

Visiting Jerusalem's Archives and Shrines

Awad Halabi, Wright State University - Main Campus

1
00:00:00,000 --> 00:00:05,240
I just want to say, anyone who thinks
that a professional development leave is

2
00:00:05,240 --> 00:00:10,720
a year off ought to be here right now. [laughing]

3
00:00:10,720 --> 00:00:16,240
So while Awad is loading his PowerPoint here I will introduce him.

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00:00:16,240 --> 00:00:21,520
Awad Halabi is an associate professor with a joint
appointment in the Departments of History

5
00:00:21,520 --> 00:00:27,720
and Religion. His PhD is from the
University of Toronto. He teaches courses

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00:00:27,720 --> 00:00:33,760
on the history and religion of the
Middle East. He is an active scholar, book

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00:00:33,760 --> 00:00:38,680
reviewer, and conference speaker and
recently organized a series of events

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00:00:38,680 --> 00:00:43,860
around a Fulbright grant with a focus
called Direct Access to the Muslim World,

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00:00:43,860 --> 00:00:49,969
which brought a scholar from Jordan to
Wright State. His talk is called visiting

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00:00:49,969 --> 00:00:54,769
Jerusalem's archives and shrines, so it
has to have pictures.

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00:00:54,769 --> 00:00:55,509

Yes.

12
00:00:55,509 --> 00:00:56,211

[laughing] There you go.

13
00:00:56,220 --> 00:01:09,460

And I'm just trying to get... Okay. Thank you very much and we're a little behind schedule so... Thank you to

14
00:01:09,460 --> 00:01:15,390

all those involved in organizing this conference such as Dean Sobolik, Assistant

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00:01:15,390 --> 00:01:19,700

Dean Caron, and miss Stephanie Dickey. Thank you very much. I'll always take an

16
00:01:19,700 --> 00:01:24,009

opportunity to talk about my research, especially because my colleagues were

17
00:01:24,009 --> 00:01:28,119

bored of listening to me sometimes, because I talk so much about it. I'd like to

18
00:01:28,119 --> 00:01:33,720

talk to you today about the research I conducted in Jerusalem last spring when

19
00:01:33,720 --> 00:01:38,600

I had the opportunity to travel to Jerusalem during the sabbatical. A book

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00:01:38,600 --> 00:01:43,460

I'm writing, Palestinian Rituals of Identity: The Prophet Moses festival 1850

21
00:01:43,460 --> 00:01:49,490

to 1948, This book examines the prophet Moses festival in Jerusalem during the

22
00:01:49,490 --> 00:01:55,100

era of late Ottoman and British rule in Palestine. Let me give you a very general

23

00:01:55,100 --> 00:02:00,490

background of the topic before going into exactly what I did. Islam certainly is

24

00:02:00,490 --> 00:02:04,530

an Abrahamic faiths that recognizes...

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00:02:04,530 --> 00:02:09,280

that recognizes the prophecies of the earlier Judaeo-Christian biblical

26

00:02:09,280 --> 00:02:14,890

tradition and as this Qur'anic verse shows beginning with Abraham and seen

27

00:02:14,890 --> 00:02:23,209

David and Isaac and Moses as prophets and Jesus and John the Baptist as prophets and

28

00:02:23,209 --> 00:02:28,940

regarding Mary as a holy figure. The Islamic tradition then recognized the lands of

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00:02:28,940 --> 00:02:35,020

the Eastern Mediterranean, what comprises Israel, Lebanon, Syria today as forming

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00:02:35,020 --> 00:02:39,170

the holy land; the land of the biblical tradition; the land where these

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00:02:39,170 --> 00:02:49,390

prophecies originated. In this tradition of recognizing biblical figures, a more

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00:02:49,390 --> 00:02:54,900

popular religious tradition emerged of venerating the tombs of biblical and

33

00:02:54,900 --> 00:03:01,090

revered Qur'anic figures. These tombs were recognized as sacred places to perform

34
00:03:01,090 --> 00:03:09,090
pilgrimages or ziyara. This is a shrine
from Morocco, a Sufi shrine. Through

