Figure 6.2

EPH-ME.7480. Published by the Palphot, Herzlia, c.1989. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

³⁶⁴ Politiken, 'Kibbutz envoy on a new development,' *Politiken*, 6 June 1970, p.28, Israel State Archives, ISA-tourism-tourism-0006910b, [Danish].



Figure 6.3

EPH-ME.7371. Published by the Palphot, Herzlia, c.1980s. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Additionally, however, these modern buildings were always placed within the image surrounded by the natural elements of the garden, sea and mountains, indicative of the rural setting and outdoor activities on offer for the tourist – much like those Rosenblum the *kibbutz* ambassador spoke of in his interview.

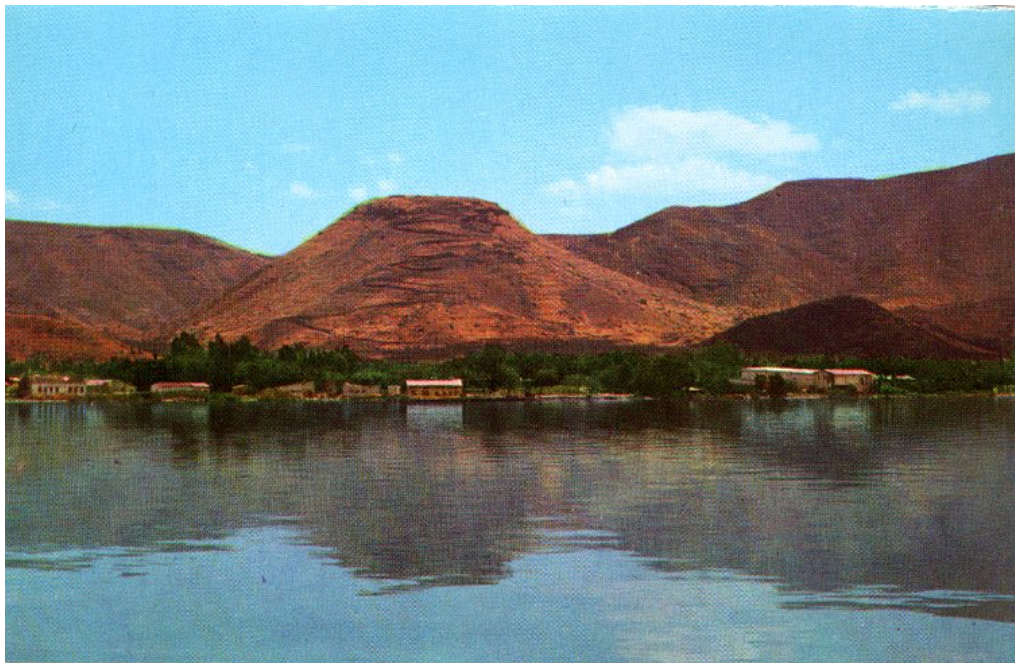


Figure 6.4

EPH-ME.1185. Published by the Palphot, Herzlia, c.1980s. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Another pair of postcards depicting Kibbutz Ein Gev, also situated on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, frame the *kibbutz* in near-identical ways (Figures 6.4 and 6.5). The postcards, published by Palphot circa the 1980s-1990, both show the *kibbutz* as seen from the lake, with the rolling mountains dominating the background. In the postcard shown in Figure 6.4, these mountains appear almost red in colour, lacking the vegetation that would appear after rainfall, suggestive of a hot summer spell but also providing a visually striking contrast to the green trees around the *kibbutz* buildings which cut across the middle of the frame, and the bright blue sky and lake water. In the postcard shown in Figure 6.5, the perspective is slightly shifted so that the buildings of the *kibbutz* appear closer, and the eye is able to distinguish individual buildings and types of tree – including palms reminiscent of beach holidays. In this photograph, the mountains are a soft green and blend into the trees below. The water and sky here too are softer, more pastel tones.

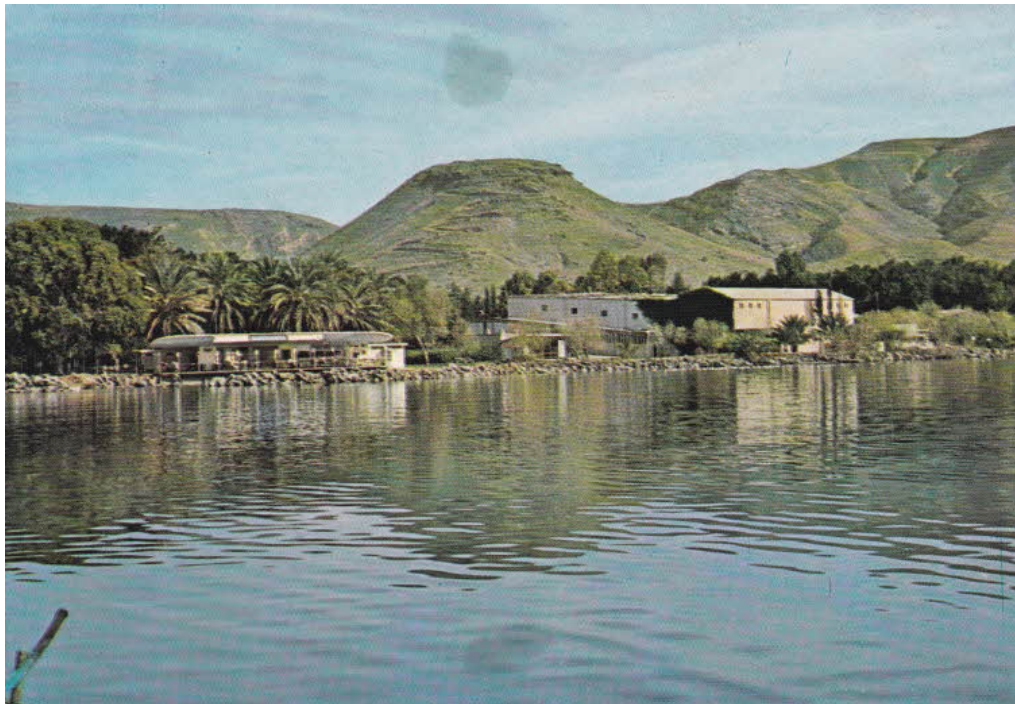


Figure 6.5

EPH-ME.8027. Published by the Palphot, Herzlia, c.1990. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Both images on these postcards position the *kibbutz* from a distance, allowing the tranquil water to fill the foreground of the frame and suggesting a remoteness and peacefulness at the *kibbutz* itself. The mountains behind not only evoke the idea of outdoor activity, but also of protection and safety. In this period especially, between the mid-1970s and 1990, when tourist fears of conflict in Palestine/Israel were heightened

due to clashes and external incidents, the suggestion of safety and security was key. In all of the preceding postcard images, in fact, the indication that the *kibbutzim* were in remote areas, separated from urban life and neighbouring nations through natural boundaries of water, mountains and forests, was suggestive of a remoteness from political and military conflict. Much like resort imagery, these postcards were indicative of a safety that Israeli tourist promoters, *kibbutz* tourist operations, and the state wished to externally (and internally) promote as part of Israel's national identity.

However, not all the *kibbutzim* postcards in the BM collection focused on tranquil scenes. They also depicted the element of *kibbutz* travel Rosenblum posited as an attraction for tourists alongside amenities – the ability to work on a *kibbutz* and experience Israeli culture and folk-life events.

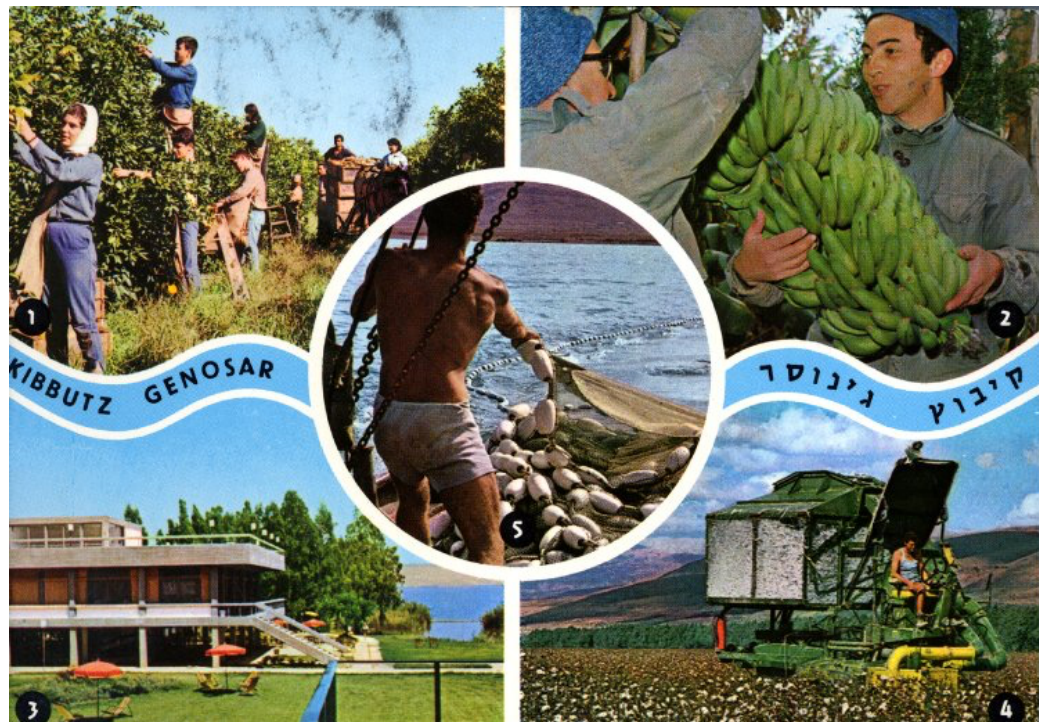


Figure 6.6

EPH-ME.1706. Published by the Palphot, Herzlia, c.1977. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The postcard shown in Figure 6.6. was published by Palphot circa 1977, and again shows several views of Kibbutz Ginosar. In the central image, a muscled man dressed only in shorts drags a fishing net in to the shores of the Galilee. In the top left image, people in modern clothes work picking fruit from the trees, and in the image on the top right, two men gather large bunches of green bananas. In the lower left, a tractor ploughs rows in the field, and only in the lower left image is the hotel shown, again from a perspective that encapsulates the modern building, green lawn, trees, and

the Sea of Galilee and mountains beyond. The dominant imagery in this postcard focuses on physical and agricultural activity – the labour a visitor to the *kibbutz* might be expected, or want, to participate in, and the abundance of the natural resources of the *kibbutz*.

In this postcard, the central and therefore focal image is that of the young man fishing – he is facing away from the camera, allowing him to become a symbol, rather than an individual, in the gaze of the viewer. This image echoes earlier *kibbutz* imagery which placed primacy on the idea of the *sabra*, or the ‘new Jew,’ a masculine ideal predicated on the ideas of strength, vitality, and a strong work ethic. Here, again, the suggestion is of a place populated by healthy and vital people who are willing to undertake physical labour to maintain both the *kibbutz* and the State of Israel. For a postcard published commercially, the strong central figure and the hardworking figures of the other images also have an aspirational quality; the suggestion being that the type of person who might stay on a *kibbutz* would also be healthy, hardworking and youthful.

The colours of this card – bright blues, sharp greens and yellows – add to this dynamic atmosphere. However, the fact that another view of the hotel grounds, the modern buildings and the parasols at tables on the lawns is included also allows the viewer some understanding of the *kibbutzim* experience as labour intensive, yet with opportunities for more typical holiday rest and relaxation. This combination was also repeated in the advertisement rhetoric espoused by *kibbutz* ambassadors and capitalised on a Euro-American tourist market who wanted to experience the best of both worlds, again echoing an attitude seen in imperialist travel decades earlier.

The interest in *kibbutzim* travel from an overseas market grew in the period post-1967 and can be explained partly through the development of these sites for tourist amenities and opportunities, but also by a changing culture of tourist expectations in the west. Cohen’s phenomenology of tourism is relevant here; in his 1979 study, Cohen dealt largely with the contemporary period of the 1960s and 1970s when he identified his five modes of tourism discussed in the previous chapter. When discussing tourism to *kibbutzim* the experimental and existential modes in his theory, I would argue, are most applicable.

In Cohen’s experimental mode of travel, the tourist is one who does not adhere ‘any more to the spiritual centre of their own society, but engage[s] in a quest for an alternative in many different directions. [...] The traveller in the “experiential” mode

derives enjoyment and reassurance from the fact that others live authentically.³⁶⁵ Cohen identifies members of this group as young, urban, American, European and Australian (read: largely white) tourists who experiment with life in ashrams, hippie communes and Israeli kibbutzim among other places. I would argue that this mode of tourism also applies to tourists from earlier eras who, seeking ‘authenticity’ in their travel experience, visited Bedouin encampments, travelled with Palestinian tour guides to rural areas, and sought to experience what they perceived as both a backward, and more spiritually pure, way of life, as was explored in Chapter One. Whilst these early tourists were largely explicitly Christian, they were often dismayed by the industrialisation of Britain in the early decades of the twentieth century, and comparatively romanticised the life and landscape of Palestine. Like the experiential tourists of Cohen’s model, however, these early tourists were not willing to reject the relative comforts and ease of their familiar lives in the metropole, and were comforted by the experience of only viewing the Other. Here then, it is possible to see a continuation of imperialist ideologies and conceptualisations of Palestine/Israel in later decades, a conceptualisation of traveller attitudes that I apply to *kibbutz* and settlement tourism throughout this chapter.

The existential mode in Cohen’s phenomenology is exemplified by ‘the traveller who is fully committed to an “elective” spiritual centre, i.e. one external to the mainstream of his [or her] native society and culture.’³⁶⁶ He argues that existential tourists in the modern world (in this case, the world of 1979, when Cohen’s paper was published) who cannot commit permanently to their elective pursuits as a result of financial or personal commitments in their homes, then choose to

‘live in two worlds: the world of their everyday life [...] which for them is devoid of deeper meaning, and the world of the “elective” centre, to which they will depart on periodic pilgrimages to derive spiritual sustenance. Thus, e.g. there are some non-Jewish tourists who every year return to live for a few months on a kibbutz, while spending the rest of the year in their home country.’³⁶⁷

³⁶⁵ Erik Cohen, ‘A phenomenology of tourist experiences,’ *Sociology* 13:2 (1979): 179-201, DOI: 10.1177/003803857901300203, p.189.

³⁶⁶ Cohen, ‘A phenomenology of tourist experiences,’ p.190.

³⁶⁷ Cohen, ‘A phenomenology of tourist experiences,’ p.190.

