Elias Nasrallah Haddad

Translating Visions of Palestine

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Abstract

Elias Nasrallah Haddad (1878/79–1959) was a teacher, translator, writer, ethnographer, and linguist whose career spanned the final decades of Ottoman rule in Palestine, the whole of the British Mandate period, and the Nakba and after. Based for most of his life at the German-run Syrian Orphanage in Jerusalem, he asserted, in his many books and articles on Palestinian life and language, his adopted country's right to progress, alongside the importance of recording its traditions. He highlighted the Arab nature of Palestinian society while urging tolerance and coexistence as the foremost of its values and virtues. This article draws on multiple sources and genres to trace Haddad's life history and his impact on a wide range of fields and people, ranging from the British high commissioners to whom he taught colloquial Arabic, to the storytellers in the villages of pre-World War I Palestine whose memories of Bedouin poetry he transcribed and translated.

Keywords

Elias Haddad; Syrian Orphanage; Jerusalem; translation; ethnography; Nathan der Weise; Nimr ibn ʻAdwan; colloquial Arabic.

Across the Arabic-speaking world, the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century was a period of debate and experimentation in language, literature, and thought, often referred to as the Nahda or Arab renaissance. The impact of this intellectual ferment on

Palestine is increasingly being explored, and the landscape of those inhabitants of Jaffa, Jerusalem, and other Palestinian cities who played their role in *nahdawi* discourses is still being populated. The lives of figures such as Khalil Sakakini or Tawfiq Canaan have been explored in some detail,[1] and this article adds Elias Nasrallah Haddad to the picture.[2] Haddad's life story evokes many themes, including the nature of intellectual relationships under colonial conditions, Mandate-era conceptions of coexistence and ethnic relations, and the variations between British, German, and other imperialisms in the Middle East. In this article, I focus on Haddad's portrayals and representations of Palestine and its culture, geography, and society, and how these changed from the late Ottoman to the post-Nakba periods. Although what little scholarly discussion of Haddad exists deals mainly with his ethnographic output, this discussion engages with his wider work, including translation, literature, and language manuals published from the late Ottoman period through the early 1950s. I begin by presenting a brief outline of Elias Haddad's life story and the significance within it of German intellectual and cultural influences, followed by sections analyzing the main types of publication and scholarly work in which he engaged – language manuals and textbooks, translation and exegesis of the works of the nineteenth-century warrior-poet Nimr ibn ʻAdwan, nativist ethnography, and finally his translation of the German Enlightenment play *Nathan der Weise*.

Haddad was born in 1878 or 1879 to a Protestant family in Khirbat Qanafar, a village in the Baqaʻa mountains of what was then Ottoman Greater Syria, and now Lebanon.[3] Elias's father, Jiryis, died in 1889, leaving his wife Haja to care for their four youngest children. Five older daughters had already married, but three sons (including Elias) and a younger daughter were still dependent on their parents. It was at this time that Elias, showing signs of academic potential, was sent to the Syrische Waisenhaus (Syrian Orphanage), nicknamed the Schneller School, in Jerusalem, an orphanage run by German Lutherans that was established in 1860 to care for victims of conflict in Ottoman Syria.[4]

Elias Haddad remained part of the Schneller institution for most of his life, becoming a senior teacher, head of Arabic instruction,[5] and finally head of the school.[6] In 1907, by which time he was established as a teacher, he married a woman called Astrasia, and later the couple had children, including a son called Theophil.[7] According to his grandson Gabi Haddad, Elias started teaching at the Syrian Orphanage (the Schneller School) in 1899 but briefly moved at the end of World War I to teach at a school in Suq al-Gharb in Lebanon; Gabi also suggests that Elias studied for a BA at the American University of Beirut, although his name does not appear on the student rolls.[8] Other than his publications, we know few details of Elias Haddad's personal life during the Mandate period. His books and translations indicate that he spent much of his time in the world of the Syrian Orphanage, teaching pupils, developing his ideas on Arabic language and pedagogy (which gave rise to several textbooks for the Palestinian educational system), and playing music – he taught some of his pupils the flute and played the organ in church.[9] Beyond the school, Haddad's language-teaching skills and interest in colloquial Arabic and village life forged a

broad network among foreign scholars and officials. He helped foreign ethnographers such as Hilma Granqvist, and archaeologists such as W. F. Albright, transliterate and interpret the rural sayings and folktales they collected; the sheer volume of Haddad's notes in the Granqvist files held at the Palestine Exploration Fund show that this must have occupied a significant amount of time. He was a founding member of the Golden Throne Scottish Freemasons lodge in Jerusalem, which had Arab, Jewish, and British members.[10] And as a high-ranking teacher of Arabic in Jerusalem during the Mandate era, he taught senior members of the British administration;[11] family history records that he also helped the future Israeli politician, diplomat, and orientalist Abba Eban with the language.[12]

Between 1944 and 1948, with the Schneller School closed by the British because of its German links, Elias Haddad worked for the Middle East Centre for Arab Studies, an institute of oriental studies established in Jerusalem by the British army during World War II and later transferred to Lebanon.[13] Employment at the center may have helped him to move to Lebanon at the end of World War II and to move the Syrian Orphanage's work there, so that he already had a base from which to continue his former work when Zionist forces drove thousands of Palestinians from Jerusalem and assumed control of the side of the city that included the Schneller School in 1948. According to a history of the Middle East Centre, Haddad was one of the instructors who "took the chance to escape" to the center's new base at Shamlan in southern Lebanon, although he "did not stay," probably because he left to head the reestablished Schneller School.[14] Another account numbers Haddad among the Arab teaching staff "requisitioned" during the war, implying that his role at the center was not entirely voluntary – the British may have taken advantage of the wartime vulnerabilities that Haddad's German connections produced to force him to work there.[15] But this did mean that, unlike hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, Haddad was already outside the country and had a new home and job before the Nakba or catastrophe of 1948. He remained at the new Schneller School, in his birthplace of Khirbat Qanafar, until his death in 1959, and members of his family remain among the school's leadership to this day.[16]

The Syrian Orphanage

Elias Haddad's career and scholarship needs to be considered in the light of German influences on Palestinian intellectual life and of the differences between German and Anglophone intellectual traditions in relation to the Holy Land. The former offered more space for Palestinians – including Haddad but also Tawfiq Canaan and other nativist ethnographers – to insert themselves into ethnography as a discipline and their culture into the contemporary scholarship in its own right, rather than as a biblical remnant. German scholars were undoubtedly fascinated by Palestine's biblical associations, but fewer of them were driven by a zeal to prove the Bible's "truth" than their British and American counterparts. German ethnography of the late nineteenth century did not routinely compare Palestinian peasants with biblical

figures and, influenced by the German tradition of Bible criticism, scholars such as Martin Noth disputed the historicity of the Bible and the possibility, therefore, of "Biblical archaeology."[17] Noth's mentor, Albrecht Alt, who shared his skepticism, was head of the German School of Archaeology in Jerusalem in the early 1920s when the American archaeologist W. F. Albright arrived, and the two clashed over this.[18] German archaeology may have been no less colonialist and grasping than that of other Western countries, but it came with a different set of ideological baggage than the Anglophone school.[19]

The main German influence in Elias Haddad's life was the Syrian Orphanage where he was educated and where he worked for almost his entire career. Established in 1860 by a German Lutheran pastor to house children orphaned in Lebanon, the Schneller School became one of the largest educational and training establishments in Jerusalem. Its regime included work in the kitchens and gardens, and trips to the countryside where the children could swim and sleep outdoors, perhaps influenced by Western ideas about exercise and physical fitness. Its alumni became leaders in various fields, from high culture to the Jordanian military, and it played a significant role in religious debates in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Jerusalem, especially the development of an Arab identity among the Lutheran congregation and the use of Arabic for church services and sacred texts. Pupils at the Schneller School learned several languages: the main language of instruction was Arabic, but German, French, Turkish, and Armenian were taught. However, as a German institution, it came under suspicion in 1917, when the British conquered Jerusalem from the Ottomans, and again as relations between Germany and Britain declined in the 1930s. Its buildings were requisitioned for military use during World War II and sections of the school closed down and scattered to Nazareth and Bethlehem, later to be reestablished in Lebanon and Jordan.

