"A Young Man of Promise"

Finding a Place for Stephan Hanna Stephan in the History of Mandate Palestine

Sarah Irving

Ibrahim Dakkak Award for Outstanding Essay on Jerusalem is an annual award launched in 2017 to commemorate the memory and work of Ibrahim Dakkak (1929–2016), former chairman of the Advisory Board.

If one has heard of Stephan Hanna Stephan at all, it is probably in connection with his ethnographic writings, published in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* (*JPOS*) in the 1920s and 1930s.[1] Stephan was one of what Salim Tamari tentatively calls a "Canaan Circle," the nativist anthropologists of Mandate Palestine, among whom the best known is Tawfiq Canaan.[2] Along with Elias Haddad, Omar Salih al-Barghuti, Khalil Totah, and others, they described and analyzed rural Palestinian culture and customs, seeing themselves as recording a disappearing way of life which, in its diversity, reflected the influences of myriad civilizations.[3]

This body of work, revived by Palestinian nationalist folklorists in the 1970s, is regarded as key to demonstrating the depth and longevity of Palestinian culture and identity, thus earning Stephan and his companions a place in the nationalist pantheon. However, as the research presented here highlights, his life story embodies two main themes above and beyond his ethnographic work. The first of these is Stephan's contribution to Palestinian intellectual production during the Mandate era, which was greater than he has been given credit for. The second is a foregrounding of the complexity of life under the Mandate, in which relations between Palestinian Arabs and Jews and members of the British administration overlapped on a daily basis, defying clear lines and easy ex post facto assumptions about personal and professional relations between the different communities.

In articles such as "Palestinian Parallels to the Song of Songs," published in *JPOS* in 1922, where Stephan lays out the lyrics of folk songs collected from singers and reciters across Palestine, Stephan certainly demonstrated his best known, Canaanist

perspective. As the title of the article suggests, he saw the songs he had gathered as incorporating elements from Biblical literary culture as well as links to Mesopotamian, Canaanite, and other civilizations.[4]

Such works support the idea that there was a kind of proto-nationalism to the writings of Stephan and his colleagues. This was not necessarily a *consciously* political way of articulating ethnographic ideas. Rather it stemmed from confidence in a Palestinian national and historical identity with ancient roots and contemporary richness and diversity – expressed in a way which can be seen as "strategic" in the challenge it posed to European and American scholarship which ignored modern Palestinian Arabs in favor of Jewish connections to the Holy Land.[5] Indeed, for Stephan to claim a Palestinian identity for the Song of Songs, as he clearly does in the article, shows the robustness of his belief in this idea. The Song was an important text in discourses of Zionist and Jewish identities; a common interpretation saw it as a hymnic articulation of the passionate love between the Jewish people and the land – the actual earth – of Israel.[6] To present the Song as inherently Palestinian was, therefore, a bold move.

Stephan's ethnographic work was important in its time and widely cited by international scholars. But, as this article shows, his talents and achievements went far beyond this. He left no diaries or memoirs, and few other documentary traces of his life, ideas, and works. But by piecing together the fragments of evidence that do exist, we can build up a picture of a scholar and thinker underrated both during and after his own lifetime.

Early Years

Stephan Hanna Stephan was born in the village of Bayt Jala, near Bethlehem, in 1894.[7] As a boy he studied at the Syrian Orphanage, or Schneller School, a Lutheran German institution established by Johann Ludwig Schneller in Jerusalem to house children made destitute in turmoil which swept Lebanon in 1860.[8] By the time Stephan attended it had become one of the most important schools in the city, teaching both the needy and the children (male and female) of mainly Christian families. It has a particular role in the histories of the "Canaan Circle," since it was attended by all three of the most prominent members – Canaan, Haddad, and Stephan.

Stephan H. Stephan with an unidentified baby on his lap. Place and date unkown. Family album.

Canaan and Haddad, both Lutheran Protestants, remained connected to this community throughout their lives, but Stephan was less integrated into Jerusalem's Lutherans, whether German- or Arabic-speaking, since he came from Bayt Jala's Syriac community.[9] Nevertheless, Stephan was baptized at the Schneller School, as he recorded in a letter many years later:

> About 40 days ago, the old director, Herr Schneller, passed away – Allah may welcome him in his grace. He was a gentleman in every respect. Today, on 24th May [in] 1908 he confirmed me. Back then, I was still a brat of barely fourteen.[10]

This letter places Stephan not only under the religious tutelage of Theodor Schneller, son of the school's founder, but also confirms his date of birth in or around 1894. It also highlights the fact that the Syrian Orphanage did not confine its education to Protestant children and that many of its alumni retained their own faiths.[11]

First Publications

Stephan's first articles for the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, published in 1921–22, have already been mentioned. But the same year he published another piece, one which situates him within debates happening across the Arabic-speaking world. This was a two-page article entitled simply "al-Mar'a" ("Woman"), in the January 1922 edition of *Sarkis*.[12] In it Stephan outlines an idea of the place of women in Palestinian society which bears the imprint of important works from the *Nahda*, or Arab renaissance, which flowered in Cairo and Beirut in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In particular, the arguments Stephan puts forward contain strong echoes of those found in two classics of Nahda thought on the role of women, Qasim Amin's *The Liberation of Women* and *The New Woman*.[13] In this view, women should not be confined to the home (as upper-class women often had been in the Ottoman era), should receive education, and should be entitled to work and have a public role, up to a point.[14] Like Amin, however, Stephan tends to articulate these ideas not in terms of rights for women, or of a fundamental sense of equality between the sexes, but because they represent a signal of modernity, linked to notions of social development and progress which permeated many strands of Arab thought and nationalism in the first half of the twentieth century.[15] Once women took a fuller role in it, a society was seen as having reached "the highest peaks of civil life, prosperity, civilization and urbanity."[16]

The significance of Stephan's article is twofold. Firstly, *Sarkis* was an important publication in Nahda circles, founded by Salim Bin Shahin of the prominent Sarkis family and running from 1905 to 1924.[17] Salim Sarkis had previously edited another magazine, *Mir'at al-Hasna'* (Mirror of the Beautiful), of which at least sixteen issues were printed

in Cairo in the late 1890s, before launching his eponymous journal.[18] The latter published writings on religion and society by figures such as Ameen al-Rihani,[19] and to find his work in it demonstrates that Palestinian writers, even one as insignificant at the time as Stephan, were not only conscious of and engaged with key institutions of Arab thought and culture at the time, but were reaching beyond their national press into the regional conversation.[20] Secondly, the content of Stephan's article shows his awareness of debates happening in this milieu, and his willingness to involve himself in them, seeing them not as the abstract concerns of Egyptian or Lebanese society but as discussions in which Palestine should also take part.

