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Constructing a Shared Bible Land: Jewish Israeli Guiding Performances for Protestant Pilgrims

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Constructing a shared Bible Land:

Jewish Israeli guiding performances for Protestant pilgrims

ABSTRACT

During biblical tours, Jewish Israeli guides and Protestant pastors become coproducers of a mutually satisfying performance that transforms the often-contested terrain of Israel–Palestine into Bible Land. Guides' emplaced performances of the Bible grant a significance to visitors' movement that constitutes the visitors as pilgrims. The professional authority of the guide is increased by his or her position as "reluctant witness" to scriptural truth and facilitated by historically transmitted practices of viewing, classifying history, and orientalizing shared by Protestants and Zionists. By examining guiding performances of orientation to biblical sites, I demonstrate how Zionist and Protestant understandings become naturalized while marginalizing Palestinian Arabs. [*pilgrimage, performance, habitus, Bible, Jewish–Christian relations, tour guide, Holy Land*]

Early in the morning of their first day in Jerusalem, the guide Galia takes her Protestant pilgrims to view the panorama from atop the Mount of Olives. Choosing a spot overlooking the Muslim Dome of the Rock, Arab East Jerusalem, and the Old City but out of earshot of the Palestinian vendors of postcards and camel rides, she begins her orientation to the city. In an interview, she explained her approach: "I start with Abraham and Melchizedek and go through the Six Day War ... I deal with the view, the Temple, what you see there—the Valley of Jehosaphat and the Gate of Mercy. ... For me, this is a mission. I aim to open their eyes, so they ask questions. *Nothing* is the way it seems" (interview, June 2001; see Figure 1).

Throughout the politically and religiously contentious history of the Holy Land, the sacralization of places through scriptural attributions and liturgical performance has been the common currency of political claims to space, and textually directed movement through that space has constituted visitors as pilgrims (Halbwachs 1992; Smith 1987; Taylor 1993; Wilken 1992; Wilkinson 1990). Holy Land pilgrimage practices have thus served not only as an affirmation of faith and community but also as a manifestation of presence to others, a staking of a claim to territory (cf. Friedland and Hecht 2000; Taylor 1993).

In this article, I argue that Jewish Israeli guides and Protestant pastors who lead biblical tours become coproducers of a mutually satisfying performance that transforms the often-contested terrain of Israel–Palestine into Bible Land. Through listening to guides' narrations of biblical sites as they view them and move through them, visitors are constituted as pilgrims and assert a claim to the landscape, and the guide is granted place-making authority as "native" and professional. Furthermore, I claim that the transformative potentials of the pilgrimage are fueled by the charged ambivalence of the encounter between Protestant and Jewish Israeli in significant sites of faith and history. As a Jew, the guide enjoys a liminal position in Christian understanding—he or she is a "reluctant witness" (Haynes 1995), whose presence and scriptural knowledge testify to the truth of scriptural

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Figure 1. Combining proximity to biblical landscapes with distance from oriental churches and the marketplace, panoramic viewing is a constitutive practice of Protestant Bible Land pilgrimage. By tracing their future path through the scriptural landmarks of the city, the author-cum-guide orients a group of pilgrims to Jerusalem. Copyright by Salem Bible College and Thiessen Photography.

prophecy, even if he or she remains “ignorant” of its fulfillment in Christ. The Protestant pilgrims’ view of the Jew and the land, although based on theological assumptions the guide might reject, casts the guide as *hebraeus verus*—the true (biblical) Hebrew—thus reaffirming the Zionist historical claim to the land. The historically intertwined Protestant–Zionist relationship has engendered shared social-memory practices of viewing, classifying history, and orientalizing. Insofar as the guide employs these practices in narrative performances, Zionist and Protestant narratives strengthen each other and cement the ties of both guide and group to the land and to each other while marginalizing Palestinian Arabs and Muslims.

This article is part of a larger project entitled “Christian Pilgrim, Jewish Guide, Holy Land,” in which I explore a wide range of interactions and practices and their effects on the transformation of identities of pilgrims, pastors, and guides as well as on the spaces of contemporary Holy Land pilgrimage. My research relies on a series of interviews with guides, pastors, and pilgrims and participant-observation of Protestant tour groups. The guiding narrations quoted here are mostly those I developed in the course of two decades of my own work as a Jewish Israeli tour guide with several hundred groups of Christian pilgrims, mainly from the United States, England, Germany, and the Netherlands. These pilgrims included Anglicans, Baptists, members of the Dutch Reformed Church, Lutherans, Mennonites, Methodists, Pentecostals, and nondenominational Evangelicals. The majority of Protestant groups who toured with me tended to be conservative in their theological and political orientations, as is the case among Christian visitors to Israel as a whole. Although the performances I cite in this article were those I presented to a theologically conservative U.S. audience, the itineraries, the selection of significant events (and their underlying historical rationale), and many of the guiding strategies I employed apply to a wide variety of Jewish Israeli guides and to a broad range of Protestant pilgrim groups. In subjecting these narrations to critical analysis, my project is also a reflexive self-questioning of my own performances and assumptions.

I begin by locating my study within the context of recent anthropological research on pilgrimage and landscape. I then provide the social surround for the specific pilgrimage practices I consider through a description of the structure and organization of the Protestant guided pilgrimage and the *Sitz im Leben* of the Israeli tour guide. I then present four ethnographic examples of guiding narratives that orient the pilgrims to the land, the city of Jerusalem, the Way of the Cross, and a site of archaeological remains dating to Jesus’s day. In each, I demonstrate how the narratives draw on historically embedded, shared Protestant–Zionist social-memory practices, and I illustrate how those practices enable Jewish Israeli guides and Protestant pilgrims to constitute each other, strengthen commonality, and sacralize the

landscape. I also illustrate how the isolating environmental bubble of the guided tour encourages both guides and pilgrims to affirm faith and suspend skepticism. I argue that such performances marginalize Palestinians and Muslims and cite several contestations of Jewish Israeli guiding narratives. Finally, I reflect on the ways that the forces constituting pilgrimage affect guides and draw implications from the research for the study of ritual, pilgrimage, and the poetics and politics of sacred place making.

Pilgrimage as an extension of daily life and as a ritual “for its own sake”

The previous silence of anthropology on pilgrimage was broken by Victor Turner’s seminal work in the mid-to-late 1970s (Turner 1973; Turner and Turner 1978), which subsequently became the dominant paradigm for the field (Yamba 1995:9). Subsequent studies on Christian pilgrimage took issue with Turner’s universal paradigm of pilgrimage as a liminal site of *communitas*. In an important edited book, John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow (2000:2) compiled evidence from a wide variety of pilgrimage sites that emphasizes the active, dynamic processes of conflict and of contestation of the meanings of pilgrimage and that deconstructs the category of “pilgrimage” into historically and culturally specific behaviors and meanings. This contestation may be of varying sorts. Among them are competition among pilgrims for access to the holy (Bilu 1988; Dubisch 1995:221; Sallnow 2000), conflicting interpretations of the same site or rites among different groups of pilgrims (Bowman 1993, 2000), disparate meanings imposed on a site over the course of time (Halbwachs 1992; Smith 1987), varying interpretations granted to particular practices (Eade 2000), differences (among pilgrims) and changes (over time) in the value accorded to visiting a sacred site as opposed to way stations or the approach to the site (Bowman 1991; Crain 1992; Frey 1998; Galbraith 2000), gendered differences in pilgrim practice and understanding (Dubisch 1995; Harris 1997), and contestation between pilgrims and local inhabitants of the shrine area (McKevitt 2000).

Recent collections on the anthropology of pilgrimage have tended to depict pilgrimage as a kind of blank space on which societies project their own social structures, understandings, and conflicts (Badone and Roseman 2004; Coleman and Eade 2004; Coleman and Elsner 2003; cf. Smith 1987). In accordance with the deconstruction of pilgrimage as an exceptional phenomenon, Simon Coleman and Eade have suggested that future studies of pilgrimage should regard pilgrimage in continuum with other practices of mobility in late modernity, such as visits to “shrines” of popular culture (Reader and Walter 1993), tourism, migration (Coleman 2002; Coleman and Eade 2004; Eickelmann and Piscatori 1990), and even missionary work (Fife 2004).

Although I acknowledge the theoretical value of such comparative analysis, insofar as it enables the results of pilgrimage studies to fructify broader anthropological questions (Coleman 2002:367), I fear that an overwhelming focus on mobility may obscure the ways in which the pilgrimage frame can make possible interactions and practices that seldom take place in the same way in other contexts. As Paul Basu writes with respect to "roots-pilgrims," "For the majority of my informants, pilgrimage . . . is popularly understood as *representing* a 'sacred other' to secular practices associated with tourism" (2004:153). Pilgrims, even when highly influenced by mobility and change, often assert stasis, purity, and fidelity to an unchanging past (Clifford 1997:7).

In my emphases on the ritualized narrative performances of guided pilgrimages, I follow Don Handelman's critique of the hermeneutic approach to rituals as overemphasizing the interface between ritual and daily life. "The ease of slippage between the mundane and the ritual," writes Handelman, "makes all ritual (so it seems) comprehensible in terms of social and cultural order" (1998:xv). Ritual thus becomes understood "primarily as a didactic mold especially good for agents of socialization and indoctrination" (Handelman 1998:xv), rather than something that should first be analyzed "in and of itself" (Handelman 2004).¹ By focusing on the significance of activities taking place within the pilgrimage frame, I recognize the potential that pilgrimage may have for transforming quotidian reality or for representing alternative realities. In a sense, I am swinging the pendulum back to Turner, by evoking the discontinuity between pilgrimage as liminal or liminoid activity (Turner 1973; Turner and Turner 1978) and daily life. This discontinuity corresponds to participants' (and guides') perception of the voyage as a pilgrimage, an activity distinct from the rhythms and practices of daily life.

I do not, however, accept Turner's unitary conception of pilgrimage as a universal phenomenon in which various expressions of liminality, antistructure, and *communitas* shine forth. The practices I describe are specific to pilgrims and guides of particular religious and national orientations in a particular geopolitical context. In grounding pilgrimage in particular local cultures, I devote little attention to the practices of mobility and consumption in a global economy or to the diffusion of representations and simulacra, phenomena that some scholars privilege as the template for conduct in everyday life (Rojek and Urry 1997; Urry 1990, 1995). Rather, I highlight the roles of Protestant and Zionist ordering narratives and mythic discourses in maintaining authorized meanings (Asad 1983; Mitchell 2003:134–135, 2004; Mitchell 1997) and promoting ways of making and experiencing sanctified spaces (cf. Bowman 1991, 1992). These narratives and discourses, which develop outside the pilgrimage arena, generate habitual practices of classifying, orientaling, viewing, and reading biblical passages, which Protestant pilgrims and Jewish Israeli guides import into the frame. But

pilgrimage creates an environmental bubble that intensifies certain interactions within it, affirms belief, and calls for the *suspension of disbelief*, which lends these habitual practices new authority and significance.

The narratives and practices of pilgrimage are also manifestations of power, and by asking who is marginalized by the pilgrimage performances and what conflicts may arise between participants (guides, pastors, pilgrims, and vendors) of different orientations and interests, I continue Eade and Sallnow's critique of Turner's unitary models of pilgrimage.

