Marie al-Khazen's photographs of the 1920s and 1930s

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Résumé

Marie al-Khazen est une photographe libanaise qui vécut entre 1899 et 1983. La plupart de ses photos furent prises dans les années vingt et trente dans la région de Zgharta au Nord du Liban. Ces photos font partie de la collection de Mohsen Yammine, un collectionneur libanais. Elles sont actuellement conservées dans les archives de la Fondation de l'image Arabe à Beyrouth et sont disponibles en ligne sur le site internet de la Fondation. Le corpus d'al-Khazen est constitué d'un ensemble de photographies captivantes qui représentent le quotidien de sa famille et de ses amis à Zgharta. Al-Khazen saisissait son milieu social grâce à son appareil photo. Néanmoins, elle ne se contentait pas de documenter ses excursions touristiques au Liban; elle explorait également les capacités techniques de son appareil photo en inventant des scènes photographiques et en manipulant les ombres dans l'espace photographique. Au travers de ses photos on retrouve les effets surréalistes qu'elle créait – peut-être intentionnellement – en faisant des tirages de deux négatifs superposés. Dans le cadre de ces images, on retrouve des bédouins et des Européens, des paysans et des bourgeois, des femmes et des hommes se partageant le même espace.

La plupart des photos de Marie al-Khazen évoquent les destins de femmes indépendantes et engagées. Ces photos sont chargées de symboles qui suggèrent une représentation de la femme émancipée. A travers le corpus d'al-Khazen, des femmes apparaissent en train de fumer des cigarettes et de conduire des automobiles. On retrouve également des femmes qui accompagnaient les hommes

dans leurs excursions de chasse. Ces photos semblent incompatibles avec la façon dont les femmes étaient représentées dans la presse des années vingt au Moyen Orient où les femmes, en général, évitaient de se montrer dans des endroits publiques. Je propose une lecture qui articule la façon dont al-Khazen a utilisé l'espace photographique pour manifester sa vision de *la nouvelle femme*: la femme moderne comme celle décrite par Tani Barlow et ses collègues dans *The Modern Girl Around the World*. Cette anthologie représente la "modern girl" qui, selon Barlow et ses collègues, "disregards the roles of dutiful daughter, wife and mother,"[1] en recherchant une émancipation sexuelle, économique et politique.

Les photos d'al-Khazen m'incitent à interroger de façons multiples la représentation de la femininité et la masculinité à travers le comportement, le raisonnement, et les activités des femmes et des hommes dans ces photographies. Ces questions s'adressent à la sociologie de l'identité sexuelle et se proposent d'analyser la façon dont cette identité est évoquée dans les photos de Marie al-Khazen.

[1] Tani Barlow, *The Modern Girl Around the World: consumption, modernity, and globalization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 245.

Abstract

Marie al-Khazen was a Lebanese photographer who lived between 1899 and 1983. Her photographs were mostly taken between the 1920s and 1930s in the North of Lebanon. They were compiled by Mohsen Yammine, a Lebanese collector who later donated the photographs to the Arab Image Foundation. Her work includes a collection of intriguing photographs portraying her family and friends living their everyday life in Zgharta. Al-Khazen seized every opportunity to use her camera to capture stories of her surroundings. She not only documented her travels around tourist sites in Lebanon but also sought creative experimentation with her device by staging scenes, manipulating shadows and superimposing negatives to produce different effects in her prints. Within the borders of her photographs, bedouins and European friends, peasants and landlords, men and women, comfortably share the same space.

Most of Marie al-Khazen's photographs, which are circulated online through the Arab Image Foundation's website, suggest a narrative of independent and determined Lebanese women. These photographs are charged with symbols that can be understood, today, as representative of women's emancipation through their presence as individuals, separate from family restrictions of that time. Images in which women are depicted smoking a cigarette, driving a car, riding horses and accompanying men on their hunting trips counter the usual way in which women were portrayed in 1920s Lebanon. The photographs can be read as a space for al-Khazen to articulate her vision of *the New Woman* or the *Modern*

Girl as described by Tani Barlow in *The Modern Girl Around the World*. In this anthology, authors like Barlow point to the ways in which the *modern girl* "disregards the roles of dutiful daughter, wife and mother," in seeking sexual, economic and political emancipation.[2]

Al-Khazen's photographs lead me to pose a series of questions pertaining to the representation of femininity and masculinity through the poses, reasoning, and activities adopted by women and men in the photographs. The questions which frame this study have to do with the ways in which notions of gender, class and race are inscribed within Marie al-Khazen's photographs.

[2] Tani Barlow, *The Modern Girl Around the World: consumption, modernity, and globalization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 245.

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I would like to thank Mohsen Yammine and the Arab Image Foundation for having found and preserved Marie al-Khazen's photographs without which this project would not have seen light. I owe gratitude to the photographer's relatives for their time and efforts in reminiscing bits and pieces of Marie al-Khazen's life. Without them my research in Beirut, Bikfaya, Rayfun, Ehden, Zgharta and Ghosta would not have been complete.

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Notes on transliteration

To standardize the transliterated terms for non-Latin terminology, all Arabic terms are transliterated following the International Journal of Middle East Studies, IJMES system, except in cases where a more commonly accepted version exists or when the person named has provided a transliteration. Diacritical marks are used only to indicate the Arabic letters ‘ for the ‘ayn and ’ for the hamza. The name al-Khazen appears in different transliterations — al-Khāzen, al-Khāzin, el-Khazen — in several publications. For consistency purposes, I use “al-Khazen” all through my thesis.

Introduction

When I first saw Marie al-Khazen's photographs on my computer screen, the images made me stop and stare.[3] They probably appealed to me, I thought at the time, not because of the presence of men and women in the photographs, but rather because the way men and women were presented in the photograph "pierced" me.[4] The Barthesian "punctum," for me, was the confidence women showed in the photograph. I then looked up the 109 digitized photographs by al-Khazen and thought they were intriguing. I decided to pursue further the reading of the photographs as an encounter between the images and the changing perceptions of women and gender relations today. Unlike mainstream representation of women in the turn of the century Middle East, in al-Khazen's photographs, she and the other women in the photographs "come out" as thoughtful, and self-determined.

Marie al-Khazen's photographs were neither dated nor captioned. Most of them were taken in Zgharta, a village in the North of Lebanon. Every time I found new information related to the photographs, they became even more fascinating. They provoke questions that often require an engagement of the reader's imagination in order to be answered. "Often the snapshot is a picture puzzle in which everything manifest is only a fraction of what is revealed," according to

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[3] Marie al-Khazen's photographs are accessible online through the Arab Image Foundation's website: http://www.fai.org.lb.

[4] The term is borrowed from Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: reflections on photography* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 26.

Michael Lesy.[5] Who are the people in the photographs? When and where were they taken? Once the puzzle has been resolved by contextualizing the images, they reveal to the reader the unexpected behavior of the past. The women's behavior in the photographs leads me to pose a series of questions with which to frame this study. These questions have to do with the ways in which notions of gender, class and race are inscribed by the photographs.

I examine the ways in which the female is configured as a subject. Through my analysis of how sexual differences are constructed across various registers of representation, I argue that these images can be read as a reordering of social — class, colonial and gender — relations. The analysis of the photographic meaning thus leads to an analysis of social and gender power. Our understanding of photography depends "upon our understanding of its social and political claims" argues Richard Bolton in the opening chapter of *The Contest of Meaning*.[6] The photographs in this way can be seen as the expression of Marie al-Khazen's "social and political claim." Al-Khazen's photographs, as will be demonstrated in the following chapters, attempt to dislocate constructed social and gender hierarchies through the various subjects positions within their space and the interpretive dynamics that affect their meaning. Obviously, there are different ways of reading al-Khazen's corpus; this thesis is intended to be a feminist reading.

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[5] Michael Lesy, *Time Frames: the meaning of family pictures* (New York, N.Y.: Pantheon, 1980), xv.

[6] Richard Bolton, *The Contest of Meaning: critical histories of photography* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), xvi.

Chapter One

Historical Background and Methodology

Marie al-Khazen was a Lebanese photographer who lived between 1899 and 1983. Her photographs were mostly taken between the 1920s and 1930s in the North of Lebanon. Her work includes a collection of intriguing photographs portraying her family and friends living their everyday life in Zgharta. Al-Khazen seized every opportunity to use her Eastman to capture stories of her surroundings. She not only documented her travels around tourist sites in Lebanon but also produced variation in her images through the staging of scenes, the manipulation of shadows and the superimposition of negatives. Within the borders of her photographs, bedouins and Europeans, peasants and landlords, men and women comfortably share the same space. This playful and rigorous experimentation suggests that al-Khazen was not an untrained amateur photographer. Although she was not a professional photographer — she did not practice photography for commercial purposes — she has been compared to the French photographer, Henri Cartier Bresson.[7] Fuad el-Koury, a Lebanese photographer based in Paris, observes,

> Cartier-Bresson was also from a wealthy family, had access to a camera and took pictures of what was around him. It was only in his 40's and 50's that he decided to commercialize his work. I'm sure if Marie al-Khazen had lived in another social context she would have done the same.[8]

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[7] Fuad el-Koury is quoted by Lynn Love in "The Picture Between," *The Saudi Aramco World* 52 1 (2001), 28-37: 29.
[8] Ibid.

El-Koury further explains that "although photography was available to the Arab bourgeoisie, it was regarded as a hobby. To pursue it professionally would have lowered the photographer's social status to that of a craftsperson."[9] Stephen Sheehi, in his essay "A Social History of Early Photography or a Prolegomenon to an Archeology of the Lebanese Imago," describes her photographic practice as reminiscent of Gertrude Bell's in her portrayals of peasants and bedouins that "display an anthropological impulse." [10] Through the mere act of taking photographs in the 1920s and 1930s, al-Khazen may be seen as an icon of modernity herself. Although she lived in the village of Zgharta, in a rural area of Northern Lebanon, she strived to represent herself and her family as urban and cosmopolitan. By depicting herself with friends and family in front of various landmarks around the country, such as Baalbek, the bay of Junieh and the Beirut port, she expressed a mobility that was not accessible to the other Zghartawi villagers.[11]

According to Simon Awwad, the al-Khazen, a Maronite family, ruled the Kesrwan area from 1545 onwards.[12] During the period when Youssef Beik Karam ruled the area of Zgharta, *shaykh* Said al-Khazen, Marie al-Khazen's grandfather,

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[9] Ibid.
[10] Stephen Sheehi "A Social History of Early Arab Photography or a Prolegomenon to an Archeology of the Lebanese Imago," *The International Journal of Middle East Studies,* 39 (2007), 177-208: 197.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Simon Awwad, *Dawr al-usar fee tareekh lubnan: al-Khazinyiun (*Beirut: Dar Awwad, no date), 9.

moved to Zgharta.[13] The *shaykh* was offered land to build a house on the hill that was later called *tallet* al-Khazen, or the al-Khazen hill- the area adjacent to Zgharta from the Jouit River, west of Saydat Zgharta Hospital.[14] When Marie al-Khazen's father passed away and, after him, her brother *shaykh* Rashid al-Khazen, her younger brother *shaykh* Khazen al-Khazen became the head of the family. In the al-Khazen house, situated on the isolated al-Khazen hill, Marie al-Khazen became the master of the house in the absence of her brother Khazen al-Khazen who was politically and socially active. The al-Khazens, like other prominent notable families during the Ottoman rule, lived with their *shuraka* or sharecroppers; the peasant families who worked their lands appear in the background of many of al-Khazen's photographs.[15] The women in Marie al-Khazen's family, such as her grandmother, Sultana Daher, her mother, Wardeh Torbey and al-Khazen's sister-in-law, Dalal Karam were powerful women.[16] In the countryside, when the men migrated to the cities or to the battleground defending their lands and rights against the neighboring enemies — and the al-Khazens were involved in many disputes over family honor and land especially in Kesrwan and Zgharta — it was the women who often looked after the land.[17] During the temporary absence of men, the women not only had to look after the

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[13] *Shaykh* (plural: *shuyukh*) is an honorific title in the Arabic language. It is commonly used to designate the front man of a tribe or feudal family who inherited this title after his father.
[14] Interview with Mohsen Yammine, July 20, 2010, Zgharta, Lebanon.
[15] Interview with Nadia al-Khazen, September 2, 2010, Rayfun, Lebanon.
[16] Ibid. Refer to the al-Khazen family tree on page 80.
[17] For more on the al-Khazen *shuyukh*'s disputes in Kesrwan at the end of the Nineteenth Century, see Richard Van Leeuwen, *Notables and Clergy in Mount Lebanon: the Khazin sheikhs and the Maronite church, 1736-1840* (Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1994), 78-118.

livestock but also took up responsibilities for the family.[18] They had to make a range of decisions which formerly would have been taken by men. Marie al-khazen was living in a large female community of sisters, sisters-in-law and nieces. Her grandmother, mother and sister-in-law all belonged to politically well-established families in the North region of Lebanon such as the Daher, the Torbey and the Karam. According to Nadia al-Khazen, the photographer's niece, Marie al-Khazen's grandfather moved to Zgharta from Kesrwan in order to get married to Wardeh Daher.[19] He had to follow his wife and settle in her village in order for her family to agree to the marriage. As for Dalal, Marie al-Khazen's sister-in-law, she is known to have been a heavy gambler who lost most of her husband's fortune in gambling.[20]

Members of al-Khazen's family including her close relatives all agreed that she was a woman who exhibited unusual behavior, not compatible with her time.[21] In other words, she was "too modern." According to family anecdotes assembled through the numerous interviews I conducted with relatives of al-Khazen, she had different interests from the other women of her milieu. She refused to get married, she preferred to spend time with her cats and dogs to

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[18] Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 439.
[19] Interview with Nadia al-Khazen, September 2, 2010, Rayfun, Lebanon.
[20] Interview with Rashid al-Khazen, April 9, 2010, Beirut, Lebanon.
[21] Interviews with Marie al-Khazen's relatives: Danielle al-Khazen, July 19, 2010, Beirut, Lebanon; Nadia al-Khazen, September 2, 2010, Rayfun, Lebanon; Rashid al-Khazen, April 9, 2010, Beirut, Lebanon; Reine Nassar, 28 august, 2010, Bikfaya, Lebanon; Salim Tabet, July 30, 2010, Junieh, Lebanon; & Louis Torbey, September 1, 2010, Antelias, Lebanon.

socializing with other women. She is remembered as going around the house with a chimpanzee dangling from her pocket. When she organized a condolence ceremony for her cat *Mistigri,* she was ridiculed by her family members. She constantly fought with the other women living in the al-Khazen house as a result of her bringing animals inside the house. And she was constantly taking pictures.

Despite the fact that the photographs were private and represent a small section of society, their contribution in informing us about the life of bourgeois women living in Zgharta is not to be overlooked, as we may use these photographs to extrapolate about the social context and the changes that occurred and influenced gender roles during the second decade of the Twentieth Century.

The Photographs' Journey from Private to Public Archive

At a point in the mid-1970s, Marie al-Khazen handed a box to Mohsen Yammine, a journalist and photo collector in Zgharta. The box contained a hundred negatives, of the size 9 cm x 6 cm. The negatives remained part of Yammine's collection until they joined the Arab Image Foundation archive in Beirut in the mid-1990s. They are, today, conserved in a regulated temperature room at the foundation's headquarters. An additional number of al-Khazen's negatives were found by the collector in the chicken coop in the backyard of the al-Khazen house in Zgharta.[22] These are part of the collector's private collection. They have not yet been made available to the public. Only two of al-Khazen's

[22] Interview with Mohsen Yammine, July 20, 2010, Zgharta, Lebanon.

photographs exist in the archive of the Arab Image Foundation in the form of prints; the others are all negatives stacked in a special album.[23]

The Arab Image Foundation exhibited a number of Marie al-Khazen's photographs in touring exhibitions such as the *Liban intime 1900-1960* exhibition (1998). The *Liban intime 1900-1960* exhibition was part of Le Mois de la Photo at the Institut du Monde Arabe (IMA) in Paris. Coincidentally, a member of the al-Khazen family attending the exhibition came across one of Marie al-Khazen's photographs. It is actually Rashid al-Khazen's mother, Joyce who, while attending the exhibit at the IMA, noticed that the photograph was labeled with Marie al-Khazen's name. She knew Marie al-Khazen but has never seen the photographs earlier.[25] This is how al-Khazen's forgotten talent, hidden in a box for more than six decades, was discovered by one of her family members. The remaining descendants of al-Khazen's family claimed they had never seen the photos before their circulation in the Arab Image Foundation's website. This is why it could be possible that al-Khazen had never printed the negatives.

Al-Khazen's 109 photographs, circulating through the Arab Image Foundation's website, were originally neither dated nor signed. The dates and captions were added later by collaborative efforts, involving the Arab Image Foundation and the collector, Mohsen Yammine, to trace and locate sites, persons and objects that might be indicative of their approximate dates. One way we can

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[23] The print is the photograph in which she has experimented with double exposure print techniques as seen in plates nos. 101 & 77. I later traced additional prints produced by Marie al-Khazen, these are part of Nadia al-Khazen's private collection.

[25] Interview with Rashid al-Khazen (the grand-son of Rashid al-Khazen, Marie al-Khazen's brother,), April 9, 2010, Beirut, Lebanon.

place these photographs in a chronological order is by identifying the subjects and establishing parallels between the content of the photograph, birth certificates and other official documents, and by piecing together the scarce stories gathered from numerous interviews with the remaining members of the al-Khazen family.

The 109 photographs suggest a narrative of an independent and determined Lebanese woman. These photographs are charged with symbols that can be understood, today, as representative of a woman's emancipation through her presence as an individual, separate from family restrictions of that time. Images in which women, in al-Khazen's photographs, are depicted smoking a cigarette, driving a car, riding horses and accompanying men on their hunting trips counter our idea of the usual way in which women were portrayed during the 1920s and 1930s in Lebanon. The practice of photography provided a space for Marie al-Khazen to articulate her vision of the New Woman or the *Modern Girl,* as described by Tani Barlow in *The Modern Girl Around the World*. In *The Modern Girl Around the World*, the *modern* girl is the one who "disregards the roles of dutiful daughter, wife and mother," seeking sexual, economic and political emancipation.[26] In the case of al-Khazen, I suggest that her photographs can be read as expressions of her desire for liberty and independence.

Al-Khazen's photographs demonstrate a shift in social and cultural behavior through the ways in which they disturb the normative patriarchal system in Lebanon. Through her photographs, she creates a normative environment in which her subjects are depicted in relaxed poses rendering them unlike the stiff

[26] Barlow, 245.

subjects posing in earlier pictures. Family portraits in 1920s and 1930s Lebanon, like photographic representations produced within and influenced by the Ottoman Empire, are commonly organized in a hierarchy defined by the position of the subjects in the photograph.[27]

Plate no. 1.1

[27] For more on the photographic conventions widely used during the Ottoman Empire, see Wendy Shaw "Ottoman Photography of the Late Nineteenth Century: an 'innocent' modernism?" *History of Photography* 33 1(2009), 80-93, and Michelle Woodward "Between Orientalist Clichés and Images of Modernization," *History of Photography* 27 4(2003), 363-374.

Plate no. 1.2

Plate no. 1.3

The father/grandfather, as the eldest in the family, is typically positioned in the center, surrounded by the rest of the family in an effort to assert his patriarchal dominance (see plates nos. 1.1, 1.2 & 1.3). Only one of al-Khazen's photographs portrays her subjects in this order (plate no. 86). However, in most of her photographs, groups of people, friends and family appear in a more chaotic and spontaneous arrangement. Her subjects are more contemporaneous as they appear to display a blasé attitude towards her camera (as seen in plates nos. 9 & 49).

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When I first decided to research al-Khazen's photographs, I thought that the project would involve locating al-Khazen's family members who are still alive, and showing them the photographs in order to invite them to remember her and her context. On seeing them, I expected, the al-Khazens would be able to identify themselves and their relatives in the photographs. This would help me reconstruct Marie al-Khazen's life as a photographer by linking their stories to the

photographs. I thought that I would find more photographs in her house in Zgharta along with the different camera models she had used. This was not the case. Contrary to my expectations, locating the al-Khazens was not an easy task. I learned that in Zgharta the al-Khazen family, of whom Marie al-Khazen is a member are not related to the Khazen family, to whom Semaan Khazen (1898 – 1973) belongs.[28] These are two different families. The al-Khazens are originally from Kesrwan. They migrated to Zgharta from Ghosta. When I went to Zgharta to visit their house on *tallet* al-Khazen, I found the ruins of a splendid abandoned mansion with high painted ceilings, decorative arches and other interesting architectural details (see plates nos. 1.4 & 1.5).

Plate no. 1.4

Plate no. 1.5

[28] Semaan Khazen is a prominent Lebanese historian who wrote the history of Zgharta, *Tarikh Zgharta* (Ehden: Semaan Khazen, no date).

The mansion is isolated; there is no proper road that leads to its entrance. The al-Khazen did not really mingle with the Zghartawi villagers, as they considered themselves to be upper class *shuyukh*. Their travels were mostly around urban centers such as Tripoli, Beirut, Damanhur and, most probably, Marseille.

I started my detective journey by visiting the place. I went up to her house to take pictures of what remains of it and its surroundings. Despite the difficulty in reaching their house, the al-Khazens, because of their important social status in the region, attracted many visitors to their home. Many of her photographs depict family and friends socializing in and around the family house. While taking pictures of the house and its surroundings, I was conscious of myself as a Lebanese woman taking pictures of the same sites Marie al-Khazen had photographed about a century before.

I was able to identify the place, the stones, the trees, and the remains of the ceiling, the doorsteps, the windows, and the entrance where the al-Khazens would display their swords and rifles along with the animals they had hunted and stuffed, such as deer, rabbits, porcupines and birds.[29] Later, I was able to locate a number of al-Khazen relatives and, with their generous help, was able to trace a number of objects that were depicted in al-Khazen's photographs, such as furniture, lanterns, vases, statuettes, paintings, ancestor's portraits and manuscripts.[30] Locating the

[29] Interview with Rashid al-Khazen, April 9, 2010, Beirut, Lebanon.
[30] Among the collection, a number of Saliba Doueihy's (1915-1994) paintings and three Bonfils photographs dated back to the 1890s.

objects represented in the photographs — their referents — made the project more tangible.

The status of the photographs, as dormant documents that have recently been located and may inform us about an otherwise vanished past, increases their importance as historical documents. What do we do with images that have no direct link to living memory? Do we forget about them? Abandon them to sink into the abyss of the past? Or do we try to understand them by making sense of their content in relation to their social context?

Most of the al-Khazen family members were hardly able to identify their parents, grandparents, sisters, brothers or even themselves in the photographs. Some were able to identify Marie al-Khazen in the photographs by comparing her with their private collection of photographs of the same period. They also remembered the orders or directions she used to give them before taking their pictures and the different ways she used to dress them up and order them to pose and gesture before her camera. In comparing the relative's private collection of photographs taken by Marie al-Khazen with the 109 photographs, I was able to identify similar settings, subjects and themes. From the documents I have gathered about Marie al-Khazen and her relatives, such as birth certificates, marriage certificate, inheritance documents, I was able to piece together a chronological chart of the different events that happened in and around her life at the time when she took the photographs. This helped identify the way subjects in the photographs related to each other.

No traces of the existence of photographic equipment were found in the al-Khazen house except for the location of what her niece remembers as the dark room.[31] She remembers being scared of the darkness in this room and wondering why it was always devoid of light. Another possible indication of al-Khazen's interest in photography is her exploration of various chemicals, particularly through the practice of taxidermy. According to her relatives, Marie was a passionate hunter: "Whenever she heard of a porcupine appearing in the surrounding mountains she would head straight to the mountain armed with her rifle," remembers her niece.[32] The porcupine's quills were used in her fine needlework, and the animals' stuffed bodies were displayed at the entrance of the al-Khazen's house along with the rifles and swords. Her interest in using chemicals is interesting to my study as it implies that she dealt with chemical products to "arrest" the decomposition of animal bodies. This practice of arresting the decay of a living entity can be metaphorically understood in relation to the chemical process used for printing negatives by arresting a fleeting moment by fixing it on paper. This practice evokes the notion of photography as "suspended" moments as explored first by Martha Langford and then by Geoffrey Batchen in their theoretical writing on photography.[33]

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[31] Interview with Nadia al-Khazen, September 2, 2010, Rayfun, Lebanon.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: the afterlife of memory in photographic albums (*Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001) and Geoffrey Batchen et al, *Suspending Time: life – photography – death* (Shizuoka: Izu Photo Museum, 2010).

Methodology

As with most work on early women photographers, the challenge for this project lies in the attempt to understand the work in the absence of its producer. Other than Sara Graham-Brown's *Images of Women: the portrayal of women in photography of the Middle East, 1860-1950* (1988), there is little or no work that deals with photography and women in the Middle East, either as a practice or as a documentary archive. This means that there is no specific method adapted to the study of this particular practice. I am therefore developing a method drawn from scholars who have used photography as ethnographic documents in order to analyze social relations in particular contexts.

This thesis fits into the interdisciplinary study of visual culture. While it aims at examining cultural, gender and class formations through photography it draws from such multi-disciplinary fields as social, cultural and gender studies — as well as on cross-cultural research into post-colonial and Middle Eastern studies.

My reading of Marie al-Khazen draws, as well, on the sociological approach and methods developed by Pierre Bourdieu, and by other critical theorists of social photography, including Christopher Pinney and Philippe Bonnin, before moving on to build a feminist approach to the photographs.[34] All three scholars acknowledge the pertinence of the social aspect of the medium and

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[34] Pierre Bourdieu, *Photography: a middle-brow art*. Shaun Whiteside, Trans. (Cambridge: Polity, 1990); Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica: the social life on Indian photographs* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997); & Philippe Bonnin, *Images habitées: photographie et spacialité* (Paris: Creaphis, 2006).

are concerned, in particular, with the ways in which social relations are represented in photographs. This account involves the analysis of the manner in which social behavior inhabits the photographs and the ways social relations are negotiated. Despite its supposedly neutral nature, since the day of its inception as Simon Watney argues, photography continues to represent "the drastically unequal power relations of society."[35] In this manner photography is understood as the "construction" and the "reconstruction" of major or minor divisions within the social formation, such as those between men and women, bourgeois and peasants, adults and children among others.[36] Thus, for example, the meaning of the pose adopted for the photograph can be understood in terms of its social context and that of the social relations which underpin it. A pose may manifest the behavior and manners suitable for gender relations in a particular context. "Photographs ordinarily show people face on, in the center of the picture, standing up, at a respectful distance, motionless and in a dignified attitude" observes Bourdieu.[37] For him, to strike a pose is "to offer one's self to be captured in a posture which is not and which does not seek to be 'natural.'"[38]

What are the poses in al-Khazen's photographs of women and men, and how do these poses express the negotiation of gender roles? According to Bourdieu, social rules of behavior and moral codes are more apparent than feelings in the photographs. He asserts the power of the photograph to regulate

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[35] Simon Watney "On the Institutions of Photography," in Jessica Evans, & Stuart Hall (Eds.), *Visual Culture: a reader* (Los Angeles; London: Sage, 1999), 141-161: 152.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Bourdieu (1990), 77.
[38] Ibid.

social behavior by creating "a constant fear of the judgment of the others," and the urge to always give "the best image of one's self in keeping with the ideal of dignity and honor."[39] How do these values appear in al-Khazen's representations of gender? How did she 'present' herself and other women by simulating 'naturalness' and by striking theatrical poses in her photographs? I will pursue these questions through an emphasis on gender relations in Marie al-Khazen's photographic work. Both Bourdieu and Bonnin agree that photography functions as an extension of the subject's "ethic of honor."[40] In other words, the subject's posture as well as his/her frontality and position vis-à-vis other individuals in the photograph are an extension of his/her social rank. Social relations are fostered in the photographs by a hierarchical social pattern often used in studio conventions of the same period.[41]

The photograph thickens because, every time we look at it, we examine a new layer of meaning.[42] If the photographs are *inhabited,* as Bonnin argues, then the question addressed by this thesis is that of how they are *inhabited*. Bonnin analyzes photographs by using methods derived from sociology and visual semiology; he compares photographs with other photographs by the same photographer, examining the framing, the lighting and the choice of the subject matter. I will examine the construction of al-Khazen's space as well as the ways subjects are present in the photograph's spaces, their poses and their behavior, so as to raise questions about the social relations of the subjects of her photography.

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[39] Ibid, 78.
[40] Ibid and Bonnin, 33.
[41] Bonnin, 33.
[42] Ibid.

The anthropologist and photo theorist Christopher Pinney, in his study of photographic practice in India, explores various photographic intentions from colonial through postcolonial times.[43] Pinney's account is interesting as he moves the critical debate about photography away from its current Euro-American center. *Photography's Other Histories* breaks with the notion that photographic history is best seen as primarily a Western technological advancement.[44] He rather presents a radically different account, describing photography as a locally appropriated medium. Al-Khazen's case study not only adds to the diversity of non-western photography but it also explores a local woman's photographic practice.

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I use contemporary feminist criticism as a guide to help me interpret the meanings of al-Khazen's photographs and to delineate how the production of her work was determined by notions of gender and class. I draw on theories explored by scholars who have criticized the ways women are represented in visual culture, such as John Berger, Linda Nochlin, Griselda Pollock and Abigail Solomon-Godeau.[45] Following the work of the feminist scholar Solomon–Godeau, I will

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[43] In Pinney (1997).

[44] In Pinney *Photography's Other Histories (*Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

[45] For literature on the ways women are represented in the arts and the media see: John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (New York, N.Y.: Viking Press, 1973); Norma Broude, & Mary D. Garrard (Eds.), *Feminism and Art History: questioning the litany* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982); Griselda Pollock, *Vision & Difference: femininity, feminism and the histories of art* (London: Routledge, 1988); Abigail Solomon-Godeau (Ed.) *Photography at the Dock: essays on photographic history, institutions, and practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991); & Linda Nochlin, *Representing Women* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999).

focus on the manner in which visual culture "both reflects and produces ideology of gender, affirming the hierarchies of sexual difference and thereby naturalizing male dominance and female subordination."[46]

Most of the criticism on the representation of women in photography builds upon Berger's writing on the social presence of men and women in visual images. Berger points out that, traditionally, men and women have different types of social presence. Men are measured by the degree of power they offer. In contrast, a woman's presence is mostly subordinate to the viewer's gaze. Her own sense of being is replaced by a sense of being appreciated by others – ultimately men. "Thus women tend to turn themselves into objects – and most particularly an object of vision: a sight."[47] My thesis relies on the theoretical formulation, developed by recent feminist scholars, that "visual culture is not only gendered, but actively productive of gender ideology."[48]

By reading al-Khazen's photographs as products of a female gaze in relation to predominantly masculine spaces I attempt to invert Laura Mulvey's much-cited dynamics of the male gaze in relation to female bodies with its distinction between an active masculinity and a passive female object.[49] A significant number of al-Khazen's photographs counter Mulvey's formulation with its implication that the gendered dynamics of looking are reducible to the

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[46] Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble: a crisis in representation* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 9.
[47] Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (1973), 47.
[48] Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble* (1997), 9.
[49] In Laura Mulvey "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," (Original work published 1975). In Jessica Evans, & Stuart Hall (Eds.). *Visual Culture: a reader* (Los Angeles; London: Sage, 2009), 381-390.

relations of empowered male subjects and disempowered female ones.[50] Alternatively, my reading of al-Khazen's corpus explores the representation of women in a particular historical cultural juncture — Mandate Lebanon (1920-1946) — in order to understand what gave rise to a particular visual economy in which women, presumed to be passive and disempowered, were displayed in the photographs as active and empowered. Following Judith Butler, I am interested in the shifting forms of masculinity and femininity within these photographs.[51] While, like any cultural practice within patriarchy, photography functions, in the words of Solomon-Godeau, "to produce and reproduce dominant ideologies of gender,"[52] and while some of al-Khazen's photographs affirm the status quo of gender, others complicate it by attempting to intervene within gender relation.

