

**Zionism in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction:  
Photojournalism Designs a National Self-Image for Hungarian Jewry, 1933-44**

by

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## THESIS TITLE AND ADVISOR FORM

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Thesis Title:

“Zionism in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction:  
Photojournalism Designs a National Self-Image for Hungarian Jewry, 1933-44”

Thesis Proposal:

This is a study of photography and its designing of a national self-image, using Zionism as an example. Photojournalism evolved worldwide during the interwar period, including the British Mandate Palestine, where the Orient Press Photo (OPP) was established in 1933. OPP was in charge of (re)producing and distributing the photographs from Eretz Yisrael for the Jews in Diaspora to publicize the image of Jewish National Home, which was then under rapid construction both in material and ideological terms. I study the press prints of OPP, and how they were published in the community of Jewish Diaspora in Hungary, using *Múlt és Jövő* as a primary source. To the best of my knowledge, there is no single research done to compare the press prints and their publication in Diaspora. I use both theoretical and historical methods to conduct this research.

**The above mentioned topic has been worked out in consultation with the student and myself, and I undertake to supervise the student.**

Advisor's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

## THE ABSTRACT

In this thesis, I argue, 'Zionism in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' owes the increase of its 'aura of believability' to photography. I do so by focusing on the period of time when Zionist photojournalism in/from Eretz Yisrael developed.

This thesis first provides a historical summary of Zionist photojournalism of the interwar period, which (re)produced and widely distributed the photographs of Eretz Yisrael to the international audience, i.e. the Jews in Diaspora, the members-to-become of their statehood-in-making (Chapter 1).

I study one of the Diaspora Jewish communities in Europe, which regularly published the photographs of Eretz Yisrael through a monthly Cultural Zionist journal of interwar Hungary, *Múlt és Jövő*. The photographs I analyze are largely collected from this journal (Chapter 2-4).

I claim that photography played a role to define the system of Zionist national iconography, according to three categories; Culture, Space, and Time. Photography offered a total perspective: to accommodate Jewish (wo)men within one culture of masculine 'New Jews'; to accommodate this new culture within one cultural, natural, and ancient space of 'Jewish Palestine'; to accommodate their new culture and space within one time of 'Jewish History.' Photography, as a technology of ceaseless mechanical reproduction, was proven to be the best apparatus to mass-publicize and (re)present the complete picture of newly being Jewish in Eretz Yisrael, i.e. the native national homeland of Jewish people.

This thesis is a highly theoretical study of historical materials. This is not a study of social reception of the photographs, but is concerned with the impact of photography in the period of time I am interested in. My frequent reference to contemporary thinkers, such as Walter Benjamin, Martin Heidegger, and Siegfried Kracauer, is intended to grasp the exact extent to which photography was utilized to transform the ways in which people – the viewers – understood the world and history, i.e. the ways in which they self-related to the world and history to negotiate their self-knowledge and identity, i.e. self-image.

Photography is a medium of no agency but of *ideas*. It creates a virtual reality, i.e. camera-reality, of *ideas*, i.e. culture, space, and time, according to which it works to (re)present. This is no less true in case of 'Zionist Photography' in 1933-44.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This thesis could not be completed if there were anybody missing from the list below. In order to conduct this research, I needed to read hundreds of articles, books, and chapters, look at thousands of photographs, learn the Hungarian language, travel to the State of Israel, and most importantly, be continually motivated personally as well as academically.

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Besides my parents, I would like to thank Professor Michael Laurence Miller for his patient supervision. He offered classes based on his immense knowledge of Jewish Studies and Diaspora Studies, which inspired me to develop my thoughts for this research.

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My love and thanks is also addressed to my friends elsewhere in the world, especially in Japan and Hungary. I have been grateful to study and live with wonderful and inspiring colleagues at CEU, and always encouraged by the unchanged friendship from ICU.

I dedicate this thesis to Aska Isono and to the memory of Kesaharu Saruya, whom I admire with the heart. Photography never suffices if there is no love. My belief in photography is all thanks to their love.

Aska, I will be soon at home as 'Master Sós.' It is all thanks to you that I can be what I am.

Taško SHOPPEI

Budapest, June 6, 2016.

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*The most political decision you make is where you direct people's eyes.*

Wim Wenders

*The Act of Seeing*

1992

## INTRODUCTION

*Mass reproduction is aided... by the reproduction of masses. In big parades and monster rallies, in sports events, ..., all of which nowadays are captured by camera and sound recording, the masses are brought face to face with themselves. This process, whose significance need not be stressed, is intimately connected with the development of the techniques of reproduction and photography. Mass movements are usually discerned more clearly by a camera than by the naked eye. A bird's-eye view best captures gatherings of hundreds of thousands. ... the image received by the human eye cannot be enlarged the way a negative is enlarged. This means that mass movements, ... constitutes a form of human behavior which particularly favors mechanical equipment.*

Walter Benjamin

*The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*

1936

*Seeing comes before words.*

*... The way we see things is affected by what we know or what we believe. ... We only see what we look at. To look is an act of choice. As a result of this act, what we see is brought within our reach – though not necessarily within arm's reach. ... We never look at just one thing; we are always looking at the relation between things and ourselves. Our vision is continually alive, continually moving, continually holding things in a circle around itself, constituting what is present to us as we are.*

*... The invention of the camera changed the way men saw. The visible came to mean something different to them.*

*... a reproduction, as well as making its own references to the image of its original, becomes itself the reference point for other images. ... the means of reproduction are used nearly all the time to promote the illusion that nothing has changed ... [But, t]he art of the past no longer exists as it once did. Its authority is lost. In its place there is a language of images. What matters now is who uses that language for what purpose.*

*... A people or a class which is cut off from its own past is far less free to choose and to act as a people or class than one that has been able to situate itself in history. This is why – and this is the only reason why – the entire art of the past has now become a political issue.*

John Berger

*Ways of Seeing*

1973

## 0.0. Topic, Claim, and the Research Questions

Photography changed the ways in which people understood the world and history. As Walter Benjamin famously noted at last of *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, it was a representative technology of modernity that ushered in the age of mass politics. It transformed the ways of seeing, and of being seen, and the mode of knowledge, i.e. the ways in which people relate themselves to the world and history. Or, photography conquered the mode of self-knowledge. The camera standardized 'a language of images,' which, by its nature of reproductivity and intimacy, ceaselessly questioned how the viewers should situate themselves politically, i.e. culturally, socially, spatially, temporally, and historically, according to its syntax. This 'language' provided a certain 'perspective,'<sup>1</sup> i.e. 'the system of iconography,' through which the ways of 'seeing' were designed. Those who standardize this 'language of images' turn out able to govern the collective mode of self-knowledge.

Photography, a modern technology of reproduction, has been in an intimate relationship with another socio-political and cultural phenomenon of modernity, i.e. nationalism(s).<sup>2</sup> The former wields the power visually for the latter, and the latter thematically commissions the former. In other

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1. I use a term, 'perspective,' heavily in this thesis. It is a concept, originally invented in the Renaissance, which was to transmit a certain viewpoint of the visual work to the viewers to self-transform as the bearers of the same visionary as the visual represents. For historical, and theoretical details, see Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form* (Cambridge: Zone Books, 1996).

2. "Perhaps the most significant of the gifts of typography to man is that of detachment and noninvolvement – the power to act without reacting. Science since the Renaissance has exalted this gift which has become an embarrassment in the electric age, in which all people are involved in all others at all times. ... 'He couldn't care less.' The same integrity indicated by the term "disinterested" as a mark of the scientific and scholarly temper of a literature and enlightened society is now increasingly repudiated as "specialization" and fragmentation of knowledge and sensibility. (Marshall McLuhan, "The Printed World: Architect of Nationalism," in *Understanding Media: The Extension of Man*, ed. Marshall McLuhan (London: Routledge, 1994), 173.): He further argues, "Of the many unforeseen consequences of typography, the emergence of nationalism is, perhaps, the most familiar. Political unification of populations by means of vernacular and language groupings was unthinkable before printing turned each vernacular into an extensive mass medium. The tribe, an extended form of a family of blood relatives, is exploded by print, and is replaced by an association of men homogeneously trained to be individuals. Nationalism itself came as an intense new visual image of group destiny and status, and depended on a speed of information movement unknown before printing. Today nationalism as an image still depends on the press but has all the electric media against it. ... In the Renaissance it was the speed of print and the ensuing market and commercial developments that made nationalism (which is continuity and competition in homogenous space) as natural as it was new. By the same token, the heterogeneities and noncompetitive discontinuities of medieval guilds and family organization had become a great nuisance as speed-up of information by print called for more fragmentation and uniformity of function." (Ibid., 177.)

words, photography was used as a tool of (re)presenting collective will and desire: it designed the ways in which the people should be 'seen' within the community, or in which they should 'see' the community: it (re)produced the collective mode of self-knowledge among the people. It was used to visually design and aesthetically 'harmonize' the imaginative self-image, according to the vision of national self-image<sup>3</sup> juxtaposing old-traditional and new-modernistic identity-properties within one picture. This vision of national self-image could be mechanically reproduced so that, as John Berger notes, it could be 'continually alive and present.' Nationalism was a (re)producer of photography, concerned with governing the 'system of iconography,' i.e. a conventional perspective, so that the medium could be a loyal servant to fulfill its vision, i.e. total control of the collective mode of self-knowledge. Photography enabled this governor to execute its will of "permanent, exhaustive, omnipresent surveillance, capable of making all visible, as long as it could itself remain invisible."<sup>4</sup> A study of photographic representation is thus always – and must be – concerned with this invisible governor.

This is a study of the 'system of Zionist iconography,' which was photographically designed for a new national self-image, (re)produced in Eretz Yisrael, and distributed to Hungarian Jewry. I claim that photography was used in order to represent the vision of Zionism: it designed a general self-image of the Jews in Eretz Yisrael, which was partially being realized materially as well as ideologically; its was used to naturally conquer the mode of self-knowledge of being Jewish in Eretz Yisrael, individually as well as collectively; and this photographic designing of the desired new Jewish national self-image was widely distributed to the international audience, i.e. the Jews in Diaspora, to publicize a complete portrait of new Jewish life in Eretz Yisrael, which was clearly

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3. Roger Fry, "An Essay in Aesthetics," in *Modern Art and Modernism: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Francis Francina, and Charles Harrison (London: Paul Chapman), 80-2.

4. "... photography is itself an apparatus of ideological control under the central 'harmonizing' authority of the ideology of the class which,..., holds state power and wields the state apparatus. ... Like the state, the camera is never neutral. The representations it produces are highly coded and the power it wields is never its own. ... In order to be effective, th[e] new strategy of power needed an instrument of permanent, exhaustive, omnipresent surveillance, capable of making all visible, as long as it could itself remain invisible." (John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essay on Photographies and Histories* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993). 166, 63-4, and 72.)

distinguishable from that of Diaspora, visually as well as aesthetically. Photography was commissioned to prove that the Jews in Eretz Yisrael were successfully being built in natural ancient landscape (Space) as a cohesive nation, among which no old boundary between sexuality, ethnicity, and generation, would persist but a new culture of the 'New Jews' (Culture). Or simply, photography was used to communicate the vision of Zionism as an expressive ideology of Jews' return to 'history' that Jews were being awakened as one people of the *wholeness* (Time). Photography provided a normative 'perspective' of Zionism, i.e. the ways of 'seeing' their (world)view, according to which everyone of their community should 'see' the same dream, work in the same space, and live in the same time, as if the Jewish people, either from Eretz Yisrael or from Diaspora, all lived in a small village.

'Zionism in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' increased its 'aura' thanks to photography.<sup>5</sup> It was, however not 'the aura of authenticity' Benjamin argues, but the 'aura of believability.' Then, why was photography proven to be a (re)presenter of Zionism to increase its 'aura'? What 'aura' was maximized, and how? In order to answer these questions, I discuss the function of 'perspective,' which photojournalism represented, theoretically as well as historically, by analyzing the system of 'Zionist iconography.' I limit the scope of research to 1933-44, i.e. when 'Zionist Photography' evolved in the shape of photojournalism: it started individually (by photographers), developed collectively (as an apparatus of collective *ideas*), and was publicized internationally (by being distributed to and published by the Jews in Diaspora, for instance by a Cultural Zionist journal of interwar Hungary, *Múlt és Jövő*).

### 0.1. General Perspective: Photography Designs a National Self-Image

Photography developed as a (re)producer of the modern vision/knowledge. It was viewed as a powerful medium, not only to transmit the memory, but also to (re)present the vision. Its essential

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5. "For Benjamin, 'distance' was an essential attribute of aura, and ... it is precisely the decay of aura that he posits as the revolutionary effect of the camera." (Scott McQuire, *Visions of Modernity: Representation, Memory, Time and Space in the Age of the Camera* (London: SAGE Publications, 1998), 187.)

function was to make everything, which was previously intangible and unfamiliar, more tangible and familiar, i.e. more realistic and imaginable. Accordingly, it transformed the mode of knowledge, signaling the new age of human minds, perception, imagination, and ways of life.<sup>6</sup> It invented the new ways of one's self-relating to the world both in personal and collective terms.

In the age of 'nation' and 'nationalism,' the idea of 'nation' was to be realistic, or imagined as clearly as possible so that it could be realistic. Photography was proven to be a powerful medium to make it more realistic and tangible. This was a question of perception, how 'truthfully' photography could represent as a source of vision/knowledge, not a question of how 'true' it actually was. It became more important in the age of nationalism(s), evolving in parallel to the course of nation's material and ideological self-realization, as a resource of 'national imagination.' Photography was, in short, successfully implemented in politics of nationalism(s), i.e. politics of masses, and of mass-(re)production/consumption, designed to personally affect the memory and to collectively evoke 'national imagination.'

Photography has been in charge of two functions: a keepsaker of both private and collective memory; and also a rigorous witness/documenter of history-making. For instance, printed portraits enabled everyone to carry what they felt most attached to: that is, by photography, families, friends and majesties (royals, kings, queens, and celebrities, etc.) became permanent company for those who left or were left behind (Remember that the age of photography's development was almost identical, not only to the age of nationalism(s), but also to the age of mass migration<sup>7</sup>). This is the

6. For instance, see Jonathan Crary's discussion of photography in relationship to capitalism: "Photography is an element of a new and homogeneous terrain of consumption and circulation in which an observer becomes lodged. To understand the 'photography effect' in the nineteenth century, one must see it as a crucial component of a new cultural economy of value and exchange, not as part of a continuous history of visual representation. ... Photography and money become homologous forms of social power in the nineteenth century. They are equally totaling systems for binding and unifying all subjects within a single global network of valuation and desire. As Marx said of money, photography is also a great leveler, a democratizer, a 'mere symbol,' a fiction 'sanctioned by the so-called universal consent of mankind.' Both are magical forms that establish a new set of abstract relations between individuals and things and impose those relations as the real. It is through the distinct but interpenetrating economies of money and photography that a whole social world is represented and constituted exclusively as signs. ... New modes of circulation, communication, production, consumption, and rationalization all demanded and shaped a new kind of observer-consumer." (Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), 13-14.)

7. John Berger, quoted by McQuire "Never before our time have so many people been uprooted. Emigration,

first role of photography as a keepsaker of memory. Unsurprisingly, this role was not limited to be personal, but also photography changed the mode of collective knowledge of home. It anchored the private memory of collective home: home turned into something to be seen, or to be 'invented,' not only to be remembered.<sup>8</sup> Personal memory was, not only preserved pictorially, but also collectively enhanced by photography's development. On the other hand in public domain, the state bureaucracy was becoming dependent on photographic records, in particular in military, police, and education. By means of photography, modern states expanded its realm more deeply in individuals. Through photography, in short, individuals became participants of the state administration, more clearly than before. Or, individuals became more subjected to the state. In either way, photography made the subjected/objects more familiar and tangible. It changed the relationship between the collective and individual. Photography turned into a resource of everything, which become more tangible than before: 'the visible' became more 'truthful' and 'believable,' thanks to photography's taken-for-granted loyalty to 'objective reality.' Accordingly, both the micro and macro history was believed to be documented by this 'truthful' medium,<sup>9</sup> which established itself as a keepsaker of the personal and collective 'realistic story.' This is the second role photography played as a witness/documenter of history-making.

The two-fold function of photography and its influence shaped the mode of self-knowledge in the age of mechanical reproduction. In the age of nationalism(s) and its/their changes over the course of history, this same technology was further employed to visually design a certain scheme of belonging to the 'nation,' whether or not it actually existed. The 'nation' could be virtually visualized with no conflict opposed with "reality."<sup>10</sup> Apparently, this virtuality never disappointed the theory of

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forced or chosen, across national frontiers or from the village to the metropolis, is the quintessential experience of our time." (McQuire, *Visions of Modernity*, 5): "... the camera has often been asked to carry a double burden on this journey, 'preserving' what went before, while reconstructing the borders of self, home and community in the process." (Ibid., 7.)

8. "... modernity is the time of the home's reinvention." (Ibid., 208.)

9. Pierre Bourdieu, *Photography: A Middle-Blow Art* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990).

10. Lukács said, for instance: "Everything is true and real, everything is equally true and real: this is what a sequence of images in the cinema teaches us, because its technique expresses at every moment the absolute (even if only empirical) reality of this moment, 'virtuality' no longer functions as a category opposed to 'reality': both categories become equivalent, identical." (McQuire, *Visions of Modernity*, 94.); See also John Berger, when he

nationalism(s), as Benedict Anderson famously notes, the 'nation' must be imagined first, no matter how virtual it actually is. Camera-reality has to be – only – 'truthful' for 'national imagination,' as Benedict Anderson notes: “We are faced with a world in which the figuring of imagined reality was overwhelmingly visual and aural.”<sup>11</sup> As a result, it developed to be a theatre of the 'imaginative homeland,' which evoked more collective 'national imagination,' with the help of individual and collective memories, and further facilitated through the rise of nationalism(s). What this theatre of imagination represented was a 'conventional perspective,' through which the viewers constantly have to negotiate their self-image. This perspective was constantly reproduced and determined the style in which 'the nation' and their 'homeland' should be imagined.

## 0.2. Zionism, Photographic Designing of a National Self-Image, and Interwar Hungary

Zionism was no exception from the scope of this general presumption. Indeed, Zionism was in need of photography because of its two functions I suggested above. It recorded the memory of events, and about those who were involved in heroic construction of Jewish National Home. For Zionism, photography was a means to substitute old memories with new ones so that their people would be able to find a room for hope and vision/knowledge of living in the newly regenerated homeland.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, this was also a 'historic(al)' project that Zionism tried to present by creating mass-witness through the lens of camera. Photography was an instrument, by which Zionism was able to virtually create a historical continuity, thanks to its power to immortalize the process of history-making in Eretz Yisrael. In short, it was to construct a new 'national history,' and 'memory' in the Jewish native land. This strategy of inventing the national 'historic(al) memory'

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note, “... the means of reproduction are used nearly all the time to promote the illusion that nothing has changed.” (John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin Books, 1972).)

11. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 23.

12. “In the age of photography, the memory of particular events became more and more closely associated with their visual images.” (Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 140.)

must have been well recognized in Zionism, because of entangled relationship between 'history' and 'memory' in Jewish historiography, which Zionist strived to re-write.

Zionism used photography so that the Jews of yet-unresolved Diaspora could 'see' new ways life, i.e. being Jewish at home. They the viewers were expected to reflect their memories of being uprooted from the land with a hope of final historic(al) return, in the age of rising antisemitism and nationalism(s). In interwar Hungary especially, Jews were in the middle of old Habsburg milieu and antisemitism, struggling for truer and newer self-acknowledgement. They were in demand to negotiate their self-image. Then, what perspective did photography provide with Hungarian Jewry to re-negotiate their national self-image? What *ideas* were central when photography was designed to (re)present this perspective? How was it published in interwar Hungary? Was there any gap between Budapest and Eretz Yisrael? If so, why? This is what I study using *Múlt és Jövő* with reference to the press prints, according to three categories of analysis: 'Culture,' 'Space,' and 'Time.'

### 0.3. Primary Source and the Scope of Research

Mainly I use two kinds of primary source: the photographs from *Múlt és Jövő*, a Hungarian Zionist journal of the interwar period: and the press prints Zoltán Kluger, a photographer of the Orient Press Photo (OPP), produced. The press prints were distributed with English-German textual captions by KKL and KH. Its collection became the resource of photographs published in *Múlt és Jövő*. All the photographs otherwise indicated are taken from the journal.

The scope of research I focus on is 1933-44. I am interested in the ways in which the journal represented Zionism's will of photographic self-representation after the launch of OPP. OPP existed until the 1950s as a professional photo-agency of domestic and international propaganda; and the journal ceased to exist after the last issue of March, 1944.

A massive corpus of the press prints OPP produced is now digitalized in the state archives in

Israel. Its large proportion was produced by Zoltán Kluger, a Hungary-born Jew from Kecskemét, who was trained as a photojournalist in Weimar Germany, and emigrated to Palestine in 1933. I collected the press prints he produced at two archives I visited in April, the Central Zionist Archive (CZA) and the State Archive (SAI), largely from the Keren Hayesod Collection (Notated, PHKH).

To the best of my knowledge, there is no single research, which studies both this corpus of the press prints of OPP and their actual publication in Diaspora.<sup>13</sup> In this thesis, I keep in mind the possibility that, when the press prints were distributed to Budapest, the editor of *Múlt és Jövő* might have had their own intentions to (re)produce the same photographs for different purpose that OPP originally intended. In order to study this gap, I analyze, not only the captions of press prints, but also how and when the photographs were distributed, used, printed, or edited in the journal. It is my belief that this close comparative analysis would be able to contribute to yet-immature scholarship of 'Zionist Photography.'

In this study, I am concerned with the mode of designing, (re)producing, and representing a new Jewish national self-image by means of photography. I acknowledge that this study would be combined wonderfully with a study of general intellectual discourse among the Hungarian Jews of the interwar period, which for instance Ferenc Laczó did in his dissertation. Or, this study could be combined with another media of propaganda, such as art, literature, film, and music. However, it should be clearly noted, the question of social reception is out of my scope. This thesis discusses the creation of 'believability' and 'truthfulness' alone, in which photography, the best technology of ceaseless and subtle mechanical reproduction per se, took parts. How was it designed so that Hungarian Jewry would not fail to 'see' the picture of their national historic(al) homeland? How was it (re)presented? In this thesis, I use theoretical and historical methods to answer the questions.

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13. Even Berkowitz's book on the Jewish self-image does not touch upon this topic. See Michael Berkowitz, *The Jewish Self-Image in the West* (New York: New York University Press, 2000).

#### 0.4. Methodology and Structure

This thesis is made of four chapters besides introduction, and conclusion.

Chapter 1 discusses a historical development of photography in/from Eretz Yisrael to answer the question: Why and how could photography be useful to design and (re)present a new general self-image? This chapter is based on historical and theoretical observations. I elaborate on how and why photography developed as a tool of *ideas* from the very beginning of its history. This is evident in the history of Palestine photography, which initially was of the Western European Christians and later of Zionism. I argue, the content and style of photography themselves hardly changed but 'the perspective.' Zionists established the system of photojournalism in 1933, when they hired émigré photojournalists and launched OPP as a professional photo-agency in charge of (re)production and distribution of high-standard photographs of 'Jewish Palestine,' which was currently being built by 'New Jews.' In the movement of Zionism, there was a need acknowledged to strategically create a cohesive 'system of national iconography,' inspired by the photo-culture of Weimar Germany and the Soviet Union.<sup>14</sup> It was Zoltán Kluger, who created this system. Accordingly, he also created 'the national perspective,' through which the viewers could negotiate their self-image of being Jewish within the picture provided. His photographs were widely distributed and published in Diaspora, for instance by *Múlt és Jövő*. The launch of OPP enabled this 'diaspora' journal to be largely decorated by the photographs of current events/accomplishments in Eretz Yisrael.

In Chapter 1, I often refer to the primary accounts from Weimar Germany. My reference to Walter Benjamin, Martin Heidegger, Erwin Panofsky, Bertolt Brecht, and Siegfried Kracauer is to measure the exact impact of photography to affect the viewers' perception of 'reality' and 'truth,'

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14. "Photography and motion-picture photography, owing to their passive accuracy of depiction, are becoming important educational instruments in the field of labor. If one cannot get along without a mirror, even in shaving oneself, how can one reconstruct oneself or one's life, without seeing oneself in the 'mirror' of literature? Of course no one speaks about an exact mirror. No one even thinks of asking the new literature to have a mirror-like impassivity. The deeper literature is, and the more it is imbued with the desire to shape life, the more significantly and dynamically it will be able to 'picture' life." (Leon Trotsky, "Literature and Revolution," in *Modern Art and Modernism*, ed. Francis Frascina, and Charles Harrison (London: Paul Chapman, 1982), 209.)

based on the intellectual discourse of the 1920s-30s.<sup>15</sup> How did photojournalism change the ways in which people could 'see,' negotiate, and understand their self-image within the picture of given (world)view? To what extent was it successful? I can answer these questions, only if I refer to contemporary accounts from the time concerned. For the same reason, these thinkers continue to be oft-cited in the following chapters along with scholarly literature on the same period of time, and relevant theories.

Chapter 2-4 analyze the primary source, largely collected from the issues of *Múlt és Jövő* in 1933-44. When necessary, or if I find something relevant in the press prints, I argue comparatively. As introductions of each chapter, I provide overviews of theoretical framework, which is almost entirely missing from JC Torday's dissertation, *Toward Visualization of the Zionist Sabra 1930-67*. I am especially careful of theoretical introductions before I start my analysis, as I view the absence of theory as a critical flaw of Torday's study.

There are three categories of analysis within the 'system of Zionist iconography,' which was designed according to three *ideas* of Zionism. In the mode of photographic representation, they were respectively communicated through three 'perspectives.' That is, 'Zionist Photojournalism' designed, (re)produced, and distributed a Zionist iconography of 'Culture,' 'Space,' and 'Time' of the Jews in Eretz Yisrael; and three perspectives of 'Portraits,' 'Landscapes,' and 'History,' for the Jews in Diaspora, i.e. Hungarian Jewry, so that they could 'see,' negotiate, and situate themselves within the same space and time as one people of new national culture in Eretz Yisrael, according to a (world)view given by the photographs. They were all compounded to create one general self-image of being newly Jewish at home.

Chapter 2 is concerned with a Zionist iconography of 'Culture,' which largely consists of the portraits of 'New Jews.' I analyze three categories of portraits, through which a general image of the 'New Jews' in Eretz Yisrael was constructed to imaginatively represent Jews as the builder of new

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15. Or, more precisely I need to clarify the impact of modern technology of reproduction in order to understand the impact of photography. Its usefulness is mainly due to its reproductivity, and its relative freedom from any spatial and temporal limitations.

culture: 'Men,' 'Women,' and 'Countertype(s).' I use Pierre Bourdieu and George L. Mosse's study as theoretical references. The portrait of 'New Jews' provided a general picture of new Jewish culture, i.e. reconciliation of specific cultures of the Jewish people in Diaspora. I conclude by arguing, the image of 'New Jews' represents a classic ideal-type of being Jewish in Eretz Yisrael, where their cultural, spiritual, and physical productivities can be maximized within a certain landscape, and where they are located in the compositional center of the space of 'Jewish Palestine.' The image of their regenerated body provided a perspective to interact with the national landscape as well as their cultural production in Eretz Yisrael.

Chapter 3 is concerned with a Zionist iconography of 'Space.' It is photography of 'Jewish Palestine,' i.e. landscapes, in which the 'New Jews' should be compositionally accommodated. I analyze two kinds of landscape through which the viewers would be able to possess a vision of Eretz Yisrael as 'a Jewish space': 'Cultural' and 'Natural' Landscape(s), that is, respectively the Kibbutz Type and the Dead Sea Type. I use W.J.T. Mitchell and various theories of landscape studies as theoretical references. I argue, the landscape of new 'Jewish Palestine' was represented as a cultural, natural, and ancient space, where Jews' history should be awakened. It is the picture of reconciliation between the Jewish people and nature. I conclude by arguing that what 'New Jews' represent as individual realm/space(s) of new Jewish culture in Eretz Yisrael is extended to the whole space picture of 'Jewish Palestine,' where their history should be regenerated.

Chapter 4 is concerned with a Zionist iconography of 'Time.' It is photography of 'Jewish History,' which should accommodate the culture of 'New Jews' and the space of 'Jewish Palestine' within the picture of one time in Eretz Yisrael. It portrays the historic(al) process of one Jewish generation being revived in Eretz Yisrael after two-thousand-year-long silence, i.e. absence, of/from history. Time, in which 'Jews' live, had to be rejuvenated to attain its *wholeness* so that Jews of elsewhere in the world would be able to participate in nation-making. In Eretz Yisrael, there should exist only one time, according to which there should be no boundary of the past, present and future.

Two reconciliations I argue in Chapter 2-3 would be accommodated into this one time to signal Jews' final return to 'history' in Eretz Yisrael, where there should be no boundary of cultures, self-images, personal or collective spaces, and generations but that of one Jewish nation. Through the very act of time-making, a historic(al) self-image of 'New Jews' in 'Jewish Palestine' is completed. I argue this by studying the photographs of old and new generations in Eretz Yisrael, on which the journal and OPP press prints show different points of view.

A brief summary of Chapter 2-4 will be followed by conclusion, titled “Between Budapest and Eretz Yisrael.” Here, I discuss perspectives and shortcomings of the thesis, a prospective view of émigré photography, and a summary of the project.

## CHAPTER 1: PHOTOGRAPHY IN/FROM ERETZ YISRAEL

*Today, people have as passionate an inclination to bring things close to themselves or even more to the masses, as to overcome uniqueness in every situation by reproducing it. Everyday they need grows more urgent to possess an object in the close proximity, through a picture or, better, a reproduction.*

Walter Benjamin  
*A Short History of Photography*  
1931

*Media, by altering the environment, evoke in us unique ratios of sense perceptions. The extension of any one sense alters the way we think and act – the way we perceive the world.*

*When / these / ratios / change, / Men change.*

*Ours is a brand-new world of allatonceness. “Time” has ceased, “space” has vanished. We now live in a global village ... a simultaneous happening.*

Marshall McLuhan  
*The Medium is the Message*  
1967

## 1.0. Introduction: Who Uses Photography for What End?

The function of photograph(s) is two-fold: to 'be' and to 'represent.' What it represents is 'an expressive visual perspective,'<sup>16</sup> through which it provides the viewers with a certain point of (world)view to engage in the pictured. The viewers turn into 'bearers'<sup>17</sup> of *idea* represented, i.e. what the (re)producer of the photograph(s) intends to make visible, by 'passionately possessing them as objects in their close proximity both personally and collectively.' The 'perspective' lets the viewers “internalize” what the image represents by 'directly experiencing the visionary,'<sup>18</sup> i.e. they become subjective in relation to what the image represents. This perspective is conventional. That is, though the viewers might be able to become subjective to 'what the image represents,' i.e. to be bearers of the visionary, they can never be so in relation to what 'the image actually is.' They can interpret only to the extent that they are allowed to 'see' from a given point of view, and never able to use the photograph to define their scope of viewpoint itself. Their perspective is designed – or manipulated – by the invisible user behind the camera, i.e. those who photograph, edit, (re)produce, publish, and re-print. They design the images, always according to certain *ideas* of what should be (in)visible from what specific point of view, i.e. 'perspective.'

The 'convention of perspective' determines the ways in which human perceive and view the world from the image. Thanks to this convention, what the viewers 'see' materializes, as Marshall McLuhan argues, a “brand-new world of *allatonceness*[.]” in which “[t]ime' has ceased, 'space' has

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16. Jonathan Friday, *Aesthetics and Photography* (Aldershot: Ashgate Pub Ltd, 2003), 85.

17. I use a term, 'bearers,' according to what Siegfried Kracauer argues in his essay, “The Group as Bearers of Ideas,” which however is interchangeable with 'observers' or 'consumers,' as Jonathan Crary argues.

18. “*Item Perspectiva ist ein lateinisch Wort, bedeuht ein Durchsehung*” (*Perspective* is a Latin word which means 'seeing through.') This is how Dürer sought to explain the concept of perspective.” (Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form*, 27.); Also, for a conclusion of the book, Panofsky discusses that the function of 'perspective' is to open “something entirely new: the realm of the visionary, where the miraculous becomes a direct experience of the beholder, in that the supernatural events in a sense erupt into his own, apparently natural, visual space and so permit him really to 'internalize' the supernaturalness. Perspective, finally, opens art to the realm of the psychological, in the highest sense, where the miraculous finds its last refuge in the soul of the human being represented in the work of art; ... Perspective, in transforming the *ousia* (reality) into the *phainomenon* (appearance), seems to reduce the divine to a mere subject matter for human consciousness; but for that very reason, conversely, it expands human consciousness into a vessel for the divine.” (Ibid., 72.)

vanished[,]” as if “[they] now live[d] in a global village ... a simultaneous happening.”<sup>19</sup> This new vision constructed perspectively provides a worldview, in which there is no boundary which used to separate space, time, and even the people: because they can see the same vision from the same point of view with anonymous everybody of any-time/where simultaneously.<sup>20</sup> This new vision's function is fundamentally integral and self-autonomous within the range of visionary village, and its stability is dependent on the space and speed of the medium's circulation.<sup>21</sup> Thanks to the technology of reproduction, this 'convention of perspective' happens so widely and regularly – speedily and daily with no limit – and a certain perspective can establish itself as a style of collective imagination. In other words, a seemingly innocent 'perspective' can evolve to become a collective (world)view, if only it were successfully (re)produced.<sup>22</sup> Then, the questions to be asked are the following:<sup>23</sup> Who uses and (re)produces the photographs? Who determines the perspective, or what the image should represent? Who draws the boundaries of the village of the same visionary? For what purpose?