My focus accords with the performative approach advanced by Turner and applied by Edward Bruner and others to tourism (Bruner 2005:1–29; Crang 1997; Edensor 2000; Ness 2003:xvii). This perspective recognizes that culture is not merely expressed through performances but is also constituted through them. I demonstrate that the narratives of pilgrimage are not representations of the past but embodied remakings of the past in the present (cf. Mitchell 1997). The invocations of the Bible in pilgrimage performances are speech acts. They have transformative potential (Harding 2000), insofar as the spoken words name sites, trace paths in space, and direct the movement that constitutes pilgrimage. Although some studies of pilgrimage have devoted attention to the ways sacred space is created through pilgrim narratives and movements (Sallnow 1987) and other studies have examined the political implications of pilgrimages in (re)claiming politically contested space (Ben-Ze'ev and Aburaiya 2004; Friedland and Hecht 2000), few studies have focused on the role of tour guides in naturalizing political claims to sacred space (Abu El-Haj 2001:201–238). Furthermore, few historical (Limor 1996a, 1996b) or anthropological studies explore the roles played by guides whose religion differs from those they lead in pilgrimage.

The research on Christian Holy Land pilgrimage most relevant to my study was carried out in the late 1980s by Glenn Bowman (1992, 2000), who demonstrated how contemporary Christian groups of varying theological orientations and in different historical periods have developed different understandings of pilgrimage that produce variant pilgrim itineraries and practices. Bowman (1991) also wrote a highly critical article on Israeli tour-guiding practices and the oppression of Palestinian tour guides. In another article, on Palestinian Christian and Muslim pilgrimage to Mar Elias near Bethlehem, Bowman (1993) illustrates how political conflict may unite pilgrims of different religious groups against a common external enemy and change understandings and practices at a sacred site. Bowman also documents the influence of Zionist orientations on certain Christian pilgrimages, through guiding performances and government regulation. I extend Bowman's work on guiding performances, showing that the authority of guiding performances does not derive primarily from common theological or explicit political orientations (e.g., between Christian Zionist groups and right-wing Jewish Israeli guides; Bowman

2000:116–120). Rather, Protestantism (of a wide variety of theological and political orientations) and Zionism share a deep-structural historical legacy that generates similar *doxa* and bodily hexes (Bourdieu 1977:87)²—transmitted through Israeli education and through Protestant preaching. These historically sedimented ways of seeing and classifying include common practices of regarding landscape, the past, and the Orient that are seen to be natural, rather than the product of an ideological stance.³

Narration, movement, and place making

Text and the landscape

If the landscape of the Holy Land is a product of ongoing struggle among groups of people who attempt to inscribe their understandings on its space (Herzfeld 2006:145; cf. Halbwachs 1992), many of its sacred sites and paths are “strong texts,” “frequently repeated narratives, in which geographical features of the landscape act as mnemonic pegs upon which moral teachings hang” (Tilley 1994:33). For Protestant pilgrims, Holy Land landscape is a projection of sacred text onto the contours of the land, and the public reading of a biblical text is often the primary act of orientation. Because pilgrims’ desire to experience biblical events in their original landscape is strong, whereas their knowledge of the history and geography of the land is usually poor, the acts of naming, framing, and elevation, important in all tourist productions (MacCannell 1976:44–45), become essential. Hence, guiding narratives and itinerary choices become an important form of political power that partitions space in ways that make it possible for noncritical thought to accept the resultant reality at face value (Lefebvre 1991:280).

The spaces of the Holy Land are not merely an empty stage on which meaning is constituted entirely through pilgrim performance of the biblical text. The ability of a given site to support certain readings and evoke the sense of simultaneity with a particular past is also influenced by culturally transmitted aesthetic expectations (which are often imbued with religious value) and, as Nadia Abu El-Haj has demonstrated, the available “facts on the ground” (1998, 2001:45–72). Such “facts” are made by Israeli government authorities, but also by traditional churches and the tourist industry, through selective excavation, display, and signposting of certain remnants of the past, often at the expense of members of other religious or national communities. Another set of “facts” was provided by the project of the (19th-century) British Palestine Exploration Foundation (PEF) and (mid-20th-century) Israeli government cartographers who “rediscovered” the biblical Hebrew roots of Arab place names, creating the “Hebrew map” (Benvenisti 1997; Abu El-Haj 2001:22–35, 82–98) that includes most places identified for visitors.

The ability of the Jewish Israeli guide to mold space according to his or her own spoken narrative depends in part on the isolation of the stage from sources of possible contestation. In enclaval spaces, such as the tour bus, it would stand to reason that the guide enjoys more authority than in the heterogeneous space (Edensor 2000) of the Arab market. Yet, as I show below, the structure of the guided pilgrimage grants the guide authority even in areas in which it would seem to be subject to challenge (Dahles 1996:240).

Guiding narratives not only cosmicize and describe landscape but they also direct the movement of pilgrims through it (de Certeau 1984:97). They can succeed in creating sacred space even without the institutionalized support of “facts on the ground.” Thus, if space is a “practiced place” and walking is a process of appropriation and an acting out of the meaning attached to that space (de Certeau 1984:98), pilgrims’ walking follows well-worn paths traced by the guide narrative and previous Protestant practices. Therefore, unlike its role in de Certeau’s theorization, here the act of walking is an expression of hegemonic strategies, rather than a tactic of resistance.

I show below how guiding narratives sanctify places in the Bible Land, direct pilgrims’ movements and assign them religious and moral value, and draw together the pilgrims, pastor, and guide into a single group moving together through space and time. Through situated narratives, sacred geography is made, boundaries of community are affirmed or readjusted, and significance is granted to certain events, actors, and sites whereas others are read out. These practices have important political implications insofar as they make the Zionist claim to the land natural and even divinely sanctified.

The structure of the Protestant guided pilgrimage

Valene Smith writes, “Catholics continued to be pilgrims, whereas the Protestant rejection of ‘images’ (saints, relics and most sculptures) converted their faithful to religious tourism” (1992:8). I disagree. True, Protestants were relative latecomers to the pilgrimage scene and still display ambivalence toward words like *pilgrim* and *holy land* (Todd 1984:21). In *A Very Profitable Treatise* (1561), John Calvin dismisses the veneration of relics through pilgrimage as “vain speculation” (Moore 2003:70) and a challenge to the exclusive recourse to the Bible as sole repository of truth. Although Protestants take exception to “holy sites” in the sense of places whose sanctity was transferred to them through physical contact with the divine, they have increasingly been drawn to the land as the physical illustration of significant places of their faith (Coleman 2004:51).⁴

The distinction between (real or true) pilgrims and religious tourists often replicates power interests. Thus, when Bowman (1991, 2000) draws on the bureaucratic classification of the Israeli Ministry of Tourism, distinguishing

between “true pilgrims” (Orthodox and Catholic) and “religious tourists” (pro-Zionist fundamentalists), he relies on a classification developed for the allocation and development of financial and infrastructural resources (there is little need to invest in training government-licensed guides for poor Greek Cypriot pilgrims). This classification also replicates an orientalist schema: True pilgrims are (mostly) from the East, religious tourists from the West. Similarly, in the context of European Christian pilgrimage, the pilgrim–religious tourist distinction often reflects theological and political aims of the Catholic Church (cf. Nolan and Nolan 1989:36–53). It may also be employed by the church “to turn the tourist’s presence at religious sites and events into an occasion for a religious experience or act of worship” (Cohen 1998:2).

Most Holy Land pilgrims today make use of tourist infrastructure and incorporate some tourist sites into their itineraries. As Erik Cohen (1992) has demonstrated, pilgrimage and tourism should be viewed not as exclusive phenomena but as ideal types on a continuum of travelers’ behavior and self-perceptions (Basu 2004). The same visitors may classify themselves at one point as pilgrims (as opposed to frivolous tourists) and at another as travelers (as opposed to other, Catholic or Orthodox, pilgrims). Furthermore, contemporary travelers may shift rapidly between pilgrimic and touristic practices (Ritzer and Liska 1997:107–109; Urieli et al. 2002). I demonstrate below how the charged liminality of the guide (as Israeli “native” and “true Hebrew”) enables him or her to bracket and shift between spatiotemporal frames of pilgrimic and touristic behavior and, thus, guard the purity of the pilgrimage frame. For convenience sake, I refer to Protestant Bible Land visitors mainly as “pilgrims,” although “religious tourists” would be equally appropriate.

Protestant pilgrims to the Holy Land come mainly with group tours, organized by their local church leaders or by (tel)evangelists, and their itineraries focus on New and Old Testament sites.⁵ The guiding encounter brings together four major players: the local travel agent, the pastor, the pilgrim, and the guide. The local agent, whether Jewish Israeli or Palestinian Christian, determines itineraries; provides vouchers for entries to sites; orders hotel rooms, restaurant meals, and tour buses; and hires local freelance tour guides who accompany the group throughout its 7- to 12-day tour. The pastor is usually a recognized and respected spiritual leader from the pilgrims’ home community. Travelers who choose to come on guided pilgrimages often desire to see the maximum number of biblical sites in a limited time and for limited financial outlay. Consequently, their itinerary is intensive, touring hours are long, and they have very little free time. Group pilgrims sacrifice part of their independence and adventurousness for the sake of security and often (institutionally) enter a dependent state (Dann 1996).⁶ They seek comfort (although not necessarily luxury), the security of the environmental bubble of the guided tour (Schmidt 1979), and the company of people with common

orientations (Quiroga 1990), often from the same church community. Whereas Catholic groups are frequently guided by monks, other local religious figures, or Palestinian Christian guides, Protestants generally prefer Jewish guides over Christian Orthodox, Catholic, or Muslim Palestinians.⁷

Licensed Israeli tour guides are all graduates of the Israeli government tour-guide course.⁸ During the two-year course, guides attend lectures on a variety of topics, with major emphases placed on biblical history and archaeology and Christianity. Although the course is not an indoctrination in Zionist ideology, the curriculum does reflect taken-for-granted hegemonic understandings of Israel’s history and place in the world. In the words of veteran course-organizer Haim Carel, “The guide is the ambassador of the state. . . . What happens in the tourism industry should not be determined only by financial considerations, but by national ones” (interview, September 2004).

Aside from attending classes and writing exams, course participants travel and hike extensively through the country with a veteran tour guide, learning about the country’s history, geography, flora and fauna, and archaeology. The veteran guide (usually male) serves as a cultural role model for the novice guides. His guiding techniques are grounded in the cultural praxis of “knowledge of the land” hikes—*tiyulei yedi’at ha’aretz*. Such hikes, often arduous, were instrumental in the British Mandate era and in the early days of the modern Israeli state in educating the “New Jew,” who was to be physically attached to the soil and the state (Ben-David 1997:143), a reversal of the cosmopolitan “rootless Diaspora Jew” (Almog 1997:268–277; Katriel 1995:12). Through those hikes, national sentiment and attachment to the land were cultivated, often by “mobiliz[ing] the Bible as a source of cultural meaning and linguistic practice” (Katriel 1995:8, cf. Katriel 1997:28–29). During those trips “information and interpretations were selected primarily in order to arouse feelings of belonging to the place,” and timetables were contracted to dramatize stories and “give the . . . audience the feeling of witnessing scenes and heroes of the past, as if they were taking place here and now” (Katz 1985:63, 62). The Protestant pilgrim guide of the 19th century served as one of the models (Katz 1985:69), although not the only one (Selwyn 1995:119–120), for *yedi’at ha’aretz* guide practices.