Cohen's model is a useful framework with which to examine the increasing interest of an overseas tourist public in making *kibbutz* travel part of, or their entire, Israeli tourist experience.



Figure 6.7

EPH-ME.5031. Published by the Palphot, Herzlia, c.1979. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

This Palphot postcard, published circa 1979 (Figure 6.7), emphasises both modern hotel-like amenities and physical activities undertaken at *kibbutzim*. The bottom half of the postcard shows a colour photograph picturing rows of boxy modern accommodations against a mountainous background and clusters of trees at Kibbutz Kfar Giladi, on the Naftali Mountains in the Upper Galilee. The central image in the top half of the postcard is, like the postcard in Figure 6.6, an image of a tractor ploughing the fields. However, in addition to these two juxtaposed elements of work and rest, the two additional images in the postcard framing the tractor photograph show cultural and communal events available at the *kibbutz*. On the top right, a large crowd of people sit below strings of lights at communal tables to eat a meal together, possibly for Shabbat. On the top left, a crowd watches a dance – the circle formation suggests the hora or a similar religious dance.

The implication in this postcard then, is that cultural, religious and folk practices will be part of the *kibbutz* experience for the tourist, suggesting that Cohen's 'experiential' and 'existential' tourists would have been a key market for *kibbutz* tourist organisations. Those who chose to participate in elements of Israeli cultural practices as well as labour activities and rest and relaxation would have found all elements of their tourist travel represented on a postcard like this. The expectations of tourists – that this would be the type of cultural or spiritual experience available – and the desire to experience these things in natural, beautiful surroundings, played a role in the tourist development of *kibbutzim*. The idea, promoted by Israeli governmental organisations, *kibbutzim* organisations and the tourist market, of Israel as a green, natural landscape separated by mountains, lakes and forests from urban life and arid landscapes, is on display in this postcard and the others of this chapter.

This may explain why the sender of this postcard, writing to a recipient in England, says that 'everything is most strange, the country is mostly desert.' Why a tourist to this landscape would have been surprised to see desert – when this had been the understanding of the landscape of the Holy Land overseas and locally for decades, could be explained by the developing narrative of Israel as lush and green in comparison to nearby desert nations. The tone of the message is also not dissimilar to earlier writing in travel journals, which framed Palestine/Israel as exotic and strange, empty and waiting to be peopled.

Another tourist, writing to an English relative in 1978, describes a tourist experience which indicates the shifting nature of travel in this period, and the desire to

search for alternative authentic-exotic experiences. The postcard's recto shows a generic panoramic view of Nazareth, but the verso is crowded with text as the tourist explains her holiday plans (Figure 6.8).

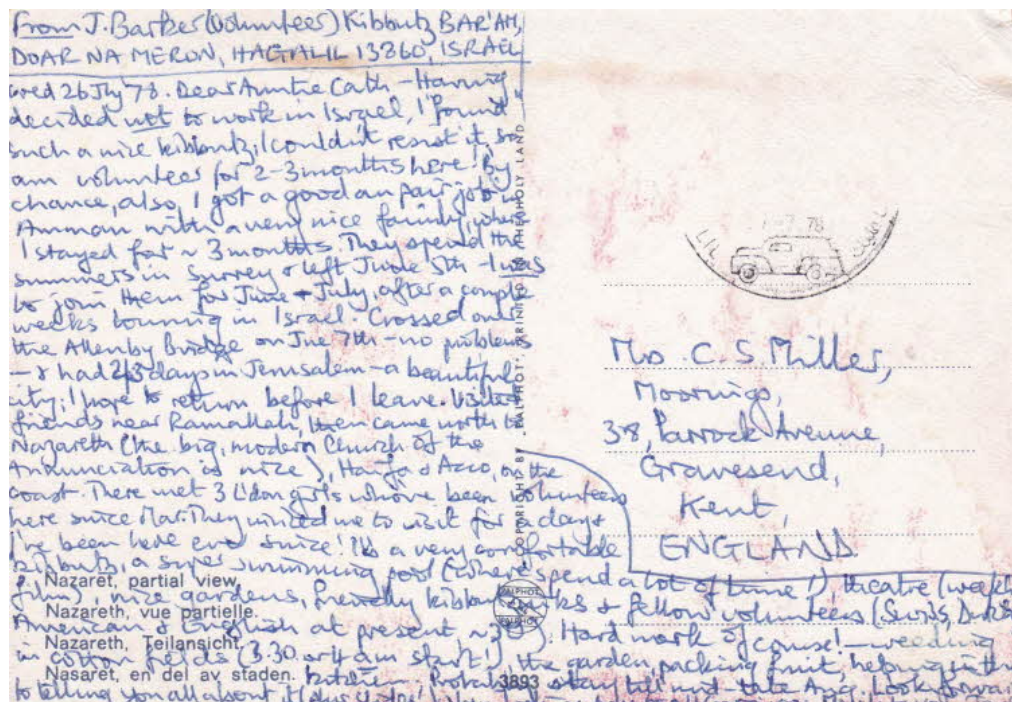


Figure 6.8

EPH-ME.5942. Published by the Palphot, Herzlia, c.1978.

Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

In this long missive written to an aunt, the tourist writes that while she had initially decided not work in Israel, she “found” such a nice kibbutz, I couldn’t resist it, so am volunteer for 2-3 months here!’ She goes on to say she worked as an au-pair in Amman for three months prior to her *kibbutz* stay, and reassures her aunt that she had no problems crossing the Allenby Bridge between Jordan and Israel, referring to the heightened sense of possible conflict and dangers around these two nations in this period in the tourist sphere. Explaining that she has toured Jerusalem, Nazareth, Haifa and Acre, she talks of how she came to stay on the *kibbutz*:

‘met 3 L’don girls who’ve been volunteers here since Mar. They invited me to visit for a day & I’ve been here ever since! It’s a very comfortable kibbutz, a super swimming pool (where I spend a lot of time!), theatre (weekly film), nice gardens, friendly kibbutzniks and fellow volunteers (Swiss, Dutch, American & English at present, ~30) Hard work of course! – weeding in cotton fields (3.30 or 4am start!), the garden, packing fruit, helping in the kitchen.’

This tourist talks about the amenities – the swimming pool, theatre and so on – the community of fellow visitors and permanent residents, and the labour required of her. Clearly, this tourist is not unfamiliar with working on holidays and sees this as part of her tourist experience, in a way that was not reflected in tourist messages from the early-twentieth century. Her long-term plans to stay for several months suggest an element of fulfilment she has found by staying and working on the *kibbutz*, as well as the financial benefits of staying in a low-cost accommodation with a communal work programme. Although she does not mention any spiritual benefits, she seems to be enjoying Cohen's 'experiential' mode of tourism, observing the authentic behaviour of Other people, while not fully committing herself.

Another tourist writing on a postcard in the BM collection falls more into the 'existential' category: writing in 1971, the tourist describes working on a *kibbutz* as 'a hot time picking apples starting at 5.0am! Perhaps you should try it. Kibbutz v. interesting & throws light on many ideas & problems about life [...]'³⁶⁸ The writer has not only participated in *kibbutz* labour, but found the atmosphere and life on the *kibbutz* enlightening, whether spiritually or otherwise. There is no mention of intent to stay long-term, however, and it is clear this is a short-term experience for the tourist. *Kibbutzim* then, marketed themselves as places where the perceived 'authenticity' of labour, hard work, and cultural events could be experienced from the safe and familiar vantage point of modern hotel-style amenities, for the benefit of tourists both physically and spiritually. The focus on the natural surrounding was also key.

While a number of foreign tourists did, as shown in these postcards, visit *kibbutzim* in the 1960s and 1970s, the real turning point for mass-tourism to *kibbutzim* on a larger scale came in the 1970s, when Israeli agriculture suffered a financial crisis and many *kibbutzim* were struggling to stay financially viable.³⁶⁹ By 1986, there were sixty-four *kibbutzim* with guest accommodations for tourists; that number spiked to 444 by 1994.³⁷⁰ While Fleischer and Pizan found in a 1997 study that most contemporary tourists to Israeli *kibbutzim* bed-and-breakfasts were domestic rather than international, it is clear from these postcards and their inscriptions, as well as the existence of *kibbutz*

³⁶⁸ British Museum, EPH-ME.7910.

³⁶⁹ Kedem-Tahar, 'The kibbutz that was – what is left from the original concept.', p.319.

³⁷⁰ Aliza Fleischer and Abraham Pizan, 'Rural tourism in Israel,' *Tourism Management*, 18/6 (1997): 367-372, DOI: 10.1016/S0261-5177(97)00034-4, p.369.

ambassadors, that from the 1960s onward there was an effort made to market *kibbutzim* travel both locally and internationally.

Kibbutzim were one element of a settlement-based and nature-focused tourist push in Israeli visual culture from the 1960s onward. As shown above, the marketing of these *kibbutzim* focused on the ideas of communal activity, natural surroundings, relaxation opportunities and ‘authentic’ experiences of Israeli-ness, couched in a safe and remote location. The symbolism of Israeli identity as presented in the commercial visual sphere, then, was still repeating earlier established symbols of agricultural redemption of land, but also attempting to attract visitors seeking more than a sightseeing tour. These types of travellers would subsequently make good ambassadors – as we have seen in postcards, they wrote to others of their experiences. The idea of Israel as natural, boundaried by mountains and water, was also important to convey in this period of conflict as it led credence to the idea of the right of occupation, and continued a narrative established pre-state that *kibbutzim* workers and other Israelis redeemed the land in a way heretofore unseen.

The idea of Israel as a verdant landscape – of making the desert bloom – had its roots in the settlement ethos of the early waves of *aliyah*, but truly came to be part of a wider afforestation and naturalisation project spearheaded by the JNF in the decades following 1960. This afforestation project was nationalistic in nature but marketed to tourists through a visual and text media that promised a fulfilling nature-focused tourist experience of the land.

‘From sand to land’: afforestation imagery and tourist experience

The development of not only new *kibbutzim* and settlements, but of nature trails, reserves, forests and hiking amenities began to make strides in the mid-1960s in Israel under the guidance of the JNF. The first large project of that decade was the development of Horshat Tal at the base of the Mount Hermon Range, described by Shlomo Sva in the official written history of the JNF as ‘a national park that attracts thousands of visitors.’ The JNF simultaneously opened trails up Mount Meron; Sva describes the effect of these trails as transforming ‘the mountain that towers over Safed [into] a paradise for nature lovers.’³⁷¹ This development of nature trails and forests was

³⁷¹ Shlomo Sva, *One day and 90 years: the story of the Jewish National Fund* (Jerusalem: Jewish National Fund, 1991), p.85.

in part motivated by the ambition to develop outdoor recreational activities, but also was part of a long tradition of staking a claim to landscape through the planting of literal roots. The act of tree-planting was especially central to the ideology of the JNF; it is described in one American JNF newsletter called *Land and Life* in 1976 as correcting a landscape 'left barren and neglected for generations.'³⁷² Tree-planting became part of a nationalistic effort but was also something tourists were encouraged to participate in on excursions. In 1977, *Land and Life* reported on the prevalence of tourist tree-planting excursions organised by the KKL-JNF:

‘twice a week for Jerusalem and once from Tel Aviv a bus takes people to participate in a most noble initiative. Tourists from all over the world are engaged in an action both symbolic and practical. Guided by Keren Kayemeth Leisrael they are on their way “to plant a tree with their own hands” somewhere in this country.’³⁷³

The frequency with which these trips were made and the fact that they were conducted under the auspices of a governmental organisation, was indicative of the push to have tourists participate in the ‘reclamation’ of land, accept the narrative of Israel’s ownership of that landscape, and through participation in afforestation create a personal investment for the tourist in the landscape and ‘reclamation’ of land for the state.

The planting of trees as a nationalist project had its origins in the Jewish holiday of Tu B'Shevat, or ‘New Year of the Trees.’ In contemporary Israel this holiday continues to be marked by the ceremonial planting of trees. The idea of land redemption established in the early years of the Zionist project had not faded by the latter half of the twentieth century, as this holiday began to also be used as a means of effecting the symbolic and physical reclamation of land through afforestation and the striking of metaphoric and literal roots.

³⁷² Aaron Schreiber, ‘Bring forests to the people: a new concept in recreation,’ *Land and Life*, XXIX/3 (Spring 1976), p.4.

³⁷³ Jerzy Ros, ‘Operation Roots,’ *Land and Life*. 41 (Fall 1977), p.2.

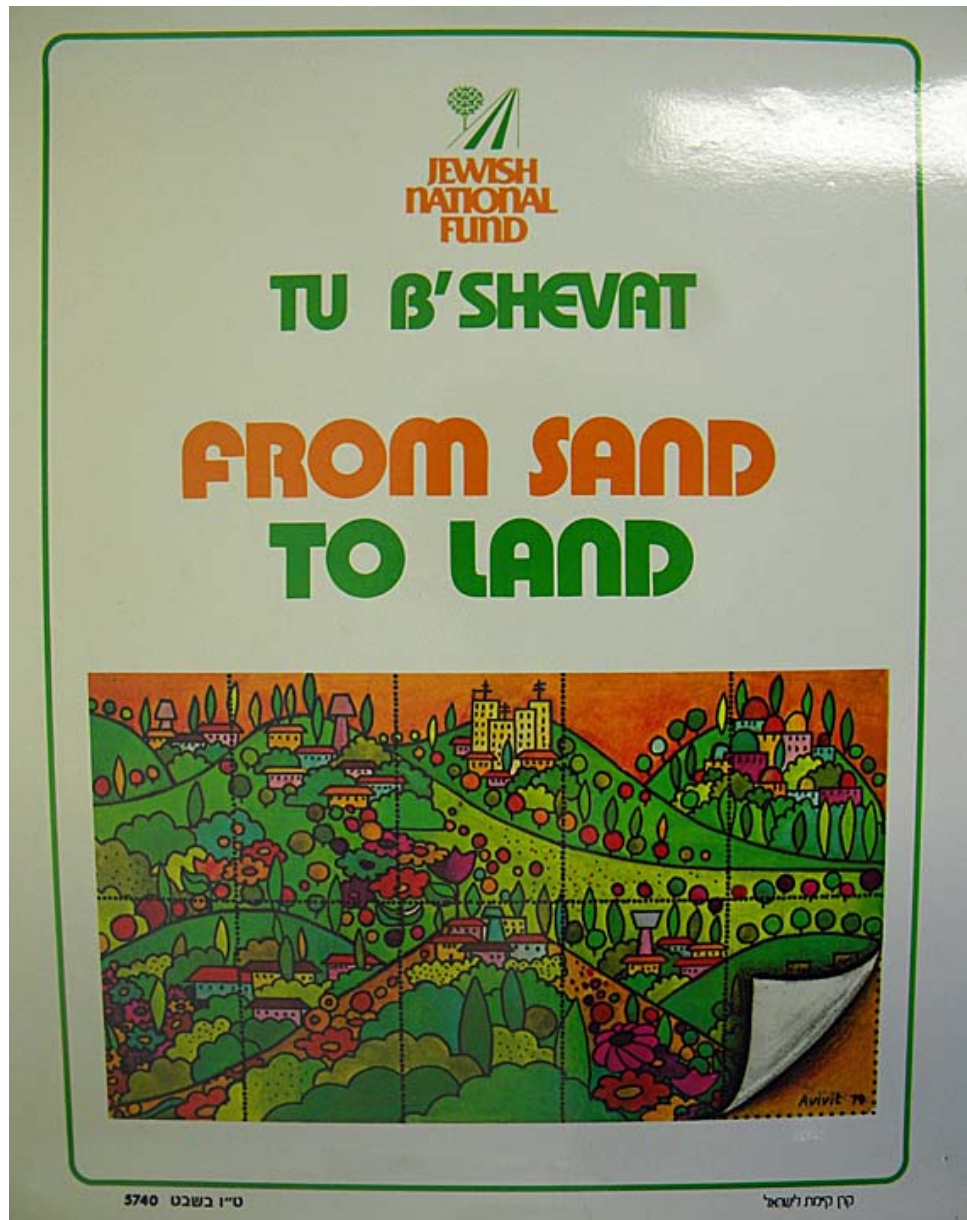


Figure 6.9

From Sand to Land. Designed by Avivit. Published by the Jewish National Fund, 1979. Copyright courtesy of The Palestine Poster Project Archive (PPPA).