Attending the Schneller School in the 1890s and the early years of the twentieth century places Haddad in a major German Lutheran institution offering some of the best educational and vocational opportunities in Jerusalem. It also meant that he grew up in an environment informed by German ideas of the nation but also by comparatively liberal social attitudes. Some students, including Tawfiq Canaan and Elias Haddad, were already Lutherans, but their fellow nativist ethnographer Stephan Stephan was Syrian Orthodox, and the orphanage accepted Muslim children as well as Christians, and both boys and girls.[20] Compared to the "proto-Zionist" Templars, the best known of the German communities in Palestine, the Lutheran community (including Schneller's) had better relations with ordinary Palestinians. The school has been described as "a leading nucleus of modern development, of education and training, of production and technical innovation."[21] Indeed, its reputation attracted donations from wealthy Palestinians as well as German Lutherans. It represented the Germans in the complex educational network of Jerusalem, as is visible in the examples of the musician Wasif Jawhariyyeh and his brother, who were sent to Schneller's but left after ill-treatment by a teacher, moving to Khalil al-Sakakini's Dusturiyya college.[22]

Before World War I, industrial, scientific, and political interests drove German imperialism across the globe, and one of its strongest spheres of influence was the Ottoman Empire.[23] Education was key to this, and "drawing local indigenous elites into German cultural, scientific and economic achievements" was a preferred mode of cultural diplomacy, including the establishment of targeted *Propagandaschulen* in the Ottoman Empire and Persia.[24] The role of schools in imperial "soft power" in the Middle East is well documented,[25] and the orphanage's role in Palestine included inculcating German cultural values, encouraging use of the German language, building contacts and loyalties between Germany and an emerging Palestinian professional class, and placing German nationals "on the ground" in the Holy Land. Philippe Bourmaud attributes the presence of early-twentieth-century rationalist ideas about medicine, hygiene, and sexuality in Jerusalem to this German-speaking culture, with its rejection of superstition and popular ritual, illustrating the intellectual and cultural impact of German education.[26] In Haddad's case, Schneller's was not the only German intellectual influence in his life: his interests in (especially colloquial) Arabic also took him beyond the confines of the orphanage to collaborate with the German-American scholar Hans Henry Spoer,[27] and to give language lessons and translation help to at least one other German researcher in Palestine, the Orientalist and theologian Friedrich Ulmer.[28]

Teaching Colloquial Arabic

The strongest theme that runs throughout Elias Haddad's career and writings – his teaching, his ethnographic work, and his series of textbooks for students of Arabic – is a belief in the importance of spoken Arabic, of recording dialects and collecting historical examples of language and literature. This seems to have developed out of his job teaching Arabic at the Syrian Orphanage, which began around the turn of the century, and was perhaps influenced by *nahdawi* periodicals which arrived in Palestine by post, or by his spell in Beirut, a center of Nahda intellectual production and exchange.

Haddad's first handbook for learners of colloquial Arabic was the *Manual of Palestinean* [sic] *Arabic for Self-Instruction*, written with Spoer, a clergyman and Orientalist scholar based at the American School of Oriental Research (ASOR).[29] At ASOR Spoer mixed with Western and Arab scholars based in Palestine, and learned Arabic from native speakers; he may have been one of the three students there who studied with Farhud Kurban, a Lutheran cleric who served at the German Church of the Redeemer alongside Theodor Schneller.[30] The *Manual* was published at the Syrian Orphanage in 1909 and in Germany by the Reichsdruckerei in 1910.[31] Spoer's introduction comments on Haddad's expertise in difference aspects of Arabic even at this early stage in his career:

> [Haddad's] knowledge of the classical language has enabled him to appreciate changes and distinctions which might have escaped even an

> Arab whose scholarship was less, while his intimacy with Palestinean and Libanese [sic] Arabic, in various dialects, has given him an insight into his own language, practically unattainable by a European however long his residence, or however profound his observation.[32]

Haddad's involvement in this book represents the first in a long career engaging with colloquial Arabic, something that locates Haddad not only in certain intellectual and political contexts in relation to Ottoman Palestine, but also as regards wider Arab nationalisms and linguistic debates. At the time, Nahda figures and early Arab nationalists were divided on whether they should seek to standardize language across the entire Arabic-speaking region, eliminating what many saw as corrupted regional and local *'ammiyya*s in favor of a more literary *fusha* or Modern Standard Arabic. Haddad's work places him firmly on the other side of the argument, alongside ethnographers and more local nationalists who perceived value in the diversity of different dialects, and implies that his interests lay with local identities – in Palestine and perhaps also his native Lebanon – rather than broader Arab nationalism.[33]

In the context of the rise of an understanding of local selfhood in Palestine prior to World War I, Haddad represents an indigenous voice in delineating and describing the Palestinian dialect. Haddad and Spoer's choice of the word "Palestinean [sic]" indicates that they considered an identifiable Palestinian Arabic to exist, and, by extension, that they understood there to be an entity called Palestine, inhabited by a specific group of people (speaking a particular dialect).[34] While the term Palestinian had been used by European scholars to describe the dialect, its use by a Jerusalem-based Levantine intellectual seems to chime with research that places development of a coherent, articulated Palestinian identity in the years preceding the Great War, albeit within the continued framework of an Ottoman state system.[35] As Haddad and Spoer state in their preface, they chose for the *Manual* an educated Jerusalemite dialect.[36] The Jerusalem dialect occupied a rough mid-point between Palestine's north and south, both geographically and linguistically, which may have made it an obvious choice to present in the *Manual*. If we consider it through the lens of questions of Palestinian identity, the centering of a Jerusalem dialect as representing that of Palestine also places the book in a long tradition which includes the *fada'il al-Quds* genre of praises for the Holy Land, other Islamicate[37] texts such as fatwa collections, and travel accounts, and that suggests some form of "community of meaning" focused on Jerusalem but extending to areas on all sides of the city.[38]

Of course, the choice of an educated Jerusalem dialect can partly be explained by practical consideration: both Haddad and Spoer lived there, and the city's religious, historical, and touristic significance would have made it the most relevant version for their prospective readers. The book's introduction framed its readership as students of Arabic interested in dialect, but also "passing travellers" who wished to navigate "railways, hotels, and other conveniences of travel." Recent scholars have followed Spoer in seeing travelers as the main market for the *Manual*, with other audiences among English-speaking residents of Palestine such as clergy, missionaries, and

teachers.[39] The appeal to casual users may have been strengthened by the fact that the text of the *Manual of Palestinean Arabic* contains no Arabic characters, but is entirely transliterated.

Most of the example phrases given by Spoer and Haddad are normal for language handbooks: information for travelers and shoppers, how to order food or book rooms. But others reflect the major political developments in Palestine and the wider Ottoman Empire. Sample sentences include: "Conditions would change if the Pasha would go from here!" juxtaposed with "The liberty which the Sultan gave to the people is a blessing."[40] Other examples, such as, "This is the second time a Constitution has been granted to the people of Turkey" and, "The newspapers have announced the Osmanli Constitution," also address major political events, such as the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, which forced Sultan Abdul Hamid II to reinstitute the constitution of 1876–78.[41] The constitutional changes of 1908 were initially greeted with widespread public joy in Palestine and other parts of the Ottoman Empire and the new freedoms saw a burst of newspaper and other publications. The euphoria was, however, short-lived, with an attempted counterrevolution and a turn to Turkic nationalism in the run-up to World War I.[42] But in the brief revolutionary moment, Spoer and Haddad sought to educate their European readers on the political context of Palestine and to espouse the hoped-for freedoms of the new regime.

The content chosen by Spoer and Haddad presents Palestine as a space of religious, social, and technological mixture. A few sample sentences mention tropes such as donkeys and mules, gazelles, Bedouin, the hajj, and incidents from the Qur'an and Islamic history, but, despite the Protestant Christian background of both authors, most of these are Islamic.[43] However, the folktales at the end of the book feature a story entitled "Saint Anthony and the Son of the King," with a clear Christian point of reference.[44] In contrast to Orientalist stereotypes of the Middle East, religion and "traditional" ways of life are largely absent.[45] Railways, cars, and other markers of modernity are shown as part of normal existence, and characters in the book include a teacher, a judge, a professor, an inventor, a photographer, and a physician.[46] Spoer and Haddad clearly lived the experience that they also wanted to display, a "modern," diverse Palestine.