Following their certification, guides seek work among the various Israeli and Palestinian commercial travel agents. Guides who specialize in the Christian market often invest significant energy in improving their knowledge of Christianity and the Bible and in fine-tuning their presentations. As among all tour guides, “Successful guides know how to turn their social relations and narratives into a profitable enterprise” (Dahles 2002:784). Here, successful performances lead to return requests for guiding services and larger tips on the part of clientele.⁹

The tour guide is responsible for the smooth running of the tour and acts as mediator between the group and

the driver, hotel, restaurants, and the managers of religious or tourist sites (Holloway 1981; Schmidt 1979). Cohen (1985) identified four major models for tour guides—the pathfinder, the animator, the facilitator, and the interpreter (cf. Pond 1993). The developed infrastructure of the Israeli tourist industry has minimized the importance of the pathfinder and facilitative functions. Among tour guides of Bible Land pilgrimages, the interpreter–communicative role is most prominent, and groups have come to expect a high level of specialized knowledge on the part of guides. Furthermore, with the erosion of structures of authority in late modernity, the communicative guiding role, as John Urry notes, is increasingly to present stories and interpretations rather than “facts.” Increasingly, the successful tour guide is one who masters the art of storytelling (Urry 1995:146; cf. Dahles 2002; Fine and Speer 1985; Katz 1985).

Through performance and explicit negotiation, the guide must also define his or her role with respect to the group’s pastor. Unlike Catholic groups, in which the authority of the accompanying priest is vested in sacraments and manifested (even if not exclusively) through performed liturgy, in Protestant groups, the authority of spiritual leaders is intimately linked to their performance of the biblical Word. Unless the group leader is a virtuoso of performance (as in the case of televangelists who bring hundreds of pilgrims together in mass “crusades”), many guides venture into the “pastoral” role by listening to and adapting pastors’ performances, choosing descriptions, phrases, and feeling tones that can “make the Word come alive” or, as the guide Galia put it, “open [visitors’] eyes.” Such guides understand their primary task not as the mere communication of information but as the building of a series of sites (chosen on the basis of a religious logic but sequenced by travel agents on the basis of geographical, logistic, or financial considerations) into a meaningful spiritual path (see Figure 2).

Tracing the pilgrim’s path: Guiding performances of spatial orientation

I now illustrate the practices and dynamics of making a common Zionist–Protestant Bible Land by drawing on emplaced guiding narrations of Jewish Israeli tour guides for Protestant pilgrims. These are *shtick*—formalized, sometimes comic routines, each performed at the threshold to a particular area to orient and introduce pilgrims to a particular geographical–biblical unit. The ethnographic sketches I present follow the chronology in which they appear in most pilgrim itineraries, and each routine builds on practices expressed in previous ones as well as routines performed at other sites throughout the tour. The narratives of orientation move from the broadest view to the most local: (1) initial orientation to the land, presented on the bus when entering the country at Ben Gurion Airport; (2) orientation to Jerusalem, presented on entering and first glimpsing the city

in the evening from the Mount of Olives; (3) orientation to the Way of the Cross, presented at the first station of the cross visited; and (4) orientation to a specific archaeological–historical site of Jesus’s day, presented at the “Rabbi’s Steps.”

The particular performances I describe are my own and depict my experiences as a U.S. Jewish immigrant to Israel, working with U.S. Protestant pilgrims, mostly of conservative theological orientations. Such performances vary not only from guide to guide (of different national backgrounds and religious orientations) but also from one group of pilgrims to another. Nevertheless, practices of orientation in the specific places I consider are part of most guides’ repertoires and tend to be formalized. Interviews with other guides and pastors and my observations show that the strategies and rhetorical tools I describe—if not the specific details of the performance—are widespread. The central place I allot to these guide orientation narratives reflects the centrality of orientation, naming, reading scripture, and viewing from heights to Protestant pilgrimage practice. The dominance of the guide’s voice within these descriptions and the paucity of voices of resistance among the pilgrims is the usual dynamic at sites of orientation. In such places, even the most experienced pastors rely completely on guides’ local knowledge, which includes awareness of road conditions, shortcuts, traffic jams, opening and closing times, and crowd sizes and lighting conditions at panoramic sites. The last two cases I discuss reveal that, even in sites where guides enjoy maximal authority, guiding interpretations are subject to contestation.

Following each ethnographic vignette, I analyze the common Protestant and Zionist social-memory practices that are illustrated as well as the sites or meanings elided and the conflicts that either surface or are papered over.

The good spies at Ben Gurion Airport

A Protestant group from California arrives at Ben Gurion Airport after nearly 24 hours in transit. After the group has boarded the tour bus and made a bathroom stop, the driver has loaded the luggage, and I have counted passengers, the pastor requests the microphone for a word of prayer: “We *just* want to thank you, Lord, for safely bringing us to this special place. . . . Continue to protect us and guide us, in Jesus’s name, *Amen*.” The pastor hands me the microphone, as the bus pulls out of the parking lot.

Shalom, everyone and welcome to Israel. My name is Jackie, and I’ll be your guide for the next ten days. Our driver’s name is Muhammad, and he’ll be driving us throughout the Land of the Bible.

Now your pastor, Rev. Jones, tells me that you know your Bible. How many of you brought your Bibles with you on board?

[Most of the hands go up. Some: “I left it in my luggage.”]

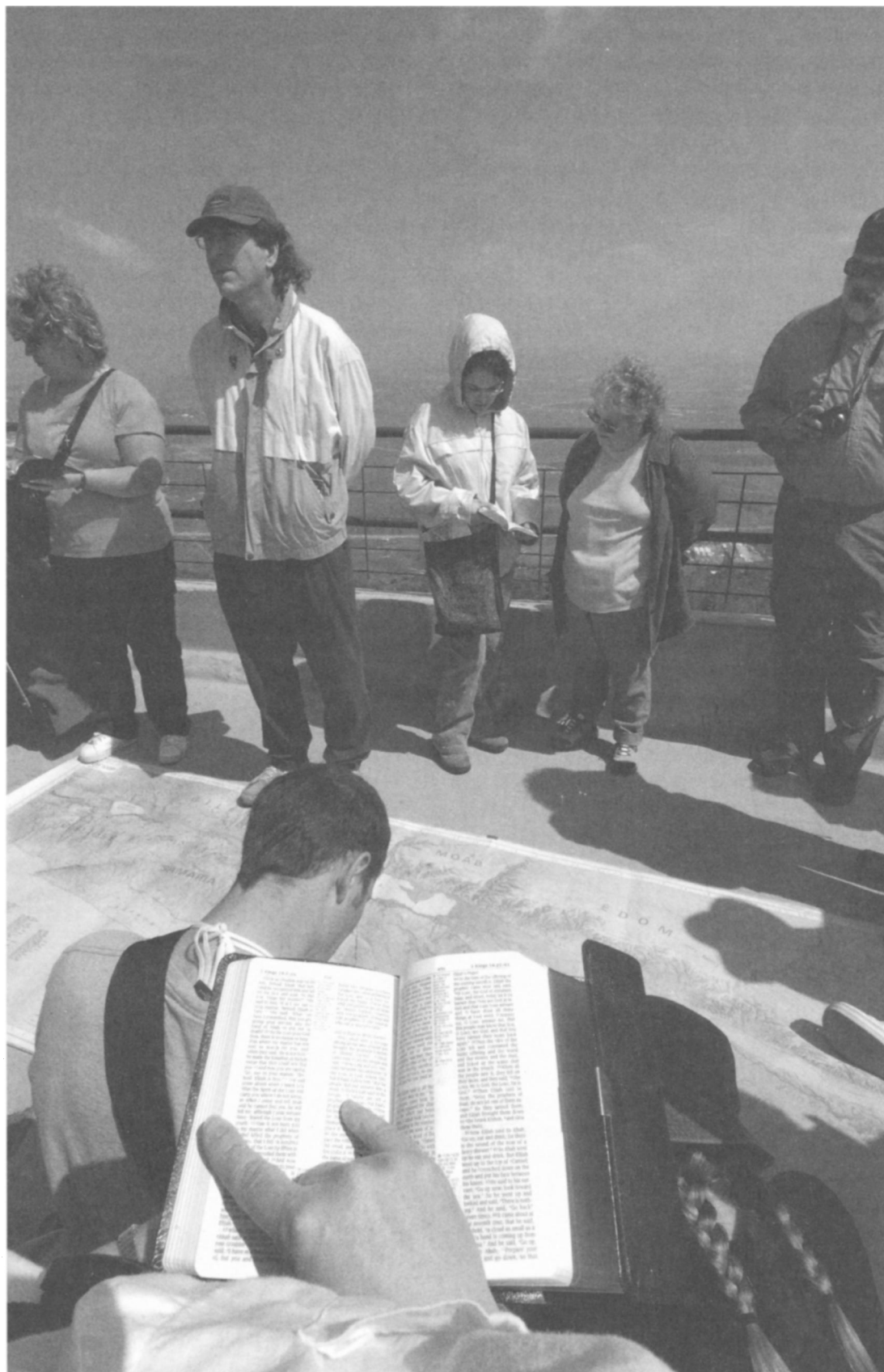


Figure 2. By conjoining the view from the outlook point with the large contour map and the biblical references, the guiding performances transform the landscape into the land of the Bible. Copyrighted by Salem Bible College and Thiessen Photography.

Good! Now I'm going to start of with a little quiz. Just to make sure you really know your Bible—okay? [waving the Bible at them] Now, I'm gonna mention some names, and if any of you recognize any of them, just raise your hand, okay?

Michael, the son of Sethur. [no hands]

Yigal, the son of Joseph. Anyone here know Yigal? [no hands]

Hey, maybe I've got the wrong book. Let's see [looking at book spine]: Ho-ly Bi-ble. Right book. . . . Let's try again.

Geuel, the son of Maki. [no hands]

Hey Rev. Jones, I thought you told me they knew their Bible.

[Rev. Jones smiles conspiratorially. Another six names follow. No response to any of them. The participants begin to feel uncomfortable.]

Nah-bi, the son of Voph-si. [no hands]

Hey, you guys are 0 for 10. Bring on the designated hitter. We'll give this one last try.

Caleb, the son of Jephuneh. [half the hands go up]

Joshua, the son of Nun. [all the hands go up]

Whew, I was getting worried! Well, the first ten names I read were those of the bad spies. Those are the ones that came back and said, "Israel! Dangerous place! You don't want to go there!" [pause, some laughter] Bet some of your friends told you that before you left, right? [murmur of assent] Well, forget about them—just like the ten spies—we forgot about them. But the other two, Caleb and Joshua—they said, "Don't worry, just put your faith in the Lord and He'll see us through." *They're* the ones we remember.

We're here in God's hands, and we're here in the hands of our excellent driver Muhammad, and I'm looking forward to a wonderful and fulfilling experience over the next ten days with you.

We're now traveling through the Sharon Plain, and in 45 minutes we'll be at our hotel in Netanya. I'll have maps for all of you tomorrow.

Analysis. The well-rehearsed opening dialogue builds on assumed preconceptions of the land (dangerous and oriental—hence, threatening), Protestant practices and implicit theological understandings (Bible reading, the Jew as authoritative Old Testament witness), Protestant tropes of faith ("just put your faith in the Lord"), and popular U.S. culture (baseball and quiz programs) as well as the resonance of strategic shifts in pronouns (from *you* to *we*) to frame the tour, from the outset at the airport, as a pilgrimage.

By introducing himself, the tour, and the land through this dialogue, the guide seeks to imprint the group with his voice, to position his performing voice as the sound pattern that, along with that of the pastor, will serve as the gravitational center of the environmental bubble throughout the tour. As Georg Simmel wrote, "Where only the sense of sight

exploits proximity, more of a feeling of general-conceptual and unspecific unity or of a mechanical concurrence will result, whereas the possibility of speaking and hearing will produce individual, animated, organic feelings of unity" (1997:155). As long as the pilgrims remain within earshot of that voice, the participants are part of the community, in step with the directed movement through space that is the pilgrimage. Without it, they may be "lost."