35
00:03:09,090 --> 00:03:15,040
ziyara, through these pilgrimages, a pilgrim can
connect more intimately with the divine

36
00:03:15,040 --> 00:03:23,489
and seek baraka, a blessing which can be
bestowed upon them from the entombed. Many of

37
00:03:23,489 --> 00:03:29,079
these larger shrines also were
associated with more annual festivals,

38
00:03:29,079 --> 00:03:36,370
festivals honoring a local revered
figure, especially a Sufi mystic or a

39
00:03:36,370 --> 00:03:40,579
biblical prophet and these would
certainly attract pilgrims coming from

40
00:03:40,579 --> 00:03:46,470
throughout different areas, rural areas
as well as attracting many men and women

41
00:03:46,470 --> 00:03:53,570
as well. This is the larger context I
study the shrine of the prophet Moses

42
00:03:53,570 --> 00:03:56,819
and the festival of the prophet Moses

43
00:03:56,819 --> 00:04:01,569
with the tomb of the prophet Moses
located eight kilometers or eight miles

44
00:04:01,569 --> 00:04:06,689
southwest of Jericho. From its founding
as a shrine in the 13th century by a

45
00:04:06,689 --> 00:04:12,480
powerful Egyptian ruler, this traditional
worship mostly consisted

46
00:04:12,480 --> 00:04:17,560
of pilgrims arriving from throughout
Jerusalem and the surrounding areas,

47
00:04:17,560 --> 00:04:24,160
engaging in largely very traditional
forms of worship. This is just a map

48
00:04:24,160 --> 00:04:30,590
showing you where Jericho is just
northwest of the Dead Sea where very

49
00:04:30,590 --> 00:04:37,740
traditional forms of worship that people
conducted, that included lighting candles,

50
00:04:37,740 --> 00:04:45,520
touching the tombs and praying at the
tomb of the prophet Moses, making secret

51
00:04:45,520 --> 00:04:50,900
vows there. And so this was a very
popular form of worship that lasted

52
00:04:50,900 --> 00:04:54,810
really until the mid 19th century and
that's when my focus of the research

53
00:04:54,810 --> 00:05:00,870
begins. In the mid-nineteenth century
that's when this organization of the

54
00:05:00,870 --> 00:05:07,710
festival in honor of the shrine is
overtaken by the Jerusalem municipal

55
00:05:07,710 --> 00:05:12,930
council. When the modern official

festival is established in the

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00:05:12,930 --> 00:05:17,570

mid-nineteenth century during the late Ottoman era and the era British rule in

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00:05:17,570 --> 00:05:22,280

Palestine and I'm interested in how in the mid-nineteenth century the Jerusalem

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00:05:22,280 --> 00:05:27,570

municipal council took control of the festival and transitioned, transformed

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00:05:27,570 --> 00:05:35,240

it into an official ceremony, celebrated largely in Jerusalem

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00:05:35,240 --> 00:05:40,909

with a new expanded range of participants and new invented

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00:05:40,909 --> 00:05:46,930

traditions and rituals that were involved. These modern rituals, these

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00:05:46,930 --> 00:05:52,350

modern ceremonies required pilgrims now to gather first in Jerusalem

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00:05:52,350 --> 00:05:57,950

as high-ranking Ottoman officials joined members of Jerusalem's wealthy elite and

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00:05:57,950 --> 00:06:04,280

religious authorities in newly invented rights such as unfurling the sacred

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00:06:04,280 --> 00:06:11,940

banners of the prophet Moses banner or a leading processions led by the

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00:06:11,940 --> 00:06:21,370

either the elite of the city or also

processions led by the Ottoman military;

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00:06:21,370 --> 00:06:27,820

that it gave them a greater presence in the ceremonies. After World War I

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00:06:27,820 --> 00:06:33,500

in the era of British rule the festival now attracted a larger

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00:06:33,500 --> 00:06:39,960

gathering of pilgrims coming now from throughout Palestine and it involved

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00:06:39,960 --> 00:06:45,090

again, the largely rituals led by the wealthy elite and politically powerful,

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00:06:45,090 --> 00:06:51,800

