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**The Significance of Holy Land Pilgrimage for Anglican Clergy:
An Anthropological Investigation**

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*This thesis is dedicated to my children
Benjamin, Rebekah and Huw,
Each of whom has made their own journey.*

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Abstract

This study aims to investigate the reactions of a group of Anglican clergy who visited the Holy land on pilgrimage in January 1995. The academic discipline is anthropological. The study employs qualitative methods of a multiple nature. Participant observation is the basis of the fieldwork. A symbolic interactionist approach forms the basis of the data analysis.

A pilot study with a similar group twelve months previously laid the methodological basis for the multi-method enquiry. This was based further on my own experience over several years in leading pilgrimage parties to the Holy Land and other European pilgrimage sites. Particularly I had for twelve years led clergy parties of the sort which I accompanied in 1995. Participant observation and in-depth interviews with six main informants formed the basis of the study. Informal interviews provided further valuable data material. Further interviews afterwards at home with the main informants enabled me to gauge the ongoing impact of the pilgrimage on their lives and ministries.

I review the anthropological literature on tourism, where relevant, and fully on pilgrimage. The seminal works of Victor Turner and his theories of communitas form a core discussion as the particular liminal/liminoid status of the clergy has special significance in relation to Turner's understanding of structure and anti-structure. The work of John Eade and Michael Sallnow is also central to the discussion of this thesis in their triad notion of person, place and text as underpinning the potency of the pilgrimage experience. These ideas of communitas and the triad of person, place and text form substantive themes which are emically tested in the data analysis. Other themes in the data were mostly generated from the actual perceptions of the clergy pilgrims.

The originality of this research is twofold. There is no previous methodological template for an ethnographic study of a group of pilgrims in any setting. As far as the Holy Land is concerned this is the first study of the impact of a pilgrimage tour there on individuals, and of clergy in particular. It also breaks new ground in being an ethnographic study of any aspect of clergy life.

Declaration

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of Cheltenham & Gloucester College of Higher Education and is original except where indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of the thesis has been submitted as any part of any other academic award. The thesis has not been presented to any other education institution in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Any views expressed in the thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the college.

Signature...

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PERSONAL PREFACE

The production of a PhD thesis involves the researcher embarking on a journey. For me, embarking on research for a degree relatively late in life, the intellectual journey has been steep. At all levels, the work that I have undertaken can be conceptualised through the metaphor of the journey. The journey that I will now outline to you has been intellectual, physical, geographical and, because of the subject matter and its deep resonance in my life, spiritual.

I first visited the Holy Land in 1977. It might seem inadvisably brazen to begin even a qualitatively based thesis with the 'I' word but, as Peter Woods (1999) indicates, it is now customary, at the very least, for researchers to include some biographical elements. If nothing else, this is usually in recognition of the part that their own personal histories played in the evolution of their research. More recent anthropological and sociological studies have started not just to recognise but also give importance to the voice, or presence, of the researcher as having special methodological significance.

This personal preface serves several purposes. At the most basic level, it gives a straightforward account of my own evolution as an amateur anthropologist enquiring into clergy pilgrimage in the Holy Land. On other levels it reveals much about my own personal intellectual journey, about my research as, in many ways, an act of pilgrimage in itself and at another level still, it foregrounds my research as not just a personal project but one located within

the paradigms of anthropological, or more especially, ethnographic types of enquiry.

My first visit to the Holy Land was as a member of a party, which consisted mostly of, lay people. It was led by an Anglican priest with considerable experience of leading pilgrimage groups. At the time I had no idea that over the next twenty years I would regularly be revisiting Israel and even lead parties myself. Back then I would have been even more surprised to know that one of the end products of that initial excursion would be a doctoral study. From that first moment in 1977 it was to be the case that for the next twenty years I would visit Israel each year, sometimes more than once in a year. Ultimately the leading of pilgrimages became a regular part of my overall ministry.

I had been ordained into the ministry of the Church of England in 1966 whilst still teaching. I had taught for nine years, at secondary level in state grammar and secondary modern schools and in a direct grant day and boarding school. At this school, at which I was already teaching I was assistant chaplain for three years following my ordination. I also became a part-time member of staff for a local parish. From 1969, until my retirement in 1999, I was in full time parochial ministry, in the diocese of Gloucester. My part-time study towards a PhD thesis has grown directly out of my work as a parish priest over those thirty years.

It is certainly the case that, in my own diocese, clergy are expected to engage in some form of continual ministerial education (CME). No particular form is

prescribed for this, individual clergy being encouraged to submit for approval their own concept of what their CME study might be. Pilgrimage studies became my particular form of CME.

In 1988 I undertook a sabbatical and spent five weeks visiting some of the traditional and more recently established pilgrimage sites in Western Europe. These visits, however, complemented the several tours, which I had by then already made to the Holy Land. The reason for my annual visits to Israel was as follows. After leading four Holy Land pilgrimage parties from my own parish and neighbourhood, I was invited by a pilgrimage tour operator to lead parties of clergy on educational, or familiarisation tours as they were called. The aim was so that these clergy would then have the knowledge and confidence subsequently to lead their own parties. I did this annually for ten years.

My own experience of pilgrimage in the Holy Land was that it brought re- invigoration for the day to day life of my parochial ministry. Even the prospect of a forthcoming tour could help to shift any lurking ennui. Parish priests find many satisfactions in their work, but there are also times of strain and tension. It is not easy sometimes to maintain vigour for the daily round of activity. I had found, in even the briefest of times in the Holy Land, consistently strong stimuli for the ordinary routines of parochial ministry. I relished the opportunity to share these enthusiasms with fellow clergy and in this way give support to their lives and ministries.

These annual times spent in the Holy Land led me to consider, at a radical level, what was really happening and what we were trying to provide for the clergy in the eight days of the pilgrimage. For example, what was its effect and how was it expressed by others, and then drawn on in their ministry? It was in these questionings that the academic curiosity of this research was born. The nascent research was then encouraged by my diocesan authorities as my own particular form of CME study.

I was pleasantly surprised to discover that my local Higher Education College in Cheltenham could offer a base for my research interest. There was a member of staff who had a direct interest in my area of study topic. Though not an anthropologist, he was aware that in anthropology there was an academic discipline which could house my investigation. He was pleased to supervise me and started to introduce me to relevant literature, particularly to the seminal writings of Victor and Edith Turner (1974 and 1978) and to the traditions of anthropological ethnographic research.

The possibilities of ethnographic type research began to become clear to me when pointed in the direction of Martin Hammersley and Paul Atkinson (1995) who have argued for the place of 'Naturalistic' principles in ethnographic writing. They contend that, in order to understand peoples' behaviour, 'We must use an approach that gives us access to the meanings that guide that behaviour' (1995: 8).

They affirm that it is only by entering into a culture or sub-culture that such access is obtained. I came to understand that my own experience of parish

ministry might offer understanding and insights of Anglican clergy culture and its sub-culture. This was the immediate setting for the anthropological investigation but I envisaged the background to my study as much wider because clergy perceptions needed to be investigated, not in isolation, but in relation to the whole context of their lives and ministries.

In an ethnographic enquiry, over a lengthy period of time, this might be achieved through consistent participant observation. In a study as brief as the usual eight days of a clergy pilgrimage there is no time to do this. The ability to interpret the significance of incidents, to be able to identify happenings which are 'events', was most likely to come from somebody who was already immersed in the culture and sub-culture of ministerial life, of Holy Land pilgrimage and, indeed, also involved in the act of pilgrimage itself.

Kirsten Hastrup, in *A Passage to Anthropology* (1995), emphasises that involvement in the culture being studied does undermine notions of empirical epistemology but she suggests that:

There is no need for distancing between our project and ourselves. On the contrary, we should realise, and creatively exploit, our intricate implication in the world. Reality is no less real for our being part of it (1995: 51)

She points to the vital importance of registering as 'events' happenings, which might appear insignificant to the casual observer. This presupposes 'intimate experiential knowledge'. This notion acts as a foundation for the thesis which follows. My personal voice is a layer/dimension of the study and one which will be acknowledged and problematised as my thesis develops.

The terminology of clergy culture and sub-culture was, of course, well known to me. As my research developed I entered a whole new territory of the language of key concepts in anthropological discussion of pilgrimage.

Communitas became a key term to figure strongly throughout the thesis. It is an encompassing term used to describe varying types of spontaneous and more sustained reactions, as identified by Victor Turner (1974 and 1978).

Concomitant with this hypothesis were the paradigms of structure/anti-structure and liminal/liminoid. Turner's ideas will be fully discussed in chapter 2. and later examined in chapter 6.1 for their validity in relation to this clergy pilgrimage.

Anti-structure is not to be seen in any way as a negatively orientated term but rather as a position of positive potential in which the limiting controls of ordered societies are relaxed, allowing for flexibility of reaction. Liminality is a term borrowed from Arnold Van Gennep's (1960) thinking on rites of passage and describes a psychological watershed in which the person is freed from previous patterns and is free to move in uncharted directions. The term 'liminoid' came, as my study developed, to be seen as particularly apposite to the situation of clergy, especially when away, as on pilgrimage together with fellow clergy, from their normal roles.

Liminal, in Van Gennep's understanding of the term, implied a movement that was inevitable or involuntary as part of a society's ordered processes. With more sophisticated civilisations comes much more personal freedom for action and Turner uses the term 'liminoid' or 'quasi-liminal' to describe life phases which

are rather more under the direction of individuals rather than enjoined by the society to which they belong. In later chapters I discuss all these key terms but introduce them now as basic to the terminologies of the thesis. The differentiation between the terms of pilgrim and religious tourist cannot be clearly defined. A tourist who visits a religious shrine as an excursion part of a holiday is not consciously engaging in a pilgrimage activity but inevitably imbibe something of a pilgrim's experience. Conversely, a pilgrim, especially if travelling to an exotic destination, will enjoy much of traditional holiday fare in relaxing in leisure time in pleasant surroundings and over food and drink. These distinctions will be more fully discussed in chapter 3.2.1.

One further theme to figure prominently in this thesis is the notion, formulated by John Eade and Michael Sallnow (1991), of a triad of co-ordinates of person, place and text as conjoining to form the potency of a pilgrimage shrine. The validity of this idea will be fully discussed in chapter 2.3 and then examined empirically in the data analysis in chapter 6.2.

All these ideas were unknown to me as I began my research. The starting point was the vitality of my own experiences. The end product, the thesis, had however to be much more securely founded. As Pilgrim, in John Bunyan's (1633) *Pilgrim's Progress* discovered, setting out was relatively easy. My research became a voyage of discovery, a pilgrimage in itself, with many a 'Slough of Despond' but with the 'Eternal City' of completion never completely out of sight. The placing of illuminating academic reading against lived experience continually revealed fresh vistas and possible new paths to

follow. Although the motif which underlies this research is that of the journey, my own research journey has not been of linear progression. At times it has meandered and turned back on itself or been halted while I searched for suitable theoretical and methodological paradigms. The chapter which now follows reviews this process and provides a context to the study which you are about to read.

Chapter One: Developing a Research Agenda in the Context of Christian Concepts of Pilgrimage

1.1 Starting out: Establishing a Research Area.

It was my involvement with contemporary pilgrimage which aroused my interest in mediaeval pilgrimage. Jonathan Sumption's historical treatise *Pilgrimage; an Image of Mediaeval Religion* (1975) moved an untutored interest in the phenomenon of pilgrimage towards a more academic one.

This was followed by Hilda Prescott's (1954) *Jerusalem Journey: Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the Fifteenth Century* and then Ronald Finucane's (1977) *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Mediaeval England*. I found these works fascinating, especially in the motives and achievements of mediaeval pilgrims. This knowledge of their remarkable journeys led me to think about contemporary purposes and satisfactions in the pilgrimages and pilgrims that I had known. The historical record was the gateway to my academic interest in the nature of pilgrimage and helped and propelled me on significantly in my journey of research.

As I have also indicated in my preface, the motivation for this present research might be considered to have developed as a mode of study under the continuing education expected of all clergy. This study has been supported and encouraged by my diocesan authorities who have viewed it as a valid form of in-service training. My growing interest in the research, both in its academic

reading and empirical field study, generated its own momentum, taking it well beyond what is expected by the diocese of a parish priest towards the end of his active ministry. As this full time parochial ministry moved towards its conclusion the developing research gained its own impetus, giving in itself the dynamic of a metaphorical pilgrimage. In addition to my experience in the Holy Land during the last twenty years I have also visited other places of Christian pilgrimage such as Rome, Santiago de Compostela, Lourdes, the shrine of St. Thérèse at Lisieux in Normandy as well as Walsingham and Glastonbury in England. The term 'pilgrimage' is now also being used increasingly to describe visits to secular sites and I have visited places such as the first world war battlefields and war graves, Gracelands, the former home of Elvis Presley, and the Vietnam war memorial in Washington DC. The wider nature of pilgrimage has thus perplexed me and forms the underlying and broader dimension to my study.

The unfolding pattern of my personal and professional life had convinced me of the benefit of involvement in pilgrimage, especially to the Holy Land. I now wished to use this personal experience as a base from which to move to a more objective examination of the value of pilgrimage to clergy in general. My first move was to look for opportunities to talk with Anglican clergy of my acquaintance, whom I knew to have visited the Holy Land. I wanted to gain insight into their perception of their pilgrimage experience. My interest was developing into a research theme which might be broadly stated as: What is the value of pilgrimage in ministerial development? I was anxious to discover

whether my particular experience would be validated by the perceptions of others.

As I have indicated, during the last thirty years increasing emphasis has been laid in all the churches on in-service education for clergy. Despite its increasingly important role there has, however, been no study of the part which pilgrimage might play in this. At least one Roman Catholic diocese in the USA makes it possible for all its clergy, soon after ordination, to visit Israel for a short study course which includes visits to the holy sites. In the Anglican Church individual clergy are able to spend some weeks on short courses at St. George's College in Jerusalem and at the Tantur Ecumenical Institute near Bethlehem. Sabbatical leave might also be spent in this way but such activity would be up to the individual priest and is not supported by unified organisation or encouragement. One Anglican diocese in the north of England, however, has taken all its newly ordained clergy on an eight day pilgrimage as part of post-ordination training, defraying most of the cost. The principal of the part-time training course for locally ordained ministry in a Southern diocese has also led a pilgrimage containing some members of the course. Mostly, the initiative to go to the Holy Land rests with individual clergy. However, where there is the desire to go, some financial help is usually available from diocesan training funds.

Although my own research concentrates on pilgrimage primarily taken as part of Anglican CME, it does not aim to demonstrate the efficacy of Holy Land pilgrimage in educational terms. Its aim is to explore the experiences and

perceptions of individual clergy and to examine the significance they attach to their pilgrimage experience.

1.2 Establishing Context: Theological Concepts of Christian Pilgrimage - an Overview

Pilgrimage features as an important element in many of the world's main religions, and in more diverse pagan practice as well. Islam enjoins its faithful to make a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in a lifetime. The multiplicity of Buddhist and Hindu shrines reflects the considerable variety of deities worshipped and the abundance of sacred texts which are held in honour. While aware of these rich pilgrimage traditions, I do not intend in this thesis to do more than acknowledge their long traditions and contemporary drawing power. My context is that of Christian pilgrimage and, because of my own background, Anglican pilgrimage specifically.

There is considerable written record of pilgrims down through the ages from the time of the AD 333 Bordeaux Pilgrim onwards as Eleanor Munro (1987:162) records. John Wilkinson (1981), in *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land*, recounts the written record of Egeria, the intrepid nun who spent a long period of time in the Holy Land in the 380s. She traced a path across the biblical sites throughout the region, giving a brief topographical description of each site visited. Although sometimes her personal reactions were recorded, her main interest, as a nun, was rather more in the liturgical devotions practised at each place and these she described at length.

Until recently pilgrimage has not been subject to sociological scrutiny. James Preston (1992) suggests that the main reason for this neglect lies in the fact that sacred journeys often involve a mystical aspect, which is difficult to penetrate analytically. It is not an absence of documentation because many pilgrimage shrines have kept meticulous records, biographical histories and pilgrim travel guides.

Mary Lee and Sidney Nolan, in *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe* (1989), sketch a brief assessment of the origins of Christian pilgrimage. They trace how the age-long tradition of journeying to sacred places developed in early Christian times, gaining momentum in the second century preoccupation with the veneration of saints' relics. They point to the development of pilgrimage attitudes as affected by changing cultures and philosophical understandings. Simon Coleman and John Elsner, in *Pilgrimage: Past and Present in the World's Religions* (1995), also stress the significance of relics in early pilgrimage traditions, as also does Sumption (1975). D. J. Hall, in *English Mediaeval Pilgrimage* (1965), sees the significance of relics as an extension of deeply rooted belief that certain places were favoured by the Godhead. It followed, then, that people would particularly want to visit and touch the places where Jesus had been. The same direct indwelling power of God was seen in the lives of the saints also, with the consequence that any tangible relic associated with them was attributed with the same force.

The mediaeval mind was obsessed with a belief in constant powers of evil opposed to the goodness of God. Bodily illness was one evidence of the dreadful power of such forces. The ultimate and ever present threat was of death and furthermore of damnation. These were the realities with which daily mediaeval life was lived. Consequently, the combating of such dominating malevolence was a daily and consuming self-concern. Pilgrimage provided one avenue which promised some possibility of escape, as the act of pilgrimage allowed the sinner to come into contact with the actual imprint of holy men and women, those in whom the saving power of God was believed to have dwelt abundantly. Though the practice was complex, the motive for much mediaeval pilgrimage was essentially simple. It was a means towards salvation from the punishment of God as visited by physical disease, death and damnation.

Anne Osterreith, in her paper *Mediaeval Pilgrimage: Society and Individual Quest* (1989), finds, alongside 'Redeeming Pilgrimage and Therapeutic pilgrimage' the presence of what she calls 'Mystical Pilgrimage', the hope for a revelation, a vision, a oneness with God (1989:146-147). Contemporary Christian pilgrimage might well yearn for the latter and the mystical and therapeutic are entwined in the hope of healing that is expressed at Roman Catholic shrines such as Lourdes and, to a lesser extent, Fatima. The authoritarian attitude of the Christian Church is to play down such expectation while not denying its possibility. It is interesting that miracles of healing have never really figured in accounts of pilgrimage to the Holy Land or to Rome. As Ian Reader says:

Major shrines central to their faiths have not always seen the need to collect data about, or report miracles. Rome, the main centre of pilgrimage for

mediaeval Christendom, had no miracle record book for its saint, St. Peter, while few pilgrims seem to have reported miraculous occurrences at Jerusalem at all (1993: 229).

It is as if the very centrality of these main centres of pilgrimage did not need the endorsement of claims of extraordinary events. However, pilgrimage to Jerusalem, because of the extremely arduous nature of the journey, was always regarded as supreme in the potential for salvatory dispensation. It was only as the holy places became inaccessible after their Moslem capture that systematic pilgrimage to major European sites developed. Similarly, at the present time 2001, the political turmoil in the Holy Land has meant that few pilgrim parties have ventured there. Instead, pilgrimage tour companies are diversifying in pilgrimage destinations for their clients.

1.2.1 Orthodox Theology of Pilgrimage

Glen Bowman, in 'The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land' (1995), describes how a mediaeval feeling for the inherent sanctity of place still exhibits itself in contemporary Orthodox pilgrimages to the Holy Land. This would seem particularly true of pilgrims from Greece and Cyprus, who come the relatively short distance to Israel. As my own observation would confirm, such pilgrims are nearly all older people who view their pilgrimage as direct preparation for death. Orthodox theology, as Bowman (1995) describes it, acknowledges that in younger life the cares of earning a livelihood, bearing and raising a family, with all the attendant distractions and worldly temptations, inevitably cause individuals to sin. Only in later life can they begin to return to a oneness of relationship to the divine creator. This latter

stage is the true state, the previous worldly one considered illusory. For the pilgrims, the means of re-entry into that blessedness is achieved by contact with those vehicles of faith in which the holy dwells. As Bowman explains:

The icon is an indispensable part of the liturgy which in its turn functions as an icon revealing the divine presence to the faithful and uniting the celestial and terrestrial church. (1995: 297)

From his observations in the Holy Land, Bowman (1991:110) describes the eagerness of Greek pilgrims to touch icons in holy shrines. For popular Orthodox faith the Holy Land is the supreme icon. Indeed, it is a land which is holy and a world that has been consecrated supremely by Christ's death and resurrection. Bowman's study describes one of the key points in Orthodox pilgrimage as immersion in the Jordan River:

The baptism at the Jordan is, for the pilgrims, a cathartic reunification with the divine image within them which has, through the years, been tarnished and covered over by the corruption consequent on their mortality (1995: 298).

I have myself twice witnessed the intensity of such belief. Once at the Jordan River, a large group of older Greek people advanced determinedly to the waters of the river. It was Easter-tide, a strongly favoured time for people of orthodox belief to come on this extremely focussed pilgrimage. They were all clothed in long white garments which would, in fact, accompany them back home to be used one day as burial shrouds. On another Easter occasion, this time at Mt. Sinai, I was witness to small groups of old Orthodox pilgrims making their way up the mountain, some with sticks, supporting and encouraging each other to the top. Neither in terms of fitness, nor in footwear, were they remotely equipped for such extreme exertion. They were heaven bent on reaching the top as if their very lives depended on it. These events

remain with me, as testimony to the intensity of contemporary Orthodox devotion, such as Bowman describes.

1.2.2 Roman Catholic Theology of Pilgrimage

Bowman's (1991) anthropological study also looks at Roman Catholic pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He uses the term 'Latin' to describe all those traditions which have their origin in the western church and this is also the common understanding in Israel. Despite the vast diversity of this Latin faith and practice he sees an underlying theological perspective which unites 'most if not all of those churches' (1991: 105). This is the understanding of the church as essentially a human institution. It is the very worldliness of the churches which makes for their diversity. This is in contrast to the Orthodox view which sees the church as essentially divine. The effect of this earthy view of the church as far as Roman Catholic pilgrimage is concerned is to lay less emphasis on mystical elements. The sites and their stories are places of inspiration, the memory of which pilgrims take back home with them, rather than places where the divine actually dwells, as is the Orthodox belief. Thus Bowman argues:

Catholics diminish the specificity of the sites by distinguishing between the significance of the biblical events said to have happened at the sites and the places themselves. It is from the significance, not the place that one draws inspiration. (1991: 114).

The Mass is frequently celebrated, at as many sites as possible, certainly more than once a day. This is a reinforcement of the teaching that Christ is present in

the Sacrament. In this way the role of the church is recognised, through its officiants and liturgies. Eade (1991), in his analysis of pilgrimage to Lourdes, shows the same authoritarian influences at work in the officials' direction of the shrine. It is the familiarity of accustomed liturgy, celebrated in the locale of a biblical and well known narrative, which is considered to enthuse the Roman Catholic pilgrim.

Bowman (1991) gives an account of his fieldwork with Roman Catholic pilgrims and explains the events when they visited the Dominus Fleuit church on the slopes of the Mount of Olives, overlooking the old city of Jerusalem. This modern shrine, built in 1955, commemorates the gospel narrative of Christ weeping for the sins of Jerusalem, which were to be the cause of its future destruction, (Luke 19, 41). What Bowman noted was that it was only as the mass proceeded, (and they had to use a small chapel and not the main church, thus losing something of dramatic effect), that the group of devout pilgrims lost their previous coolness of reaction, with several of the pilgrims breaking down into copious tears. Similarly, my own observation of a Catholic group at Mass in the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth was that their enthusiastic singing of a hymn to Mary perhaps owed rather more to the role of the virgin mother in their faith than to the emotion of being in that 'grandiose' shrine in Nazareth.

On the other hand, Bowman also quotes an American priest whose reaction was much more personal. He was in the Holy Land with a group of fellow priests for a ten-week programme of 'spiritual regeneration' after several years of missionary work in South America. This priest spoke of the awareness of

Christ, which he had felt after travelling through the places where Jesus had walked and preached. The experience had left him 'profoundly inspired'. As Bowman quotes:

I wish I had done this before I entered my calling because I would have been much more dedicated to the spirit and less non-emotional and rationalistic. (1991: 113).

Such a claim provides a significant ingredient which, I will argue, can be transferred across the denomination to this study of clergy of the Church of England.

1.2.3 Anglican Attitudes to Pilgrimage: the Post-reformation Context

Though retaining much of the catholic, The Church of England stands firmly in the reformed tradition. The reformers weighed in strongly in their denunciation of the practice of pilgrimage. This had a strongly damping effect on the practice, not only in the new Protestant groupings but also in the post-reformation renewal of the Roman Catholic Church. Both Sumption (1975) and Turner and Turner (1978) identify a definite watershed in pilgrimage activity in Britain in the sixteenth century. The Turners state that ' During the Reformation and Enlightenment pilgrimages fell into decay, with the shrines often razed to the ground'. (1978: 18).

Nolan and Nolan (1989: 100-101), however, question whether it was quite such a curtailment and continue to trace strongly surviving strains of ongoing pilgrimage activity. J.G. Davies (1988), in *Pilgrimage, Yesterday and Today*,

concludes that the Counter Reformation, while critical of abuses, reaffirmed the essential worth of pilgrimages. Davies writes:

Thus reassured, the catholic faithful could continue to go on pilgrimages, as and when they felt able to do so; their Protestant counterparts discontinued the practice (1988: 114).

The reformers' denunciations were partly of the obviously widespread corrupt practices and moral laxity which accompanied much pilgrimage. More fundamentally, however, the reformation protest was doctrinally founded. The rediscovery of biblical foundations showed that Grace was to be sought in direct contact with the Redeemer. Salvation was to be found in the heart of the believer, certainly not in indulgences, relics or particular holy places. Holiness was potentially everywhere. There was no point in journeying to distant shrines when Christ was to be found anywhere, at any time. This basic doctrine informs Anglican thinking now, just as it did in earlier centuries.

1.2.4 Anglican Clergy Attitudes to Pilgrimage

Leslie Francis (1991) and Francis and Susan Jones (1996) bring rigorous psychological methods to the testing of the personality characteristics of Anglican parochial clergy. These studies are, however, only marginally helpful to my own inquiry and there is very little literature on the subject of clergy character formation apart from the rather formal training reports (ABMCE 1998 and 2000). These tend to deal with practicalities rather than inner motivations.

The psychological researches of Francis (1991) and Francis and Jones (1996) point to characteristics in Anglican clergy, which mark them as tending towards different personalities from lay Christians. Perhaps by disposition, but almost certainly by training, their faith is intellectualised. The daily course of ministerial work is essentially cerebral. Opportunities for spontaneous reaction to spiritual phenomena are rare. The function and importance of pilgrimage might therefore provide the opportunity for this.

Is there a specifically Anglican understanding of pilgrimage? The answer to this must be 'no'. Given the diversity of Anglican belief and practice a sense of any unified doctrine or attitude cannot be expected. The official Anglican report on clergy training before ordination and ongoing education afterwards (ACCM: 1987), talks about the need for 'spiritual development' alongside practical and intellectual skills, but goes no further in suggesting the means to promote this. The ABMCE document (1998: 19-26) contains a long list, compiled from experience and practice in several dioceses, of skills and qualities to be developed in the early years of ordained ministry. Its section on personal development includes 'reflections on life journey'. This would seem to resonate with the theme of pilgrimage but it makes no suggestions as to how such reflection might be pursued. The guidelines published in the diocese of Gloucester on opportunities for sabbatical and study leave it very much to individual clergy to decide what they might do. There is no mention of anything by way of pilgrimage as one possibility.

Some Anglican clergy, like those of other denominations, will have been to the Holy Land. Cost is, of course, a major obstacle for those on clergy stipends but several pilgrimage travel companies offer well-subsidised tours for clergy. For the tour firms this is a marketing exercise. The hope is that, as a result of their own experience, the clergy will then want to return with parties from their own congregations. Many do and my data will include instances of this. The practice of pilgrimage among Anglican clergy is rather piecemeal and this research does not attempt to give any over-view of the extent of pilgrimage in the Anglican Church.

In Anglo-Catholic circles pilgrimage is popular and encouraged. This is evidenced by the numbers attending the major festivals at Walsingham and Glastonbury. In recent years cathedrals and major abbey churches have wrestled with the challenge of the large numbers who visit them out of mostly touristic motives. It would seem that the aim is to give something of a spiritual experience as well. For example, it is now common practice to make votive candles available for lighting, accompanied by a written prayer if wished. The stands of lighted candles, which can be seen in many cathedrals and other churches are testimony to the popular hunger for this. At one time it would have been considered very Roman. The word 'pilgrimage' is now freely employed by those of all theological persuasions and can describe various activities. For instance, The Bishop of Gloucester used the term to describe his 1999 encompassing pastoral visits to each deanery in his diocese.

1.2.5 Diversity of Anglican Belief and Practice

Anglican theology is very diverse in its attitudes, Anglo-Catholic, radical, evangelical, charismatic, and Anglican clergy reflect these variations in their beliefs and practices. The reality of this was commented on by the Christian Arab guide who accompanied the clergy tour that formed the basis of my pilot field study. It had to be explained to him that there would not necessarily be any conformity of belief present in the group to whom he was to present the face of the Holy Land. He had initially been concerned that his own questioning of literal interpretation of place and biblical text might not be acceptable to the clergy. He was re-assured that diversity of belief was common and encouraged.

As I have stated the Roman Catholic tradition of pilgrimage in the Holy Land requires the frequent celebration of Mass. Anglican practice on pilgrimage will naturally reflect the varied sacramental views held in Anglican theology. Those of more high church persuasion might want to hold a Eucharist daily if that is their liturgical practice at home. Other groups, where the persuasion is less catholic, might aim to have just one group Communion service during the course of the pilgrimage, though there would also be the opportunity to attend a service at the Anglican cathedral if a Sunday is spent in Jerusalem. My experience of Anglican pilgrims in the Holy Land suggests that the most likely place, however, for the group communion would be in Galilee, in the open air at one of the sites. It might be seen as more of a fellowship meal and provide a consummating thanksgiving for the whole pilgrimage. In this, as with hymn

singing, Anglican attitudes are reflected in the practice of the liturgy rather than in any preconceived doctrinal formulation.

In the same way the open spaces of the hills and sea of the Galilee region, as I will discuss in Chapter 6, seem more appealing than dark historic churches to many Anglicans. Hymn singing in these areas is particularly popular and represents the translation of familiar worship patterns to these dramatic surroundings.

Bowman (1991) confines his anthropological description of the Holy Land mostly to the Jerusalem area. Also, he aims only to identify the pilgrimage practice of three different Christian traditions, Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Christian Zionists. He describes Christian Zionists as those who fervently believe that biblical prophecy, particularly in the Old Testament, promises the personal return of Christ to establish his kingdom in Eretz Israel. Bowman does not reckon to account for pilgrimage attitudes outside of these three traditions. Even though he would have known of the popular practice, for he is widely travelled and experienced in the Holy Land over many years, hymn singing on the Sea of Galilee does not figure in any of his ethnographic accounts.

A strong tendency in Anglican thinking of recent years is of concern for political and social concerns, the social gospel, as it is sometimes termed. This, of course, is not the prerogative just of Anglican theology. Liberation theology has, perhaps, been seen at its most energetic in South America with protest movements in the Roman Catholic Church. In the Holy Land, Liberation

theology has expressed itself in active concern for Palestinian struggles for political freedom. Symptomatic of this marrying of theology and social concerns has been the developing influence of the Living Stones Movement. Naim Ateek's (1997) book, *Jerusalem; What makes the Agenda?* sets out the intentions of the movement. Its aim is to encourage all visitors to the Holy Land to make contact with the contemporary Palestinian church. They are the living stones. Without them the Holy Land moves towards becoming a nostalgic museum. Ateek is a residentiary canon of St. George's Anglican Cathedral in Jerusalem. The current Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, Bishop Riah, has also played a particularly vigorous role in bringing firmly into the consciousness of pilgrim groups, and of the church world-wide, the political struggles of the Palestinians and the current oppressed plight of the indigenous Arab church.

Research by Stephen Sizer (1994), a parish priest in the Church of England, has examined the extent to which pilgrim groups in the Holy Land were exposed to, or hidden from, these social and political concerns. He found a marked divergence between those groups which were more Jewishly based in their tour organisation and those which tried, wherever possible, to use Arab agents, guides and facilities. The Living Stones movement has informed the minds of those organising pilgrimages now. Its literature clearly spells out the particular plight of Palestinian Christians, caught between Moslem extremism and apparent Israeli intransigence. In practical ways it facilitates the meeting of pilgrimage groups with Arab congregations. The indigenous Anglican Church is readily able to provide a meeting ground. Many clergy now, bringing groups

to the Holy Land from Britain, will try and build that concern into their group agenda.

1.2.6 The Clergy and Pilgrimage: A Personal Reflection

Since my early teens I had travelled a great deal on my own. My ^{clergyman} father had died when I was aged fifteen and various kind relatives in different parts of the country invited me to visit them. School holidays always seemed to bring the opportunity to go somewhere. I can clearly remember at one stage during those years feeling more at home in a railway carriage than anywhere else.

University days saw this wanderlust spread its wings into travel on the continent of Europe. A mildly nomadic existence became the norm. Marriage and parenthood then removed for some time the urge to travel. Then came ordination and subsequently the settling into ministerial life engaged my energies. The economics and responsibilities of a clergy family did not allow for any venturing abroad. On reflection, it has become apparent to me that pilgrimage emerged as an escape from these restrictions in much the same way that the mediaeval pilgrim found release from the drudgery and narrow confines of everyday life. Most mediaeval people were severely contained within close geographical boundaries. Until the advent of the Friars they could even only make confession to their parish priest. Pilgrimage was one of the very few escapes available to give release from this constricting ordinance. Apart from the rich or military adventurers, very few people travelled much distance anyway having neither the means nor the reason for doing so. For the peasant class pilgrimage was about the only opportunity to encounter other

environments. Furthermore it was sanctioned, if not always encouraged, by the ecclesiastical authorities. Sumption writes:

The world, which the mediaeval pilgrim left behind him, was a small and exclusive community...Nowhere was the closeness of these communities more apparent than in their religious life. The parishioners belonged in a very real sense to their church and lived their whole life under its shadow ...A surprisingly large number of pilgrims seem to have left their homes solely in order to deny their parish priest his monopoly over their spiritual welfare (1975: 11).

Finucane (1977) gives a similar analysis of the mediaeval urge to go on pilgrimage:

Beginning with the rather frivolous reasons it is evident that many people took advantage of the freedom pilgrimage offered, the chance to escape the knowing eyes of neighbours, for decidedly unspiritual reasons (1977: 40).

and Nancy Frey (1998) summarises this same urge contending that:

Some pilgrims went for the adventure, out of curiosity or to free themselves from rigid social norms (1998: 14).

Until recent times the clergy of the Church of England were notorious for what might be described as their side interests and their ability to couple these with their parochial responsibilities. Sometimes these side concerns were scholarly, sometimes sporting or agricultural, the breeding of animals for example. Robert Towler and Tony Coxon's (1979) sociological study of Anglican clergy looks back to the nineteenth century as the heyday of the gentleman parson. As they explain:

His profession was Divinity, but his occupation might have been the management of his stock or any other of the occupations of the hierarchy (1979: 49).

As evidence that this clerical way of life survived well into this century I can give personal testimony that I had an uncle, a rector in Norfolk for over thirty years until the 1940s, who was a very successful pig farmer!

One of the functions of these sorts of activity was to keep them fresh and happy in their long ministries, which were often tied to one geographical place. In recent years clerical life has been professionalised to a much greater extent and the clergy work increasingly long hours with the more and indeed changed tensions of their responsibilities. I should admit here that my pilgrimage interests provided a ready outlet for ministerial frustrations. I felt that I could identify in part with the mediaeval pilgrim.

Mircea Eliade, in *The Sacred and the Profane* (1959) traces an archetypal need to have a significant base to individual life, stating that 'Religious man felt the need to live at the centre always' (1959: 43). For myself the previous urges of finding satisfaction in travel reasserted themselves, not quite in Eliadean terms, but with something of the same nuance. Following Eliade's formulation it would seem that when searching for a 'centre' to their lives the centre was 'Out there' somewhere. Erik Cohen (1992) examines this same theme, concluding that the same urge is to be found in different religious traditions. For myself, as I have explained, home in earlier days had never been a centre. Fulfilment, happiness even, was looked for in the next excursion. Finding of the centre, of the self basically, became linked with travel and fresh excitement in a new environment. Spiritual journey became fused/confused with the travelling journey. Chris Rojek and John Urry, in *Touring Cultures* (1997) note that the

masculine tradition in travel literature casts the home as a blank and empty space and constructs travel experience with adventure and excitement. They comment:

It is as if the home is the place of the mundane running order which keeps mind and body together, but 'abroad' is the place one looks for peak experience and real development (1997: 16).

My increasing involvement with the whole fabric of pilgrimage travel offered a personal journey and afforded an alternative to the daily pressing calls of parish life. My diocesan authorities offered financial provision, thus further giving their encouragement to my pilgrimage involvement. Above all it had the approval of my own conscience; I could realistically persuade myself that pilgrimage forays were really part of God's work. What I now had to ask myself was whether I was unconsciously looking to see if, for other clergy, pilgrimage could offer a respectable stimulus away from the demands of their daily working lives. In more technical anthropological terms, does pilgrimage provide liminal opportunity for clergy away from their usual structures? This was to be one of the main investigations in my research.

Munro (1987) examined her own pull towards research in certain aspects of Pilgrimage stating:

Eventually I found myself on a course divergent from my usual one...for a while, as I followed these scholarly arguments, my very life seemed caught up in them... I was possessed by the feeling that I had tremendous research to do. Teilhard de Chardin somewhere remarks that one is not always aware how close a relationship exists between research and a subjective emotional need. Unconscious of it still, I was being drawn myself into the pilgrim flow (1987: 6).

Renato Rosaldo's (1993) work propelled me further into reflexive introspection. He describes how, in his study of head-hunters in the Philippines, he failed for a

very long time to comprehend the force of anger in bereavement which caused the head-hunters to relieve their feelings in such a devastating way. Personal grief at the death of a family member was assuaged only by going out and headhunting a total stranger from another tribe. No personal vengeance was involved and this was the mystifying factor to Rosaldo. He comments that traditional ethnographic training and practice condition the anthropologist into a false sense of certitude, an authoritarian confidence that analysts cannot possibly have. It was not through rigorous fieldwork or analytical expertise that he came to understand the head-hunters' intensity and violent reaction. It was personal grief which unlocked the puzzle. His brother had died at the age of twenty-seven and Rosaldo had shared this sadness with his mother and father. This was his first experience of personal bereavement and in his parents he saw the depth of grief which such a loss could cause. It did not take him into anger, though, and that was the heart of the headhunter enigma. Four years later his wife was killed in a needless accident while they were on a field trip together. Not until fifteen months later was he able to begin writing anthropology again. He describes how his agony of feelings, which included rage at the pointlessness of his wife's death, seemed almost suddenly to coalesce in lifting his writer's block and words began to flow. He commented that 'It seemed less as if I was doing the writing than that the words were writing themselves through me' (1993: 11).

The head-hunters' rage was no longer a mystery to him.

In my own case it transpired that after the completion of my fieldwork, my wife and I had to endure the sudden loss of our thirty-three year old son who was working in New York. He had been home only eight days previously and, though we knew that he had some health problem, all seemed well. Tragically, our hurried flight to New York was too late; suddenly he was gone.

A year later I led a small party of lay people to Jordan. My wife was with me. We flew to Amman and next morning drove by coach to the ancient Roman City of Jerash. There was to be one stop at a site en route. It was where a bridge carried the busy main road over the river Jabbok. It is a place held in remembrance by Jews, Moslems and Christians as the site, Peniel, of the nightlong struggle of Jacob with the Angel (Genesis 32: 34). We gathered on the bank of the river while one of the party read the Genesis narrative. Both my wife and myself were overcome with intense emotion and ~~we~~ had to find a quiet spot away from the group to recover some sort of composure. I doubt that any of the others knew what was happening to the two of us. I mention this incident here in a methodological context to show how a personal experience can thrust itself into wider academic experience. It was a vividly compelling example of one of the main substantive themes with which I was to start my fieldwork, Eade and Sallnow's paradigm of person, place and text (1991: 9). Our painful experience that morning by the river Jabbok will always illuminate for me what Eade and Sallnow posit. The theory had come home to roost completely unexpectedly. As Dubisch has explained Kirsten Haastrup makes this very point stating that 'Fieldwork is situated between autobiography and

anthropology. It connects an important personal experience with a general field of knowledge' (1995: 5).

The story behind our Peniel experience is as follows. When he was about ten years old our elder son, Huw, who had died a year earlier almost to the day, came triumphantly home from school one day with the news that he had obtained 98% in a Scripture exam. 'What did you get wrong?' was our immediate query. It was a question about Jacob at Peniel and the question asked was, 'With whom did Jacob wrestle all night?' Influenced no doubt by his mother's background as a Jungian psychotherapist he had written 'with himself'. It had been marked wrong by a not very hermeneutically inclined master. Huw was somewhat aggrieved, as were we, and the story passed into family folklore. Suddenly, on a beautifully sunny morning by the river Jabbok in Jordan, the whole tragedy of his early death was unexpectedly thrust back into our awareness, made all the sharper by his considerable childhood academic promise, in part unfulfilled and then snuffed out. The Genesis text had conjoined with our personal story at the undeveloped river site of Peniel to produce a potent explosion of grief, which was all the greater because it was close to the anniversary of his death. The significance of the person, place and text paradigm of Eade and Sallnow (1991) became graphically clear and would significantly shape the design of my project.

It was while tending Huw's grave in the churchyard of the Cotswold village in which he had grown up that I identified with Rosaldo's (1993) linking of the headhunters with his personal grief. I was suddenly overcome by a depth of feeling far beyond that experienced up to that point. This was where he had

grown up and at the heart of my desolation were feelings of vast regret, of matters unfinished or unsaid, of failings in not giving more of myself to him in his childhood and adolescence. As I stayed some time paralytically at the graveside, gradually a link with my research became increasingly clear. As I will present in my main study much of the recorded data, as will be seen in the main study, revealed deep anguishes in some of the clergy. In Jerusalem particularly the tensions of the various strains encountered there seemed to induce in the clergy releases of their own personal negative emotions. Though practitioners of a Resurrection faith of supposed triumphant and confident joy, it was the uncertain, the empty, and the defeated, which surfaced. In that country churchyard I discovered a reflexive tool by which my own intensity could illumine the strong feelings of my informants. As I will discuss later, this was especially so in the case of one informant, Kay, who had suffered the particularly sad death of her young husband.

Chapter Two: Establishing the Conceptual Influences of the Study:

Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Pilgrimage

In this chapter I shall review the anthropological discussion of pilgrimage in academic literature. Turner's work (1974) and that jointly with his wife (1978)¹ must be given credit for providing a formative academic base to pilgrimage studies. It is in the wake of Turner's thinking that anthropological attention turned to study of various forms of pilgrimage. Turner's theories will be discussed in this chapter. A significant development in anthropological thinking on pilgrimage then came with the positing by Eade and Sallnow (1991) of a triad notion of person, place and text as forming the potency of a pilgrimage shrine. This idea will be examined later in this chapter.

More recently pilgrims on the Camino to Santiago de Compostela have been the subject of three doctoral researches (Ellen Feinberg 1985, Frey 1996 and Barbara Haab 1997) and these studies can be seen to be relevant to my own research, especially in terms of methodological issues.

Jill Dubisch's book, *A Different Place* (1995) can also be identified as influential to my study as it brings a deliberately reflexive approach in her ethnographic study of pilgrims at a Greek island shrine. These key studies have laid the groundwork for my thinking in relation to the study of pilgrimage and will be drawn on more fully in later chapters.

¹ For convenience sake, I shall attribute this joint authorship to Victor Turner

2.1 Developing the Notion of Communitas: The Work of Victor Turner

In this section I examine the work of Turner. His ideas on communitas (1974 and 1978) established a mode of thinking which has provided a firm anthropological base for subsequent anthropological writers on pilgrimage. Even those, (Sallnow, 1981; Barbara Aziz, 1987; Yoram Bilu, 1988; Eade and Sallnow, 1991; Alan Morinis, 1984 and 1992, Reader, 1993; and Coleman and Elsner, 1995) who consider Turner's claims for communitas excessive agree that his ideas set a benchmark for future studies. Before moving on to discuss Turner's understanding of the term communitas and its essential concomitant liminality, I wish to give a brief sketch of the development of his thought, especially in relation to another significant paradigm, of structure and anti-structure, which also has a bearing on my study.

Turner's Early Fieldwork

Turner's early fieldwork was among the Ndembu people of Zambia. Two books, *The Forest of Symbols* (1967) and *The Ritual Process* (1995) describe in detail a number of rituals in the Ndembu culture. In the first of these books he portrays the process, the 'Muskanda,' whereby young boys ritually move from childhood to manhood. They are separated from the company of women, are physically circumcised and then are instructed fully in the complex symbol system and morality of the Ndembu culture. The final stage of their initiation is reception back into the full community. This is accompanied with enthusiastic celebration. It is reminiscent of the contemporary scene of great joy,

particularly among the women folk, which can be witnessed at the Western Wall in Jerusalem twice a week when Bar Mitzvah ceremonies are held. The women are not allowed into the men's enclosure but stand observantly, excitedly encouraging the young boy. At the end of the ceremony they celebrate by throwing sweets down into the enclosure.

Turner sees in a ceremony such as the Mukanda the embodiment of Arnold van Gennep's (1960) interpretation of rituals as Rites of Passage. In another Ndembu Rite of Passage Turner describes two further rituals, 'Isoma' and 'Wubwanga'. They both relate to childbirth. 'Isoma' is for a woman who has been unable to bear a child or who has borne a dead child. Wubwanga is a ceremony for a woman who has borne twins or is expected to bear twins. For both sorts of mothers there is the belief that the condition is abnormal and must be put right. Correct relationships must be restored and the father is held to be equally responsible for what has gone wrong. The occurrence is seen as a visitation of displeasure at some assumed wrongdoing. As a result of his fieldwork research, made jointly with his wife, Turner concluded that the rituals of primitive cultures could not be viewed as separate entities but were inextricably symbols of the whole culture (1978).

The sub-title of Turner's *The Forest of Symbols* is *Structure and Anti-Structure*. In an appendix to *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (1978), the Turners set out what they mean by the term culture:

The patterned arrangements of role sets, status sequences consciously recognised and regularly operated in a given society and closely bound up with legal and political norms and sanctions (1978: 252).

For Turner, then, culture or structure encompasses the day-to-day order of life as opposed to non-cyclical, crisis or life-special events, which he termed as anti-structure. The Mugwanba, Isoma and Mukanda rituals of the Ndembu would come under this latter category. These notions of structure and anti-structure will impact upon my study of clergy, particularly in relation to notions of their being in role or out of role.

Brian Morris, in *Anthropological Studies of Religion* (1991), is strongly critical of Turner's division of social patterns into separate entities. He writes that, for Turner:

These two aspects - the cultural structure and social relationships - are clearly separated and held to be contrasting aspects of social life. Ritual is deemed to efface the role structure and, in fact, deemed to be antistructure. (1991: 261).

Even though he allows that Turner does admit that ritual can have an ideological function, Morris is generally severe in his analysis of Turner's basic tenets. He quotes, in support of his strictures, an important critique of Turner by Lévi-Strauss:

...that ritual is not a reaction to life; it is a reaction to what thought has made of life. It is not a direct response to the world, or even to experience of the world; it is a response to the way man thinks of the world (1991: 290).

Turner was born into theatrical life, his parents being on the stage. His later work, *The Anthropology of Performance* (1987) expressed his interest in modern theatre, which as Morris says, was a return to his origins. In tracing the development of Turner's thought Morris concludes that the strongly humanistic perspective which Turner displays in his later writing must have owed something to the theatrical influences of his early life. He writes that: 'For Turner, humanity seems to flourish only in ritual and through religion and art'

(1991: 263).

In later life Turner converted to Roman Catholicism. At the end of the introduction to his book Morris acknowledged his own atheistic position and affirmed the hope that his whole approach was one of 'critical sympathy' to those who held religious belief. Morris queried the validity of Evans-Pritchard's belief that religion 'can be firmly grasped only from within' (1987: 4). The question must be asked though, whether Morris's disavowal of so much of Turner's notions did not owe something to a basic lack of sympathy with Turner's increasingly spiritual trend of thinking, a trend which led to an affirmation of Catholic commitment.

Did the wheel come full circle in that, after his labyrinth intellectual journey from primitive ritual, through liminality, rites of passage, communitas, pilgrimage and theatre, Turner reverted to his abiding formative influence, the rituals of remote Gods-fearing people? By the same token, therefore, that Morris's intellectually armed neutrality might not have been quite so unsullied as he fancied, so the question can be asked of Turner. Did his dualistic splitting of life into 'structure and anti-structure' not owe something to his own religious position? Similarly, his obsessive claims for communitas could be seen to have an origin in his commitment to his perceptions of the subjects of his early field-studies rather than in an objective assessment.

2.1.1 Communitas

By *communitas* Turner meant a state of unmediated egalitarian association between individuals who are temporarily freed of the hierarchical secular roles and status which they bear in everyday life. Mark Twain, as cited by Bowman (1992), had no confidence that the clergy of his day would be able to escape the shackles of their 'hierarchical roles and statuses'. Twain wrote:

Many who have visited the Holy Land in years gone by were Presbyterian, and came seeking evidences in support of their particular creed; they found a Presbyterian Palestine and they had already made up their minds to find no other, though possibly they did not know it, being blinded by their zeal. Others were Baptists seeking Baptist evidence and a Baptist Palestine. Others were Catholics, Methodists, Episcopalians seeking evidence endorsing their several creeds, and a Catholic, Methodist and Episcopalian Palestine. Honest as these men's intentions may have been, they were full of partialities and prejudices, they entered the country with their verdicts already prepared and they could no more write dispassionately and impartially about it than they could their own wives and children (1992: 291).

This has a distinct bearing on my research project. In their ministerial role clergy have a considerable responsibility for the beliefs and faith of those whom they lead in their churches. On pilgrimage, therefore, will they be in role or can they be free from it? Will there be the opportunity for an experience of *communitas*, as explicated by Turner (1974, 1978) or something akin to it?

In his quotation from Twain Bowman is stating that the discourses of the pilgrims determined their reactions and constituted the significances of the places they encounter. Turner saw pilgrimage as an opportunity for freedom from the hierarchical roles of everyday life into an egalitarian association (1978: 39). One of the key explorations of this research is into the performance

of clergy on pilgrimage with their clergy peers. If leading parties from their own churches would they be very much in role still? Though in strange territory they would be on familiar ground in their responsibilities. When on a tour like this with other clergy, is relaxation afforded by the solidarity of same role belonging? Can such unbracing of role disciplines occur? Furthermore, are contemporary pilgrims, clergy particularly, subject to the temptations of the ludic loosening among pilgrims which was so severely castigated by the Protestant reformers. Even before the Reformation such laxity had always had its critics. J.G. Davies, in *Pilgrimage, Yesterday and Today* (1988), quotes the fifteenth century Dominican John Bromyard:

There are some who keep their pilgrimages and festivals not for God but for the devil. Those who sin more freely when away from home or who go on pilgrimage to succeed in inordinate and foolish love – those who spend their time on the road in evil and uncharitable conversation may indeed say *peregrinamur a Domino*: they make their pilgrimage away from God to the Devil (1988: 82-3).

A classic example in early literature of this freedom away from home is Chaucer's Wife of Bath, in *The Canterbury tales*, who claimed that 'If I met a fellow on the road to Compostella would St. Thomas really mind?' The inference is that St. Thomas would mind in Canterbury, his abode, but might not further afield! Just as Saints' thaumaturgic powers were thought to lessen with distance so, accordingly, might their moral concern and authority reduce? In contemporary terms, might a devout person's moral scruples relax away from home and parish?

Turner's theory of *communitas*, however much discounted by subsequent writers, remains a basic notion to be treated in any anthropological study of

pilgrimage. Turner himself suggested that *communitas* could be identified in three forms. These are:

Existential - by which he meant an immediate, spontaneous experience.

Normative - which he saw as the conscious need to try and preserve the Existential.

Ideological - which was a convenient label to describe societies' deliberate attempt to create Existential *Communitas*.