In terms of the actual woman in Stephan's life, we know little. He married and had children; one of these was a son called Arthur, according to a 1934 letter from Stephan to the Finnish anthropologist Hilma Granqvist, in which Arthur's bout of rheumatic fever and subsequent bed rest is mentioned.[21] A 1935 letter mentions two sons and Stephan's wife, although no names are given.[22] A chance email from Stephan's granddaughter, Cristina, cleared up some of these questions: Stephan's wife, Arasky Keshishian, was Armenian, and their two sons were Arthur and Angelo.[23]

Jerusalem under the British

Where Stephan spent the First World War remains a mystery. He might have been conscripted into the Ottoman military, although as a Christian he may not have seen the front line; many Ottoman officers did not trust non-Muslim conscripts, and instead used them as laborers and porters.[24] One clue that Stephan may have been in the Ottoman army is a reference in "Palestinian Parallels to the Song of Songs" to the "Kedkan Kurds between Jerablus (the ancient Carchemish on the Euphrates) and Mìmbij (the ancient Bambyce) . . ." from whom he heard a "Kurdish ditty."[25] Given that Stephan came from a modest, if educated, background, in which extensive travel might not have been expected, military service seems a likely explanation for his presence so far north.

For the period of British Mandatory rule in Palestine, Stephan was employed by the Mandate administration. He started out at the Treasury but,[26] with his knowledge of history and anthropology attested to by his *JPOS* writings, he soon moved to the Department of Antiquities. Despite his publications and long career, Stephan remained in fairly low-status roles, and never appeared in the lists of employees in the Blue Books, the official gazettes sent by all British colonial administrations to the Foreign and Colonial Office on an annual basis.

We can see in this the department's discriminatory practices, charted by several scholars: although numerically Arabs far outnumbered Jews amongst Mandate employees, the vast majority of the former were caretakers, guards, or other poorly paid, low-status jobs. Jewish staff of the Antiquities Department, by contrast, often arrived in Palestine with doctorates from European universities and were hired alongside British officials in

the most responsible posts, although the head of the department was always British.[27] The department did train a number of Arab antiquities inspectors, including Dimitri Baramki (later a professor at the American University of Beirut), Awni Dajani, and Salim Husayni (future leading figures in the Jordanian Antiquities administration). Some of these attained high positions during the Mandate, but they were few in proportion to their share of the Palestinian population.

Alongside the discriminatory hiring policies of the department, many of the scholars working there brought with them assumptions about "oriental" peoples, the place of the Bible in the history of Palestine, and the politics of the contemporary region, which colored their views of Arabs and Jews and their cultures and intellects.[28] These tendencies must be seen against a background of British Protestant notions about the Holy Land, which understood contemporary Palestinians as "degraded" relics of the Biblical past.[29] Besides affecting the status of Palestinian Arab employees within the department, these underlying ideas also resulted in distorted views of the material environment of Palestine itself, with Ottoman and other Islamic-era remains sidelined in the legislation and archaeological practices of the British administration.[30]

For Stephan, therefore, the Department of Antiquities must have been on one hand a workplace in which his fascination with history and ethnography could be satisfied, and on the other a site of personal and intellectual discrimination. He never became a full librarian in the Department of Antiquities (a position held by Leo Mayer 1933–34 and Walter Abel Heurtley 1934–38[31]), but he did work in the library of the Palestine Archaeological Museum;[32] and the *Palestine Gazette* reported in 1946 that the previous year he had been moved (perhaps promoted) from Assistant Librarian to Archaeological Officer.[33] The breadth of his duties and knowledge is highlighted by the range of publications and projects which bear his mark, ranging from translations of Ottoman legal documents,[34] to co-authorship of Dimitri Baramki's report on excavations at a Nestorian hermitage in the Jordan Valley.[35] Stephan's own description of the Museum library shows the importance of its holdings at the time:

> The Library is open only to students. It contains some 20,000 volumes on the archaeology, history, geography, topography, art and religions of Palestine and the Near East. A Records Section adjoining the Reading Room enables the student to obtain all the information he [sic] requires on any archaeological site in the country.[36]

Stephan was responsible for a project in the 1940s, in which the Palestine Museum sought out and made photostatic and handwritten copies of important manuscripts in private libraries in Jerusalem. Most of the museum's holdings survived the wars of 1948 and 1967 intact, remaining at the renamed Rockefeller Museum after its occupation by the State of Israel, so in some cases these copies are vital records of texts later lost, stolen or damaged.[37]

His employers recognized that Stephan's skills exceeded the level of his job;

correspondence exists from Robert Hamilton (chief inspector of antiquities, later director of the department) requesting permission from the Government Office to pay Stephan for his translations from Turkish, above and beyond his salary.[38] But given the endemic racism, it is worth wondering whether Stephan's own choice of signature was deliberate; his English-language work was almost always signed 'St. H. Stephan,' a European-looking name which has resulted in misidentifications (for example, as "Stuart H. Stephan") right up to the present day.[39]

Stephan may not have received full credit for his work at the department, but his ethnographic writings were well-received by other scholars. W.F. Albright referred to him as a "young man of promise"[40] and his work quickly attracted attention. The *Quarterly Bulletin* of the Palestine Exploration Fund customarily listed items of interest in other publications, often including articles from *JPOS*: Stephan's articles are mentioned from 1923 onwards and in 1924 his *Song of Songs* article was mentioned as the "chief feature" of its issue.[41] The following year "Lunacy in Palestinian Folklore" was picked out for lengthier description, ahead of a rather critical commentary on a contribution by Albright himself.[42] Although the bulk of Stephan's published work appeared in a small range of Jerusalem-based journals, he did venture beyond these. In the 1930s he contributed to a series of *Post-War Bibliographies of the Near Eastern Mandates*, listing publications on social sciences in the Middle East. This collection was edited by the eminent mathematical sociologist Stuart C. Dodd, at the time based at the American University of Beirut.

Colonial Relations

The tone of Stephan's personal writings suggests familiarity and relaxed intellectual and social relations with European scholars in Jerusalem. In an exchange of letters with Granqvist, he offers friendly critiques of the Arabic transliteration and translation in her books.[43] In the same letter he mentions, in a tone which combines respect for an elder with social familiarity, that: "I saw Sitt Louisa [the Artas resident and anthropological writer and botanist Louise Baldensperger, 1862-1938] recently: she is robust. The state of her mental vigour is astonishing. She gives her best wishes."

Elsewhere, Stephan writes that he is reviewing the collection of 5,000 Arabic proverbs published in 1933 by Bethlehem pastor Sa'id Abbud, noting that "I will then talk about them to Herr Dr Kamp[f]meyer. We both have the same 'hobby,' namely folklore, as occurring in spoken language."[44] The tone places Stephan on the same level as Kampfmeyer (a German Orientalist and Arabic philologist[45]), categorizing their interest in folklore in the same way. This does not seem the choice of words of a man who sees the European scholar as more expert than himself. In an earlier letter, Stephan sent Granqvist his best wishes for her "important work on Palestine,"[46] highlighting his concern for Palestine as an issue, and suggesting that he saw ethnographic work by the likes of Granqvist as significant for Palestine itself.

On the other hand, in another letter to Granqvist, Stephan writes of her analysis of Palestinian peasant society that: "We never had this idea and have to learn a lot from the West. We just have to prove that we Orientals are students who are quick and eager to learn." Whether or not this is Stephan flattering his employer, the tone resembles that of Fanon's "colonized intellectual," automatically reading Western ideas as superior to those of colonized peoples. How should this be squared with Stephan's intellectual and cultural self-confidence and nationalist reputation? Stephan's other works convey something of the difficult line he trod throughout his career, between his sense of Palestinian culture and of his own intellectual authority, versus the colonial working environment and assumptions against which he struggled to be heard.