The poster shown in Figure 6.9 is an example of an advertisement for the holiday of Tu B'Shevat, designed for the JNF by Avivit in 1979. The lower half of the poster is dominated by an illustration of ten postage stamps decorated with pictures of houses, fields, and rural scenery. The release of limited edition, commemorative stamps was one of the JNF's fundraising methods. The text above the illustration reads, in bold, eye-catching orange and blue, 'Tu B'Shevat. From Sand to Land.' The text evokes the phrase, 'making the desert bloom' of earlier Zionist settlement rhetoric, and emphasises the supposed emptiness of the landscape that the JNF now sought to

reclaim and beautify through afforestation. Tying a nationalist process into the traditions of a holy holiday serves also to reinforce the divine right to the landscape and justifies the means used to reclaim it through planting. It is also clear that this poster was intended to speak to a broad audience and focused primarily on English-speakers, making it visible not only to those who spoke Hebrew and lived in Israel but also making it a valuable visual material for overseas promotion of the afforestation project. Because of the mention of a Jewish holiday that would have been unfamiliar to a broad non-Jewish public, it is probable that this poster was intended to appeal in particular to diasporic Jewish communities.

The visual referents in the postage stamps echo earlier illustrations like those of Narinsky, the photographer-turned-artist who drew naïve Israeli landscapes in the 1920s, discussed in Chapter One. The simple geometric shapes, repeating patterns and bold, contrasting acidic colours of green, hot pink, and orange are also evocative of the 1970s graphic style, with its emphasis on pattern, shape and bright colours. The use of modern typography and a rounded frame surrounding the poster too, places the ancient religious holiday in a modern and youthful context that attempts to appeal to a contemporary market. This poster is eye-catching enough for a wide audience to absorb the symbolism into their visual language for Israel and its nation-building project.

Imagery definitively targeted at broad tourist markets also made use of afforestation imagery, as exemplified in the Swissair poster shown in Figure 6.10. The poster shows the orange groves of the Israeli countryside in neat, geometric rows, lined at the edges by trees. The only text is a small Swissair logo in the top left of the poster, and a striking lower-case 'israel' in bright orange in the top right corner. The repeat patterns of the rows or trees and the paths between them dominate the full frame of the poster. Their dark green colour is starkly contrasted with the orange of the word 'israel.' There is no tag-line, no other advertisement copy; this suggests that the image of verdant, lush life, spoke for itself as emblematic of Israel's national identity. The rows stretch off into the distance, threaded by pathways – they draw the eye backward and out of the frame, indicating to the viewer that this plant life continues far beyond the edge of the poster, that the viewer could walk among it if they got on a Swissair plane. The choice to use the forests and fields in this poster aimed at tourists is in sharp contrast to earlier tourist imagery which focused on religious, historical and cultural attractions in urban areas.

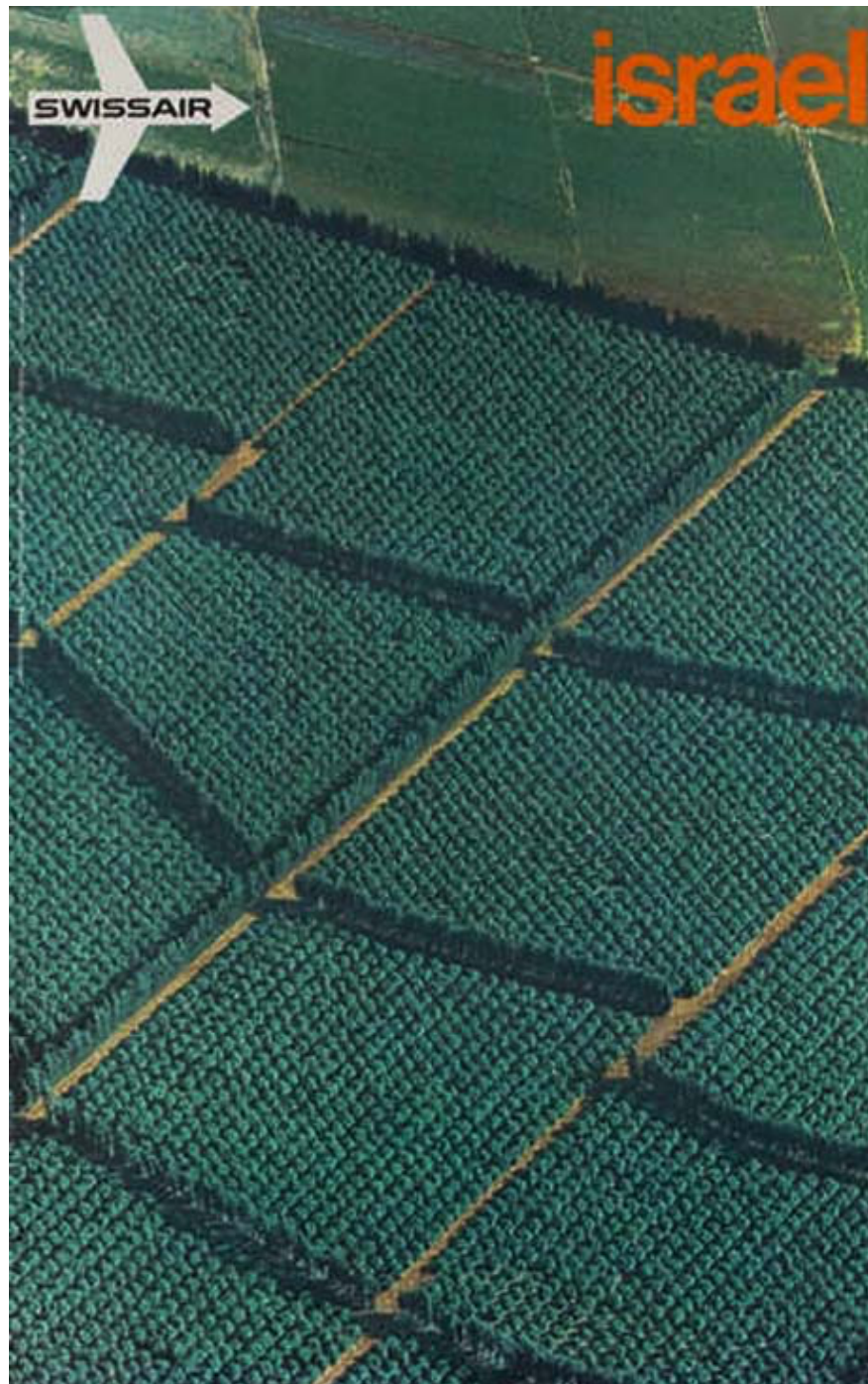


Figure 6.10

Israel. Poster designed by Hans Frei and Emil Schuthess. 1971.
Published by Swissair. Copyright courtesy of the The Palestine Poster
Project Archive (PPPA).

Here, the focus is on nature – as it was in *kibbutz* imagery - and also on Israel's identity as an afforested land, reclaimed from its barren beginnings. The evidence of labour is also clear in these patterned rows, neatly spaced and carefully cultivated. The impression is one of order, safety, and carefully maintained respectability. These

elements were all part of Israel's appeal to tourists in a period where conflict and unrest unsettled the tourist market, and this poster specifically played into a growing popularity of outdoor-oriented tourist experiences in Israel.

By the 1980s, the JNF had begun funnelling more money and energy into the development of public forests. As Sva describes it, the JNF's aim was to create 'forests for the enjoyment of all, for rest and recreation, for tourism and hiking.'³⁷⁴ Sva goes on to describe these new forests in particularly lyrical terms, as 'resembling an endless applique of all the shades of green, from pale to dark – a scenic wonder blending with the brown-gray of the earth, the clear sky of summer and the white-gray clouds of winter.'³⁷⁵ An applique of shades of green could well be a description of the Swissair poster shown in Figure 6.10, and this suggests at least some consistency in the ways in which afforestation projects in Israel were depicted visually and textually. Sva also goes on to write that 'the wonders of the forests' were those 'the land did not know for hundreds of years [...] luxuriant forests flourish here on hilltops and hillsides that were bare and desolate, stony and thorny.'³⁷⁶ As we have already seen, the language here refers to the notion that the land was barren and unoccupied before the arrival of Zionist immigrants who transformed and bettered the landscape – and the evocation of hilltops and hillsides in this text directly relates to the next wave of settlement in Palestine/Israel, in which hilltops were a key focus.

The forests themselves, not just accompanying promotional materials, often included elements and features that represented ideas around Israeli land and ownership to visitors. In Schreiber's article for *Land and Life* from 1976, he interviews the forest ranger for the Herzl Forest Recreation and Physical Culture Park. Already, the name of the forest, named after such a significant figure in Zionist history, ties the development of recreational forest land to a wider state development project. Additionally, the name of the forest evokes the idea of strong, fit, 'physical culture,' like that shown in earlier Zionist imagery of settlement focused around labour, gymnastics, and vitality. This forest in particular, however, had another symbolic link to settlements past, in the form of a large fort for children's play, which the ranger says was 'built along the lines of the old tower and stockade fortresses that the settlers first built in Israel on the frontiers in the years before statehood.'³⁷⁷ The symbolism of Tower and Stockade fortresses, as has

³⁷⁴ Sva, *One day and 90 years*, p.86.

³⁷⁵ Sva, *One day and 90 years*, p.86.

³⁷⁶ Sva, *One day and 90 years*, p.87.

³⁷⁷ Schreiber, 'Bring forests to the people,' p.4.

been shown Chapter Two, was important historically in settlements, and their inclusion in contemporary recreational space linked not only the settlement movement of the past to the present, but also signified the notion of frontier space, of contested spaces being reclaimed, and of safety and protection against perceived enemies in the surrounding areas. Here we can see, in the use of occupation-related motifs in a verdant cultivated space, the idea that occupation of places perceived as 'backwards' was positioned as a developing force for good in the imperial model.

Many of these forests and recreational areas featured amenities for hiking like paths, rest areas and water facilities. Hiking, while available to both local and international visitors, had its own symbolic import in the Israeli imagination. Tamar Katriel identifies 'the central role of hiking in the context of school trips, youth movement excursions, and [...] family outings [...] they] are an important element in complex and ritualized cultural practices.'³⁷⁸ Hiking, then, was an important signifier of Israeli national identity, as were many other health-related physical activities. The religious-nationalist settler group *Gush Emunim*, which will be further discussed later in the chapter, used hiking as a symbolic method of claiming land ownership during the First Intifada, organising a hike of over two thousand participants through several areas of the West Bank, including through Palestinian Arab cities and towns like Hebron. As Katriel describes,

'each group of hikers was accompanied by soldiers and was headed by a military officer, and the whole operation was clearly a political act, an attempt to re-assert rightful possession of the land, expressed in terms of "the right of every Jew to move freely anywhere in the Land of Israel".'³⁷⁹

Hiking was by the 1980s a potent nationalist symbol, and its practice in the tourist sphere shared this nationalist symbolism and rhetoric with outside observers. When opened up to tourists through recreational spaces like trails and parks, these two ideas of natural space and physical fitness were presented to travellers as markers of Israeli-ness. Often, when combined with imagery or text around forests and hiking, this conceptualisation of Israeli identity was in opposition to the Palestinian population,

³⁷⁸ Tamar Katriel, 'Touring the land: trips and hiking as secular pilgrimages in Israeli culture,' *Jewish Folklore & Ethnology Review*, 17/1-2 (1995): 6-13, p.6.

³⁷⁹ Katriel, 'Touring the land,' p.10.

trapped in largely urban areas or arid spaces, hemmed in by settlements in the West Bank and without unrestricted freedom of movement. Freedom of movement, ownership of space, and the ways these two things were visually communicated, were to become especially potent issues for local inhabitants of Palestine/Israel, but also for visitors from overseas, with the growth of the religious-Zionist settlement movement in the 1970s and beyond.

‘Help them be Israel’: state-sanctioned occupation and visual narratives of settlement post-1967

The establishment of settlements in Palestine/Israel began long before the establishment of the state, but their modern incarnation has its roots in the Golda Meir Labor government following the 1967 war. In this period, Yigal Allon, Minister of Agriculture and head of the Ministerial Committee on Settlements, and Haim Bar Lev, the IDF General Chief of Staff, proposed two separate fortification models for the boundaries of the occupied territories as they stood in 1967. Bar Lev’s plan, as described by Eyal Weizman, was ‘a linear fortification system stretching along the Suez Canal on the water’s edge,’ and Allon’s involved annexing territory along the natural border of the Great Rift Valley from the Golan Heights to Sharm el-Sheik, and building *kibbutzim*, *moshavim*, and *Nahal* (military) settlements along this strip of territory. Both plans were implemented; within a decade fifteen of Allon’s proposed settlements had been constructed.³⁸⁰ The Bar Lev line along the Suez Canal, completed by 1970, proved unpopular with Ariel Sharon, another member of the IDF General Staff, who believed in creating ‘a flexible defensive system spread out in depth.’³⁸¹ After a series of high-profile conflicts with Bar Lev and Meir, Sharon was eventually made chief of IDF Southern Command, a powerful position from which he began to use more brutal methods against Palestinian guerrillas in Gaza. He implemented a shoot-to-kill policy, and later, his destruction of refugee camps in Gaza to make way for occupation settlements was to become a model for the settlement project of the state more broadly.³⁸²

³⁸⁰ Weizman, ‘The architecture of Ariel Sharon,’ pp.338-339.