A group pilgrimage, with all its necessary logistical planning, could be said, in Turner's terminology, to have an ideological aim. Those responsible for setting the tone and arranging the itinerary of a pilgrimage might well have the aim of making conditions in which *communitas* type experiences can occur. Morinis clearly affirms that pilgrimage is a form of ideological *communitas* (1992: 8). If, as is suggested, there are many forms of *communitas*, it must be asked whether any forms are identifiable among clergy pilgrims. One practical and possible outcome of this research project might be that pilgrimage tour operators, leaders and local guides could, as a result, have an increased awareness of the potential here in the ways in which pilgrimages are constructed and conducted.

2.1.2 *Communitas* and Flow

Other writers have used different delineations to describe those experiences which Turner categorises as *communitas*. Csikszentmihalyi (1990) provides a useful terminology in his description of what he calls a 'Flow' experience. He means, by this term, those occasions of unpremeditated spontaneity in which

the whole person is infused with vibrant and concentrated energy. He says of cultured western minds, and clergy come into that category, that:

Repeatedly we question the necessity of our actions, and evaluate critically the reasons for carrying them out. But in Flow there is no need to reflect, because the action carries us forward as if by magic (1992: 54).

Csikszentmihalyi commends Turner's notion of *communitas* as providing a contemporary perspective on the importance of spontaneous social interaction.

(1991: 249) He likens it, too, to Durkheim's concept of 'collective effervescence' which occurs in a sense of belonging to a live group with a real concrete existence. A pilgrimage group is such a self-contained entity.

Durkheim believed that this feeling was at the roots of religious experience. It is religious experience per se that is explored in this study of clergy, rather than belief or culturally enforced practice. We are looking for those occasions when the formalised role is relaxed and what Csikszentmihalyi describes as the optimum experience of flow can occur. Turner himself links *communitas* with this concept of flow. As Turner explains:

Flow is the holistic sensation present when we act with total involvement, a state in which action follows action according to an internal logic, with no apparent need for conscious intervention on our part... There is no dualism in flow. While an actor may be aware of what he is doing, he cannot be aware that he is aware, or the flow will be interrupted. Flow is made possible by a centering of attention on a limited stimulus field. There is a loss of Ego, the self becomes irrelevant (1978: 278).

As particularly appropriate to the normally guarded reactions of clergy in their daily professional lives, I would emphasise Turner's use of the words 'total involvement' as relevant to the setting of pilgrimage where there is a 'limited stimulus field'. Other concerns are set aside and, for several days, there is a

guided concentration of focused themes, in a limited geographical area and with a relatively small group of people who all share the same intent.

Further appropriate theoretical frameworks with which to explore the concepts of *communitas* are provided in Erving Goffman's (1971) theories of what he calls Interaction Rituals. The formalised role of clergy life fits appropriately with what Goffman describes as a performance:

Socialised, moulded and modified to fit into the understanding and expectations of the society to which it is presented (1971: 43).

Goffman quotes from Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (1922: 352-3), who describes particularly appositely the nature of the role which clergy perform:

The same impulse to show to the world a better or idealised expression of ourselves finds an organised expression in the various professions and classes, each of which has to some extent a cant or pose which its members assume unconsciously, for the most part, but which has the effect of a conspiracy to work upon the credulity of the rest of the world. (1922: 352-3).

Goffman concludes:

Thus, when the individual presents himself before others, his performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society, more so, in fact, than does his behaviour as a whole (1971: 45).

Goffman delineates what he terms 'frontstage and backstage' to describe performance when on duty and when not in the public eye. Clergy performance would be very much frontstage in his terminology. Might pilgrimage provide an opportunity for a backstage relaxation from role? There would, though, be a difference between leading a group, an activity which could be deemed 'frontstage', and being in a group of fellow clergy led by another priest. This

latter could, perhaps, offer 'backstage' opportunities. My research will examine this possibility.

2.1.3 Types of Communitas

Several anthropologists, who wrote on pilgrimage after Turner, call for a varied understanding of the nature of communitas. (Myerhof, 1974; Sallnow, 1981; Aziz, 1987; Bilu, 1988; Eade & Sallnow, 1991; Morinis, 1992; Reader, 1993).

Reader writes:

What we need to consider (and this is food for thought for future debate) is whether the experiences and thoughts of pilgrims, even when they eschew any cares for what their fellows might think, might not point to a subtler form of communitas located more on the individual level than on the group and community levels with which analysts of pilgrimage like Turner, with his interest in the field of social relations and rituals, or those who have criticised his views on the grounds of group dynamics, have concerned themselves. (1994: 242).

Myerhoff affirmed that: 'It seems to me that there are many forms of communitas and many paths to reach it' (1974: 247 note).

She ventures that one example could be something like Martin Buber's 'I-Thou' relationship. She further suggests that communitas can also take the form of transcending the self by becoming one with the cosmos or with the deities. This has strong echoes of Csikszentmihalyi who states that:

When not pre-occupied with ourselves, we actually have a chance to expand the concept of who we are. Loss of self-consciousness can lead to self-transcendence, that the boundaries of our being have been pushed forward. (1990: 64).

If the liminal or liminoid position implies a potential for personal change, then *communitas* can be individually present, as understood in Buber's and Csikszentmihalyi's terminology. Turner himself saw elements of *communitas* in Buber's paradigm:

We see *communitas* as a relationship between persons, an I-Thou relationship in Buber's terms or a We, the very essence of which is its immediacy and spontaneity (1974: 251).

Turner seemed to assume that pilgrimage would always lead to positive experiences of *communitas*. As a result of his fieldwork on Andean pilgrimage Sallnow, however, takes strong issue with this assumption. While there was solidarity within particular groups, latent opposition between contingents surfaced in a variety of ways. Opposition and conflict between contingents, in sum, were endemic in the pilgrimage process. He concludes:

From a sociological point of view, then, group pilgrimage in the Andes is a complex mosaic of egalitarianism, nepotism and factionalism, of brotherhood, competition and conflict... If *communitas* is the ultimate goal of pilgrimage, then for the pilgrims of the Andes a plethora of divisions and interferences contrived to frustrate its realisation, sometimes in an apparently gratuitous fashion (1981: 173-6).

Yoram Bilu (1988) reports similar factionalism in his study of the annual Jewish pilgrimage to Mt. Meron in Galilee, where the tomb of a hallowed second century Rabbi, Shim'on Bar Yohai, is the focus for the convergence once a year of tens of thousands of devout Jews. Numbers of about 150,000 have been reported in recent years. He tells of diverse parties actually fighting to get the best positions in circumambulation around the Rabbi's tomb. Like Sallnow he regards organised pilgrimage as normative rather than existential in its possible *communitas*. He indicates that unlike existential *communitas*

normative *communitas* may not be conflict free. He also agrees completely with Sallnow that:

The pilgrimage setting, in addition to fraternity fostering features, may also constitute a fertile matrix for germinating negative sentiments of vying and animosity (1988: 304-5).

His study is situated in psychological rather than in social anthropology and he uses the notion of sibling rivalry as a conceptual tool, employing dream interpretation as part of the evidence for his thesis.

My own experience, over fifteen years of leading pilgrimage parties, corroborates this view. It is not only, as Bilu says, that ordinary reality invades the pilgrimage setting, but that the very nature of the pilgrimage entity contains the seeds of discontent. As Bilu says:

Where people meet as free, equal levelled and total human beings, indeed as siblings, the potential for rivalry may be grossly enhanced (1988: 309).

Bilu's paper is significant in that it treats the theme of *communitas* in relation to pilgrimage in a non-Christian pilgrimage. Equally interesting for its unusual stance is a paper by Carl Starkloff (1997), a Jesuit professor of theology in Toronto, who argues that Turner's methodology is fruitful for analysing ecclesial life, bearing especially upon performance and change. He sees the challenge for the contemporary church, though by no means for the first time, as:

... integration between those who risk being frozen into structures and those who hide out from the cold in the warmth of small supportive circles of the like-minded (1997: 643).

Starkloff builds his metaphor from the experience of coping with the Canadian winter. He believes that Turner, in pointing to primal human needs, 'touched on primitive life-giving forces'. Starkloff pleads for the juxtaposition of structure and liminal opportunities, for the dynamic possibilities, which an ideological model of *communitas* could provide for the continual vibrancy of the church's life.

2.2 Pilgrimage and the Role of the Ludic and the Liminal

My own experience of pilgrimages is that they contain a good deal of relaxed fun. This would be true of those in which I have been directly involved, whether of clergy or lay people, but also in those other groups, from varying cultures, observed while staying in the same hotels or eating in the same restaurants. In mediaeval pilgrimage ludic and folk diversion went hand in hand with the more religiously devotional. Sumption (1975) quotes from a disapproving Lollard preacher, William Thorpe, of the early fifteenth century:

I know well that when divers men and women will go thus after their own wills, and finding out one pilgrimage they will ordain beforehand to have with them both men and women that can well sing wanton songs. And some other pilgrims will have them bagpipes so that every town that they come through shall know of their coming, what with the noise of their singing and the sound of their piping, what with the sound of their Canterbury bells, and the barking of the dogs after them. They make more noise than if the King came thereaway with all his clarions and many other minstrels (1975: 196).

Turner pithily points to a change since those vibrant days of pilgrimage that 'Religion has become less serious but more solemn' (1978: 36). So the ludic has become a separate activity, confined for the most part to hotel or restaurant or

bar and is a diversion away from the more serious moments of the daily schedule. As Turner says:

Those who journey to pray together also play together in the secular interludes between religious activities; sightseeing to places of secular interest is one common form of 'play' associated with pilgrimage (1978: 37).

In his later writing on pilgrimage Turner (1978) makes much of a change which is to be observed in post industrial revolution society. Taking Van Gennep's notions of Rites of Passage, he uses the term 'liminal' to describe the opportunities which pilgrimage offered to the less tutored mind, in mediaeval and post-mediaeval times and in undeveloped societies. Eliade (1959) describes the same process in very similar terms:

As for the Christianity of the industrial societies and especially the Christianity of intellectuals, it has long since lost the cosmic values that it still possessed in the Middle Ages. The cosmic liturgy, the mystery of nature's participation in the Christological drama, have become inaccessible to Christians living in the modern city. In the last analysis it is a strictly private performance (1959: 178).

Jean and Wallace Clift's book (1996) *The Archetype of Pilgrimage*, makes the same point:

Outside the artistic world and the churches that emphasise the sacraments and religion with rituals, the modern world has, to a large extent, lost any appreciation of symbolic language. It has chosen what Eliade calls the Profane. (1996: 16).

The Clifts bring Jungian insights to bear on the subject of pilgrimage. This is a confident re-iteration of Turner's understanding of the nature of post-industrial social life. Turner modified Van Gennep's concept of the liminal to his own preferred terms of 'quasi-liminal' or 'liminoid' for description of modern industrial leisure activity (1978: 253). It is interesting to note that the Clifts differentiate between different types of religious adherence, between the

sacramentally ritually inclined and the more intellectually expressed faith; between, in fact, the Catholic and the Reformed, the Anti-puritan and the Puritan. It has been noted, by Morinis (1992), of Turner's enquiries that his fieldwork in Christian pilgrimage was entirely among Catholically-minded Christian groups. This limited database seems to have made for narrowly formed conclusions.

As has been described earlier in this chapter Turner's initial fieldwork took him to more remote religions where in tribal initiation the moral unit was the social group or category. Similarly, in his pilgrimage fieldwork in South America and Mexico, he seems to have looked more for group rather than individual reaction. My research will look to see, if any examples of *communitas* are in evidence, whether these are of an individual or group nature.

Barbara Aziz (1985) found that in her research, even with what might be thought of as liminal rather than liminoid people in India and Nepal:

Evidence began to mount which offered quite a different image of the pilgrimage experience from that which Turner and others had been reporting. It bespoke an intensely private encounter; feelings varied greatly from one person to another and they were determined by the particular life and personality of each woman and man (1985: 248).

2.3 Person, Place and Text

Eade and Sallnow proposed a triad theory as the basis for considering the power of a shrine. They suggested, in *Contesting the Sacred: An Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* (1991: 9), a triad of person, place and text as the coordinates for analytic endeavour. By this triad they mean that the significance, and thus the potency which pilgrims would encounter at a shrine would largely depend on human rather than numinous factors. The personal story of the pilgrim would identify with the scriptural text associated with a particular site and the compelling ambience of the shrine to arouse personal feelings that there was some special power at that shrine. This idea, subsequently to Turner's paradigm of *communitas*, has provided a marker for subsequent writing on pilgrimage. Whereas Turner inclines towards an Eliadean notion of the sacredness of place, Eade and Sallnow have more of a Durkheimian emphasis on the social forces concentrating around a shrine. As they explain:

The power of a shrine, therefore derives in large part from its character almost as a religious void, a ritual space capable of accommodating diverse meanings and practices.----The social centre, then, in this perspective appears as a vessel into which pilgrims pour their hopes, prayers and aspirations (199: 15).

Both Reader and Walter (1993) and Coleman and Elsner (1995) find value in this notion of the triad. Reader comments that:

Pilgrimage sites, whether they are intrinsically recognised or categorised as sacred places or not, provide a *tabula rasa* upon which the visitor can decipher his or her own perceptions (1993: 24).

He reformulates Ahmed Kamal's notion, (cited in Khalifa, 1977: 92), that pilgrims will discover in Mecca only what they take to Mecca. This is strongly reminiscent of Mark Twain's comment, quoted earlier, about American clergy

finding in the Holy Land only what they hope to discover. Coleman and Elsner, while equally approving of the basic triad concept, do not find it conclusive.

They write:

While agreeing that *Contesting the Sacred* has set up a fruitful agenda for study in a post-Turnerian world of analysis, one may also suggest that certain aspects of its arguments need to be modified (1995: 202)

In particular they point out that these triad elements can be found to exist in other forms of ritual. From their study of pilgrimages in other religious traditions they draw the inference that reactions at shrines cannot be reduced or codified into any structural types. They see a more diverse phenomenon from which various numinous aspects cannot be excluded, as is the tendency with Eade and Sallnow's triad classification.

Contesting the Sacred (1991) confined its ethnographic record solely to Christian pilgrimages. It is Christian pilgrimage which has, perhaps more than in any other faith, a strong textual ingredient. The narrative of its scriptures is firmly linked to place and then an actual incarnation in a particular setting.

Coleman and Elsner's work is deliberately inter-faith and trans-cultural. They conclude:

The emphasis on the idea of pilgrimage sites being devoid of intrinsic meaning does tend to ignore the considerable structural similarities in pilgrimage practice within and between traditions. There are, indeed, patterns of behaviour to be found across time and culture, even if the implications and meanings of such behaviour vary enormously (1995: 202).

Is it not possible, though, that if patterns of behaviour are 'to be found across time and culture' that is due, not so much to any commonality of 'intrinsic meaning', but to the parity of human personality and character across time and

culture? Reader points out further that secular sites, which have little or no received texts, can be places of thaumaturgical power, not of miraculous or physical healings, but of reconciliation and healing of social and psychological wounds (1993: 230).

2.4 Recent Studies of the Camino

The three theses which have examined anthropologically the experiences of pilgrims on the Camino to Santiago de Compostela, (Feinberg; 1985; Frey, 1996; Haab, 1996), give ethnographic accounts of the experiences of individuals. In the last decade there has been a remarkable growth in the number of people walking, cycling, occasionally riding on horseback, along the Camino, in a way which attempts to recreate the journey of mediaeval times. There is no reliance on motorised transport. Here, it is the journey which is absorbing. Arrival makes for problems, sometimes even of anti-climax because what do you do then except return home? Frey, in particular, treats this at length. Mostly the journeying is a lone effort or in ones or twos. What bonding there is occurs with other separate pilgrims in random encounters along the way, over a meal shared or in communal overnight accommodation. Here there can be a real *communitas* of shared satisfaction at goals achieved, difficulties and challenges overcome. The *communitas* experienced moves across motives for making the journey, for some are secular, some more religious, but all can find a common bond in the domain of personal fulfilment. Walter (1994) reports in similar vein of the now popular visits to war cemeteries where very

different motives and satisfactions can be found within one party. Reader, discussing Walters' findings, writes:

Despite their different motivations they could find common ground in their shared, yet individual participation in the same events (1994: 244).

The fieldwork of the three theses on the Camino is concentrated on individual experiences but all report on a considerable sense of fellowship shared.

Reader's comment on the war grave findings of Walter could apply equally to the Camino and possibly to much other pilgrim experience:

One might suggest that here indeed was a form of *communitas*: on an individualised level pilgrims found a common bond in that they were apart from their ordinary lives, in an entirely different situation, on their own journey, yet realising that those around them were doing the same thing, and perhaps sharing similar feelings (1994: 244).

Feinberg takes this concept a stage further. She points to a strong sense of bonding not only with those currently on the Camino but also mystically with 'that great company who have made that journey in the past' (1985: 327).

Frey recounts vividly the same sense of past travellers in the remark of a young German woman:

I think in fact the Way contains a certain kind of energy, the energy of all the people who walked it and the energy they left while walking (1995: 142).

Frey comments:

Not only are pilgrims of the past invoked and felt to be present on the Camino, but there is also a sense of those who will come in the future, i.e., of 'future memory' as one pilgrim expressed it. Pilgrims carry the spirit of both those from the past and those who have yet to come, becoming part of a living history (1996: 142).

Here it would seem that *communitas* can transcend time and can embrace the future as well as the past. My study will look to see if a similar sense of timelessness can be found among Holy Land pilgrims.

2.5 The Eternal Return: The Holy Land as Centre for Pilgrimage

There must always be the danger of pilgrimage being sought, as a return to what is hoped will be a purer and more genuine spiritual experience. The land of the Bible and Jesus could well raise such expectation more than any other destination. Any visit to the Holy Land would quickly dispel such romanticism. On the Sea of Galilee powerboats towing water skiers and blaring disco boats late into the night shatter any idyllic notions. Demonstrations and riots in Bethlehem, sometimes ending in shootings, display the uneasy political tension. The 'Myth of an Eternal Return', in Eliade's (1959:107-110) concept, will find little place in the current maelstrom of the Middle East.

Myth and symbol, however, remain powerful tools even in contemporary society in that they reach back into the past and yet are timeless in their potential. Clergy are cluttered around by the paraphernalia of their trade. They live daily close to the symbols of their thought forms and rituals. They have only to walk into their own parish church to be confronted by an assortment of architectural symbols. We have then, in the clergy, all the liminal possibility of considerable force of feeling but also all what might be termed the liminoid restraints which prohibit those feelings. They are surrounded by symbols

whose very multiplicity deters them from enjoying them in their own experience. On a pilgrimage to the Holy Land they will encounter a further abundance of symbols in the different shrines visited. Turner comments on this:

The pilgrim, as he is increasingly hemmed in by such sacred symbols, may not grasp more than a fraction of the message, but through the reiteration of its symbolic expression and sometimes through their very vividness he becomes increasingly capable of entering in imagination and with sympathy into the culturally defined experience of the founder...Religious images strike him in these novel circumstances as perhaps they have never done before, even though he may have seen very similar objects in his parish church almost every day of his life. The innocence of the eye is the whole point here, the cleansing of the doors of perception (1978: 10).

He further elucidates on this same point:

A pilgrim is one who divests himself of the mundane concomitants of religion, which become entangled with its practice in the local situation, to confront, in a special, far milieu the basic elements and structures of his faith in their unshielded virgin radiance (1978: 15).

'Virgin radiance' is hardly how one would describe some of the ornately and highly developed shrines of the Holy Land. However, the open landscape of Galilee might suggest itself as being closer to Turner's concept. As such, the whole landscape of the Holy Land constitutes a sacred symbol fuelling the pilgrim's imagination.

In Jerusalem, where for several days the larger part of most tours is centered, layers of Christian tradition have left their mark and this is also the case where churches have been built in Galilee. Holy Land shrines can be roughly divided into those fashioned by Eastern Orthodox tradition and those by western Catholic ecclesiology. Both are created from outside the Anglican tradition and for the Anglican of puritan inclination one of the unexpected experiences in

visiting them is exposure to this religiosity of different Christian traditions. For instance, in the highly ornamented Greek Orthodox churches, altars, lamps, statues, baubles and icons can be unchanged and sometimes seemingly uncleaned, certainly unmoved over the centuries. Often at these shrines the setting is dark and these strange furnishings and alien ambiances highlight a keen sense of religious tradition that can seem a long way from Turner's optimism of pilgrimage shrines, 'cleansing the doors of perception that make for an innocence of eye' (1978: 10). The sense of difference is less accentuated, however in the more western style of the Latin tradition, as Roman Catholics are termed in the Holy Land, and consequently the Anglican clergy might find there an easier identity of spirit. Many of these Latin churches are of twentieth century design and in the style of architects such as the Italian Barluzzi. Simplicity of figure and imaginative use of coloured glass and softness of texture and colour make for a lightness of space, providing much more familiarity for identification for the contemporary Anglican clergy. Often, such as at Gethsemane or Mount Tabor, the present basilica has been constructed over an ancient Byzantine or Crusader church. For the Anglican pilgrims this gives a sense of continuity with the past while giving a contemporaneity of spiritual vitality. Sometimes, however, it is this very modernity that might offend. For example, the large, grandiose Basilica of the Annunciation in Nazareth, completed in 1969, can be something of a shock to those who have anticipation of a humble shrine to commemorate the lowly home of Joseph and Mary. Part of the work of this thesis will therefore be to explore the reactions of the Anglican clergy pilgrims to particular shrines, locations and, more generally, the Holy Land itself.

2.5.1 The Power of the Shrine

It was very much a feature of mediaeval pilgrimage that remoteness of site gave an added stimulus to the journeying. Theologically it was believed and taught that the distance and difficulty of travel made for increased salvatory value eternally. Modern travel to the Holy Land has none of the former danger of earlier travel and there would be, in any case among Anglican clergy, little surviving expectation of any eternal benefit to be gained from pilgrimage. Does there remain, though, an inclination that something of the centre may be found out there? Air travel can still be relatively novel for some clergy, especially older ones, and can add an exciting, for some even frightening, dimension to the journey. It is also a journey outside of European culture, a unique experience, perhaps, for some.

Pilgrimage to the Holy Land is to that extent a journey out there but it is at the same time a journey to the centre and ground of faith. Early church fathers and Protestant reformers can rightly assert that it is pointless to travel to the Holy Land when the central tenet of Christian faith is that Christ is to be found anywhere, in sacrament or heart. Most Anglican clergy will have an awareness of this and yet will still set off for their pilgrimage with a real hope for a significant encounter with the numinous. This can be strongly related to Morinis' view that:

A pilgrimage place is elevated above ordinary religious establishments, usually because it lays claim to an exaggerated relationship to the divine. The divine might be represented in the ordinary place of worship but the divine has been or still is actually present in the pilgrimage centre (1987: 17).

It is probable that the more sacramentally inclined among clergy on pilgrimage might be more likely to have an empathy with such a concept than are those of evangelical direction and I will be testing this in this study. Though, as I have suggested, the whole of the Holy Land might be considered as a 'centre', there are those sites which would generally be regarded as particularly at the 'centre'. These would be those places linked to significant events in the life of Jesus: birth at Bethlehem, childhood in Nazareth, lakeside ministry in Galilee, Last Supper in the Upper Room, death and Resurrection in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Ascension on the Mount of Olives. These are the places whose names feature primarily in all published itineraries and which would probably excite anticipation most in pilgrims. They would perhaps be the places where the numinous might be most expected to be encountered, longed for even. As Eliade remarks:

Religious man thirsts for the real. By every means at his disposal, he seeks to reside at the very source of primordial reality, when the world was in 'statu nascendi' (1959: 80).

In this study I shall be investigating the centrality of these key sites in the perceptions of the clergy pilgrims. The Holy Land contains, of course, much more than the residual life of Jesus. So many layers of successive civilisations lie one on top of each other. Some of this rich antiquity is explored as part of the Christian story. Byzantine remains are part of a vibrant architectural heritage and are evidence of devout early observance of the sites of the Christian story. Before then the Romans were long in the land and the ruins of their constructive ingenuity stand clearly on several skylines. Roman Caesarea, with its aqueduct, ancient harbour and now restored amphitheatre is a part of most itineraries as are other archaeological remains of these ancient

civilisations. I shall look to see if, for the clergy pilgrims, they contain more than just historical interest.

Old Testament sites, of course, abound but they tend to be crowded out of a modern itinerary. Early pilgrims such as Egeria, the intrepid fourth century nun, found great interest in standing where epic encounters had taken place; the modern pilgrim seems to be less enthused. Perhaps, now, our understanding of the Old Testament history is pre-conditioned by the consequences of historical criticism and we have little sense of these Old Testament narratives as mighty acts of God. In our liminoid refinement we have, perhaps, lost any sense of personal involvement in the dramas of the Old Testament.

The Holy Land is easily accessible by air in five hours from London, and yet in popular imagination it retains something of remoteness about it. On the periphery of Europe and of western culture it is seen as out there. The growth of the state of Israel has partly westernised the whole environment but still a mystique remains. Cohen (1991: 34) calls attention to the Hebrew word for pilgrimage, *ALIYA*, which means ascent. Jews going to the Holy Land, and particularly to Jerusalem, are said to ascend, *OLIM*, to these places. Arrival by plane in Israel is on the coastal plane near sea level and close to the modern metropolis of Tel Aviv. The first view which pilgrims arriving by air have of the Holy Land is of this coastal plane and city. The Ben Gurion airport has the immediate flavour of the Middle East in its still evolving terminal buildings but remains very much a familiar environment, an airport. Then the forty minute coach drive to Jerusalem is steadily uphill all the way to 2,400 ft. A magical

moment is reached with the first sight of the outlying buildings of the Holy City, even if these buildings are now the very modern ones of West Jerusalem. They are tower block apartments and high rise hotels, rather than the towers and minarets of popular imagination. It is customary during pilgrimage tours for the coach to stop at this point and for the leader to recite the traditional psalm, of ancient ritual, Jewish before Christian:

I was glad when they said unto me: we will go into the house of the Lord.
Our feet shall stand in thy gates: O Jerusalem.
Jerusalem is built as a city: that is at unity in itself.
For thither the tribes go up, even the tribes of the Lord: to testify unto Israel,
to give thanks unto the name of the Lord (Psalm 122).

Cohen points out that Jerusalem, like the two modern capitals outside state territory, Washington D.C. and Canberra, was deliberately established outside the territory of any particular tribe with its peripherality to all making it a centre to everyone (1991: 34). It has always seemed to me that the Holy Land and Jerusalem, despite their actual relation to statehood, have been regarded by Christians as belonging to them, or at the very least as where they belong. In fact, Jerusalem is regarded as absolutely central in the faith of Moslems and Jews alike. In particular, in journeying away from the mundane home and their everyday life Christians would like to feel that they are perhaps coming home in a spiritual sense. The anticipation and aspiration for a centre is strong. The disappointment will be all the greater if that expectation is frustrated.

Eliade (1959) points to the existence in several major faiths of the feel for a centre, a navel. He finds it at its most explicit in Judaism:

The most Holy one created the world like an embryo. As the embryo grows from the navel, so God began to create the world by the navel and from there it spread out in all directions. Rabbi Ben Gorion said of the rock of

Jerusalem; 'It is called the Foundation stone of the Earth, that is the navel of the Earth, because it is from there that the whole Earth unfolded' (1959: 44).

Mt. Gerizim in Galilee was originally considered by ancient Jews to be the navel of the Earth. With developing religious sense this notion of a centre moved to the temple rock in Jerusalem, settling in even closer definition in the Holy of Holies of the temple. Even after the destruction of 70 AD the sacrality of this site was revered and to this day remains hallowed ground to the piously observant, to the extent that Jews are usually forbidden entry to the Temple Mount for fear of treading on the site of that Holy of Holies. Such is the power of a sacred centre and Jerusalem lays claim to being such a centre.

For Christians, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre became the central site of their faith, following Queen Helena's claim, in 325 AD, that she had discovered the true cross. As the Basilica developed over the centuries the central large rounded dome of the Greek Katholikon housed a chandelier. Directly under this on a polished marble floor stands an 'omphalos' (Greek for 'navel') In Greek Christian thought this is considered to be the centre of the world.

It is not likely that Anglican clergy on pilgrimage would envisage any one exact location as being the centre of their faith. Nevertheless the Church of the Holy Sepulchre must rank as prime site if any one place is to do so. It is the site of the two central actions of the Christian salvatory drama, the crucifixion and the resurrection. Hence, the greater can be the bitter disappointment, anger even, on a first visit. H.J. Richards (1982) delineates this exactly in saying:

No site in the Holy Land is more yearned for by the Christian pilgrim than the spot where Jesus died and was raised to a new life by the power of God. No site is more likely initially to disappoint him, hemmed in as it is now by a constantly expanding city, and reverberating with the excited shouts of visitors, rival worshippers and diligent workmen. Yet no site if he visits it often enough will eventually endear itself to him more. It has little to do with the 'green hill far away' of his dreams. But its power to evoke the centuries of history it enshrines, to bring together Christians of all shades and persuasions, and to inspire the patent devotions of the poor - these will eventually overcome the surprise the pilgrim first experiences here, and move him to find a deep peace within these walls (1982: 41).

Christians believe that the Church unfolded from the events of Calvary and the Easter garden. Both places are revered as being within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and, if there is one place which is the centre for Christians, then it can only be that shrine which is the hallowed centre for them. My study will seek to discover whether the Church of the Holy Sepulchre satisfies this longing. Is the entry through its ancient doorway a moment of anticipation and communitas like fulfilment? Richards' description shows very clearly that the fond expectation is regularly disappointed. This is a challenge for any insightful tour leader and there are ways to overcome an initial negative reaction.

Turner (1978) noted that religion has moved from being an actuality all-embracing of the whole of life towards a voluntary activity more within the leisure area of life. To that extent he saw modern pilgrimage as liminoid rather than liminal. Perhaps, in that the whole of their life is imbued in the religion they teach, there is a sense in which for the clergy, even consciously or unconsciously, the whole act of pilgrimage and its constituent parts will be perceived as a test of faith. Nobody will be looking to return home with their beliefs weakened.

2.5.2 Topography of the Pilgrimage

Frey's (1996) thesis in part, and Haab's (1996) to a greater extent, examine the impact of particular topographies and shrine sites on the individual experience. Haab summarises the experience of pilgrims on the Camino in relation to the geographical dimension of the way. In doing this she develops the theory that there is an inter-action between the geographical journey and the pilgrim's inward journey.

Similarly, there is an inter-action between a developing research process and the inward journey of the researcher. While this might be true, presumably, of most academic researchers and their subjects, a study of pilgrimage will inevitably carry with it a sharpened process of introverted consideration. This could be particularly true of the lengthy trail, up to three months in time scale, along the Camino. The ultimate destination, Santiago de Compostela, like the completion of the research, might seem far away in the distance, across uncharted, liminal territory.

An important issue in my study will be how the topography, or even how the architecture of a site, can affect emotional reaction of pilgrims. Coleman and Elsner (1995) have done that in their study of the layout of St. Catherine's monastery in Sinai. They say:

The topography, images and architecture of sixth century Sinai (much of it still surviving) performed a great deal of ideological work at the site. The theme of motion signifying transformation is implicit not only in the act of pilgrimage but also in the mosaic images of the church. Moses is depicted in front of the burning bush and then again on the top of the mountain, receiving the tablets of stone. This movement, expressed through

representation, prefigures the actual journey of the pilgrim from the monastery to the mountain (1995: 211).

They conclude:

In re-emphasising the importance of the physical layout of pilgrimage sites we are consciously calling to mind the image of landscapes mentioned in the subtitle of this book – Sacred Travel in Sacred Space in the World Religions - The word is an obvious choice in the sense that pilgrimage necessarily involves bodily movement through a physical environment (1995: 211-2).

The long stretches of the Camino seem to engage the emotions of pilgrims in particularly potent ways. Haab (1996) describes one section of the Meseta, the arid plateau extending for about 180 kilometres between the cities of Burgos and Leon. She says of it:

It is seen by all as one of the hardest stretches of the Way, as the real initiatory trial. Many pilgrims reach their lowest point here. You are alone with the infinity of Heaven and Earth, with the burning sun, with the monotony of the way (1996: part 2, 9).

A handbook, *The Pilgrim Route to Compostela*, by George Bernes (1973), warns of one particular stretch of that Meseta:

Pilgrim, prepare to suffer; if you are to gain merit from your pilgrimage, this is the place for it!...Forty kilometres of straight paths stretching endlessly across a vast plain. You will reach an understanding of the infinite, the curve of the Earth, and the grandeur of deliberate effort. In the furnace of a summer afternoon you may see in the distance the mirage of a tree or a shadow, or dream of a babbling spring. Take care all the same to drink plenty of water before setting out, and do not forget your hat (1973: 123).

Haab records how a German pilgrim describes this Meseta as 'A story nightmare, an endless plain without trees, bushes or people, a walk through purgatory, a passage through the void' (1996: part 2, 9).

Haab concludes that, looking back at the Meseta, many speak of purification or catharsis.

The Holy Land has its wildernesses and most pilgrims do not explore its remoteness. Occasionally special parties, particularly of young people, camp out for some days in its wastes. Regular pilgrim groups only verge on its borders and then just to ^{give} a brief impression of its wilds. The open landscape, which does have an impact, is that of the hills and water of the Galilee region. In the data analysis I shall explore their effect on the clergy.

2.5.3 Puritan and Anti-puritan Attitudes

I borrow terms of 'Puritan' and 'Anti-puritan' from Towler and Coxon's (1979) book, *The Fate of the Anglican Clergy: A Sociological Study*. They use the terms as a serviceable means of neatly delineating two different types of clergy. The 'Puritan' would encompass those inclining towards strict conformity to Reformed ethic and doctrine. 'Anti-puritan' would describe those of more cavalier attitude and wider, catholic understanding. In the Holy Land, those of decidedly more puritan inclination often find themselves offended by the accretion of monuments at the holy sites, the expression of different architectural and theological cultures. To the more anti-puritan there is an awareness of the richness of historic tradition but the more puritan inclination sees little significance in this. Nor is specificity of site a great concern. Their confidence is in the actuality of the risen Christ and worship in spirit and in truth. Thus, the Garden Tomb site is favoured by the 'Puritan' as a place to celebrate the Resurrection.

The Garden Tomb, though barely credible as the authentic site of Christ's burial chamber, nevertheless seems to inspire a sense of peace and hope. A first century

burial tomb was discovered there at the end of the nineteenth century and the enclosed gardens have been carefully developed as a place of worship. Groups can hold individual services there and every Sunday morning sees a well attended act of worship. Bowman reports that pilgrims regularly assert that 'It is easier to imagine Jesus here than inside that dark pile of stones they call the Holy Sepulchre' (1991: 117).

The puritan would maintain that Christ is to be found anywhere. Even the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem dramatically demonstrates this. If there is one central shrine in Christendom it would be that Holy Sepulchre church. This site has been designated since 325 AD, in the time of Constantine and his mother Helena, as the place of Christ's crucifixion, burial and resurrection tomb. At its heart is the reconstructed tomb into which crowds go though only a few at a time because of the narrow doorway, to make their devotions. The present surrounding alabaster shrine dates from 1810. A simple stone slab marks the empty tomb and that is all there is to be seen. But that is the whole point; Christ is risen, He is not here.

Chapter Three: Contemporary Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Context of Tourism

3.1 The Anthropology of Tourism

Nelson Graburn (1983: 10) in his paper, 'The Anthropology of Tourism' suggests that contemporary studies of tourism can be divided roughly thus:

1. The study of the tourists and the nature of tourism itself.
2. The study of the social, economic and cultural impact of tourism on host populations and societies, including the nature of the host-tourist relationship.

Michael Schudson (1979), in his review of Dean MacCannel's influential book, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, (1976) argues that 'There is little in the classical tradition of either sociology or anthropology to help us study tourism' (1979: 1250).

While welcoming many of MacCannel's fresh insights he is critical of his method of formulating conclusions. They are theory-based and have no emic evidence by way of ethnographic evidence, e.g. participant observation or formal/informal interview. Schudson suggests that there is the need to capture the meaning of the modern experience of pilgrimage and that this can be done in a variety of ways. As he suggests

We can examine the experiences of pilgrimage and tourism, the ways in which people gather meanings at their shrines, and capture them for future reference in memory, in photographs and films or, for that matter, in monographs. (1979: 1258).

Valene Smith, in *Hosts and Guests, The Anthropology of Tourism* (1977) defined a tourist as 'A temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change' (1977: 2).

Graburn has the same idea of tourism, defining it as fundamentally an experience of change:

Tourism involves for the participants a separation away from normal 'instrumental' life and the business of making a living, and offers entry into another kind of moral state in which mental, expressive and cultural needs come to the fore (1983: 11).

He points out that tourism is of temporary duration, and therefore in contrast to the usual ongoing periods of everyday life. Holidays can often have a cyclic pattern and may have the same components as the patterned rituals of normal life. Graburn thus relates the essential factors in tourism to a Durkheimian understanding of rituals as basic to social solidarity. Such rituals would include cyclical rites of intensification, rites which reinforce the natural round of life and rites of passage which mark particular non-recurring life events, of moving into another phase of life -e.g. '...effervescence, pleasure, games...all that recreates the spirit that has been fatigued by the too great slavishness of daily work (1983: 12).

This comparison of touristic activity with ritual relates to the theories of Van Gennep, (1960) whose work, *Rites of Passage*, examined the inner workings of ritual.

3.1.1 The Concept of Rites of Passage

Van Gennep saw distinct phases in these rites of passage. First, there is the separation from normal life patterns, which leads to the marginality of liminality. Second follows a final phase of re-incorporation back into the accustomed environment. I now use the Van Gennep's insights as they might apply to an ordinary touristic activity.

The process of tourism requires a tourist to make a voluntary decision to move out of the home situation. It may be the fortnight's annual holiday or just a weekend break away, both of which are marketed energetically by tour companies. They can have a cyclic repetition. Preparation rites are part of the enjoyment of the holiday and this takes the form of scanning of tour brochures, surfing the net perhaps now for the best offers, buying special clothes or equipment, obtaining and reading guide books about the destined location. There will usually be talk among family and friends, which might anticipate experiences, and lastly there will be final stage of packing before departure. In leaving home a liminal phase is entered, by travelling to new places, by means of travel not usually employed. These days the contemporary urge to go further, to unusual destinations or by uncommon transport, is encouraged by powerful marketing. On the other hand the liminality might only be partial in that the chosen holiday goal is one already well known, and therefore returned to because it is well favoured. Over the years I have observed that children particularly like to return to a familiar beach, and even the same corner of that beach. Holiday activity sees a

different pattern from the daily round at home. The scenery is new, the people around are different, and food and other domestic logistics are varied. There are liminal opportunities for original experiences in natural or contrived facilities, all this to be recorded by photograph or video. The modern relic of souvenir is purchased.

Thirdly, comes the return home and the re-aggregation back into the familiar. Here there are also rituals to be found in recounting memories to family and friends and the perusal of holiday photographs or videos. Souvenirs might be strategically placed where all can see them. This stage accompanies the inevitable return to the familiar in home and work.

The comparison of holiday habits with classic rituals begins to break down in post-modern trends in travel. John Urry, in *The Tourist Gaze* (1990), identifies what he calls the 'Post-Fordist' consumer led tourist market as opposed to the 'Fordist' mass consumption response (1990: 14). He sees in the latter mass response something of a conveyer belt in which the consumer accepts willingly a finished model of holiday, with everything arranged. In the 'Post-Fordist' model there is much greater variety of consumer choice and discernment. The decline of interest in the holiday camp would be an outstanding example of this trend. Another factor in the 'Post-Fordist' notion is the great increase of leisure and tourism purchasing power, especially among the retired generation. Nevertheless, though the range of individual choice is now much developed, the popularity of the package holiday remains

strong, with the growth of the cruise tour one of its increasingly popular features. Joseph Fridgen, in *Dimensions of Tourism* (1991), writes:

The cruise industry has been booming in recent years. More ships and berths are available than ever before. Both the capacity of and demand for cruise lines is growing around the world... With the growth of the last few years, worldwide cruising could reach 4 million passengers a year (1991: 201).

The cruise holiday can perhaps be dubbed a modern cult, although it retains the traditional ritualistic element of controlled activity. Even here, though, tour operators vie to provide as many alternative diversions as possible. The latest, large cruise ships have miniature golf courses; the familiar can be pursued while voyaging through the unfamiliar.

3.1.2 Staged Authenticity

Another theme in Urry's (1990) book is that of authenticity. Here he extends MacCannel's view that the tourist quest is in some way a contemporary version of a search for the sacred, 'seeking authenticity in other times and other places away from that person's everyday life'. Even the workaday setting of somebody else's work can be the object of the tourist gaze (1990:8). Cohen (1995) pursues the changing nature of tourist attractions and points to the developing incidence of contrived sites. He defines these as:

Those which were specifically created for touristic purposes, and are wholly artificial in character - that is they do not contain any natural elements (1995: 15).

Cohen explores this as a notion of 'staged authenticity'. The tendency of sociological writing has been to regard such attractions, theme parks for example, with a pejorative stricture. Cohen, however, does not necessarily

consider these developments disparagingly. The theme park aims to present either something from the past which is disappearing, or something from the present of remote actuality. In the former case something which might otherwise be lost is preserved, In the latter case, that which is rare, and therefore of considerable touristic interest, is preserved from invasive threat; the tourist hordes being directed to where they can do no damage. The creation of a duplicate pre-historic Lascaux cave in SouthWest comes to mind here as a prime example of the contrived protecting the natural. In Israel the manager of the pilgrimage section of the government tourist bureau has told me, in all seriousness, of discussion in government tourist board circles, of the possibility of creating alternative Holy Land sites in uncrowded areas, such is the overpopulation by pilgrims at the established shrines.

3.1.3 Tourist Motivations

In an earlier paper, 'The Sociology of Tourism' (1984: 373-392), Cohen examines a large range of sociological and anthropological tourism studies, from initial German writings in the 1930s to the mushroom growth of scholarly interest in the early 1970s. He identifies four core areas as being of importance:

1. The tourist - motivations, attitudes, reactions and roles.
 2. The relations and perceptions of tourists and locals.
 3. The structure of the tourist system.
 4. The Socio-economic and socio-cultural impact of tourism.
- (1984: 373)

Graburn (1983), see 3.1, identifies 'the study of the tourists and the nature of tourism itself' as a key area of research into tourism. This equates to the first two of Cohen's core areas. For this research I limit myself to these issues, as these are the two aspects which relate to human experience rather than the latter two topics which are organisational concerns.

The nature of most research in this area, from 1970 to the time of Cohen's 1984 paper, consisted of surveys and trend analyses. These were largely designed to meeting the practical awareness of governments and the tourist industry. Only later did 'tourist motivations and the nature of tourism itself' become the subject of psychological inquiry. There has been particular interest in the relationship of the tourist experience to individual long-term psychological needs and life-plans. This concern relates directly to my research question, which looks, not just at the immediate experience of clergy on pilgrimage, but also at the longer-term impact on their lives and ministry. Here again the key theme is the quest for authentic experiences. As noted earlier, MacCannel saw this as the modern secular equivalent to primitive societies' concern for the sacred. (1973: 590) Cohen prefers the term 'ultimate reality'. Like Schudson (1979) he regrets that 'there are few detailed studies of tourist behaviour'. Those that he quotes, and they are mostly of the beach type holiday, tend towards a finding of satisfaction that 'normality is suspended and the individual is liberated from his or her ordinary preoccupations' (1984: 379).

3.1.4 Alternative Tourism

This generic term, alternative tourism, is used to describe vacation activities which break away from the organisation of mass tourism. Urry's 'Post-Fordist' tourist is one who:

... refuses to accept treatment as part of an undifferentiated mass...Part of post-modernism's hostility to authority is the opposition felt by many people to being seen as part of a mass (1990: 87).

Alternative tourism is also used commonly to describe tourism which overall is more environmentally conscious than mass tourism. Peter Burns and Andrew Holden, in *Tourism: A New Perspective* (1995), see this as one of the ways in which tourism will inevitably develop. They would include rural, farm, sports and adventure holidays in this bracket. They point out that such activities are in 'direct contrast to those of conventional mass tourism'. They write:

The implication is that by promoting forms of 'alternative tourists' or calling ourselves 'alternative tourists' we are encouraging a type of tourism that is 'better' and more sustainable than what has gone before (1995: 209).

It would seem that pilgrimage has become a much-revived phenomenon in the present era and might also be regarded as coming into this category, blurring the boundaries of alternative tourism. Perhaps, One of the main reasons for the growth of 'alternative tourism' is the desire of thoughtful vacationers to find fresh, vivid and meaningful experiences. The criteria of meaningful experiences would seem integral to the process of pilgrimage and therefore pilgrimages promise to meet all those expectations.

Such recent studies of tourism can be seen to be useful in trying to understand the changing nature, meaning and function of modern pilgrimages. In the next section I will develop the link more thoroughly.

3.2 Tourism and Pilgrimage: The Centre Out There

Using Cohen's (1992) study as the base, I look now at some of the comparisons and differences, which have been noted, in academic debate, between tourism and pilgrimage.

It has been noted that a tourist is someone who travels away from home to find new experiences. A tourist travels away from home in this deliberate pursuit but often hopes, nevertheless, to find many of the reassuring concomitants of home on the journey and at the destination. MacCannel (1973 and 1976) and Graburn (1977) both see tourism in the modern world as embodying some of the social functions of traditional religion. The word 'holiday' has the obvious derivation from 'holy day' and the modern holiday is regarded as a time set apart for the enjoyment of something new, just as the traditional holy day was special in the liturgical calendar. Less obvious is the etymology of the word 'vacation'. Its root is in the Latin word 'vacare', which translates as 'to vacate or empty'. Thus a vacation might be conceived of as an empty, liminal space affording diverse possibilities of filling, a time for personal re-creation as antidote to the humdrum nature of ordinary life. The popular term 'Going for a break' embodies this same confidence in the

restorative nature of a time spent away. It has the quality of a secular Sabbath, the essence of Jewish understanding of the Sabbath being in its provision of the opportunity to engage with ultimate reality, as opposed to the superficiality of workaday affairs.

Cohen (1992) commends comparison of modern tourist patterns with older religious practices. He sees this as a necessary refutation of the pejorative attitude often expressed by writers on what they regard as the banal superficiality of modern tourism.

Cohen (1992) draws on the work of Eliade (1959) as a source for his development of the theme of the tourist engaging in a quest. Eliade envisages creation basically as chaos but chaos containing at its heart some source of order. He constructs this as the meeting place of the heavenly and earthly places. This 'Sacred Centre' is akin to the Logos of Greek thought as represented in the opening verses of the Gospel according to St. John. 'In the beginning was the Word' (John1: 1). Turner (1978) takes this same understanding and sees in the pilgrimage quest a search for the centre which is 'Out there', in a psychological as well as geographical sense. Here, in relation to the tourist/pilgrim differentiation, it is relevant to point to the significance of the Eliadean concept because it applies differently to the tourist and the pilgrim. Both are on a quest. Tourists move away from their hub of society and culture to find significance and authenticity elsewhere. Pilgrims, on the other hand, even though they might travel long distances on their spiritual quest, are searching for a deeper embodiment of what is already

part of their lives and for them perhaps the most important part, their personal faith. They hope to find reassurance, possibly even spectacularly so, of what they already have. Tourists, however, are hoping for an experience which has not yet been theirs.

The tourist will meet new people, even if only in the superstructure of the tourist industry, and will mostly enjoy the process; new friendships are regularly forged on holiday. Pilgrims will probably travel with a like-minded group, very often from their own faith community, and their contact at pilgrimage centres will be with people very much like themselves, fellow-pilgrims of the same faith though possibly of varying race and culture.

Turner (1978) suggests that pilgrims will welcome the crowded presence of fellow pilgrims, their very abundance adding a sense of relish, awe even, to the devotion at a shrine. Tourists, by contrast, will sometimes complain about the crowds of other people at a holiday site. Cohen cites the paradoxical reaction of a French woman who complained that 'a place is not good for tourists if it is too touristic' (1992: 58). He also recalls youth tourists trekking in Thailand who frequently complained about the presence of other trekking parties in a tribal village who, in their view, spoiled the ambience. Turner's assertion that pilgrims do not react negatively at crowded shrines is optimistic. Previous personal experience suggests that this might not be the case.

3.2.1 Some Distinctions between Tourists and Pilgrims

The tourist's aims are essentially hedonistic. The pilgrim's intentions would generally be considered not to be self-gratification; they might even be ascetic. However, there is a sense in which the pilgrim's spiritual intentions could be judged as very self-concerned. There is, then, a basic commonality of purpose. The difference between the two comes in the attitude of others. The tourist's urge for self-satisfaction might draw society's disapproval; the pilgrim's quest is generally applauded.

Pilgrimage, historically, has always had its ludic relaxations. Shrines and routes accreted a surrounding assemblage of inns, shops and the panoply of fairs. Sumption describes the scene, which, he says, differed little from the fourth to the fifteenth century. He writes:

The pilgrim was greeted at his destination by a scene of raucous tumult...Pilgrims mingled with jugglers and conjurors, souvenir sellers and pickpockets. Hawkers shouted their wares and rickety food stalls were surrounded by hungry travellers...Cries of panic were drowned by bursts of hysterical laughter from nearby taverns, while beggars played on horns, zithers and tambourines. (1975: 211)

As has been noted, the Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century were strong in denunciation of what they saw as moral decadence. Pilgrimage has always enjoyed tourism's diversions. Chaucer, in the fourteenth century knew this, and described it vividly in *The Canterbury Tales*. This study will later look to see if ludic relaxation was present among the clergy of my field study, a necessary part, perhaps, of their pilgrimage.

3.2.1 Secular Pilgrimage

Reader and Walter (1993) demonstrate clearly that many of the characteristics of traditionally religious pilgrims are displayed by visitors to secular sites. The places visited already have deep meaning in their lives. Instances of this would be the visits now made by many relatives to the war graves of loved ones.

Also, large crowds of Liverpool football supporters converged on Anfield after the Hillsborough ground tragedy when many Liverpool supporters were killed in the crush of the crowd. Particular homage is paid at secular shrines such as Lenin's tomb in Moscow or the grave of Elvis Presley in Memphis, Tennessee. The devotees at these two sites accord their dead heroes all the accolade associated with religious saints. At Graceland, Elvis' shrine, his fans purchase souvenirs, the modern relics. Another type of 'secular' pilgrimage is described in the study, by Alexander Moore (1980: 207), of Disney World in California. He sees Disney World, an obvious tourist mecca, as having all the hallmarks of a place of pilgrimage stating:

To visit the Magic Kingdom visitors must come from afar: the amusement park is deliberately located miles away from the nearest settlement...They leave their cars behind...they are starting a magical, hence playful or make-believe journey in space and time. They enter a giant limen (1980: 214).

One could add that, in Eliadean terms, Disney World has everything of the myth of the eternal return about it. Moore suggests that:

Whatever the conclusion of future enquires, however, we may now say that the magic kingdom is a bounded liminal space that one visits on a playful meta-pilgrimage. At a time when some proclaim that God is dead, North Americans may take comfort from the fact that Mickey Mouse reigns at the baroque capital of the Magic Kingdom and that Walt Disney is his prophet. (1980: 216).

Moore's language is deliberately theological in its use of the word 'prophet', as if to stress that the secular apprehension of the site has taken to itself the intensity of a religious propensity.

Reader (1993) uses Disney in his discussion of the tourist-pilgrim issue and quotes from the Japanese writer Notoji Nasako. In her book, *Dizuniran-do to iu Seichi*, a title that translates as *The Sacred Place called Disneyland*, she describes the journey made to Disneyland by a young New York brother and sister who had begged her to take them to the Californian Disneyland, as a pilgrimage to California. She wrote:

For such youths, brought up in an American culture centred in television and the movies (1993: 6).

Nasako comments that Disneyland has been transformed from simply being an amusement park and tourist spot into a sacred place.

A further development in consideration of secular pilgrimage is made by Coleman and Elsner (1995). They see some of the characteristics of religious shrines as being present in museums. The glass-fronted displays in museum remind strongly of the reliquaries of mediaeval cathedrals and abbeys. They write:

Like the relics in the treasury of a mediaeval cathedral, objects in a museum are enclosed within a series of frames which add to their sanctity (1995: 216).

