Return of Nabi Musa Flags to the Haram Compound. Jerusalem 1915. *Source: Institute of Palestine Studies Beirut*

Symbols of Hegemony and Resistance: Banners and Flags in British-ruled Palestine

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Scholars have tended to treat rituals in Islamic societies as static, fixed events, unaffected by historical changes, and immune to transformations that disrupt "traditional" relationships between groups in society.[1] This depiction of inert and stable ritual events most likely emerged from the view of Islam as a static belief system, in which the dynamic nature of Islam is unacknowledged. This approach is a legacy of what some refer to as a textual understanding of Islam based on a study of the Qur'an, or collections of *Hadith* (oral and written traditions of the Prophet Muhammad) or the *Sunna* (accounts of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions), which ultimately disregards the multiplicity of practices and interpretations of Islam. Islamic beliefs and worship differ among Muslims living in urban, rural and other environments, amongst worshippers of

diverse social classes and groups, like peasants, merchants, and tribes, and amongst those who lived in different historical periods – classical, medieval, or modern. This textual approach to Islamic theology has extended to Islamic culture and practice, such to include rituals.[2]

The static view of Islamic rituals fails to recognise the dynamic historical context in which Islamic rituals take place; a context in which historical transformations influence the rites, participants, and symbols at ritual ceremonies. These works suppress the varied social hierarchy of the participants, the fluid tide of changing rites and traditions, and the competing agendas each group brings to the event. Ultimately, these studies become antiquarian descriptions of rituals, rather than analytical evaluations of how society and culture interact in an ever-changing historical context. The impression the ritual historian David Cannadine has of ritual studies is just as applicable to the study of Islamic rituals, in which scholars, "…find it very difficult to deal with time and change: they take a ceremony which never alters, in a society which is entirely static, with the result that the product can seem both rigid and over-schematised."[3]

What can we gain from challenging the traditional approach to Muslim rituals? If we re-examine the religious rituals of Muslims, we find that religious festivals, pageants, pilgrimages, and non-religious rituals, such as political and secular ceremonies, allow us to observe the interactions between various social groups who participate in these celebrations – religious leaders, the elite of society, civil and state authorities, political groups, and town and rural participants.[4] In this interaction, we recognize that each group possesses its own distinctly held social and political agendas, concerns, and world-views on issues such as social hierarchy, the political direction of the community, authority, and the role of religion in society, which they attempt to communicate at ritual events.[5] As one anthropologist writes, the locus of ritual activities (e.g. shrine, festival, tomb or place of worship) are transformed into an "arena of competition and struggle between different groups attempting to win control of a crucial cultural resource."[6] These groups advance a range of different social, political and religious agendas at the ritual by attempting to order, mobilize, control, organize, re-interpret, and exploit the symbolic features of the ritual. The symbols social groups attempt to control at the ritual include the images introduced at the event, the rhetoric expressed during celebrations, the processional route taken during the ceremonies, and the ceremonial duties and roles assigned to the different participants of the ritual activity; it is the order these various social groups compete to control at the ritual activity that produces their distinctively held social, political and religious discourses.

In many religious rituals Muslims partake in, one prominent symbolic image that appears in larger public celebrations, such as festivals (singular: *mawsim*, plural: *mawasim*), are banners, termed *sanjak* (plural: *sanajik*), `*alam* (p. *a`lam*) and *bayraq*

(p. *bayariq*). Banners have a rich history in Middle Eastern and Islamic society.[7] In the realm of popular religion, many pilgrims considered banners, representing a local sufi order or a revered holy site, such as the Haram al-Sharif, as sacred, and vied to touch and kiss them when these banners appeared in religious processions or when they draped the tomb of a holy person. And as nascent national identities emerged in the modern Middle East, banners and flags became powerful, emblematic representations of these new national identities.

