

VIDA BAJC

Methodist University
Department of Sociology
e-mail: vbajc@methodist.edu

From the Mount of Olives to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: Performing Social Realities on Organized Christian Pilgrimage in Jerusalem¹

Jerusalem is in the center of the Land of Israel
and the Temple is in the center of Jerusalem.
The Land of Israel is the umbilicus of the world,
set in the center of the world.

Midrash Tanhuma Qadoshim 10
*Audio-visual message, The Archaeological Park at
the Western Wall Plaza (May 2006)*

Abstract. *Christian pilgrims come to the Holy Land to visit specific physical places that give their faith a tangible form. On organized tours, pilgrimage is structured through an itinerary which consists of a series of encounters, purposefully shaped to bring to life the story of Jesus. These encounters involve performative practices of tour-group leaders at specific symbolic sites with particular narratives. The biblical reality is invoked through a process of meta-framing which allows for a cognitive shift from the mundane walking from site to site into a biblical reality. Meta-framing interlaces the Christian religious memory, performed by the spiritual leader, with the Israeli historical memory, performed by the Israeli tour guide, into a single, linear meta-narrative.*

Keywords: *Meta-framing, linear time, collective memory, performance, organized tour, tour guide, Christian pilgrimage, Holy Land, Jerusalem*

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Introduction

The Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem is a journey to specific physical places that give a tangible form to the Christian faith.² Following the institutionalization of Christianity by the Roman emperor Constantine in the fourth century, his mother Helena is reputed to have travelled to the Holy Land to find the original sites of the life and death of Jesus in Bethlehem and Jerusalem, as described in the Gospels, pilgrim accounts and local traditions.³ This marks the beginning of the process of building of churches and shrines on the sites associated with the life of Jesus and practising of rituals to sustain them; a process Halbwachs (1992: 193–235) calls ‘the legendary topography of the Gospels.’ Halbwachs suggests that given that Jerusalem was destroyed shortly after Jesus’ death and subsequently conquered, destroyed and rebuilt many times, building of symbolic structures over these sites could not follow authentication by eyewitnesses. Instead, he shows that throughout the centuries Christians have been creating the landscape that reflects their own imaginaries of biblical events. They bring these conceptions with them to Jerusalem. ‘*Imagos*,’ sacred texts and beliefs form a master narrative which, combined with ritual practices, is subsumed into what he calls ‘religious collective memory’ (Halbwachs 1992: 84–119). Pilgrims come to Jerusalem to objectify this master narrative. They have within them an idea about the events that took place in Jerusalem. They come to Jerusalem to look for places that will make these beliefs come alive.

How does the contact between pilgrims and places that bring their collective memory to life come about? Christian pilgrims in Jerusalem are motivated by a desire to make collective memory tangible and imaginable (Bowman 1991; Halbwachs 1992). Historians suggest that travels to the Holy Land were always easier along the paths already walked by others since they provided direction, orientation and shelter in unknown and far away places (Adler 2002). Today, travel arrangements are made in advance through the tourism industry. Pilgrim activities tend to be spatially and socially separated from the routines of local daily life. Upon arrival, group leaders selectively direct their attention to specific places and objects (Cohen 1985; Urry 1990). These spaces and objects are identified through chosen texts and images (MacCannell 1976). Place, narrative and attention are joined through different kinds of performative practices (Bruner 2005; Edensor 1998; Katriel 1997; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). Ritual performance imbues the interaction between place, pilgrims and narrative with meaning. The performance transforms an unspecified area into a specific space where a particular event took

² I extend my thanks to Don Handelman, as well as Diana Crane, Jackie Feldman, Gary Alan Fine, Simon Coleman, Tamar Katriel, and Lori Allen for their helpful comments.

³ The first known pilgrim account is from a pilgrim of Bordeaux who travelled to Jerusalem in 333 C.E.

place and allows for a full bodily experience of being in that place (Casey 1987; Feldman 2007).

The aim of this article is to demonstrate how the organization of this memory-making experience on organized Christian pilgrimage can be captured in processual terms through the meta-framing theory of Gregory Bateson (2000 [1972]). In line with the current 'processual turn' in social sciences, students of pilgrimage have tried to deal with these dynamics through the notions of social construction, performance and mobility (Coleman & Eade 2004). These concepts are limited, however, in that they do not capture the epistemological nature of the process; that is, how the transformative experience is able to emerge as a process which forms and structures both activity and meaning. I suggest that Bateson's formulation of meta-framing is able to subsume the concreteness of the emergent quality of specific pilgrim interactions, as well as demonstrate how experience and transmission of collective memory are able to surface through the form of these encounters. Notions of framing and meta-communication are used in a variety of ways. Crucial to Bateson's formulation is the argument that framing is a process which begins with intent to separate a particular social activity from a given reality by those who do the framing.

To show how this process of forming through meta-framing comes about, this article follows an organized pilgrimage tour of Anglicans, on the first day of their visit through Jerusalem. This tour was accompanied by two Anglican ministers who performed texts from the Christian master narrative, and by an Israeli-Jewish tour guide who performed stories from the master narrative of the Israeli nationhood. This case demonstrates how the use of meta-framing theory can explain the process of forming of pilgrim experiences, based on two opposed collective memories, the Christian 'religious' and the Israeli 'historical.' The framing process begins with the tour leader who aims to create a clear separation between the group and its surroundings. This is achieved through meta-communication, aided by the structure of the encounter, and negotiated between the guide and the ministers throughout the day. The framing begins with a shift from a routine movement from site to site into a focused group activity. The result of this clear-cut, hierarchical separation is a frame which is meta-communicative. This means that it communicates in one direction only, from the frame to the pilgrims. The frame becomes a message to the pilgrims as to how they should interpret what they experience. Given that these pilgrims came to Jerusalem to objectify their own collective memory, the Israeli collective memory of the guide has to be presented in a way that should not contradict, question or otherwise undermine the collective memory of the group. This is achieved through the message of the frame. The message communicates as a linear meta-time,⁴ a meta-time line along which the collective memory of the

⁴ There are other varieties of meta-time, such as linear with loops, circular, spiral, or changing from one into the other. Meta-time discussed here is linear in the sense of being unidirectional.

Christians and the Israelis can be positioned. Its linear form is able to combine the Christian religious master narrative with the Israeli historical master narrative without any apparent paradox, ambiguity or contradiction.