Solomon-Godeau argues that the gendering of photographic discourse suggests a "change[s] when it is a woman who wields the camera."[53] According to Solomon-Godeau, woman in photography can be understood to be "a problem of unequal representation."[54] This leads to the question: how do photographs, when taken by women, reflect or inscribe gender relations in the choice of form, content and in their method of working?

I suggest reading al-Khazen's photography as an empowering tool that gives a voice to women as well as offering an image of reconstructed gender and class relations. The medium provided al-Khazen with the means to express

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[50] Ibid, 383.
[51] In Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990).
[52] Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the Dock* (1991), 256.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid, 257.

herself through exercising her authority in the choice of specific scenes, subjects, settings, poses in the photographs consequently providing a woman's perspective to the viewer. Al-Khazen's photography legitimizes leisure and entertainment as an act of individual expression. The women's presence in the photographs expresses their personalities. They are represented as individuals in their own right — not as wives, daughters, or mothers.

"Remaking Women" in the Middle East[55]

The last two decades have witnessed a burst of energy in Middle East women's studies, and the contributors to *Remaking Women: feminism and modernity in the Middle East*, edited by Lila Abu-Lughod, exemplify the vitality of this new thinking.[56] Essays compiled in *Remaking Women* focus on issues related to women in the Middle East at the turn of the century when gender became a highly charged nationalist issue tied up in complex ways with the West. The essays challenge the assumptions of other major works on women and feminism in the Middle East by questioning, among other things, the familiar dichotomy in which women's domesticity is associated with tradition and modernity with their entry into the public sphere.

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[55] I borrow the title from Lila Abu-Lughod, *Remaking Women: feminism and modernity in the Middle East* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998).
[56] The contributors are Lila Abu-Lughod, Marilyn Booth, Deniz Kandiyoti, Khaled Fahmy, Mervat Hatem, Afsaneh Najmabadi among others.

Lila Abu Lughod, Suad Joseph, Deniz Kandyoti and Afsaneh Najmabadi are feminist scholars who specialize in gender studies in the Middle East and North Africa. Their research, which focuses on the relationship between cultural forms and power, the politics of knowledge and representation, the dynamics of gender and the question of women's rights in the Middle East provides conceptual frameworks within which I will delineate the mechanisms of gender and ideology within the Middle East context in general and Lebanon in particular.

Suad Joseph, in her essay "Learning Desire: relational pedagogies and the desiring female subject in Lebanon," examines the ways in which local constructs of desire are configured within notions of relational selfhood in the context of intimate patriarchal familial and communal relationships in Lebanon.[57] Deniz Kandiyoti's essay, "Bargaining with Patriarchy," analyses women's strategies and coping mechanisms in predominant patriarchal systems while Afsaneh Najmabadi, in her book *Women with Moustaches and Men without Beards: gender and sexual anxieties of Iranian modernity*, provides a compelling demonstration of the centrality of gender and sexuality to the shaping of modern culture and politics in Iran and how changes in ideas about gender and sexuality affected conceptions of beauty, marriage, education, and citizenship.

[57] Suad Joseph "Learning Desire: relational pedagogies and the desiring female subject in Lebanon," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 1 1 (2005), 79-109.

Woman Photographers

In addition to the volume *A History of Woman Photographers,* compiled by Naomi Rosenblum, significant material has been recently available dealing with the ways in which European and American women photographers constructed their image through the production of portraits from the early days following the invention of photography.[58] Yet, amidst all the studies of local photography in Lebanon and its surroundings at the turn of the last century — studies written from the mid-1980s on — only one book focuses on women in the photographs of the Middle East.[59]

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[58] For publications on European and American woman photographers see: Berenice Abbott, & Julia Van Haaften, *Berenice Abbott* (New York, N.Y.: Aperture Foundation, 1988); Bettina L. Knapp, *Gertrude Stein* (New York: Continuum, 1990); Diana C. Du Pont, *Florence Henri: Artist Photographs of the Avant-Garde* (San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1992); Judith Keller, & Katherine Ware, *Women on the Edge: twenty photographers in Europe, 1919-1939* (Malibu, Calif.: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1993); Olivia Lahs-Gonzales, & Lucy L. Lippard, *Defining Eye: women photographers of the 20th century: selections from the Helen Kornblum collection* (St. Louis:Saint Louis Art Museum, 1997); Christian Bouqueret, *Les femmes photographes: de la nouvelle vision en France, 1920-1940* (Paris: Marval, 1998); Whitney Chadwick, & Dawn Ades, *Mirror Images: women, surrealism, and self-representation* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998); Shelley Rice, & Lynn Gumpert, *Inverted Odysseys: Claude Cahun, Maya Deren, & Cindy Sherman* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1999); Kim Sichel, *Germaine Krull: Photographer of Modernity* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999); Naomi Rosenblum, *A History of Women Photographer* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2000); Bettina Berch, *The Woman Behind the Lens: the life and work of Frances Benjamin Johnston, 1864-1952* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000); Julian Cox, Julia Margaret Cameron, & Colin Ford, *Julia Margaret Cameron: the complete photographs* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Publications, 2003); Joanne Lukitsh, *Julia Margaret Cameron: Her Work and Career* (New York: Phaidon Press, 2006); & Gen Doy, *Claude Cahun: a sensual politics of photography* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007).

[59] For literature on local photography in Lebanon and its surrounding see Carney

E. S. Gavin, *The Image of the East: Nineteenth Century Near Eastern photographs by Bonfils, from the collections of the Harvard Semitic Museum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Fouad Debbas, *Beirut Our Memory: a guided tour illustrated with postcards from the collection of Fouad Debbas* (Beirut: Naufal Group, 1986); Fouad Debbas, *Mount Lebanon: early photographs* (London: Folios, 1996); Fouad Debbas, *Des photographes à Beyrouth, 1840-1918* (Paris: Marval, 2001); Engin Cizgen, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1919* (Istanbul: Haset Kitabevi A. S., 1987); Nissan Perez, *Focus East: early photography in the Near East, 1839-1885* (New York: Abrams, 1988); Badr el-Hage, *Saudi Arabia: caught in time 1861 – 1939* (London: Garnet Publishing, 1997); Badr el-Hage "Khalil Raad: Jerusalem photographer," *Revue d'études Palestiniennes* 37 (1990) 34-39; Badr el-Hage "The Armenian Pioneers of Middle Eastern Photography," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 31(1990) 22-26; Michel Fani, *Une histoire de la photographie au Liban, 1840-1944* (Beirut: Editions de L'escalier, 2005); Michel Fani, *L'atelier de Beyrouth: Liban 1848-1914* (Beirut: Editions de l'Escalier, 1996); Michel Fani, *Liban, 1880-1914: l'Atelier photographique de Ghazir* (Beirut: Editions de L'escalier, 1995); Patricia Acra-Raad, *Une montagne et des hommes: la vie rurale du Mont-Liban au fil des cartes postales 1898-1930* (Lebanon: Acra-Raad, 1997); Mohsen Yammine, & the Fondation Arabe pour l'image, *Histoires intimes: Liban, 1900-1960* (Arles: Actes Sud, 1998); Akram Zaatari, *The Vehicle: Picturing Moments in a Modernizing Society,* (Beirut: Mind The Gap, 1999); Karl Bassil, Zeina Maasri, Walid Raad, & Akram Zaatari (Eds.), *Mapping sitting: on portraiture and photography* (Beirut: Mind the gap & the Fondation Arabe pour l'image, 2002); Sawsan Agha-Kassab, & Khaled O. Tadmori, *Beyrouth et le sultan: 200 photographies des albums de Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909)* (Beirut: Terre du Liban, 2002); Michelle L. Woodward "Between Orientalist Clichés and Images of Modernization," *History of Photography* 27 4 (2003) 363-374; Lisa Le Feuvre, & Akram Zaatari (Eds.), *Hashem al Madani: studio practices* (Beirut: Fondation Arabe pour l'image, 2004); Issam Nassar, *Laqatat mughayira 1850-1948* (London: Qattan Foundation, 2005); Stephen Sheehi "A Social History of Early Arab Photography or a Prolegomenon to an Archeology of the Lebanese Imago," *The International Journal of Middle East Studies* 39 (2007), 177-208; Dore Bowen "This Bridge Called Imagination: on reading the Arab Image Foundation and its collection," *Invisible Culture* 12 (2008), 1-13; Sami Toubia, *Sarrafian: Liban 1900-1930* (Mansourieh: Aleph, 2008).

The book that focuses on the representation of Middle Eastern women in the photographs is Sarah Graham-Brown, *Images of Women: the portrayal of women in photography of the Middle East, 1860-1950* (London: Quartet, 1988).

Marie al-Khazen: an Amateur Photographer?[60]

Can al-Khazen be placed among pioneer women photographers such as Gertrude Stein, Ilse Bing, Florence Henri and Claude Cahun?

The practice of amateur photography began in the 1880s, when photography was revolutionized by the widespread commercial success of the dry plate, which dramatically simplified photography.[61] The turn of the century was a period of unparalleled competition among industrialists, manufacturers, professional photographers and amateurs. In Lebanon as in elsewhere, each sought the best plate, the most practical camera, and the most perfect lens. Experimentation with new techniques for manipulating the camera as well as printing the photographs was fashionable at the time, as evident in the numerous articles published, three decades before al-Khazen's photos, in several issues of the Arabic periodical *Al-Muqtataf*.[62] A scientific journal, *Al-Muqtataf* was first published in the 1890s in Beirut and then moved to Cairo where, under the editorship of Ya'qub Sarruf and Faris Nimr, it included technical information and advice for improving camera use.

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[60] The category of "amateur photographers" refers to a category of photographers who considered high quality work but do not practice photography for commercial purposes. A significant number of al-Khazen's photographs show the determination to produce something akin to a professional and artistic practice.

[61] Nancy M. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 62.

[62] For a list of articles on technical information and advice for improving camera use, refer to Sheehi "A Social History of Early Arab Photography," (2007) 203.

In most of the research on amateur photography, the figure of the photographer is almost exclusively male.[63] Yet in recent studies of the emergence of the Kodak Eastman model and, ten decades later, the introduction of the Brownie box and its commercialization through advertisements, Kodak and other photography companies appear to primarily address women.[64]

Like other serious amateur photographers, Marie al-Khazen was attracted to themes such as excursions, the seaside, children, and animals. She did not practice photography as a profession yet her photographs are evidence of significant creative experimentation and control over the image. She must have been in her mid-twenties when she was at the height of her photographic experience, by which time the act of photographing consisted of pulling the trigger, turning the key and pressing the button. Yet, she still faced the challenge of capturing the decisive moment: how to arrange the scene, direct the subjects and when to release the shutter speed. Her photographs are evidence of a more complex use of the device. Al-Khazen had furthered her apprenticeship by printing her negatives using her own darkroom. Her photographs are evidence of her creative experiments with shadows, double exposure, superimposed negatives, lighting, perspective, angles and the framing of her shots. Marie al-Khazen can be seen as a serious amateur photographer whose principal body of imagery was created in domestic space and in the course of family trips. She recorded her life as it was happening. The immediacy of the photograph, the instantaneous nature

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[63] Kevin D. Moore, *Jacques Henri Lartigue: the invention of an artist* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 28.
[64] Ibid.

of the device produce interesting effects that might not have been planned by the photographer. The capacity of photography as a medium to seize a world in flux, to catch events as they are happening, is interesting here. This aspect makes her pictures precursors to modern photography, in which subjects are more likely to be depicted in a relaxed and improvised way. In a number of her photographs she has improvised and experimented with the medium; in others she has carefully controlled her shutter speed, cropped her image, studied the lighting and the position of the subjects vis-à-vis her camera. Despite the vernacular quality of some of her photographs, al-Khazen's corpus may be considered of high quality according to the standards which have settled over the last century. Indeed, a significant number of her photographs show the determination to produce something akin to a professional and artistic practice.

The Status of the Corpus

In the absence of textual material identifying al-Khazen's photographs, an effective procedure of analysis involves grouping photographs together such that they resonate with each other and signify certain commonalities. Assuming that photographic arrangements can imply a certain reading of the photographs, I have grouped the photographs in a way that foregrounds different representations of gender. In reading these groups of photographs, I have drawn on the work of Allan Sekula.[65] Sekula explores how photographs "mean" and how their

[65] In Allan Sekula "The Body and the Archive," *October* 39 (1986), 3-64.

"meaning" is transformed in ways that follow from the photographs' arrangement and how much of our socio-cultural context influences, or modifies, the "meaning" the photographs convey.[66] Sekula posits that when photographs are seen individually they have meanings that differ from those of the photographs seen in group.[67] Writing on family photography, Marianne Hirsch echoes Sekula's claim by describing how photographs offer a prism "through which to study the postmodern space of cultural memory composed of leftovers, debris, single items that are left to be collected and assembled in many ways, to tell a variety of stories, from a variety of often competing perspectives."[68] What is in the photograph and what we see in the photograph become unfixed depending on their grouping, as well as on the basis of logics of gender representation insofar as the latter are subject to change over time.

The following charts offer the basic elements of a system through which we might begin to makes sense of what one sees in the photographs. I organized al-Khazen's 109 photographs in categories through a taxonomy intended to organize the photographs as a corpus and support the central arguments of this dissertation. I use this taxonomy to discuss complex and dynamic social and gender-based representations in al-Khazen's photographs. As photographs are organized in different groupings, their meanings are inflected in different ways. For example, the same picture that contains a woman holding a child and a shadow can join the 'shadow' category, the 'women portrait' category and/or the

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[66] Ibid, 18.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: photography, narrative, and postmemory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 13.

'motherhood' category. This picture will generate different meanings when placed in each of these categories. Severed from their original context, Marie al-Khazen's photographs allow us to engage in new discourses on their socio-cultural context. In the following charts, the photographs are grouped in thematic categories based on what is salient in the photograph.

I have borrowed the notion of this sort of categorization from the Arab Image Foundation website's organization of the archive. The organizers of the site decided to classify the photographic archive by designing a classification system based on keywords that describe the content of their photographs, employing a taxonomy that reflects the values of Arab culture. For example, when browsing their collection in the advanced search window, the drop down menu contains words specifically related to Middle Eastern culture, such as *" 'abaya,"* "belly dancer, " *"dabkeh," "Oriental costume," " 'oud," "shaykh"* and *"tarbouche"* among others.[69] This classification system, according to Dore Bowen, was based on *Le Patrimoine Photographique* in Paris.[70] The Arab Image Foundation's website organizers have appropriated *Le Patrimoine Photographique* system by placing or adding culturally related terms to the list of keywords to tag their photographs. The operation of tagging photographs on the basis of race, gender, class and other socio-cultural categories is useful in my attempt to read social

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[69] The *'abaya* is a loose over garment traditionally worn by men as well as women in the Middle East and North Africa region. The *dabkeh* is an Arab folk dance. *The 'oud* is a pear shaped, string instrument traditionally used in the Middle East and North Africa. The *tarbouche,* (plural: *tarabish*) also called fez, is the red felt headdress that was widely sported by Ottoman authorities, at the beginning of the Twentieth Century as an indication of a higher social status.

[70] Dore Bowen "This Bridge Called Imagination: on reading the Arab Image Foundation and its collection," *Invisible Culture* 12 (2008), 1-13: 6.

relations within al-Khazen's photographs as it points to specific dimensions of each photograph.

By organizing these images in charts in relation to their corresponding keywords, I attempt to express the logic that underpins the classification system of al-Khazen's photographs.

Chart I: General Categories

Emphasis in the photographs	**Number of photographs**	Plates
Women	42	6, 10, 22, 24, 26, 29, 33, 35, 36, 40, 41, 45, 50, 54-57, 58-61, 74, 79-82, 84-97, 98, 101 & 105.
Men	26	2, 3, 8, 5, 20, 62-68, 70-73, 75-78, 97, 100, 102, 106, 107 & 108.
Group (men & women)	25	4, 5, 9, 12-17, 19, 24, 26-29, 35, 38, 41, 44, 47, 49, 53, 69, 83 & 103.
Children	21	13, 30-34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 47, 66, 68, 77, 83, 99, 105 & 107.
Cars	11	2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 30 & 37.
Travel	24	1-8, 10-21, 23, 24, 84 & 85.
Tourist sites	7	6, 15-17, 19, 35 & 48.
House	4	22, 23, 25 & 27.
Pairs (men & women)	5	6, 25, 43, 101 & 109.

Most of al-Khazen's photographs focus on women. A significant number of photographs depict women and men engaged in activities together, such as travelling, picnicking, hunting and riding horses. These are to be distinguished from a few photographs in the collection that capture couples standing still, waiting to be photographed. Mobility — through the documentation of various transport vehicles, and of travelling and tourism — is a theme that is very present in al-Khazen's photographs.

Chart II: Men in the Photographs

Men in the photographs	Number of photographs	Plates
Groups	11	70, 73, 75, 77, 76, 78, 97, 100, 102, 104 &108.
Men portraits	3	67, 71, & 106.
Pairs	6	2, 32, 62, 65, 66 &107.
A man with a boy	3	32, 66 & 107.
Disguised	4	62-65.
Hunting Scenes	5	12, 70, 102, 104 & 108.
Men with moustache	50	2, 5, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15-19, 23-29, 35, 38, 41, 43, 44, 47, 53, 62-67, 69-73, 75-78, 83, 97, 100-103 & 106-108.
Men wearing a tarbouche	33	2, 3, 5, 12-17, 19, 20, 23, 25-27, 35, 38, 44, 47, 49, 71-73, 75, 77, 78, 83, 97, 100-103, & 108.
Men wearing European hats	5	5, 13, 29, 38 & 66.
Photos in which a man in a group is emphasized	6	9, 20, 78, 76, 83 & 102.
Photos in which a little boy is emphasized	15	30-34, 36, 37, 39, 42, 43, 66, 83, 99, 105 & 107.

Chart III: Women in the Photographs

Women in the photographs	Number of photographs	Plates
Groups	6	58-61, 79 & 80.
Women Portraits	15	54, 55, 74, 84, 85, 88-91, 93-96, 98 &101.
Pairs	7	50, 56, 57, 81, 82, 86 & 87.
Motherhood	6	33, 36, 40, 45, 83 & 105.
Disguised	7	54-57, 86, 90 & 101.
Hunting Scenes	3	12, 26 & 93.
Women wearing a tarbouche	1	86
Women wearing European hats	12	9, 13, 21, 24, 28, 79, 81, 93, 96 & 98.
Photos in which a woman in a group is emphasized	9	6, 33, 36, 35, 41, 45, 69, 101 & 105.
Photos in which a little girl is emphasized	0	
Women holding a rifle	3	30, 93 & 104.

Within the separate categories of "men" and "women," I created subdivisions: two separate charts facilitate the comparison between the different categories of gender. For example, men tend to be more often photographed in groups whereas women were more likely to be portrayed alone. In al-Khazen's milieu, most of

the men wore *tarabish* whereas women wore European hats. Men had moustaches and went on hunting trips. Nevertheless, as we shall see, in one photograph a woman is wearing the *tarbouche,* while in three others women are seen riding horses and going to, or returning from, hunting trips.

Chart IV: Stylistic Features

Stylistic Features	**Number of photographs**	**Plates**
Superimposed	1	99.
Double exposure	2	77 & 101.
Staged photographs	16	4, 54-57, 62-65, 86, 90, 101 &102.
Shadows	17	2, 8, 7, 12, 26, 29, 38, 67, 71, 94, 97, 98, 100, 102, 103, 105 &107.
Al-Khazen's shadow in the photos	6	97, 98, 100, 102, 103 & 105.
Orientalist photos in which Eastern and Western features intersect	11	6, 9, 12-14, 35, 38, 54-57 & 86.

The stylistic taxonomy is concerned with Marie al-Khazen's experiments with her camera. Whether they were intentional or not, al-Khazen's double exposures, superimposed negatives, staged photographs and shadows are compelling. Another interesting aspect of al-Khazen's photographs is the presence of her shadow in a significant number of her pictures (plates nos. 97, 98, 100, 102, 103 & 105).

Chart V: Sites

Sites	
Indoor photos	15
Outdoor photos	94

Chart V: Outdoors Sites

Outdoor photos	94
Zgharta	86
Junieh	12
Baalbak	6
Beirut	3
Afqa	3

Most of al-Khazen's photographs were taken outdoors. Most probably the reason was that al-Khazen avoided failed photographs; flash bulbs were not available at the time, and the light indoor might not be sufficient to produce a good quality print.

These charts are an attempt to analyze gender representations through al-Khazen's corpus by comparing gender behavior within her photographs. Grouping images that contain similar activities, subjects and places reveals much about al-Khazen's surroundings and, possibly, sheds light on her intentions as to what to include and what to exclude in her photographs. The repetitiveness of similar scenes and subjects can be indicative of Marie al-Khazen's interest, as in the case of her apparent preference for a nephew depicted in a significant number of her photographs at different stages of his upbringing (as seen in plates no. 31, 32, 33, 34 and 39), or her preference for being in masculine spaces (plates no. 35, 17 and 26).

Nevertheless, there are a few deficiencies that diminish the reliability of this system. One of these is the fact that photographs include layers of information

that cannot be tagged by keywords. For example, the category of “children” might include a “mother” as well and the photograph may have been taken “outdoors,” which makes the same photograph part of three separate categories.

Another weakness of taxonomy is that tagging a photograph limits its “meanings” to “a” keyword whereas every time one looks into al-Khazen’s corpus one is alerted of a new category to be added to the chart. For example, I have recently realized that the photographs in the “men” category are all taken outdoors except for one, whereas a larger number of photographs of women were taken indoors.

The chart system can be considered functional only if it is perceived as an open ended project in which the keywords will be constantly altered to suggest new meanings, new interpretation of the photographs. This aspect that deals with the dynamics in the production of meaning that emerge from the photographs will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Two

The History of Photography in the Middle East Region, from Orientalist to local practices

In this chapter, I will examine existing writing on the history of photography in Lebanon. Much of this work has emerged since the late 1980s, and has traced the history of photography in Lebanon as far back as 1839.[71] This history of photography traced writings on travel expeditions and research on indigenous photographers until the Arab Image Foundation, established in 1996, prompted a shift in the writing on photography in the region. The Foundation's archiving project, of which the 109 of Marie al-Khazen's photographs are part, is an open-ended initiative involving research on photography and its practices. Its particular concern is engaging scholars in studying the ideological functions and signifying practices within photographs rather than the historical evolution of the medium; as such, its intervention represents a shift in the understanding of photography in the Middle East and North Africa region.

The Arab Image Foundation

There has been a recent interest in Lebanon in archiving photographs, principally as part of library collections.[72] These initiatives suffer from a lack of financial support

[71] Fouad Debbas, *Beirut Our Memory: a guided tour illustrated with postcards from the collection of Fouad Debbas* (Beirut: Naufal Group, 1986), 9.

[72] Most of these libraries are based on university campuses around Lebanon: at the American University of Beirut, the Lebanese American University, Notre Dame University and the Université Saint Esprit, Kaslik.

and a lack of expertise in preserving, conserving and archiving the chaotic large volume of photographs available in library collections. As a result, in most cases, the photographs have not yet been made available for researchers. A few photographs, typically only those involving high-profile historical themes and reputed local families, circulate and are made public in temporary exhibitions within libraries. Since the launch of the Arab Image Foundation, and as a result of the foundation's effort to institutionalize the archiving of photographs, the interest in archiving photographs has increased. The foundation is partly funded by international organizations such as the Ford Foundation, the Anna Lindh Foundation, the Bank of America, Merrill Lynch Art Conservation Program and the Prince Claus Fund. The Banque Libano-Française, the foundation's primary corporate partner, provided annual financial support during the first five years following the establishment of the foundation, from 1996 to 2001. Despite its efforts to secure support from various sources, the Arab Image Foundation still suffers from a lack of sufficient funds to cover its expenses.[73] Because the local government does not provide a budget to sustain such a project, initiatives to preserve and archive photographs in Lebanon depend on private funds in order to sustain their projects.

Based in Beirut, the Arab Image Foundation responds to domination of Western imagination by collecting photographs of the Arab world from the Arab world and its diaspora, is a non-profit organization. Its main objective is to continue the search for local

[73] Interview with Sana Chkeibane, Collection Manager at the Arab Image Foundation, June 11, 2010, Beirut, Lebanon.

practices of photography in the Middle East and North Africa. Its collection includes more than 150 000 photographs taken from the 1860s to the present.[74]

In addition to compiling, preserving and circulating photographs, the Arab Image Foundation project serves as a venue both for exploring histories of photography in Lebanon and for understanding social connections and intersections. The Foundation offers visual resources for research into the complex and interdependent relationships of subjects, like Marie al-Khazen, who existed at the interstices between modern and colonial imagery.

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Kevin Moore, the biographer of Jacques-Henri Lartigue, has expressed skepticism as to the possibility of preserving the past through photographs; in his words, "packing history into photographs is a desperate act and can only lead to disappointment."[75] According to Moore, as photographs age, they assume a more complex and elusive relationship to the past. Moore maintains that when most of the subjects represented in the photographs are not alive, they will survive through surviving memories and anecdotes. He suggests that in this case, "the lives recorded in photographs may be reinvented by those who come after."[76] This is an interesting approach that extends the role of photographs beyond the inherited models that treat photography as tools for rescuing the past. In *The Meaning of Photography*, Robin Kelsey and Blake Stimson suggest that approaches for understanding photography went through a shift from "a

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[74] Jérôme Sans "Other Facets of Paleontology, interview with Akram Zaatari," *The Arab World Now* 3 (2008), 244-253: 251.
[75] Kevin D. Moore, *Jacques Henri Lartigue: the invention of an artist* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 217.
[76] Ibid, 217.

largely modernist curatorial discourse to a new emphasis on cultural criticism, social history, and semiotics."[77] This shift, they suggest, came when scholars turned to the work of Walter Benjamin, Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault, authors who shaped the understanding of photography as a culturally and socially important medium. Under the influence of this work, scholars have been led to engage with what Kelsey and Stimson term "the politics of photography."[78]

Along these lines, the Arab Image Foundation encourages scholars to consider new possibilities in approaching photography and its meanings within the Middle East and North Africa region. Scholars who have pursued this project have rejected linear history based on the chronological classification of photographs and turned instead to studying the photographs' ideological functions and significations within their multiple contexts.

The foundation has recently attracted scholars whose writing focuses on studying the ideological and semiotic mechanisms of photographs rather than dealing with the history of photography in a general sense.[79] The critical approaches of these scholars are crucial to today's understanding of the distinctive meanings of photography. For example, Zaatari's project treats photographs as reflections on the social milieu of Saida, Issam Nassar's research examines the different ways in which the introduction of

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[77] Kelsey & Stimson, *The Meaning of Photography* (2008) vii.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Such as Lisa Le Feuvre, & Akram Zaatari (Eds.), *Hashem al Madani: studio practices* (Beirut: Fondation Arabe pour l'image, 2004); Issam Nassar, *Laqatat mughayira 1850-1948* (London: Qattan Foundation, 2005), Stephen Sheehi "A Social History of Early Arab Photography or a Prolegomenon to an Archeology of the Lebanese Imago," *The International Journal of Middle East Studies* 39 (2007), 177-208; Dore Bowen "This Bridge Called Imagination: on reading the Arab Image Foundation and its collection," *Invisible Culture* 12 (2008), 1-13.

photography as a local practice in Palestine from the late nineteenth century affected the way Palestinians saw, imagined and presented themselves in photographs. Stephen Sheehi explores how the photograph can be "a prolegomenon to an archeology of the Lebanese [I]mago," his article focuses on the ways in which the production of photographs plays a significant role in the "conceptualization of a bourgeois individualistic subjectivity in Lebanon."[80] On the other hand, Dore Bowen, in her "This Bridge Called Imagination," explores the Arab Image Foundation's online archive in terms of the relation between the "photographic and digital imagination" through her questioning,

> What is a digital image as opposed to a photograph, and what sort of imagination does it inspire? Something so obvious as to be overlooked is that in the transformation of an image from photographic to digital form the image becomes mathematical data. In this transformation the image no longer marks the photographic relationship to time, for the digital image circulates endlessly and has no origin. The aura of presence that was displaced by photography is erased or, more accurately, has ceased to exist. With the digital image we are no closer to or further from a moment in time. Consequently, new questions other than those generally asked of the photograph — such as, is it an original or copy? When was it taken? Who is it of ? — must be asked of the digital image. [81]

Following Bowen, when Marie al-Khazen's photographs are digitized and made available online, new questions arise from the photographs, questions that go beyond when were they taken and who were they of, questions that will address, rather, the digital images' meaning within the context in which they are seen.

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[80] Sheehi, 177.
[81] Bowen, 5.

Recent projects in Lebanon aim at treating photography in ways that go beyond photo-history projects. The Museum of Memory, scheduled to be launched in 2012, plans to exhibit part of the Arab Image Foundation's photographic collection. This project is challenging, considering the selection process and the organization of the large volumes of visual material to be included in the exhibition. The project can be understood as an example of the use of photographs as visual documents that transcend a role defined simply in terms of memory and history. The project extends the role of photographs to include socio-cultural and political functions. The organizers of the project are currently engaged in the difficult decision of which photographs to include and which to exclude in the exhibition. The photographs which will be included in the Museum of Memory are mostly gathered from private family photographic collections. The aim of assembling private collections — by tracing a family's genealogical records or a photographic studio's collection of photographs, as in Akram Zaatari's Hashem al-Madani project — was not to carve out a place for particular families within a larger historical context.[82] Rather, it was driven by a sense of responsibility to preserve past photographs and make them accessible for future generations. The al-Madani project takes the archive of al-Madani's photography studio — also called studio Shehrazade — as a case study with which to understand the complex relationship that tied the photographer to his clients, his society and more broadly to the city of Saida in the South of Lebanon.

[82] Part of Hashem al-Madani's photographs are published in Lisa Le Feuvre, & Akram Zaatari (Eds.), *Hashem al Madani: studio practices* (Beirut: Fondation Arabe pour l'image, 2004) and more recently in Robin Kelsey & Blake Stimson, *The meaning of photography* (Williamstown, Mass.: New Haven, 2008), 92-101.

In his book *Hashem al-Madani: studio practices*, Zaatari explores al-Madani's practice of studio photography in 1950s Saida. Al-Madani's studio was a location in which individuals could act out identities by being photographed using the conventions of portrait photography. Later, in the 1970s, in his studio, al-Madani documented a community of people which had suffered social upheaval during the Lebanese civil war (1975-1990). When posing for his camera, people felt safe to enact *who* they wanted, al-Madani claimed in an interview with Zaatari.[83] Al-Madani photographed about 90% of Saida's population. As an extraordinarily extensive record of the town's inhabitants, al-Madani's archive of over 50,000 images captures the changing political climate through his subjects' behavior. In a significant number of al-Madani's photographs of the early 1950s, his sitters, inspired by their own desires, posed in gestures ranging from those associated with fashion modeling to others evoking war combat and Hollywood romances. His models invented various poses and situations, as in the photograph in which a young man is seen holding a gun in one hand and embracing a human-scale cardboard image of a pin-up woman featuring a promotional pamphlet distributed by Kodak, in his other hand.[84] This aspect of al-Madani's studio, considered a "safe" site which the Saidawis would visit in order to act out their fantasies, is interesting inasmuch as the studio was often frequented by women and men masquerading in front of al-Madani's camera, as his photographs show. The photographs are revealing in their expression of social taboos and repressed sexual desires.