Furthermore, the exchange with the pastor attempts, at the outset, to fashion a model for interaction between the two authority figures. The guide, in charge of logistics, counts the passengers. He then turns over the microphone to the pastor, to lead the prayer.¹⁰ This duality positions them as both disciplined and disciples, two positions with which they are familiar. The travelers become engaged listeners in a biblical performance—also a familiar position. After the pastor invokes the "specialness" of the place, the guide then names the spaces and times of the voyage, giving voice to the story that transforms undifferentiated space into significant place (de Certeau 1984:118).¹¹ Thus, the guide's voice also becomes the voice of the land—an auditory memory of something new that has entered into the visitors' personal and communal soundscape.¹²

The dialogue places a unique stamp on the land not as another tourist destination but as the place of history, promise, and destiny. This is done by proclaiming the Bible as the authoritative text for the group, using the biblical story to "christen" or cosmicize the neutral airport space. Both Protestantism and Zionism speak of recovering their roots in the land (and under its surface) and generally seek "the poetics of faith, rather than a hermeneutic of suspicion" (Harding 2000:88). Pilgrims have made the long trip to the Holy Land to strengthen their faith, rather than question it. The practice of naming places through the Bible is easily accessible to Israeli guides who have gone on many hikes, both during the guide course and as they grew up in Israel. By affirming the authority of the Bible, the guide attempts to increase the group's confidence in him while revealing the true Land as the one inhabited by biblical "Israel."

The guide's questions test the waters of the group ("How many of you brought your Bibles?"), pay public homage to the pastor's authority, and initiate a pattern of mutuality for the tour ("Rev. Jones told me you know," the conspiratorial glance), unite the group in an interactive activity (cf. Quiroga 1990), affirm the spiritual and biblical goals of the voyage, and attempt to position the guide not only as local tourism expert and Jewish "witness" (affirmed through his pronunciation of the Hebrew names of the spies) but also as cultural mediator and as interpreter of scripture.

The ability of the Jewish guide to access this position within the group is rooted in long-standing (if little known) tradition. The Jew served as guide and mediator between Christians and their sacred sites already in the Byzantine era, as Ora Limor (1996a, 1996b) has shown. Jews were seen

as possessors of the Book, as bearers of the longest memory, and as older natives of the land who possessed geographical and scriptural knowledge. As they received and preserved the Law and the prophets throughout the generations and understood the Sacred Tongue, they became witnesses and authenticators of Christian sites and truths, despite their rejection of Jesus as Messiah (Haynes 1995).

In grounding the nature of the voyage through Israel in the Old Testament narrative of the spies, the guide strives to bolster the authority of the guide-as-Israeli-local-expert with that of Jew-as-witness-to-biblical-truth. Assuming this position, the guide welcomes and praises the participants' decision to tour Israel not as a vacation option but as an expression of religious faith, calling the travelers to become "the good spies" and, thus, affirming the legitimacy of their spiritual tie to the land. By raising their hands to "volunteer" to identify (and identify with) Caleb and Joshua, the pilgrims provide bodily assent to this role. At the same time, the guide implicitly assents to become a "true Hebrew," an Old Testament Israelite as depicted in the Protestant imagination. He also endows the tour bus with a supporting role, as a vehicle of God's goals, and sanctifies the profane parking lot of the airport and the transfer to the hotel as the starting point of a pilgrimage to spy out the land and bring back the Good News.

At the same time, the joking tone and the reference to the tour bus and its Muslim driver as divine instruments—but not marked by scriptural reference—mark a certain distance between the guide's reading of the Book and the more reverentially intoned readings of the pastor and imply that this pilgrimage will offer participants a good time.¹³ As a non-Christian member of the "witness people" or People of the Book, as guide-interpret and as American English-speaking Israeli, the guide is positioned (and positions himself) in a liminal space that facilitates shifting between frames. This shifting is marked through a performance that straddles the categories of Israeli (Hebrew) and American (baseball references), game (quiz) and ritual (Bible reading). This shifting and separation between "serious" pilgrimage and "fun" touring will enable the visitors to enjoy both religious experience and hedonistic fun, without the two realms "contaminating" each other. I illustrate this further in my discussion of the Way of the Cross, below.

Unquestionably, performances such as these are facilitated by the guide's acquaintance and comfort with the Bible text and similar Israeli practices of naming and authenticating sites. They are also honed through mimicry of previous pastors and trial and error. Yet they do not become completely routinized. Had the group recited a Hail Mary and the Lord's Prayer on arrival, the guide would not have referred to the Bible using popular TV-program language. Had no one brought their Bibles with them, he might have suppressed the routine, suspecting that the group might not understand the "punch line." Thus, although the sealed environmental bubble of the bus, with the guide commanding the micro-

phone, minimizes possibilities for resistance from "outside," the response of the public is a dynamic factor fashioning the performance.

Hosanna in the highest—The Mount of Olives panorama

It is six in the evening. The tour bus climbs from the Dead Sea, lowest point on the face of the earth, up the road to Jerusalem. The travelers, most in shorts, many sunburned and dusty after their visit to Masada, doze in their seats. The pastor asks me to tell the driver to take the narrow back road to Jerusalem through the Arab village of A-Tur and stop for an outlook over Jerusalem before the group checks in to the hotel. Ten minutes before arriving at the overlook, the pastor hands the driver an audiocassette to place in the tape player. The baritone voice of a gospel singer belts out, "Jerusalem, Jerusalem! Lift up your voice and sing! Hosanna in the Highest! Hosanna to your king!" At the pastor's instructions, I stop the bus just before the view of Jerusalem, instruct the passengers to get off, and lead them on a short walk to the Mount of Olives panoramic view over the city. As the Golden Dome of the Rock first comes into view, outlined by the setting sun, some pilgrims emit gasps of surprise and joy.

After several minutes, I seat the group on the semicircular steps facing the Old City:

You've just come in to Jerusalem as Jesus would have arrived as a pilgrim from Galilee. Do you all see the golden Dome of the Rock? [extending my arm full length and pointing at the building]. . . There's where the Temple was in Jesus's time. Twice the height and twice the width. And when pilgrims of Jesus's day caught their first glimpse of the Temple, as you are doing today, they would sing the Psalms of Ascent, *Shir Hama'alot*, the songs of the steps. Psalm 122: "I was glad when they said to me, let us go up to the house of the Lord."

Do you see the black-domed church down there? [pointing and pausing while the pilgrims point out the site to each other] That's Dominus Flevit. The Lord Wept. Jesus wept there over the city that was to be destroyed. The Mount of Olives, where we're standing here was, already in the prophet Zachariah's time, the Jewish cemetery, like you see today. Right here. [pointing] That's why it became the site of the future resurrection of the dead.

Do you see the wall? [pointing and pausing again] That's the Old City, East Jerusalem, the Arab part, and in back of it you see the skyscrapers of the New City, Jewish West Jerusalem. And there, do you see the tall white building? [pointing, pause] There, a bit below, just to the left, is our hotel.

Take a couple of minutes for pictures if you like, and then we'll get back in the bus and drive there, and tomorrow we'll come out here again and begin our visit of the Holy City, Jerusalem.

Analysis. This guiding performance builds on a shared historical process that shapes ways of seeing common to

Protestants and Zionists, ways that enable landscape to be sanctified by both groups. At the same time, the guided pilgrimage provides a frame separating the guide-group-landscape interaction from the day-to-day in ways that create *communitas* and allow for suspension of disbelief and skepticism.

The panoramic view is an expression of power. As de Certeau writes of the observer viewing New York City from the top of the World Trade Center, “His elevation transfigures him into a voyeur. It puts him at a distance. It transforms the bewitching world by which one was ‘possessed’ into a text that lies before one’s eyes. It allows one to read it, to be a solar Eye, looking down like a god” (1984:92).

Protestant viewing of the land, like all ways of seeing, is historically, socially, and ideologically conditioned (Lowe 1982; Urry 1990). Protestants prefer vistas, panoramic views, and open spaces to enclosed shrines. As Charles Lock (2003:112) illustrates, rather than bow down before, touch, or kiss wood and stone (pagan idols, Orthodox icons, or Catholic statues and relics), 19th-century Protestant pilgrims remained vertical: upright in their saddles, seeking

the most extensive pictorial vista, the largest possible view. Explicit biblical paradigms may be invoked to justify certain outlook points—Moses on Mount Nebo, Jesus at the Sermon on the Mount—but they hardly suffice to explain the Protestant love of heights. In Lock’s words, “This implied space of viewing has much to do with the nexus of capitalism and Protestantism, with the distance that keeps us from the object, and that keeps us pure, uncontaminated by contact; and with the property that is owned and controlled from a distance” (2003:112). This stance is part of the Protestant bodily hexis, a “political mythology realized, *em-bodied* and turned into a permanent disposition, a durable way of standing, speaking, walking and thereby of *feeling* and *thinking*.” (Bourdieu 1977:33). As Pierre Bourdieu writes, “The principles embodied this way are placed beyond the grasp of consciousness, and hence cannot be touched by voluntary, deliberate transformation, cannot even be made explicit” (1977:34). The importance of the outlook point also reflects the ambiguity of Protestant attitudes toward holy sites (see Figure 3).¹⁴ The distance from the site expresses and marks repulsion toward immersion in the Orient and the sensuality