Exhibits from previous eras put visitors in touch with their corporate past, with something which is already theirs, and which is stirred by the sight of some artefact. I would add that the corporate becomes more personal at a folk

museum, when commonplace homes and utensils are displayed, and supremely so at a toy museum when memories of childhood are rekindled. Coleman and Elsner describe, too, how visitors are guided geographically through the exhibits. They say that 'Movement is not usually random, but guided by particular routes, liturgies and tours' (1995: 217).

They find the same pattern of organisation at the ancient pilgrimage site of St Catherine's Monastery at Sinai (1994) and the more modern restored shrine of Walsingham (1998).

3.2.3 Returning Home

In the anthropological literature on pilgrimage little attention has been paid to what Myerhoff calls 'The perils of the return' (1974: 245). This may be because of the ethnographic difficulty of maintaining contact with component members of a pilgrimage party once the tour is over and the group has gone its several ways back home. One of my key interests in this study will be the reincorporation of the pilgrimage experience in the ongoing life and ministry of the clergy.

Feinberg (1985), Frey (1996) and Haab (1997) are notable exceptions from the general absence of reporting on subsequent reactions. All three, after their fieldwork on the Camino, made a point of contacting some of their informants after their return home, even if this could only be done by correspondence for the most part. They all see the return as an integral part of the pilgrimage. The longer the time away from home on the Camino, the more significant the

demands will be of readjustment. Frey, particularly, devotes a large part of her thesis, almost a quarter in fact, to the return. As well as using correspondence she made a point of visiting a few of her informants back in their own environment. They were very pleased to see her again and found in this opportunity a strong means of helping with the difficulty of accommodating back into the mundane. She quotes Fr. Felix Fabri, the fifteenth century German pilgrim to the Holy Land, as recorded by Schutz (1945: 369), that 'Home shows, at least at the beginning, an unaccustomed face,' and she adds from her own observations:

Within this mutual dissonance, the home comer often experiences a sense of disorientation as the experiences away from home, as stranger (or pilgrim) are re-incorporated into a home life which may or may not seem particularly relevant to the immediate past (1996: 277).

Camino pilgrims may well have spent weeks or even months away, and the decision to make the pilgrimage would usually have meant a severing of home, family and work ties. The whole enterprise may well have presented something of a mystery to those left behind, may well have arisen from an emotional crisis or from a dissatisfaction with current lifestyle. For Frey's informants the impact of the time spent along the Camino is much more what Eliade describes, 'the supreme rite of initiation is to enter a labyrinth and return from it' (1958: 382). The Camino can well be described as having labyrinth like qualities where, again to quote from Eliade, the entering into sacred space by the pilgrim is, 'seeking the path towards himself, towards the centre of his being' (1958: 382). It is the very empty, timeless space of the Camino which gives a timeless quality.

Myerhoff (1974), in her study of the Huichol Indians' pilgrimage to Wirikuta, notes the sensitivity of their shaman, the Mara'akme Ramon, to the perils of the return. She found an Eliadean intensity of innate paradisaical longing in the dangers of remaining where it was even dangerous to venture in the first place:

On the sociological level, the temptation to remain in Paradise is due to man's desire to remain in a state of ecstasy, forever outside of social obligation and responsibility...Real life, as Turner stresses (1969b, 1971), is inevitably a dialectical process. It is a fluctuation between at one pole, mundane needs through social structure and at the other, the ecstasy of communion, which Turner calls *communitas*. To attempt to make either of these states the whole of life is perilous (1974: 246-247).

She observes of the pilgrimage to Wirikuta that:

The special task of the Huichol *mara'akme* is to guide his people out of Wirikuta quickly and firmly, disregarding their desire to linger. His guardianship in escorting them back to reality, in persuading them to relinquish the longing for Paradise, is as important as leading them there in the first place (1974: 248).

For all tourists, one of the ways of maintaining the continuum of their trip has always been to bring back mementoes. Pilgrims are no exception. In earlier years objects brought back from sacred places would have been thought to have contained something of the power of the shrine. If a shrine, through its saint, was reckoned to be a place of healing power or blessing then that same thaumaturgic or salvatory power would have been reckoned to have indwelt the sacred object. Hence the immense growth in the practice of relics. Nor is this solely an attitude of less enlightened days. The vast numbers of inexpensive trinkets and voluminous plastic bottles of 'holy' water, brought away by pilgrims from Lourdes and other places of Catholic devotion, are evidence of a deeply rooted trust in their efficacy. I fancy too that though they would deny any miraculous potential, clergy and others who, for baptism purposes, bring

back small bottles of water, enthusiastically filled from the River Jordan, would be subscribing to the same archetypal inclination. The reluctance to leave the 'centre out there' is somewhat mollified by placing something of that centre back in one's own home.

In the follow-up interviews of this study I shall be looking to see how the experience of Holy Land pilgrimage was incorporated into the on-going lives and ministry of the clergy.

In this section I have summarised the main themes which have influenced academic thought in recent years. Particularly, I have alluded to those matters, which impinge upon this research on clergy on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. In the next chapter I shall sketch the methodological considerations which have underpinned the research.

Chapter Four: Designing a Qualitative Research Project:

Methodological Influences

4.1 The Uneven Research Journey so Far

The challenges which had originally faced me in the designing of this research project can be identified as a combination of my own inexperience compounded by a the lack of relevant models of ethnographic research on pilgrimage. Texts, which were available when I began my research, were concerned with the very different studies on the Camino (Feinberg, 1985) and Myerhoff, on the Huichol Indians (1974). During the course of my study two further studies of the Camino, Frey (1996) and Haab (1996) were published. They differed little in their methodology from that of Feinberg, their field study method being largely dictated by the exigencies of the scattered field which they were studying. Jefferey Golligher's study on Iona (1989) was of a static situation where no movement was involved. Similarly Ali Murat Yel's research (1995) at the Marian shrine of Fatima in Portugal was circumscribed within the bounds of a relatively small area. He was able to spend some time there but did not find it easy to interview pilgrims, because of his Turkish, Muslim background and ability ~~only~~ to speak to pilgrims in English. He was much more observer than participant. Giurati and Lanzi, in their research at Fatima, used a questionnaire as the basis for their investigation. Golligher spent nearly a year on Iona. Whereas he concentrated on in-depth interviews with only nine people, Giurati and

Lanzi achieved eight hundred responses to their questionnaire. Frey, Feinberg and Haab also aimed for wide coverage in interview, though with some in-depth ones where possible. They realised the necessity of follow-up contact. One of the key differences compared with my study is that none of these researchers actually travelled with their informants. It is true that Myerhoff (1974) did accompany the Huichol pilgrims from start to finish of the hunt for the Peyote. She, however, for tactical political reasons only interviewed one person, the Mara'akame leader. Another key factor for my study was that the pilgrimage was only of eight days' duration. The biggest challenge facing my design and me was that no templates were available. Yel faced the same methodological problem in his study of Fatima. He wrote:

The anthropological literature lacks a sort of 'guide book' book for pilgrimage studies. Everyone seems to employ a research method in accordance with his/her emphasis on the various facets of pilgrimage and, of course, the anthropologist's abilities, and the circumstances of field work (1995: 15).

The books of Victor Turner first introduced me to anthropological study of pilgrimage especially, in *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (1978). His ideas have been of central importance in the formulation of my project. His theory of *communitas* provided a benchmark for subsequent anthropological writers on pilgrimage.

Myerhoff's (1974) book, *Peyote Hunt: The Sacred Journey of the Huichol Indians* was also influential to my later academic understanding of pilgrimage. Her participant observation of this Mexican pilgrimage served as my

introduction to an actual anthropological field study of pilgrimage. Here the empirical process and, more importantly, the use of ethnographic methods were of great value to me in showing how field study might be approached. Eade and Sallnow's (1991) book *Contesting the Sacred: the Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* opened a whole different perspective on my thinking in preparation for the 1994 pilot study. I now had to look closely at the personal life story which the clergy pilgrims brought to the pilgrimage.

Methodologically, my thinking was then further developed by James Clifford and George Marcus' (1986) *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* which injected some complexity into my understanding of the subtleties of anthropology. In chapter 2 I argued, as evidenced particularly in Bilu's (1988) research, that pilgrimage could be a source of competing ideologies rather than simple harmony. More immediately Eade and Sallnow's paradigm of person, place and text gave a theme to examine empirically in the field study. The research route was emerging increasingly clearly as previously unrealised ideas were discovered.

4.2 The role of the Researcher

Coleman and Simpson strongly assert that anthropology is a reflexive discipline. They cite Anthony Jackson's statement that:

Social anthropology has that unique attraction that is *basically* a voyage of discovery mediated through other ...people' (1999: 3).

Patrick McNeil (1990) states:

Most researchers would now accept that it is sensible to use a mixture of methods, and to use the strengths of one method to compensate for the weaknesses of another in the overall research design (1990: 122).

McNeil, in commending the role of participant observer, writes that in studying any group of people:

It is the researcher's task to 'get inside their heads' until it is possible to see their world as they do. This cannot be achieved through a structured interview or a questionnaire. Theories and explanation must emerge from the work as it goes along (1990: 70)

The idea of a unique voyage of discovery can be linked to a notion of auto-ethnography. Auto-ethnography has been defined as, 'The study of a sociocultural system by a member of the society concerned' (Seymour-Smith, 1986:20). This was very much my own position. One way in which the subject of my research was already familiar to me was in my knowledge of the people whom I would be observing. As an Anglican priest myself, in parish life for thirty years, I had experience of the nature of both the clerical profession and many of its attitudes. I had direct access to clergy sub-culture and an understanding of its codes and practices. I was beginning, now to wrestle with the whole question of subjectivity in field research. Would all my previous experience of pilgrimage, and of the Holy land in particular, help or hinder my participant observation? George Marcus' (1992) *Rereading Cultural Anthropology* had first raised my awareness of the debate on reflexivity. How much of the personal self does the researcher reveal or, even further, how much is he or she aware of a subjective involvement? These were matters to ponder in the light of the pilot study and would require later consideration for the main study. Frey's (1996) thesis revealed that her own fieldwork with pilgrims along the route of the Camino had been an essay in awareness of reflexivity. She claims that she

began her own pilgrimage as an anthropologist studying the pilgrimages of others on the Camino but found that pilgrimage along the Camino to be rich in metaphorical meaning for the academic journey of the budding anthropologist. The goal of completion is in the far distance: there are many surprises along the way, difficulties larger or smaller to be overcome, stamina and resilience will constantly have to be summoned. It is a path of self-discovery. The Camino haul is a long one, with many up and down struggles along the way before the final destination of Santiago is reached. Along with Frey (1996), Feinberg (1985) and Haab (1996) all record how walking pilgrims endure a special test on one particular stretch of the Camino, the Meseta plain between Burgos and Leon. An apparently endless, hot, dusty stretch, dry, arid and boringly flat, it is something of a Rubicon. Frey, like Feinberg and Haab, realised that as anthropologists it was not possible to enter into the perceptions of informant pilgrims without incarnating herself in that same spiritual, but earthy, endeavour as a pilgrim researcher. Along the way Frey discovered much about herself, commenting 'Having made the pilgrimage I knew that I was transformed on many levels' (1996: 19). Feinberg's experience also resonates with this:

I have organised this thesis as a sort of pilgrimage. I think of my research and the analysis as a quest, where what is important is both the journey, the process of understanding, and the goal, the understanding itself (1985: 15).

Though their experience was not mine, Frey (1996) and Feinberg (1985) were formative for me. I had seen certain stretches of the Camino on motorised visit and had been to Santiago. I had glimpsed some small part of the demands and achievements of the Camino. I could see how its physical accomplishment

mirrored the academic realisation of a research study. I saw in their theses a double fulfilment. The lived experience of the researcher was very much present in their texts.

4.2.1 Reflexivity

Ultimately, in empirical research it is the role of the researcher that is vital in shaping and finally interpreting the experience of others. The most deliberately reflexive of all anthropological writing on pilgrimage is Jill Dubisch's (1995) *In a Different Place: Gender and Politics at a Greek Island Shrine*. As an academically experienced anthropologist, confident in ethnographic methodology, she studied Marian pilgrimage to a Greek island shrine. It was a setting, which she knew well from previous visits and thus accords well with my own situation. However, despite her years of anthropological experience, this Tinos island research became something of a new endeavour for her. As she indicates:

In most of the writing from my first fieldwork I was conventional. Among other things I dutifully sought, in good Weberian fashion, to separate the objective world of my field data (written up in field notes) from the subjective world of the self (recorded in good Malinowskian fashion in my personal diary)...Although I did not entirely abandon this separation in notes taken during the fieldwork upon which this book is based, I found myself frequently blurring the bounds between them (1995: 14).

For instance, although she had a personal religious faith, her western intellectual, Protestant and radical background had ill-prepared her for the mystical rituals of the Greek Orthodox Church. Consequently she felt that the 'verandah' attitudes of earlier anthropologists, such as Evans-Pritchard (1940 and 1956) or Bronislaw Malinowski (1961), obscured both the difficulties and

more importantly the richness of the material. Even more personally, in her study she intermittently told of her own physical struggles to complete the fieldwork because of chronic back pain. There are, however, interesting gaps in her approach. Though opening some of her emotions to public gaze, certain amorous entanglements, which occurred during the fieldwork, are kept hidden from readers of her book. Following the Malinowskian tradition of earlier anthropology they were the subject of a separate, later monograph (1996). She made it clear from the outset how her personal experiences during the course of the fieldwork were going to figure in the text of her book and claims:

As part of the blurring of boundaries and because I believe that emotions can be a valuable source of insight in the practice of anthropology...I have sought to use emotion, both my own and others', in my narrative (1995: 6).

In the epilogue she concludes 'I have shown much of myself in this book, perhaps too much' (1995: 255).

The metaphor of a spiritual journey is strongly present in her work. It is clear that she is deliberately exploring the possibility of extending ethnographic boundaries for academic purposes. Dubisch is aware, however, that:

Even an anthropology that seeks to be reflexive should not be about the anthropologist but about what the anthropologist studies, a means to an end, and reflexivity a means of better understanding the method used to arrive at that end. (1995: 255).

Amanda Coffey (1999) offers a further justification for consciously writing in the self as part of the research saying 'Placing the biographical and the narrated self at the heart of the analysis can be viewed as a mechanism for establishing authenticity (1999: 117).

From a feminist perspective, Liz Stanley and Sue Wise (1983) make the same point by emphasising the need to break with masculine orthodoxies of 'uncontaminated research'. As they suggest:

As feminists we should not be involved in traditional male academic routines for disguising our own feelings and involvement. Neither should we become involved in academic revelation of the personal by publishing objective research reports and then later publishing additional papers which purport to tell it as it was (1983: 60).

There is a clear call here for the reflexive personal experience to be woven into the reporting of the data. Colin Turnbull (1992) concludes categorically:

This volume suggests to me, more than ever, that there is much room for controlled subjectivity in our field technique; there is a desperate need for it unless we are to continue to impose our own intellectual constructs on the societies we study (1992: 273).

The studies cited above have helped to shape my approach to my research significantly, especially in my attempt to come to terms with the need for self-reflexivity. My thinking on this subject was taken a significant stage further by the work of Barry Kanpol (1997). Looking back on ten years of his own anthropological researches, Kanpol reflected on the extent to which he may have unconsciously been seeing the everyday experiences of subjects he was studying as reflection of his own personal life experiences. This was particularly so in relation to his work concerning educational and politically controlled settings. As a boy at school he recalled his own unhappy experiences at the hands of teachers who were dogmatically authoritarian. His school principal denigrated his abilities. Early adult life episodes had further undermined his confidence, a failed marriage, struggling immigration difficulties in moving to Israel, some of them anti-Semitic, all conspired to

make his ethnographies cynically critical. Kanpol traces how awareness of all this enabled him to move towards a position of 'critical joy'. Reflecting, he says:

I was learning as much about myself as I was about the teachers I was researching...Who says the choice of research venue or the topic to be researched is devoid of past personal experience?...One's history is tied into the research site on some conscious or unconscious level (1997: 4-6)

Kanpol's short paper caused me, over some weeks, to consider my own choice of pilgrimage as a research topic. On reflection it became apparent that my own personal history was most definitely present in my research.

4.3 Some Ethical Considerations

In this section I will discuss both the ethical factors that are inherent in any piece of anthropological enquiry and, more specifically, the particular issues which arose during my own research into the perceptions of clergy pilgrims.

Hastrup (1995) makes considerable claims for the academic integrity and philosophic strength of anthropology, arguing that 'Anthropology can make a claim to a kind of higher-order understanding than can local knowledge' (1995: 120).

Hastrup justifies this confidence by stressing 'the intimate link of awareness and force' which she sees as existing in the discipline (1995:20). By awareness, I would argue that what she has in mind is the sensitivity which any anthropologist will or must develop to the subjects of the research. By

force she implies that there are claims to relative truth which can be made in the results of anthropological examination. This force is very different from the unequal power, which articulate anthropologists of the classical 'verandah' tradition exerted over the undeveloped races of their studies.¹

Arjun Appadurai (1992: 35-44) analyses this attitude with its strong undertones of western imperialist feelings of superiority over the peoples being studied. Appadurai sees natives, those living where they were born, as being confined by what they 'know, feel and believe. They are prisoners of their mode of thought' (1992: 35,36). The assumed superiority of the anthropologist lay in a wider awareness of other cultures and in the ability to make comparisons. For imperialist anthropologists this, of course, meant comparison with European culture. More recently, feminist studies, have shown that such dangers are not exclusive just to anthropologists of the older school (Stanley and Wise, 1983; Richardson, 1990; Black, 1993; Rosaldo, 1993; Hastrup, 1995). They can be present in any form of research because the researcher is essentially in the driving seat through being the initiator of the research. Hammersley has therefore argued that:

Even where researcher and researched are equals, power is still involved because it is the researcher who makes the decisions about what is to be studied (1999: 16).

¹ The term 'verandah' succinctly describes the hierarchical attitudes of earlier anthropologists towards those whom they termed as natives.

Research subjects, even if deeply immersed in the culture, are probably not radical in either their thinking about their own culture nor necessarily aware of the underlying dynamic forces which may be at work. Conversely, however, the researcher knows that there are ultimately matters of significance, which will be revealed even if unaware what these may be at the outset. The researcher, therefore, has considerable ethical responsibility.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1999: 264) suggest five headings under which ethical issues might be approached. They are:

1. Informed Consent.
2. Privacy.
3. Harm.
4. Exploitation
5. Consequence for future research.

I use this structure as the basis for my following discussion of both ethical issues in general, and my own study in particular. There is some overlap between the issues and some of the methodological matters raised elsewhere in this chapter.

Informed Consent

Under this heading I deal also with the issue of covert research. Some theorists assert that there are some research situations in which covert activity may be justified (Robert Burgess, 1984 and 1989; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995).

McNeil affirms that most researchers would start from the assumption that it is morally wrong to conduct research on people 'who do not know that they are being researched.' (1990: 72). He says, however, that there may be some situations where the knowledge of the presence of a researcher might be 'disruptive' to the group being studied. He cites, as examples, groups involved in criminal or what might be classified in terms of dominant ideology as highly deviant activity. In such instances the overt knowledge of the presence of a researcher might exert a curbing effect on the behaviour and so the results of the research would not be a true record of the group's usual pattern of activity.

The potential for influence on both individual and group reaction is present in any research where participant observation is the method of enquiry. In terms of my own project, the concern was thus that awareness of my presence should not contaminate the pilgrimage experience of the clergy participants. I felt a responsibility to them, to the tour leader and to the tour organisers, to avoid any action or attitude which might affect the 'purity' of the research experience. A second concern was that the responses given in interview should not be conditioned by the respondents' conscious or unconscious motive to provide sanitised answers, which were tailored to what the researcher might hope for. This could be true of any research interview but was there a particular subtlety of possibility in this research with clergy? I can only express the point as a question and it is a question, which is unlikely to have a definite answer. Would the honesty of the responses of the clergy informants be affected because I, too, was a clergyman? At this point I cannot separate my dual role existence, as fellow priest and researcher. However, ultimately I was not made

aware of any concern about this among the clergy pilgrims. It was possibly much more a query in my mind rather than in theirs.

The information about my research, which I had sent in advance to the Anglican clergy of my study, did signally assist in sample choice and that was its intention. My research role did not seem to be an issue with the clergy. The possible problem was in the mind of the researcher. It seemed possible that my semi-covert position was acceptable to the group because I was myself ordained and therefore was regarded initially as just an ordinary member of the group. Later reflection did not cause me seriously to doubt the ethical propriety of this semi-covert position. At no point did I deliberately employ my priestly background but neither did I conceal it. There was no need and no point. I was what I was among a group of fellow clergy, but a researcher as well.

Privacy

Hammersley and Atkinson point out that ethnography often 'involves making public things said and done for private consumption' (1995: 267). In some fields of enquiry there is a real chance that the airing of private concern and criticism of matters of institutional policy and morality might cause dilemmas and present dangers to both relationships and employment. My research, though linked in some degree to professional practice (e.g. the usefulness of a Holy Land familiarisation tour) did not pose such problems. Though one of a whole programme of organised pilgrimages, this familiarisation tour was

essentially a one-off event. It was very unlikely that this same group would ever assemble again.

Harm

As a researcher, my main concern was about the emotional and even intimate nature of revelations that might leave either the informant or myself with unresolved emotional anxieties. In particular my use of a married couple as part of the research took forward my thinking around notions of privacy and emotional sensitivity. I had realised, that in the joint interviews Kay had tended to 'bounce' her response off her husband. Robert Layton, though it was in the very different context of a comment on a study of male dominance in the Marakwet community in Kenya, nevertheless declared that ' Although women subscribe to the male view when with men, they say different things when they are on their own' (1997: 189). Something of the same dynamic still seemed to pertain with Kay and her husband.

Another area, which caused me some concern, was in the comments made by informants on the extremely sensitive political situations obtaining in Israel. There have been political activists among clergy visiting the Holy Land on pilgrimage. Sizer's thesis (1994) deliberately treats, as its main thrust, the political implications of Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land. As the data analysis will show, there were times in the clergy tour when the

political agenda came to the fore. In my response to these comments I felt a responsibility to our indigenous hosts and also to the tour organisers.

This thesis will be available, of course, to the subjects of the research. The most ready access for them will be in the copy which will be placed on the shelves of the McCabe Travel educational library at their offices in South London. There may also be a brief note of its presence in the McCabe information bulletin, which is regularly sent out to a wide mailing list.

Hammersley and Atkinson, however, call attention to the potential hazard of 'the existence of a PhD thesis in a university library' (1995: 272) They cite the case of a thesis on 'outlaw bikers' being used by a police officer as evidence in court for the prosecution. There is no such forensic potential in this thesis. However, before final submission, one or more of the directors of McCabe Pilgrimages, as the firm is now called, will have seen a draft copy of the thesis. Any matters, of this political or other nature, deemed too sensitive from the firm's point of view, will be removed.

Any research must, however, have a responsibility to the perceived truth of the findings. That is an ethical responsibility to the whole research discipline. Peter Woods writes that 'I feel that my writing should be honest - to the research and to oneself. It must be true to the data, and to your own values of rigour in research' (1999: 53).

This requirement, however, must be balanced against responsibilities to the sensitivities of the informants, if levels of good research practice are to be maintained. With this in mind, there are two occasions where I have slightly

deliberately edited the statements of two informants in order to ensure against any hurt or embarrassing consequences for them.

Exploitation

In their work Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 273) have identified two particular ways in which research might involve the exploitation of research subjects. Firstly, they supply the information but 'get little or nothing in return' and secondly that the researcher/researched power dynamics are unequal. A significant part of my personal pilgrimage as ethnographer has been a growing awareness that these dynamics would have been at work in all my interviews with the clergy informants. I was not alert to this possibility at the time.

Van Maanen (1988) admitted that, initially, he only dimly grasped the significance of the intellectual restlessness of post-modernist concerns in ethnography. It was only as he began to write a monograph on his own fieldwork experiences that he realised that such questionings had to be taken seriously and were, in fact, 'downright central to the ethnographic enterprise' (1988: xi). My own 'tale of the field' admits to the same tardy awareness of researcher/researched dynamics. Edie Black (1993) made a similar admission concerning her fieldwork interviews in a study of postgraduate students. In a paper delivered to the St. Hilda's Warwick conference she said:

Although I was fully aware of the importance of observing normal rules of courtesy and ethics in the conduct of interviews, in retrospect I realise

that at the outset I considered myself as little more than an (almost) mechanical data-collecting instrument. The social relations of this method of data collection seemed uncomplicated compared with the hazards of full-scale ethnographic fieldwork. (1993: 8).

Like Van Mannen it was only her 'own experience rather than anything in the literature' that forced her into an awareness of the crucial significance of the researcher's identity. Black concluded her paper with the firm statement that:

Interviewing is a social encounter. There seems no advantage to be gained from attempting to maintain the fiction of the detached, neutral observer (1993: 16). _

Hammersley (1998) stresses the importance of the possible effect of the personal and social characteristics of the researcher on the behaviour observed. I had, then, to ask myself how my age, my own theological stance and clerical experience, my long involvement in the Holy Land, indeed my whole personality, might all have impacted on the actual course of the interviews. Then came a further unexpected but over-riding awareness. To what extent was I using the research, and therefore the clergy informants, to indulge, in a varied form, my own fascination with Holy Land pilgrimage? This would be a form of exploitation, even if probably not a harmful one. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) warn of possible exploitation in situations where researchers investigate those less powerful than themselves. This was not the case in my research, where those being investigated were professional colleagues, clergy like myself. Nevertheless, the question of possible exploitation was now part of my ethnographic agenda.

Consequences for Future Research

I have already discussed one possible consequence in my comments under the heading 'harm', that of unwise political comments. The other factor to be taken into account as possibly hazarding future anthropological research in the Holy Land is the access necessary for any such research. Hammersley and Atkinson (1996: 27) warn of research findings arousing hostile reactions in gatekeepers, those whose co-operation is essential for any research to be conducted at all. Unlike some research situations where that might happen, such as an educational establishment, a hospital or some other corporate body, my research had no one identifiable body as its target area. Pilgrimage in the Holy Land is very diverse in its constituent parts. These would include the indigenous infrastructure of hotels, tour agents, coach firms, local guides, site custodians, local Christian and other faith bodies, civil and national authorities. My research was not aimed at investigating their activity but at the perceptions of the clergy pilgrims. Reference to any of them was only made in the context of informants' comments. These were reported sensitively in the few instances when negative criticism occurred. One possible gatekeeper, (and here the suspicious attitude of the Israeli security staff at Heathrow airport comes to mind for their gatekeeping potential) was the Israeli government tourist office. In fact, the director of that office in 1995 gave me a short interview and actively encouraged my research. He saw it as being very useful for the pilgrimage sub-division of his department. The officer principally

responsible for pilgrimage matters took an active interest in my research and asked to be kept informed of its progress.

4.4 Symbolic Interactionism

The term 'symbolic interactionism' came into use as a label for a rather distinctive approach to the study of human group life and conduct...it has been followed more than it has been formulated...it is a down-to-earth approach to the scientific study of human group life and conduct (Blumer 1969:1).

This statement by Herbert Blumer enunciates the scientifically orientated, but essentially open-ended, nature of a symbolic interactionist approach in methodology.

Early exponents of an approach which has become known as Symbolic Interactionism are: Dewey (1896), Cooley (1902) and Mead (1900), all of whom were writing close to the turn of the C19 and C20. Norman Denzin (1992) traces the theory's origins to William James (1890) writings on psychology. Symbolic interactionism is unique among social theories in being solely of the twentieth century and is exclusively North American in its development. In mid-century Herbert Blumer cogently articulated its aims and further strong pro-ponents were found in the emergent Chicago School of Sociology, especially with Robert Park. Later the work of Goffman, Strauss shifted the perspective and grounded the theory in empirical work and as a counter theory to structural functionalism.

A variant approach was taken by Manford Kuhn (1962) who presented a strong Critique of Freudian psychoanalysis and Gestalt psychology. This attitude later became known as the Iowa school. The epi-centre of symbolic interactionism shifted to San Francisco. Deviant studies became a concern especially in a new Iowa school. The prime spokesperson then became Norman Denzin. His later thinking has moved towards a post-postmodernist approach as appropriate to the 21st. century.

It was Blumer (1969) who gave a canonical statement of the essence of symbolic interactionism. He delineates it in three assumptions:

1. That human beings act towards things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them.
2. The meanings of things arise out of the ^{key} process of social interaction
3. Meanings are modified through an interpretive ^{at} process which involves self-reflective individuals symbolically interacting with one another.

As Denzin states, 'They study the intersections of interaction, biography and social in particular historical moments' (1992: 20) This summary of the aims of Symbolic Interactionists, aptly articulates the intersections of a group of people engaged in a pilgrimage. They inter-relate with one another over a prescribed and limited time, in a particular geographical and dynamic setting. Each member of the group brings a particular biography of life history, which informs the individual and corporate experience. It is within the context of their life stories that incidents during the pilgrimage can be interpreted as 'events' of

significance. This resonates strongly with the central thrusts of the triad hypothesis of Eade and Sallnow (1995). It is necessary to stress, though, that the triad hypothesis is not an encompassing theory but more a model for the interpretation of pilgrimage perceptions. Denzin wrote that 'Interpretative (and symbolic) interactionists don't think that general theories are useful' (1992: 22) and further describes Interactionists as liking:

... texts which express an immediacy of experience unmediated by sociologists' interpretations. See Richardson (1990). This means that Interactionists' narratives often convey pathos, sentimentalism, and a romantic identification with the persons being talked about (1992: 25).

It may well appear to the reader that in my data analysis there is too close an identification with the clergy informants. That may be so, and if it is, it is both the means and the fruit of my being able to penetrate their inner worlds. I would make reference here back into the naturalist inclinations with which I have developed this study and to which I referred in the Personal Preface.

Denzin goes on to state that Symbolic Interactionists 'write about people who struggle to make sense of themselves'. Francis (1991 and (1996) showed that clergy tend to have personalities where introverted concern is a strong feature, and to be those who could aptly be described as struggling 'to make sense of themselves and their life experiences'. A Symbolic Interactionist strain can therefore feature appropriately in an ethnographic study of clergy on pilgrimage.

There is a further direct link between this pilgrimage study and Denzin's understanding of Interactionist theory. He talks of 'Epiphanic' moments and the ability of Interactionists to capture and describe them. By 'Epiphanic' moments

he means those sudden, unpremeditated occasions when events conspire to give a human reaction of intensity and life-changing possibility. Denzin (1992: 26) makes reference to Goffman's notion of Interactionist order and the way in which Denzin writes of 'Epiphanic' moments reminds strongly of Csikzentmihalyi's moments of flow. In talking of moments of 'life changing possibility' Denzin is also immediately akin to Turner's paradigms of liminality and communitas (1974 and 1978). Denzin further defines these moments as those times 'in which people redefine themselves'. This is the language of liminality. He further comments, 'The personal is connected to the structural through biographical and interactional experiences' 1992: 27).

This is the language of the triad notion.

Here, then, are direct affinities with the two substantive themes of triad and communitas, which emerged as significant in both pilot and main field study, as well as in the academic literature on pilgrimage. However, the presence of substantive themes might seem contrary to the symbolic interactionist principles, which form a methodological basis for this data analysis. Robert Prus (1997) states firmly that in field research:

The objective is to use the data as a fundamental basis for learning what is going on and assessing existing conceptualisations rather than using the data as a fundamental to illustrate (or prove) earlier formulations in the literature (1997: 43).

Despite this stricture I would, however, justify the employment of some substantive themes in my mixed methodology and I would do so on two

grounds. Firstly, Turner's (1974 and 1978) *communitas* paradigm provided a seminal theme for future writers. Eade (2000) writing in the introduction to the second edition of *Contesting the Sacred* (2000) writes of, '...the continuing influence exercised by the Turnerian perspective upon the anthropological study of pilgrimage' (2000: 10). Similarly Eade and Sallnow's (1991) triad hypothesis has given a significant bench mark for such study, further to Turnerian ideas, in the years since it was first posited. Consideration of these two themes must, therefore, figure firmly in any anthropological study of pilgrimage, and not just in theoretical discussion of the issues involved but also by way of emic evidence in the data gathered. Secondly, both *communitas* and triad suppositions focus specific attention on anti-structuralist phenomena. To that extent their application is fully orientated to experiences which are unique to the groups or individuals involved. The liminal moment is of the essence of ideas of *communitas*, the unique conjoining of the triad co-ordinates central to triad perceptions. As Hammersley and Atkinson stress:

In the view of interactionists, people *interpret* stimuli, and these interpretations, continually under revision as events unfold, shape their reactions (1995: 7).

The difficulty in presenting relevant data of *communitas* and triad experience is that it would be unlikely to come from informants in hypothesis form. As James Spradley contends, 'Informants always know things they cannot talk about or express in direct ways' (1980: 11). While my data will generally confirm this claim, there was one instance in which the informant, Thomas, moved remarkably close, not induced by myself, to the formulation of a triad understanding of his experience. Spradley (1980: 11) quoting Malinowski's (1950) discussion of this point, states:

The native takes his fundamental assumptions for granted, and if he reasons or inquires into matters of belief, it would be always in regard to details and concrete applications. Any attempts on the part of the ethnographer to induce his informant to formulate such a general statement would have to be in the form of leading questions of the worst type because in these leading questions he would have to introduce words and concepts essentially foreign to the native. Once the informant grasped their meaning, his outlook would be warped by our own ideas having been poured into it (1950: 396).

At no point in the interviews, with my main study informants, did I put any leading questions with the aim of drawing from them any perceptions which could be then be neatly filed under the labels of triad or *communitas*. The raw data, as will be seen, provided its own evidence of the existence of these two phenomena.

In terms of my own reflection on my role in the study, I am now aware that there were moments of initial prejudice that were not apparent to me until I began to write up my work. Further immersion in anthropological and sociological texts, which discussed research ethics, enabled me to see that although my insider status and my previous experience of leading pilgrimages allowed me privileged access, it also caused problems. I finally realised that I had initially been unconsciously quite judgmental, in certain cases, of the tour leaders and guides. In two cases, judged from my experience, it had seemed to me that a leader and a guide had imposed themselves too strongly on the group, thus limiting the liminal space for pilgrims to have their own particular experiences. I had to ask myself, too, whether my own leadership previously of clergy tours had at times been too dominant. I now had to stand back and make sure that I let the data generated by my informants 'speak' on this subject rather than take over and do the talking myself. I needed to weigh up their responses

as confirming or disproving my own initial suspicions. I had a further verification from the McCabe director accompanying the tour of my main study who considered that at times the guide had exceeded his brief.

One of the difficulties with such a personal project of research, as I have tried to indicate in my personal preface, is that it is 'personal'! This is what gives the thesis much richness in ethnographic terms. There are dangers, however, and it is the work of modern ethnographers and feminist qualitative researchers that has been particularly helpful in alerting me to the prejudices as well as the innate power dynamics involved in ethnographic research.

4.5 Presenting the New Ground of this Research

In the personal preface I have already sketched the motivational origins of this research from the time of my first Holy Land visit. On that tour I had kept a diary of impressions day by day. This was, of course, completely subjective in its record. However, as I have observed the Holy Land experience of others, it has made for very useful rereading when trying to think myself back into what the tenderfoot experience was like. From this beginning, as I have indicated earlier, the focus of my developing interest in the academic study of contemporary pilgrimage became the value of Holy Land pilgrimage for clergy. I had known the lasting effect of such pilgrimages for my own ministry. I now wished to see if my personal experience could be replicated in the perceptions of other clergy who had been to the Holy land on pilgrimage.

It became very clear, therefore, that this study should focus on the Anglican specificities of pilgrimage and concentrate on the experience of clergy.

Academic encouragement for my project came from the two professors of Anthropology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Erik Cohen and Yoram Bilu. They both told me personally of their interest in my research as, at the time of our conversations in 1996, their department had no records whatsoever of Christian pilgrimage in the Holy Land. They warmly welcomed my research on the subject. Earlier, in 1994, I had met with the professor of Anthropology at the secular University of Tel Aviv, Shlomo Deshen, who gave similar encouragement. As far as ongoing anthropological research into pilgrimage is concerned, Eade and Sallnow made a strong call (1991: 26-27) for an extension of ethnographic studies in the experiences of individual pilgrims, at different Christian shrines. I would hope that this study might encourage that aim in potential anthropological researchers both in the Holy Land and at other pilgrimage destinations.

A paper by Peter Vellman (1985), director of the American Institute of Holy Land studies in Jerusalem from 1985 to 1992, provides, from an evangelical viewpoint, an insight into what clerical anticipations might be on coming to Israel. He writes:

Pilgrimage here is foundationally spiritual with the hope, expressed or implied, that there will be directional impact on the life, such as will be indelible the rest of one's days (1985:1).

To biblical teachers and preachers he says 'One cannot spend time in this land without departing with a less smug interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, (1985: 2).

As an encouragement to those returning to their ministerial responsibilities he concludes:

It should be clearly evident to all that you are some of the world's fortunate ones whose lives have been touched by the Holy Land, and whose lives will be permanently different because you have been here. What you have discovered will bubble over into the lives and visions of countless others (1985: 8).

My enquiry will seek to assess whether this is an extravagant claim or whether it had validity for the particular group of clergy who were the subjects of my field study.

This study takes the Holy Land as its focus because that is where the pilgrim clergy researcher had a grounding, which could be extremely valuable for the research. I consider that ~~that~~ personal underpinning to be of value in providing awareness of likely issues and generally in the practical facilitation of the logistics of the research.

My research would not have been possible without the full co-operation of McCabe Travel. That firm is very present in my research as they gave both context and text to the clergy pilgrimage. While there are other companies which organise pilgrimage tours the particular ethos of McCabe has established a distinctive style of clergy pilgrimage. This gave a further 'text' to add to the several other agendas which underlay the tour of my study. It was very much a McCabe clergy tour which was the 'context' of my fieldwork.¹

Perhaps because of the logistical difficulties involved, there has, remarkably perhaps, been no previous anthropological research into the individual experiences of a group of Holy land pilgrims. Bowman (1986, 1990, 1991, 1992b. and 1995) and Prior (1993, 1994 and 2000) have written ethnographic accounts of different aspects of Holy Land pilgrimage, but treated general issues, often political ones, rather than pilgrims' individual reports. Bowman (1991) observed three different groups, but made no attempt to interview the participants consistently, merely reporting occasional comments made. This study is very much geared to exploring individual perceptions. Just as there seems to have been no previous anthropological study of individual pilgrims in the Holy Land, so there seems to have been no study either of a group of clergy engaged in any communal activity.

This research is further unusual in that the basis of the fieldwork was a short, intense period of eight days, with the researcher accompanying every stage of the tour. Also, it was a study of a group of people on the move, suddenly propelled from their own environment into an alien culture and then promptly returned to familiar home situations.

These motivations led me to refine my general research aim into the following specific areas:

- What were the expectations of the clergy for the eight days of their pilgrimage?
- What was the effect of the pilgrimage on individual notions of faith?

¹ In appendix 6, page ???, I give a brief account of the history and policies of McCabe Travel.

- **What implications did this pilgrimage experience have for the future ministries of the clergy?**
- **Did the pilgrimage confirm a sense of vocation?**
- **Was there value in such a short pilgrimage?**
- **What was the effect of exposure to the non-European culture of the Middle East?**

In the next chapter I shall be discussing the methodology which I have adopted to address these questions.

Chapter Five: Fieldwork

5.1 Introduction: Multiple Methods

The methodology which binds together this research process is drawn from symbolic interactionism. In the fieldwork component of this project, my research design has explicitly encouraged the interrogation of biography and the social/cultural. This has been in terms of the experiences and backgrounds of myself and my informants being taken into consideration within the immediate pilgrimage context of the Holy Land. Two substantive issues from academic literature on pilgrimage were firmly in mind as I began to develop my own methodological approach. These were the *communitas* theories of Victor Turner (1974, 1978) and Eade and Sallnow's (1991) triad theory. The former identified pilgrimage as a liminal occasion for separation from confining patterns of living and therefore as the opportunity for an experience of fresh spontaneous feeling. Eade and Sallnow saw the power of a pilgrimage shrine not so much in the embodiment of a numinous presence but as an empty space which allowed the personal motivation of the pilgrim to conjoin with the environment of the site and its textual story, thus providing a potentially powerful combination of 'person, place and text'. Turner's theory had not been tested in the context of the Holy Land and only Bowman (1991) had shown that Holy Land pilgrims from different Christian traditions would conduct their tours in varied usage of the same sites, according to their theological background. He made no direct reference, however, to the triad theory and treated it only in general terms. Nor did he undertake any ethnographic analysis of individual pilgrims.

Ideas of *communitas* and person, place and text triad were therefore to inspire some of the more important themes which could underpin my fieldwork. My research design was to focus on individual as well as group reactions. In both cases it was anticipated that these approaches would provide suitable mechanisms for delving into the inner perceptions of the clergy. The particular strategies that were employed in the pilot study of 1994 were formal and informal interviews, along with participant observation being built in at every stage of the eight-day pilgrimage. It was my intention that such strategies would allow other themes of individual and collective experience to emerge. Most ethnographers stretch their field enquiries over a length of time in the social settings of their research topic. In a school, for instance, the observation might occupy a whole term or more. In the context of pilgrimage fieldwork, for example, Myerhoff was with the Huichol pilgrims for several weeks and Feinberg (1975), Frey (1996) and Haab (1997) were on the Camino for several months. Jeffery Golligher (1989) spent a whole year on the Scottish island of Iona for his fieldwork with pilgrims visiting the community there. My fieldwork for the pilot section of my project was designed to be compressed into the eight days of an actual tour, in order to allow me to test out and refine my fieldwork techniques and adjust my conceptual approach for a pilgrimage of short duration.

Part of my research design was to contact the main informants six months later and, if they were willing, then to visit them in their own homes. This was to be a vital element of my methodology as it allowed me to develop data for what

was one of the key criteria of my research, the impact of the pilgrimage on the clergy's ongoing life and ministry. In the event, such follow-up interviews proved to be possible with all of the main informants, both in the pilot study and then in the main study. From the outset of my research design, Anglican clergy were the focus of my attention. This was my own background from thirty years as a parish priest in the Church of England. This narrowing of the field of enquiry also gave a precision to the research which otherwise might not have been present. However, the party, which I would be observing in the pilot stage of my research, contained an ecumenical variety of clergy and I decided that I would observe and talk with them all informally. The main informants were chosen, though, only from among the Anglican clergy, as I wished to concentrate and explore the familiar as my research objective. After all, as I have indicated, there was a significant personal element to the research journey I was undertaking. I decided, therefore, that my fieldwork would not be expanded to study those of other faiths.

The personal aspect of my research brings issues of insider/outsider dynamics to the fore. One way of considering the insider/outsider dynamic in my research is that an insider comes to the research with knowledge already of the field, the outsider begins from scratch and is positioned explicitly externally. One of the guiding principles in auto-ethnography is that, while membership of a culture gives knowledge and understanding of that culture, the researcher needs also to rethink previous assumptions in order to make way for a meaningful anthropological analysis. As Hastrup says:

Participant observation today implies an observation of participation itself (cf. Tedlock 1992); it is not self evident that what we participate in is the real life of the others (1995: 19).

Thus the whole question of subjectivity, validity and reliability of the research become vital issues here. Perhaps, though, it is more in the later analysis of data, rather than in the field itself, that the anthropologist ethnographer must look for a rigour in interpretation. Feminist reflections in methodological matters have encouraged self-reflective approaches. Ultimately such approaches value interaction immediacy bound by ethical principles. One of the effects in terms of anthropological research has been an increasing validation of intuition and flexibility in the research process. How else are we to capture the vital immediacy of what is happening? Painstaking description could well not see the wood because there are too many trees. Hastrup comments that:

...because of the cultural construction of gender in society, women are more 'allowed' to use intuition in their search for knowledge. Like men, they have to rationalise to produce science, but they are socialised exclusively towards rationality. Unlike most other sciences, anthropology seems to explicitly dissolve the opposition between intuition and rationality (1995: 127).

Golligher (1989) approached his research on Iona completely from the perspective of being an outsider. He had no contact with the community at all prior to arriving on the island and joined as a working member. Even though he entered into the daily working life at no point did he seem to become involved in the community's inner life. He remained deliberately on the outside of the heart of its being. He knew that he was going to be resident with the Iona community for about twelve months. His informants were likely to be there for almost the same time span. This gave him plenty of time for initial

investigation, fact finding and the establishment of relationships. He also eschewed completely any pre-conceived theories whatsoever and did so in the full knowledge that this essentially post-modernist approach was not without its perils, especially in the initial stages of the research. For Golligher, the time at his disposal in the static nature of his field allowed for a theory building approach and he was satisfied in his self-questioning that it was valid methodology for him. He saw its prime value in that:

The theory building approach disallows the analyst imposing a conceptual model on the informants and leaves them free to express their own conceptions rather than confirm/disconfirm those placed on them by the analyst (1989: 83).

On entering the field, Golligher did, however, decide to carry out in-depth interviews, so as to elicit the emic data of the pilgrim informants' perceptions. In my own research the idea of perceptions was key from the outset, and firmly set in the research title. In order to explore ideas of perception a symbolic interactionist approach drawing on a combination of hypothetico-deductive and theory building approaches seemed to offer the most appropriate model. Given the time scale involved in the whole project, from pilot through to main study, plus all the follow-up interviews, the fieldwork extended to three and a half years. Theories did develop and mature during that time, justifying my adoption of a multiple methodological approach. It is interesting to note in passing that Golligher reckoned to employ a strictly objective stance throughout his ethnographic study. Any suggestion of reflexivity is noticeably absent from his research.

The position of insider research is discussed by James Spradley (1980) and also by Colin Robson (1993). Spradley encourages insider participation as a valuable aspect of ethnographic sensitivity, but offers the following caution:

The more you know about a situation as an ordinary participant, the more difficult it is to study it as an ethnographer. It is no accident that ethnography was born and developed in the study of non-western cultures (1980: 61).

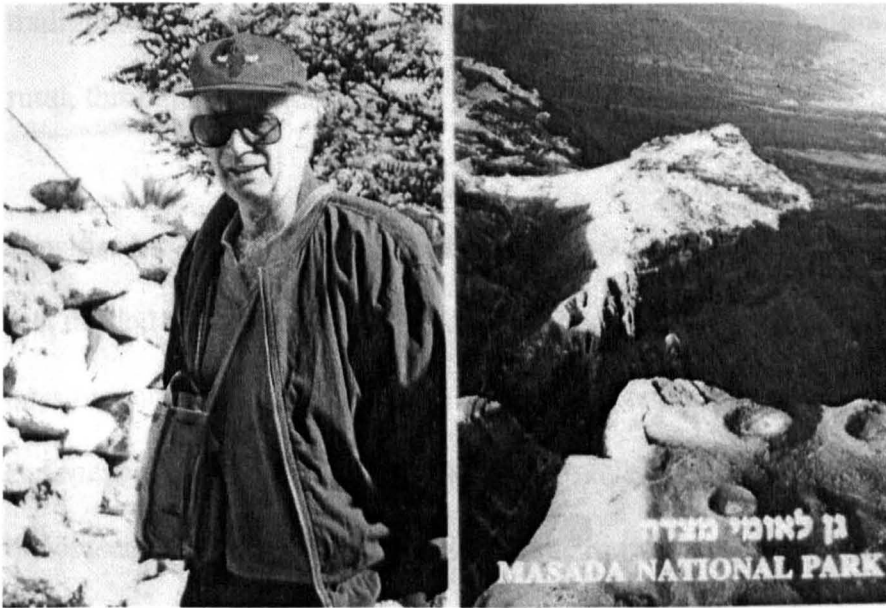
Robson, however, sees more advantages than disadvantages in using insider knowledge:

You will know how to approach people. You will have street credibility. In general you will have in your head a great deal of information which it takes an outsider a long time to acquire (1993: 298).

Robson, however, points to a significant disadvantage in relation to the situation of researching in an institution in which you are an employee; loyalties might be under strain. This was not my position, and yet the pilot study preparation revealed the potential for insider bias. Although I was not employed in any way by McCabe Travel, the operators of my field study pilgrimages, my friendly relationship over some years with the directors and all their staff gave me a position of belonging and loyalty to them which might have hazarded my independence as a researcher. Without that link though, it is doubtful if the fieldwork would have been so financially and logistically viable. I have discussed this dilemma, and my position as priest among fellow priests, more fully under ethical considerations in chapter four.

These, then, were some of the methodological considerations in advance of the pilgrimage. Having immersed myself in methodological considerations for my fieldwork I was poised to enter the Promised Land, the same land which Moses

had seen from Mt. Nebo but which he was never to enter. (Deuteronomy: 34, Joshua: 1) For Moses, and for those who under Aaron were to set foot on the hallowed soil, it would have been much more than just a physical journey. For me too, the journey to the Promised Land was both symbolic and intellectual. I was no longer tour leader; I was novice anthropologist, treading just as the children of Israel might well have done, timorously but excitedly.



5.2 The Pilot Study

The pilot study tour took place in the second week in January 1994. Six weeks previously McCabe Travel, the tour operator, made available to me, as they did to all the participants, the names and addresses of all those booked in on the tour. The party consisted of thirty-seven in all, twenty-five of whom were clergy of different denominations. Wives and husbands were accompanying some of the clergy. The denominations of the participants were included with this basic listing. This enabled me to look up the professional backgrounds of the eight Anglicans in the party, in Crockford's clerical directory. This gave me

information on age, university and theological college education, date of ordination, academic qualifications, dates of previous and current posts held. I later told some of my informants that I had done this. They were neither surprised nor embarrassed that I had done this and it also transpired that some had, in fact, done the same themselves. This brief information was enough to reveal that the few Anglicans on the tour represented different theological traditions and covered a diversity of age and geographical location, urban and rural, throughout England.

Sensitised to my role as a researcher, there were some contradictory aspects that needed to be resolved. Ethically I wished to be as open about my role as possible but I also did not want to contaminate my subjects' pilgrimage experience. I made the decision therefore to tell no one but the tour leader. At the outset of the tour, therefore, I was something of a covert researcher. My name was on the tour documentation, which all the party would have received, but there was nothing to identify me as anything but an ordinary member of the tour group. I knew that I would have to reveal my role eventually but wanted to do it as sensitively as possible.

The leader of the pilgrimage tour was a parish priest from the Midlands. When approached initially through McCabe Travel, he had readily agreed that I could be on the tour which he would be leading. He had experience of leading parties from his own parish to Israel and, although he had been before that on one of the McCabe clergy familiarisation tours, he had, however, never previously led one. I was, perhaps, more aware than he seemed to be of any possible

embarrassment to him from my experience in leading such groups. He saw no need to meet beforehand and we met only for the first time as the group assembled at Heathrow airport three hours before our flight, and as all the other members of the party were arriving.

It was in the middle of January that the tour group assembled at the airport for the late afternoon flight to Tel Aviv. From my previous tours I knew well the check in and stringent security procedures on El Al flights so made a point of arriving early and completing them myself in advance of the other members of the party. This gave me the opportunity then to observe them as they worked their way through the controls. It was not necessary to become involved at this stage so I kept my anonymity for the time being. Dress, however, assumed a subtle significance. Coffey discusses this in relation to her research of an accountancy firm:

During my own fieldwork I was extremely conscious of the need to manage and produce an acceptable body to the fieldsite. I was concerned with presenting a personal front which mirrored that of social actors in the field. I attempted to dress 'like an accountant'. This in itself was based on my assessment of the acceptable body in accountancy - as smart, self assured, confident and well managed. I dressed in black interview suit with straight skirt and fitted jacket, rather than denim jeans and Lycra leggings... This sort of self-conscious attention to appearance is well documented by other fieldworkers and applies to men as well as to women (1999: 65).

She mentions Warren and Patrick, as other fieldworkers who had considered these issues and describes how Van Maanen had to try and dress like a policeman without actually wearing a uniform, during his observation of working policeman in the U.S.A.