The *ideas* of Zionism strategically used and (re)produced the photographs as a tool of self-representation. Those who were in charge of propaganda were aware that photography could be an ideal communicator of 'believable' collective perspective.<sup>24</sup> However, it was only after November, 1933, that photography became a subject of the collective control of Zionism:<sup>25</sup> previously, it was

19. Underlined in the original text. (Marshall McLuhan, *The Medium is the Message: An Inventory of Effects* (San Francisco: Hardwired, 1996).) For a quote, see pg. 14.

20. “Our time is a time for crossing barriers, for erasing old categories – for probing around.” (Ibid.)

21. “Photography was seized, often quite consciously, as a technology capable of filling an emerging void. With its speed, relative low cost, infinite reproducibility, and aura of neutrality, the photograph seemed to answer the problem the past was threatening to become.” (McQuire, *Visions of Modernity*, 124): Also see Ian Chrstone, “Mass-Market Modernism,” in *Modernism, 1914-1939: Designing a New World*, ed. Christopher Wilk (London: V & A Publications, 2006).

22. W.J.T Mitchell notes there exists “an artificial perspective,” which “reinforces the conviction that this is the natural mode of representation.” (W.J. T. Mitchell, “What is an Image?,” *New Literary History* 3 (1984): 524.)

23. “The relation between photography and beliefs is especially complicated in images having to do with identity, where the effect of a photograph can be decisive ... People use photographs to construct identities, investing them with 'believability.' Of course, advertisers and news-picture editors do the same, mimicking the private use of photographs in order to manufacture desire for products and manufacture public consent. This has caused a great deal of confusion. The first question must be always be: Who is using this photograph, and to what end?” (David Levi Strauss, *Between the Eyes: Essays on Photography and Politics* (New York: Aperture, 2005), 74.)

24. Dalia Manor, *Art in Zion: The Genesis of Modern National Art in Jewish Palestine* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005), 130.)

25. It was in July, 1933, when the Prague Zionist Congress took place, that Nachman Shifrin suggested to Leo Herrmann, the General Secretary of Keren Hayesod, the establishment of a professional press agency in Palestine was worthwhile. (Ruth Oren and Guy Raz, ed. *Zoltan Kluger, Chief Photographer, 1933-1958* (Tel-Aviv: Eretz Israel Museum, 2008).)

rather individually practiced rather than collectively.

This chapter draws a historical trajectory of photography in Eretz Yisrael becoming a tool of self-representation of the *ideas* of Zionism until it was finalized in the shape of photojournalism, particularly designed for the international audience, i.e. the Jews in Diaspora. Its usefulness to create the style in which a new Jewish nation should be imagined must have been recognized, as photography enables what Benedict Anderson argues: “Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined ...”<sup>26</sup> Photography was used as a method of imagination, and world-widely publicized: and it became a transmitter of the 'national point of (world)view,' i.e. the collective perspective of Jewish nationalism.

Photography provided Zionists and the Jews in Diaspora with the conventional perspective so that they would be able to situate themselves in “the close proximity” to a larger (world)view of nationalistic framework. Or, using McLuhan's terminology, it was used to create the image of 'a global village of Jews,' in which no old category would persist but a newly built national homeland of the Jewish people.

### 1.1. Holy Land Photography (HLP) and Photography of Jewish Type (PJT)

In this section, I argue that from the very beginning of its history, photography was used for self-(re)presentation of *ideas*, using Holy Land Photography (HLP) and Photography of Jewish Type (PJT) as examples. These two genres were both precursors of 'Zionist Photography' in the style and content: HLP preluded to 'landscape photography' of Zionism to claim their 'rights to the land'<sup>27</sup>; and PJT was one of the first attempts to use photography for a scientific purpose, i.e. ethnography, which Zionism later adopted to create the image of 'ideal type' (of 'New Jews') and

26. Quoted in Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett and Jonathan Karp, “Introduction,” in *The Art of Being Jewish in Modern Times*, ed. Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, and Jonathan Karp (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

27. Issam Nassar, “Familiar Snapshots: Representing Palestine in the Work of the First Local Photographers,” *History & Memory* 18, 2: (October 2006): 139-155.”

'countertype'<sup>28</sup> (of 'Others') in Eretz Yisrael. 'Zionist Photography' established itself by building upon their predecessors, i.e. HLP and PJT, to articulate the land-centered and human-centered *ideas* of Zionism.

The Holy Land was a pioneering outdoor object of photography. Even when daguerreotype was still not suitable to produce an outdoor photograph, already in 1839 a few months after the debut of daguerreotype, HLP was printed by engraving after daguerreotype.<sup>29</sup> It was produced to satisfy the Western Christians' desire to imagine and 'possess the view of the Holy Land.'<sup>30</sup> And their desire was combined with 'colonial and scientific interests in the region,' and 'a romantic passion for imaginary exotic sites and a revived Christian interest in biblical studies.'<sup>31</sup> In short, HLP made the holy landscape, which had been previously otherworldly for the majority of the Western Christians, more tangible and imaginable. Also at the same time, it was by HLP that the power of photography as 'a tool of power and authority by which both [the producers of images] and the viewer through their gaze conquer the world of the subject and assign meaning to it'<sup>32</sup> proved to be apparent. What is remarkable here is that, though nobody else had yet theorized the potential power of photography itself in the middle of nineteenth-century, photography was already in use for the (Western) *idea's* self-(re)presentation. Whether or not they were aware of it, it was heavily used and entrusted as an apparatus of the modern European ideology to empower their colonial and universal vision.

In HLP, the local inhabitants' presence was carefully silenced, because it was made for the Westerners only, who mythically imagined Palestine as 'a land without a people.' Even when people were included in the picture, they were violently – and automatically – turned into biblical icons.<sup>33</sup> It was a photography by/for Christians, demanded for their aesthetics alone. The photographer, as a

28. George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). For a quote, see pg. 44.

29. Yeshayahu Nir, "Cultural Predispositions in Early Photography: the Case of the Holy Land," *Journal of Communication* 35, 3 (1985): 36.

30. Ibid., 34.

31. Issam Nassar, "'Biblicization' in Service of Colonialism: Jerusalem in Nineteenth-Century Photography," *Third Text* 20, 3-4 (May 2006): 319.

32. Ibid., 318.

33. For instance, when a man and woman were included in the same picture, the result would be entitled *Ruth and Boaz*. (Ibid., 323-4.)

producer of images, was aware of this demand and designed the landscape so that their pictures would 'reveal something very significant about the way in which Europeans thought of themselves and of the world around them at that particular time in history.'<sup>34</sup> Considering the historical fact that daguerreotype was used mainly for portraits during the 1840s-50s, it is worth noting that in the Holy Land, daguerreotype was used for another purpose. This very fact that HLP was totally indifferent to create portraits strengthens the presumption that HLP was uniquely produced on the basis of certain *ideas*, i.e. universalism of the Western Christian Europe. In other words, HLP was interested not in humans but in producing the landscape to articulate the Western Europeans' desire to be linked to the birthplace of Christianity, on which their universalism was largely based. The presence of 'others' in the Holy Land, such as Turks, Arabs, and Jews, could be permitted only to the extent that they never intruded the dream of Christians. HLP was particularly designed for a vision of the Christendom, who then colonized and ruled large parts of the world. Photography was used not only to satisfy the appetite of the Westerners, but also to help them find a modern self-image. As a result, it was proven to be a suitable means of expressing the universal and colonial Christian vision collectively as well as individually.

It was only two decades after that portraits started to be produced in the Holy Land, but again for the Western Europeans' appetite to consume the Orient.<sup>35</sup> Yeshayahu Nir draws how and why portraits emerged in HLP: his claim is, the local inhabitants gradually came to accept to be photographed, and started to perform in front of the camera as desired 'native inhabitants of the Holy Land.'<sup>36</sup> That is, the local residents consciously became objects of HLP and performed

34. Ibid., 326.

35. Yeshayahu Nir, "Philips, Good, Bonfils and the Human Image in Early Holy Land Photography," *Studies in Visual Communication* 8, 4 (1982): 43: He concludes his article as follows: "The emergence of the human image in Holy Land photography appears generally to have been influenced by two factors- the degree of access to the various parts of the population a photographer could have had, which determined the number and choice of the portrayed subjects; and the cultural biases proper to the photographer and to his audience-market, which were felt mostly in the photographic interpretation of the accessible subjects. The classical history of photography is based on the consideration of contemporary photographic technologies, on the one hand, and of artistic trends on the other, as the main factors that influenced a traveling photographer's work. Elements of social access and cultural bias were not less influential in determining the nature of his output." (Ibid., 42.)

36. A counterexample is a photograph, taken in 1936, Jerusalem. It is a photograph of, most probably Jews, which is captioned: 'Young man attempts to cover old man's face from photographer.' (Kevork Kahvedjian, ed. *Jerusalem Through My Father's Eyes* (Jerusalem: Elia Photo Service, 1998), 9.)

themselves to be consumed for the Western Christians' appetite as ideal natives of the very site of myth. Their portraits were produced, not because of human interests, but again because of the vision of the Christendom. They were allowed to be present only if they were classified for the dream of the Western Christian Europe. They were treated as nothing but 'countertypes' of the Westerners to maximize the presence of the Christian Europe's influence in the Holy Land. They were turned into mere objects of the ethnographical interests, categorized by costume, culture, and type/race.

It is easy to understand PJT's emergence in this context. Supposedly, out of various ethnic, cultural and religious groups in the Holy Land, Jews might have been the most vulnerable object of HLP: even though the Jews in Jerusalem, 'the most picturesque city of the Holy Land,'<sup>37</sup> numbered 10,000 as the largest ethnic/religious group, they did not engage in photography to use until the turn of century, while Armenians and the Arabs were already being involved in it.<sup>38</sup> It was, however, not only in the Holy Land that photography started to define the 'Jewish Type.' Also in Europe, almost at the same time when HLP started to produce portraits in the 1880s, PJT emerged as a scientific method of proving that Jews were a mixed-race people. Amos Morris-Reich notes that a portrait of a Christian Armenian from Turkey became the epitome of the Jewish type, as an example of Jews' vulnerability to this way of objectification. A linguistic differentiation of Semitic and non-Semitic peoples was translated to the concept of type/race as well as visually publicized by means of photography. In respect to the uncanny performance of PJT, Morris-Reich notes:

*Serialization brought about the practical redefinition of race and type. Series dissected types into their components, broke them down into traits or characteristics, and in practice undermined the idea that a race could be defined and photographically represented by an iconic photograph. Series created relations between the individuals depicted in the photographs and their physiognomic characteristics. This implied that the type existed not in the singular but in a plural, fluid, heterogeneous form. Rather than undermine the belief in the idea of race or type or Jewish racial difference, serialization contributed to its reorganization and reinterpretation. ... The organization of these collections of photographs, even more than individual photographs, instructed viewers to recognize patterns of variations, both of types and of traits, to actively classify and group, differentiate and regroup members of the respective class. In this sense, the serialized photographs simultaneously expressed already present ideas or stereotypes about Jewish difference, gave them new direction, and constituted new forms of perception,*

37. Ely Schiller, ed. *The Old City: The First Photographs of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Ariel Publ. House, 1978).

38. Yeshayahu Nir, "Photographic Representation and Social Interaction: The Case of the Holy Land," *History of Photography* 19, 3 (September 1995): 186.

*organization, and assimilation of information about Jewish difference.*<sup>39</sup>

Photography was thus used to newly 'activate, mediate and bridge sensual perception, imagination, and social conduct'<sup>40</sup> as a mode of certain *ideas*' revelation. Or, by means of photography, the act of 'seeing' and of 'being seen' became more of social and political interests, not only for cultural, racial, religious, or ethnic distinction. The ways of 'seeing' or 'being seen' were carefully designed by a few visually cultured elites. They were often ideologically minded and exploited photography to present the type of self, which was meant to distinguish itself from 'others,' socio-politically, culturally, and historically.

Hence, HLP and PJT represented the microcosmos of a certain ideology. HLP embodied the Western European colonialism, which then proved to be successful all over the world. Obviously, it was a mediocre self-(re)presentation, never based on reality of the Near East, nor was it journalistic or true. However, it was visually, aesthetically and ideologically sufficient to sustain their vision of universal rule of the Christendom. The landscape of the Holy Land was, by means of photography, reserved only for the Western Christians. PJT was concerned with a socio-cultural and political hierarchy of race/type in perfect harmony with HLP. In PJT, cultural, religious, or ethnic 'others' (Jews included) were systematically reduced to 'groups'<sup>41</sup> of exotic alien objects to further articulate the Europeans' subjectivity in the Holy Land, where Christianity, an inspiring source of their universal rule itself, originated from.

Interestingly, HLP and PJT did not contradict with what Zionism strived to express by using photography in Eretz Yisrael. When Jews started to claim their Jewish presence, subjectivity, and their right in/to Eretz Yisrael a half century later, their photography (re)presented the same claim as HLP and PJT did but the Jews as the only subject of the land and the people in the very same Holy Land. Their claim was not only spatial, but temporal and historical as HLP and PJT did. In short, 'Zionist Photography' was established as its own version of HLP/PJT: by using photography, those

39. Amos Morris-Reich, "Photography in Economies of Demonstration: the Idea of the Jews as a Mixed-Race People," *Jewish Social Studies* no. 1 (2013): 173.

40. Ibid., 174.

41. Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 6-7. See pg. 44.

who possessed the *ideas* of Zionism expressed their land-centered ideology, and reserved the land for themselves as well as visually creating a boundary with cultural, religious, and ethnic 'others.' They successfully created a style of 'Zionist Photography,' combining the styles of the landscape-centered HLP and the human-centered PJT.

Additionally it should be noted that the editor of *Múlt és Jövő* was aware of 'serialization' to articulate the ideal 'self' and objectify the 'others.' In Chapter 2, I discuss that this strategy was used intentionally to generate an ideal self-image of 'New Jews' in contrast to 'others,' i.e. the Arabs, and Yemenite Jews.

## 1.2. From Pictorialism<sup>42</sup> to Photojournalism

In Eretz Yisrael, Jews' engagement in photography started as late as at the turn of century. Even though photography was already in use for Zionist propaganda around 1910,<sup>43</sup> it was by and large practiced individually: for instance by, Tsadok Bassan (1882-1956), Avraham Soskin (1880?-1963), Shlomo Narinsky (1885-1960), Ya'cov Ben Dov (1882-1968), Leo Kahn (1885-1939?), Ya'acov Benor-Kalter (1897-1969), and Shmuel Yosef Schweig (1905-1971). Photography of Eretz Yisrael developed distinguishably from that of Diaspora (photography had been already common among Jews elsewhere in Europe<sup>44</sup>) just as art in Eretz Yisrael did:<sup>45</sup> Photography in Eretz Yisrael

42. Pictorialism was a common style practiced among photographers at the turn of century. There is no common definition of this style, except the producer's desire "to separate their activity from that of the thousands of casual makers of snapshots," which was more individually oriented rather than collectively or journalistically. (Edward Lucie-Smith, *Visual Arts in the Twentieth Century* (London: Laurence King, 1996), 45.)

43. According to Ruth Oren, it was around 1910, when "KKL and other Zionist institutions, such as the Bezalel Academy of Art, started to print propaganda and advertising photographic postcards, and to use diapositives for motivational lectures." (Ruth Oren, "Zionist Photography, 1910-41: Constructing a Landscape," *History of Photography* 19, 3 (September 1995): footnote 5.)

44. "Jews in Eastern Europe built the profession of photography. In the nineteenth century, they pioneered portrait and ethnographic photography, and in the twentieth century, they served as avant-gardists, street photographers, and photojournalists. Some used their cameras as a tool of memory, documenting Jewish life that they thought was disappearing, others to document the building of new societies. But all of them used photography as a tool of power, a means of social commentary, and as an object of art." (David Shneer, "YIVO / Photography," accessed May 5, 2016.)

45. "At the age of promoting art within the Zionist movement no distinction was made between Jewish art and Zionist art. ... In years to come the distinction between art made by Jewish artists in the diaspora and that by Jews in Palestine- *eretz yisraeli* art- would become increasingly important in the self-definition of Israeli art." (Dalia Manor, *Art in Zion*, 14.)

had to be differentiated from that in Diaspora so that it would be able to express the new Jewish life in their native land, which was ought to be filled with light, happiness, colors, and hope in contrast to that in Diaspora, which is dark, miserable, and without any hope.<sup>46</sup> Accordingly, the photographs produced in Eretz Yisrael were usable for propaganda. They were printed and widely distributed for instance as postcards to raise the fund for Zionist project. In fact some photographers, like Soskin,<sup>47</sup> Ben Dov,<sup>48</sup> and Schweig were not only aspired by the *ideas* of Zionism, but also consciously aware of photography's usefulness as a transmitter of those *ideas*.

However, there was no organ to (re)produce and distribute the photographs in/from Eretz Yisrael before 1933. The photographs produced there were printed and distributed by different organizations: even the photographers were commissioned individually, working for several institutions at the same time. That is, although the ability of photography to communicate *ideas* with the wide audience was recognized in Zionist movement, there existed no organ to systematically,

46. For instance, Weegee, Alfred Stieglitz, An-Sky, and Roman Vishniac. Especially here, Vishniac deserves some comments. His photographs became a post-Holocaust icon of the collective memory of Eastern and Central European Jewries, when it was published nearly half a century after vanishment of their worlds. Originally however, he was commissioned by the Jewish Distribution Committee (JDC) to 'document not the fullness of Eastern European Jewish life but its most needy, vulnerable corners for a fund-raising project.' (Alana Newhouse, "A Closer Reading of Roman Vishniac," *New York Times*, April 1, 2010.) His photographs were originally made to show the state of being Jewish in Diaspora in misery and poverty. What I found most striking in his creation of myth in the miserable Jewish life in Eastern Europe was that his intensive interests in creating a 'myth of shoes.' His most iconic photograph, 'Sarah without Shoes,' was used to emphasize miserable poor life of Eastern European Jews with no shoes. However, from the online archive it is possible to find another image, in which Sarah wears a pair of shoes, happily with her siblings. In other photographs in *A Vanished World* also, he shows how a single pair of shoes had become the most precious – and last – property of jobless Jews, who had to work as porters. (For instance, see Roman Vishniac, *A Vanished World* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1983), a photograph no. 72.) He writes: "How important is the shoemaker? "Without soles, nobody can exist, neither porters nor peddlers. Even to go to synagogue, you need soles on your shoes. And to feed your family, you must walk on the cobblestones – everybody needs soles. To buy leather, I need mezumen [cash]. But all my customers are Jews, no one has money. To pay me, they must earn, and that means they need shoes. Leather soles last six weeks on stones. I work day and night, all my customers work hard. It's hard to be a Jew." (Ibid., a commentary no. 97.) His provocative ambition to show a seemingly realistic fact that 'the people without shoes' disappeared is clear from *A Vanished World*, although this book was accepted rather as a keepsaker of the collective and personal memory of past.

47. Avraham Soskin is now viewed as one of the first photographers in Eretz Yisrael, who used it to document and record the origin and development of the first Hebrew city, Tel Aviv. His photograph in 1909 later became the city's icon of genesis as a pioneer of the grant Zionist project to cultivate the new Jewish land. For detail, see Hizky Shoham, "Tel-Aviv's Foundation Myth: A Constructive Perspective," in *Tel-Aviv, The First Century: Visions, Designs, Actualities*, ed. Ilan Troen and Maoz Ayaryahu (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012).

48. See Ya'acov Ben Dov's manifesto, which goes: "From the outset I devoted my profession of photograph to the aims of national Zionism; publishing views of life in this land and distributing by means of Zionist enthusiasm ... I was the pioneer, the first in this country, to create moving films in a cultural and Zionist spirit ... from 1918 to 1930 when the first sound films were made." (Vivienne Silver-Brody, *Documenters of the Dream: Pioneer Jewish Photographers in the Land of Israel, 1890-1933* (Jerusalem: Jewish Publication Society, 1999), 147.)

collectively, and strategically use the medium. Photography of Zionism prior to the establishment of OPP was fundamentally individualistic: it was produced by individual photographers, printed by separate organizations, and distributed un-systematically. There was no professional organ in charge of its (re)production and distribution until November, 1933.

Still, the pre-1933 photography of Zionism was not entirely unsuccessful. By the late 1920s, the 'Zionist iconography' was, not systematically, but conceived by means of photography.<sup>49</sup> Silver-Brody notes, photographs by then had already become “objects of pride and a means of visually describing changes.”<sup>50</sup> The pre-1933 photography in Eretz Yisrael was successful to the extent that it aesthetically presented Zionist iconography. For instance, Shmuel Schweig represented 'Beautiful Palestine' in a pictorialist manner.<sup>51</sup> Photography of Eretz Yisrael, in spite of lacking a responsible organ, did not fail to provide a 'national perspective,' through which the Jews in Eretz Yisrael would be able to stereotype themselves and conceive a new way of being Jewish at home.

Yet, it soon turned out that Zionism was in need of photography more as a tool of presenting certain *ideas*, not only of artistic – pictorialist – (re)production of 'Beautiful Palestine.' Photography of biblical themes, for instance of Shlomo Narinsky, was not sufficiently useful,<sup>52</sup> nor did it create a normative stereotype of the ideal Jews in Eretz Yisrael. Another aesthetics was wanted. Ruth Oren notes, the “tension between the pictorialist aspirations of the photographers [such as Schweig's], the ideological needs of the Zionist propaganda, and the visual expectations of the public”<sup>53</sup> had been already apparent during the late 1920s. She argues:

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49. Silver-Brody, *Documenters of the Dream*, 36.

50. Ibid., 41.

51. Ruth Oren, “Space, Place, Photography: National Identity and Local Landscape Photography, 1945-1963,” in *Spatial Borders and Local Borders: a Photographic Discourse on Israeli Landscapes* (Tel Hai: The Open Museum of Photography, 2006): “In the visual arts we find a clear plastic expression of the process of secularization where the loss of traditional religious sentiments is compensated for by the feeling of reverence for the act of creation.” (Avram Kampf, *Jewish Experience in the Art of the Twentieth Century* (S.Hadley: Bergin & Garvey, 1984), 152.)

52. Silver-Brody, *Documenters of the Dream*, 139: “By the 1920s, the biblical and oriental image of Eretz Israel had gradually been superseded by another Zionist message: Eretz Israel as the land where the Jewish people would find their future; a young country renewing its vigor with the momentum of construction and creativity, with pioneers toiling in its fields and new settlements of red-roofed white houses scattered across its expanses.” (Rachel Arbel, ed. *Blue and White: Visual Images of Zionism, 1897-1947* (Tel Aviv: Beth Hatefutsoth, the Nahum Goldmann Museum of the Jewish Diaspora, 1997), 70.)

53. Ruth Oren, “Zionist Photography,” 205.

*By the end of the 1920s, modernism as a cultural trend had encouraged a more radical photojournalism: the picture-story with human interest; the photomontage as a complex visual expression; the bird's-eye view as a modern form of representing space. Modernism in photography and the increased use of propaganda photography in the Soviet Union (and later in Nazi publications in Germany) were perhaps at the root of the demand for a different Zionist photography.<sup>54</sup>*

The circumstance changed in 1933 and after, when a great number of professional photographers trained in Weimar Germany, where a new culture of photojournalism was being born in 1928-31,<sup>55</sup> migrated to America, the U.K., and Palestine, of which a considerable proportion was Jewish.<sup>56</sup> Zoltán Kluger, a Hungary-born photojournalist, and Nachman Shifrin emigrated to Palestine from Germany, and soon founded OPP as a responsible institution of Zionist photojournalism. It was launched to systematically (re)produce and world-widely distribute the photographs of a new 'Jewish Palestine' which was being cultivated by 'New Jews.' It was in charge of further developing as well as sustaining a normative 'system of Zionist iconography.' In short, OPP was established as a (re)producer/distributor of the photographs, which presents the project of Zionism in Eretz Yisrael – at least visually and outwardly – lively, active and vigorous.

### 1.3. Photography of Zoltán Kluger

Zoltán Kluger (1896-1977) was born in Kecskemét, Hungary, trained as a photojournalist in Weimar Germany, lived in Palestine in 1933-58, and died in 1977, N.Y.. He came to Eretz Yisrael as

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54. Ibid.

55. Gidal testifies: “Modern Photojournalism can be said to have originated in Germany between 1928 and 1931. Three main factors caused its breakthrough: the emergence of a new generation of sensitive photo-reporters, who came mainly from an academic or intellectual background and who opened up new areas of photo reportage as witness of their own experiences in their own time. They became the creative realizer of Modern Photojournalism with the tools developed a few years before: the small cameras, above all the Leica and the Ermanox and the increasingly sensitive negative material available for the picture carrier, the film. Some editors of the illustrated magazines were immediately prepared to integrate these new photo reports in their publications. Last but not least, the owners of the magazines recognized Modern Photojournalism as a weapon in the competition for higher circulation for more advertisements and, in consequence, for higher returns.” (Nachum T. Gidal, “Jews in Photography,” in *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook: Jews and the Camera* 32, no. 1 (1987): 447.)

56. Sybil Milton, “Refugee Photographers, 1933-45,” in *Exile across Cultures*, ed. Helmut F. Pfanner (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1984); Annette Vowinckel, “German (Jewish) Photojournalists in Exile: A Story of Networks and Success,” *German History* 31, no. 4 (2013): 473-96; and Nissan Perez, *Displaced Visions: Émigré Photographers of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (London: Lund Humphries Publishers Ltd, 2013).

an émigré, worked as a chief photographer of Zionism, radically refashioned photography of Eretz Yisrael from pictorialism to photojournalism, and finalized 'the system of national iconography' of 'New Jews' in 'Jewish Palestine.' This conversion to photojournalism was to extend the range of 'national perspective,'<sup>57</sup> which Zionism aimed to further facilitate than in a pictorialist manner.

Zoltán Kluger was a pragmatist in creating a normative 'system of national iconography.' He photographed 'Beautiful Jews' situated in a newly redeemed land of Eretz Yisrael, i.e. new 'Jewish Palestine,' not simply 'Beautiful Palestine,' or a mere interaction of the people with the land as Schweig did. Also, he was pragmatic, not only in photographing 'humans' as he was expected,<sup>58</sup> but also in framing the pioneers in the compositional center of photographs, which made the viewers reverse a perspective, as if they themselves were 'the single eye of the visual world,'<sup>59</sup> i.e. participant within the pictured. Probably he learnt this strategy from the Soviet photography, and later by Nazi Germany,<sup>60</sup> where a new type of mankind was (re)presented modernistically and cheerfully in

57. Concerning the difference between pictorialism and photojournalism, Friday provides a concrete summary: "The aim of the documentarian is broader than that of the pictorialist. Like the latter, the documentarian aims to create pictures giving an expressive visual perspective upon a subject matter but, unlike the pictorialist, their broader concern to document provides a dominating connection to events and states of affairs." (Jonathan Friday, *Aesthetics and Photography*, 117.)

58. "Israel Goldberg, the Jewish Executive publicity manager in New York, expressed the public's demands in his letter to the KH propaganda department director in Jerusalem: 'Dear Mr. Kohn, I am in receipt of the 21 photographs that you sent me under date of October 1. Some of them are good. Most of them are not. From the point of view of content those that are not lack the human element. Human beings are either missing or they are so inconspicuous as to escape attention. From the technical point of view, the faces are black and fail to show features and expression. I think you ought to call the attention of the photographer to these matters. When it comes to our own publications, we do, of course, publish photographs that are more or less of mediocre quality. If, however, we want to get photographs into the general press, they must be exceedingly interesting. The editors as well as the readers of those papers have no natural interest in Palestine. They must, therefore, be attracted by the value of the photograph in and for itself. And interesting means primarily one thing: the human element. Houses and trees and mountains are all good enough- for the sociologist or geographer or dyed-in-the-wool Zionists- but they don't interest the editors of non-Jewish papers. Their psychology is greatly to be regretted, but so far as I can make out it is not subject to change in the immediate future ... Therefore, I must offer them something that has a dramatic human interest with, preferably, women and children ... We all feel that our propaganda must become more and more pictorial. Our people here don't read, or do so to a limited extent. On the other hand, they like to look at pictures. Here again we are dealing with a psychology to which we have to adapt ourselves ...'" (Oren, "Zionist Photography," 205.)

59. Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 16.

60. Furthermore, it should be noted that the style of those two totalitarian states became quite common world-wide in the late 1930s, not only in the Western European countries. As far as I acknowledge, for instance in Hungary, where Károly Escher (1899-1966) represented this kind of photography with human-interests, i.e. Hungarian style. Also in Japan, To-ho-sha (Association to the East) was established for propaganda purpose. They published a journal, *Front*, and distributed their photographs internationally to propagate their imperial ideal of "Greater East-Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." For a detail of the Hungarian case, see Colin Ford, *The Hungarian Connection: The Roots of Photojournalism* (London: National Museum of Photography, Film & Television, 1987).

engaging in the construction of new mode of human life. It was closely bound to the ideal type of masculinity, as George L. Mosse notes, “[modern m]asculinity was regarded as of one piece from its very beginning: body and soul, ... [it] was a stereotype, presenting a standardized mental picture. ... the evolution of a stereotype that became normative.”<sup>61</sup> In short, his pragmatism was to use an international fashion, which was by then already established as a common method of ideology's self-expression, especially of Communism and Nazism. However, what is notable here is that he was aware of creating a “normative stereotype,” which could be accepted by his commissioners, not only as a documentation of nation-making, i.e. regeneration of the Jewish body and soul through labor in Eretz Yisrael,<sup>62</sup> but also as a cohesive and standardized perspective to let the viewers imagine the new ways of life, that was, being nationally Jewish in their native land. Apparently, this genre of creating a normative self-image of 'New Jews' in Eretz Yisrael was widely publicized for propaganda,<sup>63</sup> and distributed to the Jews in Diaspora.

Kluger was commissioned to design his photographs so that the viewers would be able to “reflect Zionist efforts to 'build the landscape,' efforts which continued despite deepening conflicts with antagonistic British-mandate authorities and local Arabs.”<sup>64</sup> Therefore, in addition to the creation of Jewish people in Eretz Yisrael, he photographed the new national 'landscape,' which is ought to be 'ancient,' 'cultural,' and 'natural.' Kluger, a chief photographer of Zionism, was expected to photographically juxtapose and unify the ancient dream of the Jew's final return to Eretz Yisrael and Zionist modernistic ambition of cultivating the Jewish national homeland. This new national 'landscape' represented dual-redemption: a religious redemption of the Jews from Diaspora, and a

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61. Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 6-7. See pg. 44.

62. Arthur Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader* (New York: Doubleday, 1959), 547-8: See also George L. Mosse, “Max Nordau, Liberalism and the New Jew,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 27 (1992): 565-81.

63. Out of pre-1933 works of 'Jewish Photography' Silver-Brody studies and collects in her book, there is only one photograph contained, which clearly depicts a 'masculine Jew,' made by Ya'cov Benor-Kalter. This image was however produced in 1934. Presumably, this style became common only after 1933. (Silver-Brody, *Documenters of the Dream*, 194.): Also JC Torday, *Towards a Visualization of the Zionist Sabra, 1930-67* (University of Brighton, 2014).

64. Oren, “Zionist Photography,” 207.

secular redemption of being Jewish in the land: what Eric Zakim names “Belated Romanticism”<sup>65</sup> was compounded with 'Modernism,' represented through the modern technology, i.e. photography, to create and represent the image of “a larger ancient country with the core of a new cultural landscape.”<sup>66</sup> A new nation's culture should find its roots in the ancient land, which was being newly cultivated/regenerated.

However, this new landscape was not only to express the land-centered *ideas*, but demanded for a pragmatic reason as well. Avram Kampf's general remark on Israeli art explains why this new kind of national 'landscape' was demanded for Zionism. He states: “the partition between the Jew and nature, between the moral law and nature, and between the Jewish ethos and nature [shall] disappear[s].”<sup>67</sup> Photography was used strategically to – and more realistically than art – show the disappearance of 'partitions,' which signaled the Jews' redemptive return to, not only the historical and spiritual homeland, but also to nature itself.<sup>68</sup> This claim of Zionist *ideas* needed to be articulated as clearly as possible due to the increasing conflict with the Mandate authority and the Arabs over 'the right to Palestine' during the 1920s-30s: photography was urged to (re)present the Jews' complete self-identification with the history and geography of Eretz Yisrael by producing the image of new national 'landscape.' There was no space in Eretz Yisrael reserved for the 'others.'

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65. Eric Stephen Zakim, *To Build and Be Built: Landscape, Literature, and the Construction of Zionist Identity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

66. Ruth Oren, “Space, Place, Photography,” 174-3.

67. Kampf, *Jewish Experience*, 150-152.

68. Concerning the relationship of redemption and return in Jewish tradition, see Ehud Luz, “Utopia and Return: On the Structure of Utopian Thinking and its Relation to Jewish-Christian Tradition,” *The Journal of Religion* 73, no.3 (1993): 357-77.