In the political environment of British-ruled Palestine (1917/18-1948) – where political organization was restricted, rhetoric monitored, and leadership pre-determined by the colonial authority – symbols and imagery could become surreptitious tools to articulate the unspoken concerns of the larger Arab population. Different social groups in British-ruled Palestine conscripted religious and political banners to evoke the unique ways they understood the political and social concerns of their society. These banners proved to be so evocative because they possessed the ability to communicate a social group's world-view through the symbolic orchestration of language and imagery that articulated their particular social, political and religious ideals. Clifford Geertz expounds on how ideas can be expressed through a range of symbolic manifestations:

Ideas are not and have not been for some time, unobservable mental stuff. They are envehicled meanings, the vehicles being symbols…a symbol being anything that denotes, describes, represents, exemplifies, labels, indicates, evokes, depicts, expresses-anything that somehow or other signifies…arguments, melodies, formulas, maps, and pictures are not idealities to be stared at but texts to be read, so are rituals, palaces, technologies, and social formations.[8]

Examining how various social groups of the Arab community in British-ruled Palestine attempted to order and control banners and flags at Islamic festivals and political demonstrations can elucidate how differently issues, such as national identity, the political objectives of the community, social hierarchy, and the status of Islam in a colonized society were understood and defined. These social groups included the Arab notables (*a`yan*), acting as the political and religious leaders of Palestine's Arab community, on the one hand, and the larger, mostly Arab peasant population, on the other. The way in which these two groups organized their banners in political and religious celebrations manifested their divergent views of religion, national identity, and politics, revealing how potently symbols expressed their '*weltanschauung*' on an array of political and cultural issues.

Palestine's Arab Notable Leadership

The Arab notables of Palestine recognized the strong cultural appeal of banners and were eager to incorporate them into their political events. These notables included members of the wealthy and politically powerful Jerusalem-based al-Husayni family, such as al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni, Mufti of Jerusalem (from 1921) and President (from 1922) of the Supreme Muslim Council (*al-Majlis al-islami al-a`la*), the body responsible for administering Islamic affairs in Palestine, until his expulsion from the country in 1937; as well as his close relative Musa Kazim al-Husayni, president of the politically powerful Arab Executive Committee (*al-Lajnah al-tanfidhiyya al-`arabiyya*). The elite political leadership also included members of the "Opposition" (*al-Mu`arada*), led by the Nashashibi family, the main faction competing with the Husaynis to lead the national movement. Although in competition, these two families subscribed to similar nationalist objectives for most of the British period: opposition to Britain's commitment to Zionism through diplomatic and political efforts and refrain from advocating an end to British rule.[9]

This elite brand of conservative nationalism contrasted with the views of many Arabs in Palestine, who favoured a more confrontational approach. To allay opposition to their increasingly failed diplomatic efforts to stem British support for Zionism, the Husayni family stressed the theme of maintaining "unity" when they spoke about the Palestinian national movement. The term "unity" served as a referent for Arabs to accept Husayni family members as Palestine's only national leaders and to acquiesce to their family's political, diplomatic style of dealing with the British.

While Husayni family supporters at political demonstrations and religious festivals chanted slogans praising members of this family and pledging them loyalty, banners were also creatively employed to underscore this theme of maintaining unity under Husayni leadership.

One banner that enjoined Arabs in Palestine to remain united under Husayni political leadership appeared when Herbert Samuel, the British High Commissioner to Palestine (1920-1925), addressed the controversial question of land sales in a speech at Baysan in April 1922; the Arab women of the city organized a protest, draping a camel in black to express their mournful mood. As their march progressed, they raised black banners which read, "Filastin is our country" "Down with Zionism," "Muslims and Christians are friends," and "Long Live the Arab Congress." [10]

These stark political slogans reflected an elite, Husayni dominated version of Palestinian nationalism. As already described, one slogan praised the Arab Congress – a political forum dominated by Husayni family members.[11] Another praised the Christian-Muslim alliance. Although there were long historical bonds between the two communities, the Husaynis were active members in the politically influential Muslim-
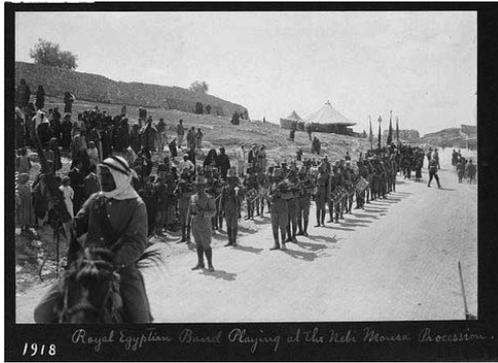
Royal Egyptian Band Accompanying the Nabi Musa Procession. Jerusalem 1918. *Source: Library of Congress Photographic Collection*

Christian Association (*al-Jam`iyya al-islamiyya al-masihiyya*).[12] While one banner condemned Zionism, none challenged British rule.