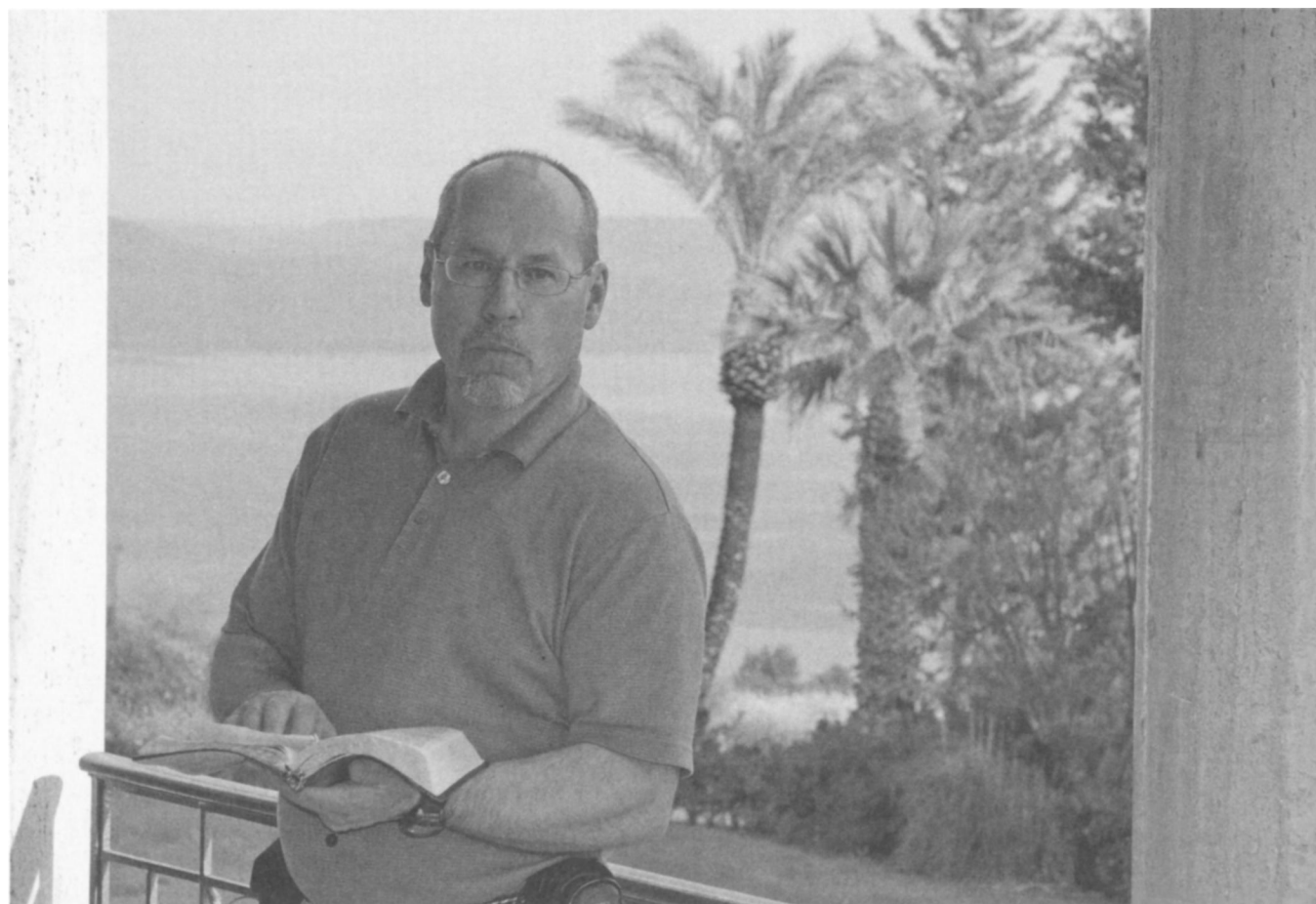


Figure 3. Mountaintop outlooks, rather than the interior of shrines, are key sites of Protestant pilgrimages. The Sermon on the Mount, read here by an assistant pastor, provides a religious model for the appreciation of panoramas. Copyrighted by Salem Bible College and Thiessen Photography.

of Catholic (and Orthodox) shrines and the ritual associated with them. Thus, the outlook is a practice constituting the Protestant pilgrim as Western. Almost every Protestant pilgrimage to Jerusalem begins with an outlook from the Mount of Olives, and many sites visited offer mountaintop vistas.

Israeli hiking practice also privileges outlook points. One of the aims of hiking, as practiced by Zionist settlers (see discussion of “knowledge of the land” hikes above), was to manifest presence in Arab-inhabited or unoccupied areas.¹⁵ In tour-guide training, significant time is devoted to panoramic views and outlook points. Not infrequently, the outlook is the goal of the hike. In each case, the outlook depicts a similar desire toward domination through distancing and visual superiority. Thus, when the guide orients pilgrims by pointing down at the city, Protestant and Zionist ways of looking, which developed in tandem, are strengthened and naturalized.

At the high point, the guiding explanation frames the city through the biblical text. Here, the pastor has already taken the initiative, requesting that the bus come up the old “authentic-looking” road to Jerusalem through the Arab village. He also claims the microphone, playing gospel music to shift from touristic (Masada) to pilgrimic modes. The song provides the group’s entry (on foot) into the city as well as the panoramic practice with the resonances of Jesus’s triumphal entry into Jerusalem (“Hosanna in the *highest!*”—Mark 11:10). This sets the tone for the guide, who then traces the group’s future path through the city, having the pilgrims move from one geographical place to another, from one historical event to another, from one scriptural passage to another, by following his voice, his finger, and, finally, their own fingers across the landscape.¹⁶ This path tracing will be repeated in greater detail at the same spot early the next morning.

The guide’s monologue names the elements of the scene through biblical references (Mount of Olives, cemetery, resurrection). He frames Jesus, in accordance with long-standing Protestant practice in viewing the land, not as a divine aspect of the Trinity but as the first and chief among fellow pilgrims to Jerusalem (Lock 2003:118; cf. Todd 1984). Finally, he elevates the site by referring to future events that will take place there (resurrection of the dead; cf. MacCannell 1976:44–45). Veteran guide Thomas reported, “When they stand where Jesus was, the coin drops: these things really happened. They happened at a specific place, and we’re here. It’s an encounter between fantasy and reality. As long as the guide gives them enough time and doesn’t ruin the experience. That’s the power of the trip” (interview, June 2004). The in situ reading of the Bible is a performative act of great force. As Jon Mitchell learned through his research among Maltese Christians, the habitual public performance of the biblical text “draws attention away from the content and emphasizes its form. The repeated words become almost forgotten; what becomes significant is the fact that they are

written, and hence physically present in the Bible, which is an artifact of social memory” (1997:89). The Bible becomes a conduit for direct contact with God and calls forth emotion. Through the repeated process of reading out loud, “the Bible is transformed from a representation of memory into its *actual physical recreation or embodiment*. More than just an isolated memory, it becomes memory itself” (Mitchell 1997:89, emphasis added). As the pilgrims listen to scripture, view the site from above, point and photograph, the scene itself becomes engraved in their minds and bodies, so that it—and the emotions that may accompany their first view of the city—can be easily triggered when they later hear the passages read in church or in Bible study back home.

The guiding narrative ignores the Muslim sites, overlaying the Dome of the Rock with the vision of the Temple. It makes no mention of current Palestinian Muslim habitation and history (cf. Selwyn 1995, 1996a:157–158) and refers to the Arab and Jewish parts of the city as “Old City” and “New City,” respectively (although only a small minority of the city’s population—Arab or Jewish—lives in the Old City). This is an allochronism (Fabian 1983), a denial of the coevalness of the Palestinian–Muslim–Arab that also reflects Zionist understandings of the Arab as belonging to the past and the Orient (Old City–East Jerusalem) and the Jewish Israeli as belonging to the modern West (New City–West Jerusalem). Finally, the reference to the hotel emplaces the pilgrims in the landscape, cuing them to visualize the next days of their visit to the city as a reenactment of Jesus’s pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Indeed, the denial of coevalness—the emplacement of the subject in a time frame different from (and inferior to) that of the observer—is of two types, both mentioned by Johannes Fabian. Although the schema of modernity, which constitutes the West as opposed to the rest (Fabian 1983:28; cf. Pratt 1996; Said 1978), is certainly in operation here, it works alongside a second schema, that of salvation history (Fabian 1983:26–27). Not all pasts are of equal value. Those that are central for salvation history, such as Zachariah’s prophecies or Jesus’s triumphal entry, become contemporized, become near, become objects of identification, loci for reenactment. Others, such as Muslim presence, are effaced—either through archaeological practice, which removes “later levels” by bulldozer (Abu El-Haj 1998) or through the guide’s and pastor’s silence. Thus, a second overlapping power relation is constituted—we, the people of the Bible, the significant subjects of salvation history, and they, the Muslim Others. This is reinforced through the guide narrative’s movement from Zachariah to Jesus to the current Jewish cemetery to the future resurrection.¹⁷

Finally, the frame of the pilgrimage encourages the suspension of disbelief and skepticism. The guide mentions the prophecies of Zachariah, the current Jewish cemetery, and the future resurrection in the same breath. If asked by friends, “Do you believe that the resurrection of the dead will really

take place right here, just as written in Zachariah?" neither the guide nor all of the pilgrims, for that matter, would apply in the affirmative. The event of introducing Jerusalem to pilgrims causes both guide and group to be "caught up" in the flow of the prophecy narrative—and the question is not raised. Although they do not share the same beliefs, both guide and group share the desire that the landscape be seen through the eyes of scripture, that "the disappearance of the places established by a spoken word, the loss of the identities that people believed they received from a spoken word" (de Certeau 1984:137) be arrested. Furthermore, the religious language itself (Harding 2000; Stromberg 1993) and its aural resonance (Mitchell 1997) may have transformative potentials, especially when the pilgrim has prepared him- or herself to be "there."¹⁸ The Israeli tour guide too, has been trained to be not only a *moreh derekh*—a "teacher of the way"—but also an encourager of faith (Katz 1985:69). To encourage faith among the pilgrims the guide need not playact. Rather, he allows himself to be caught up in the performance, and his skepticism is suspended. In that sense, the ritualized performance not only reflects faith but also generates it.

Following Jesus through the Arab market

On the second morning of their stay in Jerusalem, the Protestant group I am guiding is scheduled to walk the Via Dolorosa and visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the Old City of Jerusalem, before holding a communion service at the Protestant-administered Garden Tomb. I usher the pilgrims into the darkened Catholic chapel of the Second Station of the Cross. Although I assume that they might not care for the polychrome plaster statue of the condemned Christ, the cool benches offer welcome relief from the heat and noise on the street. The Palestinian vendor at the entrance hawks his booklets: "All the stations of the cross. One dollar."

Standing to the side of the altar, in front of the statue, I turn to the group:¹⁹

Look, many of you expect to find a peaceful, devotional path. But more than the sound of prayer, what you'll be hearing outside is the sound of business. Now, imagine what it was like in Jesus's day. People doing their last-minute shopping for Passover. A group of Roman soldiers comes up the street, dragging the bloodied Jesus on his cross. A sheep salesman along the way looks up at the cross and the sign, "Ah, another Galilean rebel." Then he turns back to his customer [putting on an Arab accent]: "so, how much you pay for the sheep?" Except for the bored kids, the rest are just going about their business. And Jesus dies alone on the cross: "Father, may this cup pass from me. But not my will, but thy will be done."

Let's keep that in mind as we make our way out to the Via Dolorosa and up to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Now, please stay close together and mind your pockets.

There are money changers out there whose ancestors were in the Temple, understand? [restrained laughter] I'll point out some of the stations and we'll have time for devotion and prayer at the Garden Tomb later on. Okay, Rev. Wilson?

Analysis. Among tourist spaces, the marketplace is seen as one less controlled by the tourist industry and open to crisscrossing flows of people, noises, and smells. Such spaces, writes Tim Edensor, are "pregnant with possibility" (2000:333) and "frequently result in encounters characterized by improvisation" (2000:332). They are conceptualized as the roaming ground of the flaneur, spaces in which the walker—through his trajectories, shortcuts, and pacing—can perform tactics of resistance to hegemonic strategies. The marketplace is conceptualized as a space of process rather than structure, of subversion of the spatial order (de Certeau 1984:91–110). Group tourists, however, tend to prefer safety and structure over adventure, risk, and improvisation (Pond 1993; Quiroga 1990; Schmidt 1979). Their fears of Muslims–Arabs in the teeming marketplace have only been increased by the events of September 11, 2001, and media reports of the ongoing Middle East conflict.