Translating Palestine

Stephan's publications in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* were ethnographic studies, but an important body of his work consisted of translations, many for the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*. Most of the originals on which Stephan worked were in Ottoman Turkish, a few in Arabic and Syriac, and the articles fit logically alongside other contents of the journal, mainly archaeological reports and finds analysis. Stephan's work on Mamluk and Ottoman documents received scholarly recognition; in 1943, for instance, the editors of the *American Journal of Archaeology* wrote:

> A document of considerable interest for Turkish and Moslem history is an endowment deed of Khasseki Sultan, favorite and queen of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–66), which is preserved in the Khalidiyye Library, Jerusalem. The deed, which is the preliminary Turkish version, not the final Arabic one, is translated by ST. H. STEPHAN... Stephan's notes constitute a valuable supplement to the article *waqf* in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.[47]

The most significant amongst Stephan's translations is, however, a version from Ottoman Turkish of the Palestine sections of Evliya Celebi's monumental travelogue. Evliya (pen name of Mehmed Zilli, 1611 – c.1682) was a Turkish courtier and writer whose ten-volume *Seyahatname* (Book of Travels) extends from the Netherlands to Persia and spans over four decades. Stephan's translation was based on the original Topkapi Saray manuscript of the *Seyahatname,* of which the Palestine Archaeological Museum possessed a photostat copy.[48] The six sections were published from 1935 to 1942, accompanied by annotations on subjects such as place names, connections to Arabic, Jewish, Turkish, and other literature and traditions, and historical background. However, these were only written by Stephan himself for parts five and six of the series; for sections one to four they were contributed by Leo Aryeh Mayer, of whom more later.

Stephan's translation of the *Seyahatname* has, since its publication, been an important

source for historians of seventeenth-century Palestine.[49] Through Evliya's words, it presents a busy, populous territory, the inhabitants of which include Druze, Jews, Kurds, Christians, and Muslims, and where the towns and cities are home to bathhouses, schools, mosques, synagogues, churches, caravanserais and markets, many with impressive architecture and decorations.[50] But as well as providing information and detail, I argue that Stephan's selection of this subject highlights particular themes from his other writings, such as the role of women, the idea of Palestine as a space for harmonious relations between the Abrahamic faiths, and the existence of a defined territory called Palestine.

Evliya, for example, was "impressed" by the women of Jerusalem, "in particular by their upbringing and education." Dror Ze'evi contrasts this with the account of another traveller, the Franciscan Eugene Roger, who was physician to the Lebanese emir Fakhr al-Din in 1632–33.[51] Writing of a visit to Jerusalem, he insisted that women of "the Orient" were mere chattels, without status or freedom.[52] These instances highlight the value of the *Seyahatname* as evidence for the society of early modern Palestine, but also foreground the image of gender relations which Stephan had promoted in his *Sarkis* article a decade earlier. Evliya's Palestine was, like Stephan's to some extent, urban in character, and in Stephan's day that meant modern.

Also significant is Evliya's repeated use of the term Palestine to describe the territory through which he journeyed. It has, as Haim Gerber puts it, "the ring of something Evliya had heard from people in the area," and suggests that the inhabitants had a concept of a specific unit called "Palestine," regardless of official Ottoman nomenclature.[53] This is replicated in Stephan's translation, which uses phrases such as "the land of Palestine"[54] and repeats assertions from Evliya such as "all chronicles call this country the Land of Palestine."[55]

To this day there is no definitive critical version of the *Seyahatname*, even in the original or in modern Turkish, and no comprehensive translated edition.[56] This makes Stephan's translation all the more important, and highlights why it needs to be seen as a significant contribution to scholarship on early modern Palestine. It allows scholars access to the most important and detailed of the few descriptions of Palestine from a non-Western perspective, and is politically significant insofar as it helps to refute ideas of an empty Palestine, devoid of culture, enterprise, or even people. This explains why Stephan's translation is noted as an event in its own right in 'Arif al-'Arif's history of Jerusalem, first published in 1961.[57]

The story of the *Seyahatname* translation would not, however, be complete without considering the involvement of L. A. Mayer (1895–1959), Stephan's collaborator on four of the six sections in which it was published, and the light this sheds on the complexity of intellectual life in Mandate Jerusalem. Born in Eastern Galicia in January 1895 to a line of rabbis, with parents who were early sympathizers with the Zionist cause, Leo A. Mayer became fascinated by Islamic art while studying at the Oriental Institute of the University of Vienna.[58] He completed a doctorate in Islamic urban architecture and became librarian at the Institute, studied at the Vienna rabbinical seminary, and helped to

found the Hashomer Jewish youth movement. At this stage, under the influence of Martin Buber, Hashomer was mostly concerned with the cultural and spiritual revival of Jewish youth.[59] In 1920 Mayer went to Berlin to take up a position in the Oriental Department of the Prussian State Library, but in 1921 he moved to Palestine.

Stephan H. Stephan. Place and date unknown. Family album.

Mayer, with degrees from prestigious European universities, came to Jerusalem with all the career advantages that Stephan lacked. He rapidly found a job as an Inspector in the Department of Antiquities; under its auspices he excavated in Jerusalem with Eleazar Sukenik and researched the Hittites with the head of the department, John Garstang.[60] He also explored Arabic language studies, working in the 1920s on a dictionary of Palestinian spoken Arabic (never published) with philologist Naftali Tur-Sinai.[61] Alongside this, he was involved in planning an Islamic and Oriental studies institute for the Hebrew University,[62] and was officially employed as a lecturer when the School of Oriental Studies opened in September 1925.

Among Jewish scholars in Palestine, Mayer's interest in Islamic and Arabic culture was unusual; of work sponsored by the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society and Hebrew University during the Mandate, only Mayer's studies and Stekelis' work on prehistoric Palestine were not on "Jewish" subjects such as synagogues and burial sites.[63] Mayer's research is also noteworthy in that one of his main concerns was to unearth the names and life stories of Arab craftsmen, sifting through the signatures on items in museum collections and reconstructing the links between objects. At the International Congress of Orientalists in Istanbul in 1951 he reported his identification of hundreds of individual artists and craftsmen, bringing to light the names of formerly anonymous creators of masterpieces in "stone, wood, metal and glass."[64] He later published volumes on Muslim artists – architects, astrolabists, woodcarvers; those on metalworkers, armorers, and stone carvers were issued posthumously.[65]

From his first days in Jerusalem, Mayer made friends of "educated Arabs who opened their libraries to him"[66] and "from the start supported all moves for an entente with the Arabs and counted many of them among his friends."[67] He "knew how to cooperate with other scholars and publish results jointly. Other scholars acknowledged his helpfulness and were therefore always willing to help him in return,"[68] and his work with Stephan attests to this. However, he was also described by obituarists as a "proud and devoted"[69] and "convinced and staunch" Zionist.[70] As well as moving to Palestine and working as a mainstay of its primary university, he joined the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society in

1922 and served as its president for many years. The combination of his cross-community friendships and links with Hashomer and other groups advocating for a binational state suggests that collaboration was not just a personal choice, but part of Mayer's adherence to a cultural Zionism, focused on Jerusalem as a seat of renaissance, not the center of a new and exclusive state.