Intellectual Networks under Colonialism

Haddad's second foray into Arabic language textbooks was *The Spoken Arabic of Palestine*, co-written with the famous archaeologist W. F. Albright, and first published in 1927.[47] Whereas Haddad's collaboration with Spoer had been one of only a few such books available before World War I, Haddad and Albright's volume entered a busier market. An English-speaking colonial administration, as well as Zionist immigration and a growing tourism industry, shaped new markets for language learning, so that while *The Manual of Palestinean Arabic* appears designed for self-study, *The Spoken Arabic of Palestine* is explicitly aimed at those working with teachers.[48] The historical trajectory of Haddad's later textbooks highlights the intellectual and official networks

in which he was embedded, which included international scholars based in Jerusalem, members of the British Mandate administration, and fellow Palestinian writers and educators. As such, we can view Elias Haddad as continuing his pre-World War I interest in colloquial Arabic and its dissemination, passing on the version of the language that he first presented in the *Manual* through later handbooks and through teaching military and government figures during Britain's presence in Palestine. Though it is beyond the scope of this article, Haddad's trajectory also evokes themes of intellectual connections beyond Palestine and the nature and role of such networks in colonial settings.

In *The Spoken Arabic of Palestine*, Elias Haddad's name is listed first, suggesting that the work is largely his and that perhaps Albright's main contribution was his famous name. Those thanked in the preface include Jalil Irany, a Palestinian teacher who collaborated with Haddad in later years, and Elias Shihadeh, Haddad's colleague at the Syrian Orphanage – pointing to the importance of scholarly and professional networks among middle-class Palestinians.[49] Haddad capitalized further on his enterprise with Albright, publishing a parallel edition in German, *Arabisch wie es in Palästina gesprochen wird: Ein Leitfaden für Anfänger*, issued in 1927 by the Syrian Orphanage. Here, Hermann Schneller (from the founding dynasty of the Syrian Orphanage) is thanked for his help with the text.[50] In his preface, Haddad highlights his practical experience of "many years of language teaching with Englishmen, Americans, and Germans."[51]

Elias Haddad was also a key figure in Albright's studies in Palestinian Arabic and folklore and helped to shape some of his early encounters with the local culture and language. In 1920, Albright worked with Haddad on folklore and Arabic, and they made ethnographic trips together around Jerusalem.[52] The tone of Albright's diaries suggests that his relationships with both Haddad and Tawfiq Canaan were warm, and their shared social circle was broad. On a walking trip from Wadi al-Qilt to the Dead Sea, Albright, two of his colleagues, and their wives "met the rest of the party – Dr and Mrs Canaan, Haddad, Linder and two Swedish ladies from the Swedish mission, the Kelseys from Ramallah, Esch and several more."[53] Haddad, Omar al-Salih al-Barghuti, and Tawfiq Canaan all attended Albright's wedding.[54] As discussed below, Haddad also maintained similarly long-lasting professional relationships with the Scandinavian ethnographer Hilma Granqvist, supporting her fieldwork in the village of 'Artas and editing her notes of conversations in colloquial Palestinian.[55]

After the Nakba, and apparently prompted by requests from students of Arabic,[56] Haddad reworked the textbook authored with Albright with the aid of Jalil Irany.[57] Irany, a teacher originally from Tulkarm, moved to Bethlehem in 1942 and, as headmaster of the Boys' Reformatory School under the Mandate administration, was awarded an Order of the British Empire in 1946.[58] Their "entirely rewritten and enlarged" edition, published in 1955, included new stories, longer written examples for students to practice their Arabic, and occasional mentions of Jordan and Jordanian sites, making the book more relevant to new readers.[59] Palestine was dropped from the title and the preface states that the book met "the needs of a student in any Arabic-

speaking country, with special reference to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon."[60] This change made commercial sense, conforming to the new political situation, but also seems designed to accommodate Jordanian political sensitivities over the identity of the West Bank and Jerusalem and highlights the shifting images of Palestine presented by Haddad's various works.[61] Responses to the volume's publication by scholars who had been based in Palestine during the Mandate period – such as the Reverend Eric Bishop, the Scottish Orientalist R. B. Serjeant, and James Robson, by then professor of Arabic at the University of Manchester – highlight the regard with which Haddad and his work on colloquial Arabic were held, and the extent to which he and Irany had influenced impressions and experiences of Palestine.[62]

Translating "Nimr-lore"

Archaeology and anthropology played a major role in how Western audiences "imagined" Palestine, as a biblical land inhabited by primitive peoples, portrayed as degraded relics of a glorious past, and these visions permeated political imaginaries, determining borders and ownership claims.[63] But in a series of ethnographic articles in English and German, Haddad and his collaborator on the *Manual of Palestinean Arabic*, Henry Spoer, sketch out a Palestine closely entwined with motifs of Arabic culture (the classical Bedouin, the heroic warrior-poet), in which the dramas are not those of the biblical past but of popular poetry and songs of the nineteenth-century Arab Levant. The most significant of these are a long-running project to collect poetry by Nimr ibn ʻAdwan, a late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century shaykh from the ʿAdwan tribe of the Balqa, on the eastern side of the Jordan River. Transcribing, transliterating, translating, and publishing these poems became a life-long project, particularly for Spoer.

The ʻAdwan were (and still are) one of the main tribes in the Balqa.[64] In present-day Jordanian national narratives, they are linked with this specific area, ruling over sedentary cultivators, making occasional raids, and sporadically clashing with the Ottoman authorities.[65] According to an account taken in the 1880s from an ʻAdwani chief, they arrived in the Balqa from Arabia, their Najdi origins forming the basis for ʻAdwan claims to "pure" or heroic blood.[66] Although Orientalist stereotypes of the "noble savage" desert Bedouin are often applied to the ʻAdwan,[67] by the time of Haddad and Spoer's expedition to the Balqa significant numbers had become sedentary or registered land with the government, often under pressure from the Ottoman authorities.[68]

Nimr and the ʻAdwan of his era also had significant dealings west of the Jordan. Nimr himself had regular encounters – and clashes – with leading figures from Nablus (at times the administrative capital for the Balqa), while one of his daughters married into the Abu Ghosh family of Qaryat al-ʻInab, west of Jerusalem.[69] Other members of the tribe fought enemies in the Palestinian village of Tayba, were imprisoned in Nablus, and were banished to Jerusalem.[70] ʻAdwan raids, according to the British traveler Claude Conder, extended to Jerusalem and Jaffa.[71] Archaeological evidence

underscores the fact that ‘Adwan economic activities did not end with livestock sold in Damascus or Hebron, but were part of trade networks which stretched into the Red Sea region, Greater Syria, and Europe.[72]

Shaykh Nimr was a leader of one of the two main branches of the ‘Adwan. He was born around 1754, spent his life in the Balqa, and died in 1823. Despite stereotypes of the warrior-poet transmitting spoken verse, he was fully literate, and diwans of his poetry are recorded in the mid-nineteenth century.[73] His image as warrior-poet is encapsulated in the title of a recent biography, *The Poet Prince and Arab Knight*.[74] Popular portrayals describe his adoration of his bride Wadha, whom he married after rescuing her from rapacious bandits and to whom many of his love poems are addressed.[75] This image fits auto-expressions of Jordanian/Bedouin identity and its often romanticized and ahistorical use by the Jordanian state.[76]

Henry Spoer started collating and translating work by Nimr Ibn ‘Adwan in 1904, when he collected several dozen poems. Elias Haddad became involved after Spoer’s first expedition, when he first helped to translate the poems Spoer had collected, and later travelled with him back to the Balqa.[77] Haddad and Nimr are given equal credit for the remaining publications (from 1929, 1933–34, 1945, and 1946), though by the 1940s the two were no longer in close contact. Despite this, Spoer emphasized that the collection and translation of the poems were “our joint-work,” the fruits of “several happy years of working together.”[78]