Since this article is intended to highlight the process of meta-framing rather than its reception, let us leave aside how this process is understood by the pilgrims and to what extent they internalize this framing. Instead, the article will focus on the interactions between the ministers and the Israeli-Jewish tour guide who perform the framing. By focusing on these dynamics on one particular tour that took place during one whole day, it tries to capture the process as it emerges from one moment to the next in a specific place and time. As demonstrated below, this is crucial. It is precisely the specificities of place, the particularities of collective memory, and the moment-to-moment division of labour between the leaders that enable this meta-framing to emerge. By focusing on this particular case in order to uncover the process of meta-framing at tourist sites, I follow the logic of the case analysis method attributed to Max Gluckman, developed by the Manchester School, and later expanded by others into the extended-case method (Evens & Handelman 2006). The capturing of a specific process as it emerges out of a particular situation allows us to capture life as it is lived in that specific moment and suggests how these dynamics necessarily relate to a larger social context.

1. Organized Pilgrimage Groups and Master Narratives

Christians visiting Jerusalem today engage in a variety of pilgrimage practices. Which places are able to bring to life the story of Jesus depends on the characteristics of the group, which reflects the continuous splitting of Christianity throughout the centuries into denominations and sects. Some pilgrims spend most of their time inside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre or in churches of other denominations. Others listen to lectures on the archaeology of the City of David and later on take a field trip to the site, just outside the Old City. Some stand on the Mount of Olives looking down on Jerusalem's golden Dome of the Rock and think about the temple that used to stand on that spot. Then they descend to the city, spending their day in the recently opened Western Wall Heritage Tunnel, never once stepping into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. These places have become the 'sites of memory' for different pilgrims (Nora 1989). The specific activities in which these pilgrims engage vary greatly but their expectations nevertheless converge at one point. The purpose of their journey is to conjoin the biblical story of Jesus with its physical manifestations found only in the Holy Land (Halbwachs 1992). The transformative spiritual power of Jerusalem lies in the ability of these different sites to lend veracity to the particular imaginaries about Jerusalem that different kinds of pilgrims bring with them.

Most pilgrims come on organized tours. This is a transitory form of social organization that allows different individuals to travel together to Jerusalem, there move as a group from site to site, and disperse after the trip, never to be reassembled again in the same configuration.⁵ The pilgrimage tour is structured through a densely scheduled itinerary agreed to in advance and guided by professional group leaders. This form of social organization maximizes the number of experiences in the amount of time available, given that Jerusalem is an unknown place to pilgrims where sites are scattered widely and often within densely populated areas (Ritzer 1996). Reduction of time and energy spent on the road and advance knowledge of the expenses and events involved allow the pilgrims to focus on their experience in Jerusalem. In a city with extraordinary diversity of ritual practices and cultural expressions and high emotional intensity, the itinerary and the group leaders provide the necessary structure to what would otherwise be a stressful and confusing accumulation of experiences in disparate places.

Each pilgrimage group draws on its own interpretation of the Christian master narrative, an overarching and underlying explanatory account of its cosmological and historical origins, its contemporary place in the world, and its connection to the divine and the life in the afterworld. The ongoing differentiation of Christianity continues to produce different versions of this master narrative; that is, different accounts of where the cosmological origins lie, how one should live life on earth to attain God's grace, and what God's plans are for the life to come. Nevertheless, the story of the life of Jesus forms the basis of all of them. The Christian master narrative draws legitimacy from the New Testament – texts that narrate events taking place some two thousand years ago.

Master narratives provide a structure to collective memory. Halbwachs (1992) uses the example of Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land to demonstrate why collective memory should be differentiated from history. He understands the former as a past actively employed in a group's life. He sees the latter as a distant past to which a group of people is connected through historical records. Similarly, Conerton (1989) suggests that what he calls 'historical reconstruction' is a process based on investigative evidence, independent from memory 'inscribed' in printed texts and 'incorporated' in performative bodily practices. To impose clear distinctions between collective memory, that is, a selective account of the past and its connection to the present a group chooses to hold about itself, and the scientific enterprise of history, is a call many have made (for example, Klein 2000). The two are nevertheless often closely intertwined, particularly in the context of identity politics (Olick & Robbins 1998).

The Israeli-Jewish tour guide draws from the master narrative of the official founding story of Israel, an account which sees the establishment of the contem-

⁵ Some tours are made of pilgrims who come from the same parish. For other tours, pilgrims of different parishes respond to advertising in regional religious media outlets.

porary state and its political capital in Jerusalem as a logical culmination of over three thousand years of linear history of the Jewish people on this land.⁶ Different versions of this master narrative have different explanations for how this historical process was achieved.⁷ These differences are reflected in the performances of the Israeli-Jewish tour guides in that each identifies with and draws on a particular version of the Zionist master narrative (Katriel 1997). The common line to this founding story is the use of the systematic pursuit of finding empirical bases of Jewish existence in the Holy Land through archaeology so as to form a linear, historical narrative from the distant past to the present.⁸ In this pursuit, history is mixed with collective memory. One example is the use of the Bible to provide plausible interpretations of archaeological findings (Abu El-Haj 2001). The Israeli nation-building project through archaeology has created its own topography, made of archaeological remains of tombs from the Old Testament, palaces, fortresses, synagogues, tunnels, walls and caves, as well as modern, museum-type structures that house such remains. Organized Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem brings together Jerusalem's topography of the Christians with that of the Israeli Jews.⁹ Meta-framing theory, applied below to the interactions on an Anglican pilgrimage tour to Jerusalem, can help us to understand how the pursuit of history can be combined with the selective account a social group chooses to remember about itself.

2. Encounters and Their Meta-framing

Organized Christian pilgrimage is comprised of a series of performative encounters at specific sites of the biblical topography. Encounters are here understood in the Goffmanian sense, as purposefully shaped interactions between a spiritual leader, a tour guide, particular symbolic sites, specific narratives and individual

⁶ 'Zionist Christianity,' an Evangelical Protestant movement, a part of which is prominently represented by the International Christian Embassy in Jerusalem which organizes tours to Jerusalem for thousands during the Feast of Tabernacles, blurs the lines between the two master narratives by placing emphasis on Jesus as a son of David (instead of a teacher from Nazareth, cf. *Matthew* 1). In the Israeli founding narrative, David made Jerusalem the capital of his kingdom in 1000 B.C.E.