³⁸¹ Weizman, ‘The architecture of Ariel Sharon,’ p.345.

³⁸² For more detail on these conflicts and the early settlement and destruction process, see Weizman, ‘The architecture of Ariel Sharon,’ p.345.

The most significant civilian settlement movement in Palestine/Israel in the post-1967 period was *Gush Emunim* (Bloc of the Faithful). The followers of *Gush Emunim* saw the occupied Palestinian territories not as the West Bank and Gaza, and certainly not as Palestine, but as Gaza, and Judea and Samaria. They referred to these areas with the name *Yesha*, Hebrew for ‘salvation,’³⁸³ following a long-established narrative tradition of conflating settlement and occupation of land with redeeming it. *Gush Emunim*’s ideology grew out of a discursive atmosphere immediately following the 1967 war which was preoccupied with defining the idea of what constituted Greater Israel – specifically, which territories should be considered part of the whole. In this period, as Fiege lays out, two ‘broad options’ were presented to the Israeli public: the state could annex the newly occupied territories into the State of Israel – an option favoured by and later lobbied for by *Gush Emunim* – or it could negotiate with those who laid claim to those territories in order to secure the pre-war borders of Israel.³⁸⁴

The case for annexing the territories was based on several factors: the widespread belief that Palestinians would not negotiate peace with Israel in any long-term fashion; a belief that the occupied territories were the property of the Jewish people by divine right and had therefore been liberated, not occupied; and also the economic and infrastructural benefits of occupation such as access to landmass, resources and a cheap labour force.³⁸⁵ Evacuation and negotiation were proposed partly in terms of international objections to the occupation, and also the dangers of living so closely to a hostile local population of Palestinians. The argument by those in government and civilians who opposed annexation was that this would lead to the loss of Israel’s moral authority in the conflict, as well as a significant decline in tourism to the region.³⁸⁶

The official position of land settlement and development organisations like the JNF and *Keren Hayesod* can be seen in postcards of the 1970s which referred specifically to settlement, and to the securing of borders through frontier settlement. One example is a postcard published by *Keren Hayesod* from circa 1970s shown in Figure 6.11.

³⁸³ Michael Fiege, *Settling in the hearts: Jewish fundamentalism in the Occupied Territories* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2009), p.3.

³⁸⁴ Fiege, *Settling in the Hearts*, p.22.

³⁸⁵ Fiege, *Settling in the Hearts*, p.22.

³⁸⁶ Fiege, *Settling in the hearts*, p.23.



Figure 6.11

Hof9-0276. Published by the *Keren Hayesod*, c. 1970s. Copyright courtesy of the Folklore Research Center, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Postcards attributed specifically to land development or settlement organisations like the JNF and *Keren Hayesod* do not appear in the BM collection (although photography undertaken by the JNF is likely the source for many of the *kibbutzim* postcards in the collection, as discussed in Chapter Two). However, some examples do exist in the collection of the FRC. These cards, rather than being made for explicitly commemorative, collectible, or commercial purposes, seem to be part of an explicit fundraising and support-gathering campaign, and it is likely that they were distributed within diaspora and local communities supportive of their causes rather than to overseas tourists.

The postcard shows four monochrome images, tinted alternatively with a blue-green wash and a pink wash, around a central box reading ‘Keren Hayesod United Israel Appeal.’ Each of the images represents another element of the work of the organisation. The top-left image is captioned ‘absorption,’ and shows new immigrants unloading their belongings from trucks. The top-right image reads ‘immigration,’ and shows recent immigrants descending a boat’s plank. In the bottom-left, ‘settlement,’ is accompanied by an image of Ma’alot’s newly constructed concrete housing on the hill. Finally, in the bottom-right, an image of smiling children carrying schoolbags and

wearing winter clothes is captioned with 'education.' The caption on the verso of the postcard reads, 'Help them reach Israel – help them be Israel,' clearly imploring viewers to donate money to the organisation for the purpose of settling more people in newly constructed settlements.

While the *Keren Hayesod* postcard dates from the 1970s, the images used could appear older, given their blue and pink tints, and the similarity of the settlement architecture to that used in earlier *kibbutzim* established during the first waves of *aliyah*. The children in the 'education' photograph are protected against the cold weather in warm jackets and hats – not a sight particularly associated with the warm Mediterranean climate of Palestine/Israel, but rather recalling the metropolises from which newly settled Israelis have travelled. The associations in these images appear to be both with the early settlement of pre-state Israel, affirming long-established links with the landscape and *Keren Hayesod's* long investment in the settlement of the Jewish people; and also, with the diasporic nations from which Israeli immigrants tend to come, largely Eastern and Central Europe. In this way, the postcard acts as an emotionally rich object designed to stimulate feelings of kinship and pride, and elicit a monetary contribution to the cause. As with other imagery from the wider tourist sphere, there are references to a continuous connection to the landscape, modern settlement architecture, and people who appear recognisable and familiar in terms of their dress and activities to a European and American audience. This fundraising card, and postcards designed for commercial purposes, share some common features – but the explicitly political message and fundraising aims of the postcard are unique to one designed for consumption by those already sympathetic to the cause of land-settlement and immigrant absorption programmes in Israel.

Another example of this type of postcard is one published by KKL-JNF circa 1970s, held in the collection of the FRC (Figure 6.12). Like the Tu B'Shevat poster shown in Figure 6.9, this postcard depicts commemorative stamps offered by the JNF on a bright orange background. The text, entirely in Hebrew, translated reads: 'Happy New Year. Development and fortification of the Northern Border.' Here, the wish for the new year is that the northern border of Israel be further settled, strengthened and occupied – this ties the political aims of the settlement movement, the state, and religion together in simple and straightforward text. There is no question here which of the two 'broad options' Fiege laid out in the post-1967 period is the one the JNF favours.



Figure 6.12

Hof9-0298. Published by KKL-JNF, c.1970s. Copyright courtesy of the Folklore Research Centre, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

The four stamps on the postcard represent locations in the Galilee and Golan. All four are bright, simplified colour illustrations. In the top-left, the stamp shows a view of Mount Hermon, and in the top-right is a view of Kiryat Shmona. In the bottom-left is a view of Mount Meron, and the bottom-right stamp is a depiction of the Sea of Galilee. Each of the illustrated stamps shows a view of mountains in the background, suggestive of the natural protection and boundaries offered by the landscape, and also the green and cultivated fields at the foot of these hills. The buildings in all four images are modern, boxy, in the familiar settlement style with distinctive red roofs in the case of the two upper images. These idyllic scenes alongside the pointed border-security message of the card and the religious greeting tie all three together – without the religious-nationalist settlement and fortification of land, these beautiful natural surroundings will not be part of the state of Israel. The imagery is also celebratory of the JNF's previous successes – the land already settled and cultivated, as an indication of what may be possible in other territories in the future. The combination here of religious and secular is one that has been discussed previously in earlier Zionist imagery, and it is clear that this duality persisted in the modern state-building era.

It is also true that the settlements along Israel's border were positioned not only as residences for the local Israeli population, but also were intended to become part of

the tourist map of Israel for local and foreign travellers. The American JNF newsletter *Land and Life* is a useful resource in this regard, as articles from contemporary periods often discussed the early development of settlements into possible tourist centres, and the hopes of settlers that their new towns would become attractive destinations. In one article from 1974, Ilana Levine described the Israeli settlements on the Lebanese border and ‘the renewal of development projects’ in light of the cessation of the 1973 war. The article discussed the ways in which settlers now ‘feel that they belong to the area,’ and were working to develop the region through the ‘introduction of recreational facilities,’ and roads which would ‘open up for tourism’ sites like the Crusader Fortress of Montfort.³⁸⁷ Clearly, then, tourism as an essential element of economic survival and growth in the settlements was a consideration even in the immediate aftermath of conflict.

The development of frontier settlement of the type depicted in the JNF postcard in a post-1967 context included not only the Golan and Galilee, but also areas in Gaza, East Jerusalem and the West Bank in both urban and hilltop areas. Aharon Kellerman posits that this frontier settlement ‘produced and consumed Zionist settlement myths,’³⁸⁸ myths that drew on the symbols and discursive elements of early *aliyah* and *kibbutzim*/*moshavim* movements, but also built on the idea of border security ensured through land development and settlement like in the early Tower and Stockade movement. Kellerman goes on to argue that ‘West Bank settlement activity did not have to cope with any specific environmental challenge and it was in sharp contrast to the cooperative structure of earlier settlement activity and its social messages,’³⁸⁹ as many of these settlements were exurban communities of single-family homes where members worked in metropolitan centres like Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. However, exurban settlements in the West Bank, whilst different in their structure from agricultural *kibbutzim*, were often represented in visual culture in ways reminiscent of earlier representations of pre-state settlement.

As has been shown in this chapter’s *kibbutzim* imagery, and in the postcards shown in Figures 6.11 and 6.12, there were constant references in visual culture of this type – like postcards and posters – to the original settlement movement. The socialist

³⁸⁷ Ilana Levine, ‘Along the Lebanese border during the war,’ *Land and Life*, XXVIII/1 (February 1974), p.7.

³⁸⁸ Aharon Kellerman, ‘Settlement myth and settlement activity: interrelationships in the Zionist Land of Israel,’ *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 21/2 (1996): 363-378, <http://jstor.org/stable/622486>, p.375.

³⁸⁹ Kellerman, p.376.

sense of cooperative labour may not have been exactly the same, except in some *kibbutzim* and *moshavim*, but the visual iconography of settlement – of modern/ancient, urban/rural, verdant/barren, Europeanised/Arab dichotomies - continued.

Additionally, as Ines Gabel points out, within publications from the most prominent post-1967 settlement movement itself, *Gush Emunim* drew explicit comparisons themselves between the contemporary settler movement and the pioneers of early Zionist settlement. Gabel has noted that in *Gush Emunim*'s pamphlet *Nekuda* (1979-2009) 'settlers are portrayed as [pioneer's] inheritors since they are depicted as fulfilling the same tasks – settling frontiers and protecting the state society.'³⁹⁰

The official, state-sanctioned settlement along Israel's defined borders, however, did not go far enough for movements like *Gush Emunim*. They officially formed as a movement post-1973 and began working to shift occupation and settlement into a much more extreme religious-nationalist sphere in the following decades. This movement to the right in both settler movements and the state, was to have consequences for tourist perceptions and understandings of Palestine/Israel, and was to change visual media around settlements, both locally and internationally.

'Jewish Hebron Settler's Gift Shop': the commodification of settlement

In 1973, *Gush Emunim* was formed by members of other national-religious settler groups like *Elon Moreh*, and they began to settle land in earnest. The organization's strategy was, as explained by Weizman, to conduct 'ascents' (or, I would argue, symbolic hikes, as discussed previously) to West Bank hilltops and then refuse to leave until the government was pressured into recognising the settlement. In 1977, Menachem Begin's first Likud government came to power, and being more sympathetic to *Gush Emunim*'s practices, the government began 'an attempt to transform the settlement project from an improvised undertaking into an elaborate state project.'³⁹¹ To that end, not only were more regularised, official settlements built, but additionally, land-registration and mapping were utilized to claim land that Palestinians could not

³⁹⁰ *Nekuda* was not available in any archive I was able to find; it has been removed from the internet since Gabel's study and is available only in Hebrew. For more on this publication and its contents, see Ines Gabel, 'Historical memory and collective identity: West Bank settlers reconstruct the past,' *Media, Culture and Society*, 35/2 (2013) 250-259, DOI: 10.1177/0163443712467592, p.253.

³⁹¹ Eyal Weizman, *Hollow land: Israel's architecture of occupation*, (London and New York: Verso, 2007), p.111.

prove was privately owned, or privately owned and currently in active use. This land was confiscated for use by the state and leased out to settler movements for the construction of homes.³⁹² By 1981, Begin's second Likud government had been elected, and adopted *Gush Emunim's* strategy fully as state practice. The government used various methods to inhibit Palestinian cultivation of land, including reducing water quotas to Palestinian farmers, which led to Palestinians of the West Bank being forced by circumstance into working in Israel, and resulted in uncultivated land that the state could then annex for settlement.³⁹³

During the leadership of Begin's first Likud government in 1977, Ariel Sharon was appointed Minister for Settlements and began to implement architectural plans for Jewish settlements in the West Bank along with professor of architecture Avraham Wachman. These settlements were, as Weizman describes them

‘placed on strategic summits that could overlook each other and exercise control over the terrain between them [...] The principle of visual domination sought to create the condition by which the trajectories of movements within the terrain around and beneath settlements would be overlooked. But Sharon also wanted the “Arabs to see Jewish lights every night at 500 meters...” to make visible the dominance of the occupation.’³⁹⁴

This kind of visual domination of the skyline and the Palestinian inhabitants below took place on the hilltops in rural West Bank regions, of course, but is perhaps most strikingly exemplified in the city of Hebron, as shown in the postcard in Figure 6.13. Published circa 1984 by an unknown publisher, the postcard shows a colour photograph which frames the city from a distance, enabling the card to encompass the holy site of the Cave of the Patriarchs in the middle-ground, the Palestinian homes in the foreground, and the urban settlements of Hebron and the hilltop settlement of Kiryat Arba dominating the skyline. The bright colours are sharp— the blue sky contrasting with rows of uniformly limestone houses which appear white in the sunlight, only a few patches of green in the middle-ground peeking through the architecture. Kiryat Arba, the rows of multi-storey houses sitting on the hilltop in the

³⁹² Weizman, *Hollow land*, p.116.

³⁹³ For more on these practices and the laws that allowed them to continue, see Weizman, *Hollow land*, p.120.

³⁹⁴ Weizman, ‘The architecture of Ariel Sharon,’ pp.350-351.

background, certainly in this image fulfil the requirement of visual dominance over the landscape and the Palestinian people who live below. They watch over the landscape, which in this image relays nothing of the conflict of everyday life in Hebron. The settlement architecture in particular appears uniform, clean, in geometric and even linear form compared to the rather more random assortment of housing in the foreground. The broad view of the landscape is not so different from other commercial postcards discussed in previous chapters, aside from the location pictured.