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[83] Zaatari in Lisa Le Feuvre, & Akram Zaatari (Eds.), *Hashem al Madani: studio practices* (2004), 3.

[84] For a reproduction of this photograph see Robin Kelsey & Blake Stimson, *The Meaning of photography* (2008), 95.

An interesting aspect of the Zaatari's al-Madani project is Zaatari's claim to the authorship of al-Madani's work. In an interview with Jérôme Sans, Zaatari stated that

> I am the author of an image taken by Hashem al-Madani in 1956, even if I was born in1966. When I say something like this, I am also saying that this image is produced now, even though it was photographically taken in 1956. This is a picture of Baqari's wife whose husband came to the photographer once accusing him of taking pictures of his wife without the husband's permission. The husband asked the photographer to hand him the negatives to insure the photographs will not be printed in the future. The photographer refused, which provoked an intense argument until they both agreed to scratch the emulsion on the negative with a pin to make it not usable in the future. Even though Madani took this photograph, the power of the image –and what interests me in it- is not the picture itself but the story behind it. It is a powerful image because both the photographer and the client wanted to destroy it. It is an image of a dual nature.[85]

Zaatari's al-Madani project is not only about the revival of al-Madani's photographs but it is also about adding another dimension to Madani's work, another layer of meaning which accrues to Madani's initial photograph through its appropriation by Zaatari.

In *Mapping Sitting,* another book by Akram Zaatari and a group of artists and designers published in 2002, the photographs were divided into several categories: ID or passport photographs, institutional photographs, snapshots or 'surprise' street photographs.[86] The book is interesting as it raises questions about the relationship of portraiture, performance and identity to photography in the Middle East. It examines how the photographic portrait functions in the Arab world as a commodity, as well as a record

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[85] Sans, 249.

[86] Karl Bassil, Zeina Maasri, Walid Raad, & Akram Zaatari (Eds.), *Mapping Sitting: on portraiture and photography* (Beirut: Mind the gap & the Fondation Arabe pour l'image, 2002).

of individuals and groups through its inscription of social, gender and ethnic identities. According to Walid Raad and Akram Zaatari, portraits serve as evidence of shifting identities and modes of behavior. Among other things, photographs may participate in the elaboration of new notions of leisure, citizenship, community and individuality." [87]

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Prior to the launch of the Foundation, the writing of the history of photography in Lebanon was often prompted by an author's discovery of a collection of photographs/postcards. This operation was one in which private collections were rendered public, as visual material previously overlooked or unavailable to the public at large. Speaking of the condition of archives in Lebanon, Akram Zaatari argues that

> … there was never an institutional decision to keep or create archives. This has nothing to do with the civil war, which remains in itself not properly documented. It's really a strange phenomenon. Lebanon doesn't have national archives. Now, the government is trying to collect available manuscripts and put them under what's called National Archives. Unlike for example in Egypt where, since the early century there were national archives, archives for books, where every book published will have to eventually be deposited there, in Lebanon there is nothing as such. However, newspapers, academic institutions, have their own archives, photographic or else … The two primary newspapers, as-Safir and an-Nahar created archives that are open to the public.[88]

In the absence of a "national photography archive," a number of local private collectors of photographs felt compelled to publish their collections in books. Examples of books based on their authors' private collections are: *Beirut Our Memory: a guided tour illustrated with postcards from the collection of Fouad Debbas* (Debbas, 1986), *Des photographes à Beyrouth, 1840-1918* (Debbas, 2001), *Damascus: images from the past*

[87] Ibid, 14.
[88] Sans, 251.

1840-1918 (el-Hage, 2001), *Saudi Arabia: caught in time 1861 – 1939* (el-Hage, 1997), *A Mountain and a People: the rural life of Mount Lebanon portrayed in post cards 1898 – 1930* (Acra-Raad, 1997) and *Sarrafian Liban 1900-1939* (Toubia, 2008) among others. In most cases the authors of photography books on Lebanon are passionate collectors who assemble photographs from their personal archive of found images and publish them along with textual information about the content of the photographs.

Previously hidden and disregarded photographs are, in this way, rescued from dusty and forgotten boxes to circulate on the pages of books. In their passage from the flea market or the personal attic to printed pages in circulating books, the photographs are transformed from overlooked sources to valuable visual material that represents the past of a particular people in a particular era. Fouad Debbas, one of the most prominent collectors of early photographs of Lebanon, found most of his postcards in flea markets around the Seine, and has published his collection in his *Beirut, Our Memory*. Sami Toubia, a Lebanese amateur postcard collector found his collection of Sarrafian postcards in the attic of a grocer in Burj Hammud, a predominantly Armenian neighborhood in Lebanon. Patricia Acra-Raad, another Lebanese amateur collector, started her collection when she found a box containing a large selection of photographs by the renowned French photographer who established his studio in Beirut, Félix Bonfils (1831-1885). Acra-Raad found the photographs in Nice two decades ago; seven years later she decided to publish them in a book. A recurring pattern in these three publications is the attempt to produce a photographic history by contextualizing the images and conducting further research on their content. All three authors attempted to link the content of the found images with written manuscripts and/or travel journals of the same period.

Histories of Photography

Michel Fani, a Lebanese ethnologist who headed the Bibliothèque Orientale in Beirut from 1980 to 1990, has published a number of books on photography in Lebanon, *Liban, 1880-1914 : l'Atelier photographique de Ghazir* (1995), *L'atelier de Beyrouth : Liban 1848-1914* (1996), *Une histoire de la photographie au Liban, 1840-1944* (2005). By entitling his book *Une histoire de la photographie au Liban* ('A' History of Photography in Lebanon), Fani refutes the notion of one history of photography and suggests the possibility of multiple readings of photographic history. The writing of the history of photography, maintains Fani, is a complex task: this history is not only an account of the development of photographic practice and techniques and their rapid spread around the world, but it is also a history of the different ways in which people have appropriated the medium to produce an image of themselves.[89] The history he proposes requires an examination of the way people see themselves, the ways they believe themselves to be, and the ways in which they want to see themselves.

Written histories of photography are most often constructed from information printed, engraved, or handwritten on the surfaces of the photographs themselves. Some photographs are signed, numbered, dated and captioned. Others are more difficult to situate and study, such as panoramic landscape views, whose lack of human figures often leads to the absence of documentation; or, conversely, portraits of people who, if the photographs are not captioned, have become anonymous with the passage of time.

[89] Fani (2005), n.p.

The Beginnings of Photography in the Region

El-Hage and Debbas attribute the origins of the concept of photography or the invention of the first camera obscura mechanism to Ibn Haytham (965-1037).[90] In "Archeology et Photographies au Liban (1840-1918)," Debbas argues, "Si Aristote connaissait déjà la camera obscura, ce sont des érudits arabes qui en avaient compris le principe. C'est ainsi que le savant Hasan Ibn el Haytham (965-1037) dans son ouvrage *Le livre de la lumière,* en donne une description précise: "… si un trou rond est percé dans une fenêtre d'une chambre obscure, on peut apercevoir sur le mur opposé l'image inversée du monde extérieur."[91]

Debbas attributes the first daguerreotype of Beirut, dated 1839, to Frédéric Goupil-Fesquet (1817-?).[92] Goupil-Fesquet's daguerreotype of Beirut was published in Lerebours's *Excursions Daguerriennes,* it represents the view from the old French Consulate building facing the Beirut port. However, Fani attributes this particular daguerreotype to Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (1804-1892). Regardless of its author, this daguerreotype is appreciated for its "archival value"; according to Fani, it contains layers of history within it, in particular a history of Beirut as an open city and port to the Mediterranean sea.[93]

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[90] Badr el-Hage, *Saudi Arabia: caught in time 1861 – 1939* (London: Garnet Publishing, 1997), 6.
[91] Fouad Debbas "Archéologie et photographie au Liban (1840-1918)," *Archaeology & History in Lebanon* 12 (2000) 50-68: 52.
[92] Debbas (1986), 9.
[93] Fani (1995), n.p.

The history of photography in the Middle East region, according to Debbas, can be divided into two periods.[94] The first part extends from 1839 until the end of the Nineteenth Century. The photographic conventions during this period represent the Middle East from a fictionalizing Orientalist perspective. The majority of the photographs produced during this period explore the region for a consumer who is primarily European. The second part of this history begins at the turn of the century with the emergence of the indigenous production of photography.

From 1839 until the end of the Nineteenth Century: Orientalist Photography

Since 1839, the year the discovery of photography was attributed to the French physicist Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851), European and American travelers, most of them on scientific missions, headed to the Middle Eastern regions in order to explore a 'new world'. This is a world that photography would soon make accessible in image form to those who could not travel to the Middle East. Photography offered itself as the ideal tool with which anthropologists could document a new world in order to expose it to the Occident. According to Michelle Woodward, both Ottoman and European photographers at the turn of the century embraced the style and the subject matter of Orientalist paintings which were already encoded with the ideology of cultural alterity.[95]

[94] Debbas (2001), 52.
[95] Woodward (2003), 363-374: 364.

Fouad Debbas and Badr el-Hage both trace a trajectory for the beginnings of photography in the region, based on the location and assembling of photographs, personal reportage, stereoscopic views, manuscripts, travel journals, and personal correspondences. The photographs that they have compiled are a result of a particular photographic practice that was one foundation of Orientalism, defined by Edward Said as a set of "fictional" images and beliefs produced by the West about the Middle East.[96] The photographers' decisions as to what to include in their photographs or what to exclude were determined by popular European expectations of the Orient. Reality was forced into panoramic views and portraits, clichés that reproduced recognizable elements of reality.[97]

Among the Orientalist photographers were Girault de Prangey (1804-1892), Maxime Du Camp (1822-1894), and Gustave Le Gray (1820-1882), who competed in the production of the first visions of the Orient. According to Debbas, most of these photographs were produced in order to be sent to painters in need of "images" on which to base the drawings of their Oriental subjects.[98] From the predominantly European consumers, there was a strong demand for these cliché photographic genre that depicted biblical scenes, ruins, posed bedouins and other widely used stereotypes of the Orient. In a letter written in 1871, Felix Bonfils, the founder of the renown "La Maison Bonfils," established in Beirut in 1867, mentions the production of over 590 negatives and 15 000 prints depicting the region.[99] When the Bonfils studio caught fire in 1905, Marie Lydie Bonfils, Felix Bonfils's wife, sold the studio and all its contents to one of her assistants, Abraham Guiragossian, who later signed his photographs "Lydie Bonfils photographe,

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[96] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1978), 59.
[97] Fani (1996), 81.
[98] Debbas (2001), 44.
[99] Fani (1996), 81.

successeur A. Guiragossian."[100] The Bonfils were the leading merchants of Oriental imagery in Europe. Their photographs functioned within the same perceptual logic as the lithographs; in other words everything within their compositions looked perfectly studied in terms of perspective and the the construction of subjects; no extraneous elements were left out in the background. [101] The Bonfils assembled signs that communicated an exotic and mysterious place. They developed a photographic genre in which artificial and dissonant scenes, fake poses and staged tableaux were put on display. The key aim of the Bonfils, and one at which they were demonstrably successful, was the production of high quality prints.[102] In order to insert themselves and their production into a canonical historical lineage within the history of photography, the Bonfils stamped the back of their photographs with the three main figures of photographic invention, Niepce, Daguerre and Talbot, as seen in plate no. 1.6.[103]

[100] Fani (2005), n.p.
[101] Fani (1996), 80.
[102] For more on the Bonfils collection see Carney E. S. Gavin, *The Image of the East: Nineteenth Century Near Eastern photographs by Bonfils, from the collections of the Harvard Semitic Museum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).
[103] Plate no. 1.6 is the back of one of the photographs depicting Marie al-Khazen's grandparents. It is signed by the Bonfils, Beirut, Syria. This photograph is part of Nuha al-Khazen's private collection.

Plate no. 1.6

Woodward is critical of the Bonfils' photographic practice and of the ways in which they fabricated a stereotypic genre that was not necessarily reflective of the Middle East.[104] In her article "Between Orientalism Clichés and Images of Modernization: Photographic Practice in the Late Ottoman Era," Woodward credits indigenous photographers such as the Sébah family for transcending popular European notions of the Orient in developing a mode of representation that combined a detailed view of local Ottoman society with the visual signs of a new modern order.[105] This new local style was evidence of a negotiation between tourists' desires for exotic images and local Ottoman

[104] Woodward (2003), 366.
[105] Ibid. The Sébah family of which the renown Turkish photographer Pascal Sébah (1823-1886) is part.

self-conceptions as "modern" citizens which subverted common European notions of a static and backward Middle East.[106]

The Locals' Eclectic Photographic Practices: Louis Sabunji

A significant number of articles in the "scientific discoveries" column of *al-Muqtataf,* a scientific journal launched in Beirut in 1876 by Ya'qub Sarruf and Faris Nimr, were written by Louis Sabunji (1833-1931). These demonstrate the rising interest of local photographers in an apprenticeship of the craft. In his numerous articles, Louis Sabunji drew attention to new chemical experiments in producing better prints and offered advice on different ways of printing different materials. Three decades after this, the first Kodak Arabic-language manual appeared.[107]

According to Debbas, Louis Sabunji came to Mount Lebanon in 1850.[108] He then was sent to Rome to learn the art/science of photography. Sabunji returned to Beirut in order to teach at the Syrian Protestant College (later the American University of Beirut).[109] In 1875, Sabunji went to Manchester where he sold one of his patented inventions, entitled "Improvements in the Printing of Photography" to the Stereoscopic Company in England.[110] While he was in France, during the same year, he invented a

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[106] Ibid, 373.
[107] *Kayfiyat al-husul ala suwar mutaqina: Dalil li-hiwayat al-taswir al-shamsi* or *How to Take Perfect Photos: a guide to amateur photography* (Cairo: Kodak Co.,1927). Cited in Sheehi, 194.
[108] Debbas (2001), 48.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.

device for automatic photography, this invention was presented to the Société Française de Photographie.[111] He also founded a photographic society under the title: L.S. & Co.

Local Studio Practices

Towards the end of the Nineteenth Century and following La Maison Bonfils, a significant number of travelers established the first photographic studios in Beirut such as the Dutch photographer Honoré Leeuw, Jean Baptiste Charlier, Edward Aubin, Tancrede Dumas, and the German photographer Jules Lind.[112] According to Fani, the Bonfils, Dumas, Lind and Quarelli studios were commercial whereas the indigenous photographers projected an artistic effort in an attempt to articulate a particular history of themselves as urban Lebanese.[113] The convention of the photographic portrait was later developed in the studios of local photographers such as Nasr Aoun, whose work was mostly produced between 1885 and 1921, and George Tabet who worked between 1890 until 1910, among others.[114]

Local Beiruti photographers worked between provincial capitals and the imperial Ottoman court. The most successful studio photographers of fin de siècle Beirut were the Sabunjis and the Kovas, along with the Melconians, the Sarrafians and Guiragossian. The subjects of their photographic portraiture were mostly bourgeois individuals, evincing the

[111] Ibid.
[112] Debbas was able to locate and identify these through the *Joanne Guide 1882* ads and promotion. Debbas (2001), 45.
[113] Fani (1996), n.p.
[114] For more on the portraitists and the missionaries producing photographs in Beirut, refer to Debbas (2001), 52-53.

heroic qualities of the modern Lebanese citizen: progressive and knowledgeable.[115] Stephen Sheehi argues that a particular genre had emerged through the skilled craft of studio photography, in which the background furniture, the wall decorations, ornaments, costumes, poses, and crops were carefully staged to project the modern Lebanese 'imago,' to borrow Sheehi's term.[116] Everyone wanted their image to be produced in the same genre but not all could afford it. Photographers in general were initially trained as artists who specialized in restoring religious icons and later started painting portraits to meet the demands of the Beiruti bourgeoisie. The rise of the portraitist occurred in the region as a consequence of the desire of locals to be in the picture in the ways they imagined themselves as modern bourgeois subjects.[117] Most of the photographs produced at this time reveal wealthy local Beirutis dressed up in modern European attire, whereas foreigners would dress up in Oriental costumes.

Armenian Photographers

Badr el-Hage has described Armenian photographers as the pioneering photographers of the Middle East.[118] In his "The Armenian Pioneers of Middle Eastern Photography," el-Hage demonstrates how the Armenian community played an important role in the flourishing of photography as part of the broader evolution of technical skills and trades during the Ottoman Empire. From the mid-1880s until the 1920s, most of the

[115] Sheehi, 180.
[116] Ibid, 177.
[117] Ibid, 180.
[118] el-Hage "The Armenian Pioneers of Middle Eastern Photography," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 31 (1990), 22-26: 22.

photographic studios owned by Armenians were situated on Pera street in Istanbul, in which fancy warehouses would display the latest fashions and other products imported from Europe.[119] The popularity of Armenian photographers, such as the 'Abdullah Brothers, and the awards they claimed at international exhibitions, led the Ottoman sultan to select the 'Abdullah Brothers as official court photographers in 1862.[120] In 1886, the 'Abdullah Brothers moved and established their studio in Cairo. Within the Armenian community, the craft was transferred from fathers to sons, from one brother to another, or from one family to another by way of marriage. During the same period, Garabet Krikorian (1847-1920), who learned photography from Father Yessayi Garabedian at the Saint James Armenian monastery in Jerusalem, left Jerusalem to join Georges Sabunji in Beirut.[121] In 1898, Krikorian and Dawud Sabunji, along with the 'Abdullah Brothers, were assigned to document Kaiser Wilhelm Guillaume II's visit from Jaffa to Beirut.[122] Abraham Guiragossian (1872-1955), one of Krikorian's disciples who later joined the Maison Bonfils in Beirut, was also commissioned to document the Kaiser's visit to Beirut. The first Armenian photographers in Beirut were the Melconian brothers. They started their career in Istanbul and then established themselves in Beirut before emigrating to the United States in 1895. Shortly after the Melconians' departure, the Sarrafians, one of the leading publishers of postcards on the Middle East, established their studio in Beirut.

[119] Ibid, 24.
[120] Ibid, 25.
[121] Debbas (2001), 48.
[122] Ibid.

The Arrival of the Eastman Camera

The Eastman camera must have arrived in the Ottoman Empire with travelers and studio photographers striving to document the rapid changes that occurred towards the end of the Nineteenth Century in the region.[123] The use of different terms such as Lebanon, Syria and the Ottoman Empire, to designate the same geographical region might be confusing and therefore need to be clarified. Significant political changes that occurred in the region at the beginning of the twentieth Century affected the geo-political system in Lebanon. Lebanon was under the French mandate since 1920; the country achieved its independence in 1943. Before 1920, Lebanon and Syria were under the tutelage of the Ottoman Empire.

The lightweight and easy to handle camera, with its traveling equipment box that served as dark room and was easy to manipulate, enabled new uses of the device. From expedition and travel photography to portrait conventions and reportage or documentary photography, photography's use was modified as a result of this technological shift.

During the late Nineteenth Century, photography was used to provide artists with enlargements of scenery to be colored by painters. When photography was used to provide a base with which painters might create traditional portraits on canvas, photography seemed like a transparent mediator, "an interface between the living and their representation."[124] Lebanese painters such as Daoud Corm (1852-1930), Mustapha Farroukh (1901-1957), Saliba Doueihy (1912-1994) used photographs in order to

[123] Sheehi, 193.
[124] Fani (2005), 11.

accurately reproduce views of landscape and portraits. Photographs, like paintings, were evaluated according to the degree of accuracy of their depiction of reality. Achieving similarity was the major criteria for the evaluation of the print. Realism or the reproduction of reality in photography remained important throughout the Twentieth Century.

However, the arrival of lighter, easier-to-use cameras in the region stimulated the development of a new genre, the amateur snapshot, whose values were those of spontaneity rather than of a painterly verisimilitude. Eastman Kodak and Brownie cameras were the choice of many serious amateur photographers in Lebanon, for example Hanna and Najib al-Alam, Marie al-Khazen, and Salim Abu Izzedin. As Sheehi puts it, "[a] technological wonder of the age, Eastman's Kodak was the perfect mechanism to commute seamlessly between private and public spaces. Imported into the Ottoman Empire in 1888 by Onig Diradorian, the Brownie ensured mass access to photography…"[125] Sheehi claims a close relationship between the "accessibility, ease, and mobility" of photography to the new bourgeois individual and the commodity culture that represented him/her. He further explains that the new photographic genre not only reproduced the subject's experience but signified it as a "uniquely modern personal identity."[126]

Najib al-Alam (1899-1985) was one of the amateur local photographers who practiced photography during the period between 1920s and 1930s in the North of Lebanon. Most of his photographs show members of his family, school staff and students. Limited material is available on photography clubs and other photo activities beyond the

[125] Sheehi, 193.
[126] Ibid.

studio practices in the region at the beginning of the Twentieth Century, yet a number of studio photographers emerged in and around the region of the North of Lebanon. These include Camille al-Kareh (1897 – 1952) who owned a studio and was most interested in capturing post mortuary portraits of family condolences, particularly in Zgharta. Muhamad 'Arabi (1905-1983) and Antranik Anouchian (1908-1991), an Armenian professional photographer, both owned studios in Tripoli in the North of Lebanon.

Women and Photography

Although women had been practicing photography ever since the invention of the camera, they were not seen as photographers in their own right until scholars started writing on their practice. Recent studies of women photography are important as they depict women photographers not as mere assistants in the production of photography but as agents of their own work. Marie Lydie Bonfils, of the Bonfils family discussed earlier, may be considered one of the earliest women photographers in the region. The Comptesse de Perthuis is another woman who provides a portrayal of Lebanon yet her contribution is textual rather than visual. Through her travel journals, found by Debbas in an old bookstore in Lyon in 1990, the Comptesse offers another woman's perspective as an alternative to the general corpus of writings and photography by male travelers to the region. Madame de Perthuis, a French aristocrat, wrote her travel journal, *Voyages en Orient 1853-1855* and her *1860-1862 Journal de la Comptesse de Perthuis* during her journey through Lebanon and its surroundings in the mid-Nineteenth Century. Debbas's manuscript was published posthumously in 2007 as *Carnets d'Orient, le journal de la*

Comtesse de Perthuis. Nevertheless, both women, the Comptesse de Perthuis and Marie Lydie Bonfils, may be seen as having produced Orientalist accounts that tend to look at the region through an exoticizing lens.

No photograph was signed by a woman's name except for those credited to Marie Lydie Bonfils. The *Dalil Beirut,* the Guide of Beirut (1882) notes the existence of a photo studio entitled "Studio Madame Philippe Sabunji."[127] This indicates that Philippe Sabunji was assisted by his Danish wife, Rikke. This is evidence that women were involved in the production of photography at that time in Beirut, except that they were not acknowledged or credited for this. Women did not sign photographs as they did not often sign their texts, and thus were denied agency over their work.[128] This makes the task of tracing women photographers even more difficult. Only with further research do we discover that they were involved in the production of photographs.

A studio with a woman's name was established in the Gemmayzeh area in Beirut around the beginning of the Twentieth Century; on its sign is written, in upper case Latin letters, "Photographie Peintre Octavia Kova."[129] Octavia Kova was most likely a descendant of the Kova brothers, Joseph (d. circa 1904) and Alexander (d. 1911) originally from Lattaqieh, Syria, who came to Beirut to establish their photo studio.

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As for additional evidence of the existence of women photographers' work in the Middle East and North Africa region, the Arab Image Foundation contains only one

[127] Debbas (2001), 48.
[128] Joseph T. Zeidan, *Arab Women Novelists: the formative years and beyond* (Alban: State University of New York Press, 1995), 82.
[129] A reproduction of this photograph can be seen in Debbas (1986), 190.

photograph in which a woman appears holding a camera (see plate no. 1.7). This photograph was taken by an anonymous photographer in Morocco and is not dated.

Plate no. 1.7

Under the "photographer" pull-down menu in the Arab Image Foundation's website only nine female names are cited other than that of Marie al-Khazen.[130] One of them is identified as an amateur photographer, Aida Abdin. Two of the nine women photographers, Maria Zarur and Siham, have no photographs in the Arab Image Foundation archive. Six of them are cited as "professional photographers," and the web site's database search returns one photograph for each. Karime Abbud has one photograph of a baby boy with his mother and grandmother in Jordan, 1925; Widad

[130] According to the Arab Image Foundation's website, Karimeh Abbud (one photo taken in Jordan, 1920s), Aida Abdin (one photo taken in Egypt, 1930s), Sonia Alemian (one photo taken in Lebanon, 1960), Maria Zarur (no photo), Najla Krikorian (one photo taken in Palestine, 1940), Widad Shoucair (one photo taken in Egypt, 1950s), Soeur Emmanuelle (one photo in Egypt, 1960), Siham (no photo) and Marie Lydie Bonfils (8 photos taken in Lebanon, 1880s - 1890s).

Shoukair has one photo of what seems like a royalty gathering in Egypt, 1951; Sonia Alemian has a portrait of a young girl, Beirut, 1960; Najla Krikorian has an identity card for Johannes Krikorian, Palestine, 1945; Aida Abdin has one photo taken in Egypt, 1930s and and Soeur Emmanuelle, one photo taken in Egypt in 1960. Marie Lydie Bonfils has eight photographs of men and women in traditional clothing taken in the period between the 1880s and 1980s (plates no. 3.8, 3.9 and 4.1).

Al-Khazen and early Twentieth Century Visual Culture

Marie al-Khazen was not the only woman in the region to exploit the new medium in the first half of the Twentieth Century, but she was one of the few whose photographs have been found and preserved. What is important is that she was still alive when her photographs were found. As a result, she was able to identify herself and claim her agency over the production of the photographs.[131]

In analyzing al-Khazen's photographs, I draw in part on an argument by Kelsey and Stimson concerning the capacity of photographs to register both the objects of photographic vision and the photographer's stance towards them: "The idea we are after is that photography pointed to things (*merely* pointed, one might say) and delivered a visual replete trace of those things, while also indicating a comportment, a registering sensibility or sensitivity, a point of view."[132] In similar terms, Michel Frizot raises the question of the pointer, constructing an understanding of the photograph "as a metaphor

[131] Interview with Mohsen Yammine, July 20, 2010, Zgharta, Lebanon.
[132] Kelsley & Stimson, xi.

for a finger pointed at something that we want to show."[133] So what do al-Khazen's photographs point to? Al-Khazen's photographs can be read as pointers to complex and conflicting social relations which at times reflect and at other times resist their socio-cultural context. She may have been exposed to particular pictorial trends and other photographs as seen in her bedouin photographs, with their themes of Orientalist inspiration. Born at the end of the last decade of the Nineteenth Century, al-Khazen was among the first generation to be exposed to the first printed photographs in periodicals through which women became increasingly visible. At the beginning of the Twentieth Century, widely circulating women magazines such as *Minerva, Sawt al- Mar'a,* and *al-Mar'a al-Jadida,* started publishing photographs of women to animate their pages; these must have arrived by subscription at the al-Khazen house. We might wonder how the representation of women in these magazines influenced al-Khazen's own efforts at self-representation. Looking at magazines emerged as the most modern of bourgeois women's *passe-temps* during the first decades of the Twentieth Century. Advertisements in Arabic magazines were mostly addressed to women. A significant number of these magazines were imported from Alexandria and Cairo; they advertised cigarettes, nylon stockings, general electric refrigerators, Kodak films, radios, and Eastman Brownie box cameras, all for women.[134]

Nevertheless, women's photographs appearing in the local 1920s journals did not circulate without problems: In a letter addressed to May Ziyadeh, a Lebanese poet and

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[133] Michel Frizot "Who's Afraid of Photons?" (Kim Timby, Trans.). In James Elkins (Ed.), *Photography Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 269-283: 271.

[134] Mona Russel "Marketing the Modern Egyptian Girl," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 6 3 (2010), 19-57:4.

writer, Fatima al-Yusuf, editor of the woman journal, *Ruz al-Yusuf,* asked permission to publish the poet's photograph in her journal. The editor observes that after having encountered previous issues concerning the publishing of photographs of women without prior consent, she was now cautiously seeking the permission of women prior to publishing their portraits in her journal.[135] Most of the photos illustrating these magazines portrayed women as soft, beautiful and charming.

As we shall see in the following chapters, the depiction of women in al-Khazen's photographs was unlike the mainstream imagery of women in magazines of the time. In particular, in al-Khazen's photographs, women are not necessarily posing for purposes of seduction. They appear to possess strong personalities. They face the camera with dignity and overwhelming presence. They appear to be in the photograph at their own will, as if they want to be photographed while doing things such as driving, fishing, smoking, riding horses, visiting touristic places, and travelling.

[135] Fatima al-Yusuf in *Ruz al-Yusuf,* 1926 as cited in Sarah Graham-Brown, *Images of Women: the portrayal of women in photography of the Middle East, 1860-1950* (London: Quartet, 1988), 185.

Chapter Three

Reading Masculinity in the Photographs

In this chapter, I will analyze how gender — a category used to express differences between male and female individuals depending on a combination of naturally endowed and chosen attributes, abilities, appearances, and expressive codes — is represented socially and culturally in photographs through complex conventions and significations. How and in what way men inhabited Marie al-Khazen's photographs is the focus of this chapter. Chapters Three and Four explore the ways photographs disseminate ideas and meanings by generating discursive constructions of gender.

Marie al-Khazen's photographs were produced during a period that is often characterized as predominantly patriarchal. In most of the photographs selected for this chapter, I will argue that, for the most part, she reflects this predominantly patriarchal ideology. This chapter should be read as a prelude to the argument of the next chapter, in which I will attempt to disentangle gender representation in Marie al-Khazen's photographs employing tools derived from feminist theory. I will show how a significant number of al-Khazen's photographs resist the previous description of the photos as representative of the predominant patriarchal space by exploring alternative gender representations, such as those seen in plates nos. 41, 69, 86, & 101. After having demonstrated, in this chapter, how Marie al-Khazen depicts masculinity as heroic in most of her photographs, I will explore the ways in which she and other women in the photographs have appropriated masculine attributes, such as occupying the center of the

photograph and other behavior that focuses attention on the male figure as central and heroic.

While analyzing the photographs, I consider the following question: How do representations of femininity differ from representations of masculinity in Marie al-Khazen's photographs? Al-Khazen's position being behind the camera puts her in control of the image provided to us today. In other words, she is not a neutral mediator, but, rather, manifests control through her choice of the subject matter, the moments that she wanted to be salient in her life, the light and shadow, the objects in the foreground and background setting, the subjects' positions within the space of the photograph and the ways in which these subjects perform their social relations to each other within a group. How do al-Khazen's photographic decisions shape our understanding of gender relations in her photographs?

Scholarship on photography which draws on studies of masculinity in the Middle East represents a recent and growing field. When I first began to explore gendered readings of Marie al-Khazen's photographs, I sought to combine theoretical work in gender studies with theories of representation.[136] Studies of masculinity were primarily

[136] For theoretical references in gender studies see Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); Griselda Pollock "Missing Women: rethinking early thoughts on images of women," in Carol Squiers (Ed.); *Over Exposed: essays on contemporary photography* (New York: The New Press, 1999) 229-246; Griselda Pollock, *Vision & Difference: femininity, feminism and the histories of art* (London: Routledge, 1988); & Andrea Cornwall, & Nancy Lindisfarne, *Dislocating Masculinity: comparative Ethnographies* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994). For theoretical references in representation see John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (New York, N.Y.: Viking Press, 1973); Victor Burgin (Ed.), *Thinking Photography* (London: Macmillan, 1982); & John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: essays on photographies and histories* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988).

devoted to Western men in art history, photography, anthropology and cultural studies.[137] As I did not want to simply resort to Western models in exploring masculinity, I turned to recent writings about imagined masculinities in the Middle East.[138] Despite commonly held assumptions about patriarchal dominance in Middle Eastern societies, a number of scholars explored a variety of approaches to "imagined" male identities in the Middle East. In addition to masculinity associated with themes of violence, these scholars sought to engage in discussions of alternative masculine images from the Egyptian film industry and music culture.