Arab nationalist leaders high-ranking religious officials as well as British

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00:06:51,800 --> 00:06:58,590

colonial authorities. This is when the festival really emerges as an icon of

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00:06:58,590 --> 00:07:05,940

Palestinian nationalism. And I argue how the participation of the festival from

74

00:07:05,940 --> 00:07:12,560

1852 to 1948, from those with more powerful social class standing such as Ottoman

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00:07:12,560 --> 00:07:17,180

officials, urban notables, Arab nationalist leaders, British colonial

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00:07:17,180 --> 00:07:21,600

officials and those with limited influence such as Arab peasants and

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00:07:21,600 --> 00:07:27,120

Bedouins that all of them are in this arena in which they attempt to compete

78
00:07:27,120 --> 00:07:33,020
to control the symbols of the festival. These symbols include the

79
00:07:33,020 --> 00:07:36,900
images that are projected, the processional roots, the participants that

80
00:07:36,900 --> 00:07:45,360
are are involved, the rhetoric that is projected, by ordering the symbols of

81
00:07:45,360 --> 00:07:51,730
the ceremonies each group is trying to control certain messages at this ritual

82
00:07:51,730 --> 00:07:58,870
event, messages that speak about how they understand modernity, Islam, colonialism,

83
00:07:58,870 --> 00:08:03,200
and other politics at that time.

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00:08:03,200 --> 00:08:08,440
So what I want to focus on here is my brief research trip to Jerusalem, the

85
00:08:08,450 --> 00:08:13,890
Spring of 2014 and I will not be speaking about the great lunch I had at

86
00:08:13,890 --> 00:08:19,730
the American Colony Hotel or the strolling around the streets of the old

87
00:08:19,730 --> 00:08:23,540
city of Jerusalem overlooking the Mount of Olives, though if you plan a trip to

88
00:08:23,540 --> 00:08:28,070
Jerusalem you should ask me about it, but

certainly try to go to the American

89

00:08:28,070 --> 00:08:35,100

Colony Hotel. Rather, I want to focus on some of the research I conducted there

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00:08:35,100 --> 00:08:42,540

and my visitation to the shrine. I conducted research at the main Islamic

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00:08:42,540 --> 00:08:49,040

archive in Jerusalem for documents specifically related to the late Ottoman

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00:08:49,040 --> 00:08:55,480

period festival. The limited sources I discovered confirmed to me that the

93

00:08:55,480 --> 00:09:01,810

newly formed Jerusalem municipal council had assumed a greater responsibility in

94

00:09:01,810 --> 00:09:07,690

organizing the festival and reordering it to highlight the

95

00:09:07,690 --> 00:09:14,810

authority of really a new political order that had emerged of the Ottoman

96

00:09:14,810 --> 00:09:21,040

officials, the members of the Jerusalem municipal council, all of these were

97

00:09:21,040 --> 00:09:25,270

members of the wealthy elite, they were western educated, they wore European

98

00:09:25,270 --> 00:09:32,050

clothes, they were accustomed to working in western state

99

00:09:32,050 --> 00:09:38,880

institutions. At the archives I found how
the Jerusalem municipal council had

100

00:09:38,880 --> 00:09:49,260

begun to oversee the organization of the
festival. They had these images show here,

101

00:09:49,260 --> 00:09:55,750

given greater rules to the wealthy elite
such as leading the procession banners

102

00:09:55,750 --> 00:10:01,990

or - its kinda hard to see in that second
image on the right - there's tents

103

00:10:01,990 --> 00:10:06,830

erected where the municipality would
welcome pilgrims in the Ottoman military.