Through these banners, Husayni family supporters constructed a discursive message that define their version of national politics – opposition to Zionism but not to British rule, as well as underscoring who led this movement.

The messages on these banners would resonate even more powerfully when the Arab notables conflated their conservative national agenda with Islamic rhetoric. As the Hebron pilgrims entered Jerusalem to participate in the 1932 Prophet Moses festival (*mawsim al-nabi musa*), Palestine's largest Muslim ceremony, they raised a banner etched with an image of the Ka`ba and inscribed with a verse from the Qur'an: "Hold on firmly together to the rope of God, and be not divided." [13] (Sura 3, Ayah 103).

For a Muslim and Arab people under foreign occupation, who regarded this occupation as a threat to their Islamic and Arab identity, it is striking that this verse was chosen instead of one that emphasized Arab identity, or inspired steadfast resistance, or a verse that sanctioned continued struggle for justice. The Islamic rhetoric on the banner, however, was meant to emphasize "unity" in the national movement under elite leadership – not to express popular resentment and urge civil disobedience. Although the Hebronites were traditionally opposed to the Husaynis and al-Hajj Amin, this verse underscored the imperative of maintaining national unity through the allegorical reference of Muslims bound together under the "rope of God," a symbolic image of unity and submission to authority that the *a`yan*, such as the Husaynis, hoped to instil in the participants of large public events. Moreover, by incorporating this conservative nationalist agenda into a religious banner, national issues assumed religious dimensions by equating defiance of Palestine's Arab notable leadership with apostasy.

The infusion of nationalist messages at religious celebrations were highly visible and evocative at the annual *al-Nabi* Musa (Prophet Moses) festival in Jerusalem, considered the largest celebration of Palestine's Muslim community, attracting pilgrims from throughout the county.[14] The festival honoured the thirteenth-century Prophet Moses shrine (*maqam al-nabi musa*) and tomb located seven kilometres south-west of Jericho. The most colourful and revelatory segment of the week-long celebrations, beginning one week before the Eastern Orthodox Easter calendar,

included the resplendent scene of the arrival of thousands of pilgrims to Jerusalem, raising their town, village and religious banners as they entered the Old city and convened at the Haram al-Sharif, before commencing their march down to the shrine of the Prophet Moses. Muslim pilgrims revered these religious banners and considered them sacred; during the processions, pilgrims would endeavour to touch or kiss them, hoping to be bestowed with *baraka* (blessing).[15]

Ceremonial activities during the week-long festivities involving banners provided opportunities for both Palestine's Arab notable leadership as well as the country's colonial rulers to project their distinctive political objectives.[16] Before entering the Old City, the British Governor of Jerusalem continued the tradition of his Ottoman predecessor of ceremonially inspecting the banners of each town and village. The sacred banners of al-Haram al-Sharif and the Prophet David (*al-Nabi Da'ud*), and other religious banners were also officially presented at Government House to the British Governor of the city for "inspection." At this ceremony, a Muslim cleric unfurled the banners, recited a prayer, and affixed the banners to a pole. According to one 1918 account, the British governor of Jerusalem saluted the sacred banners after the prayers.[17] Members of the British colonial government also joined Arab notables of the city and Jerusalem's Islamic leaders to witness the Mufti al-Hajj Amin unfold the sacred banner of the Prophet Moses at the *dar al-kabira*, a Husayni owned home in the Old City where the Prophet Moses banner remained throughout the year, which was then prepared for its official appearance in the grand processions leading to the Haram al-Sharif.[18]