*Illustration 1: PHKH 1279923.*

*Captioned: Ein Hakoreh and Massada. The Head of Daganiah B. being congratulated by the Arab watchman on the day preceding the settlement (CZA). Later Printed by Múlt és Jövő in August, 1938.*

Photographically, the Arabs were excluded from the view of this new landscape, not even treated as a 'countertype' of 'New Jews,' which makes a clear contrast to paintings.<sup>69</sup> They are almost completely absent from the pictured (world)view. This is the very reason why I presume, 'Zionist Photography' radically adopted the style of HLP, which articulated a colonial ideology of the Western European Christians a half-century earlier. As a means of *ideas*, Kluger's photography was, just exactly how HLP was, exclusively interested in Jewish themes alone, most probably because, as

69. In paintings, the Arabs were often treated as a symbol of coexistence with nature of Palestine. In this respect, Dalia Manor argues as follows: "The ultimate example, according to Zalmona, is the monumental figure of the Goatherd, painted by N. Gutman in 1926. This figure, Zalmona writes, is: "a visual metaphor for corporeality, earthiness, stability and permanency. How far apart is the world of this goat shepherd from the hovering figures of Chagall and how long and utterly un-Jewish is this shepherd's step, a monument to non-spirituality!" It is rather remarkable how this description retains some of the simple, if not simplistic, Zionist dichotomies- eretz yisrael and the diaspora, Jews and non-Jews, spirituality and corporeality- which the writer then reads into the painting. It is clearly an ideological interpretation that presents itself as an interpretation of ideology. ... For Jewish artist who came from Europe, the Palestinian Arab in his rootedness and powerful physique became a role model for the New Jew that they aspired to create." (Dalia Manor, "The Dancing Jew and Other Characters: Art in the Jewish Settlement in Palestine during the 1920s," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, no. 1 (2002): 77.)

Alex Levac states, of his disinterests in non-Jews.<sup>70</sup> But, my hypothesis is slightly different: Kluger as an émigré/newcomer of the community was more interested in Jewish subjects, precisely because he himself had to pursue a way of self-integration to the new society being built by his photographic subjects. The fact that he did not photograph the Arabs is confirmed by my research at CZA, where I found only one press print, entitled with a term, 'the Arab,' out of more than proximately 2,400 photographs Kluger produced for KH in 1933-44.<sup>71</sup> This photograph will be intensively analyzed in Chapter 2. However at the same time, it should be noted that Kluger radically changed the ways to approach Yemenites as photographic subject. In his photographs, they are treated no less equally than other European Jews as participants of the new Jewish culture and legitimate residents of the natural ancient landscape of 'Jewish Palestine.'

The revival of Jewish national culture in their native land represented an orthodox dream of Cultural Zionism, i.e. a 'Jewish Renaissance,' which was ought to happen when – only when – the Jews successfully retained their spiritual and creative productivity bound to their national history. 'Renaissance' ought to be an active historic(al) event, not of passivity or memory, through which the new humanistic culture should be re-born after two thousand years of silence. Zionism as a driving force of rediscovering and cultivating the Jewish people, culture, and soil, was viewed to substitute the memory of old state of being in Diaspora with a historic(al) event, a 'national Renaissance.' In other words, this concept transformed the dream of Jews' return to Eretz Yisrael, which was traditionally considered as an eschatological event of no subjective involvement but passivity, to the vision of Jews' active involvement in the act of history-making: by engaging in the process of

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70. "When a photographer is obsessive and sees only one aspect of a subject, in our case the nationalist one, and is careful to show only light without shadow, he fails to adequately fulfill his role as witness. And this is how Jewish photographers in the years before and after statehood- Paul Goldman, Zoltan Kluger, Boris Carmi- worked. For them, the only subjects worth documenting were the Jewish pioneers and the realization of Zionism in the new country. ... These photographers, some of them excellent, ignored the Arabs who were being displaced, and failed to record the poverty and failures, refusing to allow inconvenient facts to mitigate their enthusiasm for Jewish settling of the land. ... It is no wonder that at the end of his life, Ya'acov Ben Dov (1882-1968) ... burned 10,000 negatives, fearing that they would fall into more critical hands than his hands that would not make the great Zionist enterprise look quite so praiseworthy." (Alex Levac, "Defining the Jewish Photographer," *Haaretz*, March 12, 2012.)

71. See the next page. CZA, PHKH 1279923 (Captioned: Ein Hakoreh and Massada. The head of Daganiah B. being congratulated by the Arab watchman on the day preceding the settlement. Dated on March 27, 1937.)

realizing a 'Jewish Renaissance,' Jews were to regain their subjectivity as a center of the world.<sup>72</sup> This was the picture a fusion of 'antiquity,' 'culture,' and 'nature,' to bring about 'Jewish History.'

The strategic usage of 'perspective' derives from the Renaissance, as a method of conveying a certain point of (world)view of new civilization.<sup>73</sup> It was invented as a 'central component of a certain *idea*,' i.e. "a Western '*will to form*,' the expression of a schema linking the social, cognitive, psychological and especially technical practices of a given culture into harmonious and integrated wholes."<sup>74</sup> Just as paintings per se created the convention of perspective during the Renaissance, in modern times, photography established itself as a master medium of mass-publicizing a collective perspective, through which, in case of Zionism particularly, the process of 'national Renaissance' should be perceived as a general and historic(al) phenomenon.

This was what Kluger publicized in/from Eretz Yisrael by using a radical photojournalism of culture-/pace-/time-making(s), which soon turned out to be successful.<sup>75</sup> For instance in respect to the World Exhibition in Paris, 1936, and its course of development, Ruth Oren notes:

*At the World Exhibition in Paris in 1937, Keren Hayesod organized a special artistic photographic exhibit alongside the main Palestine pavilion, with photographs by Kluger, [Joseph] Gal-Ezer and Philippe Halsman, who also photographed in Palestine in 1936. ... In 1937, the KH started up a bimonthly photography magazine, A Land in Construction, a publication influenced chiefly by Soviet photography. In this journal, Gal-Ezer [a pictorial editor of KH publications] tried to achieve a certain balance between idealistic-utopian images and documentary press photography.*<sup>76</sup>

72. Beno Rothenberg answers during Ruth Oren's interview: "I became a Zionist from a very religious family. Eretz Israel was the starting point. Nobody thought it was a place to live a normal life. I became a Zionist by reading historical literature. I read a book by Dubnov, who wasn't a Zionist, but from the facts in his book, I drew Zionist conclusions and joined a youth movement, an act that caused many problems at home. Later, everyone came to Eretz Israel. But that's another story. My first guide was Yeshayahu Leibowitz – Oren asks, "Did you remain somewhat religious?" – "No. I suffered from being part of the religious world, and I didn't understand what they were talking about. I had nothing in common with them. From a rational viewpoint, I knew nothing of a God as an old man with a beard, surrounded by angels standing and singing songs in His praises. I had a perception based more on Spinoza, of an extraordinary force or something like that. But when I matured and began to study science, I tried to understand the religious; I wanted to comprehend what a religious experience was, so I read a lot of religious literature; I read the Mainorides. But I didn't have religious feelings. I felt close to the Renaissance concept of man as the center of the world." (Ruth Oren, "Photography Has Taught Me Two Things: Beno Rothenberg, Photographer,") in *Beno Rothenberg Photographed and Reported 1947-1957* (Tel-Aviv: Eretz Israel Museum, 2007), 12-34.

73. Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 16.

74. E.H. Gombrich, "Review of Panofsky, *Three Essays on Style and Perspective as Symbolic Form*," (1996).

75. "Landscape photography before and even during the Second World War created a kind of 'classic' Zionist imagery." (Oren, "Zionist Photography," 207.)

76. Ibid.

Here also, the Soviet influence on Zionist photojournalism cannot be neglected.<sup>77</sup> In 1943, there was another exhibition, *The Changed Face: A Land and a Nation in Fight and Work, the Keren Hayesod Art Show*, at the Tel-Aviv Museum of Art. The slogan, 'Fight and Work,' started to appear popularly from the late 1930s<sup>78</sup> to the early 1940s,<sup>79</sup> most probably because of the Arab riot in 1936-39. But also to no less degree, this slogan must have had something to do with the emergence of "native sons," for whom 'the land [had] become an essential component of [their] soul.'<sup>80</sup> Those who were born – or culturally raised – as 'native' in Eretz Yisrael were closely associated with the new ways of being Jewish as a nation, and treated respectfully. For instance, Kluger's numerous photographs of the German Youth Aliyah in the 1930s – men and women – and their children in the 1940s are very intimate and heartwarming.<sup>81</sup> They appear natural, healthy, strong, and most importantly happy to be 'native' in their new 'home.'<sup>82</sup> In the photographs, they 'smile' joyfully being at home, culturally raised as 'New Jews,' which has been redeemed by themselves for new generations.<sup>83</sup> Their being 'native' eradicates a boundary between cultures, between the past and present, between generations, and between sexualities: they are all accommodated within one picture of happiness, as if they were

77. Years before in 1928, there was an exhibition of the Soviet Union in Cologne, which "celebrated the social and political achievements of the Soviet press." (David Crowley, "National Modernisms," in *Modernism, 1914-1939: Designing a New World*, ed. Christopher Wilk (London: V&A Publications, 2006), 343.)

78. See Rosen's argument on the photo album *Mishmar Ve'Sport (Guarding and Sports)*, which was published in 1939. (Jochai Rosen, "The Zionist Renaissance and the Development of Israeli Sports Photography," *History of Photography* 1, no. 74 (2008): 77.)

79. For instance, CZA, PHKH1289566 (Captioned: "Fight and Work" Advanced course for engineers (military).); PHKH1289569 (Captioned: "Fight and Work." Religious Service in the Desert. 1942.); CZA, PHKH11289570 (Captioned: 'Fight and Work.' Our Soldiers.); and CZA, PHKH1289574 (Captioned: 'Fight and Work' The officer when he was farmer.)

80. "A first example of generation-based political-cultural association, the group declared in its manifesto: "The simple basic truth is that native youth constitutes a new, discrete social body in the Yishuv, with its own opinions, attitudes, and style." Its distribution lies in its 'being native to the land, raised in it, imbued with its spirit'; indeed, "the land has become an essential component of its soul." (Anita Shapira, "Native Sons," in *Essential Papers on Zionism* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 815.)

81. For instance, CZA, PHKH 2375771 (Captioned: Alonim. Children of the youths who came with the Youth Immigration 10 years ago. July 1944.); CZA, PHKH 1285572 (Captioned: Alonim. One of the members of Alnim with his son. The father himself came under the Youth Immigration some 10 years ago. July 1944.); and also, PHKH 1285573 (Captioned: Alonim. Father (originally from the German Youth Aliyah) with his youngest offspring. July 1944.)

82. J. Gal-Ezer, Z. Kluger, N. Gidal, et al. *Eretz Yisrael: Haven and Home* (Jerusalem: Azriel Press, 1942).

83. "... our images of happiness is indissolubly bound up with the image of redemption. The same applies to our view of the past, which is the concern of history. The past carries with it a temporal index by which it is referred to redemption. There is a secret agreement between past generation and the present one. Our coming was expected on earth." (Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 254.)

living in a small village, where everyone were allowed to be what they are. In fact, Kluger had to struggle to arrest their 'smile'<sup>84</sup> as a photographer.

I presume the reason why Kluger had to struggle was that this very act of photographing was a hardship he himself had to go through in the process of his personal self-integration to the new culture, space, and time: he had to 'smile' just as his subjects 'smile(-d)' as a new Jew himself; or, he had to capture it so that he could. In other words, he himself also had to 'internalize' the perspective to be Jewish in Eretz Yisrael. This hardship was predetermined as an émigré photographer, who had to “dissect, absorb, and express visually an utterly unfamiliar environment imposed upon them.”<sup>85</sup> The camera helped him to be a member of the new homeland, as he photographed the newcomers becoming 'native' in Eretz Yisrael. This personal efforts of self-integration, i.e. self-positioning in the new national landscape and history in Eretz Yisrael, was clearly presented in his photographs through his subjects. His personal perspective of being newly Jewish was later (re)produced for the collective purpose, and internationally distributed to help the potential members-to-become to 'internalize' the same landscape as he did.

#### 1.4. Photography from Eretz Yisrael / in *Múlt és Jövő*

During the 1930s, the history of interwar Hungary entered “the period when the country fell under the control of radical right forces,” from “the period of the 'liberal' restoration.”<sup>86</sup> It was, as

84. “I am sick of taking pictures of pioneers ' laughing.” (Ruth Oren and Guy Raz, *Zoltan Kluger*.)

85. “[The émigré photographers] became observers and interpreters, often through hate filters of their past background, language, culture, and religion. Their approach was thus radically different from that of the tourist, as also from that of the native artist, born and bred in a certain country and culture and investigating the subjects closes to him. ... The *modus operandi* of the émigré photographers differs also from other artists working in the visual media, and certainly from that of artists in non-visual disciplines such as poetry or music. It therefore dictates a singular approach to his art. The writer can continue producing texts in his native tongue, and the painter or sculptor does not necessarily have to change his style; they can work undisturbed within the context of their own artistic origins and traditions, regardless of place. But the intrinsic qualities and rules of photography, the isomorphic between external reality and the photographic image, requires its émigré practitioners to cope with the new visual reality surrounding them, sometimes inventing to this end new artistic means. They must dissect, absorb, and express visually an utterly unfamiliar environment imposed upon them. In their new condition, none of their usual artistic and pictorial connections remain valid or applicable; the different world they face become both a personal and creative challenge.” (Perez, *Displaced Visions*, 11.)

86. Ezra Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe Between the World Wars* (Bloomington: Indiana Press, 1983), 102.

Gai Miron notes, when: “The intensification of the debates about the Jewish question ... motivated Hungarian Jewish spokespeople to relate to both Hungarian national history and the history of Hungary's Jews. Images of the past were employed extensively in the public and political struggle against the abolishment of Jewish political rights and in order to consider the significance of the predicament in which Jews found themselves.”<sup>87</sup> What was unique in Hungary was that there was a body of Hungarian Jews, which did not exist in Poland, Romania, or Czechoslovakia.<sup>88</sup> They urged, at the seventieth anniversary of emancipation in 1937, “Jewish organizations in Hungary to unite so as to defend the legacy of Kossuth, Petőfi, and the other heroes of the 1848 liberation struggle.”<sup>89</sup> Even when the danger of antisemitism became obvious, Hungarian Jewry was inclined to sustain a dream of the “third emancipation.”<sup>90</sup> It was only in 1941, Fülöp Grünwald, for instance, realized this expectation would never come true but the only solution to the current circumstance surrounding Hungarian Jewry was to “emigrate to the unified Jewish state.”<sup>91</sup> In Hungary, Zionism was neither popular nor active politically, but it was neither neglected nor disregarded: its stance in interwar Hungary was fundamentally ambivalent.

*Múlt és Jövő* was a monthly journal of Cultural Zionism, which József Patai started in 1912 with a particular interest in a Jewish culture. The journal was beautifully decorated by a number of images, illustrations, and photographs, and maintained a readership “beyond the narrow circle of the Zionist movement's members.”<sup>92</sup> Raphael notes, József was a talented poet of visual sensibility: he published *the Hungarian Jewish Almanac* in 1911 with proximately 200 illustrations, “including the photographs and reproductions of works by Jewish painters and sculptors (Lilien, Struck, Israels, Hirschenberg, Schatz, and Antokolski) from Palestine, portraits of Jewish leaders in various fields,”

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87. Gai Miron, *The Waning of Emancipation: Jewish History, Memory, and the Rise of Fascism in Germany, France, and Hungary* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2011), 156.

88. Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe*, 100.

89. Miron, *The Waning of Emancipation*, 165.

90. See Laczó's discussion of Fülöp Grünwald's report from 1939. (Ferenc Laczó, *Hungarian Jewish Intellectual Discourses in the Shadow of Nazism* (Central European University, 2010), 187.)

91. Ibid., 188.

92. Miron, *The Waning of Emancipation*, 170.

which turned out a great success as a message of “Look, ... this beauty is Jewish culture!”<sup>93</sup> In spite of its relatively high price compared to *Die Welt*, Raphael notes, this visually appealing way of representing a Jewish culture contributed to its success over three decades of its publication: in the interview of János Kőbányai, Raphael spoke, 5,000 copies circulated monthly, out of which two-thirds were distributed to the Hungarian-speaking Jews of lost territories.<sup>94</sup> József Patai emigrated to Palestine in 1939, and the journal ceased to exist after the Nazi invasion in March, 1944.

It was during the 1930s that ethnocultural self-representation of 'Hungarianness' had become a common practice. Consequently, in the film industry for instance, a number of Jewish producers, directors, screenwriters, and actors were, David Frey argues, removed as “eviscerate the concept of 'Hungarianness.’”<sup>95</sup> Living in such circumstance, it is not absurd to speculate that cultural self-(re)presentation of Zionism, which *Múlt és Jövő* engaged in since 1912, must have become more significant as a response to the host society, where ethnocultural self-representation had already been established a general mode of self-knowledge, according to which those who would not be ethnoculturally 'Hungarian' should be rejected from their (world)view.

Apparently, photography was viewed as a useful means of ethnocultural self-representation. For example in Hungary, Károly Escher used it to represent 'Hungarianness.'<sup>96</sup> It was not a single means of ethnocultural self-representation, but nonetheless its convenience of being reproducible and realistically believable could not be neglected for the purpose of collective self-(re)presentation. *Múlt és Jövő* also utilized the photographs to (re)present their desired self-image in Eretz Yisrael, which I study in the chapters to follow. It was not only because of Zionist cause, but also, especially during the 1930s, because of the political circumstance in interwar Hungary, that the journal utilized the medium of photography to represent their desired self-image.

What *Múlt és Jövő* showed photographically was optimistic and selective. For instance, in

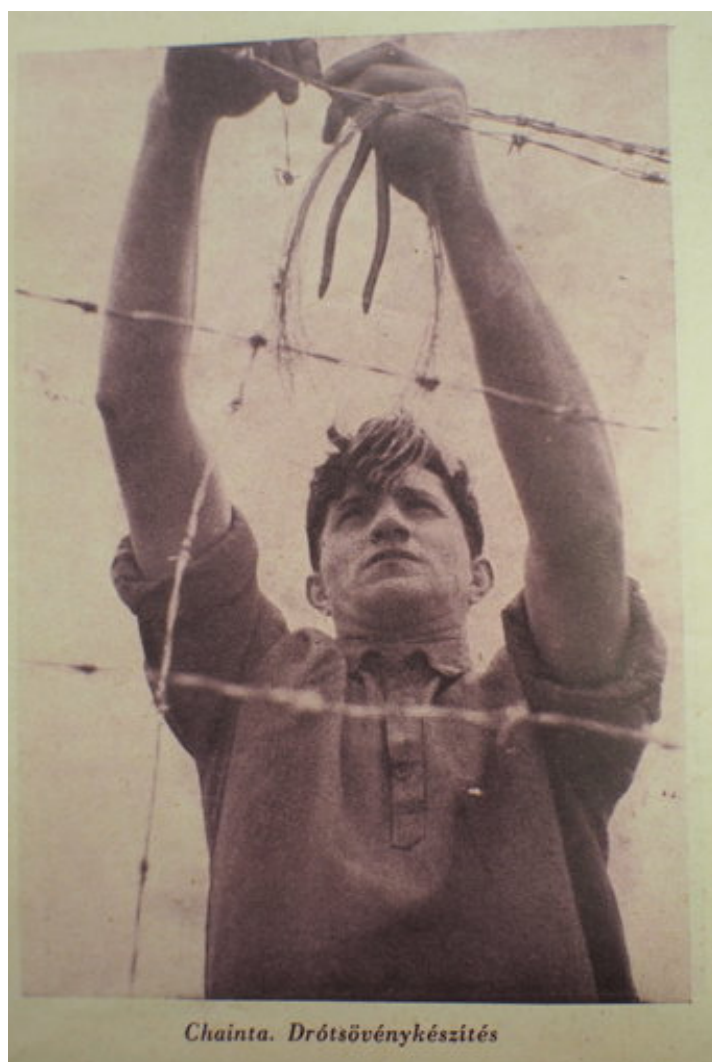
93. József Patai, *Middle Gate: A Hungarian Jewish Boyhood*, trans. Raphael Patai (Philadelphia: Jewish Pubn Society, 1995), xvii.

94. János Kőbányai, “YIVO/ Múlt és Jövő,” accessed on May 18, 2016.

95. David Frey, “Aristocrats, Gypsies, and Cowboys All: Film Stereotypes and Hungarian National Identity in the 1930s,” *Nationalities Papers* 30, no. 3 (September 2002): 392.

96. Ford, *The Hungarian Connection*.

order to mass-publicize an ideal self-image, they never printed anything of conflicts with the Arabs in 1936-9, but emphasized a 'friendship' between Jews and the Arabs in Eretz Yisrael. A slogan of 'Fight and Work,' which became popular in Palestine of the late 1930s, did not appear in interwar Hungary at all. Interestingly however, the images of 'Hanita,' i.e. a frontier of Jewish-Arab ethnic conflicts, appeared occasionally. For instance in the issue of August, 1938, a Jew of 'Hanita' was printed together with several photographs of 'Jewish-Arab friendship.'



*Chainta. Drótsövénykészítés. August, 1938.*

*PHKH 1276155. Captioned: Putting up barbed wire around Hanita. 22.3.1938 (CZA).*

The content *Múlt és Jövő* regularly represented rarely changed before and after the launch of OPP: activities of artists, politicians, scientists, and pioneers; and landscapes. Interestingly however, it is only after January, 1937, that photographs with Zoltán Kluger's credit started to appear. I cannot determine whether or not his photographs were being distributed to Hungary from previously, for what I could collect was only a small part of his whole works. Yet, it is in this period that the cover page of the journal started to be regularly decorated by photographs. For instance, in 1938, it counts 33 photographs out of 65 illustrations, which decorated the cover of ten issues of the year, including paintings, etching, sculptures, and photographs: out of those ten issues, four covers were entirely – four covers more than half – were decorated by photographs of Eretz Yisrael.<sup>97</sup> In this year, in particular, the number of photographs used in each issue is usually higher than other illustrations. Moreover, the time lag between the date of photograph and of its publication is very short. For instance, *Illustration 2* was taken on a day after Hanita's construction, printed by the journal only five months after in August, 1938.<sup>98</sup> The time lag in this year is at most a year. As far as I could trace from a limited resource, the photographs taken in 1937 dominate the issues of 1938. This fact implies that the international network of Zionist photojournalism functioned to enable the journal to reproduce as new photographs as possible in 1937-9.

After January, 1940, however, the volume of journal is reduced from 32 pages to 16, and the number of photographs used in the journal decreased. After 1940, the photographs of Palestine used in the journal were almost entirely reprinted from the KH publications or other old publications, not directly from the press prints. In 1943, several photographs of Nachum Gidal's album, *Die Jüdische Kinder in Erez Israel* (Berlin, 1936), were reprinted in the journal. The photograph, which was taken at latest by Kluger and later published by the journal was dated on October 27, 1939: this was printed two years later in November, 1941, which was however again reprinted from the “latest KH

97. March, May, August, and November in 1938.

98. CZA, PHKH 1276155 (Captioned: Putting up barbed wire around Hanita.): 'Chanita. Drótsövénykészítés.' August, 1938.

calendar.”<sup>99</sup> One other photograph, which was – as far as I could trace – at second latest taken by Kluger and later published in the journal was dated on June, 1939, and printed three years later in November, 1943, which again was a reprint from the KH publication.<sup>100</sup>

The change between 1938, 1940, and after is tremendous. It is plausible to speculate, they simply had no access to new press prints after 1940, most probably because of the breakout of war. However, József Patai himself was quite active in the journal even after his emigration in 1939. Why did his writing and the KH publications reach Budapest, but not the press prints? I do not have any possible answer this question but to claim that there was no access for the journal to get the new press prints. The journal's salient interests in the German Youth Aliyah cannot undermine the fact that there was huge waves of the Hungarian Youth Aliyah in 1941-3. Kluger photographed a number of the German Youth Aliyah and their ongoing self-integration in kibbutz during the 1930s, and later their family-making in the 1940s. Also, he photographed the Hungarian Youth Aliyah at arrival and after.<sup>101</sup> If his photograph of the Hungarian Youth Aliyah could have arrived Budapest, the journal had no reason not to publish them. As a matter of fact, the journal frequently prints the photographs of Hungarian Jews and their happy life as pioneers during the 1930s.<sup>102</sup> Why not, if the press prints could arrive? It is plausible to argue, therefore, they could simply not reach Budapest.

In the chapters to follow, I will demonstrate the ways in which the journal utilized the photographs to express their will and desire, sometimes even differently from OPP. Although what I could collect from the archives is extremely limited, it suffices to provide meaningful insights to assess how *Múlt és Jövő* tried to visually represent the new ways of being Jewish in Eretz Yisrael, especially by studying how the journal made visible as an ideal-type in contrast to 'countertype(s).'

99. CZA, PHKH 1285584 (Captioned: Members of the Youth Aliyah at morning prayer. 27.10.1939.): 'Reggeli ima (A Keren Hajeszod legújabb naptárából.' November, 1941.

100. CZA, PHKH 1285560 (Captioned: Manufacturing toys in Alonim. June 1939.)

101. I found three files, titled “Hungarian Youth Aliyah, 1941-43,” at SAI, which however I have not received the data in spite of my repetitive requests and emails to the archivist.

102. 'Magyarországi maapilok héberül tanulnak (A Keren Hayesod felvétele).' January, 1941: and also 'Magyar-zsidó csendőr Maabarotban.' October, 1936.



*Illustration 3: Reggeli ima (A Keren Hajeszod legújabb naptárából). November, 1941.*

*PHKH 1285584. Captioned: Members of the Youth Aliyah at morning prayer. 27.10.1939. (CZA)*



*Illustration 4: Magyarországi maapilok héberül tanulnak (A Keren Hayeszod felvétele). January, 1941.*

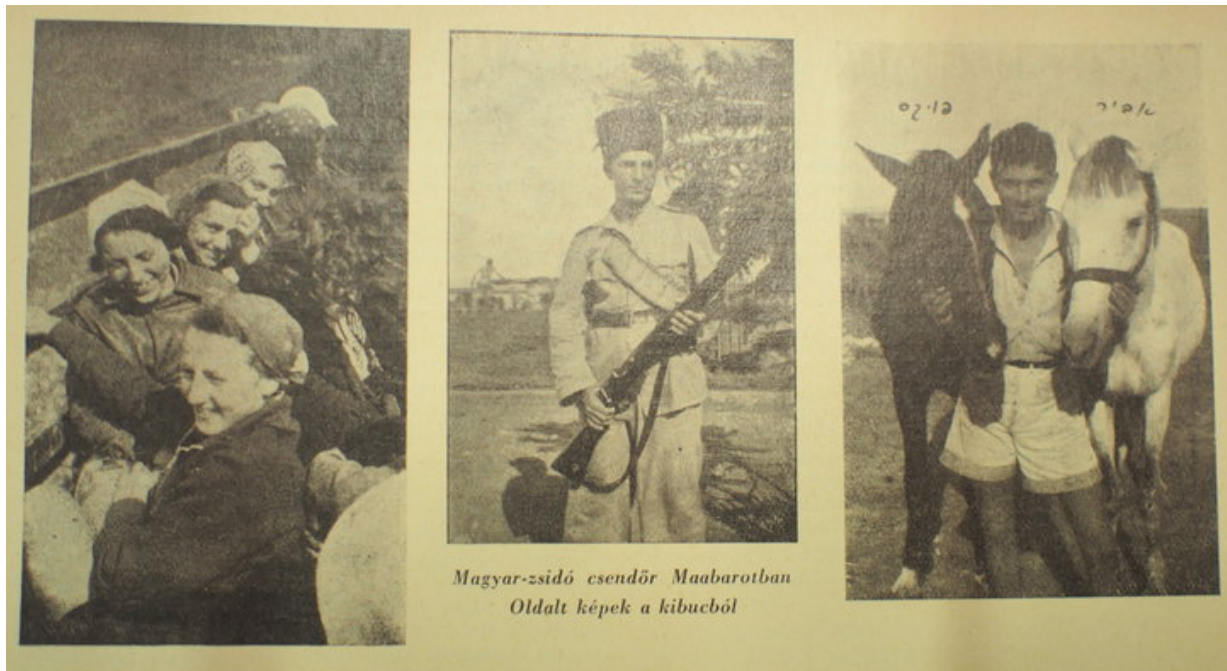


Illustration 5: Magyar-zsidó csendőr Maabarotban/ Oldalt képek a kibucból. October, 1936.

### 1.5. Conclusion: Photojournalism as a Tool of *Ideas*

Is photojournalism objective and based on a concrete reality? – Hardly it developed to be so. A legendary photojournalist, Sebastiao Salgado, noted: 'You photograph with all your ideology.' Contrary to the popular belief in photography as 'the language of objective truth and reality,' photojournalism developed to be a 'lingua franca' of imaginative *fairy tales*<sup>103</sup> embracing “the aura of believability.”<sup>104</sup> A photograph cannot be the 'whole,' and there is no way to make a 'whole' picture of reality: it is “always a fragment, a quotation from the Real.”<sup>105</sup> However, at the same time; “[t]here are no photograph which can be denied. All photographs have the status of fact.”<sup>106</sup> One photograph might suffice to provide a 'whole' picture, if only what W.J.T. Mitchell calls an 'artificial perspective' could be successfully designed.<sup>107</sup>

103. Siegfried Kracauer, “Mass Ornament,” in *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*, trans. Thomas Y. Levin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 80.

104. Strauss., *Between the Eyes*, 71.

105. Ibid., 146.

106. John Berger and Jean Mohr, *Another Way of Telling* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016).

107. See footnote 22.

As I have elaborated using 'Photography in/from Eretz Yisrael' as an example, photography could be usable to represent an undeniable logic of camera-reality, according to which the 'whole' picture of (world)view could be systematically designed to satisfy the ultimate dream of "nation" that "demands a history in which 'the difference of space returns as the Sameness of time, turning Territory into Tradition, turning the People into One.'"<sup>108</sup> The nation is not satisfied with a fragment but craves for 'the total Real,' which they virtually create by means of photography. That is, the 'photographic language of images' can substitute the 'language of truth,' or a concrete reality itself, by creating the 'system of national iconography,' and becoming itself a collective 'conventional perspective,' through which the 'truth' is (re)produced mechanically as well as aesthetically,<sup>109</sup> and its "meaning is constantly (re)created through the process of representation."<sup>110</sup> Photojournalism plays, as if it were loyal to an objective reality, but it "lies as the typewriter"<sup>111</sup> and transforms a mere fragment of reality to 'the total Real,' according to which everything surrounds human life should be visually explained as well as aesthetically accommodated into 'the Sameness, Tradition, and One.'

Why then can photojournalism be so successful? – Because it appears always present. The present-ness of the mechanically (re)produced 'truth' should be always sustained so that its vision would appear "continually alive, continually moving, continually holding things in a circle around itself, constituting what is present to us as we are."<sup>112</sup> Photojournalism created a 'higher-language of truth,' by rejecting the presence of "the rest of the world outside of their pictures."<sup>113</sup> The function of

108. McQuire, *Visions of Modernity*, 205.

109. Martin Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture (1938)," in *The Question Concerning Technology, and Other Essays* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1977), 116.

110. Lewis Holloway and Phil Hubbard, *People and Place: The Extraordinary Geographies of Everyday Life* (Harlow: Prentice Hall, 2011), 178.

111. "The tremendous development of photojournalism has contributed practically nothing to the revelation of the truth about the conditions in this world. On the contrary, photography ... has become a terrible weapon against the truth. The vast amount of pictured material that is being disgorged daily by the press and that seems to have the character of truth serves in reality only to obscure the facts. The camera is just as capable of lying as the typewriter." (Bertolt Brecht, quoted by Strauss, *Between the Eyes*.)

112. Berger, *Ways of Seeing*. See pg. 1.

113. "The camera crops it by predetermining the amount of view it will accept; cutting, masking, enlarging, predetermine the amount after the fact. ... The implied presence of the rest of the world, and its explicit rejection, are as essential in the experience of a photograph as what it explicitly presents. A camera is an opening in a box: that is the best emblem of the fact that a camera holding on an object is holding the rest of the world away. The

photojournalism is to create 'a high-language of the images' from photography, a mere 'vernacular language of the images' of ordinary people. It turned into a secular and holy language of self-imagination. Just like national high-language is a socio-cultural and political construct on the basis of classic literatures, orthodox cultural production, and daily mass-media, this pictorial 'high-language' is also a construct to determine an orthodox 'perspective' of exclusive self-reference, which could be constantly (re)produced and distributed to be present and lively.<sup>114</sup> The camera, as the 'mechanical eye of reason'<sup>115</sup> betrays the viewers by its very nature of being 'believable' and 'reproducible' and standardizes its own high-language. It is a language that everyone – the masses – understands, which however nobody is able to use but to passively receive and repeat.

This function of photojournalism was useful for the *ideas* of Zionism, as it was in great demand of remodeling pictorialism to the ideology-centered pragmatic photojournalism. It could be not only the “substitute of social reforms,”<sup>116</sup> which were yet undone in Jewish Palestine, but also at the same time could be a part of natural culture-making of the Jews in Eretz Yisrael. Zionism educated, not only a standard national language, i.e. Hebrew, but also standardized the 'language of national self-images.' The high-culture-making by means of photojournalism designed the style how the nation should be imagined, and determined the ways in which the viewers should negotiate their self-image from a certain perspective, provided by the photographs. At the same time also, it was carefully crafted on the basis of Zionist *ideas*, what photographs should *not* include in the pictured (world)view: that was, the presence of 'others.'