⁷ See special issue of *History & Memory*, 1995, volume 7, Number 1.

⁸ Linear conception of time refers to a single, universal, chronological line which assigns each event an unequivocal temporal location. This logic of time is recent and was adopted by historiographers only in the nineteenth century (Adam 1990).

⁹ This tends to exclude Palestinian and Armenian collective memories unless the group is led by a local cleric or a local Palestinian or Armenian guide. The Israel Ministry of Tourism requires that every group of ten or more be accompanied by a tour guide. With few exceptions, this means an Israeli-Jewish citizen licensed by the Ministry. Several tour-guiding classes have recently been offered in English for Palestinians but this training is separate from the process of licensing. Licensing is granted by the Israel Ministry of Tourism only after a candidate has passed written and oral examinations administered by the Ministry.

expectations so as to generate a transformative spiritual experience. An encounter comes into existence every time the group stops in a particular physical location and begins to interact with common focus of attention to the exclusion of the surrounding social world (Goffman 1961). Pilgrims' attention is directed toward a performative process through which a chosen set of narratives at a particular physical site enlivens the biblical story of Jesus. The performative practice is an intentionally produced symbolic or aesthetic enactment whose purpose is to bring to life the specific imaginative reality (Bauman 1986). The reality of walking in the footsteps of Jesus becomes a process of being in a particular place, separated from the outside world, with a common focus of attention on a specific narrative ritually performed by a group leader who frames the experience so that it can be perceived as real by the people involved.

The separation between tourism-related activity and local cultural and social life is a long-observed characteristic of tourism and has been usefully expressed using a 'bubble' metaphor (see Boorstin 1964 and Cohen 1972 for early use of this metaphor). The 'bubble' connotes an existence in a virtual, vacuum-like space, with impermanent and irresolute borders. The 'tourist bubble' refers to tourist spaces as separated enclaves of infrastructure and services that cater specifically to the needs of tourists (Judd 1999). The use of this metaphor here is as a dynamic epistemological process of social separation rather than a static ontological reality. This process is often, but not always, strengthened by symbolic, environmental and physical boundaries. In the case of organized Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the separation and interpretation of emotional awareness it enables come about thorough the ritual performance of the group leaders. How this separation emerges as a process which forms not only the activity of the pilgrims but also their meaning can be best understood through the theory of meta-framing formulated by Bateson (2000 [1972]).

The notion of framing is frequently used in the sense of an instrumental division between one definition of a situation and another. This leaves us with conceptions of frames as static containers within which things happen. For Bateson, on the other hand, framing is a process marked by an epistemological intent of those who do the framing. While Bateson provides the example of a picture on the wall to make his theory graspable, his metaphor is meant to demonstrate that framing has an epistemological purpose which is to communicate a shift from one reality to the other, from the wallpaper to that which is depicted inside the frame. Bateson emphasizes that this communication is not materially localizable, in the sense of a physical frame, but cognitive or virtual, in the sense of a shift in perception.

Bateson differentiates between 'framing' and 'frame.' Framing is a shift in perception from one reality to another. This shift happens through a process of separation between the general context within which the encounter occurs and the performative content of the activity of the encounter itself. The separation can

generate different forms and interpretations of activity based on the type of frames it creates: rigid, flexible or permeable (Handelman 2006a, 2006b). Framing shapes the encounters by forming and structuring their activity. On a pilgrimage tour, an encounter comes into being when the group stops at a particular site and begins to focus on a specific narrative performed by either the spiritual leader or the guide. The leader signals the transformation from the routine to a commencement of the encounter. The pilgrims stop walking and talking to each other, gather in a half circle around the leader who is doing the framing, direct their gaze away from random objects in their surrounding, and focus their attention on the leader and on each other until the encounter is completed. Framing in pilgrimage groups to Jerusalem is therefore exclusionary in that the group leaders establish a clear and distinct boundary between the activity of the group and the social space of Jerusalem.

The separation of the outside world from the focused activity of the pilgrims encircles the encounter within a frame. The frame within which the focused activity has been confined is a message which instructs the people involved as to how the activity of which they are now a part is to be interpreted. Once the separation is completed and a frame established, the information is provided as the content of such a frame in performative ways so as to enliven the biblical text. The content of a frame is the product of the choice of narratives, physical space and performative ability of tour group leaders. The pilgrims refer to the message of the frame and understand that the performative activity in which they are participating is to be interpreted as a biblical reality.

The message of how the new reality is to be interpreted is communicated at a meta-level. Through this hierarchical separation between the group activity and its exterior, the message is necessarily meta-communicative in that this communication has only one direction, from the frame to the pilgrims. The pilgrims do not shape the message. Rather, the message orients the pilgrims involved in terms of how specific performances of narratives within the encounter are to be interpreted. It follows that the content is subordinated to the frame in that, whatever the specific narratives performed on the tour, all will be given meaning in relation to the frame.

On pilgrimage tours where narratives from the two different collective memories are performed, this meta-communication is established by the Israeli-Jewish guide as a linear meta-time, a unidirectional time line which reaches back more than three thousand years, leads into the present, and logically points into the future (Adam 1990). Because this line is established through framing which is meta-communicative, the pilgrims orient their interpretation of what they are experiencing at the moment in relation to this frame. As a unidirectional line, it forms the notion of time as a succession of events from times immemorial into the present and to the future, one chronologically related to the next so that they all fit next to one another along a meta-time line. The logic of this time-form is able to subsume

the religious-mythical as well as the historical-scientific narratives performed for Christian pilgrimage tours.

The pilgrims are able to respond to and interpret the framing if it relates to their collective memory and to the master narrative that articulates it. Master narratives are a kind of prior knowledge. In Goffman's terms (1986 [1974]), they are a primary framework which renders meaningful the framing of the transition from ordinary walking through Jerusalem into walking in the footsteps of Jesus. Exclusionary framing is crucial to organized Christian pilgrimage in Jerusalem in that the transformation into a different reality is possible only when a clear-cut distinction is maintained between what the pilgrims are experiencing and the social world that surrounds them. The guide and the cleric are both aware of this, and they work together to maintain this type of framing. While the cleric sets the content around the biblical events of two thousand years ago, the guide strives to give to this content a linear direction, pushing further back into the past and forward into the present, moving easily along the meta-time line from here and now to here and then. Once the separation between the group and its surroundings is completed and a frame established, the Israeli historical and the Christian religious-mythical narratives provided as content of this frame are able to be interpreted by the pilgrims as complementary. Together, they form a linear meta-narrative which means that each narrative relates to the other without major contradictions. These narratives are positioned along a meta-time line that reaches more than three thousand years back and moves without inconsistency through the present and along the same path into the future.