Figure 6.13

EPH-ME.6778. Publisher unknown, c.1984. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Fiege has noted that ‘in photographs and publications aimed at bringing new residents to Kiryat Arba, the Palestinian population is not mentioned and Arab houses are whited out.’³⁹⁵ In this photograph, there is no whiting out of buildings, although of course there is no visible population, either Palestinian Arab or Israeli. That a commercial postcard would so clearly feature the settlements that most international governments define as illegal is significant in itself. Published at a time when tensions were running particularly high in Hebron due to the recent murder of six Yeshiva students from Kiryat Arba, the postcard commodifies the settlements for public

³⁹⁵ Fiege, *Settling in the hearts*, p.161.

consumption. They become part of an everyday visual language, embedded not only in the landscape literally, but also figuratively in tourist media.

Hebron is perhaps the most widely-known and widely debated location of the settlements in the occupied territories in the post-1967 era. The city itself and the nearby settlement of Kiryat Arba have been home to many *Gush Emunim* leaders, as well as others from the right-wing of Israel's political spectrum. David Ohana describes Kiryat Arba as 'the hotbed of extremism that served as the base of the Jewish underground and [...] the largest settlement of Gush Emunim, the centre of Kahanism [an extreme-right wing political party] and the most religious settlement in the country.'³⁹⁶ The ideology of the settlers of Kiryat Arba can be identified in its physical space; the first thing any resident, or tourist, would see on entering the settlement, is a sign which reads 'Kiryat Arba, a Zionist political settlement, as much as it will be tortured, so it will flourish.'³⁹⁷

Hebron is sacred to both Jewish and Muslim people, but in Jewish memory, there is an additional significance bestowed upon Hebron by the massacre of the Jewish community living there in 1929 (this massacre is known as *Tarpat*).³⁹⁸ In August 1929, sixty-seven members of the Jewish population of Hebron were murdered, the rest evacuated by the Mandate authorities during the 1936 revolt. In the aftermath of the 1948 war, the city became part of Jordan, only to be annexed again by Israel during the 1967 war. It was not until a year later that a group of settlers headed by the Rabbi Moshe Levinger moved to Hebron; at first the group rented rooms in a hotel, then they refused to leave, and after negotiating with the IDF eventually agreed to resettle in the hills on the outskirts of Hebron. This tactic is not unlike the 'ascent' strategy used by later *Gush Emunim* settlers to establish hilltop settlements in the West Bank. This hill settlement in Hebron's environs eventually became Kiryat Arba and was formally established in 1971. The second settlement within the formal city boundaries was established in 1979 by a group of women and children who occupied the Beit Hadassah building, where the events leading to the 1929 massacre had begun. Negotiations began between this group of settlers and the Israeli government, and tensions came to head in May 1980, as a group of local Yeshiva students visiting the settlers on Shabbat were

³⁹⁶ David Ohana, *Israel and its Mediterranean identity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p.41.

³⁹⁷ Michael Fiege, 'Jewish settlement of Hebron: the place and the other,' *Geojournal*, 53 (2001): 323-333, p.323.

³⁹⁸ Fiege, 'Jewish settlement of Hebron,' p.5.

attacked and six were killed. In the aftermath of this attack the Israeli government formally sanctioned the settlement within the boundaries of Hebron city.³⁹⁹

The Palestinian population living in Hebron has far outnumbered settlers even in recent years, but the settlements were constructed in such a way as to alter and shift the power dynamics of the landscape. Kiryat Arba was built in the style of Nazareth Ilit, a city built ‘overlooking Nazareth,’ and thus watching over all that happens below, as can be seen in the postcard in Figure 6.13. The more ideologically-motivated settlers who live within Hebron’s city limits, still look over the Palestinian population below, to the extent that in recent years, a heavy net barrier has been hung above the Palestinian street market to catch debris and rubbish thrown from the settlers overhead.⁴⁰⁰ The two settlements rely on one another to exist and each has a different symbolic currency. As Fiege describes it, “Hebron is the symbolic centre that renders meaning to the Kirya. Kiryat Arba, however, is the location of the secular power, the larger population, commerce, and, in general, the link with the rest of Israeli society.”⁴⁰¹ In terms of divisions with the local Palestinian population, there is strict segregation – no crossing between Israeli and Palestinian areas of Hebron, and even visually, the architectural styles of the settlement – in the style of the modernist, boxy shapes of other collective settlements and buildings throughout Israel – stand in contrast to the more eclectic style of the Palestinian areas, as can be seen in the postcard in Figure 6.13.

The Cave of the Patriarchs, seen in the middle-ground of the Hebron postcard in Figure 6.13, also known in Arabic as *al-Haram al-Ibrahimi al-Khalil* (Ibrahimi Mosque) and in Hebrew as *Me’erat HaMachpela* (Tomb of the Patriarchs) is the centre of much of the conflict between the two local populations. The site is significant to both Muslim and Jewish faiths as the site where Abraham settled. Islam considers Abraham the father of prophets; for Judaism, the Cave is burial site of the Patriarchs and Matriarchs.⁴⁰² For settlers in Hebron and Kiryat Arba, the Cave is an important visual symbol as well as religious and ideological site. Fiege outlines how in the homes and public buildings of the settlement, pictures of the Cave line many walls, it is an emblem

³⁹⁹ Richard Clarke, ‘Self-presentation in a contested city: Palestinian and Israeli political tourism in Hebron,’ *Anthropology Today*, 16/5 (2000), p.12.

⁴⁰⁰ Zach Dorfman, “‘The possibility of escalation is always there’: tense days in Hebron,” *The Atlantic*, 28 January 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/01/israel-palestine-hebron-settlement-occupation-netanyahu-trump-intifada/513188/>, accessed 1 December 2017.

⁴⁰¹ Fiege, ‘Jewish settlement of Hebron,’ p.325.

⁴⁰² Clarke, ‘Self-presentation in a contested city,’ p.12.

of public institutions, and ‘even when a wedding does not take place in front of the Cave, the invitations will usually bear its picture.’⁴⁰³ The Cave also appears on commercial visual media, as we have seen in the postcard in Figure 6.13. This is unsurprising given that it is the most significant religious site in Hebron, and the site around which most tourism to the city is centred. It is also the location where most conflict between the two populations of Hebron has occurred, conflict which since the 1980s has only escalated.⁴⁰⁴

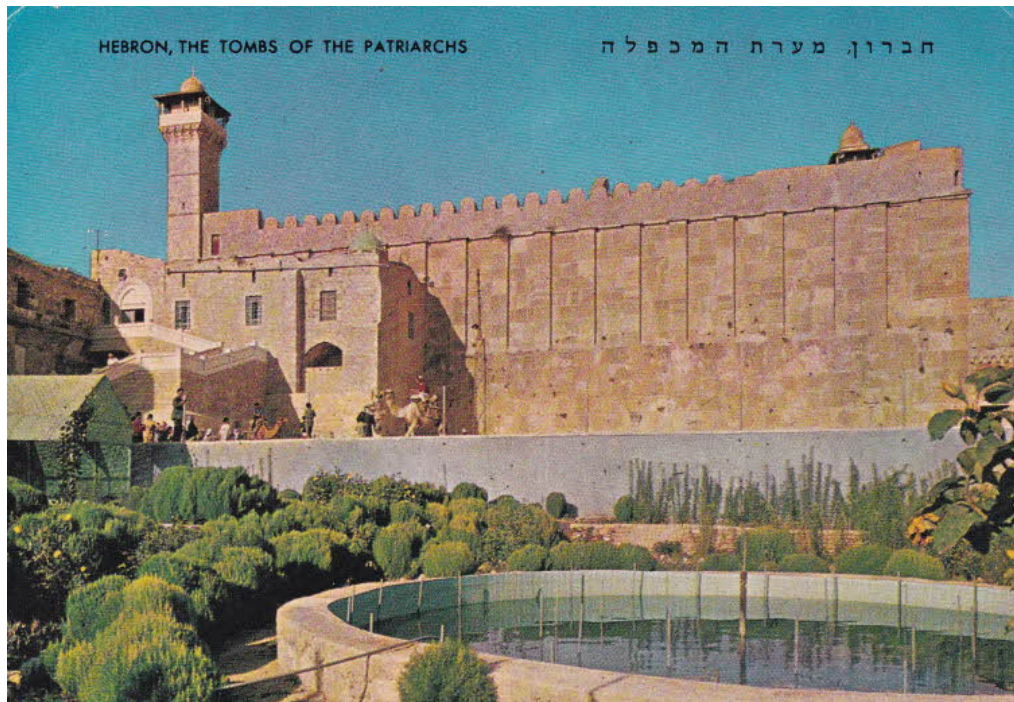


Figure 6.14

EPH-ME.6776. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1984. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

In the postcard shown in Figure 6.14, published by Palphot circa 1984, the text caption is in both English and Hebrew, and uses the name of the location associated with Judaism. The architecture of the Cave dominates the upper half of the image,

⁴⁰³ Fiege, ‘Jewish settlement of Hebron,’ p.326.

⁴⁰⁴ In 1994, the tension around the Cave came to a head when an American-born Israeli settler massacred twenty-nine Palestinian worshippers in the cave with a rifle, and injured over 100 others. He was then killed by survivors. The aftermath of this massacre saw protests, more deaths, restrictions of Palestinian movement, closure of Palestinian shops and further separation between the two populations. In recent years Hebron’s tensions have escalated further and it has become a flashpoint for violence. For more on the lasting effects of these conflicts and collective punishments, see Activestills, ‘20 years since Cave of the Patriarchs Massacre,’ +972, 25 February 2014, <https://972mag.com/photos-20-years-since-cave-of-the-patriarchs-massacre/87599/>, accessed 1 December 2017.

stretching to fill the frame, and the line of the building draws the eye to edges of the frame where clear, undisturbed blue skies fill the rest of the image. In front of the Cave, a small group of people and a camel can be seen, but there is no hint of the separate entrances for different groups of worshippers, or the military presence that divides the two groups. Filling the foreground are numerous green plants and small, tranquil pond. The whole scene appears restful and calm, especially in comparison to the earlier postcard of Hebron which showed the mass of buildings and fences surrounding the Cave.

The postcard is much more typical of tourist postcards of religious sites from Palestine/Israel, as seen in previous chapters. Often the religious building would dominate the postcard, and there was often an association between religious sites and lush vegetation around, as in Gethsemane, the Garden Tomb and natural sites like the Sea of Galilee. This site, the postcard seems to suggest, is not unlike the others for tourists – the postcard presents a safe, peaceful version of Hebron, and even nods towards tourist opportunities with the camel in the image, a common sight for tourists who wished to have their photo taken with the ‘exotic’ creature.



Figure 6.15

EPH-ME.6778. Publisher unknown, c.1980. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Perhaps the most striking settlement postcard in the entire BM collection, and the most unusual, however, is that pictured in Figure 6.15. In this postcard, published circa 1980 by an unknown publisher, a Palestinian Arab man in traditional dress stands in the foreground next to a camel. Behind him, a low-roofed limestone shop stands; the sign reads 'Jewish Hebron Settler's Gift Shop.' This shop dominates the background, but peeking into frame behind it is a slice of blue sky, and in the top-right corner, a Coca-Cola billboard in stark red and white. The juxtaposition between the traditionally dressed Palestinian man and his camel, and the modern building and advertisement billboard behind him is sharp. The dichotomy draws on early-twentieth century interpretations of Arab stereotypes; the man and his camel could have come from any number of postcards from earlier decades (see numerous examples in Chapter One.)

This card also offers an explicit representation of the commodification of ideology in the settlement project in Israel that is embodied by the postcard as a material object itself. Even the Coca-Cola billboard in the background tells the viewer something about the politics of the image: Coca-Cola began producing its soda in Israel in 1966, in the face of growing protests from Israeli and Jewish American populations, who argued that a lack of production in Israel and the settlements was a political, anti-Israeli act. As a result, the Arab League retaliated with its own boycott, denying Coca-Cola entry to Arab markets. The Arab League boycott lasted from 1968 – 1991, during which time Pepsi filled the gap in the market by choosing not to produce in Israel, serving the Arab market exclusively until 1992. At the time this postcard was produced, Coca-Cola was under Arab League boycott and therefore ideologically in alignment with Zionist ideology in Israel.⁴⁰⁵ The landscape which dominates the image – the shop, the billboard in the sky – are all indicative of the ways in which the man and his camel 'do not belong.'

The inclusion of the gift shop is unusual – rarely did the place one might buy a postcard feature prominently in the postcard imagery itself. However, it does reinforce the dominance of the settlers over the landscape, and indeed over the Palestinian population, as it fills the space behind the man entirely. Another iteration of this image may also exist, although it could not be found for inclusion here. Fiege seems to have come across this postcard or one extremely similar in his own research. In the postcard as he describes it, the building is a 'settler's restaurant' rather than a gift shop, but he

⁴⁰⁵ Gil Feiler, *From boycott to economic cooperation: the political economy of the Arab boycott of Israel* (New York: Routledge, 2011), p.42.

also mentions ‘an Arab holding a camel in front of it, but on the back of the postcard the restaurant and camel are mentioned, while the Arab is not.’⁴⁰⁶ The postcard then, may not be entirely unusual, but within the context of the BM collection, and other collections explored here, it is certainly not like other postcards of this period. In many ways, however, it draws on already-established tropes and symbolisms to convey familiar messages albeit in a slightly unusual way for the tourist market. The juxtaposition of old and new as represented through settlers and Palestinians, the modernity and progressiveness of the settler community compared to the tradition and out-of-step nature of the Palestinian population, are used to convey a sense of belonging versus not belonging. The image on this postcard is potent because it stands out in a mass of reproduced and repeated views, but also precisely because it employs those repeated imperialist tropes and views in a more explicit and jarring fashion.

Whilst these postcards commodified the settlement for tourists, it is worth mentioning that very few tourists in the BM postcard collection refer to settlements in the occupied territories in their messages. Mostly, writers referred to these settlements obliquely, in a list of places they had visited. Most of these types of messages were written on cards depicting Jerusalem, and sent from that city, presumably the base for a wider tour-guided visit to Israel and the territories. One example is the card in Figure 6.16, which on its recto (not pictured) depicts a typical panoramic view of Jerusalem with the Dome of the Rock most prominent in the mid-ground.

⁴⁰⁶ Fiege, ‘Jewish settlement of Hebron,’ 331.