104

00:10:06,830 --> 00:10:11,320

I don't know if you can see it so well.
The Ottoman military band would

105

00:10:11,320 --> 00:10:21,130

lead the processions. And I also found
other documents that discussed how a

106

00:10:21,130 --> 00:10:25,510

new committee had been formed by the
Municipal Council on that. This committee

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00:10:25,510 --> 00:10:30,520

wasn't just made up of religious
officials, it also included many

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00:10:30,520 --> 00:10:35,560

non-religious state officials who are
now part of working in the Ottoman state,

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00:10:35,560 --> 00:10:40,560

such as the educational counselor, the
city engineer, the city accountant, the

110

00:10:40,560 --> 00:10:45,740
director of religious endowments and
representatives of the Catholic, Greek

111
00:10:45,740 --> 00:10:51,230
Orthodox, Armenian, and Jewish communities. Clearly the festival was no longer a

112
00:10:51,230 --> 00:10:58,400
religious affair, but a civic and municipal
concern. Where they again granted new

113
00:10:58,400 --> 00:11:05,030
roles to wealthy elite officials in
Jerusalem, a new role to the Jerusalem

114
00:11:05,030 --> 00:11:14,570
municipality and really augmenting the authority of the new

115
00:11:14,570 --> 00:11:22,210
modern state rulers the the modern state
rulers of the Ottoman Empire. It was one

116
00:11:22,210 --> 00:11:25,940
way that the Ottoman rulers could
project a message that they could be

117
00:11:25,940 --> 00:11:32,400
traditional and Islamic despite also
adopting very western and secular

118
00:11:32,400 --> 00:11:37,690
reforms. But I also had many questions
of what happens to the festival after

119
00:11:37,690 --> 00:11:44,130
1948 during the period of Jordanian and
Israeli and the rule of the Palestinian

120
00:11:44,130 --> 00:11:49,030
authorities. At the archives I also
discovered records that discussed how

121
00:11:49,030 --> 00:11:54,720

under the period of Jordanian rule
that Jordanian officials attempted to

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00:11:54,720 --> 00:12:01,750

limit visitations to the shrine, fearing
that the pilgrims visiting the shrine,

123

00:12:01,750 --> 00:12:08,410

which serve as a kind of competition and
a threat to the new Jordanian monarchy -

124

00:12:08,410 --> 00:12:14,540

King Hussein had just ascended the throne
in 1952 - and so they are restricted

125

00:12:14,540 --> 00:12:19,130

access to the shrine. I had also the
opportunity to interview people who were

126

00:12:19,130 --> 00:12:22,970

familiar with the administration of the
shrine and help me clarify what

127

00:12:22,970 --> 00:12:29,120

happens to the festival after 1948, but
my most important goal was to attend the

128

00:12:29,120 --> 00:12:34,720

festival in the spring of 2014. The
Palestinian authority had replied the

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00:12:34,720 --> 00:12:40,569

festival in 1997 hoping to stoke
memories of the festival as a

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00:12:40,569 --> 00:12:45,730

nationalist celebration. I wanted to
attend the celebrations in other years,

131

00:12:45,730 --> 00:12:51,149

but it was always difficult to attend
because it takes place in April, a time I'm

132

00:12:51,149 --> 00:12:55,790
teaching. While there are many Arabic
press accounts of the festival, nothing

133
00:12:55,790 --> 00:13:01,379
could really compete with the first hand
account and information I gathered as an

134
00:13:01,379 --> 00:13:07,920
enthusiastic observer. I visited the
shrine before the festival and I also

135
00:13:07,920 --> 00:13:13,120
discovered that part of the shrine has
now become a rehabilitation facility for

136
00:13:13,120 --> 00:13:19,259
drug and alcohol addicts. I heard some
anecdotal evidence about this from

137
00:13:19,259 --> 00:13:23,290
others before, but I didn't really have
much information of it. I have long now

138
00:13:23,290 --> 00:13:27,949
conversations with the administrators of
this program who provided really what I

139
00:13:27,949 --> 00:13:33,839
found interesting is that they provided -
this is just an image of the... some of the men

140
00:13:33,839 --> 00:13:40,800
at the back who are seeking
rehabilitation there. That's their room

141
00:13:40,800 --> 00:13:45,990
as well. What I found interesting is that
they provide a very general

142
00:13:45,990 --> 00:13:52,389
discussion of the religious nature of
their rehabilitation and rather

143
00:13:52,389 --> 00:13:59,089
focus instead on more standard
approaches for treatment. But I did have