The publications represent only a selection from Spoer and Haddad’s collection, which seems to have consisted of over one hundred examples of Shaykh Nimr’s verse, a considerable achievement in itself. The English translations are accompanied in several publications by Arabic transcriptions of the poems, in others only transliterations of the Arabic, as well as commentaries on their context and content, and paratextual materials which include linguistic and historical notes and comparisons between ‘Adwan’s work and other Arabic literature. Citing their own *Manual of Palestinean Arabic* and scholars such as Alois Musil, Haddad and Spoer call the language used in ‘Adwan’s poems “Palestinian Arabic,” placing his literary production into a context which pays little heed to the Jordan River as a boundary. This is reinforced by ‘Adwan’s history, the identities of those who recited the poems to Spoer and Haddad, and the poems themselves. These all refer to a social and geographical sphere extending to Damascus and the Druze regions of southern Syria, but concentrated on an area with the Ghor (Jordan Valley) at its heart and the ‘Adwan heartlands of the Balqa to its east, but also west to Bisan, Nablus, Jerusalem, and even Hebron and Jaffa. The reciters from whom Spoer and Haddad received their versions of ‘Adwan’s work came from al-Salt but also from al-Qubayba near Jerusalem.[79] An exchange of poems between Nimr Ibn ‘Adwan and one Yusuf Abu Nṣer of the “Nṣērāt Arabs, who are living in the Western Ṛōr [Ghor],” lamenting the deaths of their beloved wives, also crosses this border.[80] So did the marriage of one of ‘Adwan’s daughters to a shaykh from the Abu Ghosh family (who dominated the Jerusalem–Jaffa road from the village of Qaryat al-‘Inab)[81] and an exchange of insults between ‘Adwan and Musa Bek Tuqan, *mutasallim* of Nablus, after Tuqan jeered ‘Adwan for writing romantic poetry.[82]

Like their *Manual of Palestinean Arabic*, the poems chosen by Spoer and Haddad offer a particular image of social values and mores. Haddad and Spoer translated into English and published Shaykh Nimr's "debonair" love poetry (as did Musil in 1928 and, in Arabic, al-'Uzayzi in 1997).[83] His "battle day" poetry has not been reproduced, even though it is much more typical of the ʿAdwani oral tradition.[84] Part of a poetic style dating back to the *jahiliyya*, "battle day poems" celebrate bravery, honor, and loyalty – but also rebelliousness and independence.[85] The poems in Spoer and Haddad's articles of 1912, 1929, 1933–34, and 1945, however, all consist of lamentations.[86] The five poems that Haddad and Spoer published in 1923 are more varied, including: a poem on Nimr's loneliness during his exile with the Bani Sakhr, a challenge to a Bani Sakhr warrior who threatened him, a plea to his children to follow good examples in life, a poem on the theft of Nimr's mare, and a dialogue between the poet and his gun about their plans to kill a leopard.[87] The 1946 text is also slightly varied, although the majority (eight of fifteen) of the poems are lamentations for Nimr's wife Wadha or the pain of love in general. Another confronts Musa Bey Tuqan of Nablus for his mockery of Shaykh Nimr, and several poems lament the advent of old age and weakness.[88]

Spoer and Haddad thus shape Ibn 'Adwan's diwan to present him as a wounded lover, a philosophical thinker on youth and age, and a correspondent with other literati in the region. In choosing which poems to preserve and display, Haddad and Spoer foreground a "civilized," cultured image of the Balqa Bedouin and their famous poet, sidelining those works which prop up the aggressive, warlike stereotypes permeating Western images of the Arab. As in their *Manual of Palestinean Arabic*, written in the same period as their collaboration on collecting and translating the works of Shaykh Nimr, Spoer and Haddad convey a modern, liberal image of Arab society, in which poems of romantic love and contemplations of mortality were more appropriate than exhortations to battle.

In addition to this presentation of a specific image of Arab society and culture in the region, Haddad and Spoer's publication and exegesis of Nimr's poetry portray the space in which the poetry was written in a manner that took on increasing political weight over the period when the articles emerged. Prior to World War I, when the first in the series were published, the Jordan Valley was viewed mainly as a minor geographical feature, rather than a national border; in continuing to emphasize this geography as Palestinian in their later articles, Haddad and Spoer increasingly envision Nimr's life and work in ways that reject the solidification of Mandatory territorial divisions. Their portrait defies political decisions made during and after World War I that linked Transjordan to Britain's Hashemite allies, as well as spatial imaginaries of the Mandatory system – which established the Jordan River as a rigid border against Arab nationalist aspirations and Jewish settlement – and the Zionist movement, which used biblical narratives (outlined at the 1919 Peace Conference) to lay claim to a state east of the river.[89] The cultural and geographical themes of Haddad and Spoer's project thus reject both Zionist aspirations and British realpolitik. They do this by reconstructing a life story and a literary corpus in which urban Palestine west of the Jordan is bound up with the Bedouin warrior-poet from the east, a figure of

Arabic culture from the *jahiliyya* onward.[90] In doing so, their narrative transcends the conventional dichotomy between a (culturally and agriculturally) cultivated Palestine – a place of cities, rules, and written texts – and the "wild men" on the other side of the Ghor, the untamed Bedouin warrior-lover-tribesman of both Orientalist fantasy and Arabic literature.[91] In so doing, they reflect a certain local feeling in the late Ottoman period, which saw areas east and west of the Jordan as contiguous,[92] and implicitly resist the regional borders imposed by the Mandate's regime in later decades.

The Ethnography of Palestine

Until now, Elias Haddad's best-known writings were his ethnographic articles published in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* alongside those of other nativist anthropologists, such as Tawfiq Canaan and Stephan Hanna Stephan. Haddad's output in the journal was comparatively small, just four fairly short articles and one book review. They address conventional topics of interest to Orientalist scholars of the period: Qaysi-Yemeni competition in Arab societies, social institutions such as the *madafa* or guesthouse, blood revenge, and education and correction.[93] As such, they are typical of the functionalist anthropology of the period, which used fieldwork to identify the institutions of a society and how they fit into a social whole. Haddad's article on "blood revenge," along with Omar al-Barghuthi's contribution to the journal on Bedouin courts,[94] seem to set the stage for a number of works by Arab ethnographers on Bedouin systems of justice, apparently inspired by a combination of usefulness (to Mandatory authorities attempting to rule semi-nomadic populations) and a concern to stress the presence of rational social systems in traditional Palestinian life.[95] However, Haddad's contributions were primarily in the first three volumes of the journal (published between 1920 and 1923), suggesting that this kind of mainstream ethnography was not what most engaged his interest. Indeed, Haddad's strongest influence in the anthropology of Palestine was arguably not through his own writings, but through his interventions – linguistic advice and corrections, interpretation of practices and customs, fixing and arranging – for Western ethnographers who came to study Palestinian rural life, especially the Finnish anthropologist Hilma Granqvist.[96]

Of all his writings, Haddad's ethnographic writings include the strongest indications of the developmentalist ideas consistent with his German education and mainstream Western understandings of society at the time; practices such as the Bedouin use of blood feuds in the system of justice would, in his view, "if not entirely, at least in large part, vanish in the near future."[97] While Haddad attributed this to the new British and French Mandatory rule in the region, he clearly saw society as evolutionary and his ethnography was to some extent analogous to rescue archaeology, preserving the details of customs otherwise destined to be lost. Haddad also comments that, even if the new governments "may interfere and make a fair decision, nevertheless a real reconciliation between the two parties can not take place as long as the customs of the people are not satisfied," suggesting that the practices he describes meet psychological or social needs that will not die out under the pressure of modernity.[98] Haddad's

assumption that contemporary notions of progress or modernity will benefit Palestine, even if significant elements of its culture disappear in the process, is most robustly stated in another article:

> In the past few decades European civilization has entered the country, and though, for the sake of the progress of my native land, I am one of its admirers and supporters, I cannot but be filled with regret at the disappearance of the customs which bring us so close to the spirit and meaning of the Bible.[99]

On the other hand, in this article Haddad insists that the foreign view of Palestine as a "hot-bed of party strife" based on religion is incorrect. The main divisions in society, he stresses, are "political rather than religious,"[100] echoing both the focus in the 1909 *Manual of Palestinean Arabic* on politics rather than faith and foreshadowing his future translation of the German Enlightenment play *Nathan der Weise*, with its message of religious coexistence in Jerusalem.