I suggest that this is possible because the guide does not question the veracity of the cleric's religious narrative nor does the cleric contest the legitimacy of the guide's historical narrative. As long as these questions are not invoked, the meta-time line along which the historical and the religious are weaved together into a linear meta-narrative, renders meaningful the content of any encounter on the tour. While the cleric and the guide do negotiate specific places and narratives, this dynamic leaves the linear meta-message unchallenged. All spiritual leaders with whom I have had contact stress that pilgrimage is as much a spiritual journey as an educational one, but emphasize that there must be an understanding of the group's spiritual needs. When the guide is sensitive to the spiritual needs of the group, the group will be open to the framing of the guide. As long as the guide does not subordinate or question the religious memory of the group as 'mythical,' in relation to the guide's Israeli memory as 'historical,' the group and its spiritual leader will be open to this type of framing. This is a process of memory-making which orients pilgrim experiences into a meta-time line, combining without paradox the religious Christian memory with Israel's history, the two emerging into one natural and self-evident historical truth, a linear, historical-religious meta-narrative.

3. A Day through Jerusalem

The pilgrimage discussed below comprised forty-nine people from the north of Great Britain, and took place in May 2000 during eight days.¹⁰ The tour was assembled by two ministers, Simon and Philip. Both had been in Jerusalem before, though neither had an experience in actually leading a tour. The two ministers jointly compiled a prayer book and distributed, prior to the trip, copies to all members of the group. Their tour guide was an Israeli-Jewish woman, born in South Africa. Israeli guides have different motivations in performing their job, but most share a dedication to the land, to the Israeli state and its people, to the improvement of Israel's image around the world and, last but not least, to the handsome monetary rewards that come from successfully leading a tour. They are aware that the Christian master narrative and the master narrative of the Israeli state do not overlap, and that juxtaposing their own master narrative with that of a Christian group could cause tensions and a possible dissolution of the group. In the eyes of everyone involved, the most successful guides are those who are able to work with the group. This includes the Israeli Ministry of Tourism which sees the tour guides it licenses as cultural ambassadors of Israel to the pilgrims from around the world. Tour guiding instructors have also come to conclude that the official, historical master narrative should be framed in relation to particular groups: 'We teach [the guides] to process information into a narrative that [can be adjusted to diverse] groups; how one tells the story to young people, to Buddhists, whoever, using a site as a text,' stated one instructor. Another confirmed: 'If you go to Egypt, the guide can explain to you the history. But here, you have the place within you. You carry it within. So, the guide has to tune into what the group has inside to be able to bring that out and make it alive to be experienced.'

Guides have different styles and strategies to achieve this goal. One particular guide finds it useful to show that she is 'personally interested in the experience of the group' which means 'not just taking them to a place and leav[ing] them there' but sharing with them the story of her life and 'sitting with them during their spiritual experiences and services.' She shows to the group that she 'is personally interested in them' and that she 'does open up a little bit also' and tells them about her life experience. When it comes to the question of where, exactly, something happened, this guide resorts to the concept of tradition. 'Always, everything I say – it's tradition,' she tells me. When the pilgrims object, she explains to them that

¹⁰ There are huge differences between groups as well as within a group. This particular group included teenagers and senior citizens, members of the working class and university-educated people. There were more women than men. I joined the group after having requested permission from all parties involved while I was conducting fieldwork in Jerusalem from December 1999 to January 2001.

‘people have, since the fourth, fifth century, for example, believed this to be the place. And so, tradition has grown up that this is the place.’ To convince the pilgrims that she is not downplaying their beliefs, this guide tells them that ‘tradition is just as important as whether this really is the place or not. And that,’ she explains, ‘covers me for everything.’ The reference to tradition tends to be used at places that are significant to pilgrims’ faith as Christians but lack archaeological evidence. Since the intensity of pilgrim experience depends on their ability to imagine the place as true, the guide’s recourse to tradition masks the contradiction between what one is able to verify through scientific means and what the experience of their faith demands.

4. Arriving at the Airport

Tour guides meet their group at the airport in Tel Aviv. Their first step is to learn as much about the group as possible by carefully reading their itinerary. ‘Different groups have different places that mean different things to them,’ our tour guide acknowledges, ‘so you’ve got to know your group.’ The more she knows about the group, the closer she can get to their experience, and the more successful her attempts are in setting up the meta-message along the meta-time line and combining and expanding their frame content with her own. Reading the itinerary, she notices that the group calls their service ‘mass’ rather than ‘communion.’ Three masses are scheduled, all of them in churches, none at the Garden Tomb. Protestant groups, particularly Evangelical Protestants, call their religious services ‘communion’ and identify the Garden Tomb as the burial place of Jesus. The Catholics and the Orthodox call their services ‘masses’ and consider the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as the place where Jesus is buried. When the group arrives, the ministers confirm that the group is in between Middle and High Church of England, meaning that the pilgrimage has Catholic-influenced as well as mainstream Protestant elements.

The guide introduces herself with her English first name, Debra, rather than her Hebrew name, Dvora. She presents herself as a person who can relate to them: ‘I was brought up High Anglican but in a Jewish home,’ she tells them. She knows all their liturgies and hymns and she understands their connection to Jesus and the scriptures. Her experience of living in Israel and her training as a tour guide provides her with the authority to be their guide but her upbringing provides her with the ability to understand their expectations and create situations to fulfil them. On the bus to their hotel in Jerusalem, Debra sits on the folding seat next to the driver and talks uninterruptedly all the way, continuing with her personal story. She was born in South Africa. From the aged six to aged eighteen she received a Christian education from a High Anglican school. But she grew up in a Jewish home. She talks about life in South Africa and how she immigrated in the 1980s. She is a Jew,

an Israeli Jew, but she feels close to Christians. Because of her exposure to Christian culture, she is able to understand their expectations about this trip and to help them fulfil their spiritual needs. She promises that ‘this trip will be an extraordinary experience. It will be an experience of renewal and the experience of a lifetime.’ The guides strive to give a good impression of Israel. For many of these pilgrims, this may very well be the experience of a lifetime and the only time they will ever visit Jerusalem. This experience, however, can only be fulfilling if the guide is able to read and understand these expectations and frame the encounters in such a way that the pilgrims’ expectations as well as her own are fulfilled.¹¹