But Stephan and Mayer's cooperation did not last the length of the project; the annotations and footnotes of the final two pieces are all Stephan's work. The publication dates of the sections offer a clue: two of those annotated by Mayer appear in 1935, one in 1936, and one in 1938. All are short sections of the whole – five, ten, four, and thirteen pages respectively, suggesting a slow, cumbersome and/or meticulous process. Three were probably written before the Palestinian Uprising of 1936-39 and the last soon after its start. Did the relationship break down under political pressure between the two men or from their wider circles? The pattern seems to fit contexts such as rising tensions between Jews and Arabs, the spike in immigration after the Nazis took power in Germany in 1933 – and the fact that Stephan never followed up on his other notable collaboration with a Jewish partner, an Arabic handbook for Steimatzky's (a Jewish bookstore which at the time had branches in Beirut, Damascus, Cairo, and Baghdad as well as Jaffa, Haifa, and Tel Aviv).

Stephan as a Broadcaster

Stephan's scholarly articles for the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* and the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*, though highly rated by his academic contemporaries, probably had only a tiny reach. But Stephan was also a practiced voice on Palestine's government-run radio station, which started broadcasting in March 1936.[71] This seems not have been part of his job, as the topics of his radio lectures overlap with his amateur studies. The "Listener's Corner" column on 19 April 1938 described Stephan's talk of the preceding day:

> In the Arab Hour yesterday, Mr. Stephan Hanna Stephan gave a talk on "Punch and Judy" which was not what you might think, but rather a form of entertainment common in Arabic-speaking countries for a long time, which in all modesty might be described as a precursor of the "talkie." It consists of a shadow-play, accompanied by spoken dialogue; to this day, one can see it performed in some parts of the Nablus district, to say nothing of Byron's mention of it in one of his travel poems.[72]

Stephan's other subjects, according to program listings in the *Palestine Post*, included "Wit and Wisdom in Arabic Folksongs" on 13 December 1936, "Forgotten Trades of Palestine" on 29 January 1937, "Turkish Monuments in Palestine" on 1 April, "Libraries of the Umayyads" on 7 November 1938, and in November and December 1938 a series

on Palestine in the Stone Age, the "Nomadic" age, and under the rule of the Pharaohs, Assyrians, and Greeks. On 28 August 1939 he delivered a talk on "The festival of Nebi Rubeen in Southern Palestine."

His radio programs gained Stephan a wider audience than any of his written work. Radios were played in cafes and village guesthouses; up to a third of the population may have been listening by the end of the Mandate (far more than read newspapers).[73] Talks by "learned men" like Stephan seem to have been part of radio's appeal, to go by their large share of airtime and their prominence in advertisements for radio sets.[74] Perhaps most importantly, this was the only major forum in which Stephan (or any of his colleagues) had an opportunity to talk about their ideas of Palestinian history and culture *in Arabic*, to an Arabic-speaking audience extending across the whole Mandate region and all social classes. Stephan's programs told rural Palestinians that their culture, with its music and folktales, was not primitive and illiterate, as the British administration and Zionist colonizers implied, but worthy of preservation and study and possessed of a long and honorable history.

Beyond the Academic Sphere

Stephan also made forays into other popular genres. Of the "Canaan Circle," both Elias Haddad and Stephan Stephan wrote manuals for English- and German-speaking students of Arabic. Stephan's contributions to this genre were *Arabic Self-Taught: A Primer* and its German equivalent, *Leitfaden für den Selbstunterricht in der arabischen Sprache* (with an accompanying *Sprachführer*, or phrasebook). All three volumes were published in 1935 by Steimatzky's and printed at the Syrian Orphanage Press in Jerusalem.[75] This business relationship brought together a company now known as Israel's largest bookstore and a printer usually associated with Jerusalem's Anglophone and Arab communities; as such, it confounds post-Nakba norms of separate social and commercial interests.

Arabic Self-Taught: A Primer retailed at three shillings, around £5.00 at modern prices;[76] its standards of production were comparatively poor and there seems to have been no proofreading by a native English speaker.[77] The book was clearly aimed at beginners: the preliminary remarks mention that Arabic, "like Hebrew and other Semitic languages, is written from right to left."[78] The general appearance of the *Primer* is not user-friendly by today's pedagogical standards, as much of it comprises dense lists and blocks of Arabic words with their transliterations and translations, and verb conjugation tables.[79] Pronunciation is given in the colloquial form, with the letter *qaf* dropped as found in urban Palestinian dialects.[80]

Stephan sticks to anodyne subject matters, without controversy for any of the communities in the Palestine of 1935, but he does list Arabic-language newspapers, many of which criticized the Mandate administration and Zionist immigration.[81] The choice of vocabulary reveals the anticipated readership for the *Primer,* with detailed lists

of names and relevant terms for departments of the Mandate administration. Under the vocabulary for the Department of Antiquities, for example, we find words and phrases such as Museum, prehistoric, "dealer in," "Inspector of," faked, and auditor.[83] More touristic vocabulary also appears – words for use at a money changer or terms for Christian pilgrimage sites – but the overall tone concentrated on those with longer, professional stays in mind, such as civil servants, policemen, students, and religious staff.

As well as his Arabic textbooks, Stephan used his skills in English and knowledge of Palestine to communicate with Anglophone readers by writing travel guides to Palestine and parts of Lebanon and Syria. Since the nineteenth century, and especially since the start of the Mandate, tourism had been a major industry in Palestine; by the 1930s guides by European and Jewish authors were common, but examples by Palestinian Arabs were rarer. Stephan's English-language guides consisted of: *This is Palestine: A Concise Guide to the Important Sites in Palestine, Transjordan and Syria*, published by Bayt-ul-Makdes Press in Jerusalem in 1942 (second edition 1947), and *Palestine by Road and Rail: A Concise Guide to the Important Sites in Palestine and Syria*, printed in Jerusalem in 1942. Both are credited to St. H. Stephan and Boulos 'Afif, a Jerusalem-based photographer who had, during the 1930s, published tourist maps of Palestine and coauthored, with one Jamal Nazzal, the *Path-finder Guide to Palestine, Transjordan, and Syria*.[82]

Stephan and 'Afif's works are small, cheaply produced books, easily fitting in a pocket. They are clearly designed to appeal to short term visitors, probably ordinary soldiers from among the masses of British and Commonwealth troops stationed in the Middle East in World War II,[83] rather than the hardback volumes produced in the nineteenth century for wealthy travellers. Stephan and 'Afif, I suggest, saw their guidebooks as an opportunity to counter the image of Palestine found in contemporaneous Zionist guides, in which Jewish immigration rescued the land from neglect and ignorance, and to promote Arab Palestine as capable of social and technological modernity without European colonialism or Zionist settlement.