Before I commence a detailed treatment of the ways in which masculinity is represented in al-Khazen's photographs, I would like to examine the al-Khazen family photograph below (plate no. 83).

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[137] For literature on Western models of masculinity see Carol Duncan "Virility and Domination in Early Twentieth Century Vanguard Painting," in Norma Broude, & Mary D. Garrard (Eds.), *Feminism and Art History: questioning the litany* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982)201-224; John Ibson, *Picturing Men: a Century of male relationships in everyday American photography* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 2002); & Andrea Cornwall, & Nancy Lindisfarne (Eds.), *Dislocating Masculinity: comparative ethnographies* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

[138] For literature on masculinity in the Middle East and North Africa, see Deniz Kandiyoti "The paradoxes of Masculinity: some thoughts on segregated societies," in Andrea Cornwall, & Nancy Lindisfarne (Eds.), *Dislocating Masculinity: comparative ethnographies* (New York: Routledge, 1994) 197-213; Sherifa Zuhur "Building a Man on Stage: masculinity, romance, and performance according to Farid al-Atrash," *Man and Masculinities* 5 (2003)275; May Ghoussoub, & Emma Sinclair-Webb (Eds.), *Imagined Masculinities: male identity and culture in the modern Middle East* (London: Saqi, 2006); Samira Aghacy, *Masculine Identity in the Fiction of the Arab East since 1967* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2009); & Wilson C. Jacob, *Working out Egypt: effendi masculinity and subject formation in colonial modernity, 1870–1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

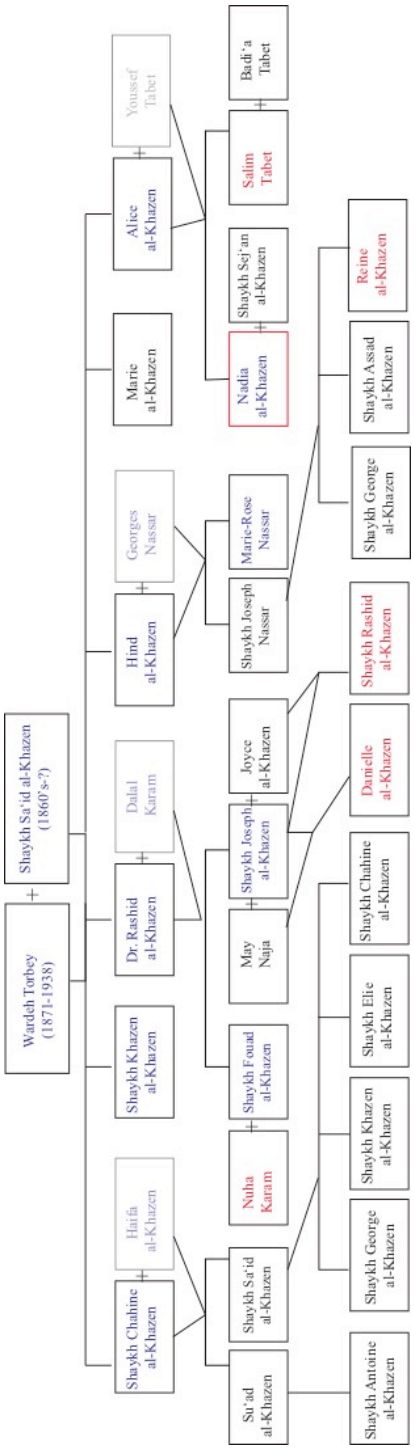
The al-Khazen Family Photograph

The beginning of the Twentieth Century in the Middle East and North Africa was an era of *embourgeoisement,* the period of solidification of the bourgeois family. Photography was a valuable tool for shaping and sustaining an image of family solidarity.[139] In the context of family photography, Marianne Hirsch addresses the following question: "how is power deployed and contested within the family's visual dynamics?"[140] Hirsch suggests that in looking at family photographs we construct a fantastic or a fictive past. We set out on a detective trail to find other versions of the past. For Hirsch, "family photographs operate between the junction of public myth and personal unconscious." [141] The notion that conventional family photographs can make space for resistance or revisions of social roles and positions offers an interesting avenue for their analysis.

Plate no. 83

[139] Hirsch (1997), 9.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid, 14.

The al-Khazen Family Tree[142]



[142] For the sake of identifying the people in the photograph, I constructed the al-Khazen family tree based on birth certificates and other official documents I have assembled. Highlighted in blue are the members of the al-Khazen family and relatives who appear in the photograph, plate no. 83, and highlighted in red are the members whom I have interviewed (see list of interviewees p. 188).

In Plate 83, we see the al-Khazen family gathered to be photographed in the dining room of their family house in *tallet* al-Khazen. We see five women, five men, two girls and two boys. Of the five women in the photograph, two are looking away from the viewfinder. Three of them are in positions suggesting public displays of affection: One is holding her son's hand, another one is holding her niece in her lap and the third is held by her husband.[143] All three are depicted within a conventional, normative culturally-defined female role linked to being either a wife, a mother, a sister or an aunt. Suad Joseph, in an ethnography of Lebanon makes a strong argument for the centrality of kinship or brother/sister relationships in defining gender roles. Joseph suggests that Arab brothers and sisters are caught up in a relationship of love and nurturance on the one hand and power and violence on the other, in a manner that reproduces Arab patriarchy.[144] Patriarchy, according to Deniz Kandiyoti, "reproduces itself primarily in the relations between rather than within genders."[145] Patriarchy finds its expression in Marie al-Khazen's family photograph through the three women's public display of affection. Their roles in society are even more exaggerated in relation to male figures — husband, son, brother. Motherhood, especially of male children, is congratulated and praised, as we can see in the confident look of the woman standing at the far left, proudly holding her son's

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[143] I was able to identify resemblances of relatives depending on physiognomies in their facial features drawn from additional photographs part of Nadia al-Khazen and Nuha al-Khazen's private collection. Crucial details in Marie al-Khazen's photographs would not have been visible without the high-resolution photograph versions kindly provided by the Arab Image Foundation.

[144] Suad Joseph "Gender and Relationality among Arab Families in Lebanon," *Feminist Studies,* 19 3 (1993), 465-486.

[145] Deniz Kandiyoti "The Paradoxes of Masculinity: some thoughts on segregated societies," in Andrea Cornwall, & Nancy Lindisfarne (Eds.), *Dislocating Masculinity: comparative ethnographies* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 197-213: 199.

hand. Her husband, Youssef Tabet, a businessman who traveled frequently to the African continent, is absent from the photograph.[146] Of the five women in the photograph, only the two women in contact with male figures are looking confidently into the viewfinder. It is as if they consciously want to be depicted in the photograph, proud of their relationships to a male figure, one as a mother, the other as a wife.

As for the men in the photograph, all five are *shuyukh*, leading members of the al-Khazen family. The *shuyukh* or the *muqata'jis* controlled areas that ranged from one village to entire districts. Their main task was to collect the taxes from the sharecroppers or peasants in their area as well as keeping their area at peace.[147] From the mid-Nineteenth Century onwards, the *shuyukh* played an important role in the political life of Mount Lebanon. They were often the mediators between the Ottoman rulers and their districts or villages. According to Richard Van Leeuwen, the al-Khazen *shuyukh,* in particular, were closely related to the Maronite church which occupied a central role in mountain politics throughout the Nineteenth Century.[148]

As Michael Lesy argues, in his analysis of social relationships in photography,

> [w]hen the camera is raised to the eye of a friend, a lover, or a parent, it becomes the symbol of a judgment, attention and insight even more intense and scrutinizing than that which ordinarily characterizes such intimate relationships. Its presence transforms the people it beholds into actors, standing in sets, posing with symbolic props, the whole scene a private allegory of love, defined by the edge of an imaginary proscenium stage.[149]

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[146] Interview with Nadia al-Khazen, September 2, 2010, Rayfun, Lebanon.
[147] Akram F. Khater, *Inventing home: emigration, gender, and the middle class in Lebanon, 1870-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) 23.
[148] Van Leeuwen, *Notables and Clergy in Mount Lebanon* (1994), 237.
[149] Lesy, xv.

These insights provide us with useful resources for the analysis of family portraiture. Family portraits often represent family pride and loyalty, prosperity and orderly succession. Each of the family members relates to the other members by his/her position, pose and body gesture. In plate no. 83, the father and the mother are sitting on two rocking armchairs in the foreground surrounded by their children and grandchildren. Marie al-Khazen's mother sits in a profile position on the left whereas the father is facing the camera and holding a cane.[150] All members of the al-Khazen in this picture were under his authority and protection. Comfortably sitting in his rocking chair is the eldest man in the family, *shaykh* Said al-Khazen, who will be later succeeded by his son, *shaykh* Khazen al-Khazen, standing at the far right.

Traditionally, fathers, husbands and brothers stood for authority. Human relations were largely determined by one's relative rank or status within the household as well as by gender hierarchies. *Shaykh* Khazen al-Khazen, self-consciously standing at the right side of his father, was the person to consult with in all family matters.[151] According to Rashid al-Khazen, who was named after his grandfather, Marie al-Kazen's brother, Khazen's authority was often interrupted by Marie al-Khazen's stubborn attitude.[152] An indication of the disruption of non-conventional behavior of the sort displayed by Marie al-Khazen is revealed in family anecdotes that survive until today, such as that recounting the occasion on which Marie al-Khazen and her brother Khazen, the two unmarried

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[150] In *Picturing Men: a Century of male relationships in everyday American photography* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 2002), John Ibson observes the often depicted men holding hard objects such as canes, pistols, rifles in the photographs. He raises questions about this behavior's implied Freudian interpretation, 58-59.
[151] Interview with Rashid al-Khazen, April 9, 2010, Beirut, Lebanon.
[152] Ibid.

members of the family, argued over the ownership of an expensive *'Ajami* carpet.[153] Marie would not surrender to her brother's authority. The dispute was only solved when both decided to cut the carpet in two equal pieces![154]

Masculinity Constructed in the Photograph

All five men in the al-Khazen family photograph, are sporting moustaches. Each moustache is trimmed in a different way. In a recent book on Arab masculinity, Hassan Daoud, a contemporary Lebanese writer, focuses on the moustache as an essential component of masculinity.[155] He explores the various meanings of the moustache in relation to virility. He refers to the moustache, sarcastically, as the "wings of manhood," to express its importance in the representation of manhood or "rujuliyya" in turn of the Century Mount Lebanon villages in particular.[156] According to Daoud, the moustache's shape, length, direction and thickness are meant to represent a man's level of honor and authority. For example, when stretched from ear to ear and pointed upward or downward, "[t]he moustache determines a man's personality, social rank and age," claims Daoud.[157] The most striking moustache in the photograph is that of *shaykh* George Nassar, who was the French consul in Cairo in the 1920's.[158] What distinguishes Nassar's moustache from the others is how firmly the hair at the ends would maintain its upward twirl. The

[153] Ibid.
[154]Ibid.
[155] In Hassan Daoud "Those Two Heavy Wings of Manhood: on moustaches," in May Ghoussoub, & Emma Sinclair-Webb (Eds.), *Imagined Masculinities: male identity and culture in the modern Middle East* (London: Saqi, 2006), 273-282.
[156] Ibid, 274.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Interview with Nadia al-Khazen, September 2, 2010, Rayfun, Lebanon.

moustache seems as if it was coated with a sticky substance that holds it in place. The custom of twisting moustaches, according to Daoud, dates back to the days when Lebanon was under Ottoman rule.[159] It carried connotations and associations of the Turkish authority's attitude, symbolizing the harshness and stubbornness of the oppressor. In pictorial representations, the moustache pointing downward, as in a number of Naji al-Ali's famous caricatures, can be understood as a symbol of a people's defeat; when it goes upward it signifies courage, victory and pride.[160] "A moustache for a man is like forearm muscles, a man raises and tenses his moustache to exhibit his strength" explains Daoud.[161]

Another accoutrement that enhances masculinity is the *tarbouche*, worn by two men in this photograph. For *shaykh* Said al-Khazen, the headdress asserted his authority over the rest of the family and his estate while inscribing *shaykh* Rashid al-Khazen as the educated, cultivated, knowledgeable member of the family. *Shaykh* Rashid al-Khazen is the doctor of the village; he studied at the prestigious Saint Joseph College in Aintoura, Lebanon.[162] Khazen al-Khazen's three-piece suit with a scarf elegantly placed in his upper left pocket reveals the allure of a dandy, his bowler hat resting on the couch behind him.

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[159] Daoud, 274.
[160] Naji al-Ali is a Palestinian cartoonist.
[161] Daoud, 278.
[162] Saint Joseph College is one of the oldest francophone schools in the Middle East. It was established in 1884 by the Lazarist priests.

Boys as Socially Dominant Subject in the Photographs

Plate no. 32

Plate no. 37

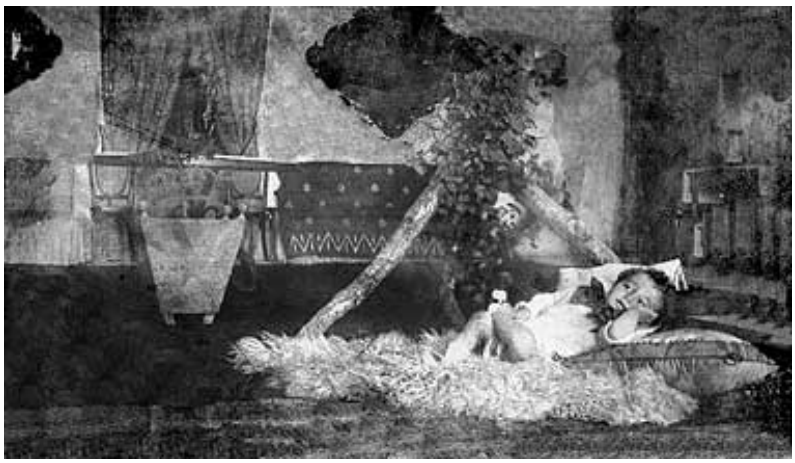

Plate no. 42

Plate no. 68

More than a handful of Marie al-Khazen's photographs capture young boys. In her photographs we see the following: a young boy wearing a suit, a boy on a donkey, a boy playing with his toys, a baby boy laying down, a boy surrounded by a group of little boys and girls, a boy in the center flanked by two girls, a naked boy sitting on a table in the middle of the photograph, a father raising his son above his shoulders, a mother

holding a baby boy (plates no. 68, 32, 30, 42, 99, 39, 31, 107 and 40). What is common to all these photographs is the centrality of the young male figure.

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In a letter addressed to Linda, at around the same time that Marie al-Khazen was taking these photographs, Najla writes,

> … Hind quand est-ce qu'elle veut accoucher et compte-t-elle accoucher à l'hopital? Donnez-moi toujours de vos nouvelles. Moi, j'accoucherai au début de Décembre espérons que j'aurais un garçon cette fois (vous allez dire comme les paysans tant pis je veux un garçon)… [163]

Towards the end of the letter, Najla reveals her attitude in desperately wanting to have a boy child. Despite her admitting that this attitude is "backward", as she puts it, "like peasants," she admits to not being able to transcend her preference for boys. The letter implies that other women in the al-Khazen and Torbey social circle, such as Marie al-Khazen, might look down on her attitude.

[163] Both Linda and Najla must be close friends of the Torbey family (Marie's family from her mother's side) and the al-Khazen family. Interview with Danielle al-Khazen, July 19, 2010, Beirut, Lebanon.

Plate no. 31

Plate no. 107

Plate no. 40

How do we explain the little boy posing proudly naked in the center of a table placed in the middle of the house's living room in 1920s Zgharta in plate no. 31? If it were a girl, would Marie al-Khazen have taken the photograph in the same way? Would she have placed a little girl in the center of her composition? Would she have stripped the little girl of her clothes in order to take her picture? Would a girl be sitting as comfortably

as the little boy is while sharing her nudity with us? Al-Khazen took many photographs of her nephews. However, although she had both nephews and nieces, she did not take any photographs portraying her nieces in the center of the photograph, or proudly sitting in the center of a table. To give birth to a girl was not an event to be celebrated in this time and place. One way of understanding those of al-Khazen's photographs in which she has centralized male figures is that they reflect her admiration for the male figure. In centralizing the male child's subjectivity, Marie al-Khazen reflects a range of gendered relations which were widespread in the rest of the Ottoman empire and beyond at the time. In the al-Khazen' house, men were away a great deal of time; they were busy gathering taxes and solving village disputes. It was not unusual for women to celebrate a young boy's physical masculinity and to spoil him by acceding to his demands. As long as the boy was alone with his mother and aunts he could play at being the uncontested master of the house.[164] The different attitudes of the mother and the father towards their son are seen in the above photographs, particularly in their expression of affection. In plate no. 107, the father holds his son as high as he can, symbolically expressing his pride whereas the mother, in plate no. 40, on the other hand, holds her son lovingly and protectively as close to her body as she can. In rereading the image and seeing it as a woman's construction of the young boy's masculinity, we can gain insight into the subject's experience as a boy becoming a man, as set by the context and the family's behavior around him. The boy's identity is being constructed from his childhood experiences, as seen in the way he is positioned and portrayed within the space of the photograph–in his pose and pride in his nakedness. Thus, this photograph is not only

[164] Kandiyoti (1994), 206.

about a child, but suggests the young boy's experience of his future "male-ness" through his attitude of sitting naked and proud before the photographer's gaze. Al-Khazen's photograph inscribes masculinity, as understood by the Ottoman era, into the image of the young al-Khazen boy.

Affirming Masculinity as the 'batal' in the Photograph[165]

Plate no. 70

Plate no. 70, captures a large group of men, possibly heading off on a hunting trip or a battle, most of them armed with rifles and swords. They are posing in ways suggestive of a shared manhood. The second young man standing on the right holds a cigarette in his hand. The older one is lying ostentatiously on his rifle, on his right, sticking a cigarette in his mouth. Smoking was conventionally associated exclusively with men, and rifles were visible tokens for male subjects in countless photographs of the

[165] The Arabic term *batal* can be used as a courtesy title for the leader.

beginning of the Twentieth Century.[166] A number of them hold both a rifle and a pistol. Their rifles and pistols are pointed upward as if they are ready to pull the trigger as a sign to start the battle. They all look into the viewfinder as if they are warning the photographer or the viewer not to get closer to the scene.

Marie al-Khazen Staging Battles

Plate no. 102

Plate no. 102, reveals a more theatrical scene for which it seems that the photographer had previously planned a dramatic scenario. Imitating hunting trips in studio photographs was quite common at the turn of the Century.[167] In the middle of what looks like a deserted dry sanded area surrounded by mountains, a group of eight men with

[166] Ibson, 68.
[167] Ibid, 69.

a donkey and a camel, most of them dressed in *serwals*, are acting out a fight.[168] The *batal*, the highest one in the center of the group, is holding a gun sideways, looking down at the man below him. The latter, the man holding the rifle, his back turned to the spectator, points his rifle at the former in a position to shoot. Another man is holding a stick as if he is about to smash it on the floor. The four other men are looking straight into the camera as if they were given orders to do so. On the left, extended towards the open legs of the man holding the rifle in action, al-Khazen's shadow extends to reach out to the group. The eight men, the donkey and the camel's eyes are all dazzled by the sun while waiting for al-Khazen's finger to push the button of her Eastman camera box. They are all caught in a moment of stillness, before being released by the photographer.

The men who appears in this photograph not only have been directed to strike theatrical poses but they have been also directed to make symbolic gestures whose meanings are to be deciphered as widening gender roles. At times, they make gestures of their own free will; at other times; their actions are directed by the photographer whose decisions about the theme of the scene, the distance, point of view and angles slice the world apart. The people pictured seem to have been well rehearsed, know their parts, and enjoy them. Each one of them has been given a task in order to participate in the construction of this predominantly masculine space framed by the photographer. The subjects of the photograph were given orders to act out their masculinity. Masculinity, in this case, is understood as a display of power, rivalry and heroism. Combats, conflicts and fights were challenging occasions for men in which they might display their physical

[168] *Serwals* are traditional baggy trousers usually worn by peasants.

power in front of the camera.[169] For the sake of the photograph, al-Khazen has carefully designed the setting, instructed her models, the al-Khazen *shuraka,* to act as if they were having a fight. All accoutrements revealing virility are present in the photograph: the moustache, the *tarbouche*, the *serwal,* guns and rifles. It is clear that the men in the photograph find being photographed as heroes reflective of their own aspirations. They seem to do the job by executing al-Khazen's orders as to how to enact their battle very enthusiastically. Physical strength is the quality underscored in the portrayal of Zghartawi masculinity, whether it is staged or part of their daily life, as seen in the first two photographs.

Plate no. 30

[169] For more on the masculine figure in Lebanese rural societies see Michael Gilsenan, *Lords of the Lebanese Marches: violence and narrative in an Arab society* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 1996).

Plate no. 30 depicts gender properties differently, portraying masculine expectations for the young upper class boy. These would include chivalry and compassion as vital ingredients of the upper class's paternalistic logic. The young boy sits in front of a piano, as sign of the cultivated and 'civilized' environment, yet, from all the toys that surrounds him, he holds or was given the rifle. The rifle as an essential accoutrement projects the young Zghartawi's expectations to become a courageous fighter.[171] The Zghartawi expectation of masculinity is discussed in many of Rashid al-Daif's novels. Al-Daif, critiques the Zghartawi masculine culture as one wrapped up in blood feuds and vengeance.[172] He describes the attributes of masculinity, particularly in the village of Zgharta, or the meaning of "being a man" that is linked to being an *"abaday."*[173] The value of vengeance is emphasized as a means of protecting a man's masculinity. In a pertinent use, he claims that, for the Zghartawi man, embracing masculinity is much more important than "being a man."[174] Masculine men are short tempered, aggressive and violent. The slightest disrespect or provocation may result in what appear to be disproportionate consequences.[175] In plate no. 30, the little boy, surrounded by toys, is given a rifle to hold as a prop for the photograph in order to symbolize his Zghartawi origin.

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[171] Zghartawi men have this reputation of being armed and ready to combat whoever threatens their honor as described by al-Daif in Rashid al-Daif, *Learning English* (Beirut: Dar al-Nahar, 1998), 39.
[172] al-Daif, 39.
[173] *Abaday* is an adjective used to describe a strongly built man in Arabic.
[174] al-Daif, 39.
[175] Kandyioti (1994), 207.

Performing Masculinities in the Photographs

Plate no. 64

Plate no. 65

Two contrasting personalities construct the masculine figure in plate no. 64 and 65. In plate no. 64, *shaykh* Khazen is disguised as the devil, a symbol for what is bad and undesirable. He stands in a frontal position confronting the camera; two pointed horns are projected from his head, his face is covered with white fake facial hair and in his hand he holds a long hammer. Traditionally the Devil stands for evil, but in this photograph the figure does not convey the frightening meaning of the devil. It seems as if the subject and the photographer are amusing themselves in constructing different personalities through the production of images. In plate no. 65, the same *shaykh* Khazen al-Khazen appears disguised as a priest. The priest is expected to provide sound counsel and moral guidance to religious members and inquirers of faith. In a predominantly Christian Maronite environment, the al-Khazen house was often visited by Maronite priests to give its

residents their benediction. However, the priest in this photo could not refrain from laughing, which makes it obvious that the subject is acting out the role of a priest. In the first, the masculine figure represents evil whereas in the second it represents goodness. These two photographs capture *shaykh* Khazen acting in an inappropriate manner that is not in accordance with the traditional masculine social and cultural expectations of a *shaykh*. Regardless of the purpose of this activity, what is interesting to us is that Marie al-Khazen and her brother were amusing themselves experimenting with a camera by producing images in which masculinity is depicted in ways other than those which emphasize men's power and virility. They were producing a masculinity that went beyond the conventional man-as-hunter (plate no. 70) and the staged melodrama of men winning battles (plate no. 102). Putting conventions aside and exploring new representation of masculinity, al-Khazen, instead of portraying *shaykh* Khazen as the patriarch–as the protector of the house, the *batal* or the *abaday*–alternatively portrays him as a Devil in one photograph and as a priest in the other.

Photography and Lebanese Modernity

Plate no. 67

Plate no. 66

In plate no. 67, a young man who is a peasant and protector of the house poses holding a rifle, wearing his war munitions and a traditional *serwal*. In plate no. 66, a man sporting a European three-piece-suit, along with a bowler hat, typical attire of the 1920s Parisien, stands in a three quarter position next to a young boy wearing a European style coat as well. Both pictures seem to be taken in front of the al-Khazen house.

Plate no. 67 represents a traditional man; the sense of his masculinity is intensified by exaggerating his image as a fighter, a hunter or the protector of the house. Men, as we have seen in previous photographs during this period, were frequently photographed with pistols, rifles and swords. These were used as props to assert *rujuliyya,* or manhood as physical strength, in the photographs. According to John Ibson, men resisted new notions of modernity as urbanization projects because these notions would restrain their masculinity as they experienced it.[176]

> [f]or the first time in the six hundred year history of the Empire the traditional costume of the Sultanate underwent a change. In place of the caftan and the shalvar, the Sultan, looking to the models of European royalty, began to wear striped trousers and jackets with epaulets. The turban was replaced by the red fez.[177]

Engin Cizgen observes that the Sultanate, looking to European royalty, started wearing imported styles of attire in order to project an image of themselves as modern as well as distinct from the lower class. This change among the Ottoman authorities' attire was also seen in the different countries under the Ottoman Empire as early as the end of

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[176] Ibson, 66.
[177] Engin Cizgen, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1919* (Istanbul: Haset Kitabevi A. S., 1987), 14.

the Nineteenth Century. The change of attire is not only an expression of class differences but also an affirmation of the urbanized subject or *tamaddon*. This change of costume later, during the first decades of the Twentieth Century, occurred in a period of rapid change in the region in which the population underwent a massive expansion with the growth of transport and communications, public services like schooling and health care, new entertainment venues like cinemas and parks, and the publishing of newspapers and magazines.[178] Zeina Arida, the managing director of the Arab Image Foundation, observed that the subjects in most of the first two decades of the Twentieth Century photographs in the archive of the foundation, rather than being portrayed next to religious sites dressed up in Bedouin clothes, they aspired to be depicted next to railways and cars.[179]

> Where Europeans nostalgically fastened on a vanishing world of tradition, Arab photographers were determined to show their present while tracing the lines of the future, as if they were willing modernity into being by the force of their gaze."[180]

Sherifa Zuhur writes about Farid al-Atrash, a popular male singer, projecting a "type" of masculinity that depicted him as the romantic lover of Arabic poetry.[181] She argues that this "type" of masculinity signals "a commitment to a modern ethos that differs from the American image of the male star exuding a latent violence."[182] This

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[178] Elizabeth Thompson, *Colonial Citizens: republican rights, paternal privilege, and gender in French Syria and Lebanon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 173-174.
[179] In Adam Shatz "50,000 closer looks at Arabs," *The New York Times* (2003, March 16).
[180] Ibid.
[181] Farid al-Atrash (1917-1974) is a Syrian-Egyptian composer and singer. Referred to as "King of the 'oud," al-Atrash is considered one of the most important figures of Twentieth Century Arabic music.
[182] Zuhur (2003), 279.

aspect of masculinity has been explored through Abigail Salomon-Godeau's account of the "beautiful" male body associated with femininity particularly in elite visual culture in the decades before and immediately after the French revolution.[183] Wilson Jacob explores this type of masculinity in his account of the dandy or what is termed the *effendi* in the context of 1920s Egypt. Jacob describes *effendi* masculinity as a mimicry of European dandism.[184] This version of masculinity, according to Jacob, evoked tensions between shame and pride within the Egyptian society.[185]

The urban man in plate no. 66 displays confidence and pride in sporting Western attire. He seems to accept a diminished sense of power in the modernizing society of the 1920s, whereas in plate no. 65, the man resists notions of modernity which come at the expense of being dispossessed of his masculinity as strong and physically powerful. As the cities and machines of a modernizing Lebanon became even more significant in society and culture, men in some photographs seem more interested in escaping it, whereas other men appear to aspire to "look modern."

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This chapter examines the ways photographs disseminate ideas and meanings by generating discursive notions on gender. Gender is explored as a category used to express differences between male and female individuals depending on a combination of naturally endowed and chosen attributes and appearances.

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[183] Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble: a crisis in representation* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 9.
[184] Wilson C. Jacob, *Working out Egypt: effendi masculinity and subject formation in colonial modernity, 1870–1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 7.
[185] Ibid.

It scrutinizes the different ways manhood or *rujuliyya*, particularly in the rural areas in Lebanon, was culturally represented through an amplified masculinity. From having a moustache, smoking a cigarette, sporting *tarabish* to holding rifles, a plethora of props and accoutrement appeared in the photos to denote signs of virility. These aspects will be challenged by a number of al-Khazen's photographs in chapter four.

Chapter Four

Dislocating Masculinity in the Photographs[186]

In this chapter, I will first analyze the photographs in which al-Khazen has portrayed the masculine figure as the central figure in the photo following the predominant patriarchal system in which the male figure is a central figure within the social hierarchy. I will then discuss how al-Khazen has produced photos in which she inverts the previous social logic by placing women in the center of the photograph. By doing so al-Khazen used the medium of photography to negotiate an equal status for women in the photograph.

The difference between people in al-Khazen's photographs lies in the emphasis on gender roles. In some of her photographs she seems to follow conventional ways of depicting gender, while in others she distorts these conventions. Some of her photographs tend to stress gender polarities, exaggerating signs of masculinity by depicting men as powerful (plates nos. 70, 102 and 104) and wise (plates nos. 62, 63 and 65) and women as nurturing mothers (plates nos. 33, 36 and 40) whereas others seem to blur boundaries, by eliminating gender clichés as in the cross dressing photograph or in the photograph in which a woman appears riding a horse and getting ready to accompany men on their hunting trip (plate no. 26). In another set of her photographs, it seems that al-Khazen has used photography as an alibi to enter predominantly masculine or public

[186] Part of the material in this chapter was published in Yasmine Nachabe "An alternative representation of femininity in 1920s Lebanon: through the mise-en-abîme of a masculine space," *New Middle Eastern Studies* 1 1 (2011), n.p.

spaces, as in plate no. 97, in which her female presence among a group of men is revealed through her shadow extended in the foreground of the photograph. I argue that these photographs can be read as a rejection of assumed gender roles and an attempt on al-Khazen's part to immerse herself in masculine public spaces as opposed to feminine private spaces.

A recurring tradition in most family photographs shows the patriarch of the family placed at the top of a triangular composition to emphasize his role as the head of the family. As mentioned earlier, the photographer is often in charge of organizing the subjects in hierarchical order determined by the subject's age, gender social rank.

Plate no. 1.8

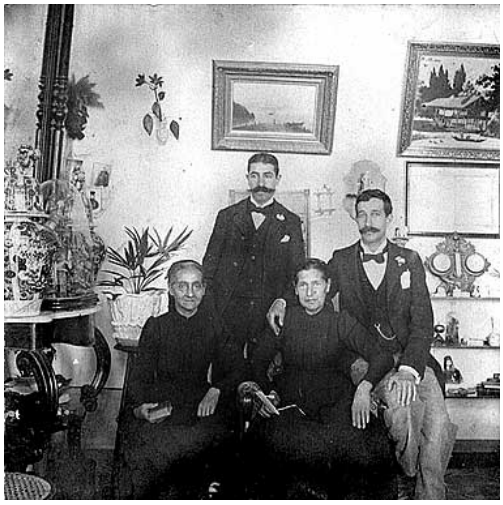

Plate no. 1.9

Plate no. 2.1

This practice of placing men in the highest point of the photograph dates back to the Nineteenth Century in the Ottoman Empire. In plate 1.8, dated 1898, Salim Mansur Abu Izzeddin and his wife Lutfiyah are holding hands; the primacy of the patriarch is indicated by his position in the photo. Another example, most probably from the same period, plate 1.9, portrays two women sitting below two men in a living room setting.