5. ‘Jesus Wept Looking Down On the City’: Jerusalem Then and Now As it Appears From the Mount of Olives

The next morning, the bus takes us to the Mount of Olives. During biblical times, Jesus is supposed to have walked down from here towards Jerusalem to partake in prayers and offerings at the Temple, and it is said to have been the starting point for his last journey to the city, before his death. Today, this is a hill heavily populated by a series of contiguous Palestinian villages. The bus serves as a physical enclosure, separating the group from the rest of the world and allowing it to focus on itself and its leaders uninterruptedly and in a relaxed and stress-free manner. Debra takes the microphone while the ministers and the pilgrims listen: ‘Good morning! In Hebrew we say *boker tov*. Can you repeat this?’ They repeat after her. ‘And in Arabic we say *sabach el-kher*.’ She turns to the driver: ‘Right, Samir? Samir is our driver. Say *sa-bach-el-kher*, Samir!’ They try to repeat that too. To the group, this introduces a Palestinian and an Israeli Jew working side by side. The driver’s presence will go largely unnoticed as will the presence of other Palestinians in Jerusalem. Christian pilgrimage tours with Israeli-Jewish tour guides are focused on each other’s master narrative and tend to exclude the collective memories of other groups living in the city. When we arrive on the Mount of Olives, another physical separation between the group and its exterior takes place. Debra hands out yellow cotton hats and puts on a big straw hat herself. ‘These hats will protect you from the sun,’ she says. They will also distinguish them as a tour group and set them apart from other people around them.

We gather away from the noise of the main road in an area with a panoramic view overlooking the Old City. For Debra, this is an opportunity to begin the framing of her history of Jerusalem through an overarching visual perspective of

¹¹ Spiritual leaders of pilgrims from traditional religious denominations seek local clergy to lead their groups. They argue that these pilgrims have spiritual needs which an Israeli-Jewish tour guide cannot provide. Arrangements for this particular tour group were made by a Palestinian agency from Jerusalem which employs Israeli-Palestinian bus drivers and Israeli-Jewish tour guides.

her meta-time line. She waits for everyone to gather, then steps in front of them so as to be visible to everyone and begins with 'OK, everybody, take a look down at the city.' This utterance interrupts whatever was taking place until that moment and shifts pilgrims' attention to Debra and the narrative of the story of the Temple Mount compound which she is about to present. The group quiets down, their gaze now focused on the Old City's structures that visually stand out as witnesses to its long and complex existence. We see the eastern side of the city walls, rebuilt for the last time by the Ottoman Turks in the sixteenth century. There is the golden Dome of the Rock crowning the city's rooftops and the adjacent Masjid Al-Aqsa. These places are holy to Islam and were built by the Umayyad Dynasty between 691 and 710. A number of church towers stretch out toward the sky. They were built and rebuilt during the Christian presence throughout the past two millennia. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, built in the early fourth century and then destroyed, built, burned and rebuilt again, stands today subdued in the background. Also not very visible from this observation point is the huge Western Wall plaza, cleared of its Palestinian residents after the 1967 war. It stretches out west of the remains of the Herodian structure destroyed in 70 C.E., just below the Dome of the Rock. Ha-Kotel Ha-Ma'aravi, the exposed remaining part of this structure, is a holy site to the Jews. These are some of the most important symbols of the city to which we are about to descend. Debra will now combine the visual with the textual and the political, aligning the places with their history and their present politics. All narratives will merge into one, broad, brief, but contiguous, linear meta-narrative. This overview frames a long meta-time line along which will fit all the other narratives, specific to each site, that the group will encounter while walking through the city.

Debra surveys Jerusalem's history from its beginning to the Jews' exile, then the destruction of the Temple, followed by the building of the Dome of the Rock, and concludes by explaining why observant Jews today do not walk in that area. Her narrative of the past always leads linearly and logically to today's social life in Jerusalem. It begins and concludes with the Jewish presence, always interweaving the presence of Christians with that of Jews and Muslims along the way. She shifts effortlessly from past to present and back again, always relating history to the biblical narrative. She now mentions the story of the corruption at the Temple against which Jesus rebelled: 'Jesus probably stood somewhere here on the Mount of Olives and wept "Is this the House of God?"' She speaks of the Second Jewish Temple but her focus is on Jesus: 'In the time of Jesus this was called the House of God. You've sacrificed in order to come closer to God. In the time of Jesus, a lot of money was going where it shouldn't have gone.'

Debra now shifts to the current political corruption scandal in the news, involving an Israeli minister and the Israeli president. The biblical narrative of two thousand years ago will find its logical succession today, in the same place: 'Nothing has changed, by the way.' She gives a full report of the scandal in Israeli politics

taking place at the very same time that the group is standing on the Mount of Olives looking down at Jerusalem. But unless the narrative is related to the pilgrims' expectations it will 'go over their heads' so she shifts back to the biblical narrative: 'In Jesus' time it was really something that obviously disturbed him greatly and he stood here somewhere and he would have looked like we are looking now and thought "Is this the House of God? What is happening to the people? This is not the right way for the Jewish people to express their belief!"' Interweaving the past with the present aims to bring the pilgrims out of their biblical past and into the present of the Jerusalem they hear about through the mass media. While the mass-media accounts pilgrims hear in their home environment may present Israeli politics as corrupt and unfair, Debra not only acknowledges Israeli corruption and presents herself as a self-critical Israeli, but also puts Israeli politics into a biblical perspective. She does not downplay Israeli politics in Jerusalem today but makes it relative historically and specifically to the teachings of Jesus. At the same time, a narrative that begins with the Jewish life of the past and ends with the Jewish life of the present sets the path for a linear meta-narrative of the Jewish continuous presence in Jerusalem. She has framed a linear movement through time with just a brief survey of the Israeli history of the city and supported this framing visually by leading the pilgrims' gaze over the city from a panoramic perspective. The group will now descend to the city, walking this panoramic image and time line just presented, in the same direction through space, synchronizing the narrative and its image in time with walking the narrative and its image in space.