On this first day of the pilgrimage I decided on a subdued informality of dark trousers and sweater with grey clerical shirt but no dog collar. I believed that this choice would identify me as an Anglican clergyman, but not obviously so. It could help as I selectively began to introduce myself. With one notable exception, Paul, whose clothes were of unrelieved clerical black, all the clergy wore non-clerical attire. Insider awareness alerted me to the fact that the black suited priest was a high churchman. It was therefore easy to match him up with the Crockford's information. I suspected that he might later be valuable to me as an informant representative of a particular theological stance. This indeed turned out to be so, for he remained strictly in role most of the time with only rare relaxation into unstructured performance. Unlike all the other clergy in the group, he remained strictly clothed in black except on one day, the occasion of the visit to Masada, when mostly secular sites were visited and there were few devotions. On all the other days he gave the impression of being on duty and could be observed saying his prayers from the missal which he always had with him.

In the departure lounge I tried to identify the Anglican clergy members amongst the group. This was not too difficult as everybody in the party was wearing a readily identifiable red McCabe badge and a separate nametag. Without peering too closely I could spot the names I sought and tried to engage with some of them. Because of time constraints of an eight-day experience it was very important to use this time, as sample choice could not be left too long. Developing rapport with the Anglican clergy participants was vital for

deciding on likely informants; they would have to be asked next day, given the short eight day time scale of the pilgrimage.

Completely random choice might seem methodologically desirable for the sake of objectivity. I decided, before the tour began however, that in practice this objectivity might not be achieved by this method. A randomly chosen sample could be very monochrome whereas I desired a variety of background and personality in my main informants. The other question to be decided in advance was the optimum number to aim for. How many could be interviewed in depth, given the time likely to be available? In the event the choice was made easier by the fact that only eight Anglican clergy were booked onto the tour thus limiting the sampling range. I aimed for five main informants but in the event managed only four. Some of the anxiety about variety had been eased, as the information culled from Crockford's revealed that clergy of various theological backgrounds would be in the party. I had this evidence very much in mind as I met the clergy for the first time.

In addition to the leader and myself, there was one other person who had been to Israel before. Harry was not unlike myself in that he had a particular reason for being in the party. We already knew each other, which made for quick relating, as he had been a member of a clergy party to Israel, which I had led a few years previously. His ministerial work involved him in local religious broadcasting in his home area of Scotland. He was using this current tour to record material for use in a radio programme about the Holy Land which would be used as a means of recruiting people for a subsequent tour to Israel.

Otherwise, one of the conditions for joining this subsidised familiarisation tour was that it should be a first visit to the Holy Land.

The flight to Tel Aviv took about five hours. I had hoped in the allotment of seats to find myself adjacent to some of the Anglicans because there were not going to be opportunities for conversation except with those sitting on either side. My travelling companions on the flight turned out to be both young Free Church clergy. I used the time for informal chat with them. Excited anticipation was very evident. I revealed my previous Holy Land experience to both of them and my research intentions to one of them, who showed a more academic interest. He had been slightly pressing in inquiring why I was on this tour, given all my previous visits. It was my policy not to hide my role if it emerged naturally, as it did in this case. Ethically it would be important not to be evasive about my role with the Anglican clergy, the main research target but I felt no such responsibility to the others. However, despite him not being one of my target group, it just seemed the natural thing to do in this instance.

The short coach journey for the forty-five minute drive to Jerusalem and the circumstances of the late night arrival at the hotel, which would be our base for five days, offered opportunity only for a short period of observation which precluded interviews. We were all very tired after a long day. I learned a valuable lesson that night. However tired I felt, field notes of recollections from the day had to be written up. I had succeeded in identifying all the Anglican clergy from their name labels and in conversation. At breakfast next morning I made initial contact with them, trying to do so casually and without

revealing my intent at this stage. The morning was spent on a walking tour of sites on the Mount of Olives and this afforded the opportunity for relatively easy engagement in conversation as we walked between sites. By lunchtime I had made a provisional choice in my mind of four clergy, on the basis of my acquired knowledge of their background (i.e. Crockfords and McCabe information), but then more particularly on my 'intuition' of their likely openness of response as an informant. There was a variety to these four that I had decided on which made for a representative sample. During the afternoon, when we visited Bethlehem and its environs, I introduced myself more purposefully and invited the co-operation of these four in my research. After my explanation of its nature, and their role as informant, all readily agreed. I stressed that their contribution would be confidential and anonymity assured at all times and the first interview was arranged for that evening back at the hotel after dinner.

At the hotel, apart from my bedroom, which I felt would be inappropriate as a venue particularly when talking with women informants, there was nowhere completely private to conduct these interviews. I therefore decided to use a quiet corner of the hotel lounge, with a cup of coffee providing a relaxing accompaniment. The open display of my tape recorder made what I was doing obvious to everybody. Now that my role was being generally realised, and various people were asking me about my research, the visibility of what I was doing seemed to become helpful rather than problematic. Nor did the informants raise any objections to being in the public gaze during their interviews, though I would have tried to be as accommodating and sensitive as

possible if they had objected. Generally about an hour's interview proved possible before the tiredness of the energetic day took over. One night of the five in Jerusalem was not available for interviews because of an after dinner programme change. The four informants that I interviewed comprised half of the Anglican clergy on the tour. I would have liked to have talked fully with one of the two women clergy in the tour party but I did not succeed in gaining the confidence of either of them. They were close friends and for the early part of the tour tended to keep to themselves, not mixing much with the other members of the party. They were initially shy and perhaps suspicious of an older man like me. Later in the week they did relax more and I did establish a better relationship but it was too late by then to include either of them more fully. This was unfortunate as it emerged that one of them, Margaret, was engaged herself in a doctoral thesis in theology and was sympathetic to research and researchers.

I was encouraged by the first round of formal interviews in Jerusalem. I began by explaining to each informant the nature of my research. I had a few questions, which I wished to ask each one for continuity of theme. I was interested much more, however, in encouraging them to bring out their own perceptions. There seemed to be no difficulty in encouraging the informants to talk openly about their impressions of the tour. People like to be valued in having someone to listen and clergy are no exception to this.

I began the pilot study with eager enthusiasm for ethnographic possibilities but with little awareness of the limitations and hidden problems present in

ethnographic-style enquiry. Such problems, I came to discover, were not insignificant. Sampling choice was in part decided for me, time for interviews was not easy to find and became even more of a problem in the second part of the tour in Galilee. It was not very surprising that evening interviews, on the successive days, would centre around the sites visited most recently, as they were the freshest experience. On the first evening the subjects were the Mount of Olives and Bethlehem, the following night the Dead Sea, Masada and Jericho, and then Jerusalem, the Via Dolorosa and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in particular. I had what Robson (1993: 237) calls 'a shopping list' of some few topics to be raised and allowed space for these. The key elements here, that I believed would assist me in trying to encourage discussion of their perceptions, were notions of anticipation, surprise, disappointment and also observations on the particular sites which aroused distinctive feeling.

During the period of the interviews, casual conversations proved to be readily available, especially during meal times. The coach journeys and the time spent walking between sites, particularly in Jerusalem, also afforded opportunities to talk. Sometimes I just joined in the general flow of conversation but there were also occasions when I deliberately introduced topics which interested me, thus turning these occasions into informal interviews. These experiences of this casual activity proved to be a rich source in providing further material to set alongside that of the formal interviews. On a few occasions I asked if particular points could be recorded. I carried my portable recorder at all times and sometimes just spoke into it myself if there was something I wished to note

from observation. Otherwise it was a case of making notes at the first available opportunity. Taking the occasional photograph also provided further additional records of particular happenings; one in particular captures completely the manner of one of my main informants, Francis. He liked to separate himself out from the group and give himself emotional space. During our interview I mentioned that I had noticed this and he readily concurred, explaining to me his need sometimes for quiet reflection away from the guide's discourse.

The ethics of intrusion by interview or just observation into the private thoughts of informants was very much in my mind. I was encouraged, however, by the ready response of the clergy who were on this tour. It would be true to say that they are regular listeners to other people and seemed to be pleased to be the talkers for a change. Barbara Aziz (1987) concludes that:

We are fortunate that pilgrims tend to be so prolific and expressive in their responses to sacred journeys and related experiences (1987: 247-263)

During the pilot study I learned about the ever present danger of talking too much myself, even interrupting on occasions with some point of my own in order to expound on matters which interested me. The pilot study offered a valuable learning experience and one of the values of recording and of verbatim transcription was that I was able later to identify those occasions when I had been less than helpful.

In the pilot study the informal interviews assumed greater significance because of the small number of formal interviews that were to prove possible. Harry, broadcasting minister from Scotland, was especially important at this stage. It

seemed to me that some of the skills, which he was using to complete his own task, were similar to those of the ethnographer. He was aware of the need for objective selection of material and of the potential importance of small incidents if spotted and later extrapolated. He had considerable natural or acquired skills in inducing people to respond easily in interview. A strong personality, he knew how to do his recording work without obtruding or dominating. He was very interested in the mechanics of my ethnographic approach and we talked together with great benefit on several occasions. His contribution brought an extra and welcome angle to my research. He enabled me to see some happenings with a more objective stance.

The second part of the tour, two nights at Tiberias in a hotel right on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, did not afford the same interview opportunities as in Jerusalem. The hotel was big and brash; post dinner entertainment was more to hand, both in the hotel and in the town, which has become something of a holiday resort. Even in the best of circumstances, though, four full interviews would just have not been possible on the two nights available. Opportunities for shorter interviews had to be seized during the day, particularly on the coach between sites for the journey times tended to be longer than in the Jerusalem area.

The return home on a morning flight from Tel Aviv meant a very early start from Tiberias to allow for the two and a half hour coach journey to the airport. The group was very quiet apart from one of the women priests who now became the life and soul of the party, though not to the approval of the sleepier

members of the party. I shall discuss in my data analysis chapter the intensely emotional strains which a Holy Land tour can induce, a fact that is even acknowledged medically in Israel as 'The Jerusalem Syndrome'. I had also observed the potential for this over some years and was able to observe distinctly manic occurrences of it in two people particularly. One of these occurrences took place in this pilot study tour. The other occasion had been on one of the clergy tours, which I had led two years earlier. There was something of that reaction in the coach on that last morning as the tour drew to a close.

The coach journey to the airport proved fruitful for two long conversations, one of which I belatedly began to record when I realised its importance. This was with a non-stipendiary priest, James. Though not one of my formal interviews it nevertheless brought a valuable addition to the recorded data. At the airport I used the time before the flight departure for a final word with my main informants in which I thanked them for their contribution and made preliminary arrangements to visit them in about six months time for follow-up interviews. All willingly agreed to my proposed visit.

I conducted the follow-up visits in July and August of the same year. Three of these four visits were in the North of England and I was able to fit them into one day, having previously made a day trip to the Midlands to see Paul. I spent, on average, about an hour and a half in each home. These interviews were again recorded and later transcribed verbatim. Whereas in Israel I had been happy to let the informants talk in part about what came into their minds, now I was more directive. I had carefully read over their earlier interviews of

six months previously and used this previous material to generate conversation. The follow-up allowed me to explore the final part of the pilgrimage process, the return, their homecoming. The theme of return from pilgrimage had exercised Frey (1996) very much in her work. She had found difficulty in maintaining contact with her Camino informants, who were scattered worldwide, and could only do so through correspondence. I was more fortunate in that I could meet mine again. One of my questions to each of them concerned the reaction of others, family, friends, parishioners, to the returning pilgrim priest. I have had no contact since then with any members of the party, except a chance meeting with Harry. His radio programme had been a great success and he had since led a group back to Israel.

When I first undertook this pilot study I had only unformed awareness of ethnographic issues. Fuller theoretical understanding came afterwards and as a result of reflecting on those eight days. Van Maanen has written:

On advice to students of fieldwork my advice is traditional. There is, alas, no better training than going out and trying one's hand at realist tales. Sensitivity is required, of course, and students armed with the latest warnings and insights of the epistemological crowd are probably better off than the unarmed, provided their eyes are not glazed over and their minds shut down as a result of all that nimble scholarship. Putting pen to paper and producing a representation that is persuasive, melodic, empathetic and aimed at some general insights based on the particular is the real rite of passage into fieldwork circles (1988: 139).

My work as a priest over many years had given me experience in listening to people. It became clear, however, that the data from these formal interviews, as with material gained conversationally with others on the tour, could stand in its own right as valuable to the overall project. In addition there was, it became clear, all the information and impressions from my previous tours with people,

some remembered, some noted, which provided a rich textual layer to my task of participant observation and interviewing. The richness of possible data quickly became evident and I decided that the basic interviewing and participant observation that I used in the pilot study could also serve as the model for the main study. I was anxious, however, to expand my methods of inquiry to allow for the richest picture possible. The interviews, both formal and informal, would be more meaningful if complemented by other layers of data. Most of all it was important that my previous experiences should not blinker my observations in the main study

Overall my familiarity with the daily schedule, from having followed the same itinerary so many times, had proved of great value for the participant observation of the pilgrimage which comprised the pilot study. I had been able to anticipate what the opportunities were likely to be, during walks, coach journeys and other times, for relaxed conversations or even longer interviews. My precise knowledge of landscape and shrine interiors meant that I could position myself with maximum advantage for observation of group and individual activity. To be frank, one of the reasons for the attainment of so much on this pilot study in 1994 was that, in some senses, it was not a completely pilot endeavour. Some preliminary work had, if unconsciously, been done on previous visits. This meant that when it came to accompanying this clergy group I could concentrate on the matters in hand and was not finding my way around. It was a considerable help to be an 'insider' and it gave me confidence to embark on my main study.

Personal reflection, following the pilot study, caused me to dwell on the pros and cons of being an insider. I was convinced that such a piece of research would have been extremely difficult without previous knowledge of the field. At one level I believe that rapport with the clergy on the tour was helped because I was a fellow clergyman. We spoke the same language and inhabited the same sub-culture. Then, my knowledge of the tour structures greatly facilitated the conduct of the research. There is probably a more basic question still. Would ready access have been given to a researcher who was not known to the travel firm responsible for the whole pilgrimage? I think not. Such involvement obviously threatened the objectivity of the research but awareness of that possibility was a methodological safeguard.

A first review of the data from the pilot study revealed several topics, raised by the clergy themselves rather than by me, which were to form strong themes for theory building. Not all the sites occasioned the same responses and this difference of reaction will be analysed later in the thesis. Anticipations and disappointments form another theme that was repeated across the data. Jerusalem and Galilee had different effects. I went into the pilot study with only two hypothetical-deductive themes from the academic literature on pilgrimage. These were Turner's paradigm of *communitas* and the triad suggestion of Eade and Sallnow. Without raising them directly in interview I would heed instances of these in group reaction. Would the type of liminal *communitas*, noted so consistently by Turner, be present in this liminoid group of clergy? Similarly, because personal experience is the basis for the triad theory, no direct question could be formulated to ask about it. It could only

emerge, indirectly through discussion and observation and this then reinforced my decision to look to symbolic interactionism as part of my method. I have carried with me over the years a vivid memory of a triad example from the very first party which I ever led. This was before the theory was formulated. It was only after reading Eade and Sallnow (1991) that I realised how readily that experience of a fellow priest exactly satisfied the criteria of the triad coordinates. The data of this pilot study certainly contained material, which seemed to relate naturally to the *communitas* and triad paradigms. There were also in the data a variety of repeated experiences in different clergy, which encouraged the use of a theory building approach as another arm of the methodology for the main study. The pilot study of January 1994 proved a very valuable testing ground for formulating an overall research design for the main study the following year. It showed clearly that only as participant could any observer enter into the perceptions of those engaged in pilgrimage.

5.3 Main Study

In this section I shall discuss the planning and conduct of my main study. My planning for the main study took place during the latter part of 1994. By this time I had completed and transcribed all the interviews generated in my pilot study. I had also begun to discover different themes emerging from my data. It was my intention to use these themes as one of the starting points for the main study. After the pilot study I had also refined my understanding of methodological issues by further methodological reading. In particular it was

Geertz (1973), Clifford and Marcus (1986), Spradley (1979 and 1980) and Strauss and Corbin (1990) that informed my understanding and subsequent planning.

The main methodological issue to be decided in the preparations for the tour that was to be the focus for my main study concerned my contact with the Anglican clergy before the tour began. One of the principal lessons that I learned from the pilot study was that of the time pressures in relation to time available for interviews. Anything which could ease this was valuable and I therefore decided that I would send a letter to each of the Anglican clergy in the tour party briefly setting out my research intentions and inviting their co-operation [see appendix for a copy of this letter]. There were sixteen Anglicans in the party and two contacted me, one by letter and one by phone just two days before departure. These contacts were useful in alerting me as to how the clergy pilgrims might be feeling. Both men told me of excitement mixed with some apprehensions. These two communications will be discussed further as part of the data analysis in chapter 6.

As in the pilot study, I was able to conduct some detective work in Crockford's directory and thus had some foreknowledge of the clergy who would be in the party. A further help in planning for interviews was that the itinerary was exactly the same as in 1994, and as I had known it for some years. With this logistical knowledge I could set aside in my mind the likely best times and places for unhurried interviews. I aimed this time for six main informants as the minimum necessary for a variety of response and the maximum likely to be

achieved in the time available. The number of Anglican clergy travelling was twice that of the previous year, 16 in number.

In approaching the main study I gave further thought to the question of sample choice. Experience in the pilot study had confirmed that this must be by subjective impression. Random choice could not guarantee a varied range of informants. Golligher faced the same challenge for his research on Iona:

The eight respondents selected by me were chosen not randomly but on the basis of several considerations. Firstly, I limited my choice of respondents to people residing in the abbey...Secondly my choice depended, in part, on who was available, i.e., present on the site at any given moment...Thirdly, respondents were chosen on the basis of my impressionistic opinion of their reactions to and evaluations of daily life in the abbey...These vague impressions in part determined who I selected as respondents (1989: 102).

Golligher had plenty of time to balance his choices one with another, whereas I had to commit myself within the space of a couple of days. He had employed a 'snowball' technique by following the suggestions of his first informants in making subsequent choices. In approaching the main study I was aware of the need to try and find a balanced range of age, gender and theological orientation in the composition of the sample group. The list of participants revealed that there was only one woman priest in the party, married to another priest. In the pilot study I had failed to include either of the women clergy in my main informants. I felt that it was essential to try and include this one woman in the sample group now. I made early contact by letter with the intended priest leader who raised no objection to my participation and was, in fact, welcoming of it. He had retired only recently after a long parish ministry.

Encouraged by the experience of the pilot study, particularly in the ready response of the interviewees, I was confident in anticipation of the main study. My aim was to merge unobtrusively with the whole party but engage with the members who were Anglican clergy particularly.

In designing the main study, the *communitas* theme of Turner (1978 and 1985) and the triad concept of Eade and Sallnow (1991) were potential issues to hold in mind, as the pilot study had revealed instances of both. Other themes that had emerged strongly were:

- The need for emotional space in such a packed tour.
- The tensions of Jerusalem.
- A feeling of peace and hope in Galilee.
- Anticipations, anxieties, expectations.
- Disappointments at some well known sites.
- Excited appreciation at some smaller unknown shrines.
- Reactions to the Holy Sepulchre.
- Ludic relaxation.

While taking these themes into consideration the aim of the proposed interviews was not to seek a response just to set questions but to encourage the clergy to talk spontaneously about those matters which occurred to them. The adoption of multiple methods to extract the richest picture possible was a necessity. One way to achieve this was to carry out a comparison of the interviews this time with those of a year previously. The follow-up interviews were again to be conducted six months on and would provide a loose form of

triangulation for the comparison of the data. I prepared myself by listening again to the recorded interviews of January 1994, noting particularly those moments when I had been too dominant in interviewing and had interrupted the flow of the informants.

One of the key concepts guiding my research is the notion of liminal space. This time apart from the usual life structure, and free from subsequent engagement, is one of the concomitants of *communitas* theory. In practical ways, but also emotionally, I found it beneficial to spend the night before joining the party at Heathrow in an airport hotel. This allowed me to relax after hurried finalising of arrangements for domestic and parochial affairs during my absence. Going away for a clergyman can be very hard work! I wondered what stage of preparation the clergy pilgrims would have reached on the night before departure. The night spent at the airport hotel also gave time to check recording apparatus, prepare notebooks and above all to give a final scan over the field notes and recordings of the previous year. This pilgrim researcher looked forward eagerly to the return to the 'field' of the Promised Land.

There was no repetition of the pilot study group's discomfort of the previous January, for security was not as tight as usual. Cases were not unlocked, always a personally invasive action which can unsettle some people. Questioning was formal rather than rigorous.

In the departure lounge I tried to introduce myself to as many of the Anglican clergy as possible. I was greeted in some cases by, 'Ah yes, you wrote to me'.

My letter did prove useful in the quicker forming of relationships. I matched first impressions with the information culled from Crockford's and began mentally forming a possible shortlist for main informants. I had decided in advance that I must include the one-woman priest, Kay, to address gender in some way in the data. She was travelling with her husband, Bernard, also ordained and an experienced parish priest. She had only been ordained a short time. Because of the exigencies of time I interviewed them together. It was only later, after the follow-up interviews at their home did I realise that, although interviewing together had saved time, I should have talked with them separately in order to get a richer source of data. My realisation of the significance of this will be discussed more fully later in this thesis.

The flight to Tel Aviv had proved productive, however, in that one of the Anglican clergy, Charles, was sitting next to me. He lost no time in telling me of his adventures in reaching the airport from his Midlands home. It was quite a saga of mislaid luggage, missed coach and hurried ferrying by car, which brought him to Heathrow just in time. He spent most of the flight recovering from this trauma. His willingness to talk to me and his natural tendency to self-reflexivity encouraged me to include him as one of my informants.

The coach drive from Ben Gurion airport up to Jerusalem was a good occasion for observing the party, on their own and all together for the first time, and now actually travelling in the Holy Land. Previous experience had taught me that it could be a time of great excitement. We had been joined at the airport by

Kamal, the same guide as for the previous year's pilot study. He used the journey to give a general background to the week ahead.

I was up early next morning for breakfast, and used the opportunity for making further contact with the Anglican clergy members of the party in particular.

This first morning involved a fair amount of walking between sites on the Mount of Olives. This gave me the ready opportunity for short encounters with the group and, by lunchtime, I had talked briefly with all the Anglican clergy. My intended shortlist was beginning to take shape.

I have discussed earlier how a balanced sample was more likely to emerge through some planning rather than just through random selection. In the pilot study choice had been limited by the small number of Anglican clergy on the pilgrimage tour. This time there were sixteen possible Anglicans providing a wider sample range. While making my final choices, and having invited and received the co-operation of four people, a very real danger occurred to me. Diversity of sample was the aim and I had borne in mind gender, age and theological background. Those that I had already fixed on were all erudite, radically inclined intellectually and very much the sort of people I would choose as companions, especially when travelling. Burgess (1982) draws attention to this point and quotes how Spradley (1979) stresses that:

Informants need to be chosen for the extent to which they may represent a cultural scene and for their non-analytic abilities (1982: 77).

Burgess also repeats Miller's warning against 'focussing too much on the articulate as they may become ill-tuned to the inarticulate' (1982: 77). Aware now that I should not be imprisoned by my own personal affinity with a person

I made sure that I looked beyond my first impressions and just sought to take any opportunity for discussions and interviews with Anglican clergy members.

After a very full first day of visits I began the initial formal interview, over coffee after dinner. Once more a quiet corner of the hotel lounge provided the setting for my evening recorded interviews in Jerusalem. That first interview was with the clergy couple that I have previously referred to. The interview confirmed my impression of that first morning on the Mount of Olives where I had seen some particularly powerful reactions in the group. The Mount of Olives was the setting for some of the agonies of Jesus in his last days in Jerusalem. The Garden of Gethsemane was the site of his betrayal and arrest. It lies at the foot of the slope, opposite the walls of the old city and was the last site in the morning's itinerary. It is an area which has always endeared itself to me. I can trace my first awareness of its significance back to my early days as a choirboy when, every Good Friday evening, we used to sing Maunder's oratorio *From Olivet to Calvary*. The score was enclosed appropriately in olive green covers. My first impressions of Jerusalem were formed by those books. The haunting opening words of the first chorus, 'When o'er the steps of Olivet the Lord to Zion came', have remained with me over the years. They were powerful impressions and I was not disappointed when I first came to Jerusalem. I was, however, aware of Geertz's (1973) understanding of the force of thick description and the counter criticisms offered by Vincent Crapanzano (1986). Crapanzano suggests that in Geertz's description of a Balinese cock fight Geertz's vivid account owed as much to his previous experience of the cockfighting culture as to the particular events of the one fight he purports to

describe and the police raid which ensued. I realised from that first interview that I must be careful how I used my own enthusiasm for the Holy land.

Fortunately, the recorded interviews went exactly as planned on four evenings in Jerusalem. I used the long coach journey back from Masada for a further recording, allowing me to engage with six main informants, the clergy couple having been interviewed together.

It had been my intention to hold a second round of interviews with the main informants at our hotel in Tiberias. We were only staying there for two nights before the return home and, on the last of these, an unexpected after-dinner programme was arranged for the group. I had, therefore, to seize times during the day and did manage to talk with all six main informants, recording where possible or making notes soon afterwards. These interviews were necessarily shorter than I would have liked. Again it proved impossible to interview the married couple separately. Some of these interviews took place at sites that we visited, or on the coach between sites. As a result, much of the talk was immediately about the landscape of Galilee or about the actual shrines. This gave a spontaneity of response rather than the more considered reactions given in the evening interviews in Jerusalem, some hours after the events of the day. I came to realise that the different nature of these interviews provided a valuable variation in the data material.

On the last day of the tour an hour or so was spent aboard a boat on the Sea of Galilee. This provided a further ethnographic opportunity. I was able to

conduct several short informal interviews during this time and I was also able to record crowd scenes, which set in relief the corporate nature of the group activity as opposed to individual reflections gained in one-to-one discussion. As a result, jovial banter and repartee, as well as more serious moments, were captured on tape. This gave me a different type of recorded data that I had not previously obtained on the pilgrimage.

Throughout the week I looked for opportunities to talk with the ten Anglican clergy who were not specifically informants. They had all received my letter inviting their co-operation with my research. Would they feel rejected in any way at not having been among the chosen few? I was not aware of this but then they had no reason to know that I was concentrating my interviews with just a few. I had my recorder with me at all times and occasionally made brief recordings of comments made by these other ten.

On the very last night of the tour I became, late on in the evening, involved in conversation with Mary, a Free Church minister from Scotland. She was travelling with her husband. They tended to keep to themselves a little, as can happen with a married couple in a party. I had chatted with them both once or twice during the week but not to any consequence, though she had expressed interest in my research. Now I found myself sitting next to her over coffee and a long conversation ensued. It also became clear that she had been deeply moved by some aspects of the pilgrimage. Two weeks after the tour she sent me, completely unsolicited, three sides of closely typed A4 with further observations. This wealth of extra material prompted me to choose to travel to

Scotland for a follow-up interview six months on. It was interesting that some of her comments on the pilgrimage, both written and in discussion, were disconfirming of some of the reactions told to me by my main informants and were therefore particularly valuable methodologically.

The fact that she wrote so fully and then invited me to stay overnight with her and her husband highlighted something which was valuable to me in my study of clergy perceptions of the pilgrimage. The Camino researchers, Frey (1996) and Haab (1997) became repeatedly aware that their findings would be incomplete without evidence of what happened to their pilgrims on return home. Frey and Haab record that there can be considerable anti-climax and coming back can be traumatic. Families, friends and colleagues, whatever the extent of their declared interest and support, cannot really enter into the full emotional excitement of what has been happening on the pilgrimage trail. The euphoria of the returning pilgrims can even be disconcerting to those at home. They may well be in a high state but then are suddenly, given the speed of modern travel, bumped back into the mundane realities of routine life patterns. Frey (1996) noted how pilgrims returning after weeks or months away on the Camino had a compelling need to extend and stay with their pilgrim mode of life and would find all sorts of ways to do this. I can admit the same need in myself in the past. This will form part of my thematic discussion in my data analysis section. Considerable intensity of feeling can be generated in the compressed eight days of a Holy Land tour which might make for problems in returning to home and parish life. The three sides of A4 from Scotland, therefore, could be viewed as being as much for Mary's benefit as for mine.

Also, I was particularly pleased to have the experiences of a further woman informant to consider.

I was aware of the need for other data to place alongside that of the interviews and my own observations. As Hammersley writes '...it is characteristic of ethnography to employ a range of data sources' (1998: 35). Furthermore, I wanted all the Anglican clergy in the party to feel that they had been involved in some way in my research. All had received a letter from me before the tour. Now, three weeks afterwards, I wrote to each one again, inviting any comments or observations, which they wished to make. Eleven replied, some only very briefly, a few at more length. These letters add a further layer to my data and contribute to a rich impression of their perceptions.

A further layer of data also came my way incidentally after the tour. McCabe Travel offered me all the evaluation response forms of their post-tour market research. As well as inviting comments on the tour arrangements, hotels, meals, travelling arrangements etc., the form asked that the various sites and other tour aspects should be graded 1-10 in order of meaningfulness and potency in the overall tour experience. There was also the space and opportunity to add any general comments thought appropriate. Seventeen of these evaluation forms were returned to McCabe and then given to me. Ten of the responses were from Anglican clergy and four of these were from my main informants. These evaluations were completed about three weeks after the tour. The McCabe data therefore provided a significant objective element to consider, alongside my more personal intervention, in that the evaluation

questionnaire had nothing of my research motive in it. This was particularly so as the clergy did not know that these reports might figure in my research data. Neither McCabe Travel people nor myself, in discussion about it, felt that any ethical boundaries were threatened by my using them.

During the summer of 1995, five or six months after the pilgrimage, I was able to visit the homes of all the six main informants for follow-up interviews. Eric and his wife entertained me overnight and he and I talked after supper until late in the evening in his vicarage study. This was the only occasion during the whole of the research that my battery tape recorder failed to operate. I could not fathom why it would not function and eventually gave up trying. I believe that this vitally affected the outcome of that interview. Foote-Whyte (1982), *commented* on the restrictive effect which the formality of a recorder can have and said:

Informants are likely to talk more 'for the record' with the machine than without (1982: 118).

I had recourse to making notes as we talked, having asked his agreement to this. We had been talking for over an hour and a quarter and were, I thought, drawing towards a natural close. Unlike all my other main informants he had not spoken of any real emotional arousal at any point of the tour and that was true in this interview now. Completely unexpectedly he became perturbed in his speech and, with some difficulty, told me of one occasion when he had been considerably moved. I put my notebook aside until I could record in private what was said. It was still painful to him to recount it then but he obviously wanted to do so. I shall treat this incident at Caesarea fully in the analysis of the data, in chapter 6. It was an unusually compelling instance of

Eade and Sallnow's triad of person, place and text. I remain convinced that Eric would not have revealed his painful memory to me if I had been recording. It is often the experience in counselling situations that the most deeply felt matters are only revealed as the session is coming to an end. This is known by psychotherapists (and my wife is one) as 'the door-knob syndrome'. This experience with Eric made me realise that this phenomenon was something to consider in looking at all the data of my interviews, particularly in the more structured follow-up ones. When I started to do this, there was some evidence of this with Charles, when I visited him in his Midlands vicarage. My transcript of the recorded interview reveals that, after I said 'One last point I would ask you', he spoke at length and forcefully. This was not about any one particular incident of the pilgrimage as with Eric but about a difficult parish policy matter which the pilgrimage had helped him to see more clearly. Similarly, the second home interview with Kay was drawing to a close when, unprompted, she introduced a whole fresh element into the interview, which was not about the actual pilgrimage but was about what had happened to her as a result of the tour. This, too, will be fully examined in the data analysis.

These follow-up interviews, unlike those which took place during the actual pilgrimage, had no time pressures. I was also able to draw on our previous interviews in Israel as a means of comparison and for confirmation or change to what the informants now said upon settling back into their normal lives. As in the previous interviews I was concerned to let the informants raise points which concerned them. There was no shortage of response from them in this. I had been talking for nearly an hour and a half with Thomas, an interview

interrupted three times by phone calls, when he began to expound at length on matters which had arisen during his clergy education ministry in the months since the pilgrimage. These were events, which he saw as having been profoundly influenced by his experiences in Israel. He talked for over ten minutes non-stop. As with all the earlier interviews in the Holy Land in January the clergy needed little prompting in the follow-up conversations. They all responded very positively to the opportunity to reflect again on the pilgrimage experience. Frey (1999) comments that:

Despite the positive aspects of retelling, pilgrims repeatedly comment on their inability to transmit the experiences of the Camino on a deep level because 'no-one really understands' (1999: 187).

She reports how a Spanish priest told her that after returning he only told people about the superficial aspects because 'it's useless telling people who haven't made it'. My over-riding impression is that the clergy that I interviewed were glad to share some of their deeper experiences, not just with someone who was a participant on the tour, but very much with a fellow priest who knew the tensions of ministerial life. That aspect of my insider status greatly facilitated the ready flow of the interviews. Haab (1997) comments that the last trial of the Camino is the integration of the experience into one's everyday life and that modern day returning pilgrims have problems because of their quick return home and also because, 'for most of us we have no ritual of reintegration into the society we live in' (1997: 10). I believe that my follow-up interviews provided something of that need for a ritual vessel.

As I have discussed, on the pilgrimage I had managed to complete interviews with six informants, but this had only been achieved by interviewing the clergy

couple together. When I went to see them at home six months later it seemed natural for them and for me again to interview them together. Only later did there come a realisation that there might be value in talking with them separately. Certainly in Israel Kay had tended to bounce her responses off her husband, Bernard. They had not been married very long. He was some years older, had been ordained much longer and had previously visited the Holy Land as a student. As a result of this greater experience his comments were the more dominant of the two and she was more hesitant in her own statements.

Joan Chandler (1990) has discussed the inter-personal dynamics of interviews jointly with couples. In her research on women married to Royal Navy personnel she found a distinct pattern in the behaviour of women interviewed in the presence of their husbands. She comments that:

Although appointments were made to interview only the women, on two occasions the husbands were present. His presence transformed the interview; he altered the questioning, the women's answers and sometimes he joined in. Even when he did not speak he communicated what he felt by means of what has come to be known as body language and his reactions were monitored by the women in their replies (1990: 127).

As a result of these realisations, I sought further interviews with Kay and Bernard separately, twelve months on from my previous interview at their home. They both readily agreed and so I had about an hour with each of them. The resulting interviews were instructive, partly because of the longer time interval since the pilgrimage but more particularly because of the more individual response from Kay. Also, since our last encounter, they had jointly led a pilgrimage party from their own parish and comparisons were made between the two visits. When interviewed together they had revealed a mutual concern for each other. Bernard had been particularly anxious that his wife

should extract maximum benefit from the tour. His care for her manifested itself even more strongly now that he was conversing just with me. Kay, for her part, introduced thoughts and memories which had not been mentioned previously. She revealed a sensitivity to detail of environment and scene and considerable detailed memory of small incidents as the data analysis will show.

My own fuller enlightenment on the social nature of interviews came only as I began to write about these reflexive issues. Previously, I had regarded the pay-off satisfaction or possible disquiet in the interviews as being solely with the clergy informants. They had all, with one exception on the pilot study, seemed generally pleased to see me again when I went to visit them in their homes for follow-up interviews five or six months after the pilgrimage. The data analysis in chapter 6 will show that these second interviews gave them the opportunity to revisit some moments of the tour and helped in the reaggregation of their experiences into the ongoing pattern of their lives. In a letter to me before his follow-up interview, Eric wrote that he looked forward to seeing me again because the interviews in Israel had made him 'think more deeply about the experiences which he had had on the pilgrimage'. In analysing this remark I began to realise that I might have had more effect on the informants than I realised. Certainly I can now see that in the follow-up interviews I could well have acted as a catalyst in stirring memories of their eight days of pilgrimage. I directly affected the reabsorption of their experiences into the ongoing pattern of their lives. Far from my being neutral I can now see that my own considerable enthusiasm for Holy Land pilgrimage could well have stirred their own interest in the phenomenon. Almost certainly, though undeliberately, I must have conveyed my own relish for pilgrimage while talking

with the informants in the Holy Land. Did the interviews, perhaps, take them into a level of perception deeper than might have been the case if I had not used them as informants? These latter-day realisations came, of course, too late to affect the conduct of the interviews. They were, however, important to hold in mind in the analysis of those interviews.

While I thought deeply, prior to the pilot field study, about suitable methodology, I had not managed to develop a comprehensive approach. I decided, in line with recent trends in anthropological and sociological qualitative research, to adopt an approach, which was flexible and likely to give me the richest picture. The methodology began to emerge rather than be prescriptively imposed. Ellen (1984) has written of the 'murkiness' of the field. The 'murkiness' also constitutes the richness of the subject matter. The challenge for this pilgrim ethnographer was to draw on as many layers of information as possible. As I have maintained, my interest in the perceptions of clergy is a particularly personal one and thus, as I have said elsewhere, my own experience was an important layer to be blended insightfully along with the formal and informal interviews, evaluation reports and general participant observation.

In this section I have outlined the main theoretical and practical considerations which influenced the course of the main field study. In practical terms, very few changes were made in how I conducted the fieldwork from the pattern, which had emerged successfully at the pilot study stage. The logistics of the

two tours were practically identical and the methodology in both cases was, in part, dictated by what was possible in practice.

Chapter Six Data Analysis: Substantive Themes

In these next two chapters I present an analysis of the data produced through the interviews, discussions and follow-up interviews generated in my main study in 1995. In addition to the material gained from the six main Anglican clergy informants, this analysis will include supplementary data from other Anglicans in the party and also from several of the Free Church ministers. Unexpectedly, one of these, a Presbyterian minister from Scotland, contributed so valuably right at the end of the tour, and afterwards by letter, that I decided to visit her for a follow-up interview. Brief biographical details of these informants are given in appendix 1.

In the pulling together of the elements in these two chapter, I am mindful of Denzin's (1992) influential text on the uses of symbolic interactionism. I am also alert to my powerful role as the presenter, organiser and interpreter of this data. Crapanzano (1986), in discussing the vantage point of the ethnographer, writes:

It is impossible to fix his vantage point. His is a roving perspective, necessitated by his "totalistic" presentation of the events he is describing. His presence does not alter the way things happen (1986:53).

It does, however, very much affect the final picture that is painted. This final picture might not be so much a description of what actually happened; there may be as many perspectives of occurrences as there are people involved in them or observing them. What does it mean any way to say 'what actually happened'? The best that can be said of any ethnographic account is that it is an interpretation of events as seen through the eyes and

mind of the observer anthropologist. A further lens or, in the case of this study, further lenses are present in the eyes, minds and feelings of the informants.

The following pages present interpretations which are then subject to the editing of the author. Several minds place themselves between event and written record. The informants probably have no particular agenda influencing their accounts but that is not the position of the ethnographer. A stance, ~~even if~~ of multiple methodologies, has consciously to be taken, even there are several 'texts'.

The two sections of data analysis which follow now have further kinds of 'texts', substantive ones, which emerged clearly from the literature review as having a basic significance for all subsequent discussion in anthropological examination of pilgrimage. These are firstly, Turner's hypothesis of *communitas*, and then Eade and Sallnow's notion of the triad of person, place and text.

6.1 Incidences of *Communitas*

I have previously discussed the significance for pilgrimage studies of Turner's paradigm of *communitas*. I shall now present those occasions on the clergy pilgrimage tour when experiences, described to me by my informants, or events which I observed, could be described as instances of *communitas*. As I noted in chapter 2.1 Turner (1974, 1978) was criticised by several subsequent

writers (Sallnow, 1981; Aziz, 1987; Bilu, 1988; Eade and Sallnow, 1991; Morinis, 1992; Reader, 1993; Coleman and Elsner, 1995) for claiming too confidently that *communitas* was generally present in pilgrimages. I am aware of a similar danger in making the phenomenon a substantive theme in this data analysis. Might I have been looking for situations in the clergy pilgrimage, which could fit neatly into the *communitas* pigeonhole? That must remain a possibility but there were occasions when the category seemed to impress itself forcefully in the interpretation of the data. Csikszentmihalyi's notion of flow gives an alternative expression for the *communitas* experience. His term, 'unpremeditated spontaneity', usefully describes those interactions during the pilgrimage which can be perceived as occasions of *communitas*. He writes of cultured western minds as being hedged around with questioning reflection (1990: 54). Clergy, by the nature of their professional duties, have mostly to be people of measured reaction_x for whom spontaneity of response does ^{not} come easily. One of the questions to be asked of their pilgrimage together is whether the whole exercise provided any opportunities for 'unpremeditated spontaneity'.

Csikszentmihalyi writes, 'But in flow there is no need to reflect, because the action carries us forward as if by magic' (1980: 54). When I talked with William at his home he spoke of one time on the tour in much the same way. He used the words 'I don't know how, why' to describe one occasion when he had felt very moved.

Myerhoff affirmed that there were 'many forms of *communitas* and many forms to reach it' (1974: 247 note). Reader has argued that, 'There might be a

subtler form of *communitas* located more on the individual level than on group and community levels' (1993: 242).

The clergy group of my study had little time to find a group identity, having only met each other on assembly at Heathrow airport. It was all the more surprising; therefore, that what happened in the Garden of Gethsemane on the first morning could be described as an instance of group existential *communitas*. Bernard perceived the underlying significance in his statement that the hymn sung there was the unifying bond, a symbol of the group's common identity, 'one that was known to all of us.....it was our basic religious experience'. It was not that the clergy had formed personal links with each other; they felt united because of their role as clergy. It was not on a personal level, but rather on a professional level, that a *communitas* experience developed. There were other occasions, too, when a similar liturgical act, such as further hymn singing and the group Eucharist on the last day, provided further opportunities for such a release of feelings. I shall discuss this Eucharist more fully later in this chapter, 6.6. *Communitas* would seem to need a vehicle within which it can be experienced and expressed. It does not, of course, exist in itself: it is only a theoretical model. For the clergy on pilgrimage the necessary vehicle was, perhaps, provided by the familiar rituals of worship. Although *communitas* might be seen as 'anti-structure' here it required a structure. The anti-structure element was present in that the familiar rituals were celebrated in unfamiliar settings, but settings which were potent in their resonance. Thomas spoke of the singing deep down in the tomb of Lazarus at Bethany as being 'incredibly moving' and he recalled at home six months later 'the beautiful singing' in the open air in Galilee. William talked of singing as a

great opportunity to express emotion. 'It held us together', he said and he admitted his own tears 'as we sang together'. It was as if the safe structure of a familiar ritual provided the liminal space for relaxation of control.

Coleman and Elsner (1998) detected similar dynamics in their study of pilgrims at the Anglican shrine at Walsingham. They write:

Their pilgrimage enables them to carry out their normal forms of worship in a particularly authoritative context (1998: 48).

I would argue that in the minds of the clergy there cannot be a more 'authoritative context' than the Holy Land, where their rituals of worship had their origin.

As I have previously indicated, a tour of the various sites in the Holy Land offers many liturgical settings. Some sites in Jerusalem, such as the Dominus Flevit church on the Mount of Olives, the Garden of Gethsemane, and in the sloping hills around the Sea of Galilee itself, all seem to evoke strong feelings in most pilgrims. Elsewhere, individual pilgrims will relate meaningful experiences at particular sites which are of no real significance to the rest of the party. In my pilot study, for instance, Paul was deeply moved at the Dormition Abbey on Mount Zion. Catholic tradition identifies this place as the site of Mary's 'falling asleep' or assumption into heaven. Paul told me that the crypt of that church was a very moving place for him. His own strongly anglo-catholic agenda seemed to inform his reactions here. He told me that:

I found the Dormition Abbey moving, very moving, highly unlikely that Our lady was buried there, very moving in the crypt. I could pray there, there was something there, all that I associate with Mary, shrines in her honour, [he had regularly taken parties to Lourdes and Walsingham,] much that I was able to bring to mind.

I would term such private experiences, especially where the pilgrims talk about 'being moved', as being examples of an individual *communitas*. Sometimes it was expressed in religious terms, as when William spoke of a great sense of 'closeness to God' or similarly on another occasion as a feeling 'close to our Lord'. Charles recounted that:

Something happened for me in the Church of all Nations. [This is the church at Gethsemane] but the earth didn't move for me, but I was into real prayer there.

Others described their reactions in more human terms. Thomas said that on the Galilee hills: 'I felt an enormous sense of the kind of expectancy... and excitement'.

I have identified some examples of an individual sense of *communitas* and some of group experience. Turner did not confine his understanding of the nature of *communitas* in pilgrimage just to specifically religious activity.

Writing about Lourdes he commented that *communitas* could be observed constantly:

In Lourdes there is a sense of living *communitas*, whether in the great singing processions by torchlight or in the agreeable little cafes of the back streets, where tourists and pilgrims gaily sip their wine and coffee (1978: 230).

As the pilgrimage tour of my main study developed, so the clergy relaxed from their ministerial roles and engaged increasingly in spontaneous interaction. Charles described this process during our interview in Tiberias on the sixth evening of the tour. He said to me:

People have let their hair down, they've learnt to trust with each other, even been slightly risqué to each other, even heard one or two people being sexy with each other, in a funny sort of way.

He likened this to the atmosphere of *The Canterbury Tales*. While we were talking there was in the background the raucous singing from some of the clergy group of 'Cockles and Mussels' and other light-hearted folk songs. Previously at dinner we had all been considerably entertained. It was Burns night. About a third of the forty-three people on the tour were from Scotland, Presbyterian ministers and their spouses. Our hotel had provided a mock-up of a haggis, which was ceremoniously paraded into the dining room, only the bagpipes being missing. One of the older Scottish ministers, suitably clad in kilt and sporran, gave an uproarious rendering of the traditional Burns poem. There was an added poignancy in that most of us knew by then that he was coming through a time of considerable personal difficulty towards the end of his ministerial life, though we did not know the exact nature of his suffering. There was great delight in applauding his funny performance. In one sense this was not a spontaneous act, it had been pre-arranged and was therefore of the nature of ideological *communitas*. However, it did give the opportunity for a considerable eruption of rollicking existential *communitas* which fully drew the Sassenachs among us into the merriment. The ludic relaxation, which ensued, showed the extent to which the members of the group had bonded as people, and not just as clergy together. Nevertheless, it was because they were clergy, as Charles perceived in the quotation above, that they had the confidence to relax in each other's company. A further fact in the dynamics of this equation was that the time spent together was only temporary; they would be back in their own separate environments within two days.

Earlier in the tour there had been another instance of similarly ludic relaxation. It was on the second day of the pilgrimage, a day spent visiting the Dead Sea and Masada. The whole day was a contrast with the intense pressure of the first day when several shrines had been visited. It was ^a day of secular visits, 'almost of tourist mode', as Thomas commented to me in our interview later that week. Herod's hill-top fortress of Masada was the main attraction of the day, with its stirring story of the Jewish zealots' mass suicide in AD 70, after heroic resistance against Roman occupation. A short cable car ride took the party to the hilltop and in that short time, closely packed in together, there was a certain amount of frivolous banter, some of it undoubtedly a means of coping with cable car nerves. After the morning Masada visit there had been a swim, if it can be called that, in the Dead Sea. There was considerable ribaldry and fooling as semi-naked bodies of various age, shape and size floated or floundered buoyantly in the heavily salty water. A sumptuous hotel lunch followed so the group was drowsily content on the coach journey back towards Jerusalem. Towards the end of the afternoon a stop was made to visit the excavations at Qumran at the northern end of the Dead Sea. The chief interest at this site are the caves where the Dead Sea scrolls were discovered. These caves were viewed by the group with a certain amount of interest but the rest of the site, the ruins of the Essene community of biblical times, did not receive much close attention, rather to the chagrin of Kamal, our guide, whose enthusiastic description fell on inattentive ears. The group was tired towards the end of the day. He and our leader, Arthur, directed us straight back towards the coach for the remaining one hour's drive back to Jerusalem.

One or two of the group, however, spotted the tourist shop and made towards it. There was no stopping the rest of the party, despite Kamal and Arthur's entreaties as to the need to be on our way. It was as if the pilgrims needed to break free from the confining structure of the set itinerary. They had been following this dutifully for two days. My notes record that they were like children just let out from school as they dived into the shop. It was over half an hour before the coach could proceed. Eric put it succinctly, 'it was good fun'.

Charles was less enthusiastic in his comment that:

Everybody else was looking around. That was it, I just fell in with what everybody else wanted to do. Er--- I think perhaps people were happy to do that because we had had a very full day up till that point and I think that people were wanting some relief. In actual fact there was plenty of relief in just snoozing on the bus back to Jerusalem.

It was Thomas, however, who as on other occasions made a percipient comment on the half hour at the Qumran shop. I was due to interview him that evening and halfway through our time together I asked him for his impression of what happened there. I give his reply in full because Thomas seems to me to be making some important points. He said:

Yes, today at Qumran there was a shop and quite a number of us went in. it was very obvious that that time of about half an hour was one that a lot of people wanted. I sensed, as one or two others did, that some interesting things were going on, not least the fact that people were able to take a bit of space, and a bit of time, to do something which was fairly individual, that was buying for themselves or buying for somebody else. But they were doing it together and at a personal level. I looked around the shop, I must have spoken to a dozen or fifteen people, at various points, about what they were looking at or what they were buying, or making a comment on what was on sale and there was a sense that we were able to do this without any pressure on us at all because that was not the main purpose of what we were about. I think that events like that do actually allow a group to gel without the feeling of there being pressure and that's what ought to be happening. It will be interesting to see whether it happens in Bethlehem because the Bethlehem shopping trip will have been set up and there may be the feeling

that there is more of a purpose about it. It may not work out in the same way.

In fact, the Bethlehem shopping expedition, when the whole party went off by coach the eight miles from Jerusalem, proved in my observation to be an equally relaxed and enjoyable relaxation. It did lack, however, the spontaneity of the visit to the Qumran shop. The half hour there undoubtedly had a feeling of existential communitas. As Thomas pointedly remarked: 'some interesting things were going on'. In my notes I used the word 'buzz' to try and describe the atmosphere. It was as if flow was released in personal pursuit of desired ends. It just happened by magic, as if it had to happen. In one sense it was an individual performance but it was all very much within the secure context of just about the whole group being together in a relatively confined area. I do not think that there were any other people in the shop. It was ours. As Bernard said of the Garden of Gethsemane, 'we had it to ourselves'. If it had not been for Thomas's striking description of the scene I would have thought, in retrospect, that my own reactions were for some reason subjectively heightened. It was one of the more remarkable experiences of the week.

6.2 Resonances of Person, Place and Text

The notion of a triad of person, place and text (Eade and Sallnow, 1991), as providing the co-ordinates for examining the potency of pilgrimage sites, has undergone little ethnographic investigation. As far as Christian pilgrimage to the

Holy Land is concerned the ethnographic coverage seems to be limited to the studies of Bowman, (1985, 1986, 1990, 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1995). These, however, do not attempt to enquire into individual pilgrimage experience. More recently, Michael Prior (2000) has brought together a collection of short autobiographical articles by western Christian writers related to, or inspired by visits to the Holy Land. As with Bowman, however, these do not reckon to offer precise ethnographic accounts of the pilgrimage experience, but overall impressions. They all also have a political polemic as their *raison d'être*.

My own study aims to see if the 'Triad' concept was in evidence in the experiences of ^{the} clergy tour to the Holy Land which I accompanied in 1995. While the 'Triad' concept could also apply to pilgrimage studies in other scripturally based faiths, Christian Pilgrimage to the Holy Land has a particularly strong textual focus, in the descriptions and narratives of both Old and New Testaments. As I have indicated, alongside this biblical text there is a whole galaxy of other texts and nearly two thousand years of accumulated experience, recorded in various forms. Hymns, sermons, prayers and mediations contribute to a collection of pre-formed impressions present in the minds of clergy pilgrims. In both old and new testaments, the Christian scriptures constantly refer to decisive events as happening at particular, exact localities. This text is intrinsically woven into ministerial life and in their sense of vocation. During the tour, in Galilee, they will be standing in the area where the first disciples were called by Jesus. Strong resonances are thus likely.

In both the 1994 pilot study and in the subsequent 1995 main study two of the clergy, Gerald and William, made distinct reference back to the day of ordination in

the cathedral of the diocese where they were to serve. In each case it was occasioned by the same locale. Actually standing on the slopes overlooking the Sea of Galilee, in the area where Jesus would have been with his first disciples, Gerald put it like this:

Just as I look south, the hills drop away and it has that feeling that the whole world is there open to anybody from here. I wonder if that sense of hope must have been with his disciples, that the whole world lay at their feet and yet we know from the story that the path to the South led to rejection and death. It reminds me of an experience a long time ago (nearly forty years in fact!) I was standing at the door of Canterbury Cathedral, on a lovely June day, being made priest or deacon. The choir struck up, 'I was glad when they said unto me', and this was an overwhelming experience of excitement and hope as we walked into the cathedral.