Plate 2.1 portrays a family celebrating their youngest child's baptism in Palestine in 1928; this one seems to be in the studio where the same convention of placing men at the top was widely followed.

Plate no. 78

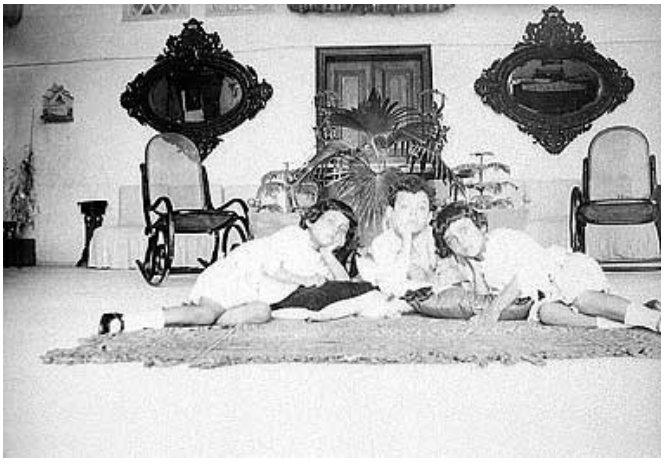

Plate no. 39

The central figure in the above photos is the male figure situated at the highest point in the photograph. In plate no. 78, the man holding an *arak* bottle in one hand and his headgear in the other, has the confidence of the patriarch.[187] He has removed his *tarbouche* in a gesture of greeting directed at the photographer. His moustache and his *tarbouche* are traditional signs of virility, as earlier discussed, while his Western attire reflects his social status. His position, higher than the other men in the photograph, metaphorically implies his higher position in society. The same applies to a younger boy, possibly *shaykh* Salim, Marie al-Khazen's nephew, in the second photograph, in which most of the objects, the furniture as well as the two girls in the image revolve around the central male figure (plate no. 39). The three children appear as if they were instructed, for the sake of the photograph, to lean their head on their hand in forming a triangular

[187] *Arak* is a local alcoholic drink based on absinthe.

shape around the young male figure, positioning his head at the top. As we have seen in the previous chapter, men, in general, pose in certain formulaic ways that reflect and affirm patriarchy (plates no. 1.8, 1.9, 2.1 & 2.7).

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Al-Khazen's photographs seem to undermine masculine patriarchal discourse by turning it on its head. Through her photographs, she seems to challenge the patriarchal status of her brother, father and uncle. Her photographs can be seen as threatening to dismantle patriarchal authority by placing the woman in the center. I suggest that Marie al-Khazen attempted to break away from the restrictive roles and asserted gender identities in photographs portraying male figures in the center by placing, instead, women in the center.

Al-Khazen's corpus includes 42 photographs in which only women are depicted, 26 in which only men are depicted and approximately 25 in which men and women together share the same space, either posing or performing activities together. Within the collection we notice that there are only 3 photographs that portray single men posing, whereas there is more than a handful of single portraits of women.[188] What is equally interesting is that the women portrayed are not depicted acting out their beauty and their coquettery, but, rather, actively involved in physical activities.

> Does that [the photographic] meaning come from the referents being photographed, realistically represented by a medium presumed to be transparent, or is it created by the formal and technical choices of the photographer, however commonplace and "invisible? [189]

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[188] Refer to chart I on p. 43.

[189] Patrizia Di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England: ladies, mothers and flirts* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), 255.

Some of the differences between photographs of men and women may be the result of social norms and values, characteristic of the historical period in which the photographs were made. Thus, if the subjects of the photographs had lived during the decades of the 1960s and 1970s, rather than during the 1920s and 1930s, there may very well have been more photographs of women smoking cigarettes, driving cars and acting out heroic poses in the photographs.[190]

Michael Lesy explains that the visual record of such places and objects would depend on such variables as changes in the economy and the conduct of the political authorities and colonial powers.[191] Yet some subjects and places, positions and gestures exist in the photographs not so much because of economic activity or social conventions but because of emotional necessities, such as the struggle to be accepted in society as a woman, as an individual of the sort we find in Marie al-Khazen's photographs. As such, these positions, gestures and subjects exist neither as objects of material culture nor as social artifacts, but as symbols that express states of mind, engendered by a determined individual, the photographer. Photographs are meant to function as social devices as much as portraits. "[I]t is all about the semiotics of typology and the sublimation of the individual to the mass" argues Geoffrey Batchen.[192] The photograph stitches together both the photographer's intention and the subject's individuality as shared values and aspirations, as we will see in the photographs examined in this chapter.

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[190] Lesy, xvi.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Geoffrey Batchen, *Each Wild Idea: writing, photography, history* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001), 115.

De-centralizing the Male Figure in the Photograph

Photographs can negotiate or re-order gender relations: in the previous plates, the male figure occupies the center of the space depicted in al-Khazen's photographs (plates nos. 78 & 83), whereas in the following photographs, it is the woman in black who occupies the highest point as well as the center of the picture (plates nos. 41 & 69).

Plate no. 69

Plate no. 41

A woman wearing a black dress is climbing over an unsteady pedestal to reach a dominant position in the photograph in plate no. 69. Her left hand is awkwardly leaning on the head of the young man sitting in front of her and her other hand is on the shoulder

of the man on her right side in order to maintain her balance. Her pose does not look natural. It seems as if she had put herself in this uncomfortable position only for the sake of the photograph. This same woman appears in plate no. 41, on the same day, wearing the same clothes, standing in the middle of the same group of family members and friends. Once again she stands out as the central figure as she confidently holds a vertical pole while looking straight into the camera view-finder. "…[T]he way a person may be juxtaposed to a monument, often depended on the person's sex," claims Michael Lesy.[193] The centering of the female figure here signals an opening for the negotiation of gender difference. This representation strategy counters "proper performances of femininity" as "passive, submissive and respectable comportment."[194]

The representations in plates nos. 41 & 69 interrupt the compositional social hierarchies that dominate the photographic conventions seen in plates nos. 1.8, 1.9 & 2.1. Men are no longer occupying the center and higher point in the photo. Plates nos. 41 & 69 can be read as an attempt to de-centralize the male figure by placing women in the center, metaphorically portraying them as reaching a higher point in society. Both these photographs, in the way they represent the woman, seem to interrogate the traditional social codes and rituals visible in the rest of Marie al-Khazen's photographs. They present the viewer with an alternative way for women to be present in the space of the photograph, one that does not abide by the predominant photographic convention of the 1920s and 1930s Lebanon. In this way the photograph suggests a re-formulation of gender hierarchy as Marylin Motz has argued,

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[193] Lesy, xvi.
[194] Khater, 45.

> For a woman who is breaking away from what she sees as restrictive roles and gender identity, what better medium for self-expression than the one that had been used to record such traditional familial roles and gender identities? [195]

We can understand plates nos. 41 & 69 as an attempt to make adjustments to the traditional placement of women in the photograph. An empowerment of the woman in black appears through the arrangement of the group vis-à-vis her. The image projects a representation of femininity that may seem incompatible with the image of women embraced in the 1920s village in the North of Lebanon. The task of organizing the photograph is not as innocent as it may seem. What is at stake in the position of the woman in black in both these photographs is the affirmation of female agency. Marie al-Khazen, through her photographs, resists the univocal discourse of patriarchy, in which men are represented through amplified masculinity. She resists the masculine matrix in the social and political context of Zgharta to reveal that masculinity is not natural and homogeneous but diverse and heterogeneous. She is showing that masculinity is not a natural attribute bestowed on men. If the center of the photograph is conventionally occupied by whoever is bestowed upon with masculinity then her project is to appropriate this central space in order to acquire attributes of masculinity for herself. Her images deploy a desire to free herself and other women from conventional ways of representations through a performance that aligns her and the other women with masculine centrality.

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[195] Marylin Motz "Visual Autobiography," *American Quarterly* (1989), 63-92. 89.

A Mise-en-abîme of a Masculine Space

Plate no. 86

Plate no. 86 shows two women sitting on two separate armchairs surrounded by a heavily decorated space in the salon, or reception room, of the al-Khazen family house. Looking at the photograph more closely we realize that both women are holding cigarettes, one in the left hand, the other in the right hand. On the side table in front of

them, they have carefully placed two white ashtrays in the form of flat seashells. Both women are wearing European-style men's suits, neckties and *tarabish* on their heads. Both women in the photograph have tied back their hair and carefully tucked it under the *tarabish* in order to reinforce signs of masculinity in the photograph. Were it not for the caption, we would have thought that the two seated subjects were men. The woman wearing the dark suit and shiny dark shoes must be the photographer. It is unlikely that the woman sitting behind the table set the timer for the photograph because of the table placed in front of her.[196]

The woman on the right, wearing the lighter suit and white pointed shoes is Marie al-Khazen's sister, Alice.[197] She is looking straight into the camera with a confident attitude. Both women are cross-legged, and the one on the left has awkwardly put her hand in her pocket as if she decided to do so at the last minute before the shutter went off. The photograph is taken from a low vantage point in order to include the pattern of the *'Ajami* carpet. What is Marie al-Khazen's reason for insisting on including the carpet's pattern in the frame of her photograph? One of the reasons why photography flourished among the bourgeois was in order to display their wealth as well as to communicate their social status.[198] The practice of photography reveals the logic, implicit in the al-Khazen bourgeois family milieu, of using photography primarily as a means to differentiate between the bourgeois interiors that display their wealth in their family house and the surrounding milieu of the Zghartawi villagers. The emphasis on the *'Ajami* carpet in the

[196] I thank Professor Martha Langford for drawing my attention on different ways to identify the photographer in the photograph.
[197] Alice al-Khazen is Nadia al-Khazen's mother. She is identified by her daughter. Interview with Nadia al-Khazen, September 2, 2010, Rayfun, Lebanon.
[198] Bourdieu (1990), 145-146.

foreground projects the al-Khazen as upper class wealthy travelers who can afford to travel and purchase or import expensive, luxury furniture. In addition, the *'Ajami* carpet is reflective of the *fin de siècle* Lebanese bourgeois taste.

Looking more closely into the image, the viewer can count eight portraits inhabiting the photograph, of which seven are photographs and one is a painted portrait. In bourgeois homes, according to Bourdieu, it is common to enlarge and frame portraits and photographs that commemorate social events such as weddings and other religious ceremonies.[199] These salient moments in people's lives decorate the walls of bourgeois living rooms. The seven photographs are scattered around the living room; some are framed while others lie vertically on the objects behind them. On the right there is a triptych framing three photographs signed by Bonfils on the back. This may represent Marie al-Khazen's grandparents, *shaykh* Saʿid Fandi al-Khazen and Sultana Daher. In the center, right under the painted portrait, a beautiful arabesque frame, possibly imported from Damascus, portrays a wedded couple, perhaps the *shaykh* and his wife. On the extreme right edge, on the first shelf of the jardinière, one can see a corner of a frame with a photograph in it. Another photograph is lying on the second shelf behind what appears to be a dark bronze statuette, and the seventh photograph is lying on the bust in the upper left corner of the photograph.[200] The eighth is the huge portrait of the patriarch, the great *shaykh* Saʿid (refer to plate no. 2.7 on p. 99). This portrait is carefully executed by an artist who was commissioned to produce several paintings including a number of portraits for the al-Khazen family. The portrait is signed by Asʿad Ghosn in 1901.

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[199] Bourdieu (1990), 29.

[200] I was able to trace most of the objects and furniture in the photographs. They are part of Nuha al-Khazen's private collection.

Another portrait was painted by the same artist during the same year, that of the *shaykh's* wife, Wardeh Torbey (refer to plate no. 2.8 on p. 116). Mrs. Torbey's portrait must have been hanging on the far right outside the photograph. Both portraits are framed with an arabesque encrusted with rich geometric marquetry and Arabic inscriptions. Engin Cizgen claims that "…[W]estern rulers had long been accustomed to using their portraits as symbols of their authority;" this custom started to be used as an Ottoman tradition during Mahmud II's reign (1784-1839).[201] Mahmud II became the first Ottoman Sultan to have his portrait publically displayed, and this new custom symbolized the new age. Bourgeois families in the Mount Lebanon were highly influenced by the Sultanate customs of the turn of the Century.

In plate no. 86, Marie al-Khazen has staged herself and her sister as men in order to express her desire to be looked at as a woman who shares equal power with men of her society. Al-Khazen was not alone in this endeavor. With the rise of a female intelligentsia in Lebanon, activist writers such as ʿAnbara Salam (1906-1986), Salma Sayegh (1889-1953) and ʿAdila Beyhum (1902-1975), to name just a few, voiced concerns about the image of a changing woman.[202] Their agenda, as reflected in the ascendant women's press in the 1920s, focused on the construction *al-marʾa al-jadida* (the new woman in Arabic).[203] *Al-Marʾa al-Jadida* was also the title of a woman's journal

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[201] Cizgen (1987), 13.

[202] For more on the women's movement in 1920s Lebanon see Emily Fares Ibrahim, *Al-harakat al-nisaʾiyyat al-Lubnaniyyat* (Beirut: Dar al-Thaqafa, c. 1970); Jean Maqdisi (Ed.), *Al-nisaʾ al-ʿArabiyat fi al-ʿishrinat udur wa hawiyyat* (Beirut: Women Researchers Association, 2001); Hanifa al-Khatib, *Tarikh tatawwur al-harakat al-nisaʾiyyat fi Lubnan* (Beirut: al-Hadatha, 1984); & Georges Kallas, *Al-harakat al-fikriyyat al-nasawiyya fi ʿasr al-nahda: 1849-1928* (Beirut: Dar al-Jeel, 1996).

[203] For more sources on the rising women's press in the 1920s Lebanon and Syria see

launched by Julia Dimashqiyya (1882-1954). Through their writings in the women's press, authors were actively promoting an image of the new woman either through the image of the educated mother or of the ideal housewife who supports her husband. But al-Khazen was neither a mother nor a wife; as her photographs demonstrate, she had other concerns. In many of these, she is seen driving cars, hunting and traveling around Lebanon's tourist landmarks. In her construction of her image of the new woman, she went further than Salam, Sayegh, and Beyhum. She has constructed the image of the new woman as a separate individual refusing to recede into domestic duties and cater to the needs of the man of the house.

Al-Khazen chose to identify herself with masculine symbols. Perhaps masculinity seemed more attractive to her than femininity because it connotes power, liberty and independence. She chose, as well, to abandon the notions of femininity constructed in the women's press, which emphasized beauty and marriage through the titles of the journals such as, *Al-Hasnaʾ* (Beirut, 1909-1912) (The Beautiful Woman) and *Al-ʿArus* (The Bride). In most of the women's periodicals, gender equality meant recognizing the social role of the mother. The journals were perpetuating the discourse, initiated three decades earlier by Qasim Amin's *Al-Marʾa al-Jadida*, in which femininity was based on being a

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anonymous author "Al-Sahafat al-Nisaʾiyyat fi Misr wa Surya," *Minerva* (1923) 103-108; Elizabeth Thompson, *Colonial Citizens: republican rights, paternal privilege, and gender in French Syria and Lebanon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); & Suad Slim, & Anne-Laure Dupont "La vie intellectuelle des femmes à Beyrouth dans les années 1920 à travers la revue Minerva," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* (2002), 95-98.

good wife and mother.[204] In one of his articles published in *Minerva,* Lebanese-American writer Amin al-Rihani (1876-1940) argues that women's liberation meant neither political nor financial independence, but rather "wisdom" and "maternity."[205] For Rihani, a liberated woman is limited to the roles of wife and mother and she carries out her maternal and other domestic tasks in the service of the well-being of her family.[206] However, Marie al-Khazen does not seem to agree with Rihani. Her photographs of the liberated woman did not limit women to the roles of wife and mother. Rather, women in al-Khazen's photograph appear to strive to appropriate men's attributes.

Studies of social relations through the photographs can help us understand the way the photograph contributes to the assertion of gender roles. In plate no. 86, if the photograph is read as an intention articulated through the critique of social divisions constitutive of patriarchal social relations, Marie al-Khazen's *mise-en-abîme* seems to reinforce the patriarchal ideology she criticizes. I argue that plate no. 86, in particular, is a picture that produces an alternative social space. This photograph destabilizes fixed images of womanhood by exploring how femininity is redefined through the photograph in textual interpretation through which gender identity differences collapse in the setting, costume, position and pose of the represented subjects. Al-Khazen's *mise-en-abîme* of her father's portrait within the photograph can be read as a passage from a patriarchal space to a space dominated by women.

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[204] Qasim Amin, *The liberation of women and the new woman: two documents in the history of Egyptian feminism* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2000, original work published 1899-1900).
[205] Amin al-Rihani "al-Rihani," *Minerva* 1 2 (1923), 55.
[206] Ibid.

This photograph challenges a gendered discourse by interrogating naturalized assumptions about gender and identity. In reading this photograph, I am not thinking of identity as an already accomplished historical fact, but as a production, an interstice: neither European nor Middle Eastern, neither masculine nor feminine. The subjects are somewhere in between. The photograph can be understood in two different ways. It can be seen as a representation of two women who disguised themselves in men's clothing in order to enjoy the dominant position of men for the brief moment of the photograph. The same photograph can also be understood as a representation of the colonized (Lebanese) subjects who disguised themselves in the colonizer's (European, more particularly French) clothing in order to enjoy the dominant position of the colonizer for the brief moment of the photograph.

The photograph can be seen as a complex dialogue between women as objects of patriarchy and women as agents of their own future. It suggests a different way to enact gender and identity, a different way to be a female in the bourgeois context of early Mandate Lebanon. It is reflective of the constant negotiation among and between local and foreign, transitional and modern binaries that were threaded through the question of national identity within the space and time of Lebanon under the French Mandate. Just as the East was an imaginary site for the West to travel searching for exotic and mystical places, the West was an imaginary site for the locals to travel metaphorically in order to emerge as modern.

Bourdieu describes the photograph as a sign of status, through which the photographic practice is seen as "expressing an effort to rise above one's rank."[207] Thus this is not a photograph merely representing two sisters smoking cigarettes in their salon at their house on *tallet* al-Khazen but a photograph fraught with symbols through which social, colonial and gendered connotations oscillate. The photograph, in this case, can be understood as an opportunity for al-Khazen to alter her image. Lucy Lippard explores the appeal of overtly theatrical photographs as "spatial dislocation into a magical elsewhere."[208] How can a photograph lift out one's social reality into another one? Lippard rehearses the different strategies that can be enacted through the use of backdrop paintings in photographs. Backdrops are often idealized landscapes, emphasized beauty, elegance, exoticism and fantasy. I argue that Marie al-Khazen's photograph, through her masculine and colonial accoutrement, offers the opportunity for an altered self-image. At the encounter with the lens, the subjects are transformed and their persona is materialized on the surface of the paper, in the way they aspire to be. The two subjects dressed up in European attire against the Oriental setting create an anachronistic effect; they appear as if they were copy-pasted from a different era into the ancient, traditional, Middle Eastern setting.

This photograph highlights the rigid boundaries between a modern bourgeois Lebanese femininity as enacted by al-Khazen and a traditional masculinity represented in the patriarch portrait above the two women. Marie al-Khazen's alternative representation of femininity is further linked to her *mise-en-abîme* of the patriarchal space. Looking at

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[207] Pierre Bourdieu "The Peasant and Photography," (Richard Nice & Loïc Wacquant Trans.), *Ethnography* 5 4 (2004), 579-600: 580.
[208] Lucy R. Lippard "Frames of Mind," *Afterimage* 24 5 (1997), 8-11: 8.

the upper edge of the photograph, one can see the *tarbouche* of the patriarch in the painted portrait that is almost touching the edge of the photograph. It seems that the photographer, while placing the camera in front of her site, was keen to include the patriarch's *tarbouche* in her photographic frame.

A Little History of the Tarbouche

In this section, I will present the cultural significance of this particular headgear since its inception in the Middle East and North Africa region. The *tarbouche* had different connotations depending on the historical period and the culture in which it was sported. Initially, it was a standard prop imposed on high functionaries of the Ottoman Empire. The *tarbouche,* like the moustache, was a means to emphasize social rank. The *tarbouche* was later understood as the symbol of Ottoman tyranny.[209]

At the beginning of the Twentieth Century, the Turks were determined to sever all bonds with the East, they started doing this by getting rid of their traditional costume.[210] In the 1920s, the Turks removed the *tarbouche* to strengthen their associations with the West. For Turks, the *tarbouche,* once a sign of authority and higher social status, had made them backward and therefore "impeded their advancement and independence."[211] According to Yunan Labib Rizk, in 1925 the Turkish police began to confiscate tarabish and arrested those who wore them.[212] Mustafa Kamal Ataturk claimed that dressing and acting as civilized people was a condition for Turks to enter modernity. On the other

[209] Jacob, 218.
[210] Labib Rizk (2003), n.p.
[211] Labib Rizk (2001), n.p.
[212] Ibid.

hand, during the same period, the al-Azhar in Cairo issued a *fatwa* prohibiting the European hat.[213]

The *tarbouche* had its proponents and opponents for a variety of reasons having to do with colonial and post-colonial attitudes. When worn by leaders such as Saad Zaghlul in Cairo and Riad al-Solh in Beirut, the *tarbouche* was a sign of nationalism, a patriotic symbol.

In Lebanon, the *tarbouche* acquired nationalist meaning during the French mandate. It can be considered as a contested masculine and anti-colonial accoutrement of the 1920s. That the *tarbouche* became a contested site in the production of cultural meaning was not coincidental. The tarbush controversy was at its most intense during a period that saw the proliferation of new cultural practices amidst the shift that occurred as a result of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the French mandate. During this period, the subject of Lebanese modernity was re-signified. After the establishment of the French mandate, public opinion was divided. As with Jacob's description of the tension related to the *tarbouche* that appeared in Egypt, we can distinguish two different positions in 1920s Lebanon. Proponents of the French Mandate, welcomed the French authorities by replacing the *tarbouche* with a European style hat and opponents of the mandate who wore it to preserving their identity. However, proponents of the Western-style hat were not always anti-*tarbouche,* and defenders of the *tarbouche* were not necessarily anti-Europeans, since the *tarbouche's* connotations varied

[213] Ibid.

in relation to the new cultural practices during the political shifts in the region.[214] The *tarbouche,* was later recoded as a symbol of Lebanese nationalists through its public expression of opposition to the French mandate. It was seen as a sign of national honor, power, and masculinity. To complicate the *tarbouche's* codes even more, when worn by a woman its signification is recoded from masculinity to feminine power and dominance. I use the question of the *tarbouche* as a lens through which to view the shifting, contradictory, and contested relationships between individual and national identity. I also see it, in the case of plate no. 86, as a crucial site for working out gender identity in Lebanon under the French Mandate.

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My discussion of the sorts of masculinity constituted by *tarbouche* wearers is meant as a prelude to my discussion of its reconfigured code when it is sported by a woman. I argue that when it is worn by women its codes shift, rendering it a statement about gender rather than about national politics. In other words, when a man sports the *tarbouche* he is challenging the French authorities in the case of Lebanon whereas when a woman is wearing it, she is challenging patriarchy. By doing so she places herself in modernity. When it is worn by women, the *tarbouche* brings forward a projected image of a modern subject.

Looking closer into plate no. 86, there seems to be a representation within a representation in the space of this photograph. The first representation, in which *shaykh* Saʿid al-Khazen is posing for the Lebanese painter Asʿad Ghosn in 1901, projects a

[214] Ibid.

predominant patriarchy through the imposing presence of the *shaykh* in the painted portrait.

Plate no. 2.7

Plate no. 2.8

I argue that this predominant patriarchy is dissolved in the second layer of this image. The second layer is Marie al-Khazen's photograph, plate no. 86, taken three decades later, representing the *shaykh*'s daughters Marie and Alice al-Khazen sitting underneath the earlier representation, the *shaykh*'s portrait.

In the previously discussed images, in plates nos. 31, 39, 78 & 83, the male is the central theme of the photograph, whereas in plate no. 86, although the male figure, seen in *shaykh* Sa'id's portrait hanging on the wall, is also positioned in the upper center of the photograph, the focus is on the two women in the foreground. The central male figure in

this photograph is absent yet present through his painted portrait; this complicates the social relations depicted in the photograph.

The *shaykh* in the portrait imposes his visibility and asserts his control. He is gazing from the top down to whoever visits the al-Khazen family. Powerful men want to be viewed from below to assert their authority.[215]

Why have the two women not chosen to be photographed under their mother's portrait (plate no. 2.8)? *Shaykh* Sa'id al-Khazen's portrait (plate no. 2.7) was painted during the same year as another portrait, that of his wife Wardeh Torbey. The mother's portrait is most probably hanging on the other side of the *jardinière*. At the turn of the Century, as a customary ritual among the local elites, women of noble rank would have themselves painted in their roles as mothers and wives. The mother in this portrait symbolizes love and giving as the unifying drive for the family well-being. In a three-quarter sitting position, she looks pretty, modest and slightly blushing. As the traditional bourgeois wife, her happiness consists in making her husband happy and in serving the needs of her children. Alice and Marie al-Khazen have chosen the opposite corner as a setting for their picture, the one in which their father's portrait was hanging. Their mother's portrait was obviously not a source of pride. Being good mothers and submissive wives was not on their agenda. Their father's portrait fits better the theme expressed through their composition.

Three decades before this photograph was taken, Ghosn painted both portraits following the portraiture conventions of the Ottoman royal community: the man, *shaykh* Sa'id, is drawn, as is customary, in a frontal position whereas the woman, Mrs. Torbey, is

[215] Gilsenan (1996), 4.

drawn in a three-quarter position, a less imposing presence. Similar to the masculine pose in the bourgeois portraiture convention, al-Khazen has depicted her sister in a frontal position whereas she is sitting in a three-quarter position, the same position as her mother in the painted portrait, gazing into the shutter speed. According to Bourdieu, frontality or faire-front generally presents the subjects as honorable, dignified and responsible.[216]

By enacting her father's pose, Alice al-Khazen is appropriating his attributes. The assertive masculine frontality that dominates the space of the painted portrait is disrupted by Alice al-Khazen's frontality that dominates the second space, that of the photograph. How the subjects are represented in the photograph corresponds to their locations within societal hierarchies of gender and family roles. The photograph embodies social functions; it abides by the patriarchal norms of the time and place.[217] The pose is telling about the social status of the person in the photograph.[218] Within the space of the photograph, Marie al-Khazen has placed herself and her sister under her father's portrait, following the social hierarchy deployed within the social patriarchal convention: women as lower than men. Yet if the *tarbouche* is a sign of authority, the presence of three *tarabish* in the photograph, two of them worn by women, blurs this sign by collapsing the social hierarchy and transcribing the masculine attributes represented in the patriarch's portrait–strength, dignity, pride and dominance–to the women in the foreground. In this photographic setting, Marie al-Khazen seems to actively re-invent her subjects' personae by inviting the observer to interrogate and reconstitute social differences by questioning the narrative of masculine superiority.

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[216] Bourdieu (2004), 568.
[217] Bonnin, 199.
[218] As observed by Pinney (1997), 76, Bourdieu (2004), 89, & Bonnin (2006), 123.

For the early Twentieth Century bourgeois subject, for whom paternal authority was absolute, the father was a severe figure. He ruled his wife and children and decided their fate. Masculinity was represented as authority and control whereas femininity was represented through obedience, love and affection. In this context Marie al-Khazen's photographs are perceived as disrupting commonly accepted ideals by giving expression to a new conception of gender that challenges long established attitudes and customs towards gender differences.

A number of Marie al-Khazen's photographs convey the beginning of gender transitions in the Twentieth Century gender in the transformation of women from submissive and obedient mothers to subjects in control of their own fate. In doing so, al-Khazen's photographs subvert the mainstream understandings of femininity. Notwithstanding the fact that a masculine femininity was, and still is, perceived as negative as well as threatening, most of her photographs focus on women's individual happiness and interests, concepts that will be explored in the next chapter.

Chapter Five

Appropriating Technology as an entry to Modernity

This chapter is devoted to a reading of a number of recurring representations that imply a "gender for modernity" as they manifest themselves in the photographs in which technology and progress — predominantly attributed to masculine subjects — appear in the photographs associated with women.[219] I begin by identifying the ways in which modernity is commonly represented as related to the masculine sphere, before exploring a number of Marie al-Khazen's photographs in which women appear driving cars and holding rifles. The photographs can be read as an appropriation of masculine attributes — signifying masculinity as the domain of rationality, scientific achievements, progress and technology — through their representation of women using machines. I join Rita Felski's critique of early sociological theories that equate modernity with a masculine sphere of rationalization and production "which excludes women from the realm of what is modern."[220]

The images here discussed appear to counter the concept of a "gendered modernity."[221] I ask whether women might participate in the production of modernity through the masculinization of the female subject by acting and dressing like men. What do this acting and cross-dressing reveal about the logics of gender roles and patriarchy?

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[219] Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

[220] In *The Gender of Modernity*, Felski challenges conventional male-centered theories of modernity which assume a simple opposition between men's and women's experiences of the modern world. Felski (1995), 30.

[221] Ibid.

The 1920s and 1930s witnessed the growth of technology, the machine industries as well as the development of transportation methods. The railways and roads were being extended to accommodate modern life. This progress in transportation extended mobility and communication among the citizens. This rapid change expanded the urban sphere and prompted conflicting attitudes towards the establishment of the French Mandate in Lebanon. People were divided into two camps: the proponents of change under the French Mandate and opponents resisting the Mandate for fear of losing their Arab national identity. Proponents of the new political system saw the French Mandate as an opening to "modernity" imported from Europe, whereas opponents of the Mandate believed in the possibility of the production of their own "modernity," one that might continue the Ottoman Empire's previous efforts to initiate technological advancement and progress in the region. This aspect is represented in the albums of the Sultan Abdul Hamid from the turn of the Century, which, by documenting the advancement of technology, reflect his desire for a modernizing agenda.[222] As I will seek to show in the following section, images of women appropriating machines by driving cars or holding rifles point to their inclusion within this larger project of modernity.

Al-Khazen, Driving or Simulating Driving in the Photograph

The timing of Marie al-Khazen's photographs, at the threshold between two different forms of rule, is crucial to a critical reading of them. The rapid change occurred

[222] William Allen "The Abdulhamid II Collection," *History of Photography* 8 2 (1984), 119-45: 121.

with the spread of transportation facilities in the region. In *The Vehicle,* Akram Zaatari attempts to create a link between transport vehicles imported at the beginning of the Twentieth Century and photography. *The Vehicle* is a compilation of photographs that portray Lebanese subjects in and around their cars, trucks and trains, going on trips, or just posing for the camera, as early as in the 1920s.[223] This is seen in the crowd posing in and around the car in plates nos. 2.6 & 13.

Plate no 2.6

Plate no 13

A large number of al-Khazen's photographs seem as if they were staged scenes through which al-Khazen attempted to imagine her subjects using artificial props in order to overturn the viewers' expectations vis-à-vis the photographs. Looking closer at a number of her photographs, we realize that the scene represented is a performance, a *mise-en-abîme* of the actual scene. These include the photographs in which she and other friends are disguised as bedouins in the desert (plates nos. 54, 55, 56 & 57), the one in

[223] Akram Zaatari, *The Vehicle: picturing moments in a modernizing society* (Beirut: Mind The Gap, 1999).

which she and her sister are dressed up as a man under their father's portrait (plate no. 86), or the one in which she acts as if she is driving a car (plate no. 4). As Lucy Lippard has argued, all images involve "theatrical performances. [...] After all, the simple 'pose' in the photograph is by nature theatrical."[224]

Technology and Progress: the realm of the masculine?