Nathan al-Hakim

Elias Haddad's vision of a peaceable, diverse Arab society is apparent in one of his solo works, the first – and until the 1990s the only – Arabic edition of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's 1779 blank-verse play *Nathan der Weise* (Nathan the Wise) in 1932.[101] Translating a European play with an "Oriental" setting into Arabic, Haddad conveys specific ideas about his own society and its political trajectory, reclaiming a message of tolerance and religious harmony as indigenous to his people.[102]

The German Enlightenment thinker and writer Gotthold Ephraim Lessing published *Nathan der Weise* in 1779, toward the end of his career and in response to censorship of his statements on religion.[103] The play is set in the Jerusalem of a wise and open-minded Islamic ruler, Salah al-Din, a well-established character in Western writings since the medieval period as well as in Islamicate history.[104] *Nathan der Weise* also features a Jewish central character (Nathan) and his Christian-born adopted daughter Recha, and between these and other representations of Jews, Christians, and Muslims, it is often held up as a model for tolerance and interfaith dialogue, as well as being one of the most widely-performed German plays.[105]

Haddad's translation, *Nathan al-Hakim*, followed a period of fluctuating tensions between Palestinian Arabs and Jews, peaking in 1929 with the Western Wall/Buraq riots, during which some 250 individuals, Jews and Arabs, were killed.[106] In addition to violent outbursts, day-to-day factors reinforced the lines between Jewish and Arab Palestinians. The Zionist nation-building project, the British policy of classifying people according to faith, and an overarching environment of population growth, economic downturn, and rapid urbanization, all created tensions which were exacerbated by European Jewish immigration and political nationalisms.[107]

In translating *Nathan der Weise* into Arabic, Haddad resisted these social and political trends by showing Palestine, and Jerusalem in particular, as a place in which

Jews, Muslims, and Christians are not just *able* to live together, but are *meant* to. The European Crusaders in the play are portrayed as fanatical and duplicitous as they try to regain their hold over the city, emphasizing the fact that no single faith should be dominant, and that those who seek to dominate do not live up to a standard of moral excellence shared by Lessing and Haddad. In his introduction, Haddad excoriates all forms of extremism and stresses religious tolerance and mutual respect, quoting the Qur'an and the New Testament side-by-side and proclaiming: "to you, your religion and to me, mine."[108]

The Nazis had been trying to suppress Lessing's play for a decade by the time Haddad published *Nathan al-Hakim*, and had sought to stop screenings of a 1922 film version, instead promoting Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, with its anti-Semitic themes.[109] Was Elias Haddad aware of these trends, and trying to make a point about their own histories to his German colleagues at the Syrian Orphanage? Members of the Schneller family in Palestine were enthusiastic supporters of the National Socialists later in the 1930s; were they already expressing views which Haddad wanted to counter?[110] The play was completely banned in Germany in 1933, the year after Haddad's publication, when the Nazis consolidated their rise to power. Perhaps those editions of *Nathan al-Hakim* which found their way into German university libraries during the 1930s did so under the noses of Nazi officials who could not read Arabic and did not know that they were admitting a banned text.[111]

While ethno-national politics were undoubtedly a major and growing source of conflict in Mandate Palestine, Haddad's work calls for a different future – a plea not only for tolerance but also for equality between different religions; this disrupts assumptions that all discussions of religious identity in Mandate Palestine revolved around competition and conflict (an outlook which is also in line with his membership of the Freemasons, with their belief in a brotherhood which cut across politics, religion, and ethnicity).[112] And yet Haddad's account is not a naively idealistic one. He acknowledges the dangers of fanaticism and religious rivalries – in particular within his own religion, Christianity; indeed, it is possible to see the Crusaders of the play – Europeans coming to Palestine with a desire to shape it to their own desires, rather than to integrate into the existing society – as representing Zionist newcomers and Salah al-Din as the inspiring but wise and tolerant leader needed to save Palestine. Haddad's solution – a call for Enlightenment values, for modernist ideas of rationalism and humanism, for tradition to be swept away in a search for a universal humankind – may seem in some respects dated and colonial. But in his context, Haddad should be seen as proposing a position which seeks to reclaim Palestine as the place in which such values originated and can flourish.

What did translation offer Haddad that authoring his own text could not? Although translating European texts into Arabic is sometimes seen as evidence of the vulnerability of the colonized translator to seduction by colonial ideas,[113] others have interpreted foreign texts as offering a neutral space in which different peoples can find common ground.[114] Translation has also been used by reform and decolonizing movements to discuss or promote specific ideas and values.[115] Lessing's play offers,

in this light, the triple advantages of being external/foreign; by a representative of values associated (in the 1930s) with ideas of objectivity and proof in the modernist sense; and from a part of Europe not directly linked to the Mandatory powers in the Levant. The ideas expressed did not attract controversy or disagreement in the Arabic-language press. Both the major Arabic magazine *al-Hilal* and the Palestinian newspaper *Mir'at al-Sharq* reviewed *Nathan al-Hakim* in the summer of 1932, mainly summarizing the play's plot and noting its poetic style, moral position, and message of "longing" for past civilizations, but expressing no surprise, disbelief, or opposition to ideas of coexistence and tolerance.[116] *Mir'at al-Sharq*'s review was the only reaction to Haddad's translation I could find in the Palestinian press; however, it made sufficient impact to be included on a 1946 list of "Palestinian Arabic books" compiled by the Committee for Arabic Culture in Palestine.[117]

Conclusion

The surviving writings and photographs of Elias Haddad suggest a modest, unostentatious man, precise and scholarly in his work, and generous with his time and expertise. Although currently little-known in Palestinian history, his life and writings deserve more attention, addressing as they do so many important topics – representation, identity, translation, colonialism – and touching the work of so many beyond his own output, as a teacher, translator, or advisor on language and customs. His life also highlights the entangled nature of intellectual life in Mandate Palestine; Haddad worked with Americans, Europeans, Jews, and fellow Arabs, sometimes as an equal, sometimes in a subordinate role, and sometimes as an authority. To understand his life as entangled is not to dismiss the politics and power differentials of colonial life. The closures and expropriations from the Syrian Orphanage during both world wars, Haddad's apparently unwilling time at the Middle East Centre for Arab Studies, and his eventual exile from Jerusalem, the city where he spent the vast majority of his life, demonstrate the ways in which colonial power in Palestine affected ordinary people. But seeing Haddad's life as entwined with those of so many other people also lets us see where he was able to exercise his own will and ability, representing his adopted country in specific ways and to specific audiences, and ensuring that people who came to study it had their errors corrected. Quiet and modest Elias Haddad may have been, but his ethics and beliefs form a strong and continuous thread throughout his long and productive life.

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Endnotes

1 On Tawfiq Canaan, see: Salim Tamari, "Lepers, Lunatics, and Saints: The Nativist Ethnography of Tawfiq Canaan and his Jerusalem Circle," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 20 (2004): 24–43; Khaled Nashef, "Tawfik Canaan: His Life and Works," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 16 (2002): 12–26; Philippe Bourmaud, "A Son of the Country: Dr. Tawfiq Canaan, Modernist Physician and Palestinian Ethnographer," in *Struggle and Survival in Palestine*, ed. Mark LeVine and Gershon Shafir, 104–25 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Birgit Mershen and Ulrich Hübner, "Tawfiq Canaan and His Contribution to the Ethnography of Palestine," in *Palaestina exploranda* (Wiesbaden: Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 2006), 251–64. On Khalil al-Sakakini, see: Salim Tamari, "The Vagabond Café and Jerusalem's Prince of Idleness," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 19 (2003): 23–36; Nadim Bawalsa, "Sakakini Defrocked," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 42 (2010): 5–25; Emanuel Beska, "Khalil al-Sakakini and Zionism before WWI," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 63/64 (2015): 40–53; and the eight volumes of Sakakini's diaries edited by Akram Mousallam and published between 2003 and 2010 by the Khalil Sakakini Cultural Center, Ramallah, and the Institute of Jerusalem Studies.