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camera has been praised for extending the senses; it may, as the world goes, deserve more praise for confining them, leaving room for thought.” (Stanley Cavell, *The World Viewed: Reflections on the Ontology of Film* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979). 24.)

114. “... a reproduction, as well as making its own references to the image of its original, becomes itself the reference point for other images. ... the means of reproduction are used nearly all the time to promote the illusion that nothing has changed.” (Berger, *Ways of Seeing*.)

115. McQuire, *Visions of Modernity*, 33-43: See also Kracauer's argument, “*Reason* does not operate within the circle of natural life. Its concern is to introduce truth into the world. Its realm has already been intimated in genuine *fairy tales*, which are not stories about miracles but rather announcements of the miraculous advent of justice.” (Kracauer, “Mass Ornament,” 80.)

116. “Photography is not just a simple replication of reality, it returns and recycles a dominant process in modern society. ... Photographs can be the substitute for real social reforms. ... [It] has turned out into the mirror of society and the culture in which it is created.” (Ruth Oren, “Photography and Culture,” in *The Photographers Album Israel* (Tel-Aviv: Photo Art Books, 2006), iv.)

After all, there was no novel style of 'Zionist Photography.' Nor created Kluger as such. It was largely influenced by HLP, PJT, pictorialism, and photography of the Soviet and Weimar/Nazi Germany, any of which were widely adopted into practice. Nor the institution of photojournalism was innovative: it was commonly used as a tool of communicating collective *ideas*. According to the very orthodox *ideas* of Cultural Zionism, however, the establishment of OPP was significant as a central (re)producer of new 'Jewish Culture.' Its significance was not only due to its function, but also as a center of the 'mass-language of national self-images' in Eretz Yisrael.

What was unique about Zionism was that their audience was not totally 'others,' but the potential members of statehood-to-be-made. If only it is possible to standardize the self-image of being Jewish in Eretz Yisrael, and if only it is possible to publicize it and mobilize the memory of Jewish people so that it would affect their old dream of return to their native land, by showing 'the natural ancient landscapes,' the *ideas* of Zionism would be able to naturally represent its ideological perspective, according to which the same audience would be able to bring closer the vision of historic(al) construction of new Jewish national home. It is highly plausible to imagine that this strategy was actually put into practice by those Jews who were culturally minded.

The editor of *Múlt és Jövő* must have been aware of this as a publisher of highly decorative journal: they re-designed, re-(re)produced, and re-printed the photographs provided by OPP for their audience especially in 'the time of crisis'<sup>117</sup> so that they would be able to possess the same dream,<sup>118</sup> which Zionism strived to present from Eretz Yisrael. Photography preserves no meaning of memory by itself, but it is possible to craft it so that it evokes and helps memory reconstituted within a different scheme, according to a certain set of 'ideas,' for which photography works for.

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117. See Anthony D. Smith's claim concerning the *ethnies* of Persian, Jewish, and Greek: "... the content of their national identities retain distinctive earlier and premodern ethnosymbolic elements – myths, memories, values, and traditions – that inspire and legitimate their present claims to land and statehood. ... collective memories of these ancient *ethnies*, transmitted in texts, artifacts, and institutions, provided specific models for subsequent claims to nationhood, especially in times of crisis." (Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2000), 70.)

118. "A people or a class which is cut off from its own past is far less free to choose and to act as a people or class than one that has been able to situate itself in history. This is why – and this is the only reason why – the entire art of the past has now become a political issue." (Berger, *Ways of Seeing*.)

## CHAPTER 2: CULTURE-MAKING

*... the socially effective idea always contains within itself the direction in which it is meant to be spun out. It is the abbreviated expression of some total perspective of which only one aspect is always emphasized: the aspect that proves necessary at a particular time and in specific social circumstances. ... Group members championing the content of a specific idea thus invariably experience and desire more than this one formulatable and formulated should-being.*

Siegfried Kracauer

*The Group as Bearers of Ideas*

*... 'men act and women appear.' Men look at women. ... This determines not only most relations between men and women but also the relation of women to themselves. The surveyor of woman in herself is male: the surveyed female. Thus she turns herself into an object – and most particularly an object of vision: a sight. ... She is not naked as she is. She is naked as the spectator sees her.*

John Berger

*Ways of Seeing*

*Masculinity was regarded as of one piece from its very beginning: body and soul, ... [It] was a stereotype, presenting a standardized mental picture. ... the evolution of a stereotype that became normative. ... Stereotyping meant that men and women were homogenized, considered not as individuals but as types. The fact that stereotyping depended upon unchanging mental images meant that there was no room for individual variations. Moreover, the new sciences of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in their passion for classification sought to analyze men in groups rather than as individuals. Stereotyping meant giving to each man all the attributes of the group to which he was said to belong. ... Nationalism ... play[ed] an important role as such an educator, for it adopted the masculine stereotype as one means of its self-representation. ... The masculine stereotype was strengthened ... by the existence of a negative stereotype of men who not only failed to measure up to the ideal but who in body and soul were its foil, projecting the exact opposite of true masculinity, [countertype(s)].*

George L. Mosse

*The Image of Man*

1996

## 2.0. Introduction: Photography of Culture-Making (Theory)

This chapter is interested in 'culture,' for which photography was used to mass-publicize a new Jewish national self-image in Eretz Yisrael. This 'culture' is publicized, not as 'what it is,' but as 'what it represents' through a certain perspective, which lets the viewers 'see' the like-image of 'what it is.' Prior to analysis, I provide a theoretical overview of an intimate relationship between 'culture' and 'photography.' They are reciprocally dependent to overcome their own artificialities for each other's ultimate goals of self-realization to become 'natural.'

“Culture is,” Pierre Bourdieu argues, not “what one is,” or a set of concepts, ideals, symbols, practices, and myths, but “what one has become second nature.”<sup>119</sup> That is, an ultimate goal of 'culture-making' is to represent the result as alternative nature, overcoming its own artificialities in opposite to 'what it is' as the created of human life. 'Culture' is never a neutral set of values and practices, but has its own will as “a symbolic capital,” which is “a form of power that is not perceived as power but as legitimate demands for recognition, deference, obedience, or the services of others.”<sup>120</sup> Apparently, its desire is to be recognized as natural as well as traditional and new, i.e. self-autonomous. In order to be recognized so, it has to accumulate its vitalities through what Bourdieu calls 'cultural production,' conceptually, linguistically, symbolically, and visually. What I argue is how 'culture' as 'a foundation of nation(s)'<sup>121</sup> activates its self-image or naturally represents itself by means of photography, because, as “the [modern] world is now called on to live up to its image,”<sup>122</sup> their 'modern culture(s)' also have to find their own natural self-image to live up for.

Photography also has the same dilemma: in spite of its being essentially artificial as 'it is,' its ultimate goal is to overcome its own artificialities to realize a natural mode of 'representation,' i.e.

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119. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 234.

120. David Swartz, *Symbolic Power, Politics, and Intellectuals: The Political Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 103.

121. “... nationalism is primarily a cultural doctrine or, more accurately, political ideology with a cultural doctrine at its center. ... This cultural doctrine depends ... on the introduction of new concepts, languages, and symbols. Nationalism ... is an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining the *autonomy, unity, and identity* of a nation.” (Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 74.)

122. McQuire, *Visions of Modernity*, 101.

the natural ways in which it is 'seen.'<sup>123</sup> Unlike 'culture,' which possesses its own will to dream of the ideal mode of self-representation however, 'photography' has, according John Tagg, "no such identity."<sup>124</sup> It has to be affiliated to a certain structure of the power/investor(s), which is in need of 'photography' and helps it to achieve a natural mode of representation. As Louis Daguerre claimed, his invention was to "give [nature] the power to reproduce herself"<sup>125</sup> as well as 'culture' could as 'second nature.'

Photography is proven to be suitable for culture's self-representation, as it is the tool per excellence to design an "artificial perspective."<sup>126</sup> That is, they mutually assist to be natural: 'culture' is aided by 'photography' to design its general and natural self-image, and the later is thematically and financially invested by the former so that it can be speedily (re)produced.<sup>127</sup> Accordingly, they both strive to be natural as they represent. In short, the desired 'culture-making' can be expressed through photography: when 'culture' is uplifted to be natural in what it represents, 'photography' is also able to represent itself naturally, as if Walter Benjamin footnoted at last of *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*: "Mass reproduction is aided ... by the reproduction of masses."<sup>128</sup> At the same time, the same masses should be collective 'bearers of ideas,' provided and aided by mechanical reproduction. 'Mass-culture' and 'technology of mass reproduction' assist each

123. "The best index to the hegemony of artificial perspective is the way it denies its own artificiality and lays claims to being a "natural" representation of "the way things look," "the way we see," or (in a phrase that turns Maimonides on his ear) "the way things really are." Aided by the political and economic ascendance of Western Europe, artificial perspective conquered the world of representation under the banner of reason, science, and objectivity. No amount of counterdemonstration from artists that there are other ways of picturing what "we really see" has been able to shake the conviction that these pictures have a kind of identity with natural human vision and objective external space. And the invention of a machine (the camera) built to produce this sort of image has, ironically, only reinforced the conviction that this is the natural mode of representation. What is natural is, evidently, what we can build a machine to do for us." (Mitchell, "What is an Image?," 524.)

124. "What alone unites the diversity of sites in which photography operates is the social formation itself: the specific historical spaces for representation and practice which it constitutes. Photography as such (h)as no identity. Its status as a technology varies with the power relations which invest it. Its nature as a practice depends on the institutions and agents which define it and set it to work. Its function as a mode of cultural production is tied to definite conditions of existence, and its products are meaningful and legible only within the particular currencies they have. Its history has no unity. It is a flickering across a field of institutional spaces. It is this field we must study, not photography as such." (Tagg, *Burden*, 63.)

125. "... the DAGUERREOTYPE is not merely an instrument which serves to draw Nature: on the contrary it is a chemical and physical process which gives her the power to reproduce herself." (Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, "Daguerreotype (1839)," in *Classic Essays on Photograph* (New Haven: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 14.)

126. See footnote 123.

127. Kracauer, "Mass Ornament," 75-6.

128. See pg. 1.

other for their ambition to be seen as 'natural.'

Photography is “the political power par excellence,” as it is by nature “the power of making visible and explicit social division that are implicit,” i.e. “the power to make groups, to manipulate the objective structure of society.”<sup>129</sup> Nationalism, as a political ideology of cultural doctrine, has an obvious reason to employ 'photography' as an apparatus of visual self-representation as well as of controlling what should be (in)visible. That is, what becomes visible in the pictured is chosen to represent a certain worldview<sup>130</sup>: even though it is totally an 'artificial perspective,' it suffices to enforce and convey the natural mode of representation, if only it could be speedily, systematically, and mechanically reproduced by the user/investor.

Contrary to HLP, which objectified the holy landscape with no human subjects to represent their natural worldview,<sup>131</sup> Zionism was more interested in making their new mankind visible, which was currently emerging in Eretz Yisrael. Those who engaged in 'culture-making' were ought, not only to build, but also to represent the process of making themselves 'natural,' which photography was used to assist to be (re)produced as a general (world)view of Zionism. However, as Siegfried Kracauer notes, this kind of 'total perspective' was tightly conditioned “at a particular time and in specific social circumstances,”<sup>132</sup> and could not avoid (re)presenting another dimensions, 'space' and 'time,' which I discuss in the chapters to follow.

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129. Swartz, *Symbolic Power*, 87.

130. “Photographs open 'a view of society,' and the viewers are not allowed to choose the perspective, as Alan Trachtenberg argues: 'A photographer has no need to persuade a viewer to adopt his or her point of view, because the reader has no choice; in the picture we see the world from the angle of the camera's partial vision, from the position it had at the moment of the release of the shutter.'” (Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 122.)

131. Not only for nationalism(s), but also photography can be implemented into a general politics of ideology, as a perfect apparatus of self-representation. As I elaborated in the previous chapter, the culture of Western European Christian aspired and used photography in order to naturally express and publicize their goal, according to which photography represented a colonial and universal dream of their conquering the space and time of the Holy Land. Their culture was, fundamentally, Christian. They created a total perspective, through which their vision should not fail to appear rationally with the help of captions of biblical interpretation. This perspective enabled the (re)producer to reduce the pictured to mere biblical icons or believable types of ethnicity, regardless of their true profile.

132. See pg. 44.

## 2.1. Photography of 'New Jews' (Masculinity and 'Countertype(s)')

A culture of Zionism was of modern masculinity and of human-interests in Eretz Yisrael. Or simply, it was mass-publicized through the images of new mankind in Eretz Yisrael. Accordingly, it was portraits which became a classic genre of their cultural self-representation.<sup>133</sup> It should transmit a certain viewpoint so that the viewers could be familiarized of a general self-image of Zionism, as if “[t]his figure asserts the myth of community, the idea that society is man's natural state.”<sup>134</sup> Their portraits were, also simultaneously, to be the historic(al) picture of 'culture-making' in Eretz Yisrael.

According to the *ideas* of Zionism, it is the body of national spirit that shall build a new culture and redeem the land of nation. This rhetoric of using the body as a “metaphor for the nation state” was however commonly practiced in the Western society as a whole.<sup>135</sup> In the movement of Zionism, ever since the speech of Max Nordau in 1903, named 'Muscle Jews,' this new Jewish way of being was meant to overcome degenerated status of being Jewish in Diaspora. Before long, this ideal of Jewish masculinity came to be closely associated with the idea of *Bildung*, which Cultural Zionists facilitated.<sup>136</sup> That is, a cultural ideal of national *Bildung* was linked to an internationally common style of self-stereotyping. Simultaneously, this cultural representation of 'New Jews' with masculine and spiritual quality had to combat antisemitic polemics. For example, while a slogan of 'Fight and Work' appeared in Zoltán Kluger's works to (re)present the new Jewish existence in Eretz Yisrael, this same slogan was used in Nazi Germany to emphasize the superiority of Germans over “ugly Jews.”<sup>137</sup> As George L. Mosse notes, nationalism played a role as an “educator” of this ideal-

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133. “... the portrait singles out the appearance and character of a particular person for representation.” (Friday, *Aesthetics and Photography*, 105.)

134. “The military man represents man in uniform, which is to say, men doing the work of the world, in consort, each exercising the virtues of his position or failing them: each bearing the marks of his condition. This figure asserts the myth of community, the idea that society is man's natural state.” (Cavell, *The World Viewed*, 47.)

135. Christopher Wilk, “The Healthy Body Culture,” in *Modernism, 1914-1939: Designing a New World*, ed. Christopher Wilk (London: V&A Publications, 2006), 253.

136. Michael Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry Before the First World War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

137. A German picture book for children in 1936, which goes: “The German is a proud man who knows how to work and to fight. Because he is so beautiful and courageous, the Jew hates him. That this is a Jew one can see at a glance, the greatest scoundrel in the German Reich. He thinks he is a beauty, when in reality he is so ugly.” (Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 179.)

type to represent a general self-portrait of collective self as well as of its 'countertype.' This is why I presume, Zionism had to employ this same strategy – even more acutely – to ensure their self-representation so that what Nazism showed was not truthful – at least – in Eretz Yisrael. They publicized the photographs of various kinds of 'New Jews,' i.e. builders, to internationally propagate a success of their building a new culture. Indeed for this very purpose, OPP widely distributed the photographs of the ongoing process of culture-making in Eretz Yisrael. And the photographs OPP (re)produced were published in interwar Hungary, by *Múlt és Jövő*.

In this kind of photographs, the ideal portraits of (wo)men had to be normatively stereotyped so that it could provide the audience with a 'total perspective.' Also, they had to be designed to “act” subjectively, while their 'countertype(s)' “appear” as mere “objects of vision.”<sup>138</sup> What is interesting is that *Múlt és Jövő* published the photographs often using 'serialization,' as I have already argued before, so as to make a Zionist culture with a human face explicit. This was a convenient strategy to naturally represent the success of Zionist culture-making in Eretz Yisrael.

In this chapter, I discuss three categories: 'Men,' 'Women,' and 'Countertype(s).' This chapter does not study 'Genius,' i.e. scientists, artists, and politicians, except to mention Albert Einstein, who was widely accepted as a source of “Jewish pride.”<sup>139</sup> Although his images often appear in the journal, I am more interested in the general mode of designing, (re)producing, and representing the “group self-image” of new Jewish nation, which, Siegfried Kracauer notes, is “always a uniform and to some extent primitive being which, ... develops according to its own laws and is no no sense

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138. See pg. 44.

139. “Zionists the world over whole-heartedly agreed that Professor Einstein was their most spectacular attraction. ... Einstein's importance in boosting Jewish pride in, and confidence in the general direction of, Zionism, and Jewish self-assertion in general, defies comparison ... Despite the fact that his theories were incomprehensible except to a very few narrow elite, it was generally known that he 'introduced a new scientific conception of space and time and of their relation to the physical world.' It was likewise known, particularly among Jews, that 'the foremost Jewish genius of our age is a modest, unassuming, kindly gentleman, almost childlike in his simplicity, with a keen sense of humor.' ... Einstein's portrait became a universal symbol of scientific genius with a human face, and Zionists were ecstatic to be able to appropriate him as one of their own. ... His presence at public Zionist functions resulted in huge crowds that could barely control their adulation. ... Zionists also like to believe that, when Einstein spoke, the rest of the world listened intently. Whenever he took to the road his movements were tracked by Zionist organs with the fervor of gossip sheets looking for any scrap of information about a Hollywood celebrity; his pilgrimages to Palestine were regarded as sacred events.” (Berkowitz, *Self-Image*, 88-9.)

anonymous with the sum of single individuals who constitute the group,”<sup>140</sup> and turns into a “normative stereotype”<sup>141</sup> of the Jewish collective self, rather than in specific/individual geniuses. In short, I am interested in the general ways in which Jews self-stereotyped by means of photography as natural – and collective – ‘culture-makers.’

This act of culture-making was meant to eradicate the boundary between men and women in Eretz Yisrael, both of which should be accommodated in the total picture of one Jewish culture in Eretz Yisrael, i.e. being newly Jewish as ‘culture-makers.’ It was also the act of self-naturalization, just as their new ‘culture’ had wished to become of, liberated from any specificity and artificiality.

## 2.2. Men Act in Culture-Making

Just as Kluger photographed various pioneers in Eretz Yisrael, such as farmers, soldiers, policemen, sailors, fishermen, students, and gymnasts, *Múlt és Jövő* also showed various kinds of ‘New Jews’ in order to present a general picture of being newly Jewish in their native land. There is no particular difference in content between ‘Photography in Eretz Yisrael’ and ‘Photography in *Múlt és Jövő*,’ in this respect. Nor what the journal shows changes in content before and after 1933. After 1937 particularly, as I noted above, the number of photographs, which Kluger produced of ‘New Jews,’ and ‘Jewish Palestine’ increases.

The portrait of culture-making, which men take parts in, always seems to be cheerful, filled with life, dream, hope, and future. None of their portraits show the subjects looking down in the picture, but always looking up in the direction far away from where they are positioned. They are either standing confidently with a complexion of resolution staring at somewhere otherworldly, carrying on heavy bricks and bags, building new houses and settlements, or in the process of cultivating – redeeming – the land. In appearance, they are normally either in uniform or half-

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140. Kracauer, “The Group as Bearers of Ideas,” in *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*, ed. Thomas Y. Levin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 156.

141. Mosse. *The Image of Man*.

naked, which demonstrate their physical self-discipline, natural healthiness, and their passions in completing missions as pioneers.



*Illustration 6: Chaluc Chanitában. December, 1938.*



Illustration 7: A tűzoltó / A rendőr / A Vörös Mogen David mentőorvosa. November, 1933.

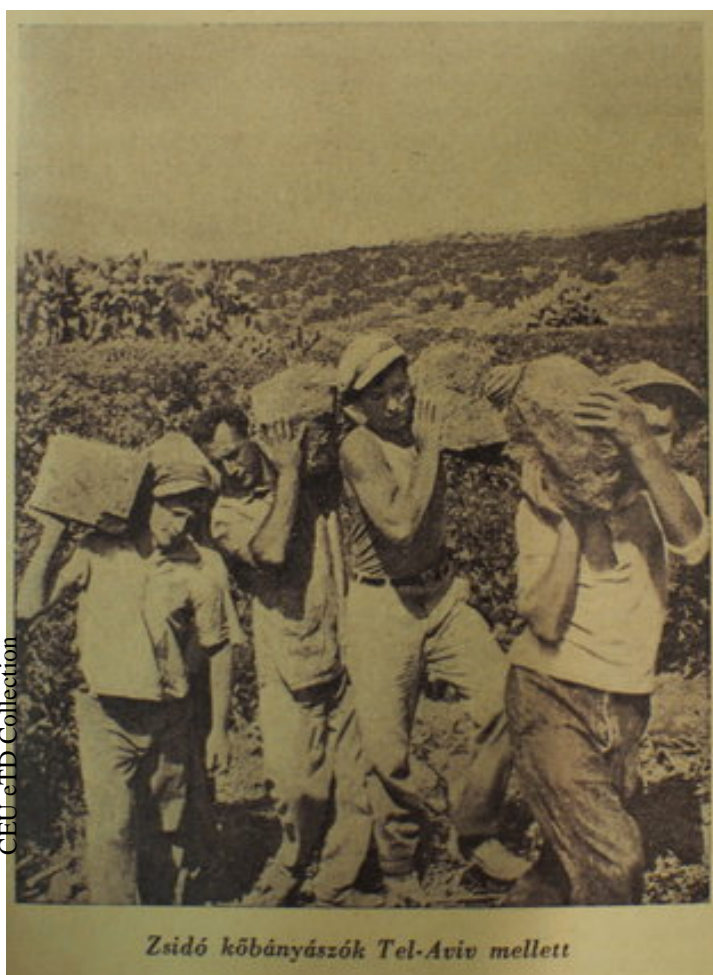


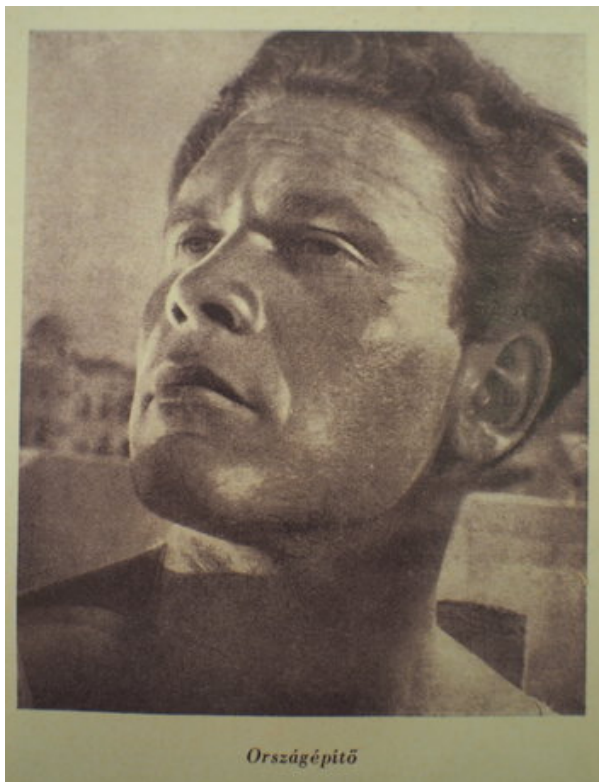
Illustration 8: Zsidó kőbányászók Tel-Aviv mellett. July-August, 1937.

PHKH 1285481. Captioned: Jewish Youth Immigrants from Germany (Febr. 1934) at Sheikh Avrekh. Hauling Stones for the Construction of the first houses (CZA)



Illustration 9: Építés a Huleben. May, 1938.

PHKH 1277820. Captioned: In settlement of Jews from Greece (In Sharon). Erecting barracks (13.9.1937). (CZA)



*Illustration 11: Országépítő. February, 1939.*



*Illustration 10: Egyetemi hallgató mint ghaffir. April, 1939.*



*Illustration 12: Német fiúk Ereben. April, 1939.*



*Illustration 13: A frissítő víz (Palesztínai pillanatfelvétel). June, 1937.*



*Illustration 14: Német fiú Girath-Brennerben.  
Keren Hayesod, Páris. April, 1939.*



*Illustration 15: Ifjú chaluc Givath Brennerben.  
(KH felvétele, Jeruzsálem). April, 1941.*



*Illustration 16: Zsidó matróz egy új zsidó hajón.  
January, 1935.*

In those photographs, 'men' are represented as 'actors.' Especially, the process of German male youth being rapidly integrated to the new socio-economic system of 'Jewish Palestine' is emphasized. They seem optimistic, passionate, and moreover serious in face to their historic(al) mission to be fulfilled. Their gaze is promising, directive, and determined to build a new culture as well as a homeland of Jewish people in this land. They show no hesitation or regret in their face, representing the ideal-type masculinity of 'New Jews.' They act the prototype of being present and newly being Jewish as nation, awakened after two-thousand years of absence in their native land.

### 2.3. Women Do Not Appear Any Longer But Now Act in Culture-Making

According to George L. Mosse and John Berger, in the European tradition of art, 'women' have been subordinated to men's action to appear, being observed, non-subjective, backward, ancient, and natural.<sup>142</sup> Mosse argues; “Women as public symbols did not reflect the needs and hopes of society directly, but the male body.”<sup>143</sup> In the culture of modern masculinity, however, at least in mode of representation, 'women' comes to be “homogenized” to one general image of the ideal masculinity.<sup>144</sup> The group image of men and women has been made to be one normative self-stereotype, and – at least in theory and appearance, not necessarily in reality<sup>145</sup> – the boundary between men and women shall disappear, according to the vision given by one picture of ideal-type masculinity. It was largely a socio-political expression of the community that its hygiene is not contaminated; that is, 'physical hygiene' and 'social hygiene,' like prostitution or venereal disease, were closely associated to each other.<sup>146</sup> In short, in the culture of modern masculinity, there should be no separate cultures of men and women but one general picture of (wo)men, for whom one cohesive culture must suffice. Within its space, they both coexist and co-work for their common

142. Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 8; Berger, *Ways of Seeing*. See pg. 44.

143. Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 9.

144. Ibid., 4-5.

145. See, for instance, David Biale, *Eros and the Jews* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

146. Wilk, “The Healthy Body Culture,” 256.

ambition of 'culture-making' as such. The appearance of women is masculinized, i.e. normatively stereotyped, no longer feminine to appear threatening the healthy body of men and their society. Their body has become a space, from which the ideal society should spun out, full of vitality and productivity.



Illustration 17: Szomjúság, Az ajanothi iskolában, Hálókötéstaniítás a Wizo-tanfolyamon. August, 1938.



Illustration 18: Chaluc egy judeai kolonián. April, 1939.

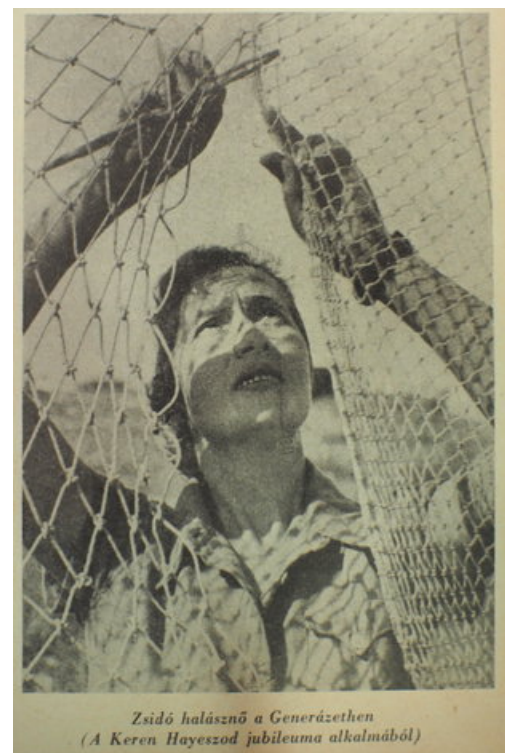


Illustration 19: Zsidó halásznő a Generázetben. January, 1941.  
PHKH 1296285. Captioned: Germans, "Kibbutz hadayagim" (Fishermen's Kibbutz) near Kiryat Motzkin, mending their nets. Nov. 1937. (CZA)

In Zionism, a political ideology of masculinity, however, the masculinization of the image of women did not emerge as early as that of male masculinity. The role of masculinized women in Zionism was to harmonize two aspects of life, 'culture' and 'nature,' which Zionist art had divided according to a conventional dichotomy of 'cultural men' and 'natural women.'<sup>147</sup> The image of women's naturalness was, in art, frequently incorporated into the ideal-type of nature in Palestine, which the Arabs represented: the Arab women became a popular theme in art of Palestine during the 1920s. Accordingly, they were depicted to express the Jewish presence in Palestine, who settled and dreamed of coexisting with nature as well as ethnic others. Reuven Rubin, a painter of the 1920s for instance, symbolically used 'animals,' such as donkeys, camels and goats, normally in company of 'oriental people' in order to express the vision of the coexistence of Jews the cultural people and oriental people the people of nature: his paintings were, Manor notes, "assumed to be an authentic expression of [the] perfect happiness."<sup>148</sup> Photography changed the ways in which women should be represented, i.e. women were masculinized through the 'mechanical eye.'

In 'Zionist Photography' after 1933, the ways of representing natural oriental women did not persist any longer. It is Jewish women, not oriental women, who should now represent the Jews' presence in nature of Eretz Yisrael, i.e. the land of Jewish people-in-making. By passionately engaging in the act of culture-making with their male counterpart, Jewish women became subjective in representing the Jews' new ways of coexisting with nature as well as of embracing their new culture. Whereas men represent the pride, directive gaze, and optimism of building a new culture, women represent the 'perfect happiness' of being daughters, mothers, and culture-makers of Eretz Yisrael. This image of new Jewish women was photographically documented, not by art. This new portrait of women as subjects of culture-making and representatives of natural-being was regularly printed in *Múlt és Jövő*, often 'serialized' with the images of 'countertype(s).'

147. For instance, see Dalia Manor's argument on the analogy between 'woman' and 'nature,' which evoked the identification of woman with nature (and man with culture). (Manor, *Art in Zion*, 156.)

148. Ibid., 102.



*Illustration 20: Chalucák egy Wizo-farmon.  
December, 1938.*



*Illustration 21: Irgun Menachem védőfala.  
August, 1938.*



*Illustration 22: Szántás Ajanothban, a Wizo mezőgazdasági leányiskolájának farmján.  
August, 1938.*



*Illustration 23: Német ifjúság („Jugend-Alija“) Palesztinában. March, 1938.*



*Illustration 24: Munka után. Feb., 1939.*



*Illustration 25: Németországi Chaluca Givath Brenner Kolonián. January, 1937.*



*Illustration 26: A 20 éves „Wizo“ ayanóthi iskolájából. (Shapiro felv.) August, 1941.*



*Illustration 28: Nir David. Chaluca az őrségen. August, 1938.*



*Illustration 29: Hazatérés. February, 1939.*



*Illustration 27: A Héber Egyetem diákjai szünidőben narancs-szüretben dolgoznak. A pihenés óráiban tanulnak. Nov. 1937.*

PHKH 1293294. Captioned: Midday rest in the orange grove (by students of the Hebrew Univ.) (CZA)



*Illustration 30: Hóra a víztorny körül egy palesztinai kuvcán. June, 1937.*

In photographic representation, there disappears the boundary between men and women, as if they were equal as pioneers in strong comradeship. A woman (illust. 28) is “on watch,” and looks prideful. Her gaze is determined just as her male counterpart. They shall cultivate, build, dance, and study together in the field, living in the same home. In those photographs, women act to transmit a vision of reconciliation between sexualities. The idea of Zionist sexual revolution is represented in them, although in reality it did not turn out successful.<sup>149</sup> In this respect, Ariella Azoulay argues as follows:

*Photography ... was the forerunner of a missed revolution. The body of citizens was given the means to instigate change, but the relation between these citizens were newly regulated through a unified power, most often on the basis of a national model, in conformity with coercive rules of exclusion, hierarchical order, discrimination, exploitation, and oppression.*<sup>150</sup>

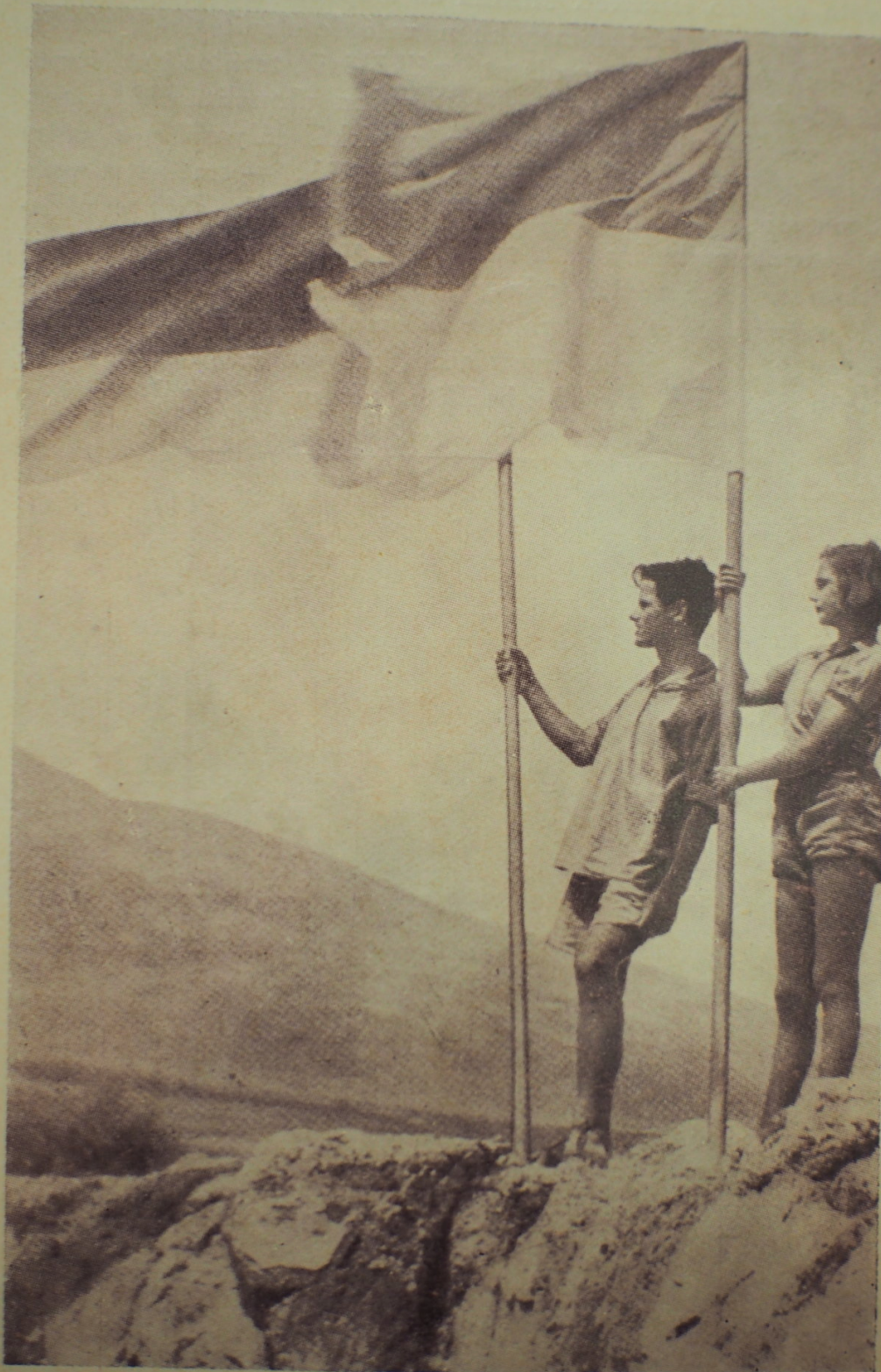
As photography is a mere apparatus of *idea's* self-representation, if only photography provides a visionary of women as their general portraits in Eretz Yisrael, it is sufficient enough, no matter how it contradicts with actual reality.