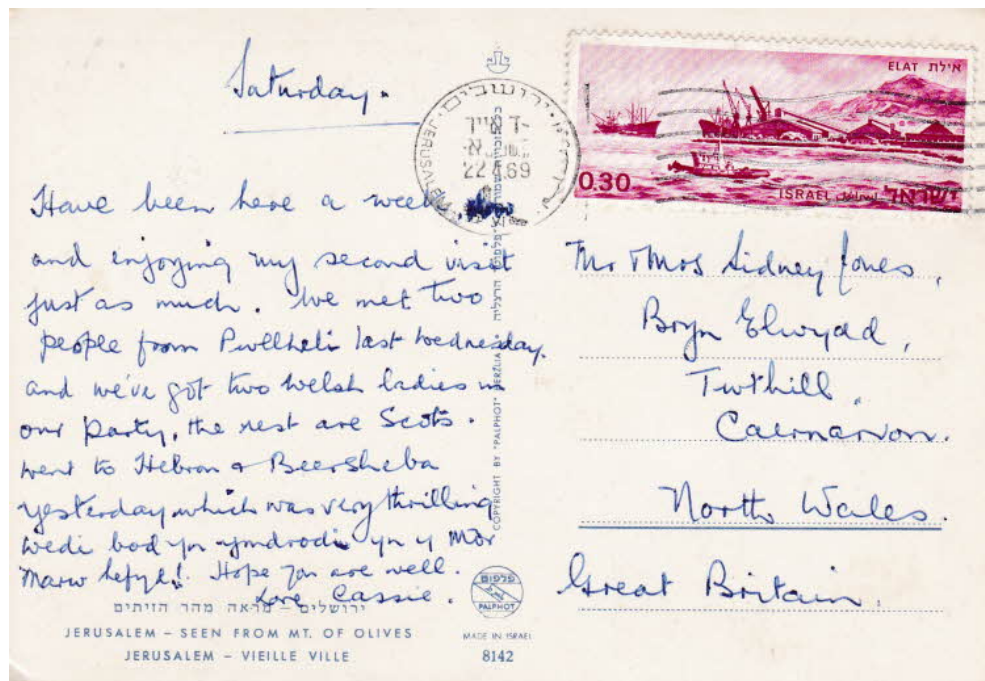


Figure 6.16

EPH-ME.4218. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1969. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

This postcard, sent from Jerusalem in 1969, describes the tour group the woman has joined, and mentions that this is her second visit to the nation(s). She writes, ‘went to Hebron & Beersheba yesterday which was very thrilling.’ She does not, however, describe her visit to Hebron, or mention the settlement there explicitly or by name. Rather, this visit is just part of a routine experience for this tourist, mentioned in passing alongside various other destinations. Three other panoramic postcards of Jerusalem have similar messages on their versos: one from 1972 describes a visit to the Old City of Jerusalem and says that ‘tomorrow we’re visiting Bethlehem & Hebron.’⁴⁰⁷ Another, sent from Jerusalem the following year, notes that the writer is ‘having a very exciting holiday here [...] We have also been to Bethlehem, Emmaus, Bethany & Hebron.’⁴⁰⁸ The final postcard, sent from Jerusalem in 1981, describes cool weather, a visit to Bethlehem, and plans to visit the Garden Tomb and Hebron the following day.⁴⁰⁹ These tourists were not relating specific experiences of the settlements of the occupied West Bank. Nor were they explicitly referring to settlement tourism. Only one

⁴⁰⁷ British Museum, EPH-ME.5168.

⁴⁰⁸ British Museum, EPH-ME.8024.

⁴⁰⁹ British Museum, EPH-ME.5724.

postcard in the BM collection with a message written in English explicitly talks about settlements, as shown in Figure 6.17.

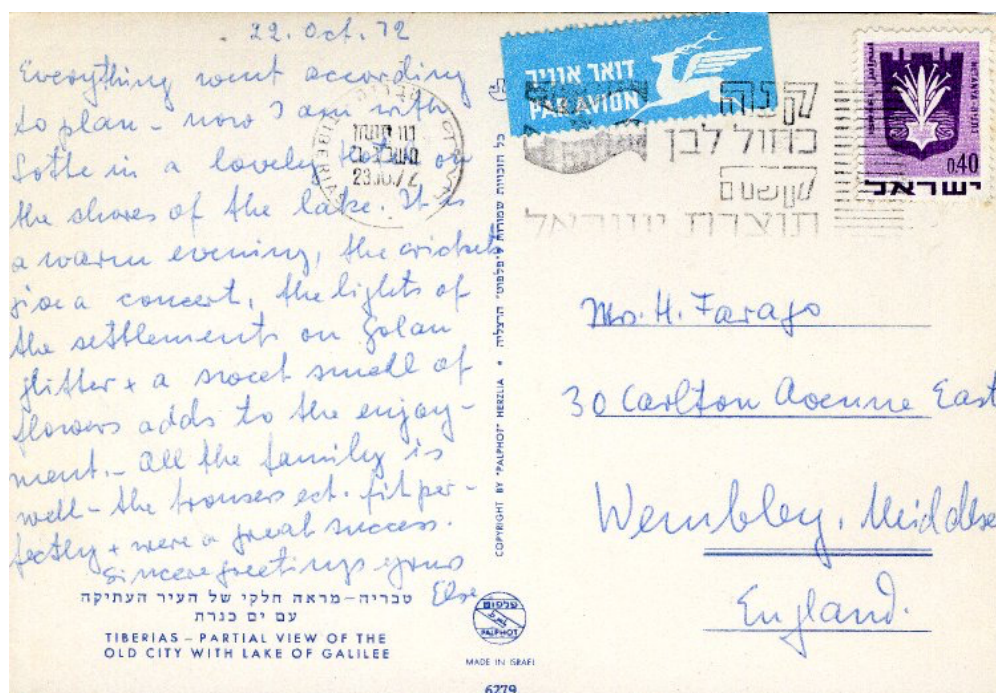


Figure 6.17

EPH-ME.2288. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1969. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

Published by Palphot circa 1969, two years after the 1967 war and the occupation of new swathes of land that tourists could now visit as part of larger tours, this postcard shows a brightly coloured photograph of the rooftops of the city of Tiberias with the Sea of Galilee behind (not pictured). Like those postcards which showed views of Jerusalem, this postcard's recto is a generic tourist view, but the message refers to other sites and experiences. The message does refer to the view on the recto, telling the recipient, 'now I am with Lotte in a lovely hotel on the shores of the lake.' She then goes on to describe the 'warm evening,' and says 'the crickets give a concert, the lights of the settlements on Golan flicker & a sweet smell of flowers adds to the enjoyment.' In this context, the settlement buildings are given the same idyllic connotations as flowers, warm weather and the sounds of nature. None of their conflict, the ideological battles surrounding them or their proximity to the frontier is suggested in the writer's words. Instead they become part of the beautiful surroundings, another element of a relaxing holiday rather than anything political, disturbing or even inherently ideological. The type of imagery used around settlement in advertisements,

propaganda and postcards – of natural surroundings and beauty, lush vegetation and peaceful vistas – is again disseminated here in the words of a visitor writing to England, where this message could again be absorbed and transmitted.

‘A city in the sand’: tourist development of Sinai settlements

There are two postcards in the BM collection which depict another contentious settlement in the period post-1967. They feature images of Yamit, a settlement in the Sinai that existed from 1975 – 1982. Approved by the Israeli government in 1973, by the time of construction in 1975, a report in the UK newspaper *The Guardian* indicated that despite Yamit’s planned development as ‘a regional centre [...and] Israel’s third deep-water Mediterranean port,’ the town was poised to ‘be returned to Egypt in a definitive peace agreement.’⁴¹⁰ Even in its earliest years, Yamit’s permanency was precarious even to viewers from overseas, which may help to explain why its population never grew to expected sizes. By the time the article in *The Guardian* was published, twenty-five families had settled in Yamit, over half of whom were recent American immigrants, suggesting that the settlement had been advertised overseas in diasporic communities in the hopes of attracting new residents even in its formative stages of development. A settler interviewed in the article indicated that she at least did not think the Israeli government would return Sinai to Egypt in the event of a peace treaty, arguing that ‘anything we have taken in war should be ours [...] the sooner we get settlements built in Sinai the better the chance we have of hanging on to it. I think the Israeli Government will do anything to protect its settlements.’⁴¹¹ It was this gulf, between popular public perception and the beliefs of the settler population both in Yamit and in Palestine/Israel more widely, that would lead to confrontations in 1982.

For those who lived there, Yamit offered tropical weather and a low cost-of-living, and when the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel was signed in 1979, residents were angered that they would have to evacuate as Israel gave control of Sinai back to Egypt. Most accepted compensation and relocation, but a small contingent stayed behind, and were soon joined by outside protestors who took issue with the withdrawal from Sinai overall. Protests were staged by businesspeople and farmers local to Yamit,

⁴¹⁰ Eric Silver, ‘Israel’s new Sinai settlement – archive, 1975,’ *The Guardian*, 15 November 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/nov/15/israel-yamit-sinai-new-settlement-1975>, accessed 1 December 2017.

⁴¹¹ Silver, ‘Israel’s new Sinai settlement.’

but the largest and most visible group were those supported by *Gush Emunim*, in a group called the Movement to Stop the Retreat in Sinai. As Gadi Wolfsfeld points out, these *Gush Emunim* members were by this point well-versed in settlement strategy, pressuring the government, and media engagement, and thereby instituted a range of tactics to ensure publicity in order to generate support. These included sit-ins and land-grabs that prompted the army to react and drag away protestors who offered only passive resistance. Additionally, in the days before the final evacuation, settlers continued daily activities like crop-planting, ‘in a collective [and publicly visible] denial that the evacuation would ever take place.’⁴¹²

The final confrontation with the army, which had been deployed to remove the protestors by force, was fraught. There was a group within the remaining protestors who wished to use force against the soldiers for the purpose of creating ‘a “national trauma” that would not be quickly forgotten,’ a view reflected in the government’s own approach, in no small part because it ‘did want the world to know what Israel was sacrificing for peace. This backup position would serve well in future debates about territorial compromises in the West Bank.’⁴¹³ This conflict was not visible in media typically aimed at tourists, like postcards, however. Only two postcards (Figures 6.18 and 6.19) from the collection show Yamit, and both were sent by the same Swedish writer who sent cards to Sweden of military parades and equipment as seen in Chapter Four – indicating a long-term residency and affiliation with the Israeli state-building project, and therefore not a typical holidaying tourist. However, the way in which Yamit was depicted in these cards as opposed to other visual media is telling of the narrative these postcards hoped to transmit.

⁴¹² Gadi Wolfsfeld, ‘Collective political action and media strategy: the case of Yamit,’ *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 28/3 (1984): 363-381, p.378.

⁴¹³ Wolfsfeld, ‘Collective political action and media strategy,’ p.378.



Figure 6.18

EPH-ME.1704. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1978. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



Figure 6.19

EPH-ME.1705. Published by Palphot, Herzlia, c.1978. Copyright courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

Both postcards show colour photographic views of Yamit. The first, in Figure 6.18, is a broad view of the low-slung, boxy settlement housing, and a restaurant in the foreground selling seafood, according to the sign. The foreground is cut diagonally by a fence, and the landscape beyond not yet particularly cultivated. The buildings, however,

stretch into the clear blue skies beyond, and these and the telephone poles beyond draw the eye backward to a crane in the distance constructing yet more buildings. The infrastructure, while not entirely finished, appears modern – streetlamps, telephone poles, and roads cut through the postcard frame. The suggestion is of ongoing settlement, of the beginnings of permanent settlement, and of the modern occupation of arid landscape so often espoused in Zionist rhetoric as the redemption of land.

The image from this first postcard is repeated in the second, alongside other images. Both were published by Palphot at about the same time, but in the second postcard the broad view of the settlement is placed in the lower half of the frame, and the top half is occupied by two other photographs. The colours of the broad view photograph have also been edited to match the lighter blues and yellows of the accompanying images, an example of the manipulation of postcard imagery to adhere to a visual aesthetic. In the top left of the second postcard shown in Figure 6.19, the image shows verdant landscape and farming, again tying in the settlement project to the cultivation of arable land and the redemption of land through agriculture and afforestation as seen in earlier imagery of this chapter. In the top right, there is a photograph of the Ugdat HaPalada Monument, which commemorated the deaths of soldiers from the 84th Armored Division who died during the 1967 war. This image ties the settlement below and the arable land alongside it to the militaristic national project of land reclamation. This monument was also to become one of the sites where protestors refusing to evacuate Yamit sat before being forcibly removed by IDF soldiers.

Whilst Yamit was nationally symbolic and politically potent, it was also intended as a commercially viable tourist destination. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Israeli Ministry of Tourism released three tourism master plans between the 1970s and 1990s. The plan they released in the mid-1970s placed importance on the development of tourism along the Mediterranean coast, but also specifically noted the development of the cities of Nahariya, Ashkelon and Yamit in that plan.⁴¹⁴ Yamit was also discussed in the American JNF newsletter *Land and Life* from 1975 as ‘a city in the sand,’ the development of which was focused on creating ‘a town for its inhabitants: ecologically balanced, landscaped, pleasant and recreational, with its lovely beach just meters away, where paths between the palm trees will lead to hidden parking lots, picnic tables and

⁴¹⁴ Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, ‘The decline of Israel’s Mediterranean resorts,’ pp.69-70.

other camping facilities.⁴¹⁵ Another writer for the newsletter, visiting Yamit two years later in 1977, found that attention had shifted to attracting visitors, writing that many of Yamit's occupants were by then 'in favour of an ambitious project that will put them on the map, such as an artists' centre or even a Disneyworld type venture which would attract tourism.'⁴¹⁶ This makes clear the drive to attract tourists to participate in settlement travel to stimulate the local economy and forge links with the settlement project throughout Palestine/Israel more broadly, but specifically in the case of Yamit, which was in a precarious political position already. The article is at pains to point out that 'tourism is attracted on its own – even today,' and lists the extant attractions of the settlement: 'the clear white shores with their beautiful palm trees and fine sands [...] a kiosk, showers, sun-shades and other services will be provided for visitors but in the not-too-distant future, the settlers envision a luxury hotel, a marina, and other ambitious related enterprises.'⁴¹⁷

It was not only Yamit to which reporters from the JNF newsletter travelled in order to report on the development of tourism amenities. Yamit and other Sinai settlements were part of Israel's frontier with Egypt, and their potential development as seaside tourism resorts, as explored in the previous chapter, seemed crucial to their survival until the peace treaty put paid to those aspirations. In an article from 1973, Schrieber visited the Sinai *moshav* of Dizahab, south of Eilat, where 'unlike most other moshavim whose major occupation lies in agricultural pursuits,' the community was 'basing its economy mainly on the fishing and tourist industries.'⁴¹⁸ Unlike *kibbutzim*, *moshavim* were not as frequently positioned as tourist destinations, largely due to their focus on collective labour and socialist ideals. Like in Yamit, however, the residents of Dizahab told the JNF reporter that their plan was to offer swimming, boating, camping and other tourist activities, alongside 'a first-rate hotel and a complex of fibreglass bungalows offering tourists both the comforts of home and the enjoyment of nature in its most wild and unspoiled setting.'⁴¹⁹

This exact juxtaposition of the experience of wild nature, but in a context tamed and made palatable for a tourist audience through careful construction and home comforts, is reminiscent not just of other visual and textual language around settlement

⁴¹⁵ Aaron Schrieber, 'Building a city in the sand,' *Land and Life*, XXVIII/4 (March 1975). p.9.