2 Sections of this article are derived from research carried out for my PhD thesis: Sarah Irving, "Intellectual Networks, Language and Knowledge under Colonialism: the Work of Stephan Stephan, Elias Haddad and Tawfiq Canaan in Palestine, 1909–1948" (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2018).

3 Katja Dorothea Buck, "Linguistic Pioneering Work Rediscovered," *Schneller Magazine on Christian Life in the Middle East* 126, no. 1 (March 2011): 23.

4 Personal communication from Elias Haddad's grandson Gabi Haddad, 21 July 2015. Relatives of Elias Haddad who also attended the Schneller School recounted similar life histories for an oral history project on the institution's past. See: "Mitri Simaan Nehmeh," online at jlss.org/memoirs_mitri_simaan_nehmeh.aspx (accessed 6 January 2021); "Yousef Mourad Part I," online at jlss.org/yousef_mourad_memoirs_part_i.aspx (accessed 6 January 2021). Beth Baron's work on Egypt emphasizes that the parents of children in Middle Eastern orphanages were not necessarily dead. Many "orphans" came from families unable or unwilling to care for them – because of poverty or a new spouse, for instance, or because the child was the result of an illicit relationship or was disabled. Residence in an orphanage was not necessarily permanent; children were often lodged there until the family's situation improved, showing that, while families who brought their children to orphanages were often poor and marginalized, they were far from passive, often managing these opportunities for education with calculation and insight. Beth Baron, *The Orphan Scandal: Christian Missionaries and the Rise of the Muslim Brotherhood* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014).

5 Buck, "Linguistic Pioneering Work," 23.

6 Buck, "Linguistic Pioneering Work," 23; Elias N. Haddad and Jalil Z. Irany, *Standard Colloquial Arabic*, 3rd ed. (Jerusalem: Matba'at dar al-aytam al-Islamiyya, 1955); Jan Kühne, *Suspension of Belief and Dissimulation of Absence: Themes in the Theatrical and Critical Reception of Nathan the Wise in Israel, Germany and Austria after 1945* (Jerusalem: European Forum at the Hebrew University, 2011), 9.

7 Personal communication from Gabi Haddad, 21 July 2015.

8 Personal communication from Gabi Haddad, 21 July 2015.

9 Personal communication from Gabi Haddad, 21 July 2015.

10 G. R. J. Halaby, *The Scottish Freemasons' Calendar and Directory: Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, 1931–32* (Jerusalem: Greek Convent Press, 1931), 64–65.

11 Eric F. F. Bishop, "Jerusalem Byways of Memory III: 'Some Teachers'," *Muslim World* 51, no. 4 (October 1961): 272.

12 Personal communication from Gabi Haddad.

13 Sir James Craig, *Shemlan: A History of the Middle East Centre for Arab Studies* (London: Palgrave, 1998), 22, 168. Abba Eban also worked for the center, and was for a while Haddad's senior there.

14 Craig, *Shemlan*, 32, 38.

15 Bishop, "Jerusalem Byways," 272.

16 "New Director Appointed for J.L.S.S." (summer 2006?), online at jlss.org/new_director_appointed.aspx (accessed 4 September 2020); Buck, "Linguistic

Pioneering Work," 23.

17 Thomas Davis, *Shifting Sands: The Rise and Fall of Biblical Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 21, 122.

18 Burke O. Long, *Planting and Reaping Albright: Politics, Ideology, and Interpreting the Bible* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2010), 53–54.

19 Davis, *Shifting Sands*, 36.

20 "Palestine and Education," [Adelaide] *Register*, 24 July 1922, 8.

21 Ruth Kark, Dietrich Denecke and Haim Goren, "The Impact of Early German Missionary Enterprise in Palestine on Modernization and Environmental and Technological Change, 1820–1914," in *Christian Witness between Continuity and New Beginnings*, ed. Michael Marten and Martin Tamcke (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2006), 162.

22 Wasif Jawhariyyeh, *The Storyteller of Jerusalem: The Life and Times of Wasif Jawhariyyeh, 1904-1948*, ed. Salim Tamari and Issam Nassar, trans. Nada Elzeer. (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2014), 73.

23 Stephan Manz, *Constructing a German Diaspora: The "Greater German Empire," 1871–1914* (London: Routledge, 2014), 2–3; Ozyuksel, *Hejaz Railway*, 5, 23–31,105; Todd Samuel Presner, *Mobile Modernity: Germans, Jews, and Trains* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 193–97; Reeva S. Simon, "The Education of an Iraqi Army Officer," in *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, ed. Rashid Khalidi, Lisa Anderson, Muhammad Muslih, and Reeva S. Simon (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 154–57. More generally, see Isaiah Friedman, *Germany, Turkey, and Zionism, 1897–1918* (Oxford: UP, 1977), especially 154–55 on capital.

24 Manz, *German Diaspora*, 240–41.

25 A. L. Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine, 1800–1901: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 2, 13 and throughout; Baron, *Orphan Scandal*.

26 Philippe Bourmaud, "'A Son of the Country': Dr. Tawfiq Canaan, Modernist Physician and Palestinian Ethnographer," in *Struggle and Survival in Palestine/Israel*, ed. Mark LeVine and Gershon Shafir (University of California Press, 2012), 105.

27 Krefeld, Germany 1873–1951 USA.

28 Friedrich Ulmer, "Südpalästinensische Kopfbedeckunge," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 41, no. 1–2 (1918): 37–38.

29 For an example of his work, see George A. Barton and Hans H. Spoer, "Traces of the Diatessaron of Tatian in Harclean Syriac Lectionaries," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 24, no. 2 (1905): 179–95. The ASOR was renamed in 1970 as the W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research in Jerusalem.

30 George L. Robinson, "Report of the Director, 1913–14," *Annual Report of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem* 13 (1913–14): 35–36, 38; Löffler, "Aggravating Circumstances," 105.

31 The introduction to the *Manual* also highlights technological changes happening in Palestine, when Spoer writes: "I and my collaborator have to thank Director Pastor Schneller and the Printing-master of the Syrisches Waisenhaus for undertaking the printing of this work under considerable mechanical difficulty, as well as that of the fact that the young printers know nothing of the English language." H. H. Spoer and E. Nasrallah Haddad, *Manual of Palestinean Arabic for Self-Instruction* (Jerusalem: Syrisches Waisenhaus, 1909), v.

32 Spoer and Haddad, *Manual*, v.

33 Kees Versteegh, *The Arabic Language* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 175–76; Israel Gershoni, "Rethinking the Formation of Arab Nationalism in the Middle East, 1920–1945: Old and New Narratives," in *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, ed. James Jankowski and Israel Gershoni (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 7–17; Niloofer Haeri, *Sacred Language, Ordinary People*: *Dilemmas of Culture and Politics in Egypt* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 11, 76.

34 Louis Fishman, "The 1911 Haram al-Sharif Incident: Palestinian Notables Versus the Ottoman Administration", *Journal of Palestine Studies* 34, 3 (2005): 7, 12–15, 19; Gelvin, *Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 23–33. This also overlaps also with the interest in variation among dialects which arose among orientalists in the nineteenth century, as they tried to trace the evolution of Arabic and understand its diversity. Catherine Miller, "Arabic Urban Vernaculars," in *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, ed. Stefan Weninger (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 984–85.

35 Fishman, "Haram al-Sharif"; Abigail Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire: Jerusalem Between Ottoman and British Rule* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2011), 61–81; Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 35–62.

36 Spoer and Haddad, *Manual*, n.p. Conversations with linguists Uri Horesh and Jona Fras confirm that the dialect presented is suggestive of a geographical mid-point between southern and northern Palestine (Irving, "Intellectual networks," 117.

37 This term, apparently coined by Marshall Hodgson in *The Venture of Islam* (University of Chicago Press, 1975), denotes the products of cultures in which Islam is the dominant faith and influences much of the culture around it, but which are not themselves religious in nature.