Plate no. 20

Plate no. 4

[224] Lippard (1997), 11.

As in other places around the world, one way in which modernity was expressed in Lebanese photographs of the early Twentieth Century was through a depiction of the subject next to a machine, a vehicle, a radio, an airplane or other imported technological invention of the early Twentieth Century.[225]

In the photograph above, a man in the foreground, sporting a *serwal* and a *tarbouche*, is watching a plane taking off from Ryak airport in the North of Lebanon (plate no. 20). What strikes the viewer in this picture is the overlapping of symbols of the modern — technology, progress and mobility — with traditional symbols such as headgear and the *serwal*. This photograph is highly reflective of the spirit of the time, a complex combination of anxiety and enthusiasm at the penetration of technology and progress in the North of Lebanon. The presence of the tarbush and the airport in the same photograph can be read in two different ways. The man wearing the *tarbouche* in the foreground turns his back to the past and faces the future, symbolized by the airplane taking off. One reading can be that the man wearing the *tarbouche* is part of "modernity," and so represents a local version thereof.

"Men are also photographed, more often than women, near machines, as well as near aircraft, light and heavy weapons, and heavy vehicles," claims Lesy.[226] However, in both cases, this photograph is evidence of al-Khazen's interest in recording the changes that were taking place in 1920s Lebanon, such as the establishment of an airport in Ryak. A number of her photographs were taken at this airport.

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[225] See Zaatari (1999).
[226] Lesy, xvi.

The decision that she has made before pushing the button of her Eastman camera, such as the angle from which the photo was taken — to include the back of the traditional looking male figure watching the plane taking off — reveals her intention to record a moment such as that of the emergence of the machine and of the celebration of its function.

In plate no. 4, Marie al-Khazen appears to be driving a car. She sits behind the steering wheel, holding it while confidently looking through the photographer's camera lens. A small detail in the photo changes the whole scenario. The stone put in front of the car for safety reasons indicates that the car is not in motion. The photograph was staged. This photograph is not about a woman driving a car but features a woman who is acting out the act of driving a car. What is at stake is that she is claiming, through the photograph, that she can drive. She uses the photograph to project an image of herself driving, an activity assumed to be, during the period, attributed to men. Once again, she attempts to break with the clichés that represent men as drivers by having her picture taken behind the steering wheel. The photograph, when used by wealthy bourgeois families, often displayed their material possessions, such as the recurrent cars, sophisticated toys, refined embroideries, '*Ajami* carpets and other expensive belongings seen in the photographs. No photographs by al-Khazen show women cooking in the kitchen. This, of course, does not necessarily imply that these women never cooked or took care of their homes, but it implies that domestic activities were not priorities in al-Khazen's hierarchy of interests.

This reading is useful in analyzing the way Marie al-Khazen wanted to be portrayed in the photographs. In particular, it supports the thesis that al-Khazen, through

her photographs, projects unconventional representations of women that challenged the exclusion of women from the discourses and practices of leisure, community and individuality.

Plate no. 10

Plate no. 6

Plates nos. 10 & 4, both portray Marie al-Khazen operating an automobile while simultaneously looking straight through the view-finder to affirm her position in the front seat, holding the steering wheel.

The automobile can be considered one of the most important imported products of the 1920s. Over the first few years of the second decade of the Twentieth Century, the automobile became a hit in Lebanon. Owning an automobile was associated with being young and the pursuit of freedom and excitement. Families could visit friends and family who lived farther away. For wealthy people such the al-Khazens who could afford it, the

automobile was a new way to occupy their leisure time. As with other technology-related phenomena, the automobile radically changed al-Khazen's life (and that of her family and friends) by accelerating the outward expansion of her outings. The introduction of the automobile in Lebanon can be seen as a phenomenon that narrowed the gap between rural and urban life. The al-Khazens easily moved around, organizing excursions around different regions in Lebanon. We may speculate that by depicting herself as a driver, al-Khazens sought to celebrate her excitement at the accessibility that owning a car would bring. However, driving a car was not an easy task due to the poor state of roads and tracks. This may explain the large diameter and narrowness of the tires on one of the first automobile models, as seen in plate no. 4; these were effective at cutting through the mud and ragged roads that lead to the al-Khazen house.

In plate no. 4, two women are seated in the front seat in what looks like a newer automobile car model than the one depicted in plate no. 10. The automobile in plate no. 4 seems like an upgraded version of the Ford Model-T version. The al-Khazens were up-to-date in purchasing the latest technology.

In plate no. 6, one of al-Khazen's friends is riding a camel sideways. In front of her, a man wearing a European suit is sitting uncomfortably as if he only climbed onto the camel for the sake of the photograph. Both photographs reveal the mobility of the al-Khazens. One symbolizes their being modern — driving around Zgharta with a woman driver — while the other reveals their taste for posing in the photographs as Oriental subjects would do in the stereotypical *clichés* which were widely circulated across Europe at the time. The major active figure in both photographs is the woman, who is either driving the car or riding the camel.

For a long time, women have been represented as "objects of vision," as "sights" designed to "flatter" predominantly male spectators.[227] However, both of the above images counter representations of women as passive objects of vision. It is the woman who is acting in both photographs, whether she is physically acting as if she were driving a car or expressing an interest in being depicted as an Oriental subject by riding a camel. Men are not necessarily the implied spectator of these images. Contrary to representations of women as designed sights for men, the woman in plate no. 10 appears to be driving a car, an activity which grounds her within the realm of progress and technology, thus providing her with access to mobility — all of which are concepts strongly associated with masculinity. I argue that, through these photographs, the metaphor of woman undergoes striking transmutations from the woman photographer as observer of the arrival of the machine — seen in Marie al-Khazen's numerous photographs in which she seems to document the arrival of the automobile, though these are mostly driven by men, as in plates nos. 2, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14 & 37 — to her status as the actual user of the machine (plates nos. 4 & 10).

Photography as an Empowering Tool for Women

Throughout this thesis, photography has been seen as an empowering tool for women, whether the woman is standing before or in front of the camera. When standing before the camera, the medium provides her with the means to express herself in

[227] Berger (1973), 74.

exercising her authority and providing her own perspective to the viewer. When a woman stands in front of the camera, she is seen as a legitimate agent in the production of the photograph by acting out the way she wants to *be* in the photograph and expressing her personality as a determined individual in her own right.

Exploring Femininity by Masquerading in Front of the Camera

Plate no. 2.9

Plate no. 3.1

Plate no. 3.2

Plate no. 3.3

Plate no. 3.4

Plate no. 3.5

Plate no. 3.6

Plate no. 3.7

In "La mode à la garçonne, 1900-1925: une histoire sociale des coupes de cheveux," Steven Zdatny explores women's haircuts of the 1920s as artefacts which are "riche[s] d'informations sur la culture qui le[s] produit."[228] Short hair was the focus of a social controversy in that it not only marked a radical rupture with the "peasant" style of the previous era and was evocative of what was commonly termed in France "les années folles," but was also a symbol of women's emancipation.[229] Was it, Zdatny asks, a rejection of femininity or a pursuit of a new commodity?[230]

In exploring the images in plates nos. 2.9, 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, & 3.7, this section investigates the terms of gendered representation as a process wherein women appear as flappers and in à la *Garçonne* attire and postures.[231] *Modern girls* in Lebanon, as elsewhere in the 1920s, appropriated masculine attributes in photographs as a means of expanding the public role of women. Through these plates, I examine the ways in which novel ideas about women's roles in society and politics were disseminated through the medium of photography, and how significant, radical changes occurred in female fashion, appearance, and sexual identity. Additionally, this particular use of photography points to the ways in which local women responded creatively to gendered stereotypes and contributed to a reconfiguration of the modes of being a woman in a rapidly modernizing world.

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[228] "La mode à la garçonne, 1900-1925: une histoire sociale des coupes de cheveux,"*Le Mouvement social* 174 (1996), 23-56: 174.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Ibid.
[231]Following *La Garçonne,* a French novel by Victor Margueritte that was published in the 1920s.

The photographs above, most of them taken by amateur photographers, can be seen as opening potential new avenues for gender research in the way they challenge the social institutions — religions, state, and family — that regulated the place of women within patriarchy in the Middle East and North Africa (plates nos. 2.9, 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, & 3.7). Social resistance is evident in the representation of women in these photographs. For most of them, the photographer is unknown, yet I suggest that we may acknowledge the agency of the women who posed for the camera. Through cross-dressing and masquerading *à la Garçonne*, these subjects explore their female subjectivity thus giving rise to the expression of a feminine imaginary, liberated from dominant norms of gendered self-presentation.

The act of masquerading in front of the camera is often associated with artistic production, and more specifically with surrealist artists in the West, including the female surrealist artist Claude Cahun. Cahun's photographs came to be seen, at the time of their "rediscovery" in the early 1980s, as images that decentered their subject and enacted identity as "contingent" and "mutable" through their representation of conflicting and contradictory identities.[232] A number of al-Khazen's images display an affinity with structures of self-consciousness concerning social constructions of femininity, and embrace masquerade as a defense against the injustice of women's treatment in society. This is particularly seen in al-Khazen's work within the categories of "self as other" (as seen in plate no. 86, in which al-Khazen explores her image as a masculine figure, by posing, enacting, behaving, and appropriating masculine activities) and "self as absence"

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[232] Whitney Chadwick, & Dawn Ades. *Mirror Images: women, surrealism, and self-representation* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998), 7.

(as seen in plates nos. 97, 98, 100, 102, 103 & 105 in which al-Khazen's shadow can be seen as an intruder within predominantly masculine spaces).[233]

Photography and Feminist Discourse

My reading of al-Khazen's photographs draws upon feminist work on art and visual culture such as Griselda Pollock's, *Vision & Difference: femininity, feminism and the histories of art* (1988), Abigail Solomon-Godeau's "The Legs of the Countess," Mary Ann Doane's *The Desire to Desire: the woman's film of the 1940s*. A key insight of these writings is the recognition that images of femininity are carriers of complex and contradictory messages and that the meaning of femininity itself is necessarily contextual. The contested and contradictory character of femininity is acknowledged, I would argue, in the strategy of self-othering evident in a number of al-Khazen's photos (plates nos. 86, 97, 98, 102 & 103). In these cases, the photographs are seen as mediators between self and other, suggesting a complex interweaving of both terms.

In these photographs, women are no longer seen as signifiers for the male other, their subjectivity or femininity determined by the discourse of patriarchy. In photography, Whitney Chadwick argues, "[i]t is the nature of the self-portrait to produce the subject as object."[235] Photos can involve women within a masculine dynamic that projects them as other — both as the object of desire and as the nurturing mother. In these photos, nevertheless, the process of objectification enables al-Khazen to describe herself

[233] Ibid.
[235] Chadwick & Ades (1998), 11.

as a subject by allowing her to express her individuality and interests outside the domestic sphere.

According to Chadwick and Dawn Ades, the problematic of self-representation remains inextricably bound up with the woman's internalization of the images of her "otherness," locating her desire, her role, her value, her image and affirmations of subjectivity within social space.[236] She struggles towards ways of framing the otherness of woman that direct attention to moments of rupture with — or resistance to — cultural constructions of femininity. The woman in al-Khazen's photographs is a hybrid subject, one who is in between cultures, historical periods, reality and fantasy. She is a being who blurs the boundaries between West and East, woman and man, past and present and traditional and modern worlds.

In *Mirror Images: women, surrealism, and self-representation*, Chadwick and Ades see visual production as an opportunity to reconsider the women as part of a larger project which is bound up with self-representation and directs more attention to the practices of individual women.[237] In looking at the different ways women were represented in the photographs as primary signifiers, the photographs can be interpreted as expressions of women's desire. This approach establishes new parameters within which women photographers can explore the ambiguous relationship between female individuality and its representation. We read the photographs as an expression of the possibility of a feminine imaginary enacted. The photograph not only projects how

[236] Ibid.
[237] Ibid, 18.

femininity is represented as a lived experience but also how female subjectivity is produced through new narratives.[238]

Femininity becomes the site of cultural mediations, the sign of political and social challenges. It assigns new meanings to female subjectivity. Femininity as a masquerade is a notion that was first theorized in the late 1920s. According to "Womanliness as a Masquerade," an essay written by the psychoanalyst Joan Rivière in 1929, masquerading enables women to negotiate a subject position within patriarchy.[239]

Masquerading of femininity enables the woman to assume a place within a masculine space and to challenge the rational parameters of the traditionalists. When Claude Cahun was photographing herself in a series of disguises, appearing in turn as a sailor, an acrobat, and a wrestler, al-Khazen was masquerading in her photos as a cosmopolitan Beiruti driving a car, a bedouin in the desert and a Turkish pasha wearing a *tarbouche* and smoking a cigarette in her salon. Despite their contextually different geographical and cultural sites, both suggest an urgent political stake in the struggle to place themselves within their social contexts. Al-Khazen's are not the only photographs of female cross-dressing; as we can see from the above plates, this was a common practice among most of the local bourgeois women owning a camera (plates nos. 2.9, 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, & 3.7). Though there is no evidence to suggest that al-Khazen was aware of Cahun's work, she seems to share the same interest and equally makes use of

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[238] Ibid.
[239] As cited in Chadwick (1996) 23. Joan Rivière "Womanliness as Masquerade" *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* (1929), n.p.

the camera as a device to record her as the other. This is most salient in her photos where a reordering of the social structure is made apparent through the women's occupation of central positions within the space of the photograph (such as in plates nos. 41 & 69).

A Representation of Two Different Social Spaces

Plate no. 49

Plate no. 9

In plate no. 49, a group of peasants gather, or are gathered for the photograph, under the shade of a tent before going back to the harvest. They are all looking up at the photographer, whereas, in plate no. 9, similarly photographed visitors of the al-Khazens are all looking down at the photographer, who is taking the photo from a low angle.

Both photographs witness the surrounding of al-Khazen's daily life in between the peasants or sharecroppers, the Fellahin who were in charge of harvesting the al-Khazen lands in Zgharta and the haute bourgeoisie constantly travelling to and from Zgharta to Damanhur and possibly Marseille.

Images of Women by Marie al-Khazen

Plate no. 79

Plate no. 26

In plate no. 79, six women, one of whom is the photographer herself, are gathered in the al-Khazen's backyard. The bowler hat and their European attire are indicative of their social class. Marie Al-Khazen seizes this opportunity to take a picture. The camera was apparently placed on a white area that appears in the foreground of the photo. Al-Khazen just entered the photograph a few seconds before the shutter speed was released. She peers cautiously into the objective, as if to make sure everything worked out according to her expectations and that all remains under her control.[240]

In plate no. 26, a woman surrounded by men rides a horse astride in opposition to the way women of this period generally used to ride horses sidesaddle. The group of men and the woman look like they just came back from a ride. Two women are occupying this predominantly masculine space: the photographer and the woman riding the horse.

[240] I thank Martha Langford for pointing out this detail.

"Riding horses is not an activity geared for women as it may result in the dislocation of women's hips," it was claimed in an article in *al-Muqtataf*.[241]

However, conflicting thoughts on women's activities and their status within their communities were debated in the same journal. In another issue of the same journal, Abdel Rahman Shahbandar (1880 – 1940), a prominent Syrian nationalist and a leading opponent of the French Mandate argues as follows:

> It is not education, nor knowledge, nor high-rising buildings, nor wider roads, nor faster vehicles, nor the other invented technologies that determine the nation's entry in the era of civilization and progress, it is rather the woman's awakening and her social status that will determine a Nation's entry in modernity.[242]

Establishing a relationship between women's liberation and a Nation's entry into modernity was the goal of many women in 1920s Lebanon and Syria, such as Julia Dimashkiyya, Leila Fawwaz, and Salima Abi Rashed, to name just a few. They were eagerly calling for the necessary social change through their writings and their lectures: "… a woman is capable of following a man's suit in the majority of life's tasks," wrote Salima Abi Rashed in the opening of the first issue of her periodical, *Fatat Lubnan*.[243] Dimashkiyya, Fawwaz and Rashed all emphasized the importance of women's education in order to enter modernity while stressing women's education as an essential condition

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[241] Anonymous "The Best Exercise for Women," *Al-Muktataf*, LVI (June 1920), 529 (my translation).

[242] Abdel Rahman Shahbandar "The Answer of Abdel Rahman Shahbandar," in Mohammad J. Beyhum (Ed.), *Fatat al-sharq fee hadarat al-gharb* (Beirut: Mohammad J. Beyhum, 1952), 33-36: 33 (my translation).

[243] Salima Abi Rashed "Preface," *Fatat Lubnan,* I (January 1914), 5 (my translation).

for the Nation's entry into modernity.[244] Dimashkiyya, on the other hand, encouraged women to participate in men's work by occupying positions within the political sphere.[245]

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The period after WWI saw significant changes in Lebanon. The effect of the war was drastic and it impacted women in different ways. Muhammad J. Beyhum describes Lebanese society as a social sphere in transformation, introducing reforms that included women's entry into the public sphere.[246] Even though women did not achieve equal political rights, they still managed to acquire additional rights on the basis of their intellectual and educational capacities. In Lebanon, the women's movement reached its apex in 1928 and 1929.[247] A significant increase in the enrolment of women in educational institutions and the increasing number of literary clubs and other social clubs, associations and philanthropic organizations emerging during the first two decades of the Twentieth Century prompted the emergence of new customs and habits among Middle Eastern women and helped them to achieve greater independence.[248] The archetype of the "Lebanese Woman" who had been shy and reserved, and whose domain had been restricted to the domestic sphere, now saw herself as a socially responsible citizen. This same woman, according to Beyhum, who had been passive and submissive became a determined modern woman, confident and daring.[249] She contributed to education in organizing literary gatherings at the West Hall, the American University of Beirut. In

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[244] Ibid.
[245] Emily Fares Ibrahim, *Al-harakat al-nisa'iyyat al-Lubnaniyyat* (Beirut: Dar al-Thaqafa, c. 1970), 34, 50.
[246] Muhammad J. Beyhum, *Fatat al-sharq fee hadarat al-gharb* (Beirut: Muhammad J. Beyhum, 1952), 109-113.
[247] The conference was held on April 18, 1928 in Beirut. Fares Ibrahim (c. 1970) 50.
[248] Beyhum (1952), 115.
[249] Ibid, 116.

addition to publishing articles in local and regional journals, women in Lebanon and Syria launched a significant number of women's journals. The interest in higher education and the increase in knowledge it brought about became popular among women who would frequently hold books in their poses in photographs of this period in order to demonstrate their new interests (plates nos. 2.2 & 2.4).

Despite the rising opposition movements who felt threatened by women's ascendance, proponents of the women's liberation movement continued their efforts in organizing lectures and manifestations. Determined and highly involved women such as Nazik al-Abed, Emma Lteif Mukayyed, 'Adila Beyhum, Labiba Philip Thabet and Nour Hamadeh launched their own associations, each with a different goal to better women's circumstances.[250] In the same year during which the conference on women's rights was organized in Beirut, Nazira Zeineddin published her first groundbreaking book *Al-soufour wa al hijab (Veiling and Unveiling)* followed by *Al fatat wa al shuyukh (The Girl and the Religious Men).*[251] Neither of Zeineddin's books circulated without causing turmoil in the region. Another unconventional statement at the time was Rose Ghorayyeb's rejection of beauty as the only virtue for women. In her article published in *Sawt al-Maraa (The Woman's Voice)* she posits: "Beauty is not the only virtue for women. If beauty is paralleled with ignorance and lameness then I reject beauty as a virtue for women."[252]

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[250] Beyhum. 119.
[251] Nazira Zeineddin, *Al fatat wa al shuyukh,* Bouthaina Shaaban (Ed.), (Damascus: Dar Al-Mada, 1998 originally published in 1928); and Nazira Zeineddin, *Al-soufour wa al hijab,* Bouthaina Shaaban (Ed.), (Damascus: Dar Al-Mada, 1998 originally published in 1929).
[252] Rose Ghorayyeb "Rose Ghorayyeb," *Sawt al-Mar 'a* (1951), 7 (my translation).

In the previous chapters, I examined how Marie al-Khazen's photographs exaggerated gender differences whereas others erased culturally established differences. Women, in these photographs, renounce their obedience and subordination to men. Their images seem to be transformed from those of nurturing mothers and sacrificing wives (plates nos. 33, 36 & 40) to those of charismatic and confident individuals (plates nos. 41 & 69).

Appropriating Masculinity in the Photograph

Plate no. 93

Plate no. 88

In plate no. 93, a woman wearing a white bowler hat leans on a rifle as if relaxing from a long and tiring hunting trip with her companion dog in the foreground. Today, a man holding a rifle in 1920s Zgharta appears traditional or even backward whereas a woman holding a rifle in 1920s Zgharta seems intriguing and ultra-modern! While examining this photograph, I argue that modernity is expressed in 1920s photographs that

represent female figures, not only through their European attire and the latest Parisian fashions but also through the women's demeanor and activity in the photographs. These images proclaim that women were present in public spaces participating in male-oriented activities and that they did not only play domestic, sexual and supportive roles. These women carried guns and they knew how to use them. For the contemporary reader of the photograph, emphasizing gender differences is perceived as traditional whereas the blurring of gender differences tend to present female subjects as modern. In other words, when women act out men's activities such as driving cars and going on hunting trips the photograph is turned into a locus for modernity.

Chapter Six

Crises of Representation: women as metaphors for change

The fall of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the French Mandate created many conflicts and much debate in the region. How were these conflicts represented through Marie al-Khazen's photographs? What does the change in pose and attire signify within an emerging culture caught between the two imperial powers of the Ottoman Empire and the French mandate? Where can modernity be located between the rural subject and the urban subject? Al-Khazen partook of a cosmopolitan sensibility that reveals the region to have been far more international than might have been thought. She captures the new fusion of fashions that reached its climax at the beginning of the Century with the imported fashions from Paris which appear in most of her images. By depicting some men wearing *serwals* and others wearing the latest European fashions, Marie al-Khazen's photographs negotiate an entry into modernity.[253] A "Modernity" that contains a number of logics which may often work with and against each other simultaneously. This model of "modernity" was particular to the colonial milieu where the photographs were taken. "Modernity" and the different ways it was manifested through the transformation of appearances in the photograph might indicate social change and even social freedom, particularly in the case of women. According to Graham-Brown, "Western-style dress was used by some regimes as an indication of modernity and liberality in regard to women…"[254] Following Graham-Brown, the dress was often

[253] Felski, 32.
[254] Sarah Graham-Brown, *Images of Women: the portrayal of women in photography of the Middle East, 1860-1950* (London: Quartet, 1988), 249.

used to ascribe modernity and progress to the subjects represented in the photographs. For example, a woman wearing a European dress might signify her belonging to a liberal well-to-do family or, conversely, it could gesture to her defiance of her class, gender, community and family.[255] Caught between the projection of a self-image of the cosmopolitan woman and of the traditional bedouin simultaneously, Marie al-Khazen's photographs provide a rich field for tracking the ambiguities of the modern.

This section, by contrast, centers upon women's own representation of the relationship between modernity and femininity as made manifest through their position, gaze and attire in the pictures. How did women position themselves in relation to the logics of the social and aesthetic values associated with the modern?

The Franji dress, a site of working out women's identity under the French Mandate[256]

By virtue of belonging to the haute bourgeoisie, Marie al-Khazen embraced a European attitude in thinking of herself as essentially secular, rational and "civilized," and technologically advanced. Upper-class women identified themselves with modern life as it was portrayed in the magazines in circulation at the time where gender roles were questioned and debated. The women represented in most of the advertisements in these journals were portrayed wearing European dresses. The dress as it was featured on the pages of the magazines, as a commodity that enabled any woman to identify herself as the cosmopolitan young and appealing Parisian woman, signified modernity. The

[255] Ibid, 248.
[256] *Franji* is an Arabic term used to designate the locals who are influenced in their dress and behavior by Western culture, French in particular.

change of attire was viewed positively as an entry into a modern era and as a means of getting rid of the past. Yet, there was resistance from the traditionalists. I use the question of the dress as a lens through which to view the shifting, contradictory, and contested relationships between individual and national identity within the fashion of the time. At the same time, the dress can be seen as a crucial site in an ongoing process of working out Lebanon's identity under the French Mandate. By wearing their *Franji* dresses the rural bourgeoisie displayed their wealth, sophistication and social difference. They worked hard to distinguish themselves from their poorer peasant neighbors through their novel styles of sitting, eating and dressing. This was a source of tension that exacerbated the social stratification within the village.

By the first decade of the Twentieth Century, stores catering to this social class were spreading across the country's larger cities. One of those, located in Beirut, was the Bon Marché. While it was harder to find similar stores with finished goods in the villages, bourgeois families would hire their own *Franji* tailors, who advertised themselves as capable of clothing men and women in the latest European fashions.[257] In Beirut and many surrounding villages, dressmaking workshops were organized to teach women new techniques in embroidery and the use of the Singer sewing machine as it appears in plate no. 4.2. Women were producing their own dresses by mixing and matching local decorative patterns and European designs. A hybrid fashion was to become popular during the first decades of the Twentieth Century. Chic, graceful and convenient European dresses were imported from Paris or manufactured locally, often

[257] Khater, 125.

copied from a French magazine and trimmed with white lace *à la Franji* (see the refined attire of the participants of the Beirut dress making workshop in plate no. 4.2).

Plate no. 4.2

An Orientalising Persepective in the Photographs

In European travel literature, the portrait of the Orient as the Other, reflecting, complementing or opposing the Occident has changed through the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Century. For example in the Eighteenth Century travel narrative, the Orient is represented as the Other of the Western European self through the rhetoric of travel. In the eyes of the West, the Orient is a "fictional geographical space" upon which Western concerns, establishing empire and a distinguished national identity,

are displaced.[258] In contrast, during the Nineteenth and the beginning of the Twentieth Century, the non-European world is figured in the rhetorical framework as sexual and romantic desire in the age of the expansion of industrialization and urbanization. This aspect is particularly revealed in Gustave Flaubert's texts, in which the Orient is not only eroticized but also feminized.[259] In *Orientalism*, Edward Said claims that what constitutes the Orient and the Occident is not constant, nor is the relationship of the Occident with the Orient.[260] According to Said, this reveals the Europeans anxiety and desire in relation to the Orient. [261] The representation of the Orient and the oriental subject thus, reflects, not only, the changing historical circumstances but also the shifts in power between the Western and the non-Western subject. The representation of the Orient as exotic is manifested in Mrs. Bonfils's photographs in plates no. 3.8, 3.9 and 4.1 as well as Marie al-Khazen's photographs in plates no. 56 and 57, in which al-Khazen and her friend are disguised as the oriental non-western subject, wearing a Bedouin dress in a desert-like context. How do al-Khazen's photographs in which she disguises herself as a bedouin, cause us to reshape the terms of analysis of Orientalism?

I will analyze plates nos. 85 & 55 in the context of the formation of a hybrid subject situated at the threshold between Ottoman and French culture. Reading Marie al-Khazen's self portraits in terms of the way in which she sees herself enables us to confront her position as a local indigenous woman in a colonial visual culture.

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[258] Said, 112.
[259] Gustave Flaubert, *Salammbô* (Paris: Editions Gamier Frères, 1961), 12.
[260] Said, 3.
[261] Ibid.

Plate no.4.1

Plate no. 3.9

Plate no. 3.8

Unlike the mainstream representational strategies of Middle Eastern women which were structured around white male European fantasies of the sort that circulated widely at the turn of the Century in images such as Marie Lydie Bonfils's bedouin woman (plates nos. 3.8, 3.9 & 4.1), al-Khazen and her contemporaries' representations of women project a local female subjectivity (for al-Khazen see plates nos. 84, 85, 89, 93, 94 & 95, for her contemporaries see plates nos. 4.5, 1.7, 2.2, 2.4 & 2.5).

Plate no.57

Plate no.56

To further reinforce this argument, it is important to clarify the distinction between the Orientalist photographs of Marie Lydie Bonfils and those of Marie al-Khazen. Bonfils's photographs were produced for commercial purposes in order to satisfy the expectations of a European clientele, whereas al-Khazen's photos present an attempt to produce or imitate a widely acclaimed photographic genre that was highly in vogue at that time. As I suggest, Al-Khazen's central motivation in so doing was to imply that she had acquired a European taste: that of exoticizing her own culture.

In her analysis of Henriette Browne's harem paintings of 1861, Reina Lewis argues that the spaces represented within most of the paintings are spaces "of social interaction among women rather than spaces of sexual pleasures for men."[262]

Al-Khazen's photographs reflect women's everyday activities revolving around the al-Khazen house. They were not produced to satisfy men or European taste in *exoticizing* Middle Eastern cultures. Photographs of her female friends and relatives occupying themselves in the bourgeois domestic space of the al-Khazen home while playing the piano, socializing and staging photographs, reflect a luxurious lifestyle. As the photographer, Al-Khazen was both an eyewitness to and a participant in the liminal social space of Lebanon during the 1920s mandate.

[262] Reina Lewis " 'Only Women Should Go to Turkey:' Henriette Browne and Women's Orientalism," *Third Text* 22 (spring 1993), 53-64: 53.

Plate no.4.3

If these scenes speak to the Orientalist taste of the Western viewer, they also represent a longing for modernity on the part of the local elite of Mandate Lebanon; an elite striving to demonstrate its recently acquired sophistication, not only in lifestyle and behavior, but also in taste.

This *new* modernity appears in a significant number of photographs taken in the Middle Eastern region around the 1920s. The studio photographer, Bedros Doumanian, portrays two women, one wearing a traditional *'abaya* standing next to another woman wearing a European dress (plate no. 4.3). This photo symbolizes the moment of transition between two eras, the traditional and the modern, as well as between two areas, the local and the foreign; it depicts how both the old and the new are assimilated by the host culture. According to Graham Brown, "implicit is the assumption that the 'old' is

automatically anachronistic, something to be discarded in favour of the *new*, it thus precludes any understanding of how cultural and social ideas can persist in new forms and new images." [263]

Plate no. 4.4

Plate no. 4.5

Another examples are the photographs of Najla Krikorian, Khalil Raad's sister, in which she has posed in her husband's studio as alternatively the Oriental bedouin holding a jar and the European lady sporting a hat (plates nos. 4.4 & 4.5).[264]

The figures of the cosmopolitan and the bedouin are considered ambivalent. Yet, the female figure can be understood as the mediating force between the old world and the new, the desire for cultural difference and the desire for cultural integration.[265]

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[263] Graham-Brown, 242.
[264] Khalil Raad is a prominent photographer in Palestine in the 1920s. Najla Krikorian is the Armenian photographer, Johannes Krikorian's wife.
[265] Tania Modleski, *Feminism without Women: culture and criticism in a postfeminist age* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 115.

The juxtaposition of these two images can also dissolve the dichotomy between the West and the non-Western by examining how women are bound up within this relationship.[266] In her self-portraits, Marie al-Khazen projects the image of a woman striving to become an urban subject in supporting evolution and progress, yet she was conscious of the uniqueness of her own culture and the necessity to preserve it. It is the education of women and their mastery of knowledge that was coded as a means of entering modernity.[267] In this respect, it is not the woman wearing the European dress who is modern but the one who has acquired a mastery of knowledge and a refined taste.