Examples of technological, educational and architectural manifestations of Arab modernism include a description of the Via Dolorosa, noting the "Moslem" Rawdat al-Ma'arif college, the Armenian and Syriac convents with their libraries and printing presses – "one of the best and most up to date" of which is to be found at the Greek Convent in the Old City of Jerusalem.[84] A survey of the suburbs of Jerusalem includes "modern" Arab areas such as Shaykh Jarrah and the Nashashibi Quarter.[85] Farther afield, the "serene little" city of Bethlehem is home to a "large number of schools and charitable institutions," while the "fashionable" 'Ajami quarter of Jaffa rivals Tel Aviv for its "beach, modern hotels, cafes and excellent restaurants."[86] Implicitly countering Zionist claims that European Jewish migrants were responsible for reviving Palestinian agriculture after centuries of Arab mismanagement, Stephan notes how "the late Muhieddin al-Husseini" had used older irrigation channels for his up-to-the-minute "model banana plantations in the plain of Jericho."[87]

Stephan and ʻAfif also highlight the long Arab place in Palestinian history, with "beduins from the east" ruling the country "during the period of Judges [in which Bedouin raids are mentioned] and often before it."[88] But Palestine is also presented as "a connecting link between East and West, North and South," a land of many peoples in which invaders blended into existing inhabitants. This proto-Levantine idea of Palestine's culture also shows in the importance Stephan and ʻAfif attach to continuity and coexistence. At Rachel's Tomb, near Bethlehem, the mihrab within the sanctuary and a "cemetery for the beduins living around Beit Sahur" are described alongside Jewish worship at the tomb.[89] And, underlining precedents for harmony between the three monotheistic faiths under glorious Arab rule, Shaykh Khalil al-Khalidi (1863–1941) is cited as calling the "ravishing" town of Bayt Jala a "piece of Andalusia, transplanted to the Holy Land."[90]

While Stephan and ʻAfif usually maintain a dispassionate, formal tone, their style of writing becomes reverential and emotional when describing major Christian sites. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, for instance, "contains what is most dear to every Christian, the place of the Passion of Our Lord and His Sepulchre, from which He rose gloriously on the third day."[91] Jesus is referred to as "Our Lord" and olive trees on the hill of Gethsemane outside the Old City of Jerusalem are said to have "witnessed the greatest agony and the most fervent prayer history has ever recorded."[92] While, therefore, Stephan and ʻAfif assert Arab authenticity to the land of Palestine in both ancient and modern times, they do so in a distinctively Christian voice, perhaps because of their own personal beliefs but also, perhaps, with the aim of using common faith as a way of communicating with European visitors.

Stephan and ʻAfif's attitude towards the Islamic history of Palestine is noteworthy when set alongside these Christian sentiments. In common with the notion – widespread in Arab nationalism – that non-Muslim Arabs were "culturally Islamic" and benefitted from the glories of Islamic civilization, Palestine's Islamic heritage is foregrounded, for instance:

> The Sanctuaries of the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque are considered by Moslems to rank in sanctity only after those of the Kaaba in Mecca and the Tomb of the Prophet in Medina. Whenever possible, pilgrims to Mecca and Medina would on their way home include these Jerusalem Sanctuaries in their pilgrimage.[93]

The early Arab Islamic conquerors of Greater Syria are regarded positively, portrayed as natives of the land to the same extent at the Canaanites and Hebrews, and as belonging to periods in which Palestine had a "comparatively high civilization."[94] According to Stephan, "As long as the Arabs ruled, peace reigned in the Holy Land," although other Islamic rulers (Fatimids, Mamluks, and Ottomans) are labeled "foreigners" who, like the Christian Crusaders, bring decline and chaos.[95]

This sense of belonging is also asserted in the tone the authors use to stress their

familiarity with Palestine and deep personal knowledge. As well as their academic and intellectual authority, conveyed through an emphasis on up-to-date information from archaeological excavations and new research, a more intimate kind of knowledge is posed in behind-the-scenes, insider tips. Such instances are characterized by a sudden familiarity of manner, communicating directly with the reader in the second rather than third person, as in:

> The Tomb itself, now covered with marble slabs (of which the upper one is cracked), is guarded night and day by a Greek priest. (You may ask him to show you part of the living Rock, seen through a small window, against which he is standing).[96]

And:

> The medieval cloisters are in good condition. A small collection of antiquities is in the upper storey, where the western door is especially of interest. The keys are with the guardian. (Apply at the southern door).[97]

Stephan and ʻAfif, two Christian Palestinian Arabs, thus frame themselves as offering an authoritative account of the Holy Land on more than one level. As well as "book learning" and historical information, they present themselves as giving the reader a window on Palestine which is personal and authentic, trustworthy both as a tourist guide and as a source of knowledge on how a European visitor should view competing claims to the land.

To Palestinian nationalists who demanded a boycott of the Mandate administration or fought in the Uprising of 1936–39, producing a publication for British soldiers might have seemed a betrayal; during the 1936–39 rebellion working for the British administration attracted criticism and sometimes violence.[98] However, with the 1939 White Paper signed by Musa al-Alami and Jamil and Amin al-Husayni, and Jewish immigration apparently subject to tighter controls, Palestinians with Western sympathies could justifiably believe that British support for Zionism was waning and that the Mandate would eventually lead to independence, as it had in other Arab countries.[99] As well as grasping a commercial opportunity in issuing this smaller, cheaper guide with its very targeted audience, Stephan and ʻAfif should be seen as directing their message at a mass readership in the hope that British public opinion would, in the end, bring them an independent State of Palestine.

The Nakba Years

As well as his job in the library of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Stephan worked at the Khalidiyya (Khalidi Library) in the Old City of Jerusalem. According to Walid Khalidi, Stephan helped his father, Ahmad Samih al-Khalidi, head of the Arab College, and Shaykh Amin al-Ansari to care for the family's famous collections. This

Stephan H. Stephan with Sheikh Yacoub Bukhari, head of the Naqshabandi Sufi tariqa and members of the sheikh's family. Source: Courtesy of Mrs. Muasser Aruri.

role ran from the death of Shaykh Khalil al-Khalidi in 1941 until Stephan and Ahmad al-Khalidi were forced to flee in 1948.[100] This highlights another field of Stephan's broad networks: Ahmad Samih was a member of nationalist and educator Khalil Sakakini's "Vagabonds" circle (along with Tawfiq Canaan and Musa 'Alami),[101] and of the Royal Society for Asian Affairs (along with 'Awni Bey 'Abd al-Hadi).[102] He was also husband of the notable Lebanese feminist Anbara Salam Khalidi. These acquaintances, like his Sarkis article, place Stephan among debates about the nature of modernity and its place in Palestine's future.