38 Haim Gerber, *Remembering and Imagining Palestine: Identity and Nationalism from the Crusades to the Present* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 42–79, and Gerber's "'Palestine' and Other Territorial Concepts in the 17th Century," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, 4 (1998): 563–72.

39 See, for example, Rachel Mairs and Maya Muratov, *Archaeologists, Tourists, Interpreters: Exploring Egypt and the Near East in the Late 19th–Early 20th Centuries* (London: Bloomsbury Academic Press, 2015), 42; Spoer and Haddad, *Manual*, iii, v.

40 Spoer and Haddad, *Manual*, 80.

41 Spoer and Haddad, *Manual*, 104, 111, 122.

42 Bedross Der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution: From Liberty to Violence in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014), 23–47, 149–70.

43 Spoer and Haddad, *Manual*, 91, 106, 113, 116, 123, 124.

44 Spoer and Haddad, *Manual*, 166.

45 See Eitan Bar-Yosef, *The Holy Land in English Culture, 1799–1917: Palestine and the Question of Orientalism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2005), 106–62; Davis, *Shifting Sands*, 6 et passim.

46 Spoer and Haddad, *Manual*, 92.

47 The first edition was printed by the Palestine Educational Company of "B.Y. and W.A. Said," and a second edition in 1936 by the Syrian Orphanage Press as *The Spoken Arabic of Palestine: for use in Beginners' Classes*. E. N. Haddad and W. F. Albright, *The Spoken Arabic of Palestine for Use in Beginners' Classes* (Jerusalem: Palestine Educational Company, 1927); Thomas Levy and Noel Freedman, "William Foxwell Albright," in *Biographical Memoirs: National Academy of Sciences*, vol. 91 (Washington: National Academies Press, 2009), 25. B. Y. and W. A. Said were the uncle and father (respectively) of Edward Said.

48 Haddad and Albright, *Spoken Arabic*, i.

49 Haddad and Albright, *Spoken Arabic*, iii. My thanks to Reverend Dr. Mitri Raheb of the Lutheran Church in Bethlehem for information on Elias Shihadeh.

50 Haddad suggests a gap in the German market, although at least one German manual for learning Palestinian Arabic, Leonhard Bauer's *Das Palästinische Arabisch: Die Dialecte des Städters und des Fellachen*, was published (formally in Leipzig but printed in Jerusalem) in 1910, with a reprint in 1926. It seems likely that Elias Haddad's interest in colloquial Arabic was influenced by Bauer. Leonhard Bauer came to the Syrian Orphanage as a teacher in 1890, married Maria Schneller in 1891, and became senior teacher in 1899, remaining at the School until 1948, so Elias Haddad would have been his student and later colleague. Ulrich Seeger, "Leonhard Bauer (1865–1964), ein Pionier der arabischen Dialektologie," in *Im Dialog bleiben. Sprache und Denken in den Kulturen des Vorderen Orients: Festschrift für Raif Georges Khoury*, ed. Frederek Musall and Abdulbary al-Mudarris (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), 390–96.

51 Elias Haddad, *Arabisch wie es in Palästina gesprochen wird: Ein Leitfaden für Anfänger* (Jerusalem: Syrian Orphanage Press, 1927), i.

52 Leona Glidden Running and David Noel Freedman, *William Foxwell Albright: A Twentieth-century Genius* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1991), 79, 81, 86.

53 Running and Freedman, *William Foxwell Albright*, 87.

54 Running and Freedman, *William Foxwell Albright*, 96–97.

55 For a full account of Granqvist's work in the village of Artas, and of Elias Haddad's editing, comments, and correction of her Arabic field notes, see Rosanna Sirignano, "A Female Anthropologist in the Arab World:

Biblical Orient and Palestinian Folklore in the Legacy of Hilma Granqvist (1890–1972)" (PhD diss., University of Heidelberg, 2020).

56 Letter from Albright to Douglas Tushingham, 20 July 1952, ASOR archives Albright 002 box 1, 1952 correspondence.

57 This third edition was published in 1955 as *Standard Colloquial Arabic* by the Dar al-Aytam al-Islamiyya Press, in Jordanian-ruled Jerusalem. See also James Robson, "Review of *Standard Colloquial Arabic* by Elias N. Haddad; Jalil Z. Irany," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 3–4 (1956): 219.

58 *Palestine Gazette* 1499 (13 June 1946), 573.

59 Haddad and Irany, *Standard Colloquial Arabic*, n.p.

60 Haddad and Irany, Standard Colloquial Arabic, n.p.

61 See, for example: Marc Lynch, "Jordan's Identity and Interests," in *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East*, ed. Shibley Telhami and Michael N. Barnett (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), 26, 36–37.

62 Erric [sic] F. F. Bishop, "Foreword," in Elias N. Haddad and Jalil Z. Irany, *Standard Colloquial Arabic*, 3rd ed. (Jerusalem: Maṭba'ah Dar al-Aytam al-Islamiyya, 1955); R. B. Serjeant, "Review of *Standard Colloquial Arabic* by Elias N. Haddad; Jalil Z. Irany," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 18, no. 2 (1956): 401; Robson, "Review," 219.

63 De Cesari, "Cultural Heritage," 76–77; Roza El-Eini, *Mandated Landscape: British Imperial Rule in Palestine, 1929–1948* (London: Routledge, 2004), 117–87.

64 The plateau east of the Jordan River and north of the Dead Sea, with the city of al-Salt as the area's capital. I use the term tribe deliberately, in that most of the people discussed in this section identified themselves in such a way and because, despite modern Anglophone uses of the word in negative ways, the tribal system was a complex and multi-layered social and political system admirably suited to the environment and political economy of the region.

65 Eugene Rogan, "Bringing the State Back In: The Limits of Ottoman Rule in Transjordan, 1840–1910," in *Village, Steppe, and State: The Social Origins of Modern Jordan*, ed. Eugene Rogan and Tariq Tell (London: British Academic Press, 1994), 40–48.

66 A Palestine Explorer, "The Belka Arabs," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (August 1883), 184; Eveline van den Steen, *Near Eastern Tribal Societies during the Nineteenth Century: Economy, Society, and Politics between Tent and Town* (Durham: Acumen, 2013), 76–78.

67 Philip J. Baldensperger, "The Immovable East," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (1922): 67.

68 Michael R. Fischbach, *State, Society, and Land in Jordan* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 31, 46–53.

69 Van den Steen, *Near Eastern Tribal Societies*, 141.

70 Andrew Shryock, *Nationalism and the Genealogical Imagination: Oral History and Textual Authority in Tribal Jordan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 77, 81, 200.

71 Palestine Explorer, "Belka Arabs," 172. Conder repeated this tale in his 1889 account of his travels in what he termed Heth and Moab, the regions' Biblical names. In both texts he recorded that Shaykh Diab met the explorer's assurance that the "righteous" British had no imperialistic designs on Ottoman land with an "air of courteous incredulity" (Palestine Explorer, "Belka Arabs," 180).

72 Bethany J. Walker, "Bangles, Beads, and Bedouin: Excavating a Late Ottoman Cemetery in Jordan," *Essays in Economic and Business History* 19 (2001): 275.

73 Saad Abdullah Sowayan, *Nabati Poetry: The Oral Poetry of Arabia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 102.

74 Hani al-Kayid, *al-Amir al-sha'ir wa-l-faris al-'Arabi al-Shaykh Nimr bin 'Adwan: al-haqiqa al-kamila – nasabuhu wa hayatuhu wa shi'ruhu* [The poet prince and Arab knight Shaykh Nimr bin 'Adwan: the full Truth – his lineage, his life, and his poetry] (Amman: Dar al-raya, 2008).

75 Recent popular works include an eponymous Ramadan TV series in 2007 and an illustrated biography, probably aimed at younger readers. See also Ahmad Shuhan, *Diwan Nimr bin 'Adwan wa qissat hayatihi* [The works of Nimr bin 'Adwan and the story of his life] (Dayr al-Zur: Manshurat maktabat al-turath, 1981).