⁴¹⁶ Bunny Alexandroni, 'Yamit revisited,' *Land and Life*, 41 (Fall 1977), p.5.

⁴¹⁷ Alexandroni, 'Yamit revisited,' p.5.

⁴¹⁸ Aaron Schrieber, 'Five Adventures in the Desert,' *Land and Life*, XXVII/2 (April, 1973), p.11.

⁴¹⁹ Schrieber, 'Five Adventures in the Desert,' p.11.

tourism, but also of the ways in which Thomas Cook and other European tourist companies constructed their tourist routes of the Holy Land in the early-twentieth century. The settlement-tourism industry of the 1970s was, then, another ‘civilising’ of the landscape, and an incorporation of those civilised aesthetics into the tourist consciousness, inextricably tied to notions of Israel’s nationhood.

As with other occupied-territory settlements, the volume of tourist visual media depicting Yamit is low compared to established cities with a built-in and long-standing tourist appeal and infrastructure. The vast majority of visual material around settlements widely considered illegal even within the Israeli judicial sphere is through press photography and television. The most widely disseminated imagery of Yamit were the photographs of settler clashes with soldiers during its eventual evacuation, such as those shown in Figures 6.20 and 6.21.

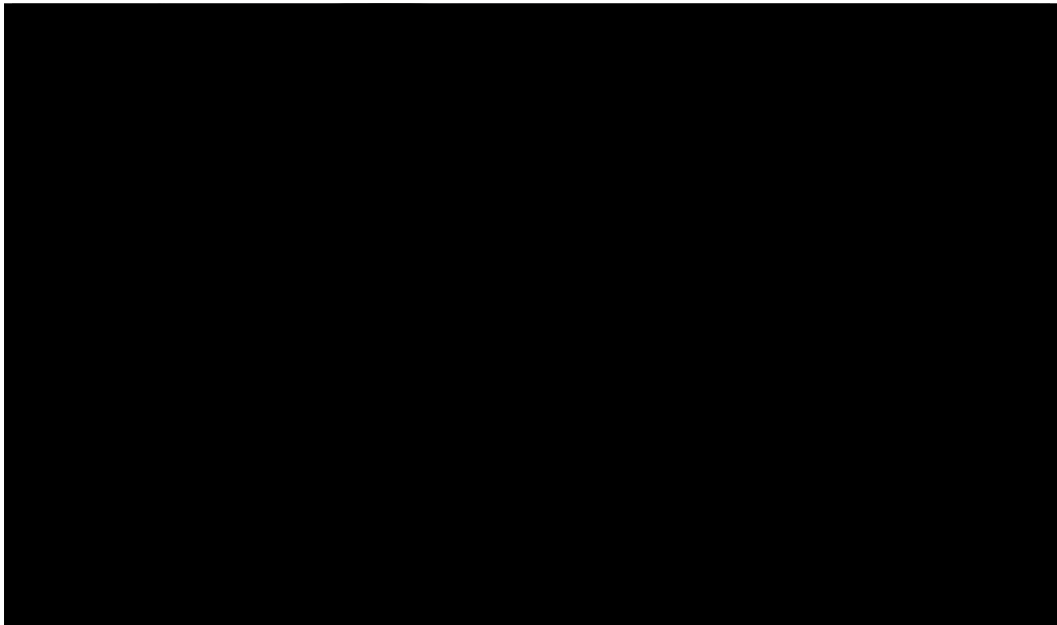


Figure 6.20

Some Yamit residents had to be evacuated by force in April 1982. Photograph by David Rubinger, 1982. Copyright Getty Images.

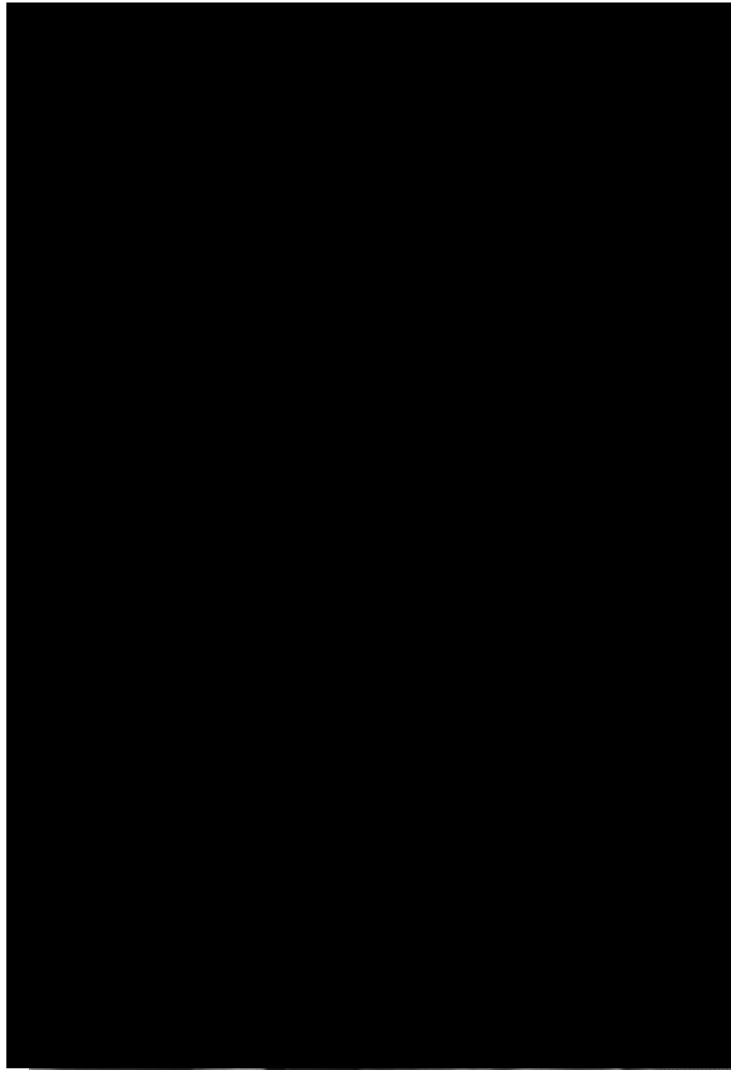


Figure 6.21

An Israeli soldier evacuates a screaming Jewish settler from an apartment building, in the Sinai Desert settlement of Yamit, April 1982.

Photographer unknown, 1982. Copyright Getty Images.

In these reportage photographs, a human face is given to the evacuation – the distress is evident on the face of the settler in Figure 6.21, and he is gripped tightly by the unsmiling soldier behind him as he weeps. This photograph crops closely in on the two figures, with no wider context – the man and the soldier are the central focus. The settler wears a t-shirt reading ‘Save Soviet Jews’ with a Star of David underneath, in reference to the evacuation of Jewish refugees into settlements such as Yamit. In this photograph, sympathy for the evacuated settler is clearly intended – he appears the victim, the soldier the aggressor. In the photograph showing the soldiers entering a rooftop confrontation (Figure 6.20), a sense of the architecture of the settlement can be

understood. These modern, boxy buildings and carefully manicured lawns are disturbed by the swathe of dark-uniformed soldiers climbing ladders and filling the rooftop, the settlers small in the distance of the image. The soldiers appear to move as a mass, in their uniform clothing and colouring, and seem to dominate the scene. The image seems like an invasion, or like war photography, the ladders suggestive of going up over the trenches. The disproportion between the number of settlers and soldiers again suggests that the soldiers were the aggressors.

Neither of these images was intended, unlike postcards or articles in newsletters, to promote tourism to Yamit, obviously. Instead, they reported on the events but with a sympathetic lens that, for foreign viewers, may have provoked a stronger belief in the rights of other settlers throughout the occupied territories. However, they also framed the settlements in the context of conflict – a conflict absent from tourist imagery of settlements in the occupied territories, as has been shown in previous postcards – which would have likely discouraged tourist travel to settlement areas. As has been shown in the previous chapter, associations with unrest, militarism and conflict had previously and would continue to dissuade tourists from travel to Palestine/Israel more broadly, and these specific images of Yamit could lead to associations between settlements more generally and conflict and tension. Imagery focused at the tourist market rather than news media, however, largely left these tensions out of their frame, indicating that the tourism industry intended to submerge the narrative of conflict under a broader narrative of safety, natural surroundings and opportunities to experience the ‘authentic’ culture of Israel.⁴²⁰

Conclusion

The evidence from the BM collection suggests that tourists either visited settlements infrequently or purchased representative views of them less often than more typical panoramic views of cities, holy sites and landscapes. However, the collection also

⁴²⁰ The symbolism of Yamit continued to reverberate in other ways. Its synagogue was moved to a new building shaped like a Star of David with one point embedded in the earth in the Gaza settlement of Neve Dekalim (which would also be evacuated and destroyed in 2005 when Israel withdrew from the Gaza strip). However, it did not become an incredibly important part of the Israeli narrative immediately, as the nation soon became preoccupied with the conflict between Israel and Lebanon in 1983.

shows that urban and rural settlements became more common destinations for tourists from the 1960s onward, whether through communal ‘hippie’ *kibbutzim* experiences, or through organised tours of settlements both rural and urban through domestic and Israeli tourist organisers. The prevalence of the narrative around settlements as safe, secure frontiers of natural beauty in rural, border and seaside areas, and as modern spaces in amongst arid desert landscapes or unruly architectural areas in the case of Yamit and Hebron, seems to have made its way into postcards, posters, advertisements and newsletters and newspapers both locally and overseas. The impact of settlement imagery in the tourism sphere of this type was to become largely irrelevant in the face of ongoing conflict in the region, however.

In the aftermath of the Sinai withdrawal, in 1985 what was referred to as a ‘Jewish underground’ developed, which rose to prominence when they targeted Palestinians and were caught in the midst of a plan to bomb *Haram al-Sharif*. Their leaders were revealed to be members of *Gush Emunim*, which shook the reputation of the settlers’ group even among their more sympathetic fellow countrymen. After this, the settlement project more broadly gained power and prominence, and *Gush Emunim* as an organisation was replaced.⁴²¹

The First Intifada began in December 1987, principally targeting the hilltop settlements of the West Bank – and in the decades following, conflict has sprung up and died down intermittently, affecting the local inhabitants in the most significant of ways both mortally and materially, but also changing the character of tourism. The most common imagery associated with the settlements of Palestine/Israel in Europe of the contemporary period is in news imagery around conflicts, deaths and unrest, and these settlements are still considered illegal in the majority of overseas countries. In the current tourism market, there exists a desire for dual-narrative tours of the type led by Abraham Tours, where travellers spend half the day with Israeli tour guides in the settlements, and half with Palestinian tour guides in the Palestinian part of Hebron.⁴²² This suggests that for some tourists, at least, the conflict is embedded into their understandings of the settlements, and their desires are not to avoid this conflict but to confront it, and understand the different narratives around it. Most recently, property-rental company Airbnb came under international criticism for allowing settlers to rent

⁴²¹ Fiege, *Settling in the hearts*, p.25.

⁴²² Abraham Tours, ‘Hebron Dual Narrative Tours,’ *Abraham Tours*, <https://abrahamtours.com/tours/hebron-tour/>, accessed 23 January 2018.

out their illegal properties in the occupied territories to foreign visitors,⁴²³ suggesting an unease in the foreign market with this type of settlement tourism that imagery such as that explored in the chapter above has so far been unable to normalise.

However, it is important to understand such visual narratives from the 1960s – 1990 because they laid the groundwork for touristic and more general international perceptions of settlements in Palestine/Israel today, and show how narratives around reclamation, cultivation and redemption of land have played a continuous role in the Israeli settler consciousness and presentation of nationhood from the earliest *aliyah* to the contemporary period.

⁴²³ Kate Shuttleworth and Julia Carrie Wong, 'Airbnb lists properties in illegal Israeli settlements,' *The Guardian*, 13 January 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/jan/12/airbnb-listings-illegal-settlements-israel-palestine-west-bank>, accessed 23 January 2018.

CONCLUSION

Is there anything new under the sun? The ceaseless sunshine on picture postcards that frame scenic landscapes, busy cityscapes, and sites of heritage as well as symbols of national pride, seems to transform the visual discourse of a nation/nations into a set of recurrent stereotypes and clichés, in which even the most contested spaces are rendered as pleasing commodities for the consumption of inhabitants and visitors alike. And yet, these sunshine-filled views and vistas are not as absolute and universal as we might assume. It is certainly true that postcards are not a particularly subversive medium, and my examination of postcards of Palestine/Israel from 1890 -1990 has revealed many continuities of popular symbols and tropes that were constantly repeated, albeit in an adapted fashion, to reinforce key concepts around the national identity of Palestine/Israel in the pre- and post-state periods, and to invest these with an affective quality of ‘happiness’ that rendered many of the underlying tensions and contestations invisible. But my analysis has also drawn attention to gradual but significant thematic shifts, which reflect or sometimes shape the visual discourse around the changing political, social and economic landscape of the contested nation(s).

The establishment in the years between 1890 – 1930 of the landscape of Palestine as biblical and picturesque yet empty, and of Palestinian Arabs as nomadic Bedouin ‘types’, laid the groundwork for an imagination of the landscape as ripe for occupation and redemption through agriculture. The exoticisation or absence of Palestinian Arabs from commercial visual culture was also evident in the chapters covering the subsequent decades, and it is possible to see the endurance of the nomadic Bedouin trope explicitly in the Hebron postcard shown in Chapter Six. This imaginary, influenced by image producers who came from a European colonial context and who brought their own religious understandings of the landscape to bear, of Palestine as empty, backward and uncared for by local inhabitants and therefore a necessary ground for ‘redemptive’ occupation, can also be traced in the later period. This is immediately evident in the way picture postcards framed *keibbutzim* not only as inherently beautiful, but, by implication, also as a necessary, modernising force that transformed and redeemed the land. Another manifestation of this dialectic is at play in postcard depictions of Tel Aviv and Jaffa. Tel Aviv, these postcards

suggested, was modern, organised, and healthy – and in this, the antithesis of the ‘sick’ and crumbling city of Jaffa. In later postcards of settlements and afforestation from the 1970s onward, which I explored in Chapter Six, we can see traces of these same ideas: of order and modernisation, of healthy, cultivated landscapes, and of Palestinian areas either absent, erased, or portrayed as empty and therefore justifiably occupied by redemptive architecture or agriculture.