Gerald's language displays something of a perceptual awareness of the significance of this experience. Here is a priest, currently vicar of a parish in industrial Yorkshire, basically reflecting on the vicissitudes of his own thirty-five years of ministry. Now, as he nears the end of that active ministry, he has the opportunity to stand where the faith, which became his own had much of its origins. Ronald Brownrigg (1974) has described the Galilee region as being 'The hothouse of the Gospel', by which he meant that Galilee was the area where the Gospel message was initially sown and then grew with the first disciples. It can also, incidentally, be very hot and humid in the summer months. Gerald sees something of his own ministry mirrored in that of the first disciples when he said, 'I wonder if that sense of hope must have been with his disciples'.

At that geographical location which saw the outset of the disciples' ministry his thoughts go back to the place where his own ordained ministry began, 'the door of Canterbury Cathedral, on a lovely June day'. It was like June the morning when

we were in Galilee that January. At Canterbury the choir struck up, 'I was glad when they said unto me'. Gerald may or may not have been aware that the stirring anthem which moved him that morning so many years previously, and which remained so clear in his memory, is based on Psalm 122. It is one of the so-called Pilgrim psalms and would have been sung by countless Jewish pilgrims, from Davidic days onwards, as they approached Jerusalem and its temple.

Gerald was deeply moved in Galilee. He talked about being struck by 'the sheer beauty of the place'. He expressed an almost tangible connection with the text and place:

To see the ancient steps going down to the sea, it's very likely that Peter and other fishermen actually used those steps, and feel, yes, this is the site, this is the area, yes, it brings it for me much closer to home.

His repeated use of the word 'yes' indicates that Gerald found the experience thoroughly affirming, almost as if he had been looking, in coming to the Holy Land, to find an experience of this nature and now it had happened as he had hoped.

When I talked with Gerald again six months later at his home he talked about the landscape of the Sea of Galilee in symbolic terms:

Looking from the hills, looking southward, and somehow the landscape opening up and we shall be able to take everything which is taking off on to Jerusalem.

He strangely, incoherently, links his own thoughts with his understanding of the disciples' reactions and uses the pronoun 'we' as if he is one of them. Then talking

directly of himself and his ministry, which he likens to pilgrimage, he returned to the theme of hope:

I have grown up to value that word so much more because what we experience in our own present pilgrimage is to do with hope.

He also then offered the thought that Jesus was more earthen than his disciples, and did not have the fantasies which they developed, 'fundamental point of our own experience' he termed it. Here he is bringing his own long years of ministry, his 'person', into symbolic relationship with the first disciples. They had to face frustration and failure, a reassessment of initial expectations, just as Gerald obviously had done in his ministry. He said to me 'I have been through some bad times'. Now, towards the end of that ministry, he found that morning in Galilee a sudden consummation of what 'hope' meant, 'the fundamental point of our own experience'. The 'person' of his own life, the vocational 'text' conspired with the catalyst of the 'place' to kindle a deep emotion. The pilgrimage came truly alive for Gerald that morning.

I have described this happening at some length, even though it was not part of the main study but from the interviews with one of the main informants in the pilot study of 1994. It confirmed my understanding, already partly formed from my previous pilgrimages, that the triad theory was a useful tool to explain the powerful feelings expressed by pilgrims. However, this experience of Gerald's, as he perceived and described it himself, challenges Eade and Sallnow's assertion that:

...in the cradle of Christianity, to the haunts of Christ himself, the power of person and the power of place recede against the far greater power of the word (1991: 9).

In relation to Gerald's experience I would find it difficult to delineate any one part of the triad as more powerful than the others. The personal emotion was very strong: the beauty of the morning illumined the scene and both of these facts were vital elements in bringing the text alive.

A year later in the 1995 tour of my main study, one of the main informants, having walked the same Galilean slopes, talked in very similar terms as Gerald. William, too, talked of his own discipleship and how he found a reaffirmation of his vocation in that Galilee setting. It was the communion service held in the open air at the Mount of the Beatitudes which had particularly inspired him. That evening he said to me:

I have to say that I have not felt quite like this since the day of my ordination. It's left me with an experience of overwhelming love and peace. ... I hope that we can all take back something of the spirit of this occasion and that it will move us in our lives and in our ministry in the days and months which lie ahead.

Six months later, reminiscing with me at his home, he too, like Gerald in the pilot study, referred to the day of his ordination, in his case only a few years previously, saying:

As the pilgrimage proceeded to a close, humbled by the experience, I felt filled with a sense of peace and love which I first really experienced as I walked back down the long aisle of Durham cathedral, after my ordination, and wanting to share that love and joy and peace with other people.

He then talked in direct terms about his priestly vocation and how the first vision could so easily be eroded over the years 'with the knocks which one has to take'.

His feelings about his ministry seemed to find a concentrated expression in the Holy Land and especially so on the shores of the Sea of Galilee. Again, the

elements of the triad of the person, place and text conjoined with considerable force. It happened on a hillside, when a whole lifetime and vocation was focussed into part of a morning. The 'person' was the whole experience of ordination and ministerial life. In the one older priest, Gerald, he was looking back about thirty years or more to his ordination at Canterbury and his long, faithful ministry. In the younger man, William, it was only a few years back that he had walked down the long nave of Durham Cathedral to begin his ministry. The resonance of place was central to the perception of these two clergy pilgrims and this 'place' was the very shoreline of the Sea of Galilee where Jesus had met with his first disciples. A comment by Elaine Lawless (1991) is relevant here. Writing about the life stories of the women clergy she was researching, she quotes Denzin's suggestion that the post-modern obsession with representation and simulation had so invaded our existence that there were no longer pure lived experiences, only texts. She describes Denzin's attitude as the 'postultimate radical post-modern point of view' (1991: 51) and one which she and other colleagues would question. I would claim, too, that what these two informants described to me was a vividly expressed experience. As they intuitively began to analyse those experiences and their narration of them to me, it is possible to identify the interaction of these experiences to produce 'texts', in Denzin's sense of that term. Their own perceptions of the Galilee experiences owed everything to the fact that they were ordained clergymen. Like the disciples on the shore they had left their nets and followed Jesus.

It was, however, an animated experience for them. In both these men spiritual energy was renewed as they recalled their ordination when all things seemed possible. Gerald had the feeling in Galilee that morning that 'the whole world is there open to anybody from here'. His sense of hope seemed boundless. William,

similarly, talked in ecstatic tones, 'It's left me with an experience of *overwhelming* [my italics] love and peace'. I would like to compare this with Nicholas Luard's (1998) account of his walking pilgrimage to Santiago, where he writes similarly that:

Even on the high tops of the Hebrides in a Scottish winter, I had seldom felt such a sense of freedom, of exhilaration....that day in the air and the clouds and the drifting light, I was invulnerable (1998: 51).

There was a feeling, particularly in William, of oneness with the elemental power of the universe, exactly as described by Csikszentmihalyi (1990) in saying that the experience of flow, is 'accompanied by a feeling of union with the environment'.

At home, in the follow-up interview six months later, William put it in these words:

I'm sure, as long as I live, I'll never forget. The closeness to God which was felt and the closeness to each other, to all the pilgrims around about, was intense.

Note here that his feeling of unity extended beyond his own party to all the multi-national pilgrims assembled there that morning.

Eade and Sallnow recommended that for the study of a sacred centre:

The thrust of our analytic endeavours...should be towards the examination of the specific peculiarities of its construction in each instance (199: 9).

Bowman's chapter in Eade and Sallnow's book (1991: 98-121) showed clearly how different Christian traditions draw very different conclusions and rituals from the same sites. As I have outlined earlier, Anglicanism contains different traditions and some of these variations were represented in the six main informants of the 1995 familiarisation tour. Three of them, Kay, Eric and Thomas had an evangelical orientation while Bernard, Charles and William were from a more Anglo-catholic

background. Because Evangelical belief rests largely in the centrality of the bible I would have expected that Kay, Eric and Thomas might find the word as 'text' to be the dominant co-ordinate in the triad of person, place and text. For those of a higher church background, I might have expected 'place' to figure more prominently as a co-ordinate in the triad.

In the 1994 pilot study there had been some evidence of these trends, especially with one high church priest. Here again though, strong personal factors were to the fore. A specifically Anglo-catholic priest, Paul found himself very moved at the lakeside shrine known as the Church of the Primacy of Peter. Authority was important to Paul and he described to me how he felt considerable re-affirmation for his priesthood at that place. He felt himself to have been standing exactly where Jesus, after his resurrection, appeared to Peter and endowed that disciple, in the eyes of catholic doctrine, with a unique authority. Paul had no hesitation whatsoever about the specificity of the site. The interactional dynamic here was Paul's need for authoritative certainty for his priesthood. Some time later I happened to learn that Paul had left Anglicanism to join the Roman Catholic Church.

However, what did emerge clearly from the observation and interviews of that pilot study was that person, the individual background of the life and ministerial stories formed the most powerful catalyst in the triad. Again in the main study, the personal stories of the informants seemed very often to be the key factors.

As the outline of my particularly uneven research journey indicates, while I was undertaking the pilot study in 1994, I was only discovering the significance of the triad theory and had not previously had occasion to assimilate its implications. I did not therefore design my enquiries in any way to explore evidence of the concept. Later, however, when reflecting on the data from my pilot study, I could see that there had been conspicuous instances supportive of it, ^{both in} the accounts of Gerald and Paul as described above, and also in the following experience of Francis, another of my main informants in that study. Francis told me what had happened for him at St. Anne's church in the heart of the old city, the site of the healing of the lame man at the pool of Bethesda. At some sites the best that you can say is that the event must have occurred roughly in that area. However, where there is water, of stream, lake or spring you can be more precise; their flow does not shift position over the years. They are the most authentic of sites. That pool of Bethesda can be seen to this day and sometimes, as in the gospel narrative (John 5 2-9), there is a sudden onset of flow of the underground stream. Francis had told me that he was interested in the healing ministry and he recalled for me later how this place had made him think of those back in his home parish in Lancashire who would benefit from a healing ministry. It was a site at which he found a link with his own ministry. The actual church on the site is renowned among all visitors as a place where its Norman, crusader-style starkness of stonework makes for excellent acoustics for singing. We had certainly sung there on that visit and many in the group found that moving. This was not so with Francis, as he told me later, and it was outside in the courtyard, as he reflected about that site, that the force of the scriptural text entwined first in its healing context with his own ministry, which he

found gratifying. This was at an intellectual level. Then, suddenly, he realised that the dedication of that church in Jerusalem was the same as that of the church at home, St. Anne's, where he was vicar. He told me that the sudden awareness of the common dedication to St. Anne 'had a very profound effect and still has'. Now, he was moved at an emotional level. It was not the ambience of the place which was decisive. The co-ordinating factor in the triad in this instance was, in fact, not so much even a place, but just the name of a place. Francis knew that within a year he would be returning there with a party from his own St. Anne's. He turned the existential nature of his sudden *communitas* like experience into the normative model of that paradigm. He was extending the feeling into the future. He told me, when I interviewed him at his home six months later that:

It suddenly clicked that this was St. Anne's church, and my church at home was St. Anne's and that realisation had a very profound effect and still has. I've said that I am not too place specific but that is one place that has a very positive link with the fellowship I'm linked with at home. Suddenly it did become very important. It's one place I'm certainly looking forward to going to again when I take a party.

When I interviewed Thomas on the third evening of the 1995 main tour, not far into his recorded description of the first day in Jerusalem, his discourse resonated spontaneously the triad idea. He was describing the walk down the Mount of Olives. After initial disaffection with the first two sites visited, (a rather common experience, as we have already seen, on that first morning of that pilgrimage), Thomas found his mood changing. He described it as follows:

...and then things began to change. Firstly, this was because we were free of the coach and walking gave the space for assimilation. But the second, and probably the most important was that the events and places of my own experience seemed to coincide and seemed to match up.... Yes, the places

themselves seemed to be in keeping with the event. Er.. I was given time actually to get into the event by walking and my own experience by the way that those events had already touched my life and seemed somehow to echo with the places where we were. And at the point things really started to come alive.

Nor was this just a one-off reaction, as he indicates:

But then again, in the afternoon, when we looked at the Upper Room and one or two other sites on Mount Zion, I had that same feeling. And again, at Bethany, the resurrection chorus which we sang in that tomb of Lazarus....that was incredibly moving, and it was the music and the words and the place that suddenly at that moment linked up with my own experience. I would have loved to have stayed down there for ten minutes or a quarter of an hour.

Here, in Thomas' own words, is a cogent embodiment of the triad concept. When he talks about the 'words and the place' linking up with 'his own experience' he is describing the triad notion in succinct but complete fashion. He also uses the word 'suddenly' as a description of the impact of this realisation. It was not something which he manufactured for himself; it had something of the numinous about it but the power felt was not a divine invasion but a coming together of person, place and text. As he said so clearly, 'At that moment things really started to come alive'.

Six months later during the follow-up interview at home Thomas returned unprompted to the same introspective analysis of his pilgrimage experience. He recalled that:

I suppose it happened on one or two occasions; it was a marrying together of either events or theological themes which are important to me, with the particular situation where those were the themes or events which were in our minds....and it both confirmed the inner witness that this was a particular theme, or particular event which had a depth of meaning for me, which was important, with actually being in a place that tended to resound with that event. It happened at the Shepherds' Field, it happened in a number of places in Galilee and it somehow just, if you like, confirmed that the importance of this to me - that it wasn't...I don't know just because of a book I'd read or somebody had lectured on it...that it had been growing within me and was confirmed by actually being there...and it did something just to lift something which was purely academic or purely cerebral into something which engaged my senses.

Though it was less adroit, this second statement by Thomas is feeling after an exposition of the fundamental convictions of the triad idea. Like Francis' sudden change from thinking mode to feeling mode, so too Thomas was moved onto the level 'which engaged my senses'. Though it was in Jerusalem that he first experienced this feeling that might be described as flow, it 'happened in a number of places in Galilee'. Note that he is aware of his usual intellectual inclination but that it wasn't because of 'a book I'd read or somebody had lectured on it' but by 'actually being there that something changed 'which engaged my senses'.

Whereas Turner saw *communitas* as a group experience I see it equally possible as an individual phenomenon. Thomas related his sense of elation solely to himself and makes here no mention of his feelings in relation to the other clergy pilgrims. Perhaps it would be true to say that Sallnow and Eade's paradigm, while potentially applicable to a group reaction, is particularly relevant to the individual experiences of Pilgrims. Thomas explicated further how the personal agenda taken to the Holy Land is looking for consummation, as he states:

...when the images you take with you, the kind of treasures that you take with you are echoed in where you are and in what you see.

Dr. Johnson wrote in much the same vein about the strong personal agenda which travellers take with them on their journeys, though he was commenting on books of travel when he said:

They will be good in proportion to what a man has previously in his mind; his knowing what to observe; his power of contrasting one mode of life with another. As the Spanish proverb says, 'He who would bring home the wealth of the Indies, must carry the wealth of the Indies with him". Quoted by Eric Newby (1986: 15).

As informant, Thomas is his own data analyst, in his ability to make connections between his previous experiences and what he witnessed and felt in the Holy Land. Dr. Johnson talked about 'carrying the wealth of the Indies with him'. Thomas used the word 'treasures' to describe 'the images you take with you'. In the interview with me six months after the pilgrimage he was able to make considered connections in his mind, which are strongly redolent of the language of the triad theory. He both experienced the essential heart of the triad and in large part explained its significance.

Kay, another of my informants who linked her personal story with her perception of the Holy Land, did not have the academic background of Thomas. Her faith seemed to me to be more intuitive and less reasoned. She too had a very powerful experience in Jerusalem which could be seen as fulfilling the basic tenets of the triad model. When I interviewed her at home, five months after the pilgrimage, she recalled the immense emotional pain which she had experienced in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Earlier that day in Jerusalem she had met, by chance, the man who had been her employer some years previously at the time of her first husband's tragic death. She knew that he was on a visit to Jerusalem with his wife but it was still a shock to meet him. As she explained:

...And there was that incident with the guard and the orthodox priest not allowing us to go to the foot of the cross, to the step to sing and there was a tremendous....I had a very great sense of rejection at that point of not being allowed to do this....and thinking about it afterwards the gentleman that I'd met had been my boss when my first husband committed suicide, and there had been a tremendous sense of rejection when he had died...and I think what happened to me at that time, at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was a sense of that rejection at my husband's death and my husband had travelled a lot, so in some ways I was travelling in his footsteps. Knew that he had been to the Church of

the Holy sepulchre so that was in some ways a very important moment for me....it was a very strange day of rejection, unbelief in a way, crowds, noise. In some ways maybe it was Good Friday all over again. Maybe it was my Good Friday. The next morning we got up early and went to the Holy Sepulchre, it's actually making me cry now, it was a sort of resurrection actually going there to the tomb. We were actually the fourth ones to go in....so it was a strange day.

Here the dominant co-ordinate is undoubtedly the person and her grievously sad story. This story was brought fully into her consciousness by the chance meeting with her former employer. A further incident induced the growing distress.

'Rejection' is the keyword. The unwelcoming nature of the Holy Sepulchre church, as it can so readily seem to pilgrims, in Kay's perception conspired with her intensely personal feeling of rejection. The secular guard and the Orthodox priest were only fulfilling their prescribed roles in controlling the pressing crowds in the Calvary chapel of the church. People were queuing to have their individual turn at kneeling at the round aperture, marked by a silver surround, where the cross of Christ is claimed to have been placed. I did not witness Kay's attempt to approach this spot but I suspect that she was held back merely to take her turn. I had observed this happening with other pilgrims minutes earlier. What was, in fact, a delay, which would have signified little to other people, was interpreted personally by Kay. My notes record that it was a chilly day and that all the group was showing signs of tiredness by the time, well on in the afternoon, that we reached the Church of the Holy Sepulchre after walking along the Via Dolorosa. The context for this event was therefore also the agony of Jesus. When Kay goes on to say, in relation to her dead husband that, 'in some ways I was travelling in his footsteps' there is a treble resonance in her words because she had been walking 'in the footsteps of Jesus', a phrase often used to describe that walk along the Via Dolorosa. That very name is weighty with grief. She had met, by chance, her boss

and this had put her back into the time frame of her husband's death. She knew that her husband had once stood where she now was. How close to his death this was she did not reveal but various times all seemed to come together in a confusion of agony. She recounted later in the evening of that day, that she had been feeling physically chilled as the day progressed as if even the weather conspired against her. It was the middle of the afternoon when we came to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Because all pilgrims trace much the same route, exact to a few yards, she could fairly accurately say 'I was walking in his footsteps.' The painful recall of his suicide and the strong sense of rejection which it had caused in her, found common identity in her experience that afternoon in the Church in which the Lord of her faith had felt himself rejected. The text of the Passion narrative ... 'My God, My God, why have you forsaken me?', (Matthew 27:46, Mark 15:34) met with her person in its tragedy and conjoined with the place that seemed to her a hostile environment. The place had a double context. It was the place of the suffering of Jesus, where he had walked to His end, but it was also the place where her former husband had walked. Was she wondering how he might have been feeling when he was there? It would seem that it was this human association, rather than the divine connotation, which was the catalyst for the powerful emotion experienced. It was his rather than His steps which created the liminal moment.

Coleman and Elsner (1995: 200-205) take issue with Eade and Salnow's claim that 'the sacred embodied in pilgrimage sites' becomes a 'religious void', 'a vessel into which pilgrims devoutly pour their hopes, prayers and aspirations'. Coleman and Elsner would want there to be rather more place for theophanies, of various sorts,

than Eade and Sallnow allow. However, in this instance of Kay's agony in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, it would seem most likely that it was the human experience rather than the divine, which illumined the whole saga. Undoubtedly a similar emotional reaction might have happened for Kay in a church back at home. However, the fact is that it happened in Jerusalem, in the heightened atmosphere of a pilgrimage and in the hallowed atmosphere of the central shrine of Christendom, the person, place and text revealing themselves as strong co-ordinates. Kay's own perception was of a profound sense of abandonment. Her personal agony even seemed to push the agony of Jesus into the background as she identified with it, 'Maybe it was my Good Friday'. The crucifixion part of the text of the place entirely inflamed her deep sense of cruel abandonment. She described that day of anguish in theological terms, 'In some ways it was Good Friday all over again' and then added poignantly, '...perhaps it was my Good Friday'.

Kay and her relatively new husband, Bernard, were among the Anglican clergy who went early the following morning, Sunday, back to the Holy Sepulchre. At that time there were no crowds and the atmosphere was much more that of a place of worship. The different Christian churches, which share the church, were holding their Sunday liturgies. The day before the suffering of crucifixion was dominant, now in the early morning the resurrection theme seemed more present. However a year later, and eighteen months after the pilgrimage, when I was able to interview her again, this time not in her priest husband's presence, Kay was again tearful as she recalled that early morning visit, 'I don't know why I'm crying...it's just so moving'. She had remembered that 'we were actually the fourth ones to go in'. She

was talking here about the central shrine in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the actual traditional site of the sepulchre itself, the burial chamber of Jesus. In the early morning, just after 6 a.m., it would have been quiet and rather dark. H.V. Morton (1936), *described* that shrine as he found it in the early thirties. He wrote:

It was cool and dark. Small wicks, burning in glasses of olive oil, pricked the darkness. Brazen lamps, hanging on chains, also held these little tongues of flame. In the Rotunda there was silence. On the marble floor before the tomb of Christ, a peasant woman was kneeling in prayer. Here was no one else (1936: 5).

Today the setting remains much the same as Morton described.

Outstandingly though, at home six months later, Kay recalled one small fact of that Sunday morning, to my mind highly significantly, which had not been mentioned in either of the previous interviews. There had been a blackbird singing in the courtyard of the church as they came out. She told me:

I fell to wondering if Jesus would have heard a bird singing on that first Easter morning. That's probably what made me cry, then...and now.

Her pain was very visible as we sat in her vicarage. Kay had found significance in the fact that they were the fourth ones that morning to enter into the recesses of the tomb, as if to suggest identification with the women of the Gospel narratives, who were early at the tomb of Jesus¹.

She found a scripturally based link between the gospel narrative and herself. There follows, however, something very earthed in the feminine sensitivity of Kay

¹ The gospel writers differ in their details as to which these women were, except that all agree that Mary Magdalene was one of them.

herself. She fell to thinking about whether Jesus would have heard a bird on that first Easter morning. Theologically, of course, this begs all sorts of questions about the nature of the resurrection body of Jesus. Kay, from her evangelical stance, would have inclined towards a literalist interpretation; her husband, Bernard, would most likely have been much more academically slanted in his thinking, as at various other times he reflected in a more radically inclined manner. It is significant that it was eighteen months on that Kay told me about hearing a bird and revealed her thoughts on that bird song. There had been no mention of that bird in joint interview in Jerusalem, nor six months later when I interviewed her and her husband together in their own home. Eighteen months on the interview was with her on her own. Was it too tender a memory to reveal in his presence or too literalist to gain his approval? On her own she was generally more free in what she said. Was there something of a resurrection reassurance for Kay in the song of that bird? It is at such times that the researcher is privileged in entering into someone else's most poignant feelings. If the root paradigm of Calvary was Kay's own experience, was some small part of the paradigmatic resurrection also hers as she emerged from the church of the Holy Sepulchre into the sunlit courtyard and heard the bird singing? It had certainly stayed in her memory, as if a small token of deep significance, taking her back in her mind to the first Easter morning, almost as if the incident had some cathartic effect for her grief.

Though she talked in a very different way, Kay, like Thomas, had been expressing her experiences in terms of the language of the triad of co-ordinates of person, place and text. The text in these instances described by the three main study informants, as with the occasions cited from the pilot study, was a specifically Christian one, that of a gospel narrative.

Reader (1993) records that several of the secular pilgrimage examples given by the contributors to that co-edited book also show lasting benefits from such emotional blood-letting:

Going to special places at particular times and sharing in an emotional outpouring along with countless others, (as with Elvis fans at Graceland, the Serbs both mourning and celebrating their communal identity at Kosovo, and Liverpoolians doing the same at Anfield) provides an emotional outlet and cathartic solution to psychological suffering and needs that may not adequately be dealt with by other means (1993: 230).

He is talking here of group experience on a big scale, such as after the Hillsborough football crowd tragedy but he also cites the experience of individuals visiting war graves. Reader likens such emotional healings to the lasting strength and ongoing grace which mediaeval shrines obviously afforded their devotees and sees powerful secular rituals in operation.

It was in a ritual at a secular site that a further example of a triad occurred with another of the clergy informants in my 1995 main study. The place was a site of ludic relaxation. The text was a secular one and really very brief, barely a text even. During the pilgrimage Eric told me nothing about what had happened for him. It was only six months later, when I made a follow-up interview with him at his home, that he told me what had occurred.

The personal story was again, as with Kay, a deeply tragic one. We have already noted that Reader (1993) marked the potential liminal power of secular pilgrimage sites to heal emotional traumas. Eric was the most controlled and cerebral, of my main informants, being a scientist by earlier profession. He admitted to me that his journey from atheism to faith and subsequent ordination was a surprise to himself

and a considerable shock to his parents. Right at the outset of the 1995 tour he had shown an empathetic interest in my research. He had been a research student in his days as a scientist, acquiring a PhD. in chemistry, and this experience seemed to interest him in the theory of what I was doing.

My two interviews with him on the tour had both been recorded whilst on longish coach journeys, one on the way back to Jerusalem from the Dead Sea and the other as we journeyed north to Galilee. They took a shape and style unlike any of the others, being much more conversational in tone with less direct questioning by me than in the other interviews. Their content, too, had ideas not found elsewhere.

There were two points at which a triadic conjoining began to develop but they were both of a scholastic nature, in the relationship of the histories of places with his own academic interests. Whereas my other informants usually moved quickly to personal reactions of feelings, Eric talked in much more detached terms. Right at the start of the first coach interview, in response to my question, 'After forty-eight hours in the Holy Land what are your impressions?' He responded:

One reflective comment would be that what you make of Jerusalem will depend on what you make of your life before.

As he says himself this is reflective comment and gives a theoretical response where I had been expecting something much more personal. Later in the same interview he said:

As it happens I've been studying biblical texts of pilgrimage for some time, particularly the psalms. It's not planned this way by me, but I've been looking at the pilgrimage psalm 130, and obviously fascinated to see what is described in that psalm. Jerusalem for instance, and things of this sort which again you've

read about, but actually seeing, that one's read about but also reflected upon. Gethsemane, one knows that this is so, but actually seeing it also re-inforces it.

Here, his instant reaction is decidedly academic. It is important to note that at no time on the tour did Eric appear to reveal any deep feelings. As far as I was able to judge this was not so for just above every other member of the forty strong party. This made it all the more surprising^{on} the one occasion when, some five months later, he talked to me in a deeply moving way. Although he was an affable man in company he seemed to me not a person accustomed to sharing matters of personal emotion. He was close to my own age and we had both come to ordination after other careers. We had both spent several years in parish ministry. I found his company easy and something of a bond grew up between us on the tour. I probably became too 'native' with him but I believe that the warm relationship_x which we established_x facilitated the revelation which he made to me in my follow-up interview in his vicarage five months later. When I rang up to ask to come and interview him at home_x I was pleased that he invited me to stay overnight at his vicarage home. A very pleasant evening was spent_x over supper with him and his wife, after which he and I adjourned to his study. There was one further fact, which I am inclined to believe, had a decided effect on the course of the actual interview and its completely unexpected culmination.

That night in his study was the only time that, despite all my efforts, my portable recording apparatus could not be made to work [Later I discovered that I had a faulty tape]. Eventually I gave up trying, and we just chatted as we sat in his study. The same easy process of conversation struck up as it had in my interviews with him in the Holy Land. The formal taking of notes while we talked did not seem

appropriate and so I had to rely on my recollections for the written notes made afterwards. He talked at some length about the plans taking shape for the pilgrimage party to Israel which he would lead the following year. He said how much he looked forward to leading his party, which would have much more ethnic variety, for such was the nature of his parish. He showed me the ceramic paten and chalice, which he had purchased in Galilee, and which he had since used in his own church for communion services on more than one occasion. He had photographed the paten with its symbol of loaves and fishes and made this photograph the front cover one month of his parish magazine. He talked about the leader of our tour, Arthur, and the quietly confident style which had given so much to the party. We had been talking for over an hour and seemed to be drawing to a natural close when he suddenly started to recount a specific memory of the January tour five months earlier.

The occasion for what he told me was the visit to the restored Roman amphitheatre on the Mediterranean coast at Caesarea. My notes recorded that morning as a pleasant, relaxed interlude on the coach journey north to Galilee after five tiring days in Jerusalem. There seemed to be relief with some of the party that we were moving from the pressures of Jerusalem towards what was expected to be the less intense atmosphere of Galilee. Caesarea was a place of great importance in the history of the early church. St Paul particularly knew it as a staging post for his voyages and the Bishopric of Caesarea had considerable influence in the third and fourth centuries. However, it is not a site, in my experience, ever to arouse any real religious excitement with pilgrims, even among the clergy of the groups which I had led. The group seemed just to enjoy being by the sea, paddling even, climbing

on the Roman aqueduct and perambulating unhurriedly through the ruins of the old harbour city. The amphitheatre there has the splendid backcloth of the blue-green Mediterranean. Though we did gather for a short while for a biblical reading about Paul (Acts 10: 24-36) and prayers were taken there, it was certainly a relaxed attitude which prevailed on the day we were there in January 1995.

The day was fine and warm. As is common practice with groups at Caesarea, the party all climbed to the highest rows of the restored amphitheatre. One of the party was deputed to stand below on the stage and declaim. The point was to demonstrate the remarkable acoustics of a Roman amphitheatre. This practice has become something of a ritual with visiting groups. This secular ritual proved remarkably traumatic for Eric. One of our Scottish ministers, something of a joker in the party, was pressed into service here and the acoustic demonstration was duly achieved and raucously acclaimed by the rest of the group. After about ten minutes the group dispersed, mostly to the conveniently placed toilets, before returning to the coach. I had noted at the time that Eric separated himself from the group. This did not particularly surprise me as people sometimes did this. It was unusual for him though, for he was naturally gregarious. Only six months later did he tell me, late in the evening, what had been happening for him at Caesarea, a place never previously, or subsequently in my experience, to occasion emotion. He told me that he had needed to remove himself from the group to recover his composure. What he then recounted was as follows. Some six months previously, an Indian woman from his congregation had been murdered in a nasty, racial incident. At one time, in his west London parish of ethnic mix, such attacks, as he told me, were all too frequent. Latterly they had become much more rare, hence the greater the

shock of this murder. The victim was a part-time actress and so it was only to be expected that, when she had visited the Holy Land the previous year with her husband in a group from a neighbouring church, she had been the one prevailed upon to declaim from the stage at Caesarea. Eric knew this. The full horror of the death of that parishioner, and more than a parishioner, something of a friend, had come bursting back in on Eric as he sat among a cavalier group of pilgrims that morning in the same amphitheatre. It was not surprising that he had to go off quietly and find some sort of solace.

The story was a uniquely personal one, the text that of a small re-enacted drama of stage declamation, the place a setting for heroic tragedies in Roman times and now, almost to an inch or so, the exact spot where his murdered friend had stood.

As stated earlier in this chapter Coleman and Elsner (1995: 202) find a weakness in Eade and Sallnow's restricted statement of the triad hypothesis. Coleman and Elsner suggest that the triad theory could be followed up by looking at instances where the triad elements are 'evident in many other forms of ritual'. The experience of Eric at the secular ritual at Caesarea would seem to be one such instance.

Chapter seven Data Analysis: Emergent Themes

As I outlined earlier, in this chapter I will present a discussion of my data in relation to texts and themes that emerged from the process of research itself rather than just, a priori, from the literature review.

Van Maanen (1988) identifies three particular styles of ethnographic tales, which he terms 'realist', 'confessional' and 'impressionist'. By 'realist' he means an account which purports to give no place to the personality of the author (1988: 46). The authority of the ethnographer, in training and experience, is reckoned to give an authority to the text as an accurate picture of the events described. A studied neutrality is optimistically assumed to characterise the realist tale.

A 'confessional' tale is much less assured of the author's omnipotence. In fact it reveals, as Van Maanen stresses, the fact that 'ethnographic writing is anything but a straightforward, unproblematic descriptive or interpretative task based on an assumed Doctrine of Immaculate perception' (1988: 73). No neutrality is claimed. The author deliberately introduces his or her personality and admits its bearing on the narrative. The reader is introduced to the ethnographic journey of the author, with all its uncertainties, turnings and meandering avenues.

The term 'impressionist tales' is, of course, drawn from art historians. Impressionist art tries to capture the moment of a scene as experienced by the artist. As Van Mann writes, 'the attempt is to invoke an open participatory sense in the viewer' (1988: 101). Impressionist tales leave something to the imagination of the readers, inviting them to share in the scene. These tales do not rely on interpretation as much as do the other two genres.

It is the latter two types that figure in the following representation of the data. Two sections are deliberately impressionist, describing particular short parts of the pilgrimage in graphic form. These are the descriptions of the first morning and then of the group Eucharist towards the end of the tour. They consist largely of my own observations, with occasional comments from the informant participators. The other ten sections rely mostly on the perceptions of the main informants as conveyed to me in interview. I begin now with one of these, which examines the expectations and apprehensions of the clergy pilgrims before the tour began. There then follow two sections which give full descriptions of two particular times during the pilgrimage. I then complete this section of data analysis under seven different theme headings.

7.1 Expectations and Apprehensions

Michael Harbsmeier (1986) examines historically written accounts of pilgrims with the intention of giving insights into the perceptions of pilgrims during their journeys. One of the pilgrims whose Holy Land experience Harbsmeier dissects is Felix Fabri, the monk from Ulm, who had the unusual distinction, for mediaeval pilgrims, of making two journeys to the Holy Land. His first visit in 1480 had been very disappointing, being poorly organised by the Venetian sea captain responsible and then cut short by the pressing time schedule of the return sea voyage. Fabri was determined to go again and managed to do so as chaplain to a wealthy entourage. He determined to complete a full diary of this second journey and looked forward to it expectantly. Harbsmeier points out that most pilgrims' diaries are just dull travelogue accounts of places visited. Fabri is different in that his account captures the inner feelings of what it meant to be doing the journey. As Harbsmeier states:

Felix Fabri privileges the dramatic tension itself: the farewell mood as he takes his leave of those closest to him at the convent of Ulm, the longing and anticipation in Venice and on board ship, the joyous surge at the sight of Jaffa harbour (1986: 69).

Fabri's ethnographic record vividly catches a pilgrim's anticipations. One of the few direct questions which I asked my six informants in interview

concerned their feelings before coming away. William told me that he had always wanted to come to see the Holy Land sites. Like all clergy, and many lay pilgrims as well, the names of the main Holy Land sites would have been well known to him for years, since childhood even. During his fourteen years of ministry the names such as Bethlehem, Nazareth, the Mount of Olives, Galilee for example, would have been read about, sung about, and preached about, the biblical narratives associated with them being very well known. Now these places were to be visited.

This clergy tour took place soon after Christmas. William had obviously been very much aware, during the Christmas period, of what he was going to be doing in the New Year for he told me:

I had said to my parishioners from the pulpit, the Sunday before I came away, that it was difficult to read any of the Christian Gospels without thinking about this tour, particularly the Annunciation you know, thinking of Bethlehem, and the birth of our Lord and then the presentation in the Temple...the reading in church for the last Sunday before coming on pilgrimage, the reading from the Gospel where Jesus called his first disciples at the Sea of Galilee...very strong feelings in my own mind at reading the Gospel, very soon I am to visit these places, and in a sense that in itself, you know, really made me think about the Gospel.

In this short catalogue William is following the sequence of the texts set in the Anglican liturgical calendar for December and early January. For example, the Gospel reading at the Eucharist on Advent Sunday would have been St. Luke's narrative of the Annunciation to Mary at Nazareth.

Then would have come Christmas day and all its thoughts of Bethlehem, to be followed by the Presentation of Christ in the Temple as the reading set for the Sunday after Christmas. Doubtless, Epiphany, with its story of the wise men would then have followed, though William does not mention that. His ecclesiastical training and practice was in the more catholic, liturgical tradition and he would have followed a liturgical observance in his parish. Its sequence clearly coloured his preparatory thoughts before the pilgrimage. On the Sunday immediately before he came away, when William had said to his parishioners that 'it was difficult to read any of the gospels without thinking about this tour', the gospel set for that day had been the account of Jesus calling his first disciples at the Sea of Galilee. The narrative is dramatically direct and brief. Its application in the minds of those hearing it, or in William's case reading it and then possibly preaching about it, would almost certainly be a call to consider one's own level of discipleship. William, throughout the interviews, showed himself to be a priest of sensitive devotion to his calling. The fact that he was about to visit that Sea of Galilee had caused 'very strong feelings' in his mind and that 'in itself, you know, really made me think about that gospel'. The impending tour, even before it had started, had fused significantly with his life as a parish priest.

Charles, on the other hand, though of the same moderately high church or catholic background, had no such feelings of excited anticipation. In fact, by way of contrast, he did not seem to have thought about the coming pilgrimage very much at all. He admitted to me that:

Right up until just before going it hardly had registered that I was going away. Until the day before I really wasn't plugged into coming at all. It was quite busy setting the parish up, actually wishing that I had another week before going, but that would have been true a week later I am sure.

Charles is saying something here with which many clergy would identify. It can be very stressful work, making all the necessary arrangements for one's absence from a parish, especially if you have no regular ministerial assistance, as was the situation with him. I had sat next to him on the plane and he had told me of the extraordinary events of the departure morning when his main luggage had gone astray and he nearly did not make it to the airport in time. He admitted that this was the first time, with the exception of a short visit with other clergy to an abbey community in Normandy, that he had ever been abroad on his own. His wife was obviously the organising one for such matters in their household. It was an inauspicious start, which seemed indicative of his subliminal unpreparedness for the journey. His account later of the hectic days before departure was very honest. I observed too that he remained flustered for the first few days of the tour. His ungrammatical and disordered speech in the recorded interviews

betrayed this clearly. For example in his first interview, in response to my straightforward question, at which places would you have liked to stay longer? he responded, 'Ooh... er um...I think...I enjoyed the singing in St Anne's this morning. That...at an emotional level...that struck me'.

Another of my informants, Thomas, spoke of experiencing a kind of tension before coming and he described it as:

A tension between looking forward to coming, I enjoy travel. I'd never been to Israel before. I was looking forward to a break, so there was an element of looking forward to a holiday and something different, a certain ambivalence at coming to look at various sites and situations which at one level are familiar through my knowledge of the Bible and my theological studies and all that I've been doing in the ministry, and worried on the other hand that I would encounter situations that I just did not like, because of what they had done to a particular site, but also encounter situations that would mean that I would have to change my view of what these sites meant.

Thomas here enunciates much the same point that William made about the Holy Land sites being in one sense so familiar, because of his eighteen years of ministry. He was in the third year of his appointment as principal of a part-time training course for locally ordained ministry. As he was not in a parish appointment, with regular Sunday duties he would not have had the same concerns as William, the parish priest, before coming away. His concerns had been more intellectual, not so much for matters of devotion like William, but for the truth of what he believed. The specific genius of Anglican theology has been its appeal to the intellect. In the preface to *The Study of Anglicanism*

(1998) Stephen Sykes writes that 'Scripture, Tradition and Reason are traditionally constitutive of the Anglican understanding of authority and theological method' (1998: x).

Thomas, whose background was in the liberal evangelical tradition, brought a reasoned, questioning frame of mind to the pilgrimage. He was aware that he would not just be seeing sites but might encounter challenging situations as well. He had recognised a tension in himself between looking forward and the worry that his experiences in the Holy Land might necessitate a readjustment in his theological understanding and attitudes. There was an openness here which goes completely counter to Mark Twain's assertion, quoted earlier in chapter 2.1.1, that clergy only discover in the Holy Land what they hope to find, an endorsement of already held belief.

Thomas also made reference in that interview to 'looking forward to a holiday'. This touches on the academic discussion, in chapter 3.2, of the pilgrim/tourist. I shall return to this theme later in this chapter as one of the

themes to be examined. Thomas seems to have little doubt in prospect of his forthcoming pilgrimage providing the opportunity for a 'break'.

When interviewed six months later at home, Thomas recalled his feelings before the January pilgrimage. He said:

I think I said to you, I went with not the greatest expectation and I think that was a kind of safety valve to make sure that I was not disappointed by the actual event itself.

He also remembered that he had been very busy before coming away.

Subsequent sections in this chapter will show how the 'actual event' justified his caution. The term 'safety valve' is one to which I shall return later in this data analysis as indicative of the cathartic potential of pilgrimage.

Bernard's chief concerns before the pilgrimage were very different from those felt by William, Charles or Thomas. He told of an eager expectation for his wife Kay's enjoyment of the tour. They had only been married shortly after her ordination in 1991. It was her second marriage, her first husband having died some years previously in tragic circumstances. They held a joint appointment in a group of country parishes, Bernard being very much the senior partner, both in age and in responsibility in the incumbency. He had been to the Holy Land once before, many years

previously in his student days. He had obviously prepared her for some of what they would see, from his keen memory of the sites. The experience, on pilgrimage, of a clergy couple travelling together, and the inter-active effect of this, is one which I shall touch on later in this chapter. As I have discussed, I interviewed them together on the evening of the first full day in Jerusalem. Kay commented on the visit, the first of the morning, to the Place of the Ascension. I shall be discussing more of that morning more fully in the next section of this chapter. Here I just wish to quote something which Kay said about the Place of the Ascension which, I believe, shows her preparedness for disappointment. She remarked, with a nervous laugh:

Oh, right, that's where it happened...oh, fine, I think actually seeing the spot, that's not what it's all about.

This could be interpreted in two ways. She may have been hinting that her theological interpretation of the nature of Christ's ascension was not dependent on a literal rising of his body. Alternatively, she might have been making a broader statement, of significance for the whole of her pilgrimage perceptions, that identification of an exact spot for biblical events was not important for her. During the tour Kay's evangelical background clearly emerged and evangelical attitudes to the Holy Land would discount any numinous sacramental or iconic presence anywhere. Kay's husband, Bernard's background was firmly in Anglo-Catholicism

though less intense, perhaps, than in his earlier years. He had more of a feeling for iconic possibilities. In the interviews together these different slants emerged in engaging distinction, especially as they were devotedly concerned for each other.

Thomas revealed the same basic attitude as Kay, though at a more radical level. He expressed anxiety to me about visiting Bethlehem:

I'm not looking forward to going to Bethlehem, because I've heard, what I've heard about Bethlehem...making the importance of the place far outweigh the importance of what actually happened there. For me what is important is the incarnation, and in one sense, if the incarnation took place at any one of a hundred sites it still wouldn't matter. I think the incarnation is still the important thing, and I have a feeling that what we find in Bethlehem is a scramble to try and make the place important at the expense of what actually happened there.

Here the mental wrestling is of an academic nature with an essential Christian doctrine. Readers will remember that he was principal of a clergy-training course. In his interviews with me the principal was never far away.

Bernard, the priest of twenty-seven years' ministerial experience, had a very different anxiety before coming on the pilgrimage. This was the prospect of spending eight days totally in the company of other clergy and their spouses. He expressed it like this:

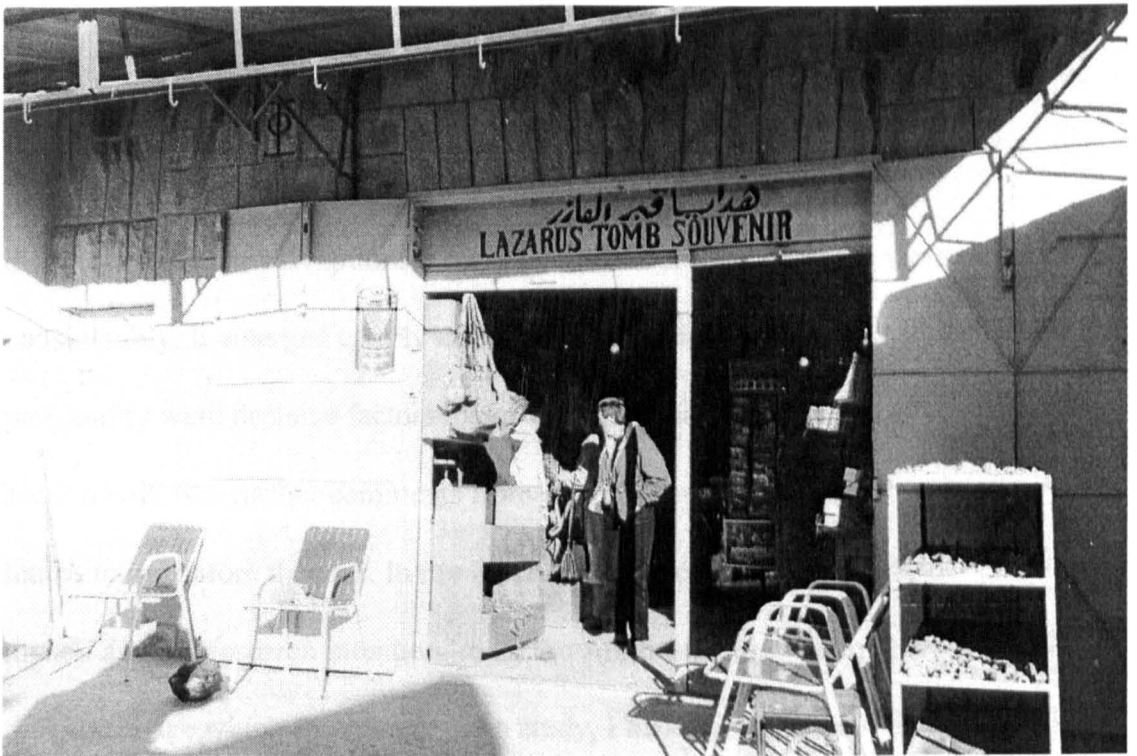
I got cold feet and was dreading the thought of a whole week with forty or so clergy, half of whom appeared to be Church of Scotland, and therefore I thought ...Ah, evangelicals of the worst sort. But it's a wonderful group and the diversity makes contact easier and gives us both enrichment.

As will be seen in regard to some of the clergy's other pre-tour concerns, Bernard's worry was proved to have been unnecessary. He was delighted to be able to admit it. I can recall the rising inflection in his voice as he said 'it's a wonderful group'. I wondered if he was pleased as much for his wife as for himself. Despite a marked difference in their theological orientation, I did not, at any point in my contacts with them, detect that this difference was a source of tension. On the contrary, it seemed to me that their perspectives seemed to complement each other with mutual benefit.

One of the very real concerns, often expressed by people before going to the Holy Land, is that it might be 'very touristy', as Kay put it. She was glad, after the first day, to be able to say:

That's not been there at all. I'm sure partly because we are out of season and there are not so many visitors about.

In my experience, many lay pilgrims worry before visiting the Holy Land that commercialisation might spoil the sites. Compared with say, Lourdes, the Holy Land is very free from ostentatious glitz. There is sometimes a small shop or selling area attached to a shrine but it seldom seems to occasion offence.



There is the whole Souk experience of the crowded Arab markets but these are apart from the holy sites and offer a ludic interlude which is found to be good fun, not to be missed and all part of the ambience of Mid-Eastern culture. For most people visiting the Holy Land this will probably be their first experience of a non-European culture. Persistent street sellers can be something of a nuisance but in practice the clergy on this tour developed a sturdy ability to withstand their badgering. It is significant that not one of my informants made any reference at any point to commercialisation, either as a pre-tour concern or as an experienced reality. Perhaps clergy have a robust rather than romantic notion of what the Holy Land might be like.

These passages from the interviews with five of the main clergy informants reveal some similarities in their apprehensions before the tour. The differences in their perceptions, however, show that their concerns varied considerably. It emerged clearly that individual background and personality were decisive factors in determining reaction. I close this section with two further comments from other informants, both written in letters to me before the tour. In my letter of introduction with regards to myself and my research intention, to all the Anglican clergy taking part in the pilgrimage which formed my main study, I had invited them to contact me beforehand with any prior thoughts. One man, not one of my main informants, rang me up two nights before departure and he told me that his anxiety was a fear that the tour might not be:

...quite as much a pilgrimage experience...not a tawdry one...won't be what I long for it to be.

These words express very clearly the considerable personal investment of himself that this experienced priest, close to retirement, was putting into the approaching pilgrimage. The other response to my letter, written this time, was equally moving. His wife was accompanying him on the tour. He wrote:

The trip is a gift to us from a friend, something we could not afford ourselves. It will be twenty-six years since we last travelled by plane so the whole thing will be a thrill for us. We particularly want the tour to be a spiritual blessing.

Again there is the longing for the pilgrimage not to be disappointing. However, there is another strong expectation revealed in this letter. The daily clergy round is far from being a drudgery. Nevertheless, I clearly recall my own feelings as I set out for my first Holy Land pilgrimage. I had not been on an aeroplane for twenty-four years; family finances with three children did not allow for foreign holidays. My correspondent's excitement, and I suspect that others of the older clergy shared ^{the same} for reasons similar to his, was a feeling which, as participant observer with them, I could readily recognise.

7.2 Impressions: An Account of the First Morning

To preface my discussion, I will set the initial scenes as the tour began. The exact itinerary for the 1995 clergy tour is included with the appendix documents. The arrival at Ben Gurion airport, Tel Aviv, and transfer to Jerusalem by coach was smooth. The coach occasioned the first culture shock. Emblazoned on its side was the name of the coach company, NAZARETH TRANSPORT COMPANY. I observed several of the clergy pilgrims pointing this out to each other. Nazareth would probably never have been associated previously in the minds of any of them with

something so mundane as a fifty-one seater coach. It was then strange to see, on joining the busy dual carriage road after leaving the airport, a large and, typically for Israel, green coloured sign, JERUSALEM 42 KM.

Our hotel was in East Jerusalem, the picturesque Arab part of the city, though the particular location was in the quiet residential and diplomatic consular region. Despite the quiet location several clergy mentioned at breakfast that sleep had been fitful. Some had been woken before dawn by the Muezzin calling the faithful to prayer. Breakfast was at 7 a.m., departure by coach at 8 a.m. First daylight views of the Holy Land were beginning. It was cloudy, somewhat cold and drizzling. As one of the party said later, 'You don't associate Jesus with puddles'.

The itinerary, sent out well before Christmas, had been with the clergy for some weeks. I noticed that most of them had guidebooks, so some preparation for the tour had probably been done. There was, therefore, a general awareness of what was to be seen. Now paper promise was to be translated into reality. That first morning we would be starting on the Mount of Olives, at a panoramic viewpoint, looking down across the Kidron valley to the Old City in all its splendour. (See map in appendix). Then we would be visiting the Place of the Ascension and the Paternoster Church before walking down several hundred yards to the Dominus Flevit

Church. Some time, half an hour or so, would be spent at each of these shrines and the morning's visits would conclude at the Garden of Gethsemane in the Kidron valley.

The coach, after driving for about one and a half miles from our hotel, dropped us off on the top of the Mount of Olives. We had passed the British First World War cemetery, the impressive large campus buildings of the Hebrew University, both on Mt. Scopus. These are western in their concept and design; the latter built in the last twenty-five years. The atmosphere then changed as we drove along an older Arab road of houses, shops and a hospital. For the clergy group this was the first sight of traditional, but completely contemporary, Arab way of life and dress. To the left of the coach, in the east, the bare mountains of the Judaeen wilderness stretched away endlessly. We were, in fact, looking towards the Jordanian hills only thirty miles away. It was possible to catch a glimpse of the Dead Sea twenty miles away in the morning light. To our right was the Old City of Jerusalem with its 16th century grey stone walls, domes, turrets, minarets and huddled houses. Already, in the space of less than half an hour, a multiplicity of diverse and contrasting images had pressed upon the eager pilgrims.