Plate no. 85

Plate no. 55

In plates nos. 55 and 85, Marie al-Khazen, wearing a European dress, is sitting on a post at the Beirut port; in the background are two boats and the horizon. In plate no. 55,

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[266] Cathlyn Mariscotti, *Gender and Class in the Egyptian Women's Movement, 1925 1939: changing perspectives* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2008), 12.
[267] Jacob, 51.

al-Khazen is disguised as a bedouin standing in front of a tent in the middle of the desert.[268] The photo of the same woman taken in different places attests to her mobility.

The background of the first photograph, the Beirut port, symbolizes traveling, the exchange of cultures and an openness to the West, whereas the background of the second one in the shape of a tribal tent signifies a closed mysterious space, or the reproduction of the unknown Oriental space. Both photographs, when viewed simultaneously, produce conflicting narratives about al-Khazen's subjectivity. She stands as a symbol of progress, on the one hand, and as a symbol of continuity with the cultural past on the other. Such symbols have frequently been created in reaction to external representations imposed upon women, thus reflecting a preoccupation with the unequal relationships of power with the West.[269]

Unlike Marie Lydie Bonfils's representation of bedouin women motif, Marie al-Khazen's representation of a similar motif appears more dignified: she looks straight into the viewfinder as if asking to be seen in the way she has chosen to portray herself. Al-Khazen, as she appears in plates no. 55 and 85, seems actively engaged in the production of an aesthetically hybrid self-representation that challenges the values of Western cultures. She looks as proud to be a traditional bedouin as she is to be a modern cosmopolitan. I argue that al-Khazen's photographs prompt a revision of familiar Orientalist stereotypes, particularly those which inscribe Middle Eastern women as passive. Both photos may be read as the visual representation of heated debates occurring at the time and compiled in Mohammad J. Beyhum's *Fatat al-sharq fee hadarat al-*

[268] More of these images in which Marie al-Khazen and her sister masquerade as bedouins before a tent appear as part of her photo collection (plates nos. 54, 55, 56 & 57).
[269] Graham-Brown, 241.

gharb, the Eastern woman in Western civilization. The title of Beyhum's anthology implies the cultural binaries present in the visual semantic resonance of both of al-Khazen's photos when juxtaposed (plates nos. 55 & 85).

Al-Khazen's photos in plates nos. 55 & 85 can be understood as a reconfiguration of Marie Lydie Bonfils's topos of the Middle Eastern female. They deny the conventional representation of women as seductress *fellah* (plates nos. 3.8, 3.9 & 4.1).[270] Through al-Khazen's lens, the passive peasant is replaced by the confident and self-possessed woman. This is another example of the shift in gender and colonial representation which occurs when mainstream notions about the Middle East are intercepted by local photographs. Images produced by Western photographers were circulating within a social climate in which traditionalists were concerned by the effect of this rapid spread of Western products and influences. "*Tamaddon* brings with it positive as much as negative influences," an anonymous author writes in *Fatat al-sharq*, expressing his/her concern over the influences of imported foreign cultures on the host culture in terms of new customs and behavior.[271]

On the other hand, another interlocutor cited in *Fatat al-sharq,* Afifa Karam, argues that there is a close relation between modernity and gender,

> the Syrian man is considered higher in our modern times… is this applicable to his wife as well? No, because she is considered as belonging to the past while he

[270] A *fellah* is a peasant in Arabic.
[271] Anonymous author cited in Mohammad J. Beyhum (Ed.), *Fatat al-sharq fee hadarat al-gharb* (Beirut: Mohammad J. Beyhum, 1952) 15. *Tamaddon* is an Arabic term that means becoming cosmopolitan.

> is considered part of the future… he is seen as *motamadden* (urban) while she is seen as barbaric![272]

Karam criticizes a hierarchical gender categorization through which women are placed in the past while men are placed within "modern times." Visually, through her photography, el-Khazen is rejecting this notion by simultaneously placing women in both temporal spaces.

Marie Al-Khazen, the Cosmopolitan Woman in the Photograph

Al-Khazen's tenacity and intelligence, as well as her wealthy family background, allowed her to continue her education, possibly at the Collège de la Sainte Famille Française, and gradually broaden her horizons through leisure and other activities such as photography, embroidery, poetry readings, horseback riding, piano playing, fishing, hunting and travelling.[273]

Only the wealthy could afford to wear European dresses. The subjects wearing them were coded as being urban in opposition to rural subjects. After the French mandate, dress and manners became politically charged sites of cultural contestation where, for the first time, the very essence of the Lebanese traditional identity as Arab nationalist was at stake. The younger generation, who had come of age knowing nothing other than colonial rule, adopted the European style of dresses and were mostly attracted by the image of Europe as representing "progress" and superiority. At the beginning of

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[272] Cited in Mohammad J. Beyhum (Ed.), *Fatat al-sharq fee hadarat al-gharb* (Beirut: Mohammad J. Beyhum, 1952), 26-27.

[273] The Collège de la Sainte Famille Française was founded in Junieh, Lebanon in 1898, by the sisters of the *Sainte Famille* de Villefranche de Rouergue, France.

the Twentieth Century, as dress was becoming a focus of fashion that spread across competing and sometimes conflicting temporalities (national/international, traditional/modern), it produced cultural tensions and anxieties that afforded a novel perspective to the subject of the new woman. Thus, wearing the latest Parisian fashion could be considered to embody a modern attitude, reflecting an image of the cultivated, proud and confident woman who is committed to education and social reforms. In other words, becoming modern was a much more complicated process than simply imitating foreign dress or rejecting local traditions.

The fashion industry is based on forcing its wearers to take a position in relation to time in order to view the past and present as essentially different.[274] In the context of 1920s Lebanon, a European attire led to a clear political statement in alignment with the French mandate, whereas wearing traditional dress could be understood in terms of a desire to preserve one's own culture.

Marie Al-Khazen, the Bedouin Woman in the Photograph

Bourdieu argues that a particular practice of photography can be associated with "urban ways," as a manifestation of the will to distinguish oneself and "to rise above one's rank."[275] Bourdieu's ethnographical perspective is particularly useful to an examination of Marie al-Khazen's photographs in the Beirut port and the sense of cosmopolitanism deployed within them.

[274] Jacob, 198.
[275] Bourdieu (2004), 580.

In analyzing the second photo, in which al-Khazen is caught between the image of the cosmopolitan subject and the bedouin, we might question the drive to be depicted as bedouin. Is it a nostalgic yearning? Is it a quest for identity? Or does she make manifest the claim to be modern through a self-orientalizing of her own culture? I suggest that the act of self-orientalizing could be considered a quest for modernity or, in other words, a quest for the state of being modern. By embodying the European taste for exoticizing the orient, al-Khazen embarks upon modernity as a modern subject sharing the same taste as Europeans. Instead of condemning Orientalism because it is exoticizing and anthropologizing, I suggest that we might reevaluate and, to a certain extent, affirm it, precisely on the grounds of its association with, or resemblance to, a European act of orientalizing. It is precisely this logic that establishes al-Khazen as a modern subject.

The myth of the desert found expression within the media and the circulation of postcards and photographs in early Twentieth Century Lebanon, and seemed to appeal to al-Khazen's taste. The craze for photographs with themes such as the *One Thousand and One Nights* seemed to have reached the local bourgeoisie as well.[276] However, the idea of the exotic in al-Khazen's photographs was no longer organized in spatial or temporal dimensions, as "the lure of far-distant lands and peoples" or "the pursuit of the historical 'other.'"[277] Rather, through the strategy of auto-orientalizing her own culture, al-Khazen placed herself in the colonizer's camp in order to reflect an image of herself as a modern subject.[278] Al-Khazen, disguised as a bedouin, mimicked the poses reminiscent of many

[276] Cizgen, 88.
[277] Graham-Brown, 5.
[278] Ibid.

Orientalist images, yet her expression held none of the passivity associated with those poses.

Nowhere was exoticism more evident than in the Orientalists' vision of women in the Middle East, as Graham-Brown shows in the introduction to her book on images of women in the region.[279] However, in the case of Marie al-Khazen, it is she herself who is exoticizing her own culture by dressing up like a bedouin. Othering her own culture helps her situate herself at the very threshold within the binary between the modern and the traditional. She is divided between longing for a tribal past and fully participating in the modern culture that was rapidly taking shape during the second decade of the Twentieth Century. Are plates nos. 55 & 85 a projection of al-Khazen as a historical subject? As a cosmopolitan woman? Can the traditional be considered modern in this case?

The common practice of posing in different attires referring to two different time frames when produced by a Westerner is understood as a reflection of the subject's playful imagining of herself as participant in an exotic adventure. Whereas, when performed by a local indigenous person, the same practice signifies an aspiration to be modern (assuming that being modern is defined as acquiring the refined tastes of orientalizing or exoticizing cultures). When represented in a photograph, the gap between the old and the new, the traditional and the modern, the tacit and the outspoken, the peasant and the *bourgeoise,* is instrumental in the formation of her identity.

Notwithstanding the fact that these photos might conform to preconceived Western stereotypes, they can be read as a complex combination of fact and fantasy

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[279] 7.

recordings of Middle Eastern customs as well as al-Khazen's own fictitious accounts of this new, emerging world. The al-Khazen *bourgeoise* shares the orientalist taste in exoticizing peasant life, but she also seems to share the interest taken by orientalists in travelling and the discovery of other cultures. For her, embodying an ethnographic gaze means becoming modern. She places herself in this category by staging scenes, dressing up as a bedouin and resorting to props which stereotypically signify the exotic East — the tent, the turban and the coffee kettle as seen in plates nos. 56 & 57. In interpreting al-Khazen's photos in this way, I question the idea that Orientalist representations simply express the politics of Western domination. I argue instead that Orientalism is often produced through cross-cultural interactions as a result of increased mobility and the circulation of images through the press.

Although, there are stylistic similarities between al-Khazen's stereotypical image of the bedouin and the traditional Middle Eastern women represented in postcards and photographs circulating in the West, these are not to be understood as imitations; instead, they reveal a visual language of resistance to colonization. What is at stake in this representation is the fact that the bedouin, who is not only a representative of traditionalism but also of a lower social class, *is* the cosmopolitan woman, Marie al-Khazen the *bourgeoise,* who, in turn, *is* the photographer. The semantic resonance comes into play depending on who, where, when, and how the photo has been produced. In the case of al-Khazen, her presence as a cosmopolitan woman juxtaposed with her presence as a bedouin is exemplary in its establishing of a strategy of shifting alliances from a Western gaze, to a more traditional gaze and, finally, to the gaze of the producer of the

image. This enables a pragmatic articulation of a local indigenous feminine individualism through orientalist visual culture.

Al-Khazen seems to reject the notion of discarding tradition and the past in order to enter modernity. She proposes an alternative which takes the shape of a liminal space situated between both cultures. Becoming modern without negating her Ottoman origins. Her identity is situated on the cusp between two separate cultures, the Ottoman or old/ancient/past culture and the French, "new" culture. The juxtaposition of the two photos implies a third space, a liminal space as invoked by Homi Bhabha, in which al-Khazen can manifest her in-between class and in-between cultural identity.[280]

The tension between the Orientalist representation of women in the Middle East and the changing attitudes to women's social, cultural and economic roles at the turn of the Century is made visible in the juxtaposition of these two photographs. This certainly adds an interesting twist to the old orientalist debate. Instead of reinforcing the Orientalist perspective of the Middle East as a simple society, it complicates this relation to create ambiguities. Representing her self across both sides simultaneously bridges the theoretical gap between Western and Middle Eastern women. This, in turn, contributes to a positioning of Woman as historically atemporal and modern at the same time. By virtue of her travelling, Al-Khazen distanced herself from her own culture; through her ability to perceive her culture from the outside, she partook of the West's impulse to exoticize her own culture.

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[280] In Homi K. Bhabha "Of Mimicry and Man: the ambivalence of colonial discourse," in Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 56-72.

Chapter Seven

Al-Khazen's "Successful Failures:"

glitches or surreal photography?[281]

Shadows in al-Khazen's Photographs

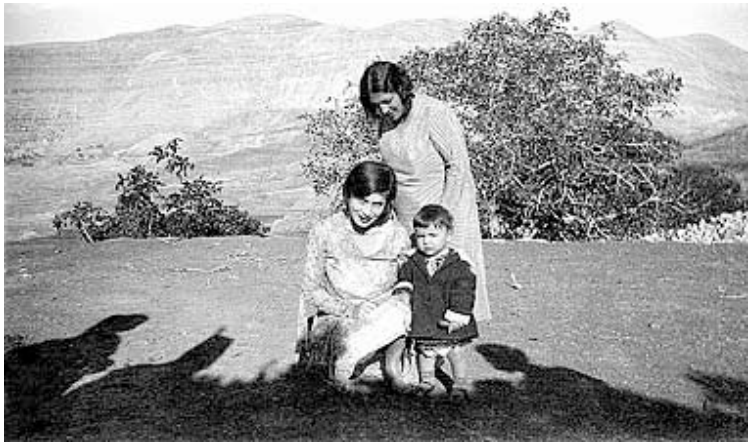

Plate no. 105

In this scene, a child is holding on to his mother with his aunt standing behind the two figures (plate no. 105). In the background, we see a panoramic view of mountains in Lebanon. Dazzled by the sun the mother and child have difficulty looking into the camera. The child's aunt does not even attempt to look up; she seems as though she is talking to them. The mother, her head slightly bent, seems shy and the child holding on to

[281] Part of the material in this chapter was delivered as a lecture at the Minor Photography conference organized by the Lieven Gevaert Centre for Photography in Leuven, Belgium.

his mother is afraid. The three subjects seem intimidated. Intimidated by whom? … The crowd behind the camera!

After having set up the tripod, it looks like the three men stepped out of the space of the photograph. The natural source of light produced a dark area in the foreground that witnesses their presence. Their shadows converge with the subject of the photograph that is the triangular form shaped by the two women and the child. In plate no. 105, there are more people outside of the frame than inside it. Four heads are protruding from the dark cloud in the foreground. What appears to be the photographer's head — identified by the shape of her hairstyle which sets her apart from the other silhouettes and appears in other photographs by al-Khazen — overlaps with the mother, the main figure in the photograph. The dark area in the foreground, along with shadows of the predominantly male figures wearing *tarabish* and al-Khazen herself taking the picture, act to overwhelm the scene presented in the photograph. Is the shadow in the photograph a glitch or did al-Khazen intend to focus on the shadow more than on the actual subjects? What was the main subject of this photograph: the three subjects standing in front of the camera or the shadow of the crowd standing behind the camera of which the photographer is part?

Plate no. 103

Plate no. 97

Plate no. 102

In plates nos. 97, 102 & 103, the photographer's shadow appears in the foreground of the photographs. Upon close inspection of the photographer's silhouette, it becomes obvious that the camera is held by the photographer at waist level: in order to shoot the photo, al-Khazen had to look down into the viewfinder. This reveals the type of camera she must have used: the Eastman Brownie box or Day-light Kodak. This model had a system for loading film outside the darkroom and was put on the market at the end of the Nineteenth Century and most probably exported to Lebanon a few years later.[282] It was not until a few years before these photographs were taken that Eastman Kodak issued cameras which allowed the photographer to calculate the proper shutter speed and aperture according to lighting conditions and subject.[283]

In plate no. 103, al-Khazen presents her shadow at the foreground of a crowd; in plate no. 97 her shadow falls on the figure of her brother; and in plate no. 102, her shadow appears right between the shooter's legs! This begs the question, yet again, whether she deliberately placed these shadows by integrating them within the themes of her photographs or whether they appeared accidentally?

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[282] Sarah Greenough, Diane, Waggoner, Sarah Kennel, & Matthew S. Witkovsky, (Eds). *The Art of the American Snapshot, 1888-1978: from the collection of Robert E. Jackson* (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2007), 280.

[283] Ibid. 281. For more on the Eastman camera see Colin Ford, & Karl Steinorth (Eds.) *You Press the Button We Do the Rest: the birth of snapshot photography* (London: Nishen in association with the National Museum of Photography Film and Television, 1988).

Plate no. 4.6

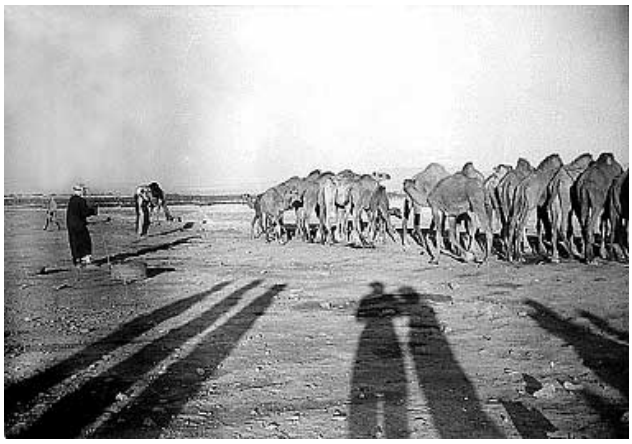

Plate no. 4.7

The presence of shadows in early Twentieth Century prints was not uncommon as most photographs were taken outdoors — flashbulbs lights were not widely used until they became commercially available in the 1930s.[284] Depending on time of day — whether it is noon, sunrise or dawn — and on the position of the subjects in relation to the sun, shadows are almost unavoidable in photographs. Yet, their position and the extent to which they extend deeper into the space of the photograph is under the photographer's control. In plates nos. 4.6 & 4.7, shadows appear in prints by professional Lebanese photographer Jibrail Jabbur (1900-1991).[285]

Shadows also appear in other professional photographers' prints, such as those of Lee Friedlander and Jeroen Kramer, who intentionally use the presence of shadows in their photographs to communicate various messages. In the case of one of Kramer's

[284] Greenough et al., 282.
[285] Jibrail Jabbur was a historian and a professional photographer who learned photography with Manoug Alemian, a renowned photographer in Beirut during the 1920s.

photographs, shadows metaphorically symbolize the presence of death in the photograph.[286] The projected outline of the photographer's body, as within the frame of a picture, implies that the photographer can be simultaneously both behind the camera and in front of it. Following this logic, al-Khazen's shadow can be taken to represent the imposition of the photographer upon her world and her subject.

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In the opening chapter of his *The Order of Things,* Michel Foucault examines *La Meninas* (1656) by Diego Velázquez.[287] He dwells on the painter's presence within the painting in the *very time* of painting it. Foucault observes that "by standing back a little, the painter has placed himself to one side of the painting on which he is working."[288] In al-Khazen's case, we can read the photograph as if al-Khazen has inserted herself in her photograph: by standing behind her camera with the source of light — here, the sun — in her back, she has placed herself, through her shadow, at the center of her photograph, using her shadow as a metaphor of her presence. This moment, according to Foucault, can be described as "a moment of stillness, at the neutral center" oscillating between two spaces: the one *represented* and the one *outside representation*. Just as "the painter [in *Las Meninas*] could not at the same time be seen on the picture where he is represented and also see that upon which he is representing something," Marie al-Khazen in her shadow photos "could not at the same time be seen on the picture where [s]he is represented and also see that upon which [s]he is representing something."[289] In

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[286] Jeroen Kramer, *Room 103 (*Amsterdam: Noorderlicht, 2009), 38.
[287] Michel Foucault "Las Meninas," in Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things; an archaeology of the human sciences* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), 3-16.
[288] Ibid, 3.
[289] Ibid.

Foucault's words, al-Khazen stands at "the threshold of two incompatible visibilities."[290] A possible hypothesis, then, is that she may have inserted her shadow voluntarily into the photographs in order to claim authorship of them.

Rather than looking at what is represented in the picture, I propose to look at that which is not in the photograph: the subject who remains just behind the very edge of the frame. A female silhouette, reaching out towards the depth of the photographic space recurs in all three photographs, as we have seen in the above plates (nos 97, 102 & 103). In redirecting our view to what is happening outside the frame of the photograph, the photographs restore visibility to that which resides outside the view of the camera.

Although al-Khazen is outside the frame, her shadow successfully enters the space of the picture. Yet, according to Foucault, "it is not possible, for the pure felicity of the image ever to present in a full light both the master who is representing and the sovereign who is being represented."[291] In other words, one cannot be both the producer of the photograph and a subject in the photograph at the same time. Al-Khazen partially enters the photographic space in the form of her shadow. She is positioned in the in-between, at the threshold of two visibilities. She situates herself within the interstice between the light source behind her and the scene unfolding in front of her. The viewer is invited to imagine her while she is not in the picture; rather, she stands outside the scene of the photograph, in what-is-not the photograph.

Another reading might be based on the assumption that al-Khazen's shadow serves to insert her within the predominantly masculine space of the photograph. If the act of controlling the gaze is perceived as a masculine act, according to theoretical

[290] Ibid, 8.
[291] Ibid.

accounts of the gaze, then al-Khazen's shadows reverse these power relations by revealing the female in control of predominantly masculine spaces represented in the photographs.[292] She acquires this agency while placing herself within the frame of the image that she has produced.

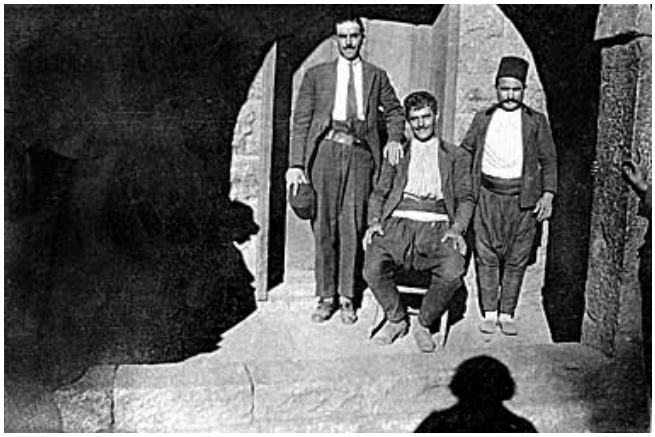

Plate no. 100

In plate no. 100, the dark area in the photograph seems to be visually important. Once more, the division of spaces within the photograph seems focused more on the shadow than on the three subjects posing in front of the camera. The photograph is divided between the subjects posing and waiting to be looked at, and the actively looking

[292] Theoretical accounts of the gaze as in John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*. New York, N.Y.: Viking Press, 1973), 74-81; Laura Mulvey *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989); and Griselda Pollock "Missing Women: rethinking early thoughts on images of women," in Carol Squiers (Ed.), *Over Exposed: essays on contemporary photography* (New York: The New Press, 1999), 229-246.

subjects, such as the silhouette protruding from the shadow of an arch, wearing a Western style hat and looking into the scene. Once again, the photographer's recognizable shadow, holding her camera at waist level, is in the foreground of the image.

More Glitches: superimposed negatives, double exposures and blurring in photographs

Plate no. 99

In this photograph, Marie al-Khazen had gathered a group of children around her newly baptized nephew seated in the middle of the image (plate no. 99). She must have gone back and forth many times in the heat of a sunny day, instructing the children where to stand and how to behave in front of the camera. While al-Khazen was arranging the position and the pose of each little model, carefully studying the reflection of light on each of her subjects, the baby in the middle started crying. Behind her camera, she must have instructed them to look into the viewfinder and smile. But al-Khazen's maneuvering with her models and her device took so long that we may assume that the children got impatient and bored waiting for the photographer to release them. Everything seemed

perfect for the photograph until unpredictable elements intervened — the impatient baby who started crying and the children who became distracted by circumstances outside the frame of the photograph, their smiles fading into saddened expressions waiting impatiently for the device's button to click. The button finally clicked. However, it must have clicked twice. Once printed, al-Khazen's negative revealed an ambiguous composition of distorted bodies: two overlapping views emerged, creating a composition where multiple shadows or the silhouettes of heads fade into the background.

In her photo, as seen in plate no. 99, a crying baby is seated in a highchair in the center of the photograph surrounded by overlapping faces and floating eyes strangely looking in opposite directions — two boys looking downwards, two other boys looking upward. The faces of the boy on the far left and the girl on the far right are resolved neither into black nor white; they appear as transparent bodies, almost as spirits. The girl's hazy face recedes into the background whereas the boy's almost transparent face melts into the structure of the house, or what appears to be a hill, behind him. The girl on the right has two chins. Her white eyeballs reveal that she is gazing at the space outside the far left frame of the photograph. On the left side, the boy's eyes recede into the face of the boy behind him. We can only see his profile, and his right ear is floating in space. The crying baby is the only figure who escapes distortion by the image.

The rest of the figures appear as though they are overlapping or overlapped by other figures in the background. One of the striking elements here is that the foreground/background relation has lost its point of reference, which means that the

perspective in this photograph is "incommensurable."[293] The photographic manipulation forces a double reading upon the viewer — a constant shifting of axes between al-Khazen's double shots. No resolution is possible because the two shots have been dissolved into each other. This is analyzed using the framework offered by Douglas Crimp in his analysis of the effect of light on the negatives in Edgar Degas's enigmatic early photographs. According to Crimp:

> Before the light of the world can be registered on the print, it first must undergo a reversal at the intervening stage of the negative. At this point, however, the breakdown is not strictly one of light and dark. It is, rather, one of opacity and transparency. Thus at the stage of the negative, light and dark are not only reversed, they are radically converted. Anything that reflects light in the world registers itself as opacity on the negative, thereby being given the power to obscure, to block out what is dark; while the absence of light — darkness, shadow, obscurity — registers itself as transparency.[294]

However, in the case of al-Khazen's plate no. 99, at the specific moment when the button was accidentally clicked twice, two shots were registered on the same negative. As a result, the shadows and lights on the negative were not resolved into black or white. Rather, the two appear simultaneously. The subjects, like ghosts, emerge into visibility through each other.

Four "semi-transparent" women appear in this photograph, two in the backspace and one bleeding off the left edge of the photograph. We can see the skirt and the toes of the woman's missing body. Another woman is seated behind the baby's chair. The punctum in this photograph, to borrow Barthes's term, could be seen as the woman's

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[293] Douglas Crimp "Positive/Negative: a note on Degas's photographs," *October* 5 (1978), 89-100: 91.
[294] Ibid.

hands in the center of the photograph.[295] The hands are leaning on the back of the baby's highchair. The woman's ghostly body appears to have become visible by accident. She is suspended between appearing and disappearing. The photograph depicts two crossed hands — this time overlapping the baby's highchair. At this point, what is obstructed and what remains in the photograph is decided by the camera!

The difference between plate no. 99 and the following plates (nos. 38 & 40) lies in the fact that the first one was found in the form of a negative, whereas the other two were acquired by the collector, Mohsen Yammine, in the form of prints. This means that the first one was produced instantly at the push of the second button whereas the following two plates were produced in the darkroom by superimposing two different negatives. In other words, for the last two, the "two incompatible moments" were carefully chosen; they were intentionally overlapped to create a third space; that of the printed photograph. It is my assumption that al-Khazen had intentionally overlapped two negatives to produce a third layer of meaning through her photographs.

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Can human vision perceive two separate moments simultaneously? What is the result of such a manipulation of vision? The result can be read as the overlapping or superimposition of two different moments occurring at the moment of the second click of the button and materialized as two separate moments on the same print.

Double exposure was a technique commonly used as part of experimentation with the camera at the turn of the Century, when "spirit photography" gained enormous publicity

[295] Barthes, 27.

two decades after its discovery.[296] Photographers of the 1860s "tricked" their viewers by making them believe that spirits made appearances in their photographs. A notorious example is that of William Mumler. In the 1860s, this American photographer claimed to have brought back the dead in his photographs.[297] As in Mumler's prints, in al-Khazen's photographs ghosts — disproportioned humans and disfigured faces —appear (plates nos. 77, 99 & 101). Analyzing the following two photographs provides additional insights into Marie al-Khazen's "surreal experiments."

Plate no. 101

Like plate no. 99, plate no. 101 also presents superimposed images, yet this photograph seems more staged than the previous one. A representation of two overlapping moments, this photograph depicts the same space in two different times. The trees, overlapping a woman's lower body while her horse stands as a transparent entity

[296] Phillip Prodger examines 'spirit apparitions' in Oscar Gustave Rejlander's photographs in Phillip Prodger, *Darwin's camera: art and photography in the theory of evolution (*Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 212-213.
[297] Louis Kaplan, *The Strange Case of William Mumler, spirit photographer* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 8.

through which we can see *shaykh* Khazen and al-Khazen in the background, creates a visual effect by which the image of the woman appears and disappears simultaneously. It seems as though, in the metaphysical space of this hallucinatory image, the background has advanced to become part of the foreground in a composition that deploys a distorted perspective. This double exposure — the print that includes two separate negatives, one of a man riding a horse and another of a woman riding the same horse — creates the illusion of a man and a woman sharing the same space. The woman in the foreground appears to be almost twice the size of the man in the background. From the shadow on the ground we see that it is midday. Both subjects are looking straight into the viewfinder. They both look as though they stopped riding their horses in order to pose for the camera.

This is, obviously, not a conventional photograph depicting a couple riding horses together. Rather, this print conflates two moments, two negatives, two overlapping subjects viewed from different perspectival angles. Each view or each moment was carefully staged: Marie al-Khazen must have asked her brother to wear the *'abaya* and pose as if riding his horse in a three-quarter position at a distance. In the second shot, al-Khazen must have requested that the woman wear the same *'abaya* and climb on the same horse in the same setting. Yet, the photograph of the woman was taken from a different angle — both at closer range and from below. Consequently, the woman's presence in the photograph has an overwhelming, as well as an imposing, posture as she gazes down at the viewer. Her size is exaggerated in comparison to that of *shaykh* al-Khazen in the back. It is as if the woman's body is so large that she does not fit into the frame of the photograph; her headscarf is bleeding off the edge.

Al-Khazen rarely depicts subjects who bleed off the frame of her photographs. In chapter three, I discussed how photography imposes a social order in the conventional representation of the family. In some cases, men are given more importance by being placed in the center of the photograph (plates nos. 39 & 78). However, in plate no. 101, the photograph imposes a gender hierarchy that distorts the social order by increasing the size of the woman and reducing that of the man.

The woman who occupies almost three-quarters of the space of the photograph represents an almost impossible dimension and proportion. Marie al-Khazen's feminist statement in creating a metaphysical or an impossible space produces a metaphor that disavows the assumed position/role of women as secondary. In her society, a woman's social, political and cultural role were perceived as inferior to those of men. However, she countered dominant assumptions about women by placing the emphasis of the photograph on the woman and granting her more presence than was afforded to the man.

Plate no. 77

In plate no. 77, three children overlap thirteen men in the background. The scene takes place in front of a public phone booth. White ribbons are decorating or hanging from the collars of most of the men's suits. The men look as though they were walking

back from or towards a public ceremony. Two religious men stand in the center of the photograph surrounded by the group. These two men stand out from the crowd: unlike the other men, they have beards and are wearing eyeglasses and crosses as religious symbols. The edge of what looks like a street bench interrupts the marching of the convoy. The presence of three children, two of them smiling, interrupts the austerity and seriousness of the men's gathering.

Once again, two images are blurred together, challenging the viewer's interpretation of the final image. Nothing seems stable in the floating space of this photograph. There is a fragility that is displayed to the viewer, a kind of double spectacle that allows for new interpretations. To accentuate the mystery behind this photograph, a ubiquitous and unidentifiable creature wearing a hat — second from the right — stands with the crowd. Why did the camera obscure this face in particular and not the others?

This photo can be read as the result of the collapse of two radically opposed worlds: a man's world, marked by a context that involves political as well as religious affairs, and a children's world of fun and fantasy. It gives the illusion that the upper body of the two men who are the main figures of the group are melting into the children's bodies. Can it be that al-Khazen is mocking the men in the photo? She might have produced this representation to mock complex socio-political and religious relationships among the restricted masculine sphere in Zgharta at the time.