Debra concludes the narrative with 'Do you have any questions?,' immediately followed by 'If you don't have questions we will go on to the Church of Dominus Flevit.' There were few questions at the beginning of the tour. The time in Jerusalem is particularly intense where, as Halbwachs (1992) suggests, the Christian collective memory has concentrated the life of Jesus into most dramatic events: betrayal, agony, violent death and supernatural resurrection. These are events the pilgrims had been preparing to experience. Moreover, the part of Jerusalem where these events can be brought to life is a densely populated area, with the walled Old City alone housing more than 40,000 residents made up of Jews, Muslims and Christians of all denominations. Throughout the day, people and vehicles of all kinds crowd the narrow streets, while church bells and Muslim calls for prayer fill the air. The pilgrims will begin to actively reflect on their experience and engage with the guide only when they go out of Jerusalem to the area of the Dead Sea, and then north to the Sea of Galilee.

Now that Debra has presented a linear movement through time, she will lead the group through the same, linear meta-narrative in space. We continue along a winding road so steep and narrow that it must be travelled along by foot, down the hill to the next encounter at a teardrop-shaped church, commemorating the physical place of the narrative Debra has just introduced, Jesus weeping over Jerusalem. Like

many churches, Dominus Flevit has a walled garden of olive trees with benches in shaded areas, overlooking the city. For visitors, these are places to meditate – far away from the bustle of the daily life in Jerusalem – on the biblical events the church commemorates. Like the air-conditioned bus, this serene space in the midst of life's intensity is another type of physical enclosure that shelters the group. As soon as Debra starts with 'Is everybody here? Take a look at the city again,' Simon walks up to her and quietly interrupts her: 'The group would like to have some time to pray.' Debra immediately pulls back and turns to the group: 'OK, everybody. You will do a prayer first and then we will talk about the Old City Gates and the trial and the crucifixion.' She steps aside. Debra prefers the following arrangement: to lead the group to a site, wait for all the people to gather, introduce the place, then let the spiritual leader complete the encounter with a ritual performance, conclude the encounter herself, and finally lead the group to the next site. Simon and Philip have divided their responsibilities prior to the trip. Debra will work out the division of labour with the two priests as the day progresses.

Simon takes on his role, shifting from Debra's historical and contemporary narrative to the biblical narrative he had prepared for this place: 'We will pray for the city... pray for the peace in places where there is oppression. Then we will sing together *Amazing Grace*.' The pilgrims take out their blue plastic folders. As the pilgrimage proceeds and more and more sites are visited, this prayer book, designed to trace the steps of Jesus according to the Middle and High Church of England master narrative, becomes an important, tangible means to orient each pilgrim in time and place. Father Philip reads a passage from Luke 19: 'As he came near and saw the city, he wept over it, saying, "If you, even you, had only recognized on this day the things that make for peace! But now they are hidden from your eyes..."' The pilgrims read quietly and attentively. A prayer follows, bringing the biblical past not to the local but a global present. Spiritual leaders are focused on providing a context amenable to religious experience and tend to avoid addressing directly contemporary political issues. But they, too, move from past to present: 'Lord Jesus Christ, today we share your tears for the cities of the world... We weep for the divided cities... We weep for the cities [where there is] oppression... We weep for the cities of poverty...' Simon completes the performance by singing a hymn: 'Amazing grace! How sweet the sound that saved a wretch like me...' The rest of the group follows and the sound fills the garden. What was before an undistinguishable space with olive trees next to a church is now the place where Jesus looked at Jerusalem and wept, as related in the Bible by one of his disciples (Casey 1987). The narrative of his suffering, now embodied by the pilgrims in a specific place, complements Debra's master narrative and is positioned along its linear movement through time and place.

As people continue to gaze at the city, absorbing the echo of the moment just experienced and the silence that follows it, Debra steps in to build on the content

just presented by the ministers. Her strategy is never to contradict the ministers' narrative but to expand and widen its content – making it more complex, more muddled, but always along a meta-time line – with ever more historical, archaeological, sociological, anthropological, biblical and botanical information about the place and the events that happened at the time and are happening now. She cites the Bible, the Jewish historian Josephus Flavius and contemporary Israeli scholars, always careful to move from past to present. She leads our gaze over the skyline of the city, from the right of the rooftops to the left, pointing at every tower and every distinguishable building with ever more information about each one. In line with Halbwachs (1992), Debra understands that pilgrims bring with them a certain '*imago*' of Jerusalem that they seek to match with the physical reality of the city. Rather than contesting their memory, she adds to it along the same meta-time line in time and place, expanding its base with the legitimacy of scientific knowledge and the authority of her personal experience of the city. This kind of 'information overload' is a common practice on such tours: it strengthens the authority of the guide and complicates the pilgrims' perceptions and understanding about life in Jerusalem.

6. Along the Way of the Cross through a Crowded Palestinian Market

We stop for a mass at the Convent of the Sisters of Sion, the site where Jesus took up the cross, which is commemorated as the second station of The Way of the Cross. While the ministers are getting ready for the service in the chapel, Debra is framing the group's experience in a corridor of the convent, set aside for the purpose. This time, the panoramic view is provided by a big map of the Old City, lining the walls of the corridor: 'We are here.' Sliding her finger along the map, she leads our gaze from the road where we entered into the city to the gate where we will exit at the end of the day. She provides details on the original pavement from Roman times below us, on how the Roman Emperor Hadrian controlled the Jewish people, on the Bar Kokhba revolt of the Jews against the Romans, on details about the crucifixion, and then returns to the map and the population in today's Old City. 'By the way,' she emphasizes, 'Christians in this country are Palestinians.' People look surprised. They are exhausted from walking in the heat. Debra feels she needs to work harder to get their attention. 'Yes, they are Palestinians,' she confirms. She knows that most Christian pilgrims from the West are not aware that Palestinians may be Christian as well as Muslim: 'It's the local community! The Muslims are Palestinians, yes, and the Christians are Palestinians.' A puzzled look lines people's faces and their attention is refocused. 'Oh yes! But today it is mostly Muslims. There are very few Christians left in the country. We'll talk about numbers

later... but the Christians are [and] have been leaving over the last years and there aren't many left in the country.' She circles around the Muslim, the Christian, the Armenian and the Jewish Quarters on the map. 'We will end up going out through the Jaffa Gate which is here... at the end of the day. OK?'