Stephan's long career at the Department of Antiquities, meanwhile, ended amidst the beginnings of a major international drama. Stephan was one of the first people to be shown the newly discovered Dead Sea Scrolls after members of the Syrian Orthodox congregation took them to their archbishop, and he apparently "confidently pronounced the scrolls worthless."[103] Correspondence between Millar Burrows and the director of the Department of Antiquities, R.W. Hamilton, confirms that Stephan was so skeptical that he did not even refer the matter to senior staff.[104] He wasn't the only one to pass this erroneous judgment: after acquiring books on the Hebrew alphabet for the archbishop, he brought in the Jewish scholar Toviah Wechsler, who "agreed with Stephan that the scrolls were not ancient."[105]

In late 1948 and early 1949, however, we find Stephan in Cyprus. A letter from Wechsler to the *Jewish Quarterly Review* quotes a message received from "Mr. Stephan," dated Nicosia, 8 January 1949.[106] More concretely, a report by the British head of the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus, A.H.S Megaw, reveals that Stephan had been studying a "Muslim tombstone" found at Paphos in 1936. Stephan analyzed the inscription on the monument, concluding that it dated from ah 164 (ad 780 or 781), demonstrating that some of the earliest Islamic invaders of the island had likely settled there. Although Stephan died before he finished the work, he left sufficient notes for Megaw to compile the brief report, and a list of acknowledgments to helpers in Paphos.[107]

Although most Palestinian refugees in 1948–49 fled to Lebanon, Egypt and Jordan, some wealthier families headed instead to Cyprus.[108] However, Stephan's presence there was less permanent. According to Stephan's granddaughter, her father (Angelo, Stephan's second son) had numerous Cypriot entry stamps in his passport.[109] It seems that Stephan was carrying out research for the colonial Department of Antiquities on Cyprus – perhaps even as a prelude to a job there? This might also account for Stephan's absence from director R.W. Hamilton's 1947–48 letters from the Department of Antiquities in Jerusalem. Hamilton often mentions his Arab colleagues, socializing with and worrying about them, but Stephan is curiously absent.

Stephan, however, did not remain on Cyprus, but headed, like hundreds of thousands of other Palestinian refugees, to Lebanon. Most went there because it was the nearest safe destination, and many expected to return after a few weeks or months. But Stephan died there just a year later, in 1949.[110] This explains references to the "late" Mr. Stephan, in Megaw's report on the inscription from Paphos, in an article by an Israeli scholar which utilizes Stephan's translation of al-Suyuti's work on earthquakes in Palestine, and in correspondence to various learned journals from figures embroiled in the Dead Sea Scrolls controversy.[111] Widowed and a refugee, his wife Arasky left for Brazil during the 1950s, along with their sons.

Conclusion

Among the paperwork of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem is a chit dated 8 November 1936, recording that a copy of Ciasca's *Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmoniae Arabice* (a nineteenth-century Latin version of the Diatessaron, a second-century Assyrian attempt to 'harmonize' the four gospels) had been lent to the Department of Antiquities "for a period of ten days." At the foot of the document is a bold, spiky signature which reads "St. H. Stephan."

Stephan Hanna Stephan has, until now, been known almost solely as a follower of Tawfiq Canaan, one among a loose circle of Arab Palestinians writing during the Mandate about the culture and history of Palestine. As this article shows, however, he was much more than that. His intellectual fingerprints can be found widely scattered, through

debates within Arabic-speaking Palestinian society about what its past comprised and what its future might look like, in historical studies of the Levant, and through language and tourist guides which informed the way in which British officials and soldiers, mainly of the popular classes, encountered and experienced Palestine.

His life story, when studied in as much detail as is possible and in combination with a reading of his works, also highlights the quotidian complexities of life for ordinary Palestinian Arabs during the Mandate period. We might see Stephan as a patriot, a believer in Palestinian identity and rights. But we must also see him as someone who had to make daily decisions and negotiations about his relationships with Zionist Jewish immigrants and with colonial British managers, colleagues, and perhaps even friends. This in no way detracts from the authenticity of Stephan's identity and beliefs, but it does challenge easy notions about what such commitments mean for people living, working, and thinking under occupation.

Sarah Irving has studied anthropology, political economy, and Arabic at the universities of Cambridge, Manchester, and Edinburgh, respectively, and is now Teaching Fellow in modern Middle Eastern history at King's College London. A former journalist, she is the author or editor of four books and a number of scholarly articles, specializing in subaltern lives and thought in late Ottoman and Mandate Palestine.

Endnotes

1 This article is based on part of my PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh, 2017), substantially revised. I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Tony Gorman, for his patient support during this research. I would also like to thank Ms. Cristina Stephan, granddaughter of Stephan Hanna Stephan, for her support and enthusiasm for my work on her grandfather's life.

2 Salim Tamari, *Mountain against the Sea* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 201 n14–15, 202 n22.

3 Tamari, *Mountain against the Sea*, 2, 95–111; Philippe Bourmaud, "'A Son of the Country': Dr Tawfiq Canaan, Modernist Physician and Palestinian Ethnographer," in *Struggle and Survival in Palestine*, ed. Gershon Shafir and Mark LeVine (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 104–24; Khaled Furani and Dan Rabinowitz, "The Ethnographic Arriving of Palestine," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40 (2011): 278–79.

4 St. H. Stephan, "Modern Palestinian Parallels to the Song of Songs," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* II (1922): 191–223.

5 Khaled Furani and Dan Rabinowitz, "The Ethnographic Arriving of Palestine," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40 (2011): 478.

6 Ilana Pardes, *Agnon's Moonstruck Lovers: The Song of Songs in Israeli Culture* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013), 15–16.

7 See, for instance, Worldcat entry for "Stephan, Stephan Hanna 1894–", online at www.worldcat.org/identities/viaf-89579269/ (accessed 27 December 2015). Some publications suggest his birth year as 1899, such as Nabil Khalid Agha, *Mada'in Filastin: dirasat wa mushahadat* (Beirut: al-muasasa al-Arabiya lil-dirasat wal-nasr, 1993).

8 W. F. Albright, "Report of the Director of the School in Jerusalem, 1920–1921," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 5 (January 1922): 15.

9 Mar Athanasius Y. Samuel, "The Purchase of the Jerusalem Scrolls," *Biblical Archaeologist* 12, 2 (May 1949): 28.

10 Stephan to Hilma Granqvist, 24 May 1935. Palestine Exploration Fund Granqvist file doc 377.

11 Ruth Kark, Dietrich Denecke and Haim Goren, "The Impact of Early German Missionary

Enterprise in Palestine on Modernisation and Environmental and Technological Change 1820–1914," in *Christian Witness Between Continuity and New Beginnings: Modern Historical Missions in the Middle East*, ed. Martin Tamcke and Michael Marten (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2006), 151; "Palestine and Education," *The [Adelaide] Register* (24 July 1922), 8.

12 [Stefan Hana] Stefan, "al-Mar'a," *Majallat Sarkis* no. 11, 1 (January 1922): 64–65.

13 Qasim Amin, *The Liberation of Women and The New Women*, trans. Samiha Sidhom Peterson (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2000).

14 Amin, *Liberation of Women*, especially 6–13, 62–89.

15 Sherene Seikaly, *Men of Capital: Scarcity and Economy in Mandate Palestine* (Redwood: Stanford University Press, 2015), 38, 61–65; Ellen Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its "New" Women: The Palestinian Women's Movement, 1920–1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 65–66, 73–75, 154.

16 "A'la dhura al-madaniyya wa al-ruqi wa al-hadhara wa al-'umran." Stephan, "al-Mar'a," 64.