Both British colonial and Islamic religious authorities also attended the ceremonial blessing of these flags at Ra's al-Amud, a site outside the Old City where pilgrims convened before they commenced their arduous march down to the shrine of the Prophet Moses. At this gathering of distinguished Islamic leaders and British colonial authorities, Muslim clerics blessed the banners, led prayers and recited verses from the Qur'an.[19]

Although, the British military and musical bands escorted the crowds of pilgrims in and out of the Haram al-Sharif and British colonial authorities attended the celebrations at the Prophet Moses shrine, the participation of high-ranking British officials in the banner ceremonies, in particular, was striking, for it provided British colonial authorities with ritualistic duties and placed them in the same ceremonial space as high-ranking Muslim religious clerics. Through this participation, British colonialism attained the impression of respectful guardians of Palestine's Islamic culture, allowing them to muffle Islamic rhetoric against their rule; for how could Arabs in Palestine be expected to mobilize Islam as an ideology to counter the British if top colonial officials were seen as honoured participants in Palestine's largest Muslim celebration?

We tend to depict Islam as infusing a Palestinian nationalist discourse with anti-Western feelings or militant impulses. The British participation in the banner ceremonies of the Prophet Moses festival not only limited the use of Islamic rhetoric against the British, but also accorded the British a privileged place in Palestine's Islamic culture. Equally important, by highlighting Britain's goodwill to Islam, the Arab notables could deflect any criticism for their service in the Palestine colonial administration or for their political, diplomatic dealings with the British, ignoring those who called for a boycott against the colonial administration or for those who subscribed to a more militant approach against the British.

Non-Elite Symbolic Expressions:
Village Banners at the Prophet Moses Festival

To the chagrin of its elite organizers, however, the Prophet Moses festival would prove unsuccessful in fully convincing all Arabs in Palestine of an elite vision of a national movement and in subduing the loyalty pilgrims maintained for their tribe or village. For many Arabs, the village, *hamula* (clan, extended family) and tribe represented the foundations of their livelihood, social customs, and social relations. The social setting of a village and social structure of a clan and tribe provided peasants and Bedouin protection from outside forces (e.g. government, other villages and tribes) and provided them access to sources of wealth (e.g. inheriting plots of land in the *musha`* collective land tenure system).

Peasants challenged the roles they had been assigned in the Prophet Moses ceremonies, as passive participants who were assembled to evoke the idea of a unified national movement loyal to its elite leadership. Instead, in the examples we will see, peasants chose to assert their own agency, by attempting to reorder the festival ceremonies, and especially the appearance of banners, as a way to communicate values and identities important to them.[20] The experience some villagers had in participating in the Prophet Moses festivities reveals the vibrancy of traditional social structures and an unwillingness to submit to a notable-led nationalist movement, ideals these villagers manifested symbolically by ordering the appearance of village banners. On Monday April 6 of the 1931 celebrations, the residents of Baytuniya[21] and its surrounding villages had intended to march to Jerusalem with their banners unfurled, ready to join other pilgrims in the grand ceremonial parade into the Old City. The British authorities, however, were wary of allowing additional villages to join the official processions, where pilgrims routinely denounced the British and chanted politically trenchant anthems. As Keith Roach, Deputy District Commissioner of the Jerusalem District (1926-1945), asserted, the villagers of Baytuniya were pro-Mufti (i.e. supporters of al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni), and had petitioned him at the "eleventh hour" for permission to raise their banner.[22] The villagers were hoping to parade as a single village contingent, but the authorities regarded the raising of their banner as an "innovation" in

the traditional ceremony.[23] Although the Supreme Muslim Council repeatedly petitioned the British to permit the Baytuniya villagers to hoist their banner, Roach informed Police authorities that under "no circumstances" should they allow the banner to be unfurled.[24]

That same day, Roach also met the *mukhtar*s (village headmen) of the `Ayn Karim village,[25] informing them that authorities would not "tolerate" their village banner raised in the Jaffa road.[26] As a gesture of conciliation, the police allowed the `Ayn Karim villagers to begin their ceremonial entrance into Jerusalem at the opposite end of the Y.M.C.A., in Princess Mary's Avenue, just outside the Old City.[27] This concession diverted the `Ayn Karim villagers away from the more grandiose and larger procession commencing at the Jaffa Gate.