She cuts her story short to lead us down to the chapel where the ministers are waiting behind the altar, ready to start the Eucharist of the Passion. Chairs are lined up in rows in front of the altar. The group sits down. It is very quiet and cool. Debra sits in the last row, on the edge, almost – but not quite – with the group. Throughout the trip, this particular guide will continue to blur the boundaries between Jews and Christians, moving between one and the other, positioning herself now inside the group later outside the group, never settling to become one of them. Simon begins, followed by others who alternate readings on penitence, Jesus before Pilate, his sentencing to death, his crucifixion, his piercing and his burial. When the ministers say 'The peace of the Lord be always with you' and the pilgrims answer 'and also with you,' Debra gets up and walks through the back rows shaking hands with people. Then she sits again, takes out her own blue book, and sings with them the Offertory Hymn, and reads with them the concluding prayers.

It is now time to continue along the Via Dolorosa, the road Jesus walked two thousand years ago as he carried the cross to the place of his death. The Way of the Cross today leads through the crowded Palestinian central market to the culmination point of today's encounters and the last site of today's itinerary: the place where Jesus was crucified and buried and is said to have been resurrected – the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This is the part of the pilgrimage that is most frequented and reconsecrated with prayers at all stations by the Franciscan friars every Friday. Images of pilgrims carrying wooden crosses are familiar to many around the world thanks to the mass media. Debra has been moving smoothly with her narrative between past and present. She has just led our gaze along the Old City map, pointing at where the Christians live in the city today, where the Muslims live and where the Jews live. What better way to objectify the contemporary narrative of the Palestinian existence we have just heard about than by walking through the crowded Palestinian market? This specific market makes the Palestinian existence in the city most visible and tangible. Yet, it is precisely such contexts that threaten to undermine the framing of the group leaders, to shatter and disperse the pilgrims among the crowd, dissolving the clear-cut boundary between the group and its surroundings, splintering the exclusionary frame and its linear meta-narrative into multiple directions, exposing gaps, paradoxes, lacunae, and contradictions.

Debra tells us there is no time left to stop at every station of the cross, that the street is too crowded and that we have to go straight to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. She warns us that we will pass through a 'very, very crowded street' and advises: 'You'll just keep going slowly.' She assures us that 'Philip [the priest] is going to be at the very end. I will, when I see him, know that everybody is in

between the two of us.’ She details what we will see on our way and how we will arrive ‘up a series of steps onto the roof of the Holy Sepulchre.’ She spells out clearly: ‘Please-try-to-stay-together! I will go slowly not only to give you a chance to keep up but also to see something.’ She encourages us to ‘notice the smells, the sights, and the sounds of [today’s] Jerusalem’ but she warns us not to let ourselves be taken by this experience: ‘Please-don’t-go-into-any-shop because that’s the way you lose us. All right? Any questions? Comments? OK.’ And so we wind up along the Via Dolorosa, walking in the footsteps of Jesus, passing through a lively market, the busiest part of the Old City, bracketing away the present and not even thinking about the past. We keep close to each other, forming a line of two to three people, some holding other people’s clothes, looking straight ahead to the person in front in order not to lose her. Every so often, we thin out the line to let through new and old cars, mini-tractors, mini-vans and pushcarts. Then we spread out again, moving between people coming the other way, and hold on to one another once more as we feel pushed by people from behind.

7. From the Church of the Holy Sepulchre’s Roof to Its Interior

The group has made it through the crowd, the noise and the smell of the market without losing any of its members. We gather in a corner of what is called the roof of the Holy Sepulchre. Here, again, Debra begins her framing with a broad, panoramic brush stroke, introducing – as she did Jerusalem on the Mount of Olives and the Via Dolorosa in front of the Old City map – the Church of the Holy Sepulchre from its roof: ‘This is the area that has been most remembered.’ She then qualifies her words, admitting to emphasizing her own narrative over that of the group: ‘I know I talked about the Garden Tomb. Personally, I talk more about the Garden Tomb as a better place to think about and remember these events.’ The Garden Tomb is a private, tranquil enclosure of trees and park benches just outside the Old City, run by a British institution. The place has a rolling-stone tomb, dated by the curators of the site to the first century C.E., that resembles the biblical description of the burial place of Jesus. The tomb and the garden’s tranquility make it a favourite place for the Protestant groups to commemorate the Easter events. Guides, always looking for quiet, private and shady places, prefer to take their groups to the Garden Tomb and pay only brief attention to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Earlier in the day, Debra tried to persuade Simon and Philip to change this part of the itinerary but the ministers declined. For the traditional churches, particularly the Catholics and the Orthodox, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is perhaps the most important site on their pilgrimage.

Debra switches back to the group narrative: ‘But this has certainly been the place, since the early Christian period, that people come to, to see where Jesus was crucified... where he was buried and then rose from the dead.’ Next, she switches

from the biblical narrative to the excruciating detail of the historical narrative, starting with the Roman times and Emperor Constantine, Helena and her search of holy grounds, the building of the churches, the Crusaders, the building and rebuilding of the Holy Sepulchre, into the present: 'It's a mess down there. And, why is it a mess?' She offers a very simple answer to a very complex question: 'Because the different groups who own the church cannot agree to change it.' She supports her statement with more details about each group that shares the church, saying that on the roof there are Ethiopians, the only people who don't have a place inside the church, and follows with other details on the Stations of the Cross inside the Holy Sepulchre. 'Everything has been covered over with marble and what not. So it's a little difficult to recognize,' she concludes, and suggests that 'because it is often very crowded down there... and because it's quiet up here, we will do a little bit of a reading here.'

Simon knows they cannot have a group prayer inside the church. Agencies that organize familiarization tours for spiritual leaders make sure the leaders know that the Greeks, the Armenians and the Catholics each perform their liturgies around the clock, according to the specifics of the Status Quo agreement, and thus that no one is allowed to interrupt the cycle.¹² Simon begins solemnly, working patiently to divert the encounter from the historical narrative to the biblical: 'Somewhere [nearby] is the place where the Lord was crucified and where he rose from the dead. And so, we are at The Way of the Cross, page 17. Anne is going to read to us the account of the first Easter day, the day of the resurrection. Then we'll sing the hymn *Thine Be the Glory...* [Sometimes] it's a bit of a shock [to go] there,' Simon continues. He is preparing the pilgrims for what they may experience inside the church.