*Múlt és Jövő* also adopted a technique of 'serialization' to utilize and maximize the power of photography so that it could affect the people's ways of seeing the world from a certain point of (world)view alone. It is a technique, by which the user of photographs can manipulate “the relation between things and ourselves,”<sup>151</sup> as well as a method of 'exclusion, hierarchical order, discrimination, exploitation, and oppression,' i.e. 'the power to make groups, to manipulate the objective structure of society.'

149. Biale, *Eros and The Jews*.

150. Ariella Azoulay, *Civil Contract of Photography* (Cambridge: Zone Books, 2012), 123.

151. “We never look at just one thing; we are always looking at the relation between things and ourselves. Our vision is continually alive, continually moving, continually holding things in a circle around itself, constituting what is present to us as we are.” (Berger, *Ways of Seeing*.)



*Kitűzik a zászlót az új galillai telepen*

*Illustration 31: Kitűzik a zászlót az új galillai telepen. February, 1939.*

## 2.4. Countertype(s) Appear(s) in Culture-Making

Whereas (wo)men 'act,' representatively, the 'counterpart(s)' should appear. In the mode of practice of 'Zionist Photography,' there existed two 'countertypes': the Arabs, and Yemenite Jews. In this section, I argue the photographs of *Múlt és Jövő* in comparison to the press prints. The ways in which the journal classified in/out-siders of the community of new Jewish culture were different from what OPP's press prints show 'Photography in Eretz Yisrael' intended. This section presents the best example to understand how the mode of photographic representation can be manipulated, according to those who use on the basis of certain desire and *ideas*.

As I have mentioned citing from a major contemporary photographer of Israel, Alex Levac, Kluger and his colleague did not photograph many of non-Jewish subjects in Palestine. However in *Múlt és Jövő*, there are number of photographs possible to find of the Arab theme, which were with no doubt meant to present their friendship, i.e. coexistence of Jews and the Arabs in their mutual homeland.

There is one photograph, which deserves a critical and close analysis, which I already noted in the previous chapter. This was found at CZA, captioned: "Ein Hakoreh and Massada. The head of Daganiah B. being congratulated by the Arab watchman on the day preceding the settlement. Dated on March 27, 1937" (PHKH 1279923). This same photograph was printed by *Múlt és Jövő* in the issue of August, 1938, being cropped for an obvious reason to emphasize the pioneer's position as much near as possible in the compositional center. In the original press print, the Arab watchman is more central, not only dominating the picture, but also signifying his superior position on the horseback to a pioneer in a more natural costume of the native background, which lets the viewer 'see,' this landscape belongs to this Arab, rather than to Jews, who are now about to start cultivating the same land. A measuring rod on the left is, in the original press print, marginalized: it is rarely visible. But in the journal, this same rod is more present to successfully express the dream to come true in this land by the Jewish hands, although caption does not inform of 'cultivation.'

Also, this photograph was printed with caption: “Arab mukhtar and pioneer shake hands at the border of Daganja.” The act of 'hand-shaking' is central, and the cultivation to take place soon is silenced in this caption. The emphasis of this photograph cropped is to design the ways in which a Jew should be seen in relation to the Arab, and to emphasize their friendly and close relationship. The Arab sits on horseback just because he is “a mukhtar,” i.e. a community leader, not because he is superior to Jews. The intention of editor to crop and manipulate the caption is clear: this Arab is not to congratulate Jews from a superior position, nor should he welcome them to *his* land: but he should be equal as a friend of the Jews.

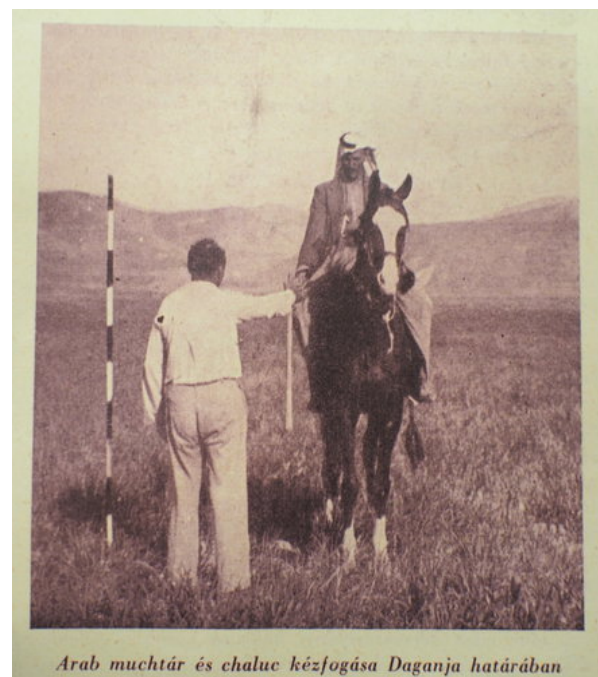
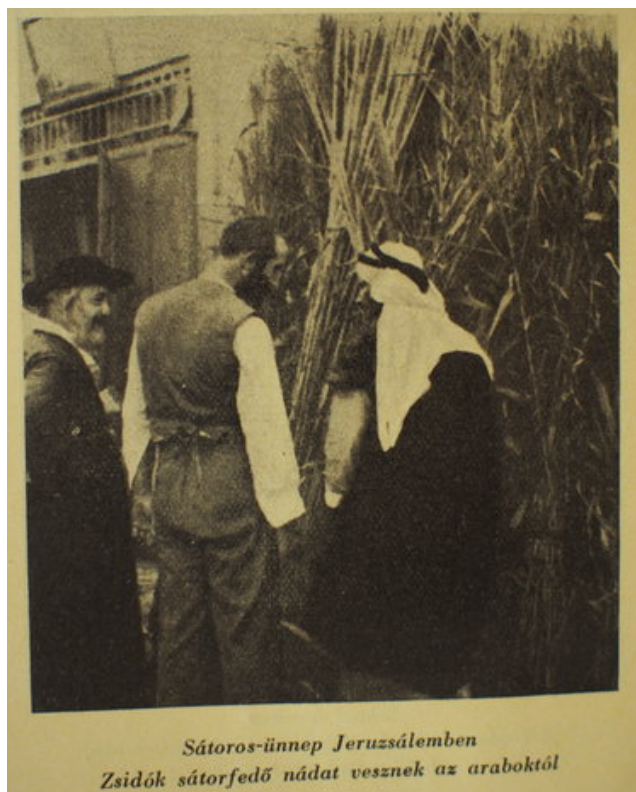


Illustration 32: Arab muchtar és chaluc kézfogása Daganja határában. August, 1938.

This equal friendship of Jews and the Arabs is often repeated in the journal, and what they show is always about their friendship, but nothing about harsh circumstances between them at the time.<sup>152</sup> This image is published in the issue, in which the photograph of Hanita appears (illust. 2 and 39) with no particular text attached to about this new colony.

152. Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1999* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999), 128-60; Walter Laquer, *A History of Zionism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1989), 209-69; Israel Kolatt, “The Zionist Movement and the Arabs,” in *The Zionist Movement and the Arabs*, ed. Anita Shapira and Jehuda Reinharz (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 617-47.



*Illustration 34: Sátoros-ünnep Jeruzsálemben.  
September, 1933.*



*Illustration 33: „Batelem” ... August, 1938.*



*Illustration 35: Arab-zsidó barátkozás ... September-October, 1935.*



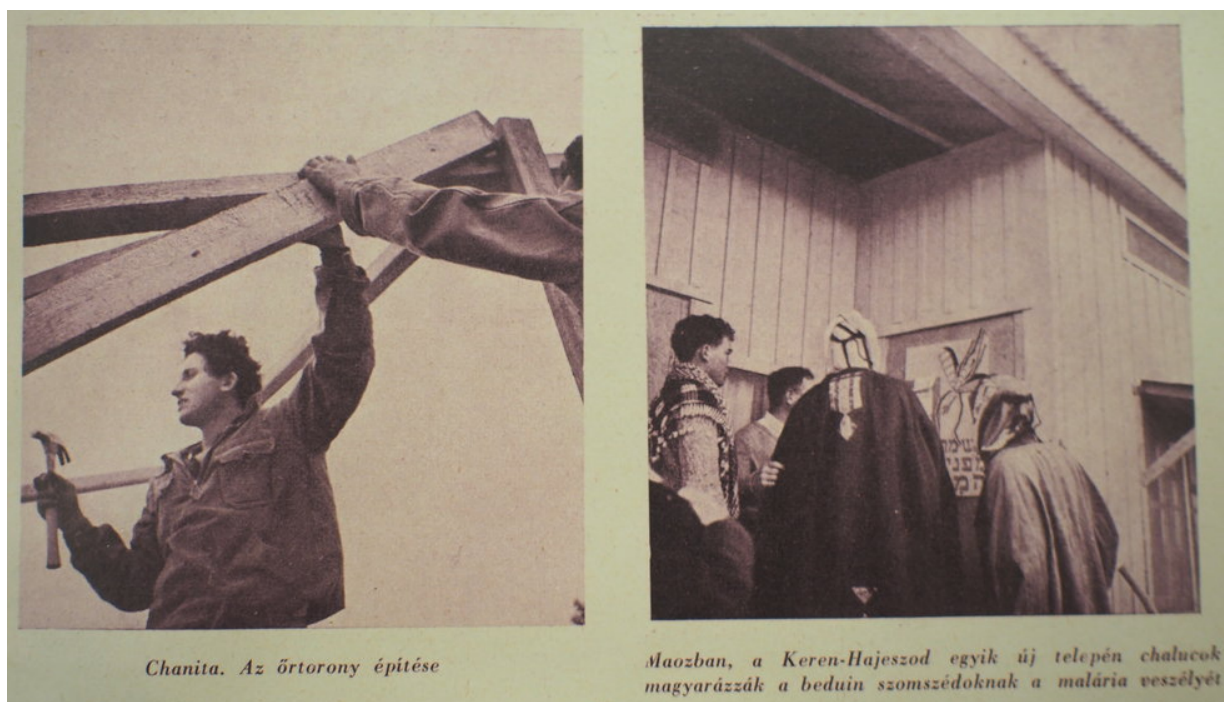
*Illustration 36: Arab és zsidó diskurál. September, 1937.*



*Illustration 37: Békeünnep egy kolónián zsidók és arabok között, tvb. October, 1937.*



*Illustration 38: Zsidó-arab barátkozás. February, 1939.*



*Illustration 39: Chanita. Az őrtorony építése / ... chalucok magyarázzák a beduin szomszédoknak a malária veszélyét. August, 1938.*

What is striking here is that one image of Jew in Hanita is serialized to that of Jews' friendly interacting with the Arabs (illust. 39). Hanita was a frontier settlement of ethnic conflicts. But, what is represented here is that Jews are building a watchtower in Hanita to fight, whereas they are enlightening their neighbors, i.e. Bedouins, "the dangers of malaria." Not only a military Jew of Hanita is reduced to a normal pioneer, but also the event of Hanita itself is deliberately transformed in order to show otherwise, as if Jews and the Arabs were in a nice relationship. Nor in *illustration* 6, he does not particularly represent a Jew amid conflicts. Caption informs of nothing but he is a pioneer, unless the viewers recognize he carries barbed wires. The journal does not disregard Hanita itself as a military base, nor ignore its "occupation/*elfoglalás*,"<sup>153</sup> but photographically never makes it explicit. Recognizing the existence of Hanita as it was, the journal was more intended to show the image of a Jewish-Arab friendship. This attitude of watch-but-be-friends is clear especially in the issue of August, 1938.

As a matter of fact, the authenticity of these 'friendly' photographs is highly questionable – Are they really Arabs? It is difficult to answer this question except to say, by nature, it is easy to camouflage the portrait:<sup>154</sup> the only thing one needs to camouflage portrait is costume and make-up. Not only the locals but tourists were, historically, always fascinated by bedouin fashions.<sup>155</sup> Even among Jews, it was no less true: a famous portrait of Soskin was taken in Bedouin costume.<sup>156</sup> Why then is it absurd to speculate it was simply a Jew in bedouin costume, performing a friendly Arab?<sup>157</sup> I presume, most likely it was the case.

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153. In the issue of April, 1939, there is a photograph named, *Chanita elfoglalása*. And in the issue of May, 1939, there is another photograph, named *Chanita*, in which soldiers with gun on tanks are pictured, however with no particular text attached.

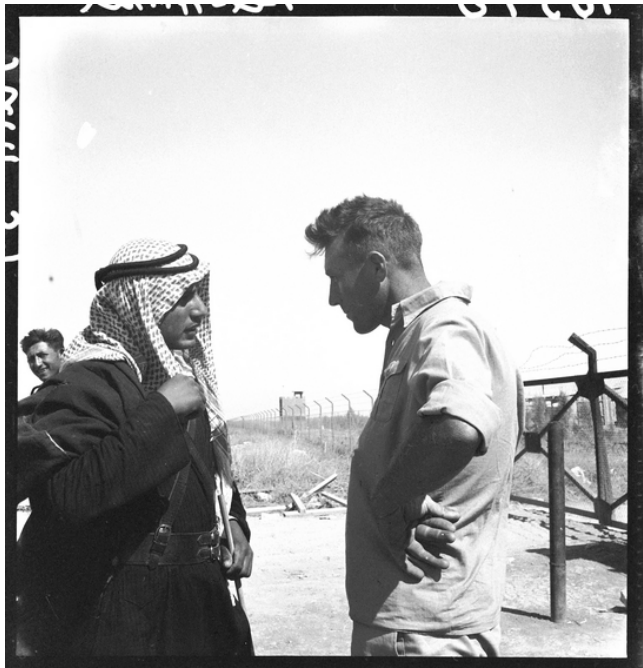
154. Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 28.

155. Yeshayahu Nir, "Phillips, Good, Bonfils and the Human Image in Early Holy Land Photography," *Studies in Visual Communication* 8, no. 4 (1982): 33-45.

156. Silver-Brody, *Documenters*, 111.

157. For instance, see MacDougall's discussion of "staging the body" as a method of colonial photography. (David MacDougall, *The Corporeal Image: Film, Ethnography, and the Senses* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

A few photographs I found at SAI provide a totally different view of the relationship between Jews and the Arabs in Eretz Yisrael, which the journal was mindful to present pleasantly. Even though he rarely worked on non-Jewish subjects, it is obvious that Kluger produced these photographs according to a totally different agenda from the journal's.



*Illustration 40: 1939.  
A meeting between the Bedouin from the area and  
members of Kibbutz Nir David (SAI)*



*Illustration 41: 1939.  
Arab plowing primitively  
near Zichron Yaacov (SAI)*



*Illustration 42: 1939. Arab plowing near Zichron Yaacov (SAI)*

There are three examples. *Illustration 40* shows a meeting of a Jew and Arab, which does not seem pleasant encircled by barbed wires, nor their relationship. Other images show nothing friendly either, especially in the ways in which photographer approached the Arab subjects. Kluger is not interested in showing the Arab subjects themselves but to show the difference between a modern and progressive Jewish cultivation of the land and the “primitive” method of 'others.'

Accordingly, it is plausible to say, the editor of journal had a certain intention to repetitively (re)present the group image of Arabs, totally differently from OPP, i.e. 'Photography in Eretz Yisrael.' Whereas the press prints rather show and emphasize the distance between two different ethnic groups, the journal is exclusively interested in showing – and emphasizing – the intimacy between the same peoples.

Nonetheless, it does not mean that *Múlt és Jövő* was more respectful toward the Arabs. The ways in which they are depicted are so that they are made to appear, not to act, in relation to Jews. For instance, 'the Arabs' is perfectly interchangeable with 'women' in what John Berger writes in *Ways of Seeing*,<sup>158</sup> which can be as follows:

*... '(Jewish) men act and the Arabs appear.' Jewish men look at the Arabs. ...This determines not only most relations between Jewish men and the Arabs but also the relation of the Arabs to themselves. The surveyor of the Arabs in themselves is Jewish male: the surveyed Arabs the female. Thus the Arab turns themselves into an object – and most particularly an object of vision: a sight... The Arab is not naked as they are. They are naked as the spectator sees them.*

A universal image of Jewish (wo)men surveys the Arabs as objects, not as subjects. This is how the technique of 'serializing' Jews and the Arabs functions. The reason why the journal was so obsessed with showing the image of friendly Arabs should be studied further. But, its mode of representation is clearly opposite to what OPP showed of the Arabs, and to what the journal showed of Yemenites.

Except for one photograph I discussed in the beginning, I could not trace any further to find where the journal obtained the photographs. I suppose, most likely they invented by themselves, but in order to argue so, it requires further research on the undiscovered press prints.

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158. See pg. 44.



*Illustration 43: Keleti Zsidó nő Jeruzsálemben.  
January, 1938.*



*Illustration 44: Keleti zsidó nő.  
February, 1939.*

*Múlt és Jövő*, on the other hand, shows a totally different image of Yemenite Jews from the press prints. They are treated, as if they were the Arabs in OPP's press prints, put into more obvious 'serialization.' They are represented as primitive, non-modern, and backward. What they are made to appear is not of 'New Jews' in Eretz Yisrael, not only in what they do for the living, but also in how they look in appearance, whereas the press prints (re)present Yemenite Jews as legitimate members of the new statehood as culture-makers, i.e. working in the field, fighting for the state-to-be-made, and being cheerful and happy to be in Eretz Yisrael.

The two photographs above are identical. The right one was printed in February, 1939, almost a year after since it was first printed in January, 1938, when she was put in contrast to the portrait of Avigdor Hameiri. When it was printed for the second time, this photograph was placed in contrast to a painting of beautiful modern Jewish woman. She is made to appear as a primitive, eccentric, and somehow seducing woman, which, according to the ideology of masculinity, is a

threat to the healthy and masculine body of (wo)men and their society. Apparently, the authenticity of this photograph is also again questionable – is she really a Jewish woman? This photograph seems to be taken on the stage, not in a straightforward circumstance. The lighting is even, flat, and at the same time quite dramatic, as if it were a footage from the movie.

Normally in the journal, there is no photograph of Yemenites only. They are almost always put into one picture with those of 'New Jews' in layout. Normally they are made to appear as objects of observation in relation to 'New Jews.'



*Illustration 45: Chaluca. Intellektuel. ... Jemenita nő.  
November, 1938.*

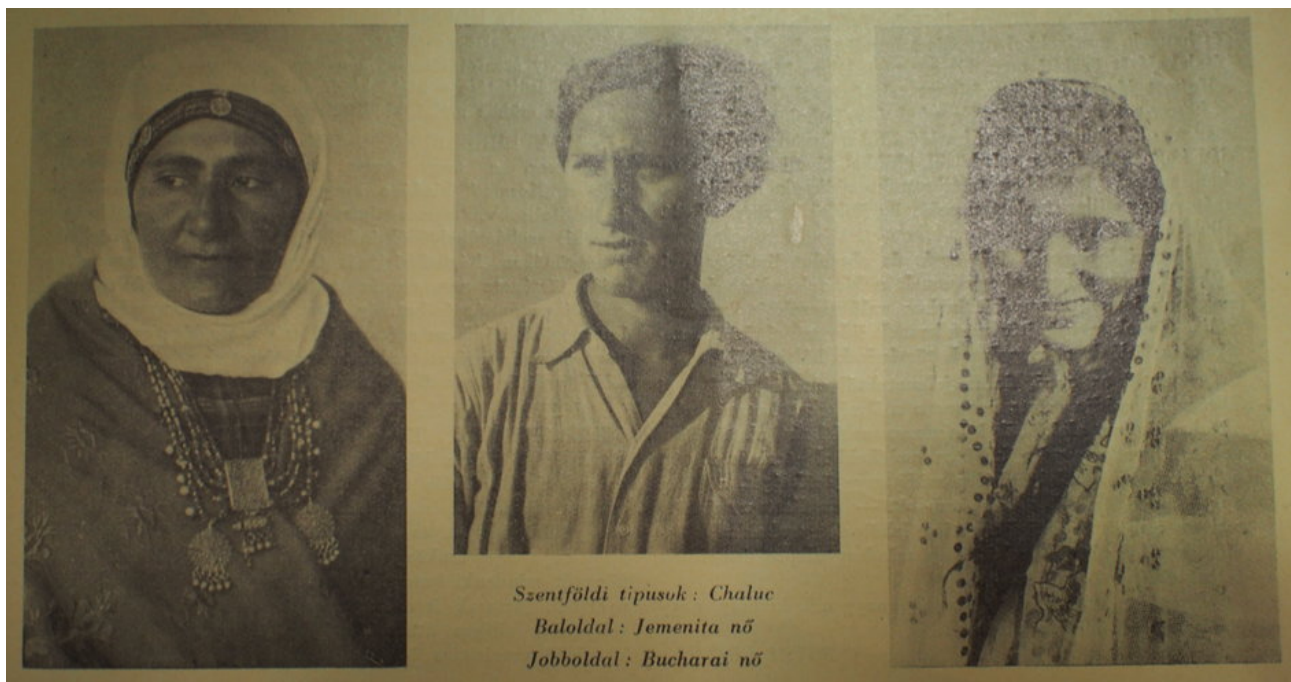


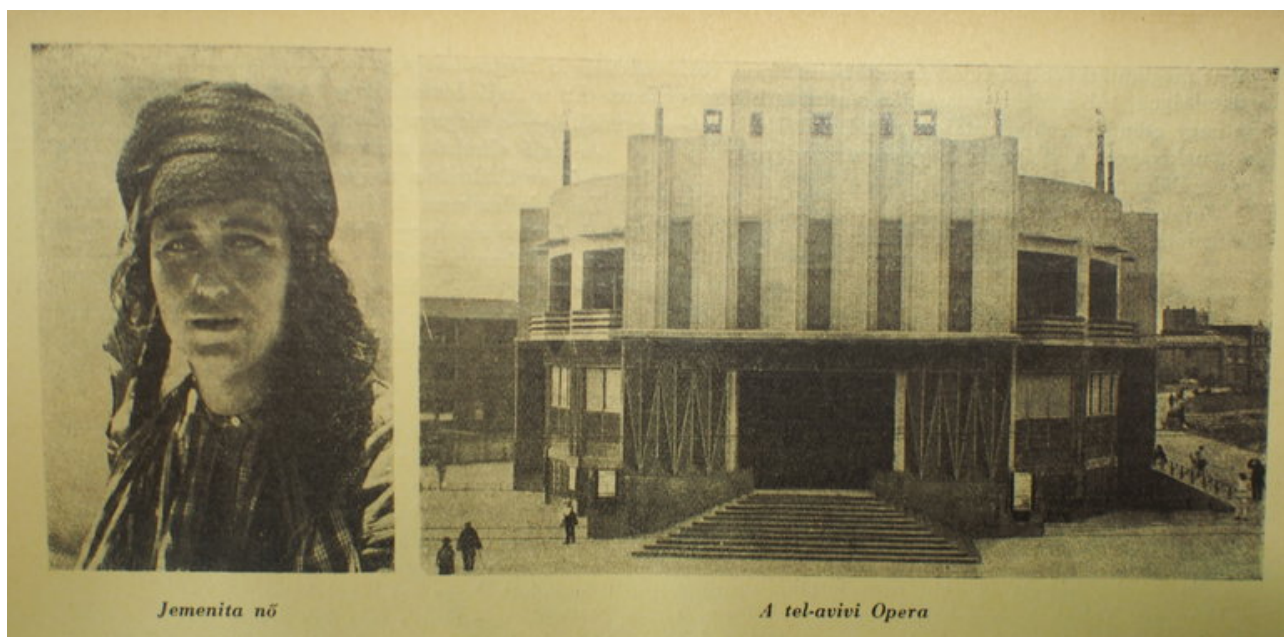
Illustration 46: Chaluc. / Jemenita nő. / Bucharai nő. November, 1933.



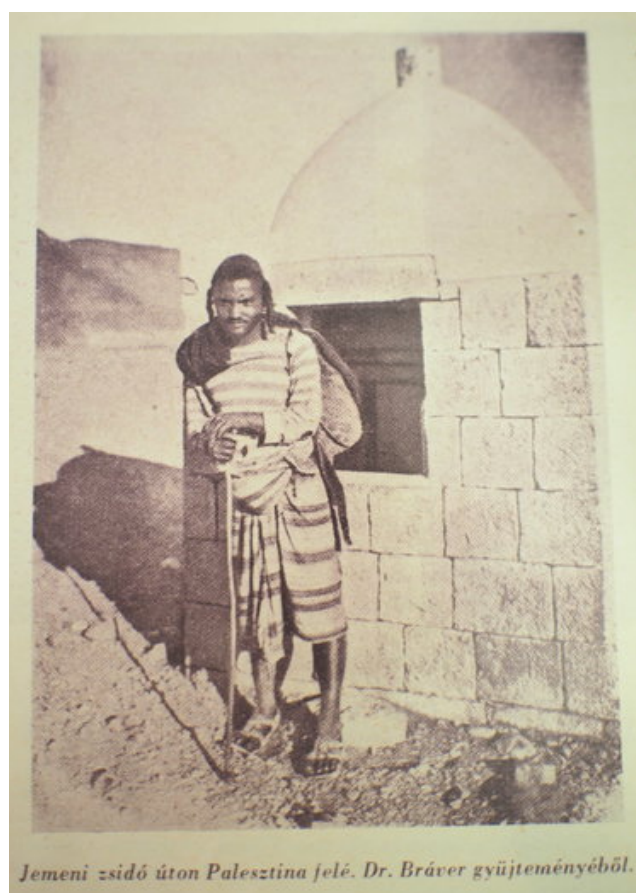
Illustration 47: Chaluca munkában. / Palesztinai arab nő. / Egyiptomi arab nő. October, 1937.

The photograph in the middle is found at the archive, numbered PHKH 1291102.

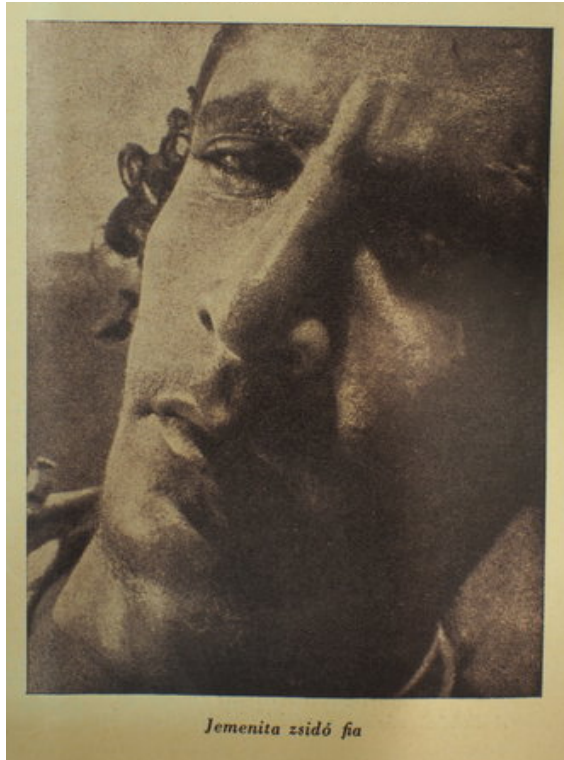
Captioned: Girls' Farm, Ayanot. Cutting Bulrushes [No Date Given] (CZA)



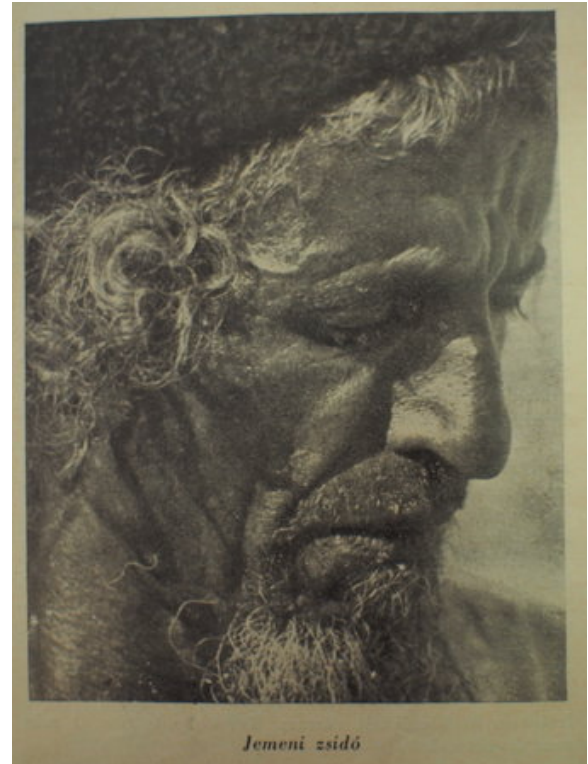
*Illustration 48: Jemenita nő. / A tel-avivi Opera. December, 1933.*



*Illustration 49: Jemeni zsidó úton Palesztia felé.  
October, 1938.*



*Illustration 50: Jemenita zsidó fia.  
July-August, 1937.*



*Illustration 51: Jemeni zsidó.  
August, 1939.*

The photographs above are in opposite to what one sees from the portraits of new Jewish (wo)men, being built and building in the new Jewish national homeland. The portraits above are, unlike those of 'New Jews,' looking down. There is no optimism in their face. Nor any promise can be found from their gaze. These ways of showing Yemenites' sadness, exhaustion, weakness, and femininity characterizes a 'countertype' of 'New Jews,' which *Múlt és Jövő* showed to their audience in the interwar period.

Not only as residents in Eretz Yisrael they are treated as 'outsiders,' but also as refugees. While members of German Youth Aliyah on the boat are full of pride, hope, and dream of living a new life, the complexion of oriental Jews on the boat has nothing common with what their German counterpart represents. In the issue of March, 1939, there are some photographs of the German Youth Aliyah on the boat, which the images of Yemenite Jews follow a few pages after.



*Jugend-Alijah-val a „Gerusalemme“ fedélzetén*

*Illustration 52: Jugend-Alijah-val a „Gerusalemme“ fedélzetén. March, 1939.*



*Keleti zsidók a hajón*

*Illustration 53: Keleti zsidók a hajón. March, 1939.*

However, this way of treating Yemenites is opposite to the press prints. Silver-Brody argues that since the late 1920s, there were more interests in Yemenites to replace the Arab workers for home-construction of Jewish nation. She cites a letter to Leo Kahn from KKL, which goes: “The importance of haste cannot be overstated. The Yemenites replace Arab worker in the colonies. With a little effort we can achieve a great deal. We should not advertise this matter too openly in the press as there could be difficulties of a political nature.”<sup>159</sup> Kluger photographed Yemenites according to his commissioner's desire to present them as potential members of their statehood-to-become. In his photographs, they should be working and fighting, and, just as other Europe-born Jews, they all look pleasant being in their new circumstance.