144
00:13:59,089 --> 00:14:06,860
the opportunity to attend the
festival in 2014. I was fortunate to

145
00:14:06,860 --> 00:14:11,779
meet the main religious cleric in
Jericho, Shaykh Nour who organizes the

146
00:14:11,779 --> 00:14:17,250
festival. He's appointed by the
Palestinian authority and his intent is

147
00:14:17,250 --> 00:14:23,259
to display the festival as a way that
reaffirms the Islamic credentials of the

148
00:14:23,259 --> 00:14:29,479
Palestinian authority and there were
certainly very strong nationalist messages

149
00:14:29,480 --> 00:14:34,820
being displayed, such as scouts who
arrived from all over the west bank,

150
00:14:34,820 --> 00:14:41,850
political speeches by Shaykh Nour who
stressed a very strong

151
00:14:41,850 --> 00:14:48,269
Palestinian message of a two-state
solution, a Palestinian state Jerusalem

152
00:14:48,269 --> 00:14:53,699
as its capital, really adhering to their
two-state solution model where there are

153
00:14:53,699 --> 00:14:57,769
many appearances of Palestinian flags and
also as you see in that image on the

154
00:14:57,769 --> 00:15:03,589
left, a monk from a nearby Eastern
Orthodox monastery, which gives the

155
00:15:03,589 --> 00:15:08,660
message of a Palestinian national
identity as culturally Arab, but also

156
00:15:08,660 --> 00:15:14,699
inclusive of its Christian minority.
Shaykh Nour's attempt to strengthen the

157
00:15:14,699 --> 00:15:22,029
festival led to him accepting support from
the Turkish government from this kind of

158
00:15:22,029 --> 00:15:27,420
Turkish government organization that
does charitable work

159
00:15:27,420 --> 00:15:34,850
called TIKA, that's its acronym. They provided billboards and money for advertisement

160
00:15:34,850 --> 00:15:40,360
on television and billboards
encouraging people to attend and what I

161
00:15:40,360 --> 00:15:44,690
found interesting is that the current
Turkish government, the Justice and

162
00:15:44,690 --> 00:15:50,050
Development Party is anxious to uphold
its Islamic identity and credentials and

163
00:15:50,050 --> 00:15:56,970
many people have accused them of
abandoning their secular identity of

164
00:15:56,970 --> 00:16:04,040
Turkey, but by supporting this festival
they can maintain an Islamic identity,

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00:16:04,040 --> 00:16:10,380

but not abandon their secular laws.

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00:16:10,380 --> 00:16:16,889

You see the 2013 festival, the one I wanted to show, is that it wasn't as attended as

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00:16:16,889 --> 00:16:24,990

greatly as a 2014 celebration and even
the 2014 celebration had even a marching

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00:16:24,990 --> 00:16:33,690

band that from the Ottoman period, Janus
Era infantry corps that you see in the red cloaks.

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00:16:33,690 --> 00:16:41,330

One thing that I also was interested in
learning about was the division between

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00:16:41,330 --> 00:16:48,240

popular and official forms of Islam. The
festival in many ways continued to

171

00:16:48,240 --> 00:16:53,020

exhibit what I've always noticed, this
sense of a divide between elite led

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00:16:53,020 --> 00:16:57,650

official versions of Islam and popular
forms of Islam practiced by peasants,

173

00:16:57,650 --> 00:17:03,320

villagers, and bedouins. These
observations were confirmed to me on the

174

00:17:03,320 --> 00:17:07,230

day of the festival, something that I
couldn't really gather from just

175

00:17:07,230 --> 00:17:13,010

newspaper accounts. The festival began
with the arrival of many pilgrims, many

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00:17:13,010 --> 00:17:17,380

from mostly from the west bank, but also from Israel. One of the largest

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00:17:17,380 --> 00:17:22,910

contingents was various groups of Sufis or Islamic mystical orders had

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00:17:22,910 --> 00:17:29,160

long enjoyed worshiping at the shrine. Sufism has a strong popular dimension of

179

00:17:29,160 --> 00:17:33,620

worship, practicing certain rights such as invoking the name of God in a kind

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00:17:33,620 --> 00:17:42,170

of chant or song, dancing, playing drums in music that conservative Muslims largely