Even in relatively generic views that featured on postcards that specifically relate to and depict tourist experiences – those of beaches, resorts and hotels – it is possible to see how these same binaries shaped this genre of visual culture. The remaking of Israel’s national identity as Mediterranean, the framing of newly occupied space as largely peopled by white, modern, young people, contrasted with the imagination of Palestinians, and Arabs generally, as an ancient peoples incapable of transforming the environments they inhabited. At the same time, this imaginary tapped into pre-existing ideas of ‘Other’ spaces that had been shaped in many decades of colonial exploration and imperial governance: imaginaries of pristine yet primitive landscapes, in which people of European origins could intervene, whilst nevertheless maintaining a ‘safe distance’ from the oriental Others who inhabited them originally. The combination, in postcards and tourist advertisements around resorts, of religious-historical language and symbols alongside resort imagery, is reminiscent of earlier tours which couched the exotic in the familiar.

Postcard imagery did not drive any of these developments. But this imagery shows how visual symbols of Israeli national identity first articulated in other media, such as posters, photographs and caricatures published in newspapers, and even illustrations deployed in government documents, became part of a commercial marketplace that operated both locally and internationally. In this way, what started out as overtly political or propagandistic imagery became naturalised, or, to borrow a term from Michael Freeden, ‘decontested.’⁴²⁴ The conceptualisation of the ‘new Jew’ – healthy, young, white and hard-working, was presented on postcards and in magazines, in tourist advertisements both in Hebrew and English, as a key marker of the new Israeli state. On postcards, such images were not only ideological aspirations, but also

⁴²⁴ Michael Freeden, *Ideology: a very short introduction* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.54.

commodities that were ‘easy’ to look at, and which, over time, would become as ‘natural’ as the features of an (equally unnatural) landscape transformed and redeemed through human labour. The same ideals of health and youth continued into depictions of the Israeli military, which was displayed as symbolic of the new Israeli state post-independence, the *sabra* type standing in for the vigour and vitality of the newly independent country. Whilst we have also seen how this imagery became unpopular in the aftermath of conflicts which prompted outcry both internally and externally, postcards here provide some insight into the popularity, ubiquity and embeddedness of these symbols as perceived representatives of whole nations and peoples.

How, then, are postcards different from other types of visual media aimed at a tourist market? In many ways, as we have seen, they are not. They resemble other media, especially those aimed at tourists, in their tendency to commodify and harmonise, to render the political natural, immutable and pleasant. Postcards rarely subvert the standard tourist gaze; instead, they reinforce, repeat and make it palatable for wider consumption. And yet, they tell a different story from these other media, in that they are the only types of images that are not pre-selected by politicians, journalists, or even advertisers to illustrate a published text. Instead, postcards are objects that customers purchase individually, and for their personal consumption. And unlike posters, advertisements and newspapers, in which the images are often consumed passively, or as part of a series of contextual images and texts, postcards are mostly purchased for the image itself. On a postcard, a single image has to do the work that is otherwise performed by a wider context, comprising words, layout, placement on a page or in a wider space. A postcard has to work in isolation, encapsulating notions or perceptions about a place without further explanatory para-texts. The nation’s identity, or a significant element of it, have to be distilled in a single frame. Postcard images are also still selected by those who produce them – and what they choose to show or elide can tell us about the narratives they hoped to share, or reproduce, in their commercial products. As addressed throughout this thesis, the postcard production industry shifted from largely European to largely Israeli producers over the course of the mid-twentieth century, and the shift in agency and self-representation is also significant in the ways nations and peoples were depicted. Again, what is also

important is the lack of self-representation evident in the absence of any major Palestinian publishing companies.

What is harder to tell is whether postcards succeeded in stabilising meaning in this way, given that the interpretations of those that purchased and received them are often difficult if not impossible to ascertain. The BM collection, which includes only postcards that were purchased by consumers, and some of which were also posted, certainly provides clues to the imagery that customers chose, because they conveyed something that these customers wanted to make part of their personal communication or memory culture. Nevertheless, in using a postcard, a purchaser is always free to imbue the image on the front with alternative meanings and interpretations, and include, on the verso, words that may contextualise, re-define, or simply marginalise the significance of the image that may have been intended by those who produced the postcard in the first place. Although only a minority of postcards collected by the BM and other major archives contain handwritten texts and were actually posted, these messages can provide additional context around what the viewer experienced or saw, and reinforce or subvert the image on the recto. In the case of the BM, only 554 postcards were ‘used’ – that is, written on in any way. Of those, only 358 had been posted. Of the postcards with handwritten text, only 87 directly or explicitly referenced the image on the recto – usually by noting that the writer had been to the place mentioned, or was writing from a location pictured. The vast majority of the other postcards either spoke largely about the weather, or the landscape of the places they had visited, or in a handful of cases, about their religious feelings upon visiting the landscape. Most postcards then, were used as a prop to convey a variety of messages, most of the time having little to do with the recto image. However, when the image on the postcard is mentioned, it is often to comment on that image and the messages it conveys – for example, the postcards in Chapter Five where senders note that the beach is not as warm or populated as shown, or, as Pollen puts it, ‘the scriptural side reanimates the image side in sometimes unexpected ways.’⁴²⁵ Alternatively, the verso text can show us the absorption of the narratives in the image, as is the case in the *kvutzah* watchman postcard shown in Chapter Two, where the writer speaks of the vigour and prowess of the pictured armed figure.

⁴²⁵ Pollen, ‘Sweet nothings: suggestive Brighton postcard inscriptions,’ p.79.

What it has been possible to see is the ways in which early-established dichotomies in visual culture were carried through for decades thereafter. In Chapter One, for example, through an examination of postcards and surrounding visual and textual media, it is clear that postcards were repeating the dominant visual narrative of Palestine and its inhabitants. This narrative embedded the idea of Palestinian Arabs as ‘backward,’ as nomadic Bedouin ‘types’ without a legitimate claim to an empty landscape. This allowed for image producers in the following decades to juxtapose the settler population as modern, ‘making the desert bloom’ in *kibbutzim* postcards, and also constructing modern infrastructure and architecture as we saw in Chapter Three. It is possible to see this juxtaposition again in the Hebron postcard in Chapter Six, however, in the intervening years this idea of Israel as modern and progressive and Palestine as backward allowed for an erasure of Palestine and Palestinians in imagery of resorts, hotels, beaches and military – in these cases, the dominant narrative did not allow for Palestinian agency or progressiveness.

The portrayal, or lack of portrayal of Palestinian peoples and landscapes in commercial visual culture was inconsistent between 1890 – 1900, as has been shown in this thesis. In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, Palestinian Arab peoples were a useful prop by which European image-producers could set the stage of Palestine as a biblical landscape. As there were relatively few Palestinian Arab image-producers in the commercial sphere, in this period, already the means for self-representation were limited, although some did exploit the religious-imperial Christian fantasy. However, in the 1920s and 1930s in particular, as narrative control shifted towards local image-producers who had made *aliyah* to urban centres and *kibbutzim*, the intended audience of picture postcards broadened to include a large diaspora, but representations of Palestinians did not increase or substantially change from this imperial Othering. As the major producers, like Palphot, became entrenched in the postcard publishing industry of Israel, the audience for postcards did broaden – not only to overseas religious travellers, but to leisure tourists seeking resorts, diaspora populations and local intra-Israeli travellers as we can see in the military postcards shown in Chapter Four. However, for Palestinians, with no comparable commercial publisher, and a limited access to the tourist market, there was no broader audience or shift in the visual narrative. Sites of resistance

and imagery around Palestinian national identity was not part of the commercial tourist sphere in the time period covered in this thesis, and this led to a huge disparity around ‘who speaks.’

I have argued, in this thesis, that postcards are worth investigating for what they can tell us about the visual discourse around place-making and identity formation. In many cases, as in Chapter One, we can see that postcards were repeating and disseminating the dominant and extant visual narrative around Palestine by echoing established painterly styles and illustrations, as well as the exhibitionary practice of this period; but also, that tourist visual media like postcards fed into these representations in a circuitous fashion. This is also the case in imagery from the second chapter, where postcards of *kibbutzim* repeated symbolic and compositional elements of other *kibbutz* photography in a formalised style paid for by the WZO and JNF. This style was repeated in postcards but these images, I argue, also helped to naturalise and cement these representations in the wider public consciousness. The ability for postcards to play a part in reinforcing narratives around place is clear in Chapter Three as well – where the majority of postcards of Tel Aviv show International Style buildings despite their relatively low rate of construction in the city itself. Postcards may not have been the driving force behind this representation of the city, but the role they played in disseminating this imagery to a broad travelling public is perhaps one of the reasons this conceptualisation of Tel Aviv became so embedded for decades thereafter.

Where postcard imagery of the military, and of resorts and beaches, conformed to and repeated the official state narrative (as we can see especially in the commonalities between resort postcards and official Israeli Tourist Ministry advertisements), the one key area where postcards moved away from the larger visual discourse is in imagery around settlements. Although we have seen repetition between visual media in imagery of *kibbutzim* and afforestation in Chapter Six, it is true that postcards of the settlements were also analogous to the wider tourist visual discourse. These postcards are interesting because they are one of few instances where postcards did not seem to take their lead from popular visual culture of the period – tourist advertisements, for example, do not in this period often advertise settlements, and foreign press rarely depicts them at all except to report on conflict. The fact that these postcards are so rare,

however, shows that they were likely unpopular on the commercial market or produced infrequently – and can therefore tell us why subversion of the dominant visual discourse was not common in commercial tourist postcards.

This study has many limitations. Although the majority of the postcards in the collections I worked with that contained texts had been written in English or other European languages, my fragmentary knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic made the interpretation of some materials impossible. There is therefore scope to enrich my findings with further, multi-lingual research. Moreover, the collections themselves only show one fragment of the circulation of postcards from the region. Without a systematic comparison with a similarly large body of postcards from neighbouring regions, and indeed very different regions during the same time period, any conclusion about what was, and what was not, typical or specific to the case of Palestine/Israel must necessarily be provisional and tentative. Additionally, more could be made of studies of postcard producers of the region and their body of work in a more narrow way – a project I began at the Library of Congress around the American Colony opened up several interesting avenues for further research including around Christian colonisation of Palestine/Israel and American attitudes to the landscape, but was not included here for reasons of space and focus. Finally, I feel there is further room here for an exploration of other constitutive parts of the identities and imaginaries referenced and naturalised by postcards; such as gender, sexuality and race. I have only touched on, for example, the gendering of the people depicted (and occasionally deliberately not depicted) on such postcards. A more systematic exploration of gender and sexuality, and their relationship with race and ethnicity, would require a different chronological scope, and more systematic comparisons with different genres of visual culture that postcards reproduced and reconfigured. And last but not least, more Palestinian materials would be useful in studies focusing on the latter period, to engage with studies around resistance imagery. As practical and security considerations currently made my access to certain Palestinian collections impossible, the materials I was able to draw on here contain some significant gaps.

Postcards are often referred to as ‘ephemera.’ Embedded in this word is a conceptualisation of postcards as generic and unimportant. However, I would argue that postcards are most remarkable for their banality. They are mass-

produced, often re-produced for decades after their initial publication. The landscapes, views and imagery of people shown on postcards is, as we have seen, largely repetitive. That is the key to their potency as a visual archive of place and nation-making; to understand what symbols were most significant in the establishment of the national identity of Palestine/Israel, one can look to postcards. There, one can see the most popular, repeated and established visual tropes, sold to both local and foreign audiences. Whilst in this thesis it has been shown that postcards often conformed to the dominant visual narratives of the period in which they were produced, that does not make them less useful in tracing these narratives over time. Additionally, postcards in particular allow us to trace what people actually wanted to buy rather than what they were exposed to passively in the press or in advertisements. As Moors puts it, there are postcard producers who ‘provide their clients with those images they think will be attractive to them [while] more politically motivated producers use visual means to convey an ideological message to the public. Still, the boundaries between the two are often blurred.’⁴²⁶ The postcards explored in this thesis are often excellent examples of these blurred boundaries – most explicitly in the Hebron postcard from Chapter Six, or the military postcards from Chapter Four, but to varying degrees in every postcard shown. We can see, in these postcards, a commodification of places and people, especially in postcards which were made to be sold commercially to individuals and therefore had to be appealing to a mass-market and aesthetically pleasing. This is, to borrow from Cohen-Hattab, the exploitation of tourism ‘in order to create and export images that both correspond to and advance distinctive political and ideological goals.’⁴²⁷ Cohen-Hattab was speaking largely about tour guide industries, but the same can, I would argue, be applied to the production of postcards. Of course, what is also key is the absence of images – in the archive, what is not there (in the case of the BM and many other postcard archives) is the self-representation of Palestinians. So, we can see (or not see) in postcards, wider trends in narrative authority or lack thereof, and also the erasure of certain political and ideological narratives from the visual discourse.

⁴²⁶ Moors, ‘Presenting people,’ p.94.

⁴²⁷ Cohen-Hattab, ‘Zionism, tourism and the battle for Palestine,’ p.62.

Postcards are intended to be sent or collected as a souvenir, a ‘snapshot’ of a time and place. They are meant to evoke memories of a particular visit or trip. These memories, for individual travellers – here, as throughout this thesis meaning both local inhabitants who visited local regions; foreign tourists; soldiers; immigrants – are individual. But postcards attempt something else also – to represent whole cities and nations, whole peoples, on a single card. In this attempt, they include commercially viable imagery– but also images which most often conform to a preconception or dominant discourse around the places they depict. In doing so, they reflect, and occasionally shape perceptions as part of a broader visual culture but with the specificity of a single commercial object for purchase. In doing so, they often exclude less popular, less visible and less politically expedient voices. Taken as a whole visual archive, the postcards researched for this thesis – in what they show and hide, in who sent and received them, and what those people wrote and did not write – can tell us not only about snapshots in time, or individual memories. They can show us how nations were projected and understood, and tell us about the networks of communication that sprung up around national narratives of Palestine/Israel. They can show us a significant part of the bigger picture.

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