The itinerary of a Holy Land tour is determined by geographical dictates. The sites are visited in turn according to their proximity one to another. A

chronological visit to sites in accordance with the sequence of the events which they mark, even of the life of Jesus, is an impossibility unless the time and finance available are considerable. It would involve a great deal of travel, crossing and criss-crossing the country and therefore is seldom attempted. Thus, on the first morning, the opening visit is to the site, the place of the Ascension, which comes conveniently first on the route to be followed. In fact the Ascension was, of course, the very last event in the life of Jesus.

The guide lead us from the coach up a few, broad steps into a round, high walled courtyard. In its centre was a small, domed, octagonal tower, about forty feet in height, the place of the Ascension. We nearly filled it. Kamal, our guide, told us something of its history, how the existing structure was basically Crusader and replaced earlier churches on the site, the first one being of the fourth century. On the defeat of the Crusaders, towards the end of the twelfth century, the church became a mosque and has remained so to this day. Once a year, on Ascension Day, Christians are allowed to celebrate Mass in the courtyard for Moslems revere Jesus as a prophet and accept his ascension, though not his resurrection. Within the tower there was a stone set in the floor in which there was an indentation, not unlike the mark left if someone puts their foot in drying concrete. Rather hesitatingly Kamal added that traditionally this was reputed to be the last footprint of Christ as he left the earth at his ascension. The clergy stood

around in deferential quiet, as if they did not as yet know what sort of reaction they might be expected to display. After appropriate Bible reading, hymn and prayer there was a short time for photographs or individual inspection around the site.

Comments later from my informants were as follows. Thomas commented:

I was very disappointed at the beginning of the first day when we went to the Mt. of the Ascension.

Kay said:

I was just thinking about our visit to the Church of the Ascension, and seeing the little sort of square bit...and saying to Bernard (her husband) 'Oh right, that's where it happened, Oh fine. I think actually seeing the spot is not what it's about'.

The first disillusionment set in early, at the very first site visited.

As well as the recorded interviews and my own participant observer notes, I later had an objective source of participant response, these being the McCabe Travel evaluation sheets sent out after the tour to everybody travelling. Seventeen were returned and these were made available to me. People were asked to mark each site visited on a 1-10 scale of increasing appreciation. The Place of the Ascension scored conspicuously low, three people marking it at 2. Written comments were also invited on each site.

The Ascension site elicited the following:

'Pointless'.

'Rather inauspicious start'.

'Good to be brought down to earth'.
'Confusing and unconvincing footprint'.
'Not very inspiring'.
'Unbelievable!'
'Pity it was the first site'.
'Poor start'.
'Unimpressive'

and, completely dismissively,

'Perhaps I had not woken up'.

'Pity it was the first site' was a considered remark after the tour but it seems to carry with it a memory of great disappointment at the outset of the pilgrimage. What was obvious in these disparaging remarks by the clergy was that they were prepared to be critical of what they saw.

Ellen (1984:305) affirms the value of qualitative research from disconfirmation. Whereas the majority of the clergy marked low for the Ascension site, this contrasted with the reactions of two of the clergy. One of the Scottish clergy marked the Ascension site at 7 and commented 'Interesting'. Mary gave a mark of 8, with the comment 'So ancient and unadorned, I liked it'.

After this first visit of the morning we moved on and the group became a crocodile as we walked the hundred yards or so to the next site, known as the Pater Noster (Our Father) Church. It is said to be the place where Jesus

taught his disciples to pray. Biblical hermeneutics do not have much place in the pilgrimage narrative, certainly not as far as the local guides are concerned. A critical approach to ^{the} New Testament does not inform their discourses. So we had a statement from Kamal that this was where Jesus spent unhurried time with his disciples teaching them the Lord's prayer. The Pater Noster shrine is part of a French Carmelite convent. The shrine is a very ancient one and there are remains of a church built in 330 AD on the orders of the Emperor Constantine. Already in the pilgrimage a pattern was developing, which the group readily followed, of local guide talking, leader introducing prayers, a bible reading by a member of the party of a relevant passage, in this instance St. Luke 11 vs. 1-4, and the singing of a hymn if one is appropriate. This is a pattern which pilgrim groups in the Holy Land have followed for centuries. Wilkinson's (1971) account of the Holy Land travels of the intrepid nun, Egeria, in the fourth century, cites diary entries recording describing devotions at different sites. She wrote:

And it was always our practice when we managed to reach one of the places we wanted to see to have first a prayer, then a reading from the book, then to say an appropriate psalm and then another prayer. By God's grace we always followed this practice whenever we were able to reach a place we wanted to see (1971: 99).

It is doubtful if any of the clergy would have known that the devotional pattern which they were using was, in fact, of age long practice. On that first morning of the clergy pilgrimage, as the second of many acts of

devotion at different sites, the prayer teaching narrative from St. Luke was read (11: 1-4) and the group said the Lord's Prayer together. On this occasion no hymn was sung. Then there was the allotted free time of about fifteen minutes. This was the rhythm, which would contain and inspire the thoughts, devotions and reactions of the next few days. Occasionally, rather longer would be given for quiet reflection.

At this Pater Noster site there is a particular interest in the walls of the cloisters and garden. The Lord's Prayer is displayed on large ceramic tiles in over sixty languages. Our group members, like all groups, naturally hunted out those languages with which they could identify. For the Scots in the party the discovery of a Gaelic version was a cause of lively acclaim. Here we jostled for the first time on our tour with the first of many other pilgrim groups, all engaged on basically the same trail. January, when we were there, is not a crowded time. Popular seasons such as spring, Easter especially, and autumn can make for very difficult conditions of crowding. On this occasion there was a polite making way for each other. This first group which we had met turned out to be from Korea and so an international perspective imprinted itself early. They were Presbyterians, a popular discovery among the Scottish Presbyterians among us. These Koreans, like the many different pilgrims we would encounter, were fellow pilgrims. All would bring their own particular agendas, their individual life

experience and expectations. A vast array of cultures visits the Holy Land and share available space at the same sites. The same general aura of the land surrounds them but their perceptions can be very different, as indeed can be the perceptions of individual clergy pilgrims.

The Pater Noster Church aroused among the clergy little more enthusiasm than did the Place of the Ascension. The scoring on the McCabe Travel reaction sheet was not much higher and the site occasioned few comments. Two clergy just wrote 'OK' and informal interviews at the time revealed a similar lack of stimulus experienced there. I take this to be for two reasons. Firstly, the two sites claim to be the exact places of Gospel events. The theological acumen of the clergy would be hesitant to regard the teaching of the Lord's Prayer, as having happened at a specific time and place, and therefore the attributing of it to a particular locale would have no significance. As for the Ascension, the clergy's theoretical interpretation of this doctrine would be much too sophisticated to pin it down to a particular place. As Kay said, 'I think actually seeing the spot is not what it's about'. Secondly, if we consider the reactions, which I have reported in relation to the triad paradigm of person, place and text as being a source of power in a site, then neither of these first two sites visited linked personally with significant events in the life of the clergy. Only text was strong in these two sites; person was irrelevant and place was largely bogus.

In the interviews back at the hotel in the evening, I deliberately did not put direct questions about particular sites but left it to the informants to volunteer the names of the places which had made an impression on them. In these first interviews only two of my informants mentioned the Paternoster Church. Kay, as already noted earlier in this section, was not impressed by the footprint. Thomas made a sophisticated theological comment, but without much enthusiasm, saying:

Yes, the Pater Noster Church, that was better, but I felt that already we were beginning to stretch the point of taking events from the life of Christ and finding some sort of monument which could be stuck up to mark it.

Here is the reaction of a man almost looking to find the spurious and he was quick to spot it right at the outset of the pilgrimage. The next site, as we walked down the steep path on the Mount of Olives, occasioned, however, something altogether different in his reaction. He said:

But then things started to change. When we stood at the top of the Mount of Olives and looked down over Gethsemane, the Kidron Valley, the Old City walls, and as we began to walk down, and particularly as we went into the Dominus Flevit, site of the tears of Jerusalem, and when we went into the Garden of Gethsemane, things began to change...and I think they began to change for two reasons.

Thomas here is not only a fluent informant, note the flowing warmth of his spontaneous description, but he also begins to take on the role of ethnographic analyst. He was the first person really to call my attention to the significance of walking, which I shall discuss in a later section of this

chapter (6.7) It was three days later, after several coach journeys between sites, that Thomas said to me of that morning:

We were not getting on and off the bus and therefore I could stick with my own thoughts and begin to work through, and stay with, some of the situations which we were beginning to think about.

Here he concisely emphasises the significance of time and of liminal, emotional space if any experience of a *communitas* or flow nature is to develop. He also points to the need for guide or leader not to be intrusive, 'I could stick with my own thoughts'. He went on to give a second reason for things starting to change:

But the second, and probably the most important, was that the events and places of my own experience seemed to coincide and match up. There was a sense in which it did not matter the event being talked about didn't necessarily happen there, though in both cases there was a fair reason why it may have happened there, but the places themselves seemed to be in keeping with the event.

It is significant here that exactness of place does not rate highly. What does seem to matter considerably is the design and aura of the site as expressive of the event it represents. After his initial disappointment Thomas' mood was changing, as did noticeably that of the whole group as we moved down the slope of the Mount of Olives. The next site was the Dominus Flevit church. The Italian architect, Antonio Barluzzi, has captured the essence of the biblical narrative which is celebrated here. At Dominus Flevit, (the Latin words mean 'Jesus wept'), the biblical event recorded is

that described by St. Luke, (19 v. 41) 'And when Jesus came in sight of the city He wept over it'.

Halfway down the Mount of Olives, Barluzzi's church is set in an enclosed garden that is gently terraced and full of trees and shrubs. The Church has a tear-shaped roof and the Lucan theme is further encapsulated by a floor mosaic depicting a mother hen and her chicks. Luke records the words of Jesus:

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, you that kill the prophets and stone those that are sent to you! How often have I longed to gather your children together, as a hen gathers her brood under her wings, and you refused! (Luke 13: 34-35).

We went into the small church, which we had to ourselves. We were now halfway through the morning and this was the first time that the group had been able to enjoy such privacy. Unlike the older Byzantine church at that site, traces of which can be seen in floor mosaics at the back of the church, the modern church faces west. The window behind the altar looks down over the Old City, scene of temple strife at the time of Jesus and very much at the heart of ethnic and religious strain still between Jew and Moslem. This half-rounded window contains the outline of a chalice and it was with this outlook, with all its biblical significance and present social and political tension, that the group spent about fifteen minutes. As a group, our dispersed thoughts found common expression in the reading of the

Luke passage and one of the clergy led our prayers. They were for the needs of the whole world and for those people and situations most on our own minds. Here was the daily work of the clergy, prayer for those near and far, focussed now in this liminal setting and further intensified by the glass image of the chalice in the window. The essential life and work of the priesthood came potently together in triad with the whole aura of the place and the text of the biblical incident. The hymn which we sang, 'Drop, drop slow tears', gave corporate but also individual expression to the strong emotions now building up.

The McCabe reaction sheets showed clearly that this site had a powerful effect on the clergy, with comments such as:

- 'Wonderful'
- 'The site is beautiful'.
- 'Beautiful and moving'.
- 'Very beautiful and moving'.
- 'Beautiful'.
- 'Beautiful'.
- 'Imaginative architecture and splendid setting'.
- 'Beautiful'.
- 'The prayers were moving'.
- 'View terrific'.

The language is fulsome and the widespread appreciation of this place's power is shown by the numerical scoring on the reaction sheets. Ten people marked it as 10, three at 9, one at 8, one at 7 and that after giving the previous sites 2 and 3. Only one person marked and scored with

different reactions, giving only 6, having marked previously at 8 and 6 for the previous two sites. The Scottish minister Mary's comment was, 'OK, out of step with architect, Barluzzi,...too many churches'. This may have been a retrospective comment after the whole tour, though it was the third shrine visited in less than an hour. It may also be that this reaction came out of a particular school of Presbyterianism.

There was a particular occurrence to note from the Dominus Flevit visit. It caused considerable effect. From my previous visits over the years I knew that the Franciscan Fathers who control this site keep some poultry. A cockerel usually seems free to roam and it came into the doorway of the church just as we were finishing singing our hymn. It was Eric, in a later follow-up interview at home, who recalled the gender of the bird, obviously cockerel rather than the hen of the biblical text. A cockerel was more redolent of a church, which we were to visit later that day on Mt. Zion, St. Peter in Gallicantu, St. Peter at the CockCrow. This church claims to be the site of the High Priest's house, the scene of Peter's denial before the cock crowed three times. However, the gender difference in no way diminished the impact of this bird on the group. There was a stunned silence as we finished singing and we just watched in awed amazement as the bird waddled around the doorway. Kay recalled this graphically when I interviewed her together with her husband that evening. She commented:

My impression of the chicken coming in was actually, I didn't make the connection of that and Peter but very much with having prayed the prayers which were said, and taking in the tension between the Arabs and the Jews and praying for peace, and yet the sadness that this cannot happen, it does not seem possible to have peace in our world, and seeing the hen, chicken, coming in which I then learned was a cockerel, and then thinking of God spreading out his wings like a mother hen, and then taking us all in with our differences, was for me very moving.

Here the public role of the priest, as one concerned for the ills of the whole world comes strongly together with her personal feelings. The different themes chasing each other around at that site were focused into one by that cockerel. It provided a metaphorical presence as a focus for Kay's emotions.

We had to move down the Mount of Olives and so the immediate spell was broken. There was, though, less chatter now as we descended the three hundred yards or so to Gethsemane. Powerful feelings had already been emoted that morning, feelings of spiritual anguish for individual and global agonies. The Garden of Gethsemane, into which we now entered, provided a consummation for the whole morning.

At Gethsemane there is a church, built in the 1920's, again by the Italian architect Barluzzi, and paid for by monies from throughout the world, hence its name, the Church of All Nations. It is a rectangular building, not remarkable outside except for its west fronted, colonnaded portico with a

fine mosaic above. Only a few yards away is a busy, noisy road, heavy with car and bus traffic, and lorries on their way to the border crossing near Jericho into Jordan. Inside the church, in front of the main altar, there is bare rock upon which, according to tradition, Jesus prayed on the night of his arrest. The prevailing colours of the glass are of dark blue merging into purple and violet and the light is kept deliberately dim. The church is set in an iron railed, square courtyard containing eight very ancient Olive trees. You walk round this enclosed garden on the way to the church entrance and again when leaving. It is a place for quick photographs rather than for devotions for it always seems to be thronged with pilgrim groups, most of whom have taken the same route that morning down the Mount of Olives. The entrance gate to this enclosure is at the bottom of the sloping lane down which our crocodile had walked. You turn left through a narrow, carefully monitored gateway. We did not turn left as I had expected, and as I had customarily done on all previous visits. Instead, our guide, Kamal, spoke to the custodian and slipped him a tip. A grilled gate on the opposite side of the lane was then unlocked and we entered a spacious grassed garden, with a few Olive trees and nothing else. The gate was locked again and the group was on its own. Bernard takes up the story. I had mentioned to him, as we talked that night back at the hotel, that the previous year's party, my pilot study group, had had the galling experience of finding Gethsemane something of a letdown. This was a vivid contrast to the

experience of this main study group of clergy. Then, we had only been the other side in the courtyard and church, which had been crowded, and there had been nowhere to emote as a group. Bernard had visited Jerusalem some thirty years previously and had a keen memory of his experiences then. When I interviewed him and his wife on that first evening, he said of the group's experience that morning at Gethsemane:

I expect that might have been the garden, we were in a garden on the other side, rather than the official garden I've been to before which I found an arid place, too formal, too many flower beds and, now that there are railings round the whole of it, you can't even walk among the Olives as you could twenty or thirty years ago. That garden we were in, we had it to ourselves; it was an Olive grove. It was moving in that to some extent it was what we have been brought up to expect; it fitted the bill. And therefore, to be moved to tears, I wasn't in the same way, but seeing Kay, (his wife), and others with eyes pricking, it pricked mine too. What moved me especially there was the hymn which we sang, one that was known to all of us and almost nobody looked at a book, it was so well known... 'When I survey the wondrous cross'.

Bernard shrewdly realised that the formal garden, in its organised structure, which permitted only one circumambulation, allowed for no liminal freedom. The openness of the grassy garden on the other side of the lane was exactly the opposite and the group wandered at will for a short while and then came together in an irregular assembly. Some had fondly touched the trees, had sat for a short while on the grass or on the few benches scattered about, for this was late morning now and the earlier drizzle had given way to a warming sun. We were looking up at the walls of the Old City only a hundred yards sloped above us. There are seven gates into the

Old City. The one above us has been closed for hundreds of years: Fond Jewish tradition has it that that it will only be opened by the Messiah himself when he comes to take possession of his city; that much had been explained by our guide. Although he was not always to be so sensitive to a prevailing mood, on this occasion, having set the scene well, he left us to it. One of the group read St. Luke's account of the agony of Jesus at Gethsemane (Luke 22, 39-54). A short silence was kept which barely seemed to be disturbed by the heavy passing traffic on the nearby road. Arthur, our leader, said a short prayer and then we sang a hymn. 'We had it to ourselves', said Bernard. This was crucial if the strong individual feelings building up were to have any corporate expression. The group was enclosed, held together, yet free. They felt secure; almost at home, 'It was what we have been brought up to expect' commented Bernard. They were in a strange far off land and out there, in Eliadean terms, they found a centre. As Bernard said, 'It was our basic religious experience'. Role and basic personality were merged into one. As an optimal experience resonant with flow, as understood by Csikszentmihalyi (1990), it was one of two occasions in the pilgrimage when a full demonstration of *communitas* existed. [I shall later be describing the other occurrence, which happened a few days afterwards in Galilee 6.6]. The extent of this feeling of flow, this full expression of *communitas*, is commandingly captured by Bernard's pithy conclusion: 'Almost nobody looked at a book'. It was as if the clergy

were taken out of themselves into a mystical realm. My field notes attempted to describe the way in which all members of the group had heads in the air as we sang, looking, in an abandoned way, into space or nowhere in particular. The clergy pilgrims were lost almost beyond words. It was the culmination of a morning of potent experience, perhaps all the more so because of the initial disappointment. Expectation was high and ultimately it was fulfilled. The contrast between the first two and the last two sites visited may even have contributed to the depth of feeling as the morning progressed.

7.3 Eucharist at the Mount of Beatitudes

In this section I give a detailed description of the group's communion service held in the open air on the slopes overlooking the Sea of Galilee. Our group did not attempt to have communion together while we were staying in Jerusalem, as suitable places in that area are not easy to find. One site where groups often are able to meet for communion is at the Shepherds' Fields outside Bethlehem. We were there on Sunday afternoon and several of the party had already been to communion that morning so it was not appropriate to repeat this. The Eucharist in Galilee, on the Tuesday morning, the last full day of the pilgrimage, was, therefore, the only occasion on which the whole group had met together for communion. The Beatitudes church was built in

the 1930s, to a design by the Italian architect, Barluzzi, whose work graces one other site in Galilee and six shrines in the Jerusalem and Bethlehem area. It is poised on a gentle slope, about 300-ft. up above the water, with fields leading down to the shoreline. After our service we walked down through these fields to further shrines at Tabgha, the church of the Multiplication of the Loaves and fishes and the church of Mensa Christi.



This whole area along the north shore of the Sea of Galilee, (Magdala, Capernaum and Bethsaida are in the same vicinity), was the scene of the early ministry of Jesus. It is relatively undeveloped. Significantly for clergy it was where the first disciples were called by Jesus. As I have recorded earlier in this chapter, Gerald, in my pilot study, and William, in this main study, both movingly related their priestly vocations to the biblical events of this landscape. This whole area, then, has a unique atmosphere in its text. The place itself is exquisitely beautiful in its combination of hills and lake. It is relatively

unspoilt too, not much changed since the time of Christ, with little building apart from the few Christian sites, a kibbutz and some farms. All this gives great authenticity to the area. The Beatitudes church commemorates the Sermon on the Mount in particular. The Feeding of the Five Thousand, with its strong Eucharistic interpretation in sacramental theology, is believed to have taken place somewhere nearby. Wareham and Gill (1992) comment that this is one of the most beautiful gospel sites in the Holy Land and that a visit here should not be rushed. We were not hurried in the time that we were able to spend there.

The church of the Beatitudes is octagonal with eight windows at eye level looking out onto the hills and water. Above each window is inscribed in Latin one of the eight beatitudes (Matthew 5: 1-11). Only Roman Catholic groups can celebrate mass inside the church though all pilgrims can spend some time there individually. Outside, in the ample gardens, are several small areas among the trees, set aside for other groups to hold their communion or other services according to their own tradition. The site is a very popular one and there can be fierce competition for the available space. We were there just on 8.30 a.m. but already there were many coaches parked before us. Our leader, Arthur, went ahead to find and negotiate an altar in the gardens. We all followed closely. An Italian nun was on duty. She spoke no English and we had no Italian speaker in our group. With a flurry of hands, she seemed to

be turning us away because it was so crowded. The party was taken aback by this and I could see angry reactions developing.

Bernard told me six months later that he had remembered that nun:

I didn't feel so rejected by the nun as perhaps I might have done, as being just another experience of bureaucracy getting the upper hand.

His use of the term 'rejected' here has an echo of the experience of Kay, his wife, when she had felt very rejected by the restraining hand of a priest at the Calvary shrine in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Here, however, the notion of rejection had another basis and was experienced differently, a fact that Kay herself acknowledged when I interviewed them together at their home. As Kay recounted:

I wasn't particularly worried by the nun. Those are the sorts of things that happen in our sort of ...[she did not complete the sentence] you know. Strangely, I was more hurt by the incident at the Holy Sepulchre, my own stuff, really, I'm sure it was.

Eventually, however, a small corner in the garden was found for us, though it was not the best of locations. A small table was provided to serve as the altar. Some were able to be seated around it; others stood. Arthur, was the celebrant for the service but invited others to assist him so it was a completely ecumenical occasion, as befitted the make-up of the group. Six months later at home Bernard recalled the scene:

The Eucharist itself was good - the view from behind us, looking over the lake, I was standing at the back so I was looking backwards and forwards. It was a good Eucharist; it culminated so much of the praying and worshipping we had been doing, bringing it together.

Here is the priest talking, with many years of experience of Eucharistic and other services. His words 'bringing it together' encompass a whole sacramental understanding of one of the features of a Eucharist. In his understanding this Eucharist was a vessel into which all the clergy participants could pour their praise and worship of thanksgiving for everything which had happened during the pilgrimage.

Just after the service, when I talked with her, Kay had found it difficult to find words to do justice to the occasion, having obviously been moved by it.

Several services were proceeding at the same time in different languages. Kay did say:

I looked around and saw lots of groups and suddenly it was as though Jesus was there, and I think I'll never, ever be able to celebrate or receive communion in quite the same way again. My heart was touched much more than my head, I think.

This was said in the aftermath of what was obviously a moving occasion for her and in the interview at home six months later she still spoke in emotional tones about it:

It was just a wonderful experience, just to be there, where Christ had been, where Christ had taught, was just for me overwhelming. That is all I can say.

Whereas Bernard her husband had reflected theologically, she saw the occasion in much more direct terms, so powerful words could not encapsulate the event.

Another of my informants, William, recalled that Eucharist in the follow-up interview six months later. He said:

The Mount of the Beatitudes, where we celebrated Holy Communion, was an experience I'll never forget, I'm sure, as long as I live, the closeness to God that was felt and the closeness to each other and to the pilgrims around us was intense.

He, like Kay, had felt warmed by the feeling of union with all the other pilgrims there that morning. His language reflects an experience of *communitas*. The Eucharist undoubtedly provided a liminal opportunity. The clergy were sharing in it but were not presiding, were not in a structured role, and this seemed to give freedom of feeling. The reading was from the gospel narrative of the Beatitudes (Matthew 5: 1-12), two well-known hymns were sung, the (exchange of the) Peace was enthusiastically exchanged. Bernard told me that he particularly enjoyed doing this with Kamal, our guide, and he recalled Kamal's joy when he thought to greet him with the Arabic 'Salaam'. He remembered, though, that there had been an unfortunate misunderstanding over whether Kamal wished to receive communion. As a Roman Catholic he might not have wished to do so. Arthur thought that this was the case and did not offer the bread to him. It transpired afterwards that he would have liked to

receive. Arthur was very upset about this, as I noted at the time. It was apparent to me that on this last day of the tour Arthur did not seem to have quite the relaxed control which had marked his leadership previously. No doubt he was tiring. He certainly became flustered over this incident and took some time to recover his equilibrium. Bernard told me that he reckoned that Arthur was more upset than was Kamal, the guide, for he said:

I think it hurt Arthur the more, it must have done, but it hurt me on behalf of the rest.

His response here, and he was talking six months later, owes much to the fact that he is a priest too. The words 'it must have done' seemed to come from occasions when, as a priest at a Eucharist, he had perhaps made similar misjudgements. At the time this priestly sensitivity 'hurt him on behalf of the rest'. It was only a small incident but it left its mark on the group. They had all greatly valued Kamal's Christian role in his guiding, as some of the McCabe Travel evaluation forms showed. Now, nearly at the end of the tour, it was as if this sense of fellowship with him had been denied its ritual satisfaction. The group dynamic had been denied a ritual fulfilment in relation to Kamal.

Bernard recalled the shared experience 'that was touching people in different ways'. Perhaps that Eucharist was something of a microcosm of the whole pilgrimage, having something of the quality of an empty vessel into which each person could pour their own feelings and experience of the pilgrimage.

Bernard said that there was no one holy moment for him during this communion but he did recall, as did Charles, the Israeli war helicopters passing overhead in the direction of Lebanon, only about fifty miles away 'to do God knows what to God knows whom and God knows where'. Charles could even, six months later, pinpoint the exact moment in the service when this had happened; it was while the confession was being said. At the time, Bernard was aware, so he told me afterwards, of the irony at being there at the place of the Beatitudes, one of which, of course, is 'Blessed are the peacemakers', as vessels of war went overhead. He did not find it a jarring invasion of his devotions, rather the opposite, almost 'confessing on their behalf but recognising that that's me too, we're all part of it'. It was a liminal moment such as seems to occur on pilgrimage, which cannot be planned but which just happens, with a remarkable conjoining of events. Bernard's heightened awareness interpreted the incident with theological dexterity¹. It was as if the tensions of the Holy Land encapsulated the agonies of the whole world order, the sinfulness of the whole human race. As Bernard put it, 'we're all part of it'.

In this and other ways, different for each individual, this Eucharist seemed to provide a consummation of the whole pilgrimage. The tour was nearly over

¹ It reminded me of a not dissimilar occurrence at the mount of the Beatitudes when I was leading a clergy party some years previously. We had just started our reading from St. Matthew's gospel, of the beatitudes, when a party of uniformed soldiers happened to arrive. Their blue berets revealed that they were United Nations peacekeeping troops on leave from Lebanon. They were

and thoughts were beginning to re-integrate with home and responsibilities there. There would soon be a parting from the company, which had been richly enjoyed for a few days, of fellow clergy destined mostly never to meet again. Such a disparate group geographically could not even consider trying to meet for a reunion. Twenty four hours previously the group had only just left Jerusalem. After the turmoil of Jerusalem, where agonies seemed to predominate, the peace of Galilee now prevailed. As Bernard put it, again with theological insight: 'Jerusalem is about crucifixion; Galilee is about resurrection'.

Several liminal ingredients, therefore, were in place for emotive reaction as that Eucharist was held. Even the officious nun had innocently played her part in building the tension. It was a powerful occasion and for one of the clergy, Alan, it was considerably traumatic. During the course of the tour he had not mixed freely with the rest of the group: he was really a bit of a loner. His contribution at mealtime talk tended often towards the cynical or sarcastic. He had told some of us that his wife had died about three years previously. He gave the impression of being full of bitterness about this as he struggled to put his life and ministry together again. The Crockfords Directory had given me the information that he had had a break in active ministry for some few years,

English speaking and stopped to listen to our reading. They were delighted when invited to join in the rest of our prayers and we were able to chat with them afterwards.

as if he had had a breakdown in health. Certainly he was a man to keep his feelings under strict control. The scripture reading at the service included the words 'Blessed are those who mourn'. This reading was immediately followed by the intercessions. Just as prayer was being said for all who suffer in any way, there was a loud outburst of uncontrolled sobbing. It was Alan, and he struggled to contain himself with the muttered words, 'There's too much emotion around here'. It was a desperately painful moment for Alan, especially as it had happened so publicly. It was, however, a memorably potent exhibition of the liminal power of that Eucharist. For others, too, it was obviously deeply moving. William said to me later that evening, 'I was moved myself to tears'.

At home, six months later, Bernard recalled the incident:

I was moved by, to my shame I forget his name, who burst into uncontrollable tears, and the healing which went to him was the healing of the Eucharist.

Eighteen months afterwards Kay recalled her own part in Alan's outburst:

I remember going up and putting my hand on his arm, feeling his pain because of his wife's death, and feeling his pain for him.

Her own grief, at her first husband's death, no doubt caused her to respond so spontaneously, though she was not the only person to offer comfort. Eighteen months afterwards, she was still emotional in her speech as she talked about Alan.

As soon as possible after that Eucharist, I recorded in my notes everything that had happened. My notes contained the comment 'where do we go from here?'

There were still a few sites to visit that day but it was as if the climax of the pilgrimage, certainly in an emotional sense, had been reached. The immediate activity was a walk down through the fields to the seashore. The group quickly became strung out, a few chatting, but mostly they were quiet. It was as if everybody needed space to assimilate what they had just experienced.

7.4 Worship and Rituals

In this section I shall discuss those occasions during the pilgrimage which can be classified as worship or religious rituals. My analysis will first consider group acts of worship at different shrines such as bible reading, prayers, formal or informal, and hymn singing. Then I shall reflect on individual acts of devotion which I observed or which were described to me by the informants. I have no knowledge of times of private prayer which the clergy spent during the pilgrimage. Then, in the next section, I shall give a full description of the Eucharist which the group shared on the last day of the tour.

I have earlier quoted from Wilkinson's (1981) account of the worship practices of the fourth century pilgrimage party to the Holy Land which Egeria describes. At every site visited they read an appropriate passage from the bible, and then said a psalm and prayers. Prescott (1954) cites an exactly similar pattern that Fr. Felix employed in the fifteenth century, as chaplain in his second Holy Land tour with a party of German nobles.

Fabri, in describing the party's visit to Mt. Zion, recorded that:

These and other places, less sacred and connected with other less authentic events, were visited with hymn singing and devotions, collected in a little book called, 'Processional for Pilgrims in the Holy Land' (1954: 126).

Various manuals of structured devotions have been available since that time.

These are now less formal days liturgically and no such book was used for the clergy study of my field tour. McCabe travel does have its own

booklet of hymns and gospel songs for its pilgrims, one of which would have been sent to each person travelling on this clergy tour, together with their travel documents. Also in this pack was a list of bible readings with an introductory and explanatory letter from the priest leader, Arthur. He had allotted readers for the different sites, sometimes with more than one reading at the same shrine. Therefore, we all knew a month before the tour what we would be reading and where this would be. Everybody travelling would have known that there were going to be thirty-six bible readings, this number being dictated by the size of the party. Everybody would read somewhere. Mary, my Scottish minister informant, in her long letter to me three weeks after the tour, wrote that she was apprehensive when she saw this lengthy list, being fearful of a rigidly established liturgical regime. However, later she was able to say that:

It has transformed every page of the bible; it comes alive now in a way which I would never have thought possible.

Thomas was typically questioning when I asked him, in our interview on the second evening of the tour, for his views on the times of worship which we had had. He replied that sometimes it had been enormously helpful and continued:

It was as we looked over Jerusalem, it was in the Garden of Gethsemane, and as we stopped in the wilderness...I suppose I have almost felt, if we're going to do bible reading then this is the passage to read...but it hasn't necessarily been something which I've been able to take into my own experience, so I think for me it's worked at times and at other times it hasn't.

He was grateful for the advance planning of the readings for, left to his own devices, he would not have known where to have readings.

Other pilgrims whom I have led in the Holy Land have regularly told me how much they valued the opportunity to read themselves at some point on the tour. I recall, too, my own pleasure when invited to read at the Pool of Bethesda in Jerusalem, on my first pilgrimage. The occasion and the passage which I read, from St. John's gospel (John 5: 2-9), are firmly lodged in my memory.

The pattern of devotions, which was followed throughout the 1995 tour, was quickly established on the first morning of the pilgrimage. The group would be standing or sitting in casual fashion. The guide would then say something about the site, its possible authenticity or otherwise, its history and its archaeology. Arthur, as leader, would then take over. Sometimes he suggested a brief time of silence for our own thoughts, sometimes he suggested a devotional theme, and then would follow, in varying order, the bible reading, formal or informal prayers, and singing of a hymn. Then, if time allowed, he would allow us fifteen minutes or so for our own purposes. Some would take photographs, some inspect the site more closely and sometimes you would see individuals seek out a quiet spot for their own meditations. My informants regularly told me that they would have liked to linger a while at some of the shrines. They realised, however, that the pressing group claims of a full itinerary did not permit this freedom. Arthur, so I noted, had a happy ability to keep us moving without appearing to hurry us too much. As the week progressed, and the group settled into this pattern, Arthur invited individuals or small groups to be responsible for leading these devotions. Mary, my Scottish minister

informant, was not too happy with this. In her long letter to me shortly after the pilgrimage she said that it led sometimes to an 'annoying subjective sermon'.

At the end of the first day in Jerusalem, Bernard said to me:

I did not want not want a day with so much bible reading, certainly so much hymn singing, but they worked, and I shall do it myself when we do a group.

He had earlier commented that places visited portrayed a jumble of biblical events, with no chronological order. He realised that a geographical progression was the only possibility. However, he continued that, 'all things came together for me'. The experienced priest had no difficulty in fashioning his own harmony of the day's visits and the day's devotions had obviously made an imprint on his perceptions for he ended by saying that:

Never again will I be able to hear some of those passages, sing some of those hymns in the same way again.

My notes record that on several occasions the group sang hymns with considerable gusto. Particular occasions stood out in the memories of the informants. William recalled the singing in the garden of Gethsemane of 'When I survey the wondrous cross', as had Bernard and as I described in the account of the first morning of the pilgrimage in 6.2. Thomas admitted that sometimes, when a hymn had been announced, he had not felt like singing. Occasionally he was even embarrassed by it. He realised that this said 'more about myself and the things I struggle with in certain respects'. There was one time, he told me, when he had been 'incredibly

moved by the singing'. This had been at Bethany, supposed site of the tomb of Lazarus. It is undoubtedly a first century burial tomb. Entry is by way of twenty-six steps down a deep shaft, only dimly lit. Most of the party climbed down to the confined chamber at the bottom. By torchlight one of the party read the gospel narrative of Jesus calling Lazarus from the dead (John, 11: 1-44). Thomas recounted how they then sang, in the darkness, the rousing Easter chorus, 'He shall raise'. He described his feelings, saying:

It was incredibly moving and it was the music and the words and the peace that suddenly at that moment linked with my own experience. I would have loved to have stayed down there another fifteen minutes.

Coleman and Elsner (1998), from their research at the Anglican shrine of Walsingham, point to the significance of familiar worship rituals being carried out 'in a particularly authoritative context', instead of in the usual context of the home parish (1998: 48). Morinis endorses this same point when he writes:

The Mary of Lourdes or Fatima is the same as one can worship in the local church, but at the sacred shrine she is found in more potent form because she is reputed actually to have appeared at these places as an apparition (1992: 4)

Even though the exact authenticity of that burial tomb as the tomb of Lazarus cannot be proved, yet the shrine has an imposing 'authority', in its situation in Bethany, clearly named more than once in the gospel as the home of Mary and Martha, the sisters of Lazarus. It could be claimed, in fact, that all the Holy Land sites possess that kind of inherent authority. That burial tomb was deep and dark. Thomas said to me, in one of our other interviews, that the previous two years had been the most difficult time of the whole of his ministry. The nature of that

darkness was not for me to know, but I felt some of its intensity as he mentioned it. The whole feeling of that deep tomb, in the singing of a well-known chorus, 'suddenly at that moment linked with my own experience', he said. Person, place and text combined powerfully, the immediate catalyst for the triad being the singing.

As I mentioned earlier in my discussion of varying patterns of Anglican diversity of belief and practice (1.2.5), there is a strong tradition of hymn singing which transcends differences of theological orientation. Here, on this clergy pilgrimage, this strong practice was one, which the clergy on the tour of Free Church affiliation could fully share; it was possibly the biggest unifying factor in the party's acts of worship.

Another setting, where Thomas was moved by the singing of a well loved hymn, was during the boat crossing of the Sea of Galilee. The tourist boats, replicas of first century fishing boats, are very popular with pilgrim groups. The practice is to stop the boat in the middle of the sea for a reading, prayer and hymn. The hymn usually chosen is Vaughan William's setting of John Whittier's poem, 'Dear Lord and father of mankind'. The second verse contains the words, highly evocative in that location, 'O Sabbath rest by Galilee, O calm of hills above'¹. We sang that hymn, and it was a beautifully peaceful sunny day, though not a Sabbath. Six months later, Thomas had a clear recollection of that scene. He said:

¹ is interesting to note that Whittier wrote these evocative words without ever visiting the Holy Land. They were written as a poem during a time of great vilification, which the author was receiving, during the American Civil War, for his active support of the Negro cause.

We switched the engine off and were just sat in the middle of the Sea of Galilee and I think there were a number of things came together...I think the beautiful singing and the end of the pilgrimage.

That hymn, which would have been sung countless times, not least at weddings and funerals, by all the clergy, took on a surreal quality in that uniquely original location. As Thomas accurately remembered this happened on the last afternoon of the pilgrimage. It was the last of many times that this particular group of pilgrims sang together.

William considered that the hymn singing was 'one of our strongest things in worship' and he reckoned that 'it held us together'. He told me, 'Once or twice I've really sung because of what I've felt at that moment'. The singing at St. Anne's church, acoustically perfect for singing, had made him feel 'great warmth and closeness, not only to my fellow pilgrims but to God'. Charles, too, had been moved by the singing at St. Anne's; 'at an emotional level, that struck me', he said.

There were opportunities, on the Sunday morning of the tour, to join in worship with local congregations. All the Presbyterians went to the Scottish church for the morning service there. Some of the Anglicans attended the Arabic service at St. George's Cathedral. They said how much they valued mixing with the local Arab Christian community, particularly relishing the opportunity to sing hymns well known in the Anglican tradition. The host congregation sang these in their native Arabic; we sang in English to the familiar tunes. A synopsis of the sermon was given in English. A few of the party went to the outdoor

service at the Garden Tomb. These opportunities were appreciated, but did not seem to occasion any deep feelings. None of my main informants made any special mention of them. One opportunity which was greatly valued by those who went was the visit early on the Sunday morning back to the Holy Sepulchre. Arthur had suggested that some people might like to do this, especially if they had been disappointed by our earlier visit there the previous afternoon, when it had been very crowded and might well have seemed anything but a place of worship. Kay, as I have previously described, was particularly glad that she made the effort to get up early and be there by soon after 6 am. It was obviously a very special time for her.

Such moments were very private and therefore not the preserve of an inquisitive ethnographer, even when revealed by the informants. I did not pursue any questioning when Kay told me about this, nor on the few other occasions when the informants told me of particular acts of devotion which they made. At various times, at the different shrines, I did observe some members of the party separating themselves off from the rest of the party in quiet contemplation. Charles, who was very open at times in discussing personal, spiritual matters, told me that there were several places where he felt the need for personal prayer. The church at Gethsemane was one of them. 'I was into real prayer there', he said. At the Calvary shrine, even though he thought the ornamentation 'ghastly', he had touched its base, where, it is said, the cross of Jesus was placed. He said:

Yes, I did that, not because I believe that was the hole in which the cross was placed, in a scientific way, but I think you are just plugging into two thousand years of tradition, or however long it's been there.

Here was an individual act of devotion but one which Charles perceived as joining in the adoration and worship of countless Christians over the ages. I did not notice any other of the clergy actually touch this spot but several knelt for a moment and two others genuflected. Charles also lit a votive candle here as did several others of the group, either here or on other occasions. It was particularly interesting that a few of the Scottish clergy lit candles, a practice which would be regarded as anathema in their Presbyterian tradition, but which must have seemed to them permissible away from their own ecclesiastical backyard. Coleman and Elsner quote the justification, given by a young Anglican man at Walsingham, for his extravagant rituals there. He said:

I think the whole idea of it being a sort of religious holiday is important, that you can go and do...things you wouldn't normally do in church, you can cross yourself hugely, and genuflect at every available shrine, and you can do sort of High Church stuff, get a feeling for it in a way that you can't elsewhere (1998: 57).

Coleman and Elsner commented that, at Walsingham, pilgrims felt a freedom to experiment with other religious genres without necessarily being seen entirely to endorse them. In the Holy Land there was this freedom. The whole aura of some of the shrines even seemed to invite these ritualistic acts. As Charles felt, you were doing what countless pilgrims had done before you, and countless would do after you.

Especially, perhaps, in lighting a candle, there is a timelessness. Its flame of prayer continues to burn after you have gone on your way. There was little enough time at each shrine, but those who offered their prayers in

this way, left their ritualistic mark behind them. Thoughts too complex for simple utterance are expressed in the simple act of lighting a candle.

At home, six months later, Charles talked again about touching the stone in Bethlehem. He said that the thought had come to him that 'he was doing what popes and paupers had all done...it wasn't a head thing'. This last remark by Charles perhaps encapsulates one of the most significant benefits for the clergy in the various opportunities afforded for worship and prayer. They consistently lead worship in their own churches. This is necessarily a cerebral activity, requiring forethought and concentration. Their own direct spiritual experience is at a premium in the familiar round of duties. On pilgrimage others did this leading, enabling the clergy to relax from their accustomed role, allowing their thoughts and feelings to wander in liminal freedom. It was, of course, Arthur, our leader who provided the atmosphere in which this could happen. All the members of the party, whatever their denomination, paid tribute to his gift of 'being the priest for us'. As Charles said, 'He played that role so well'. Right at the end of the tour, though, it was one of the lay members of the party who became, only for a few minutes, the shaman. This was the husband of the Scottish minister, Mary. We were on the boat on the Sea of Galilee, nearly back into shore when he said that he wanted to sing for us. He did have a fine bass voice. He said:

If I have had a ministry it has been of singing. May I ask you to do the praying, with all your senses. Use your eyes, look around, pray your prayers and I shall try and sing the right notes. He sang the gospel song, 'Who is this man?'

This was spontaneous, unscripted, a seizing of the liminal moment and was deeply effective. John concluded by saying:

I think God must have chosen you to finish. I don't think there could have been a better place for you to have sung to us, or led us in that confession of Jesus as the Son of God.

In closing this section on worship and rituals, I note that none of my informants made any reference to a shrine visited where ritual was observed in a most intense form. This was the Western Wall of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, popularly known as the Wailing Wall. Here Jews, in great numbers sometimes, can be seen at their devotions. I can only explain the absence of comment from my informants by the fact that the party visited this site on a day when I conducted no formal interviews. I have previously said that informants in their interviews tended to talk mostly about the sites visited on the days of their interviews. However, in an E-mail to me when I had sent the data analysis chapters to him, as to all the six main informants, Eric included a comment that he 'had found it a privilege to read psalm 1 for the group at the Western Wall'.

7.5 The Importance of Walking

In the Holy Land there is a core itinerary which nearly all-western pilgrimage groups follow. The area in which the main sites are situated is relatively small, about 100 miles by 50 miles. A great deal can be seen in a few days and from two overnight bases, Jerusalem towards the South and Tiberias in Galilee.

Travel is by coach, which whisks the party from one place to the next, from one experience to another. It is important to try and find some occasions which are less hustled.

There were perhaps five occasions on this 1995 tour when such 'space' was found and three of them involved walking. They were very significant times. One of them was on the first morning, as already described earlier in this chapter, 6.2. The descent was down the quite steep Mount of Olives. The distance is only about a quarter of a mile and it is practically traffic free. Our guide led the way and we followed in elongating crocodile. Thomas described his satisfaction at 'not having to get on and off the bus'. He found that he could 'stay' with some of the situations which we were beginning to think about. He was moved by actually getting into the events by walking. Clearly liminal possibilities emerge at the natural pace of walking. Thomas talked in the same interview in Jerusalem about unlocking all sorts of things in his mind. He said:

I think that the best way that that has happened is when we've been able to walk between sites, and stay with something which we have heard and stay with that experience.

Walking combines a group and individual activity. You are moving together but you can be alone with your own thoughts and feelings if you wish. It has a guided structure; especially if the route is led by someone else, but there is also a freedom which approaches anti-structure. Even in crowds walking can be a powerful catalyst. At his home interview Thomas returned to this theme when recalling the Via Dolorosa. He remarked, 'I've very strong memories of that walk'.

On this particular walk through the crowded, narrow streets of the old city of Jerusalem, the Souk Arab market area, the distance is about half a mile. Again it had a structure in that the walk was led by the guide who set a deliberately slow pace. A quicker pace would not have been possible anyway because of the crowds in the middle of the afternoon. Along the way are the original Stations of the Cross. Sometimes groups will stop at each one and have readings and formal devotions. We did not do this. There was a reading and some brief prayers at the start. The general context of the progress to Calvary by Jesus carrying his cross was set out, but then each person was left to make their own progress towards the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, while keeping roughly with the group. A brief stop was made by the guide at each station just to point out what it marked. This is a biblical narrative very well known to the clergy, meditated on, preached about, sung about, simulated even in the ritualised devotion of the Stations of the Cross. Thomas did not recount, in that evening interview, any great spiritual exaltation while following the route that

Jesus walked. Instead he talked just of walking through the streets. He commented:

I think there is something very powerful about walking through what are ordinary streets of a major city, and yet quite appropriately stopping at various points.

When I spoke to him at his home six months later he had a clear recollection of those two walks. They had obviously been times of deep personal fulfilment, for his return to the theme of walking had not been sparked by any question from me. Jerusalem can be claustrophobic and space, both physical and emotional, must be positively created. Walking would seem to give one sure way of providing this.

In Galilee, though the landscape is predominantly rural, there are few opportunities for walking much on a pilgrimage tour. The sites to be visited are some miles apart so travel between them is by coach. One occasion, on the tour of my main study, when walking took on a particular role for the group was after the Eucharist at the Mount of the Beatitudes. The guide led us down a gentle slope for about half a mile. A rough pathway took us through grassy fields to the shore of the lake and the next site to be visited. Nobody hurried; it took about twenty minutes. Some chatted as they went in twos or threes; others were noticeably silent and deliberately solitary. Three of my six main informants later talked about this short walk. Kay talked of the guide, 'leading us through the fields' as a memorable experience. Six months later William used these words:

....and then, of course, that (the communion service) was followed when we walked down through the fields to Mensa Christi.

It is the use of the words 'of course' which is significant here as if to suggest that this was an outstanding memory. Eighteen months later Kay made the unsolicited comment: 'and then walking after, down the hillside, that was something special'. This, it is to be noted, was a considerable time after the event that she recalls this experience as 'something special'. Bernard at home six months on also mentioned the walk down through the fields. Clearly this brief interlude in the busy itinerary had implanted itself firmly in memories.

Modern pilgrimage has become hurried and intensive in line with modern forms of transport. The mediaeval pilgrim moved at walking pace for the whole journey, or by horseback or sailing ship at best. Many in this century deliberately aim to recapture something of that slow moving experience. Strong evidence of this modern phenomenon is the increasingly large numbers of people who each spring and summer now crowd the Camino to Santiago de Compostela, walking, cycling or occasionally on horseback. Frey (1998) quotes frequently from pilgrims themselves on their experience of walking. A woman from Madrid wrote to her:

I began to walk. From this moment, when my heart leapt with joy, my discoveries began...I found myself living exclusively in the present, in the moment, living without news or daily life and even in another stage of the century or another world where the well-being, the enjoyment, the energy, the freedom and the walking are all that matter (1998: 71).

On the Camino those who take mechanical forms of transport are reckoned to have taken the lesser way. Two walking pilgrims commented to Frey about those who do not walk:

They do not understand what it means to be connected to the road and to go the human speed (1998: 18).

These pilgrims are, of course, talking about weeks of daily walking. The Holy Land walking of the clergy tour was not in the same category. What was revealed there, though, in almost microscopic form, was the potential in walking even short distances.

I have been able to talk with two people who have walked most of the way from Britain to Jerusalem. Their return journeys were by air. Most of the return journeys from Santiago are by fast transport too. The mediaeval journey of walking there and back is practically never replicated so it is very difficult to gauge the effect of having all that time to assimilate such an experience. One of the Jerusalem walkers, Gerard Hughes, Jesuit priest, also walked to Rome. He has written about both journeys. (1986 & 1991) In conversation he told me of the strange effect of walking day after day. The usual mapping points of daily routine, work, meals, corporate worship, regular hours of sleep, fall away.

Walking now set the day's bounds, timings and intentions. He contrasted this internal logic with the hectic timetable of a western way of life, with outside demands dictating the agenda and thought patterns. He told me the story of a European trekking in East Africa with a group of local people. Every hour or so, for no obvious reason, they just stopped and sat down. When he asked why

they did this he was given the reply: 'So our souls can catch up with us'. This is reminiscent of Csikszentmihalyi who contends that, 'The loss of a sense of a self separate from the world around it is sometimes accompanied by a feeling of union with the environment' (1990: 63).

Clergy live their lives in largely cerebral mode. Their role as leaders of congregations can allow for little direct expression of their own spiritual emotions. Thomas talked about the opportunity provided on this pilgrimage for experience at a non-intellectual level:

Actually being there, seeing the place, walking particularly, on the two days we had up in the North, around Galilee and Nazareth, walking in places that cannot have been that much dissimilar from the places that Christ himself walked, just made me realise how little I understood even though I thought I knew a great deal.

Again this resounds with the general tenor of Csikszentmihalyi who states:

When not pre-occupied with ourselves, we actually have a chance to expand the concept of who we are. Loss of self-consciousness can lead to self-transcendence, to the feeling that the boundaries of our being have been pushed forwards (1990: 64).

Bernard spoke of:

...having to work quite hard to try and allow the various places and events to make an impact or otherwise they just crash in on top of you.

There is clear evidence that the brief times of walking gave the opportunity for what Thomas described as 'engaging with my senses'. He likened this to visiting an art gallery when he likes to spend time with just a few exhibits rather than to encompass the whole exhibition. You cannot create *communitas* but you can try and provide the liminal circumstances in which it can occur. A time of

unhurried walking can be one such opportunity. An individual *communitas* was experienced on the Mount of Olives, along the Via Dolorosa and on the Galilean hillside.

Luard (1998) introduces the intriguing thought that humans are by nature not static people. He quotes from the Japanese poet Matsuo Basho that 'the journey itself is home' and comments himself:

We are not by nature, by evolution and genetic inheritance rooted dwellers in a single place. We are instinctive nomads. We have an urge to roam - it takes us out on the roads. That's where, even if the roads are unmarked, we belong (1998: 12).

The anthropologist, Colin Turnbull (1992), graphically remembers the rigours and the benefits of walking long distances on pilgrimage as a young man in India. He wrote:

The increased discomfort and difficulty gave me some pleasure because they made me appreciate the country in a new and exciting way, such as by tasting the earth when I stumbled and fell face down, by smelling the rocky wall of a ledge or the presence of animal life other than our own, by touching familiar things with tired feet and tired hands and recognising how little I knew them (1992: 264).

There is a distinct echo here, of Thomas's remark that I have recently quoted: 'How little I understood'. Turnbull continues, 'Once, however, I reached the trail which was deserted, I slowed down, not because I was fatigued, but because here was a totally new experience' (1992: 265).

There are shades here of Hughes' story from Africa. Thirty years later Turnbull returned to India to take the same pilgrimage trail again. He recounts how he walked with a young porter:

More or less together, one in front, then the other, as we walked and rested in our own individual time and manner...Now the journey began to be sacred for me...For one thing the journey was now by foot, not by the assortment of buses, taxis, private cars we had to employ...There is something about bare feet touching where other feet ~~have~~, of varying degrees of physical and spiritual cleanliness, have trod a moment before and countless moments before, into such an ancient past (1992: 267).

If that can be true of India it can also be true in the Steps of the Master in the Holy Land.¹

¹ This is a reference to the classic book title *'In the Steps of the Master'* by H.V. Morton (1934).