The experience of going through the church often contrasts sharply with the church 'imago' the pilgrims bring with them. The division of space inside the church and the agreements regarding maintenance and rituals' performance speak of the enormous complexity of the interchurch relations and of the Christians' fragile status in today's Jerusalem (see, for example, Hecht 1994). Simon bypasses these issues and tries to prepare the group for individual rather than group experience: 'You need to find somewhere to sit. And be quiet. And think about the Lord's death and the Lord's resurrection, taking place somewhere here where you are – in your own hearts and minds, of course.' He pauses. 'This is very important,' he emphasizes. 'So do that down in the church sometime later on. You may read to yourself the prayers of the cross which are ... in the prayer book. And ... pray by yourselves. Or ... read together, maybe.' Now it is time to 'hear the story of the first Easter Day.' Anne starts reading out loud the Gospel of John. Debra gets her prayer book from her backpack and reads and sings with them.

¹² The *Status Quo Agreement* refers to the rights and powers of Christian denominations within Christian holy places in the area, as codified by the Ottoman authorities in 1852/53 (Dumper 2002).

Once the prayer ends, Debra leads the group through a small door down two levels into the courtyard of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Before we enter the church, Debra positions different narratives about specific places inside the church within the broad meta-time line she presented on the roof: about Adam's skull, the burial place, the burned room and the Coptic part of the rock. After she has set the direction in time, she sends the pilgrims into the church to walk this time line in space. She knows she cannot talk inside the church, so she encourages people to go in on their own. There is only one way out of the church, she says, so we cannot miss each other. She asks the group to meet outside thirty minutes later. For those who wish to follow the narratives in space as they were presented in time, she offers to lead the way: 'I am going to come in with you and go up to Calvary and then down the stairs the other way. If people want to keep up with me, you are welcome to do so. Those who want to wander on their own, please do so.' Simon quickly adds: 'And you can bend over the altar...'

Simon wants to remind the pilgrims that the place where Jesus is buried cannot only be seen. It can also be touched. Debra interferes: 'You can bend over the altar. You can – actually – touch the rock on which Jesus was crucified according to tradition, the tradition of this church. OK?' Here, Debra uses the word 'tradition,' indicating that archaeology does not support what is believed to have happened on the site. 'If you want to actually touch the stone [where Jesus was buried], stand in line inside, in front of the tomb, and [you will be able to] actually put your hand on the stone.' At this point, she informs the group that this experience may be repeated: 'The church is open... Your hotel is very close. You could come back after dinner... OK? So let's go in.' This moment is the height of today's experiences – the pilgrims will touch the altar covering the grave of Jesus. They disperse. Still, more than half follow Debra. She walks up to Calvary, down the steps again, and around counterclockwise toward the tomb. She whispers quietly to those who pass by in a yellow hat: 'If you want to actually touch the stone, stand in line here. There is a queue here, so that you can actually go there... put your hand on the rock, and touch it.' A long line of yellow hats forms along and around all the way back toward Calvary. Debra stands on the side, watching them waiting patiently in line, then going into the tomb, several at a time. When people with yellow hats start coming out wiping their eyes, she leans over to my ear and says: 'It's interesting. You never know what's going on inside them. Sometimes I watch them and I wonder.'

Some forty minutes later, we gather outside, ready to follow Debra to the Jaffa Gate where the bus is waiting to take us to the hotel. On the bus, the two priests discuss with Debra the dinner plans for the next evening. The priests want to follow the itinerary as it is scheduled for the next day but they want to have dinner early enough to be able to return to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with those who wish to come back, before its doors close at nine o'clock. Debra tries to work out the logistics.

Conclusion

I have tried to demonstrate how a theory of meta-framing could be potentially useful to broaden our understanding of how different interpretations and experiences of reality can emerge within a particular social context and for a specific purpose. The notion of meta-framing indicates a unidirectional flow of interpretation, that is, from the frame to the activity the frame encloses. This is the case because the separation between the group and the world surrounding it creates a rigid, clear-cut and impermeable boundary between the two. This process of meta-framing is initiated by the group leaders in order to bring into existence a form of social activity and perception through which a particular experience is made possible. Framing between the group activity and the outside world can be permeable and does not have to form clear-cut boundaries (Handelman 2006a, 2006b). In the case of organized Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem, however, exclusionary framing seems necessary to make it possible for pilgrims to experience the biblical story of the life of Jesus.

I have further suggested how, within this new reality created through meta-framing, two opposing collective memories are able to be combined without major contradictions. In the case discussed, the merging of the historical and the religious was made possible through the frame set up by the guide as a unidirectional meta-time line. This temporal meta-order, a conception of time adopted by the historians only recently (Adam 1990), is able to accommodate and locate the opposing narratives in relation to one another along a universal chronological line. In the case of Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem, this meta-framing through its chronologic gives direction within the Holy Land from the origins to the Second Coming, first in time and then in place.

This meta-time line is first presented in broad historical and panoramic-visual terms as the gaze of the group is directed at a representation of the whole. This time line is then extended into specific historical spaces through linear framing of encounters as the group is walking through the city from site to site. Within a series of spaces and through the performative activity of the group leaders, the pilgrims are able to experience the connection between the logic of linear chronology from the origins to the redemption and particular theological/historical places in Jerusalem. This extension of meta-framing in time to meta-framing in space is possible because built within the logic of linear time are references to historical places that have a potential to be extended into physical spaces through the agency and the choice of the guide and the spiritual leaders. This process of linear meta-framing through continuous linear chronology, and of encounters in place, also suggests a possible way to move beyond conceptions of collective memory as a container of memories held by one group in relation to another and capture a process through

which collective memories are shaped as they are experienced in a particular place and time (Olick & Robbins 1998).

Any such process as it emerges in a particular situation is also necessarily a part of life as it is practised at a broader level. As such, it reflects in some ways the lived history of the whole of which it is a part. I suggest that the internal dynamics on the tour discussed may reflect the merging of the sacralization of the state with the secularization of the sacred at a broad level. In Israel, one can observe an attempt to coordinate historical Christianity with the current status of the state. Particularly for the Protestant Evangelical Christians, and now increasingly for the Israelis, these are two different master narratives that need to be reconciled and merged. The negotiation process we observe between an Israeli-Jewish tour guide and a Christian spiritual leader on a tour group in Jerusalem represents a possible model of how opposing collective memories may be reconciled. A focused, extended study could illuminate to what extent the pilgrims internalize this type of framing and how, in the long run, it may possibly shape the way they interpret the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or the current secular-religious debate.

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