The Baytuniya and `Ayn Karim villagers, however, did not regard their participation as novel or as "innovations". The British had long played on the dichotomies of terms such as "tradition" and "innovation" to suppress acts with which they disagreed.[28] In 1928 they prevented Jewish worshippers from introducing appurtenances (i.e. chairs, screens) at the Western Wall as innovations because of fears that these would heighten Islamic anxieties over Jewish designs on the Temple Mount / al-Haram al-Sharif. The two villages of Baytuniya and `Ayn Karim likely had attended past celebrations as part of a group of villages and pilgrims representing Jerusalem and its environs.[29] At the 1931 festivities, however, they may have modified their participation by seeking to be more formally included in the larger processions as individual and separate village contingents, not as pilgrims organized under the larger Jerusalem contingent. The British, however, regarded their attempts to participate as single contingents as heightening the national pretensions of the Prophet Moses festival and contributing to the potential for disorder to erupt during the ceremonies.

Villagers, however, regarded banners as proud emblems that symbolically declared their identities tied to their village, town or tribe. As the Hebron pilgrims reached Jerusalem, banner-bearers raised their town's green flag, flanked by other blue, gold and green religious banners, and surrounded by swordsmen, singers and dancers.[30] The villages from the environs of Hebron followed closely behind, bearing their red, green, yellow and white village banners that were embroidered with texts from the Qur'an.[31] On Maundy Thursday as pilgrims began their official return to Jerusalem from the Prophet Moses shrine and reached Ra's al-`Amud, the flags of the Shaykhs al-Qazzaz, `Atif, Abu Majid and Hasan and the village of `Azariyah and other villages together with the banners of the youth (*al-shabab*) of Jerusalem, Nablus and Hebron greeted the pilgrims. Eastern Orthodox Good Friday, the final day of the celebrations, marked the most colorful scene of the week-long festivities, as the Haram al-Sharif enclosure was crowded with pilgrims raising the banners of their respective towns, villages, tribes, sufi orders (Islamic mystics), and youth groups, marching in a parade known as the *zaffat al-`alamat* (procession of the flags).[32]

Although the celebrations had assumed the status of a nationalist event, peasants, at times, were reluctant to substitute traditional loyalties for the newly introduced concept of national patriotism, symbolizing their commitment to their traditional identities by insisting to raise their village banners and flags at the Prophet Moses festivities. In fact, the following year, some villagers were confronted with a dilemma: either submit to official regulations barring them from participating as individual village contingents or march as part of the larger national processions.

Concerned with the growing political dimensions of the Prophet Moses festival, especially its synergy between religion and nationalism, British authorities barred the villagers of `Ayn Karim from expanding their role in the 1932 ceremonies to march in the processions as a separate contingent.

That year, the residents of `Ayn Karim learned that both the Governor of the District of Jerusalem Keith Roach and the High Court of Justice (*Mahkamat al-`adl al-`ulya*) refused to grant the villagers permission to raise their banners at the official procession inaugurating that year's ceremonies on Saturday April 23.[33] Although one prominent resident of the village attempted to reverse this decision by appealing to the High Commissioner Sir Arthur Wauchope (1931-1938) and to the court, early on Monday April 25 more than four hundred villagers from `Ayn Karim congregated and formed one *mawkib* (procession), determined to embark on their march to Jerusalem. The Governor of Jerusalem, however, was intent on preventing them, dispatching eighty Arab and English police officers to the village at 6:00 am. Many of the village's youth refused to concede to this British pressure, leading to scuffles with the British police that resulted in the arrest of over eight villagers.[34]

The villagers were unable to celebrate as one procession; rather, they were "forced," in the words of the correspondent for the *New York Times*, to proceed in small and dispersed groups through Jerusalem and then to the tomb of Prophet Moses.[35] Although the villagers of `Ayn Karim practiced a fluid sense of their identity, identifying as villagers who were also attached to a fledgling Palestinian nation, British officials wanted to fix their identity solely as villagers under the authority of Arab nationalist leaders whom they trusted, such as al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni.