The Photographic Glitch

This brings us back to the question about whether al-Khazen's photographs are accidental or intentional *glitches*. A glitch is a mistake. It is often used to describe an

transient electronic fault that ultimately resolves itself. The term is particularly common in the computing industries but its meaning has also been appropriated beyond technical use and covers a wide variety of accidental mistakes. Glitches in photographs, or "defective" photographs such as abruptly cropped prints and double exposures which create odd but unexpectedly compelling images, have been the object of increased attention in recent years.[298]

Nevertheless, in the early days of photography, and until the turn of the Twentieth Century, glitches were considered mistakes to be avoided by professional photographers. They were considered to be the products of *bad* practice. Suggestions, tricks and technical maneuvers for avoiding glitches were offered in numerous photography manuals and articles. For example, photographers were often advised to use headrests to avoid blurred portraits. Other suggestions included the advice to work at midday to eliminate unwanted shadows. Some photography manuals introduced novel effects to amateur photographers such as "how to create silhouettes, plays on perspectives, and double exposures that made ghostly forms appear." [299] Others listed common mistakes and how to avoid them, such as "portraits with heads cut off, images blurred by a subject moving, problems with foreshortening, lack of focus, intended double exposures, shadows cast by the photographer, too much foreground or too much sky."[300] In *Al-Muqtataf,* numerous articles were published in a regular column providing advice,

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[298] For discussions on mistakes in photography see Mia Fineman, *Other Pictures: anonymous photographs from the Thomas Walther collection* (Santa Fe: Twin Plams, 2000), 43; and Diane Waggoner "Photographic Amusements 1888-1919," in Sarah Greenough et al (Eds) *The Art of the American Snapshot, 1888-1978: from the collection of Robert E. Jackson* (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2007), 9-44: 17.
[299] Waggoner, 17.
[300] Ibid, 18.

discussion and models available to the new amateur which sought to define what constituted a suitable photograph.

For al-Khazen these glitches were part of an experimental technique, employed and appreciated, as we have seen, in a number of photographs where she explored shadows and double exposures. Not only did she preserve her *mistakes,* but she also produced a great many of them. A number of indices point toward the hypothesis that some of these *glitches* were carefully planned by al-Khazen: by looking more closely at the cropping of her compositions and at the framing of her photographs, we realize that, contrary to our expectations although, according to a common understanding of photography, the photographs contained *mistakes,* these were carefully studied and perhaps made on purpose. One example is the inclusion of the photographer's shadow in the photographs. Marie al-Khazen did not discard or hide her glitches; instead, she celebrated the accidental glitches within her photographs.

Marie al-Khazen's Glitches Read as Surrealist Photographs

Viewed today, can these photographs be understood as premature visions ahead of their time? Could this be the reason why these photographs were discarded for nine decades before they surfaced again? There is a possibility that al-Khazen's photographs — except for plates nos. 77 & 101 — were never printed, and therefore never seen, until the Arab Image Foundation collected, printed and later made them available online by digitized them. Nevertheless, they were preserved by their producer, which suggests that al-Khazen acknowledged the importance of what Pierre Bourdieu has called a "middle-

brow art."[301] Yet, she was reluctant to have the negatives circulate, at least while she was still alive. The fact that she had kept the photographs tells us that she appreciated their effect. She did not view the *dédoublement* effect, the deformed figures and distorted landscapes (plates nos. 99, 77 and 101) and her dark silhouette in the foreground (plates nos. 97, 98, 100, 102, 103 and 105) as *mistakes* or visual *defects,* but, rather, she viewed these *glitches* as the means by which a "new vision" of her surroundings could be communicated.

A Brief History of Surrealism in the Middle East

The "new vision" is a notion of surreal photography developed in the 1920s by László Moholy-Nagy, a Hungarian painter and photographer of the Bauhaus school. Moholy-Nagy defined "new vision" as a form of optic possibility constructed by chemical photography.[302] The discovery of photography as a new language, based on "exploration and revelation" as seen in Moholy-Nagy's *théories photographiques* spread to Egypt and Lebanon two decades later through surrealist thinkers such as the poets Georges Henein and Georges Shehadeh.[303] In the early 1940s, Henein was involved with the Francophone study group *Les Essayistes*.[304] In Lebanon, the francophone poet

[301] In Bourdieu (1990).
[302] Herbert Molderings, *L'évidence du Possible: photographie moderne et surréalisme* (Paris: Textuel, 2009), 10.
[303] Moholy-Nagy's *théories photographiques* are discussed in Molderings (1990), 16-21. For more on the surrealist movement in Egypt see Sarane Alexandrian, Kamil Q. Daghir, & Georges Henein, *Jurj Ḥunayn: ra'id al-Surriyaliyin al-'Arabi* (Cairo: Manshurat al-Jamal, 1999).
[304] Jean-Jacques Luthi "Le Mouvement surréaliste en Égypte," Mélusine 3 (1981), 18-31.

Georges Shehadeh, born in Alexandria, was a surrealist playwright. Shehadeh moved to Paris in 1949, where he was active in the surrealist group led by André Breton.[305]

There are limited resources concerned with the study of surreal photography in the Middle East, except for Issam Nassar's exploration of a rare example of playful surreal composition created by an unknown photographer in Palestine in 1922. In his *Laqatat mughayira: Palestine, 1850-1948 (Different Snapshots: Palestine, 1850–1948),* Nassar examines this photograph.[306] From its caption we know that it shows the same man, Skafi, who appears in the photograph in four different positions, sitting around a dining table eating a human head — that of Mr. Skafi himself![307]

Whether al-Khazen was conscious of surrealism as a movement, or was exposed to the growing surrealist circle in Europe will remain a mystery. Although Marie al-Khazen was not necessarily associated with the surrealist movement during the 1930s she did produce a number of photos which can be understood in retrospect as surrealist works.

Her compelling use of shadows in the photograph and her efforts in producing double exposure prints can be read as discoveries of photography's new language based on "exploration and revelation" to follow Moholy-Nagy's definition of the "new vision."[308]

In *Photographie et surréalisme*, Alain Fleig describes the impossible space depicted in surreal photography as a replica: the photograph produces a sign, at the same

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[305] Heribert Becker "Levantine Surrealism," *Qantara* (2006), n.p.
[306] Issam Nassar, *Laqatat mughayira: Palestine 1850-1948* (London: Qattan Foundation, 2005), 151.
[307] Ibid.
[308] Molderings, 10.

time that it implicates a *dérive* of the sign, its self-reference detached from the original.[309] According to Fleig, "each photo is a derivation of a vision of reality."[310]

In his *L'évidence du possible,* Herbert Molderings announces a shift in the radical scientific paradigm of photography. [311] In line with Molderings, Rosalind Krauss argues that the surrealist vision and the photographic vision coincide in this sense.[312] She describes the outcome as the result of photographic vision that coincides with surreal vision.[313] Photography which was initially perceived as a medium for the documentation of natural scenes is now used to produce surreal images.[314]

Molderings uses Moholy-Nagy's notion of surreal photography as a "new vision:" instead of recording what is already there, the camera will eventually depict what is not visible, such as floating figures and body parts, and seek to fixate them as if they were, indeed, present. Krauss maintains that

> surrealist photography exploits the special connection to reality with which all photography is endowed. For photography is an imprint or transfer off the real; it is a photochemically processed trace causally connected to that thing in the world to which it refers in a manner parallel to that of fingerprints or footprints …[315]

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[309] Alain Fleig, *Photographie et surréalisme I* (Paris: Editions Ides et Calendes, 1997), 47 (my translation).
[310] Ibid.
[311] Molderings, 9.
[312] Rosalind Krauss "A Note on Photography and the Simulacral," *October* 31(1984) 49-68.
[313] Krauss, 61
[314] Ibid.
[315] Ibid, 62.

In this way the photographic medium is exploited to produce a paradox: the paradox of reality constituted as sign.[316] Might we, then, read al-Khazen's plates, examined in this chapter, as a sign which provides us with a "new" vision of her milieu?

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The surreal photograph does not represent reality but al-Khazen's own vision of reality. Al-Khazen's photograph refutes reality in large measure by reversing gender hierarchies. From this perspective, the photograph can be understood as a vehicle for communicating al-Khazen's vision of gender relations. Through this distorted photograph, a surrealist perspective explores the possibility of an alternative gender relation, one in which masculinity and femininity are negotiated in a third space, that of al-Khazen's photographs.

[316] Ibid, 63.

Conclusion

It is my intention, in this section, to recapitulate the main arguments of my dissertation. My thesis drew on gender and post-colonial theories in the analysis of Marie al-Khazen's corpus of 109 photographs. The thesis focuses on the following questions; How did Marie al-Khazen's work resonate within a politics of gender representation? What do these representations reveal about Arab and Western societies' perceptions of Arab women in the 1920s? What gender representations were socially acceptable and what, on the other hand, are some of the unacceptable gender representations as presented by al-Khazen's photographs? How were these gender representations challenged by al-Khazen's images?

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In my first chapter, I presented an overview of my methodology. In particular, I set out to present the challenges such a project entailed. I worked with photographs that were neither captioned nor dated on which little written information is available. Situating them in their historic context and tracing their cultural framework helped me understand their content. My account involved the analysis of the manner in which social behavior inhabited the photographs and the ways in which social relations were negotiated through them. To help organize the 109 photographs that form the corpus of al-Khazen's work, images that contained similar themes, activities, subjects and places were grouped in categories under six separate charts. These groupings in particular foregrounded different representations of gender.

The historical and semiotic 'enigmas' of these images were uncovered through this dissertation by first, turning to a reading of a selection of al-Khazen's images, second, to the historical discourse in which they were made and finally to how the images resonated as interventions from the position of a feminist perspective.

Chapter Two was devoted to a historical overview of photography in the Middle East. This chapter looked into authors who shaped the understanding of photography as a culturally and socially important medium. Along these lines, the Arab Image Foundation's archive of around 150 000 photographs assembled since 1996 from the Middle East, North Africa and the Arab diaspora was an inspiring source for scholars to consider new possibilities in approaching photography and its meanings within the region. Scholars who have pursued this project have rejected linear history based on the chronological classification of photographs and turned instead to studying the photographs' ideological functions and significations within their context. Following these same lines, my approach relied on the writing of historical accounts that go beyond the development of photographic practice and techniques. My writing on the history of photography in the Middle East and North Africa was informed by a history of the different ways in which people have appropriated the medium of photography to produce an image of themselves. This brings us back to Marie al-Khazen who was not the only woman in the region who exploited the new medium in the first half of the Twentieth Century, but she was one of the few whose photographs have been found and preserved. What is important is that she was still alive when her photographs were found. As a result, she was able to identify herself and claim her agency over her own production of the photographs.

Born at the end of the last decade of the Nineteenth Century, al-Khazen was among the first generation of Lebanese to be exposed to the first printed photographs in periodicals through which women became increasingly visible. The representation of women in these magazines might have influenced al-Khazen's own efforts at self-representation. Nevertheless, the depicition of women in al-Khazen's photographs was unlike the mainstream imagery of women in magazines of the time. In particular, in al-Khazen's photographs, women were not necessarily posing for purposes of seduction; they possessed strong personalities; They faced the camera with dignity and overwhelming presence. Women appeared to be, in al-Khazen's photographs, of their own volition, as if they wanted to be photographed while doing things such as driving, fishing, smoking, riding horses, visiting touristic sites, and travelling.

How and in what way men inhabited Marie al-Khazen's photographs was the focus of Chapter Three. This chapter examined the ways photographs disseminated ideas and meanings by generating discursive notions on gender. Gender was explored as a category used to express differences between male and female individuals depending on a combination of naturally endowed and chosen attributes and appearances. I examined the different ways manhood or *rujuliyya,* particularly in the rural areas in Lebanon, is culturally represented through an amplified masculinity. From having a moustache, smoking a cigarette, sporting *tarabish* to holding rifles, a plethora of props and accoutrements appeared in the photos to denote signs of virility. The third chapter was thus a consideration of how al-Khazen's photographs re-affirmed certain attributes of maleness and, through this, symbolically reproduced the male figure's importance. The effect of this intensified masculinization in both the political and cultural spheres led to

the exclusion of the female presence within the public sphere limiting her space to the domestic domain.

Dislocating masculinity as represented in the photographs examined in Chapter Three was the subject of the fourth chapter. In Chapter Three, I argued that a number of al-Khazen's photographs dislocated the visual language of male supremacy, apparent in the previous chapter, in which the male figure was central. I discussed how al-Khazen has produced photographs that inverted the previous social logic by placing women in the center of the photographs. By doing so, al-Khazen, I argue, have used the medium of photography to negotiate an equal status for women in the photograph.

These photographs can be read as a rejection of assumed gender roles and an attempt on al-Khazen's part to immerse herself in masculine public spaces as opposed to feminine private spaces. In this line, al-Khazen's photographs seemed to derail masculine patriarchal discourse by inverting it. Through her photographs, she challenged the patriarchal status of her brother, father and uncle.

In an extensive examination of plate no. 86, in which al-Khazen and her sister appear wearing a men's suits under their father's painted portrait, I argued that the photograph produces an alternative social space. This particular photograph destabilizes fixed images of womanhood by exploring how femininity is redefined through the photograph in textual interpretation through which gender identity differences collapse in the setting, costume, position and pose of the represented subjects. I argued that Al-Khazen's *mise-en-abîme* of her father's portrait within the photograph can be read as a passage from a patriarchal space to a space dominated by women.

Chapter Five is a reading of a number of recurring representations that produce modernity in gendered ways as they manifest themselves in the photographs in which technology and progress — predominantly attributed to masculine subjects — appear in photographs depicting women. I began by identifying the ways in which modernity is commonly represented as related to the masculine sphere, I explored a number of Marie al-Khazen's photographs in which women appear driving cars and holding rifles. The photographs can be read as an appropriation of masculine attributes — the domain of rationality, scientific achievements, progress and technology — through the representation of women using machines.

Chapter Six centered upon women's own representation of the relationship between modernity and femininity as manifest through their position, gaze and attire in the picture. The representation of women as metaphors for change was the focus of this chapter. Marie al-Khazen was part of a cosmopolitan sensibility that reveals the region to be far more international than one might have imagined. Caught between projecting a self-image of the cosmopolitan woman and one of the traditional bedouin, her photographs provide a rich field for tracking the ambiguities of the modern. The change of attire was viewed positively as an entry into a modern era and means of getting rid of the past. Yet there was resistance from the traditionalists. I used the question of dress as a lens through which to view the shifting, contradictory, and contested relationships between individual and national identity within the fashion of the time.

How are we to make sense of Marie al-Khazen's colonial photographs taken at the height of European territorial expansion? How would the analysis of such alternative images, in which a local bourgeois woman disguises herself as a bedouin, cause us to

reshape our analysis of Orientalism? If these scenes are interpreted as feeding Western viewer Orientalist tastes, they represent a longing for modernity on the part of the local elite of Mandate Lebanon, who strove to demonstrate changes, not only of lifestyle and behavior, but also of taste itself.

In this line, I considered the figures of the cosmopolitan and the bedouin ambivalent. Yet, the female figure can be understood as the mediating force between the old world and the new, the desire for cultural differences and the desire for cultural integration. The juxtaposition of these two images can also dissolve the dichotomy between the West and the non-West by examining how women are linked to this relationship. In her self-portraits, Marie al-Khazen projects an image of a woman striving to become an urban subject by supporting evolution and progress, yet she is conscious of the uniqueness of her own culture and the necessity to preserve it. It is the education of women and their mastery of knowledge that was coded as a means of entering modernity. In this respect, it is not the woman wearing European dress who is modern but the one who has acquired a mastery of knowledge and a refined taste.

Glitches in photographs or "defective" photographs such as the presence of shadows in the foreground and the double exposures were the object of Chapter Seven. These odd, but unexpectedly compelling, images were interesting as they reveal al-Khazen's experimentation with her camera. In this chapter, rather than looking at what is represented in the photo, I proposed to look at what-is-not in the photograph, the subject who is outside the frame of the photographs. This is al-Khazen, the female silhouette, reaching out towards the depth of the photographic space. She is simultaneously taking the picture and *in* it. I dwelled on the way al-Khazen's pictures redirected our view to

what is happening outside the frame of the photograph by restoring visibility to that which resides outside the view of the camera. The viewer, in this situation, is invited to imagine the scene taking place behind the camera.

In the second part of Chapter Seven, I examined more of al-Khazen's glitches — this time it was the double exposures that allows the viewer to see two separate moments superimposed simultaneously. This aspect of the image creates tension between realistic and unrealistic representations that emerge from the transparencies. The tension is furthered by the understanding of the photograph as a medium that was originally perceived as documenting natural scenes is now used to produce *surreal* images. Laszlo Moholy-Nagy termed this visual effect *new vision*. Instead of recording what is already there, the camera will eventually depict what is not visible, such as floating figures and body parts. For this way the camera fixes them as if they were there.

The plates examined in Chapter Seven can be read as al-Khazen's "new vision" of her milieu. By this I mean they do not necessarily represent reality, but al-Khazen's vision of reality. The photograph in this sense can be understood as a vehicle for communicating al-Khazen's vision of gender politics in Lebanon at the beginning of the Twentieth Century.

In examining Marie al-Khazen's ambiguous photographs and by scrutinizing their social meaning, exploring the ideological, political, and aesthetic forces I interpreted a social history of the life in 1920s North of Lebanon. What remains of the photographs today is not only Marie al-Khazen's legacy but also the photographs' capacity to perform acts of cultural translation that challenge what we see and know of others and ourselves. This thesis, produced within a Department of Art History and Communications Studies,

treats photography in a manner that draws on perspectives developed in both disciplines. While it was my intention to acknowledge the status of al-Khazen as a female artist, I was also concerned with the capacity of photographs to communicate – to transmit, over time, images of social relations and al-Khazen's challenges to these relationships.

List of interviewees

Members of the al-Khazen family

- al-Khazen, Danielle: daughter of Joseph al-Khazen, Marie al-Khazen's nephew, July 19, 2010, Beirut, Lebanon.
- al-Khazen, Nadia: Marie al-Khazen's niece, September 2, 2010, Rayfun, Lebanon.
- al-Khazen, Nuha: married to Fouad al-Khazen, Marie al-Khazen's nephew, July 22, 2010, Ehden, Lebanon.
- al-Khazen, Rashid: son of Joseph al-Khazen, Marie al-Khazen's nephew, April 9, 2010, Beirut, Lebanon.
- Nassar, Reine: Marie al-Khazen's niece, 28 august, 2010, Bikfaya, Lebanon.
- Tabet, Salim: Marie al-Khazen's nephew, July 30, 2010, Junieh, Lebanon.
- Torbey, Louis: September 1, 2010, Antelias, Lebanon.

The collector and staff of the Arab Image Foundation

- Chkeibane, Sana: Collection Manager, Arab Image Foundation, June 11, 2010, Beirut, Lebanon.
- Sawaya, Tamara: Archivist, Arab Image Foundation, May 20, 2010, Beirut, Lebanon.
- Yammine, Mohsen, the collector of Marie al-Khazen's photographs, July 20, 2010, Zgharta, Lebanon.

Periodicals in Arabic

Al-Muqtataf, founded by Yaqub Sarruf & Faris Nimr 1876-1952 in Beirut.

Al-Hasnaʾ, founded by Jurji Niqula Baz in Beirut, 1909-1912.

Al-ʿArus, founded by Marie ʻAjami in Damascus, 1910-1918.

Fatat Lubnan, founded by Salima Abi Rashed in Beirut, 1914.

Al-Marʾa al-Jadida, founded by Julia Dimashqiyya in Beirut, 1921-1928.

Minerva, founded by Mary Yanni in Beirut, 1923-1930.

Ruz al-Yusuf, founded by Fatima al-Yusuf in Cairo, 1925-present.

Sawt al-Mar'a, founded by Idvik Shaybub in Beirut, 1945-958.

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Appendix

Plate no 1

Plate no 2

Plate no 3

Plate no 4

Plate no 5

Plate no 6

Plate no 7

Plate no 8

Plate no 10

Plate no 9

Plate no 11

Plate no 12

Plate no 13

Plate no 14

Plate no 15

Plate no 16

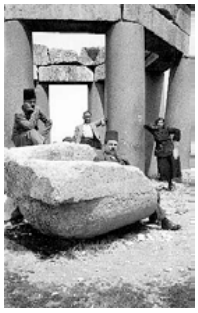

Plate no 17

Plate no 18

Plate no 21

Plate no 19

Plate no 20

Plate no 24

Plate no 22

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Plate no 26

Plate no 25

Plate no 27

Plate no 28

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Plate no 99

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Plate no 104

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Plate no 97

Plate no 100

Plate no 102

Plate no 105

Plate no 108

Plate no 98

Plate no 103

Plate no 106

Plate no 109

The following is a list all the photographs included in this thesis's captions — the reference number, the photographer, the title of the photograph, place and date and its collector — as listed on the Arab Image Foundation's website. The plates numbered from 1.1 to 4.7 are taken by various photographers. Plates numbered from 1 to 109 are the taken by Marie al-Khazen. These are listed on the Arab Image Foundation's website as snapshots, part of Mohsen Yammine's collection and copyright Arab Image Foundation.

Plate no. 1.1
0009ya00588, Amateur photographer: Hanna al-Alam
Saad al-Alam with his Children
Lebanon/Daraya, 1920
Collection: Mohsen Yammine

Plate no. 1.2
0009ya01123, Professional photographer: Agop Kuyumjian
Lebanon/Tripoli
Collection: Mohsen Yammine

Plate no. 1.3
0009ya01124, Professional photographer: Agop Kuyumjian
Lebanon/Tripoli
Collection: Mohsen Yammine

Plate no. 1.4
Photographed by Yasmine Nachabe
The house on tallet al-Khazen
Zgharta, 2010

Plate no. 1.5
Photographed by Yasmine Nachabe
The house on tallet al-Khazen
Zgharta, 2010

Plate no. 1.6
Photographed by Yasmine Nachabe
The back of Said al-Khazen's photograph,
Signed by the Bonfils
Collection: Nuha Karam al-Khazen

Plate no. 1.7
0018ko00007,
Anonymous photographer
Woman photographer in Morocco
Collection: Aisha el Kohen

Plate no. 1.8
0008ab00001, Amateur photographer: Selim Abu Izzeddin
Salim Mansur Abu Izzeddin and his wife Lutfiyah
Egypt/Cairo, 1898
Collection: Faysal Abu Izzeddin

Plate no. 1.9
0143ke00094,
Anonymous photographer
Sitting right: Hélène Kettaneh
Lebanon
Collection: Aimée Kettaneh

Plate no. 2.1
0030bi00008, Professional photographer: Garabed Krikorian
Hanna Bisharat and family
Palestine/Jerusalem, 1928
Collection: Mamdouh Bisharat

Plate no. 2.2
0009ya00578, Amateur photographer: Najib el-Alam
Zeina el-Alam, wife of René Meunier (former teacher at Daraya school)
Lebanon/Daraya, 1920
Collection: Mohsen Yammine

Plate no. 2.3
0006ma00015,
Anonymous photographer
Women posing with tennis rackets
Lebanon
Collection: Jenny Marrash

Plate no. 2.4
0009ya00571, Amateur photographer:
Najib el-Alam
Marcelle el-Alam
Lebanon, 1930
Collection: Mohsen Yammine

Plate no. 2.5
0005kh00012,
Anonymous photographer
Woman playing oud
Lebanon, 1920 - 1930
Collection: Georges Khayat

Plate no. 2.6
0143ke00114,
Anonymous photographer
Lebanon
Collection: Aimée Kettaneh

Plate no. 2.7
Photographed by Yasmine Nachabe
Portrait of Said al-Khazen
Painter Said Ghosn
Collection: Nuha Karam al-Khazen

Plate no. 2.8
Photographed by Yasmine Nachabe
Portrait of Wardeh Torbey
Painter Said Ghosn
Collection: Nuha Karam al-Khazen

Plate no. 2.9
0007ma00040,
Anonymous photographer
From the Mardam Bey family
Lebanon/Dhour Choueir, 1927
Collection: Hala Mardam Bey

Plate no. 3.1
0009ya00897, Professional
photographer: Muhamad Arabi
Woman Dressed up as a Man
Lebanon/Tripoli
Collection: Mohsen Yammine

Plate no. 3.2
0047he00016, Professional
photographer: Hilmy
Fatma Ahmad al-Hussein Dressed up as a Man
Egypt/Helwan, 1926
Collection: Shahwar Hegazi

Plate no. 3.3
0063ag00003,
Anonymous photographer
Marguerite Dressed up as a Man
Palestine/Jerusalem, 1935
Collection: Alice Agazarian

Plate no. 3.4
0196sa00004,
Anonymous photographer
Adeline Abiad - Abiad house
Palestine/Haifa, 1920-1930
Collection: Aimée Sacy

Plate no. 3.5
0215az00031,
Anonymous photographer
Woman Dressed up as a Man
Lebanon/Beirut, 1920 – 1930
Collection: Azar-Choucair

Plate no. 3.6
0069fa01065, Professional
photographer: Muhamad Arabi
Lebanon/Tripoli
Collection: Arab Image Foundation

Plate no. 3.7
0122ne00048,
Anonymous photographer
Woman Dressed up as a Man

Egypt
Collection: Amgad Neguib

Plate no. 3.8
0010sa00083, Professional
photographer: Marie-Lydie Bonfils
Woman in traditional clothing
Lebanon, 1880 - 1890
Collection: Nawaf Salam

Plate no. 3.9
0010sa00084, Professional
photographer: Marie-Lydie Bonfils
Woman in traditional clothing
Lebanon, 1880 - 1890
Collection: Nawaf Salam

Plate no. 4.1
0010sa00089, Professional
photographer: Marie-Lydie Bonfils
Woman in traditional clothing
Lebanon, 1880 - 1890
Collection: Nawaf Salam

Plate no. 4.2
0148na00013, Professional
photographer: Berbari
Sewing workshop
Lebanon/Beirut, 1920
Collection: Chadia Najjar

Plate no. 4.3
0026do00097, Professional
photographer: Bedros Doumanian
Jordan/Amman, 1940 - 1950
Collection: Bedros Doumanian

Plate no. 4.4
0025ka00063, Professional
photographer: Johannes Krikorian
Najla Krikorian. Palestine/Jerusalem, 1921
Collection: Aida Krikorian

Plate no. 4.5
0025ka00005, Professional
photographer: Johannes Krikorian
Najla Krikorian Palestine/Jerusalem, 1941
Collection: Aida Krikorian

Plate no. 4.6
0083ja00092, Professional
photographer: Jibrail Jabbur
Jabbur's wedding picnic
Lebanon, 1926
Collection: Norma Jabbur

Plate no. 4.7
0083ja00115, Professional
photographer: Jibrail Jabbur
Syrian Desert Syria, 1950
Collection: Norma Jabbur

Marie al-Khazen's photographs:

Plate no 1:
0009ya00523
Ryak airport
Lebanon/Tripoli, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 2:
0009ya00525
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 3:
0009ya00450
Lebanon/Maameltein, 1920 - 1930

Plate no 4:
0009ya00460
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 5:
0009ya00442
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 6:
0009ya00529
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 7:
0009ya00472
Lebanon/Dimane, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 8:
0009ya00482
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 9:
0009ya00457
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 10:
0009ya00489
El Khazen family
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1927

Plate no 11:
0009ya00504
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 12:
0009ya00474
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 13:
0009ya00512
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 14:
0009ya00517
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 15:
0009ya00493
Lebanon/Baalbek, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 16:
0009ya00453
Gargoyle, part of the Temple of Jupiter
Lebanon/Baalbek, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 17:
0009ya00462
El Khazen family posing next to the Dome of Douris
Lebanon/Baalbek, 1925

Plate no 18:
0009ya00449
Ryak airport
Lebanon/Tripoli, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 19:
0009ya00515
Lebanon/Baalbek, 1920 - 1930

Plate no 20:
0009ya00426
Ryak airport
Lebanon/Tripoli, 1924

Plate no 21:

0009ya00499
Beirut port
Lebanon/Beirut, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 22:
0009ya00522
Marie el Khazen's house
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 23: 0009ya00427
Carriage in front of the Khazen family house
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1927

Plate no 24:
0009ya00528
Lebanon, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 25:
0009ya00439
Marie el Khazen's house
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 26:
0009ya00476
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1929

Plate no 27:
0009ya00531
Marie el Khazen's house
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 28:
0009ya00484
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 29:
0009ya00483
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 30:
0009ya00516
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 - 1930

Plate no 31:
0009ya00466
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1930

Plate no 32:
0009ya00425
Donkey riding
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 - 1930

Plate no 33:
0009ya00497
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 34:
0009ya00432
Child leaning on a couch
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 35:
0009ya00443
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 36:
0009ya00503
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 37:
0009ya00434
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 38:
0009ya00444
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 39:
0009ya00526
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 40:
0009ya00440
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 - 1930

Plate no 41:
0009ya00438
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 42:
0009ya00452

Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 43:
0009ya00487
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 - 1930

Plate no 44:
0009ya00445
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 - 1930

Plate no 45:
0009ya00461
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 46:
0009ya00530
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 47:
0009ya00514
North Lebanon
Lebanon, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 48:
0009ya00491
Natural bridge of Faraya
Lebanon/Faraya, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 49:
0009ya00508
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 50:
0009ya00496
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 51:
0009ya00519
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 52:
0009ya00500
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 53:
0009ya00518
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 54:
0009ya00428
Bedouin woman in front of a tent
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 55:
0009ya00492
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 56:
0009ya00429
Bedouin women sitting in front of a tent
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 57:
0009ya00430
Bedouin women in front of a tent
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 58:
0009ya00506
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 59:
0009ya00513
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 60:
0009ya00431
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 61:
0009ya00451
Hospital room
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 62:
0009ya00433
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 63:
0009ya00511
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 - 1930

Plate no 64:
0009ya00463
Dressed up as a devil
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 65:
0009ya00479
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 66:
0009ya00437
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 67:
0009ya00478
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 68:
0009ya00494
Boy posing in front of a screen
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 69:
0009ya00524
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 70:
0009ya00464
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 71:
0009ya00469
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 - 1930

Plate no 72:
0009ya00498
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 73:
0009ya00447
Dabkeh dancers
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 74:
0009ya00470
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 - 1930

Plate no 75:
0009ya00454
"Oud" player surrounded by friends
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 76:
0009ya00521
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 77:
0009ya00533
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 78:
0009ya00485
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 79:
0009ya00459
Friends of Marie el Khazen in the garden of the family house
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1929

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Lebanon, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 81:
0009ya00486
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 82:
0009ya00435
Women standing in the middle of a lake
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 83:
0009ya00505
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 - 1930

Plate no 84:
0009ya00455
Marie el Khazen, Beirut port
Lebanon/Beirut, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 85:
0009ya00495
Marie el Khazen, Beirut port
Lebanon/Beirut, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 86:
0009ya00534
Dressed up as men
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1927

Plate no 87:
0009ya00501
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 88:
0009ya00436
Jounieh Littoral.
Lebanon/Jounieh, 1928

Plate no 89:
0009ya00475
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 90:
0009ya00477
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1931

Plate no 91:
0009ya00441
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 92:
0009ya00507
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 93:
0009ya00532
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 94:
0009ya00490
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 95:
0009ya00468
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920

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0009ya00527
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 97:
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Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 - 1930

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Juliette el Alam on a haystack
Lebanon/Daraya, 1933

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0009ya00458
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 100:
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Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 101:
0009ya00465
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1924

Plate no 102:
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Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 - 1930

Plate no 103:
0009ya00480
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 104:
0009ya00502
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 105:
0009ya00509
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 106:
0009ya00520
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 107:

0009ya00510
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 108:
0009ya00481
Afqa
Lebanon/Afqa, 1920 – 1930

Plate no 109:
0009ya00467
Lebanon/Zghorta, 1920 - 1930