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00:17:42,170 --> 00:17:48,190

shun and disassociate from. What I found most interesting

182

00:17:48,190 --> 00:17:54,760

in their participation is how uninterested the Sufis were in the

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00:17:54,760 --> 00:17:58,920

official ceremonies, the official ceremonies led with speeches by Shaykh

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00:17:58,920 --> 00:18:06,040

Nour that included an audience with the Turkish Consul General. The Sufis

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00:18:06,040 --> 00:18:11,060

were however far more interested in performing dhikr, which is a Sufi

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00:18:11,060 --> 00:18:17,280

performance of chanting and singing, of chanting then invoking God's name

187
00:18:17,280 --> 00:18:22,040
in close proximity to the tomb of Moses. This proximity in so many ways

188
00:18:22,040 --> 00:18:27,160
represents the essence of pilgrimage, to
be close to the source of Batika, to be

189
00:18:27,160 --> 00:18:32,030
close to the source of these divine
blessings, not to be derived in any way

190
00:18:32,030 --> 00:18:38,130
from speeches, but rather from esoteric
spiritual pursuits. They performed these

191
00:18:38,130 --> 00:18:45,860
these Sufic performances directly,
even in the mosque. Here's just a quick... I

192
00:18:45,860 --> 00:19:11,419
don't know if this image is going to
turn and...[sounds of chanting and music from video] and this is going on all the time as the official ceremonies are
going on and of course Sufi mosques are

193
00:19:11,419 --> 00:19:29,740
targeted by Islamic extremists and terrorists and it's largely almost illegal in countries like Saudi Arabia were it's
considered heretical. And actually one of the gentlemen

194
00:19:29,740 --> 00:19:36,250
in this, his father was a guard at the shrine in the 60's and 70's. So I got a lot

195
00:19:36,250 --> 00:19:42,110
of good information from him. This is the vicar performances in the mosque and what's

196
00:19:42,110 --> 00:19:50,890
interesting about it... what's interesting
about it is I think [chanting and music from video] is

197
00:19:50,890 --> 00:20:06,950
how other Muslims are taking pictures of it, because they don't really see these types of religious practices. [chanting
and music]

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00:20:06,950 --> 00:20:19,260

But again, this is something which most conservative Muslims wouldn't be interested in and I just found it interesting how they really did not care at all about the official ceremonies, they

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00:20:19,260 --> 00:20:34,570

went right to the tomb and began practicing at the ceremony. Something else that I found interesting is

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00:20:34,570 --> 00:20:42,000

regarding this division between popular and official forms of Islam, is

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00:20:42,000 --> 00:20:51,340

how women had a far more, greater examples of expression, devotion in popular ways

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00:20:51,340 --> 00:20:57,870

at the shrine, where they would touch the the tomb or touch this sacred banners

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00:20:57,870 --> 00:21:08,670

that were displayed on the tomb. For them, they possessed blessings. In the days before the

204

00:21:08,670 --> 00:21:13,310

festival I heard Shaykh Nour instruct the guards at the shrine to prevent women

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00:21:13,310 --> 00:21:20,070

from praying in front of the tomb and not just in the sense of standing up and

206

00:21:20,070 --> 00:21:26,440

and saying some prayers, but women would pray in and prostrate in front of

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00:21:26,440 --> 00:21:31,350

the tomb, something that is seen as antithetical Islam for praying to a human

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00:21:31,350 --> 00:21:36,710

rather than to God. During previous visits I heard trying administrators complained

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00:21:36,710 --> 00:21:41,440

that women with type pieces of their

clothing to the bars around the tomb, such

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00:21:41,440 --> 00:21:45,740

as the clothing of a sick child
believing that that Baraka, that blessing of

211

00:21:45,740 --> 00:21:50,240

the tomb would heal the child and these
are our practices that are centuries old.