The final testimony evincing the strong village consciousness among the residents of `Ayn Karim was how they chose to participate in the closing segment of that year's ceremonies. On Wednesday April 27, pilgrims and village contingents began returning from the Prophet Moses shrine to Jerusalem, entering the Old City as elaborately as they had departed, in a din of songs and chants, with an array of banners and flags adorning a long parade route, which for many observers represented the apex of Palestinian nationalism. The villagers of `Ayn Karim purposefully absented themselves from the closing festivities. Although the villagers of `Ayn Karim suffered injury and incarceration as they struggled to be officially included in the inaugural

ceremonies, they returned to their homes after visiting the Prophet Moses shrine, by-passing the processions to the Haram al-Sharif where the closing ceremonies were held. As the *Filastin* correspondent remarked, the villagers resented that they were not permitted "to go out with their banner and their [own] parade."[36] The villagers could still have joined other Arabs in the closing ceremonies, where pilgrims from across the country formed one national congregation; yet, they instead chose to exercise a more familiar sentiment: to identify as villagers, which they wanted symbolically to pronounce by raising their village banners as a separate contingent.

The choice of non-participation reveals how non-elite groups, such as peasants, could use symbolic images, such as banners and flags, to reorder and challenge the discursive messages elite groups attempt to impose at ritual events, in this case the nationalist identities the notables of Palestine hoped to disseminate at the Prophet Moses celebrations. If the Arab political and religious leaders had transformed participation at the Prophet Moses celebrations into a nationalist exercise, then non-participation manifested the opposite message, the assertion of traditional loyalties. As Lynn Hunt has observed in her study of the symbols of the French Revolution, "colors, clothing, adornments, plateware, money, calendars…" could serve more than one political purpose.[37] For example, these symbols could inform the political stance of one people, but also become the symbolic forms of "adherence, opposition, and indifference" for another.[38]

Conclusion

Scholars endeavouring to study the complex dynamics that shape societies may find rituals as valuable sources for identifying how various social groups conceive differently of society and its most demanding social and political issues. The competition over the symbolic ordering of rituals, in particular, is helpful for exposing the complex nature of societies because this competition manifests the struggle different social groups engage in over the exercise of power and authority in society. As Geertz observed of cremation rituals of the Balinese court, these rituals did not simply represent the authority of the Balinese monarchy, they gave meaning to larger ideas of social hierarchy, the authority of the monarchy, and social relations; in effect, these rituals embodied the power of the monarchy – they did not simply represent it, arguing: "A royal cremation was not an echo of a politics taking place somewhere else. It was an intensification of politics taking place everywhere else."[39]

The religious and political banners that different segments of Palestine's Arab community displayed during the period of British rule reveal a multi-faceted spectrum of beliefs in how Arabs understood an array of issues, such as the political direction of the national movement, the role of religion in society, and identity. The larger Arab masses who attended the festival ceremonies during the period of British

rule competed with the Arab notables and British officials to project their unique understanding of society, politics and culture. The Prophet Moses festival ceremonies were not univocal expressions of "Palestinian nationalism" or "Islamic identity," but represented the multi-valent and diversified constructions of each participating social group. As Michael Sallnow curtly states, "When people converge in pilgrimage, meanings collide."[40]

Although the Arab elite sought to dominate discussion of the most pressing social, political and religious issues of their community and demanded that lower strata groups submit to their authority and leadership, some Arab peasants, such as the residents of `Ayn Karim during the 1931 and 1932 *al-Nabi* Musa ceremonies, found banners to be provocative symbolic expressions of their own political and religious concerns. This heterogeneity in the concerns and ideals of Palestine's different social groups defies the image of a homogeneous national entity loyally submitting to the leadership of the Arab elite in its dealings with the British or with its attempts to define Islam in a colonized environment, which many works on Palestine during colonial rule depict.[41] The competition over the use of these banners and their symbolic meanings at political and religious ceremonies exposes how rituals are both arenas to impose hegemony, as well as serve to defy it, used as a discourse for one group to diffuse its social and political messages, as well serve as counter-discourses to contradict and oppose those messages.