The oriental Otherness of the marketplace is assigned a secondary role in the pilgrimage text, which privileges the search for the center of one's own society over the seeking of the Other, the unknown, and the demonic that typifies the tourist adventurer (Cohen 1992).²⁰ The postmodern tourist (or "post-tourist") celebrated by much sociological literature on tourism may delight in rapid shifts from cynical distance to serious contemplation to hedonistic enjoyment, revel in his playful mastery of signs, and enjoy the play of surfaces and the inauthenticity of tourist attractions as a mark of his own connoisseurship and "coolness" (cf. Brown 1996; Ritzer and Liska 1997:107–109; Selwyn 1996b; Uriely et al. 2002; Urry 1990). He may disregard authenticity, or even delight in inauthenticity (Urry 1995:140).²¹ The pilgrim, by contrast, often comes in search of a "hotter" authenticity (Selwyn 1996b), a more profound sense of self. Yet, within the increasingly commodified frame of the group pilgrimage experience, often determined by peak- and low-season prices, availability of hotel rooms, opening and closing times, and competition with other pilgrims and tourists for space at the sites, the sought-after spiritual experience can get lost. This complaint is frequently voiced by clergymen, especially Catholic custodians of sites and religious guides, who sometimes accuse tour guides of transforming the spiritual pilgrimage into a commercial tour (see Wild 1988:43–48).²² What is more, these pilgrims also engage in touristic activities like visiting Masada, swimming in the Dead Sea, and shopping. For the pilgrim to maintain the emotional tenor of spiritual experience and see him- or herself as performing pilgrimage (rather than "mere" tourism; Brown 1996:40–41), the touristic elements must be bracketed off

in separate spatiotemporal frames.²³ Through the guide's bracketing, the visitor can be both a true pilgrim and an eager shopper.

Perhaps the most important difference between tourist praxis and pilgrim praxis is in their understandings of walking (Bauman 1998:80–99). Whereas tourists frame the exotic at the level of the episodic experience—the sight (Harkin 1996:667)—Christian pilgrims seek the sense of walking a path, interpreting their bodily procession through space as a reenactment of the movement through time, as the Way toward a religious goal (cf. Casey 1987:181–215). Through the pilgrims' simultaneous presence as a group, through their moving around in the landscape and leaving traces in it, they become “implicated in the landscape” (Gow 1995:51). As they are loaded with sensations of kinesthetic movement and sensory stimuli, the gospel sites and stories take on new depth and meaning.

Through the guiding performance, the final path of Jesus, as the Protestant pilgrims imagine it to be, can be isolated from the sounds and smells of the oriental marketplace and the sight of the Other can be properly distanced and subsumed under a scriptural model. Invoking the authority of the written Word, the guide designates the walk as the path of the pilgrim rather than a stroll (*flânerie*) through the Old City Arab market. By framing shopping en route as a temptation, a deviation from Christ's footsteps, and the Palestinian vendor as akin to a contemporary money changer of Christ's day, the guide disciplines the group to move along quickly without stopping to shop. The walk through the Arab market becomes a procession, following Jesus all the way to the Garden Tomb.

By keeping their eyes on Jesus and their ears tuned to the guide, the pilgrims construct through their movement a Protestant Way of the Cross: a new Protestant devotional path traced by the guide—from the traditional First Station of the Cross, through the darkened Holy Sepulchre (the Others'—oriental—Catholic—sacred site), to the Protestant archaeological—nature setting of the Garden Tomb (as the site of the resurrection).²⁴ As their shepherd through the dangers and temptations of the marketplace as well as through the apparent disorder and sensory overload of the Holy Sepulchre (a shrine Protestant visitors generally find distasteful, unaesthetic, and sometimes “idolatrous”), the guide increases his spiritual capital.²⁵ (This capital may be converted into financial benefit when he later recommends that the pilgrims stop to shop in the enclaval tourist spaces of Bethlehem.)

The guide's disciplining performance, including the exclusion of the Palestinians, is consistent with the Protestant view of the Orient. Like many other European national movements, Zionism identified itself with progress as opposed to the unchanging “Oriental.” In understanding its “return to history” and to Palestine as a return to the Bible, Zionism sought to return to the common Judeo-Christian

source of Western tradition (Raz-Krakotzkin 1998). The biblical text, placed in opposition to the Catholic Church and papal (or Byzantine) “tradition” by Protestants, was placed in opposition to the Talmud and “exilic” Judaism by Zionism (cf. Diner 1995; Kimmerling 1995; Zerubavel 1995:31). Thus, Zionism anchored its “return” in a place within the theological narrative that constituted the Protestant imagination—the *sola scriptura* of the Bible. Hence, unlike many other national movements of liberation, Zionism took on a Western self-image. In adopting a secularized Protestant schema of progress and nationhood, Zionism applied the category formerly applied by Christian thought to diaspora Jews in Europe (“Oriental” or *Ostjude*) to the Arab inhabitants of the land.²⁶

In the example I cite, the depiction of the vendor in the market as Temple money changer (a stereotype applied in Christian culture to Jews) is founded on the orientalism that is part of the shared legacy of Protestantism and Zionism. The postcard vendor's current speech (“forty postcards, one dollar”) is distanced from the coeval present and “overdubbed” with the sales pitch of one of the “bad guys” of significant history (the sheep salesman's, indifferent to Jesus's suffering). Although I was not aware of it while I was guiding, by applying a traditional Christian anti-Jewish stereotype to the oriental Palestinian, I was aligning myself with the Christian West.

In the marketplace, however, the guide's performance may frequently be contested. Thus, in the case cited here, once the pilgrims left the church and got out into the marketplace, the Palestinian vendor (who may have been listening to the guide's narrative—cf. Bowman 1996), proclaimed, “Don't listen to your guide. He takes fifty percent commission. He does not want you to buy at my shop because he hates Arabs.” Although guides often foresee such challenges and, thus, build up their moral authority while pretending to ignore the sales pitches of the shopkeepers and vendors, this may not always be effective. In other cases, the group may have scheduled an evening meeting with a Palestinian spokesman, who may direct the group to pay attention to other elements on their walk through the Old City marketplace—such as Palestinian poverty or Israeli military presence.

Jesus, rabbi of the Temple steps

If, in general, guide and group cooperate to create mutually satisfying performances, sometimes the tropes and rhetoric presented by the Jewish Israeli guide are appropriated by the pastor in ways that orientalize the modern Jew or Israeli and subordinate this figure to a vision grounded in the “Jewish witness myth,” as expressed through Christian replacement theology (cf. Haynes 1995; Reuther 1991). This recasts the guided tour as a field of competition and contestation. Yet such contestation occurs within a context that nevertheless

supports Judeo-Christian appropriation of a site from Muslims.

As part of their Old City tour, I brought a Protestant group to visit *ma'alot hulda*, an excavation adjacent to and below the Mosque of El Aqsa, on land expropriated from the Muslim Waqf. Gathering the group in a semicircle, I held up the archaeological drawing supplied by the site's management, which depicted the site as it looked during the Second Temple period:

You see those steps? [pointing left]

Those are the original steps leading into the Temple Mount. Jesus and his disciples must have walked those steps many times on their way into the Temple to sacrifice. The Mishna tells us that Rabbi Gamliel too taught his disciples here, in the shadow of the Temple.

After the Romans attacked us and destroyed the Temple, those steps were covered over with dirt and debris for two thousand years until, after the Six Day War, we began excavations, brought the steps to light, and restored them.

At the same time, a Reform bar mitzvah was taking place, with tallit-wearing worshippers reading the Torah on the steps nearby. After my commentary on the site, the group's pastor asked his congregation to climb the steps and be seated on the top ones. He then opened his Bible and read, "As (Jesus) was leaving the Temple, one of his disciples said to him, '*Rabbi!* Look how beautiful these stones and buildings are!' And Jesus replied, 'Do you see these things? There will come a day where there will not be one stone left upon another that will not be thrown down'" (Mark 13:1–2).

Analysis. The guide's presentation builds on the selective excavation (Abu El-Haj 1998) and signposting by the Israeli government authorities operating the site and draws on shared appreciation with the pilgrims of archaeology as "proof" of truths—national for the guide and religious for the pilgrims—that may, in turn, engender ritual, both national and religious.

The research of the mainly Protestant PEF spurred Zionist efforts to emphasize the Jewish nature of the land through Israelis' own exploration and archaeology projects (Abu El-Haj 2001:45–59). Archaeology has been an important part of Israeli civil religion (Thompson 1999) and makes up a substantial portion of the Israeli government tour-guide course.²⁷

Protestant and Israeli archaeology presents archaeological remains as embodiments of biblical textual traditions. These traditions enable belief, and their materiality serves as verification of those texts (Lock 2003:112).²⁸ This understanding of archaeology as proof of scriptural truth and national presence is also reflected by the common use of metaphors of "revelation" in Zionist Israeli and Protestant discourse on archaeology—in this case, "bringing the steps

to light." This language obscures the extent to which archaeology constructs the past out of a limited number of material finds, in accordance with dominant, often politicized understandings of history.

Protestants and Zionists also share commonly accepted ways of displaying "authentic" remains. The archaeological remains are exhibited at the site through partial reconstruction and a wavy line dividing the "untouched original" from the "reconstructed" portions of the excavation, accompanied by signposting (on the site and in the supplied drawings) referring to the appropriate biblical passages. This Zionist aesthetic corresponds to the Protestant pilgrim's view: Science and the modern state recover the "natural" past of "Israel" buried under the dirt and clutter of oriental "tradition" (which includes the Eastern churches), whereas the wavy line is a graphic display of the limits of human efforts to recover the past through science.

The Jewish Israeli guide's performance is facilitated by the aspects of historical consciousness shared by traditional Judaism and Protestant Christianity. Zionism's "return to history" (see Raz-Krakotzkin 1998) was interpreted as a return to national political sovereignty ascribed to the Israel of biblical and Second Temple times, whereas later periods of settlement were denigrated as "exilic" (Zerubavel 1995:31). Zionist archaeological projects privileged the unearthing, restoration, and display of remains of the biblical and Second Temple periods. Similarly, Protestants seek the "original stones" of Jesus's day, ignoring (Byzantine Christian and other) remains of later periods as oriental clutter that can be removed to display the truth of Old and New Testament scripture. The orientalism inherent in this view was enforced when Zionist historiography extended the significant Jewish presence on the land until the Muslim conquest in the seventh century.²⁹ Thus, the onset of "exile" was merged with the Muslim conquest (as opposed to, say, Hadrianic Roman expulsion or Byzantine Christian exclusion of the Jews from Jerusalem), and "exile" terminated with Zionist settlement, the end of Muslim rule, and Jewish sovereignty over the territory of Israel–Palestine.

Through his use of the pronoun *we* (we fought the Romans, we excavated the site), the guide's implied continuity with ancient Israel and the excavators concords with the widespread Protestant view of both Jew and material objects in the land as "witnesses" (even when unwilling) to eternal truth (cf. Haynes 1995; Limor 1996a, 1996b) and as representing Western science. That "eternal truth," however, comprises aspects of the Christian view of Jewish history faith that Israeli Jews reject.

For the group, the rabbi of the "Rabbi's Steps" is Jesus, the True Rabbi, the fulfillment of Jewish teaching and the telos of history. The guide and the Reform rabbi, as exemplary representatives of "Israel," are framed allochronically as Old Testament precursors of Jesus or as (unwilling) witnesses to Jesus as prophet of its destruction and (for some) judge of

the future apocalypse (cf. Nederveen-Pietersen 1991). If the guide develops a narrative designed to cast Jesus as a prototypical Jewish pilgrim and marshals the authority of the Gospels to support the continuity of Jewish Israeli historical claims to the site and the teleological, restorative nature of Zionism, the pastor evokes Jewish authority (guide and rabbi) to attest to the eternal truth of the Gospels and the veracity of the Christian faith. He also reminds the group (and the guide) of Jesus's prophecy: As a result of the Jews' refusal to accept him as Messiah, there would be "not one stone left upon another that will not be thrown down" for 2,000 years! Conflicting interpretations notwithstanding, the site (on Islamic Waqf territory expropriated by Israel) is consecrated through narrative and ritual performance as Judeo-Christian holy ground.