76 Joseph A. Massad, *Colonial Effects: The Making of National Identity in Jordan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 76–78; Kathleen Hood and Mohammad al-

Oun, "Changing Performance Traditions and Bedouin Identity in the North Badiya, Jordan," *Nomadic Peoples* 18, no. 2 (2014): 78–82, 86.

77 Hans H. Spoer, "Four Poems by Nimr Ibn ʿAdwan, as Sung by ʻOde Abu Sliman," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 66 (1912): 189; H. H. Spoer, "Five Poems by Nimr Ibn ʿIbn I," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 43 (1923): 177. Apparently the two made journeys to the Balqa in 1908 and spring 1909, after which Spoer left Palestine for seminary training in England. See H. H. Spoer and Elias Nasrallah Haddad, "Poems by Nimr Ibn ʿAdwān," *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 7 (1929): 29.

78 H. Henry Spoer and Elias Nasrallah Haddad, "Poems by Nimr Ibn ʿAdwān, XXI–XLIV," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 65, no. 1 (1945): 37.

79 H. Henry Spoer and Elias Nasrallah Haddad, "Poems by Nimr Ibn ʿAdwān, XXI to XLIV: Part II," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 66, no. 2 (1946): 161.

80 Spoer and Haddad, "Poems, XXI to XLIV: Part II," 170. Nusayrat was a village on the western side of the Jordan Valley which was razed by the Israeli authorities in December 1967. Esther Rosalind Cohen, *Human Rights in the Israeli-occupied Territories, 1967–1982* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 98.

81 H. H. Spoer and Elias Nasrallah Haddad, "Poems by Nimr Ibn ʿAdwan III – Translations and Notes," *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 9 (1933–34): 94.

82 Spoer and Haddad, "Poems, XXI to XLIV: Part II," 172, 180.

83 Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1928); Rukus ibn Zaid Uzayzi, *Nimr al-ʻAdwan: Shaʻir al-hubb wa-al-wafa': hayatuhu wa-shiʻruhu* [Nimr al-ʻAdwan: Poetry of love and loyalty – his life and poetry] (Amman: al-Rabi'an, 1997).

84 Shryock, *Genealogical Imagination*, 302.

85 Christopher James Wright, "Ibn ʻAbd al-Hakam's ʻFutuh Misr': An Analysis of the Text and New Insights Into the Islamic Conquest of Egypt" (PhD diss., University of California Santa Barbara, 2006), 41; Thomas Hoffman, "Notes on Qur'anic Wilderness – and Its Absence," in *Wilderness in Mythology and Religion: Approaching Religious Spatialities, Cosmologies, and Ideas of Wild Nature*, ed. Laura Feldt (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 159–60.

86 Spoer, "Poems as Sung by ʻOde Abu Sliman," 189–203; Spoer and Haddad, "Poems" (1929), 29–62; Spoer and Haddad, "Poems – Translations and Notes," 93–133; Spoer and Haddad, "Poems" (1945), 37–50.

87 Spoer, "Five Poems" (1923), 177–205.

88 Spoer, "Nimr Ibn ʻAdwān, XXI to XLIV: Part II" (1946), 161–81.

89 Gideon Biger, "The Boundaries of Israel–Palestine Past, Present, and Future: A Critical Geographical View," *Israel Studies* 13, no. 1 (2008): 75–78; S. D. Myres, "Constitutional Aspects of the Mandate for Palestine," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 164 (1932): 10–11.

90 The *jahiliyya*, or age of ignorance, is the Islamic conceptualization of the period preceding the coming of Islam.

91 See Shryock's ethnography of the ʻAdwan and the complex relationships between ideas of shaykhdom, war, poetry, and agriculture, which still pertained in the late twentieth century. Shryock, *Genealogical Imagination*, 82–83, 155–56.

92 In the 1880s "violent protests" took place in Nablus when the Balqa was subdivided between two Ottoman sub-provinces. The protesters viewed the Balqa as geographically and culturally connected to their own lives, and believed that they should remain administratively united. Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2005), 60

93 Elias N. Haddad, "Blood Revenge among the Arabs," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 1 (1920–21): 103–12; "Political Parties in Syria and Palestine (Qaisi and Yemeni)," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 1 (1920–21): 209–14; "The Guest-house in Palestine," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 2 (1922): 279–83; "Methods of Correction and Education among the Fallahin," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 3 (1923): 41–44.

94 Omar Effendi el-Barghuthi, "Judicial Courts among the Bedouin of Palestine," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 2 (1922): 34–65.

95 See, for example, Aref el-Aref, *Bedouin Love, Law, and Legend: Dealing Exclusively with the Badu of Beersheba*, trans. Harold Tilley (Jerusalem: Cosmo Publishing, 1944);

and ‘Awda al-Qasus, *al-Qada’ al-Badawi* [Bedouin justice] (Amman: n.p., 1936).

96 Sirignano, “A Female Anthropologist in the Arab World.”

97 Haddad, “Blood Revenge,” 103.

98 Haddad, “Blood Revenge,” 112.

99 Haddad, “Political Parties,” 209.

100 Haddad, “Political Parties,” 209.

101 Buck, “Linguistic Pioneering Work,” 23.

102 Using translations to discuss normative values was not unusual in the Arabic milieu; Nahda figures such as Jurji Zaydan and the Palestinian writer, journalist, and educator Khalil Baydas (1874?–1949) were major exponents of translation and their influence may be visible in in Haddad’s project.

103 Hugh Barr Nisbet, *Gotthold Ephraim Lessing: His Life, Works, and Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 601.

104 Carole Hillenbrand, “The Evolution of the Saladin Legend in the West,” *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph* 58 (2005): 500–507; Nisbet, *Gotthold Ephraim Lessing*, 91.

105 Barbara Fischer and Thomas Fox, “Introduction,” in *A Companion to the Works of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing*, ed. Barbara Fischer and Thomas Fox (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2005), 1.

106 Matthews, *Confronting an Empire*, 64.

107 Simoni, “At the Roots of Division,” 53–58; Kobi Cohen-Hattab, “Jerusalem’s Va’ad Hakehila during British Rule in Palestine, 1917–48,” *Journal of Israeli History* 17, no. 3 (1996): 301; Haiduc-Dale, *Arab Christians*, 62; Lockman, *Comrades and Enemies*, 71, 234.

108 Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Nathan al-Hakim: riwaya tamthiliyya dhat khamsa fusul* [Nathan the Wise: A Drama in Five Acts], trans. Elias Nasrallah Haddad (Jerusalem: Matba‘at dar al-aytam al-Suriyya, 1932), 4.

109 Ann Schmiesing, “Lessing and the Third Reich,” in *Companion*, ed. Fischer and Fox, 265.

110 Wawrzyn, *Nazis in the Holy Land*, 12.

111 In addition to the copy in the National Library in Berlin, *Nathan al-Hakim* was lodged in at least one German university library during this period: the University of Leipzig’s copy bears swastika-and-eagle stamps which can be seen through the solid circles printed over them post-1945.

112 Thanks are due to one of the anonymous reviewers of this article for highlighting this link.

113 Tageldin, *Disarming Words*, 7–23.

114 Sami Zubaida, “Cosmopolitanism and the Middle East,” in *Cosmopolitanism, Identity, and Authenticity in the Middle East*, ed. Roel Meijer (Richmond: Curzon, 1999), 20.

115 Lawrence Venuti, “Local Contingencies: Translation and National Identities,” in *Nation, Language and the Ethics of Translation*, ed. Sandra Bermann and Michael Wood (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 179, 186–87; Elisa Marti-Lopez, *Borrowed Words: Translation, Imitation, and the Making of the Nineteenth-Century Novel in Spain* (London: Associated University Presses, 2002), 66, 77–79, 82–90, 180; Hande Birkalan, “The Thousand and One Nights in Turkish: Translations, Adaptations, and Issues,” *Fabula* 45, no. 3–4 (2005): 232.

116 “Nathan al-Hakim,” *al-Hilal* 40, no. 10 (1932), 1482; “Nathan al-Hakim,” *Mir’at al-Sharq*, 7 May 1932, 2.

117 *The Palestinian Arabic Book* (Jerusalem: Committee for Arabic Culture in Palestine, 1946), 25.