*Illustration 54: 1939. Work in the Field. Village Elyashiv (SAI)*

159. Silver-Brody, *Documenters*, 171.



*Illustration 55: 1939. Portrait of a family of immigrants from Yemen, Village Elyashiv (SAI)*



*Illustration 56: 1939.  
Portrait sits immigrants from Yemen, Village  
Elyashiv (SAI)*



*Illustration 57:  
1939. Portrait, Village Elyashiv (SAI)*



*Illustration 58:  
1939. Portrait Gfir- Hebrew Community policeman, a Village Elyashiv (SAI)*



*Illustration 59: 1939.  
Yemeni armed guard of the countryside, Village Elyashiv (SAI)*

Presumably, the journal was interested in exclusively showing 'European faces' of Zionist project, because besides Yemenites, other non-Ashkenazic Jews in the journal are also silenced of their origins. For instance, *Illustration 9* with caption of 'Building in Hule' was originally of a Greek Jew. His individuality is reduced to a simple pioneer. However in order to argue so, it requires further research on the undiscovered press prints to conduct a more intensive comparative study.

József Patai's "socialist thinking"<sup>160</sup> he writes he learnt for Jewish laborers in his childhood seems totally absent for Yemenites, at least in the ways in which he presents their portraits in Eretz Yisrael. They are classified as different 'type' by means of photography, reduced to mere objects in comparison to 'New Jews.'

Thus, it is possible to claim, whereas *Múlt és Jövő* used Yemenites as a 'countertype' of 'New Jews,' OPP used the Arabs as their counter-image. Both of them aimed to canonize the universal group self-image of 'New Jews,' according to the style of Europe at the time, i.e. masculinity, and (re)presented the image of self-naturalization. Accordingly they define a clear border of in- and outsiders of the community. In the meanwhile those images (re)present the ongoing process of Jews' independently retaining their space and time in Eretz Yisrael as culture-makers, never subjected to others' any longer, and never again.

## 2.5. Conclusion: Boundary Disappears Between Cultures, and Sexualities, But 'Countertype(s)'

Culture-making of 'New Jews' in Eretz Yisrael is documented by means of photography. As a result, 'culture' is naturalized in a coherent image of Jewish (wo)men and of their coexistence for each other as well as with nature: one picture of 'Jewish culture' with no specificity was designed as a virtual reality. The images of their new lives in Eretz Yisrael were publicized, through which their return to the land was mass-witnessed. Its mode of representation is natural and coherent, just as the *idea* of 'culture' itself yearns to become of. Photography naturalized it as one dimension of 'the

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160. Patai, *Middle Gate*, 70-6.

system of Zionist iconography.'

Photography of Jewish culture-making, i.e. photography of 'New Jews,' represented the ideal self-image of being Jewish in their native land. Throughout those images, the *idea* of Zionism that the Jewish body, which had been previously viewed feminine and unhygienic, were proven to be eligible to change was represented. At least in its representation, their body became of a “site of preoccupation, alteration, transformation and even re-invention ... a new self-consciousness about social, cultural and sexual identity.”<sup>161</sup> This new image of masculine Jews remarked a reconciliation between sexualities, i.e. between cultural men and natural women, which was representatively emphasized in contrast to the existence of negative 'countertype.' This one general culture being made was also to eradicate the old boundaries between various cultures of Jews in Diaspora. That is, for instance, a German Jewish culture shall disappear by their active participation in the act of culture-making. Thus, the act of culture-making in Eretz Yisrael was to eradicate the specificities of a number of diasporic cultures and to generate a cohesive self-image of one natural Jewish national culture. Or simply, it was a reconciliation between men and nature, i.e. accommodation of Jewish cultural men and natural women within the picture of one national culture of 'New Jews' in Eretz Yisrael, opposed to that of 'countertype(s).'

Portraits of the 'New Jews' constitute one large portfolio of the group of new Jewish people, i.e. a collection of normative and generalizing 'stereotype(s).' There is no individual represented but the collective self-image in it: the group is, as Siegfried Kracauer notes, is “a pure tool of the ideas,” in which a concept of individuality never exists but as a mere abstraction.<sup>162</sup> That is, it was the *idea*

161. Wilk, “Healthy Body Culture,” 251.

162. “... instead of being made up of fully developed individuals, the group contains only reduced selves, abstractions of people; it is a pure *tool of the idea* and nothing else. But is it surprising that people who are no longer fully in control of themselves act differently from people who are still in complete possession of their selves? ... instead of many individuals striving to realize an idea there are now lots of creatures dependent on the idea and living through its grace. These creatures are compelled by the idea itself – but only by this idea – and would have to founder in insubstantiality were they to perceive themselves as something existing apart from it. The idea does not dawn on them but instead creates them. It is not they who realize the idea, but the other way around: it realizes and breathes life into them. There is good reason to speak of group individuality as if it were an independent being. For these partial-selves, these half-creations and quarter-creations, are born only in the course of preparations for collective actions (that is, in the group meeting); they do not reside within the separate individuals, but arise only out of the union of the individuals into spiritual entities that have detached themselves from these individuals and can exist only in the group. ... The life span of a group is determined primarily, though

of 'Jewish culture' that dominated and determined the mode of photographic representation: so was it in the journal of *Múlt és Jövő*, as a journal of Cultural Zionism, edited by a talented poet of acute and strategic visual sensibility. Moreover, those who engaged in culture-making were to be central, active, and subjective also in space- and time-making(s) of being newly Jewish in Eretz Yisrael. Their new body, and 'state,' which the new body of Jews is to materialize, is situated in – and conditioned by – new national landscape of 'Jewish Palestine', where their cultural productivity should be enhanced as much as possible for the ultimate goal of nation-building, i.e. the awakening of Jewish people from two-thousand-year-long absence in their native land.

Obviously, it was never a picture of real life, but of 'Zionist utopia.' Teddy Kollek, a former mayor of Jerusalem for nearly thirty years as well as a Hungary-born Jew, answered during Ruth Oren's interview as follows: “If we want to show a life, we must show a lot of different things.”<sup>163</sup> In this respect, photography was used to to represent a virtual reality, which should substitute a concrete reality, as if Alfred Stieglitz once famously said concerning the nature of photography: “... there is a reality so subtle that it becomes more real than reality.” Those who encountered the pictures of a new Jewish world(view) during the interwar period in Hungary must have seen this subtleness.

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not entirely, by that of the goal in whose service the group constituted itself; ...” (Kracauer, “The Groups,” 151-2, 158.)

163. Ruth Oren, “The Customers Want to See the Building and I am Looking for Something Beautiful: Three Utopian Visions of Zionist landscape Photography in Israel 1898-1963,” in *Utopie: Memoire e Imaginaire*, ed. Ruth Amar and Ilana Zinguer (Essen: Verlag die Blaue Eule, 2008), 258.

### CHAPTER 3: SPACE-MAKING

*A man is nothing but a little plot of land,  
A man is not but the mould of his native landscape.*

Shaul Tchernichovsky

*Man is Nothing But ...*

1925

*Photography presents a spatial continuum: historicism seeks to provide the temporal continuum.  
... Historicism is concerned with the photography of time. ...*

Siegfried Kracauer

*Photography*

1927

*When we 'see ' a landscape, we situate ourselves in it. If we 'saw' the art of the past, we would situate ourselves in history. When we are prevented from seeing it, we are being deprived of the history which belongs to us. ... In the end, the art of the past is being mystified because as privileged minority is striving to invent a history which can retrospectively justify the role of the ruling classes, and such a justification can no longer make sense in modern times. And so, inevitably, it mystifies. ...*

...

*Today, we see the art of the past as nobody saw it before. We actually perceive it in a different way. This difference can be illustrated in terms of what was thought of as perspective. The convention of perspective, which is unique to European art and which was first established in the early Renaissance, centers everything on the eye of the beholder. ... Perspective makes the single eye the center of the visible world. Everything converges on to the eye as to the vanishing point of infinity. The visible world is arranged for the spectator as the universe was once thought to be arranged for God.*

John Berger

*Ways of Seeing*

### 3.0. Introduction: Photography of Space-Making (Theory)

“Photography presents a spatial continuum.”<sup>164</sup> The space in the pictured (micro-space) is able to represent the rest of the world (macro-space) a photograph does not necessarily provide a view by itself. This is how a 'camera-reality functions spatially. In its mode of representation, the medium can even extend the individual realm/space(s) to the larger space, such as of 'landscape.'

The Jewish culture of Eretz Yisrael is (re)presented by the image of new Jewish (wo)men. Or simply, their body turns into a microcosmos of new Jewish culture in general,<sup>165</sup> according to which they have achieved a reconciliation of individual (wo)men and nature. However, what their body represents must be extended – and homogeneously rationalized or appropriated<sup>166</sup> – to a general space of 'Jewish Palestine' so that their body can fully represent the new community, or vice versa: a general space of community, culture, and nature, should be also harmonized in the body of new mankind. Photography of 'space-making' in Eretz Yisrael is, in short, photography of extending their body to one general realm/space(s) of 'Jewish Palestine' as a whole as well as condensing the later to the former. The whole Palestine should be (re)presented as a space of Jewish 'cultural production.' In this chapter, I study how this general space of 'Jewish Palestine' is (re)presented through two perspectives: cultural and natural landscape(s).

A reconciliation achieved between men and nature within the body of individual space(s) should be continued to represent a reconciliation of the Jewish people and nature of Palestine as a whole. This continuum was documented photographically in virtue of its 'believability.' The act of culture-making, i.e. body-making, could be the act of space-making: the body, culture, and space should be pictured within the same 'landscape.' Or, it was intended to accommodate a new Jewish national culture within the natural ancient landscape of 'Jewish Palestine.' This landscape

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164. See pg. 83.

165. Henri Lefebvre, *Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 170.

166. Ibid., 97; Henri Lefebvre, *Writing s on Cities*, trans. Elenore Kofman and elizabeth Lebas (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996), 174.

as the “psycho-cultural space”<sup>167</sup> of Jewish nation was mass-publicized, for which photography, a tool of juxtaposing artificialities of culture and nature in one picture, was proven to be most suitable.

Although a photograph is essentially bound to a specific space and time as it is, what it represents does not have to be so. In its mode of representation, photographs are ambivalent, “taken out of continuity”<sup>168</sup> both in space and time, particularly when it is publicly (re)produced. Its space and time should be anyhow generalized so that it is able to communicate in public. Its mode of representation should be designed spatially and temporally, for instance by captioning, editing, cropping, serializing, and layout, i.e. manipulation, so that it can relate the particular to a general point of (world)view, i.e. communicate a particular viewpoint as a total and cohesive perspective,<sup>169</sup> which Mitchell states conveys a natural visionary in spite of its being essentially an 'artificial perspective.' In 'Zionist Photography,' it was 'culture' that determined the mode of its general representation in space and time.

### 3.1. Photography of 'Jewish Palestine' (Natural, Ancient, and Cultural Landscape)

Ever since Simon Schama's book, *Landscape and Memory*, landscape has been studied as a major site of myth and of individual/collective memory.<sup>170</sup> In Cultural Zionism especially, Eretz Yisrael was indeed considered as a site of collective memory of the Jewish people, where their spiritual and cultural productivity should be maximized to trigger for their final historic(al) return to the land, i.e. a call upon their native land for redemption as a people of God, which had been dreamed of for two thousand years in Diaspora.

167. Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan, ed. *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003).

168. Berger and Mohr, *Another Way of Telling*.

169. This methodology is similar to that of montage, which juxtaposes different images to create a natural picture, overcome spatial or temporal specificities, and achieve one general worldview. For a theoretical reference, see Sergei Eisenstein, *The Film Sense*, trans. Jay Leyda (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1969).

170. “... landscape is 'a repository of memory both individual and collective ... [and] is a site of and for identity.’” (Shelley Egoz, “Landscape and Identity: Beyond a Geography of One Place,” in *The Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies*, ed. Peter Howard, Ian Thompson, and Emma Waterton (New York: Routledge, 2012), 274.)

Martin Buber, a theorist of Jewish national art, wrote to Hermann Struck in 1904, and he praised Struck's achievement in creating – and providing a *felt* perspective of – the 'Jewish-seen' landscape of Palestine.<sup>171</sup> It is a brief but honest confession of Buber's. Through the picture of the landscape, he experienced the 'Jewish Palestine,' internalizing the site of Jewish memory, not the Palestine of Christians, nor the Orient to consume. In years to come, the Bezalel Academy was launched and it started to promote biblical art as the truest expression of Jewish national history: by the 1920s, landscape became a major genre of art production in Eretz Yisrael that occupied some 40 percent of the exhibits.<sup>172</sup> That is, landscape was then already established as a collective perspective to transmit the mode of national imagination. “Zion is,” W.J.T. Mitchell argues, “not just an abstract to concept: it is a place, a land, and a landscape”<sup>173</sup> and the landscape “can become an idol, ... a false god that displaces the true one with a material image, and leads inexorably to the violation of every commandment, not just the prohibition on idolatry.”<sup>174</sup>

Just as HLP reserved the Holy Land only for the Western Christian, 'Zionist Photography' intended to reserve the same landscape only as a 'Jewish-seen' Palestine. Photography was used, again, to mass-publicize the “psycho-cultural space,” where the people claimed their rights to possess and belong to. Pragmatically, 'Zionist Photography' publicized the images of the land's regeneration, i.e. “improvement,”<sup>175</sup> which their predecessors, i.e. Christians and the Arabs, had failed but turned into a desert.<sup>176</sup> Photography was utilized to claim their legitimate rights to Eretz Yisrael as the only people eligible to cultivate this land by the initiatives of 'New Jews,' visually, aesthetically, and internationally.

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171. Martin Buber's letter to Herman Struck in 1904, which goes: “In your landscapes, I see the first step to a discovery of Palestine for the eye of our soul and for Jewish feeling. ... it appears to me as 'Jewishly-seen' Palestine, ... through true Jewish 'feeling' and great effort.” (Vivian Mann, *Jewish Texts on the Visual Arts*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 146.)

172. Manor, *Art in Zion*, 115.

173. W.J.T. Mitchell, “Holy Landscape: Israel, Palestine, and the American Wilderness,” *Critical Inquiry* no.2 (2000): 213.

174. Ibid., 194.

175. Ibid., 198.

176. Ilan Troen, *Imagining Zion: Dreams, Designs, and Realities in a Century of Jewish Settlement* (New Haven: Yale university Press, 2003).

Shelley Egoz notes, "...Zionist identity-building is too charged with compound landscape narratives: a return to an ancient 'biblical' landscape along with a modern, pioneering ethos of building and physically rerooting in the landscape."<sup>177</sup> Thus, in order to study such landscapes, it is necessary to consider this mode of representation rather as a 'social construct with narratives and symbolic meanings,'<sup>178</sup> not as innocent art of daily-life. Indeed, landscape was "an expression of national pride, the uniqueness of a 'land' and its people, and as a response to an international 'world economy' centered in the metropolitan cultures ..."<sup>179</sup>

The landscape defined a space, where a Jewish national pride and their belonging should be grounded. There are two ways of representing the landscape of 'Jewish Palestine': the cultural and natural (ancient) landscape. The former satisfied the modern ethos of Zionist dream, i.e. the landscape redeemed by the Jewish hands: and the later was to satisfy their historic(al) state of being Jewish in Eretz Yisrael, i.e. the land of Jewish Kingdom, David, and Solomon. These two kinds of landscape were compounded to create one general picture of 'Jewish space' of Palestine, where new Jewish culture and their history should be awakened, i.e. a picture of reconciliation between the Jewish people and nature, as well as of accommodation of the new Jewish national culture within historic(al) landscape.

### 3.2. The Dead Sea Type: 'The Natural Ancient Landscape'<sup>180</sup>

What I argue here is natural ancient landscape of 'Jewish Palestine,' which is represented by means of photography. This is largely a landscape of 'Belated Romanticism,'<sup>181</sup> which dramatizes the scenery of Jewish ancient history in Palestine into a vast platform of modern Jewish history. It is a

177. Egoz, "Landscape and Identity," 274.

178. Marc Antrop, "A Brief History of Landscape Research," in *The Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies*, ed. Peter Howard, Ian Thompson, and Emma Waterton (New York: Routledge, 2012), 16.

179. W.J.T. Mitchell, "Gombrich and the Rise of Landscape," in *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Images, Object, Text* (London: Routledge, 1995), 113.

180. I use terms, 'the Dead Sea Type' and 'the Kibbutz type,' inspired from Werner Brown's comment, which goes: "This is a photograph I took two thousand years ago [of the Dead Sea] ... Two thousand years ago it was exactly the same. But this one is not, this is the kibbutz type." (Oren, "The Customers," 257.)

181. See Zakim, *To Build and Be Built*.

two-thousand-year-old landscape, which has never changed since Jews left the land. This natural landscape of Palestine is a mirror of 'the past,' which should be 'repeated as present,'<sup>182</sup> as well as a frontier of the new Jewish culture. What it represents is not only mythical, but realistic and tangible. Those who are engaged in historic culture-making should represent pioneers as well as those who are presently in touch with the historical antiquity. They transmit a perspective so that the viewers can interact with the historic(al) landscape.

Those who documented landscapes of 'Jewish Palestine' were interested in photographically (re)presenting this duality of ancient natural landscape: mythical and tangible. Beno Rothenberg, a photographer and archaeologist at UCL, spoke to Ruth Oren: "Desert ... There was land: we would develop it, a new landscape, a new country, new nation. ... In the desert you see everything."<sup>183</sup> Photography of ancient natural landscape was, in other words, photography of national archaeology, which should direct the ways in which Jewish people should cultivate their homeland in this old-rooted landscape.

In this respect, Giulio Argan summarizes nature of 'artistic return to the ancient' as follows:

*The return to the ancient or, more precisely, the palingenesis of the ancient is the very meaning of the history of art as cyclical and non-evolutive history. Ancient images reach the new humanistic culture through the obscurity, indistinctness, and irrationality of the Middle Ages, a fact which once again demonstrates their survival in the depths and their transmission along with the very influx of existence.*<sup>184</sup>

Photographing the national ancient landscape not simply remarks a return to the origin of nation, but also is the very act of birth-giving of 'the new humanistic culture.' It is a return to the history in order to redemonstrate their persistent "survival in the depth and their transmission along with the very influx of existence."

182. "... 'the past' is not remembered as past, but is repeated as present." (McQuire, *Visions of Modernity*, 170.)

183. Oren, "Photography Has Taught Me Two Things."

184. Giulio Carlo Argan, "Ideology and Iconology," in *The Language of Images*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 16.



Észak-Galileai tájkép — Nord-Galiläische Landschaft

(Photo Kluger Talaric)

Illustration 60:  
*Észak-Gelileai tájkép. January, 1937. Credited to Z.  
Kluger (Cover)*



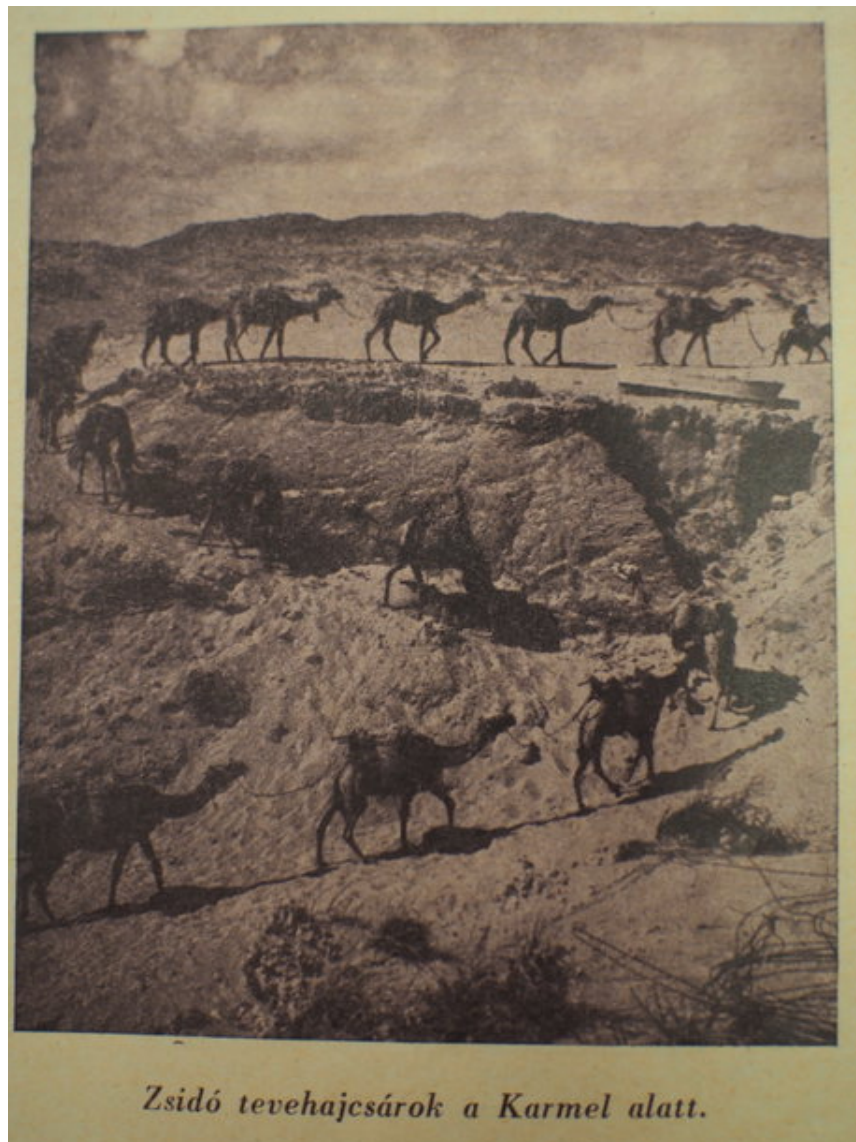
*Metulla körül, Felsőgalilea határán*



*Kilátás Kánaán hegyéről Szefedre, a régi kabbalisták városára Felsőgalileában*

*Illustration 61: Metulla a körül. Kilátás Kánaán hegyéről Szefedre. May, 1938. (Cover)*

*Illustration 61* was printed as a front-cover of the issue in May, 1938. On the top, it shows a landscape of rock and farms, i.e. a frontier of Jewish National Home. This is a gateway towards the new world, substituted by a photograph of the bottom, which directs the viewers' eyes to an old city of mysticism, Safed. This layouting lets the viewers 'see' the future in the visionary of past, i.e. the mystic past reveals itself as a vision of future. The other side of cover follows, showing pioneers pridefully walking in the field to open up the 'new Galilea,' i.e. Hanita, in contrast to the primitive Arabs at the bottom of page.



*Illustration 62: Zsidó tevehajcsárok a Karmel alatt. May, 1939.*

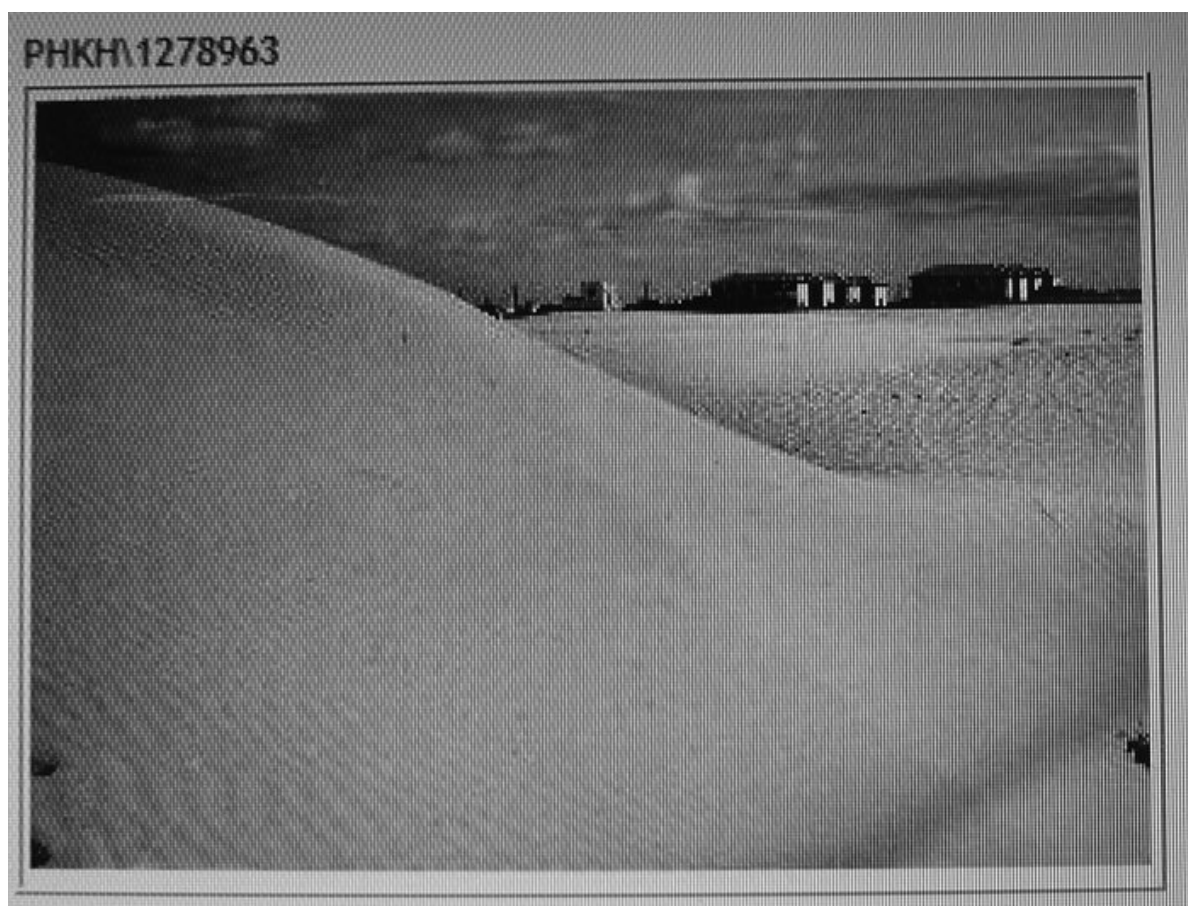
Jews' collective coexistence with nature is, also, articulated photographically. For instance in *Illustration 62*, unlike the portrait of 'New Jews,' Jews the pictured do not show their face or body. It is an abstract picture, were it not for caption. But, the viewers are informed that this is an image of Jews at Mt. Carmel. This scenery is not novel, however caption lets the viewers 'see' the ancient life of two thousand years ago. This is naturally but carefully composed with the strong light, which is a secret recipe of landscape photography. Werner Brown spoke: "The most difficult to photograph is the landscape. In landscape photography you have to play with the light and the composition. If you don't it is [terribly] boring. ... I remember I have something very cute with Arabs and a camel. At least I have something suitable to the whole atmosphere."<sup>185</sup> A secret of landscape photography is to discover and arrest "something suitable to the whole atmosphere." Even though 'New Jews' are not clearly presented, the image of new collective existence of Jewish people – abstractly with no face – in nature is transmitted through the camels under the strong sunlight.<sup>186</sup>



*Illustration 63: Zsidó csendőrőrszem a Jordánon.  
January, 1938.*

185. Oren, "The Customers," 256.

186. See my reference to Rubin's paintings. Also see footnote 147-8.



*Illustration 64: PHKH 1278963. Captioned: View of Kiryath Avodah, Tel Aviv (CZA)*

Although this photograph is not published in *Múlt és Jövő*, this image summarizes a perfect juxtaposition of ancient natural landscape and cityscape to be built. This is a view from the south of today's Tel Aviv. It represents a vision of Zionism: Jews shall achieve their self-realization from the sand, building their houses by their hands as well as naturalizing themselves through it. This vision was publicized not only through the portraits of 'New Jews,' but also through the landscapes, which is linked to the site of mythical antiquity and the promise of new life overcoming the sand. "The landscape," W.J.T. Mitchell says, "becomes a magical object, an idol that demands human sacrifice, a place where symbolic, imaginary, and real violence implode on an actual social space."<sup>187</sup> This natural ancient landscape magically represents the future of Jewish National Home, continued from their past of antiquity via desert, where 'New Jews' should devote themselves.

<sup>187</sup> Mitchell, "Holy Landscape," 207.



*A Jordán folyó (Z. Kluger légifelvétele)*

*Illustration 65:  
A Jordán folyó. August, 1939. Credited to Z.Kluger (Cover)*

### 3.3. The Kibbutz Type: 'From Desert/Swamp to Settlement'

The kibbutz-type landscape is where the new culture of Jewish people in Eretz Yisrael is realized within the picture of natural ancient landscape. It is not merely directive towards the future from the past as in natural ancient landscape, but rather interested in (re)presenting a general picture of new Jewish culture's accomplishments. It is a picture of their being successfully transplanted to – and newly rooted in – Eretz Yisrael. Or, it is a picture of 'Jewish Palestine' spatially accommodating the 'New Jews' so that they can fulfill their life bound to the land.



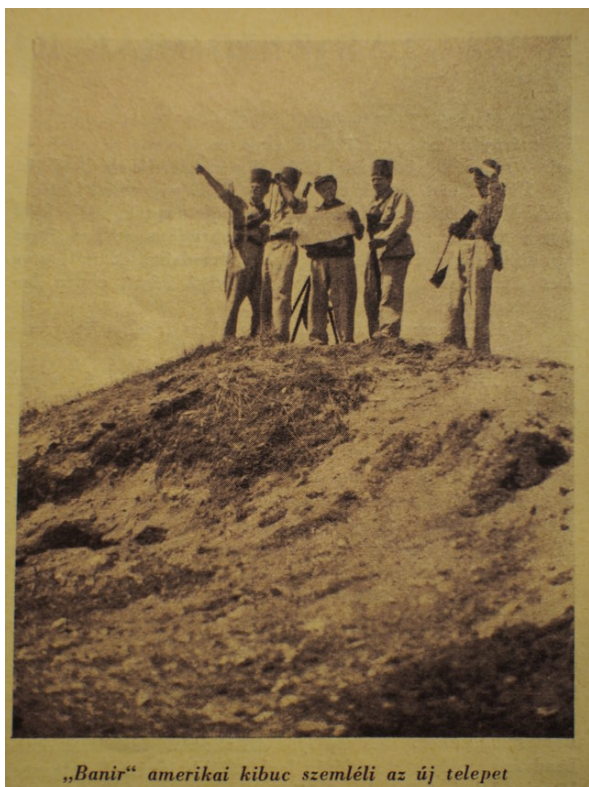
*Illustration 66: Vonat a narancsosok között.  
August, 1939. Credited to Z. Kluger*



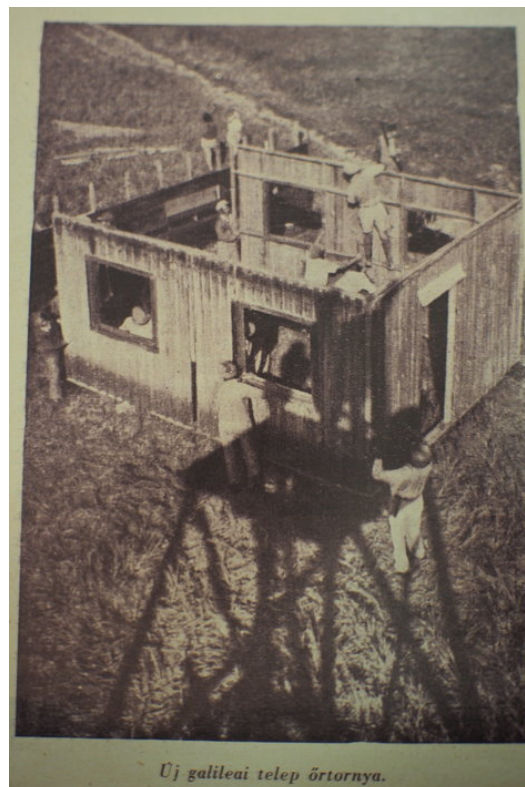
*Illustration 67: Beth-Jozséf vasútállomása. Az első vonat az új kolónián.  
August, 1938 (Cover)*

While the 'root' of 'New Jews' is emphasized in natural ancient landscape, cultural landscape is more of 'stem,' and 'flowers,' i.e. accomplishment(s). *Illustration 66* is a snapshot of the clean and fertile farm, somewhere between two cities, connected by a new railway. Although it is not possible to see the rest of railway, it is easy to imagine that this fertile field would be possibly spreading from the window of train. Space outside the pictured is continued to the rest of unseen (world)view.

A photograph above is worth mentioning the composition. Thematically, it must have been enough to photograph the train, but a photographer chose to shoot two-thirds of the frame for the ground, on which train and people should encounter. The origin, where the historic deeds of 'New Jews' derive from, is the historical land. This historic(al) landscape is clearly visualized in another photographs as well.



„Banir“ amerikai kibuc szemléli az új telepet  
Illustration 68: „Banir“ amerikai kibuc szemléli az új telepet. May, 1938.



Új galileai telep őrtornya.  
Illustration 69: Új galileai telep őrtornya. December, 1938.



Chanita, új telep Galileában (A Keren Hayeszod jubileuma alkalmából)  
Illustration 70: Chanita, új telep Galileában (KH jubileuma alkalmából). December, 1941.