17 P.C. Sadgrove, "Sarkis family," in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature, Volume 2*, ed. Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (London: Routledge, 1998), 692.

18 Beth Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 16–17, 45.

19 Nijmeh Hajjar, *The Politics and Poetics of Ameen Rihani: The Humanist Ideology of an Arab-American Intellectual and Activist* (London: IB Tauris, 2010), 24, 110.

20 See Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its "New" Women*, 81–83, for a detailed exploration of the presence of Qasim Amin's thought in debates in the Palestinian press of the 1920s.

21 Stephan to Hilma Granqvist, 13 June 1934, Palestine Exploration Fund archive Granqvist file document 375.

22 Stephan to Hilma Granqvist, 4 May 1935, Palestine Exploration Fund archive Granqvist file, document 378.

23 Email from Cristina Stephan, 30 November 2016.

24 Conscription of Christians into the Ottoman army began in 1909, after the Young Turk revolution and declaration of (theoretical) equality for all faiths in the Empire. Erik Jan Zurcher, "The Ottoman Conscription System, 1844–1914," *International Review of Social History* 43 (1998): 447.

25 Stephan, "Modern Palestinian Parallels," 208.

26 "Subscribers," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 1 (1920/21): 225

27 Ilana Feldman, *Governing Gaza: Bureaucracy, Authority and the Work of Rule, 1917–1967* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 65; Albert Glock, "Archaeology as Cultural Survival: The Future of the Palestinian Past," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 23, no. 3 (Spring 1994): 74–75.

28 Glock. "Archaeology as Cultural Survival," 71–74; Gibson, "British Archaeological Institutions," 121; Shalom Goldman, "The Rev. Herbert Danby (1889–1953): Hebrew Scholar, Zionist, Christian Missionary," *Modern Judaism* 27, no. 2 (May 2007): 220, 224 passim; John D.M. Green, "Archaeology and Politics in the Holy Land: The Life and Career of P.L.O. Guy," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 141, no. 3 (2009): 170–71, 175–77.

29 See, for example, Laura Robson, "Archeology and Mission: The British Presence in Nineteenth-Century Jerusalem," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 40 (2009–10): 5–17; Thomas Davis, *Shifting Sands: The Rise and Fall of Biblical Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Neil Asher Silberman, *Digging for God and Country: Exploration in the Holy Land, 1799–1917* (New York: Anchor Books, 1982).

30 Nadia Abu El-Haj, "Producing (Arti) Facts: Archaeology and Power during the British Mandate of Palestine," *Israel Studies* 7, no. 2 (Summer 2002).

31 See Foreign and Colonial Office, 'Blue Books' 1934–38.

32 Examples include Donald Whitcomb, "Dimitri Baramki: Discovering Qasr Hisham," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 55 (Autumn 2013): 78 ("a Palestinian [the self-taught scholar Stephan H. Stephan] worked in the library").

33 "Appointments," *Palestine Gazette* 1521 (12 September 1946): 843. Oddly, the change of role was dated 1 April 1945, backdated in a *Gazette* of seventeen months later.

34 St. H. Stephan. "An endowment deed of Khasseki Sultan, dated the 24th May 1552," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 11–12 (1944): 170–94.

35 D. C. Baramki and St. H. Stephan. "A Nestorian Hermitage between Jericho and the Jordan," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 4 (1934): 81–86.

36 Stephan Hanna Stephan and Boulos ʻAfif, *This Is Palestine: A Concise Guide to the Important Sites in Palestine, Transjordan and Syria* (Jerusalem: The Modern Press, 1947), 108.

37 Lawrence Conrad and Khader Salameh, "Palestine," in *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts, volume II* (London: al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1993), 595.

38 Israel State Archives B/28/34, letters dated 7 May 1934, approved 16 May 1934.

39 See Yaron Ben-Naeh, "'Thousands great saints': Evliya Çelebi in Ottoman Palestine," *Quest: Issues in Contemporary Jewish History* 6 (December 2013): 5.

40 W. F. Albright, "Report of the Director, 1920–1921," 15.

41 "Reviews and Notices of Publications," *Quarterly of the Palestine Exploration Fund* (1924): 26.

42 "Reviews and Notices of Publications," *Quarterly of the Palestine Exploration Fund* (1925): 99–100.

43 Stephan to Hilma Granqvist, 15 April 1932, Palestine Exploration Fund archive, Granqvist file, unnumbered.

44 Stephan to Hilma Granqvist, 27 March 1934, Palestine Exploration Fund archive, Granqvist file document 370.

45 Abbud's collection was published in German translation by Martin Thilo in 1936-37; Kampfmeyer apparently published an accompanying *Glossar zu den 5000 arabischen Sprichwörtern aus Palästina* (Glossary of 5,000 Proverbs from Palestine), which suggests that his 1934 conversation with Stephan may have had far-reaching consequences.

46 Stephan to Hilma Granqvist, 17 March 1932, Palestine Exploration Fund archive, Granqvist file, document 367.

47 Stephen B. Luce, "Archaeological News and Discussions," *American Journal of Archaeology* 47, no. 1 (January–March 1943): 109.

48 Haim Gerber, "'Palestine' and Other Territorial Concepts in the 17th Century," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, no. 4 (November, 1998): 572 n39.

49 See, for example: Kay Prag, "Defensive Ditches in Ottoman Fortifications in Bilad al-Sham," in *Muslim Military Architecture in Greater Syria: From the Coming of Islam to the Ottoman Period*, ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 299–301; Katharina Galor and Hanswulf Bloedhorn, *The Archaeology of Jerusalem: From the Origins to the Ottomans* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 286, 290; Kais Firro, *A History of the Druzes* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 43; Dov Noy, Dan Ben-Amos, and Ellen Frankel, *Folktales of the Jews, Volume 1: Tales from the Sephardic Dispersion* (Lincoln, NE: Jewish Publication Society, 2006), 486; A. Petersen, "Two medieval castles and their position in the military architecture of Muslim Palestine," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk Eras*, ed. Urbain Vermeulen and J. van Steenbergen (Leuven: Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven/Peeters Publishers, 2001), 387; Beatrice St. Laurent and Andras Riedlmayer, "Restorations of Jerusalem and the Dome of the Rock and Their Political Significance, 1537–1928," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 83.

50 See, for example, the description of the town of Hittin: Evliya Tshelebi, *Evliya Tshelebi's Travels in Palestine 1648–1650*, translated by Stephan H. Stephan (Jerusalem: Ariel Publishing House, 1980), 30.

51 Hafez Chehab, "Reconstructing the Medici Portrait of Fakhr al-Din al-Maʻni," *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 118.

52 Dror Ze'evi, "Women in 17th-Century Jerusalem: Western and Indigenous Perspectives," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27, no. 2 (May 1995): 159, 167–68.

53 Gerber, "'Palestine' and Other Territorial Concepts," 567.

54 Tselebi, *Travels in Palestine*, 68.

55 Tselebi, *Travels in Palestine*, 63.

56 Crane, "Pamphylian Plain," 157.

57 ʻArif al-ʻArif, *al-Mufassal fi tarikh al-Quds* (Jerusalem: Matba'at al-Ma'arif, 1961/1999), 267.