Over the last few years, the Rabbi's Steps have become a "must" site for worship in many Protestant itineraries, encouraged, in part, by Israel Government Tourist Office posters directed at the Evangelical market. The increased importance of the site has engendered Israeli government construction of a new museum, in the remains of the cellar of the eighth-century Umayyad palace. The museum's presentation includes an impressive audiovisual show that shuttles between the present-day ruins and the scene during Second Temple pilgrimage. Thus, the invisible Second Temple is made present and visible, whereas the Arab Umayyad palace is nearly effaced (for other examples, see Abu El-Haj 1998, 2001).³⁰ Here one sees how the claiming of contested space through the performance of Protestant pilgrimage narratives has clear political consequences in creating new "facts on the ground" (cf. Abu El-Haj 2001: 238).

The power and fragility of guiding performances—A reflection

The performances I have cited show the guide at his or her strongest—in privileged arenas in which his or her words are carefully listened to and least open to contestation. Tours also include in-between times—in lunch cafeterias or in tourist shops—when the guide's choices are open to disagreement and even dispute. Times during which he or she is silent—like at prayer services. And, of course, evening meetings, back-of-the-bus conversations, and group reunions, in which some participants—or pastors—may express the wish for a guide more Christian, less verbose, or perhaps less political.³¹

My depiction of the guide reflects the confidence—sometimes verging on arrogance³²—of many guides in select theaters of performance. From a different perspective, however, the guide might be seen not as a player enunciating the strategies of Protestant pilgrimage but as a freelance worker "on the watch for opportunities that must be 'seized on the wing'" (de Certeau 1984:xix)—a *bricoleur* whose tac-

tics (de Certeau 1984:xi–xxiv) carve a Jewish Zionist text—and a means to livelihood—out of a Christian pilgrimage dominated by religious, financial, and security considerations over which he or she has little influence. The traditional Christian view of the Jew as "reluctant witness" to Christian truth may be skillfully employed by the guide to personal advantage, but it often limits the guide's ability to present the country, history, the Jewish people, and him- or herself as he or she would like.³³

The shifting of perspectives on guiding performances (as either hegemonic strategies or tactics of resistance) is a function of the confluence and conflicts between the many overlapping fields of power. The encounter between tourist and native, writes Bruner, takes place on the tourist "borderzone"—"the distinct meeting place between the tourists who come forth from their hotels and the local performers who leave their homes to engage the tourists in structured ways in predetermined localities for defined periods of time" (Bruner 2005:17). In Holy Land pilgrimages, this borderzone is not neutral space, but one contested by Americans–Europeans, Israelis, and Palestinians; Christians, Muslims, and Jews; and Westerners and "Orientals." In the pilgrimage sphere, each may employ strategies and tactics—sometimes in collaboration, sometimes in competition with the others. Furthermore, the guide, as in my case, may be "in the middle"—Israeli but also American; a citizen but not a "native."

This article is, for me, part of an ongoing process of understanding the practices I engaged in over the course of two decades as a guide. Writing it has made me more aware of the contingent nature of many practices I once considered natural and of the ways that guiding can serve as an agent of hegemonic forces. But it has also made me reflect on how guiding experiences influenced my life outside the pilgrimage frame. When I first began guiding, only three years after my immigration to Israel from the United States, pilgrims' responses to my guiding narrative helped me to identify further with the new country in which I then felt like something of an outsider. "Don't you feel privileged to live here?" they asked. "Isn't it exciting for you to return home to where your people lived?" Even when I was aware that their comments were based on differing religious (mis)understandings, they nevertheless assigned me a place of pride as authoritative Jewish witness, reaffirmed the value of the ideological commitment that spurred my decision to immigrate, and accorded me the position of authoritative interpreter and representative of the land and country I had chosen to make my own. Over time, guiding provided me with contacts and friendships with Palestinian employers, shopkeepers, and drivers, which were sustained and kept my hopes afloat even through the worst years of the intifadas. The queries of Christian pilgrims and the motivations they expressed for their voyages provided me with many of the pertinent questions that have directed me throughout my academic research on a variety of

topics (cf. Feldman 2002, 2006). Guiding pilgrims, although physically and emotionally exhausting, afforded me incomparable moments, during which the emotional and spiritual charge jumped the synapses of conflicting faiths and histories, making the potentials of unmediated communitas, if not the numinous, actual.

Guides' narratives may, over the course of time, result in changes in the beliefs and orientations not only of their listeners but of themselves as well. Guiding may weaken national and religious identity, or it may lead to a strengthening of borders against encroachment. But the gaze of the foreigner may also lead guides to reflect on and perhaps reconstruct their own traditions and values through the confrontation with Otherness signified by the presence of the pilgrim. As Lanfant recalls, "The evaluation of the affirmation of (one's) own identity can only be accomplished by reference to the Other" (1995:36).

Pilgrimage can become a refuge from the conflicts and pressures of daily life, a bubble that provides guides, as well as pilgrims, with the confidence and security that facilitate creativity, self-exploration, and intimacy. As veteran guide Steve Langfur formulated the experience,

Like a picture-frame or a cinema film, or a book, or a ceremony . . . the role of the frame is that you leave your disordered life, which is the "real" life. . . . When you're in the frame, for the time of the frame you leave your defenses behind. . . . So you cry, in ways you wouldn't outside. . . . Nothing can harm me as long as I'm inside the frame. . . . In the trip, there are many frames: the time, the biblical place, political borders, the frame of the group itself. The group stands together as one to listen to you at the site. In the tour, you move from frame to frame, and in each frame, everyone feels at ease. Some of our defenses can be relinquished, so we feel more open. The frame includes the distance. I and they are inside this frame, so I don't need to establish additional distance from the group. [interview, June 2004]

The exploration of questions of the performance of biblical text, the pilgrimage frame, territory, and identity will continue to occupy me in future research. To analyze these questions, I need to move beyond the carefully crafted shtick, to analyze other more variable guiding performances and more guiding variables, including the influence of the Palestinian drivers I worked with and the Palestinian travel agents I worked for. I also need to take a broader look at the various subject positions of guides and groups. Thus, interactions may vary for native-born Israeli guides and Jewish immigrants from Western countries, for religious and secular guides, and for men and women. Likewise, such presentations may vary for U.S. and German Protestants; for missionizing Zionist Christian fundamentalists (who sometimes attempt to convert the guide) and for liberal Anglicans. And, of course, they will differ significantly in the case of "Living

Stones" pilgrimages (Sizer 1994, 1999), conducted by Palestinian Christian guides.³⁴

In her book *A Different Place*, Jill Dubisch writes that the shrine of the Panayia in Tinos and the legends told of her are ways of "talking about Greece" to both Greeks and others (1995:174–180). So, too, as emplaced performances of the Bible, guide narratives are more than stories that guides tell Christian pilgrims about their faith; they are also ways of presenting modern Israel (and Palestine), and they are stories Jewish Israelis tell themselves about themselves (Bruner and Gorfain 2005:173). As I continue to examine guiding performances and pose questions to various guides, I become increasingly convinced that, as guides engage pilgrims in making places, they engage in remaking themselves.

Conclusions

In the course of this study, I have shown how shared social-memory practices of viewing, classifying, and reading scripture grant the Jewish Israeli guide authority to shape understandings of Protestant Christian spaces and even create new ones. The Bible becomes an embodied text, and the guide's emplaced vocal and gestured narration of the Bible constitutes pilgrims as performing listeners and their movement through space as a pilgrimage. The pilgrim's gaze and reactions, in turn, may constitute the guide as "true Hebrew." The guide's narrations trace paths that make Protestant and Zionist claims to territory and significant history natural, blurring their differences while rendering Arabs–Palestinians–Muslims invisible, irrelevant, or an opposing force.

Although Jewish Israeli pilgrim guides may enjoy much power and status within the pilgrimage frame, even the most consummate performances are nevertheless subject to resistance and contestation on the part of Palestinian on-lookers, pastors, and pilgrims. Although successful performances provide guides with a livelihood, status, rewarding experience, and, sometimes, a deeper sense of commitment to Israel or Judaism, the presentation of self in collusion with pilgrims' expectations may lead the guide to question or revise his or her own national and religious identity.

These results have implications for the understanding of ritual, for the anthropology of pilgrimage, and for the politics and poetics of place making.

The fractal effects of ritual

Within the pilgrimage, many structures operate simultaneously to effect the transformation of Israel–Palestine into Bible Land and the pilgrims' movement through space into an act of pilgrimage. The pretrip motivations, the choice of itinerary, and the fixing of the boundaries of the group traveling together provide the initial frame for the pilgrimage. Each activity of the group is a subframe within the overall frame of the pilgrimage. The practices first voiced by the guide at the airport set the stage for the effectiveness

of later performances in Jerusalem. Each act of projection of the Bible onto territory, erasure of "Oriental" Otherness, and sacralization of pilgrims' movement is embedded within the larger voyage frame, which describes the same progression.³⁵ These acts are arrayed to create a kind of fractal effect: The restricted frame of the event and the larger frames of the voyage reverberate and energize each other to effect the transformation. This demonstrates how individual ritual units create dynamics and mnemonics that replicate and strengthen the ritual as a whole.

Contestation and communitas across religious boundaries

The critiques of Turner's paradigm of *communitas* have generally focused on how groups of pilgrims (or pilgrims vs. residents) who share a common sectarian (Feldman 2006) or primordial identity (Sallnow 1987) mark the boundaries of their groups in pilgrimage contestations. Jewish Israeli guides and Protestant pilgrims, by contrast, do not live in the same place or perceive themselves as belonging to the same faith or community of destiny. Nevertheless, in guided pilgrimages, systems of cultural classification, stereotypical images, and social-memory practices beneath the threshold of consciousness surface (cf. Dubisch 1995:160), drawing guides and groups together through a common habitus (present but submerged outside the pilgrimage frame), which transcends religious divisions. Spurred on by the dynamic language of faith in emplaced narrations, protected by the environmental bubble of the tour and the pilgrimage frame, guides and pilgrims can open up to each other, and shared *communitas* may take place. In fact, the interaction within the charged space may actually constitute the actors as Protestant pilgrim and Jewish Israeli guide.

These findings demonstrate how in-depth observation of the dynamics of pilgrimage in and of itself, before turning to its social surround, brings out the transformative potentials of pilgrimage. By observing which elements of mundane life are transformed and how, scholars may identify significant elements of social life (like viewing from heights or practical orientalism) that are otherwise invisible—to participants as well as to many analysts.

Place making through pilgrimage narration

My focus on the creative potential of pilgrim guides in naturalizing claims to contested territory is an innovation in a literature that, if it examines guiding at all, has often focused on mass tourism guides and seen their narratives as insignificant. Pilgrimage practices and stories are part of an ongoing struggle among actors who seek to appropriate space and remake the world in their own image (Herzfeld 2006:145), and such practices often draw on deeply engrained, if often unacknowledged, historical images and practices. The guide's emplacement and embodiment of an authoritative narrative in a landscape in which it is consumed by a wide range of

senses lends the link between biblical narrative and territory a facticity that places even disputed territory beyond political discussion. Through narrating sites, invoking scripture, and facilitating kinesthetic and sensory experiences, Protestant pastors and Jewish Israeli guides shape the movements of travelers into the path of the pilgrim. Israel becomes not a site of political contestation but the eternal Land of the Bible (see Figure 4).