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Endnotes

1   Works on Islamic rituals that represent this approach include Tewfik Canaan's *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine*, (Jerusalem: Ariel Publishing House, 1927, originally published in *The Journal of Palestine Oriental Society*, vol. 4 [1924]:1-84, 5 [1925]:163-203, 6 [1926]:1-69 and 117-158, 7 [1927]:1-88); I. Goldziher, "Veneration of saints in Islam," Parts I and II, trans. and ed. C. R. Barber and S. M. Sternin *Muslim Studies*, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1973) volume 2, pp. 255-341; G. E. von Grunebaum's *Mohammadan Festivals*, (New York: H Schuman, 1951).

2   Edward Said challenges this impression, regarding it as a Western discourse tied to the authority and control Western states attempted to impose over the Middle East and Islamic societies in an age of Western imperial ascendancy. Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

3   David Cannadine, "Introduction: Divine Rights of Kings," in *Rituals of Royalty*, ed. David Cannadine, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 4.

4   For non-religious rituals, see Sally Moore and Barbara Myerhoff, *Secular Ritual*, (Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1977).

5   Both John Eade and Michael Sallnow discuss how each social group possesses its own "discourses" at a ritual event. John Eade, "Introduction," in *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*, eds. John Eade and Michael Sallnow, (London: Routledge Press., 1991), p. 2; Michael Sallnow, "Pilgrimage and Cultural Fracture in the Andes," in *Contesting the Sacred*, p. 137.

6   *Ibid*., p. 143.

7   For discussion of banners in Palestine, see Canaan, *Saints and Sanctuaries*, pp.201-206.

8   Clifford Geertz, *Negra. The Theatre State in Nineteenth Century Bali*, (Princeton: Princeton

University Press, 1980), p. 135.

9   Early in the period of British rule, many Arabs in Palestine and the notable leadership supported unification with Syria under the rule of Amir (Prince) Faysal, until the latter's expulsion from Syria in July 1920; see: Muhammad Muslih, *The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pp. 89-130; Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: the Construction of Modern Consciousness*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 145-176.

10   "April Political Report 1922," dated 11 April 1922, CO 19426, in Ed. Robert L. Jarman, *Political Diaries of the Arab World: Palestine and Jordan*, Vol. I, 1920-1923, (London: Arachives Editions Ltd, 1998) p. 81.

11   For the Arab Palestinian Congresses, see: Ann Mosely Lesch, *Arab Politics in Palestine, 1917-1939: The Frustration of a Nationalist Movement*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979).

12   For this group, see Ann Lesch, "Muslim-Christian Association," ed. Philip Mattar, *Encyclopedia of the Palestinians*, (New York: Facts on File, Revised Edition, 2005) pp. 324-325.

13   "The Great Festival in the Hebron parade," in 26 April 1932, *Filastin*, p. 6. English translation from *The Qur'an: Translation*, Translated by Abdullah Yusuf Ali, (New York: Tahrike Tarsile Qur'an, Inc, 14th edition, 2005).

14   For works that examine this celebration, see: Canaan, *Mohammadan Saints and Sanctuaries*, pp. 193-204; Kamil al-`Asali, *Mawsim al-nabi musa fi filastin: ta'rikh al-mawsim wa-l-maqam*, pp. 181-186; Awad Halabi, *The Transformation of the Prophet Moses Festival in Jerusalem, 1917-1937: From Local and Islamic to Modern and Nationalist Celebration*, (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 2006).

15   For a discussion of *baraka*, see Canaan, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, pp. 99-102.

16   For a study of the *Nabi* Musa banner used during the ceremony, see, Vera Tamari, "Two Ottoman Ceremonial Banners in Jerusalem," in eds. Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City*, *1517-1917*, (London: British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 2001).