212

00:21:50,240 --> 00:21:57,059

These aren't very new at all and what I found was one
instance of the woman praying in front

213

00:21:57,059 --> 00:22:05,620

of the tomb and it's interesting in this
very quick, hastily taken video that

214

00:22:05,620 --> 00:22:12,250

other women, a few other pilgrims who are
women, they kind of dismiss her and say

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00:22:12,250 --> 00:22:18,240

in Arabic "mafi", meaning there's none of
that here, but she feels very comfortable

216

00:22:18,240 --> 00:22:39,170

doing it. [sound of crowd talking from video] I'm going to just pan towards her now.

217

00:22:39,170 --> 00:22:56,930

And she's saying, "there's none of that". But that was, what I also note as very anecdotally, is that there were far more
woman than men at the shrine and older women and

218

00:22:56,930 --> 00:23:01,930

women largely have not been largely of the textual

219

00:23:01,930 --> 00:23:09,510

tradition in Islam where they were shut out form attending medrassas or Islamic colleges or even visiting a mosque

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00:23:09,510 --> 00:23:15,620

and so this is part of the context of visiting tombs. This is why it emerges, because it's an immediate

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00:23:15,620 --> 00:23:22,650

connection with religion and the sacred rather than through an esoteric approach, rather than to an

222

00:23:22,650 --> 00:23:27,940

exoteric approach of textual study.

Let me just end off by saying thank you

223

00:23:27,940 --> 00:23:34,640

for this opportunity to speak and thank

you for having the opportunity to do a

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00:23:34,640 --> 00:23:41,280

year away and not having classes. It

really helped by my own work. So thank

225

00:23:41,280 --> 00:23:46,380

you for this time and if you have any questions I'd love to have... Yes, Eva.

226

00:23:46,380 --> 00:24:07,200

Yeah in addition to the officials trying to control the women who were praying at the shrine, were there other evidences of the official sponsors or organizers of ritual trying to control the popular expressions of faith like the Sufis or others?

227

00:24:07,200 --> 00:24:21,000

No and I what I found interesting is that they would accommodate to it and they've had to accommodate to it for some time because the Sufis have

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00:24:21,000 --> 00:24:26,640

always been a part of it and so there were

some religious chanting that Sufis

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00:24:26,640 --> 00:24:34,340

were part of that more conservative

clerics took part in, but they didn't try

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00:24:34,340 --> 00:24:40,960

to dissuade these more popular forms of worship and my argument for the

231

00:24:40,960 --> 00:24:46,610

festival throughout the late Ottoman and

British periods is that there's always

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00:24:46,610 --> 00:24:54,730

this strict division between elite led rituals and the more popular rituals. So

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00:24:54,730 --> 00:24:59,410

they were they were fine allowing them just to have that type of performance. I

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00:24:59,410 --> 00:25:03,800

think in a more conservative environment they wouldn't even... they wouldn't have permitted it

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00:25:03,800 --> 00:25:13,140

especially even in the mosque, which I don't think is as regular. Yes, go ahead.

236

00:25:13,140 --> 00:25:17,180

I hope that this isn't just a profound [inaudible]

237

00:25:17,180 --> 00:25:18,120

No, it's okay.

238

00:25:18,120 --> 00:25:28,580

How did you [inaudible] to the extent that there is still Ottoman influence in Jerusalem or..?

239

00:25:28,580 --> 00:25:33,300

Well this is Turkish and they would be happy if they heard you say that it

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00:25:33,300 --> 00:25:36,240

was Ottoman influence, because the...

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00:25:36,240 --> 00:25:43,940

[inaudible] understand it. I just haven't really though that there was still influence

242

00:25:43,940 --> 00:25:58,940

Well this festival dates back to the late Ottoman.. into the 13th and 14th Centuries so it's certainly...

243

00:25:58,940 --> 00:26:00,120

..hard to disentangle.

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00:26:00,120 --> 00:26:09,040

Right, right. I don't if my mic has been cut off. It's like the Academy Awards, like your shut out. [laughing] Well Thank

you.

245

00:26:09,040 --> 00:26:10,020

[Applause]