58 H.Z. Hirschberg, "Professor Leon A. Mayer – In Memoriam," in *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies, vol. 7: L.A. Mayer Memorial Volume*, ed. M. Avi-Yonah, H.Z. Hirschberg, B. Mazar, and Y. Yadin (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1964), XI.

59 Elkana Margalit, "Social and intellectual origins of the Hashomer Hatzair Youth Movement," *Journal of Contemporary History* 4, no. 2 (April 1969): 28, 31–32.

60 Margalit, "Hashomer Hatzair."

61 N.H. Tur-Sinai, "Remembering a Fine Man," in *Eretz-Israel:* ed. Avi-Yonah, Hirschbeg, Mazar,

and Yadin, XVI.

62 Menahem Milson, "The Beginnings of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem," *Judaism* 45, no. 2 (Spring 1996): 171–72.

63 P.R.S. Moorey, *A Century of Biblical Archaeology* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1991), 50.

64 Hirschberg, "In Memoriam," XII; D.S. Rice, "Leo A. Mayer: In Memoriam," *Ars Orientalis* 4 (1961): 455.

65 Hirschberg, "In Memoriam," XII.

66 Hirschberg, "In Memoriam," XII.

67 Rice, "In Memoriam," 454.

68 Hirschberg, "In Memoriam," XIV.

69 Hirschberg, "In Memoriam," XV.

70 Rice, "In Memoriam," 454.

71 Andrea Stanton, "Jerusalem Calling: The Birth of the Palestine Broadcasting Service," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 50 (Summer 2012): 18.

72 "Listener's Corner," *Palestine Post*, 19 April 1938, 6.

73 Stanton, *State Radio in Mandate Palestine*, 11–12, 32.

74 Stanton, *State Radio in Mandate Palestine*, 62, 124, 152.

75 St. H. Stephan, *Arabic Self-Taught: A Primer* (Jerusalem: Steimatzky Publishing Company, 1935), 144.

76 National Archives Currency Converter, online at www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/default.asp#mid (accessed 7April 2016).

77 Stephan, *Arabic Self-Taught*, 26, 75.

78 Stephan, *Arabic Self-Taught*, Preliminary Remarks, n.p.

79 Stephan, *Arabic Self-Taught*, XII-XXI, 1–144.

80 See, for example, Stephan, *Arabic Self-Taught*, 31.

81 Stephan, *Arabic Self-Taught*, 82–83.

82 The latter, published by the Palestine Educational Company (owned by Edward Said's uncle and father), may be the first travel guide to Palestine written by a Palestinian. Boulos 'Afif also had the misfortune, in 1943, to be one of the earliest complainants of copyright infringement under Mandate intellectual property law, when his lawyer issued a letter against a Jewish photographer called Kovatch, in whose shop window 'Afif had spotted for sale his own set of fourteen images of the Via Dolorosa. Michael Birnhack, *Colonial Copyright: Intellectual Copyright in Mandate Palestine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 252.

83 Noam Shoval and Cohen-Hattab, "Urban Hotel Development Patterns in the Face of Political Shifts," *Annals of Tourism Research* 28, 4 (2001): 915–916. A clear example of this trend can be seen in Steimatzky's publication in 1940 of a pocket guide to Palestine, the subtitle of which declared that it was "specially prepared for members of H.M. forces in the Middle East." See also Motti Golani and Adel Manna, *Two Sides of the Coin: Independence and Nakba 1948, Two Narratives of the 1948 War and Its Outcome* (Leiden: Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation, 2011), 41.

84 Stephan and 'Afif, This Is Palestine, 47, 28–29, 58.

85 Stephan and 'Afif, *This Is Palestine*, 75.

86 Stephan and 'Afif, *This Is Palestine*, 85, 153.

87 Stephan and 'Afif, *This Is Palestine*, 117.

88 Stephan and 'Afif, *This Is Palestine*, 1–2.

89 Stephan and 'Afif, *This Is Palestine*, 82–83.

90 Stephan and 'Afif, *This Is Palestine*, 83–84. Al-Andalus has been an important motif for Arab cultural attainment, as well as religious co-existence, since the medieval period. In the nineteenth/twentieth centuries it was adopted by literary writers such as Jurji Zaydan and historians such as Shakib Arslan to make points about religious coexistence, Arab or Islamic unity, or nostalgia for a lost paradise, and is thus likely to have been a known trope for both Khalidi and Stephan. See, for example, Jonathan H. Shannon, "There and Back Again: Rhetorics of al-Andalus in Modern Syrian Popular Culture," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 48 (2016): 10–11. The idea was also cited in several articles on Jewish-Muslim-Christian relations in major Arabic periodicals such as *al-Muqtataf* and *al-Hilal*, which circulated in Palestine in this period See Jonathan Gribetz, *Defining Neighbors: Religion, Race, and the Early Zionist-Arab Encounter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 150, 158.

91 Stephan and 'Afif, *This Is Palestine*, 14.

92 Stephan and 'Afif, *This Is Palestine*, 114.

93 Stephan and 'Afif, This *Is Palestine*, 34.

94 Stephan and 'Afif, This *Is Palestine*, 1.

95 Stephan and 'Afif, This *Is Palestine*, 4–5.

96 Stephan and 'Afif, This *Is Palestine*, 17.

97 Stephan and 'Afif, This *Is Palestine*, 54.

98 Abboushi, "Road to Rebellion," 42; Cohen, *Army of Shadows*, 103–104.

99 Cohen, *Army of Shadows*, 133–4, 146–54.
100 Walid Khalidi, "al-Maktaba al-Khalidiyya fi al-Quds: al-Maktaba al-Khalidiyya mundhu ta'sisiha sanat 1900 wa hatta naksat 1967," *al-Hayat* archives, online at tinyurl.com/jkb96e4 (accessed 27 December 2015).
101 Tamari, *Mountain against the Sea*, 188.
102 Hugh Leach and Susan Farrington, *Strolling About on the Roof of the World: The First Hundred Years of the Royal Society for Asian Affairs* (London: Routledge, 2003), 103.
103 Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1956), 6–8.
104 Eugene Ulrich and Peter Flint, *Qumran Cave 1: II – The Isaiah Scrolls, part 2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010), 9.
105 Burrows, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 6–8.
106 Tovia Wechsler, "The 'Hidden Geniza,' Once More or Mr. Trever versus Mr. Trever," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 41, no. 3 (January 1951): 248.
107 A.H.S. Megaw, "A Muslim Tombstone from Paphos," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 3–4 (October 1950): 108–109.
108 Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 67, 110–13.
109 Email from Cristina Stephan, 30 November 2016.
110 Nabil Khalid Agha, *Mada'in Filastin*, np.
111 Megaw, "Muslim Tombstone," 108; D.H. Kallner-Amiran, "A Revised Earthquake-Catalogue of Palestine," *Israel Exploration Journal* 1, no. 4 (1950–51): 223; Millar Burrows, "Concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Reply to Professor Zeitlin," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 42, no. 2 (October 1951): 121.