17   "The Nabi Musa Pilgrimage," C. F. Clatyon, Brigadier General, Chief Political Officer Egyptian Expeditionary Force, dated 2 May 1918, FO 371/3391/92045 (National Archives, Great Britain, henceforth NA). For other accounts of British officials inspecting the banners and participating in the ceremonies, see, for example, the following accounts: "The Prophet Moses festival," 26 April 1921, *Filastin* p. 2; "The Officer of General Security greets the parade," 2 April 1932, *al-Jami`a al-`Arabiyya*, p. 2; Letter from Herbert Samuel, High Commissioner for Jerusalem, Palestine, to Right Hon. Winston Churchill, Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated 30 April 1921, CO 733/2/24586 (NA).

18   For example of the ceremony at the *dar al-kabira*, see: "Thousands participate in the celebration of the sending-off of the banners," 2 April 1932, *al-Jami`a al-`Arabiyya*, p. 2; "The great popular festival," 21 April 1935, *al-Jami`a al-`Arabiyya*, p. 3.

19   For British attendance at this ceremony, see: Ronald Storrs, *Orientations*, (London: Iver, Nicolson and Watson, 1937), p. 385; "The Prophet Moses festival," 26 April 1921, *Filastin*, p. 2.

20   For a similar development, James Gelvin discusses how non-elite groups attempted to reorder and challenge the ceremonies celebrating the Syrian Arab government under Prince Faisal. James Gelvin, *Divided Loyalties: Nationalism and Mass Politics in Syria at the Close of Empire*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 267.

21   Near Ramallah and Bir Zeit.

22   "Festivals," B/30/31, p. 3 (Israel State Archives, henceforth ISA). This report was submitted from the Chief Secretary's office, signed by Keith Roach, Deputy District Commissioner, Jerusalem Division.

23   *Ibid*.

24   *Ibid*. See also "The Government and the procession of Baytuniya and its surrounding villages," 8 April 1931, *Filastin*, p. 5.

25   Located a short distance west of Jerusalem.

26   "Festivals," B/30/31, p. 3, (ISA).

27   "Festivals," B/30/31, p. 3 (ISA). The Y.M.C.A. is presently adjacent to the American Consulate office, across from the outer walls of the Armenian quarter. The location is at some distance from the larger assembly entering the Old city.

28   For examples of how the British attempted to define concepts such as "tradition" and "modern" among Iraq's social groups, see Toby Dodge, *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied*, (New

York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 63-82.

29 The villagers of Jerusalem entered the Old city on the first Monday of the Prophet Moses week festival, the same day that the Hebron pilgrims arrived.

30 For example, see the arrival of the Hebron flag in "Moslem Feast in Honour of the Prophet Moses," 22 May 1922, *Times*, p. 9.

31 *Ibid*.

32 Canaan, *Mohammadan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 213.

33 For newspaper coverage of this conflict, see: "The people of `Ayn Karim and the Prophet Moses festival," 24 April 1932, *Filastin*, p. 5; "The Hebron banner," 26 April 1932, *Filastin*, p. 5; "The people of `Ayn Karim and the Prophet Moses festival," 24 April 1932, *Filastin*, p. 5; "Palestine Moslems battle with Police," 26 April 1932, *New York Times*, p. 8.The week of the Prophet Moses festivities began on Friday 22 April and ended Friday 29 April, 1932.

34 "Palestine Moslems battle with Police," 26 April 1932, *New York Times*, p. 8.

35 *Ibid*.

36 "Return of the banners from *Nabi* Musa," 28 April 1932, *Filastin*, p. 5.

37 Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 53.

38 *Ibid*.

39 Geertz, *Negra*, p. 120.

40 Michael J. Sallnow, "Pilgrimage and cultural fracture in the Andes," in Eds. John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*, (London, Routledge, 1991), p. 137.

41 Works which have begun to challenge the image of a homogeneous national movement and expose a diversified expression of identity include the following: Musa Budeiri, "The Palestinians: Tensions between nationalist and religious Identities," in eds. James Jankowski and Israel Gershoni, *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 191-206; Ellen Fleischmann, *The Nation and its "New" Women: The Palestinian Women's Movement 1920-1948*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 2003); Zachary Lockman, *Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906-1948*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Weldon Matthews, *Confronting an Empire, Constructing a Nation: Arab Nationalists and Popular Politics in Mandate Palestine*, (I.B. Tauris, 2006).