*Chalucok utat építenek Natanja mellett a tengerparton — Strassenbau bei Natanja*



*Telaviv új negyede — Neues Viertel in Telaviv*

*Illustration 71: Chalucok utat építenek Natanja mellett a tengerparton.  
Telaviv új negyede. February, 1937 (Cover)*



*Illustration 72: A telavivi kikötő építésének indulása. July-August, 1936.*

On the other hand, photographs of Tel Aviv the cityscape show a different perspective. The land does not dominate the frame, nor human faces, but the construction. For instance in cover of the issue of February, 1937, the land-centered and the construction-centered images are put to contrast in the same layout. The hierarchy between urban and suburban landscapes is clear, at least in photographic representation: it is the landscape of Eretz Yisrael that dominates and is superior to the cityscape. This is also a landscape of historic(al) character, which is vitalized by the presence of 'New Jews.' They should be found more in the landscape rather than in the cityscape.

Apparently, Tel Aviv was born out of the sand. It was a city, which conquered the sand and realized itself as a center of the Hebrew culture. What is represented here is that its origin should be found in the land, not in people, only upon which Jews can establish a new culture. What they build is a subject of admiration, but only to the extent that it is firmly grounded on Eretz Yisrael. In this respect, what Beno Rothenberg says is significant: "Eretz Yisrael was a starting point."<sup>188</sup> Camera recorded the process of the land giving birth to the 'New Jews,' as well as being redeemed by their hands.

188. See footnote 72.



*Illustration 73: 1939. Swamps (Tel Amal- Nir David) (SAI).*

Also from swamps, 'New Jews' had to build the landscape of new home. In this photograph above Kluger produced, again, pioneers are rooted in the land. The idea of 'what they build should emerge from the natural landscape' is present in here also. *Múlt és Jövő* published a few images to show how swamps had transformed. In these pictures again, pioneers are present without face. This is an abstract photograph, but caption enables the viewers to see what it should represent so that they can find an intimate relationship between nature the cultivated and 'New Jew' the cultivator, i.e. culture-maker. Water runs where they cultivate, and they build new houses. Their interaction with nature is directly linked to betterment of their new life in Eretz Yisrael in general, from which their happiness of being at national home should spring out.



Illustration 74: Öntözési betoncsatorna – ahol azelőtt mocsár volt. February, 1937.

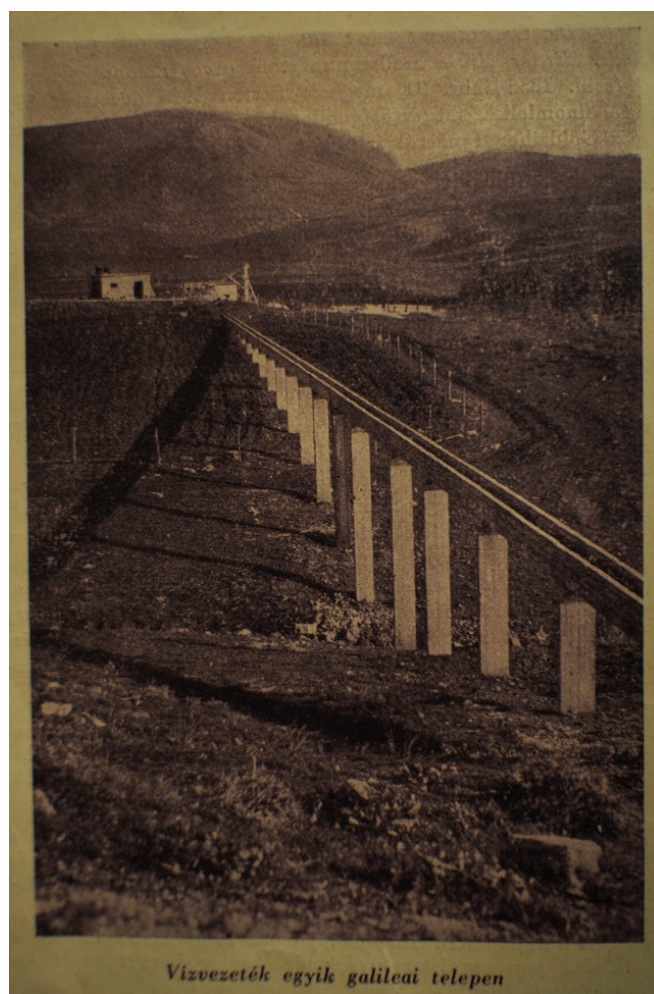


Illustration 75: Vízvezeték egyik galileai telepen. May, 1938.

### 3.4. Conclusion: Boundary Disappears Between the People and Nature

*Illustration 31* perfectly depicts what a new landscape of 'Jewish Palestine' should represent. This landscape is designed so that it accommodates the Jewish (wo)men, i.e. 'New Jews,' within the picture of one cultural, natural, and ancient space of 'Jewish Palestine.' Boundary disappears, not only between cultures and sexualities, but also between the people and nature. This disappearance reshapes historic(al) memory of being Jewish in Eretz Yisarel. Ruth Oren states that it is a “natural dramatic landscape”<sup>189</sup> that photography visualized. But, it seems truer to say, it is a 'psycho-cultural space within the historic(al) landscape,' which photography represented. It is a historic landscape because of cultural accomplishments, and also it is a historical landscape for Jews. This is how landscape was designed to represent the picture of one space of 'Jewish Palestine,' as 'a construct of Zionist narratives and symbolic meanings.' Its function is 'psycho-cultural.' The two landscapes, either national (ancient) or cultural, do not exist independently, but should coexist for each other as well as with the portraits of 'New Jews.' They assist each other to generate the picture of one space of 'Jewish Palestine.' Photography the (re)presenter of 'spatial continuum' is utilized to visualize an intimate relationship between 'New Jews' and 'Jewish Palestine' individually as well as collectively.

The image of national landscape should provide a perspective, through which the viewers can situate themselves in it; if it were of the past, they would situate themselves in history to 'see' this visionary of history close to themselves.<sup>190</sup> It is both mythical, i.e. imaginative, and realistic, i.e. believable. Photography immortalizes a picture of the past presently, which however is not a picture of truth. It is a picture of false past, opposite to Walter Benjamin argues as follows:

*The true picture of the past flits by. The past can be seized as an image that flashes up at the instant when it can be recognized and is never seen again ... For every image of the past that is not recognized by the present as one of its own concerns threatens to disappear irretrievably.*<sup>191</sup>

Thanks to photography, 'the past' never flits by any longer. It is immortalized to be 'seen' as present.

189. Oren, “The Customer,” 253.

190. See pg. 83.

191. Walter Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History (1940),” in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1986).

At the same time, this same image of false past overshadows the “true picture of the past,” which is otherwise never seen again. Photographs of the past are repetitively reproduced to make the viewers confront new pictures of false past, just as if it were – or had been – a reality for good.<sup>192</sup>

The picture of historic(al) landscape of 'Jewish Palestine' was to represent the picture of the past, present, and future, which was emerging in one space. Two-thousand-year-old landscape will have remained the same in the future, with the presence of 'New Jews.' However, in spite of its natural appearance, its historicity is artificial. It is a picture of historicism, not of history, which does not contain the 'transparency of history' but the *idea* of 'history.' This will be discussed in the chapter to follow.

Furthermore, the journal intended to transform the meaning of 'site' photographically. For instance, it reduced Hanita to a mere settlement of the frontier. While they recognized its existence as a military base, they never revealed why this kibbutz of 'Tower and Stockade' had to be built amid ethnic conflicts. Because they rather wanted to show a friendship between Jews and the Arabs, Hanita was turned into a simple farm/kibbutz of 'New Galilee.' What they are interested in was to show only a desired image of new Jewish culture and settlement, which was being born out of the natural ancient landscape of Eretz Yisrael, nor anything specific or of dilemma of Yishuv. That is, this landscape photography was utilized as an apparatus of *ideas*, not of reality.

After 1940 (the period of time when I presume the journal could not obtain the press prints off Eretz Yisrael), what the journal showed photographically barely changed, but it started to show more peaceful pictures of Palestine rather than dramatic and heroic ones. Ben-Dov's pictorialist photographs appear as a cover of the issue of January, 1940, the first issue reduced to 16 pages. In years to come, the journal only reprinted photographs from calendars or other publications to show peaceful and conventional images of 'Jewish Palestine,' which were however still natural, ancient,

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192. "... loyalty to a nation needs to be cultivated via the propagation of certain place myths.... national identities are 'co-ordinated, often largely defined, by 'legends and landscape,' by stories of golden ages, enduring traditions, heroic deeds and dramatic destinies located in ancient or promised home-lands with hallowed sites and scenery.'" (Lewis Holloway and Phil Hubbard, *People and Place*, 88.)

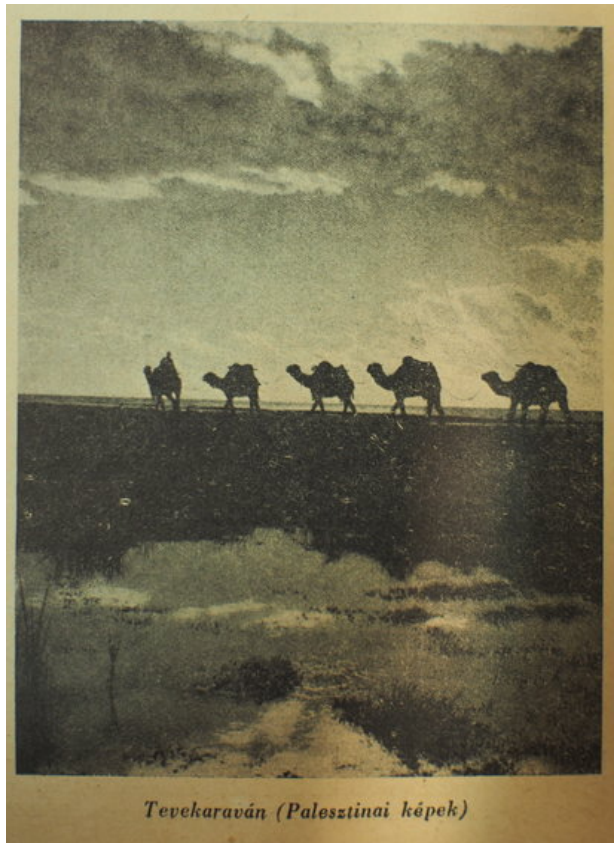
and cultural. There are more photographs of children in Eretz Yisrael than before, as well.

There is one photograph (illustration 79), printed in the journal from KH jubilee. I found a press print of this photograph, which goes: “An Australian soldier making friends with a child in Tel Aviv. March 1940.”<sup>193</sup> I cannot determine whether or not it was an editor who changed this caption to “one moment in Tel-Aviv,” because the original publication, where this image is from, might have had this caption already. However, the presence of soldier is intentionally silenced. What this image represents of Eretz Yisrael is, 'it is safe and peaceful here!', not 'it could be dangerous.'



*Illustration 76: Romok Samariában (Photo, Ben-Dov). A Halvaan Vechiszachon Jerusalem idei naptárból. January, 1940 (Cover)*

193. CZA, PHKH 1289275. See pg. 106.



*Illustration 77: Tevekaraván (Palesztinai képek).  
May, 1943.*



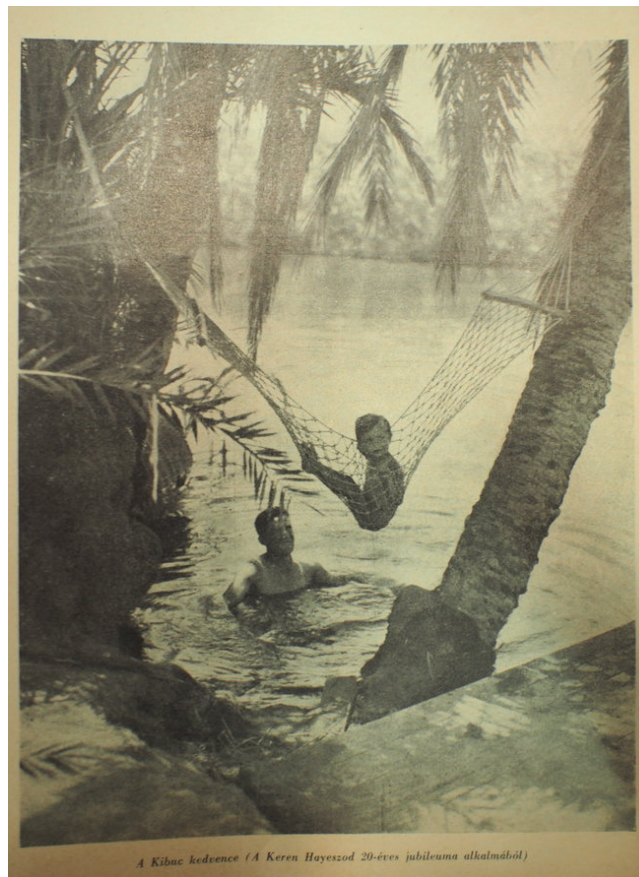
*Illustration 78: A Karmel-hegyen (Palesztinai képek). (June, 1943)*



*Pillanatfelvétel Tel-Avivból (A Keren Hayeszod jubileuma alkalmából).*

*January, 1941.*

*PHKH 1289275. Captioned: An Australian soldier making friends with a child in Tel Aviv. March 1940 (CZA)*



*A Kibuc kedvence (A Keren Hayeszod 20-éves jubileuma alkalmából).*

*PHKH 1276837. Captioned: A hot summer's day in Nir David. June 1939 (CZA).*

## CHAPTER 4: TIME-MAKING

*History is the subject/object of construction whose site is not homogeneous, empty time, but time filled by the presence of the now [Jetztzeit].*

Walter Benjamin  
*Theses of the Philosophy of History*  
1940

*Recurrence, continuity, appropriation: these are the ways in which the past is related to the present, and it may be an ancient and half-remembered past that must be recovered and authenticated.*

Anthony D. Smith  
*The Nation in History*  
2010

*... Jewish memory cannot be “healed” unless the group itself finds healing, unless its wholeness is restored or rejuvenated.*

Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi  
*Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*  
1989

#### 4.0. Introduction: Photography of Time-Making (Theory)

This chapter argues 'photography of time-making,' which was by and large concerned with a point of (world)view to see 'history' with no break of time from the past to the future. When the idea of 'space' is (re)presented, a question of 'time' and 'history' has to appear, because, as Henri Lefebvre states; "If space is produced, if there is a productive process, then we are dealing with 'history'"<sup>194</sup>; and also because, as Walter Benjamin states; 'History' is a construct of "time filled by the presence of the now."<sup>195</sup> Photography of 'time-making' is to virtually fill 'time' with the 'presence of the now,' which shall construct a picture of 'history.' As it is a medium capable of filling void,<sup>196</sup> the camera-memory has, unlike of humans, no gap.<sup>197</sup> It is a technology of ceaseless reproduction perfectly able to make a continually present picture of "the presence of the now," blurring a boundary between the past and present, i.e. between 'history' and 'memory.' This is what Kracauer pointed out when he wrote; "Photography presents a spatial continuum: historicism seeks to provide the temporal continuum. ... Historicism is concerned with the photography of time."<sup>198</sup> He further argues;

*Corresponding to this spatial inventory [of photography] is historicism's temporal inventory. Instead of preserving the 'history' that consciousness reads out of the temporal succession of events, historicism records the temporal succession of events whose linkage does not contain the transparency of history.*<sup>199</sup>

While photography creates a spatial continuum, it invents a temporal continuum, as a keepsaker of memory and a rigorous documenter of decisively historic(al) moments in order to satisfy the desire of historicism, which, Anthony D. Smith states, "integrates the past (tradition), the present (reason), and the future (perfectability)."<sup>200</sup> Photography aids to break down a boundary between the past, present, and the future, and integrate them in one picture of time: as a result, historicism of no transparent historical realities flourishes.

194. Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 46.

195. Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," 261.

196. McQuire, *Visions of Modernity*, 124.

197. Siegfried Kracauer, "Photography (1927)," *Critical Inquiry* 19, no.3 (1993): 425.

198. Ibid.

199. Ibid., 435.

200. Smith, *National Identity*, 96.

Photography is able to 'generate new practices of memory,' being useful as a 'metaphor of representing a certain historical ideal.'<sup>201</sup> Thanks to its unlimited reproductivity and intimacy, it is able to continually – and presently – publicize the images of past, which breaks down a boundary between the past and present in perception: the past is now 'seen' as present, immortalized – and always rediscovered – through its mode of representation. Photography repetitively presents a sort of 'past,' which would have been otherwise forgotten.<sup>202</sup> Or simply, the past has become something to be possessed and seen, i.e. invented, not to be remembered. In this very mode of photographic representation, the past and present, both in individual and collective terms, are not disconnected any longer but intimately related, which undoubtedly has changed the ways in which people 'see' the future of world and history. When the boundary between the past, present, and future disappears, there is only one time, i.e. a temporal continuum, only according to which history should progress: memory has become historic(al); and history has been commemorated.

However, 'time' in photographic representation is ambivalent. It has to be encompassed, according to one generalizing principle, i.e. *idea(s)*, as space does. In Chapter 3, I argued that it is the *idea* of 'culture' that determines how 'space' photography represents should appear in 'Zionist Photography.' In the same manner, 'time' photography represents is determined, also according to 'culture.' That is, photography of 'Jewish History' is concerned with man-/body-making(s), those who should engage in history, regardless of generation in one time in Eretz Yisrael. Or, those who work in the act of culture-making constitute one general time, in which the culture of 'New Jews' should find its ground of temporal existence. 'Time,' in which 'Jewish History in Eretz Yisrael' should be materialized, should not be monopolized by pioneering generation alone but must be of the *whole* Jewish people, i.e. one Jewish generation.

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201. "The camera offers a strategic point of entry to this zone [of breaking down and mutate in the present], not only because it has generated new practices of memory, but because it has so often been used as a metaphor capable of representing a certain historical ideal. ... even as the camera has conformed to the objectifying and monumentalizing model of memory which stood at the heart of nineteenth-century historicism, it has pushed that paradigm towards ends which remain uncertain." (Ibid., 165.)

202. Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 140.

#### 4.1. Photography of 'Jewish History' (The People into One, Regardless of Generations)

'Eretz Yisrael' is an integral concept of space and time for Jewish people, which should reveal itself through culture-making. The act of culture-making, i.e. cultivation of the land, should vitalize the space/landscape of 'Jewish Palestine' as well as activate their time/history, manifesting themselves as a historic(al) nation, awakened after two-thousand-year silence/absence from the time of the land.

Zionism has embraced a dream of history-making. It is, as a movement, “the attempt to re-enter history and to change the existence of the Jews back to the existence of the nation, Jewish and Israeli, in the Land.”<sup>203</sup> In order for this dream come true, photography created a virtual but realistic continuity between the past and present by placing 'New Jews' in natural ancient landscape, as well as recorded the process of old-diaspora generation being integrated to the new-native generation of Eretz Yisrael. Just as 'New Jews' now started to live within the picture of one culture, located in one space of 'Jewish Palestine,' everyone, including the former diaspora generation should start living in the picture of one time in Eretz Yisrael. It is the picture of 'Jewish Renaissance,' which photography of time-making engage in to represent, where the past and present should encounter for the future: there should exist only one time, regardless of generation of the past, present, or the future. It was a method of communicating the vision of 'Jewish Historicism.'

'Photography of time-making' materializes two functions; as a documenter of new history; and as a keepsaker of old memory, which should be accommodated within the picture of new history itself. As a result, the *wholeness* of 'Jewish nation' should be visualized, according to which, “a history in which the difference of space returns as the Sameness of time, turning Territory into Tradition, turning the People into One.”<sup>204</sup> The picture of 'one people' should accommodate old and new generations in the same space and time, which photography represents as the visionary of a self-autonomous 'Jewish Renaissance' being realized in Eretz Yisrael.

203. Ofir Haivry, “On Zion: A Reality that Fashions Imagination,” in *New Essays on Zionism*, ed. David Hazony and Yoram Hazony (Jerusalem: Shalem Press, 2006), 82.

204. McQuire, *Visions of Modernity*, 205.

#### 4.2. New Native Generation of the Future

Here, I study the role of children, i.e. new native generation of the future of Eretz Yisrael, and what they represented. The journal printed a decent number of photographs of those who were born and being raised as 'native son/daughter(s)' of Eretz Yisrael, most probably addressed to the youth and middle-age audience so that they, situated within the increasing turmoil of antisemitism in Diaspora, could imagine to raise their children in the country of peace.

On the contrary to the journal's salient interests in children of Eretz Yisrael, they rarely show the pictures of elders, which however regularly appear in the press prints and other publications of Palestine: in there, elders represent Diaspora's successful self-integration to Eretz Yisrael, which the journal is totally indifferent to. The journal always shows children as symbol of peace and love, not as future workers or fighters as such like in Palestine. They are simply to emphasize the peace: they shall grow healthily, full of love and affection, surrounded by a beautifully cultivated land. The number of children photographs relatively increases after 1940.



*Illustration 81: Pillanatfelvételek Mismár Haemek szentföldi kolónia gyermekfarmjáról.  
June, 1934.*



*A kis lovas.*  
February 1939.



*Jeruzsálemi kisleány (Foto Nachum Gidal)*  
October, 1942.



*Német zsidó gyerekek a hachsarán.*  
November, 1936.

For instance, *Illustration 80* was originally taken in Nir David, another kibbutz of 'Tower and Stockade.' This information is however totally missing from the caption in *Múlt és Jövő*. This image is used rather to emphasize a peaceful new life of young Jews in kibbutz, nothing violent of ethnic conflict. *Illustration 85* is also a pure and innocent picture, just as Eugene Smith's famous photograph from the same period of time, "The Walk to Paradise Garden (1940)."



*Illustration 85: A „Fák Újéve” Palesztinában (Foto Z. Kluger). January, 1943.*

On the other hand, what the photographs of children represent in publications of Palestine is different. Their interest is 'a genealogy of pioneers.' Their appearance and smile correspond with that of pioneer's. They are pioneer-to-be in Eretz Yisrael, native, masculine, healthy and productive, representing a new generation of Jewish people.



Growth on the soil.



Illustration 86: *Growth On the Soil*. Taken from KH Pamphlet, *Eretz Yisrael: Haven and Home* (Jerusalem: Azriel Press, 1942).



*Illustration 87: Taken from KH Pamphlet, Eretz Yisrael: Haven and Home (Jerusalem: Azriel Press, 1942). (Back-Cover)*

In the press prints, not only the portraits of children themselves, but another kind of images can be found. In particular, there are a lot of photographs I found that represent the disappearance of boundary between old and new generations. This kind of photograph is almost completely missing from the journal except one image, which shows three generations of the Hebrew city in the issue of June, 1934. However, while this kind of generation photograph is often possible to find in Kluger's works, it is hardly possible to do so in *Múlt és Jövő*. This fact suggests, the journal was interested in showing the images of children only to present happiness and safety of 'multiplying' in Eretz Yisrael, whereas in Palestine, it was more urged to show a perfect reconciliation of old and new generations, according to a 'genealogy of pioneers,' which opened the gate to elders to become newly Jewish in Eretz Yisrael as 'New Jews.'



Illustration 88: *Tel-Aviv építőinek három generációja*. June, 1934.



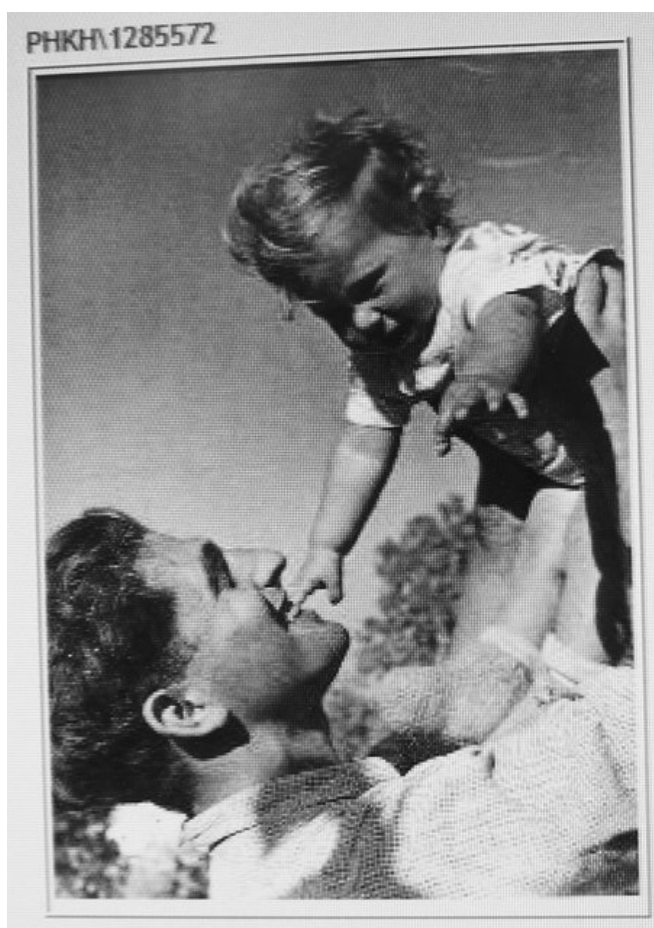
*Illustration 89: 1939. Grandfather with his grandson (Yemenite)  
Village Elyashiv*



*Illustration 90: 1939. Father, son and grandson of colony  
members working in the family, Zichron Yaacov.  
Three generations of settlers*

In Palestine, it was more urged to make a general image of 'New Jews,' regardless of old or new generations so that they could present a vision that, regardless of old or new generation, they are all eligible to live in Palestine as pioneers. The possibility to become 'New Jews' was not limited to the native-born of Eretz Yisrael, and elders should be also accommodated in the same picture of being newly Jewish in Eretz Yisrael. Children represent their new root and attachment to the new way of life in Eretz Yisrael, where elders could find their home.

On the contrary, *Múlt és Jövő* seemed to have a different aim to represent children: they are no more than symbol of peace and love to attract attention of the youth to optimistically dream of the future living in Eretz Yisrael. They printed no image to attract elders in this respect.



*Illustration 91: PHKH 1285572. Captioned: Alonim. One of the members of Alnim with his son. The father himself came under the Youth Immigration some 10 years ago. July 1944 (CZA)*

#### 4.3. Old-New/New-Old Generation for the Future

The picture of old traits of Jews becoming newly Jewish is almost entirely missing in *Múlt és Jövő*. What I argue in here is largely collected in Israel. In Eretz Yisrael, there can be no separate culture, space, or time, but everybody of diasporic traits should be absorbed into the picture of one culture, space, and time so that an ultimate vision of Zionism, i.e. restoration of *the wholeness* of Jewish people, could be visualized.

Elders represent the old generation, who will have become old-*new* in Eretz Yisrael. They are, just like young pioneers, ought to work in the field productively and passionately so that they can contribute to the act of nation-making. They are accommodated into the picture of one 'Jewish generation,' i.e. those who construct the national homeland of Jewish people as a whole. Using generations to show that the boundary between the past and present, i.e. old and new, disappears, the camera virtually creates one homogeneous time, according to which all the Jews in Eretz Yisrael should live, work, and take parts in history. What this picture shows is *idea* of 'Jewish Historicism,' according to which there shall be no discontinuity in the history of one people. 'Jewish Historicism' is, using a terminology of Kracauer, concerned with 'photography of time in Eretz Yisrael,' which is best represented by showing the emergence of one Jewish generation and the reconciliation between old and new generations through the act of culture-making.

Again however, this picture is entirely missing in *Múlt és Jövő*. The reason is, I presume, OPP and Zionist organizations in Palestine were more urged to show, the time of productive culture in Eretz Yisrael was open to elders, while the journal intended to show the same vision of 'Jewish Historicism' using a different strategy: *Múlt és Jövő* used the portraits of artists, or 'national genius,' those who would authenticate Jewish culture. The journal had been publishing this visionary in order to articulate 'Jewish Historicism,' i.e. the *idea* of self-autonomous culture and history of the nation, ever since 1911, when József Patai published its precursor, *The Hungarian Jewish Almanac*.



Illustration 92: *Where the Old Folk Come Home*. Taken from KH Pamphlet, *Eretz Yisrael: Haven and Home* (Jerusalem: Azriel Press, 1942).

In the pamphlet published by KH in 1942, the image of an elderly Jew working in Eretz Yisrael is used for the front-cover. This photograph is soon followed by an image of kaftan Jew covering face with hands in despair. This pamphlet perfectly summarizes what 'Photography in Eretz Yisrael' was interested in. First of all, it shows a hope that the newcomers, i.e. even elders, can represent an ideal-type of 'New Jew,' in a clear contrast to kaftan Jew, who remained in desperate fate of being in Diaspora. Those who made decisions to move and live another life in Eretz Yisrael have achieved their new ways of life. Those who used to be bankers or lawyers have now turned into productive Jews working in craftsmanship. In general, this booklet shows various pioneers, farmers, industry workers, sailors, and artists, musicians, scientists, and artisans, largely made of the former German-Austrian Jews, with manifesto of "No Longer Refugees." It is a collection of Jewish men, women, youths, and elders, being integrated to Eretz Yisrael, in contrast to one kaftan Jew in the beginning. This booklet is concluded with a back-cover, a promising photograph of the future (*Illustration 87*). Whether or not they are old or *new*, everyone is treated as a legitimate member of one generation of the whole Jewish people as pioneers, passionately engaging in nation-making in the same time at the same space. A 'genealogy of pioneers' is present throughout this booklet. There shall be no boundary between generations as far as they work together for the same vision in the same land, and their accomplishments should be all taken over by new native generation, being raised healthily in Eretz Yisrael.

The future vision of Zionist project is clearly manifested in here. Within the picture of one time, they all live for the same act of culture-making in the same space, regardless of generations. Those who suffered in Diaspora are now redeemed in their native land, where their spirituality and creativity should be maximized. The vision of creating a space and time where the people turns into 'One' is thus completed through this photography of time-making. That is, the portrait of 'New Jews' is generalized and finalized to accommodate all the Jews as their members of state-to-be-made.

There is another old-*new* dimension of 'Jewish History' in Eretz Yisrael, which is of religion. In Eretz Yisrael, at least in photographic representation, Judaism is incorporated to the picture of 'New Jews,' situated in the landscape of 'Jewish Palestine' as well as in the time of 'Jewish History.' This particular vision of treating Judaism is visible in Palestine as well as in *Múlt és Jövő*.



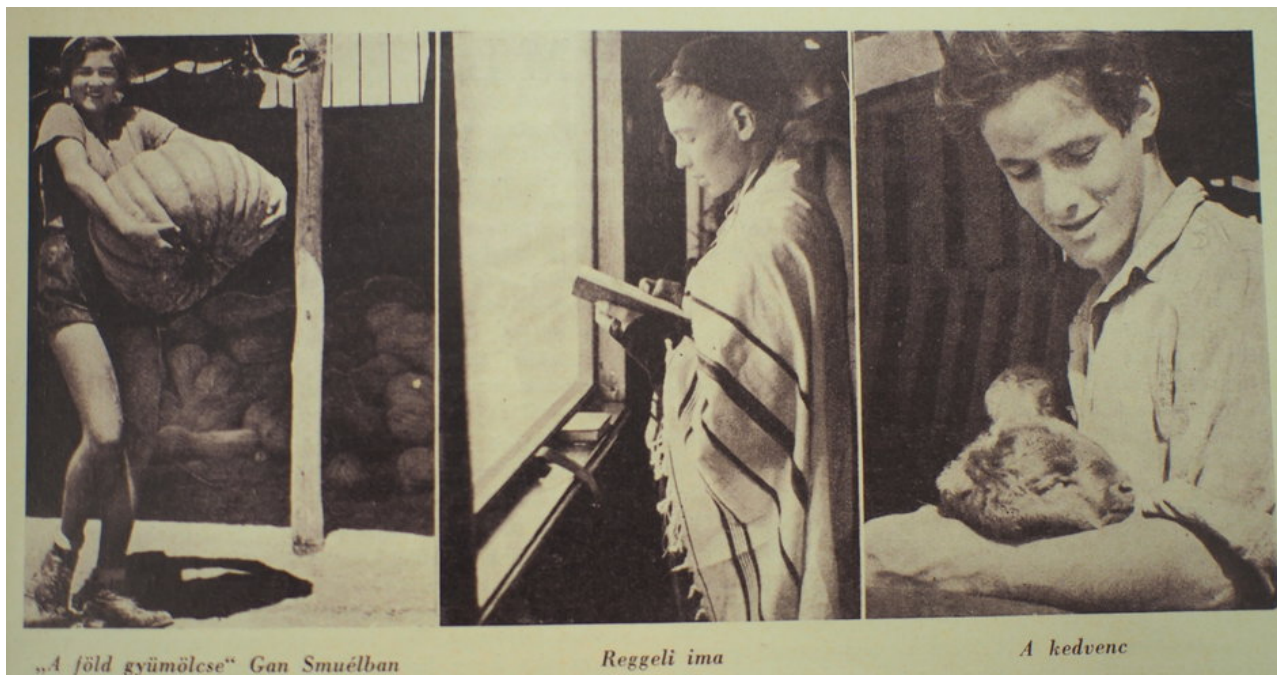
*Illustration 93: Tüntető felvonulás a Fehér Könyv ellen Haifában öregek Tórakkal, fiatalok fehér-kék zászlókkal (Dr. Siber Chajim felvétele). July, 1939.*

I found a photograph from the journal, which shows no boundary between old and new generations. It is a picture of demonstration against the White Paper of 1939, taken in Haifa. Elderly Jews hold Torah, marching with youths holding flags of Zionism. This is a picture of old-*new* Jews activated in the same time for the common goal of Jews' self-autonomy in Eretz Yisrael. But, except this image, it was hardly possible to find other from the journal, which indicates the disappearance of old and new generations. This image is journalistic, not an explicit indicator of certain *ideas*, such as I argued in this section. This image is quite exceptional.