7.6 Reflections on the Role of Guide and Leader

In this section I shall discuss the part played in the pilgrimage of my main study by the guide and leader. This will include an examination of general issues involved but will also refer to the particular contributions of Kamal and Arthur in their day to day roles during the pilgrimage as guide and leader.

Cohen (1985: 5-29) identified two main roles for those with the responsibility of leading tourist groups. One role was as pathfinder, the other as mentor. If the tourist route was well established then the function of pathfinder reduced and the guide could become more of a confidant or guru. The itinerary for this clergy pilgrimage was well established in advance, the guide's pathfinder responsibilities reducing to expedition of the daily programme and liaison with the leader over any necessary variations. As the one with local knowledge the guide is also the interpreter of what is seen. Cohen quotes Schmidt (1979: 458) who compares the guide to a 'shaman' (1985: 10). This aspect of the responsibilities was very much in the hands of Arthur the leader. This is the pattern of leadership which is the norm for pilgrimage parties in the Holy Land. The leader may be ordained or a lay person. The McCabe Travel practice, not surprisingly, was for an ordained person to lead their clergy familiarisation tours.

Arthur, a recently retired Anglican priest, had previously led parties from his own parish to the Holy Land. Leadership of a clergy party, comprising people who did not know each other and from different parishes was new to him. In a

welcoming letter to me before the tour he wrote of his nervousness at the prospect of this responsibility. He and Kamal seemed to forge a happy relationship very quickly. Kamal is an Arab Christian from Nazareth, and an Israeli citizen. He was keen that we should appreciate the significance of this. He proclaimed proudly, 'I am an Arab and a Christian, an Arab and an Israeli'. The importance of these cultural, religious and political subtleties were a surprise to most of the group. He was fairly new to guiding, having been a schoolteacher in his native Nazareth for over 20 years. He had also been the guide the year before for the clergy party of my pilot study. On that occasion, knowing of my experience with such groups, he had shared his considerable apprehension over his task. On the occasion of the main study, he was now much more confident.

It was not ethically proper for me during the tour to raise questions with the informants about their perceptions of the parts played during the pilgrimage by Arthur and Kamal. However, because I considered their role crucial in the whole action of the eight days, whenever any informants raised the matter themselves I did encourage them to give their views. Also I shall take direct evidence about the guide from the McCabe Travel evaluation forms, which invited comments on Kamal's contribution as guide.

Generally, these were warm in their appreciation of his part in the pilgrimage and pleasure was expressed 'that we had an Arab and a Christian as the guide'.¹

One of the evaluation forms said, 'Good to have a Palestinian Christian as guide'. This was not technically correct, as he had pointed out, but Kamal did powerfully represent the Palestinian cause from time to time in what he said.

Two comments on the forms were appreciative of his humour. Others wrote:

'He was good and informative; one respected his integrity and faith'.

'I was delighted to have such an able and well-educated Arab guide. His Christian faith was a very important element'.

'Very good to have a Christian and a Palestinian to counter Zionist propaganda'.

'He opened my eyes to the plight of the Palestinians for which I am exceedingly grateful.

One minister wrote that he had no standards of comparison but thought that he was a good guide. Two people mentioned a cynicism which crept into his descriptions on occasions which, according to one of the ministers, was 'informative and to a point refreshing, perhaps a little overdone'.

¹ Bowman (1992a) has written on the vexed question of Israeli control and training of guides in the Holy Land. It was not easy for an Arab to qualify as one, for ability in the Hebrew language, as well as another language apart from Arabic, was one of the requirements at that time. Kamal was one of the very few Arabs wishing to become a guide who could meet this demand. More recently the newly established Palestinian authority has been able to license its own guides and there is a training school for guides at Bethlehem University.

One of the Anglican priests commented on the form that:

His cynicism brought a degree of reality to the political and historical aspects of the land which was helpful.

A Scottish minister wrote, 'overdid the politics a bit'. While the group was clearly pleased to have the Palestinian point of view distinctly represented yet there was a feeling that Kamal did, on occasions, overstate the position with too much subjective feeling. His passionate views were respected but were not always relevant to the place being visited. Bowman (1992a) and Sizer (1994) have pointed clearly to the political bias of many Jewish pilgrimage guides and of the way in which they could present a Jewish Holy Land. Kamal presented a possible risk in the opposite direction. It was during the visit to Masada that this came to the fore.

Masada, Herod's hill top fortress by the southern shores of the Dead Sea, has considerable significance in the Jewish nationalistic hall of fame. Its story is of a bold, last stand by Jewish zealots against Roman conquerors in AD 73, before a proud mass suicide rather than fall into slavery at the hands of the Roman general, Silva. The front wall of the youth hostel at the foot of the isolated rock mass, which is Masada, bears the defiant inscription 'Masada shall not fall again'. All this obviously makes for considerable difficulties for Arab guides as, I noted, was also the case at the Holocaust museum. My experience of Arab guides at Masada is that they mostly just let the site tell its own tale, perhaps referring pilgrims to the guidebooks for details of the story. They would then lead the party into the cable car and escort the pilgrims around the site, pointing out the fascinating wealth of the archaeological ruins.

Kamal had a different policy. On the coach, as we approached Masada, he spoke at length, propounding a theory that the commonly accepted Masada story was essentially the invention of Jewish political propaganda. His preferred version was that the mass suicide was essentially an ignominious defeat rather than a heroic triumph. He even suggested that there might not, in fact, have been any suicides at all. By the time that we reached the foot of Masada, this interpretation while not completely implausible, had removed some of the mystique of excited expectation at visiting such a fascinating site. My notes record that the group seemed confused by what he said. The experienced McCabe Travel director, who was accompanying the tour, told me later that he considered Kamal to have considerably exceeded his professional brief as a guide.

'Too much talk here', was one comment on an evaluation form. However, one of the Scottish ministers said the reverse, 'Loved every minute at Masada, the guide at his best'. Others were not so sure. One wrote of Kamal, 'Good fun, relaxed, well informed but biased, and it began to tell after a while'. The scoring returns on the evaluation forms marked Masada consistently highly. It would seem that, whatever their initial feelings after Kamal's diatribe, the hour spent in the fortress ruins enthralled the members of the group. They were helped, too, by a sensitive intervention by our leader, Arthur, who read part of the traditional story to the clergy pilgrims. Perhaps, too, their considerable enjoyment of Masada, despite Kamal's debunking, revealed a robust resilience in the clergy to form their own judgements and not be unduly swayed by the attitude of a guide. I could imagine a party of lay people, on the other hand,

being rather more influenced by what he said and accepting of its possible truth.

Cohen's notion (1985:10) of the leader of a pilgrimage as being a 'shaman' recognises the weight of responsibility held by a priest leader such as Arthur. He himself said that he was particularly conscious of that onus in leading a group of clergy. Despite these misgivings Arthur seemed completely at ease from the outset of the tour when he met the group at Heathrow airport. The clergy seemed to have confidence in him straightaway. Charles said to me during our interview in Jerusalem that:

I've forgotten that they are clergy, forgotten that I'm a clergyman because I've felt safe, partly because Arthur has played that role so well. Arthur's isn't my style but I've felt safe, It's ok.

This tribute could well define the essential quality of a shaman. The Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology defines a shaman as one who does not rely on any authority bestowed by a church or controlling religious organisation, but as one who exerts his or her influence through the qualities of his personal charisma (1986: 256). Charles was able to abandon his habitual concern in being the priest for others and just let Arthur look after the spiritualities of the pilgrimage. At home, six months later, Charles clearly remembered what that had meant for him on the pilgrimage, for he repeated much the same thoughts in saying:

I quickly forgot that we were clergy, and it felt safe in Arthur's hands. That was important, the spiritualities being taken care of you know. The devotional style might have been different but I felt secure in what he was providing.

Bernard, at home six months after the tour, showed that he too had been grateful for this same quality. He admitted to a dread of clergy gatherings, 'they can be so awful', but said:

I found great confidence in Arthur; he was the priest for us, and therefore we did not have to be.

One of the other main informants, Thomas, told me how he had appreciated 'the flexibility and sensitivity of Arthur's leadership'.

In my discussion, earlier in this chapter, of the occasions in the pilgrimage when the phenomenon of *communitas* could be observed, I noted that, while it could not be created, liminal opportunities for such experience should be sought. This would require flexibility and sensitivity by the leader, such as Thomas noted as being one of Arthur's apparently natural gifts. Kay had valued this very quality in Arthur's leadership. She said to me at home that:

He was wonderful. He was the perfect pilgrim leader. He gave us space but those wonderful little tit-bits every now and then, which were wonderful, spiritual tit-bits.

Kay points here to what is perhaps the most crucial attribute in a pilgrimage leader, 'he gave us space'. However, he also gave direction, what she called 'spiritual tit-bits'. I had noted this innate judgement, of when to be silent, when just to speak briefly. It was a necessary counter-balance to Kamal's more loquacious tendency. As the week progressed I could observe irritation in the group at his manner. One written comment after the tour was, 'wanted to shut him up at times. Another one was, ' too much talk and often not related to the site we were at'.

Eric considered that Kamal was at his best as a guide, 'when he led us down through the fields after the Eucharist in Galilee'. On that occasion Kamal had said very little but just quietly led us as a 'pathfinder', allowing us to make our own pace in following him down the sloping fields. He left us, too, with our own thoughts. It is significant that many people in the party regarded that walk, admittedly in lovely surroundings and on a clear sunny morning, as nevertheless one of the most memorable occasions of the whole pilgrimage. Kamal had allowed us liminal space.

Thomas, as he did on more than one occasion, proved to be his own commentator when he talked about Kamal. This was on the third evening in Jerusalem. He, too, had been talking about the need for space in a crowded itinerary. Thomas recalled that Kamal had told the group, on the coach journey up to Jerusalem from the airport, that he considered it his responsibility as guide to give pilgrims as much information as possible about the places to be visited and about the totality of the sites which will be visited in Israel. Thomas said that he had 'immediately balked at this'. He continued:

For me, I suppose, it's a little bit like visiting an art gallery. I would rather go into an art gallery and spend time with three or four paintings than do the whole gallery, or whole chunks of the gallery, just to say that you have seen them.

Thomas appreciated, so he told me, that the itinerary was bound to be crowded on a familiarisation tour. He was therefore all the more grateful when the guide and leader provided space.

7.7 Standing on Holy Ground

A journey to the Holy Land is bound to raise great expectations, placed in what might be regarded as the ultimate centre out there. Similarly, probably no tourist destination has so many fantasies built around it. Therefore, I was expecting the clergy pilgrims to reveal surprises and disappointments.

When I interviewed William, after we had been in Jerusalem three days, he told me how a great deal had surprised him. He said:

My expectations of the Holy Land, and of Jerusalem in particular, were somewhat different to what the experience actually turned out to be, and that was not so much the expectation of the sites but of Jerusalem. The buildings in particular, I didn't expect to see so much poverty. I didn't expect to see so much rubbish and waste as there is in the centre of Jerusalem.

He compared Jerusalem with his own cathedral city of Durham:

...where everything is clean and tidy. I expected that same kind of orderliness about Jerusalem; I did not expect to see so much chaos.

I pointed out to him that we had so far seen East Jerusalem, the old Arab part of the city. There is a concentration of Christian shrines there. West Jerusalem, the Jewish part is mostly of more modern construction. Eric brought a very different perspective to his first reactions to Jerusalem. He had been vicar of a west London parish for over twenty years. In that time he had seen that area develop a social mix of people from different ethnic cultures. He told me that he observed the same tensions in Jerusalem. He had an astute comment on his fellow clergy pilgrims, saying:

There are a significant number of people in the group who have not really been out of the UK. before, and in reacting to Jerusalem they're not particularly reacting to Jerusalem. They're reacting to Eastern or non-European culture. They might have a similar reaction if they came and stayed with me for a bit....and so some of our reaction is due to what we

could call the first world to the two-thirds world, and what seems strange to English or Scottish eyes is not all that strange really.

This made me recall my own feelings, on my first visit to the Middle East eighteen years previously, and I recognised the truth of what he was saying. Eric later told me that he had visited India and had direct experience of third world culture. None of the other main informants, to my knowledge, had the benefit of this. Their visit to Jerusalem was their first experience of non-European culture. Whereas guide books would have described the individual sites to be visited and would have contained photographs of these shrines, no pre-tour reading would have prepared the clergy for the overall picture and experience of the nature of life in Arab East Jerusalem.

On the afternoon of the first day in Jerusalem Kay showed the extent of such a culture shock. After lunch back at the hotel, we had moved on to Mount Zion on the slopes at the side of the Old City, looking across the Kidron valley directly to the Mount of Olives, where we had been that morning. Kay told me that evening that during our visit to the church of St. Peter in Gallicantu her attention had wandered while we were still outside, and while Kamal, the guide, was setting the general scene. She had a slight hearing impediment and admitted that she frequently did not try to hear everything that he was saying. Stretching down to the right was a valley, its steep sides closely packed with jumbled, Arab houses. She said:

Looking over this city, with a remarkable amount of rubbish, looking down over the wall and seeing this group of buildings, ram-shackled buildings, chickens and the cats and the horse walked in, and trying to work out whether these were outbuildings of a house, a stone clad house with one family living in them, or whether people lived in those houses, and then there was the bare earth going down into the valley further over, and seeing a group of people with a fire, and wondering what they were doing and why

the children were not at school, and just being aware of the poverty of the people here and wondering if that was how it was in the time of Jesus, thinking it probably was, and actually for me Jesus was in these people and not in the Dome of the Rock, not in the wonderful Jerusalem University. He was definitely present with these people for me, and it was probably like that in his time.

Eighteen months later, at home, Kay recalled seeing that waste ground and being aware that, 'things were not as they were at home'. She seemed, in describing her reaction at the poverty witnessed that afternoon, to want to make sense of it, almost to sacralise its existence, by linking it back to the time of Jesus and then by theologically using it to find the presence of Christ in those Arab people. She had not come to the Holy Land to witness third world deprivation but nevertheless had to accommodate its existence in her mind. In thinking about it theologically she seemed to remove some of the distress which it initially caused her. However, when I talked with her on her own in this interview she also remembered her surprise at the modern style of life in West Jerusalem, which we had seen later in the week. She talked of 'police cars with flashing lights, buses, traffic', as if this modern style of life had not been expected by her either in Jerusalem. The general scene, then, occasioned surprises among the clergy pilgrims because of its cultural strangeness.

Sometimes it was the whole topography which occasioned surprise. At his home, six months after the 1995 tour, William told me that his main surprises in the Holy Land had been of a geographical nature. He had found Jerusalem to be a smaller city than he had expected but Bethlehem larger than he had imagined. Nazareth, similarly, he had previously thought of as a village and he had been unprepared for the bad traffic jam in which we found ourselves. He said: 'I hadn't realised that it was a town of 70,000 people'. His reactions were

typical of other clergy in the group. The conditioning of carols and familiar Christmas narratives, over many years, does not prepare pilgrims for the life to be found there now. Bethlehem, particularly, seemed to surprise most people in the group. One of the Scottish clergy admitted that the well-known story of the shepherds visiting the manger of the infant Christ (Luke 2, 8-20) had always formed in his mind an image of a village nestling among hills. The words of the American clergyman Phillips Brooks' nineteenth century hymn, 'O little town of Bethlehem how still we see thee lie', may have a sentimental appeal but they are very distanced from the present reality.

Our visit to Bethlehem was on Sunday afternoon, the fourth day of the tour. The half-hour coach journey took us through the outer suburbs of a Jewish part of southern Jerusalem, with scarcely a break in buildings as we followed the long road into the Arab town. We arrived by the Church of the Holy Nativity to find Manger Square packed with coaches. Gaudy tourist shops lined one side of the square; a heavily barbed wired Israeli police station dominated another side. Street sellers pestered the group as we dismounted from the coach. All the clergy would have been sent a copy of Wareham and Gill's (1992) guidebook, which warns of the shock which visitors to Bethlehem, can experience. It gives a word of warning to '...the Christian pilgrim who may have been conditioned from a very early age by carols and Christmas cribs' (1992: 69). At home six months later Thomas told me that, 'All my worst fears were confirmed as we came into what they now call Manger Square'.

We had lunch in a nearby restaurant and then entered the sixth century basilica. Inside the church it was more peaceful but we had to queue for a short while before descending the few steps down to the manger. A silver star, set in the floor, marks the supposed place of Christ's birth while opposite in the rectangular cave is a representation of a manger. Here we sang, read the scripture and said our prayers. Thomas said how he had, 'a real scramble to make the place important'. One of the main informants, Charles, did make a point of telling me that he had knelt down to touch the silver star but I did not recall any other of the clergy making a similar act of reverence. He was not impressed, though, with the rest of what we saw in Bethlehem, remarking that, 'it was much more dusty than I had expected and much larger'. I think that his picture of Bethlehem must have been conditioned by the impression given, perhaps in carols, of a green rural setting.

There were similar surprises encountered in Jerusalem. Charles seemed not to have prepared much for the tour in what he had read before coming. He told me:

I couldn't get over how short the Via Dolorosa was. I'd got it in my mind as being miles.

He did not realise either that Calvary and the place of resurrection were so close together and in the same church building. He had not connected up the Mount of Olives with Gethsemane for he said:

I hadn't realised it was an olive grove. I hadn't realised that Gethsemane meant olive press.

None of the other main informants were so unaware of locations as he seemed to be. I noticed them on the first day regularly pouring over the maps with

which they had been provided. William commented to me later in the tour that it was in the Jerusalem area, rather than in the rest of the country, that his experiences differed from his expectations.

In a similar way a culture shock faced the clergy at some of the Christian shrines. This was particularly so where the guardians of the sites were eastern Orthodox or Armenian churches. William revealed this clearly in his feelings about the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. He told me, during our evening interview after we had been there in the afternoon, that he had done 'a little reading about the site', and therefore knew something of what to expect. He said:

I had thought, well, yes, this is probably the site of where our Lord was actually buried, and yet going there and visiting it, I had no sense of closeness, or feeling at one with that particular site. Perhaps that was because I was entering a church where the tradition was not my tradition. Perhaps it was because of the darkness within the building itself, whereas for me, the resurrection is seen as that of light, you know, and joy and light and everything new. It really didn't come up to my expectation.

Richards (1982) writes about just such a disappointment on entering the Church of the Holy Sepulchre for the first time. It is shared by Armenian, Coptic, Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches. The latter denomination has its own part and this would accord, in its decoration, with western expectations. However, it is the other churches' style which dominates, particularly the Orthodox. The essence of that style of liturgical adornment is maintenance of what has always been. Change, even in the smallest degree, is anathema and so William would not have found anything new to accord with his hope of resurrection joy. The dimly burning oil lamps give little illumination in a building already dark because of its few windows.

Charles was even fiercer in his disparagement of this and other Orthodox shrines and applied contemporary standards of judgement to these historic sites. He had told me how liturgy was one of his main interests and that he was on the liturgical committee of his diocese. He said:

Er, frankly, how dingy those shrines are...I mean, they really are. You would have thought that the twentieth century...

His sentence was unfinished, perhaps because he realised the irrationality of what he was trying to say, for he continued:

I'm not wanting to bring my western nice, neat and tidy, you know. I think, on the other hand, that the Muslim Mosque is so much more impressive than the Christian shrines, though I don't mean more holy.

While I did not detect that at any point any of the clergy pilgrims looked for direct confirmation of their faith, yet in Charles' comparison of the Christian shrines with the outstandingly impressive Muslim Dome of the Rock, there does seem to be an expression of feeling that the central Christian shrines failed in competitive comparison with the Muslim shrine. Their architectural witness was not one of the light, life and joy which Charles and William might have hoped for and which they would have known at home, both in big, new churches (Charles came from the Coventry diocese, with its fine contemporary cathedral) and in the refurbishment so common in recent years in older church buildings.

Later in the week we did visit the one large, new basilica in the Holy Land, the church of the Annunciation in Nazareth. This Roman Catholic Church has two levels and, particularly, in the upper one, there is a wealth of modern design in

the colourful wall panels, gifts from twenty countries. It is light and has a soaring cupola. The Italian mosaic behind the high altar is one of the biggest in the world and shows Christ with his arms outstretched in invitation. At his right hand is the Virgin Mary, crowned in glory. The lower section is not so illuminated but is simpler, and at its heart is the remains of an exposed cavern, traditionally held to be the place where Gabriel appeared to Mary. Strangely, only one of the main informants made any reference to this basilica when I talked with them that evening or the following day. This was Charles who simply said, 'I loved the undercroft in the basilica'.

Bernard, it will be remembered, had been to the Holy Land before so he largely knew what to expect. He did, however, express surprise at two particular sites.

The Tomb of King David, a Jewish shrine, was the first of these. He remarked:

What surprised me there...if King David is so important as we believe him to be to the Jews, why don't they make more of his tomb, if they believe it is actually his tomb, as a holy site? It surpassed even the worst of Christian sites in tackiness, and they didn't seem even to bother about it.

His second disappointment was also on Mt. Zion, at the Cenacle, or Upper room, said to be the place of the Last Supper of Jesus with his disciples.

Bernard described his feelings in saying:

I was surprised, but I knew I would be, by the Upper Room that is so desolate, sad, not helped by the building works. (There were workmen there repairing one wall) I know it is not used as a church and I was surprised that we were able to sing and read there, but overall there was the awfulness of the abandonment of that room, whether or not it is the site of the Last Supper is immaterial. It is rather like the abandonment of Jesus on the cross, which I suppose, is what the Eucharist is about.

The issue here, as elsewhere in the Holy Land, is the custodianship of the shrines. The Upper Room has been under Moslem control since the middle of the sixteenth century. The right of Christian pilgrims to visit and even hold

devotions there is acknowledged though, Moslems being tolerant of parts of the Christian tradition. No communion can be held there and there are no Christian emblems, apart from an ancient carving on a pillar showing pelicans pecking at their breasts. This is a very old Christian symbol for the atonement. The stone walls are bare and the room does have a desolate air about it. Minor repair work to a wall was in progress when we were there and because of the noise from the workmen, Arthur, our leader, was limited in what he could do there by way of a devotional address. As a result he was not able to do what priests leading a party often like to do, which is to give an opportunity for commemorating in some way the Last Supper. Bernard obviously felt that something very important was missing that day in our visit. He termed it 'the awful abandonment of that room'. His background as a priest was in the more catholic tradition where the Eucharist is held to be of central significance. While he understood the reasons for the barrenness of the Upper Room he seemed to have longed for there to be a vibrancy in the place, as a worthy recognition of what that last supper has meant sacramentally in the whole life of the church over the ages, and particularly to him throughout his twenty-five years of priestly ministry. He copes with his negative feelings about the place by resorting to theological gymnastics, a little as his wife, Kay, had done on the same afternoon in seeing Jesus in the poor Arab people, by comparing the empty room with the desolation, the abandonment of Jesus on the cross. He justified this linkage by commenting, 'which I suppose is what the Eucharist is about'.

Wareham and Gill (1992) are aware in their guidebook of the disappointment which can ensue at this shrine and warn that:

Considering the significance of the Upper Room for Christians, this could possibly be one of the most disappointing of all the Gospel sites in the Holy Land (1992: 58).

When I talked with Bernard eighteen months later, on his own this time, I drew him back to his thoughts about that Upper-room. He remembered very clearly that our guide had talked about the pelican symbol and, though he acknowledged a love for the stone crusader walls, he returned to the theme of it being essentially a very empty space. He had been back there with his own party and had tried to make the place meaningful. Speaking now, in leadership role as a priest likely to lead parties there again, he said, 'I would like to think more about what one could put into the Upper Room'.

The other sacrament which is important in Anglican practice is Baptism. A modern site, commemorating the baptism of Jesus, has been constructed on the Jordan riverside at the southern end of the Sea of Galilee. Wareham and Gill describe it in rather blunt terms as:

...an extensive baptism place on the riverbank adjoining purpose-built facilities which comprise a large car park, snack bar souvenir shop, changing rooms and toilets (1992: 110).

These authors' enthusiasm for the site is very muted, commenting that it is run as a commercial venture. They do, however, go so far as to say that: 'on a quiet day it can be a pleasant place' (1992: 111). It has never been claimed to be the authentic site of Jesus' baptism; other sites further south have much more claim to authenticity. The intention in establishing this site was to give a readily available place where baptisms or rebaptisms could take place in the Jordan.

Greek orthodox pilgrims, as Bowman (1991: 109) describes, and as I mentioned earlier, come here with great devotion and plunge into the water with implicit belief in the powers of the water as a means of renewed grace in their lives, especially as they approach death. There was no such literalism or devout intent in the Anglican clergy's attitude at this somewhat ersatz site. We stopped there at the end of a full day travelling north from Jerusalem, visiting Ein Karem, the birthplace of John the Baptist, Caesarea and Nazareth on the way. Thoughts were probably rather more on the Tiberias hotel awaiting the party than on any more devotions that day at another holy shrine. We had an appropriate reading, said a prayer and then there was a brief time for pilgrims' favoured practice of going to the water's edge to fill plastic bottles with Jordan water, some of which would be used for baptisms back home. I noticed too that a few of the clergy passed some river water over their faces in a private act of devotion. The McCabe Travel evaluation sheets generally marked this baptismal site as low in appeal. One of the comments added was that 'it was an important place to visit, but quite false'. Others wrote of wishing that more time could have been spent there. One of my informants wrote, 'very spurious'. Another Anglican priest commented very dismissively, 'stagnant not living water'. There seems to be the implied longing in this statement for a meaningful place to celebrate the significance of baptism for clergy spend a large part of their ministry in baptism preparation and services. One of the main informants, Charles, in our interview later that evening, was pithily dismissive. He just said, 'I thought the baptism place was awful'.

The pattern of disappointment, which emerged as I considered these reactions, was one of frustration at those places, which represented strong points in the ministry of the clergy. They were not looking for affirmation of personal belief, as perhaps many lay pilgrims do. The clergy were too sophisticated theologically to expect exterior confirmation of what they believed. It does seem, though, that they were most disappointed at the places which might have provided considerable encouragement for those matters which they saw as at the heart of their ministries but which failed to demonstrate by their ambience, and did not allow a spontaneous celebration of any awe or wonder at the central mysteries of their faith.

As far as the surprises were concerned these did seem to centre around reactions to cultural and topographical features of the land, certainly as far as the southern part of the country, around Jerusalem was concerned. There was much less surprise about the landscape in the northern area of Galilee, which largely seemed to accord with expectations. The clergy reactions in this regard had no real connection with the fact that it was the land of pilgrimage; the reactions were those which any tourist might have had.

7.8 Encountering the Middle East: Political and Social Awareness

In recent years much attention has been given as to what should be the attitude of Christian pilgrims towards the political situation in the Holy Land. Bowman (1986, 1994), Prior (1993, 2000) and Ateek (1997) have written strongly against those pilgrims who just visit the Holy sites but make no attempt to engage with the indigenous community, particularly with local Palestinian Christians. As a researcher, I am also mindful of the 'the politically charged nature of representing "the Other" through Western eyes' (Coleman and Simpson, 1999, 3). Sizer (1994) conducted a particular research into the ethical policies of British pilgrimage tour firms in relation to this issue. Writing later (2000) about this investigation he concluded:

My investigation of pilgrimage tour operators revealed four categories. For secular operators the presence of an indigenous Church is irrelevant. Christian operators are largely ignorant of it and Zionist operators are antagonistic. Only the comparatively few who identify with the name 'Living Stones' offer any dialogue between pilgrims and Palestinian Christian (2000: 152)

McCabe Travel has always been one of the tour firms to provide this dialogue. Built into the itinerary for the tour of my study was a meeting one evening with three Palestinian Christian women at our hotel in Jerusalem and an hour in Nazareth with Israeli Arab Archdeacon Riah, now the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem. Another opportunity for such engagement was taken by some of the Anglican clergy in attending the Arabic Sunday morning service at St. George's Anglican cathedral. Here the preacher, who gave a synopsis of his sermon in English, was Canon Naim Ateek, a leading figure in the Living Stones movement mentioned by Sizer, and by myself earlier in this thesis. This body actively encourages contact between pilgrims and the Arab people

of the Holy Land. These people are the living stones, as opposed to the dead stones of archaeological visits.

There was no similar direct contact to hear an Israeli Jewish point of view and two of the tour clergy expressed their regret at this. However, a visit was made to Yad Vashem, the memorial and museum of the Holocaust. This starkly presented the whole tragic basis to the establishment of the State of Israel, an essential background for understanding many of its ongoing political attitudes. These were, then, the itinerary items which placed current political and social issues firmly on the agenda for the pilgrim clergy's awareness. A further political input came from our guide, Kamal. An Arab Christian from Nazareth, he not surprisingly, lost no opportunities to express his own obviously Arab viewpoint.

On the day before we left Jerusalem, a bomb exploded at a bus stop in central Israel, killing some soldiers and injuring many more. The following day our coach journey took us within a mile or so of the scene of the explosion. I noted a heavy military presence in the area. That evening I asked Charles, in the course of our interview, if he thought that the bomb incident had had any impact upon our pilgrimage group. He linked this incident with the perceptions which he believed already to have been formed by the clergy pilgrims about the political situation in the country. He said:

I think that the ingredients were already in place... To me that illustrated what Kamal had been saying, what the archdeacon had said. It isn't just their neurosis, it's real. I don't think the bomb added anything to it for me.

This confirmed for me the impression which I had formed of Charles' concern for social matters. He had previously told me how, in the Garden of Gethsemane, his thoughts had been with the suffering peoples of Chechnya. He seemed well informed about the political struggles and problems of the Holy Land. He said, though, that he had not realised before coming on this tour that the Arab Christian church traced its origins back to the time of Christ. He said how he had known a young Palestinian priest when he was a young priest himself but had forgotten about the Arab Christians until this tour. He had refined his understanding of the current situation and had 'unravelling his previous unthinking concern about Arab, Muslim, Hezbollah'.

When I interviewed Charles at home, six months later, he told me how he had been considerably disturbed by an incident during the group Eucharist at the Mount of the Beatitudes. He was telling me about the photographs which he had taken on the pilgrimage. One of them was particularly evocative for him.

He said:

The most vivid photograph was one I took from the place where we celebrated the Eucharist. It was just a picture of the Sea of Galilee and I know the fence around it was just ordinarily protective, but it happens to be a barbed wire fence, and I remember those helicopter gunships going over as we celebrated the Eucharist, and I've been honest about the photograph without knowing what it was, and how it symbolised something quite important.

Just after the Eucharist he had told me how those helicopters had affected him. It was while we were saying the confession that they had passed overhead, 'to do God knows what, to God knows whom, God knows where'. They were, in fact, heading towards the Lebanon. Charles' words were powerful in their expression of anguish and he continued:

Are the Israelis launching an attack on the Syrians, and all the rest of it?... and even if they're not, but confessing on their behalf but recognising that they, that that's me too, we're all part of it.

His speech is confused and this reveals the intensity with which he felt the pain of the aggressions and suffering of the people of the area. It was obvious to me, when I spoke with him at home, that he had taken these issues very much to heart at the time, and since. He remembered clearly Archdeacon Riah's powerful talk to the group. He recalled his 'passion and his patent Christianity'. It made him realise the contrast with the ease of the Christian faith we practised in England.

Charles, among the six main informants, was the one who most entered into the suffering which they perceived. When I interviewed William, on the evening after the meeting with the Palestinian women, I asked him about his reaction to them and what they said. He replied:

I knew about the political situation, of course. I didn't realise its implications, I have to say that, or perhaps what it was...and I found it very useful to listen last night to Christians living within Jerusalem, listen to those people talking about the way in which they are segregated and are made to be no more than second class citizens. They have no citizenship actually.

Charles did not show any emotion as he talked about this. The tension of the situation did not seem to disturb him unduly. This was not so with Kay. It was on the very first evening, when we had not been in the Holy Land very long and before any real engagement with Palestinian people, that she told me of her feelings that morning at the Dominus Flevit church. She said:

...and taking in the tension between the Arabs and the Jews, and praying for peace, being in the city was about peace, and yet the sadness that this cannot happen, it does not seem to be possible to have peace in our world, and seeing the hen, chicken, coming in....and then thinking of God spreading

out his wings like a mother hen, and then taking us all in, with our differences, was for me very moving.

She knew something of the political troubles but they only came strongly into her feelings through seeing them at first hand. 'Being in the city was about peace'. Here is the Christian priest talking and expressing a longing, not just for the Holy Land but for the whole world. The metaphorical symbolism of the hen's appearance provided a theological model to encapsulate her feelings, 'God spreading out his wings like a mother hen'. Would a male priest have said that? Thomas, at home six months later, spoke of the impact that actually being in Jerusalem made on his political thinking. He told me:

...and so simply sitting in the middle of the turmoil, and experiencing it by what we saw and heard and talked to, was very moving, not so much historically, as simply widening my vision of the world as it is today. That is a situation which is mirrored in individual lives, it's not about Israel and Palestine, it's actually about the struggles individuals go through and I'm actually in there as well.

In linking the problems of Jew and Arab with the 'struggles of individuals' Thomas would, I suggest, be drawing on his years of experience of pastoral ministry with people in different kinds of needs and anguishes. I suspect too that he had had his own personal problems and perhaps still struggled to find complete meaning and purpose in his life of faith. In talking about the sins of the world he was humble enough to include his own. It was very much the language and thoughts of a priest.

Charles had spoken in very similar vein in describing his feelings when the helicopter flew over during the Eucharist in Galilee. He talked about 'confessing on their behalf', a vicarious notion, and just like Thomas, he put

himself firmly in the frame of human sinfulness by adding, 'that's me too, we're all part of it'.

The group's visit to the Holocaust museum and memorial at Yad Vashem came on the last afternoon of our stay in Jerusalem. The museum does not spare any feelings in displaying the horrors of the holocaust and of the concentration camps in particular. The memorial part of the complex consists of a dark, starkly bare stone walled chamber. Set in the floor is a series of tablets giving the names of concentration camps, Buchenwald, Auschwitz, Dachau, Belsen and others less well known. A single flame, also set in the floor, illumines the names.

The separate children's memorial is particularly chilling in its impact. On entering you are greeted by a confused myriad of stars, reflected and counter-reflected in a series of mirrors. It would be difficult to find your way through without the help of a guide rope. The disconcerting effect of the mirrored images is intensified by the solemn sound of voices echoingly chanting, with slow deliberation, the first names of Jewish children. This hideously grievous recitation accompanies you as you painfully make your way through. The whole effect is completely unhinging of mind and body. Even writing this description brings a chill of recall to my being, such is the horror of what is being commemorated there.

It would have been insensitive of me to try to observe too closely how the clergy pilgrims were reacting to the grimness of Yad Vashem. I did, however,

notice some of them standing, individually or with a partner, heads heavily bowed in silent contemplation. Nobody seemed to be talking. After about an hour it was a very sombre group which made its laboured way back to the coach. My first round of interviews had already been completed before that afternoon. In any event, I would have deemed it insensitive to ask any questions of the informants immediately or even subsequently. Two days later, however, Eric did mention this visit to Yad Vashem in relation to Kamal our guide. Kamal had obviously been very ill at ease as we rejoined him. Eric commented on 'the completely inappropriate way in which he tried to jolly us on our way'. The only other person to mention Yad Vashem to me was Thomas who said that the programme arranged for the evening, the excursion all together back to a large tourist shop in Bethlehem, was 'a useful antidote after having had an intense period at the Holocaust museum' and he added:

...with all that went around that, people feeling the pain of the guide, quite evident, those two emotions.

Thomas was alive not only to his own distress but also the feelings of those around him. No mention of Yad Vashem was made by any of the main informants in their follow-up interviews. Further perceptions from the group were, however, available from the McCabe Travel evaluation forms. There were several significant comments. Three people wrote just that it was an important place to visit. Other comments were:

'I haven't come to terms with this place yet'.

'Amazing, painful but good'.

'Explained a lot about Jewish consciousness'.

'Moving, uncomfortable'.

'We must not be allowed to forget what happened to the Jews'.

These remarks, written a few weeks after the tour, reveal something of the impact which Yad Vashem made on the perceptions of the clergy pilgrims. I

suspect that, as with the other politically pressing aspects of the tour, the clergy had not reckoned in advance of the tour to be faced with these distressing matters. The whole tenor of the Holocaust museum seemed to give some insight into the pressing claims of Zionist expansion and the overwhelming pressure to defend the state of Israel against all presumed threats. To that extent the Yad Vashem in part balanced the pro-Arab sympathies which had obviously developed in the pilgrimage group. However, it still did not fully explain what seemed to many in the group to be an unjustifiably harsh Jewish treatment of the Palestinian people and their political aspirations. Thomas expounded on this theme, though not directly in the context of Yad Vashem, when I talked with him at his home. He remarked:

What has struck me very deeply, particularly listening to the news, is the irony of a nation that has had some...been treated in some atrocious ways, and yet the difficulty that they have in treating others in a way that they would have liked to be treated themselves.

Though it was not expressed with his usual clarity, this measured consideration by Thomas possibly cogently sums up the perceptions of the whole party as they found themselves close participants in the traumas of the Holy Land. It was difficult fully to understand those tensions. There was no difficulty, however, in feeling their intensity.

7.9 Ludic Relaxation

In this section I shall give an account of those occasions in the tour which the clergy themselves perceived as being a relaxation from the main spiritual purposes of the pilgrimage. This discussion will at the same time touch on the conceptual difference between pilgrimage and tourism.

Cohen suggests that one difference between pilgrimage and tourism is that:

Pilgrimage is traditionally expected to provoke religious rapture or exaltation. Tourism, however, is expected to give mere pleasure and enjoyment, derived from the novelty and change provided by the destination (1992: 53).

He takes, too, the Eliadean notion of a 'sacred centre' as the ultimate intention of a pilgrim's journey (1992: 50). In the Holy Land there is no one centre but rather a whole series of centres. Whatever their prior feeling about the nature of what they would be doing in the Holy Land, whether serious or less serious, the clergy pilgrims did have the common bond of visiting the land where their faith had its origins. They found a unity in their times of worship together but it was at other times that personal bonds of association were forged. Martin Robinson (1997) quotes Christian Zacher's comment on the fictional pilgrims of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Zacher wrote:

At the very beginning of the General Prologue the pilgrims exude an air of *fellowship*, and the narrator, who senses it too, tells us he and the rest made a *forward* to rise early the next morning and depart. Then to further emphasize the fellowship of this of pilgrims, Chaucer has the Host propose a contest of tales... A more spiritual motivation for pilgrimage would have generated a true Christian fellowship among the pilgrims (1997: 68-9).

At least one of my informants would not have agreed with this prim suggestion. The background to the interview with Charles at the Tiberias hotel

was a raucous singing of 'Cockles and Mussels' by several of the group. We had been talking about the enormous fun and sharpness of some of the humour which had developed in the group. Charles commented:

My own humour has been sharpened, I think it often is in a group. What do you say? Canterbury Tales? In a way, people let their hair down, they've learnt to trust with each other...be slightly risqué with each other...I've even heard one or two people be sexy with each other, in a funny sort of way, you know, jokes about married couples, you know, and its been safe, you know...it's temporary. In my theology that's the Holy Spirit at work.

Charles touches here on a very important point about this clergy pilgrimage, 'it's temporary'. He went on to say that, 'I shall have forgotten most of these people in a year's time'. Twice, in the clergy familiarisation tours which I had led myself in the past, I had observed liaisons forming beyond just flirting, between men and women clergy whose spouses were not with them. I did not observe anything of this nature on the tour of my field study but could agree with Charles that there had been a relaxing of inhibitions. Charles does not see this as unspiritual activity but claims it to be the work of the Holy Spirit. He left home with work in mind but had obviously been able, after a few days, to see the pilgrimage in a different light.

Thomas admitted to me, when we talked at his home six months afterwards, that he had set off for the tour with a holiday in mind. He said:

The week was far more of a pilgrimage than I had allowed myself to think that it might be, that I wanted it to be before I started.

He was travelling with a priest friend from the same diocese and, apparently, they had made light of the fact that they were going on a pilgrimage. He continued:

I had joked quite a bit, the fact that it was a pilgrimage, we had both said that we were going to have a holiday, we were going to have a break,

unashamedly we would enjoy ourselves, and do some of the things we would normally do on holiday, and I think in one sense that gave us permission, because we had decided that, to allow those bits that began to get under the surface, to actually do whatever they did do. I didn't feel that I had to use a lot of energy and keep reminding myself that it was a pilgrimage, whatever a pilgrimage is.

Thomas came from an evangelical background, where there is little tradition of pilgrimage. It could well be that some of the 'joking' with his friend to which he refers had its origin as a defence mechanism in engaging in such a practice as pilgrimage. Certainly he seems to have regarded it as likely to be a somewhat seriously pious affair, for he uses terms like 'permission' and 'unashamedly' in their decision to try and make a holiday of it. They seem to have made a clear distinction between sacred and secular activity. This was the perception before the pilgrimage. Actual experience was different. He said to me in Jerusalem that he was 'surprised how relaxed it's been, and enjoyable it's been'.

Thomas, perhaps then, set out in his own mind as partly a tourist. To his pleased surprise he found himself becoming more of a pilgrim than he had anticipated saying, 'the effect has been deeply profound...(there was a long pause)...at a personal level'.

Charles was the other one of my six main informants to discuss the pilgrimage in relation to holiday activity. We had touched on this during one of the interviews in Israel, in relation to family holidays which he obviously relished. When I saw him at home in August, six months after the pilgrimage, he was looking forward to setting off, a few days later, to the south of France with his wife and daughters. I asked him what he thought the differences were between

going on holiday and going on pilgrimage. He was definite in his response, saying:

I don't file them in the same file, not the same sort of experience. When I go away on holiday I'm there to let go of all responsibility... We may go to church on Sundays, I may say a very stripped down daily office... and then that's out of the way. I'm there to enjoy myself and I do that quite consciously and deliberately with my Christian persona. I'm not trying to escape that but it's just trying to feed the other, that other side which often gets left.

Charles seems to be displaying a split perception of his priesthood and 'that other side'. This dualism then led him to talk in terms of his pilgrimage as being connected with the priestly side. He continued:

Pilgrimage is more. I'm not saying that it's not enjoyable, I hope we enjoy it. It's got something to do with community, whereas holiday is about avoiding other people...so it's an exercise in Christian community, I'm sure about that. I suppose...So I think the doing of something together, its got a deliberate devotional focus.

Cohen expresses much the same point by saying:

Visits of great numbers of tourists are usually believed to spoil a destination, while the presence of tourists at a site is seen as detrimental to the experience of its authenticity. In the pilgrimage, the presence of other pilgrims is often felt to enhance rather than detract from the experience (1992: 56-7).

Charles concluded by saying:

I suppose I relate pilgrimage to choir holidays we used to have from my last parish, which were huge fun, but I didn't write them down in my diary as holiday-time. I was still the vicar.

This suggests that Charles seemed to regard his pilgrimage a part of his work as a priest. This is in contrast to Thomas and his friend who were looking forward to a holiday. I asked William how he regarded the pilgrimage. He was definite in saying, 'I did not think of this as a holiday'.

Turner (1978: 37) reminds us that pilgrimage devotion has always been connected with 'a measure of joyful ludic communitas'. This could well describe what Charles observed and seemed to enjoy. I noticed that there were times when he separated himself at some shrines and knelt in particular acts of devotion. There were other times when he was very much at the centre of lighthearted relaxation. Turner mentions Chaucer's awareness that comradeship was an essential feature of pilgrimage and asserts that his own observation of pilgrim groups in Yucatan, Ireland, Rome and Lourdes clearly showed that:

Those who journey to pray together also play together in the secular interludes between religious activities; sightseeing, to places of secular interest is one common form of 'play' associated with pilgrimage (1978: 37).

The visit to the Dead Sea and Masada was the part of the clergy pilgrimage tour, which could most be described as 'sightseeing'. Eric was regularly a quietly astute commentator on the changing scene during the week. He had said to me early in the tour, 'Basically I am fascinated with people rather than places'. I recorded an interview with him on the coach returning to Jerusalem after the visit to the Dead Sea region. He observed that the close contact of all being packed together in a cable car for the ascent to Masada had produced light-hearted merriment. I noted that there was then a similar foolery when most of the group was swimming, or rather floundering, in the salty Dead Sea. Not everyone bathed but everybody joined in the fun. A sumptuous lunch followed and then came the visit to Qumran, and its shop, as already described. There were no visits to religious sites that day but it was a day, the third day of the tour, for bonding of relationships. Charles told me later how he had relaxed

in the shared activity of that day. He was aware, though, of what he was doing and of a different level of activity. He said:

I felt that I was much more in holiday mode...it was very interesting (note the self-questioning in those words)...I'm pleased I went...er...but I wasn't in pilgrimage mode, if you know what I mean.

He displays here, almost anxiously perhaps, a distinct sense that this day might have been not part of the pilgrimage and that he might not have entered fully into it. The pilgrimage was work; this was holiday. The previous year this distinction had been even more marked in one of the informants of my pilot study. He dressed severely in black, with clerical collar for the whole pilgrimage, except on the Masada day when he wore light trousers, coloured shirt and bright choker scarf. This was unlike all the other members of the party, even those of anglo-catholic persuasion, who sported a variety of colours, whatever the activity. This pilot study priest had said to me, 'I'm on holiday today'.

The data from my informants, and my observation of the other members of the party, reveals that the pilgrimage tour touched them on two levels. Some of the experiences at the religious sites were undoubtedly deeply meaningful. There were, however, times of considerable enjoyment on occasions, not least in the easy fellowship of meal times. While some of the group, probably the minority, made distinctions between religious and ludic activity, others saw the pilgrimage as a single entity and would not have wanted to draw distinct lines.

7.10 Returning Home

In this section I shall consider the reactions of the clergy pilgrims as the tour came to an end and they returned home. I shall then trace the subsequent effect of the pilgrimage, as they perceived this in their ongoing lives and ministries. The pilgrimage journey was really very short and within eight days the clergy pilgrims were suddenly back in their usual environment.

In all my journeys to the Holy Land, I have never quite come to terms with the speed of the return journey ~~back~~ home from the environment of the bible lands back into the familiarity of the mundane environment of home. While this is, of course, true of any plane journey from abroad there seems a particular starkness about returning from what might seem to be the sacred to the secular. One of the six informants, Charles, told me that he would be hurrying home to a parochial church council meeting that very same evening!

There had been a change of airline schedule for our return flight to an awkward, early departure time. This required a 3 a.m. departure from our Tiberias hotel so as to be at Ben Gurion airport in time for the lengthy security and check-in procedures. I had hoped to use the journey home for last informal interviews but most of the party were trying to catch up on sleep. I did manage to have a last word with each of my main informants and confirmed the general arrangement that they would be happy for me to visit them later that year for follow-up interviews. Otherwise, it was just a question of hurried farewells. In the turmoil of the luggage carousel area at Heathrow the pilgrims, who had shared so much in such a short time, went their various ways.

Frey (1998) comments on this speed of return and the transitional problem it causes. After several weeks on the Camino trail, with its very different manner of daily life, the sudden change has a distinct edge. She wrote:

The vast majority of pilgrims elect to return home by train, car or bus and very often regret the speed with which they are carried back to their normal daily lives. Some pilgrims extend the journey a few days, to ease the transition, but in general pilgrims are back home again within twenty-four hours of deciding to leave Santiago (1998: 179)

My ongoing train journey home was shared, for a short while, with Bernard and Kay. Not surprisingly, our conversation was all about the pilgrimage and they seemed glad of my company as a means of reducing the shock of being back in England. Kay, particularly, took the opportunity to tell me more about the intensity of her anguished feelings at various points of the pilgrimage, in the Holy Sepulchre particularly. This conversation was further evidence to me of the extent to which the agony of her personal trauma over her first husband's tragic death had come to the surface in the Holy Land. I formed the impression, on that train journey, that returning home would have been particularly difficult for her had she been on her own and not with Bernard, her husband.

William, when I saw him at home in the following August, told me about his homecoming. He had a long train journey to his home in the north. I give his own account in full of what happened. He said to me:

All the way back, I actually felt on the plane and then on the train, I could feel within me an emotion building, because all of the way back, the experiences of those seven days were building and I was going back through them all, and I actually felt that, you know, I had received an awful lot, something that was extremely precious...and I felt extremely humbled by what I had received and totally unworthy of it as well...so much so, if I could say that. My brother picked me up at the railway station and on the

drive home he was asking me how things were...and I found it difficult to speak to him about it. I was extremely emotional and as soon as I started to try and describe the experience, I had to stop because I was so close to tears. This was, you know, absolutely unprepared for, unexpected and even for the rest of that night it was difficult for me...and the family could see that I had been moved by the whole thing.

Aziz (1987), commenting on Turner's *communitas* model found, in her researches on individual pilgrim experience, that:

...it bespoke an intensely private encounter; feelings varied greatly from one person to another and they were determined by the particular life and personality of each woman and man (1987: 248).

I can only conjecture what some of the particular components of William's distress might have been. He did share with me in our interview in Jerusalem that he had undergone medical tests just before leaving home. The results were expected to be available for him when he returned home again.¹ That anxiety must have been strongly in mind as he journeyed home. Also, it was as if he had been moved strongly at various times during the tour but had not been able fully to emote these feelings then. He had talked more than once in our interviews in Jerusalem and Galilee about his sense of vocation being given affirmation by the pilgrimage. I had felt, though, that he expressed his reactions always in spiritual terms and that there was perhaps a more personal level which was not being overtly uttered. It is possible that it was this human level of reaction which surfaced and caused William such intense emotion as he returned home.

Frey (1998) knew from her own experience of letting go of the Camino that her picture of pilgrim testimony would be incomplete without some record of how

¹ He was able to tell me during that home interview that the results of these tests had been good and that this news had removed his anxiety.

those experiences were assimilated in succeeding months. She stated that her interest was not so much in any radical change during the pilgrimage but in '...how the pilgrimage endures, if it does, and how the expectations are interwoven into daily life, influencing future actions and ways of being' (1998: 179).

She tried to keep in touch by correspondence with her world wide informants, and some people did respond to her enquiries, but it was an incomplete picture as she lost contact with many of her most valuable informants. I was more fortunate, being able to visit all the six main informants at their homes six months after their tour. I also had postal contact with them for a further three years. A further factor in evaluating their absorption of the pilgrimage experience into their daily lives was that their working lives provided ready opportunities for revisiting the whole pilgrimage exercise. Whereas returning Camino pilgrims were likely to meet either a bored or uncomprehending response from family and acquaintances the clergy found ready, even eager, audiences in their congregations, and many opportunities to indulge their memories. Frey found that Camino pilgrims worked actively to keep the Camino and its influences a part of their lives through, 'memory aids, communications, associations and repetitions' (1998: 201).

Eric told me of one regularly ready way in which he prolonged the pilgrimage experience. In Galilee, he had bought a pottery chalice and paten which depicted the mosaic at the Mensa Christi church of loaves and fishes. He had used this several times in his church for communion services. He also showed me a printed reproduction of that mosaic which he had used for the front page

of his parish magazine. In that edition of the church magazine he had advertised the parish pilgrimage to the Holy Land which he began planning soon after his return in January. In this way his own pilgrimage was woven into his ongoing ministry and was typical of my other main informants. By the time I saw them in their homes in August 1995, all had started to make plans to take their own parties. William, in fact, had already been, that tour having been arranged some time previously. I asked him what it was like going back so soon with people from his own parish. He replied:

I felt it was a great privilege to take those people out to the Holy Land and a wonderful experience to see people themselves gaining so much from the Holy Land.

His pleasure in leading a party shows clearly the vicarious satisfaction available to pilgrim clergy, an opportunity not available to most returning pilgrims. In talking with the other informants about leading their own parties it was obvious that they were gaining great personal fulfilment from this activity, which was quite justifiably a part of their ministry but one which provided welcome diversion from some of the more ordinary chores. It could be described as a normative *communitas*.

Other opportunities for extending the pilgrimage came with sermons. As William said, 'sermons flowed fast and free'. He reckoned that the pilgrimage had 'added another dimension to my preaching', but he was careful, 'not to overdo it'. He told me too how his approach to the reading of scripture had changed and he enthusiastically continued:

How can you ever read the gospels, read these words in the old way? Constantly now the scenes associated with the gospel accounts come immediately back to mind as one reads.