Epilogue

It is the end of a long day of touring the sites of Jesus's ministry. The sun hangs low over the Sea of Galilee. The guide brings the group to the waterside for their concluding prayer. A pied kingfisher breaks the surface of the water, diving for a meal among the reeds. The tour group is seated on low benches, facing a rough stone altar, surmounted by a cross. Outlined by the setting sun, Pastor Carley addresses his group:

We haven't come here to take pictures, though we will take pictures. We haven't come here to be world travelers, though you are all now world travelers. We haven't come here to be educated, though we've all learned much. We've come to seek our God and dedicate ourselves to Him. The purpose of this trip is not travel, education, and enjoyment, but to have ourselves drawn nearer to our Creator. . . . Because of the connection of *this* body of water to *this* book and *this* book to our Creator, *this* place is special.

So, when you come back, you can tell your friends that the plane ride was terrible. Or you can tell them how the spirit of God touched you.

Notes

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1. What Michel de Certeau wrote on the construction of texts can be applied to the construction of pilgrimage ritual: "In every society, play is a stage on which the formality of practices is represented, but the condition of its possibility is that it be detached from actual social practices. On the contrary, the 'meaning' of the ritual scriptural play, the production of a system, a space of formalization, refers to the reality from which it has been distinguished *in order to change it*" (1984:135).

2. *Doxa*, according to Pierre Bourdieu (1977:164), is the quasi-perfect correspondence between the objective order and the



Figure 4. The reading of the gospels at the Sea of Galilee at sunset provides closure for the day's program that reaffirms the spiritual goals of the pilgrimage. It marks the landscape as biblical and the visitors' tour as the path of the pilgrim. Copyrighted by Salem Bible College and Thiessen Photography.

subjective principles of organization that makes the natural and the social world appear self-evident.

Bourdieu defines *hexis* as "a pattern of postures that is both individual and systematic, because linked to a whole system of techniques involving the body and tools, and charged with a host of social meanings and values" (1977:87).

3. On 19th-century U.S. Protestant attitudes toward the Holy Land, see Ariel 1992, Greenberg 1993, Long 2003, and Obenzinger 1999.

4. For an interesting theologically oriented discussion of the differences between Protestant and Catholic pilgrimages to the Holy Land, see Todd 1984. I should note that most organized modern Protestant pilgrimages to the Holy Land (and many Catholic ones) are not about suffering and sacrifice but about resurrection and joy. This further legitimizes touristic activity and enjoyment as part of a pilgrimage voyage. Bar and Cohen-Hattab 2003 provides a sketch of the evolution of the Protestant pilgrim-religious tourist in Palestine in the 19th century.

In the U.S. case, specifically, at least since the 19th century, the Holy Land and the vision of biblical Israel projected on it have reflected Americans' self-perception as a chosen nation, a new Israel (Obenzinger 1999; cf. Long 2003).

5. The Living Stones tour (Sizer 1994, 1999) as well as solidarity missions with Palestinian Christians are partial exceptions.

6. Security is especially important, given the volatile situation in the Middle East and U.S. and European government warnings

against traveling in all or parts of the Middle East. Among the Christian websites and brochures produced over the past five years, almost all I surveyed dedicate a paragraph or more to security arrangements and reassurances. Security is also prominent in the pastor's opening prayer at the airport, quoted subsequently in the text.

7. There are very few Palestinian Protestants.

8. Most are Jewish, although a significant number are non-Arab Christian residents or citizens. It is more difficult for Arabs to enter and complete the course and obtain employment (Bowman 1991). In recent years, courses have been organized in English as well as in Hebrew, catering largely to Palestinian citizens of Israel and East Jerusalem residents.

9. As guides' daily salaries are fixed by union agreements and do not vary with experience and expertise, the increased tipping and pastors' requests for future services are essential to professional advancement.

10. Guides never lead groups in prayer unless explicitly asked, and, even then, many refuse.

11. This division of authority is confirmed through the materials provided by the guide and pastor, respectively. The guide hands out maps; the pastor hands out collections of songs and devotions to be sung or recited along the route. The pastor may also hand out itineraries. The distinction between the map and the "tour," or itinerary, as ways of organizing space (de Certeau 1984:118–122) on pilgrimage merits further reflection.

12. My thanks to Chaim Noy for many of the insights in this section.

13. By distinguishing between the guide's voice and that of the pastor, the humorous tone also reduces possibilities for friction between the guide and the pastor.

14. See, for example, one of the most influential guide books of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, still in print today: George Adam Smith's *A Historical Geography of the Holy Land*. After a general introduction, in a chapter called "The View from Mount Ebal," Smith (1966:94–97) discusses, through a panoramic view, the land's various regions and their relation to and influence on biblical events.

15. On the interrelationships between U.S. settler identities and Protestant Holy Land narratives, see Obenzinger 1999.

In "navigation" exercises used to reconnoiter territory in Israeli military training, too, hilltop outlooks are extremely important. The association of visual dominance with military security helps explain the widespread consensus in Israel around the continued occupation of the Golan Heights (one of the most popular Israeli hiking areas), proclaimed "the eyes of the state." In the 1970s and 1980s, as part of the government's security aims to increase the Jewish population of Galilee and check unauthorized building of Arab houses on government lands, a series of small settlements called "mitzpim" (outlook points) was established on hilltops, visually dominating the Arab villages in the valleys below (my thanks to Keren-Or Schlesinger for this point).

16. Georges van den Abbeele notes, "The illusion of authenticity depends upon the tourist's feeling himself to be in an immediate relationship with the sight. This immediacy is assured by the sight's presence, to which the tourist can *point*" (1980:7–8).

17. The guiding examples illustrate that, although the allochroism of progress pitting "the West against the rest" attacked by Fabian may be dominant in anthropological writing, different practices of Othering through different conceptions of time may be present, not only in other societies (which Fabian acknowledges but does not see as relevant for his critique) but in "the West" as well.

18. For more on the quasi-religious transformative potential of narrations of the language of tourists and its relation to voice and space, see Noy 2006.

19. This bodily positioning in the church (to the side of the altar and not on the bema) is one of the ways that the guide distinguishes himself from the pastor. The minutiae of bodily positioning, tone of voice, and the ways that olfactory stimuli in the surrounding area support or undermine the guiding narrative will be the subject of future research.

20. Even if many exceptions can be found to this typology, I find it corresponds to the case of modern Christian pilgrimage.

21. For a critique demonstrating how the paradigm of the post-tourist is a gendered construct representing the hegemonic male, see Jokinen and Veijola 1997.

22. Such accusations often reflect the view of monastics and the religious and ignore visitors' desire to be both pilgrims and tourists.

23. For a very preliminary probing of this issue, see Badone and Roseman 2004:11.18 n. 6.

24. If repeated often enough, the path may become institutionalized through pilgrim itineraries and literature and receive a name. This has already occurred at the "Garden Tomb" (19th century), the "Rabbi's Steps" (see subsequent discussion in the text), the "Jesus Boat" at Kibbutz Ginnosar, and the new "Jordan River Baptismal Site" near the Sea of Galilee.

25. A Catholic monk and member of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, Father Peter Vasco, who serves frequently as a pilgrim guide, said to me, "The views are beautiful, but they're honed in on the shrines" (May 2005). The shrines derive their authority through

their visual marking with recognizably Catholic iconography and through the sanction of the church. For Protestants, however, the sites likely to provoke authentic or deep-felt experience are not determined by the magnificence of the churches built over them, the sanction of an ecclesiastical hierarchy, or the aura acquired by an object or shrine through its veneration by previous generations of pilgrims. Rather, they show a preference for "natural," uncluttered landscapes, to the point of preferring the Garden Tomb to the site of the Holy Sepulchre, where Catholics and Orthodox worship, although the latter is the more likely site of Jesus's burial.

26. I recognize that in speaking of Zionism here, I fail to distinguish between different streams within the Zionist movement. I have chosen to focus on elements that are most saliently expressed in Zionist hiking and touring practices (Katz 1985).

The same orientalizing view applied to diaspora Jews in Europe was applied in Israel to "Oriental" Jews from Arab countries (Khazzoom 2003; Raz-Krakovitzkin 1998). Thus, the Zionist return to the land was linked with the obliteration of the history of the local "Oriental" inhabitants, both Orthodox Jews and Arabs, who were seen as "traditional" and "exilic" as well as primitive and exotic.

27. The decline in importance of archaeology as part of Israeli legitimation and education over the past two decades has not been reflected in tour-guide education or guiding practice. This time lag may be part of a larger global tendency, yet to be investigated, in which frayed and worn-out myths enjoy a second life when they are recycled as tourist productions. Perhaps "natives'" narrations of heritage sites to tourists-visitors serves to revive the waning emotional commitment to the myths embodied in those sites.

28. Although the PEF exploratory project declared independence from any particular religious group, members' founding meeting was held in Westminster Cathedral and the sites they chose to map and describe were shaped by a biblical agenda. For evidence of similar contemporary Christian mapping and exploration practices, see Long 2003:203–208.

29. This chronology was presented in the works of Zionist historians of the prestate and early state eras, discussed in Ram 1995, as well as in the history textbook popular through the 1980s, written by Gedalyahu Alon. On the schemas of Zionist periodization of history, see Kimmerling 1995.

30. Although a sign identifies the building as Umayyad, it is dwarfed by the emphasis on the Second Temple, both in the museum's signposting as well as in most guiding narratives.

31. On one tour, a pilgrim said, "I'm tired of listening to all (guide) Thomas's archaeological talk. We don't have time to stay at one place, to be silent and get into the atmosphere."

32. Some guides overestimate their own importance as spiritual facilitators. In the May 2005 issue of the newsletter of the Israel Tour Guides Organization, one veteran guide put it, "When you're on your way to Israel, the Bible is your guide. But in Israel, you need an Israeli tour guide and the Bible serves as evidence of the guide's explanations [*sic*]."

33. I am reminded of a conversation I overheard during a lunch break at the Sea of Galilee. One guide sighed, complaining, "I'm sick of explaining about Jesus! Jesus was here, Jesus was there. . . . If Jesus wasn't there, they couldn't care less." The second guide, wiping his mouth of the remnants of his St. Peter's fish, replied, "Don't you dare say anything bad about Jesus!" He said, "He gives us *each day* our daily bread." The conformity of guides to groups' images and expectations is common to tourism workers. As Marie-Francoise Lanfant notes, "The identity of a human group is framed and becomes fixed in order to meet the needs of the market, and the image of the identity of the natives then becomes a norm which has to be respected" (1995:33). See also Crang 1997.

34. Such tours frequently focus on the Palestinian Christian community, depicting them as suffering “brothers of Jesus.” I plan to dedicate a future study to the comparison of the practices described here with those of “Living Stones” pilgrimages. As Steve Langfur (personal communication) remarked, an issue I touch on but do not develop here is the ethics of guided pilgrimage. The performances I describe might imply that pilgrimage is a process that tends to increase the dehumanization of the Arabs and reinforce racism. Certainly, Jewish Israeli guides have the opportunity, especially during bus rides, of providing a nuanced political and historical explanation that situates Israeli–Palestinian relations in broader perspective and gives place to Palestinian suffering and agency. Some guides do so. But such presentations are rarely allotted time in the itinerary (not all pasts are of equal value), and they are not presented in biblical language. Thus, they are more likely to be framed as personal (political) opinions of the guide than as an integral part of the pilgrimage. This issue requires further development.

35. Another pilgrimage event to be analyzed in future research is the evening group prayer meeting. These meetings begin with a recounting of voyage impressions (including fragments of the guide narrative) and conclude in prayer. They effectively transform the travelers’ stories into testimony and order the sites into a path of the pilgrim’s progress. For a detailed analysis of how such meetings work on Israeli youth trips to Poland, see Feldman in press.

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