In *Múlt és Jövő*, Judaism the religion in Eretz Yisrael is more clearly represented by young 'New Jews,' for instance in *Illustration 3* and the others to follows:



*Istentisztelet a Haifa melletti „Kibuc Rodkes” mizráchi telep-barakjában*  
*Illustration 94: Istentisztelet a Haifa melletti „Kibuc Rodkes”*  
*mizráchi telep-barakjában. June, 1937.*



*„A föld gyümölcse” Gan Smuélban* *Reggeli ima* *A kedvenc*  
*Illustration 95: „A föld gyümölcse” Gan Smuélban. / Reggeli Ima. / A Kedvenc.*  
*February, 1939.*

*Illustration 94 and 95* represent more general picture the journal publicized. It is the picture of Judaism, practiced by young nice-looking Jews, i.e. pioneers. They show, Judaism has not yet perished, but its practice is now liberated from the ghetto wall, taken over by 'New Jews' in the frontier of Jewish National Home. This is a picture, through which 'New Jews' accommodated the old custom of Judaism in their new life style, i.e. *new-old* way of being Jewish in Eretz Yisrael. The same visionary can be found from Kluger's works, which even more clearly presents a successful reconciliation between the culture of 'New Jews' and old tradition of Judaism.



*Illustration 96: PHKH 1289514. Jewish soldiers in the Desert keep up religious tradition. 1942. (CZA)*

PHKH\1289569



*Illustration 97: PHKH 1289569. "Fight and Work."  
Religious Service in the Desert. 1942. (CZA)*

PHKH\1289444



*Illustration 98: PHKH 1289444. The Weiss family in uniform;  
the father says Kiddush. 1942. (CZA)*

#### 4.4. Conclusion: Boundary Disappears Between Generations of the Past, Present, and Future

Photography of time-making is largely of historicism, aimed to eradicate the boundary of old and new Jews within the new time of Eretz Yisrael, activated by their new culture in one space of 'Jewish Palestine.' In this picture of one time, the group of 'New Jews' and the space of 'Palestine' should be temporally situated. It is the picture of emerging 'one generation,' i.e. the *wholeness* of Jewish people, in Eretz Yisrael. *Múlt és Jövő* did not publicize the image of one time in the same manner as OPP did: they used another strategy as a journal of Cultural Zionism, by largely showing 'national geniuses,' i.e. those who should recover and authenticate 'an ancient and half-remembered past' into the present through their art production. In either way, photography of time-making was practiced by both of Photography in Eretz Yisrael and in *Múlt és Jövő*, interested in expressing the vision of 'Jewish Historicism.' It is a total picture of “recurrence, continuity, and appropriation”<sup>205</sup> between the past, present, and future of 'one people.'

In the journal, the images of children are used to represent the peace in Eretz Yisrael most probably in order to appeal to the youth aliyah members to dream of their future. On the contrary, the same images in Palestine emphasize the bond between old and new generations. In this respect, 'Photography in Eretz Yisrael' was more interested in expressing the *wholeness* of the Jewish people so that Jews the nation would be able to re-enter the history, overcoming old memory of time-less Diaspora.

Photography, technology of mechanical reproduction, functioned to “edit”<sup>206</sup> and substitute their memory of suffering and uprootedness with historic(al) memory of being newly rooted and redeemed in their national homeland. Also at the same time, this medium preserved memory of Diaspora, which however in meaning had radically transformed in relation to their present state of being happily redeemed in Eretz Yisrael.

The image of religion transplanted in Eretz Yisrael, practiced by 'New Jews,' was publicized

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205. See pg. 107.

206. Nelson Goodman, *Ways of Worldmaking* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1988), 15.

both in the journal and Palestine. The boundary between the past, present, and future disappears, when Judaism returns to their root in the land, where 'New Jews' have cultivated. Now at home, Torah reveals itself in the desert and street of 'Jewish Palestine.' It symbolizes another reconciliation of the past and present: in this picture, it is 'New Jews,' who initiate to accommodate an old custom in their new culture.

Obviously, this picture of one Jewish generation, i.e. the vision of reconciliation between the past and present, was not necessarily of reality at the time. There was no *wholeness* realized. A promising 'genealogy of pioneers' did not come true by native son/daughters. Although it was not entirely a false picture commonly perceived,<sup>207</sup> it was not a picture of the whole reality. According to Arthur Koestler, it was a “retarded maturity” that characterized native generation of Palestine.<sup>208</sup> He also reports on a failure of Yemenites' integration to the new community of Jewish Palestine.<sup>209</sup> Again, photography turned out to be “the forerunner of a missed revolution”<sup>210</sup> with no reality conceived in itself.

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207. For instance, see Amos Oz, *A Tale of Love and Darkness* (Orland: Mariner Books, 2005), 5-6.

208. Arthur Koestler, *Promise and Fulfilment: Palestine, 1917-1949* (London: Papermac, 1983), 284.

209. Ibid., 260.

210. See footnote 150.

## SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS (CHAPTER 2-4): NATION-MAKING

Whereas in paintings particularly, artists often remained in an “open relationship” with the culture of their diasporic origin and the culture of their new home of Eretz Yisrael,<sup>211</sup> photographers were serious in a relationship with Eretz Yisrael. Zoltán Kluger exemplified those who rigorously situated themselves in their new relationship with Eretz Yisrael, culturally, spatially, and temporally, and was passionate in developing this relationship as a chief photographer of Zionism. His works represented that anything from Diaspora should be suitably integrated into the picture of newly being Jewish in Eretz Yisrael. There should be no specific cultures of Diaspora but one culture of being nationally Jewish in their native land. This vision generated one space of 'Jewish Palestine' as well as one time of 'Jewish History.' By means of photography, Jews were enabled to 'see' the same face and the same place, from the same point of (world)view rooted in Eretz Yisrael as one people. In religious terms also, Judaism was incorporated into the picture of new portrait, new landscape, and new history of Jews in Eretz Yisrael. What 'Zionist Photography' represented was that no Jew should remain simply old but to be old-new/native in order to restore the *wholeness* of people in their historic(cal) homeland, i.e. a vision that the Jews in Eretz Yisrael be redeemed from the past to restore their future in happiness.<sup>212</sup>

As a whole, what I called photography of culture/space/time-making(s) was 'photography of nation-making,' as a method of creating a 'high-language of national images.' It represented a visual and 'believable' transition from the past to future, mediated through the present efforts to construct a new national homeland of ancient origin. It can be summarized as follows:

### 0. **Nation-Making:**

Jews in Diaspora as a People of Wandering (People Without Homeland)

→ Jews Settled in Eretz Yisrael as a Nation (National Homeland)

### 1. **Culture-Making:**

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211. Manor, *Art in Zion*, 154.

212. See footnote 83.

Femininities of Jewish men and women (People of Specific Fragmentary Cultures)

→ One Masculinity of Jewish (wo)men (Nation of Modern Ideal Culture)

2. **Space-Making:**

Diaspora (Ethno-Religious Space of Ghetto Walls)

→ Old-New Land (National Space of Jewish Palestine of Historic-al Landscape)

3. **Time-Making:**

Jews' Absence from History (Generations of Suffering and Uprootedness)

→ Jews' Return to History (One Whole Generation of Jewish People the Redeemed/Rooted)

The three particular levels above were integrated to communicate one general visionary of Jewish nation. They functioned as 'photography of nation-making' showing the picture of one (world)view of Jewish nation-building in culture, space, and time.

*Múlt és Jövő* published 'photography of nation-making' monthly. Particularly, after 1937, the journal started to print and utilize more photographs, sometimes differently from OPP, but largely for the same purpose to (re)present a total perspective so that Hungarian Jewry could internalize the vision of Jewish national homeland. Photographies of culture/space-making(s) were combined and printed in the same layout, however on the other hand, the journal expresses hardly any interest in picturing one time of Jewish generation. *Múlt és Jövő* expressed the vision of 'Jewish Historicism,' largely by showing the picture of national genius, not of one homogeneous generation of Jewish people. Its function was equivalent to 'photography of time-making,' expressing the idea of 'Jewish Historicism.' They substituted 'photography of time-making' with the portraits of national geniuses, and combined it with two other photographies of culture-/space-making(s). The three properties of culture, space, and time, could not be independent by themselves, as they mutually assisted each other to design a general (world)view of Zionism, i.e. a national self-image of being Jewish in Eretz Yisrael.

**CONCLUSION:  
BETWEEN BUDAPEST AND ERETZ YISRAEL**

*The century of émigrés,  
the book of homelessness –  
gray century, black book.*

...

*Then I searched the world  
for those who lost their country,  
pointlessly carrying  
their defeated flags,  
their Stars of David,  
their miserable photographs.  
I too knew the homelessness*

...

Pablo Neruda

*The Sadder Century*

1969

## 5.0. Perspectives and Shortcomings of Thesis

This is a study of how 'the picture' conquered the (world)view of Zionism, at the time when the “conquest of the world as picture” was being proceeded.<sup>213</sup> Towards the interwar period, things had started to be recorded by 'the mechanical eye' rather than by the 'naked eye,' which transformed the ways in which people understood themselves in the world, spatially as well as temporally. One of the most typical methods of consequence was to mobilize and utilize photography.

Photography is in essence a medium of no agency. It can be practiced by anybody anywhere. It can be reproduced anytime anyhow, even making up an 'artificial perspective,' which however might appear as 'natural.' Nobody can claim the right to possess it but to acknowledge that this medium is a medium of *ideas*, only according to which it designs a certain point of (world)view in its representation. It is certainly not the whole picture of the world, but it is always easy to convert the one perspective to the whole even without any agency actually involved. *Ideas* suffice to utilize its mode of representation, if only there exists a (re)producer and distributor. However, even those who use the medium, photographers, editors or publishers, cannot monopolize its mode of representation, once it publicly circulates. Only according to *ideas*, it is possible to use the medium but never for good, either as photographer, printer, editor, publisher, or re-printer. Photography is everybody else's, but at the same time nobody else's.

The question of agency in photography is always problematic. Who uses it? – my answer is, *ideas*. Photographs are designed to accommodate *ideas*, not an agency. It is impossible to determine

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213. “The fundamental event of the modern age is the conquest of the world as picture. The word “picture” now means the structured image that is the creature of man’s producing which represents and sets before. In such producing, man contends for the position in which he can be that particular being who gives the measure and draws up the guidelines for everything that is. Because this position secures, organizes, and articulates itself as a world view, the modern relationship to that which is, is one that becomes, in its decisive unfolding, a confrontation of world views; and indeed not of random world views, but only of those that have already taken up the fundamental position of man that is most extreme, and have done so with the utmost resoluteness. For the sake of this struggle of world views and in keeping with its meaning, man brings into play his unlimited power for the calculating, planning, and holding of all things. Science as research is an absolutely necessary from of this establishing of self in the world; it is one of the pathways upon which the modern age rages toward fulfilment of its essence, with a velocity unknown to the participants. With this struggle of world views the modern age first enters into the part of its history that is the most decisive and probably the most capable of enduring.” (Heidegger, “The Age of the World Picture (1938),” 134-5)

one agency of photography, because it is always arbitrary. However there are always *ideas*, which determine how photographs should (re)present an 'enormously positive' point of (world)view.<sup>214</sup> Thus, a question of photography's agency can be answered only conventionally – Anybody, who has *ideas* to manifest themselves by this medium. Anytime or anywhere, it is always quietly present as a medium of *ideas*, not of any particular agency. This is the very reason why no matter who uses, it is always possible to manipulate photography's mode of representation: according to *ideas*, anybody can determine and reproduce its mode of representation. A photograph never ages, as long as it can be anyhow vitalized by *ideas* any-time/where.<sup>215</sup>

This thesis lacks textual source, which I have to accept as a legitimate criticism. However, I need to claim, the available visual source of the press prints and of publications in Diaspora, such as *Múlt és Jövő*, is abundant enough even without any textual material. As a matter of fact, also, there is hardly any article in the journal, which corresponds with the photographs I used in this thesis. Photographs in *Múlt és Jövő* narrate by themselves, hardly interacting with textual narratives. They are hardly correlated relevantly, at least in the period of time concerned in this thesis. Certainly, the materials I used should be further studied to grasp the whole picture of (world)view, which the journal tried to manifest. I could not include various aspects of photographic representation, for instance of 'geniuses,' and of 'Diaspora Jews.' However, I could provide a parcel of the intention what the journal meant to (re)present in comparison to the press prints. If only this study suffices to show how wealthy this journal is to study the culture of photography, I am delighted. This journal is one of the best materials available to study in Europe because of its artistic quality as well as its over three-decade-long history of publication.

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214. "The SPECTACLE MANIFESTS itself as an enormous positivity, out of reach and beyond dispute. All it says is: 'Everything that appears is good; whatever is good will appear.' The attitude that it demands in principle is the same passive acceptance that it has already secured by means of its seeming incontrovertibility, and indeed by its monopolization of the realm of appearances. (Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* (New York: Zone Books, 1995), 15.)

215. For instance, Roman Vishniac's *A Vanished World* could be a great example. *Ideas* of nostalgia vitalizes his photographs as an authentic resource of collective memory. (Maya Benton, "Introduction." in *Roman Vishniac Rediscovered*, ed. Maya Benton (New York: Prestel, 2015), 11-3.)

### 5.1. Photographic Designing of a 'Jewish Global Village'

Photography was used to express the vision of Zionist *ideas* i.e. the self-image of Jews in Eretz Yisrael living in a homogeneous – and 'global' – village of Jewish people, where there should be no old boundary of men, women, occupations, sexualities, generations, space and time would persist but the new culture, space, and time of Jewish people in their national native land. As Ariella Azoulay argues, it is a medium that “opened the possibility of redefining the concept of citizenship and the condition for its fulfillment.”<sup>216</sup> It was a medium, through which the viewers could be integrated to a general self-image of the 'group as bearers of ideas.'

The ideas of Jewish culture, space, and time, in the showing of which photography participated, were however by themselves not innovative in Zionist movement in the 1930s. Mass-production of these photographs were undoubtedly aided by the emergence of 'New Jews' in 'Jewish Palestine,' i.e. the emergence of Jewish masses in the British Mandate Palestine.<sup>217</sup> For instance, Aaron D. Gordon's classic essay, “People and Land (1911),” perfectly expresses what Zionist photojournalism was in charge of to represent. He writes:

*THE JEWISH PEOPLE has been completely cut off from nature and imprisoned within city walls two thousand years. We have become accustomed to every form of life, except to a life of labor – of labor done at our own behest and for its own sake. It will require the greatest effort of will for such a people to become normal again. ...*

*After very prolonged and very stubborn battles, the ideal of culture has finally won a place in our national (Zionist) movement. What kind of culture is it?*

*By culture we usually mean what is called in Zionist circles “the rebirth of the spirit,” or “a spiritual renaissance.” But the spirit which we are trying to revive is not the breath of real life which permeates the whole living organism and draws life from it, but some shadowy and abstract spirit, which can express itself only within the recesses of heart and mind.*

*... Culture is whatever life creates for living purposes. ... The procedure, the pattern, the shape, the manner in which things are done – these represent the forms of culture. Whatever people feel and think both at work and at leisure, and the relations arising from these situations, combined with the natural surroundings – all that constitutes the spirit of a people's culture. It sustains the higher expressions of culture in science and art, creeds and ideologies. ...*

*What are we seeking in Palestine? ... What we are come to create at present is not the culture of the academy, before we have anything else, but a culture of life, of which the culture of the academy is only one element. We seek to create a vital culture out of which the cream of a higher culture can easily be evolved. We intend to create creeds and ideologies, art and poetry, and ethics and*

216. Azoulay, *Civil Contract of Photography*, 122.

217. See pg. 1.

*religion, all growing out of a healthy life and intimately related to it; we shall therefore have created healthy human relationships and living links that bind the present to the past. What we seek to create here is life – our own life – in our own spirit and in our own way. ... In Palestine we must do with our own hands all the things that make up the sum total of life. We must ourselves do all the work, from the least strenuous, cleanest, and most sophisticated, to the dirtiest and most difficult. In our own way, we must feel what a worker feels and think what a worker thinks – then, and only then, shall we have a culture of our own, for then we shall have a life of our own.*

*... Labor is our cure. ... Only by making Labor, for its own sake, our national ideal shall we be able to cure ourselves of the plague that has affected us for many generations and mend the rent between ourselves and Nature. ...*

*We need a new spirit for our national renaissance. That new spirit must be created here in Palestine and must be nourished by our life in Palestine. It must be vital in all its aspects, and it must be all our own. ...*<sup>218</sup>

Photography, as I have argued in this thesis, perfectly represented Gordon's views on the labor of 'New Jews' (culture-making), the nature of 'Jewish Palestine' (space-making), and the historic(cal) revival of Jewish people in their native land (time-making). 'Memory' of being in Diaspora should be, according to this vision, substituted by 'historic(cal)' deeds of one Jewish people, which should be regained by the actual act of culture/space-making in Eretz Yisrael. And the image of new history being awakened after two-thousand-year long silence was mass-witnessed photographically. As a result, whether the viewers were Zionists or non-Zionists, at least to some extent, they all must have come to share a common view of 'New Jews,' 'Jewish Palestine,' and 'Jewish History,' emerging in Eretz Yisrael, as if they had been living in a small – 'global' – village of various people with no boundary between them.

Although the way in which OPP and *Múlt és Jövő* used photograph was not entirely the same, they were both aware of photographically creating a general image of their national home, as if, in the picture, they all had lived within one village.

## 5.2. Émigré Photography

In the 1920-30s, world-widely, there was a number of attempts made to create new styles of photography, of which a high proportion of photographers engaged was émigré, like Zoltán Kluger was in Palestine.

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218. Arthur Hertzberg, *The Zionist Ideas*, 372-4.

The best example from Hungary could be André Kertész (1894-1985) in Paris and the U.S., who was a father of modern photojournalism as well as a pioneer of experimentalism. Stefan Lorant (1901-97) moved to the U.K., and worked as an editor of *Picture Post*, an equivalent journal of *Life* in America, often collaborated with Nachum Gidal (1909-96), another Jewish émigré photographer from Germany, who also lived in Israel. From Hungary furthermore, Robert (1913-54) and Cornell Capa (1918-2008), Nickolas Muray (1892-1965), and László Moholy-Nagy (1895-1946) emigrated to the U.S.. Their contribution to the history of modern photography is, in spite of controversy, not possible to neglect. They were all émigrés, who photographically (re)presented new ways of seeing a reality of the world, i.e. another picture of the world they lived. Robert Frank (1924-), another Jewish émigré photographer from Switzerland, is now known for *Americans* (1958), which revealed the dark side of America of post-WWII golden age. A large proportion of photographers/builders of the collective iconography, who defined the ways of seeing contemporary culture, society, economy, and politics, was émigré,<sup>219</sup> so was Zoltán Kluger in Palestine.

This fact provides an interesting hypothesis, which deserves to be mentioned. The 'system of iconography' is based on both individual and collective stimuli. The act of photographing itself was, for émigré photographers, a decisive means of self-integration to new socio-cultural circumstances. Photography was, for individual photographers, personally necessary to design their own self-image within a new society, and collectively demanded for the group's new self-image. In other words, by this very means of photography, émigrés created and (re)produced a 'conventional perspective,' through which they negotiated their own self-image and newly mirrored themselves in the picture of

219. "[The émigré photographers] became observers and interpreters, often through hate filters of their past background, language, culture, and religion. Their approach was thus radically different from that of the tourist, as also from that of the native artist, born and bred in a certain country and culture and investigating the subjects closes to him. ... The *modus operandi* of the émigré photographers differs also from other artists working in the visual media, and certainly from that of artists in non-visual disciplines such as poetry or music. It therefore dictates a singular approach to his art. The writer can continue producing texts in his native tongue, and the painter or sculptor does not necessarily have to change his style; they can work undisturbed within the context of their own artistic origins and traditions, regardless of place. But the intrinsic qualities and rules of photography, the isomorphism between external reality and the photographic image, requires its émigré practitioners to cope with the new visual reality surrounding them, sometimes inventing to this end new artistic means. They must dissect, absorb, and express visually an utterly unfamiliar environment imposed upon them. In their new condition, none of their usual artistic and pictorial connections remain valid or applicable; the different world they face become both a personal and creative challenge." (Perez, *Displaced Visions*, 11.)

one (world)view: and what they designed was proven to be useful for new society, which absorbed those new members in the community. Photography was – still is – thus an apparatus not only of the collective self, but also of the individual selves, to (re)present a new self-image. It is an instrument of designing everybody's self-definition.

This is exactly what Kluger did as a chief photographer of new society emerging in Eretz Yisrael, by himself becoming a new citizen of the new community.<sup>220</sup> There is nothing available to study what he did as an émigré in New York City, where he died in 1977. At least it is known, in America, he did not work as an émigré photographer as he did in Palestine.

### 5.3. Home Sucks?

It was in 1917, when Paul Strand (1890-1976) wrote; “an absolute unqualified objectivity” is a “*raison d'être* of photography.”<sup>221</sup> He concluded this essay with warning: what he calls 'a New Trinity (new God the Machine, Materialistic Empiricism the Son, and Science the Holy Spirit)' must be “humanized lest it in turn dehumanize us”<sup>222</sup>; and “We are beginning perhaps to perceive that.”<sup>223</sup> But how could this quiet medium be so dehumanizing? How could it be humanized?

What Kluger produced as a new member of 'Jewish Palestine' was a collective self-image of being Jewish at home. It was a counter-image of Jews as a wandering people.<sup>224</sup> They should be

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220. My initial ambition was to argue this point by comparing Kluger's works on the Youth Aliyah from Germany in the 1930s and the Youth Aliyah from Hungary in the 1940s. While in the 1930s, as Kluger himself was an émigré, who had to self-integrate to the new socio-political circumstance, he was passionate in depicting a new happy life of the German youth in Eretz Yisrael. In the 1940s, I presumed, he could approach the Hungarian youth from a different perspective from what he did in the 1930s, because he was already a self-integrated member of the new society at that time. As Ruth Oren and Guy Raz note in their book, there is no photograph available before his migration to Palestine, or after his migration to the U.S. in 1958. Therefore, it is difficult to argue how his experience as an émigré changed his attitude in approaching the subject in a new socio-political and cultural circumstance, unless I carefully compare two different Youth Aliyah in the 1930s and in the 1940s. But unfortunately, the files I found at SAI, titled “the Hungarian Youth Aliyah, 1941-43,” did not reach me before the deadline of thesis submission in spite of my repetitive efforts by emails.

221. Paul Strand, “Photograph and New God (1917),” in *Classic Essays on Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg (New Haven: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 141-2.

222. Ibid., 151.

223. Ibid.

224. For details of the visual orientation of 'wandering Jews' in the history of European art, see Richard Cohen, “The 'Wandering Jew' from Medieval Legend to Modern Metaphor,” in *The Art of Being Jewish in Modern Times*, ed. Richard Cohen, Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, and Jonathan Karp (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania

bound to the land, and represent a modernistic and progressive ideal-type of Jewish self-realization, which, according to Gordon himself, was the only life style that Jews had not learnt in Diaspora. In Kluger's photographs, all the Jews live, as if they were accommodated in the total picture of one small 'global' village, i.e. utopia of new culture, space and time, where they attain new life, happily redeemed bound to the land.

However, how did those who migrate to Eretz Yisrael experience their 'home' after all? This is what I am concerned at last of this research.



*Illustration 99: Home Sucks.  
Credit to Shoppei Tasko (Author)  
Taken in April, Jerusalem.*

I took this photograph in Jerusalem during research trip at the garden of City Hall, where Jerusalem the Jewish city expanded out of the wall of 'un-Jewish' old-town.<sup>225</sup> This image made me imagine what 'home' could be like for those who were disillusioned by the reality of home.

As I have argued in this thesis, there was no individuality in photographic representation of 'New Jews,' 'Jewish Palestine,' or 'Jewish History,' which were being built rapidly in the 1930s. They are all treated homogeneously in its mode of representation. In photographs, they were not 'individuals,' but their individuality was of secondary importance to what they should represent. Their existence was accorded to *ideas* alone for which they must devote themselves.<sup>226</sup> They should represent an ideal-image only, i.e. self-autonomous national community of Jews being built in Eretz Yisrael, of Jews, by Jews, and for Jews, but not for themselves. In this respect, Siegfried Kracauer argues: "... their being has already been subjected to peculiar reduction and confinement that alone renders it capable of creative action in the sphere of the group individuality."<sup>227</sup> At 'home,' Jews are supposed to – expected to – be perfect, as they should now have a link to the source of national self-realization. However, they are allowed to be so only as part of the collective self, not as individuals. Nor could they be creative individually, but only as part of the group. They should be happy and cheerful within this picture alone. But, what if those who come, are rejected their individuality? –

225. Michael Berkowitz, "Zion's Cities: Projections of Urbanism and German-Jewish Self-Consciousness, 1909-1933," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* (1997): 109.

226. "The group is thus the mediator between individuals and the ideas that pervade the social world. Whenever an idea bursts out of the darkness and can be formulated, it produces a similar disposition of the soul in the people it encounters, and begins to be realized when these people join together to form a group that will struggle to make the idea a reality. ... In the process, however, these individuals are transformed into bearers of the idea and are therefore no longer independent, individual selves with complete freedom of movement; they are now being tied to and formed by the idea, their thinking and feeling both uniform and circumscribed. Because the idea shapes their inner element, they stand apart from the mass of people unaffected by the idea; they take a particular path whose direction is already designated by the idea. Suffice it to say, for th time being, that the group is only that union of people with the same spiritual constitution necessary for realizing ideas; it is not an association of arbitrary, spiritually irresolute individuals. It is a collective entity to the extent that the expressions of the consciousness of all its members arise from the same basis – namely, the ground of the idea – and therefore must also result a priori in uniform actions. The group and the idea that it embodies lead a special existence beyond the individuals only when compared with a multiplicity of arbitrarily acting individuals that has been assumed from the outset, but not when compared with individual souls of similar makeup." (Kracauer, "The Group," 148.)

227. Ibid., 170: He also argues, "... The people untied in the group are no longer full individuals, but only fragments of individuals whose very right to exist is exclusively a function of the group's goal. The subject as an individual-self linked to other individual-selves is a being whose resources must be conceived as endless and who, incapable of being completely ruled by the idea, still lives in realms located outside the idea's sphere of influence. The subject as a group member is a *partial-self* that is cut from its full being and cannot stray from the path which the idea prescribes for it." (Ibid., 151.)

What they have been seeing in the photographs must turn out dehumanizing. Photography is able to substitute a reality to some extent to evoke a dream, but not to overwrite the first-hand experience, which says oppositely.

How did the Jews from Diaspora find the gap between reality and image? Even though this thesis is not a study of the social reception of photographs, as a result of this project and research, I had to be reminded of the gap, which Hungarian Jewry must have been through when they arrived at their new homeland. They must have visually imagined a country, where they would be allowed to be what they would like to be, according to what photography represented, whether or not they were actually Zionists. Even non-Zionists must have been able to 'see' the vision. Obviously, it was merely an illusion that they had to recognize when they arrived: at 'home,' they were not allowed to be individual.

Then, did 'home' suck for them? What exactly did they imagine of 'home,' and how did they have to compromise with reality? What kind of new photographs could be produced by those who were disillusioned? I am now interested in the last question. I imagine there must have been 'Robert Frank of Israel,' i.e. another émigré photographer, who tried to 'humanize' the medium to restore what 'Zionist Photography' dehumanized for the sake of *ideas*.

#### 5.4. Summary of Thesis

This thesis is a fruit of my ambition to construct a theory of photography and nationalism(s). Although there is quite a few literatures on photography and ideology, there is no particular theory on the photography of nationalism. Including John Tagg and Pierre Bourdieu, nobody has not yet theoretically conceived it, presumably due to the absence of any clear agency in this medium. I tried to formulate this theory, by using culture, space, and time, as three significant dimensions that photography engaged in to design national iconography. I used Zionism as an example to test this theory, because its interests in culture, space, and time, were so salient that I could test my theory.

Throughout this thesis, I summarized how and why photography has evolved individually, collectively, and internationally as a method of collective self-(re)presentation, in cultural, spatial, and temporal terms, in the shape of photojournalism. It worked only for the will of investor, who used the medium, contrary to the popular belief in its objectivity. Its utility was not only to make visible, but to subtly reject what should *not* be visible and to create a total (world)view. Its function was – still is – the 'performance of desire,' according to *ideas* it work-ed/s for. Empirically we know, when a photograph appears pleasantly, the pleasure of seeing its 'world picture' is undeniable: even if it is not pleasant, we can still simply dismiss it without causing any harm. However, this failure can be soon substituted by another image, which might turn out pleasantly. This is how *ideas* perform by means of photography,<sup>228</sup> thanks to ceaseless mechanical reproduction. Through the mode of photographic representation, *ideas* can be 'unconsciously internalized', according to 'the rules that governs the production of these works.'<sup>229</sup> In case of 'Zionist Photography,' it was *ideas* of culture, space, and time, which governed the mode of designing, (re)producing, and distributing its works: photography was designed to (re)present a (world)view, which should be unconsciously internalized.

Photography never claims. It remains silent and its impact to change the mode of life seems very subtle and ambivalent compared to other innovative technologies, such as cars, radios, and films. However, it was thanks to its very subtleness that, photography was proven able to design a scheme, according to which a new self-image could be naturally integrated to one general picture of the community. In this respect, Alfred Stieglitz said: 'In photography, there is a reality so subtle that it becomes more real than reality.' In addition to this, Siegfried Kracauer discussed the creation of 'sense of reality' in mass politics, as follows:

*The surface-level expressions ... by virtue of their unconscious nature, provide unmediated access to the fundamental substance of the state of things. Conversely, knowledge of this state of things depends on the interpretation of these surface-level expressions. The fundamental substance of an epoch and its unheeded impulses illuminate each other reciprocally. ... The ornament, detached from*

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228. Tagg, *Burden*.

229. Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 227.

*its bearers, must be understood 'rationally.' ...*<sup>230</sup>

The 'surface-level expressions' by means of photography can repetitively make one confront the ceaseless flow of 'substance of the state of things' every-day/month, no matter what they are, either artificial, natural, or real(istic). Photography is most likely to take parts in to generate this ceaseless flow of the 'surface-level expressions,' used by those who want to control and govern the mode of collective (self-)knowledge. The medium is empowered to narrate a “realistic story” that “chronicle 'credibly,' 'probably,' and 'believably' the way [one] think people feel, think, or act, the way things happen, and the reasons they happen, all of which are consistent with the reader-audience-society's beliefs about psychology, motivation, and probability.”<sup>231</sup> It does not have to be based on a concrete reality, if only it suffices to represent the regime of truth 'believably.' When it suffices to (re)present certain *ideas*, photography aids to increase the aura of 'believability.' As it is a convenient medium nobody owns, its representation never fails: failures can be speedily substituted by another flow of 'the surface-level expressions,' which might turn out successful. Photography is the easiest medium to manipulate, thanks to its usable simplicity, reproductivity, anonymity, accessibility, tranquility, and its subtle undeniability.

It was the flow of surface-expressions that 'Zionist Photography' engaged in to represent the *ideas* of Zionism. In the shape of photojournalism, it was reproduced individually, collectively and internationally to generate the ceaseless flow of narratives, i.e. 'realistic and believable stories,' of Eretz Yisrael. As a result, a new national self-image of being Jewish was designed and publicized.

'Photography in Eretz Yisrael,' and 'Photography in *Múlt és Jövő*' developed differently, but by and large in the same direction, i.e. in order to design one general picture of Jewish National Home. The ways in which they classified in/out-siders of their community were however different, as I argued by using Yemenite Jews and the Arabs as examples. The ways in which they presented a vision of the future of Jews as one people were not identical, which I argued using the photographs

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230. Kracauer, “Mass Ornament,” 75-6.

231. Gerald Mast, “Kracauer's Two Tendencies and the Early History of Film Narrative,” in *The Language of Images*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

of old-*new* generations as examples: this picture is almost entirely missing from *Múlt és Jövő*. Nonetheless however, they surely shared a common goal to photographically design and (re)present a new self-image of being nationally Jewish in Eretz Yisrael, which was not necessarily based on reality.

Presumably due to the breakout of war, after 1940, there were no new press prints available *Múlt és Jövő* could print. What the journal could do was only to repeat and reuse old images of Palestine, or reprint them from publications, such as calendars and photo-albums, as if they had been the newest reportage of Eretz Yisrael. In the meanwhile, they started to print more photographs of Hungarian Jewry, and put them in contrast to the images of 'New Jews' and 'New Palestine.' Compromise was inevitable, but this did not reduce photography's utility as a tool of Zionist *ideas*' self-(re)presentation. The journal still printed photographs of Palestine, which showed peaceful life in Eretz Yisrael in contrast to that of Diaspora. Although the number of photographs decreased after 1940, it must have sufficed to communicate basic *ideas* of Zionist culture, space, and time in “times of crisis.”<sup>232</sup>

Zionism owed the increase of its 'aura' to the medium of mechanical reproduction. To a great extent, photography's mode of representation, which attracted contemporary masses and thinkers, and largely due to its speedy reproduction and distribution, 'Zionism in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' increased its 'aura of believability.' Photography was a (re)presenter and a strategic designer of the self-image of being nationally Jewish in Eretz Yisrael, according to cultural, spatial, and temporal visionaries of the *ideas* of Zionism.

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232. See footnote 117.

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