I suspected that, in ways that I could not know, William had been finding strain in his ministerial vocation for he talked about 'the knocks which one has to take'. He had talked in Israel about his feeling of great joy, as the calling of the disciples on the shores of Galilee was the theme of our devotions. He had linked it back to the joy of his own ordination day some years earlier. My strong impression now was that his surge of renewed confidence, on the slopes above Galilee, had not been just a transitory hysteria but did contain the roots of a renewed sense of vocation which was enduring. In August 1998, three and a half years after that first pilgrimage, he wrote to me saying:

What I experienced at these sites I feel I shall never forget...It remains for me a milestone in my spiritual journey, alongside such events as ordination and one or two other events in my life, events when I know that I have been touched by God's grace and have received from Him.

This statement might seem starrily unrealistic but I did not hear it like that, for he added in his letter that:

For the present and, I expect, the future, this is a great support for me in times of trial both in my personal life and ministry.

His sentiments here invite credence to the notion of the Holy Land as a Sacrament, a tangible and outward means of God's grace. When I talked with him at home William described one particular way in which he perceived a significant growth of strength in his pastoral capacity. Three weeks after the tour, William, in response to my letter, had replied saying that the tour seemed to have given him the ability to resolve a particularly vexing pastoral problem in his parish. This intrigued me and, when we met in the summer, I asked him if he felt that he could say anything more about this. He replied:

I felt, coming back from the Holy Land, that a sort of peace and a strength came actually just to deal with it, and it was dealt with, no longer a problem.

The clarity with which William described this matter, and the tersely confident way in which he could say, 'and it was dealt with, no longer a problem', seems to me to be strong evidence of his own perception that something significant had happened to him in the Holy Land.

Morinis (1992) wrote:

The return to the everyday is a component of almost every pilgrimage. While the sacred place is the source of power and salvation, it is at home once again that the effects of power are incorporated into life and what salvation is gained is confirmed...Has there been change? Will it last? (1992: 27).

From all the evidence, which has been available to me, I would argue that it did last.

Thomas, when he wrote to me in 1998, had twice been back to Israel, leading parties. He, too, was full of gratitude for these opportunities, saying that these two pilgrimages had been more selective in the places visited. This had enabled him 'to go deeper' into a smaller number of sites. In response to my question, as to how he perceived the effect of the January 1995 tour on his subsequent life and ministry, he replied that these subsequent tours had confirmed the initial impact. He summarised the main effects as follows:

Quite a few ideas about following Jesus were brutally squashed when we first went. These have to be discarded and new images, new ideas put in their place. These alter perspectives. The incarnational nature of Christ's ministry took on a new perspective. The romantic gives way to more reality.

He did not elaborate on what he meant by 'more reality'. When I interviewed him at home in August 1995, he had spoken at length about what he perceived to be the impact on him of the pilgrimage six months previously. He spoke particularly of the two days spent in the Galilee region, which included Nazareth. He said that it made him realise, 'How little I understood even

though I thought I knew a great deal'. He explained that he had had a firm biblical grounding in his faith, from childhood onwards and through all his theological training and into subsequent study. You will remember that Thomas was principal of a clergy-training course. His was the most penetratingly theological mind of all the six main informants. He said:

I knew my way around my bible, I knew what most of the literature was about and I had a fairly good grasp on the life of Christ but what I had never done is really to have made any attempt to put it into its original context, other than having done it intellectually.

It was specifically as he walked in Galilee that Thomas realised 'how little I knew'. At Capernaum, visiting the ruins of the 4th century synagogue, he felt that he 'had got back to some sort of roots'. He related this realisation back to the Shepherds' Fields shrine at Bethlehem, where the open spaces there had induced an excitement at 'the very quiet way, the bizarre and out of the ordinary way in which the incarnation had taken place'. It is testimony to the power of a shrine that it can bring to life a theological doctrine which, as Thomas said, 'engaged with my senses'. He described why he thought that this had happened for him at Capernaum. This is the site of a fourth century synagogue, built almost certainly on the foundations of an earlier one. Jesus might well have taught in that earlier synagogue. It may be significant for understanding Thomas's reactions to remember that his ministry was a teaching one. He said:

I think it was because Capernaum was the only place, I think, up in the north, where we actually saw excavated ruins and what struck me about it was that they were only just below the surface. If that was the case, then most of what we were seeing was just what it would have been... I think what Capernaum did was suddenly ignite something in me which took me back to some sort of baseline, because I was struggling with that most of the time in Jerusalem.

The word 'ignite' is a potent one to choose to describe what he had felt and it had happened suddenly. He explained what he meant by 'struggling in Jerusalem'. He had found it frustrating that the shrines in Jerusalem were so full of uncertainty and the best that could be said was often, 'it could be here, it could be there, it might be here'. He found it difficult to 'try and put together the actual events themselves'. 'Up north in Galilee', he said, 'there was no problem, it just seemed to lend itself to be open in that way'. Thomas did not have any romantic notions about specific sites; he did not seem to attach any mystique to them. However, the intellectual in him did seem to have been looking for a literal grounding to give substance to his faith. He felt that he had found this in the ruins of Capernaum. This grounding, perhaps it was only just 'below the surface' of his mind, had been discovered through the medium of the excavations there.

Drawing together what he felt had been the lasting effect of that familiarisation tour, Thomas maintained that he had been profoundly moved, 'at a personal level'. He reckoned that it had taken him back to points on his own personal pilgrimage and 'brought them alive in a new and fresh way'. Here the impact of being in the Holy Land moved his thoughts forward in a completely new way but at the same time took him back into his past. In this way his 'whole being' was embraced. He admitted to being basically cerebral in his approach. Now he seemed to have found a different stratum of significance.

He told me of one particular circumstance in which he was conscious of the pilgrimage's direct impact on his ministry. He described this occurrence. It was

at Eastertide and he had had to prepare a bible reading for a big conference in his diocese. The subject was the walk to Emmaus (Luke, 24, 13-35) He said:

I've always read that through and read the section where Jesus disappeared, once they recognised who he was, and then they returned to Jerusalem. I've began to realise that seven miles from Jerusalem in terms of seven miles around greater London (his home area) doesn't sound very far but when you put it in the context of the Holy Land, what those two going back to Jerusalem actually meant. This spoke volumes to me about the depth and reality of an encounter with the risen Christ... That suddenly gave me an experience which was not an intellectual experience, but very much an experience of the heart, of the depth of the resurrection,....that the resurrection wasn't all about joy and happy-clappy. It was something which was incredibly meaningful and that passage has sustained me throughout Lent... I spent a lot of time preparing for that conference and I don't think I could have done it in anything like the same way had I not been to the Holy Land, and seen what was going on.

In all his interviews with me Thomas was perceptive about the significance of his own experience, almost the analyst of his own data. His words, 'and seen what was going on', refers to the country as it is now. Being there, in the vibrancy of its present life, seemed to give him a profound sense of the reality of the life of the biblical record. This awareness obviously illuminated his ongoing ministry. Remember that this was the man who had set out with the intention of 'having a holiday'!

It was at an Epiphany carol service in Gloucester cathedral, a great place of pilgrimage in mediaeval times, that I first heard T.S. Eliot's poem (1936), *Journey of the Magi*. So often at carol services the readings do not seem much more than interludes, the opportunity for a break between the musical items. Seldom, in my experience, do they command attention. That was not so for me that January Sunday afternoon in my home cathedral. Eliot's words struck me

forcibly with a sudden realisation that here was a singular evocation of the mystique of Holy Land pilgrimage as pilgrims 'returned to our places':

All this was a long time ago, I remember,
And I would do it again, but set down
This set down
This: were we led all that way for
Birth or Death? There was a Birth, certainly,
We had evidence and no doubt. I had seen birth and death,
But had thought they were different; this birth was
Hard and bitter agony for us, like Death, our death.
We returned to our places, these Kingdoms,
But no longer at ease here, in the old dispensation,
With an alien people clutching their gods.
I should be glad of another death (1936: 106)

There are lines here which remind me of Thomas, particularly the words, 'There was a birth, certainly, we had evidence and no doubt'. Others lines from Eliot's poem recall for me the nature of some of the confidences which Kay shared with me when I interviewed her on her own at home in August 1996. It will be remembered that her experiences in Jerusalem had been strongly linked to her first husband's tragic death. Now she had a different experience to recount and one from the immediate previous few months. She said:

This year I had a very bad summer, Easter and Summer in my ministry, I think that one of the things is...because of being in that place, because of knowing that it did all happen...I think that...(she was finding it difficult to tell me all this) Very, very close to giving up ministry, and I was...not a crisis of faith. Had I not been it might have been a crisis of faith...I did wonder at one point if it was to do with coming down from the mountain...Holy Land, peak of my career, been to the top of the mountain, had come down from the mountain..and there was nothing else.

It is not unusual for clergy to have doubts about their vocation a few years after ordination. In 1996 Kay had been ordained for five years. Coupled with her earlier tragedy and the death that year of an aunt, of whom she was very fond, Kay's crisis had no one cause. She said herself that it may have been part of the whole bereavement process and that there were a whole set of quite difficult

circumstances that 'were just too much for me'. She repeated her belief that it was the pilgrimage experience, which had helped her through and 'will help me the rest of my life'. The interview concluded with Kay saying that:

Was it coming down from the mountain and realising that that was the most wonderful place? I can't work it out yet.

Eliot's Magi returned to their kingdoms, 'no longer at ease here'. Fifteen months after her first visit to Israel, Kay returned, leading a party jointly with her husband, Bernard. She spoke enthusiastically of that tour. She described to me how her priestly ministry had been affirmed by the welcoming response, particularly when she celebrated the Eucharist, of some of the group who had previously had doubts about women's ministry. That seemed to have been significantly 'mountain top' for her. I speculate that Kay's depression in those recent months might have partly had its cause in the frustrations of daily parochial ministry, down from the mountain. That year she had not had the diversion of a Holy Land tour. It is a hard lesson to learn that the people in your parish, like those of the Magis' kingdoms, can seem like 'an alien people clutching their gods'.

On that same day I also interviewed Kay's husband, Bernard. Just as I am sure that she confided in me about her ministerial difficulties because we were on our own, so now my interview with him had a different feel to it. Previously I had always interviewed her and her husband together. Bernard had been to the Holy Land in his student days, over twenty-five years previously. The 1995 tour was special for him because they had not been married long and his perceptions were very much coloured by sharing impressions with her. In our 1996 interview he told me that he had seen Galilee 'through new eyes, partly

Kay's, partly my own'. He explained the significance of this for him. He found Galilee as 'calm, peaceful' and he had time to reflect on the resurrection of Jesus. Jerusalem he considered to be 'passion and crucifixion'. This was a theme, which he had first raised the previous year in our home interview. Then he had explained that:

Jerusalem is death, Galilee is Easter. I know that part of Jerusalem is the Holy Sepulchre but it's the sepulchre associated with Calvary. For me Jerusalem is the sacerdotal ministry, it is the heaviness, the authority, the awfulness of what we do, whereas Galilee has a lightness of touch. It's the pastoral ministry, it's the gentle, caring, teaching ministry, and both are necessary. Perhaps I've been a little heavy on the sacerdotal ministry, and I need the Galilee ministry. I'm still working it out...I shall go on working it out, but what I find interesting is that it has taken me so long to recognise Galilee.

He had no doubt that this shift of vision had come about because he was now viewing the Holy Land through his wife's eyes as well as his own.

I felt that when we spoke a year later he had certainly progressed in 'working it out still', for he talked about the lasting effect of having his ministry 'grounded in that land'. They were looking forward eagerly to taking a further party to Israel and he had greatly enjoyed planning this. He talked now in much the same way that Thomas had done in saying, 'For me now, Jesus is a real person in a real land'. A decisive reorientation had taken place in his theological thinking. He rejoiced, too, in the ministry that he now had in 'introducing people to the Holy Land, where we laughed together and cried together'. He saw that familiarisation tour of 1995 as a turning point in the development of his ministry.

This account has shown how the lives and ministries of the clergy pilgrims were significantly influenced by their pilgrimage. They came to the pilgrimage with different backgrounds. Coleman and Elsner (1995) state that:

The extent to which pilgrimage involves so strong a sense of transformation or indeed an explicit confrontation with the new, either for the traveller or for those to whom he or she returns, is obviously subject to particular circumstances (1995: 207).

The truth of this will have been seen in the stories, which the clergy pilgrims told me of their lives following the pilgrimage. What was evident in every case was that there could be little doubt as to the potential of such a pilgrimage, through the liminal space which it offered. In the next and final chapter, I will be drawing together what I consider to be the main findings that have emerged in this discussion of my data analysis.

Chapter Eight Concluding Remarks

Earlier in the thesis, in chapter 4.5, I set out as part of the methodology six main research objectives. As the fieldwork proceeded it quickly became apparent that these categories would only serve as guiding, not encompassing, themes for the data analysis. However, it is useful to draw these concluding remarks together under those six headings.

First, though, I summarise the impact of the two substantive themes of *communitas* and the triad of person, place and text on the data. I have set out in some detail in chapter 6, 1 and 2 my findings about these two themes. As far as *communitas* is concerned incidences of its presence could be observed at different stages of the pilgrimage and in varying forms. Group, existential *communitas* occurred on two occasions during formal times of worship. This would suggest that ~~that~~ the liminal/liminoid situation of the clergy on such a tour, half in role and working but half 'backstage' as well, provided the emotional setting for sudden occurrence of existential *communitas*.

Perhaps the most interesting occurrence, however, was in the spontaneous secular activity in the tourist shop at Qumran. What might be termed as individual *communitas* was expressed by my informants at several different places, including a sense of spontaneous *communitas* with the elements rather like Csikzentmihalyi's (1990) notion of optimal flow. Two of my informants talked also in terms of a feeling of *communitas* with pilgrims past and future as well as

present. A normative type of *communitas* could be delineated in the eager response of the returning pilgrim clergy in immediately planning future tours for their own congregations. They were further able to maintain their relish for the pilgrimage in sermons and addresses.

The triad of person, place and text was readily observed throughout the pilgrimage, as I described in chapter 6.2. Further consideration would now make me question whether the notion of just a triad is not rather limiting numerically. Why only three co-ordinates? Other 'texts' could be identified as equally present in the pilgrimage, such as the multi-voiced contribution of the clergy themselves, in the whole tradition of Holy Land pilgrimage, the input of the guide and leader and indeed in the overall ethos formed by the policies and practices of the organising tour company, McCabe Travel¹. While strong examples of Eade and Sallnow's basic triad concept could clearly be identified during the pilgrimage, not least in Eric's remarkable experience at Caesarea, interestingly again in a secular setting, There would seem to be further possibilities for the exploration of the many 'texts' to be found as present in the pilgrimages.

¹ In the appendices (page322) I show an outline of these policies and practices as displayed in McCabe Travel's own information sheet.

I now outline in turn conclusions which can be drawn from the six headings outlined in chapter 4.5.

1. What were the expectations of the clergy for the eight days of the pilgrimage?

Overall there was a keen anticipation that the tour should be a meaningful spiritual experience. This showed itself partly in the anxieties expressed that the sites should not be tarnished by commercialisation and should not be spurious in their content. The tour was seen as an opportunity to revitalise flagging enthusiasm for the ministerial task. It was also seen as a chance to take a break from more usual clerical routine. One informant, Thomas though, set out much more with holiday in mind but found, much to his delight, that he was moved intellectually and spiritually at levels that he could scarcely have anticipated.

2. What was the effect of the pilgrimage on individual notions of faith ?

All the clergy informants seemed to find their faith strengthened by contact with the literal 'ground' of their beliefs. One expressed it as finding faith at a level deeper than the cerebral. Perhaps the most striking testimony to the tour's impact on their faith came from the two most experienced priests among my informants. They found that their experiences in the Holy Land caused them to rethink basic doctrines of belief, in one case the incarnation, in the other the resurrection. Nor,

as with the impact on the other clergy were these passing whims. Fundamental re-orientations in thinking were obviously going to accompany them home in the continuation of their clerical duties.

I couple the next two headings together as they are largely complementary.

3. What implications did this pilgrimage have for the future ministries of the clergy?
4. Did the pilgrimage confirm a sense of vocation?

The Galilee region, with its strong vocational 'text' of the calling of the first disciples by Jesus was recalled in later interviews by several of my informants. For two of them the pilgrimage came at significant liminal times in their ministries. William previously, Kay subsequently, experienced real crises in their sense of vocation. For the former the pilgrimage acted as powerful tonic which sent him back to his parish with renewed enthusiasm and hope for his ministry. For Kay the crisis came some twelve months or so after the 1995 pilgrimage. She looked back to that tour as a source of fresh encouragement in maintaining her ministerial calling.

At a practical level there were two main influences on the continuing ministries of the clergy. Firstly this was in the revitalising energy brought to bible reading and study and their preaching and teaching. Secondly the engagement with the pilgrimage phenomenon introduced a whole new aspect into their daily ministries

in the planning and discussion for the leading of their own pilgrimage groups.

This had been very much my own experience and my research showed it validated in the experiences of other clergy.

5. Was there value in such a short pilgrimage?

The very pressure of the crowded itinerary, the dynamics of the compact group activity, the intensity particularly of the Jerusalem environment all seemed to have combined to provide the liminal moments so necessary in enabling the emoting of strong personal experiences. I would couple this necessarily with the whole experience of McCabe Travel in determining that this tour was not just educational but should provide a genuine spiritual experience. Decisive too was the sensitive skill and eirenic personality of the priest leader in giving security and emotional space to his clergy pilgrims. The sudden return home, after only eight days away, had the effect of catapulting the clergy back into the heart of their ministerial lives while the impact of the pilgrimage was very ^{AKM} part of them still.

6. What was the effect of exposure to the non-European culture of the Middle East?

For all but one of my six main informants this was their first experience of a non-European environment. There was an eager willingness to become absorbed into it, even if there were occasional unfavourable comparisons with western styles. There was an eager desire too to understand the complexities of the racial and political discords which dominate the Holy Land, Particularly there was a ready

empathy with the Palestinian cause but this was coupled with an intention to try and understand Jewish attitudes. One disappointment expressed was the relatively small opportunity to witness Moslem and Jewish forms of worship. These were limited to visits to the mosques on the Temple Mount and to the Western Wall.

In conclusion I would suggest ways in which this study point directions for future anthropological research into pilgrimage and also into the lives of clergy generally.

There seems to have been no previous ethnographic study at all into any aspect of clergy life and work. Bridging the liminal/liminoid divide as they do clergy could be a rich source of enquiry. They have a rich culture and sub-culture. They make ~~tee~~ expertly ready subjects for interview, being naturally questioning of their own experiences and practices. Under what might to the uninitiated seem a monochrome exterior presence they do in fact reveal wide ranges of personalities and characteristics.

Despite Eade and Sallnow's (1991) call for ethnographic investigation into individual pilgrimage experience there seems to have been ~~no~~ few attempts to do this apart from the Camino researchers and this study of mine. The reason can only be in the difficult logistical problems of travelling with groups of pilgrims to

distant destinations. My own methodology was necessarily rather exploratory but it might provide a template for future studies of any groups in motion, not just of pilgrimage parties.

The two substantive themes of *communitas* and the triad of person place and text emerged during the course of the study as potentially fruitful for further exploration. The subtleties of the *communitas* hypothesis for pilgrimage studies could well be tested and identified in ethnographic enquiry. They might be found to be rather closer to the notions of the triad idea than might seem obvious. This notion is also capable of expansion beyond just the coordinates suggested by Eade and Sallnow. A post-modernist attitude would conclude that many, varied 'voices' inter-relate to provide multiple 'texts' in the pilgrimage phenomenon. This is true of secular as well as Christian pilgrimage. The triad idea has not been tested either in other faith pilgrimage traditions. It could be anticipated that a whole complex of constituent parts could be found to be present. The field is open and inviting.

Postscript Helena's Tribute to the Magi

'Like me', she said to them, 'you were late in coming. The shepherds were here long before; even the cattle. They had joined the chorus of angels before you were on your way'.

'...How laboriously you came, taking sights and calculating, where the shepherds had run barefoot! How odd you looked on the road, attended by what outlandish liveries, laden with such preposterous gifts!'

'...You are my especial patrons,' said Helena, 'and patrons of all latecomers, of all who have a tedious journey to make to the truth, of all who are confused with knowledge and speculation, of all who through politeness make themselves partners in guilt, of all who stand in danger by reason of their talents.'

'Helena' by Evelyn Waugh (1963: 144-5)

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Pilot Study

Biographical Details of Clergy Informants, guide and leader.

I have used pseudonyms to ensure anonymity.

- Norman** aged 67, married (wife accompanied him).
Evangelical background. Ordained 30 years.
Just retired from chaplaincy to the deaf. Home in Lancashire.
- Francis** aged 30 married. One infant son.
Moderate catholic. Ordained 6 years Parish priest in Lancashire,
2 years in present post.
- Paul** aged 48 unmarried. Anglo-catholic. Ordained 19 years.
Parish priest in the Potteries. 6 years in present post.
- George** aged 63 married (wife accompanied him),
Liberal Evangelical. Ordained 37 years. Parish priest in Yorkshire.
13 years in present post. Hon. Canon.
- Kamal** Local Arab Christian guide.
- Graham** Tour leader, parish priest in Midlands, aged 59.

In addition

- James** Gave me a long informal interview right at the end of the tour.
Aged 52 married (wife accompanied him).
Liberal Evangelical background. Ordained 5 years.
Non stipendiary priest in Norfolk. Regional Manager
for commercial firm.
- Harry** Provided further valuable conversation.
Aged about 40, unmarried.
Presbyterian minister from central Scotland engaged in religious
broadcasting.
- Margaret** Aged 34, unmarried. Evangelical background.
Ordained 2 years. Assistant in midlands parish.
- Michael** Aged about 45, married.
Radically inclined methodist minister from Northern England.

Main Study

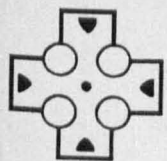
Biographical details of clergy informants, guide and leader.

I have used pseudonyms to ensure anonymity.

- Bernard** Aged 51, married to **Kay** (see below).
Anglo-catholic. Ordained 26 years.
In present post 2 years. Parish priest in West Midlands.
- Kay** Aged 44, married to **Bernard** (see above).
Evangelical. Ordained 3 years.
2 years in present post as assistant to **Bernard**.
- Charles** Aged 46, married, unaccompanied by wife.
Moderate Anglo-catholic/Radical. Ordained 23 years.
In present post 2 years. Parish priest in Midlands.
- Eric** Aged 58, married, unaccompanied by wife .
PhD in Chemistry, formerly research scientist.
Evangelical. Ordained 32 years.
In present post 19 years. Parish priest in West London
Hon. Prebendary of St Paul's Cathedral.
- Thomas** Aged 46, married, unaccompanied by wife.
Liberal evangelical/Radical. Ordained 18 years
In present post 3 years. Principal of Southern locally ordained
clergy training course.
- William** Aged 40, married, unaccompanied by wife.
Moderate Anglo-catholic. Ordained 14 years.
In present post 4 years. Parish priest in NorthEast.
- Kamal** Local Arab Christian guide, aged about 45.
- Arthur** Tour leader, aged 65, recently retired parish priest.

In addition

- Mary** Presbyterian minister from a parish in the South West of Scotland.
Became a valuable informal informant. Aged about 45, she was
accompanied on the tour by her husband. She wrote to me at length
after the tour and I travelled to Scotland to interview her six months
after the pilgrimage.
- Alan** Non-stipendiary priest, aged 58, ordained 23 years.
- Ian** Scottish Presbyterian minister, aged about 45.



Introducing the work of *McCabe Travel*

McCabe Pilgrimages

McCabe Pilgrimages is a specialist tour operator dedicated to working with Church groups travelling to the Holy Land, Turkey, Jordan, Italy and other Bible Lands. The company was founded by Alistair McCabe in 1982 and remains an independent family-owned business. The company is at the forefront of church-based pilgrimage to the Holy Land and has a team of people with expert knowledge of the country and the needs of churches, combined with extensive experience in the travel industry. The company is a member of ABTA and fully bonded with the Civil Aviation Authority. McCabe believes that pilgrimage involves seeing places and meeting people. The company recognises that pilgrimage to the Holy Land is about visiting the sites associated with Jesus' life and ministry and also meeting and worshipping with local Christians. McCabe's links with the Church in the Holy Land are strengthened through its partnership with Albina Tours in Jerusalem, a company owned and operated by a Palestinian Christian family and founded in 1949.

Jasmin

In July 1997, McCabe acquired the specialist tour operator Jasmin Tours and since then have spent time designing and developing a wide-range of quality holidays. Jasmin offers escorted holidays to a range of Middle Eastern countries and a selection of special interest tours worldwide. Off-the-beaten track destinations such as Iran, Ethiopia and Libya are featured as well as the more mainstream destinations of Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon and Syria. Jasmin holidays are particularly suited to travellers who have toured with McCabe Pilgrimages in the past, with the same attention to detail and personal service.

Oberammergau 2000

McCabe is offering a comprehensive range of holidays to the Oberammergau Passion Play in the year 2000. The season will run from May to September and each tour combines time in the village and a relaxing holiday in the Austrian Tyrol. Flight-based holidays will depart from Manchester, Heathrow and Stansted airports and there are a range of coach departures from across the UK. McCabe is a key partner in the Oberammergau Ecumenical Centre.

Pilgrim 2000

Pilgrim 2000 is a joint venture of McCabe and the Anglican Church in the Holy Land. The programme combines traditional pilgrimage with the opportunity to meet with local Christians and support their work. Bishop Riah Abu El-Assal, Bishop of Jerusalem, has invited every Anglican diocese in the UK and Ireland, plus national Churches to take 100 pilgrims to the Holy Land in the year 2000. Not only will pilgrims discover the Holy Land for the first time, in addition £500,000 will be raised for educational and health projects run by the indigenous Church in the Holy Land. McCabe Travel has pledged £40,000 in support of the projects chosen by the dioceses. The United Reformed Church and the Church of Scotland are already committed to Pilgrim 2000 as are the following Anglican dioceses: Bangor, Chichester, Durham, Gloucester, Guildford, Liverpool, Llandaff, Monmouth, Rochester, St Albans, St Andrew's, St Asaph's, St David's, Salisbury, Sheffield, Southwell, Swansea and Brecon, Worcester.

McCabe Educational Trust

The McCabe Educational Trust is a registered charity, established by McCabe in 1989. The Trust has an independent board of Trustees and the Patron is the Archbishop of Canterbury. Recent grants have provided play equipment at the Sunshine School in Beit Hanina, Christmas food parcels for families in the Old City of Jerusalem and payment of school fees for children in Jerusalem and Nepal. **Project Sinai** is a specially designed desert adventure programme operated by the Trust for young people from deprived situations. Over the years the programme has attracted support from BBC Children in Need, the Jerusalem Trust, Royal Insurance, the Prince's Trust, NatWest Markets and worked in partnership with the Children's Society and The Big Issue. The Trust also has a mail order service, called **Pilgrim Books**, which sells a wide range of books, videos, slides and music tapes associated with the Bible Lands. The Trust's **Bible Lands Resource Centre** is located in McCabe's London office and has a library of over 1000 books, a video collections and audio-cassette library. A catalogue of items is available on request.

For more information about any aspect of McCabe's work please call either Andy Webster on 0181 675 6828 or Anne McCabe on 01625 524453.

McCabe Travel

INTRODUCTORY PILGRIMAGE TO THE HOLY LAND

18-25 January 1995

Wednesday (18 January)

JOURNEY TO THE HOLY LAND

We travel by El Al Airlines from London Heathrow Airport to Tel Aviv departing at 14.15 hours and arriving at 20.55 hours. We transfer to the Mount Scopus Hotel in Jerusalem, situated close to the Old City and the Biblical sites we will be visiting.

Thursday

THE MOUNT OF OLIVES

We drive to the Mount of Olives where we have a panoramic view of the walled city. As we look across the Kidron Valley we see the Golden Gate, the Dome of the Rock and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. On the Mount of Olives we visit the Dome of Ascension, Paternoster Church, Dominus Flevit Chapel and the Church of All Nations in the Garden of Gethsemane. Lunch is at the hotel. In the afternoon we visit Mount Zion: St Peter in Gallicantu, possible site of the High Priest's house, the Upper Room, Dormition Abbey and the Tomb of King David. We enter the Old City through Zion Gate and walk along the ancient Cardo in the Jewish Quarter.

Friday

MASADA AND THE DEAD SEA

A full-day excursion to Masada and the Dead Sea. Our first call is in the village of Bethany where we visit the Church and the Tomb of Lazarus. We drive into the Judean wilderness surrounding Jerusalem where our principal visit is to Herod's desert fortress of Masada, which we ascend by cable car. We have an opportunity to experience the odd sensation of floating in the therapeutic waters of the Dead Sea when we have lunch at the Lot Hotel at Ein Bokek. On our return journey to Jerusalem we call at Qumran (where the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered) and the ancient Biblical city of Jericho in the Jordan Valley - an oasis in the desert. The final part of our journey is through Wadi Qelt, a breathtaking gorge, with spectacular views of St. George's desert monastery. In the evening we visit St George's Cathedral where a speaker will talk to us about Christians in the Holy Land today.

Saturday

THE OLD CITY OF JERUSALEM

We drive to Dung Gate to begin our walking tour of the Old City. We visit the Western Wall, the holiest place for all Jews, and ascend the Temple Mount, where we visit the El Aqsa Mosque, the third holy place of Islam, and the Dome of the Rock. We finish our morning at St Anne's Church and the Pool of Bethesda. Lunch is at Ecce Homo Convent on the Via Dolorosa, above the Lithostratos. In the afternoon we follow the Way of the Cross through the lanes of the Old City to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, finishing the day in the peaceful setting of the Garden Tomb. In the evening there will be the option of attending a folk evening at the YMCA.

Sunday

LORD'S DAY IN JERUSALEM

Before breakfast we visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to witness the variety of liturgies. Later we join one of the local congregations for morning worship. We drive to Bethlehem for lunch in Manger Square. In the afternoon we visit the Basilica and Grotto of the Nativity, St Jerome's Caves and the Shepherds' Fields. We return to Jerusalem and visit Yad Vashem Memorial to the Holocaust.

Monday

CAESAREA AND NAZARETH

We leave Jerusalem, calling first at Ein Karem, the birthplace of John the Baptist. We then continue westwards to Caesarea Maritima, where we visit the restored amphitheatre, the aqueduct and a brief visit of the city. We travel north along the Via Maris and inland through the Jezreel Valley to Nazareth. We have lunch at St Gabriel's Hospice. After lunch we hope to meet Archdeacon Riah at Christ Church in Nazareth and then visit the Basilica of the Annunciation, Mary's Well and Cana-in-Galilee. **The second part of our tour is based at the Ron Beach Hotel in Tiberias, by the Sea of Galilee.**

Tuesday

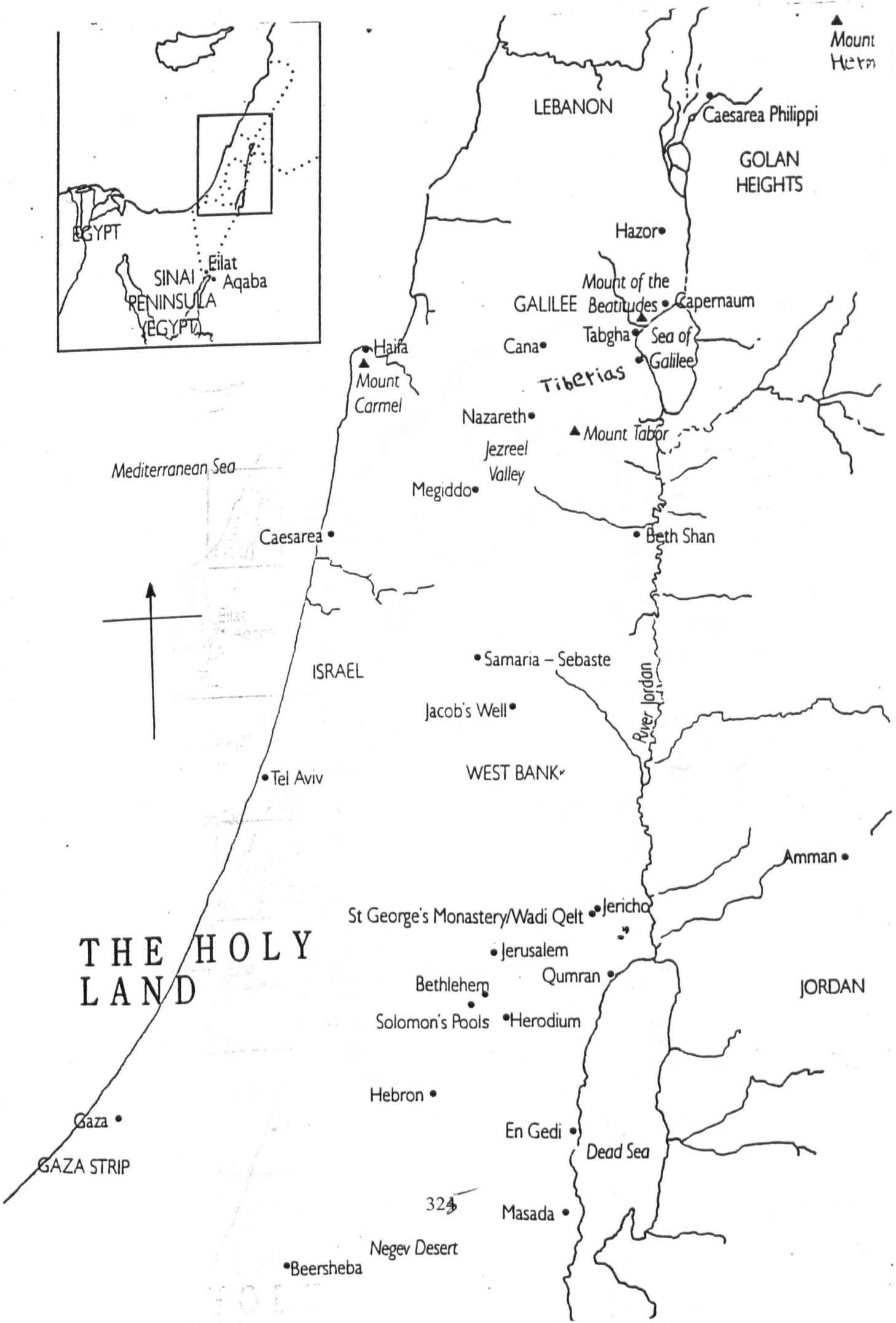
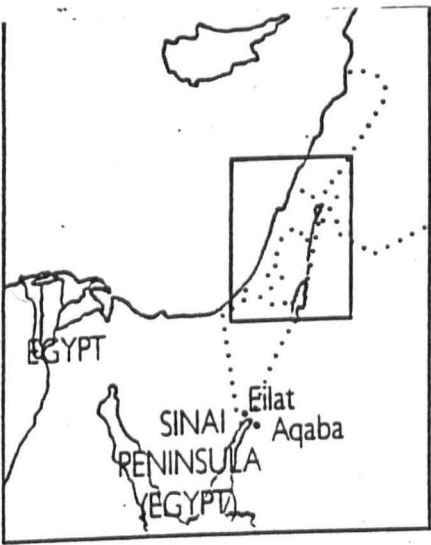
THE LAKESIDE MINISTRY

Today we visit the sites associated with Jesus' life around the Sea of Galilee: the Mount of Beatitudes, where we celebrate communion overlooking the lake, the Church of the Loaves and Fishes at Tabgha, Mensa Christi (where Jesus appeared to his disciples after his resurrection) and the ruins of Capernaum, the base for Jesus' ministry. We then drive to Nof Ginnosar Kibbutz for lunch. We have time to look around before catching the Jesus Boat back to Tiberias. We have the option to visit the Galilee Experience in the afternoon.

Wednesday (25 January)

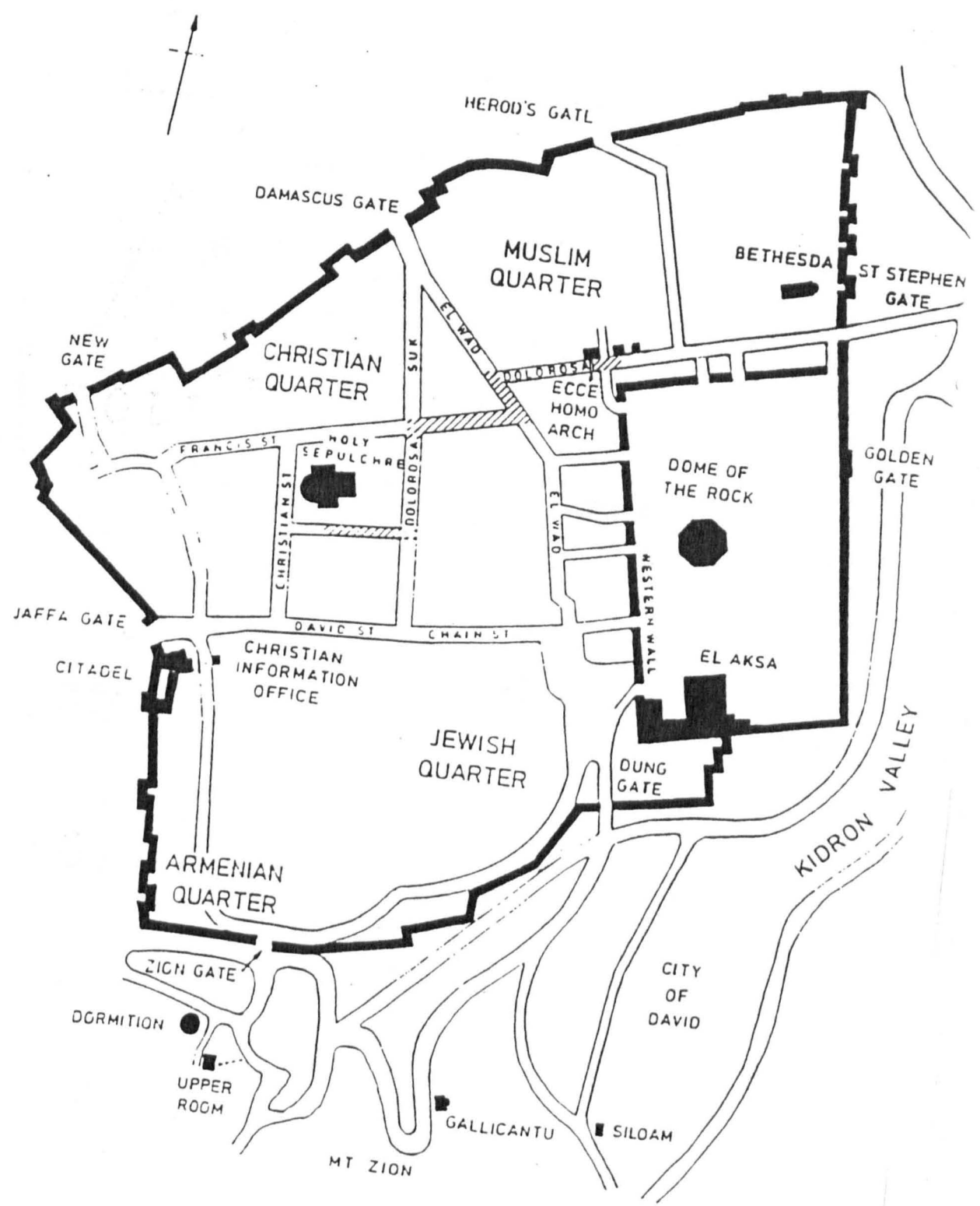
HOMEWARD BOUND

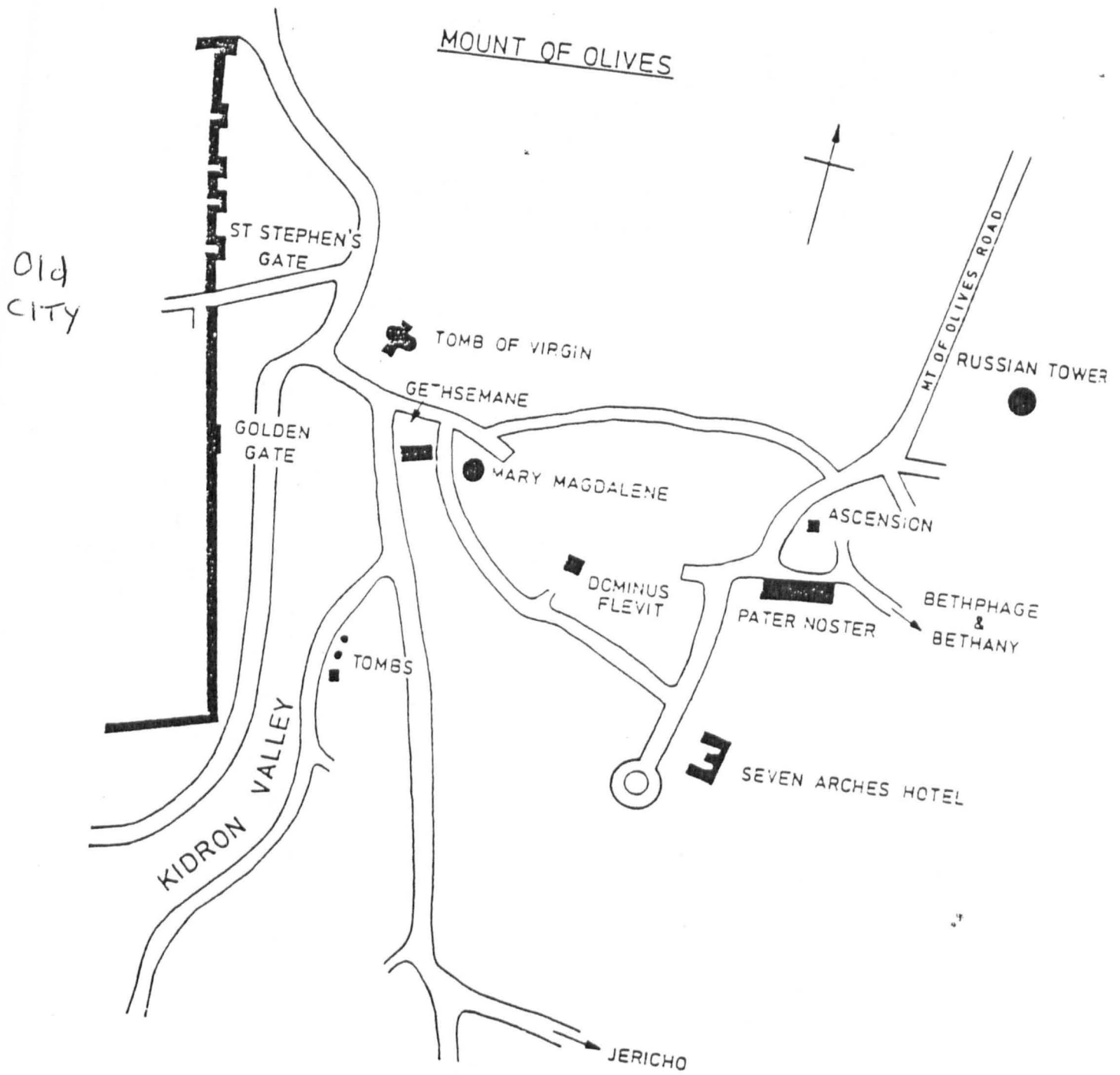
An early start as we drive to Ben Gurion Airport for our return El Al flight which departs at 07.00 hours arriving into Heathrow Airport at 10.10 hours.



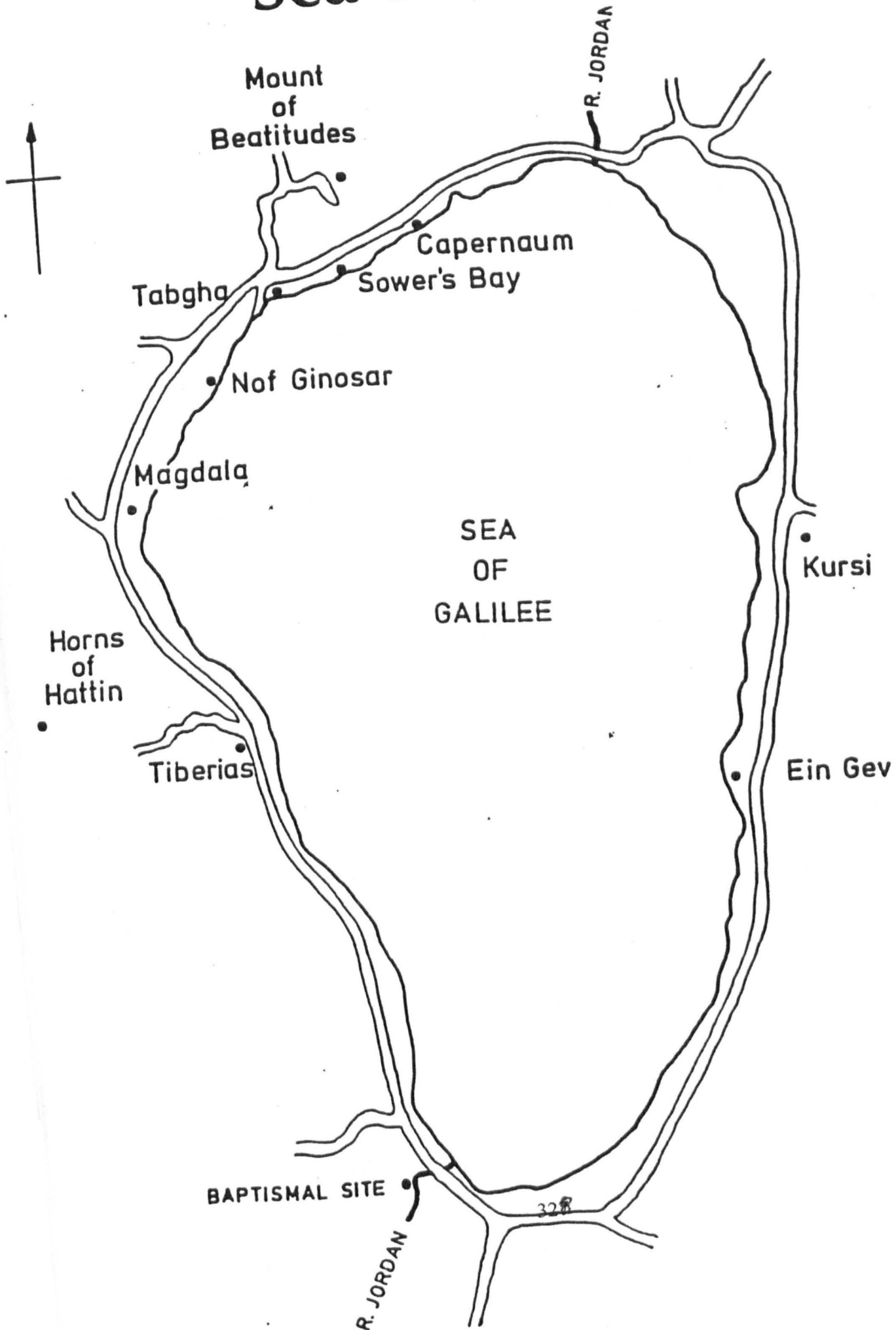
THE HOLY LAND

JERUSALEM OLD CITY





Sea of Galilee



December 1994

Dear Colleague

Enclosed are your travel documents and final details; please read them carefully and be sure to have all the documents with you. I will be at the 'check-in' desk in good time and will give further practical details then.

The flight is going to last around five hours. Drinks will be served soon after take-off followed by a hot meal. If you want a drink at any point during the flight please ask a cabin attendant - they are free! Towards the end of the flight you will be given a Disembarkation Card. Please complete this, noting that you are travelling as a 'tourist' and that your contact address in Israel is 'c/o Mount Scopus Hotel, Jerusalem'. On arrival at Ben Gurion Airport (Tel Aviv) you will be taken by coach to the terminal building. Once inside please join one of the queues and proceed through passport control. If you plan to visit an Arab country at any point in the future (except Egypt), then it is important that you do not get an Israeli stamp in your passport. To do this, simply ask the officer not to stamp your passport and he/she will stamp the Disembarkation Card instead.

Once through passport control you will be in the baggage hall. Please proceed to the carousel which is showing flight number LY316. We will then gather on the far side of the carousel in the baggage hall. It is most important that you **do not leave the baggage hall** until we are all together as a group. We will then pass through customs and meet up with our coach.

The journey to Jerusalem will take approximately forty-five minutes. On arrival at the Mount Scopus Hotel please leave the coach **with all your hand luggage** (your cases will be taken into the hotel for you). We will have a snack meal and you will be free to retire.

We are going to have an exciting time together. Please do not hesitate to ask if you have any questions.

With every good wish

Yours sincerely

P.329.

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PS Don't forget to bring your swimwear for that unforgettable and unusual Dead Sea experience!

McCabe Travel

53-55 Balham Hill London SW12 9DR Telephone: 081 675 6828 Fax: 081 673 1204

Dear Traveller

We are pleased to enclose the final documentation for your forthcoming pilgrimage to the Holy Land. **Please note that your El Al air ticket will be handed to you at the airport.** Our TRAVELPLAN (overleaf) tells you where and when to meet our representative at the airport on departure.

McCabe Travel has been successfully operating tours to the Holy Land for over ten years and we believe that we have put together a team of people who will do all that they can to ensure that you have a very successful tour. Our agent, hoteliers and guide look forward to meeting you.

Unfortunately EL AL have just notified us that your return flight has been cancelled and they have rebooked you onto another flight which is now VERY early morning! We have adjusted all arrangements to take this into account and apologise for this very late change.

If you have any questions in the days before your departure then please do not hesitate to contact us.

Equally, if you wish to discuss any aspect of the tour on your return please do contact me.

The tour cost is all inclusive. The only "extra" we ask you to contribute to is the gratuities fund. I will collect this and distribute it to the various waiters, guides, drivers, churches etc. on the group's behalf. If you could have £15 (in sterling) ready to give me on arrival that would be a big help.

A pilgrimage to the Holy Land is a unique experience. It has been described as "an act of receiving". The Land has so much to give and all the staff at McCabe Travel join me in wishing you a very enjoyable time.

We trust you will have the Journey of a Lifetime !

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From the Revd. Robert Llewelyn

Tel.

Holy Land Pilgrimage 18-25th. January 1995

I write to introduce myself to you. I am very grateful to Canon John Eastgate, our tour leader, and to Robert Trimble of McCabe Travel, for enabling me to accompany the party.

After over twenty-eight years of parochial ministry I am slightly surprised still, two years into the study, to find myself doing a part-time research degree. My subject of inquiry is 'The Anthropology of Modern pilgrimage', with specific reference to Anglican clergy visiting the Holy Land. I do have knowledge of Israel from previous tours.

Part of my research has to be a 'Field Study', and hence my participation in this pilgrimage. I shall not in any way want to be intrusive but I would hope that you may be happy to reflect with me on some of your experiences during the coming tour. My aim is to be both participant and fly on the wall. If you would like to, do feel that you can contact me with your anticipatory expectations before the tour begins.

It may be that we shall see each other at Heathrow. I look forward to meeting you, if not there, then in the early stages of the pilgrimage.

With all good wishes,
Yours sincerely,

Robert J. Llewelyn

6th. February 1995

HOLY LAND PILGRIMAGE

It is a fortnight since we arrived back at Heathrow and went our separate ways, back to our homes and parishes.

If you have time to write, I would be glad to know how you feel now about the eight days we spent in Israel. Do feel free to make any comments about what it has meant to you. The tour was extremely valuable to me for my research. I was very grateful for this opportunity. Anything you can let me have now will be equally useful.

It was good to meet you. I hope you found the tour every thing you hoped it would be.

From Canon Robert Llewelyn

Tel.

PILGRIMAGE RESEARCH

14th. July 1998

Dear

It is over three and a half years now since you first kindly allowed me to share some of your reactions to the pilgrimage which we shared to the Holy Land.

I would be interested to know how you look back on the 1995 visit now. I believe that you will also have made at least one visit back there, leading your own group. That can give a different perspective and you may have something interesting to say about that as well.

What would interest me particularly is how you think that this contact with the Holy Land has affected your subsequent life and ministry. Anything which you have to say, however brief, could be of significance to my research.

You will see that I have E-mail now and I would be glad to have a reply from you by that.

Thank you for your help.

Yours sincerely,

Robert J, Llewelyn